

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN CANADA
DURING THE XVTH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.

by

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PREFACE

This study sets forth some of the information available on the "Development of Agriculture in Canada during the XVith and XVIITH centuries" and attempts to analyse the various causes which prevented Agriculture from occupying, from the very first, the place which it deserved in the Canadian community.

Many historians, most of them truly great historians, have traced step by step the early beginnings of our country and of our people. Very few of them, if any, have ever attempted to make a more or less systematic study of the development of the agricultural industry which has become the foundation of our Canadian economy. The reason for this apparent neglect on the part of historians is simply the fact that those, in whose hands rested the destinies of the young country, gave their whole attention to other things and agriculture always occupied the unenviable position of poor relative. It can truly be said that aside from a few sporadic efforts on the part of three or four men of vision, agriculture in Canada has been subject to more hostility than encouragement and has grown in spite of those whose duty it was to give it the attention it deserved.

In this essay will be found a conscientious effort to bring together all the information available on the subject. This information was gathered largely from the various documents kept in the National Archives at Ottawa, and also, from the early

censuses of New France which, so far as agriculture is concerned, have remained an almost totally unexplored territory.

The correspondence between the king, the French Ministers and the Governors and Intendants, supplies a certain amount of information which makes it possible to form a fairly good opinion of the attitude of these people towards the building up of a strong agricultural industry. Through the course of this work, no attempt has been made to give a literal translation of these documents which are all written in old French, but the writer has been very careful to translate the exact meaning of the documents into modern English.

This study is neither a History of France nor a History of Canada, yet the reader will find, in two separate chapters, a brief résumé of the principal events which took place in the two countries during the period under review. This may appear odd to the casual reader, but there is such an intimate relation between these events and the development of agriculture in Canada, or rather its lack of development, that it becomes essential for the proper appreciation of the subject. While our study covers only the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, we have extended these two chapters to cover the whole of the French Regime, because it presents a more complete picture and makes it possible to follow the attitude of France to the end.

The writer has the very pleasant duty of acknowledging, at this time, the most valuable services rendered by his wife in the preparation of many tables and compilations, but above

all for her never failing encouragement during the many months of research through several hundred volumes of manuscripts. To Mr. Lucien Brault, M.A., of the staff of the National Archives, sincere appreciation is due for many valuable discussions and suggestions which have been of great value in bringing this work together.

Finally, thanks are due to the Misses R. St.Jean and F. Lafontaine who have devoted many hours to the typing of these pages.

If this study, in spite of its incompleteness and many other faults, can in some way contribute to create in our young people a certain desire to study all the phases of the History of their beautiful country, then the many hours of research in old, dusty manuscripts will not have been in vain.

Omer A. Lemieux.

Ottawa, March 7, 1940.

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PART 1

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture plays an important part in the life of the Canadian community. According to the 1931 census, 31.74 per cent of the total population of the country was living on farms (1) and another large proportion was deriving its livelihood from industries which are directly dependent on agriculture. It constitutes the largest single employer of men, 32.82 per cent of the total number of gainfully occupied persons being found in this industry.(2) In 1933, the agricultural wealth of Canada was \$ 5,563,790,000 which represented 21.59 per cent of the total wealth of the country. (3) It was exceeded only by urban real property. The net value of agricultural production in 1936 (4) was \$ 690,379,000 or 25.90 per cent of the total net production. It stood first in the list of primary industries, and was surpassed only by the manufacturing industry in secondary production. In 1937, over 40 per cent of the total exports of Canada were made up of agricultural products. (5)

The study of the early developments of an industry which holds such an important place in the economy of a country and in the life of its people is surely worthy of some attention, no matter how humble these developments might have been. This will be the subject matter of this study.

The majority of historians who have followed the development of Canada under the French Regime have given but little attention to the early beginnings of agriculture. In fact, most of them have been content with saying that France did not encourage agriculture in Canada as much as she should have. We must admit that the truth of this statement becomes very evident when one peruses the formidable list of documents on the French period held in the National Archives at Ottawa. It is possible, however, to find in the correspondence of the various Governors and Intendants with the King of France and His Ministers and in the replies of the latter, sufficient information to form a very good opinion of the policy, or rather the lack of policy, of the French Government with regard to agriculture in New France.

A great deal of extremely valuable information may also be gathered from the censuses of New France. It is not sufficiently known by Canadians that to Canada must come the honour of taking the first census as it is known in modern times. It was during the winter of 1665-1666 that Talon took the first census of the colony of New France. The population of the country was then only 3,215 whites not including 1,000 to 1,200 soldiers and 30 ecclesiastics and nuns. In 1667, the census was repeated and this time included the first agricultural census of any country of the world. These enumerations were repeated from time to time and constitute a most valuable source of information to show the actual growth of agriculture in the country. (6) Throughout this study many references will be made to these censuses in order to show the geographical distribution of farms and of farming areas.

The fertility of the Canadian soil was recognized from the very first, yet as one reads through the various documents which have come to us, it is impossible not to be astonished at the number of times that the colony was brought face to face with starvation. Those interested in the welfare of the colony were in constant fear lest something should happen to the vessels which came from France bringing food which could very well have been produced within the country. The writer will endeavour during the course of this study to analyse the various causes which were responsible for this state of affairs.

The development of agriculture in a new country demands two very essential conditions; firstly a sufficient number of labourers to cut down the virgin forest and to clear the land to make it ready to receive the crops, and secondly, the farmers must have a reasonable assurance that they will be able to dispose of a certain proportion of their production at a price sufficient to enable them to buy the commodities which cannot be grown on the farm and to lay aside a certain amount that will enable them in the course of years to establish their families and to provide for themselves a certain guarantee against poverty in their old age. These two conditions were always lacking in Canada during the French Regime. The Governors and Intendants who really had at heart the welfare of the colony were consistently asking the Ministers to send more labourers and to provide markets where the farmers might dispose^{of} their surplus production. This they never received. In order to analyse the causes of this very obvious disregard on the part of France, it is necessary to look into the events which were taking place in France at the time.

For this reason, one chapter is devoted to a brief summary of conditions in France between 1534 and 1760.

The constant state of war with the Iroquois and the English within the colony must also be regarded as an important factor in the slowness of agricultural development. While this essay does not pretend to pose as a History of Canada, it is necessary to mention these facts so as to enable us to see more clearly into our subject. One chapter will, therefore, be devoted to a summary of the principal events which took place within the colony during the period under review.

After showing the developments which took place, it will be necessary to devote a good deal of space to their analysis. The study of a period so far removed from our carries a certain element of danger. One is apt to use the present as a yardstick to measure the past. Judged in the light of present day development, the agricultural growth of Canada must be regarded as extremely small, but when one keeps in mind the extreme difficulties under which the early colonists were working it takes a new physiognomy and fills us with admiration for those pioneers who have written a golden page in the history of our country. The writer will be extremely careful not to let present conditions influence his views when discussing the developments which should have taken place during the period.

The following will be the plan followed in this study:

Part 1. Principal events which occurred in France and in New France during the French Regime and agricultural condition

of New France at the time of its discovery.

Part II. Agricultural developments, covering the early experiments and the development proper with a special attempt to show the geographical distribution of farms.

Part III. In this section, we will deal with the various factors and events which were instrumental in retarding the growth of Agriculture.

REFERENCES

- (1) Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Volume VIII, page 4.
- (2) Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VI, page 10.
- (3) See Table 1, Appendix.
- (4) See Table 2, Appendix.
- (5) Canada Year Book, 1938, French edition, pp.541-2.
- (6) It might be of interest to state here that in Europe the first censuses, notably those of Prussia (1719) and Sweden (1748), date only from the eighteenth century. In France and England the first censuses were taken in 1801. As late as 1753 the taking of a census was condemned on religious grounds in the British House of Commons; a member opposing it said: "I did not believe that there was any set of men, or indeed any individual of the human species, so presumptuous or so abandoned as to make the proposal we have just heard." Another stated that his constituents "looked on the proposal as ominous, and feared lest some public misfortune or an

epidemical distemper should follow the numbering." (See Edgeworth, article "Census" in the Dictionary of Political Economy). In the United States, no census was taken before 1790. The achievement of New France in instituting what is to-day one of the principal instruments of government in every civilized community may call for more than passing appreciation.

CHAPTER II

Summary of the principal events which took place in France between 1492 and 1763. (1)

In order to appreciate fully the conditions under which France attempted to settle her American colonies, it is necessary to devote some time to the study of the principal events which occurred within the country during the period under review. To attempt to cover the History of France for a period of over 270 years in a few pages is a next to impossible task. It is not, however, our intention to analyse these events, but simply to enumerate them briefly so as to enable us to appreciate more thoroughly the conditions under which those interested in the destinies of New France were forced to labour. The establishment of colonies requires some attention and interest from the Government of the Mother Country and a certain amount of financial assistance. During the 271 years which elapsed between 1492 and 1763, 154 were devoted to actual warfare, and during the remaining 127 peaceful years, economic situations had to be met which brought France to the brink of bankruptcy at least three or four times. Table 3 (appendix) gives a chronological list of the important events which took place during the period.

Before 1492 (2). For over a century and a half before the discovery of America, France had known many days of anxiety and even agony; Crecy 1346; Calais 1347; Poitiers 1356; the treaty of Bretigny 1360. To this must be added the desolation of civil war and anarchy-- the Kingdom of France was divided between Armagnacs

and Burgundians who devastated the whole country while Charles VI, and Isabeau squandered the moneys extracted from the destitute people. Under Charles VII, France knew some successes in the exploits of Joan of Arc which ended with her martyrdom in 1431. Louis XI carried on the war with the Feudal Lords and succeeded in grouping several provinces under the authority of monarchy.

Wars . While the attentions of Spain, Portugal and England were turned towards the Atlantic, France undertook the conquest of Italy. While Christopher Columbus discovered America, Vasco de Gama took vessels around the Cape and established colonies for Portugal, and Cabot sailing for England discovered North America, Charles VII and his future successor Louis XII took armies into Italy engaging their countries, into a war which lasted for over twenty-five years and ended in 1518 under Francis I, leaving no appreciable results besides depleting the national treasury.

With scarcely a breathing spell, Francis I, whose ambition made him covet the Imperial throne of Charlemagne, became involved in a war with Charles V which continued almost without interruption for the last twenty-six years of his reign. His successor continued it for another seven years. No sooner was this external war ended than started in France the religious wars which lasted for thirty years through the reigns of Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV, leaving the country devastated, the people in most abject destitution and the national treasury empty.

Under Louis XIII and Richelieu, for thirteen years, France played an important part in the Thirty Years War. After this immediately followed a war with Spain which lasted for over ten years and was complicated by four years of civil war (the Fronde). In 1661, Louis XIV took over the government of the country and of the fifty-four remaining years of his reign twenty-nine were devoted to wars. Between 1715 and 1763 France, under Louis XV, took part in the wars of the Successions of Poland and Austria and ended up the period with the Seven Years War.

This simple enumeration of the wars of France during the period, aside from the necessities of financial and industrial reconstruction periods which followed, showed what little time was left for anything else either within the country or in the colonies. As we have previously stated, it is not our intention to judge the wisdom of France's policies in Europe, but it is not without interest to quote a few words of a French author who deals with the colonial policies of France during the period under study. " Our colonies were constantly more exposed than those of any other country, because of this military spirit which forever kept us, for the flimsiest of reasons and often without any reason at all, mixed in all the quarrels of Europe." "The French government, which for the most futile reasons of vanity, could find armies and treasures to carry on wars in Europe, supplied the colonies with most inadequate garrisons. " (3)

One hundred and fifty-four years of war out of a period of two hundred and seventy years coupled with the incapacity and

extravagance of Kings and Ministers cannot but have left very definite impressions on the economic life of the country. It is now our intention briefly to review the economic situation of France during the period under study.

Financial situation under Louis XII, Francis I, and Henry II.

In the midst of the Italian war, Louis XII was in dire need of money. At first some financial help was obtained from Milan, but as the war became general, new sources of revenues had to be found. Ordinances of 1513 and 1514 show the extent to which the national treasury had been depleted. Taxes and borrowings brought all that could be obtained from them and the King had to sell parts of the Royal Domain to the extent of 600,000 livres. (4) To the expenditures caused by the war, Francis I added a most incredible prodigality which made him literally throw money away. During his reign the expenses of the King's household and of the Court reached 12,000,000 francs. (5)

Every year, the government had to face important deficits which were made good by various operations. Thus taxes were constantly increasing. In 1517 and 1519, the poll-tax amounted to 2,400,000 livres, in 1529 it was 3,260,000 livres and by 1543 it had reached 4,600,000 livres. Special taxes were also levied on various cities and on the clergy. Between 1519 and 1544, sales of parts of the Royal Domain

amounted to 2,565,000 livres.(6) To the above many other expedients were added to either to produce the necessary funds to carry on the wars or for the King's prodigalities.

Another important factor which exercised great influence on the economic situation of European countries at that period must also be mentionned here. Imports of silver and gold since the discovery of the New World each year increased the amount of currency and thereby reduced the power of money. Between 1493 and 1520, an average of 30 millions in gold or silver were imported into Europe annually. Between 1521 and 1544 the average was 45 millions, and this figure increased further in succeeding years.(7) These imports caused the value of the livre to decrease while the value of commodities rose.

Taking advantage of a momentary peace, Francis I wished to enter into competition with Portugal and Spain for the securing of American gold. In 1523, he sent Verazzano to America. In 1524 and in 1526 two other expeditions were made. Francis I fell prisoner of Charles V and was forced, in order to regain his liberty, to make heavy sacrifices. In 1529, the treaty of Cambrai gave Francis another breathing spell and by 1534, he sent Jacques Cartier to explore those countries where gold could be obtained so easily. In 1535 and again in 1541 Jacques Cartier visited Canada, but unfortunately for both Canada and France no gold was found and for sixty years the only interest shown in the new country was by fishermen and traders who carried on expeditions at their own expense.

It is of interest, before leaving this period to compare the value of currencies with present day values. (8) The livre equalled 4 francs, one sou 20 centimes and one denier one centime 66. Daily wages paid for a mason were four sous and for an agricultural labourer two sous. In comparison, prices were as follows: one "setier" (156 litres) of wheat was one and a half livre but often sold for as high as 6 or 7 livres; one cask (203 litres) of wine varied from one livre five sous to four and one half livre, depending on quality; a horse was paid from five to fourteen livres; a pair of oxen from eleven to nineteen livres; a cow from five to eight livres; a hog three livres; and a sheep one livre.

France exported wheat to Spain, Portugal, England, Switzerland and Genoa when prices were satisfactory and the Royal Edicts permitted. She exported wines to England, Scotland, Flanders and Switzerland. Linens were exported to England, Spain and Italy, while salt was exported to England. On the other hand, from Germany she imported metals, arms, leathers, wools, furs, linens, woollen goods, spices, fish, meats, cheese, horses etc., from Italy and the Orient silks, luxuries and arms were imported; from England gold, silver, lead, zinc, leather, wool and fish; and from Spain and Portugal currency. It appears that at that period (around 1546) France's imports were much greater than her exports.

The new territorial discoveries of Spain and Portugal gave a great expansion to trade but Francis I having no navy of his own and never having sufficient funds to build one

was forced to abandon trade into the hands of private individuals. The first efforts were for the purpose of fishing off the American coast and for the purpose of discovering a route to India through the Atlantic Ocean.

After Francis I, Henry II (1547) continued the struggle against Charles V and Philippe II for another twelve years to end with the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559). For many years after this date, the main interest of France was in the religious war which brought the kingdom nearer to ruin. Before passing on to this period, it is not without interest to sum up in a few words the conclusions of Lavissee (9) on the preceding period. All the efforts of France and the blood shed in Italy were sterile. She eventually lost all the territory that she had been fighting for. The Kings of France were mediocre in politics and in war. They were unable to find the right men either for the administration of the government or for the conduct of military operations. Apart from a few successes in the northern part of France, all this period brought to France was the exhaustion of the national treasury and the increase of poverty by the tax levies which had reached formidable proportions.

Situation under Henry II, Charles IX, Henry III,
and Henry IV.

We have now shown the situation of France, as she entered into a period of civil war which lasted for nearly forty years. When Henry III acceded to the throne (1574) the national debt was more than 100 million livres, part of the Royal Domain was alienated, the annual deficit was increasing and there was no money available for the payment of the army. He borrowed from private individuals and from cities, he sold letters of nobility

levied special takes on the clergy and sold ecclesiastical properties.(10)

The municipality of Paris complained in 1575 that the civil wars cost the Capital 36 million and the clergy 60 million livres. The charges against the population increased daily. The poll-tax which in 1543 amounted to 4,600,000 livres, had reached 7,120,000 livres in 1576 and 18 millions in 1588. This direct taxation increased four and one half times in forty-five years. Other taxes were increased in similar proportions. As direct taxation increased, public wealth decreased; lowered consumption caused the higher levies to bring less revenue. Very heavy duties were collected on both imports and exports. The rates charged were not based on the real value of the commodities but on a value fixed by the government. In 1581, the table of values was raised to double what it was in 1542 (see previous list) under Francis I. To increase revenues, the necessities of life were taxed at a much higher rate than luxuries. In spite of all these increases in taxes, revenues decreased, a sure sign of the decrease in national wealth.

Commerce and Manufacture (11)

Commerce was destroyed by the insecurity of the sea and by high taxes. Manufactures ceased operating under the exorbitant taxes and the trained labourers emigrated to England and Spain where they could continue their trade. Industries once flourishing in France had disappeared altogether and the country was dependent on foreign sources of supply. It was proposed to raise the duties on imported goods and to lower taxes on manufactures to provide

work for the people and it was hoped that increased production would bring more revenues. The abuses committed by tax collectors rendered the whole system of tax collection still more odious. Such was the situation when Henry IV acceded to the throne (1589). A war with Spain added to the last years of the civil war further taxed the already empty coffers of the State. New taxes were levied and new loans obtained. For 1,200,000 "ecus" Henry IV sold impunity to dishonest financiers who were liable to prosecutions for theft. The treaty of Vervins (1598) finally brought peace to the harassed country and Henry IV fully described the situation when he said: "France and I need a breathing spell."

After the religious wars.(12)

The religious wars had been general. Bourgeois, labourers and peasants had taken part in it and the loss in human capital had been great. Sieges, armies, pillages and fires had multiplied ruins. Farms and villages were uninhabited and deserted; and nearly every where, land cultivation had ceased. All private and public sources of revenues were ruined. Roads were in a disastrous condition, bridges were crumbling, and the sea, where the King had not one vessel left, was infested with pirates of all nations. On land and sea, the merchants ran the same risks. The clergy had lost three quarters of its revenues. The nobility whose lands brought fixed revenues was impoverished by the decrease in the value of currency. Henry IV resorted to moratoria (1595-1600) to prevent the ruin of many noble families. After the civil war, half of the lands of the

Kingdom changed hands. From the nobility they passed into the hands of those who had been able to benefit by the common disaster. The peasants were pressed by the Seigneurs to such an extent that they began to revolt (1580-1595). The bourgeoisie was living on its savings, but even these were decreasing because the payments on the public debt were very irregular and in 1605 were some 60 millions in arrears. Cities were affected by the cessation of labour and the misery of the people. All manufactures had ceased operations. The wools of Languedoc, Dauphiné and Provence were exported to Milan^{and} Florence whence they were returned as manufactured goods. France was forced to buy from foreign countries woollen goods, linens, shoes, hats, etc. Labourer suffered from the closing of shops, unemployment and decreases in wages. Unemployed labourers and peasants forced to leave the country because of insecurity and misery filled the cities with starving mobs. Deaths from hunger numbered thousands each year. Under these conditions, epidemics caused the death of thousands more. After the war, thousands of troops were disbanded without receiving their pay and allowed to swell the number of unemployed; they assembled in bands of highwaymen who preyed on the population.

To add to the above, venality was rampant in the various offices of the administration. From the top to the bottom of the financial administration it was nothing but theft and disorder so that from the excessive taxes collected the State received but very small sums. The Royal Domain was almost entirely alienated.

The administrative disorder as well as the scarcity of finances were hard to repair. With mediocre resources Henry IV

had to pay immense debts contracted both in France and in foreign countries at exorbitant rates of interest. The revenues were barely sufficient to satisfy the most pressing creditors. Another difficulty resided in the fact that the much needed reforms had to be operated by those who benefited by the disorders.

Such was the condition of France after the civil war and it must be remembered that this was the time when the Marquis de la Roche, de Monts, Poutrincourt and Champlain were attempting to establish permanent settlements in Acadia and Canada. When the mother country was in such a plight what chances had colonies which had the misfortune of not possessing readily available gold of receiving coherent attention?

Reconstruction

The reorganization of government, finances, trade and industry required a great deal of ability. In this Henry IV was greatly assisted by Sully. He it was who pulled the country out of financial distress and furnished the government with the means of establishing its authority. He entered the Council of finance in 1596 and became superintendant in 1600. His task was not an easy one. In 1599, Sully estimated the debt of the State at 296,620,252 livres of which over 67 millions were due in foreign countries. Expenditures amounted to 48,900,000 livres and revenues to 30,900,000, therefore an annual deficit of 18,000,000. In 1604, he undertook to pay in full the monies borrowed from foreign powers but at the same time he undertook to write down the debt payable in France, an operation which met with a great deal of opposition. These reforms were carried out at a tremendous sacrifice to the people, but he was able to lower the taxes which were so heavy on the peasants, to meet

his obligations and to have a surplus.

Agriculture

Henry IV took advantage of twelve years (1598-1610) of peace to return security to agricultural areas. He strove to remove abuses from tax collection and encouraged the production of all lines of agricultural goods.

Commerce

To encourage the building up of new industries, Henry IV repaired the roads and bridges which the civil war had left in ruins. If with Sully he did not do more, it was because of lack of funds rather than of good will. External commerce was carried on mostly by sea. Of all foreign countries, Spain was the one where France exported the most. To Spain she sold wheat to the value of nine to twelve millions annually and linens amounting to more than twelve millions. To England she sold far more than she bought.

Colonization

To all attempts of colonization at this time the government gave only moral support. It was left to private individuals to do it at their own risks. Colonial policies were not popular in France. Sully on this question represented the opinion of his day and he felt that great riches could not be found north of the 40th degree. The great objection to the colonial establishments was that no mines had been found. Sully was opposed to everything which might cost anything to the treasury. It must be said however, that the financial situation did not

permit large expenditures. Furthermore, Henry IV had more than he could do to establish peace and order within France herself.

At the death of Henry IV, Louis XIII was only nine years of age and the regency went to Marie de Médicis. Concini succeeded to Sully and in a very short time squandered the reserves built up by Henry IV and Sully.

Richelieu Prime Minister (13). Richelieu came to power (1624) with the ambition of making the State powerful and wealthy. His dream was of lightening the burden of the people, of building a marine and of establishing trade. He was first interested in external trade which if well managed, would make money flow into France. His theory was that of protectionism; sell as much as possible to foreign countries and buy as little as possible from them. " France producing too much for herself has need of no one, but everyone needs her." The fact that in this kingdom so plentiful in all things the people was poor and unemployed was attributed to the ease with which goods of foreign manufacture could enter into the Kingdom. Exports of raw materials and imports of manufactured goods were forbidden to develop maritime trade, he proposed to build a navy to protect the merchant marine (ordinance of 1629). To bring back skilled workers into France he ordered that all those employed in foreign countries must return or see their properties confiscated. Foreign ships were forbidden to enter French ports. Prohibitive measures protected the industries.

To encourage trade Richelieu fostered the formation

of companies, who could better afford to take the necessary risks than private individuals. The lack of success of these companies is the characteristic fact of colonial and commercial history under Henry IV and Louis XIII. Richelieu could not be blamed for their failure because he had sacrificed to them the freedom of trade. He had given them many privileges, and in return had expected great things from them. The aims of the companies, however, were not very lofty. They promised much more than they could afford to obtain monopolies and other favours. These companies never had sufficient capital to permit solid establishments, to pass through unproductive years, to maintain armies and ships and to establish colonists and support them until the day when they could provide their own subsistence.

Financial projects of Richelieu - Richelieu impoverished the country, made capital harder to get and, consequently, must be held partly responsible for the commercial and colonial failure. His failure came from the great lack of proportion between the object he had in mind and the means at his disposal. In 1626, the superintendant of finances D'Effiat stated that the State coffers were empty when he took over his duties, that part of the 1627 revenues had been spent in advance, that many debts had been contracted and that the annual deficit was over 10 millions. In 1639, the gross revenue was 116 millions and the expenditures 172 millions, a deficit of one third of the total budget. All sorts of expedients were resorted to

to balance the budget. Richelieu was forced to borrow money at rates which exceeded 14 per cent. The poll-tax was increased from 17 millions in 1610 to 44 millions in 1642. His financial policies provoked riots and insurrections all through the reign of Louis XIII. Conditions were such that the peasants, the country over, were in the most extreme poverty.

In spite of the general poverty of the people, and of his constant borrowings to balance the budget, Richelieu who in 1617 had very little personal revenue (25,000 livres), had by 1634 an annual revenue of over 500,000 livres which increased continuously until it exceeded 3,000,000 livres. He had also spent millions on castles and properties. Similarly, the expenses of the King's household were excessive.

Richelieu died in 1642 and Louis XIII a few months later. Anne of Austria became Regent during the minority of Louis XIV. Mazarin became Prime Minister.

The Government of Mazarin ⁽¹⁴⁾ The financial situation of the country was worse than at any previous time. Taxes were further increased, money was borrowed at exorbitant rates of interest and poverty was extreme.

The civil war (The Fronde 1649-1653) added to an external war which had been going on for eighteen years, put the public treasury on the verge of ruin. There was no money to pay the army and the soldiers pillaged the country in order to subsist. The poor people were forced to flee the country, and starvation and sickness killed them by thousands. In the

midst of all these miseries and heartaches of the people, Mazarin multiplied his manifestations of magnificence. Ruined by the civil war, in the seven years which elapsed between the end of the war and his death, he had been able to amass a fortune of over fifty millions.

Louis XIV (15). At the death of Mazarin (1661), Louis XIV took over the affairs of his Kingdom. Fouquet became superintendant of finances, but was soon replaced by Colbert.

Colbert proposed that France and the King earn money. In order to earn money, there must be trade. He first proceeded to put order into the finances of the Kingdom. It does not enter into the field of this study to pass judgment on the methods used, but he was able, at first, to decrease the public debt.

Colbert and Agriculture. He undertook the reorganization of agriculture. He tried to teach the peasants how to cultivate their lands, and proceeded to teach them what they could grow best. He imported animals from Spain and England to improve the breeds, he distributed seed grains, lowered taxes, etc. He encouraged trade in agricultural goods and exports of wheat were sometimes responsible for near famines in the country. Between 1675 and 1683, the Council passed over thirty ordinances encouraging or regulating trade in cereal grains.

Manufactures. He encouraged manufactures which in 1663 were in a ruinous state. He wished with his manufactures to place

France in a position where she could do away with all imports. Minerals to the value of one million livres were imported into France; he must, therefore, develop the mines. Wars and diseases had weighed heavily on the population. Knowing that in order to achieve his aims with regard to agriculture and manufactures he must first have population, he encouraged early marriages, subsidized large families, encouraged immigration and forbade emigration. He tried to change every beggar into a worker. In 1661, Holland brought yearly into France goods to the value of about 25 millions and England 15 millions. France had no ship builders. Timber, iron, tar, hemp which were imported were very expensive. A ship cost twice as much in France as in Holland and hence shipping rates were higher. He adopted a policy of protection for national industry. Ever trying to make France self-supporting, he turned his eyes to the colonies. Will New France be able to supply France with the commodities which she must now buy outside of the Kingdom? To this effect, he sent Talon to Canada and we will see later what results were obtained in that direction.

With all his expedients, Colbert did not succeed in closing the door to foreign merchants, nor to monopolize the trade of the world, because the companies which he formed failed. All the same, his protection to shipping greatly encouraged the merchant marine which developed. In Canada, his efforts were short-lived. The war with Holland started

and in 1673 Colbert wrote: "His Majesty cannot send any help to Canada this year because of the heavy expenditures that He must make for the upkeep of an army of 200,000 men and over 100 vessels;" and he added "my many occupations last winter prevented me from studying as I would have liked to the affairs of this country." In 1674, he wrote to the Intendant: "His Majesty, having been abandoned by the King of England, and having to keep such a numerous army, cannot have the same power on the seas; disposing of only forty vessels Holland will soon have complete mastery of all the seas."

By 1661, Louis XIV had put the affairs of his own kingdom in order and was ready to start other wars. He built his army and navy. In 1665, a large number of French sailors were employed in foreign navies. One great danger was the financial exhaustion of France. The kingdom could not suffice with its poor fiscal policies to the necessary expenditures of the navy, the permanent army, the other necessary expenditures of government and above all the extravagances of the King and His Court. Colbert by various means was able to increase the revenues of the country, but with them he had also increased the expenditures. In 1670, expenditures exceeded revenues by 3,000,000 livres and Colbert realized that the point had been reached where the people could not further be taxed. Between 1670 and 1679, expenditures increased from 77,209,879 livres to 128,235,300. Revenues decreased because of the war and

Colbert, like his predecessors, had to resort to expedients to secure the necessary monies. He again sold various employments and the Domains which he had been able to reunite to the Crown. New taxes were levied and he was reduced to the last expedient - mortgaging the future. In 1680, revenues were 61,448,568 livres, expenditures 96,318,016 livres and with the unpaid debts of previous years the deficit was 47,540,092 livres. In 1683, Colbert died and, in spite of all the miseries and deficits, he had amassed an immense fortune.

After Colbert (16). To pay for the King's pleasures, for His glory, for His victories and defeats, the government of Louis XIV developed the financial administration, multiplied the fiscal laws, and finally, tried great novelties without being able to escape bankruptcy. To Colbert succeeded Le Peletier (1683-1689), Pontchartrain (1689-1699), Chamillart (1699-1708) and Desmaretz (1708-1715). In 1683, net revenues were 93 millions and net expenditures 109 millions as compared with 74 and 119 millions in 1715. In 1697, at the end of the war with the League of Augsburg, expenditures reached 219 millions while revenues declined to 60 millions. In 1706, expenditures were 196 millions and revenues only 53 millions. To meet these deficits all the ordinary expedients were resorted to and in addition paper money made its first appearance, and in 1707 the amount in circulation was 173 millions which in the

following years was to lose from 60 to 65 per cent of its face value.

In spite of many new taxes, revenues in 1715 were only 74 millions and expenditures 119, treasury bills had lost half of their face value, the payment of government annuities was in arrears and the revenues of 1716 to 1718 had been anticipated and spent, and the State owed more than 2 billion livres. This condition was the fatal consequence of the King's extravagance.

As a direct result of this calamitous economic situation of France, foreign countries ceased to trade with her, increased taxes decreased consumption to the point where manufactures suffered, the prices of raw materials increased, the merchant marine withered, ship construction stopped and the insecurity of the sea caused the decline of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. The repeal of the Edict of Nantes caused the emigration of large numbers of protestants. The decrease in consumption and consequently in production, unemployment, poverty and the necessity in which labourers were of finding employment elsewhere caused important emigration in the labouring classes. Textile workers went to Holland, thousands went to England and others to Italy, Germany and Spain. This incidentally is the period (1700-1709) when the governors and Intendants of Canada begged for labourers and could not even get the attention of the ministers.

Taxes against agricultural production were heavier than they ever had been. Land cultivation was not free, production was controlled as also was trade in agricultural commodities and to a much greater extent. Exports and imports were controlled so as to maintain low prices. Between 1693 and 1709 wheat was imported in large quantities. At the end of the reign, agriculture had fallen very low. Production had decreased because of wars, of exorbitant taxes, of tariff reprisals on the part of foreign countries and everywhere the farmer was forced to live a miserable life.

What has been said of agriculture is equally true of manufactures and trade which were hampered by similar taxes and controls. The condition of roads and bridges was such that internal and interprovincial trade was paralysed. In 1715, France imported from Spain cereals, wools, etc., to the value of 17 millions. From Italy, she imported raw silks, hemp, sulphur, etc., to the value of 11 millions. In Africa (Algiers) she bought wheat. From the Orient she imported cottons, silks, leathers, wheat and rice to the value of several millions. From Holland she bought woollen goods, linens, sugar and fish. From England and Ireland came butter, cheese, fish and meats.

Louis XIV died in 1715. The general conclusion about the reign of Louis XIV is confirmed by the fact that monarchy outlived him only by seventy-four years. The

continuity of war, the extravagances, the errors of Colbert, the excessive taxes sufficient to discourage labour reduced this industrious country to abject misery and brought bankruptcy.

The Regency of the Duke of Orleans and Louis XV (17) 1715-1763.

In order to appreciate fully the situation of France at the death of Louis XIV, the following statement shows the financial situation in 1715.

Bills of all kinds.....	596,696,959 livres
Sums spent in anticipation.....	137,222,259 livres
Sums due to creditors.....	185,000,000 livres
Annuities.....	2,000,000,000 livres
Salaries, etc.....	542,063,078 livres
Total debt.....	<u>3,460,982,296 livres</u>

This is the equivalent of about 10 billions in terms of present day currency.

To follow the many expedients resorted to under the Regency in order to cope with the financial situation would be too long, and it is sufficient for us to say that they amounted to a declaration of the insolvency of the government. One fact worthy of mention, however, is the establishment of a Chamber of Justice (1716) which made a list of all those who, in the last 25 years, had had anything to do with the financial administration of the country. This Chamber condemned 4,410 individuals to refund 219,478,391 livres.

As usual, influences came into play and the amounts actually recovered were much less than the above figure. This fact is highly illuminative of the conditions which prevailed in the administration.

The System of Law. To this country accustomed to so many financial expedients a new one was coming in, the system of John Law. A study of this system would be quite long and it is sufficient for our purpose to state that after raising high hopes, it brought dismal failure. Disastrous as this system was to France, however, it rendered valuable services to agriculture, industries and commerce, by favouring the movement of commodities and raising prices. In 1730, France had over 5,000 vessels trading all over the world. The system also encouraged extravagances, luxury and speculation. The bankruptcy which followed was dishonest and weighed heavily on some and more lightly on others.

Louis XV and Fleury (18). The extravagances of the Regency are well known and need not be recounted here. In 1726, Fleury became head of the government. Under him two controllers, Le Pelletier des Forts (1726-1730) and Orry (1730-1745), looked after the finances of the government. In 1726, des Forts fixed the value of money and this stability was the main cause of the French commercial prosperity in the XVIIIth century.

Taxes were further increased and due to the economies of Fleury yearly expenditures, during peace-time, managed to remain slightly under revenues. During the period the

expenses of the King's household rose from 9 to 14 millions. The poverty of the people remained extreme; the money was in the hands of speculators, wages were low and prices high. Two bad crops in 1739 and 1740 brought scarcity and want to such a point that it was said that, between 1738 and 1740, more people died of starvation than were killed in all the wars of Louis XIV. Fleury died in 1742, and between this time and the end of the period under study, the same expedients were resorted to in order to finance the war and the extravagances of the King and his mistresses and the Government again faced bankruptcy after the Seven Years War.

It seems that a study of the military events of the period that we have attempted to cover so rapidly is very often nothing more than an "exposé" of the vanity and ambition of the Kings coupled with the incapacity of the men who directed the operations. A study of the economic and financial situation of France during the same period is, on the other hand, nothing but a long list of disorders, prodigalities and extravagances on the part of Kings and bad administration, dishonesty and lack of principles on the part of those connected with the administration of finance. It was estimated by Senac de Meilhan that between 1726 and 1776, 1,719 millions collected through the various taxes were dishonestly appropriated by 1,400 employees connected with the financial administration of the country (19). The consideration of this ever so long list of abuses on the

part of the government makes one wonder why the Revolution took so long in coming.

The writing of this summary of the principal events which occurred in France between 1492 and 1763, is not for the purpose of finding excuses for the attitude of France towards his colonies. On the contrary, these various facts were related merely to show what a colony, located thousands of miles away, could expect from a King and Government who did so little to keep their own house in order. When studying the situation in France and noticing the tremendous waste of time, money and human life, one cannot help but think of the wonders that a very small proportion of this waste would have worked in New France and regret the wonderful opportunities passed up by France in her colonies. However, we will have many occasions, during the course of this study, of analyzing the Canadian situation in relation to the facts mentioned in this chapter.

REFERENCES

(1) This summary is taken almost exclusively from the excellent work of Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution*. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie, 79 Boulevard St. Germain, 1903. The writer would like to take this opportunity of recommending this valuable work

to students who are interested in the study of the History of France.

- (2) Léon Gérin. La première tentative de colonisation française en Amérique. The Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1931.
- (3) E. Rameau. La France aux colonies. Paris, A. Joubert, Libraire-Editeur. Rue des Grands-Augustins, 7. 1859.
Chapter IV page 61 and following.
- (4) E. Lavisse. Volume V, Part 1. pp. 145-6.
- (5) " " " V, Part 1. p.209.
- (6) " " " V, Part 1. pp.240-1.
- (7) " " " V, Part 1. p.269.
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- (9) " " " V, Part 2. pp.179-182.
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CHAPTER III

Summary of the principal events which took place in Canada between 1534 and 1763. (1)

We do not propose, in this chapter, to add anything to the History of Canada. Many historians whose reputations are above question have studied in detail the development of Canada under the French Regime with a mastery to which the writer does not pretend. It is necessary, however, in order to follow the development of agriculture in an intelligent way, to give an idea of the sequence of events in Canada during the period under study, as many of those have exerted a marked influence on the development of agriculture. Our purpose is not to analyze these events, but simply to list them so that later on we may be able to analyze the agricultural development of the country in relation to them. Table 4 (appendix) gives a chronological summary of the events which occurred in Canada between 1534 and 1763 and Table 5 shows the growth of population during the period.

The opening up of a new country to colonization and agriculture can be effected only under certain conditions. In the first place, the settlement of the new country must receive a great deal of attention and assistance from the mother-country if it is to meet with any degree of success. If the colonists are abandoned to their own resources without moral or financial help, it is a certainty that they will soon lose courage and the project will be doomed to failure.

Furthermore, if colonists are to accomplish successfully the arduous task of cutting down the forest and of preparing the soil for the production of crops, they must be assured of sufficient protection to allow them to do their job in peace and quietness. Finally, they must have some degree of assurance that once the land is cleared and in crop, it will give them sufficient returns to bring up their families honourably and give them a certain protection against old age. Should a country reach some degree of development without the above conditions being fulfilled, it would be true to say that such development occurred in spite of the mother-country.

Our purpose in this chapter is to relate briefly the succession of events to show whether or not the mother-country did what she should have done in order to fulfil the above mentioned conditions. Did France show sufficient interest in New France? Did she supply the necessary man power and financial support that the new colonists had a right to expect? Did she attempt to render agriculture and industry sufficiently remunerative to encourage their development? These are the main points which we will keep in mind in this summary.

Jacques-Cartier and Roberval. For centuries before the voyages of Cartier, the Basques, the Bretons and the Normands had carried the whale and cod fisheries along the coasts of Newfoundland and Canada. In 1518 or perhaps 1528,

(others say 1539) the Baron de Lery, no doubt following the example of the Spaniards, attempted the establishment of a colony in Acadia. He left for the New World with his colonists, but contrary winds and other obstacles forced him to abandon the project after leaving some livestock on Sable Island.

As we have previously said, while the Spaniards and the Portuguese were sailing the Atlantic in search of New Worlds, the attention of the French government was turned towards Italy. It is not until 1523 that, during a breathing spell in the midst of the war with Charles V, Francis I decided to enter into competition with Spain and Portugal to obtain his share of the New World where gold and other metals were so plentiful and were beginning to exert influence on the financial structure of Europe. To this effect, he equipped four vessels which he placed under the command of Verazzano. Verazzano left Dieppe in 1523, but a storm forced him to seek refuge in a port of Brittany. The next year he undertook the trip with two vessels, one of which he left on the coast of Spain and continued with the other one which was equipped with fifty men. After months of sailing he saw land which he explored and described to Francis I. Unfortunately, Francis I fell into the hands of the Imperials and was unable to continue the explorations.

After the peace of Cambrai (1529), the fantastic stories built around the discoveries of Spain and Portugal,

the need of gold to replenish the empty coffers of France and the heritage which Francis I had received from his mother (2) (Louise de Savoie) lead him during five years of relative peace to attempt the discovery of gold in America. The expedition was placed under the command of Jacques-Cartier.

In 1534, Jacques-Cartier left St. Malo with two ships. There is no need in this study to recount the navigations of this valiant and able captain. Upon his return, he reported to the King the stories he had heard from the natives of the country on the immense quantities of gold and precious stones to be found further inland. The next year he made a second voyage and this time he ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga. The gold, however, was still further and in order to reach this fabulous country further navigation had to be made. Upon his return to France, Cartier found Francis I at war with Charles V and it was not till five years later (Truce of Nice 1538) that it was possible to continue the explorations.

The fact that in two successive trips Cartier had had nothing but promises of gold and silver mines started in France a movement against naval explorations. Those who favoured colonization finally prevailed by bringing forth the advantages to be derived from the fur trade, and also that France should have her share in the division of the New World among european nations. In 1540, Cartier was authorized to organize a third

expedition, but before he was able to leave, Roberval had obtained the vice-regalship of the new country with permission to establish a permanent colony. Cartier was appointed his Lieutenant. Cartier left in 1541 but it was not till the spring of 1542 that Roberval was able to leave with 200 colonists of both sexes drawn largely from the jails of the Kingdom. In 1542, Cartier who had spent the winter at Cap Rouge, having discovered what he thought was gold and precious metals, rushed back to France without waiting for Roberval. Roberval, after establishing his colonists went in search of gold, this time in the direction of the Saguenay. After a winter of discord, disease and starvation the survivors were repatriated.

Thus ends the first French attempt at colonization in America. These expeditions are of interest to our study only in so far as they bring out the end which Francis I had in view in supporting them. If the purpose of Roberval had been the formation of an agricultural settlement or the preaching of the Gospel, he would not have selected his colonists from the jails of the Kingdom, when, as we have seen previously, French peasants and artisans were emigrating into Italy and Spain. He would rather have selected these peasants and artisans who would have been of assistance in the establishment of a colony. The sole purpose of the expeditions was the discovery of gold, for and, such an undertaking, prisoners under close guard are more apt to contribute to the rapid enrichment of the chiefs than are free peasants and artisans who would have their own fortunes in view.(2) The real cause of the failure was that neither

Roberval nor Cartier discovered gold and for nearly sixty years after this experiment no one in France except the fishermen and traders who continually travelled back and forth gave Canada a single thought.

The period between Roberval and the Marquis de la Roche (1542-1598) is marked only by the development of the cod and whale fishing and the fur trade. Also in 1555 and again in 1662, Coligny wishing to remove his co-religionists from the persecutions which they were subjected to in France obtained the permission from Henry II and Charles IX to start settlements of French Protestants in America. The expeditions of Villegagnon, Ribaut and Laudonnière ended in failures. France preferred to kill hundreds of thousands of her own nationals rather than to allow them to emigrate and work in a foreign land to the advancement of the French name.

The Marquis de la Roche. We have seen that after the religious wars Henry IV turned his attention to the rebuilding of France. The increasing importance of the fishing industry and of the fur trade was not sufficient to awaken the interest of Sully, but not so of many private individuals of means. In 1588, Jacques Noel (Cartier's nephew) and La Jaunaye obtained a trading monopoly for twelve years. The merchants of St.Malo were, however, able to obtain the revocation of this privilege. In 1598, the year of the treaty of Vervins, the Marquis de la Roche obtained from Henry IV the commission of Lieutenant-General of Acadia, Canada and other adjoining countries. The terms of his commission gave him the privilege of the

trade to the exclusion of everyone else. He was authorized to take in France the vessels and the men needed-at his own expense-to build cities, make wars, etc. He left France in the spring of 1598 with sixty men on two vessels. He landed his men on Sable Island where they remained for five years when the eleven surviving members of the expedition were brought back to France.

Whether de la Roche landed his men on Sable Island while he looked for a suitable place of settlement in Acadia and was carried back to France by a storm and abandoned his men for five years, or whether he brought them to Sable Island purposely to form a military colony for the purpose of protecting his monopoly(3) and whether or not he supported them during these five years, does not matter to this study; the only point of interest is to show that de la Roche was ruined and thus ended the second French attempt at colonization in New France.

Chauvin and Dupont-Gravé. Wishing to acquire the monopoly of the fur trade in Canada and Acadia they obtained in 1599, for ten years, the privilege which had been previously granted to de la Roche. In the spring of 1600, they sailed with four vessels and landed at Tadoussac. There they left sixteen men who would all have died of starvation during the winter if they had not received help from the Indians. For two more years, they carried on the fur trade but made no attempt to establish a permanent settlement.

In 1603, Chauvin died leaving his monopoly to de Chastes. To de Chastes, the fur trade was an object of secondary importance

but Dupont-Gravé whose sole aim was the building up of a fortune, was able to convince him that the trade was essential to defray the original costs of colonization and prevailed upon him to form the " Company of New France " in which many rich merchants of St. Malo, Dieppe and Rouen took shares.

In 1603. de Chastes sent Champlain and Dupont-Gravé to explore New France. They made a map of the St. Lawrence which upon their return they showed to Henry IV who promised to help colonization. It is to be noticed that this promise constituted the first show of interest on the part of the King or of the government. De Chastes having died, Henry IV replaced him by the Sieur de Monts and confirmed his commission for ten years. The company^{took} in several other rich merchants as shareholders and equipped five vessels, three for the fur trade at Tadoussac and for fishing and the other two to transport colonists. For the first time, agricultural labourers were brought to New France. In other words, this was the first expedition that had not the fur trade as its sole purpose.

The expedition left Havre de Grace in 1604 and went to Acadia because de Monts thought that this country was more suitable for an agricultural settlement. They settled on Ste. Croix Island where during the winter thirty-five persons died of scurvy. In 1605, Dupont-Gravé arrived with forty new colonists and provisions. During this year the settlement moved to Port Royal. In the fall, de Monts returned to France to secure new colonists and discovered upon his arrival that the

merchants who had been deprived of their trade by his monopoly had started a campaign against the new establishments. Fearing the loss of his monopoly he remained in France to look after his interests and sent de Poutrincourt to take charge of the colony. Upon his arrival at Port Royal in 1606 he discovered that the colonists fearing abandonment had decided to seek French fishing vessels to bring them back to France.

Just as the settlement began to give some hope for the future, the Dutch seized all the furs traded in one year, on top of this the merchants of St.Malo, Dieppe and La Rochelle succeeded in obtaining the revocation of de Monts' privilege (1607) and all the colonists had to return to France. This marks the end of the third French attempt at colonization in New France. Unlike the preceding ones, this attempt had some chances of success. It will be noted that the King and the Government did not give even moral support. It is to be regretted that the King and Sully could not bring themselves to show sufficient interest to maintain de Monts' monopoly, which would have assured the establishment of the country.

Poutrincourt. In 1610, Poutrincourt was able to obtain support and returned to Acadia with choice artisans and colonists. Unfortunately, the King was assassinated and the intrigues and violence which took place during the Regency of Marie de Medicis were felt even in the small Acadian colony. Using the influence of Concini, the Jesuits forced de Poutrincourt to receive them in the colony, and to support them from the returns of the fur trade. His

backers, being protestants, retired and Mme de Guercheville bought their interests. Rather than unite with Poutrincourt in order to further their mutual interests, Mme de Guercheville founded her own settlement on St.Sauveur Island and the settlers of Port-Royal receiving no support were reduced to the point of starvation.

In 1613, the English, using as a pretext the disputed boundaries of Acadia sent Argall to destroy the settlement of St.Sauveur after which he destroyed Port-Royal ^{where} the settlers fled to the woods but remained in Acadia in spite of their abandonment by the mother-country. The fourth attempt was thus spoiled because of lack of interest on the part of the government which so far had given no material help whatsoever. Both de Monts and Poutrincourt needed but very little assistance to carry their enterprise to success, but they did not receive it.

Quebec. After the loss of his monopoly (1607) de Monts abandoned Acadia and turned his attentions to Canada where he obtained the privilege of the fur trade for one year. He equipped two ships, one under Dupont-Gravé for the trade at Tadoussac, the other to carry Champlain and thirty colonists to start a settlement on the St.Lawrence. Champlain, landing at Quebec in 1608, immediately set out to establish a settlement. In the spring of 1609 he joined the Algonquins and the Hurons in an expedition against the Iroquois. According to many historians, by this participation in the war Champlain unwittingly became responsible for the Iroquois wars which lasted for almost a century. In the fall he returned

to France to find that de Monts was unable to obtain a renewal of his privilege but his Company in the hope of further profits sent him back in 1610 with two vessels. Again he took part in an expedition against the Iroquois and upon his return to Quebec, hearing of the assassination of the King, he hastened his return to France in order to protect the interest of the colony which might suffer from the internal dissensions which were bound to follow the assassination.

The new government established freedom of trade and forced de Monts to abandon his projects. Champlain then endeavoured to assure to Canada the protection of some influential lord. He met the Comte de Soissons who agreed to become Lieutenant-General. His untimely death transferred the position into the hands of his nephew Condé. This commission gave Champlain a monopoly of the trade in the St. Lawrence and created formidable opposition in all the ports of France. In order to forestall this opposition, to ensure the success of the colony and to regulate trade, Champlain proposed the formation of a Company of colonization and trade in which the merchants could join. (The Company of St. Malo and Rouen (1613-14). The merchants of La Rochelle refused to take part and continued their trade.) For a few years, Champlain continued his explorations and persistently pleaded for colonization which was opposed by the Company who thought of nothing but revenues. Finally, the Company finding that Champlain gave too much attention to colonization and not enough to the fur trade wished to replace him by

Dupont-Gravé at the head of the colony. The discussions on this subject gained so much importance that the matter was placed before the King's Council and as a result Champlain was confirmed in his position. (1619).

In 1615, the sedentary population of Canada was 51 persons all occupied, except the few missionaries, in the fur trade with the Indians at Tadoussac, Quebec, Three Rivers and Sault St.Louis. This is a definite proof of the lack of interest and even of the opposition of the Company to colonization.

In 1617, Louis Hébert and his family landed at Quebec. He was the first white man to seek his livelihood from the soil.. In 1620, another company was formed by de Caen under the auspices of Montmorency recently appointed viceroy. From this moment the fur trade was the cause of continual dispute between the two companies and hampered the growth of the colony to such a point that the few inhabitants of Canada found ^{it} necessary to send a delegate to place the whole matter before the King. In 1622, the two companies were united under the name of " Compagnie de Montmorency ". In 1625, tired of all this quarelling, Montmorency sold his commission to the Duke of Ventadour, whose sole interest was the conversion of the Indians and totally disregarded colonization. While all this wrangling was going on, Champlain kept an eye on the colony, and if he was unable to make it prosper as he would have liked to, he at least prevented its utter downfall. Incensed with the indifference of the new company, he complained to Montmorency vividly portraying their

disregard for this colony which needed but little assistance to make it flourish. These complaints came to the ear of Richelieu who had just recently come to power and who decided to intervene. Strong colonies entered into his scheme for the power which he dreamt of giving to France.

The government, however, being unable to do anything for the colony, it was necessary to give commercial privileges to companies who would undertake to look after colonization. Knowing through the complaints of Champlain, the sad state of affairs in Canada, he resolved to form an association which would have sufficient capital to sustain the necessary expenditures of emigration and of inevitable wars. But trade is the main motive which attracts to such enterprises, the personal interest of the shareholders being more important than any other. He tried to give this Association higher aims by giving it almost royal authority. To put an end to the rivalry which had caused so much damage in the past he wanted to establish unity of power. Having revoked the former company and obtained the resignation of Ventadour he created (1627) the "Company of New France" or "Hundred Associates" and to it he granted New France, Acadia and Florida. Thus the colony again passed into the hands of a commercial company which could govern the country according to its own wishes and had a complete monopoly of trade, whale and cod fishing excepted, for a period of fifteen years on condition that during this time they would transport at least four thousand colonists of both sexes and attend to their permanent establishment.

In 1628, four vessels were equipped and some four hundred persons embarked at Dieppe. Unfortunately the ships fell

into the hands of Kirke in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the small Quebec colony (76 persons in 1628) was left facing starvation. The next year (1629) Champlain, all his supplies exhausted, delivered Quebec into the hands of Kirke. All but five families, forming about thirty persons, returned to France.

Thus ends the first part of the History of Canada, and so far as the colony is concerned it can be summed up in very few words; total lack of interest on the part of the government in colonial policies (Sully) and the country at the mercy of commercial companies whose shareholders were far more interested in getting returns for their money than in building up a strong colony for France. During the whole period (1596-1629) all these companies had been able to do, was to bring a few colonists, not to build settlements but to trade for them. In 1629, all France could show in America was 85 people in Quebec, and in Acadia what was left of the few men who scattered in the bush in 1613 when the English destroyed Port-Royal. This does not constitute a record to be proud of, but it was all that could be expected considering the lack of interest in France.

All these companies, regardless of who their shareholders were, their rank or the obligations that they had accepted, had one point in common; that of doing absolutely nothing for the permanent establishment of New France. Regarding the policy of the companies in regard to settlers Champlain wrote; " The companies having refused to give them the means of cultivating the land, have thus taken away all reason for them to become settlers. At

the same time, these companies gave out that there were numerous families in the country; the truth is that, being entirely useless, they served only to count, and burdened the settlement more than they helped it. It was quite clear, indeed, that, if any condition of necessity or any change in affairs occurred, they would have to return to France. owing to having no land of their own cleared, though they had been brought to the country fifteen or twenty years before by the Old Company. The only family that had established and maintained itself was that of the late Hébert; but it was not without a struggle that he was able to hold his ground, for the Company constrained and compelled him to submit to many unlawful conditions in regard to the corn he raised each year, preventing him from selling it to anyone, or exchanging it with anyone, except the Company, and then at a price fixed by themselves.

.....The object in view in all this was to keep the country continually in a necessitous condition, and discourage people from going to settle in it, so as to have the entire control of it in their own hands, and not to allow anyone else to prosper in it. (4).

1632-1663. Kirke took Quebec at a time when England and France were at peace. Part of the King's Council was of the opinion that very little had been lost and that no efforts should be made to obtain a restitution. The exponents of this idea used as arguments the rigorous climate, and also the fact that its settlement would weaken the Kingdom. The remainder of the Council was of the opinion that something should be done, not because of the

intrinsic value of Canada, but because of the insult to France. This opinion finally prevailed and various actions were taken which culminated in the return of Canada to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (1632).

In 1632, Raymond de la Balde, Du Plessis Bochart and Emery de Caen took possession of Canada while Isaac de R zilly took possession of Acadia. The Company granted the privilege of the trade to de Caen for one year. In 1633, Champlain returned to Canada as governor accompanied by some 200 colonists and soldiers. The Company having lost heavily during the war, soon realized that she could not undertake the expense of bringing the number of colonists called for by her agreement. She, therefore, decided to grant lands to individuals who were willing to bring people in fulfilment of her obligations. In 1634, Robert Giffard obtained a Seigniory and landed with his family and several agricultural labourers. Many families then came to New France to seek the peace and quietness which they could not get in France. Champlain died in 1635 and was replaced by Montmagny who landed at Quebec in 1636, just at the time when the Iroquois were putting an end to the peace which they had signed with the Hurons in 1624. Receiving no help from France and with only a handful of soldiers, Montmagny was forced to suffer the insults of the Iroquois. The Company continued her policy of granting large Seigniories in return for a promise from these individuals to bring colonists. In 1640, the Society of Montreal obtained the Island of that name and undertook to establish a model colony. In 1641, fifty colonists arrived under the command of Maisonneuve. Fearing for their safety - Montreal being in the path of the Iroquois - Montmagny attempted to settle them on the Island of Orleans, but Maisonneuve

refused and left for Montreal in the spring of 1642. New colonists came to strengthen this colony in 1643 and 1644.

It is unfortunate that so small a number of colonists should have spread over such a wide area, rendering the problem of their protection next to impossible. In 1644, the population was only in the neighbourhood of 500 divided between Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. Seeing the incapacity of the French to defend themselves, the Iroquois became bolder and began to prowl under the very fort of Quebec and to harass the colony on all sides. Unable to punish this insolence nor to protect the colony and its allies, because of the lack of an adequate army, Montmagny was forced to seek a peace treaty which was signed in 1645. The Company which had suffered severe losses (1,200,000 livres) during these struggles which ruined her trade, took advantage of the peace to transfer the fur trade to the "Compagnie des Habitants" which undertook the fulfilment of her obligations. In 1646, the Iroquois resumed ^{their} depredations against the Hurons, allies of the French. During this Indian war, New England proposed a commercial treaty with New France (1647-8) to be in effect whether the mother countries were at peace or at war -- a similar treaty had just been signed with Acadia. New France was willing to accede providing New England would join in an offensive against the Iroquois. The New Englanders, unwilling to face the risk of having the Iroquois against them refused the proposition.

In 1648 M. d'Ailleboust de Coulonges succeeded to Montmagny as governor. He in turn was succeeded by Lauzon in 1651.

Lauzon showed very little talent as governor, and the Iroquois emboldened by their successes in the Great Lakes region attacked the French settlements. Massacres were perpetrated at Three Rivers (1652) and the surrounding country was ruined. Save for a short interruption in 1653-4, the war continued until the victory of Tracy in 1667. The losses to the colony amounted to about 200 persons, but this number is very great when taken in relation to the total population. The fact that every colonist killed represented the head of one family and thus decreased the natural increase added a great deal of importance to the number of victims.

In 1661, d'Avaugour was appointed to replace d'Argenson as governor. Impressed by the beauty and by the possibilities of this new country he undertook to plead the cause of Canada. In a memorandum to the King he pointed out the sad state of the colony and its needs. Three thousand men were needed to invade the Iroquois country, failing these six hundred colonists. Louis XIV impressed by this memorandum and by the representations of Pierre Boucher, (1661) sent by d'Avaugour to plead the cause of Canada, ordered that one hundred men be sent immediately and three hundred more the next year.

As we have seen, during the last thirty years the colonists had had to sustain a continual war against the Iroquois the very nature of which was sufficient to discourage immigration and development. Added to the abuses of the Company of New France and later of the "Compagnie des Habitants" and the dissen-

sions between the governors and the Bishop and the Jesuits which culminated in the recall of d'Avaugour greatly impeded the development of the colony.

In Acadia, this period was noted only for a series of struggles which reminded one of the Old French Feudal wars. The Company of New France, realizing its inability to fulfil the terms of its commission was satisfied to grant the country to individuals who promised to bring in colonists. The men who had scattered through the forest when the English destroyed Port Royal (1613) were still there, reinforced by traders and adventurers, under the command of Charles de la Tour who held a grant from Louis XIII. In 1632, the Company granted a concession to Isaac de Razilly who brought 300 men. He died in 1635, and the command fell into the hands of his lieutenant d'Aulnay de Charnisay. There is no need to mention here the feud between Charnisay and La Tour followed by Le Borgne, except to say that the English seized this opportunity to take the country which was not to be returned to France till after the treaty of Breda in 1667.

Thus ends another chapter in the History of Canada marked by the continuous wars that the colonists had to sustain and by a total lack of interest on the part of France. The Companies were more interested in the trade than in the welfare of the colony, and the government was too listless to see that their obligations were fulfilled or to give the small support asked by Champlain and later ^{by} d'Avaugour and which would have assured the progress of the colony. It must however, be said that the

representations of d'Avaugour eventually lead to the dissolution of the Company of New France and to the establishment of a new form of government.

Vice-regal government.(1663-1713) To establish the new form of government, Louis XIV sent M. de Mezy who arrived in Canada in 1663 with 100 families. The Sovereign Council was established the same year. The King wanting to smooth over the difficulties between the clergy and the governors had left the selection of this governor to the Bishop and the Jesuits. The truce, however, was going to be very short lived. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Colbert had just succeeded to the ministry (1661). We have seen in the views which he held regard to the reconstruction of France. Like Richelieu, he thought that strong colonies were necessary to France and in consequence he was interested in the colonization of New France. He resolved to send 300 men each year for ten years, and to place them with farmers where they would learn their trade before they were given lands of their own. Convinced that the first thing to do was to bring the Iroquois into submission, he proposed in 1663, to send 2,000 soldiers, who would be allowed to settle in New France after the war. Instead of the soldiers, only 300 colonists were sent, 75 of whom stayed at Plaisance and 159 landed at Quebec, the others having died on the way. In 1664, the country was conceded to the West Indies Company, and Canada again found itself under a trade monopoly.

In the early years, the Companies brought to Canada all the food and other commodities needed by the settlers and for

the fur trade. Currency was not known, and there was really no great need for it. With the development of the country, such as it was, a new problem arose. A few farmers began to produce more goods than they needed for their own subsistence, and in order to encourage the development of agriculture it would have been advisable for the government to buy the surpluses. In 1664, the Sovereign Council begged Colbert to send men and money instead of goods, as trade was impeded because of the scarcity of currency particularly since the price of beaver had been lowered in France.

Troubles again flared up between the governor and the clergy and in 1665, Louis XIV sent M. de Courcelle to replace Mezy and with him he sent Talon as Intendant. The Court finally convinced of the necessity of reducing the Iroquois sent Tracy with a regiment. In 1665, Talon and Courcelle arrived with a large number of families, artisans, labourers, etc., and Tracy with about 1,300 soldiers. Tracy immediately turned his attention to the Iroquois and after a series of expeditions in which the Canadian militia took part, brought about, in 1667, a peace treaty which lasted for eighteen years.

While Tracy was occupied with the Iroquois, Talon took in hand the organization of the internal administration. Trained by Colbert, he immediately dreamt of a vast French Empire in America. He reported to the King that trade should be made free to all colonists, and brought out the failings of the Company.

He proposed the conquest of New England and of New Holland to consolidate the colony. He asked for more colonists (5), to which

Colbert answered that it would not be wise to depopulate France in favor of Canada and immigration must be slow and gradual. He turned his attention to agriculture and industry and opened up trade with the West Indies. With the exception of one year in France (1668) he stayed in the colony until 1672. During his administration the population of the colony more than doubled. Having received definite instructions from the King, and from Colbert regarding the temporal authority of the Jesuits, he got into difficulties which made him ask for his recall. It can be truly said that after Champlain he was the only representative of France who had at heart the welfare of the colony, but even he could not find in the French Government the co-operation which would have placed New France on a solid foundation.

In sending into the colony an Intendant whose duties were close to those of the Governors, Louis XIV and Colbert, had created a situation which was bound to cause difficulties. Talon suffered from the jealousy of Courcelle and fearing that he and Frontenac, who replaced Courcelle in 1672, would not be able to get along he asked for his recall. These difficulties between Governors and Intendants were to recur consistently throughout the remainder of the French Regime.

Frontenac worked to establish good government in the colony, but in so doing made many enemies. He got into difficulty with everybody. He encouraged explorations and trade and built forts in the western country. Difficulties with Dushesneau and the Bishop over the liquor trade brought about his and Duchesneau's recall in 1682.

La Barre (1682) and Denonville (1685) who followed Frontenac as Governors were noted particularly for their incapacity to cope with the situation. The Iroquois, now encouraged by the New Englanders, who wanted their share of the fur trade, again declared war. Louis XIV now occupied with the war against the protestants could not give the necessary assistance and de la Barre signed a dishonourable peace treaty which was responsible for his recall, Denonville was also unable to stop the Iroquois who spread destruction in the colony.

Frontenac was sent for a second time (1689) and found the Iroquois situation complicated by a european war which was to have its repercussions in America. Besides the Iroquois, he had to fight the English. In vain he asked for support from France and while the English attacked Quebec, the Iroquois continued their depredations. Frontenac was able in 1696 to give the Iroquois the fatal blow which brought them to terms, even though the peace treaty was not signed till two years after his death (1701). His temperament and his interest in both the fur and the liquor trades had made him many enemies.

The treaty of Ryswick (1698) brought peace to the harassed colony, but it was to be of short duration and the war of the Spanish Succession also had its repercussion in America. Between 1702 and 1713, Canadians were constantly on the alert. The treaty of Utrecht was finally signed (1713) ceding Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay and Acadia to England, but brought Canadians a much needed rest. This period had but very little peace for the Canadians and as in previous periods their

abandonment to their own resources was almost complete, except for the period from 1663 to 1672.

It is now necessary to go back a number of years in order to follow the development of trade. We have seen how the Company of New France after heavy losses had passed its privilege over to the "Compagnie des Habitants" (1645). This Company in turn got into such difficulties that in 1662 it faced bankruptcy. In 1664, the monopoly was granted to the West Indies Company. This monopoly received a great deal of opposition. The Sovereign Council intervened to fix prices but to no avail until in 1666, the King forced the Company to reestablish the freedom of trade. In 1674, the debts of the Company amounted to 3,523,000 francs and Louis XIV, on the advice of Colbert, reimbursed the shareholders, took over the debt and reestablished the freedom of trade under certain conditions. The price of furs was fixed but payment was made in goods and Oudiette (he had bought the privilege for seven years) who was the sole buyer indirectly lowered the price by raising the price of goods. As a result, the Indians began to take their furs to the English who paid much more for them. This situation lasted till 1700 when Canadians made representation to the King to stop these abuses.

We have also seen that in 1664, the Council had asked that money be sent for part of the subsistence of the troops so as to bring currency into the colony. In 1671, Talon in a memorandum to the King (6) asked for the creation of a special currency for Canada in order to encourage trade. By 1690, agricultural

production had increased, the lumber trade had also gained some importance and the colony suffered from the lack of currency. The moneys sent for the payment of the army and of public expenditures did not come till July or August. In order to obviate this difficulty, in 1691, Frontenac and Champigny thought of the idea of creating a card money to serve as currency until the arrival of the vessels when these cards would ^{be} redeemed with bills of exchange on the French treasury.

In 1700. after the representations of the inhabitants Louis XIV and Pontchartrain thought that the formation of a society in which all the inhabitants would be shareholders, would stop the abuses. Thus the "Compagnie du Canada" was formed. By 1706, the debt of the Company was 1,813,000 francs and it was forced to abandon its privilege to Aubert. Neyret and Gayot who for twelve years repeated the procedure formerly followed by Oudiette.

In 1714, the inhabitants held card money and bills of exchange to the value of 2,000,000 francs. The French treasury was unable to honour these and rather than lose everything, the inhabitants had to accept a loss of 50 per cent of their face value. The payments were not completed until 1720 and by that time the loss amounted to five eighths of the face value.

In 1717, the use of card money was prohibited and the Company reverted to the use of French currency at par value. Since the value of currency was the same in the colony as in France, nobody took the risk of transporting it and as a result the scarcity

was such that by 1729 ,it was necessary to return to card money which then continued in use till the end of the Regime and also continued to cause heavy losses to the inhabitants.

In 1715 and in 1719, Ruette d'Auteuil sent two memoranda to the Regent on the abuses of the system and on the faults of the government. The governors and intendants, he charged, were creatures of the ministers who tried to turn everything in the colony to their own personal advantage. Their personal interest in the fur trade was responsible for the abuses of the "congés" (permissions to individuals to go into the Indian country for the trade) which deprived the colony of the flower of its manhood. The French Government ignored these memoranda and the system continued.

1713-1763. After a war of a quarter of a century interrupted by only four or five years of peace, Canadians were able to put away their fire-arms and to return to their fields. Many men had died at the war and a still larger number had been sent to the forts on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi whence they never returned. In spite of these losses and of the small French immigration which amounted to a few soldiers and a few merchants, the population increased. Vaudreuil who had been governor since 1705, seemed to wish the reparation of the damages of the past but was greatly impeded by the financial disorder of both Canada and France. He pleaded in vain for assistance from France. He tried to make the Regent see the precarious position of the colony, which had only 4,484 men able to bear arms, and

the 28 companies contained only 628 men to oppose to the 60,000 of New England, but the Regent was too busy with his pleasures to pay attention to his voice. The immigration from France between 1728 to 1749 would barely reach 1,000. In 1716, he had to send an expedition against the Outagamis (800 Canadians and Indians).

Beauharnois who succeeded to Vaudreuil as governor (1725) also sent an expedition against them (400 Canadians and 1,200 Indians). He continued the western explorations started before. While the country was at peace, it was visited by several calamities. In 1729-30, scarcity was so great that many families were reduced to eat roots and buds in order to subsist. In 1732, floods and earthquakes caused great damage and in 1733 small pox caused the death of a large number of persons.

Cape Breton (1713-1763). After the cession of Newfoundland and Acadia to England, France decided to settle Cape Breton Island (Ile Royale) to provide a place for the inhabitants of Plaisance (Nfld) and of Acadia and also to give protection to her fishing industry. Louisbourg was selected as the capital and fortified at the cost of 30,000,000 livres. Between 1713 and 1754, the population of the Island reached a maximum of about 4,000 persons. This colony received no more help than Canada and was always on the verge of starvation. The situation of Cape Breton Island cannot better be described than by the following statement: "The first thing that strikes one on reading the correspondence of the Governors and officials of Ile Royale, is the neglect invariably manifested by France towards the new colony,

from its foundation in 1713 down to the fall of Louisbourg in 1758; then the indolence of the settlers is another point which soon becomes evident. In place of seeking their support from the soil, we find the people trying to live almost wholly by fishing, while the upper class strove to live at the King's expense. Fishing with its prompt profits and easy returns - at that period particularly - first attracted the attention and absorbed all the energies of the first settlers on the island, for we find M. de St. Ovide de Brouillon, the Governor, complaining to the Minister, as early as 1717, that the inhabitants paid but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. This improvidence increased with the lapse of time, and later on we find the authorities of Louisbourg making constant appeals to the Court of France and to the Intendants of Canada for help in grain at times when the latter colony was in the throes of famine, resulting from successive bad harvests and the exigencies of war. It is quite true that maritime people have at all times despised agriculture, enticed as they are by the easily attained and often abundant yield of the products of the sea, and attracted also, no doubt, by the soothing or exciting emotions inspired by the great enchantress.

After 1722, it is true, when Prince Edward Island had been opened up for settlement, we find the population attempting agricultural pursuits. But the little assistance sent from France to the new settlements, together with bad crops and the

immigration of Acadians who after 1750 were cast upon the shores of the island on one occasion to the number of 1,500 to 2,000 at one time, in a state of utter destitution, rendered it impossible for the residents even to provide for their own subsistence and utterly so to send help to Ile Royale. Hence the correspondence of the authorities of these two fertile islands, during the period from 1714 to 1758, is but one long cry of famine." (7)

Of the period from 1745 to 1763, there is no need to say anything in this chapter beyond the fact that the latter date marked the end of the French Regime. As usual the Canadians had to face their enemies without the assistance of the mother country.

We have seen in this chapter the conditions under which the handful of French emigrants laboured in America. Of the one hundred and fifty years which elapsed between the establishment of Quebec and the cessation of the French Regime nearly ninety were spent at war either with the Indians or with european powers. We have seen the lack of interest on the part of Kings and governments who refused to send a few men to build a strong colony. A very small proportion of the money wasted at Court would have been sufficient to equip and settle a sufficient number of persons to build a strong colony which would have been capable of defending itself against all its enemies. Had France shown more interest in the colony, she would have forced the companies to fulfil their obligations, and in so doing, would probably have saved the companies themselves from bankruptcy where they all ended.

Internally, the colony was no better off, the governors and Intendants, with only few exceptions, either through incapacity or through the substitution of their own private interests to those of the colony were the very image of the government of France. Quarrels between the clergy and the government kept the colony in a state of unrest which greatly impeded its growth and development. The financial disorders which twice brought the colony to bankruptcy were also an impediment to its development. Last but not least, the abuses of the fur trade which took by thousands the flower of Canadian manhood to send it to the western posts and to the Mississippi greatly slowed up the normal development of the country.

We can now say very definitely that at no time during the French Regime did the colony receive the financial assistance, the necessary peace nor the moral support which are absolutely essential to the development of a new country. We will have other opportunities, in succeeding chapters, of enlarging on these various matters.

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CHAPTER IV

Agricultural state of North America at the time of its discovery.

The early european explorers upon landing on American soil, found the country inhabited by peoples who lived in a most primitive state. They were of nomadic habits and lived ^a hand to mouth existence. They obtained their subsistence largely from their fishing and hunting expeditions, but were also dependent on the production of the earth for part of their livelihood. The products which they used commonly grew wild and they cultivated only those which nature did not supply in sufficient quantities to meet their requirements. These early explorers discovered that the new continent was covered with vegetation, some of which was similar to the plants they were familiar with, and some of which were entirely new to them.

It is of interest to note that many of the plants which are now among the most important food necessities were unknown in Europe until after the discovery of America. A recent article published by Donald R. Brand (1) of the Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, gives the results of studies made on the origin and distribution of New World cultivated plants. In this study the author states: " The archaeologist, with the help of the botanist, is uncovering and identifying an increasing number of plant remains and reproductions of plants in modeled clay, figures painted on pottery, textiles etc., Vegetable remains, such as seeds, rinds, leaves, and even whole

desiccated fruits and root systems, have been recovered in greatest number from the arid coastlands of Peru and Chile; and from the caves of the American Southwest. These include maize kernels, leaves of coca and pacay;..... cotton lint and textiles; rinds, seeds and peduncles of pumpkins and squashes; kidney and lima beans; peanuts,.....potato,canna, Sweet potato, chile pepper..... Dendrochronology in the Southwest and dated inscriptions in the Maya area have enabled the archaeologist to postulate an antiquity of more than 1,500 years and 2,000 years, respectively, for agricultural cultures in these two areas. As is also the case in Egypt and Mesopotamia the beginnings of agriculture in the New World apparently antedate by untold centuries or millenia the earliest dates that the archaeologist can reasonably determine?

The author continues: "The American Indians made use of several thousand species of plants in some form or other. Of these, probably not more than two hundred were cultivated to any considerable extent . The Indians seldom cultivated other than for edible roots, seeds and greens, since fruit trees and shrubs, nuts, berries, dye plants, fiber plants, ornamental plants, and medicinal plants were in such wild abundance that there was little need for cultivation..... Many of the plants that the Indians found wild in sufficient abundance have been introduced into cultivation during the

past four hundred years. These have been principally fruits, berries and nuts (such as pawpaw, persimmons, crabapples, plums strawberry, blackberry, ^{raspberry}cranberry, grapes, pecans, walnuts and chestnuts), spices flavorings and drugs (for example: allspice, smilax, vanilla, sarsaparilla, tonkabean and cinchona), ornamentals (such as zennias, poinsettias, many orchids, cosmos dahlias and tuberose), and plants of various other uses (e.g. sugar maple,.....)".

"If sedentary agriculture, continues the author, is considered a criterion of civilization, then the New World probably was "civilized" before the Old World, since there is much reason for considering maize, kidney beans, pumpkins, manioc and potatoes older than any cultivated plants of the Old World. The climatic range for maize, beans, and pumpkins is wider than for any comparable Old World plant excepting possibly barley. The great variety of pumpkins, maize, kidney beans, manioc and potatoes cannot be matched by comparable Old World plants. There is no Old World plant so dependent on man as is maize....."

"Forty-seven crops (not specified as to species) of New World origin are listed in the 1937-1938 International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics. In approximate order, according to acreage, value and distribution, the most important are: maize, New World cottons, potato, tobaccos, New World beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, manioc, cacao, tomatoes, pumpkins and squashes, chili peppers, sunflower,

pineapple,.....New World grapes, berries and nuts are not considered in making the list."

The above sufficiently shows the importance of the plants, cultivated or wild which the Europeans discovered in North America. The distribution and the use made by the Indians of the above mentioned plants may be ascertained by the reports of the early explorers and historians who have given descriptions of the country and of the customs of the natives.

In the reports of the voyages of Jacques Cartier (2) we find that on the fifteenth day of June 1534, he landed on Brion Island of which he said:"This island is the best land we have seen; for two acres of it are worth more than the whole of Newfoundland. We found it to be covered with fine trees and meadows, fields of wild oats, and of pease in flower; as thick and as fine as ever I saw in Brittainy, which might have been sown by husbandmen. There are numerous gooseberry bushes, strawberry vines, herbs, etc.,"

Later Cartier said of Prince Edward Island (Cape Kildare and North Point): "The soil where there are no trees is also very rich and is covered with pease, white and red, gooseberry bushes, strawberries, raspberries....." (2). On Tuesday July 7, 1534, Cartier entered Chaleur Bay of which he said:"There is not the smallest plot of ground bare of wood, and even on sandy soil, but is full of wild wheat, that has an ear like barley and the grain like oats as well as of pease, as thick as if they had been sown and hoed; of white and red currant bushes, of

strawberries, of raspberries, of red and white roses and of other plants of a strong pleasant odour.....Here likewise grows Indian corn like pease, the same as in Brazil, which they (the Indians) eat in place of bread, and of this they had a large quantity with them. Furthermore they have plums which they dry for the winter as we do; also figs, nuts, pears, apples and other fruits and beans.....Of the things they have, they showed us by signs the way they grow and prepare them."(2)

On his second voyage (1535), Cartier, as we know, ascended the St. Lawrence. On September 6, he passed Ile aux Coudres where "the soil is rich and fertile and the island is covered with several species of fine large trees.....Amongst others we found many hazel-bushes, loaded with hazel-nuts as large as ours and better tasting though a little more bitter." On September 7, they landed on the Island of Orleans where they saw some natives "and when they knew who it was they began to welcome them, dancing and going through many ceremonies. And some of the headmen came to our long-boats, bringing us many eels and other fish, with two or three measures of Indian corn, which is their bread in that country and many large melons (muskmelons)." On September 8, they placed their ships in the Ste Croix River (St. Charles): "This region is as fine land as it is possible to see, being very fertile and covered with magnificent trees of the same varieties as in France, such as oaks,.....Beneath these grows as good hemp as that of

France, which comes up without sowing or tilling it."

On September 9, he left with some of his men for Hochelaga where they arrived on October 3. They gave presents to the headmen. "When this was done we marched on, and about half a league thence, found that the land began to be cultivated. It was fine land with large fields covered with the corn of the country, which resembles Brazil millet, and is about as large or larger than a pea. They live on this as we do on wheat." Cartier then went on to explain how they bake their bread and how "they make also many kinds of soup with this corn, as well as with beans and with pease, of which they have a considerable supply, and again with large cucumbers and other fruits." He added, however, "this whole tribe gives itself to manual labour and to fishing, merely to obtain the necessities of life....." Describing the people whom he found Cartier added: "They are by no means a laborious people and work the soil with short bits of wood half a sword in length. With these they hoe their corn which they call ozisy, in size as large as a pea. Corn of a similar kind grows in large quantity in Brazil. They have also a considerable quantity of melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, pease and beans of various colours and unlike our own. Furthermore they have a plant, of which a large supply is collected in summer for the winter consumption (tobacco)."(2)

In 1606, when de Poutrincourt came to Acadia, he was accompanied by Marc Lescarbot (3). In 1612, the latter published a history of New France in which he gave descriptions of the country and of the habits of the Indians. On July 23rd, 1606, the vessel which transported them to Acadia cast anchor at Port Mouton (N.S.) and Lescarbot wrote: "We carried off to our ship store of wild peas, which we found excellent." (4) Once in Port Royal they explored the surrounding country "and as for meadows of which we have not yet spoken, Port Royal is almost wholly surrounded by them."

As we already know, de Monts had left with de Poutrincourt orders to explore the country to the south in order to find a place where the climate would be milder and which would be more suitable for settlement. From Port Royal he went to Pemptegoet (Penobscot, Maine) and thence to the Kennebec where he saw vines for the first time, on Richmond Island. "Here they were found in great abundance with a stem three or four feet in height, as thick at the root as a man's fist, bearing fine grapes, some as large as plums, others smaller, and so black that where their juice was spilt they left a stain." (5) Lescarbot also tells that in 1609, when Champlain went on his first expedition against the Iroquois he arrived at the lake which now bears his name and there found that "at the foot of these (mountains) are fair valleys abounding in people, in grain, and in fruit, but this grain is

that called sometimes Saracen grain, or maize, and not our European wheat."

In his discussion of the customs and manners of the peoples of New France, (7) Lescarbot again spoke of the agricultural pursuits of these nations. "The Armouchiquois and other tribes more remote, besides hunting and fishing, have wheat called maize and beans, which is a great comfort unto them in time of necessity. For fishing they make fishing lines out of hemp which they have, but our Indians, who do not till the ground, barter for them with the French. Our Souriquois, formerly tilled the land; but since the French bring them kettles, beans, peas, biscuits, and other food, they are become slothful, and make no more use of those exercises."

In a later chapter (7), Lescarbot wrote as follows: "The people of Canada and Hochelaga, in the time of Jacques-Cartier, also tilled the soil in the same manner and the land brought forth for them corn, beans, peas, melons, squashes and cucumbers; but since their furs have been in request, and that in return for these they have had victuals without any further trouble, they have become lazy, as have also the Souriquois who at the same time practised tillage. Both these nations still have much excellent hemp which their land produces of itself. It is higher, finer, whiter and stronger than ours in these parts. Vines grow profusely. Our savages also plant great store of tobacco, a thing most

precious with them, and universally among all those nations..... There is also in this country a certain kind of root (the Indian potato) as big as turnips or truffles, most excellent to eat, tasting like chards, but more pleasant, which when planted, multiplies as if it were out of spite....They are good roasted under the embers or eaten raw with pepper or with oil and salt.....of fruit trees there are few besides walnuts, plum, cherry and hazel-nut trees.....There are store of strawberries, raspberries, also in the woods small blue and red fruits - dwarf bilberries - small pears, gooseberries, etc.....and peas in great quantities along the seashores, the leaves of which we took in spring-time and put among our old peas and so it seemed we were eating green peas."

Champlain published in 1613 and again in 1632 (8) detailed accounts of his voyages and explorations. In these volumes, on several occasions, he mentioned the various plants which he found and also the agricultural practices of the Indians. On June 23rd 1603, Champlain left Quebec and anchored in the River Ste-Croix where he found that "the country is fine and level and the soil better than in any place I had seen, with extensive woods, but very few fir-trees and cypresses. In these parts are found quantities of grapes, pears (probably shadbush), hazel-nuts, cherries, red and green currants (gooseberries) and certain small roots (the ground nut or Indian potato) the size of a small nut, tasting like truffles, which are very good roasted or boiled." (9).

In 1605, De Monts and Champlain went on an expedition to **discover** a place more suitable for a settlement. To this effect, they explored the coast of the Almouchiquois and "the Sieur de Monts went on shore (at Saco River, Maine) to view their fields (the Indians) upon the bank of the river, and I with him. We **saw** their grain, which is Indian corn. This they grow in gardens, sowing three or four grains in one spot, after which with the shells of the aforesaid signoc, they heap about it a quantity of earth. Then three feet away they sow as much again, and so on in order. Amongst this corn they plant in each hillock three or four Brazilian beans, which come up of different colours. When fully grown these plants twine around the aforementioned corn, which grows to a height of five to six feet; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We **saw** there many squashes, pumpkins, and tobacco, which they likewise cultivate. The Indian corn we **saw** was then two feet in height, and there was also some three feet high. As for the beans, they were beginning to burst into flower, as were likewise pumpkins and squashes. They plant their corn in may and harvest it in september." (10) Previously Champlain had said: "They till and cultivate the land, a practice we had not seen previously. In place of ploughs they use an instrument of very hard wood made in the shape of a spade."

The next year (1606) with de Poutrincourt he again visited the Atlantic coast where (Gloucester Harbour) " we **saw** some very fine grapes which were ripe, Brazilian beans

(peas), pumpkins, squashes, and some good roots with a flavour like that of chards, which the Indians cultivate. Some of the land is cleared, and they were constantly clearing more in the following fashions. They cut down the trees at a height of three feet from the ground; then they burn the branches up on the trunk, and sow their corn between the fallen timber; and in course of time they take out the roots, there are also fine meadows for supporting numbers of cattle." (11)

In 1611, Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal and there, "a league from Mount Royal, there is a small river (St. Pierre), which leads some distance into the interior alongside which are more than sixty "arpents" of land which have been cleared and now are like meadows, where one might sow grain and do gardening. Formerly Indians cultivated these lands, but they have abandoned them on account of the frequent wars which they carried on there. And there are many other fine meadows which would feed as many cattle as one could wish and there are all the varieties of wood which we have in our forests in France, with many vines, butternuts, plums, cherries, strawberries and other kinds of fruits which are very good to eat." (12).

In 1613, Nicolas de Vignau, a guide, told Champlain that he had seen the northern sea. Champlain immediately set out and went up the Ottawa River, by way of which, according to de Vignau, the northern sea was to be reached. At Muskrat

lake he found "a settlement of Indians who till the land and reap the maize.....They showed me their gardens and fields where maize was growing. Their soil is sandy, and on that account they are more given to hunting than to tilling the soil.....When they wish to make a piece of ground fit for tillage, they burn the trees, and this very easily, since they are only pines full of resin. When the trees have been burned, they turn up the ground a little, and plant their maize grain by grain as do those of Florida." (13)

In 1615, another exploration trip was undertaken on the Ottawa River. Champlain reached Lake Nipissing["] where very little tillage is done but where there are fair meadows along the lake which could be used for pasturing cattle." Near Lake Huron (by way of the French River) he found Indian corn, but in small quantity; "and here our savages went and gathered squashes, which seemed to us good.....There was no lack of blueberries and raspberries." From there he traveled to the Georgian Bay and " here we found a great change in the country, this part being very fine, mostly cleared.....I went to look at their Indian corn which at that time was far advanced for the season." The country around Lake Simcoe "is very fine and a well cleared country where they plant much Indian corn which comes up very well, as do also squashes and sunflowers, from the seeds of which they make oil wherewith they anoint their heads. There is abundance of vines, plums, which are very

good, raspberries, and strawberries, small wild apples, walnuts (butternuts) and a kind of fruit of the shape and colour of small lemons and with something of the taste of them, but the inner part is very good almost like that of figs (the May-apple)."

Champlain spent the winter in this country and had plenty of time to study the methods followed in clearing and cultivating the land. "They clear their land with great difficulty on account of not having proper tools for this purpose. A party of them will strip the trees of their branches which they burn at the foot of the said tree to kill it. They clear up their ground thoroughly between the trees and then sow their corn a pace apart, putting in each spot about ten grains, and then continuing until they have enough for three or four years' provision, for fear lest they should have a bad year." (14)

Years later, the discoverers of Detroit and the Mississippi also found the Indians carrying on some agricultural operations. Near Niagara, "there is a village of Senontouans of about ten huts, they grow corn, beans, peas, watermelons and pumpkins which do very well." In the entrance of the Detroit River there are four islands "where the soil is of excellent quality and where there is an extraordinary number of apple trees. Those who have seen the apples on the ground say that it is covered half a foot deep, and the trees are in rows as though they had been planted by hand. On both

sides of the river the soil is the best that one can see, and covered with beautiful meadows. The Indian women work the land, where they cultivate corn, beans, peas, pumpkins and melons which grow beautifully. The Hurons who are close to the fort cultivate corn which reaches ten and twelve feet in height. They keep their fields very clean, one could not see the least little weed in them. They also have great varieties of fruit trees." (15)

The above testimonies show that all over the country, nature provided a variety of wild fruits which the Indians used. They also indicate that the distribution of the few cultivated plants followed the distribution of the population. The Indians were of an indolent nature, and cultivated the soil only to obtain a few articles of food which nature did not supply in sufficient quantities. Their only incentive in cultivating was to provide themselves with the necessities of life when nature failed to provide them of its own accord. They nearly fulfilled in their life the words of the Evangelist: "Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow nor do they reap nor gather into barns and your Heavenly Father feedeth them.....(16).

We have thus seen in this chapter that at the time of the discovery of America by the Europeans, many plants which since have acquired a very wide usage as human food were either used in the wild state or cultivated by the natives. Within

America, the natives had transported the plants which they were cultivating long distances away from their place of origin. Brand in his already mentioned study (1) gives the place of origin of the plants cultivated by the Indians. Corn (maize), on which the Canadian Indians depended so much for their livelihood originated in the Chiapas-Guatemala highlands and at the time of the discovery of America it was grown from the St. Lawrence to Chile and Argentina. Tobacco probably originated in northwestern South America and in 1534, it was cultivated from Canada to Peru. Beans and pumpkins originated in Mexico and were cultivated from Canada to Chile. The sunflower and the Jerusalem artichoke are native to eastern United States and were cultivated from Canada to Texas.

The white man who started to cut down the forest and to plant crops did not, therefore, do anything which was unknown to the Indians. The cultural methods employed by the natives were very crude indeed. The only innovations of the Europeans, as far as crop production was concerned, were, therefore, limited to the introduction of new plants and to the methods of cultivation which remained crude for many years after the discovery.

The Indians, nature's children, lived in America a happy go-lucky existence, without any ambition for the accumulation of earthly goods. This is so true, that after

the Europeans had started to bring them food and utensils in exchange for their furs, they stopped the cultivation of the few plants which had been their stand by before the coming of the white man.

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PART II

The Development of Agriculture during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Chapter I

Early Experiments (1541-1629); Jacques Cartier, the Marquis de la Roche, De Monts, de Poutrincourt, La Saussaye, Champlain.

So far in this study, we have given a brief review of events in France and Canada during the period and also a description of the conditions under which the Europeans found America. We now come to the main purpose of our study namely, the development of Agriculture in Canada under the French Regime. In this chapter, we will attempt to cover the first experiments of the early explorers in cultivation and settlement. Jacques Cartier, 1541.

We have already seen how Francis I, taking advantage of a momentary peace, had equipped vessels under the command of Jacques Cartier and sent them to America, that he might get His share of the New World's gold and silver which already began to exert considerable influence on the economic situation of Europe. We have also seen how in his first two voyages, Cartier reconnoitred the country, always looking for the elusive precious metals and not in the least concerned with the agricultural possibilities of the new country even though he had recognized them. It will be remembered that upon his return from his second voyage, he found Francis I at war with Charles V and

religious persecutions raging in the Kingdom and that he had to wait for a more suitable moment to obtain the attention of the King. The Truce of Nice in 1538, seemed to bring the moment awaited by Cartier, but the sickness which had decimated his men during his last voyage and the total absence of gold and silver mines had created, within the Kingdom, opposition to new explorations.

Cartier, it will be recalled, had been told by the natives that there were rich mines of gold and other precious metals further afield. He realized that in order to search systematically for them he must have a permanent base in the country to serve as a starting point for his expeditions. While waiting for the moment when he could lay his plans before the King, he wrote memoranda in which he put down the needs of such a settlement. In a memorandum presented to the King in 1538, on the men and provisions for the vessels that the King wanted to send to Canada (1), he wrote that "two hundred and seventy six men are needed among whom must be six vine-dressers and six agricultural labourers." Furthermore, he continued "it is required to carry thither all kinds and species of domestic animals and fowls in the largest possible numbers: for the purpose of peopling the country as well as to carry on the work of cultivation, and also all kinds of seed grain."

It is not till October 1540 that he finally was given authority to organize a new expedition. While Cartier was busy with the preparations for his third voyage, Roberval (January 1541)

obtained the viceregalship of the newly discovered country and Cartier was appointed his Lieutenant. We do not know what reception the King gave to Cartier's above-mentioned memorandum, but we know that Roberval was authorized to obtain colonists in France and transport them to New France where he was empowered to grant lands. (2).

Cartier's preparations must have been quite extensive as we know that they created a great deal of interest in Spain and Portugal. A Spanish spy made a secret report (3) on the armaments of Cartier, in which he stated: "They carry also twenty live cows, four bullocks, one hundred ewes and sheep, one hundred goats, and ten pigs to cause them to multiply in the country where they go, and with this twenty horses and mares to transport goods for building and fortifying. They carry also ready-made carts and the necessary equipment to plough the land and twenty agricultural labourers." There is no doubt that this report is exaggerated, but nevertheless it shows that mention was made of the establishment of an agricultural colony in New France.

Very little is known of the details of Cartier's third voyage beyond the few facts transmitted by Hakluyt (4). He told us that Cartier left with "five ships well furnished and victualled for two yeare." The expedition met stormy weather and the author wrote that "the lenght of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in

great neede of water, because of the cattell, as well as Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three mon(e)ths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland wayting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arrived not before the Haven of Sainte Croix (St.Charles River) in Canada until the 23 day of August."

The above leaves no doubt that livestock was transported on this third expedition, though the author does not tell us how many were still alive when they reached their destination. Undoubtedly, many other vessels going to Newfoundland for the fishing carried live animals to supply fresh meat, but in this case, the author leaves no doubt as to the fact that the animals are "for breede in the Countrey."

The author further wrote that Cartier, leaving his ships at Ste. Croix "went with two of his boates up the river, to view a Haven and a small river, which is about four leagues higher (Cape Rouge River): which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships than the former." There they unloaded "the victuals and other furniture" and Cartier sent two ships back to France with letters for the King telling Him that Roberval had not yet arrived. He made a description of the river, summing it up as follows: To bee short, it is

as good a Countrey to plan and manure as a man should find and desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naveaus (small turnips), Lettises and others, which grew and sprong out of the ground in eight dayes..... Moreover a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, strait and handsome and somewhat enclining toward the South as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker than the Forrests of France. Here we set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre (arpent) and a half of the said ground, and sowed it part with. Naveaus or small Turnips, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprong out of the earth....."

Thus, the first attempt of France to establish an agricultural settlement in Canada, netted one and a half "arpents" of land cleared, which was sufficient to prove the suitability of the soil to grow crops. Jean Alfonse (5) in his *Cosmographie* completed in 1544, brought further corroboration to the above when he stated that "everything that is sown there (in New France) takes only two or three days to germinate. Wheat grows so well that I have counted in one head one hundred and twenty kernels, the same grain as that of France, which Jacques Quartier had caused to be sown. And the soil is so fertile that if you so it in March, it will be ripe by mid-August."

We have seen how this first agricultural experiment was abruptly brought to an end when Cartier discovered what he

thought was gold and diamonds and rushed back to France without even waiting for Roberval. One point, however, remains unexplained by the reports of the voyages of Cartier and Roberval. What became of the livestock which Cartier had aboard his vessels? Did it all die from lack of fresh water, was it killed by Cartier for food, or was it brought back to France by him? One thing, however, is certain and that is that there were no domestic animals at Charlesbourg Royal when Roberval landed there. We are told that Roberval landed his provisions at Cape Rouge at the end of July 1542, and immediately sent two ships back to France with orders to return the next year with provisions (5). "After the two Shippes were departed, says the author, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short; and they were scantled (broken up in small portions) so, that in eche messe they had but two loaves weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of beefe, They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter; and Biefe at supper, and about two handsfuls of Beanes without butter.....On the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene (uncured) at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper." There is no doubt whatever that had any livestock been left there, it would have gone to supplement the above menu which certainly was meagre and unappetizing.

We know how the repatriation of Roberval and his colonists put an end to the first experiment of France at colonization and agriculture in Canada. One can only surmise what the results would have been for France if it had succeeded. However, it did not succeed and for almost sixty years no one in France except the fur traders and fishermen thought of New France.

The Marquis de la Roche, (1598) (6)

France, occupied with the religious wars and with wars against Charles V, showed no further interest in New France after the return of Roberval in 1543. In 1598, immediately after the treaty of Vervins, the Marquis de la Roche asked of Henry IV the confirmation of a commission already granted him by His predecessor. The terms of this commission granted him the right to take possession of the new lands and to grant concessions. They also gave him the monopoly of trade and forbade all others to undertake voyages under the penalty of confiscation of their vessels. His purpose was to form a military and penal colony on Sable Island which was placed as a sentinel on the route followed by all the vessels going fishing or to trade in furs. From this post he would be able to patrol the seas.

Whether such was the real purpose of de la Roche, or, whether he left his colony there temporarily while he went in search of a suitable place for settlement and was taken back to France by contrary winds, does not matter to this study. The point with which we are concerned is that in 1598, he landed

sixty persons on Sable Island and that they remained there for five years, living on fish and on the milk of some cows which had been landed there along with some pigs by the Baron de Lery. There is also evidence that these colonists carried on agricultural operations, as one section of the island has retained the name of "French Gardens."

This marked the end of the second French experiment in New France, and if anything, the failure was more complete than the preceding one. Whether this attempt had been planned by the Marquis de la Roche or whether it was purely accidental is of no consequence to our study. "It is sufficient to say, that as victim of his efforts (he lost his fortune in this enterprise) to further the cause of colonization, he left a name which will always be respected in America." (8)

De Monts (1604-7).

After the failures of the Marquis de la Roche and of Chauvin and de Chastes, the Sieur de Monts obtained in 1603 a Commission which established him Lieutenant-General of the King, "to establish the authority of the King so that the subjects of His Majesty may traffic freely with the Indians." (9) The commission gave him complete control of the fur trade and of all other trade for a period of ten years. Having formed a company with the merchants of Rouen and La Rochelle, he outfitted two ships which left France in the spring of 1604 and arrived in Acadia where they decided to establish their settlement on Ste. Croix Island. During the winter of 1604-5, seventy-nine persons wintered on this Island and thirty-five died of scurvy.

De Monts had no sooner landed with his men and provisions than he turned his attention to the cultivation of the soil. "He ordered a certain plot of ground to be tilled (on Ste. Croix Island) and sown with rye, but was unable to wait for its ripening and gather it. Nevertheless the grain fell to earth, and grew and increased so wonderfully that two years afterwards we gathered therefrom rye as good, as large, and as heavy as there is in all France, which the soil had brought forth without tillage; and it still continues to flourish lustily every year." (10) Champlain who accompanied deMonts on this expedition wrote in his History (11): "After the building was finished, an oven was also built and a handmill for grinding our wheat, which gave much trouble and labour to most of us, since it was a painful task. Afterwards some gardens were made both on the mainland and on the island itself, wherein many kinds of grain were sown which came up very well, except on the island where the soil was nothing but sand, in which everything was scorched when the sun shone, although great pains were taken to water the plants,.....
.....Winter came upon us sooner than we had expected and prevented us from doing the things we had intended. Nevertheless, the Sieur de Monts did not fail for all that to have gardens made upon the island. Many commenced to clear the ground, each doing his own, and I also did mine, which was fairly big, and in it I sowed a quantity of seeds as did others who had any. These came up pretty well, but as the island was nothing but sand, everything

was almost burnt when the sun shone, for we had no water with which to water them excepting from rain which did not fall very often. The Sieur de Monts also had clearings made on the mainland, in order to form gardens there, and at the falls, three leagues from our settlement (at St. Stephen), he had the soil dug up and wheat sowed which came up very fine and ripened."

In this first expedition, did de Monts and de Poutrincourt bring livestock to Acadia? There is no direct mention of it. Lescarbot in his History of New France said, however, that Port Mouton, where one of the vessels waited for some time was so named because of a sheep which fell overboard and drowned. After describing the scurvy which ravaged the small colony on Ste. Croix Island, he wrote: "Meanwhile, the poor patients lay suffering, pining away little by little, without any such delicacies as a diet of milk or soup to sustain stomachs which could not receive solid food....." (12). It would, therefore, appear that if live animals were transported it was as a food supply rather than to promote the propagation of the species.

In 1605, realizing the unsuitability of Ste. Croix Island, de Monts moved the settlement to Port Royal (August). The Sieur de Monts returned to France leaving the small colony under the command of Dupont-Gravé. No clearing of land was done at Port-Royal during this year. "And for tilling the ground, my opinion is that they had no time to spare for it, for the said Monsieur du Pont was not a man to sit still nor to allow his people to remain idle, if there had been a possibility of attending to it. " (12)

In 1606, de Poutrincourt, accompanied by Lescarbot and fifty men, returned to Port Royal. "On july 28th, de Poutrincourt set part of his men to work at preparing the soil while others busied themselves at cleaning out the rooms..... The desire I entertained to discover what could be hoped from this land rendered me more eager than the rest in the said tillage.(13) Lescarbot reported that " as a protection against scurvy, the same folk advised our workmen not to work themselves ill, and the advice was not forgotten, for I can say with truth that I have never done so much work through the pleasure which I took in digging and tilling my gardens, fencing them in against the gluttony of the swine, making terraces, preparing straight alleys building store-houses, sowing wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, peas, garden plants, and watering them so great a desire had I to know the soil by personal experience..... If we only had half a dozen cows, I believe that not one of us would have died....(12) Lescarbot continues: "we sowed our French grains both wheat and rye and also hemp, flax, turnips, radishes, cabbages and other crops and a week later he saw (Poutrincourt) that his labour was not in vain, but gave him good hope. by the production which the earth had already brought forth from the seeds which she had received."

From the above statements, it appears that sheep and swine first made their appearance in the colony in 1606. In a later chapter (14) Lescarbot wrote:"yet it is well to say here, that our

French domestic animals prosper very well in those parts. We had hogs which multiplied abundantly..... we had but one sheep which, enjoyed the best possible health, although he was not shut up at night, but was in the midst of our yard in winter time, M. de Poutrincourt had him twice shorn and the wool of the second year was recorded in France two sous a pound better than that of the first....." There is, however, no mention of cattle as yet.

The winter of 1606-7 was spent at Port Royal and towards the end of March work began in the gardens. " The best disposed among us set themselves who should best till the soil, and make gardens wherein to sow seed and reap the first fruit thereof. This happened most seasonably, for during the winter we were much inconvenienced for lack of garden herbs. When each of us had finished his sowing it was a marvellous pleasure to see them grow and increase day by day, and a still greater contentment to make the abundant use of them which we did." (15)

Just as the work was well under way a vessel came from France (May 24, 1607) and Chevalier, the captain, told the colony that de Monts had been unable to obtain a renewal of his commission and that everyone must return to France. Lescarbot (15) wrote that Chevalier was entrusted to deliver, among other things, six sheep and twenty-four hens, but that all this was lost during the journey. "Great, I repeat, says Lescarbot, was our grief thus to abandon a soil which had produced for us such goodly wheat and so many fairly adorned gardens. All that we had done up to that

time was to find a proper spot wherein to establish a settled colony and a soil of abundant yield. And when that had been done, to abandon the enterprise was in truth to lack courage; for at the close of one more year there would have been no further need to support the colony; the soil was ample to produce the necessities of life."

The whole party returned to France " and as far M.de Poutrincourt, as soon as he saw his corn fit to pluck, he tore up the rye by the roots to show in France, its beauty, richness, and exceeding height. He made selections also from the other sorts of grain, wheat, barley, oats, hemp and others with the same purpose."

Two small clearings at Ste.Croix, abandoned a year later, and a few home gardens and sufficient soil in which to grow samples of grain to bring to France. constituted the achievement of this third attempt of French agricultural colonization in New France. While the results of this trial, were not much better, than those of the preceding ones. yet there were certain features about it, which made one feel that it was on the right track, had de Monts been given the chance to continue his efforts.

DE Poutrincourt. (1610-3)

When de Poutrincourt left Port Royal in 1607, he fully intended coming back if he could get financial support. In 1610, Thomas Robin agreed to finance his establishment for five years. He arrived at Port Royal in 1610 and found the buildings still intact. " The first care of the said gentlemen was to have the land

tilled and made ready to receive the seeds of grain for the next year." (16) He sent his son (Biencourt) back to France with orders to return in four months' time with provisions. But upon his arrival in France he was beset with many difficulties caused by Madame de Guercheville and the Jesuits and was unable to return." Meanwhile with the coming of winter, there was no means of sending fresh help to those who were in great misery across the sea, compelled to live by picking up acorns." (16)

Father Biard (17) writing to his Superior said: "The Sieur de Poutrincourt employed his people to provide the necessities of life, each according to his trade as soon as they arrived.. ..he grew radishes, parsnips, carrots, turnips, peas, beans, and all kinds of good productive culinary herbs.....During the winter food was scarce and they had to dig for roots, and in so doing they cleared four "arpents" in which rye and vegetables were planted." The author continues: "They have now (I suppose) reaped a harvest thereof, except that of the trees they planted which are not so prompt in bearing."

There is evidence that de Poutrincourt, wanting to establish an agricultural settlement, had planted fruit trees and brought livestock of all kinds. The difficulties which he found in his path made it almost impossible for him to do very much for the young colony. We find, however, that in 1613 when Argall arrived before Port Royal, "he found no one there, for M. De Biencourt, suspecting no enemy, had put to sea and part of his

men were engaged in ploughing two leagues from the fort. They thus had a good opportunity to steal everything there, wherein they did not fail, but carried off the cattle which were in the fields, horses, cows and pigs, then they burned the buildings...(16)". As further corroboration, Champlain (18) wrote: "And now they killed all the horses that had been taken at Port Royal and ate them for lack of provision."

We have already seen how de Poutrincourt's men were forced to take to the woods where they lived with the Indians under the direction of Biencourt and later on Charles de la Tour who wrote: "I (with eighteen to twenty men) was forced, due to the ill-treatment of the English, to live as the natives, to dress like them, and to hunt and fish for a living." (19). De Poutrincourt had, at least, tried to build a settlement as it should be built and had tried to protect it against famine by bringing livestock and by growing crops. The difficulties which he had to face prevented him from bringing a sufficient number of people to enable him to clear much land but we can at least feel, that this time a real start had been made. The experiment was sufficient to prove that all New France needed was a little encouragement and some people to become a colony. Lescarbot (20) summed up the efforts of de Monts and de Poutrincourt as follows: "It is well to say here, that our French domestic animals prosper very well in those parts.....God blessed our labours, and gave us fair wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, beans, hemp, turnips and

garden herbs; and this so plentifully that the rye was as tall as the tallest men that may be seen, and we feared that this height would hinder it bringing forth seed, but it had fructified so well, that one French grain sowed there yielded such ears of corn that, by the testimony of my lord the Chancellor, neither the island of Sicily nor the country of Beauce yielded anything finer..
....."

La Saussaye (1613).

It will be remembered that La Saussaye commanded the vessel equipped by Madame de Guercheville. He had with him forty-eight colonists whom he landed on St. Sauveur Island (in Maine), where they started a settlement which was destroyed by the English. We are told that he "took, from the beginning, so deep an interest in agriculture that he thought of that alone, and neglected everything else; and through his excessive zeal for husbandry, called off a large portion of the colony from the work of building, and set them to farming." (21).

Of this establishment, Father Biard (22) wrote: "At St. Sauveur in the middle of June we planted some grain, fruit seeds, peas, beans and all kinds of garden plants. Three months after, the wheat had not come up (it was not in season), the barley was tufted but not ripe, the peas and phasels perfectly good, but still green, the beans were only in blossoms, all the rest had come up admirably, even the onions and scallions, the fruit seeds had shot up, some a whole foot."

Champlain, 1608-1629.

In 1608, de Monts sent Champlain to Quebec where he landed on July 3. "Whilst the carpenters, sawyers and other workmen were busy at our quarters, I set all the rest to work clearing the land about our settlement in order to make gardens in which to sow grains and seed, for the purpose of seeing how the whole thing would succeed, particularly since the soil seemed to be very good. On the first of October (1608), I had wheat sown, and on the fifteenth some rye. On the twenty-fourth I had some native vines planted and they prospered extremely well, but after I left the settlement to come back to France, they were all ruined, for want of care, which distressed me very much. (23)"

Before leaving for France, after his second voyage (1610) he stated that those who were to winter in the colony were well provided for. "As for the gardens, we left these well provided with kitchen vegetables of all sorts, as also with very fine Indian corn, with wheat, rye and barley, which had been sown, and with vines which I had planted there during my winter's stay. These they took no care to preserve for on my return I found them all broken down, and was much displeased at the small amount of care they had taken in the preservation of a good fine plot, out of which I had hoped to get something worth while. (24)".

On his third voyage (1611), Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal where "a league from Mount Royal" he found sixty "arpents" in meadow. "Now whilst waiting for the Indians

I had two gardens made, one in the meadows and the other in the woods which I caused to be cleared. And on the second day of June I sowed some seeds there which all came up quickly and in perfect condition, which shows the good quality of the soil.(25)"

Before returning to France, he planted rose-bushes.

On July 11, 1616, Champlain returned to Quebec after spending the winter in the Iroquois country. "After this,he wrote, and during my stay at the settlement I had some of the common corn cut, to wit, some French corn that had been sown there and had come up very well, in order to bring some of the grain to France and show that this soil is good and fertile. Also in another place was some very fine Indian corn and grafts and trees that the Sieur de Monts had given us in Normandy. In short all the gardens of the place were wonderfully beautiful, . some with peas, beans and other vegetables, squash, several kind of excellent roots, cabbages. white beets(parsnips)and other necessary herbs.(26)

In 1616, thirty-two colonists arrived in Quebec, among whom was the first French woman, Marguerite Venne, with her husband Michel Colin.(27) She and her husband died the same year. In 1617, arrived the first agricultural colonist Louis Hébert with his wife. two daughters and one son. " He was the first one in this country to grow grain to feed his family....." (28) In 1617, he built a house for his family and his livestock in the enclosure which he had cleared with the help of his domestics." (27)

On the twenty-seventh of June, 1618, when Champlain returned to Quebec, he wrote:"I inspected everything, the cultivated

land which I found sown and filled with fine grain, the gardens full of all kinds of plants, such as cabbages, radishes, lettuce, purslain, sorrel, parsley, and other plants, squash, cucumbers, melons, peas, beans and other vegetables as fine and as well forward as in France, together with the vines brought and planted here, already well advanced in short everything increasing and growing visibly;.....(29)".

During the winter of 1622-3, fifty persons, men, women and children remained in the colony. Of the fall of 1622, Champlain wrote:"I spent the time in preparing gardens for autumn sowing, so as to see what would come of it in the Spring and took a singular pleasure in the work. This occupation was by no means useless, considering the benefit the whole settlement derived from it, yet it was one which no one else had tried; for most men would like to reap before sowing, which is not possible. It is impossible to say, how much, is to be obtained from gardening in these localities. The Fathers were sufficiently alive to this, their only care being to worship God and cultivate their gardens. On the twentieth of April, 1623, I sowed all sorts of seeds, behind the settlement, where the snow had melted more than elsewhere. the spot having a southern aspect and being sheltered from the north west wind, which is very dangerous. (30)"

While Champlain made no definite statement as to what particular year, the first live animals were brought into the colony he wrote (1623) :^v"Recognizing the inconvenience we had suffered

in past years through making hay so late for the cattle, I had two thousand bundles made up at Cap Tourmente as early as the month of August, and sent one of our pinnaces to bring them up.(31)" It seems fairly certain that Hébert was the first one to bring live animals into the colony.

In 1626, upon his return from France, Champlain wrote: "I could see that the labourers and the workmen had not employed themselves industriously as they might have done....." "After considering all this, I thought how much time the workmen had wasted in the past, during the finest and longest days of the year, in keeping the cattle supplied with hay, which they had to go and bring from Cape Tourmente, eight leagues distant from our settlement, having to mow and dry the hay, and then bring it to Quebec in boats of small capacity. All this business took nearly two months and a half, and employed more than half our working population which did not exceed twenty-four out of the fifty-five persons who were in the settlement. This made me determine to put into effect a plan I had long before decided upon, and had communicated to the shareholders. I accordingly went to the meadows near Cape Tourmente to choose a place suitable for a building in which to lodge a few men to look after the cattle, and where I might construct a stable to house the animals.(32)" The stable which he built was sixty feet by twenty "constructed of wood and clay after the fashion of those that are built in the villages of Normandy." The cattle were transported to the new farm in the month of September, 1626.

In 1626, the Jesuits arrived at Quebec. "Father Noyrot brought out twenty labourers whom were employed to building lodgings for them and in clearing the land" (33). In 1627, "they were beginning to be comfortably established, and had made great progress, both with their buildings and the clearing of their land", but in this year, they were so short of provisions that they had to send all their workmen back to France. with the exception of six.

In 1627, "some heifers of a year old had been sent out in the vessel which came to Tadoussac for the whaling (September), and sixteen were brought up by pinnaces while seven or eight others died at sea....."(34).

All the tillage done to this date was done by means of the spade and the hoe. On the twenty-seventh of April, 1628, Couillard (Hébert's son-in-law) put "oxen under the yolk plowing the land" thus relieving the men who usually worked with their hands in cultivating the soil.

Now as to the actual area of clearing done to this date, Father Lallemant wrote on the first of August 1626,(33) that the "land cultivated by the French in this place is of small area; only eighteen or twenty "arpents" at the most". In 1628, Champlain wrote that "in the twenty-two years that have passed since the first attempt to settle and clear the land at Quebec, according to the intention of His Majesty, the companies had only managed to clear one "arpent" and a half of land." (35)

In 1628, the English ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Tadoussac and burnt all the cattle but one head. They also intercepted the vessels bringing provisions to the colony, and in the report of Champlain we find the extent of the agricultural development of the colony. He wrote: "We were hoping that the land belonging to the widow Hébert and her son-in-law might, at the harvest yield us some grain, and they gave us reason to hope that it would; but when the time to gather it came, it turned out that all the help they could let us have was a small basinful a week of barley, peas and Indian corn, about nine ounces and a half in weight.....(35)." In May 1629 vegetables completely ran out. This Spring the Fathers' clearing was to be seeded and Champlain patiently awaited the harvest and the widow Hébert's farm where she had "between six and seven "arpents" sown in peas and other grains, as for the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, they had only enough land in seed to serve for themselves and their serving men to the number of twelve and were therefore unable to aid us, as I am sure they would have been glad to do so. The Recollet Fathers had a good deal more land cleared and sown, and they were but four in number. They promised us that if they had more than they required from their four or five "arpents" of land sown with several sorts of grain, vegetables, roots and garden herbs, they would give us some. (34)."

On July 20, 1629, Champlain surrendered the colony to Kirke and all the French, excepting five families making a total of thirty persons, returned to France. Thus ended France's sixth experiment in Canada.

We have dwelt at some length upon these early beginnings of New France, because they are important to show the spirit which attended the efforts of France in establishing colonies. The above experiments covered a period of ninety-five years, and all the agricultural development that France could show in New France amounted to about twenty "arpents" (36) in New France and possibly half a dozen more in Acadia. The maximum population attained by the colony during the period was eighty-five persons in New France (Table 5, appendix) and twenty or twenty-five in Acadia. Five farms, four in New France and one in Acadia, and a few home gardens, constituted the results of almost a century of occupation. Nevertheless, these experiments had shown that the soil was fertile and would yield most of the products of France if given the necessary attention. The results achieved by de Poutrincourt and Champlain particularly, make us realize how little assistance would have been necessary on the part of France to establish a permanent colony which would have rendered great services to the Mother Country and would have resisted the attacks of Kirke. In a later chapter, we will deal at some length with the causes of these repeated failures of France.

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- (36) One "arpent" equals 0.845 acre.

CHAPTER II

1632-1667

In 1632, Canada was returned to France by the treaty of St.Germain-en-Laye. In this chapter, we will study the agricultural development of New France between 1632 and 1667. The latter year is selected only because it coincides with the first agricultural census of the colony, which makes it possible to show an exact picture of the distribution of population and agriculture. A complete copy of this census is available in the National Archives at Ottawa, and the writer has been able to re-compile it in such a way as to show in some detail the actual growth of agriculture in the colony. In Acadia, however, the first census was not taken until 1671, so that in order to show its agricultural development it will be necessary to extend the period to that year.

It will be remembered that in 1629, all the French excepting five families making a total of thirty persons, had returned to France. Of those remaining in the country, only the Hébert family tilled some land. These families had remained in the country because of the promise of the English that they would not be molested in any way.

It will also be recalled that in 1626, Richelieu, having heard the complaints of Champlain against the old companies, which were not fulfilling their obligations toward the

colony had decided to form the Company of New France or "Hundred Associates" which would have sufficient capital to support the necessary expenditures connected with the establishment of a colony. To this Company, he had granted New France with many privileges, but in return he had given them very definite obligations to fulfill. Among other conditions, the Company was under obligation to transport to New France two or three hundred men of all trades every year starting in 1628, and between 1628 and 1643, they were required to transport four thousand persons of both sexes and "to lodge and feed them and to keep them supplied with the necessities of life for the period of three years (1)." In 1628, the Company equipped seven vessels and sent three hundred colonists. These, as we have seen, fell into the hands of the English, which caused a loss to the Company of over 1,000,000 livres. Again in 1629, their vessels were seized by the English causing another heavy loss.(2)

The falling of Quebec into the hands of the English meant that upon the restitution of the country the French would have to start all over again her settlement in New France. In 1632, Raymond de la Balde, Du Plessis-Bochard and Emery de Caen were sent to receive the country from Kirke. The Company of New France granted the monopoly of the trade for one year to Emery de Caen to permit him to recover some of the losses which he had suffered by the dissolution of his Company. At the same time, Isaac de Razilly with three hundred men, was sent to take

possession of Acadia. De Caen, must have brought several persons with him as the population of New France reached a total of one hundred and one persons in that year. (Table 5, Appendix). He also had brought some cattle because, as we will see later, the Jesuits kept them when he returned to France the next year.

Father Le Jeune (3) who accompanied de Caen wrote to his Superior, describing the conditions in which they found Quebec. They landed on the fifth of July 1632 and "they saw the fort held by the English and the poor settlement of Quebec in ashes." He related to his Superior that they celebrated mass in Mrs. Hébert's house." "Their cattle," he added, "are in fine condition, and their land produces good grain. This is the only family settled (on land) in Canada. They were seeking some way of returning to France, but having learned that the French were coming back to Kébec, they began to regain courage." The good father found their house in ruin. "We found our cleared lands covered with peas; our Fathers had left them to the English covered with wheat, barley and Indian corn; and meantime this Captain Thomas Ker (Kirke) had sold the full crop of peas, refusing to give them to us for the harvest he had found upon our lands."

No sooner had the Jesuits arrived in the colony than they started the cultivation of the soil. The author of the Relation of 1632 further wrote(3): "On the thirteenth of July we sowed purslane and turnips and lentils and everything grew well a very short time afterwards we gathered our salads." From the

very beginning, many difficulties were encountered by the colonists and had to be met. "The Savages drink, wrote Father Le Jeune, and then kill Mrs. Hébert's cattle and when they come to their senses they say: It is not we who did that, but thou who gavest us this drink."

In 1633, Champlain, again appointed Governor of the colony, left Dieppe with three vessels, carrying two hundred persons, colonists and soldiers, and arrived at Quebec on the twenty third day of May (4). "This year 1633, writes Sulte (5) is the real starting point of colonization in New France."

As Champlain had said before, the Jesuits were awake to the necessity of the cultivation of the soil of New France, in order to protect the colony from what would happen should the vessels from France fail to appear. They set to work to prove the fertility of the soil and to show that all New France needed was willing hands. In 1633, Father Le Jeune wrote to his Superior as follows (6):" As to the soil: I send you some of its fruits; they are heads of wheat, of rye, and ^{of} barley, that we planted near our little house. We gathered last year a few wisps of rye that we found here and there among the peas; I counted in some of them sixty kernels, in others eighty, in others one hundred and twelve We threshed these gleanings and took from them a little rye, which will this year pay us very well for the trouble that we had in gleaning it last year. The little wheat which we sowed before the snows is very beautiful; that which was sown in the Spring

will not ripen, because it is winter wheat. We must have some March wheat, and some that is beardless for these are said to be the best. The barley is finer than in France, and I have no doubt that, if this country were cleared very fertile valleys would be found." The above statements prove that the Jesuits realized that experimentation was necessary before embarking into vast projects. As in any new settlements, the colonists must be prepared to face the many difficulties which they will encounter. "The woods are troublesome, continued the author of the Relation of 1633, they retain the cold, engender the slight frosts, and produce great quantities of vermin such as grasshoppers, worms and insects, which are especially destructive in our garden....."

In 1634, the father wrote that they had trouble with their labourers, for several reasons which he enumerated at some length and which are rather indicative of the type of labourers which were sent to the colony and of the conditions under which they were forced to work. It is of the nature of working people he explained, to complain and grumble. "The difference in wages paid is a cause of complaint; a carpenter gets more money than a labourer yet works less. The greater part of them do not follow their trades except for a short time; a tailor, a shoemaker, a gardener are amazed when required to drag some wood over the snow; besides they complain that they will forget their trades. Their work is great in the beginnings; the men are the horses and oxen. They drag wood, trees or stones; they till the soil, they harrow it, and in addition to this, they are greatly annoyed by insects of all kinds." They are arrogant and independant, and being forced

to live in the same room, they quarrel constantly."(6) We will have the opportunity, in a later chapter, of discussing the type of labourers which was sent to Canada.

In 1634, continued the writer, they have cultivated, tilled and seeded their cleared land. "We have", he stated, "two fat sows which are each suckling four little pigs, which we have been obliged to feed in our open court. We have two cows, two little heifers, and one little bull. For lack of a building, they cost us more than they are worth. They have come three years too soon." The author then went on to say that they took six cows from M. de Caen, three for themselves and three for the Hébert family and that each gave M. Giffard one. "As for grains some people are inclined to think that the land where they are is, too cold. These last two years all the vegetables which came up only too fast, have been eaten by insects. As to fruit trees, I do not know how they will turn out. We have two double rows of them, one of a hundred feet or more, the other larger planted on either side with wild trees which are well rooted. We have eight or ten rows of apple and pear trees, which are very well rooted. Formerly, some fine apples have been seen here..... Indian corn ripened nicely the past year, it is not so fine this year. As to peas, I have seen no good ones here, their growth is too rapid. They succeed very well with this family (Hébert) who live in a higher and more airy location. The rye has succeeded well for two years. Barley succeeds also. There remains the wheat, we sowed some in

the autumn, at different times; in some places it was lost under the snow, in others it was so well preserved that no finer wheat can be seen in France."(6)

Considering that in 1634, the farm of the late Louis Hébert and that of the Jesuits were the only two in existence in the colony, the above descriptions taken from the Jesuits Relations give a complete picture of the agricultural development of the colony. It can be seen from the above, that agriculture would have developed rapidly if there had been a few more colonists showing as much zeal and interest as the Jesuit missionaries. However, to date, only two farms had been granted, the Sault-au-Matelot to Hébert in 1623 and to which was added in 1626, the fief of l'Espinau on the St. Charles River and Notre Dame des Anges, which had been ~~conceded~~ to the Jesuits in 1626 by the Duke of Ventadour, and where the above-mentioned experiments had been carried on.

We have seen the losses incurred by the Company of New France in 1628 and 1629. Realizing that it could not fulfil the terms of its commission, the directors formed the project of attracting into the colony a number of rich men who in return for some privileges would undertake to finance the transport and maintenance of a certain number of colonists in fulfilment of the Company's obligation. In 1632, they thus had ~~conceded~~ to Isaac de Razilly, the Baye Ste. Croix and surrounding country in Acadia, over one million and a half "arpents", on condition that the men that the said Commander would transport would be counted as part

of the four thousand men and women that the Company was under obligation to transport in fifteen years.(7) In 1633, a fief of two hundred "arpents" was similarly conceded to Jacques Hertel who became the first citizen of Three Rivers.

In 1634 (January 15) Robert Giffard obtained the grant of the Seigniory of Beauport under the same conditions. It consisted of ~~over ten~~ thousand five hundred "arpents". He arrived in 1634 with his family and some colonists, between thirty and forty persons all told. The next year, he brought a new contingent and between 1634 and 1663, it is said that he brought at least fifty heads of families into New France.(8) In the same year, grants were made to the Jesuits at Three Rivers, and La Hève and Port Royal in Acadia were granted, about 675,000 "arpents", to Claude de Razilly.

Hoping that the distribution of Seigniories would bring the desired results, the Company continued this policy in the following year. In 1635, the St. John River and Fort St. Louis were granted to Claude de St. Etienne La Tour, Cap Rouge to the Sieurs des Châtelets and de Maur and La Citière to Jean de Lauzon. Of Lauzon, Salone (8) writes: Unfortunately, the Company fell into the Hands of an ambitious and incompetent man. He undertook to stop the distribution of lands. He had the pretention of keeping for himself all the available lands in America..... In 1635 he granted to his young son the Seigniory of La Citière which extended from the River St. François to the Sault St. Louis and to the South into the United States. To this he added, the next year, the Seigniory of Lauzon and the Island of Montreal."

Details of the above grants will be found in Table 6 of the Appendix.

In 1636, six Seigniories were granted amounting to two and a half million "arpents" and extending from Gaspé to Three Rivers. During this period, the Jesuits continued their experiments, and thoroughly convinced of the necessity of establishing New France, they proceeded to advertise the country in France by means of their Relations.

The author of the Relation of 1634-6, proceeded to show the advantages to France of the settlement of New France (9). "Would it not be better, he asked to empty Old France into New France by means of colonies which could be sent there, than to people Foreign Countries? Now there is no doubt that there can be found here employment for all sorts of artisans..... It seems necessary that a great extent of forest should be converted into tillable land, before introducing families, otherwise famine might consume them." Thus the Relation reminded the Company of its duty with regard to the colony. In the Relation of 1636 (10), the author surveyed the state of development of the colony: "As to the inhabitants of New France they have multiplied far beyond our hopes. When we entered the Country, we found here only a single family, who were seeking a passage back to France in order to live there under the laws of the true Religion. And now we see a great number of very honourable persons land every year, who come to cast themselves into our great forests..... The courage of these

Gentlemen is going much farther; they are thinking about a number of homes or settlements as far up as the Great Sault Saint Louys, which will be perhaps some day as many cities." "The population," he stated, "has greatly increased this year."

In response to the advertisements of the Jesuits, the author of the Relation of 1636, answered some of the points raised by individuals in regard to which they wished to be enlightened, in order to decide whether or not they should cross into New France. (11) To the question of whether or not the land once cleared would produce enough to feed the inhabitants, the author answered in the affirmative. "This," "he stated", is the opinion of those who understand the subject. The Sieur Giffard who has been clearing the land for only two years, and still leaving a great many stumps, hopes to harvest enough this year, if his wheat yields in proportion to present indications, to maintain twenty persons. The last year's harvest was eight puncheons of wheat, two puncheons of peas, three puncheons of Indian corn; and all this was done by the labour of seven men, who were at the same time engaged in building, in making hay, and in other work."

Another correspondent wished to know if there was hope of apple and other fruit trees producing fruit in Canada. Unwilling to give information for which he could not vouch personally, the good Father stated that he could not "answer positively, having no ocular proof of it." He had been told, however, that the Sieur Hebert planted some apple trees during his life time which had borne

some very good fruit, but the cattle spoiled the trees. "We have grafted some wild trees this year and the scions have united very well. Time will show us what there is in it. One sees here pear, apple, plum, cherry and other trees bearing wild fruit; if they can stand the severity of the winter, I do not see why they should die for being grafted with good shoots."

Interested parties wished to know how long it would take twenty men to clear an "arpent" of land and what it would cost to maintain them a year. The author answered that "twenty men will clear in one year thirty "arpents" of land, so clear that the plough can pass through it; if they had an interest in the matter, perhaps they would clear more.....The usual task for each man is an "arpent" and a half a year, if he is not engaged in other work.

As rations, each one is given two loaves of bread of about six or seven pounds a week - that is, a puncheon of flour a year; two pounds of lard, two ounces of butter, a little measure of oil and of vinegar; a little dried codfish, that is, about a pound; a bowlful of peas, which is about a pint, - and all this for one week. As to their drinks, they are given a chopine of cider per day, or a quart of beer, and occasionally a drink of wine, as on great fête-days. In the winter they are given a drop of brandy in the morning, if one has any. What they can get from the country in hunting and fishing is not included in this. By following this memorandum, one can see what it costs to keep a man, and the provisions he must be supplied. I say nothing of the other edibles

which it is well to bring, prunes, rice, raisins and other things that can be used for the sick. Neither do I speak of the clothes, blankets, mattresses, and other such things, that everyone can bring according to his condition and ability." (11)

After reading these minute details on the cost of clearing land in Canada, one cannot help but wonder why the French government could not understand that with a trifling sum of money it could have built a colony which in a very few years would have been able to subdue the Indians and resist any attacks from other European powers. The cost of one day's entertainment at Court would have been sufficient to establish a whole village in Canada, yet even Richelieu could not see it.

To other questions as to the fertility of the soil, the ease with which it could be tilled and the varieties of crops which could best be grown, the answer was that many of these things had yet to be found out by experiment. "As to wheat, experience has given us faith. Meadows can be made in a thousand places. March wheat sown in the spring succeeds better than wheat sown before winter. Not that I have not seen some very fine wheat that was sown in October. Common barley and hulled barley succeed to perfection, and rye does very well; at least I can assert that I have seen all these grains grow here, as beautiful as they have in France. The peas are better and more tender than those they bring over in ships. Pot-herbs do very well, but the seeds must be brought over. It is true that the nearness of the forests, and

so much rotten wood, of which the land is, as it were, formed and nourished, engender, at times, insects which gnaw everything; and these animals die during the heat of the summer, everything comes to perfection, but sometimes later than is desirable to secure the grain and seed. We have here oxen and cows, which we use to cultivate the land;.....horses could be used but there is no hurry about bringing them."

The above statements provide a splendid illustration of the rôle played by the missionaries in the building up of the colony of New France. We can only regret that the Government was too listless to give encouragement to these propagandists who, as the above documents show, never attempted to paint a rosy picture which would discourage the colonists when they would come face to face with the realities.

The author of the Relation of 1636 undertook to give some timely advice to those who might contemplate immigration into the colony. He described the possibilities of this new country, but at the same time he pointed out the dangers which must be avoided. "A poor man burdened with a wife and children should not come over the first years with his family, otherwise he will suffer greatly and will not make any headway. The country is not yet in condition to care for the poor who cannot work. But if there happen to be some worthy young men or able-bodied married men, who can handle the axe, the hoe, the spade and the plough - such people, if willing to work, could become rich in a little while in this country, to which they could finally bring their families.

This is the way they should proceed, four or five of them would have to join together, and engage themselves to some family for five or six years on the following conditions: that they should be boarded all this time without receiving any wages, but also that they should possess entirely and in their own right one-half of all the land they clear. And, as they will need something for their own support, the contract should provide that all they get every year, from the lands they have already cleared, should be shared by half, with the little profits they can make in the country, would be enough to keep them, and to pay after the first or second year for half the tools which they will use in clearing and in tilling the land. Now if four men could clear eight "arpents" of land in one year, doing nothing else, winter or summer, in six years forty-eight "arpents" would be cleared, of which twenty-four would belong to them. With these twenty-four "arpents" they could support thirty-six persons, or even forty-eight if the land is good. Is not this a way of becoming rich in a little while? And all the more so, as the land here will one day become very profitable and will bear a great deal of grain. There is now brought from France so much flour, with its attendant risks upon the sea, that if some one had wheat here, these risks and the encumbrances of the vessels would be obviated, and he would derive profit therefrom. There are so many strong and robust peasants in France who have no bread to put in their mouths; is it possible they are so

afraid of losing sight of the village steeple, as they say, that they would rather languish in their misery and poverty, than to place themselves some day at their ease among the inhabitants of New France, where with the blessings of earth they will far more easily find those of heaven and of the soul?"

What a pity that such enthusiasm and sound reasoning should go unheeded by those who had it in their power to make these dreams come true! The author realized the futility of his preachings and exclaimed: "But to whom do I speak? To people who cannot know that I am writing, unless more capable ones than they tell it to them. These I beg to do so, in the name of God and of the King; for the interests of both are involved in peopling this country."

The above remarks were directed at the poor who had not the means at their disposal for the acquisition of a home. For the rich, the author of the Relation also had many wise words of advice which will bear repeating here. "As to people of wealth and rank, I would advise them before coming here to obtain from the Gentlemen of the Company a place to build a house in the town which has been laid out, and also a few "arpents" of land near the town, capable of sustaining their families. In addition to this, a grant of some fine locality which they will choose in the course of time. When this has been accomplished, they must bring over at least two Masons, two Carpenters, and some labourers; and if they desire more, some workmen to clear the land, provided with tools adapted to their trade. Above all, let them have some axes made expressly, sparing

no money on them, for the winter is harder than bad steel. There must be a man of authority and discretion to take care of all these people, to direct them, and to take charge of the provisions which are sent over. The more good flour that can be sent here the better and the more security these will be. M. de Repentigny has brought enough for two years, and in doing so acted wisely. It would be a good thing to bring a boat.....When a building capable of accommodating them and their servants is finished, the whole family will come over, and will bring some cattle if they receive word that it is best to do so, for perhaps these can be found upon the ground; to have them on board prevents better things from being taken, and costs enormously unless they are placed with those which are at Cap Tourmente, by an understanding with the Gentlemen who have some there." It will be recalled that Champlain had established a farm there in 1626, and upon the return of the French in 1632 a few colonists had settled there. "If this order is followed, when the women and children reach here, they will be comforted at finding a dwelling ready for them, a garden for their refreshment and people at their service who will have a knowledge of the country. I will make two more suggestions: 1. that if they can have men who have interest at stake, to clear the land, it will be much better, the men who work for wages, for the most part, try to be like some of our neighbours, who, having scarcely passed the Equator, all begin to call themselves Gentlemen and no longer work; if they felt constrained to do it for themselves, they would not sleep over it.

2. I beg those who shall come, to come with a desire to do good."

We have devoted a great deal of space to the reports of the Jesuit missionaries, because they give a very faithful account of the conditions of the time and of the many difficulties which attended the early developments of the colony. They very definitely prove that the Jesuits were the real pioneers of this country, and with the possible exception of Champlain, they were the only ones so far to show interest in the permanent settlement of the colony.

Whether it was due to the propaganda of the good Fathers or to other causes, the sedentary population of New France increased gradually and each year saw the arrival of a new contingent. In 1637, seven new Seigniories amounting to over one hundred and seventy thousand "arpents" were granted in New France. These were located on both sides of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Three Rivers. In 1638 and 1639, five more grants were made. As may be noticed, these grants were quite extensive but, as we will see later, were not immediately settled. In 1639, the population of New France had reached a total of 274 persons divided as follows (13): 64 married men, 64 married women, 1 widower, 4 widows, 93 single males and 48 single females.

The few colonists continued to toil and, as may be expected, had reverses as well as success. The Relation of 1640 reports(14): "Last year, the caterpillars, grasshoppers and other insects were eating all that came out of the earth, some processions and public prayers were made on this account; strange to say, the following day those little animals died, and disappeared so entirely, that a certain person reaped more than thirty puncheons of grain, though not expecting over ten bushels."

Three more Seigniories were granted in 1640, one in the county of Portneuf, one in Montcalm and the Island of Montreal granted to the "Society of Our Lady of Montreal" which had been founded in Paris the preceding year. In this year, the population of New France reached the total of 359 persons in 64 families composed of 158 men, 116 women, 29 Jesuits and 53 soldiers. (15)

In 1641, three vessels carrying forty-seven men, women and soldiers sent by the Society of Montreal, under the command of Pierre Chomedey de Maisonneuve, arrived at Quebec. Because of the threats of the Iroquois, Governor de Montmagny advised de Maisonneuve to establish his settlement on the Island of Orleans where it would be protected from the incursions of the Iroquois. De Maisonneuve refused this offer and in the spring of 1642, proceeded to Montreal. In 1643, more colonists arrived under the command of d'Ailleboust de Coulonges. In 1644, still another contingent arrived to reinforce the colonists located on Montreal Island. Of the state of the colony, the author of the Relation of 1642-3 wrote (16): "The French colony is the chief means and only foundation for the conversion of all these tribes.....The settlement increases little by little, and overcomes the great impediments it encounters, - as the remoteness of help from Europe, the scarcity of labourers, difficulties of trade.....Notwithstanding all these hindrances, nearly every French household now provides its little store of wheat, rye, peas, barley, and other grains necessary to the life of man, - some more, some less, - some making provision for haply six months; others, for only a part of that time. Now

they begin to understand the nature of the place, and the right seasons for tilling the soil. The work is well started; it still has need of help, but it makes notable progress. The cereals have proved very successful; some residents now harvest more than they require for the food of their families and of their cattle which thrive very well in this country."

In 1646, 1647 and 1649, fourteen other Seigniories were granted, and these were distributed on both sides of the St. Lawrence all the way from Quebec to Montreal. In 1647, the "Compagnie des Habitants" imported a horse which was donated to M. de Montmagny who was then Governor. The author of the Relation of 1647 devoted some pages to the description of the admiration of the Indians for this noble animal. It is also reported (17) that "on the fourteenth of January 1648, Father de Quen returned from his mission at Beauport, Cap Tourmente and the Island of Orleans; he found there more than two hundred souls and over one hundred and forty communicants." In the Relation of 1649 (18) it is related that famine was general in the whole colony. The Jesuits were able to provide relief for a certain number of persons, with the help of sixteen casks of wheat and several puncheons of peas and Indian corn which had been sent from Three Rivers. In 1650, the population was estimated at 675 persons. (19)

It might not be amiss to pause for a moment to consider the results achieved thus far. Not counting two huge grants to Lauzon and to the Abbe Madeleine, which even at this date had been

broken up, we find grants which were in excess of 600,000 "arpents" and a population of 675 persons, a good proportion of whom resided in Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, and were not occupied at clearing land. It would appear that the dream of the Company of New France of transferring its obligations for the peopling of the colony to the "Seigneurs" in return for grants of land and other privileges, far from meeting with the success which had been hoped for, was not much short of a dismal failure. The reason for this failure can only be explained by the fact that the French Government did not force the Company to fulfil its obligations, and the Company, in turn, showed the same weakness with regard to the "Seigneurs".

In 1651, 1652 and 1653, eleven grants were made totalling somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,200,000 "arpents". The Jesuits in their Relations continued to stress the necessity in which New France stood of receiving assistance from France, both of money and of man-power. The author of the Relation of 1652-3 (20) wrote as follows: "Some time ago, there was a request for soldiers, and for their pay or salary; their provisions were asked for, as well as their arms and their passage. But now, when the country is yielding grain for the feeding of the people, and this is being done every day, the only thing demanded for the maintenance of these vast regions is the payment of transportation for two or three hundred workmen each year; the inhabitants of the country will feed them and pay their wages. France, who is constantly

emptying herself into foreign countries, does not lack men to build up colonies. God grant that she may have charity enough to send them to a place where they will live holier and easier lives..... " The above passage gives an indication of the extent of the development of the colony at that time, and shows also to what extent the abandonment and neglect of France was felt in the colony which was struggling for its very existence.

The development of the colony was therefore, progressing very slowly and the poor colonists were forever exposed to all sorts of difficulties. The Iroquois had been waging a cruel war almost without interruption for the past twenty years, and the fear of these savages had according to the Relation, caused the desertion of several Frenchmen. In 1653, the Iroquois devastated the fields (at Three Rivers), " setting fire to the peas already torn up, and to the cut corn; and at the redout on the hillside they killed the cattle", among others, "eight horned beasts" belonging to the Jesuit Fathers. In spite of all these difficulties, the population of the colony had increased and in 1653 was placed at about 2,000 (21). There is, however, a very strong probability that this figure was exaggerated.

In the years 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1662 and 1664, thirteen Seigniories were granted (Table 6 Appendix). Each year a small number of colonists landed at Quebec. In 1659, Louis XIV decided to help Canada (22) and for the years 1659 to 1664, he sent, three hundred men each year, but the recruits were decimated by

sickness. In 1659, one third of the immigrants died of small pox in 1662, out of one hundred "engagés" brought by Pierre Boucher, thirty-three died. In 1663, out of two hundred and twenty-five only one hundred and fifty-nine reached Quebec. In spite of these accidents the population of New France increased and was estimated at 2,500 (23) in 1663.

We have seen that in 1663, the King had established the Superior Council to look after the interests of the colonists. The incursions of the Iroquois had reached a point where the King realized that if nothing was done to subdue these marauders the colony would be completely destroyed. Louis XIV then decided to send M. de Tracy with twenty-eight companies of soldiers, about 1,300 men, who after they had brought the Iroquois into submission, would be allowed to settle as colonists should they so desire. In this same year 1663, M. de Mézy arrived as Governor and with him came three hundred colonists. In the same year also, the Company of New France surrendered its privilège and the King decided to administer the colony himself. This good resolution did not last very long, as in the next year Canada was granted to the West Indies Company which had just recently been formed. Colbert had just come to power in France and like Richelieu, wished to establish strong colonies that would benefit France. He found in Talon, whom he selected as Intendant a man whom, he thought, could put the colony on a basis where it could render services to France.

Talon arrived in Quebec in 1665, with another contingent of colonists. He came provided with very definite instructions

from Louis XIV and Colbert as to what his duties would be in order to carry out in the colony the views of the French government. No sooner had he landed in Quebec than he was very strongly impressed with the possibilities of the country and he immediately dreamed of a vast French Empire in America which would stretch from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. A few days after his arrival in Canada, he wrote to Colbert in the following terms (24): "The fertility (of the soil) for cereals is readily apparent in the abundant crops which the cleared lands yield each year, and it is such, that when receiving the seed between the first of April and the fifteenth of May, it produces the crops at the end of August or the beginning of September. Thus, with regard to the food essentials, they can be abundantly furnished in this country, if it is brought under cultivation, and I will say further, that once domestic animals have been brought over, to the maintaining of which this country is particularly well suited, there will be in fifteen years a sufficient surplus in wheat, vegetables and meats, that it will be possible to supply the needs of the French Indies (Antilles)..a bushel of wheat here, commonly yields fifteen, twenty and up to thirty bushels when grown in favourable locations."

His first care upon arriving in the colony was to see to the preparation of the war that Tracy was to carry on against the Iroquois. Then, at the first opportunity he began to study the affairs of the colony and was not long in discovering that

the companies had not been living up to their obligations and he wondered what were Louis XIV motives in granting the whole country to others rather than keeping the administration in his own hands (24). "If, "he wrote", the motive was to give the Company a chance to increase its profits, so as to enable it to support the first expenditures in the country, and to enable it to carry on a vast trade, without having in mind the settlement of the country and the increase of the population, it is in my opinion, more useful to the King to leave the said Company in full unconditional possession. But, if on the other hand, His Majesty has looked up on the possibility of establishing in this country a great Kingdom and a Monarchy or at least a considerable State, then I cannot possibly conceive that He will succeed, leaving in hands other than His own, the property of the lands, the establishment of parishes, and the trade which forms the very soul of this colony. What I have seen, since my coming into this country, has convinced me of what I say, particularly since the agents of the Company, have made it clear that they will forbid the freedom of trade, not only to the French who used to come to this country with French merchandise, but also to the inhabitants of Canada, to the point of refusing them the privilege of importing in their own names goods from the Kingdom, for their own subsistence and for the trade with the Indians, which is their only incentive for remaining here since they do not find sufficient inducement in the cultivation of lands;

lastly, I fully recognize that if the Company carries its establishment as far as it hopes to, it will greatly benefit by milking the country dry, and not only will it remove from the country its means of sustenance, but it will also put obstacles in the way of its establishment and in ten years the population of the country will be less than it is to-day." It is evident that Talon had immediately seen the first great obstacle to the development of the country, the Company, the sole interest of which was the obtaining of the largest possible dividends for its shareholders."

Colbert's answer to this report of Talon showed the attitude of the King and of the French Government on the colonization of New France. "The King," wrote Colbert (25), "cannot agree with your reasoning on the means to be employed to form a vast and powerful state in Canada, seeing many objections to the project.....even if he had no other business on hand and if he could devote all His attentions and His power to this one, it would not be wise to depopulate his Kingdom to send people to Canada; there is also another consideration besides this one, and that is, that if His Majesty sent a greater population than the area now under cultivation could support, it is certain that they would all perish or, at least, they would suffer greatly....." "Your reasoning on the session that the King made of the country to the West Indies Company, and the ill consequences which you fear can be refuted by one reasoning which can alone destroy all

the other reasons that you bring forth, and that is that we have seen by experience that this colony has fallen in the state where it now lies, only because the old Company was too weak, and because it abandoned the country into the hands of its own inhabitants, and if you study the question, you will find that this is the reason why many colonists have deserted and why many others did not go to settle in the country as they would have done if they had been supported by a Company as strong as the present one."

It is very evident from the above that Colbert and Talon did not speak the same language and that Louis XIV preferred to stick his finger into the european pie and was quite content to leave the development of New France into other hands. One cannot help, however, at this point, to associate the findings of Talon with the remarks previously made by the authors of the Jesuits' Relations.

In order to familiarize himself more thoroughly with the development achieved thus far by the colony, he proceeded during the winter of 1665-1666 to the taking of a population census of the colony. This census (26) is, incidentally, the first nominal census of modern times. It provides the first means of measuring the results obtained from the policy of the late Company of New France of transferring to others its obligations with regard to the settling of the country. We have seen already that at this date sixty-six Seigniories had been granted in New France. The census shows the presence in the colony of 538 families, 476 of whom

resided on farms located on eight Seigniories. The total population was 3,215 and of this number, 2,005 resided on farms. More than one-third of the population, therefore, was not interested in agriculture. Table 7 of the appendix shows the details of this census. This table reveals that in a certain number of Seigniories a number of families were not residing on their farms. Occupation figures which we will study in a later chapter show that a good many farmers followed other occupations besides farming. We have seen that of the population reported in this census, a fairly large proportion had arrived in the few years immediately preceding the date of the census. That only eight "Seigneurs" out of sixty-six had actually settled persons on their holdings, does not argue very favourably for the system.

Before coming to Canada, Talon had been instructed (27) to unite the various settlements into villages. It was felt that, the population distributed as it was all along both sides of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal, was the cause of a great deal of wasted effort and also the cause that the inhabitants were unable to protect themselves against the Iroquois. "It is very well known, wrote Talon, that the distance between settlements is very detrimental to the country, because they are thus exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois and because of the difficulties experienced by the parish priests and the judges.....The evil, as far as the present settlements are concerned, is almost without remedy, but I find it easy enough not to repeat the same mistake

and to form villages or boroughs, and I have already begun the clearing to prepare a settlement where the new colonists whom we hope to receive next year will live in a community though each one will have his own establishment." The King, in the same memorandum, had instructed him to have prepared each year thirty or forty farms and to have them seeded at the expense of His Majesty to receive new families. "Since the day of my arrival, wrote Talon, I have worked to fulfill the wish of His Majesty with so much application that next spring there will be, not forty, but perhaps seventy or eighty of those and all grouped in one village if possible."

His interest in the development of the colony lead him to the study of the possibility of introducing new crops. In a letter to Colbert (November 13, 1666) (28) he wrote as follows: "hemp grows very well here, and I do not doubt that some day as much will be produced here as in Lower Brittany. The newly cleared lands have appeared as the best for it; when I distributed the seed which I had brought with me last year, I asked that the same amount of seed be returned to me this year, and this has been done, so that I can give the seed which I receive under the same condition to whoever needs it for next year. Some might be sent from France, but since it cannot be sown the same year, it has a low germination. I have found that to force the inhabitants to grow hemp, it was necessary to place them in the need of thread; to this effect, I appropriated all the thread which I have found here, and I distribute it to those who undertake to pay it back with hemp, and I hope to continue this policy next year." The above statements show that Talon had a real interest in the agricultural development of the colony.

It will be necessary later to show the opposition with which he met. In the same letter to Colbert, he stated that two hundred and fifty colonists had established themselves during the year.

In 1667, Talon took a second census of the colony and this time included agriculture. The only reason for choosing the year 1667 to terminate this chapter was that this census permitted the statement of the exact agricultural development of the colony. A copy of this census may be found in the Canadian Archives (29) at Ottawa and through this copy, the writer has been able to make a complete study of each farm individually to see the actual development (See Table 8 appendix), as the total development is nothing more than the sum of the development of each farm. This census shows the presence in the colony of 813 families (30) with a population of 3,918 persons. Not counting Quebec and its suburbs, only thirteen Seigniories show the presence of population and farms. The census reported 713 farms with 11,559 "arpents" of land under cultivation. The increase during the period, 1632 to 1667, therefore, averages 109 persons per year, 20.3 farms and 329.5 "arpents" under cultivation. Figures already shown, indicate that the actual increase was somewhat higher in the last years of the period and considerably lower in the early part.

Of the 713 farms reported, 169 showed between one and five "arpents" of land under cultivation, 235 between five and ten "arpents", 278 between eleven and fifty "arpents", 16 between

fifty-one and one hundred "arpents" and 15 showed one hundred and one "arpents" or more. The Seigniorship of Beaupré headed the list with 127 farms and 1,711 "arpents" under cultivation, an average of 13.5 "arpents" per farm. In second place was the Island of Montreal with 119 farms and 1,875 "arpents" under cultivation, an average of 15.8 "arpents" per farm. The third place was held by the Island of Orleans with 108 farms, 1,236 "arpents" under cultivation and an average of 15.7 "arpents" per farm. Notre Dame des Anges, the Seigniorship of the Jesuits where all the experiments described in the Relations had taken place, stood in fourth place with 107 farms, 914 "arpents" under cultivation and an average of 8.5 "arpents" per farm. In the remaining Seigniorships, the number of farms ranged from 74 to 7, the area under cultivation from 1,554 "arpents" to 112, the average area per farm from 36.5 to 10.2 "arpents" and while they showed a small number of farms, a certain number were of considerable importance. (See Table 7, Appendix).

It is of importance to note here that the Seigniorships which had thus far achieved the greatest development were those which were held by Societies. Beaupré and the Island of Orleans, it will be recalled, had been conceded to members of the old Company of New France, while the Society of Our Lady of Montreal held the Island of that name, and Notre Dame des Anges was held by the Jesuits. Here are indicated the conditions which should have attended the granting of Seigniorships. We will deal with this subject in a later chapter.

Cattle were reported on 430 farms or 60.3 per cent of the total. The number reported averaged 6.2 animals per farm. Of these farms, 228 reported less than five animals, 149 reported between five and ten, 44 reported from eleven to twenty-four animals and 9 reported twenty-five or more. The Seigniories of Beaupré, of the Island of Orleans, of Notre Dame des Anges and of Montreal reported 64.1 per cent of the total number of cattle. In addition, Notre Dame des Anges reported 85 sheep, the only ones to be reported in the whole colony.

The above details concerning the farms of the colony show clearly that very few farms produced at that time any worth while surplus for the feeding of the non-farm population which amounted to 104 families plus the soldiers. Talon, however, realized that the time would soon come when it would be necessary to find a market for the surplus production. We will see in the next chapter the expedients which he proposed. The above census also shows that the farms were distributed over the whole colony from Quebec to Montreal on both sides of the St. Lawrence. It seems a pity, when the development of the colony appeared to be definitely under way, that the efforts should have been so divided over a vast area rather than concentrated in one point where they would have added much strength to the colony.

We have tried in this chapter to follow in a more or less systematic way the agricultural development of the colony during the thirty-five years which followed the return of

Champlain to New France. The main points to remember are the failure of the Company of New France to live up to its obligations, the failure of the Government to look after the welfare of the colony and the enthusiasm of Champlain, the Jesuits and Talon which certainly was deserving of more attention on the part of the King and His Ministers. Taken as absolute figures and as a measure of the success of France in establishing colonies, the results so far achieved are tantamount to a dismal failure, but when considered as the achievement of a handful of people abandoned to their own resources, they are sufficient to fill us with admiration for the courage and energy of the pioneers who laid down the foundation of our country.

Acadia. - It is not possible to close this chapter without saying a few words of the agricultural development of Acadia during this period. We have seen how Richelieu was content with leaving the territory in the hands of the traders who travelled back and forth each year. A few men, under the direction of Biencourt and later on of La Tour, had remained in Acadia after the destruction of Port Royal by Argall and had finally established themselves near Cape Sable in Nova Scotia. We have also seen how the Company of New France (Table 6, appendix) had granted large territories to the Razilly brothers and to La Tour on condition that the colonists transported by them would be credited to the Company. The grants of land made by the Company of New France in Acadia between 1632 and 1635 amounted to over 3,700,000 "arpents."

In 1632, Razilly transported "three hundred selected men". Among these were twelve or fifteen families and the remainder were single men who later married young girls brought from France (31). "For practical purposes, writes Mr. Gaudet, we may consider the arrival of the primitive families to date back to the expedition of Commander de Razilly to Acadie in 1632. It is not probable that any of the Acadians, with the exception of the La Tours, trace their descent from the colonists who arrived in the country with de Monts and Poutrincourt."

In 1635, the Commander de Razilly died, leaving his brother Claude as his sole heir, thus giving him control of the Seigniories of La Hève, Port Royal and Baye Ste.Croix, in all over two and a quarter million "arpents" of land. In 1642, Razilly resigned all his privilèges in favour of d'Aulnay de Charnisay. In 1641, Charnisay had brought twenty families to Acadia and in 1644 he had about four hundred persons under his command (32).

There is no need to relate here the phases of the civil war which followed between Charnisay and La Tour and later on Le Borgne de Coudray and which culminated in the taking of Acadia by the English in 1654, not to be returned to France until after the treaty of Breda in 1667. It is evident that during this period of turmoil agricultural developments remained in the background. A few vegetable gardens at Cape Sable, La Hève and Port Royal plus a few cattle and sheep constituted the extent of agricultural

developments. We are told that when in 1644, La Giraudière, lieutenant of Charnisay destroyed the establishment of Nicholas Denys at Chedabuctou, the latter employed one hundred and twenty men and that he had thirty "arpents" of land cleared. At fort St. Pierre (Cape Breton) he had cleared eighty "arpents" of land which he seeded every year.(33)

After England had returned Acadia to France, Louis XIV(34) sent the Chevalier de Grandfontaine as Governor, and in 1671 he took the first census of Acadia which provides the first definite statement of agricultural development in the country. A copy of this census may be found in the Canadian Archives (35) at Ottawa and a summary in the census report of 1871 (36). The details of this census will be found in table 9 of the appendix.

The population of Acadia, as reported by this census was 436 persons, 363 of whom were in Port Royal. Of the 76 families reported, 68 were in Port Royal. There were 53 farms reporting 430 "arpents" of land under cultivation and 49 of those with 417 "arpents" of cultivated land were located in Port Royal. Of these farms, 17 reported less than five "arpents" under cultivation, 20 reported between five and ten "arpents" and the remaining 12 reported between eleven and fifty "arpents". Cattle were reported on 44 farms, 10 of which reported less than five heads, 15 between five and ten heads, 17 between eleven and twenty-four heads, and 3, twenty five heads or more. In addition

the farmers owned 407 sheep, 36 goats and 55 hogs. Here as well as in New France, France had very little to show for forty years of attempts at colonization. Fifty-three farms in Acadia and seven hundred and thirteen in New France, such is the extent of agricultural development of French colonies in America after more than one hundred and thirty years of occupation. This development however small as it was, marked the beginning of settlement in New France. From this time on, censuses were taken fairly regularly and it will be possible to follow more closely the developments which took place from then on.

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Chapter III

New France, 1667-1681; Acadia 1671-1686.

In this chapter we will study the development of the colony under the government of Courcelles, Talon, Frontenac and Duchesneau. The influence which Talon exercised on the development of the colony is well known and in order to get a complete view of it, it will be necessary to go back a few years to the fall of 1665 when he first landed at Quebec. In a previous chapter, we have enumerated the conditions which are essential to the development of any agricultural colony. If we wish to find out whether or not Louis XIV and Colbert fulfilled these conditions in regard to the development of New France, we will have to devote some time to the study of the work of Talon in the colony as he was the one in whom they had placed their confidence. We will also have to devote time to the study of the growth of population and of trade which, as we have said, were of primary importance in the development of agriculture.

Of Talon, Rameau (1) wrote as follows: "He looked after all the details and did not fear to occupy himself with the settlement of the colonists; it was he who originated the idea of the small villages located behind Quebec towards Charlesbourg. From the moment of his arrival, he carefully supervised the establishment of the families, of the colonists and "engagés" who had come with him and, each year, he had settlements prepared, lands cleared and buildings erected for the reception of immigrants; he then

forced the colonists thus established at the expense of the State, to do the same thing for those who would come after them."

In order to explain the above statement, it will be necessary to give some attention to the instructions which he had received from Louis XIV and Colbert regarding what was to be done for the colony and to the various expedients which he practised in order to put them into execution. We already know that from the very beginning he had seen the possibilities of the country, and it will be of interest to note the various experiments which he tried in order to develop them and also the countless difficulties with which he was confronted in the execution of his plans. We will have to cover much more than the agricultural development of the country during the period, but this is essential to the proper understanding of our subject.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the Company of New France, hoping to retain her privileges, had made grants of land to a certain number of persons who would undertake to bring people into the colony in fulfilment of its obligations and that in 1667 only a few of these grantees had begun to establish settlements. In 1663, when the Company surrendered its privileges and Louis XIV resolved to attend to the affairs of the colony himself, he realized that these grants were too extensive and detrimental to the orderly development of the colony. To obviate this difficulty, he published an edict (2) which stated: "It has been reported that one of the main reasons why the country has not developed as it should have and that many settlements have been destroyed by the Iroquois is that large grants have been made to

many inhabitants who have never been and are not now capable of clearing them, and having established their residences in the centre of these lands, they are far removed from their neighbours..... His Majesty, therefore, decrees that within the six months which will follow the publication of this edict, the inhabitants will have all the lands of their grants cleared, otherwise, the unimproved lands will be distributed to other grantees." This edict was a step in the right direction , but it set the grantees an impossible task and it remained a dead letter in the Archives of the Superior Council. Talon's instructions contained very definite orders on the subject and we will see how he executed them.

As we have already stated, Talon had no sooner arrived in the colony than he began to study the possibilities of the country in relation to the very definite instructions which he had received from the King and from Colbert, and immediately saw what there was to do if he could obtain their assistance. Further amplifying his instructions, Colbert, in 1665, wrote to Talon on the subject (3): "One of the most important causes which retarded the settlement of Canada has been that the colonists who have gone to settle there, have established their habitations wherever they have wished without trying to unite them with their neighbours and to make their clearings close to others so as to be in a position to help each other when necessary; they have obtained grants of so much land that they have never been able to clear or cultivate them, and being thus dispersed they have been exposed to the incursions of

the Iroquois who because of their speed and stealth have perpetrated their massacres before the surprised colonists could obtain help from their neighbours."

"It is for this reason that the King, two years ago, caused an edict to be proclaimed.....to the effect that from now on all clearings must be made in close proximity one to the other, and for the grouping of settlements in the form of our parishes and boroughs in so far as the thing is possible. This edict has remained without effect, because in order to achieve this end, it would have been necessary to force the inhabitants to make new clearings and to abandon the ones already made." It is evident from the above that the King knew very well the disadvantages of the scattered colony and he left it to Talon to find a solution, suggesting that it might be done by subdividing the large concessions and establishing new colonists on them. We have seen how Talon replied that as far as he could see, it was impossible to remedy the errors of the past but that he thought that the repetition of the same fault could be avoided in the new grants. He wrote (4) that it would be well, however, to publish this edict in the parishes and to find out from the grantees "the lands which they can clear and cultivate each year, and on the basis of their declaration leave them what they can clear in thirty years and distribute the remainder to new colonists on condition, however, that each year there would be taken away from them the area left uncleared and that they should have cleared during that year.

I say to leave them what they can cultivate in thirty years, because the head of a family works with greater application to prepare for his children something that will provide for their settlement and subsistence in his neighbourhood, also when the children have reached the age of working for themselves, they are proud to increase the heritage left to them by their father who keeps an eye on them." The solicitude of Talon as revealed in this passage was certainly refreshing and different from the attitude of the companies which so far had had the destinies of New France in their hands.

In his instructions, Talon was told that he must visit each settlement of the colony in order to obtain first hand knowledge of the true state of each establishment so as to be in a position to help them and to make it possible for them to earn their livelihood and to encourage them to clear the lands closest to the ones they already tilled. This instruction was prompted by Colbert's idea of paternalism in the government of the colony and Talon took advantage of it to remind him of some of the objections which he had to the attitude of the company in which hands Louis XIV had allowed the colony to fall only one year (1664) after he had decided to guide it himself. "There is nothing truer", he wrote, "than that labour and trade are the two principal means of bringing plenty into a country like Canada, of encouraging the well established families and of supporting the poor ones, and without freedom of trade in favour of the inhabitants, I am convinced by what I have seen so far, that not only the country will

not become settled, but the most important families now here will move away. It would, therefore, be advisable for the King to declare that His intention is that the said inhabitants do all the trading that might be useful to them, even in furs which they could send to France and for which they would obtain in return the things necessary for their subsistence and for their trade with the Indians; it has been necessary to use some rhetoric to uplift the spirits of the inhabitants abated by the agent of the Company who made them understand that trading was forbidden." We must confess that on this point we are inclined to disagree with Talon, not that we doubt his sincerity, but because we think that the experience of the past should have made him understand that the fur trade was detrimental to the agricultural development of the colony and that the time devoted to the trade was irretrievably lost so far as land cultivation was concerned. We will have more to say on this subject in a later chapter.

The greatest need of Canada, Talon was instructed, was the establishment of manufactures for the necessities of life, "because until now it has been necessary to transport into this country the cloths to dress the inhabitants and even their shoes, either because, being obliged to till the soil to obtain the subsistence of their families, they have made of this their most important occupation, or because of the lack of attention and industry on the part of those who have governed them until now. This is the reason why He (the King) wants him to examine the means of introducing a thing

so important to the country and for which His Majesty will give financial assistance being convinced that He could not use a large sum of money in a more useful way." To this, Talon answered that he had already started, that he had gained knowledge of the reasons why manufactures had never been introduced in Canada, that he had found the means of overcoming the difficulties and that in the course of a year the King's wishes would be fulfilled except with regard to cloth for which there was no wool in Canada.

The king, the instructions continued, wished that after the war with the Iroquois, the soldiers be invited to remain in the country, that they be given a small remuneration in the name of His Majesty to enable them to establish themselves and even that cleared lands be secured from the old inhabitants for them so that they might be in a position to seed them immediately. Talon wrote on this subject that a part of the Carignan regiment would remain in Canada, because several officers had promised to co-operate with him in the project which he had formed of making the soldiers work during the winter months at the preparation of houses and at clearing lands in order to till them in the spring and for which he would give them wheat, hemp and other grains.

A further instruction told him to study whether or not the lands were fertile and produced much wheat, whether there was in the country more wheat produced than was necessary for the feeding of all the inhabitants and their families and in that case, would it not be more advantageous to the farmers to seed hemp and

vegetables. If he thought it necessary, he could make special rulings to that effect. And considering that the feeding of cattle, to which the country was well suited because of the purity of its waters and of the presence of vast meadows, he was to examine whether or not it would be advantageous to forbid the killing of animals for such period as he would deem necessary.

Talon did not doubt that the lands which ordinarily produced more wheat than the farmers could consume would be suitable to the production of vegetables and particularly of hemp and His Majesty could rest assured that he would have some seeded. He could be sure that, provided the country were settled, it would one day produce more hemp than Lower Brittany.

The above were the points on which the King wished Talon to work for the establishment of the colony. The instructions were very comprehensive and contained all the necessary elements for the building up of a viable colony. They revealed beyond a doubt that Louis XIV and Colbert knew the weaknesses of the policies which had been followed in the past and they indicated that they were willing to redress the defects. Unfortunately, we will see presently that these good intentions did not last long. We will now devote some time to the examination of the methods which Talon followed to fulfil the above orders and of the difficulties which he had to face.

Even before leaving France, Talon had had reasons to feel that the West Indies Company was more interested in quick returns

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than in solid establishments and had begun to oppose its projects and to protect the colonists against its agents. He wrote to Colbert (5) that the Gentlemen of the Company had told him that some people wanted to transport merchandise into Canada in spite of the fact that the King had given them the exclusive monopoly of the trade and wanted him to stop them. "But when I told them, he wrote, that these people were inhabitants of Canada and were transporting these goods more for their own use than for the trade and that it was important for these inhabitants to know from the very beginning of the establishment of the new company that it was not its intention to force them to buy all the necessities for their subsistence at their stores and at their prices, they relented." This was by no means the only time when Talon had to oppose the action of the Company.

Once he had accepted the task of supervising the establishment of the colony, Talon did not wish to waste valuable time and effort on what might be termed trial and error methods. He dreamed of great things for New France and wished to accomplish them in the most direct way possible. He had planned before leaving France many of the things which he proposed to do. In order that everyone would be placed where he fitted best, he had a census taken of the soldiers before they left for New France, taking note of their trades and professions so that the best possible use would be made of their ability and training. "I propose, he wrote, to take the most skilful people in all trades and

start shops for the public good, and force the masters to take apprentices so as to increase their numbers and to ensure the permanency of all trades without having to fall back on France for artisans who are useful to the State." The reason for this action was that he had heard that there were no manufactures or artisans shops in the country and that some inhabitants took the artisans in their employ and did not allow them to work for others except for very high wages, which was the cause of the high cost of labour in the colony. This attitude of some inhabitants was detrimental to the development of the colony and, therefore, must be stopped. He began to encourage the inhabitants who were to cross into Canada with him to devote themselves to commerce, but the Directors of the West Indies Company soon gave him to understand that such action was against their interests and must be stopped.

One cannot help, at this point, to pause for a moment to contrast Talon's attitude with that of the governors who had looked after the welfare of the colony during the Regime of the old Companies. Their sole interest was in the fur trade which alone seemed to promise quick returns to the shareholders and they opposed permanent establishments because they saw a prospective competitor of the company in each permanent settler. Talon, on the other hand, might have had some unrealizable dreams with regard to New France, but he was fully aware that the first thing to do in the colony was to bring settlers and he devoted all his energy, not only to bringing them to New France, but also to making them happy and contented in their new homes.

We mentioned in the last chapter, the impressions which Talon received from the new country as reported in his first letter to Colbert after his arrival in the colony. In this letter, he related his enthusiasm and the possibilities which he could see in the country. In the same letter, he also expressed to Colbert his fears that the Company did not have the best interests of the colony at heart and that if it insisted upon the full application of its trade monopoly, it would "cause the most numerous and important part of the inhabitants to lose interest (6)", and since the privilege granted to the Company and the instructions which he had received from the King regarding the encouragement to be given to the development of the trade among the inhabitants were contradictory, he tried to manage so as to maintain some hopes of profits in the minds of the inhabitants until he received further orders on the subject.

Talon had barely finished the reading of his instructions than the resolve of Louis XIV to help Canada had already begun to weaken and the first letter which he received from Colbert (7) instructed him to respect the rights of the Company and told him that the King could not agree to his project of forming a vast French Empire in America. "It is certain", he was told, "that at first you will have some difficulty because of the greed of the Company, but it will replace its agents by more moderate ones." His Majesty, Colbert explained, had forced the Company to allow the privilege of the fur trade to the inhabitants, but He was not convinced that it would not be better

for the colony if the company retained its exclusive privilege, because it was to be feared that by means of this trade the inhabitants would remain in idleness for part of the year whereas if they did not have this freedom, they would be forced to apply themselves to the cultivation of their lands. The writer must confess that he is ⁱⁿ full agreement with the remarks of Louis XIV Had Talon been able to see a few years ahead and to realize that this same fur trade would lead the colony to disaster in a very short time, just as it had in the past, there is no doubt that he would have been of the same opinion. We must, however, qualify our agreement. The first great need of the colony was population, and in order to hold the population there had to be some hope of profits. The cultivation of the soil was, no doubt, the only thing which could assure the permanent establishment of the colony, but so far, farming had carried no assurance of benefits beyond the obtaining of the food necessities of the farmer and his family. The fur trade, on the other hand, promised immediate returns, and from this point of view, perhaps we must not blame Talon too harshly for having wanted it for the colonists.

Colbert expressed his conviction that the dangers which he feared from the Company were due to the maladministration of the agents and not to the Company itself. The proof of this assertion was to be found in the fact that in 1666 the freedom of the trade had been extended to everyone "but it is much to be feared", he claimed, "that the individuals will send from France only those goods and provisions from which they will

hope to make the largest profits, and will allow the country to run short of those which perhaps will be the most necessary to the colony, and furthermore, the beaver trade being in more than one hand the prices will be low."

It will be recalled that in his instructions to Talon, the King had promised financial assistance for the establishment of manufactures but Colbert began to argue about it (7). "The means of establishing manufactures," he wrote, "rest more in their industry (the inhabitants') and their labour than in the assistance that the King can give, particularly now that he is engaged in the carrying on of an extensive war against the English.....so that you must now count principally on what you can accomplish yourself for the development of the productions of the country by preventing the killing of animals, either through an Edict of the Superior Council or through your own power, to hasten their increase, because it is certain that when Canada will have a large number of cattle and sheep, it will be possible with their hides and other productions to manufacture cloths, other goods and leathers which will be to the advantage of the inhabitants." The above shows that the interest of Louis XIV in New France had dwindled down to the point where he was quite content to leave Talon to his own devices so that he might be free to stick his finger in the affairs of Europe.

In the same letter, Colbert recommended to Talon, since the price of wheat was often very low in the colony, to encourage the colonists to produce hemp and after a few years he could

establish linen manufactures which, because of the good quality of hemp, might become as flourishing as those of Lower Brittany. The lumber industry was also to be encouraged because the king might decide to have ships built in the country, and furthermore, the manufacture of stave-wood would encourage the clearing of land.

Colbert also brought up another point which is worthy of mention here because it illustrates the opinion which was commonly held in France with regard to the settlement of New France. Talon had asked that all artisans who would come to work in Canada for a certain number of years would be given "Letters of Mastery" so that upon their return to France they would be able to exercise their trade in any one of the large cities of the Kingdom. This, of course, was solely to encourage the immigration of artisans to Canada. Colbert reminded Talon on this point "that the establishment of "Letters of Mastery" has been done with the idea of discouraging poor work and of encouraging good one, and on this subject, I believe that in a young colony like Canada, it is important to attract all sorts of artisans regardless of their quality rather than only those who are successful in their art."

The above discussion shows very clearly that Louis XIV and Colbert did not want to involve France into expenditures in America. They had many good ideas on the development of a strong colony that would be of assistance to France but they wanted this to be done with the least possible effort on their part. It was clearly shown to Talon that he would have to make his own plans and carry them out with a minimum of outside assistance. We must

say to his credit that in spite of these and countless other difficulties which he had to face, he devoted all his energies to the job at hand, and as we will see, he was able to accomplish great things.

As we have already stated, his first attention had to be given to the conduct of the war against the Iroquois who were forever threatening the inhabitants. In a memorandum (8) to Tracy and Courcelles he brought out the reasons for the immediate carrying on of the war to a finish before thinking of anything else for the organization of the colony.

Talon had felt Colbert's rebuke in the letter which we have cited and he replied (9) that he would not speak again of his dreams of a vast Empire in New France since Colbert knew that there was not in France a sufficient number of supernumeraries to settle New France. Entering into the spirit of the letter, he would confine his care and attention to what he was ordered to do, until such time as this shapeless mass (the colony) appeared worthy of greater assistance than that received in the present year. Talon who had put all his energies into the building up of this colony, could not, however, help but express his disappointment and to write: "Only allow me, Monseigneur, to say that if this colony appeared to you as it really is, you would not refuse to give it some of your attention, convinced as you must be that a wild country cannot develop if it is not helped in its beginning." He confessed that all the statements which he had made since the beginning were because of his interest for the real welfare of the colony and of the King.

In spite of the attention which he had been forced to give to the conduct of the war, he had found time for other things. (10) He worked as much as he could at the union of scattered settlements into villages. To show how easy this really was, he undertook the formation of three villages in the vicinity of Quebec and these were well under way. Two of them had been prepared for the families which he hoped to receive from France and the other for a number of officers and men of the Carignan Regiment and other Gentlemen. The lands of these villages had been selected in the seigniory of Notre Dame des Anges. He had not found it expedient to cancel part of the large grants which had been made by his predecessors and had contented himself with exerting pressure upon the grantees for quicker work on their concessions. Wishing to make things as easy as possible for the colonists whom he hoped to receive, he drafted, in co-operation with Tracy, regulations for the administration of justice and for the distribution of lands. (11) "In the new settlements prepared to receive the new families, it will be necessary", the regulations stated, "to place old families who will teach the new ones how to till the land." The clauses and fees stipulated in the contracts made were to vary according to the type of grantee. It was a necessity to help the new families in the first years. "It appears to be as useful to His Majesty", stated the regulations, "as fair to them to give them assistance in food and tools and to pay for the clearing and seeding of the first two "arpents" on condition that

in the following three or four years they will do the same for other families who will come from France. In this way we furnish them with the means of obtaining their subsistence and of preparing lands for other families without any cost to the King."

Convinced that actions spoke louder than words, he proceeded to do himself the things which he eventually wanted the colonists to do for themselves. He realized that the day had come when if production of goods was to continue in the colony some outlet had to be found for the surplus. He set out to build at his own expense a vessel which he would employ for the opening of the trade with the West Indies.

In the above mentioned letter (10), he felt bound to explain that if he had spoken as he had of manufactures in Canada, it was because the king's instructions very definitely promised him financial assistance for their establishment. He also stated that if he had to wait on Canadian wools for the establishment of manufactures of woollen goods he would have to wait for a long time and he suggested that some wool might be imported from Acadia and from New England.

He also expressed the hope that new colonists would arrive the next year and he stated that in this year two hundred and fifty had begun settlements. The girls that had been sent, ninety in number, had all been married but six. Keeping in mind every detail which concerned the welfare of the colonists he complained that the merchants of France who supplied goods to the colony sent some of poor quality.

This letter shows better than anything else the universality of Talon's interest in Canada. No job was too small to attract his attention if by accomplishing it he thought that the inhabitants would derive some benefits or even some encouragement. Unfortunately, the decreasing interest of Louis XIV and Colbert made the job more difficult. Furthermore, his interest in the welfare of the colony forced him to combat the company and others who had acquired influence in the country. These difficulties impaired his health and made him ask for his recall (12). "I would not ask for it," he wrote to Colbert, "if I recognized in myself sufficient genius and ability to carry to their successful end the duties with which you have honoured me.....I know very well, he continued, that I do not serve here to the satisfaction of everyone, and that is what, added to my illness makes me beg the King for my recall." Then as if wishing to justify his position he continued: "If you wish to know who are those who may not be satisfied of my conduct and the reasons for it, M. le Chevalier de Chaumont and the General Agent of the Company will be able to tell you and inform you that if I were willing to let the Church exercise the same authority that she exercised at the time of my arrival, I would have much less difficulty and more approbation." There is no necessity of entering here into the details of this so-called undue authority of the Church. It is sufficient to state that the King had given Talon special instructions to study this matter and that when he reported on the subject he received Colbert's

rebuke for it. In a memorandum on the present state of Canada (13), written in 1667, Talon explained in some details that the Church was exercising an authority which was very detrimental to the development of the colony.

In 1667, Colbert wrote him (14) encouraging him to remain in the colony for at least another year and gave him further instructions regarding the development of the colony. He also announced in the same letter that the king was sending another contingent of colonists and some horses. He recommended to Talon the adoption of the expedients which he had used in France to encourage the increase of population. These expedients consisted in encouraging early marriages and in subsidizing large families. It was not, however, until 1669 that the Superior Council passed an edict (15) in favour of inhabitants who had large families. The edict called for the payment of pensions of three hundred livres a year for families of ten living children "not priests or members of religious orders" and four hundred livres for those with twelve.

Talon's thoughts were forever of the interests of the king, of the development of the colony and of the welfare of the colonists. In 1667, he wrote to Colbert (16) that the signing of the peace treaty with the Iroquois should, in his opinion, be favourable to the expansion of the colony and to the clearing of lands because now the settlers would be able to lay down their arms and give their undivided attention to the job of making permanent settlements. The only means, he thought, of strengthening

the colony either against the Indians or against European powers, was the acquisition of "Manatte" and "Orange" either by armed force or by purchase. He stated that the establishment of the soldiers had already begun and that large clearings were to be made during the coming winter. To ensure their perseverance he granted them lands among the old inhabitants so that they might be in position to benefit by their experience.

In this same letter he had included the census of 1667 which we have studied in detail in the last chapter and he said that the country had "taken on a new physiognomy in regard to settlements and land cultivation since you have been giving it your attention." But, he went on to say that instead of the four hundred good men promised by Colbert, he was forced to confess that only one hundred and twenty-seven had arrived, "all very weak, too young and of very little service and that instead of the fifty girls he had received one hundred and nine, not counting the children who had come over with their parents."

Another fact is worthy of mention here, because it illustrates the wide awake attention of Talon for the welfare of the colony and for the interests of the king, and also because it reveals the lack of interest of the Company in both. Talon acknowledged the receipt of the horses which had been sent, but he wrote: "I cannot help but report to you that those who have been employed to buy them have not well fulfilled their duty when they bought animals of nine years of age. Since the King does not spare his expenses for the purchase of these animals which he thinks are

useful to the country, those who are employed by the company should not spare four or five "pistoles" (eight to ten dollars) per head for the first shipment. I say the same thing of the sheep, because, he continued, besides being very weak, no precaution was taken against the malice of a herder who, according to the man who had charge of them, had poisoned twenty..... I tell you these things to show the conduct of the people employed by the company and which should be attended to."

Talon appreciated fully that the increase of the population was the first essential in the development of agriculture and trade in the colony. To the news that Colbert contemplated the sending of three or four hundred Swiss labourers to New France he replied (16) that the project filled "the inhabitants of Canada with joy because the men received this year were very weak, while those that you promise them are very able; in so far as I am concerned, I am convinced that one man of this nation is worth at least two of ours for the work that there is to be done in this country."

It was with pride that he announced to Colbert that one man, guided by his example, was making the necessary preparations for the building of a vessel and that he was trying to make a deal with him to start trade with the West Indies. In company with him, he had sent this year "salted fish, green and cured cod, white and green peas, stave-wood and oil on a French vessel which went to the West Indies before its return to France." This undertaking was as an experiment "and to show the road to trade to the inhabitants of Canada who have not yet found it."

Faithful to his instructions, he was forever seeking new means of encouraging the colonists, of developing the colony and of effecting savings for the king. He had received two boilers as a gift from His Majesty, and of these, he wrote: "I will use these to establish a brewery from which the public will receive great benefits; according to the opinion of some of the most important citizens of this country who begged me to start this work. Besides the fact that beer is healthful and will save one hundred thousand livres in wines and alcoholic beverages which are imported each year, it will encourage the farmers to the cultivation of the soil, because they will be assured of a market for their surplus grains which will be used in the manufacture of this beverage." Talon realized that agricultural production would increase only if it was possible to find an outlet for the surplus which tended to lower prices to the point where farmers refused to produce. The establishment of trade with the West Indies necessitated ships which no one in the colony could afford to build. Louis XIV had other uses for his navy and, furthermore, as we will see later, the grains of Canada were in competition with those of France on the West Indies market. This was the main reason why Talon was looking for means of disposing of the surplus grains within the country while attempting at the same time to effect savings for the colonists who would not have to buy as much alcoholic beverages.

He also wrote (16) that there were no commoners in the colony who wished to take timber lands to clear them and that it

might be advantageous in order to encourage settlement to have land cleared for them. He then proposed the plan which we have mentioned previously for the preparation of lands for new families. He also suggested that the same plan might be used to prepare lands for poor noble families whom the king might want to establish in Canada.

Besides devoting much time to the planning of means of establishing manufactures, trade and agriculture, Talon was also constantly brought face to face with difficulties to the solution of which he had to give a great deal of thought. The moneys for the payment of the troupes and for the other expenditures of the government were sent each year and did not arrive in the colony until the arrival of the first vessels in July or August. Consequently, from January to July or August the Intendant was forced to borrow from the agents of the company or from certain inhabitants the necessary sums for the various payments which could not be delayed and this lead to serious difficulties. To avoid these troubles, Talon suggested that a sufficient amount of money be sent in one year to cover the expenditures for eighteen months, so that in the future there would be a sufficient amount of money in the country to await the arrival of the vessels without having to resort to borrowings. In modern terms, he was asking that a fiscal year be established for Canada ending in July or August or failing this that a special currency be created for the country. Colbert who, as we know, had to resort to all sorts of expedients to

obtain the necessary funds for twelve months, could not find his way clear to do this and the matter was dropped. It is this very same trouble which a few years later was responsible for the creation of card-money which was to have such a detrimental effect on the development of the colony.

Talon also had many and varied causes of complaint against the employees of the Company. "The girls who came to Canada", he wrote, "complained of the treatment which they received at the hands of the employees of the company, and they have assured me that from the moment that they had set sail, they had been treated inhumanly and dishonestly by the officers who caused them to suffer from hunger, receiving only a light breakfast and a still lighter supper." Furthermore, the Company did not pay much attention to the selection of men who were sent to Canada and Talon begged Colbert to forbid to those who hired men for Canada to take them of less than sixteen years of age or over forty, "because those who are not between these ages cannot become used to the country and are costly to the King."

In 1668, Talon obtained permission to return to France because of his impaired health and Bouteroue was sent to replace him. Talon had not thus far made any grants of seigniories and all the individual grants which he had made had been in the villages which he had built on the Seigniory of Notre Dame des Anges and in the suburbs of Quebec. In 1668, before leaving the country, he made two grants which amounted to slightly over 16,000 "arpents" one in the present county of St. Maurice and the other in the county of Verchères.

Bouteroue took a census (17) in 1668 which revealed the presence in the colony of 1,139 families with a population of 5,870 persons, not counting 412 soldiers who had arrived during the year and the 300 who were in the four companies which had remained in Canada. These figures represented an increase of 79.5 per cent in two years. During the same period, the number of farms had more than doubled. Between 1667 and 1668, the area under cultivation had increased from 11,559 to 15,642 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 2,683 to 3,400. The yield of grains in the colony was placed at 130,878 "minots" (1 minot equals 1.07 bushels) or 22.3 "minots" per person. These remarkable achievements can be taken as a direct measure of Talon's efforts to foster the development of the colony. These results obtained by Talon in spite of all the difficulties which he had to face, make one wonder what they would have been if he had received the whole hearted support and co-operation of the King and of the Company. There is nothing to indicate whether the crop of 1668 was exceptionally large or not but it indicates that in this year, at least, there was more grain produced than could be consumed by the colony and that it was important to find an outlet for surplus production if the farmers were to continue the expansion of their agricultural operations.

Bouteroue did not take long to demonstrate that he was incapable of continuing the work started by his predecessor and in 1669, Talon was again appointed Intendant. No sooner had he returned than he began to work at the development of the colony,

all the time keeping a careful eye on the king's interests (18). None too trustful of the company, he checked its accounts and noted the various discrepancies which he found. In 1667, the Company had charged the king for the transport of 500 persons and Talon certified that only 286 had come and, therefore, refund should be made to His Majesty for the balance. He checked the accounts year by year to protect the king's interests against the greed of the Company.

Before returning to New France, Talon had again been given very definite instructions on the points on which the king wished him to devote particular attention (19). The king wanted Talon to "use all possible means to induce the inhabitants to clear and till their lands, not only to produce abundantly for their own subsistence, but even to be in a position to assist the Kingdom in case of necessity, and to attract by this abundance the French from the Kingdom who naturally search the places where they will be able to earn their livelihood with greater ease." Below this instruction, Talon noted: "the application with which the subjects of His Majesty work at the clearing of lands leads one to believe that not only will the colonists have sufficiently for their subsistence, but a surplus for the West Indies and for old France, and already, for this reason, persons of means ask to be allowed to come to Canada." This instruction was accompanied by the old one about the grouping of inhabitants into villages.

The establishment of regular trade with the West Indies was also to be encouraged and developed. To this Talon

answered that "three new vessels built in Canada, of Canadian timber, are now in the port of Quebec taking on a cargo for the West Indies where they will exchange it for sugar and tobacco which they will transport to France whence they will bring back goods for Canada." This was the beginning of the three way trade which was to be encouraged all through the French Regime.

In 1669, the Sieur Patoulet, Talon's secretary, wrote to the minister (20) about the colony and introduced a new subject. Speaking of the progress which the raising of sheep had made in the colony, he wrote: "the introduction of this species is very important for this country, both for the establishment of manufactures of woollen goods which we lack, and for the fertilization of the soil which is already tired:" "The above introduces the problem of soil exhaustion. Even at this early date, some of the soil around Quebec had been tilled for forty years. In those days, manure was allowed to go to waste and crop rotation was an unknown thing. Ordinarily, half of the cleared land was seeded to grain, mostly wheat, and the other half remained in fallow which was not cultivated. New clearings were seeded every year for a number of years. The cleared land was never used for pasture or for the production of fodder crops, these being obtained from natural meadows, so that it is not surprising that even at that time some of the land should have become "tired".

In a memorandum written in October 1670 (21) Talon explained to Colbert: "The country produces sufficiently of

wheat, vegetables and fish to feed the colonists and also gives a small surplus for the trade with the West Indies." What the country needed most was vessels for the carrying on of the trade and ^{he} believed that "the King should pay ^a small bounty to those who would build some."

We have seen how Talon had opposed the monopoly of the West Indies Company and obtained freedom of trade for all the inhabitants. This action did not meet the approval of everyone in the colony. A memorandum on the price of beaver written in 1670 by Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye (22) brought out another side of the question. "The only means of supporting and increasing the colony of Quebec", said the memorandum, "is to increase the price of beaver and its consumption, it being its sole source of revenue and currency. The trade of this place was formerly carried on by very few persons or by a company, this merchandise was given in payment at fourteen livres a pound and was worth twenty livres and more in France. The multiplicity of merchants has lowered the price for the past five or six years to four livres. This reduction from such a high to such a low price made many people think that the price of this merchandise could not be lowered further, which caused a few traders to buy large quantities in the hope of making a profit, but they erred.....In consequence, because all these merchants compensate their losses in France by raising the price of goods in Canada in such a way that the inhabitants, even when they have a large quantity of beaver, are up against it and cannot undertake

anything for their own advancement." This statement, while very true, tells only a small part of the story. The lower price of beaver was not only due to the competitive buying and selling but also and probably mainly to the fact that the financial situation of France did not permit the buying of large quantities of furs. Patoulet, in the letter which we have quoted previously (20) summarized the other side of the question. "The freedom of the trade which you have granted to New France has succeeded admirably. Merchants have come in large numbers and with such a quantity of goods that the country is well supplied for more than two years. This great abundance of goods has helped the inhabitant who has been able to buy provisions at just prices." "Both La Chesnay and Patoulet exposed without knowing it the real danger of the freedom of the fur trade to the colony. The lowered price of beaver meant that more furs would be needed to buy the necessities of life and the colonists would have to go farther afield to get them and thus would come to like the adventures of the open country. There was the very cause that created the bush rangers who even in Talon's time were to become the scourge of the colony.

The soldiers who had settled in the colony needed attention and encouragement and Talon begged the king to grant them their subsistence for another year after which they would be able to support themselves from their lands. He also proposed that houses be built for them and that their lands be seeded so that they would be able to marry, settle down and contribute to the increase of the colony.

As further proof that the interests of the king as well as those of the colonists were forever present in his mind, he reported that he had sent Jolliet to discover a route to Mexico and the Sieur de St. Lussou towards the west in the hope that he would discover copper mines and a route to China which would be a decided advantage to France. For the settlers he reminded the king of sending "engagés" who would be very useful to them for the time of their engagement and then would become new colonists.

In 1670, the king had sent some horses and Talon distributed them among the inhabitants in such a way as to ensure the increase of the species. The conditions (23) under which he granted these animals are rather interesting and worthy of mention. "The persons to whom these animals will be distributed will be their sole masters and proprietors and will be free to sell, exchange and treat them as their own property; for three years they will care for them and feed them in such a way that none will die. In the case where, through negligence, lack of feed, care or other unforeseen accidents (except if killed by lightning, gunshot or other accidents of a similar nature) they are lost, the grantees will pay two hundred livres to the Receiver of the King as replacement value. The grantees will also be proprietors of their progenies, males or females, provided that they are made to bear young once in twelve months; but to prevent the negligence of those who would only use them as work animals, which would not fulfill the intentions of the king who wants their multiplication, the said proprietors will have to

give the Receiver, at the end of three years, a yearling colt. The colts being the property of the king, will be distributed to other inhabitants in the same way."

Besides his many occupations and worries, he wrote to Colbert that in order to serve as an example to the colonists, he had "bought a farm covered with timber, except two "arpents" where the trees were felled; I have had it tilled and increased, he continued, in such a way that I can say that it is the most important one in the country, and I propose increasing it further; there is sufficient land in it to form a few villages. It could receive a title which would be an encouragement to the colonists to do likewise."

He constantly kept in mind that in order to encourage production it was necessary to find a market for surpluses and that this could be accomplished only by the development of trade. To encourage trade with the West Indies, he wrote that he was sending three vessels built in the colony with a cargo of fish, oil, green peas, timber and also "beer made in the brewery at Quebec from barley and hops grown in the country and five hogsheads of flour as an experiment. Wheat, he continued, which was selling for an "écu" (three francs) at the time of my arrival in the colony, now has risen enough in price to encourage both old and new colonists to till their lands; the rise was caused by the purchases which I made of the surpluses, and which I had made into flour for the troops in replacement of some French flour (one hundred hogsheads) which I sent to the West Indies." The reason for not exporting the Canadian

flour was that he feared that because of its freshness it might not withstand the sea voyage without alteration.

"For the purpose of encouraging the farmers in the production of pork," he continued, "I sent four hundred barrels of salted pork which I had brought from France as a surplus. Similarly, I sent some liquor in order to increase the consumption of barley through increasing that of beer which will be consumed in larger quantities if there is less liquor in the colony."

All this work, coupled with the countless difficulties which confronted him on all sides had again impaired his health. In a memorandum (24) to Colbert, he wrote: "If you wish to know the main cause of my illness, my secretary will be able to tell you and to explain the difficulties with which I am confronted in the accomplishment of my duty."

The "engagés" who were sent from time to time constituted a problem which demanded much attention from Talon and had become complicated with a new problem which had arisen in recent years. "We work hard" he wrote (1671) to settle the "engagés" and to tie them by marriage to a community in order to force them to work at the cultivation of the soil; with this in mind, and to divert several lazy ones from joining the Indians in the bush (a practise which I found only too common upon my arrival), I have opened the door to industry by opening shops which have kept

nearly three hundred and fifty men busy during the whole summer; I can even say that I have waged a war against laziness which has caused a certain number to murmur, but to which I pay no attention....."

It will be recalled that he had received very definite instructions for the reduction of the size of land grants and that the king wanted him to expropriate lands from those who had more than they could till. Talon did not do any expropriation but he tried to force the grantees to hurry the clearing of their concessions. As can readily be imagined this action heaped up more troubles upon his shoulders. On the subject, he wrote (24): "M. de Lauzon just left here showing some dissatisfaction because I combat the slowness of those to whom his father has granted vast areas of land while he was here as governor and also because I threaten to expropriate those who only carry on fishing without bringing their lands into cultivation."

In a memorandum (25) to the king (1671) he gave details of the progress of the colony. "I must" he wrote, "deal with the subject of hemp which has become so familiar here that one can hope with reason that in three years the farmers will supply by their own cultivation and manufacture, the ^{best} part and perhaps all the linens necessary for their own use, even though the quantity consumed here in an ordinary year exceeds 60,000 livres and I add that at the rate that this crop has been growing this year there will be in this country in six years, not only a sufficient quantity of rope for the rigging of the vessels constructed here, but a surplus to send to France equivalent, in

relation to the population, to that supplied by any province of the Kingdom. One colonist alone has supplied eight "minots" of seed and one hundred pounds of fibre after taking what he needed for his family." This wishful thinking on the part of Talon is an illustration of his enthusiasm and faith in the possibilities of the colony. His dreams might have come true if he had had the assistance of France and if he had been able to work in co-operation with Courcelles who took every opportunity of showing his jealousy and of impeding Talon's movements.

With the increase in cleared land the problem of finding a substitute for wheat was becoming more acute and Talon was forever in search of new crops which would bring revenues to the farmers. In the same memorandum he wrote: "Experiments have been conducted with tobacco which grows and ripens as well here as anywhere else; if the king does not see any inconvenient to its cultivation here, I will encourage the farmers who have lands suitable for it to carry on its cultivation." The answer to this question was not long in coming. Colbert wrote that His Majesty did not want tobacco to be grown in the colony, because it would be detrimental to the West Indies where it was produced, and furthermore, He thought that it would not be of great advantage to New France which was in far greater need of the things which would encourage the inhabitants to engage in trade, navigation, fisheries and manufacturing.

New developments in the colony were slow and far between, but each one was a source of pride to Talon because it was a direct result of his work. He wrote to the king, in the above-mentioned memorandum that from the wool of the country he had manufactured drugget, worsted and serge. Through the establishment of tanneries, nearly one third of the shoes needed was manufactured in the country. His enthusiasm lead him to write: "I hope that in a short time the colony will need to import from France very few of its necessities." "The brewery," he went on, "is now completed and can supply two thousand hogsheads of beer for the West Indies and another two thousand for the consumption of the country which will cause the consumption of twelve thousand "minots" of grain each year. To supply this public utility I have had seeded and cultivated on the farm "des Islets" (his own farm) six thousand plants of hops necessary and of as good quality as that produced in the hop-fields of Flanders."

He was also proud to announce that cattle raising was progressing nicely in the colony. "I figure", he wrote, "that His Majesty has sent a sufficient number of livestock to populate the country, being given that we can import horses from New England and ewes from Acadia where they are quite abundant, if it became necessary. Cows and hogs are becoming as familiar here as in Old France, so that now this country can do without the pork of La Rochelle whence I have imported in some years as many as eight hundred barrels, and I have reason to believe that this

country together with Acadia will be able, in a short time, to supply all the salted meats needed in the West Indies."

The low price of furs had brought up another problem to worry Talon and to impede the progress of the colony. "As the merchants," he wrote to the king, "do not find the fur trade advantageous because of the low prices which the furs now command in France, they take all the currency which they remove from the country, so that there is very little left for the ordinary trade between inhabitants, which causes me to propose the adoption of a special currency for Canada." Colbert did not think it advisable to grant this very natural request.

There is no need to add any further arguments to prove the energy with which Talon worked at anything which he thought might serve the interests of the colony and protect the colonists against the things which might slow up their progress. It is not surprising that his health had suffered greatly. In 1672, the king permitted him to return to France.

As we have already stated, during the first years of his stay in Canada, Talon had made no grants of seigniories and had been content with establishing families in the villages which he had organized in the vicinity of Quebec. In the years 1668, 1669 and 1670, he had made six grants which altogether amounted to approximately thirty-three thousand "arpents". These grants were much smaller than the ones which had been made by his predecessors. In 1672, however, he seemed to have forgotten all the very definite instructions which he had received, his views

on the subject and to have thrown all discretion to the wind. In this year, he made fifty-two grants scattered on both sides of the St. Lawrence all the way from Gaspé to Montréal. It is true, however, that most of those grants were small in comparison to some of the previous ones but nevertheless, they were beyond the size which could be brought into cultivation by one family and altogether totalled to over one million "arpents" of land (See Table 6, appendix). It is hard to understand why on the eve of his departure from the colony, he contributed to the continuance of an evil which he had himself recognized and opposed with all his strength.

Talon left the colony in 1673, but did not forget it, and for a few more years continued to be Canada's best friend at Court. In 1673, in a memorandum which he wrote (26) he gave some indication of the work which he had accomplished in the colony and some of the problems which he had had to solve. He mentioned some of the results achieved on individual farms and he stated that he believed that Canada was in a position to supply five thousand "minots" of peas yearly for the navy. He stated to Colbert that the vast grants which had previously been made in Canada were responsible for the fact that he had been asked for grants so large that if he had granted them, in no time there would have been no land for the families who would be sent. "M. de Saurel," he wrote, "was dissatisfied because the grant he had made to him did not exceed fifty thousand "arpents". This last statement is rather difficult to reconcile with the

fifty-two grants which he himself had made before leaving Canada.

He also recalled the instructions which he had received from Louis XIV and Colbert and made a survey of what he had accomplished for their fulfilment during his administration.

"By the various instructions which I have received from the king," he wrote, "it has appeared to me that at the time when His Majesty sent his regiment of Carignan-Sallières to Canada, He had hoped to extend the Kingdom of God by increasing His own, to establish Christianity among pagan peoples and to submit barbarians to His domination, and by the strength of His arms, open to zealous missionaries, a full harvest for heaven and to the colonists, His subjects, the rivers for new discoveries, after having saved them from the daily incursions and insults of the Savages their enemies which retarded the establishment of a whole colony started long before under the reign of His predecessor. In all this, the intentions of His Majesty seem to have been fairly well fulfilled by the explorations which have been made and by the submission of the Indians."

"It has also appeared to me," he continued, "that one of the main intentions of His Majesty has been to establish in a few years a vast and numerous settlement, filled with men well suited for war, navigation and fishing and whose physical fitness would make them able to accomplish all sorts of labour. By sending girls to marry the soldiers, the number of colonists has increased to such an extent, that in the census of 1671,

I found seven hundred children baptised during the year. His Majesty has also desired by the establishment of fisheries to replace the foreign fish which the Kingdom buys to the value of 1,500,000 livres a year and furthermore, to furnish it to the West Indies which are now supplied by Boston."

"He has also wished to obtain from Canada, timber, iron, tar and hemp, so as to place Himself in a position of independence with regard to the Princes of the Baltic sea for the upkeep of His navy. In all this, Canada seems to have well fulfilled the King's hopes; hemp is grown with success, linens as well as ropes and tar are manufactured, iron has been found, vessels have been built which have withstood the sea for six years and some are being built for His Majesty."

The above enumeration of the king's wishes in regards to the things to be developed in Canada, clearly indicate that the development of the colony was valuable only in so far as it could be of assistance to the Kingdom in supplying the goods which Louis XIV now had to buy from foreign powers. The welfare of the colonists was of no consequence and was to be considered only when it coincided with the aims of His Majesty.

"Sedentary fishing stations of great utility have been established," continued the memorandum. "Trade with the West Indies has been established. It was established by me in 1668 and has been continued since. This trade consists of the surplus of peas, salmon, salted eels, green and dried cod and timber; this trade will be increased by the surplus wheat which will be

manufactured into flour, estimating that each year Canada will dispose of a surplus of thirty thousand "minots" if crops are not damaged by the inclemency of the weather. The quantity of peas can reach ten thousand "minot," and salted meats will not in the future be the least part of this trade. This trade (in salted meats) being advantageous to the Islands, Canada will soon be in a position to supply them with pork.....and salted beef just as good as that of Ireland."

One might be inclined to think that in a study of the nature of this one, too much space was devoted to the relation of Talon's deeds in the colony. We do not think so because his work was essential to the development of an agricultural colony. The establishment of a new colony is not at all unlike the building of a house in the middle of the forest. The first thing to do is to transport there the men who will clear the timber and brush, then excavate the cellar and then build a solid foundation on which the house will rest. The action of Talon in New France was like that of the man who builds in the forest. His expedients to develop trade, manufactures, fishing were the foundation on which the agricultural colony must stand.

Talon had understood full well that the first essential of a colonial establishment was a happy and contented population. It was, therefore, necessary to induce Frenchmen to cross the sea to establish their homes in the wilderness which they hoped would one day be another France. The only inducement was the assurance that a living could be earned here more readily than in France as

Talon fully realized that the French would not emigrate to a new land without the assurance of bettering their situation. He also knew that the colonists would not tackle the arduous task of cutting down the forest and of bringing the land under cultivation with only the prospect of obtaining no more than their subsistence. Agricultural development could only be made attractive by the assurance of profits and this could only be given by the establishment of markets where surpluses could readily be disposed of. The freedom of trade for which he fought was also essential for the growth of the colony because he was convinced that it alone could prevent the abuses which had been rampant under the monopoly of the company. Subsequent facts permit one to doubt of the wisdom of his views on the freedom of trade for the inhabitants, but it is certain that Talon was of good faith and that he could not foresee the abuses which were to become prevalent only a few years later. For the above reasons, no study of the agricultural development of the colony could be complete without a mention of Talon's efforts to make New France a going concern.

"Talon," says H. M. Thomas (27), "was Colbert's greatest agent in Canada. Critical of the feudal subjection to a fur company, he devoted his talents to what is piously remembered as the first successful immigration policy of Canada. An increase in the number of settlers was the essential first stage in agricultural development, and the population grew from less than twenty-five hundred to approximately seven thousand.

Under existing circumstances, he worked for a frontier military society which was to be primarily agricultural.....Talon took steps to concentrate the restless colonials, and made land concessions conditional on exploitation within three years for seigniors and four in the case of habitants."

The work of Talon in Canada cannot be better summed up than by citing the following extract from Rameau (28): "If Cartier was the discoverer and Champlain the founder of Canada, it can be very well said that Talon was its creator. He used well the powers which he had been given to establish the colony. He multiplied himself and no detail which concerned the interests of the king and those of the colonists was too small to command his whole attention." "To encourage the colonists, he himself started the trade with the West Indies at his own expense, and similarly started a brewery and a farm. During his stay in the colony, the population more than doubled, and agricultural development was such that barring accidents he could count on a yearly surplus for export. No one can deny that if Canada had remained under his guidance for a few more years, many of the hardships of the next twenty or thirty years would have been avoided though it must be confessed that at that time some of them had already established their roots.

In 1672, Frontenac was appointed Governor in place of the Sieur de Courcelles. There is no doubt that this nomination hastened Talon's return to France, because he sensed that their policies would be as opposed as their characters.

Like Talon, Frontenac had received very definite instructions from the king (29). "The Sieur de Frontenac," he was told, "must encourage by all possible means the inhabitants to the tillage and clearing of lands; and since the distance between settlements has considerably retarded the development of the colony and has in the past, made the incursions of the Iroquois possible, he will examine what can be done to force the inhabitants to make their clearings close to one another, either by forcing the old colonists to work on their concessions or by granting them to new ones who come to settle in the country. He also knows how the feeding of cattle is useful to families; for this reason, he will encourage the inhabitants to feed as many as possible, so that the country will not be dependent on the cattle of the Kingdom for its subsistence."

"Frontenac's opposition to cancellation of land grants for lack of development was ominous", writes H.M.Thomas (27). "His interest was in rewarding his friends, and not in establishing farms."

In 1672, the Council had passed an edict alienating half of the lands conceded in the country and again in 1673 another one ordering Duchesneau to cancel the grants which were too large (32).

The bush rangers were also the subject of instructions from the king to Frontenac (31). "Having learned that one of the main abuses which are committed in the colony and which concerns the growth of the population and the clearing of lands,

is the habit that a certain number of Frenchmen who are in the colony have taken of going hunting and trading in furs five or six hundred leagues above Quebec without permission and without taking the trouble of establishing permanent settlements in the country." It must, therefore, be forbidden to go into the bush without permission from the Governor and the Intendant. To comply with this order of the king, Frontenac published an edict(35) forbidding all resident Frenchmen to leave their settlements for more than twenty-four hours to go hunting without first obtaining a "congé" signed by himself under penalty of fine. It also forbade to trade with or to give assistance to the bush rangers.

On the subject of Frontenac and the bush rangers, Thomas (27) wrote: "Fifteen years of peace followed the establishments of Intendant Talon. During this time the fur trade became more desperate in its competition, and under Count de Frontenac the highest authorities of the colony encouraged bush ranging of all sorts for they saw the need of extending French influence and control into the regions bordering upon the Great Lakes. Notable explorations were made in the inner continent because fur trade and not agriculture had first place in the affections of the autocratic Governor General."

"Frontenac," writes Salone (33), "was not capable of continuing the work started by Talon. Between 1672 and 1682, he missed the essential part of his task, the increase of the colony. He sent to the conquest of a vast French Empire

the explorers and bush rangers. He did not attend to the increase in the number of families and to the clearing of lands in the small France already founded along the St. Lawrence." In 1673 Duchesneau was appointed Intendant to replace Talon and Salone says that he was mediocre but consciencious and that Frontenac saw in him a rival and was constantly opposing him.

In 1673, a census of the colony was taken, showing a population of 6,705 as compared with 6,582 in 1668 an increase of 123 in five years or an average of 30 persons per year. The Minister refused to believe that this figure could be true and suggested that it must have been incomplete (30). In fact, when one recalls the statement of Talon that in the year 1671 births had totalled seven hundred, one is inclined to believe that the census must have been very incomplete indeed or else that the evil of the bush rangers reported by Talon had already taken on very important proportions.

In 1674, the Minister wrote to Frontenac (34) that "the King wishes that he apply himself to the grouping of the colonists into cities and villages, so that they will be in a better position to defend themselves and he does not wish that settlers be placed too far up the St. Lawrence, that he apply himself to the clearing and settlement of the most fertile areas, and those closest to the sea and thereby to the communication with France. This rule can have exceptions only in two cases, one if the country which you would take possession of were essential to the commerce of the French, but there is none such as His Majesty believes that you must let the Indians bring their furs without having to go after them. The other, that the country that you would discover would bring you closer to France through communication with more southern seas than the opening

of the St. Lawrence, as would be Acadia, the reason being that you know perfectly well that what is the worst about Canada is the entrance to this River which is far north and does not allow entrance to vessels for more than four, five or six months of the year.

Frontenac in answer to this letter, wrote to the Minister (35' (November 1674): "No one is more convinced than I, that it is necessary for the good of the colony, not to extend the concessions in the colony..... It is a gospel which I have preached since my arrival in this country, where I have not made any new grants except where they were close to the old ones and could contribute to their development. Because it is certain, that nothing will perfectly settle the country until there are towns and villages. But this will be done only by following the practise followed by the English and the Dutch which is to establish fairs where trading must be carried out, without allowing trading in private houses or going to meet the Indians."

Let us now see how Frontenac's actions compared with his convictions as expressed in the above letter. In 1673, he granted three concessions which totalled more than 190,000 "arpents". These were located in the present counties of Rimouski, Chateauguay and Terrebonne. In 1674, seven seigniories exceeding 283,000 "arpents" were added to the already too long list. These were located (See Table 6 appendix) in the present counties of Kamouraska, Bellechasse, Lotbinière, St. Maurice and Papineau. In 1675 his six grants totalled over 151,000 "arpents" and were located in the present counties of Gaspé, Rimouski, Champlain, Nicolet and

Kingston in Ontario. The grant of Fort Frontenac (Kingston) had been made because "Frontenac had been persuaded by Cavelier de la Salle that the best way to prevent the Iroquois from cutting into the trade with the Algonquin Indians of the upper country was to build a fort at Cataragui, the site of the present Kingston on Lake Ontario"(36). We can see from the above that the recognized interests of the colony did not carry much weight with Frontenac.

In 1675, a census (37) was taken and showed that the population of the colony was 7,832 persons of all ages. To this the Minister wrote that he could not believe that the population was so small because he had sent a larger number than that in the last fifteen or sixteen years and he repeated his orders against going into the bush for the purpose of trading. It does seem hard to believe that the population should be so low if we can put faith in the statement of Talon that seven hundred births had occurred in 1671. The births alone, assuming that 1671 was only an average year, would have accounted for an increase of three thousand in the population between 1671 and 1675. The number of Canadians who were in the bush and missed by the census taker must have been great. The same census showed that 21,237, "arpents" of land were under cultivation. When compared with the census of 1667, this represents an increase of 9,678 "arpents" or 83.7 per cent and an average of slightly better than one thousand "arpents" per year. The increase in the agricultural area may be taken as a direct measure of the work of Talon in the colony, and while it is not

very large, it is gratifying.

If we accept the estimate of Father Le Jeune which we have cited in a previous chapter that one man could, clear between one and a half and two "arpents" of land each year, this would mean that considerably less than one thousand men out of a population of 7,832 were clearing land. The number of males exceeded the number of females by quite a margin, and therefore, this would mean that less than one third of the male population were clearing land. This cannot be counted as a great success after all the recommendations of Louis XIV and Colbert and it is not very surprising that they refused to believe it.

"The intention of His Majesty", continued the Minister "is that you cause to be executed the various regulations He has made regarding land grants, that is, that they must be decreased if those who have had them for four, five, six, eight to ten years have not yet settled and cultivated them." Duchesneau had also received instructions which in the main were the same as those given to Talon and Frontenac. "It is necessary", he was told, "to work to keep the inhabitants in peace and quietness (37) so that they can work without worry at the tillage of their lands and at the things which concern trade. At the same time, you must do all you can to establish new trades and to increase those already established and to start all the manufactures necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants."

"His Majesty wishes further," continued the instructions, "that you attend to the increase of the manufacture of potash, that

a large quantity be sent to France every year and that you consider that the Kingdom will consume more than three or four million pounds every year and it is the King's intention that Canada supply this quantity. You must do the same for the sedentary fisheries and you must search for iron mines. His Majesty also desires that you execute the orders for the confiscation of land concessions immediately after the expiration of the delay granted."

"With regard to the manufacture of linens, cloths and tanneries, only the needs of the population can establish them, therefore, you must leave them to the industry of the inhabitants." This is indeed a very long way from the financial assistance which Louis XIV had promised Talon. It is not without interest to note in the above instructions that the Minister wanted Duchesneau to devote all his energies to the development of the things which France needed, but those which regarded the welfare of the colonists were to be left to their industry.

Considering that the colony was already too scattered, the minister refused Jolliet permission to go and settle with twenty men in the Illinois country and on the subject he told Duchesneau that "it is necessary to multiply the inhabitants of Canada before taking up new lands, and that is what you must keep in mind regarding the new discoveries."

In spite of all the instructions to the contrary, Frontenac continued to distribute seigniories to his friends. In 1676 he granted four seigniories which totalled over 170,000 "arpents", three of which were in Acadia and the fourth in the

present county of Nicolet. In 1677, six more with an area of over 100,000 "arpents" were granted in the present counties of L'Islet and Kamouraska. In 1678, two more were granted, one in Yamaska and the other in Chambly. Frontenac also encouraged the bush rangers and the trade in liquor in spite of the opposition of the Bishop and of Duchesneau. These facts coupled with the high handed manners of Frontenac were bound to cause difficulties between him and the Intendant and these culminated in the recall of both in 1682.

Duchesneau worked to the best of his ability to the development of the colony. To encourage the raising of cattle he passed an edict (38) forbidding the seizure of livestock for debts. The constant differences between the Governor and himself paralysed his efforts and he could only report to the Minister that, in his opinion, Frontenac's conduct was detrimental to the development of the colony. In 1679, he wrote as follows (39): "The bush rangers are worse than ever. I have done all I could to stop them and it is all useless because several important families of this country are interested in it and the Governor allows it and benefits by it. Not only do the bush rangers leave openly but they carry their furs to the English and also want to carry there the trade of the Indians. The Governor takes the precaution of sending his beaver under the name of merchants who are in league with him.....

" It is therefore evident, Monseigneur, and everyone admits it that there is in the country what almost amounts to a

general disobedience. The number of those who are in the bush is estimated in the neighbourhood of five or six hundred, not counting those who leave every day; they are those who are the most capable of developing and defending the colony."

"Remember, if you please Monseigneur," he continued, "that during the year which preceded my arrival into this country, there had been complaints that the large number of people who went to the Indian settlements for the fur trade ruined the colony, because those who alone could develop it, being young and strong, abandoned their wives and children, the tillage of the soil and the care of cattle, that they became debauched, and that their remoteness occasioned the wantonness of their wives as it has happened often and is still happening every day, that they become accustomed to a lazy and vagabond life which they cannot abandon later. The next year, the farmers complained that this general liberty of going into the bush was ruinous to them. The Governor has imperceptibly become the master of the trade (in Montreal) and as soon as the Indians arrive he provides them with guards, which would be right if these did their duty and prevented them from being robbed by the Frenchmen....."

"Several gentlemen, reformed officers and some seigniors, as they become accustomed to the life of a country gentleman which they have practised themselves and seen practised, make their main occupation of hunting and fishing and because they cannot do without as many things as simple inhabitants for their food and clothes and those of their wives and children, and

because they do not apply themselves to economy and to putting their hands in cultivation, they dabble in trade, contract debts on all sides and encourage the young farmers to become bush rangers and send their children to trade in furs in the Indian settlements and in the bush in spite of the orders of His Majesty to the contrary and with all this they are in the most abject misery."

Duchesneau then continued his portrait of the colony, giving descriptions of the remaining classes of Canadian society. "The merchants of this country, excepting five or six at the most, are in poverty; the artisans, excepting a small number and a few inn-keepers are in the same position, because of the vanity of women among whom there is no distinction here, and the debauchery of the men which consume all they can earn so that their families subsist only with the greatest difficulty and never become established."

"As for the labourers, who apply themselves assiduously to the cultivation of the soil, not only do they subsist honestly, but they are much happier than those we call peasants in France. But as the people of this country is flighty and resembles the savages, fickle and incapable of assiduous labour, seeing the liberty which is openly taken of going into the bush, they are easily debauched and they go with the others to get furs to have the means of living without doing anything, and this is the reason why lands are not cleared, that cattle do not multiply as they should and that it is impossible to establish manufactures."

Duchesneau believed that it would be a good thing "to forbid the transportation from France of flours, butter and pork because there would be sufficiently here, not only for the subsistence of the country, but also to maintain the trade with the Islands; the crop would have been plentiful this year if there had been people to do the harvest, and wheat prices would have been low. The only thing missing in this country," he continued, "is people, and when the disobedients will have been called back and the inhabitants retained in the country, and when you will have the kindness to send labourers, I can promise, that what you recommend for the clearing of lands, for the raising of livestock and for the establishment of fisheries, trades and manufactures will succeed."

The above constitutes a picture of the colony which is none too rosy. The disagreements between the Governor and the Intendant might lead us to believe that Duchesneau might have somewhat darkened the picture to make the guilt of Frontenac appear still greater than it really was. The census of 1679, (40) however, clearly demonstrated that while Duchesneau might have gone out of his way to paint a dark picture, there was nevertheless, a very strong element of truth in his report. The census showed a population of 9,400 an increase of only 1,568 since 1676. The area under cultivation was reported as 21,900 "arpents" an increase of only 663 "arpents" in three years. The number of cattle had increased from 5,117 to 6,983 or 26.7 per cent during the same

period. It is very evident from the above that land clearing and agricultural development generally had been at a standstill since the departure of Talon from the colony.

In the same year Duchesneau again wrote to Colbert (41): "The scarcity of wheat and other grains had forced the inhabitants to clear lands, and, there was hope that they would apply themselves to their cultivation without the bad example of the bush rangers which inclines ^{them} to do the same. This clearing of lands had permitted the sending of flours to the Islands and the feeding of a large number of animals and would have facilitated the manufacture of linens, woollen goods and leathers, but these hopes have been destroyed by the liberty which the young people have taken of going into the bush despite the defence of His Majesty. Unless some remedy is found, there will be left in the French settlements, only old men, women and children." Naturally he placed the responsibility for all these evils on the shoulders of Frontenac.

In this same year, 1679, Frontenac granted five seigniories which covered an area of over 289,000 "arpents". These were located in Labrador, Acadia, Gaspé and Kamouraska. In 1680, the grants which he made were the island of Anticosti, the seigniory of Sault St. Louis near Montreal and the seigniories of Argenteuil and Nicolet. The above very clearly show that Frontenac disregarded all orders received and granted concessions to his friends wherever they wished them. All concessions made carried the

exclusive rights for the grantees of hunting, fishing, and trading on their seigniories. If a grantee could obtain a concession at a place where the Indians had to pass in order to bring their furs to the French, he, therefore, had the first chance of obtaining their furs. Some grantees went so far as to charge the Indians for the right of passing in front of their seigniories. This explains the reasons why grants were made at the extremities of the colony and on the rivers where the Indians must pass on their way to Montreal, Quebec, Three Rivers rather than near the settled grants. With Frontenac, the fur trade alone was of consequence and he took care to place his friends where they could benefit the most from it.

In 1680, Duchesneau again wrote to the Minister (42) and this time placed the number of bush rangers at eight hundred. It might be of interest to pause for a moment and to consider this number of eight hundred bush rangers in relation with the total population. It is certain that the hardships connected with the life of bush ranger were such that only the strongest of men could bear it. Long trips in canoes in all sorts of weather, the transport of thousands of pounds of merchandise over rough portages, sleeping on the ground sometimes in tents and oftener under the starlit sky, paddling upstream from early dawn till dark, eating coarse food around camp fires, such were the conditions under which these men had to live and only the most robust could stand it.

The census of 1681 reported the presence in the colony of 2,729 men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Eight hundred

bush rangers therefore meant that one-third of the flower of manhood was lost to agricultural development, to manufacture and to legitimate trade. It is no wonder that the population of the colony did not increase as it should have done, because of the number of these who never returned and because of the decline in birth rate which must necessarily follow because of the absence of young married men from their homes.

The abandonment of agricultural development is depicted by Duchesneau in the above mentioned letter; "The country suffers so much," he wrote, "from the scarcity of people that many farms are not cultivated, which causes me to beg for two hundred labourers. Land cultivation has not increased because of the absence of the bush rangers, and the number of livestock has not increased either, because of the lack of people to care for them and also because the seasons have been unfavourable." In this same letter, he stated that in 1680 the population of the colony was 9,719 an increase of only 319 over the previous year. It is true that since 1673 immigration from France had been almost nil, but the births mentioned alone should have produced a greater increase than this.

In a memorandum (43) written in 1681, Duchesneau wrote his views on the colony and they show that he had given up hope of making an agricultural country of Canada. "As all countries", he wrote, "become important only by their trade, it is important to make known that which can be carried on in Canada. It seems that it can be said with some certainty

that trade can be pursued in New France only in furs and fisheries and that we must not consider the cultivation of the soil and the raising of livestock nor manufactures as solid foundation for its establishment, because only trade will make it flourish and immigrants will be attracted only by the hope of profits, good government and by the hope of living an easier life than in France."

"It is not," he continued, "that one should not presently consider the cultivation of the soil as the principal means of establishing the country and apply himself to its increase, which can be done only if the inhabitants can find a market for their productions; commerce with the islands can contribute very much to it, but an excellent means and even useful to the trade with the Islands would be the establishment of stores at Quebec, where would be received all kinds of grains, meats, salted fish and lumber.....which would be sent to the Islands and elsewhere. These products would be paid for partly in goods from France and partly in money."

He stated that the fur trade would flourish only if they could attract the Indians into the settlements, and this could be done only by treating them with deference and by encouraging them to settle into villages. Furthermore, he believed that the trade must be free to all the inhabitants. He thought that fishing could be regarded as advantageous only for Acadia and that the Canadians would never be able to do much more than supply their own needs and perhaps a small surplus.

He placed on Frontenac the responsibility for all the evils which visited the colony. "Neither the French nor the Indians," he wrote, "are free in their trade, they are exposed to the worst treatments and the best inhabitants are thinking of abandoning the colony and of returning to France. The Governor-general and the governor and the Major of Montreal trade publicly, thus disobeying the orders of the King and setting the example of disobedience to the King's Will." Naturally, Frontenac in his correspondence with the King and the Minister blamed the very same evils on the Intendant and this action finally lead to the recall of both in 1682.

So far, we have devoted a great deal of space to the relation of the means taken by Talon to foster the development of the colony and to the results achieved. Then we devoted some space to a review of the attitudes of Frontenac and Duchesneau and we have shown how Frontenac thought of the expansion of the colony in order to favour the fur-trade but only gave scant attention to the agricultural progress of the country. It remains now to describe the agricultural state of the colony as shown by the census of 1681 (44), which year marks the end of the period that we propose to cover in this chapter. The total number of seigniories granted before 1681 was one hundred and sixty nine. This census which the writer has been able to recompile in detail shows that of that number only forty-eight showed population the others having remained totally uninhabited. Tables 10 and 11 of the appendix give the details for each seigniory.

The total population of the colony was reported as 9,673, an increase of 5,755 over 1667, of 2,968 over 1673, of 1,841 over 1675, of 273 over 1679 and an actual decrease of 46 persons from the census of 1680. The above statement shows in its just light the effect of Frontenac's policies on the population growth of the country. The increase is much less than the normal natural increase for the period and indicates emigration from the settlements and also a decreased birth rate caused by the absence of married men from their families.

During the fourteen year period between 1667 and 1681 the number of families had increased from 817 to 1,893 or an increase of 1,076 families and an average of 77 families per year. If we make a comparison with 1668, however, the increase is only 754 or an average of only 58 families per year. This very definitely shows that the increase took place in the first half of the period, while Talon was in the colony. As an indication of the failure of the seigniors to colonize their grants, it is of interest to note that of the forty-eight seigniories on which population was reported, twelve had less than ten families and twenty-nine more had between ten and fifty.

During the same period the area of land under cultivation had increased from 11,559 to 24,644 "arpents" and the number of farms from 713 to 1,583. Between 1679 and 1681 the increase in land under cultivation was only 2,744 "arpents" or an average of 1.7 "arpents" per farm in two years. It is reasonable to assume that the increase in the number of farms took

place at the same time as the increase in the number of families.

Of the 1,583 farms reported in 1681, 882 or 55.7 per cent had 10 "arpents" of land under cultivation or less, 646 or 40.8 per cent had between 11 and 50 "arpents" and the remaining 55 had 51 "arpents" or more. Only in fourteen seigniories were there farms of 51 "arpents" or more.

Cattle were reported on 1,264 farms or 80 per cent of the total but of those 765 or 60.5 per cent reported less than five heads and 1,166 or 92.2 per cent reported ten heads or less. The total number of cattle reported was 6,896 as compared with 2,683 in 1667, and 6,983 in 1679. The last two years had, therefore, seen a decrease of 87 in the total number of cattle in the colony. The total number of horses was 94 as compared to 145 in 1679. The number of sheep was 602 as compared with 85 in 1667 but 719 in 1679. Similarly, in the last two years the number of goats had decreased from 33 to 18, and the number of asses from 12 to 8. If we were only interested in showing the detrimental effect of Frontenac's administration on the colony, we would not have to go any further.

The details provided by the 1681 census reveal that only a few farms were in a position to produce a surplus of agricultural goods for the market; the bulk of them were nothing more than a home garden and were such that they could hardly be counted upon to support a family without being supplemented by revenues from other sources. We must admire Talon's efforts, but we are forced to conclude that so far, France's experiment in America had been a long way from a success.

We have repeated several times that the king insisted upon the expropriation of seigniories which had not been settled and brought under cultivation. A comparison of tables 6 and 10 (appendix) shows that in 1681 one hundred and thirty-three seigniories which had been granted for quite a long time had as yet no population or clearings. Furthermore, of those which showed population, the comparison reveals that on many it was very small in relation to the number of years since the grant had been made. For example, the seigniorie of Gaudarville had been granted in 1652 and had only a population of 66 on 16 farms in 1681; de Maure had been granted in 1647 and showed only 31 families and 29 farms; Portneuf granted in the same year, 1647, had only three families and three farms; Les Ecureuils granted in 1672 had only four families and four farms; Chavigny or Deschambault granted in 1640, had only one family and one farm and yet had been increased by 10,580 "arpents" in 1647. We could continue this enumeration but the above is sufficient to show the importance of the question and to show the extent to which the king had been badly served in the colony.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction that only on the seigniories of Beaupré, Beauport, Notre Dame des Anges, Neuville, Lauzon, Bellechasse, Orléans, Batiscan, Champlain, Cap de la Madeleine and Montreal was the population and the agricultural development at all commensurate with the period of ownership of the grantees. We will have the opportunity

of further discussing this matter in a later chapter.

Table 10 also provides interesting information regarding the distribution of population at that period. The population was scattered over the present counties of Bellechasse, Berthier, Chambly, Champlain, Kamouraska, Laprairie, L'Assomption, Lévis, Lotbinière, Maskinongé, Montmorency, Montréal and Jesus Island, Portneuf, Quebec, Richelieu, Verchères and Yamaska. In other words, the population was stretched in a line for nearly three hundred miles on both sides of the St. Lawrence giving an average of about three families per linear mile and less than two if Quebec and suburbs, Three Rivers and Montreal are omitted. When one looks at the population in this way, it is no wonder that the king and Colbert thought that the settlements were too far apart.

When examining closely the statistics for the seigniories which showed population both in 1667 and 1681, we find that some of these showed considerable emigration during the period. Beaupré, for example, showed an increase of only sixty-four persons in fourteen years. The clearing of lands in the same seigniory for the same period amounted only to an average of 36 "arpents" per year or only one quarter of an "arpent" per farm, figuring on the number of farms of 1667 and when we add to this eighteen new farms, it shows that the development was very small indeed. Time and space do not permit to enter into similar details for each seigniory - this in itself would be sufficient for a complete study - and the above

is enough to show the slowness of development even in the best seigniories.

We have given sufficient evidence in this chapter to show that both Louis XIV and Colbert knew the causes of the slowness of the development of the colony. While they could not or would not give financial assistance to the colony, they gave instructions which, had they been followed to the letter, would have been of great assistance to Canada. We have shown the work of Talon for the colony and the results which he obtained and which marked the real start of the colony. We have also shown how Frontenac put a stop to the agricultural development of the country and turned everyone's attention to the fur trade. We have shown how he paralysed the weak efforts of Duchesneau and how he even undid some of the work of Talon. In 1682, gone were the brewery, the tanneries, the manufacture of linens and cloths and in fact nearly everything which could have served as a permanent base for the establishment of the colony and thus he had wasted the great opportunity of this peaceful period.

Thomas in the article which we have already cited (27) stated that "perhaps the actual achievements of Talon have sometimes been exaggerated, but his immigration policy and his successful introduction of livestock laid the two essential foundations of Canadian Agriculture." The writer is inclined to disagree with the first part of this statement. We have pointed out some faults in Talon's policies, but we believe

that if his achievements have sometimes appeared to have been exaggerated it was not because of their unimportance but because of the fact that his successors, either through personal interest, ill will or incapacity allowed them to come to naught. Talon must stand as the one man who gave Canada its first forward push and in spite of a few faults, he must remain the Great Man of the French Regime.

Acadia 1671-1686.-We cannot close this chapter without saying a few words of the development of Acadia during this period. Very little is known of the sequence of events in this country beyond what is told by Talon and Duchesneau. In a letter to Colbert in 1670 (45), Talon wrote: "The English have returned Acadia to the Sieur de Grandfontaine who writes that nearly all the soldiers of his company wish to settle.....I have advised him to establish relations with Boston which can be broken whenever His Majesty so desires." Unfortunately, these relations were not to be so easily broken as we will see later. In another letter to Colbert in 1671 (46) he again wrote: "The Company of the Sieur de Grandfontaine subsists all the more readily because it is greatly assisted by the fisheries.....nearly all the soldiers wish to settle and even to get married, if girls are sent from France, and already twenty-two, fourteen soldiers and eight "engagés" have settled at one league from the fort, but the land which they till produces only corn, because they have no French wheat to seed.....and the fishing is good. The inhabitants number three hundred and eighty-nine and they have

among them so many cattle that in exchange for clothes and other goods which I sent them this spring, they sent me six thousand pounds of salted beef at the price of two sols per pound."

"I believe that in a few years, continued Talon, Acadia and New France will be able to furnish all the salted meats needed by the West Indies. It would be necessary for this to stop the trading which the English do with the inhabitants of Port Royal. They exchange cloths made in Boston for salted meats. It would be necessary to replace these by cloths made in France and to send them weaving mills so that they might be able to use their wools and hems. They lack the necessary tools for cultivation; they would need one hundred hoes and two hundred axes."

In 1680, Duchesneau wrote (47): "Acadia which belongs to us has practically the same advantages as Canada and open navigation the year around, however, nothing is done there, and though there are only 515 French of both sexes, they obtain their subsistence from the English and they exchange for their needs a few furs which they barter with the Indians. Poverty is not the only misfortune of the French there; they are divided; there is among them neither order nor justice and those who are sent from here to command them rob them and in spite of it are themselves in the most abject misery." The above shows that the strifes which had marked the preceding period, 1632-1671, were not yet completely settled and that those who resided there were

more interested in trading than in the establishment of a solid agricultural colony.

Realizing that the development of Acadia was very slow, Louis XIV hoped that the formation of a company would be of assistance. In 1682, the following statement appears in a memorandum dealing with the settlement of Acadia. "Despite the fact that Acadia was included in the grant (to the West Indies Company)..... nevertheless, to this day Acadia is not tilled and almost uninhabited in spite of all the advantages it offers, having timber, fertile lands, easy and abundant fishing, mines and other wealth of which our subjects take no advantage, because of the difficulties which arose between the grantees who ruined rather than established the colony, and the company which we formed in 1664 having paid attention only to the localities which promised quicker returns, neglected the remainder, which, at different times, lead some of our subjects to ask for individual grants in Acadia, which we have granted as an encouragement to others to form settlements..; but either because the wealth of this country is not yet sufficiently well known, or else because those of our subjects who could trade there were not sufficiently strong financially to surmount the first difficulties of the trade which can be made there, or because the failure of a first voyage discourages them, we believe that to render this trade more advantageous for the future, we must leave the complete settlement of this province to a number of persons capable of undertaking it and of furnishing the necessary sums for the establishment of this colony."

The Company of Acadia was formed in 1682 and the same memorandum lists forty-three conditions which were to be fulfilled.

The Sieur Bergier, director of this Company arrived in the colony (Chedabouctou Bay) in 1683 (49), "where having found some land which his people had cleared during the winter, he seeded wheat, rye and barley on the twenty-second day of May and harvested them on the twentieth and twenty-fifth days of September. He also had vines planted and all sorts of fruit trees which he had brought from France and which grew well; flax, hemp, peas, beans and all sorts of vegetables grow as well there as in the neighbourhood of Paris."

A memorandum (50) on the present state of Acadia, written in 1686 described the various settlements. "Following the coast of Acadia, there is only the establishment of Ristigouche. This establishment consists of a small settlement with nine or ten persons and a small clearing without fishing and no other employment than the trade in the bush. At fort St. Louis of Chedabouctou, there is a sedentary fishery, lands are cultivated, timber is cut and a coal mine has been opened. There are there, this year, one hundred and thirty labourers and some women. At La Hève there are four or five poor inhabitants who fish and trade; there are a few small clearings for gardens and the land is very fertile. At Port La Tour there are two houses and six or seven persons, very poor, without cleared lands and very little fishing. At Cape Sable there is the same number of persons who retire at Port Royal for the winter. Then comes

Port Royal with five or six hundred souls in ten or twelve leagues of country. At the head of Port Royal River and at a distance of about fourteen or fifteen leagues, there has been formed a village where there are one hundred to one hundred and twenty persons; the clearing there is considerable. At the far end of the French Bay, at the isthmus, there is a settlement called Beaubassin belonging to the Sieur Le Neuf de la Valière, where there are a few inhabitants and some beautiful meadows where livestock is kept. On the River St. John there are a few settlements, about fifteen persons; they are, properly speaking, trading posts with no cultivated land. At River Ste. Croix, there is also another trading post where there are five or six persons who do some fishing, all the trading they can and no tillage. At Pentagouet is the Sieur de St. Castin with a few servants. He has no fixed settlement, fishing or tillage. It must be noted that from Port Royal to Pentagouet all the French trade with the English and that is their sole employment." The above description shows that from the point of view of agriculture, in 1686 the colony of Acadia had as yet very little importance.

In the same year, 1686, a census (51) was taken which gives an exact picture of the development of the colony at that time. The details of this census will be found in Tables 12 and 13 of the appendix and on page 20 of Volume IV of the census of 1871. The total population of the colony was reported as 879, compared with 363 in 1671, an increase of 546 in fifteen years, or an average of slightly over thirty-six persons per year. There

were one hundred and fifty-five families, an increase of eighty-seven over the previous census. During the same period the number of farms increased from forty-nine to ninety. The area under cultivation was eight hundred and ninety seven "arpents" as compared with four hundred and seventeen in 1671. Land clearing, therefore, amounted to an average of thirty-two "arpents" yearly or about one-third of an "arpent" per farm.

Of the ninety farms reported, thirty-six reported less than five "arpents" of land under cultivation and thirty-three reported between five and ten "arpents". Eighty five farms reported nine hundred and eighty six cattle. Fourteen reported less than five heads and forty reported between five and ten heads. In addition, seven hundred and fifty nine sheep and six hundred and seven swine were reported.

The year 1686 was the eighty second year since de Monts had started the first settlement on Ste Croix Island. One hundred and fifty five families and ninety farms do not constitute a very important success in colonization in almost a century. Furthermore, not more than thirty of these farms had sufficient land under cultivation and a large enough number of animals to produce any surplus for the market. The remaining farms were nothing more than a home garden.

We have shown in this chapter that in Acadia as well as in New France, the development of agriculture had been very slow. It can be said, that apart from the efforts of Talon,

nothing had been done to establish a solid colony in America. The various letters and memoranda which we have quoted, however, prove without a doubt that everyone was aware of the fact that agriculture must stand as the basis of the development of the colony. Judging by the results so far obtained, it must be admitted that France had failed in the establishment of New France. The establishments of Talon had been allowed to die out and abuses had been allowed to creep in which would impede the progress of the colony for many years to come.

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CHAPTER IV

New France, 1682-1702; Acadia, 1686-1710

In the preceding chapter we described the efforts of Talon to lay the foundation of a viable French colony in America. We then showed that Frontenac had extended the colony to the west for the benefit of the fur-trade and also that this policy had been responsible for the undoing of a great deal of the work started by Talon. Frontenac had evidently failed to take advantage of the peaceful years to consolidate the colony as Louis XIV and Colbert had instructed him to do. With him the explorations which sent Frenchmen after the furs of the Indians a thousand miles away from the inhabited parts of the colony were all that mattered.

In the present chapter, we will endeavour to show the effect of this policy on the government of the successors of Frontenac and Duchesneau. They will have to cope with the evil of the rangers, with the disadvantages of a scattered colony made worse by the huge grants which Frontenac had made to his friends and the whole will be complicated by almost twenty years of the fiercest war ever waged by the Iroquois. As these factors are bound to have considerable effect on the agricultural development of the country, it will be necessary to make mention of them, though we will try to remain within the limits of what is absolutely essential for the proper analysis of our subject.

In 1682, de la Barre and de Meulles were sent to replace Frontenac and Duchesneau who had been recalled because of their

continual disputes. It is somewhat difficult to establish whether Frontenac or Duchesneau, had the greater influence at Court, but it appears that, temporarily at least, Duchesneau had been able to convince the minister of the evil influence of the bush rangers on the remainder of the colony, for in 1681 he had obtained the passing of an ordinance (1) which stated that in the future it would be permitted to send into the Indian country only twenty-five canoes yearly for the fur trade. Strict instructions were also given to the effect that these permissions were to be distributed among all inhabitants and that no inhabitant was to obtain permissions in two successive years. This might be taken as an attempt to prevent the continuation of the preferential treatment to friends which had predominated during the government of Frontenac.

De la Barre and de Meulles like all the preceding governor and intendants had received very definite instructions (2) from Louis XIV and Colbert on the various problem which had to be solved in the colony and on the methods which they were to follow to effect its development. They were first warned that they must work in co-operation, because disputes between the governor and the intendant were detrimental to the King's service, and had been the cause of the recall of their predecessors.

The greatest service that they could render in their position, the King told them, was to apply themselves to the administration of justice in such a way that the Canadians would feel the same peace and tranquility that the other subjects of His Majesty

felt, so that having no troubles among themselves they would be able to devote their whole attention to the cultivation of the soil and to the development of trade which were the only two means of assuring the progress of the colony and of repairing the disorders of the past.

One particular statement of these instructions calls for special mention here. It reads as follows: "The establishment of manufactures may be very useful in a well established country, but it is necessary in a new country to start by the cultivation of the soil which must be regarded as the essential point for the establishment of a colony....." This is not yet a contradiction of Talon's instructions regarding the establishment of manufactures in the country, but it indicates that pressure was being exerted by the French manufacturers, because it was not in their interest that Canada become self-sufficient and in a position to dispense with the importation of French manufactured goods. It will be of interest to follow the progress of this idea through the years.

The bush rangers then were the subject of a special instruction from the minister. "One of the things which has been most opposed to the increase of trade" the instructions continued, "has been the liberty which the inhabitants of the colony have taken, in spite of the ordinances of His Majesty, of going into the bush to carry liquor to the Indians in their settlements and thus obtaining from them the furs which they used to bring to Tadoussac and to Montreal, and by this means they have deprived the inhabitants of

part of the profits which they used to make, this disorder has been carried so far that many inhabitants, encouraged by this bad example and by the profits which the bush rangers make, have abandoned the tillage of their farms and done likewise. Thus the farms were abandoned and the land not being tilled returned to the condition it was in before being cleared."

The minister thought that the surest means of eradicating the above evil was to encourage the clearing of land. " One of the principal means of contributing to the increase of the colony is the clearing and tillage of the soil and he (de la Barre) must examine the quality of the soil and what it can grow best and find out if other crops than the ones now grown would be more profitable, this detail may appear difficult at first, but it is most important. He will strongly urge the heads of families to raise as many cattle as possible so that the country will not have to depend on the cattle of the Kingdom for its subsistence and for the cultivation of the soil "

The surest means of discouraging the bush rangers would have been to offer them, in the colony, opportunities which would have promised returns as good as the fur trade. The soil gave protection against starvation, but unless means were found to develop markets where the farmer could exchange his goods for the essentials which he could not produce himself, there was not much chance that the bush rangers would abandon their trade. The governor and intendant were instructed to encourage trade with the West Indies and to promote the construction of vessels. The trade

was entirely dependant on the construction of vessels but the French government had not yet realized that vessel building required funds and that no one in the colony had any to dispose of for such an enterprise.

The Iroquois who had kept the peace since 1667, again took up arms. De la Barre had no regular army to oppose to them. In the past Canadians had had to become soldiers when necessary, and the necessity was more pressing in this occurrence than ever before. In 1682, de la Barre and de Meulles published an ordinance (3) ordering all inhabitants to secure, at their own expense, fire arms for themselves and this during the "present winter" (1682-3) otherwise they would be liable to a fine. In order to make this possible, the Sieurs Aubert de la Chesnaye, merchant of Quebec and Le Bon, merchant of Montreal were ordered to accept in payment wheat, corn, peas and salted pork at current prices. This ordinance is mentioned because it comes in direct contravention to the conditions which we gave as essential for the development of an agricultural colony. If the Canadians had to buy arms for their own protection it was because Louis XIV did not provide the colonists with adequate protection. It is a truism to say that Canadians could not be soldiers one day and farmers the next. The taking of Canadians on war expeditions a thousand miles away from the colony was just as detrimental to the agricultural development as were the expeditions of the bush rangers, because in both cases the Canadians who, unfortunately, were too easily distracted from the regular life of the colony, acquired a taste for these

expeditions in the bush country and many of them never returned.

De la Barre and de Meulles like their predecessors, distributed large concessions to those who asked for them. In the years 1682, 1683, 1684 and 1685, the fourteen concessions which they granted amounted to well over 300,000 "arpents" and were scattered all the way from Acadia to some distance above Montreal (See Table 6, appendix).

In 1683, de Meulles wrote to the minister (4) reporting on the state of the colony. The King had recommended that they encourage the cultivation of hemp because it was useful to France. "I will cause to be seeded by the inhabitants of Canada, the hemp and flaxseed that the Sieur Arnoul has sent," he wrote. "To encourage this culture. I will promise three sols per pound to those who will grow it, though I believe that one sol is too much, but I believe that in the beginning it is advisable to encourage people by giving them the hope of a small gain."

De Meulles then made the following statement: "The population increases in such an extraordinary fashion that we may hope that in very few years, the country will be in position to supply all its needs." Let us now pause for a moment to consider this population increase which de Meulles considered extraordinary. For many years, both Louis XIV and Colbert had been pressing the bishop, the governor and the intendant to establish permanent parishes with permanent priests who would live from the tithes paid by the parishioners without having to receive help from the King

The opposition which this proposition had always received, needs not be discussed here, but we have at hand the report (5) that Bishop Laval, de la Barre and de Meulles made in 1683 on the state of parishes which gives very complete details of the population of New France. The population of the colony in 1683, according to this memorandum was 9,562 as compared to 9,672 in 1681. Therefore a decrease of 110 in two years constituted the increase which de Meulles called "extraordinary" and which gave him hope that very shortly the colony would become self sufficient.

This report is very interesting as it gives the distribution of the population in some detail, just at the beginning of the Iroquois war so that it will be possible later on to measure the extent of the ravages of the Iroquois in the upper section of the colony. The Island of Montreal to which was added Chateauguay, Ste. Thérèse Island and the seigniory of La Prairie de la Magdeleine had in 1683, according to this report, a population of 1,692 compared to 1,624 in 1681 (See Table 10, Appendix). The number of families was 340 as compared to 320 two years previously.

In the seigniories of Boucherville, du Tremblay, Varennes, Longueil, Cap St. Michel and Petit Moine there was a population of 403 in 86 families, as compared to 358 in 91 families in 1681. In the seigniories of Repentigny, Tilly, Jesus Island and St. Sulpice, there was a population of 230 as compared to 187 two years previously. The seigniories of St. Ours, Contrecoeur and La Valtrie had 55 families with a population of 285, as compared to 46 families, and a population of 199 in the census of

1681. The seigniories of Sorel, Berthier, Autray, St. François and Rivière du Loup had a population of 262 in 41 families, while in the 1681 census the number of families was 63 and the population 242. Three Rivers and Nicolet across the St. Lawrence had 45 families and a population of 247 as compared to 43 families and a population of 192 in 1681. In Cap de la Madeleine and Lincotot the population was 283 in 48 families as compared to 251 and 54 families in 1681. The seigniories of Batiscan and Ste. Anne de la Pérade had 68 families and a population of 365 as compared to 71 families and a population of 356 in the preceding census. The seigniories of Lotbinière, Ste Croix, Grondines, Deschambault and Portneuf had a population of 189 in 35 families as compared to 181 in 36 families in 1681. In the seigniories of Neuville, Les Ecureuils, and Villiers the population was 394 in 46 families as compared to 407 in 79 families in 1681. The small villages in the vicinity of Quebec had 123 families and a population of 838 as compared to 897 and 146 families in the census of 1681. In Beauport the population was 320 as compared to 409 in 1681, and the number of families was 46 as compared to 47. Beaupré had a population of 740 in 120 families as compared to 728 in 121 families two years previously. The Island of Orleans showed a population of 1,149 in 189 families as compared to 1,079 in 188 families in 1681. The seigniories of Lauzon, Montapaine, Beaumont, La Durantaye and Bellechasse had a population of 522 in 95 families as compared to 658 in 131 families in 1681. In the seigniories of

Cap St. Ignace, la Bouteillerie, Rivière du Sud and several others in that region, there were 36 families and a population of 328. In Québec city the population was 1,350 as compared to 1,198 in 1681 and the number of families had increased from 215 to 239 during the same period.

The above shows the increase which de Meulles after signing this report qualified as "extraordinary" and which in reality was much less than the natural increase, showing that emigration, either back to France or to the bush country, was great. The census of 1871 (6) gives the numbers of birth and deaths in the colony from 1608 to the end of the French Regime. The number of births between 1667 and 1683 was 6,862 and the number of deaths 1,163 giving an excedent of births over deaths of 5,699. If this number be added to the population of 1667 (3,918) we have a total of 9,617 which exceeds the actual population in 1683 by 55. There is also a very great possibility that the number of births as reported in the census of 1871 is incomplete. According to the above figures, emigration from the colony during the period exceeded the immigration which came from France. We must therefore, disagree with de Meulles when he stated that the population was increasing "in an extraordinary fashion."

The above report also shows that of the one hundred and sixty three seigniories which had been granted up to the end of 1683, only slightly more than fifty showed the presence of population. This is very definite proof that the distribution of seigniories was not a success because the grantees made no effort

to settle them. Many of the seigniories which showed population had only two or three families and in the majority of them the population was very small in relation to the length of time since the grant had been made.

It will be recalled that on many occasions the King and the minister had ordered that the inhabitants be grouped in villages. The above mentioned report combined with the census of 1681 allows us to approximately distribute the population and the area under cultivation within the boundaries of the present day counties and thus permits us to visualize how scattered was the population.

The Island of Montreal with the counties of Laprairie, Chateaugay, Huntingdon and part of Chambly with a total land area of 1,100 square miles had a population of 1,692 and 5,924 "arpents" of land were under cultivation. It must be said, however, that only a narrow strip of land along the river shores was actually inhabited, because at this date there was not yet one foot of road built in the country and the only means of communication was the St. Lawrence and its tributaries.

The eastern section of the present county of Chambly and the western part of the county of Verchères, a total area of approximately one hundred square miles had a population of 403 and a cultivated area of 747 "arpents." The county of L'Assomption with Jesus Island, three hundred and forty square miles had a population of 230 and the area under cultivation was 644 "arpents." The eastern part of Verchères county, the western part of Richelieu and Joliette across the St. Lawrence had a population of 285 and 513 "arpents" under cultivation. The western part of Richelieu

county, the county of Yamaska and of Berthier across the St. Lawrence had a population of 262 and the area under cultivation was 724 "arpents". The counties of Champlain, St. Maurice and Nicolet had a population of 910 and an area of 3,249 "arpents" of cultivated land. The counties of Lotbinière and Portneuf had a population of 583 and 200 "arpents" of land under cultivation. The county of Québec had a population of 2,488 or slightly over twenty-five per cent of the total population and an area of 3,195 "arpents" under cultivation. The county of Montmorency had a population of 1,889 and the area under cultivation was 4,632 "arpents". The counties of Lévis and Bellechasse with a population of 522 had 1,054 "arpents" of land under cultivation. Finally, the counties of Montmagny, L'Islet and Kamouraska had a population of 328 and 200 "arpents" of land under cultivation.

When one looks at the population in this way, it is not at all surprising that bands of Iroquois were able to fall unexpectedly upon the isolated settlements and massacre the population before any assistance could be obtained. The area of cleared land also shows that the forest was invariably close to the settlements and this assured impunity to the skulking Iroquois.

The king had instructed de Meulles to encourage as much as he could the inhabitants of Canada to establish a regular trade with the West Indies. He had also ordered (7) that the inhabitants of the West Indies be encouraged to take to Canada the products of the Island which they would exchange for Canadian goods.

De Meulles in the letter (4) which we have already mentioned wrote: "The trade with the Islands is absolutely worthless..." (Only sugar and tobacco could be imported). "There are no people in this country who are sufficiently wealthy to use jams. Only a small amount of maple syrup and some currant and wild plum jam is made, but this cannot consume large quantities of sugar. If this trade could be established, it would ensure the disposal of wheat, peas, salmon and lumber. Then, the people finding a market for its products would be encouraged and would prefer the tillage to the fur trade." This is nothing more nor less than the recognition by de Meulles, as early as 1683, that the further development of agriculture in New France was entirely dependent upon whether or not markets could be found for agricultural goods. The French government could issue order after order, but if it was not prepared to make some sacrifice to guarantee profits to Canadian farmers, these could not possibly increase their agricultural production and would continue to turn their attention to the fur trade which, at least, gave them a fix price for their furs.

In a memorandum (8) in which he gave an expose of his theories on the establishment of colonies and of his views on Canada in particular de Meulles wrote (1684): "When one wishes to establish a new colony, one must have in mind something of great utility (for the country which establishes it); a country which would produce only wines and wheat, as the Illinois country, would be more detrimental than useful to

France, because in time this colony would produce sufficiently to enable itself to do away with the products of France and to trade with foreign countries." This is, in a nutshell, the reason why France did not want to open up markets for Canada, because the products would enter into competition with those of France. Louis XIV and Colbert wanted Canada to produce only the things which would supply some of the needs which ~~now~~ France had to fill from foreign countries and they did not care whether or not these things could be of profit to Canadians.

Then, de Meulles stated his ideas on how to develop a strong colony which would be useful to France. "By the means which I suggest", he went on, "His Majesty can become master of all the fur trade and the cod fishing which are found only in this country. It might cost a considerable sum at first, but everyone is convinced that eventually His Majesty would make sufficient profits to compensate for the expenditures. The establishment of Acadia cannot be detrimental to France because no vines can be grown there, and cod fishing cannot be carried on on the coasts of France, which shows that the establishment of Acadia will be advantageous to France, because she will export there wines and liquors and import fish. Similarly, Canada will find there a market for wheat and for other products."

He felt that he had to answer some of the criticisms which had been made of Canada and also to bring out some of the reasons why some of the instructions which he had received were difficult to fulfill. "Canada has always been considered," he

wrote, "as a country located at the end of the world, as a banishment which could almost be considered as a civil death and as a safe retreat for criminals and which many have sought until now. Its name alone indicates that it has been considered as of little consequence, since Acanada in Spanish means, "here nothing exists," and I do not doubt that the Spaniards who first discovered this land and who first entered the St. Lawrence bounded by high mountains covered with snow for five or six months of the year have been forced to say that this country was worthless." As a refutation to the above, he described the advantages of the climate, the fertility of the soil and declared himself favourable to the establishment of a large colony in the country.

"We are now assured," he continued, "that the country can produce grains, and it can even be said that too much is produced for the small number of people who live there....The only thing lacking in Canada is weavers to make linens, as we know by experience that hemp grows very well. The raising of sheep has been started for some time but I doubt, even though they multiply wonderfully, that it be possible in the present settlements to establish an important trade in wool, because the four or five months of cold weather are too long to feed animals indoor, which prevents a large number from keeping them because they cannot make the necessary provisions for the winter and many others because they will not take the trouble of doing it and they neglect these kinds of profits."

"There is now sufficient leather in the colony for all the needs of the people," he continued, "but there are not as many tanneries as we would like to see, since the animals from which the hides are taken are very numerous and their flesh is very good. If the country had more population so that the farmers could find a market for their beef, it is certain that in two or three years time, there would be ten times as many animals as there is now and still more if the country extended to the south where it is not necessary to keep them in stables for the winter."

"The fur trade and the sedentary fisheries would be profitable if the French could control them," he continued, "but at present, the English have as much as we have."

"It is certain that the climate and the location of the country contribute greatly to the increase of the population and it is to be expected that in ten or twelve years the population of this colony will have doubled, but it is not sufficient to have a large population and lands that produce large quantities of wheat, if we cannot find the means of making profits and of occupying these people at various occupations, such as commerce, cultivation of the soil and others the colony must languish and remain useless....." "If His Majesty," he continued, "does not find the means of occupying his people (in Canada) at some trades, He will never derive any benefit from them, since He will always be obliged to maintain this colony and spend more money for its conservation than it can

ever bring back in profits.....This makes me say that this colony being established inland and without seaport will never be able to sustain itself. Only seven or eight vessels come each year, bringing goods for the colonists and for the trade and only two or three return with furs, the others return empty."

"The individuals," he went on, "will certainly find bread and meat. A father will build a small house of wood, clear a few "arpents" of land and will thus obtain the subsistence of his family; his children in turn will do likewise, but thus dividing their efforts indefinitely, they will all be beggars and all equally miserable, being unable to earn sufficiently to clothe themselves and to buy the few necessities of life, they will be forced to live like savages. If the means of establishing trade is not found, it is inevitable that Canada must fall and return into nothingness. In order to increase and become powerful, a country must have common people and others who make fortunes in trade or in other occupations."

"Reciprocal trade with a foreign country," de Meulles continued, "brings abundance into a country and creates a market for all sorts of goods and then, the State benefits by collecting import and export duties. Furthermore, trade brings in money. There is in Canada only the fur trade. Twenty years ago, this trade was useful, but the population has greatly increased, and this trade always remaining the same, the profits are divided between so many persons that it can be useful only to a few merchants who are not resident and who come every year to carry on

their trade. This fur trade is not important enough for everyone in the colony to take part in it. This country, being without resources and without trade, the inhabitants must of necessity live in their own settlements without being able to undertake anything whatever which might give them some profits and this has impoverished many families who came into this country with some wealth. They have tried to maintain their social position, they have married without obtaining dowaries from their wives, they have built nice establishments in which they have spent all the money they had brought with them, their families have increased, they have established their children which forced them to borrow money from time to time and this has caused so many debts in Canada that the majority of those who have tried to live according to their social position have so many debts that they may be considered to be in the most abject poverty, and this is all due to the fact that they were unable to place their capitals into commerce and also because they have been unable to contract rich marriages to reestablish their fortunes."

"The poor people who came as soldiers have cleared some land on which they grow grains; it is true that they get sufficiently on their farms not to starve to death, but they are without hope of ever bettering their position, since they cannot find a profitable market for their grains and other goods and this prevents them from obtaining the subsistence of their families from their labour."

"There is here," he continued, "sufficient to build a new Europe with the same commerce as the old one, but as the latter took many centuries to establish itself, this one will take at least a few."

De Meulles then suggested that fishing stations be established on the coast of Acadia to provide employment for the young people, but he believed that this should be done by the king himself rather than by private individuals. "Fishing alone made Boston which is now as important as La Rochelle. The inhabitants are wealthy and spend much money. This would bring large revenues to the king and at the same time would build a strong colony. Four or five hundred vessels of all nations come to Boston every year and France would have all that. This establishment would open up trade for Quebec. The price of clothes would drop; - the people here are nearly naked during the winter. Acadia would become a storehouse for France and the trade with the West Indies would benefit by it."

We have quoted very extensively from the above memorandum because it shows without need of comment the reasons for the slow development of the colony. It brings out very clearly that what Canada needed most to encourage its development was markets. We have often stated that in order to establish a strong colony it is absolutely necessary to give it the means of making profits. No area or country was ever opened to colonization merely on the sole hope on the part of colonists^{of} obtaining just a bare subsistence. It is the prospect of something more than daily bread which

causes people to abandon families and homes to go out to carve a homestead for themselves in the wilderness. Louis XIV, of course, had other things to think about than the fate of his peoples who were two thousand miles away across the sea and the manufacturers and the merchants of France exerted all the influence they could muster to prevent the establishment in Canada of manufactures the products of which would enter into competition with their own.

It is difficult to ascertain just what effect memoranda of this kind had on the king and on the minister (Colbert had died in 1683 and had been replaced by his son Seignelay) but in 1684, the minister wrote to de Meulles (8): "Nothing is more important than to encourage the inhabitants to develop the fisheries, to clear land and to establish other trades which would be much more profitable than the fur trade which they have carried on until now. Since you tell me that the soil is quite fertile, if, over and above the area which they need to grow wheat for their own subsistence, they were to clear some for the growing of hemp, His Majesty would derive great utility from it for His navy yards and it would also be advantageous to the colonists. To this effect, and to encourage the inhabitants to start this cultivation, He will permit that hemp be paid a little more in the colony than in France. However, I think that fifteen livres per hundred pound which you now pay is excessive considering that what is grown in the Kingdom is only paid twelve." The above is an illustration of how far the French government was willing to

go to encourage the development of the colony by means of subsidies.

Again in 1684, speaking of the war which de la Barre had been forced to declare on the Iroquois, the minister wrote (9) to de Meulles: "Take all the necessary precautions to ensure that the war does not prevent the keeping of a sufficient number of men for the cultivation of the soil, otherwise there would be a great danger of famine in the country." The above statements and many others which we have already given are sufficient proof that Louis XIV and his ministers were willing to go to any length to give advice on what the inhabitants should do, but they were not willing to spend one "sou" to encourage them. They could not see that a small sacrifice on their part to make agricultural production profitable at the outset would have been greatly repaid and the losses caused by the fur trade would have been decreased considerably.

In a memorandum (10) written to the king (1684) de la Barre explained that he had been forced to continue the payment of supplements to parish priests because of the high cost of living and "because the productivity of the soil decreases every day as does the price of wheat." (Cereal grains were the only products on which tithes were paid). "For example, last year, the crop was plentiful and the wheat was worth fifty "sols" a "minot"; this year, the crop is smaller by one third and the wheat is only worth forty-five "sols" and it is impossible to find buyers....."

"I said that the productivity of the soil decreased," he continued, "this is so true that nearly all the lands which were first cleared are now abandoned, twenty years of crop production having worn them and this happens daily to other lands which are sandy and rocky."

As we have said in a previous chapter, the type of cultivation which was being carried on could not help but lower the fertility of the soil. Wheat was being sown year after year on the same ground and no effort was made to return to the soil, by the application of manure, any of its original fertility. It must be said here that the small returns which the farmers got for their grains and the more profitable returns from the fur trade coupled with the desire for the life of the bush rangers were the real cause of the abandonment of land.

It is of interest to note that in spite of the fact that the colonists were complaining of the lack of market for their wheat, the merchants of France, so the above letter tells us, still insisted on sending flour for the maintenance of the troops.

This statement of de la Barre, however, made some impression on the king who the next year wrote (11) to de Meulles: "The Sieur de la Barre having, among other things, citad the decrease in value of the soil and maintained that twenty years of production wears them out, I wish that you report to me if this is true and that in this case you increase your application to force the inhabitants to make new clearings....You can

do nothing better than to apply yourself to everything that concerns the tillage of the soil, to see which crops give the best results in each locality and to see that the inhabitants derive the greatest possible advantage from the cultivation of the soil. Since you believe that hemp production would be advantageous, I am sending you five or six hogsheads of seed." The king, however, did not tell him how he was to go about to secure this "greatest possible advantage for the inhabitants.

In answer to this letter, deMeulles wrote (12) the following year: "His Majesty orders me to let him know if it is true that twenty years of crop production wear out the soil of Canada as M. de la Barre claimed.....The soils of Canada are like those of France which, after being cleared and sown for twenty years in succession without rest nor manure, decrease considerably in fertility. This applies here only to light soils, but those which are heavier and well tilled in the spring do not lose their fertility and this has appeared extraordinary, being certain that manuring is unknown here. I have attributed the fertility of these lands to the snow and the very cold weathers of the winter which concentrate the vapour inside, which cannot come out during the winter and engenders a kind of salt which causes the quick generation of grains." From the point of view of chemistry, this explanation is somewhat far fetched, but it establishes the fact that de Meulles appreciated the importance of manuring and of good tillage.

The troubles between governor and intendant were by no means a thing of the past and recurred every so often to impede the development of the colony. We have seen how de la Barre decided to conduct an expedition against the Iroquois about Lake Ontario and that the dishonourable peace treaty which he signed was responsible for his disgrace and recall from the colony. In 1684, de Meulles wrote (13) to the minister telling him that he was preparing this expedition and that he had to appease the murmurs of the people who were saying "that they were going to this war only to preserve the beavers of five or six merchants of Quebec who alone do all the trade and that it was very vexatious that four or five hundred persons had been sent into the woods and to see, in war time, two flat boats with thirty-five or forty persons without family, leaving for the Hudson Bay for the trade, when heads of families who have nothing but their daily labour to provide the subsistence of their wives and children have to abandon them in dire need to go to the war, even though these reasons are all true, it is a matter of consequence not to allow the people to express such views."

He accused the governor of carrying on the trade about Lake Ontario and of having had a vessel built at the king's expense for the purpose. He also accused him of trading in furs with the English to the detriment of the king's interests. He also stated that it was evident that the war was solely to protect his commercial interests and those of six merchants of Quebec

and that that was the reason why the people murmured.

De Meulles then went on to explain in detail the reprehensible conduct of the governor in the war. The army was composed of about eleven hundred Frenchmen and some Indians. This is one of the reasons why the agricultural development of the colony was slow. The Canadians, being forever forced to abandon their farms to go on war expeditions, lost interest in them and, which was worse, they acquired a liking for the free life of the wilderness.

The work of the intendant was forever complicated by problems which arose from the lack of interest on the part of the people (in France) with whom he had to deal. In a letter (14) to the minister, de Meulles complained of some of the things which made his work more difficult. "This year," he wrote, "we have received sixty "engagés"; the oldest is not seventeen years of age and I am sure that the majority of them are not more than twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years old. I believe that those who sent them wanted to make fun of us; they are too young to be of any use.....Had they been any good I would have been able to dispose of them in three days, but as it was I had difficulty in getting rid of these children who are only good to mind the cows and yet they have cost as much to the king as if they had been real men." The above evil is, in our opinion, the cardinal cause of the failure of France in America. The performance of duties in

regard to the colony was left in the hands of unscrupulous officials who had nothing in mind beyond the profit which they could make at the expense of the colony.

The same letter brought up another point which illustrates the very same thing. Intendants had repeatedly written to Louis XIV and his minister that the only way to encourage the development of agriculture was to find markets for agricultural products. "There has been sent from France,* this year," de Meulles wrote, "seven hundred thousand pounds of flour for the soldiers. It cost the king nine livres fourteen sols the quintal which is the equivalent of thirteen livres in Canadian money, not counting the freight. We were all very surprised, as wheat is the sole wealth of this country. We have decided to sell it for eight livres ten sols, Canadian money, the quintal, this will be expensive to the king, but in so doing we save^d money since we can buy flour in Canada for seven livres the quintal." There is no doubt whatever that this flour found its way to Canada because the merchants could make a profit on it. It is difficult to absolve Louis XIV and his government of these errors, because if they had been really interested in the welfare of the colony, they would have instituted a system of inquiry, which would have revealed that the officials were not doing their duty. This of course is no worse than the irregularities which we have pointed out in the French fiscal system.

As a reply to the orders often received regarding the establishment of trade with the West Indies de Meulles wrote (15)

that he considered the fur trade as the only one which could be carried on in Canada. The production of agricultural goods and of livestock, he claimed, were good only to provide the subsistence of the inhabitants and to provide small assistance to the West Indies. "The West Indies", he wrote "do not consume much grain from Canada and very little fish and salted meat." This very definitely proves our contention that markets and markets alone could encourage the development of agriculture. It was equally true then as it is now that if profitable markets exist production will look after itself.

In 1685, the Marquis de Denonville was appointed governor in place of de la Barre. Like his predecessors, he received very definite instructions (16) regarding his conduct in Canada. The disorder caused by the bad example set by the bush rangers which was responsible for the lack of agricultural development of the colony, the encouragement to be given to the cod fishery, to the trade with the West Indies, and to the raising of cattle were the main points to which Denonville was ordered to pay particular attention. It is highly indicative of the interest of the French government in the colony that the ministers could not find anything new to tell the governors. Since 1663, all governors and intendants had received the very same instructions. With the new problems and difficulties which had arisen, one would think that, upon seeing their instructions disregarded, they would have tried some new methods, to enforce their will in the colony.

No sooner had Denonville arrived in the colony than he set out to study its conditions and he immediately wrote (17) his

impressions to the minister. "I am told," he wrote, "that there are at least six hundred men in the woods..... It is necessary to do something to bring them back. It must be considered, however that if I hurry their return, all our merchants will be ruined because of the advances in merchandise which they have made to them and which they will lose if this merchandise is not exchanged for furs."

He also noted that the inhabitants of the colony were too scattered and proposed not to permit the establishment of colonists beyond the present settlements. The King (18) entered into these views and encouraged him to see to it because the great distance between settlements was detrimental to the progress of the colony. He had also learned that there was a regular under-hand trade establish^{ed} with the English which was very detrimental to the colony and that a certain number of Frenchmen had settled with the English in order to carry on this trade.

In another letter (19), Denohville announced to the minister that the crop had a good appearance, but in view of the strong possibility of having to wage a war against the Iroquois he would take precautions against the exportation of wheat. He also mentioned the conditions of Fort Frontenac (Kingston) which he thought should be moved to another location where the soil was more fertile "It would be of great advantage", he wrote, "for the maintenance of a garrison to have the fort in a location where the soil is fertile and where it could be maintained without having to transport food. The soil at Catarakouy is covered with rocks and very

shallow in the best spots. The sun rays warm up the earth so much that the wheat which at first has a very fine appearance dries up in no time and often fails, but peas always grow well."

Then he painted a picture of the colony which is well worth repeating here. "There is a large number of inhabitants in the woods," he went on, "and I have seen the inconvenience of allowing such a large number to leave the colony.....This will cause the complete ruin of the country. Those who have farms leave them untilled, as I have seen many, the married men abandon their wives and children to be supported by public charity or to obtain credit from the merchants in such a way that the profits which they make do not suffice, on their return, to pay for the maintenance of the family....."

"I believe it is necessary," he told the minister, "to give an account of the disorders which occur not only in the woods, but even in our settlements and which are the result of the laziness of the young people and of the great liberty of going into the bush, under pretext of fishing and trading, which for a long time has been permitted by the governors and by the parents. This abuse has reached the point where just as soon as children can carry arms, their parents can ^{no} longer keep them in the colony..... These abuses are much greater in the families of the nobles and of those who wish to live like nobles, either through vanity or laziness. They have no other means of subsistence than the bush, because, never having learned how to handle the plough, the hoe

of the axe and all their knowledge being in the use of their guns, they must pass their lives in the bush..... I cannot stress too much the attraction which this wild life, which consists of doing nothing and of living without restraint of any kind, has for the young people. Instead of teaching the Indians the French way of living they learn to live like them."

"Above all, " he continued, "you will permit me to say that the nobility of this new country is the poorest possible and to increase its number, is to increase the number of idlers. A young country needs laborious and industrious people who can use the ax and the hoe. The children of our Counsellors are no more laborious and have no other occupation than to roam in the woods where they do some trading and most of them are guilty of all the disorders which I have mentioned. I will do all I can to encourage them to enter into commerce, but as nobles and Counsellors are all very poor and in debt, they cannot obtain credit for one écu."

As an exposé of the condition of the people of the colony, the above is very good. It is very noticeable, however, that in this one as well as in the many others which we have quoted so far there is never any attempt to search for the causes of this condition nor for the remedies which might operate to change it. The correspondence of this period is full of such portraits, but the governors and intendants, with one or two exceptions, never went so far as to offer remedies. The reason is not that they

did not know the remedies but that they knew that it was useless to suggest them to the minister.

After having given this description of the people of the colony, Denonville proceeded to deal with some more specific points of his instructions. On the question of the much encouraged production of hemp he wrote: "I can see no other reason for the fact that hemp is not grown than the lack of time, because the seasons for ploughing, seeding and harvesting are too short, as wheat is not sown till April or May. If the king cared to pay a little more for hemp, this might encourage the inhabitants. Furthermore, if we had in the colony a few weavers who could go from parish to parish, not charging the inhabitants any more than their food, it might be a means of teaching the young people how to handle it!" There is no doubt that there is some truth in the above reasons, but they are only part of the story. The first reason why hemp was not popular was that its production was not sufficiently remunerative. Another reason was that the clergy opposed it because it was not subject to tithes. Every "arpent" of hemp decreased the revenues of the parish priests by the amount of wheat or other grains that he would have received from that land.(20) It might^{be} argued that fifteen livres per quintal of hemp was a fair price, considering that it was paid only twelve in France. It is not the actual quoted price which counts. It must be remembered that the hemp was paid for in merchandise, and it is the ratio between the price of the hemp and that of the goods which were received in exchange which must be considered in determining the

profitability of hemp or of any other crop.

On this question the king answered (18) that he would give orders to the intendant to co-operate with him in the seeking of expedients to force the inhabitants to grow hemp. In order to encourage the manufacture of linens in the colony, he stated that he was sending six weavers to Canada in order to teach the inhabitants how to prepare and weave the hemp.

Like de Meulles, Denonville soon realized the necessity of obtaining markets for agricultural products. In the above mentioned letter, he wrote as follow: "English merchants have offered to come to Quebec to buy grains. The inhabitants of the colony desire this in order to raise prices which are very low. This permission will not be granted, however, until I receive your orders on the subject. It would be advantageous, because the prices of English goods are lower than those of the French. This year there has been exported, either to the West Indies or to La Rochelle, 6,091 "minots" of peas and 12,400 "minots" of wheat. In addition the intendant bought 200,000 pounds of flour for the stores and yet the price has not risen."

To this the king answered that with regard to the grains which the English wished to buy at Quebec, he saw no objection except perhaps that they might take advantage of this trade to buy furs. If Denonville would see that this would not happen, he would permit it for a year. In other words, the king felt that the disposal of the surplus agricultural products of the colony^{was} of no consequence if there was only the remotest danger

that the English might obtain a few furs at the same time.

A census (21) which was taken in 1685 makes it possible to measure the actual development of the colony since 1681, the beginning of the period covered in this chapter. The seigniories are so grouped together that it is impossible to find out the exact development of any one seigniorie or of any adjoining group of seigniories. It is possible, however, by making similar groupings for the census of 1681 to show the development for areas smaller than the whole colony.

The population as reported in this census was 10,725 as compared to 9,675 in 1681, an increase of 1,050 in the four year period. During the same period, births exceeded deaths (6) by 1,301 and further the correspondence which we have quoted mentions a certain number of "engagés" who had come into the colony. The census, therefore, shows an emigration which had gone either to France, to New England or to the bush country of upwards of three hundred persons. The census further shows that population was reported in sixty-four seigniories. Up to this date one hundred and sixty-six grants had been made in New France alone.

The area under cultivation was reported as 24,390 "arpents" as compared to 24,644 in 1681, an actual decrease of 254 "arpents" in four years. This decrease, while small, is very important because it shows that the agricultural development of the colony was at a standstill. The various letters and memoranda which we have cited so far, give us the very obvious reason

for this lack of development. The governors called it the abuse of bush rangers, but the writer maintains that if the governors and intendants in co-operation with the king and the minister had done some thing to make farming economically attractive, bush ranging would never have reached the point of being an abuse. In livestock, horses increased from 94 to 156, cattle from 6,896 to 7,474 and sheep from 602 to 787. Increases of 62 horses, 578 cattle and 185 sheep in four years in a growing colony are certainly not an achievement to be proud of and certainly indicate that there was something radically wrong.

The comparison of the censuses of 1681 and 1685 by groups of seigniories reveals a slight population increase, but in most cases the increase was less than the natural increase, indicating that there had been emigration. On the majority of the seigniories, the area of land under cultivation had decreased and in some cases quite considerably. In Quebec and the neighbouring villages, for example, the area had decreased from 3,968 "arpents" to 3,269 in the four years. In the seigniorie of Beaupré the decrease had been from 2,213 to 1,746 "arpents". Beauport and Ile aux Oyes together showed a decrease of 335 "arpents"; Demaure 51 "arpents," the seigniories of St. François, Villemur and Sorel together decreased 76 "arpents", Three Rivers 149 "arpents", Champlain 73 "arpents," Batiscan 173 "arpents," etc., etc. On the other hand, on the Island of Orleans the area under cultivation had increased from 2,419 to 3,073 "arpents." A few other seigniories showed slight increases

but on the whole, the period was very far from being a success. De la Barre, de Meulles and Denonville gave the reasons for this situation in the various letters and memoranda which we have mentioned. There is no doubt that de Meulles had spoken wisely when he had said in his memorandum, that it was very essential to find markets in order to raise prices to a point where farmers might be encouraged in the tillage of the soil by the hope of profits from the sale of agricultural products.

In 1686, Denonville had also realized that the question was most important if agriculture was to continue in the colony. His various letters (22) to the minister indicate that he was greatly worried over the problem and on the matter he wrote: "I proposed to them (the merchants of the colony) to send a vessel loaded with produce to France every spring. As an answer, they have offered me a small vessel of sixty tons which they are sending to La Rochelle, loaded with wheat and peas. I beg of your kindness to order to the commissary to take them at current prices so that, in the beginning, if they do not make a profit, at least the delay and the lack of demand will not cause a loss."

He also realized the importance of encouraging other commerce but he wrote: "Our merchants cannot yet afford to build vessels." To date, the St. Lawrence and its navigable tributaries were the only highways of the colony and vessels were essential. Fishing and the transport of goods to the West Indies required vessels, otherwise the inhabitants were at the mercy of the French merchants who reaped all the profits. The king and the minister knew that Canadians were too poor to build vessels and they never did anything to help them.

"Just as soon as we have peace" Denonville wrote, "it will be a matter of great importance to the colony that a market be found in foreign countries for the wheat of the colony, because the inhabitants suffer from the lack of demand for wheat and this cools off their ardour for the cultivation of the soil....."

Most of the land which was tilled produced wheat, causing a surplus which kept the price very low. As a consequence the inhabitants were at a disadvantage when they came to exchange their wheat for manufactured goods imported from France, the prices of which were controlled by the French merchants who held a monopoly on imports into the colony. The problem which presented itself to Denonville was the finding of a crop which could be substituted for wheat and which the colonists could use to replace some of the goods which they so far had to buy. For this reason, he thought that the growing of hemp and flax should be, not only encouraged, but forced upon the farmers. The reasons for this opinion are worth repeating here because they explain why progress was slow and land abandoned. "I am more and more convinced," he wrote, "of the necessity of forcing the people to grow hemp in order to manufacture it into linens. The length of the winter, during which the inhabitants do nothing but keep themselves warm, living in extreme laziness, the nakedness of the children and the idleness of the women demand that severity be used to force the cultivation of hemp and the

manufacture of linens. I have assembled the principal seigneurs to discuss the means to employ. I have learned from the experience of the good people of Beaupré who manufacture linens that flax grows much better than hemp. The seigneurs have promised to grow some in each seignior. There remains to obtain the labourers and the tools to prepare the fibre and to weave the linens. The cultivation of these crops will be a help to women and an inducement for them to work because the idleness of women is one of the great evils of this country."

After asking the minister to find a market for surplus agricultural products, Denonville wrote: "If the young people of the country become bush rangers, it is because they cannot find other employment. It is much to be feared that the children of our nobility and of those who live as nobles will become bandits because they have no means of earning their livelihood, not being able to till the soil because they have never learned. It would be essential to discipline these people by forcing them to enter the army."

"On this subject," he continued, "I must report the extreme poverty of many large families who are reduced to begging and all of them are noble or living as such. The St. Ours family is at the head. He is a gentleman from Dauphiné who has a wife and ten children. Only two days ago, he came to visit me to obtain permission to return to France next year with his wife and children to find some means of livelihood

and to place his children in service here and there with those who will be willing to feed them and to himself try to join the army. He claims that he has not sufficient wheat for two-thirds of the year. The father and mother appear to be in real despair because of their poverty and yet their children do all they can because I have seen two of his daughters cutting wheat and ploughing. It would take long to give you the details of several other families who are in a similar condition. The Sieur de Linctot who has ten children and two grandchildren complains that they are without bread; this family is one of the oldest of the country. The married officers here are beggars."

"These reflexions on the poor of the country," he continued, "who are poor mainly because they are not used to ploughing and tilling the soil makes me suggest how important it is not to send, as it is being done every day, idlers who can only be a public charge, having no profession and being unable to till the soil. Some have come this year who are very embarrassed yet their wives act as great ladies. I would much prefer good peasants, and I would be pleased to help them because I would be sure that in two years these families would have enough to support themselves, being sure that a good peasant who is willing to work can live well in this country while all our nobles without professions can never be anything but beggars. I do not believe, however, that the granting of letters of nobility must be discontinued altogether, but they should be given only to rich people who will go into commerce, because in this country

to create a noble who has no trade or profession is simply to increase the number of idlers. It is a shame that people who have lived in this country for upwards of fifty years do not harvest one "minot" of wheat and have not even a home garden. I have reproached this to some people whom I have threatened of dispossessing if they did not clear some land."

The above does not require any comment. It is certain that the only kind of people that a pioneer country needs is the kind that will roll up its sleeves and get to work. With all due respect to nobility, if it is impoverished to the point where it cannot undertake something for the development of the country, it then becomes a parasite on the remainder of the community.

In the hope of regulating the disorders of the bush rangers, Denonville had passed, in 1686, an edict (23) regulating the trade in the Indian country. It read as follows: "As it is known to us, that in the past, many who have gone into the Indian country for the trade have abandoned their farms which have remained untilled, a practise which is very detrimental to the development of the colony, we, hereby, forbid to merchants to employ any man without first obtaining definite assurance that his farm will be maintained during his absence."

Besides the above considerations, Denonville also had a war with the Iroquois on his hands. The inhabitants were in constant dread of their enemy. In order to protect them and to keep the Iroquois in submission, he proposed (22) to build a

fort at Niagara which would also close to the English the route of the fur trade. "I am told," he wrote, "that the lands there are very fertile and easy to cultivate. All I hear confirms my opinion that in three years at the most this fort would be able to maintain itself." This, he believed, was a great advantage that Fort Frontenac did not have since all the provisions had to be carried from Montreal and he wrote that there were not "in the colony, twelve canoes which were large enough for this transport."

The fear of the inhabitants was well founded and Denonville described the reasons for it in a most forceful way." It is necessary to think of the organization of the colony," he wrote, "which is so scattered that there is absolutely no hope for it unless the settlements are grouped, which could not be done without causing the abandonment of many settlements. Each seigniory has three or four leagues of frontage and the most thickly settled have only thirty or forty families and the majority of them have only twelve or fifteen and many only five or six. In grouping the families, we must provide buildings to protect them, their cattle, grains, and flours from the rigours of the winter. In taking the strongest and healthiest inhabitants for the war and to transport victuals and ammunitions, what means will those who are left behind have of gathering their crops and of carrying them into these buildings which will be located a long distance from their farms? Yet, the colony is lost if this is not done, and this is where we will have great

difficulties to overcome, in fact it would almost be necessary to start the settlement of the colony all over again."

The faults of the early governors were now visiting the colony with a vengeance. We have previously shown the truth of the above statement. The population was so scattered along the St. Lawrence that it did not stand a chance of protecting itself against the incursions of the Iroquois who pounced upon isolated settlements and disappeared before help could be secured from the neighbours. It was only too true that to remedy the situation would have meant the resettling of the colony. The only other alternative would have been to destroy the Iroquois before they had the chance of destroying the French and this was almost as unachievable as the first because Denonville could not awaken sufficient interest in Louis XIV to obtain the necessary men to do it.

In 1686, the crop had been abundant but apparently it was not so in 1687. Denonville wrote (24) to the minister that "in the future the colony might take advantage of the king's permission to the merchants of Canada to export wheat to foreign countries, but they would not dare to allow grains out of the country this year." In this same letter he stated that "the main causes of the extreme poverty of the country were the laziness and the bad conduct of the inhabitants to which must be added the excessive price of clothes." Because of this he stated that the growing of hemp and the raising of sheep should be the first two essentials so as to produce raw materials for

the establishment of linen and cloth manufactures. The raising of sheep, he believed would be difficult because of the long winters when these animals would have to be kept and fed indoors.

The problems of the Iroquois war were greatly complicated by the fact that a certain number of Frenchmen had gone to settle in New England and also by the fact that the English were supplying arms to the Iroquois and inciting them to attack the French. Regarding the former difficulty the king proclaimed an edict (25) forbidding his Canadian subjects to settle among the neighbouring nations. On the latter, Denonville wrote that the English were trying to ruin New France by turning the Indians against the French and by offering them better prices for their furs. "This profit," he wrote, "also attracts to the English our bush rangers and vagabonds who take their furs there and settle among the English who invite them to do so." He also claimed that the English used the Iroquois to stir up the other Indians. For these reasons, he thought that it was essential to carry the war to the Iroquois and for this he needed fifteen hundred men. We have seen that in this expedition he used nine hundred Canadians. The soldiers who had come with Vaudreuil in that year were left behind in the settlements to gather the crops.

The Canadians who were selected for the war were necessarily the strongest and healthiest since only those could stand the hardships of the campaign. The census of 1688 which we will study presently reported 3,119 men over fifteen years of age. If we deduct from this number the old men and the

invalids we find that the 900 Canadians taken by Denonville were well over one third of the able-bodied men of the colony. It is no wonder that the area of land under cultivation was less than in 1685 (26).

The agricultural products of the country were not the only things which were in need of markets. A memorandum (27) on the trade of Canada, written in 1687, stated that the demand for furs was also decreasing. "At first," stated the memorandum, "there came from Canada scarcely more beaver than the Kingdom could consume and it sold for twenty francs per pound and more. The increase of the colony has increased the trade with the Indians to the point where beaver now sells for three livres to three livres fifty five a pound and it cost four francs in Canada." We might say in passing that while the increase in trade was a cause of the lowering in price of furs, the economic situation of France where all the earnings of the people went to pay taxes, and the foreign markets which the French were gradually losing to the English were more important factors. We will have more to say subsequently on the causes of the increase of the fur trade.

During 1688, all attention was turned to the war and very little is found in the correspondence (28) of Denonville and Champigny which is not connected with it. Denonville again complained of the damage done to the country by the bush rangers and he again repeated that this war made him realize the great necessity of grouping the inhabitants into villages.

The census of 1688 (29) revealed that the population of the colony was 10,303, not counting the settled Indians, as compared to 10,725 in 1685, a decrease of 422 in three years. If we keep in mind the number of "engagés" who immigrated to Canada during the period and the fact that during this period, births exceeded deaths(6) by 488, we can form a pretty good idea of the loss suffered by the colony through emigration. If we consider the period, 1681-1688, we find an increase in population of 630 in seven years. During the seven years, births exceeded deaths by 2,078 and if to this we add the immigration we find that in seven years, emigration had been responsible for the disappearance from the colony of at least 2,000 persons.

The area of land under cultivation was reported as 28,663 "arpents" as compared to 24,390 in 1685 and 24,644 in 1681. Four thousand "arpents" cleared in three years do not constitute a very large increase, but proportionally it showed a much more favourable progress than that of population. The seigniories in which population was reported in this census were the same as in the previous censuses with only one or two additions.

The inhabitants reported 218 horses, 7,715 cattle and 1,061 sheep, all three representing an increase over the census of 1685. This census gave the first enumeration of swine which numbered 3,701. The production of grains was also reported as 100,971 "minots" of wheat and 28,554 "minots" of other grains. This production of wheat very clearly established the need for a market, because it was sufficient to keep the price at a low

level. It is not surprising that Denonville begged for the opening of markets. It also establishes the fact that agriculture could not progress under existing conditions, because it did not give the promise of returns commensurate with the effort necessary to bring land under cultivation. It is well to remember that at that time considerable amounts of grain were imported into France, but Louis XIV preferred to buy it from his European neighbours than to send his vessels after the Canadian surplus. It must be remembered also that the prices of agricultural goods were kept down far more by the action of the French merchants who controlled all the trade, than by the actual surplus.

Details by seigniories are interesting because they show in what regions the developments took place. The seigniority of Beaupré showed a population decrease of 46 during the seven year period between 1681 and 1688. The area of land under cultivation decreased from 2,213 to 1,825 "arpents" while livestock numbers increased slightly. In the seigniority of Beauport, the population decreased from 409 to 262, the area under cultivation from 1,225 to 906 "arpents" and livestock numbers decreased by approximately ten per cent. In the seigniories of Demaure, Neuville and Pointe aux Ecureuils the population decreased from 547 to 521 and the number of cattle from 301 to 190 while the area of land under cultivation remained about stationary. In the seigniories of Portneuf, Grondines and Ste. Anne together the population decreased from 192 to 186 while the area under cultivation just about doubled.

In the seigniories of La Durantaye and Bellechasse the population decreased from 285 to 72, the area under cultivation from 409 to 230 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 261 to 32. All the seigniories which we have mentioned so far, are located in the vicinity of Quebec and, therefore, away from the ravages of the Iroquois, so that the war can be blamed for the decrease only in so far as they had to supply men for the army. Those were the places where, according to de la Barre, the soil had become exhausted. Details of the location of these seigniories will be found in Table 6, appendix.

Other seigniories in the region of Quebec, however, showed some development. In Lauzon, the population increased from 273 to 370 and the area under cultivation from 557 "arpents" to 739 while the number of cattle remained the same. In Beaumont, the population increased from 53 to 71 and the area under cultivation more than doubled. In the Island of Orleans the population increased from 1,079 to 1,207, the area under cultivation from 2,419 to 3,291 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 907 to 993 while the sheep which had been reported in 1681 had disappeared. In the seigniories of Grande Anse (Ste. Anne de la Pocatière) and of la Bouteillerie the population increased from 62 to 137 and the area under cultivation in proportion.

In the region of Three Rivers, the situation was somewhat the same as in Quebec. Some seigniories showed

development while others showed important decreases. In the seigniories of St.François, Villemur and Rivière du Loup the population decreased from 133 to 106 and the number of cattle from 88 to 85 but there were 41 sheep where there were none in 1681. The area under cultivation increased from 279 to 303 "arpents". In Three Rivers, the population increased from 156 to 216, the area under cultivation from 559 "arpents" to 946 and the number of cattle from 110 to 127. In the seigniories of Batiscan, Champlain and Marsolet, the population increased from 519 to 592, the area under cultivation from 1,483 to 1,977 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 303 to 409. In Cap de la Madeleine, the population decreased from 204 to 131, the area under cultivation from 807 to 602 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 208 to 115. In this region no more than in the region of Quebec could the ravages of the Iroquois be blamed for the decrease.

The real agricultural development of the colony had taken place in the region of Montreal, though a number of localities had already suffered greatly from the depredations of the Iroquois. On the Island of Montreal, the population had decreased from 1,422 to 1,360 and the area under cultivation from 5,219 "arpents" to 4,674, but the number of cattle had increased from 1,075 to 1,225 and the number of sheep from 244 to 316. In the seigniories of Lavaltrie, Repentigny and Ile Ste.Thérèse, the population had decreased from 214 to 201 while the area under cultivation had increased from 517 "arpents"

to 659 and the number of cattle from 76 to 239. In the seigniories of Lachenaie and Ile Jésus the population had increased from 96 to 116, the area under cultivation from 275 to 548 "arpents" and the number of cattle had decreased from 127 to 121. In the seigniories of Longueuil and Du Tremblay the population had increased from 107 to 150, the area under cultivation from 217 to 467 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 57 to 135 and in addition there were 26 sheep in the two seigniories. The seigniories of Boucherville and Varennes had increased in population from 251 to 337, in cultivated land from 530 to 1,672 "arpents" and in cattle from 163 to 351 to which must also be added 25 sheep. In the seigniories of St.Ours and Contrecoeur the population had decreased from 156 to 149 while the area under cultivation had increased from 326 to 491 "arpents" and the number of cattle from 119 to 136.

In the above details, we have given absolute figures to show the relative significance of increases or decreases. It appears from the above, that the only localities to show increases were those situated below Quebec where the fisheries were increasing in importance and those between Three Rivers and Montreal where the lands were more fertile and also, possibly, where the chances of carrying on the fur trade were better. The region of Quebec, with the exception of the Island of Orleans, showed decreases. The main reasons were that people emigrated from this region to other seigniories where prospects were more promising and that the Indians never reaching Quebec with their

furs the inhabitants had to leave their homes to go after them and thus many of them became bush rangers.

In 1689, all attention was turned to the war against the Iroquois and this year which was probably the worst will always be remembered by the massacres perpetrated in the region of Montreal. The war took away a large number of men from their work in the fields and as a result the farms were so short handed that some of the inhabitants asked permission to import negroes into the colony. In a memorandum (30) to Denonville and Champigny, the minister stated: "The Attorney General of the Sovereign Council (d'Auteuil) has said that the principal inhabitants of Canada wanted to import negroes for the tillage of the soil and the clearing of lands. His Majesty is willing to permit it to save them the heavy expenses which they have to incur to employ the day labourers of the country who expect excessive wages, but it is to be feared that they might not be suited for the climate."

Curiously enough, the same memorandum carried the following message: "The king wishes that Denonville and Champigny do all in their power to make it possible for Acadia and Canada to help each other and to establish easy communication between the two provinces and as the Canadians, particularly the young people are without employment in their own country and as there is not the same inconvenient in Acadia where, on the contrary, the fisheries, the cultivation of the soil and many other trades which can be developed can occupy a large

number of them and give them their livelihood, His Majesty wishes them to try to persuade those who are without employment in Canada and who are a charge to the colony to go there."

In one page of the memorandum, the king grants permission to import slaves because of the lack of labourers and on the very next one he finds it necessary to employ the governor and the intendant as emigration agents to send the young men of the colony to Acadia. Is it any wonder that the colony did not progress when this was the best advice that the king and the governor could offer to help it?

As we already know, Denonville was recalled in 1689 and Frontenac was reappointed to put an end to the war with the Iroquois. We have seen how he complained to the king of the way the colony was scattered and how the inhabitants should be grouped into villages. Let us now see his attitude towards the granting of new concessions. In 1687, the first year of his administration, he made three grants which totalled 40,000 "arpents". One was located in the present county of Rimouski, the second one in Saguenay and the third one in L'Islet. In 1688, he granted eight more which totalled over 160,000 "arpents". Two were located in Acadia, two in Gaspé, one in Rimouski, one in Portneuf, one in Bellechasse and the last one in Berthier. In 1689, the eight grants which he made totalled over 164,000 "arpents". Four were located in Acadia, two in Labrador, one in Gaspé and the last one was an addition of 16,000 "arpents" to the seigniory of Lauzon

which already had an area of over 254,000 "arpents" and which according to the census of 1688 had a population of 370 and 739 "arpents" of land under cultivation.

The writer finds it extremely hard to qualify the inconsistency between the letters which Denonville wrote and his conduct with regard to the granting of lands. The grants of 1689 were made after he had received very definite orders from the king (31) to "assemble into villages the settlements which are scattered throughout the colony of Canada." Furthermore, upon arriving in France (1690), Denonville wrote a memorandum (32) on Canada in which he stated the difficulties with which Canada was confronted. "The grants are too large," he wrote, "and besides making it hard to unite the people when necessary, the inhabitants acquire the habits of life of the Indians. It is necessary to order to cease the granting of concessions and to cancel those given to individuals who have not cleared them." The above certainly proves that the king was not well served by his representatives in Canada.

In 1689, Frontenac arrived in the colony with instructions regarding the conduct of the war and also for the development and good government of the colony. His instructions (33) were the same as those given to the preceding governors. He was to do all in his power to decrease the number of bush rangers and he was ordered not to exceed the number of "congés" allowed. The grouping of the inhabitants into villages, the

trade with the West Indies, the sedentary fisheries, the lumber trade, the cultivation of hemp and the raising of cattle received the usual consideration allotted to these subjects in the instructions to governors and intendants. "His Majesty is informed," continued the instructions, "that many inhabitants have very large grants and that they neglect to clear them. In 1675, His Majesty passed an edict ordering that the uncleared portions of these concessions be granted to others." The minister then instructed Frontenac to see that this edict was enforced.

Upon his arrival in the colony Frontenac's first attentions were for the war and his first letter (34) to the minister mentioned only the ravages of the Iroquois in the region of Montreal. The war, he wrote, impeded everything and the colony was forever exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois and everyone was demoralized having to seek refuge in the forts every night.

The ravages of the Iroquois had ruined the crops in the major part of the region between Three Rivers and Montreal and in the region of Quebec the inhabitants had had to become soldiers and had accompanied Frontenac to Montreal. As a result there was great scarcity in the country. Frontenac wrote (35) to the minister, early in 1690, in the following terms:" The great scarcity of wheat and flour in the colony and the fear that new incursions of the Iroquois might prevent seeding and harvesting have decided me to despatch a vessel to ask for assistance as soon as possible. Wheat which, in far from abundant years, never sold for more than three livres the "minot" is now

worth seven and those who have money cannot find any to buy. The burning of the king's stores in Montreal makes the need still more pressing."

Later on in the year, Champigny wrote (36) that after the departure of the English from Quebec, the victuals sent from France were not sufficient to feed the troops for one month, so that he and Frontenac decided to billet them among the inhabitants which was done with difficulty, the crop having been very poor. However, with six months of winter during which it was impossible to count on assistance from France prices would go very high. Then he went on to say that wheat had sold for as high as twelve to fifteen livres a "minot", wine one hundred "écus" a hogshead and all other goods in proportion. Then he stated that in the spring, just as soon as the land was clear of snow, roots, herbs and what little fish could be caught supported a large number of families. "The pitiful state of the country," he wrote, "made it impossible to send war parties against the Iroquois who repeated their incursions in the region of Montreal. We had so little food that we could not venture to attack them." Finally, he wrote, that the French vessels had arrived on the first of July and that for a long time Canada had suffered a cruel famine.*

The answer (37) of the king to these pleas of Frontenac and Champigny is worthy of mention here. The starving colony was being attacked and massacred by the Iroquois and yet Frontenac was told that "the important affairs (wars in Europe) that

His Majesty has to sustain does not permit him to send troops and the Sieur de Frontenac will have to remain on the defensive and not attack the Iroquois."

In the fall of 1690, Frontenac wrote (38): "Even though the wheat crop appears to be the nicest ever seen, the rains and the fogs which occurred eight or ten days before the harvest have rusted them to such a point that the yield was poor and since no inhabitants had any old wheat, as it was the custom previously to have old wheat till Christmas, they had to use the new one and threshed it just as soon as it was in the barn, and not being dry it is of poor quality and if the flour which you have sent does not arrive, it will be very expensive and impossible to obtain."

In 1691, the minister wrote (39) to Frontenac that he was sending extraordinary assistance in order to carry on the war with more vigour than in the past. The king did not like to be called upon to lend assistance even in extraordinary cases and the minister wrote: "His Majesty is convinced that there is nothing more necessary than to encourage the Canadians to the cultivation of the soil and to fishing and to remove from them the chance of going into the bush where they acquire bad habits which turn them away from occupations which are useful to the colony. The Sieur de Frontenac will do his utmost to employ the Canadians in the war."

Champigny, like all his predecessors added his portrait of the colony. In a memorandum (40) written in 1691, he gave his views of what should be done in Canada. "The most important point, on which the maintenance, conservation and development of the colony

absolutely depends, is to have cleared and brought into cultivation all the lands granted, starting thirty leagues below Quebec and extending ten leagues above the city of Montreal, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, and to see that the colony is not extended further, either in peace or in war, and that it be not permitted to as large a number of men to go to the Indian country as in the past. In the year 1690, one hundred and forty three went to the Outaouais, thus depleting the country of the main forces which would have worked at the clearing of lands."

"It is very sad," he continued, "that the young Canadians who are strong and hardy cannot develop any liking except for these voyages in the bush where they live like savages and are two and three years without accomplishing their religious duties, living in idleness and very often in abject misery. Once they get used to this life, they cannot attach themselves to the tillage of the soil and they remain in abject poverty, spending all their earnings when they return to the colony."

"We see, on the other hand, that those who have devoted themselves to the improvement of their lands are rich or at least live well, having their fields, fishing near their homes and a considerable number of livestock. This will decrease as the Frenchmen who are in the colony disappear, since it is mainly they who apply themselves to the cultivation of the soil while most of their children are continually away on these trips, which must be stopped."

"The two bad crops of 1689 and 1690 have contributed a great deal to the extreme misery in which Canada now is today, but it is relevant to point out that it also comes from the negligence of a number of inhabitants who, in the past, grew wheat only for their own subsistence and two bad crops to which was added the necessity of feeding the troops have so exhausted their supplies that they will suffer for a long time." Champigny should have known that the farmers could not afford to put up granaries to store many years' supply of grains and he should also have known that it is not in human nature to work hard one year just in case there might happen to be a crop failure two or three years later. Furthermore, they could not keep their crops indefinitely because they had to sacrifice them to obtain a few of the things which they needed for themselves and their families.

In the fall of 1691, Champigny wrote (41) to the minister: "The harvest is just completed (October 12) because of the continual rains which we have had during the whole summer. We hope that there will be much more wheat than last year, however, it is absolutely necessary that you send us 600,000 pounds of flour for next year. The wheat which sold for as high as twelve livres the "minot" before the harvest is now down to four livres ten sous."

"I have found the people settled above Three Rivers in extreme misery," he continued, "and the whole country ruined by the enemy excepting Boucherville and the forts where all the

families were forced to live, which prevents them from tilling their farms which are too far away and from raising cattle except in small numbers. They do not dare go out for fear of the enemy who appears occasionally. What is still sadder, is the number of invalids and of widows whose husbands have been killed at the war and whose children have difficulty in obtaining bread. It is hard for the poor inhabitants of the country to be continually called for the war while most of the soldiers are not. They have not yet refused to obey, but they and their families are in such pitiful circumstances that we should not rebuke them. While they go to the war, many soldiers work for the inhabitants with the permission of their captains."

The above quotation needs no comment, to show the condition in which the war was placing the colony. In 1692, the king wrote (42) to Frontenac and Champigny that he would not be able to send troops during the present year but that he would send some the next. He also told Frontenac not to send any more Canadians to the Indian country than was absolutely necessary for the defense of the colony, because the war against England would make it impossible for the French to send as many vessels to Canada as they usually did and he also told him to prevent abuses in the raising of prices.

The poor colony was doomed to suffer from many causes besides the war. In 1692, Frontenac and Champigny wrote (43) to the minister and begged for at least one thousand soldiers if they were to put an end to the war. This letter also revealed

a new scourge which in this year had visited the colony. "Our seeding and harvest was done without being troubled by the incursions of the enemy. The crop was poor because of the destruction caused by caterpillars which have eaten and ruined the major part of the crop in the whole country where they have scattered in such numbers that the ground was covered. We believe, however, that there will be enough grain for the subsistence of the inhabitants. We need 400,000 pounds of flour and 24,000 pounds of pork for the troops. Next year, we will need 600,000 pounds of flour and 120,000 pounds of pork." It will be recalled that after 1632, the author of the Jesuits' Relation had mentioned similar ravages by caterpillars.

"The order which the king gives us," the letter continued, "to grant concessions close to one another in the colony cannot be executed, there being no more lands which are not conceded along the river from the first settlements to beyond Montreal Island." This passage calls for some attention. The population of the colony was in the neighbourhood of 11,000 and from Chateauguay to Gaspé, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, there was no more land available for grants. This statement uttered by men like Frontenac and Champigny, is sufficient in itself to condemn the whole policy of land grants in the colony. Of course, it is not surprising that it be so, when one considers the size of grants which had been made.

The next year (1693), the king in answer (44) to the above letter complained that he had "made immense expenditures

in Canada for many years, and the advantage has almost entirely been to the inhabitants and the resident merchants. The major part of the fund supplied goes into excessive salaries for labour and other similar expenses; these could be greatly reduced by employing the expedients that are used in the Kingdom for the king's service, particularly during hard times." Over and above, the other difficulties which the poor colonists had to contend with, the king now wanted them to work at the fortifications and other public utilities at a reduced rate of pay.

The exhaustion of lands for grants which Frontenac and Champigny mentioned, did not seem to impress the king. "It is impossible to dispense with a new charge," he wrote, "on the subject of the grants which were made in the last years, for concessions in localities too far removed from the centre of the colony. His Majesty cannot be satisfied with their reply to the recommendations which he has already made that all lands between Quebec and Montreal have already been conceded. There is enough land below and above Quebec to make large grants to twenty times as many families as there are now in Canada. The concessions which have been made can never be filled and they could be subdivided for others since the original grantees have never cleared them. It will be necessary to limit the time allowed for the clearing of grants and to stipulate this time limit in the contracts in order to force the grantees to live up to it."

"The main fault of the colony," he continued, "proceeds from these scattered settlements which are too far removed one from the other and thus are an easy prey to the incursions of the enemy. This is the reason why His Majesty has so often asked that these settlements be grouped into villages."

Let us now see how Frontenac managed the granting of concessions. In 1690, he granted four in Acadia which totalled over 3,281,000 "arpents". In 1691, the three grants which he made totalled 126,000 "arpents;" one was located in Gaspé and the other two in Acadia. In 1692, the only concession granted was located in the present county of Bellechasse.

In 1692, Champigny wrote (45) that he had received no flour from France and that he would be forced to buy some in the colony and feared that he would not be able to find it. Then he proceeded to tell (46) that Canada was in need of considerable assistance this year because of the fact that the number of soldiers and inhabitants had been greatly reduced by disease and by the war. "The country is weaker than it was at the beginning of the war by two thousand men," the memorandum stated. The other cause for the need of assistance was that the "elite of the residents of Canada has gone into the bush after beavers and other furs." "The king's glory," the memorandum continued, "demands that he protects this colony which has defended itself so valiantly for the last five years against the Iroquois and the English who have killed the bravest inhabitants."

In this same year, 1692, a census (47) was taken which gives an exact picture of the distribution of the population and of the effect of the war on the colony. It revealed the presence of population in seventy-two seigniories as compared to sixty-two in 1688.

The total population of the colony was reported as 11,075, exclusive of settled Indians, an increase of 772 in four years. During the same period the number of births(6) was 2,105 and the number of deaths 765 giving an excedent of births over deaths of 1,340 and leaving 568 persons to be accounted for. Furthermore, the correspondence which we have already quoted revealed some immigration so that emigration must have amounted to at least seven or eight hundred persons.

The area of land under cultivation was reported as 26,669 "arpents" as compared to 28,663 in 1688, a decrease of 1,994 "arpents" in four years. The crop of wheat amounted to 89,711 "minots" as compared to 100,971 "minots" in 1688 and the yield of other grains was 30,707 "minots" as compared to 28,554 in the preceding census. In livestock, the number of horses had increased from 218 to 400 while the number of cattle had decreased from 7,719 to 7,456, the number of sheep from 1,061 to 903 and the number of swine from 3,701 to 3,045.

The above figures show the extent of the effect of the war on the agricultural development of the colony. To the war, however, must be added the effect of three poor crops, two of them caused by excessive rains and one by caterpillars. There is

no doubt that the Iroquois destroyed a large number of animals in their incursions but the lack of grains would also have an effect on the number raised so that the decrease of the period cannot be blamed entirely on the war.

This census gives only population by villages and seigniories; the agricultural statistics are only given as totals for the three governments of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. The seigniories which suffered the most from the incursions of the Iroquois were Montreal, Lachenaie, Jesus Island, Lavaltrie, Repentigny, Ste Therese Island, St. Paul Island, Prairie de la Madeleine, Longueuil, Tremblay, Cap St. Michel, Boisseau, Verchères, Autray, Contrecoeur and St. Ours. It is also to be noted that many others seigniories, particularly in the neighbourhood of Quebec showed increases which were much less than the natural increase, indicating emigration which in some cases was quite considerable. There was not one seigniorship which showed an increase greater than the excedent of births over deaths.

In the government of Quebec, between 1688 and 1692, the area under cultivation decreased from 14,544 "arpents" to 13,768. The production of wheat increased from 43,056 "minots" to 48,862 and that of other grains from 11,956 "minots" to 15,568. These increases in crop production are no more than the difference between a poor crop and a fair one. During the same period, the number of horses increased from 187 to 316, the number of cattle from 4,191 to 4,539, the number of swine

from 2,102 to 2,234, while the number of sheep decreased from 476 to 294.

In the government of Three Rivers, during the same period, the area of land under cultivation increased from 4,772 "arpents" to 5,792. The yield of wheat, however, decreased from 15,878 "minots" to 14,001 while the yield of other grains increased from 4,486 "minots" to 6,639. The number of cattle, sheep and swine decreased from 1,014, 151 and 661 to 935, 140 and 408 respectively. The number of horses, on the other hand, increased from 26 to 38.

In the government of Montreal, the area of land under cultivation decreased from 9,347 "arpents" to 7,109 during the four year period. The yield of wheat decreased from 42,037 "minots" to 26,848 and that of other grains from 12,112 "minots" to 8,500. The number of cattle decreased from 2,514 to 1,989, the number of swine from 938 to 403, while the number of horses increased from 5 to 46 and the number of sheep from 434 to 469.

The above statistics show that the government of Montreal was mostly responsible for the decrease during the four years between the two censuses. It alone had suffered from the devastations of the Iroquois. The government of Three Rivers had not been visited by the ravaging savages and yet the development there cannot be said to have been great even if many of the inhabitants did have to take part in the war. The number of inhabitants who left these governments to go after furs in the Outaouais country contributed as much if not more to the lack of progress than those who went to the war.

In 1693, Frontenac wrote to the minister (48) that the Iroquois had been unable to prevent seeding and harvesting in spite of frequent incursions. He stated that the crop had been fairly abundant and would have been more so without the continual rains which lasted two months and prevented the harvesting of the grain in good condition. "We have allowed a few vessels," he wrote, "to take some wheat to create a demand and to encourage the inhabitants to continue the cultivation of the soil."

In a further letter (49) to the minister, Frontenac went to some trouble to explain that the reunion of all settlements into villages was impossible because it would mean that the inhabitants who had cleared lands would have to abandon them. It seems that in these years, the only business which prospered was that of land granting. In spite of the war, Frontenac had time to grant nine concessions which totalled over 198,000 "arpents." Two of them were located in Acadia, and the others in the present counties of Gaspé, Portneuf, L'Islet, Lotbinière and Bellechasse.

In 1694, Louis XIV again brought up the question of expenditures in the colony (50) (51). His main source of complaint was that he was forced to spend a great deal of money, and Canadians alone benefited by it. They were placed in a better position than the people of France, because they had no taxes to pay. Frontenac and Champigny were then instructed to take every means in their power to reduce expenses. For the

work to be done on fortifications and other public utilities, they must use the soldiers in preference to the inhabitants, because this labor was cheaper. They were also ordered not to allow the merchants to raise their prices beyond reason, particularly when they were selling to the king. "His Majesty is convinced," the minister wrote, "that the expenses can be greatly decreased. The greater part of those which were made for the expedition to the Outaouais and other far removed nations, were excessive and served only as a pretext for the costly increase in the fur trade and to remove the inhabitants from the defense of the country during the war and also from the tillage of the soil, the fisheries and other occupations which they should have to ensure their subsistence, for the solid establishment of their families and that of the colony."

The above letters repeated the same orders about bush ranging, the union of settlements into villages, the fisheries, etc. In addition to the reasons previously given for the prevention of bush ranging, a new argument was now presented. "They must keep in mind that the constant increase in the quantity of furs and the great abundance which resulted from it, caused the loss of a great proportion of them and the losses thus incurred by His Majesty's farmer are unbearable. His Majesty placed the buying of furs in one hand only to prevent further lowering of prices, but he will be forced to relieve his farmers of this trade if the abuses of the bush rangers continued this disorder." In order to appreciate fully the above statement,

it is necessary to say a few words of the fur trade. While we do not propose to enter deeply into the question, we will say a few words about it in a later chapter.

In 1694, Frontenac and Champigny (52) wrote to the minister that they had sent five war parties against the Iroquois. They also reported that the army captains who allowed their men to work on farms while Canadians were at the war, did so only on condition that the soldiers would give them their army pay.

In the fall of the same year (53) Frontenac, answering a suggestion that in order to have peace with the Iroquois, it would be necessary for the French to abandon the upper country, gave his views on the future possibilities of Canada. He was of the opinion that the abandonment of the upper country would be the end of Canada, because it would be the end of the fur trade. "It would be necessary then, to confine ourselves to the cultivation of the soil which is good," he said, "but it is well to examine if the colony could support itself by this means alone. Even if it produced as much wheat as the two best provinces of France, there remains to be seen if this would give it sufficient commerce for its subsistence. Wheat would have to be very scarce in the world to induce merchants to come to Canada for it and this is equally true of every other product of this lower colony. But join to this one the upper colony and you will see that the two together will form an entity which will give hope of a solid establishment. The quantity of beaver which comes from the upper colony, permits to attract traders who bring with them large

quantities of European goods. It is an outlet for France which causes merchants to settle here, and people of quality find a means of obtaining, their subsistence." In other words, Frontenac believed that New France was useless without the fur trade, and this immediately after being told that the surplus of furs was causing losses to the king.

"The bush rangers," he continued, "contribute to this commerce and those who wish to stop them have other motives besides conscience and religion." This statement was probably due to the fact that Frontenac felt that he had to justify his position in regard to the bush rangers who were his favourites.

Again in 1694, the king found it necessary (54) to remind Frontenac and Champigny of the fact that land grants must not be too extensive so that the inhabitants might be close to one another. Let us now see how Frontenac followed this instruction. In 1694, he made four grants which totalled well over 100,000 "arpents." They were located in the present counties of Rimouski, Rouville, Verchères and Richelieu. In 1695 he granted eleven concessions which were roughly 420,000 "arpents" in area. (See Table 6, appendix). They were located as follows: four in Acadia, one in the county of Verchères, four in Richelieu, one in St. Hyacinthe and one in St. Maurice. It is very evident from the above that Frontenac granted concessions to his friends wherever they wanted them and that he had absolutely no concern for the interests of the king or of the colony.

In the same year, Champigny wrote (55) to the minister as follows: "The inhabitants of the colony take care to feed swine and other livestock and we notice that since there is an abundance of grains in the country they feed many more, particularly above Three Rivers where the inhabitants have not been exposed to the insults of the enemies. Pork has decreased in price, but the production is not yet sufficient to be able to dispense with imports from France and we will need 120,000 pounds next year."

"The price of wheat," he continued, "has been very reasonable, not having been more than 37 sols 6 deniers, but seedings could not be completed because of the heavy rains and the price has risen to 45 sols and more but there will be enough. There are many inhabitants in the vicinity of Quebec who grow hemp but only for the needs of their families and therefore, it must not be hoped that we will be in a position to supply any to France for a long time."

"The clearing and cultivation of land depend principally on whether or not the young people of the colony can be stopped from going into the bush to trade, as a very large number left the colony these last few years....."

The above statements show that the problem of keeping Canadians from going into the wilderness after furs was an important one. The main reason for this state of affairs was the lack of profitableness of agriculture and the fixed price of furs which guaranteed some profit. We can only repeat that had

agriculture been as profitable as the fur trade there would have been no difficulty to keep the majority of the bush rangers in the colony.

In 1695 a census (56) of the colony was taken which reported a population of 12,786 as compared to 11,075 in 1692 an increase of 1,711 or 14.5 per cent in three years. Births exceeded deaths (6) during the same period by 1,344; indicating a surplus population which would be due to some immigration and to the return to the colony of a certain number of bush rangers.

The government of Quebec showed a population of 7,977 as compared to 7,426 in 1692, an increase of 7.4 per cent. In the government of Three Rivers, the population had decreased from 1,521 to 1,392 or 9.1 per cent and in the government of Montreal it had increased from 3,484 to 4,270 or 22.6 per cent. It is of interest to note that the region of Montreal which had suffered the most from the war showed the largest absolute and proportional increase. Details of this census will be found in Tables 19 and 20 of the appendix. The city of Quebec and the surrounding villages showed decreases while the majority of the remaining localities of this government showed increases but in many instances they were not sufficient to account for all the natural increase. In Three Rivers and the surroundings seigniories no increases and in some cases, important decreases were shown. Montreal showed an increase of 83.3 per cent but some seigniories of this government showed only slight increases and many of them decreases. The immigration to Montreal had been very important.

The correspondence of Callières revealed that a large number of bush rangers were then living there.

The area of land under cultivation was reported as 28,110 "arpents", a gain of 1,441 "arpents" in three years. In addition, 3,595 "arpents" of pasture were reported as compared to 3,642 in 1692. By governments, the increases or decreases were as follows: In Quebec the area of land under cultivation increased by 2,859 "arpents" and the area in pasture by 47; in Three Rivers the area under cultivation decreased by 1,282 "arpents" and pasture increased by 113; in Montreal the area under cultivation decreased by 136 "arpents" and pasture by 207 "arpents". The government of Quebec, therefore, was the only one to show an increase in land under cultivation and there is no doubt that the scarcity of the few previous years had been responsible for it. In the government of Montreal the decrease is explained by the war.

In 1695, the production of wheat was 129,154 "minots" as compared to 89,711 in 1692. It will be remembered that Frontenac had written to the minister regarding the abundance of the crop of the year. Other grains yielded 41,155 "minots" as compared to 30,707 in the previous census, all three governments contributing to the increase. The productions of wheat and other grains had increased 47.5 and 21.8 per cent respectively in the government of Quebec, 47.4 and 100.9 per cent in the government of Montreal and wheat had increased 24.8 per cent in the government of Three Rivers while other grains had decreased 22.9 per cent.

The numbers of livestock increased appreciably during the same period. The number of horses increased from 400 to 580, cattle from 7,456 to 9,181, sheep from 903 to 918 and swine from 3,045 to 5,333. The three governments contributed to the increase but not in the same proportion (Table 20, appendix). The census shows that during the period 1692-1695, in spite of the war which played havoc in the upper St. Lawrence region, the agricultural development of the colony was greater than might have been expected. The debacle of the fur trade and the scare of a repetition of the famine which had visited the colony in the years 1689, 1690 and 1691 were no doubt responsible for this awakening of interest in agriculture.

The crop of wheat which in 1695 amounted to an average of 10.1 "minots" per capita, to which must be added 3.2 "minots" of other grains showed the necessity of looking for a market for surplus production. The navy of Louis XIV was engaged in a war in Europe; Canadians had no vessels to transport their goods and trading with New England was strictly forbidden so that the situation was not of a nature to encourage further developments on agricultural lines.

In 1696, the king wrote (57) to Frontenac and Champigny that fur trade had reached such a state that they must cancel the "congés" and refuse to accept furs until further orders. They must have, he wrote, "as their main principle, according to his orders, to make everyone earn his living within the inhabited

parts of the colony, in trade with the Kingdom, the West Indies and with the Indians who will naturally bring their furs to them in order to get the goods of the Kingdom which they need." It is to be noted that, as usual, the King was not very specific on what he expected these people to do.

In the same year (1696), Frontenac wrote (58) that he had pressed the war against the Iroquois. After so many orders from the king he felt that he had to justify his position regarding the bush rangers. "The cultivation of the soil", he wrote, "will not be any more advantageous when no one goes to the Outaouais country than it is now, because the majority of those who go will never plough. Enough wheat is produced, when the crops are good, to feed not only the inhabitants of the colony but also the troops which His Majesty maintains in the country and it is not possible during the war to bring all the settlements under cultivation, there being a large number of seigniories between Three Rivers and Montreal which have been almost completely abandoned because they are so exposed that it is impossible to undertake to till them and harvest the crops without an almost inevitable risk of losing one's life. This forces a large number of inhabitants to remain in the forts for a good part of the year, without daring to leave them. It would take six times as many troops as we have to protect those who would work at seeding or harvesting."

"The fisheries", he continued, "can never be of any great advantage to the inhabitants of this colony until we find the means of bringing sufficient salt to be able to undertake it with a greater number of men than that employed up to now and who can barely find enough for their subsistence.....It would also be necessary to protect them against the English pirates..... Furthermore, the fish does not come very far up the St. Lawrence, at the most to fifty leagues below Quebec, and it is very small."

"The licentiousness, debauchery, disorders and crimes of which the French who go in the bush are accused are greatly exaggerated," he went on. "These exaggerations are made by those who would like to keep all the trade for themselves." These statements show very clearly where Frontenac's interests were. We must admit that Frontenac was a great soldier but outside of that he looked after his own interests and it did not matter to him whether the king lost millions or whether the colony perished as long as these interests were served. It must be said, however, that his statement to the effect that agriculture could never be profitable under existing conditions was true. Canadians would have been fools to grow agricultural products only to give them away. Only scarcity could help those who had some crops because then, they could sell them at a better price. Frontenac must be blamed for not having tried to convince the king and the minister of the real needs of the colony.

In 1697, Frontenac wrote (59) that the crop had been fairly abundant and that wheat which had sold for six livres the

"minot" during the summer had started to decrease in price. This, he stated, would help the poor inhabitants who had suffered very much from the scarcity and who would have fallen in the most abject misery without the work on the fortifications which had enabled them to earn their livelihood.

It will be recalled that the king had given instructions that the soldiers be employed at the fortifications in preference to the Canadians who wanted a living wage. Champigny wrote (60) to the minister on the subject that "nothing is more useful than the expenditures which are made in favour of the Canadians and of the allied Indians, being almost the only ones who are sent against the enemy. The distributions from the stores which have been made to them, prove sufficiently that they are often called for service, since these distributions are made only when they are thus employed. There are not three hundred men in the troops, capable of following them through the bush. These Canadians and Indians, however, cost little in proportion to the soldiers, since we give them only the essential things that they need for their use while on war parties; in fact, M. de Frontenac and myself have had some consideration for the extreme misery in which the wives and children have fallen during the past two years while their husbands and fathers were away." It is rather sad to be forced to consider that the king begrudged them even that.

"As I am obliged " he continued, "to work for the good and the increase of the colony, nothing can be more apt to

contribute to it than to allow the soldiers to marry as the majority of them have become labourers. It is certain that they will greatly advance the cultivation of the soil. There would also result from it a decrease in expenditures by stopping their pay and maintenance without prejudice to the king's service since it is the custom to send the inhabitants instead of the soldiers on remote expeditions. You may find obstacles to this proposition which will come from the officers who command them, being the only ones to whom this may be detrimental because they will be deprived of the pay that the soldiers who work for the inhabitants have to give them otherwise, they would not be allowed to work." There is no doubt that the above statement was true as far as the saving was concerned, but it is not so sure that the increase in agricultural production would have proven beneficial to the colony.

Frontenac (61) felt that it was necessary to explain that when they granted large concessions it was because the greater part of the lands were not fit for cultivation or because they wanted to establish seigniories. He also went out of his way to explain how the suppression of the "congés" would be detrimental to the colony.

In spite of all the orders which he received to the contrary, Frontenac continued his policy of granting vast areas to his friends. In 1696, he granted nine concessions which amounted to nearly 500,000 "arpents" (See Table 6, appendix). One was located in Acadia, two in the present county of Gaspé,

two in Rimouski, three in Kamouraska and one in Bellechasse. In 1697, he granted fifteen which totalled over 1,400,000 "arpents." Ten were in Acadia, one in Gaspé, one in Bonaventure, one in Beauce and two in Champlain. In 1698, he granted only two which totalled over 75,000 "arpents" and were located, one in Quebec county and the other in Chambly. It is very evident that, to the last, Frontenac continued to grant lands as he pleased, regardless of the wishes of the king and of the obvious interests of the colony.

In this same year (1696), the Iroquois finally asked for peace but Frontenac who had successfully ended the war died before the peace treaty could be signed. Callières replaced him as governor, and it was not till four years later that the treaty was signed and all that time the inhabitants had remained in uncertainty.

In 1698, another census (62) was taken which revealed the presence in the colony of 13,815 French as compared with 12,786 in 1695 and 11,075 in 1692 (See Table 19, appendix). During the last three years, the number of births had exceeded the number of deaths (6) by 1,656 which shows that there had been emigration from the colony, allowing for immigration from France and for the return of some bush rangers, of at least seven or eight hundred persons if not more. This census shows that no new seigniories had become occupied since 1695.

During this three year period, the seigniory of Beaupré and several villages in the vicinity of Quebec showed a lack

of increase when not an actual decrease. With possibly one or two exceptions, the seigniories of the government showed emigration which in some cases was quite considerable. In the government of Three Rivers, only a few seigniories showed increases in population. In the government of Montreal, eleven seigniories out of a total of 36 showed decreases, several others showed no increase and in the remainder the increases were very small.

The area of land under cultivation increased (see table 20, appendix) by 4,414 "arpents" or 15.7 per cent. In the government of Quebec, the increase was 3,217 "arpents" or 19.3 per cent, in the government of Montreal it was 1,502 "arpents" or 21.5 per cent while in the government of Three Rivers there was a decrease of 305 "arpents" or 6.8 per cent. The area in pasture increased in both the governments of Quebec and Montreal but decreased in that of Three Rivers.

In 1698, the crop of wheat yielded 160,978 "minots" as compared to 129, 154 in 1695, an increase of 31,824 "minots" or 24.6 per cent. The production increased by 38.2 per cent in the government of Quebec, by 27.8 per cent in the government of Three Rivers but it had decreased by 1.4 per cent in the government of Montreal.

During the same period, the production of other grains increased from 41,155 to 55,349 "minots" or 34.5 per cent. The governments of Quebec and Montreal showed increases of 55.3 and 26.3 per cent respectively while the government of Three Rivers

decreased by 15.3 per cent. It must be remembered that the crop of 1698 had been good when that of 1695 had only been fair, so that the increase in crops does not represent a corresponding increase in seeded area, but all the same, it represents a development which is worthy of mention, when one keeps in mind the conditions of the colony at the time. There is no doubt that the scarcity of the previous years had gone a long way to bring about this increase.

The agricultural production of the country, according to this census, amounted to an average of 10.5 "minots" of wheat and 3.6 "minots" of other grains per capita. We would like to repeat here that it is remarkable that agricultural production should have reached this point in view of the low prices and of the definite lack of prospect for an outlet for the surplus. It was quite all right for Louis XIV to forbid the fur trade because it resulted in losses to himself, but we cannot see how he could hope to turn everyone in the colony to the tillage of the soil, if he was not prepared to take it upon himself to find means of disposing of the surplus production. No matter what the reasons might have been for it, manufactures had not developed in the colony and the inhabitants were totally dependent on France for manufactured goods. Moreover something had to be used in exchange for them. Furthermore, Canadians had not thus far acquired sufficient wealth to build vessels in which to load their products to go in search of markets and if they had had, they would have been prevented from doing so, because that was the prerogative of the mother country.

Now, to return to the census of 1698, the number of horses increased from 580 to 684 and the increase was almost exclusively in the government of Quebec. The number of cattle increased from 9,181 to 10,209 or 11.2 per cent. In the government of Quebec the increase was 21.7 per cent, in the government of Montreal it was 6.1 per cent while in the government of Three Rivers there was a decrease of 30.3 per cent.

The number of sheep increased from 918 to 994, the government of Montreal being the only one which did not contribute to the increase. The number of swine, on the other hand, decreased from 5,333 to 5,147 or 3.5 per cent. The government of Quebec showed an increase of 10.4 per cent which was offset by decreases in the other two governments.

On the whole, the government of Quebec which had not suffered from the incursions of the Iroquois had made some progress but in the other governments there were decreases which were caused by the killing of cattle during the incursions and also by the fact that many farmers were forced to abandon their lands to seek the protection of the forts and thus were unable to attend to their livestock.

In 1699, the minister wrote (63) to Frontenac (his death was not yet known in France) that His Majesty was disappointed that with Champigny he had not yet reduced the price of beaver which cost him much. "His Majesty," he went on, "may become tired of a colony which every year costs him large sums and from which he derives no benefits." His Majesty should have realized that if

the colony cost him large sums, it was because of the maladministration of his representatives, a fact for which it could not be held responsible.

The instructions (64) which Callières received upon his appointment as governor were the very same which had been sent to every governor since the beginning of the colony. They covered his relations with the clergy, the administration of justice, the increase of trade, the evil of bush ranging which was responsible for the abandonment of many farms, the establishment of fisheries, the encouragement to be given to the cultivation of flax and hemp, the manufactures, the raising of livestock, the large grants which were yet uncleared, the grouping of inhabitants into villages, etc. In reading the various documents which have been preserved, one cannot help but be struck by the fact that between 1663 and 1699, Louis XIV and his ministers could not think of any new instructions for the governors and intendants. It is true that the evils of the early period still existed, but this alone should have been sufficient to suggest new methods for the accomplishment of their will in the colony. Their interest did not go beyond having a secretary, make an exact copy of the instructions which had been sent to previous governors.

In the same year, Callières and Champigny wrote (65) that the Iroquois had not committed one hostile act in the past two years. "If the only hope of peace with the Iroquois," they wrote, "has been sufficient to induce the inhabitants as well as

the married soldiers to start the clearing of land along the St. Lawrence, there is no doubt that when the peace is assured or, at least, when there is nothing to be feared from the enemy, there will be a greater number of establishments and we believe that it will be better to start clearings away from the river so as to increase and fortify the colony without extending it further and this is what we will do when people ask us for grants. We can assure His Majesty that there will be difficulty in the execution of this project, because of the poor quality of the lands, but we will do our best to use them for what they are best suited." Up to the present all grants had had access to the river which was the only means of communication. The greatest difficulty with Callières' idea was that the granting of concessions behind those already granted, would necessitate the opening of many miles of road and there was no reason to believe that the king would be more generous for roads than he had been for other things.

They told the minister that the crop (1699) was not good and that if they had not still had some of the previous crop on hand, they would have found it hard to wait for the next year's crop in consequence of which, they asked for 300,000 pounds of flour and 80,000 pounds of pork.

Callières, in the same letter, reported to the minister that some English merchants of New York wanted "to send here products of their country to exchange for Canadian goods. If His Majesty agrees to this proposition we will examine, before

allowing it, if this commerce will be advantageous to the colony and not detrimental to the commerce of France." To this proposition the minister answered (66) as follows: "His Majesty has seen what they wrote on the subject of a reciprocal trade between the French and the English and finds that it would be very difficult because it would provide an occasion for illicit trade. The English would find a way of taking our furs and of bringing woollen goods, which are cheaper in England than in France, to the detriment of the manufactures of the kingdom; so, he does not see fit to allow this trade and wishes that its establishment be prevented." This answer like all the others which we have quoted so far, leaves no doubt in anyone's mind that the advantage of the colony was of no consequence and that the only interests to be served were those of France. Since the price of furs and of all agricultural goods were very low in relation to the prices which the inhabitants had to pay for imported products, it certainly would have been to the advantage of the colony to have cheaper woollen goods, but this was not to be countenanced because it meant that the French merchants would make that much less profit.

In the same year, 1699, Champigny wrote (67) to the minister that a certain contagious disease (small pox) had visited the colony and that for a while it was thought that many would die, as there was not one house which had not been visited by it; all that died, however, numbered about one hundred persons.

Disputes between governor and intendant were still the fashion and in the same letter, he accused Callières "of favouring a trade in horses with the English. These horses are brought into the colony and are good only to remove money because there are more horses than necessary." He also accused him of sending soldiers and inhabitants to the bush thus favouring the fur trade which was forbidden by the king.

Champigny then proceeded to give a description of the colony which is worth reproducing in part. "The inhabitants who have attached themselves to the tillage of the soil and who have located themselves in good spots," he wrote, "live well enough finding advantages which the peasants of France have not, being nearly all located along rivers where there is fishing, and their houses being built in the centre of their land, they do not have far to go to work or to draw their firewood."

"The merchants are not rich," he continued, "there are only a few who are well off. The main commerce is the fur trade with the Indians and almost exclusively beaver, and this trade is now the cause of dissension between the inhabitants and the farmer over the fixation of price. The remaining trade is very limited and consists mainly in cod fishing and retailing of cloths, liquors, furnitures and other goods which come from France."

"The artisans live well enough because they are well paid for their work and it is the same for all those who wish to work. The most essential need of the colony is of good men to cultivate the land, by changing into grain fields part of the

forest. The soil is fertile and produces easily. Wheat, which is ordinarily sown in April or May is harvested in August or September. Hemp can also be produced. Those who have tried it have succeeded well and made good linens. Livestock which farmers own in fair enough number helps to procure the subsistence of the farmers and there are also all kinds of poultry, fishing and hunting."

"The men are strong and vigorous but without liking for permanent labour which ties them down. The women like pomp and are excessively lazy, those of the country as well as those of the cities."

"The newly settled soldiers open up new settlements along the river in the government of Montreal with some success. It would be advantageous to the colony if the priests of the Montreal Seminary who are "seigneurs" of this beautiful island granted all their lands. They hold them in the hope of selling them for a profit instead of granting them for tithes.

In 1700, Callières and Champigny wrote (68): "The clearings increase every day, by new settlements formed by the soldiers and by the children of the inhabitants particularly in the Island of Montreal where the soil is more fertile than in other localities." Then they went on to say that there had been such a scarcity of wheat that they had to lend some to the inhabitants. They said also that the crop was not good in this year and that the next year they would need 400,000 pounds of flour and 60,000 pounds of pork.

In the winter of 1700-1701, there was a great scarcity of wheat in the colony and the Superior Council was forced to pass an edict (69) ordering the inhabitants to sell all their surplus grain at a fixed price.

In 1701, Callières and Champigny wrote a memorandum (70) on hemp in Canada which stated: "Of whatever utility, the commerce of hemp may be in the future, it is not to be expected that the inhabitants will grow it unless the king uses his authority at the start." For this, they suggested that an edict be passed ordering the inhabitants to grow hemp in proportion to the area of cleared land which they had. They suggested that those who had thirty "arpents" of cleared land be forced to seed one and a half in hemp and all the others in proportion. Then they thought that the inhabitants should be forced to prepare the hemp in the winter following the harvest in order to have it ready to load on the ships and that it should be paid two "sols" six "deniers" the pound, Canadian money. We have given previously the reasons why Canadians did not favour the growing of hemp.

In 1702, the minister brought up (71) another question which is worth mentioning here, because it illustrates our view on the conduct of the merchants who controlled the trade of the colony. " I hear from several sources that the inhabitants of this colony are in great misery because of the debts which they have contracted and that it is to be feared that they will find themselves in the necessity of abandoning everything, being unable to pay. "

"These debts, " he continued, "come from two causes, the first of which is the cupidity of the merchants who transport goods in the colony. They are in the habit of carrying many useless and superfluous things and of forcing the inhabitants to buy them at their own price otherwise they refuse to sell them the necessities of life. This custom has introduced extravagance among the inhabitants and since they cannot earn sufficiently to pay for what they buy they contract debts which they never will be able to pay".

"The other cause is the excessive rise in wages that the fishermen who come from France to work for the inhabitants hope to get. In the past, these wages were fixed at one third of the catch, but now there is no limit and it often happens that after the fishing is done the inhabitant has nothing left."

"It is proposed in the first place to give these people a ten year moratorium on their debts so that they may be able in the meantime to subsist and to save enough to pay them. To obviate the first cause of this evil, it is proposed to forbid to the merchants to sell the inhabitants anything besides the strict essentials until the end of the fishing season and then to allow them to sell only in proportion to the amount of fish which they have caught being clear that it is better for merchants to bring back their goods than to sell them without hope of ever being paid."

The above letter is very interesting because it shows the conditions under which the inhabitants were forced to live but mainly because it gives a picture of the heartlessness of the French merchants who had had the monopoly of trade in the

colony since its very beginning.

During his stage as governor, Callières granted eleven seigniories which totalled over 292,000 "arpents." Two of them were located in Acadia, one in the present county of Quebec, one in Levis, one in Champlain, one in St. Maurice, two in Richelieu, two in Vaudreuil and one in Gaspé. The death of Callières marks the end of the period which we propose to cover in this study and the above grants show that from the very beginning of the period to the end, all governors and intendants, Talon included, had followed the policy of giving large concessions in spite of the often repeated orders of the king.

A memorandum (72) written by Le Roy de la Potherye and addressed to Pontchartrain, probably in 1702, gives a realistic picture of the inhabitants of the colony at the end of the period which we propose to study. "We have had a cruel famine in the whole of Canada in 1700 and 1701," the memorandum said. "I have known some inhabitants to die of starvation; those of the country side lived for a long time on roots and the wealthiest have had to be content to live on meat alone."

"This was due to the fact that it had been permitted to an individual of Quebec to buy all the wheat of the Island of Orleans and surrounding country. The year did not appear to be good and he bought all the wheat. To get some afterwards, it was necessary to pay his price. In 1700, he sent a flat boat to Montreal with wheat; it heated and he lost four hundred "minots."

"A country is much to be pitied," the memorandum continued, "when it is the victim of a governor general and of an intendant who hate each other so much that they could gnaw each others heart. Some relief was brought in the city by distributing some of the king's wheat, but it would have been better to stop at the start, this trouble which lasted two years. The inhabitants who have large families have suffered greatly, having sold all they had to buy wheat. It is a pitiful thing to see a father, mother, girls and boys sleeping all together under the same blanket. This memorandum requires no comment to show very clearly not only the situation of the colony but also the real reason for it all which was the lack of interest of the king and of those whose duty should have been to protect the colonists and to see to their happiness and progress.

Acadia, 1686-1710. We cannot close this chapter without saying a few words of the development of Acadia during the period which extended from 1686 to the treaty of Utrecht when the province finally passed into the hands of the English.

In the preceding chapter, we stated that in 1686, the population of Acadia was 879 and that there were 90 farms. In the same year, the Sieur Perrot who had just been sent there as governor wrote (73): "The people instead of applying itself to the tillage of the soil which can produce everything, that is necessary to life, have scattered themselves in such a way that they are very far removed from one another and think of nothing but of trading in the bush and of leading a scandalous life with

Indian women. It would be necessary to group them together and to encourage them to carry on the fisheries. There are in the country many nice pastures for the feeding of livestock."

In a letter (74), Perrot wrote that he had found a great abuse in the granting of lands to private individuals,*
"having noticed that some of them had grants of sixty leagues frontage, which they could not till and which served only to keep them away from the settled places so that they might live more easily in debauchery with Indian women. This comes from the fact that le Borgne de Belleisle has obtained nearly all the grants. He is a man given to drinking and he grants the same concession to several persons which is the cause of many court cases. The governor is eighty years old and deaf. The king's attorney and the clerk are ignorant." Such was the situation of Acadia at the beginning of this period. A study of Table 6, appendix, will show that the abuse of large grants had been much worse in Acadia than in Canada.

In a further memorandum (75) written in the same year, or perhaps the next, he gave a description of the country and of its inhabitants which is well worth reproducing in part because it gives a very interesting portrait of the country and of the mode of living of the Acadians. He first commented on the beauty of the country and on the abundance of fish. "Port Royal," he wrote, "is far removed from the fishing and is good only for industrious labourers. The inhabitants are located along the river. They harvest sufficient wheat for their own subsistence and to obtain

their other necessities. There must be one hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms and many children. The country produces a fair quantity of wheat, peas, apples and cherries.

The inhabitants appear to be less industrious than those of Canada, yet live better. They are never without meat or bread, but they never think of saving. As long as they have sufficient to satisfy their present needs, they ask for no more."

"When the father and mother get old and they have married children, they give away all they have on condition that they will be fed and kept during their life time and that the married children pay the weddings of their brothers and sisters which is only in proportion with what they have. Sometimes it is the eldest and sometimes the youngest of the family who keeps the parents; it is usually the one who gets along better with the father and mother. The dowry is seldom more than twenty or twenty-five francs in goods, a cow in calf, a ewe, a sow and when the dowry is greater, in the case of the wealthier people, a feather mattress is added. They do not care about these things even though they need them and their contracts are often signed only six months or a year after the wedding."

"By all appearances, the fear of work has so far prevented the clearing of the high lands. The small area which they have cleared around Port Royal produces much rye which they saw in the fall as in France, but as the lands are tired and they do not manure them, or very little, the yield is now very low and they leave much of the land idle, which has made the surroundings

of Port Royal agreeable and has given short pasture suitable for sheep and formed nice lawns which these animals like and on which they feed very well."

"By not clearing the high lands they have saved themselves the work of cutting the wood, of gathering it in piles, of burning it, of hoeing the land with their hands, not being able to use the plough among the stumps and of removing the stumps which would require much more work than the swamps, besides the necessity of manuring if they want to derive benefits from these lands. On the other hand, in the swamps they have only the first work to do which is to enclose and drain them and then leave them idle for a year to remove the salt and then plough them to obtain much grain. But they have not realized that this destroyed their meadows and now they are short of fodder and cannot feed as many cattle as they did previously. The breed of cattle which they have is very bad and of little use, being unable to milk the cows unless the calves suck them on the other side at the same time. This is the reason why they very seldom kill calves because the cow not allowing herself to be milked would immediately dry up....."

"The swamps being all taken (around Port Royal) the young people who did not want to clear the high lands went like a swarm of bees to other swamps thirty leagues away at a place called Les Mines where they grow much wheat."

"At the end of the Bay is the seigniory of Beaubassin where there are about twenty farms and a large area of meadows

which are not as good for wheat as for the feeding of cattle because of the fogs which are prevalent in summer and keep the wheat from ripening. The meadows could well support 100,000 cattle. The majority of farmers already have twelve or fifteen cattle and even twenty, ten or twelve swine and as many sheep. They do not bother to bring these animals into the stables except for two or three months of the year which is the cause that the wild dogs kill many. They have not yet much land ploughed but when they will have enough to supply themselves with wheat, they will be able to do without foreign products. The women weave cloth, linens and knit stockings. They wear Indian shoes."

"On the other side of the Bay is the St. John River, well known for its furs and for the civil war between the Sieur de la Tour and the Sieur d'Aulnay and which caused its destruction. There are only three persons there who do not till land and do nothing but go from place to place to get furs, living a lazy, dissolute and vagabond life. They are always poor and are of no utility to the colony, on the contrary, they prevent good inhabitants from settling there and tilling the soil."

"The settlement of Pesmonquaddis on the Ste Croix River, is a very advantageous location for fishing. The man who obtained it as a seigniory with over fifty leagues of country has only three inhabitants who do not clear land any more

than he does. They spend their time trading in furs with the Indians and the "seigneur" and his children live a life of debauchery with Indian women."

"Pentagouet is the boundary of New England and was destroyed during the war. There is one gentleman who lives there with his servants. He has cleared no land and done nothing except the fur trade. On the western coast, there are no clearings and the inhabitants obtain their livelihood from the fur trade."

"At Cape Sable, there are two sons of M. de la Tour with four or five inhabitants who do not grow one grain of wheat. They live on fish, game and the fur trade. At La Hève, a good port, one can still see the remains of a fort and houses with large apple trees. There are only two inhabitants who live in wantonness and till no land. In Chedabouctou Bay, M. de Meulles settled three or four inhabitants who hope to establish good farms."

We have devoted considerable space to this memorandum because we thought that it gives a good picture of Acadia and its inhabitants.

For the reasons given in Perrot's memorandum, the inhabitants were poor and heavily in debt. In 1688, the minister wrote (76) to the Directors of the Company of Acadia expressing the king's satisfaction of the fact that they were not pressing the inhabitants of Port Royal for the payment of the debt of 8,000 livres which they owed and that they were sending

merchandise for 12,000 more. "It is in your interest as well as in the king's," he wrote, "to prevent these inhabitants from trading with the English, and the only way to succeed, is to supply them with the things they need." The trade with the English, by Acadians as well as by Canadians, was advantageous to them because they received better prices for their goods, but it created competition for the French merchants and, therefore, had to be stopped.

In the same year, instructions (77) to the Sieur Goustin who was sent as judge in Acadia recommended him to administer justice in such a way that the inhabitants would have nothing to think of but the clearing of their lands and their commerce. He was also instructed to find localities where settlements could be made and the number of inhabitants which could find its livelihood there. He was told to encourage the clearing of lands by making the inhabitants see that it was the only way in which they could assure their livelihood.

As an answer to the above letter, the Sieur de Meneval wrote (78) to Seignelay (1688), describing the poverty of Port Royal, due to the lack of labourers and to the high price of imported goods. He reported that only half of the soldiers had arms and "of the thirty who arrived this year, only fifteen had rifles." A few soldiers, he reported, wished to marry and Meneval thought that this was the only way of settling the country, unless the king wanted to send "engagés" because the inhabitants had no one to do their work.

It would be necessary for the king to send flour for the troops, because the country did not produce enough to feed everyone. Even with the abundant crop of the last year there had been scarcity and he thought that the present year would be worse because of the additional thirty soldiers and also because of "three or four high tides which had come in March and flooded most of the swamps with the wheat, which had been seeded."

He believed that if cod fishing were to progress the king would have to supply funds to establish it. Following the king's instructions, he stated that he had looked for localities "where settlements could be established but I have not yet discovered any where high lands are suitable; time perhaps will discover them when the country is more thickly settled and the inhabitants are forced by necessity of tilling more lands. I believe with some reason that the tremendous work of cutting the trees and clearing the land scares them, not having people to help them, nor a sufficient number of cattle to supply the manure which is absolutely essential, and turns them to the swamps along the rivers where, even if there is a great deal of work involved to dyke them, they undertake it more willingly, being surer of a crop once they have seeded them. Furthermore, these lands carry a crop every year if the high tides do not flood them, which happens once in a while. The reason why they establish their settlements so far apart is to take advantage of these swamps which are small in area and so I do not see a change of forming

large communities, because as soon as the inhabitants have children old enough to work, they go elsewhere to find swamps. It is thus that Les Mines, thirty leagues from here (Port Royal) has been established in the last six years by the young people of Port Royal where they could no longer live. There are there now thirty or thirty-five farms, but they are very scattered like those of Port Royal. The advantage which they also find in locating along the rivers is that they use them as a communication with one another. Furthermore, the whole country being covered with bush, if they established their settlements on the high lands, they would have to clear a large space around their houses and around the fields where they would sow wheat, so much to allow the circulation of air as to keep the wild animals away and this scares the few people who are here."

To sum up, the above, it is sufficient to say that the Acadians did not clear more land because they did not like work and furthermore, there was no need for it. As long as they obtained their subsistence that was all that was needed because if they had produced a surplus they would not have been able to dispose of it because their only market, Boston, was forbidden to them.

In 1689, Nicolas Denys wrote a memorandum (79) on his establishment at Nepissigny on the Bay of Chaleurs in which he stated that he had one hundred and three French inhabitants in his concession who worked at clearing land and fishing. He had been tilling the soil by hand for four years and already produced

part of the wheat, vegetables, fruits and herbs which he needed. He proposed in the present year, to plough the land with oxen.

In 1690, the Sieur de Saccardy (80) in a memorandum gave his views on the agricultural methods of the Acadians. "The lands at Port Royal," he wrote, "are different from those of Che-dabouctou Bay because they are suitable for the production of wheat. The high lands would also be good if the inhabitants could stand the expense of clearing them, but they stick to meadows because they have no labourers to help them and they would starve to death while clearing one "arpent." Then he went on to say that this type of cultivation was detrimental to the colony, because the meadows once ploughed could not supply hay or pasture for cattle. "The lack of demand for beef," he said, "might excuse them in this" but it made the inhabitants lazy because they did not have enough work to keep themselves occupied and furthermore by not keeping cattle, they were without manure to fertilize the high lands which did not produce without it. The inhabitants, he claimed, were so used to this type of cultivation that rather than tackle the high lands the children leave their homes and go thirty or forty leagues away to places where there were such meadows. As a result there were few farms which did not have five or six hundred fathoms of frontage and that was the reason why the settlements were so scattered.

In 1693, in a memorandum (81) to the Sieur Villebon, governor, the minister wrote that, in the past, His Majesty had particularly recommended to the governors of Acadia to do all in

their power to induce the inhabitants to till the soil and to raise livestock and that he had learned that with the exception of Port Royal, Les Mines and Beaubassin they had occupied themselves, particularly those of the St. John River, exclusively at the fur trade with the Indians. The concessions which His Majesty granted, he said, were for the sole purpose of the cultivation of the soil and he gave definite orders to the governors to see that the grantees lived up to the terms of their contract and also to limit the concessions which were too large, some of which contained sixty leagues of land for one family. This was not reasonable, he said, and prevented the inhabitants of Canada, who could not find there fertile lands which were not subject to the invasions of the Iroquois, from coming to settle on the St. John River. For these reasons, he ordered Villebon to report on the state of these concessions.

The census (82) of 1693 permits us to measure accurately the agricultural development of Acadia during the seven years which had elapsed since the census of 1686 which we have already studied. The population of the colony was reported as 1,018 as compared to 879 in 1686. The three localities of Port Royal, Beaubassin and Les Mines had a population of 926 or almost 91 per cent of the total population of Acadia as compared to 776 and 88.3 per cent in 1686. It can be seen from the above that the population outside of the three above named places was barely worth mentioning.

The number of farms increased during the period from 90 to 144, Port Royal and Les Mines being responsible for the total increase. Of the 144 farms reported, 77 had less than 10 "arpents" of land under cultivation. The area of land under cultivation increased from 897 "arpents" in 1686 to 1,840 in 1693 and again the total increase was in Port Royal and Les Mines.

The number of cattle reported was 1,793 and 1,725 of these were reported in the three above mentioned localities. These cattle, which represented an increase of 80.8 per cent since 1686, were reported by 148 families, 54 of which reported ten heads or less. The number of sheep was 1,832, an increase of 141.4 per cent in seven years. The number of swine increased 102.9 per cent to 1,232 during the same period. Details of this census may be found in Tables 14 and 15 of the appendix.

The year 1693 was the eighty-ninth since de Monts had landed on Ste. Croix Island with his small colony. One hundred and forty-four farms and one thousand eight hundred and forty "arpents" of land under cultivation in almost a century, do not constitute a record to be proud of, but on the other hand, if one considers only the period 1686-1693, the development was quite appreciable. More than half of the farms reported in 1693 were nothing more than home gardens and could not produce enough to support a family.

The next few years after 1693 were entirely occupied by the war and the English pounced upon the colony on several occasions, causing the inhabitants to live in a continual state of unrest which was not conducive to the development of the colony.

In 1695, a census (83) of the St. John River district showed the presence of 10 families with a population of 49 persons. There was 106 "arpents" of land under cultivation and 73 in pasture. Cattle numbered 38, swine 116 and poultry 362. The crop of that year yielded 130 "minots" of wheat, 370 of corn, 30 of oats, 170 of peas and 3 of beans.

In 1698, the minister wrote (84) to Villebon that as it appeared that the inhabitants of Port Royal, Les Mines and Beaubassin did not have enough fertile lands to till, he must encourage those who would be without employment to settle where they would be able to work more usefully for themselves and their families, especially where they could fish and where they would be in a position, later on, to carry on the trade with the West Indies.

In the same year a census (85) covering Port Royal, Beaubassin and the St. John River was taken. The population of Port Royal was reported as 583 as compared to 500 in 1693. That of Beaubassin was 183 as compared to 119 and that of the St. John River 42 as compared to 21 in the previous census.

The number of farms in Port Royal decreased from 77 to 73 during the five years while in Beaubassin it increased from 14 to 24 and on the St. John River from 6 to 10. The number of cattle decreased in Port Royal from 955 to 936 while in Beaubassin it had increased from 309 to 352 and on the St. John River from 14 to 45. The number of sheep decreased in Port Royal from 1,240 to 1,136 and in Beaubassin from 272 to 160. The number of

swine decreased from 733 to 576 in Port Royal, while in Beaubassin it increased from 142 to 160 and on the St. John River 71 were reported where none had been reported in the preceding census. The only place of any account which was omitted from this census was Les Mines and there is no reason to think that the action there would have been greatly different than in the other places. The census also reported that there were 1,799 fruit trees on 58 farms. Details of this census may be found in Tables 16 and 17 of the appendix.

Commenting on this census, Villebon wrote (86):

"These inhabitants have not yet cultivated a sufficient quantity of land but they will do it as their needs increase. It is necessary to wait until they have repaired the losses which they have suffered in the last war."

In 1699, the minister (87) imparted to the governor that "His Majesty has resolved to work seriously at the establishment of a considerable colony in Acadia and as this can only be done by means of the fisheries he wishes him to ascertain from the principal inhabitants of the country the localities where fishing is most abundant and what is necessary for the establishment of fisheries. The one which has appeared to be the best so far, has been the formation of a strong company which would send the number of fishermen necessary and which would then buy the fish at a fixed price." "We have seen before what these resolutions of the king meant.

Answering the above memorandum, Villebon wrote (88) a description of the various places in Acadia which is of interest because it gives a description of the agricultural development of the country. "At Les Mines, located at the end of the French Bay, there is no fishing, but, on the other hand, the lands are very advantageous for the production of grains such as wheat, rye, peas, oats and all kinds of vegetables. If the inhabitants were as industrious as those of Canada, they would become wealthy in a very short time, but the majority of them work only as much as is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families. The majority of the women make all the cloth, linen and stockings necessary for their family from the hemp, which they grow and the wool which they get from their sheep. This place will become considerable just as soon as the inhabitants have found a market for their goods and the king sends "engagés" so that the inhabitants can bring their lands into cultivation." The above statement shows that the situation in Acadia was the same as in Canada. The inhabitants would have produced more agricultural goods if there had been some means of disposing of them. The king, the minister and the governor should have known that the inhabitants would not work hard to produce goods just for the pleasure of giving them away.

"There is above Les Mines," Villebon continued, "at about eighteen leagues a settlement (Cobequid) of eight or ten farmers who have drained swamps in the last two years and who have very nice wheat this year. There is still room there for an equal number of farmers."

"Between Port Royal and Les Mines, there is twenty-six leagues. The farmers who have several children, establish a few of them towards Les Mines and Beaubassin, not being able to bring themselves to clear the upper lands, the work appearing too difficult to them, though they are more reliable than the swamps which are sometimes flooded and then have to lie idle for two years while they lose their salt. Just as soon as the king sends people from France, these lands will be taken."

"At River Pomoncoup, there is one family of ten persons. They grow peas and wheat and have thirty cattle, three sheep, eighteen swine and one water mill. At Cap Negre, there is one family of nine persons. They grow sufficient grain for their subsistence and they have five or six cattle. There is sufficient good land there for five or six more families. At Cap Razoir there are two families who own ten or twelve cattle and a few sheep. At Port La Hève there are two families who live from hunting and fishing. At Chedabouctou Bay, there was a fishing establishment which was destroyed by the English during the last war." Then, speaking of Port Royal, the writer went on: "It is over sixty years since it has been established and the land produces much grain such as wheat, rye, peas, oats not only for the maintenance of the population but also to sell to other localities of the country. Hemp and flax grow well and many inhabitants manufacture sufficient linens for all their needs."

"Port Royal," he continued, "is a small Normandy for apples; the inhabitants could produce much more and make cider if

they were more industrious, but the majority works only for its subsistence and neglects to increase the number of fruit trees which will be done when the country is more settled. Several species of apples and some pears are grown at Port Royal. There were also some cherry trees which were ruined."

"They have all sorts of vegetables in abundance," he continued, "such as cabbages, beets, onions, carrots, chive, shallots, turnips, parsnips and all sorts of salad herbs which grow very well. Wheat sells for forty "sols" the "minot" and weighs only forty one and a half pounds. Beef is worth only two "sols" a pound and on foot it is worth forty to fifty livres. Sheep are worth seven livres and pork two or three "sols" a pound. Fowls not fattened are worth ten "sols" and chickens eight or ten "sols" a pair; a suckling pig is worth fifteen to eighteen "sols", eggs five "sols" a dozen and butter eight "sols" a pound. Hares and partridges sell for four to five "sols." The above statement gives a very good picture of the development of the colony and of the prices which the inhabitants obtained for their goods."

In 1701, the Sieur de Brouillon was sent to Acadia as governor and his instructions (89) told him that he was to do all in his power to put a stop to the fishing which the English carried on along the coast of Acadia. Moreover he was to discourage the fur trade among the inhabitants and maintain it only in so far as it was necessary to keep the Indians in the friendship of the French and if he could induce the Indians to specialize in other furs than beaver, he was to do it. He was also to encourage the

lumber trade as much as he could and for this reason the king was willing to order some for his arsenals. He was also to encourage the cultivation of the soil and the raising of live-stock so as to, some day, render this colony as flourishing as that of the English."

In 1701, another partial census (90) of Acadia, showed the population of Port Royal as 456, a decrease of 21.8 per cent since 1698. The area of land under cultivation was 462 "arpents" as compared to 1,257 in 1698. This decrease is hard to explain and makes one doubt the accuracy of the previous census. During the same period, the number of cattle decreased from 936 to 715, the number of sheep from 1,136 to 768 and the number of swine from 576 to 462. In Beaubassin, the population increased from 183 to 188 during the four year period. The area of land under cultivation decreased from 298 "arpents" to 189. The number of cattle increased from 352 to 379, the number of sheep from 160 to 306 and the number of swine from 160 to 169. At Les Mines, the census showed a population of 490 as compared to 307 in 1693. The area of improved land increased from 360 to 485 "arpents" during the same period. The number of cattle was 713 as compared to 461 on the previous date, the number of sheep was 722 as compared to 320 and the number of swine 542 as compared to 315. This census shows that very little development had taken place during the period and justifies the statements made by the governors that the inhabitants produced only for their subsistence.

In 1704, de Brouillan reported (91) to the minister that the inhabitants were in extreme misery because of a draught which reduced the inhabitants to the point of having to go without bread.

Between 1704 and 1710, very little of interest took place in the colony. In 1710, the minister wrote (92) to Subercase, governor, a letter which revealed the attitude of the government with regard to the colonies. "I see," he wrote, "that now they (the inhabitants) manufacture linens, you must send samples to see the quality. As they could use their lands for other things which would be more useful than hemp and flax and as the manufacture of linens might also become detrimental to the commerce of the Kingdom and of the colony, you must do your utmost to make them understand that it is not in their interest to continue to manufacture it and as you say that hemp grows well, it would be better to send it to France because they will find it more advantageous and more useful to the trade." This was a repetition of the old question that colonies were established solely for the good of the mother country. Every yard of linen manufactured by the inhabitants, meant a yard which the French merchants would not sell and, therefore, it was not to be countenanced.

In 1703, another census (93) showed the population of Port Royal to have increased by 29 in two years, that of Beaubassin by 57 and that of Les Mines to have decreased by 63 during the same period. The settlement of Cobequit which Villebon stated

in 1699 to have eight or ten inhabitants now had a population of 87.

The last census (94) of the period which we propose to study was taken in 1707. The population of Port Royal was then 566 as compared to 583 in 1698 and the number of families 96 as compared to 99 at the previous date. The number of farms had increased from 73 to 83, the number of cattle from 936 to 963, of sheep from 1,136 to 1,245 and of swine from 576 to 974. At Beaubassin, the population had increased from 183 to 271 and the number of families from 29 to 45. The number of farms had increased from 24 to 40, the number of cattle from 352 to 510, the number of sheep from 178 to 500 and the number of swine from 160 to 328. At Les Mines the population was 578 as compared to 307 in 1693 and the number of families 83 as compared to 57 in the previous census. The number of farms was 73 as compared to 47 in 1693. During the same period, the number of cattle had increased from 461 to 766, the number of sheep from 320 to 718 and the number of swine from 315 to 639. At Cobequid the population was 82, five less than in 1703. There were 17 farms and the inhabitants owned 180 cattle, 124 sheep and 114 swine.

In 1710, Port Royal was captured by the English, three years later by the treaty of Utrecht the French renounced their rights over the colony and the Acadians started a period of uncertainty which culminated in their dispersal in 1755.

We have tried to show in this chapter, the extent of the development of agriculture in Acadia during the last twenty-five

years of the French Regime. During this period, the number of farms had increased from 90 to about 230 and the numbers of livestock had more than doubled. The agricultural development, while small when considering the absolute figures, had been much more considerable during these twenty-five years than in the preceding eighty.

In one hundred and ten years, the small colony started on Ste. Croix Island by de Monts, had reached a population of about 1,600 and approximately 230 families were living on farms but well over half of these farms were nothing more than home gardens which could not produce a sufficient amount of goods to support a family. About twenty-five hundred cattle, twenty-seven or twenty-eight hundred sheep, twenty-three hundred swine and some poultry were the extent of the development of the livestock industry. Slightly over two thousand "arpents" of land had been brought into cultivation during the period. A development equal to about one-tenth of the present development of the smallest county of Nova Scotia was all that France could boast of after one hundred and ten years of occupation in America.

It must be admitted, however, that during this century, the Acadians had had many reasons for not attending to the establishment of a solid colony. In the first place, the French government had been content to transfer its responsibilities with regard to the development of Acadia to a number of companies whose directors had nothing in mind beyond their own interests. To this must be added the civil war which turned French against

French and which, for many years, threatened to destroy completely the colony. Furthermore, the ever recurring incursions of the English kept the colonists in a perpetual state of unrest which was not of a nature to induce them to build permanent settlements, because they never knew the minute that the result of their work would be completely destroyed. Finally, the inhabitants themselves preferred the easy, lazy life of the fur trade which they had learned under the guidance of the old companies in the days when the obtaining of furs was all that mattered. It must be said also that the Acadians could not see any point in producing more than what they needed for their subsistence because they did not have a market where they could have disposed of any surplus. France had taken good care to prevent their trading with Boston but had neglected to provide markets elsewhere and, what was still worse, France did not see with pleasure that the inhabitants were making their own cloths and linens (letter of the minister to Subercase) because every yard manufactured in the colony, meant one yard that the French manufacturers would not sell. In view of the above considerations, it is not surprising to see that the colony had not developed any more than it had.

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PART III

Summary and Analysis of Causes.

Chapter 1

Summary.

In the present study, we have endeavoured to show with as much detail as a subject of this nature can permit, the development of Agriculture in Canada during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. At first, we stated what, in our opinion, constituted the essential conditions that a country, wishing to establish colonies, must provide for its colonists. Then we have tried to establish, by means of quotations from the various documents available, how far France had gone to fulfill these conditions in America. Whenever possible, we have tried to make these quotations prove our contention with a minimum of comment on our part.

The establishment of colonies in the midst of the wilderness, three thousand miles removed from civilization, demands the fulfilment of many conditions and at the beginning of the colony, it is impossible to deal separately with anyone of these conditions because they are so interrelated that they exercise a great deal of influence one upon the other and accidents which prevent the operation of one affect the functioning of all the others.

The first essential for the development of any colony is population. Without population, trade, agriculture or industries cannot develop; but then, population cannot subsist without the others because in order to induce immigrants to leave

country and home for a new land there must be more promise than just the bare means of keeping body and soul together. Immigrants must have reason to believe that what they are going to is better than what they are leaving behind. The duty of the mother country must, therefore, be to provide this assurance and in order to do so, it must assist immigration and subsidize the early development of the country. Our purpose in this study has been to establish whether or not France had given this moral and financial assistance.

The treatment of the development of agriculture in Canada, therefore, necessitated the dealing with all other subjects which might have had some influence on the manner of settlement of the country. If population did not come, then the country could not develop; moreover if one particular industry received all the attention of the colonists and particularly of those in charge of the government, then the other industries were bound to remain in the background. For these reasons, we have tried to deal with all the subjects which exerted influence on the development of agriculture and we have attempted to do it by means of quotations which in places might appear to be unduly long but which bring out, in the very language of those who had in their hands the building up of the colony, the relation between these various factors.

The economic and political situation of France during the period under study, was bound to exercise a great deal of influence on the development of Canada. It was not to be expected

that the policies adopted in Canada would be superior or even different from those followed in France. As a background to this study and to enable the reader to appreciate more fully the events which took place in Canada, we have, therefore, endeavoured to give, in a few pages, a picture of France during the period 1492-1763. The reader will be better able to judge of the policies of France in Canada after having obtained knowledge of the condition of the French people during the period and of the methods employed by the ministers to obtain the funds necessary to maintain the Court in all its glory and uselessness.

We then thought that it would be advisable to give a chronological list of the events which took place in Canada, during the same period, merely to show that the government of Canada was a faithful image of that of France. Since the kings were not able, right in France under their own eyes, to see that orders were followed and that the various officials of the government did not turn everything to their own interests, it is not surprising that they did nothing to suppress, in Canada, abuses which all through the period were costly to them and detrimental to the progress of the colony.

After giving a description of the agricultural condition of Canada at the time of discovery, we proceeded to describe the experiments of Cartier, Roberval, the Marquis de la Roche, de Monts and Poutrincourt and of Champlain who may be said to have laid the real foundation of the colony when he landed in Quebec in 1608. We tried to follow the development

of the colony year by year and while this method had the disadvantage of bringing back the same subject over and over again it made it possible to arrange our documents in such a way that we could follow the effect of one factor upon another as we went along.

At the beginning of the XVIIIth century (1702) the population of New France had reached about 15,000 and that of Acadia about 1,600. Between 1608 and 1702, the number of births (1) reached the total of 21,155 and the number of deaths 6,385, showing that the colony had contributed to its own population increase to the extent of 14,770. The number of immigrants who came to Canada between 1608 and 1702 numbered around 10,000. These figures show at a glance how much Canada lost through emigration.

The area of land brought into cultivation in New France, during the XVIIth century, amounted to roughly 35,000 "arpents" and in Acadia it reached 2,000 (See Table 18, appendix). The crops reached 217,000 bushels, 161,000 of which were wheat. In New France the number of horses reached 684, the number of cattle 10,209, of sheep 994 and of swine 5,147 (census of 1698) while in Acadia (1707) there were about 2,500 cattle, 2,500 sheep and 2,200 swine.

In order to give a better idea of the development of agriculture in New France during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, we thought that a comparison with a present county with approximately the same population as the whole of New France in 1700

would be of interest. Let us take as example the county of Two Mountains which according to the census (2) of 1931 had a population of 14,284 or about 1,000 less than the population of New France in 1702. This county which is the thirteenth smallest in the province reported in the census of 1931 an area of 89,819 acres of land in field crops, orchards, gardens and small fruits and 27,273 acres in pasture. The crop production in 1930 amounted to 1,083, 626 bushels of grains of all kinds and in addition 172,041 pounds of tobacco were produced. The number of horses was 4,617, of cattle 22,296, of sheep 2,959 and the number of swine 10,917. The total land area of the county is 279 square miles and the area in crops and pasture 183 square miles. If we now compare the statistics of the census of 1698 with the above, we find that the area in crop was only 30 percent of that found in the county of Two Mountains in 1931. The area in pasture was only 25 per cent and the crop yield 19 per cent of what it was in the county of Two Mountains in 1931. In livestock, the inhabitants of New France in 1698, had less than 15 per cent of the horses, 45 per cent of the cattle, one third of the sheep and 47 per cent of the swine owned in 1931 by the farmers of the county of Two Mountains. To complete the picture, one may attempt to visualize 65 square miles of land in cultivation scattered, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, all the way from Gaspé to 30 miles above Montreal. With regard to the development of Acadia, we said in the previous chapter that it amounted to less than one-tenth of the present development of the smallest county in the province of Nova Scotia.

The whole agricultural economy of the country centred around the production of wheat for the subsistence of the colony. A good year always brought a surplus which had to be disposed of at a sacrifice because of the lack of demand and of the fact that the French merchants insisted on bringing flour for the troops. The storage of wheat necessitated the building of granaries which the colonists could not afford and besides the shortness of funds forced them to dispose of the wheat at whatever price they could obtain for it so as to be able to buy a few essentials which they could not produce. If the crop was poor, the area in wheat was not large enough to assure the needs of the colonists and the whole country was placed at the mercy of France which assistance was never sure to reach the colony because of the English vessels which patrolled the seas.

The colonists never attempted to keep large numbers of livestock for several reasons. The climate of the country did not permit the wintering of animals outdoor and, therefore, to keep livestock, the inhabitants had to go to the expense of building stables. This first reason was not very serious because lumber was plentiful and the cost of putting up such stables was small. A more serious problem was that of feeding livestock during the winter months. In 1700, the inhabitants had not yet learned to grow fodder crops and were entirely dependant for the feeding of animals on natural hay which grew only in certain areas and had to be transported long distances. The most important reason why livestock was not kept was that

there was no demand for beef and pork. Even the hides could not be used because the tanneries which Talon had established had ceased to operate. We have shown how the intendants spoke of the necessity of establishing tanneries, but this did not enter into the views of the French manufacturers who made profits on the shoes which they exported to Canada. There is no doubt whatever that if Canadians had been assured of a profitable market for their surplus beef and pork, they would soon have overcome the first two objections.

Because of the increasing area of wheat which in fairly abundant years assured a considerable surplus, the governors and intendants were faced with the problem of finding a substitute cash crop which would bring the farmers fair revenues while decreasing the area of wheat. The king and the minister favoured the production of hemp because the kingdom had to export large quantities for the navy. They did not, however, favour the manufacture of linens because of the competition that this would create for the manufactures of France. The growing of hemp was never popular among Canadians for three main reasons. The first was that they did not know much about it and its preparation required a great deal of work. The second was that the price which the king offered to pay for it was not sufficient to make it profitable. The third reason was that hemp was not subject to tithes and for this reason was discouraged by parish priests who feared that the increased popularity of hemp would decrease their revenues.

The manufactures which Talon had established during his stage in Canada had ceased operations under his successors. The inhabitants were at the mercy of a few French merchants for the purchase of imported goods and would have greatly benefited by manufactures in the country. The king who had expressed to Talon his willingness to assist financially the establishment of manufactures in the colony had changed his views under the pressure of the manufacturers of France. In a letter (3) to Raudot, Pontchartrain expressed the views of the king on the subject. "In general," he wrote, "it is not convenient that manufactures be established in Canada because this could not be done except to the detriment of the manufactures of France, you must see that the goods of Canada are taken to France to be manufactured. This must be the general view though manufactures must not be completely forbidden."

The fisheries were not prosperous because Canadians did not own the necessary vessels to carry them to the localities where there was fish to be caught and furthermore, salt was so expensive that the inhabitants could not afford to buy it. The fur trade which at the outset had been very prosperous was now bankrupt.

Such were the accomplishments that France could boast of in America after 168 years of occupation, if we count from the days of Jacques Cartier or 94 years if we count only from the date of the foundation of Quebec. Whether we count from one date or the other, it is nothing to be proud of and the shortest

way to describe the development is to say that it was a dismal failure.

What were the causes of this lack of progress? They were many and we cannot hope to cover them all in the short space which we propose to devote to it. We propose, however, to enumerate a few which have appeared to us as being the most important. No matter how these causes might have manifested themselves, they can all be traced back to one main cause which was the lack of interest of the kings, the ministers, and as a natural consequence of the governors and intendants in the welfare of the colony and of the colonists.

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Chapter II

Lack of interest of the kings, the ministers, the governors and the intendants in the welfare of the colony.

As we pointed out in the previous chapter, time and space does not permit to go into extensive details on this subject. Throughout this study we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the reader to its various manifestations and now we only wish to give a summary of our conclusions.

This lack of interest on the part of France in the development of Canada dates back to the discovery of the country. We have shown that in 1534, the only reason why Francis I sent Jacques Cartier to discover new lands was that he hoped to get his share of the gold with which the Spaniards and the Portuguese were flooding Europe. Cartier did not find gold, and for over sixty years the only ones interested in the new countries were the Normans, the Basques and the Bretons who came to fish along the banks of Newfoundland. It must be admitted, however, that during this period the wars against the House of Austria (~~Maison d'Autriche~~) and the religious wars within the Kingdom were sufficient to keep the kings busy at home.

After the religious wars, Henry IV made grants on condition that any establishment made would not cost him anything. Then the fate of the new country was left into the hands of companies. De Monts made a real start and would have succeeded in establishing a solid colony in Acadia, but the king must be blamed for having revoked his grant just because of the pressure exerted by the French merchants who were no longer allowed to

trade in the new World. Then de Monts sent Champlain to Quebec and the refusal of the king to take an interest in the newly discovered country was responsible for all the difficulties which Champlain had with the various companies, whose directors were interested solely in profits and did not want the establishment of a permanent colony because they feared that every colonist would eventually be a competitor in the fur trade. "The companies," writes Salone (1), "had only a mediocre interest in the national welfare, above all they wanted dividends, that is to say, they were only interested in the exploitation of their privilege. The establishment of immigrants would have cost too much and immediately after their establishment, they would have become competitors."

The conditions under which grants were made to the various companies contained ample provisions for the solid establishment of the colony, but nobody cared whether they were fulfilled or not. Champlain, though employed by a company established solely for the fur trade, soon realized that if a settlement was expected to stand it must have agriculture as its basis. He complained (1619) to Louis XIII that the directors of the company were not fulfilling their duty with regard to the settlement of the country, but nothing was done about it. All the companies which followed in succession from de Monts' to the Caen's were alike and Louis XIII must be blamed for not seconding the efforts of Champlain and not forcing them to live up to their contract.

With the coming of Richelieu to the government, there appeared to be some reason to believe that, at last, something of a permanent nature would be done in Canada. We have seen how colonies were part of the dream which he hoped to realize for France. He formed the Company of New France (Hundred Associates) to which he granted the newly discovered country and we have seen the conditions which he had set down for them to fulfill. Unfortunately, the war with England ruined the company and it was impotent for the remaining years of its existence. At the death of Richelieu, it was allowed to lease its privileges to the "Compagnie des Habitants" which put the colony near bankruptcy and finally the Hundred Associates surrendered their privilege in 1663. During the whole period, it was allowed to institute various experiments that were to prove detrimental to the development of the colony, yet Louis XIV never moved one finger to help the few colonists.

In 1663, Louis XIV took into his own hands the destinies of New France and with Colbert it seemed that something would be done. His enthusiasm lasted only one year and, unwilling to go to the expense of establishing colonists, in 1664 he transferred his responsibility into the hands of another company which tried to derive from the country all the profits it could with a minimum of expense and ten years later abandoned it.

The only ray of sunshine for the colony, during the period which we have covered in this study, was the appointment

of Talon as intendant and for this we must be thankful to Louis XIV and Colbert. Unfortunately, Talon had been in the colony only a few years when he was told that he could no longer count on assistance from the king. Gone were the beautiful dreams which he had made and his disappointment contributed greatly to the illness which necessitated his return to France.

The king in creating the position of intendant in the colony wanted to have somebody who would keep a check on the governors. He must be blamed for having so ill defined his duties that all through the regime it was the cause of continual disputes which retarded the development of the colony and often put its very life in danger.

We have seen the economic condition of France during the period and we cannot blame the king too harshly for having wanted to wish the expense of establishing New France on a company, but we can blame him very severely for not having seen to the fulfilment of the obligations which they had undertaken and for not foreseeing the possibilities of the country.

The lack of interest of the king and of the ministers was also revealed forcibly in their attitudes during the wars with the Iroquois. From the very beginning of the colony, the Iroquois were a menace to the colonists. Some historians have blamed Champlain for the enmity of these savages, because of the part he played with the Hurons and the Algonquins in their wars against them. Be that as it may, once the war was started, there was nothing to do but see it through and only help from

France could do it. Champlain had asked for a few soldiers to end it. He did not receive them. The protection of the colony was one of the obligations of the company and yet the king and the minister were too listless to force it to its fulfilment. From 1634 to 1665, the inhabitants were constantly exposed to extermination. The French who had immigrated to Canada were forgotten by the mother country and treated as strangers. Even during the last Iroquois war, Denonville and Frontenac had to plead for soldiers and the number sent was insufficient. As a consequence, the inhabitants were massacred and had to take up arms in their own defense and thus were impeded in their work for the development of the colony. A small army sent at the very beginning would have put an end to the war forever. The king was too interested in the affairs of Europe to pay attention to the small colony located three thousand miles away.

The lack of interest of the king and the government in the colony and its inhabitants is also manifested in the way the trade was regulated. At the outset the companies had the monopoly of all the trade of the colony and their sole interest was to make as large profits as they could. All means were good to achieve this end. They charged exorbitant prices for the goods which they brought into Canada and paid as little as they pleased for what they took in exchange. The inhabitants were, therefore, entirely at their mercy. Talon was able to obtain a certain degree of freedom for the trade, but the inhabitants were still at the mercy of the company for the transport of

their goods. Even after the prices of furs were fixed, the situation was no better because the merchants were allowed to raise the prices of the goods which they exchanged for the furs. It was not the price that the inhabitants received for their goods that mattered, it was the relation between that price and what they had to pay for the goods which they had to buy that determined whether or not the trade was profitable to the inhabitants. In other words, even if wheat had sold for fifty francs a "minot," it would not have been profitable if, on the other hand, the inhabitants had had to pay fifty francs for a package of needles. Parity price may be a new expression, but what it represents is as old as bartering.

A memorandum (2) written by Duplessis in 1704 and entitled "What a "minot" of wheat taken at Quebec can bring back in trade," illustrates the point we wish to make and also shows why agriculture in the colony was not sufficiently remunerative to attract the inhabitants. "A "minot" of wheat bought at Quebec during abundant years at the price of two livres, will be worth at Plaisance in flour or biscuit four livres for which one can obtain four livres worth of fish which will be paid in France eight livres in merchandise which in turn will sell in Canada for twelve livres." This, in ordinary arithmetic, makes a profit of six hundred per cent for the merchants whose only expense was the processing of wheat into flour or biscuit and the freight. It is not necessary to give any explanation to the above to show that agriculture was not profitable.

The merchants also took advantage of every possible opportunity to raise further their prices. Frontenac and Champigny (1692) reported (3) to the king that the merchants were taking advantage of the war to raise their prices out of reason and suggested that the merchants of St. Malo be allowed to enter in competition with those of La Rochelle.

The king, the very next year, expressed the view (4) that Frontenac should do something to prevent the raising of prices. "The raising of prices," he wrote, "by the inhabitants and the French merchants having become excessive, it would have been necessary for you to put a stop to it, using all the means at your disposal to maintain prices at a reasonable level." He stated that it was important to leave the trade free, but when individuals went too far, it was necessary to use all the practicable means to put a stop to it. The king was highly incensed, not because of the plight of the inhabitants, but because Frontenac and Champigny had had to pay too high a price for the needs of the troops. He instructed Frontenac to see that the merchants did not take advantage of the fact that they had no competitors to raise their prices, but he said that he could not allow the merchants of St. Malo to send vessels to Canada, because he was too much in need of sailors for his navy.

The king must be blamed for this attitude which revealed an utter disregard for the welfare of the inhabitants who, once they had crossed the Atlantic, were considered as total strangers.

The king must also be blamed for having neglected right along to find a market for the surplus agricultural products of the colony. He and his ministers should have known that agriculture would not develop beyond the production of the subsistence of the farmers unless there was a profitable market for agricultural goods. They should have known also that the farmers could not produce all their needs on their farms and that in order to buy what they could not produce they had to sell their surplus and at a price which would enable them to obtain their needs. It was quite all right for them to write memorandum after memorandum telling the governors and intendants to force the inhabitants to grow the things that France needed at her price, but they should have known that the inhabitants would do it only if by so doing they could obtain their livelihood. The farmer, like everyone else, has a right to expect his livelihood and a few of life's legitimate comforts and pleasures from his profession and if he cannot obtain them, he will turn to something else. In this case, the farmers turned to the fur trade which eventually cost the king a great deal more than the few sacrifices which he would have had to make to assure the disposal of surplus agricultural products. He did not do it because he thought that the French merchants derived benefits from the trade and as a consequence agriculture remained in the background and unable to support the population devoted to it. A comparison of the agricultural development of New France with that of New England illustrates what Louis XIV could have done if he had cared to. (5)

Of the lack of interest in the colony shown by governors and intendants, we do not propose to say much here because all through this study we have endeavoured to point out its many manifestations. With very few exceptions, the governors and intendants were either incapable or so engrossed in the protection of their own interests that they neglected the welfare of the colony. In a memorandum (6) on the state of Canada, Ruetted'Auteuil wrote: "If the affairs of the country are in bad shape, it is not due to the country itself but to those who have guided it for many years and who thought of nothing but their own personal fortunes and cared little for its development or its maintenance." Then he explained that if the population had not increased in Canada, it was because the governors and intendants who often were relatives or friends of the ministers lied to the king in order to protect their own interests.

There is no doubt that the king and the ministers are to be blamed for the conduct of the governors and intendants. They knew that their orders were not being executed in the colony and yet when a new governor or intendant was sent to the colony they could think of nothing better than to repeat the same old instructions over and over again.

Another memorandum (7) written by De Lino to Pontchartrain in the early years of the eighteenth century, further establishes the responsibility of the governors and intendants. "Those who first established this colony," he wrote, "cannot have been attracted by the beauty of the country nor by its

climate, because it is nothing but mountains covered with snow for three quarters of the year and the rest of the time is mostly bad weather. It must, therefore, have been the fur trade, the fishing and the lumber which induced them to settle here. These trades which today make the wealth of the countries of Northern Europe and which should have made the wealth of this country are today the cause of its ruin because of the abuses which were committed and which Your Highness has been in the impossibility of remedying, never having been truly informed because of the contradictions found in many of the memoranda which were presented and in which those who have written them were more anxious to serve their own interests than to remedy the evils which were found in the colony."

We cannot think of a better way of ending this chapter than by quoting Rameau (8) on the subject. "It is, no doubt, very sad for our national pride to recall, in starting this subject (colonies), the fatal issue of attempts which at the outset could give the most legitimate hopes and which failed." A few pages later he wrote: "Unfortunately, the erroneous systems and the false ideas which then governed our colonies, and the bad administration which resulted, caused our colonies to vegetate, while those of the English just along side of ours progressed in an extraordinary fashion. On the other hand, the thoughtlessness and the incapacity of the Court of Versailles left our colonies exposed, almost defenseless, to the attacks of their neighbours who, ten times more numerous than

our colonists crushed them in spite of a clever and energetic resistance worthy of a more intelligent, less frivolous and more helping mother country."

In a later chapter (9) after comparing the French colonies with the English and pointing out some of the advantages that the French had over the English he wrote: "How is it, then, that our colonies have always been so humiliatingly inferior to those of the English? The fault is evidently in the direction which our efforts received; this heavy responsibility belongs to the government of the metropolis and history must judge it very severely." Then he continued; "What are the essential needs and the strict duties that a metropolis wishing to establish colonies, not simply trading establishments, must fulfill? Create immigration, assist and encourage it, in the beginning, prepare and facilitate the installation of immigrants with generous solicitude; give them the greatest possible security; pay the cost of establishment of the first public utilities; such is the role that circumstances demand of the mother country. Men are transplanted like trees, with the same difficulties and the same cares; it is necessary to ensure the formation of new roots if we wish to give them their own life. At two different periods, we have seen the French government attempt to fulfill the conditions of this program, under Richelieu and under Colbert, during a time which was unfortunately too short; but outside of these two ministers, we meet with such absolute carelessness, that we do not even see the intention of doing the things which the situation demanded."

"It is evidently up to the state to create immigration to a new country, to encourage it even if it is the cause of some sacrifices and to maintain it until such a time that the evident successes of the new colonists will be great enough to create a regular immigration movement. To obtain these results it is necessary to exercise every possible care to assure the success of immigrants and to make them overcome the first difficulties, both moral and material, of the establishment of a colonial nucleus; it is also necessary to multiply and facilitate communications and relations between the two countries, so that the colonists may be in a position to make their situation known and to draw new immigrants among their friends and relations. In all this there is greater need of care and active solicitude than of money."

"The French government," he went on, "never seemed to know that there were such duties. Communications between Canada and France were scarce, difficult and often discouraged rather than facilitated; nearly all the immigrants, once they had arrived in Canada seemed to have become total strangers to their friends and relations in France, and after Talon, the government contributed very little to the settlement of the country. As for the protection of the country, we know how precarious it was and what types of garrisons were maintained in the country, when under the most futile pretexts of false pride, France wasted armies and treasures in Europe." Finally, Rameau concluded by saying that "the French government like a speculator who wishes to make

profits without taking any risks, neglected the fulfilment of all the duties which the establishment of a colony demands."

In the above, we believe that Rameau has given a better summary than we could give ourselves of all the things which we have tried to point out during the course of this study and we do not believe that comments on our part are necessary.

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- (3) Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1924-5, pp.104-113.
- (4) Can. Arch. Series B. Vol. 16-2, 1693, pp.276-317.
- (5) G.L. Beer The Old Colonial System, Vol. 2, p.345. The exports of New York in 1678 amounted to 60,000 bushels, while in New France in 1685, they were only 12,400 "minots" of wheat and 6,091 "minots" of peas.
- (6) Can. Arch. Correspondance générale, F.34, pp.165-196.
- (7) Can. Arch. Correspondance générale, F.31, pp.266-294.
- (8) E. Rameau. La France aux Colonies, Introduction, pp.1 and fol.
- (9) E. Rameau. Chapter V, pp.59 and fol.

Chapter III

Seigniories, "Seigneurs" and Inhabitants.

The writer wishes to state at the very beginning of this chapter that he does not wish to find any fault whatever with the Feudal system as it was practised in Canada. The system had many advantages which could have been of assistance in the building up of a strong colony. We only want to bring out a few of the abuses which crept into the system and which were detrimental to the orderly development of the colony, discouraged the inhabitants and kept the country, almost defenseless, continually exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois.

We have repeatedly mentioned the first and possibly the gravest error committed. It has to do with the size of the grants and the manner in which they were distributed throughout the whole colony. From the date of the first concession to the surrendering of the privilege of the Hundred Associates to the king, 1623-1663, over 13,000,000 "arpents" of land were conceded in New France alone and in Acadia the grants made during the same period amounted to over 3,700,000 "arpents." It will be remembered that in 1663, the total population of New France was in the neighbourhood of 2,500 and in Acadia only a few hundreds. We cannot blame the company of New France for having made these grants because by this method, the directors hoped to fulfill their obligation with regard to the establishment of the number of colonists prescribed by their charter, the fulfilment of which

their own financial situation prevented. The king, Richelieu and later Colbert are to be blamed for not seeing that the grantees lived up to their undertaking.

The first grants made by the company had some chances of success or, at least, were worth the experiment, "but unfortunately," writes Salone (1), "the company fell into the hands of an ambitious and incompetent man, Jean de Lauzon. He undertook to stop the distribution of concessions in the colony and he had the pretention of keeping for himself all the available lands. In 1635, he gave to his young son the seigniorship of La Citière which amounted to about 8,000,000 "arpents" and the next year he added to it the seigniorship of Lauzon and the Island of Montreal. He did not even try to clear them and in 1665 he had only thirteen colonists in his seigniorship of Lauzon." Those were abuses which the king and the minister could have stopped if they had really wanted to.

It is also interesting to note (Table 6, appendix) the geographical distribution of these seigniorships. The first seven grants were made in the present counties of Quebec and St. Maurice, while the eighth one, La Citière, extended from Quebec to Montreal and into the United States to the south. Then in 1636, grants were made in the counties of Gaspé, Champlain, Lévis and Montmorency. In 1637, they extended into the counties of Lotbinière, Bellechasse, Portneuf, Nicolet and Berthier. In 1638 and 1639, further grants were made in the counties of Champlain and Quebec. It will be recalled (Table 5, appendix) that in

1639 the total population of the colony was only 274 and already grants had been made in eleven counties. It will be remembered, however, that the majority of these grants were without population for more than forty years. What chances had a population of 274 over such a vast area, when the only means of communication was the St. Lawrence which was open to navigation only part of the year? It is very evident that those who had obtained these concessions did not have in mind the agricultural settlement of the country. The governors had made those grants to their friends where they would have the best advantages for the fur trade, regardless of whether or not they were advantageous to the development of the colony.

It is true that the king and the minister recognized the evil of the system but they did nothing to stop it beyond passing edicts which were never enforced. If they had been really interested in establishing a solid agricultural colony, they would have found the means of enforcing them.

When Talon arrived in Canada, he also recognized the disadvantages of these large grants and it seemed for a while that he would redress the evil, but during his stay in the colony, he himself made fifty-seven grants, raising the area granted thus far to well over 14,000,000 "arpents." (Table 6, appendix). This figure, however, contains some duplication because some seigniories, like La Citière, had been reunited to the Domain and regranted to others.

Frontenac and Denonville, we have seen, continued the same policy of granting vast areas to friends. The king and the minister were fully cognizant of the fact that this policy was detrimental to the colony and very often recommended that these large grants be subdivided if not cleared within reasonable time. The king even set this reasonable time at six years. It can readily be imagined that grants which varied from ten to two hundred and fifty thousand "arpents" had a very small chance of being even partly cleared in six years. These grants had been made for the purpose of the fur trade to friends of the governors who did not confiscate them and the king and the minister did nothing more than to write vague letters about it.

We can only conclude that with the exception of the very first ones, grants were made more as a convenience in the carrying on of the fur trade than for the establishment of agricultural settlements and that those who made them never paid any attention to whether or not they were detrimental to the welfare of the colony.

The "Seigneurs." We now wish to say a few words of those people who were able to obtain these large grants which in many instances were much larger than present day counties. At the outset, the grants were made to rich persons of France who the directors of the company thought would send colonists to settle them. Such were Lauzon who obtained the seigniorie bearing his name, the Sieur de la Renardière who obtained Beaupré, Jacques Castellan who obtained the Island of Orleans and many others who never

were residents. Then many seigniories were granted to religious orders, particularly the Jesuits and the Ursulines and it must be said to their credit that they were the very best "seigneurs." Others like Robert Giffard and the Sieur de la Bouteillerie established their residence on their seigniories and did valuable work in establishing colonists. Still another class were the army officers who had come with Tracy, who had been allowed to enter into civil life and to whom Talon had granted seigniories on the outskirts of the colony where they were to settle with their companies and serve as outposts for the protection of the country.

Between 1634 and 1663, the war interfered with the development of the seigniories which were located above Three Rivers. Even if the "seigneurs" had wanted to obtain colonists they would not have been able to find any who would have been willing to settle in these regions which were continually exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois. After 1667, did they take advantage of nearly twenty years of peace to establish solid settlements? In the first place, many concessions were owned by people who lived in France and never came to the colony. Then, many other grantees were officers just out of the army, who lacked the necessary agricultural knowledge to be of assistance to colonists who did not know any more than they did. The descendants of the older families who had obtained grants had the necessary experience, but were so poor that they could not do anything to hasten the development of their concessions. The bringing of colonists and their maintenance until they could eke out a

living off their farms cost money and they did not have it. It will be recalled that we cited statements of Denonville and de Meulles regarding the poverty of the "seigneurs." Many of them had to enter the service of the king where they earned their livelihood and that of their families but they could not earn sufficiently to pay the expense of maintaining colonists on their grants. Many of them turned to the fur trade hoping that they would derive sufficient profits to improve their seigniories. The number of "seigneurs" who could afford to do something for the development of their seigniories were not more than half a dozen in number.

Another defect of the "seigneurs" which was perhaps as important as their poverty was that they could not remain in place and their ambition made them ask for more than they could look after. For example, Robert Giffard was not content with his seigniories of Beauport, St. Ignace and St. Gabriel (the latter two eventually were given to the Jesuits) which together totalled to more than 300,000 "arpents," he obtained another concession on the Saguenay (Mille Vaches) where he ruined himself with the fisheries. Jean Bourdon, who was king's attorney, obtained the concession of Rivière au Griffon (Gaspé) in 1636 for the establishment of fisheries; in 1637, he obtained the seigniority of Autray (7,000 "arpents") in the county of Berthier; in 1639 and in 1646, he obtained the concession of two "fiefs" (50 and 75 "arpents" respectively) in the suburbs of Quebec; in 1649, his wife obtained the seigniority of Jacques

Cartier (17,600 "arpents") in Portneuf; in 1653, he obtained the seigniory of Neuville (14,000 "arpents") in Portneuf and of Malbaie (169,000 "arpents") in Charlevoix. Similarly, the Le Neuf family obtained the seigniories of Dutort, Le Neuf, Dusablé, Vieupont and Cap Chat, located all the way from Gaspé to Three Rivers. Simon Denis at the same time obtained the seigniory of Cap Trinité opposite Montreal and the privilege of sedentary fisheries at Canso and while he was ruining himself at Canso, his seigniory remained uncleared. We could continue this recitation of duplication of efforts almost indefinitely but no purpose would be served by it. It is evident that the colony could not progress in the hands of such men. Fishing, hunting, trading anything was good enough to divert these people from what should have been their sole task, the tillage of the soil.

The above is one of the main reasons why agriculture did not progress as it should have. The Feudal system cannot be blamed for these abuses, rather the governors and the intendants who made the grants and the king and the minister who ratified them must shoulder the whole responsibility for it.

The Inhabitants. Before closing this chapter, we would like to say a few words of the inhabitants who settled in Canada. We have seen how the "seigneurs," because of their poverty and of their lack of interest could not select their colonists.

The first point which we would like to mention is the lack of agricultural experience of the colonists. We must, however, admit that there were exceptions. Such were the colonists brought by Giffard, La Bouteillerie, the Jesuits and others who had selected them carefully. The census (2) of 1665-6, showed the presence in the colony of 1,305 men between the ages of sixteen and seventy. Of these, 763 or more than 58 per cent were reported as armourers, gunsmiths, bakers, hatters, surgeons, shoemakers, curriers, drapers, bailiffs, masons, merchants, joiners, millers, sailors, weavers, etc.; in all, fifty different trades or professions other than agriculturist were reported. Aside from these 763, many others were adventurers who could not claim any particular trade or profession. Out of the 1,305, only 476 were actually on lands though not necessarily tilling them.

After the few immigrants who came with Talon, the bulk of the colonists were soldiers who left the army to become settlers. Many of these also were adventurers and seekers of fortune who had no knowledge of land clearing or of farming in general. They did not receive sufficient assistance from their "seigneurs" nor from the government and many became discouraged; not being able to make a go of farming they turned to the fur trade. In this they were encouraged by the "seigneurs" and the merchants who were interested in obtaining as many furs as possible. The lack of prospects in agriculture was also a powerful incentive to direct them to the fur trade.

There is no need to repeat here anything that the governors and intendants wrote of the laziness and instability of the inhabitants. We have mentioned it during the course of this study. Rameau (3) wrote on the subject: "The French Canadian race has always loved voyages, adventures, the semi-savage life of the hunter in the wilderness; the promise of gains which the fur trade gave attracted a large portion of the young people of the colony into the wilderness to hunt and trade.....and upon their return they spent their profits in debauchery, exactly like sailors returning from a profitable voyage. During this time, children disappeared from the families, the farms were deserted, there was a smaller number of marriages; many men remained in the Indian country; many others, demoralized and worn out by their disorders remained without families and the colony, struck in its morality as well as in its power, did not have the increase which it should have had. We must admit the truth of the above statement, but we would like to point out that the cause of this state of affairs was more than just the love that the Canadians had for that type of life. There was, first, the encouragement which some "seigneurs" and the merchants gave to the fur trade. Then, there was the lack of prospects in agriculture which we have mentioned several times.

Another cause of this apparent liking for the fur trade must also be mentioned because it attacked the very foundation of the agricultural settlement of the country. The inhabitants had many difficulties with the "seigneurs" on the question of grants.

In a letter⁽⁴⁾ to the minister, Raudot described the situation which was very serious because it endangered the settlement of the colony. He asked that the king make a declaration to assure the inhabitants of the possession of the lands on which they were located. He asserted that in the whole colony very few land titles were such that no difficulty could be made to the holder. "It is only by this means, " he wrote, " that you can establish peace and tranquility in this country which, without this precaution will always be unhappy and incapable of development. These inhabitants who should be occupied at the cultivation of their lands are continually forced to abandon them to sustain law/suits which they have no chance of winning. Concessions have been made here without formality, many inhabitants have only the verbal consent of the "seigneurs" for their grants, others only have ^xsample notes which do not contain the conditions of the grants. From this, many abuses have arisen. There resulted that many of these inhabitants who have improved their lands without having valid titles, have been subjected to rents and fees which were very onerous, the "seigneurs" agreeing to give them valid contracts only at conditions which they were forced to accept if they did not want to lose the improvements which they had made. For these reasons all seigniories have different rents and fees, depending on the character of the "seigneur" who made the concession. " Some "seigneurs", he continued, "introduced clauses which were contrary to the "Coutume de Paris" which was to have been followed in the colony.

"In some concessions, "he wrote, "the capons which are paid to the "seigneurs, " are paid in kind or in cash at the "seigneur's' choice. These capons are valued at thirty "sols" and they are really worth only ten. The "seigneurs" force the tenants to pay them in money and this gives them much embarrassment because very often they have no money and even if thirty "sols" are not a large sum, it is quite considerable in this country where currency is very scarce."

"The "seigneurs" have also introduced banal ovens in their seigniories", he continued, " and the inhabitants cannot use them because of the distance between their settlements and the residence of the "seigneurs". It would not be possible for them to transport their doughs during the winter because they would freeze. The "seigneurs" do not exact this fee now but they will do it to vex them in the future."

"I would believe that to create some uniformity in the colony and to render to the inhabitants the justice which the "seigneurs" have never rendered to them until now, and to guard them against the vexations to which they will, no doubt, be exposed in the future, it would be necessary that His Majesty made a declaration which would fix all rents and fees for the future."

Conditions such as the above were not of a nature to encourage the settlement of lands and the inhabitants cannot be blamed too harshly for having preferred the free life of the wilderness. The Feudal system cannot be blamed for these abuses, but the government must take the blame for having allowed them to operate.

The king must have been impressed by these declarations of Raudot because a few years later he sent Catalogne to make a survey of the colony. In his report (5), Catalogne started by giving a description of the country and of each Seigniorship in particular, pointing out the ones which had suffered from the incursions of the Iroquois. Then, he proceeded to give a series of reflections on the colony and on the means of effecting its development. "If the lands were not better tilled in Europe than they are in this country," he wrote, "three quarters of the population would die of starvation." "In relation to the vast area of the colony," he continued, "there is not one quarter of the number of labourers necessary to till the soil well. The inhabitants do not take sufficient care in the cultivation of the soil, being certain that one "minot" of wheat sown on land tilled as it is in France will produce twice as much as it does the way it is sown in Canada."

"It would be necessary", he wrote, "to force the inhabitants to the cultivation of the soil by depriving them of the privilege of travelling which takes them away from their work and this because a trip gives them thirty or forty "écus" while it makes them lose a whole season and their lands remain untilled." "It would be necessary", he continued, "to oblige the "seigneurs" in order to facilitate the establishment of their seigniorships, to give sufficient land at a reasonable price for the establishment of community pastures and to construct mills and other public utilities. Many inhabitants spend one third of their time taking their wheat to the grist mill fifteen and twenty leagues away.

It would also be necessary to force the "seigneurs" whose seigniories are not yet settled to grant lands to tenants free of rent until six years after the lands are under cultivation."

"The lands, " he wrote, " have been surveyed by surveyors who lacked intelligence and this is often the cause of difficulties between inhabitants and His Majesty should pass an edict regularizing the deeds."

"There has been a custom established in the country," he continued, " which does not appear to be natural but which is authorized by magistrates. It is to allow livestock to roam and ruin grain fields and meadows, there being very few closed in fields, and this is the cause of many disputes between neighbours. There would have to be guardians who would lead the animals to community pastures. He who has very little land sends his livestock to pasture on his neighbour's farm saying that it is the custom."

The above survey establishes the fact that the reports made by Raudot were true and yet it was not till several years later that the king proclaimed an edict to regularize the method of granting lands. There is no doubt that the above difficulties contributed a great deal to make the inhabitants love the free life of the wilderness. If the king had been conscious of his duties towards the colony, he would never have permitted such abuses to continue and he, therefore, must be blamed for not creating in the colony conditions which would foster agricultural development.

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CHAPTER IV

The fur trade and the bush rangers.

All through the French Regime the fur trade was the victorious rival of agriculture. It continually attracted men who would have been much more usefully employed at clearing land and consequently agriculture suffered. For this reason, we have thought that this study would not be complete without a few words on the development of the fur trade and its necessary evil the bush ranger.

In 1704, Riverin who, from the beginning, had been interested in the establishment of fisheries and who had suffered because of the fact that the attention of everyone was turned to the fur trade, wrote a memorandum (1) giving the history of the fur trade in Canada. The memorandum leaves no doubt in anyone's mind that he was very strongly opposed to the fur trade, but there is no doubt that the facts which he gave were true. "If the trade in beaver," he wrote, "was, at the beginning, the main cause of the establishment of a French colony in Canada it can be said that the bad use which was made of this commerce has reduced this colony to the sad state in which it is today. It has been thought that for the good of the colony it was necessary to establish a monopoly of this trade."

The author of the memorandum then went on to say how after abandoning Acadia, de Monts sent Champlain to establish a settlement at Quebec and "the great trade in beaver which

Champlain had seen at the time of his first discoveries took precedence over all that they had seen in Acadia. They preferred the profits of this commerce to the possession of all this beautiful country where the English have since established themselves solidly. Without analyzing whether or not they were right in acting thus, it is certain that it is only for the furs that Champlain went to Quebec for the second time in 1608 and that he started a settlement as Lieutenant of de Monts and associates."

"The beginnings were humble and met with many difficulties, " he continued. "The associates did not agree any too well. The Basques vessels and those of St. Malo and elsewhere came for the trade in spite of the defenses..... Finally de Monts and his associates having abandoned the enterprise, the king appointed Champlain to govern in His name. Champlain formed a new company of merchants and returned to Canada in 1615 with a small garrison for the fort at Quebec, missionaries, two or three families and some livestock..... He made alliances with the Indians which were advantageous to the trade."

Such were, according to Riverin, the causes for the establishment of the colony. "From 1608 to 1663," the author continued, "the companies who supplied the needs of the colony reserved the right to all the beaver trade with the Indians and if the inhabitants traded, it was for the company to whose stores they were forced to take their furs to pay for the merchandise which they had received. These furs added to those brought to France by fishing vessels, made them more common and the profits

of the trade decreased."

"Up to this time," he went on, "this famous company of Cardinal Richelieu had not much advanced the affairs of Canada. Too little help on its part and the continual incursions of the Iroquois was keeping the country in such a sad state that His Majesty resolved to take it over after the cession that the company made after having had it for thirty years."

"The great Company of the West Indies succeeded to the Hundred Associates" and the king sent Tracy, Courcelles and Talon to put order in the colony. Then Riverin went on to explain that Talon had obtained the freedom of trade for the colonists and finally when in 1672, M. le Comte de Frontenac came to replace M. de Courcelles, the colony had progressed more in six years than during the fifty-seven since Champlain had established it. It is not to be doubted that this progress would have continued if in 1674 it had not been asked to reestablish the monopoly of the fur trade."

"The West Indies Company", he continued, " had granted to the inhabitants the privilege of the trade for themselves on condition that they would give one quarter of their furs to the company. The quantity of furs became so great that the price of beaver hats came down to as low as forty francs. This decrease became worse after the coming of Tracy and the Carignan regiment. Furs were still worth seven or eight francs a pound and everyone

wanted his share of the trade and some started to go into the bush after them and the quantity became so great that the price fell still lower."

"The inhabitants became alarmed; it was understood that as the population would increase, the price would come down, but the remedy (the establishment of a monopoly) was worse than the evil. It was done in good faith in the hope of maintaining the trade by fixing prices. It will be seen how the fixed price brought the colony to its present state."

"The West Indies Company, not having met with more success than the preceding companies, was revoked in 1674 and His Majesty established the Western Domain which he placed in the hands of a farmer. The price of beaver was fixed according to quality and the farmer was to pay for it with bills of exchange on the French treasury. There was reason to believe that this would be beneficial to the inhabitants and the farmer alike. The price was fixed and advantageous and the farmers hoped to make profits. They did not expect that the inhabitants of Canada, attracted by this sure profit, would abandon everything else for the fur trade and that they would find themselves, because of the tremendous increase in the quantity of furs, in the impossibility of consuming all these furs and hence of paying the fixed price."

"By desiring this fixed price as what could contribute the most to the happiness of the inhabitants, it was not realized that by giving them such profits it would turn them away from all other occupations, such as farming, fishing and from all other

useful and honest pursuits, that they would abandon themselves entirely to this odious trade which would ruin their morals, make them insubordinate and that it would bring the worst of all evils, an excessive surplus of the furs which they had regarded as their sole wealth."

"This was not long in coming, the merchants of the country turned all their attention to beaver and they did not limit themselves to those that the Indians brought to them, being assured that the farmer would have to pay for all the furs they could gather. All their thoughts turned to means of obtaining more furs. Going to get them in the most remote places, appeared to them to be the best means, but as it was not possible for them to leave their families for such long and hard trips, they hired the young men of the colony to go for them. They loaded them with merchandise and to encourage them, gave them a share of the profits."

"All that was needed to undertake this trade was the permission of the governor. The one who was there at the time (Frontenac) did not refuse it to his friends. In a short while, there was so much beaver that the farmers were forced to abandon the proposition."

The above gives, in Riverin's language, the description of the genesis of the bush ranger. Then he went on with the abuses which were bound to creep into such a system. "To remedy this situation," he continued, "the king cancelled the permissions, but the governor having alleged that they were necessary to hold the Indians as our allies, he was allowed to grant a

certain number (25). The intention of His Majesty was that these "congés" would be distributed to poor families by the governor and the intendant, but the governor never allowed the intendant to take cognizance of them, stating that it was decreasing his authority. He distributed them himself, increased the number as he pleased and to maintain himself in possession of this trade of which he had become the master, he established posts in the Indian country the commandment of which he gave to his friends. These posts soon became the "rendez-vous" of all the bush rangers."

"The king, having heard this, abolished the "congés" and ordered him to recall all the bush rangers, otherwise they would be severely punished. The evil did not cease for all that; the bush rangers did not come back, means were found to send them merchandise and from time to time whole bands left for the Indian country. This started quarrels between the governor, the intendant and the Superior Council which brought the recall of both the governor and the intendant."

"The bush rangers had become so numerous and so bold, encouraged by so much protection, that they threatened to emigrate to New England, if they continued to be bothered. His Majesty thought it advisable to grant them an amnesty and to reestablish the twenty-five "congés" to remove the danger of having them fall again into disobedience and he ordered the new governor (de la Barre) to use them (the "congés") better than his predecessor and forbade him to distribute them without the participation of the intendant (de Meulles)."

"The governor and the intendant arrived together in the colony in 1682, but the disorder did not cease. The chief of the bush rangers (Du Lhut), fearing arrest, had gone back to France and after the amnesty he returned to Canada on the same vessel as the governor and succeeded in gaining his favour and in inspiring him with the desire for the large profits of the fur trade. Upon arriving at Quebec he (Du Lhut) introduced him to merchants who were capable of undertaking anything under his protection. Du Lhut returned to the Outaouais country. The bush rangers saw him with pleasure and then did not bother to return home nor to take advantage of the amnesty. Those who came back to the colony, only came to bring down their furs and then returned to the bush with more merchandise."

"The governor and the intendant soon agreed on the distribution of "congés;" they distributed them between themselves and sold them to merchants who undertook to buy from the intendant some merchandise which he had brought from France. They granted as many "congés" as they wished and gave some to others to prevent murmuring and then gave others under pretext of passports which they multiplied to the point where in a short time there were more than six hundred bush rangers."

"An accident happened," continued the author of the memorandum, "three canoes of rangers were pillaged by a band of young Iroquois. The news came to Quebec where it was thought that all the other canoes would have the same fate, and then there was no other thought than for the destruction of the

Iroquois. It was, therefore, to avenge these three canoes that it was decided to declare war on the Iroquois. Advice was asked at Court and three companies were sent which arrived in november 1683. Preparations took the whole winter and in 1684, the governor left (for Lake Ontario) with his three companies and eight hundred inhabitants, two hundred bush rangers and four hundred Indians were to join the expedition." Then, at some length, the writer described the war where "six hundred men died of misery and privation" and the dishonourable peace which was responsible for the recall of de la Barre.

Riverin also gave, in this memorandum, a description of the bush rangers which is worth repeating here. "They are Frenchmen born in Canada," he wrote, "or who have come from France to reside here. They are young men; old age is incapable of supporting the fatigues of this trade. Some of them are of good families, others are only simple inhabitants or sons of inhabitants and others have no profession and are called "voluntaries." Some are hired by merchants, others are on their own. They travel in canoes. Their food consists in biscuit, peas, corn and alcohol and they subsist mainly from hunting and fishing and sometimes they are forced to fast or to eat moss."

"Each canoe carries about 3,500 livres worth of merchandise, price of Canada, which have cost less than 1,500 in France and when beaver was at a high price they brought back 7,000 livres worth with this. They do all kinds of meannesses to the Indians to obtain their furs.....As it does not take

long to carry on this trade, they live in perpetual laziness which leads them to all sorts of debauchery. Gambling, drunkenness and women often consume the capital as well as the profits of their trade. They live in complete independance. Some of them deal only in alcohol. Profits are immense in this trade because the Indians give all they have for liquor. As much as 15,000 livres worth of beaver have been bought with one hogshead of liquor worth 200 livres. The placing of the beaver trade in one hand is the main cause of all these evils."

"The bush rangers after having lived this life for a while are incapable of returning to civil life, to the cultivation of the soil or to any other trade."

After the description of the fur trade and of the bush rangers, Riverin proceeded to describe the war which Denonville carried on against the Iroquois. He stated that under Denonville and Champigny, an attempt was made to regulate the fur trade and "it was the first time that the "congés" were distributed according to the king's wishes." Riverin then described the expedition of Denonville against the Iroquois and how 2,000 of them were routed. "The governor," he wrote, "recognized the impossibility of beating the Iroquois and made peace with them. He found out that the cupidity of the merchants and of the bush rangers was the cause of the war and he understood that it was unfair to reduce the whole country to ruin because of the interests of a few individuals."

He then described the conditions to which the war had reduced the colony and he continued: "The ardour for gathering beavers did not decrease during these troubles; everyone found the means of sending merchandise to the Outaouais country. The bush rangers were not coming back; they were over six hundred in number and they increased the quantity of beaver to such an extent that in 1684 the farmers had to abandon the farm. The colony was satisfied and for at least four years there was a surplus of five or six hundred thousand pounds of beaver."

"The better the farmers paid, the larger was the quantity of beaver brought. So much was gathered that in 1700 the farmers were discharged of a debt of 3,762,508 livres 10 sols which His Majesty had to take over. Everything was done to find the consumption of these beavers. It was resolved to stop the "congés" and to decrease the price of beaver considerably. Hearing of this proposed decrease, the colony was up in arms and the fear that the Indians would abandon the French and take their furs to the English, if the accustomed price was not continued, was brought forward. Finally in 1700 the deputies of the colony signed a treaty whereby they took full control of the beavers and new expenses were incurred. The commissioners began to refuse the bills of exchange and this brought the colony to the verge of ruin. The company owed 900,000 livres. Pettifogging began between deputies and commissioners, the Court named referees and the merchants who had not been payed for their bills of exchange were unable to buy merchandise and in 1703 only a small number

of vessels came to Canada." These news, he went on to say, caused consternation in the colony and scarcity was extreme. Then Riverin ended the memorandum by a series of considerations on the evil of the reunion of ^{the} beaver trade in one hand which he claimed was responsible for the plight of the colony. His opinion in this matter was not shared by everyone. In 1689, Ruelle d'Auteuil in a memorandum (2) claimed that unless the beaver trade was kept in one hand, it would lose its value. He also claimed that the cause of the lack of demand for furs was that the English were obtaining too many from the Indians and were then competing with France on the Dutch market.

The king himself recognized that the fixed price of beaver was the cause of the excessive amount of furs which were delivered to the farmers. In 1695, he wrote (3) to Frontenac and Champigny as follows: "Things have reached the point where it is evident that the means taken to help the colony and to prevent the abuses of bush ranging and to employ the inhabitants at more suitable pursuits have become useless, and the remedy has been worse than the evil. The fixing of a high price, according to quality, for beaver, having had an effect contrary to what had been expected, the farmers have made losses which they can no longer suffer....." In 1696, the king found it necessary to write (4) to Frontenac telling him to refuse to accept beaver furs until he received further orders from him. In the same year he abolished the "congés" and directed that furs be accepted only in the public markets of the colony.

Riverin's memorandum may lack accuracy in certain details, but it illustrates well the reason why the fur trade was the victorious rival of agriculture and it establishes clearly that the inhabitants had good reasons for turning their attentions to the fur trade. The price of furs was fixed and the more furs that were brought to the farmers, the greater were the revenues. With agriculture, the situation was quite different. There being no outside markets for agricultural goods and demand within the colony being quite inelastic, it was very evident that increased production could not help but bring down prices so low that farmers could not obtain sufficient with their surplus to provide the needs of their families. There is no doubt whatever, that if the king had followed the policy of price fixing, at a profitable level, for agricultural goods, production would have increased and we do not hesitate to assert that the majority of the bush rangers would have preferred to remain in the colony rather than live in the wilderness. We must, therefore, say that if there were bush rangers it was because the inhabitants could not find anything else to do which was equally profitable.

REFERENCES

- (1) Can. Arch. Correspondance générale, F.22, 1704-5.
- (2) Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1922-3, pp.7-22.
- (3) Can. Arch. Series B. Vol. 17-3, 1695, pp.211-247.
- (4) Can. Arch. Series B. Vol. 19-1, 1696, pp.127-160.

CHAPTER V.

Conclusion.

In this study we have shown the development of agriculture in Canada during the XVith and XVIIth centuries. We have endeavoured to place the responsibility for the apparent lack of development of agriculture where it belonged.

We have established beyond possible doubt that the kings and ministers of France did not fulfill their duty regarding the establishment of New France. If all through the period the colony was in a state of semi ruin, it was because they did not have sufficient interest to supervise their investments in Canada. We have shown that they were badly served in the colony but they never were sufficiently interested to find it out and to act accordingly. Even the small amount of money which the king spent in America would have accomplished great things if there had been someone really interested in the welfare of the colony to supervise the spending of it. Furthermore, if this had been done, the king would not have suffered the heavy losses which he suffered in the debacle of the fur trade.

We have tried to establish that small as it was, the development of agriculture was all that could be accomplished under the existing conditions. It was futile for the king to expect that every Canadian would go on producing agricultural goods when there was no outlet for the produce and when price relationships were such that a farmer could not buy sufficient clothes for his family from the sale of his entire crop.

We have established the responsibility of France's policy of trying to establish colonies solely for the good of the mother country without consideration whatever for the welfare of these people who had abandoned country and home to build another France across the Atlantic. When we consider the lack of generosity of the king and of the French government for New France, it becomes a matter of wonder to consider the results obtained, and we are forced to admire these poor colonists who established themselves in Canada, almost in spite of the mother country. The colonists who opened up Canada to civilization in the face of an abandonment which has no equal in the history of colonial establishments must truly have been a great people.

In a study of this nature, it has been impossible to enter into many details as time and space did not permit. The writer has tried to give in each chapter the outline of as many separate studies which could be made by others who might be interested in the early development of Canada.

In preparing this thesis, which has required many months of research in dusty manuscripts, the writer has acquired a very great admiration for his ancestors who have toiled so hard, in the face of difficulties which to our generation would appear unsurmountable. If those who will read these pages, with some indulgence for their many faults, will only acquire the desire for further study of the life of these people who have laid the foundation of this country which we are so proud to call our own, the writer will be more than fully repaid for his work,

A P P E N D I X

TABLE 1. ESTIMATE OF THE NATIONAL WEALTH OF CANADA, WITH PERCENTAGE OF COMPONENT ITEMS, 1933.

CLASSIFICATION	Aggregate Amounts \$'000	Percentage of Total p.c.	Average Amounts per Head of Population (1)
Farm values (land, buildings, implements, machinery and livestock)	4,760,844	18.48	445.73
Agricultural products in the possession of farmers and traders	802,946	3.11	75.17
Total Agricultural Wealth	5,563,790	21.59	520.90
Mines (capital employed)	800,292	3.10	74.93
Forests (estimated value of accessible raw materials, pulpwood and capital invested in woods operations)	2,090,821	8.11	195.75
Fisheries (capital invested in boats, gear, etc., in primary operations)	25,380	0.10	2.38
Central electric stations (capital invested in lands and buildings other than office buildings and in equipment, materials, etc.)	1,309,801	5.08	122.63
Manufactures (machinery and tools, and estimate for capital in rural lands and buildings, du- plication excluded)	949,721	3.69	88.92
Manufactures (materials on hand and stocks in process, duplication excluded)	368,070	1.43	34.46
Construction, custom and repair (estimate of capital invested in machinery and tools and materials on hand)	32,385	0.13	3.03
Trading establishments (estimate of the value of furniture and fixtures, equipment and materials on hand)	708,043	2.75	66.29
Steam railways (investment in road and equipment)	3,365,464	13.06	315.09
Electric railways (investment in road and equip- ment)	223,704	0.87	20.94
Telephones (cost of property and equipment)	330,491	1.28	30.94

CLASSIFICATION	Aggregate amounts \$'000	Percentage of Total p.c.	Average amounts per Head of Population (1)
Urban real property (assessed valuations and exempted properties and estimate for under- valuation by assessors and for roads, sewers, etc.	6,913,530	26.83	647.27
Canals (amounts expended on construction to March 31, 1934)	267,671	1.04	25.06
Harbours (approximate amounts expended to March 31, 1934)	502,264	1.95	47.02
Shipping (including aircraft)	135,506	0.53	12.69
Automobiles (estimate of the value of automobiles registered)	392,211	1.52	36.72
Highways, etc.	689,333	2.68	64.54
Household furnishings, clothing, etc. (value estimated from production and trade statistics)	913,397	3.54	85.52
Specie, coin, and other currency held by the Government, chartered banks and the general public)	186,362	0.72	17.45
Grand Total	25,768,236	100.00	2,412.53

(1) Estimated population of Canada, June 1,
1933. 10,681,000

This table is taken from the 1939 Canada Year Book.

TABLE 2 - NET VALUE OF PRODUCTION IN CANADA BY INDUSTRIES, 1936 (1)

INDUSTRIES	Value	Percentage of net value by industry to total net Production, 1936 p.c.
Agriculture	\$ 690,379,000	25.90
Forestry	231,937,561	8.70
Fisheries	34,234,063	1.28
Trapping	9,214,325	0.35
Mining	291,972,359	10.95
Electric power	133,561,387	5.01
Totals, Primary Production	1,391,298,695	52.19
Construction	135,851,162	5.10
Custom and repair	97,333,712	3.65
Manufactures (2)	1,289,592,672	48.37
Totals, Secondary Production	1,522,777,546	57.12
Grand totals	2,665,861,689	100.00

(1) This table is taken from Canada Year Book, 1939, English Edition, p.178.

(2) This item includes such items as dairy factories, sawmills, etc., which are also included in other headings above. This duplication amounts to \$248,214,552.

TABLE 3 - CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS WHICH
OCCURRED IN FRANCE BETWEEN 1492 AND 1763 (1)

- 1492 - Charles VIII took over the direction of the affairs of his Kingdom.
- 1494 - Italian wars. Conquest of Naples.
- 1495 - Formation of the "Ligue de Venise".
- 1496 - Loss of the Kingdom of Naples. The financial situation of France was such that money had to be borrowed at very high rates of interest to pay the cost of the war.
- 1498 - Death of Charles VIII. Louis XII King.
- 1499-1500 - Conquest of Milan.
- 1501 - French expedition in the Orient. Failure of this Crusade. Naples again taken by Louis XII.
- 1502 - War with Spain.
- 1503 - The Spaniards entered into Naples. Defeat of the French army on the Garigliano.
- 1504 - Treaty of Blois.
- 1506 - Revolt of Genoa.
- 1507 - Alliance with Spain and as a result Maximilien lead an army into Italy.
- 1508 - Formation of the "League of Cambrai" against Venice.
- 1509 - Louis XII declared war on Venice.
- 1510 - Rupture of the treaty of Cambrai.
- 1511 - Louis XII declared war on Pope Jules II. Formation of the Holy League between the Pope, Spain, Venice and England against France.
- 1511-1512 - Campaigns of Gaston de Foix.
- 1513 - War against England and the Empire. Louis XII alone against the whole of Europe. Invasion of France by the Swiss and the English.
- 1514 - Peace treaty between France and England. Louis XII had to pay a heavy ransom to Henry VIII.
- 1515 - Death of Louis XII. Francis I, King. The war of Italy continued.
- 1518-9 - Peace treaties marked the end of the war of Italy which had occupied France for 25 years.
- 1519-1547 - Struggle against Charles V.

- 1521-1526 - War against Charles V.
- 1523 - Verazzano visited the coast of America.
- 1525 - Francis I was taken prisoner.
- 1526 - Treaty of Madrid. To regain his liberty Francis had ~~to~~ ^{to} give up two provinces, renounced his rights on Italy and paid a ransom of over 9,000,000 francs.
- 1526-1529 - Second war against Charles V.
- 1529 - Treaty of Cambrai.
- 1534 - Jacques Cartier took possession of New France.
- 1536-1538 - Third war against Charles V.
- 1538 - Truce of Nice.
- 1542-1546 - Fourth war against Charles V.
- 1546 - Treaty of Ardres with Henry VIII.
- 1547 - Death of Francis I. Henry II, King.
- 1547 - Revolt in Saintonge and Guyenne.
- 1552-6 - War against Charles V.
- 1556 - Truce of Vaucelles.
- 1557-1559 - War against Philippe II.
- 1559 - Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. Henry II took advantage of this peace to check the Reform. Death of Henry II. Francis II, King. Religious persecutions.
- 1560 - Death of Francis II. Charles IX, King. Catherine de Medicis, Regent. First religious wars.
- 1563 - Edict of Ambroise.
- 1567-8 - Second religious war: The Huguenots.
- 1568 - Treaty of Longjumeau.
- 1568-1570 - Third religious war.
- 1570 - Treaty of St. Germain.
- 1572-3 - Fourth religious war.
- 1573 - Treaty of la Rochelle.
- 1574 - Death of Charles IX. Henry III, King.

- 1574-5 - Fifth religious war.
- 1576 - Treaty of Beaulieu.
- 1576-1580 - Sixth and seventh religious wars.
- 1580 - Treaty of Fleix.
- 1585-1594 - Eighth religious war.
- 1589 - Henry III murdered. Henry IV, King.
- 1593 - Henry IV renounced Protestantism.
- 1595 - War against Spain.
- 1598 - Treaty of Vervins. Edict of Nantes. Henry IV took advantage of this period of peace to bring back the Feudal Lords into submission and to repair the damages done to France by thirty years of civil war.
- 1610 - Death of Henry IV (murdered). Louis XIII, King. Marie de Medicis, Regent.
- 1610-1617 - Concini, Minister. Squandered the reserves built up by Sully and Henry IV.
- 1617-1621 - Ministry of Luynes.
- 1620 - Revolution.
- 1622 - Treaty of Montpellier.
- 1624-1642 - Ministry of Richelieu.
- 1627-8 - Religious war. Protestants helped by England.
- 1629 - Treaty of Alais. End of religious wars.
- 1632 - Revolution of Montmorency.
- 1635-1648 - France played a part in the 30 years war.
- 1642 - Death of Richelieu.
- 1643 - Death of Louis XIII. Louis XIV, King. Anne of Austria, Regent. Mazarin, Minister.
- 1648 - Treaty of Westphalie.
- 1648-1659 - War against Spain.
- 1649-1653 - The Fronde. This civil war coming after the long external war caused extreme poverty.
- 1650 - Treaty of Oliva and Copenhagen.

- .661 - Death of Mazarin. During his ministry the public debt increased by 430 millions while he amassed a fortune which exceeded 50 millions (approximately 200 millions in present day currency). Louis XIV took the direction of his Kingdom. Colbert became Minister.
- .664 - Assistance to Hungary against the Turks.
- .665 - Assistance to Portugal.
- .667 - War in Flanders.
- .668 - War in Franche-Comté. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- .672-1678 - War with Holland.
- .678 - Treaty of Nimegue.
- .683 - Death of Colbert.
- .685 - Edict of Fontainebleau which repealed the edict of Nantes. Emigration of Protestants.
- .686 - Treaty of Augsbours - Union of most of Europe against France.
- .688 - War against the Empire, England and Holland.
- .696 - Treaty of Turin.
- .697 - Treaty of Ryswick.
- .701-1712 - Wars in Italy, Germany, Spain, Holland and England.
- .713 - Treaty of Utrecht.
- .715 - Death of Louis XIV. Louis XV, King. Regency of Philippe d'Orléans. Critical financial situation.
- .716 - Bank of John Law.
- .719 - War against Spain.
- .720 - Bankruptcy.
- .721 - Peace treaty with Spain.
- .723-1726 - Ministry of Bourbon.
- .726-1743 - Ministry of Fleury.
- .733-1735 - War of the Polish Succession.
- .738 - Treaty of Vienna.
- .741-1748 - War of the Austrian Succession.
- .743 - Death of Fleury.
- .748 - Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1756 - Seven years war.

1763 - Treaty of Paris.

- (1) This table was prepared from the Work of E. Lavisse, previously cited and from Histoire de France by C. S. Viator, Paris. Librairie classique et d'éducation. A. Pigoriau, 13 quai de Conti. 1887.

TABLE 4 - CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE
HISTORY OF CANADA BETWEEN 1492 AND 1763 (1)

- 1492 - Christopher Columbus discovered America.
- 1497 - John Cabot discovered Labrador.
- 1500 - Gaspar Corte-Real discovered Newfoundland. At this time the Basques, the Bretons and the Normands were doing the cod and whale fishing on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and on the coasts of Canada.
- 1518 (or perhaps 1528) - The Baron de Léry left France with colonists, but contrary winds forced him to abandon the project, after leaving some livestock on Sable Island.
- 1524 - Verazzano explored the coast of America.
- 1534 - First voyage of Jacques Cartier. He took possession of the country in the name of Christ and of France.
- 1535 - Cartier's second voyage. Ascended the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga.
- 1541 - Cartier's third voyage.
- 1542-3 - Roberval with two hundred colonists of both sexes wintered at Cap Rouge. Rescued in 1543 by Senneterre and probably Cartier on his fourth voyage.
- 1562 - Jean Ribaut explored the coast of America and built a small fort in South Carolina.
- 1598 - First attempt at colonization in Acadia. Troilus Du Mesgouez, Marquis de la Roche, obtained from Henry IV a commission of Lieutenant-general in Acadia. He landed 60 convicts on Sable Island, five years later eleven of them were repatriated by Chefhostel.
- 1599 - Chauvin and Dupont-Gravé obtained the monopoly of the fur trade in Canada and Acadia. In 1600, they sent four ships to Tadoussac. They left sixteen persons who would have all died, had they not been helped by the Indians. Chauvin carried on the fur trade for two more years.
- 1603 - De Chastes sent Champlain and Dupont-Gravé on an exploring tour of New France.
- 1604 - Mr. de Monts' Company sent settlers to Acadia under the command of Champlain and Poutrincourt. They spent the winter on Ste Croix Island where thirty-five men died of scurvy.
- 1605 - Port Royal founded by de Monts.
- 1607 - Port Royal abandoned.
- 1608 - De Monts sent two ships to New France. One commanded by Dupont-Gravé was for the fur trade at Tadoussac; the second was to carry Champlain and thirty colonists to start an establishment on the St. Lawrence. Quebec founded.

- 1609 - Champlain visited the lake which bears his name; in a first encounter with the Iroquois, he put them to flight.
- 1610 - Champlain returned to Quebec. Second expedition against the Iroquois, on the River Richelieu. They were again defeated. Poutrincourt returned to Acadia with choice settlers.
- 1611 - Poutrincourt brought two Jesuit Fathers to the colony.
- 1613 - Mme de Guercheville sent a ship with forty eight colonists under the command of La Saussaye. They started a settlement on St. Sauveur Island. The English under Argall destroyed this settlement, and then Port Royal. The settlers took refuge among the Indians. Champlain formed a company under the protection of the Comte de Soissons and later under the Prince of Condé obtaining the monopoly of the trade.
- 1615 - Champlain explored the Great Lakes. In a third encounter with the Iroquois he was wounded and forced to winter in the region.
- 1617 - Louis Hébert, the first settler, arrived at Quebec with his family.
- 1619 - After a dispute with the shareholders of the Company, Champlain was placed at the head of New France.
- 1620 - Champlain returned to New France with his wife and began the construction of Fort St. Louis at Quebec. The Recollet convent was erected.
- 1621 - Champlain published a few ordinances for the good conduct of settlers and the maintenance of order in the colony. A new Trading Company was formed under the Caen. Trouble between the two companies.
- 1623 - First attempts of the English to colonize Acadia under Sir William Alexander.
- 1624 - Peace treaty between the Algonquins and the Hurons on one side and the Iroquois on the other.
- 1625 - Henri de Lévis, duc de Ventadour, succeeded Montmorency as Viceroy of New France.
The Jesuits arrived in New France.
- 1626 - Champlain established a farm near Cape Tourmente.
- 1627 - The "Company of New France" called that of the "Hundred Associates" was founded.
- 1629 - Quebec taken by Kirke brothers. Champlain was brought to England and later proceeded to France. Only five families totalling thirty-four persons remained in New France.
- 1632 - Quebec restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. Raymond de la Ralde, Du Plessis Bochard and Emery de Caen took possession of Canada.
Isaac de Razilly took possession of Acadia and was appointed Lieutenant-general for the King. He settled at La Hève.
- 1633 - Champlain resumed the office of Governor.

- 1634 - Three Rivers founded by de la Violette. Robert Giffard obtained the first seigniory. On the fourth of June 1634 he landed at Quebec with his family and some settlers, in all forty-two persons.
- 1635 - First college founded at Quebec. Death of Champlain. More settlers arrived. Second Governor: M. de Montmagny (1636 to 1648).
- 1636 - Arrival of forty-five settlers, who settled mostly on the coast of Beaupré.
- 1636 - The war started between Hurons and Iroquois. Island of Montreal granted to Jacques Girard for Jean de Lauzon.
- 1640 - Foundation of the Montreal Company, which purchased the Island of Montreal from Lauzon.
- 1642 - Foundation of Montreal by M. de Maisonneuve. He arrived with thirty-seven settlers and soldiers and three women.
- 1643 - Some colonists were sent to Montreal under the command of Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonges.
- 1644 - Sieur de la Barre brought colonists and a company of soldiers to Montreal.
- 1645 - M. de Montmagny signed a peace treaty with the Iroquois, the Algonquins and the Hurons. The Company of the Hundred Associates transferred its rights to the "Compagnie des Habitants".
- 1647 - The "Compagnie des Habitants" imported the first horse into the Colony as a gift to M. de Montmagny.

THIRD GOVERNOR: M. d'Ailleboust (1648 to 1651)

- 1648 - War started between the Hurons and the Iroquois.
- 1647-8 - Proposal of a trade treaty between New France and New England.

FOURTH GOVERNOR: M. de Lauzon (1651 to 1657)

- 1652 - The Iroquois continued the war. The Governor of Three Rivers and fourteen Frenchmen were massacred.
- 1653 - Maisonneuve arrived in Montreal with one hundred and five settlers.
- 1654 - Peace treaty with the Iroquois.
Nicolas Denys obtained the concession of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John's Island.
The English seized Acadia.
- 1656 - The Iroquois again declared war.

FIFTH GOVERNOR: M. d'Argenson (1657 to 1661)

- 1658 - Canada erected into an Apostolic Vicariate: Mgr. de Laval, titular bishop.
- 1660 - Dollard and sixteen companions saved Ville Marie from destruction by the Iroquois.

SIXTH GOVERNOR: M. d'Avaugour (1661 to 1663)

- 1663 - The Company of New France surrendered its rights, and the government became vice-regal.

SEVENTH GOVERNOR: M. de Mézy (1663 to 1665)

- 1663 - Sovereign council established.
One hundred and fifty nine settlers arrived at Quebec.
- 1664 - The West Indies Company obtained the privileges of the Company of New France. The Island of Montreal became the property of the Sulpicians. Misunderstandings between de Mézy and Mgr. de Laval.

EIGHTH GOVERNOR: M. de Courcelle (1665 to 1672)

- 1665 - Arrival of M. de Tracy, Intendant Talon and the Carignan regiment. First horses brought into New France. Forts Sorel, Chambly and Ste Thérèse erected on the Richelieu River.
- 1666 - The King by an edict of April the 8th granted to the colony the freedom of trade with the Indians.
Tracy lead an expedition against the Iroquois but instead of finding the Iroquois country arrived at Corlar (Schenectady) in New Holland. A second expedition was lead in the fall. The Canadian Militia took part each time. A peace treaty was signed with the Iroquois.
- 1668 - Navigation established between Quebec and the West Indies by Talon. Talon returned to France. Bouteroue replaced him.
- 1669 - Talon returned to Canada with 350 settlers.
- 1670 - Hudson Bay Company founded.
- 1670 - Talon asked for a special currency for Canada.
- 1671 - The Sieur de St. Lussou took solemn possession of Sault Ste Marie and surrounding country in the name of Louis XIV.

NINTH GOVERNOR: M. de Frontenac (1672 to 1682)

- 1672 - Fort Cataracoui built on the north shore of Lake Ontario. Talon returned to France.
- 1673 - Jolliet and Father Marquette discovered the Mississippi.

- 1674 - The King abolished the West Indies Company which was not fulfilling its obligations.
Difficulties between Frontenac and Perrot; intervention of the Sulpicians and of the Abbé de Salignac-Fenelon.
- 1675 - Jacques Duchesneau was appointed Intendant.
- 1679 - Difficulties between Frontenac and Duchesneau over a question of precedence at the Sovereign Council and the trading of liquor with the Indians. La Salle had the ship Griffon built on Lake Ontario.
- 1680 - La Salle built Fort Niagara. He received the grant of the seigniory of Cataracoui.
- 1681 - Formation at Quebec of the Company of the North.
- 1682 - Recall of both Frontenac and Duchesneau.

TENTH GOVERNOR: M. de la Barre (1682 to 1685)

- 1682 - M. de Meules, Intendant.
War again declared by the Iroquois.
- 1684 - La Barre's expedition against the Iroquois with 1,200 troops. The Governor, having signed a disadvantageous peace treaty, was dismissed by Louis XIV.

ELEVENTH GOVERNOR: M. de Denonville (1685 to 1689)

- 1686 - Denonville prepared for an expedition against the Iroquois. Champigny replaced de Meules as Intendant.
- 1687 - Arrival of Vaudreuil with 800 soldiers. Denonville carried the war into the country of the Tsonnontouans with 800 soldiers, 900 Canadians and 300 Indians. The soldiers brought over by Vaudreuil remained behind to look after the settlements.
- 1689 - Massacre of the inhabitants of Lachine by the Iroquois.

TWELFTH GOVERNOR: M. de Frontenac (1689 to 1698)

- 1689 - England declared war to France.
- 1690 - Three war parties defeated the English at Corlar (Schenectady), Salmon Falls (New Hampshire) and Casco. Siege of Quebec by Phipps. Exploits of Madeleine de Verchères, at Verchères Fort. Bread was taxed at Quebec on the basis of four livres to the bushel of wheat.
- 1691 - Frontenac and Champigny made card money to obviate the lack of currency.
- 1691 - The English of New England under Schuyler made a descent upon Quebec by Lake Champlain and were repulsed at La Prairie de la Madeleine.
- 1695 - Fort Cataracoui was rebuilt by Frontenac.

- 1696 - D'Iberville captured St. John, Newfoundland and Fort Pemaquid. With 1,000 soldiers, 800 Canadians and 500 Indians, Frontenac lead an expedition against the Iroquois who asked for peace.
- 1697 - Treaty of Ryswick: Hudson Bay restored to France, and part of Newfoundland to England.
- 1698 - Death of Frontenac.

THIRTEENTH GOVERNOR: M. de Callière (1698 to 1703)

- 1701 - Great treaty of peace signed at Montreal between the Indians and the French. Detroit founded by Lamothe Cadillac and Mobile by Lemoyne de Bienville. Canadians granted the right to manufacture. Beginning of the war of the Spanish Succession, which was to have repercussions in Canada.
- 1702 - Beauharnois replaced Champigny as Intendant.

FOURTEENTH GOVERNOR: M. de Vaudreuil (1703 to 1725)

- 1703 - 500 Indians under Michel Le Neuf de Beaubassin attacked New England coast.
- 1704 - The settlements of Deerfield and Haverhill destroyed by Hertel de Rouville. Church attacked Port Royal in Acadia, but was repulsed by Governor Subercase.
- 1705 - Canadians captured the English posts on Newfoundland. Raudot replaced Beauharnois as Intendant.
- 1706 - Troubles with the Indians at Detroit.
- 1707 - March attacked Port Royal, but was driven off.
- 1708 - Death of Mgr. de Laval.
- 1709 - M. de St. Ovide captured the forts defending St. John, Newfoundland.
- 1710 - Port Royal captured by the English.
- 1711 - Walker's fleet, bound for Quebec, destroyed by a storm in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Nicholson's army, which was to have effected a junction with Walker, retreated.
- 1712 - Trouble with the Indians at Detroit. Bégon, Intendant.
- 1713 - Treaty of Utrecht. France ceded to England Acadia, Newfoundland and Hudson Bay. Louisbourg founded by the French in Cape Breton or Ile Royale for the purpose of establishing fisheries and of receiving the inhabitants of Newfoundland and Acadia.
- 1714 - Card money in the colony amounted to 2,000,000 livres. The French government redeemed it at half its value. The redemption was not completed until 1720 and at a loss of five eighths of the value.
- 1718 - New Orleans founded by Lemoyne de Bienville.

FIFTEENTH GOVERNOR: M. de Beauharnois (1726 to 1742)

- 1727 - Dupuy became Intendant.
- 1729 - Massacre of the French in Louisiana by the Natchez. Fort Frederick erected at the head of Lake Champlain.
- 1731 - Discovery of Lake of the Woods and Lake Manitoba by La Verendrye.
- 1731 - Hocquart was named Intendant.
- 1733 - La Verendrye discovered Lake Winnipeg. First forge erected at St. Maurice.
- 1737 - Hocquart sent products of Canada to be exhibited in France.
- 1743 - La Verendrye's eldest son discovered the Rocky Mountains and the source of the Missouri.
- 1745 - Louisburg taken by the English.
- 1746 - Loss of d'Anville's fleet intended to capture Louisburg.
- 1747 - The English defeated at Grand Pré.

ADMINISTRATOR: M. de la Galissonnière (1747 to 1749)

- 1748 - Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louisburg and Cape Breton restored to France. Bigot appointed Intendant.
- 1749 - Halifax founded by Lord Halifax who brought there 600 English families.

SIXTEEN GOVERNOR: M. de la Jonquière (1749 to 1752)

- 1752 - Death of la Jonquière at Quebec.
Administrator: Charles Le Moyne, 2nd Baron of Longueuil.

SEVENTEENTH GOVERNOR: M. Duquesne de Menneville (1752 to 1755)

- 1755 - The English admiral, Boscawen, captured two vessels of Dieskau's fleet in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Braddock defeated by Dumas at Monongahela. Fort Gaspereaux and Beauséjour taken by the English. Acadians dispersed by order of General Monckton. Baron Dieskau, French general, wounded and made prisoner with his troops at Fort Edward by the English general, Johnson.

EIGHTEENTH GOVERNOR: M. de Vaudreuil (1755 to 1760)

Seven years war (1756 to 1763)

- 1756 - Arrival of Montcalm, Lévis, Bouché and Bougainville.
- 1757 - Capture of Fort George by Montcalm.

- 1758 - Louisburg taken by the English. Victory of Carillon. The English took Fort Frontenac (Kingston). French forced to abandon Fort Duquesne.
- 1759 - Forts St. Frederick and Niagara captured by the English. The English defeated at Montmorency. Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Quebec capitulated on the 18th of September.
- 1760 - Battle of Ste Foy, where the French under Lévis won a victory. Capitulation of Montreal.
- 1763 - Signing of the treaty of Paris.

(1) This chronological list was taken partly from the Quebec Statistical Year Book, published by the Quebec Bureau of Statistics; partly from F. X. Garneau, Histoire du Canada, cinquième édition, Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan; and partly from notes taken from the various documents of the Canadian Archives in Ottawa.

TABLE 5 - CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF POPULATION GROWTH IN CANADA,
1605 - 1763(1)

- 1605 - Port Royal founded - 44 settlers surviving of the 79 persons who had wintered on Ile Sainte-Croix during the preceding winter.
- 1608 - Quebec founded - 28 settlers wintered, including Champlain.
- 1609 - New France - Population: 8. (Of the decrease 17 were due to deaths during the winter).
- 1610 - New France - Population: 18.
- 1611 - New France - Population: 17.
- 1612 - New France - Population: 16.
- 1613 - New France - Population: 47.
- 1613 - St. John's, Newfoundland founded - 62 persons wintered who had been left by Whitburn.
- 1614 - New France - Population: 47.
- 1615 - New France - Population: 51.
- 1616 - New France - Population: 60.
- 1617 - New France - Population: 64.
- 1618 - New France - Population: 66.
- 1619 - New France - Population: 77.
- 1620 - New France - Population: 60.
- 1621 - New France - Population: 79.
- 1622 - New France - Population: 66.
- 1622 - Newfoundland - 32 persons wintered with Captain Wynn.
- 1623 - New France - Population: 66.
- 1624 - New France - Population: 62.
- 1626 - New France - Population: 81.
- 1627 - New France - Population: 55.

- 1628 - New France - Population: 76.
- 1629 - New France - Before the taking of Quebec the population was 85. After the taking of Quebec, 116 persons wintered, 90 of these being English belonging to Kirke's Expedition.
- 1630 - New France - Population: 100. The decrease is due to the departure of 2 French and the death of 14 English.
- 1631 - New France - Population: 101.
- 1639 - New France - Population: 274.
- 1640 - New France - Population: 359.
- 1650 - New France - Population: 675.
- 1653 - New France - Population: 2,000.
- 1654 - Newfoundland - Population: 1,750.
- 1663 - New France - Population: 2,500 of whom 800 are in Quebec.
- 1666 - New France - Population: 3,215.
- 1667 - New France - Population: 3,918.
- 1668 - New France - Population: 6,582.
- 1671 - Acadia - Population: 392.
- 1673 - New France - Population: 6,705.
- 1673 - Newfoundland - French population: 64.
- 1675 - New France - Population: 7,832.
- 1676 - New France - Population: 8,515.
- 1679 - New France - Population: 9,400.
- 1679 - Acadia - Population: 515.
- 1680 - New France - White population: 9,719; Indians segregated in villages, 960.
- 1680 - Newfoundland - Population: 2,181.
- 1681 - New France - Population: 9,677.
- 1683 - New France - White population: 10,274; settled Indians 1,512.

- 1683 - Port Royal (Acadia) - Population: 800.
- 1685 - New France - White population: 10,977; settled Indians, 1538.
- 1686 - New France - White population: 11,130; settled Indians, 1,436.
- 1686 - Acadia - Population: 894.
- 1687 - Newfoundland - French population: 663 including servants and sailors.
- 1688 - New France - White population: 10,523; settled Indians, 1,259.
- 1689 - Acadia - Population: 813.
- 1691 - Newfoundland - French population: 155.
- 1692 - Newfoundland - English population: 377 men.
- 1692 - New France - White population: 11,075; settled Indians, 1,356.
- 1693 - Acadia - Population: 1,018.
- 1695 - St. John River (New Brunswick) - Population: 49.
- 1695 - New France - White population: 12,786; settled Indians, 853.
- 1696 - Newfoundland - English population: 2,321.
- 1698 - New France - White population: 13,821; settled Indians, 1,540.
- 1698 - Acadia (Port Royal, Beaubassin St. John River) - Population: 814.
- 1700 - New France - Population: 15,000.
- 1706 - New France - Population: 16,745.
- 1707 - Acadia (Cobequid, Les Mines, Chignecto, Port Royal) - Population: 1,508.
- 1707 - New France - Population: 17,530.
- 1712 - New France - Population: 19,711.

- 1713 - Havre St. Louis (Ile Royale) - Population: 160.
- 1713 - New France - Population: 18,469.
- 1714 - New France - Population: 20,099.
- 1714 - Acadia - Estimate (total): 4,000.
- 1714 - Newfoundland - British population: 3,160.
- 1716 - New France - White population: 20,903; settled Indians, 1,935.
- 1716 - Ile Royale - Population: 1,472.
- 1718 - New France - Population: 23,325.
- 1719 - New France - Population: 22,503.
- 1720 - St. John Island (Prince Edward) - Population: 100.
- 1720 - New France - Population: 24,594.
- 1720 - Ile Royale - Population: 1,740.
- 1721 - New France - Population: 25,923.
- 1721 - Les Louisianes - Population: 659.
- 1722 - New France - Population: 26,589.
- 1722 - Les Louisianes - White population: 1,745.
- 1723 - New France - Population: 26,999.
- 1723 - Ile Royale - Population: 2,670.
- 1724 - New France - Population: 27,159.
- 1724 - Ile Royale - Population: 2,243.
- 1726 - New France - Population: 29,859.
- 1726 - Ile Royale - Population: 3,131.
- 1726 - Les Louisianes - Population: 2,230 white.
- 1727 - New France - Population: 31,184.
- 1728 - St. John Island (Prince Edward) - Population: 336.
- 1730 - New France - Population: 34,753.

- 1730 - St. John Island - Population: 325.
- 1731 - Acadia - Population: 6,000.
- 1732 - New France - Population: 35,417.
- 1734 - New France - Population: 37,716.
- 1734 - Ile Royale - Population: 3,388.
- 1734 - St. John Island - Population: 572.
- 1736 - New France - Population: 39,586.
- 1737 - New France - Population: 40,223.
- 1737 - Ile Royale - Population: 4,038.
- 1737 - Acadia - French population: 6,958 (Northern part of the peninsula).
- 1739 - New France - Population: 45,362.
- 1748 - Acadia - Estimated French population: 12,500.
- 1749 - Nova Scotia - British population: 2,544.
- 1749 - Ile Royale - Population: 1,980.
- 1750 - Detroit - Population: 453.
- 1751 - St. John Island - Population: 1,572.
- 1752 - Nova Scotia - British and German population: 4,203.
- 1752 - Ile Royale - Population: 5,928.
- 1752 - St. John Island - Population: 2,124.
- 1754 - New France - Population: 55,009.
- 1755 - Acadia - Estimated French Population: Before the proscription, 19,300; after the proscription, 13,300. (These figures include Ile Royale and St. John Island).
- 1755 - Nova Scotia - British population: 5,000.
- 1758 - New France - Population: 72,000 to 73,000.
- 1759 - New France - Population: 82,000. (This estimate is too large).
- 1760 - New France - Population: 70,000.

- 1765 - Newfoundland - Population: 15,484.
- 1765 - Canada - Population: 76,973.
- 1765 - Nova Scotia - French population: 2,300; British and German population, 9,789.
- 1765 - Acadian Mainland (New Brunswick) - French population: 6,250.
- 1765 - Cape Breton - French population: 1,000.
- 1765 - St. John Island - French population: 800.
- 1765 - Detroit - French population: 600.

(1) This table is taken from Volume I of the Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, pages 133 to 153. Reference should be made to this volume for the sources of information of the above figures.

Table

TABLE 6 - CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GRANTS OF SEIGNIORIES (1)

Seignior and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
1623				Arpents (2)
Sault au Matelot	Montmorancy	Louis Hebert	Quebec	10
1626				
St. Joseph de l'Espinay	Duc de Ventadour	Louis Hebert	Quebec	7,000
Notre Dame des Anges	" " " "	Jesuit Fathers	"	17,800
Total 1626				<u>24,600</u>
1632				
Baye Ste. Croix	Co. of New France	Isaac de Razilly	Acadia	1,693,400
1633				
Fief Hertel	" " " "	Jacques Hertel	St Maurice	200
1634				
Beauport	" " " "	Robert Giffard	Quebec	10,580
Trois Rivières	" " " "	Jesuit Fathers	St Maurice	600
Port Royal and La Heve	" " " "	Claude de Razilly	Acadia	675,360
Total 1634				<u>686,540</u>
1635				
St. John River	" " " "	Claude de Ste. Estienne		

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Fort St.Louis	Co.of New France	Claude de St.Estienne	Acadia	675,360
La Citière	" " " "	Sieur de Lauzon	-	8,000,000 (3)
Cap Rouge	" " " "	Sieurs Des Chatelets	Quebec	28,000 (4)
Total 1635		and De Maur		9,378,720
1636				
Rivière au Griffon	Montmagny	Jean Bourdon		21.100
L'Abbé de la Madeleine	La Ferté	Abbé Madeleine		1,411.200
Lauzon	Co.of New France	Simon Le Maitre	Levis	254,000 (5)
Beaupré	" " " "	Sieur de la Renardière	Montmorency	635.000
Island of Orleans	" " " "	Jacques Castillan	"	53,260
Island of Jesus	" " " "	Jesuit Fathers	-	68,400
Total 1636				2,442,960
1637				
Fief des Ursulines	" " " "	Ursulines	Quebec	12
Ste Croix	" " " "	"	Lotbinière	70,500
Berthier or Bellechasse	" " " "	Nicolas Marsolet	Bellechasse	2,600
Godefroi or Linctot	" " " "	Jean Godefroi	Portneuf	15,800
Grondines	" " " "	Hospitalières(Hotel Dieu)	Nicolet	70,560
Fief Dutort	" " " "	Michel Le Neuf.Sieur du Hérisson		5.300
D'Autré	" " " "	Jean Bourdon	Berthier	7.000
Total 1637				171,760

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
1638				
Fief Pinguet	Co.of New France	--	--	2,646
Ile aux Reaux	" " " "	Jesuit Fathers	--	
1639				
Batiscan	Jacques de la Ferté	Jesuit Fathers	Champlain	1,760
Fief St.Jean	Co.of New France	Jean Bourdon	Quebec	50
Fief St.Joseph	M.de Montmagny	Ursulines	" "	60
Total 1639				<u>1,870</u>
1640				
Deschambault	Co.of New France	François Chavigny	Portneuf	10,580
St.Sulpice	" " " "	Sieurs de Fancamp and de la Dauversière	Montcalm	84,600
Montreal Island	" " " "	" " " " "	Montcalm	<u>147, 900</u>
Total 1640				243, 080
1646				
Fief St.François	M. de Montmagny	Jean Bourdon	Quebec	75
Rivière du Sud	Co.of New France	M. de Montmagny	Montmagny	41,000 (6)
Fief Le Neuf	Jacques de la Ferté	Michel Le Neuf		<u>7,000</u>
Total 1646				48,075

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
1647				
La Prairie de la Madeleine	Jean de Lauzon	Jesuit Fathers	Laprairie	56,400
St. Ignace	Co. of New France	Robert Giffard	Quebec	141,100
St. Gabriel	" " " "	" "	"	141,100
Gentilly	" " " "	Nicolas Marsolet	Nicolet	8,800
Portneuf	" " " "	Sieur de la Potterie	Portneuf	31,700
L'Assomption	" " " "	Le Gardeur de Repentigny	L'Assomption	169,300
De Maure	M. de Montmagny	Sieur de Maure	Portneuf	12,600
Deschambault	Co. of New France	François Chavigny	" "	10,580 (7)
D'Autré	" " " "	Jean Bourdon	Berthier	7,000
Total 1647				578,580
1649				
Dusablé	Co. of New France	Jacques Le Neuf de la Poterie	St. Maurice	10
Jacques Cartier	" " " "	Anne Gasnier (wife of Jean Bourdon)	Portneuf	17,600
Vieupont	" " " "	Michel Le Neuf du Hérison	St. Maurice	35,200
Total 1649				52,810
1651				
Sillery	Co. of New France	Jesuit Fathers	Quebec	10,580
Cap de la Madeleine	Jacques de la Ferté	" " "	Champlain	282,200
Total 1651				292,780

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
1652				
Gruderville	Jean de Lauzon	Louis de Lauzon	Portneuf	10,000
Cap Desrosiers	" " "	D'Ailleboust de Coulonges	Gaspé	600,000
Rivière de L'Assomption	" " "	Charles de Lauzon	L'Assomption	10,580 (8)
Total 1652				620,580
1653				
Beauport	Jean de Lauzon	Robert Giffard	Quebec	17,600 (9)
Yamachiche	" " "	Sieur Boucher	St. Maurice	10,580
Mille Vaches	" " "	Robert Giffard	Maguénay	84,670
Fief Morin	" " "	Noel Morin	Montmagny	1,760
Neuville	" " "	Jean Bourdon	Portneuf	14,000
Malbaie	" " "	" " "	Charlevoix	169,000
Total 1653				297,610
1654				
Island of St. Christophe	Jean de Lauzon	Jesuit Fathers	St. Maurice	
1655				
Fief de L'Ile St. Joseph	" " "	Sieur Boucher	St. Maurice	50
1656				
St. Roch des Aulnaies	" " "	Nicolas Juchereau Sr. de St. Denis	L'Islet	42,300

over

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Fief Boucher	Jean de Lauzon	Pierre Boucher	St. Maurice	200
Pointe du Lac	" " "	Jean Sauvaget	" " "	<u>3,500</u>
Total 1656				46,000
<u>1657</u>				
Becancour	Co. of New France	Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny	Nicolet	100,000
Longueuil	Jean de Lauzon	Charles Lemoyne	Chambly	<u>5,000</u>
Total 1657				105,000
<u>1662</u>				
Fief de Cap Chat	M. D'Avaugour	Michel LeNeuf de la Vallières	Gaspé	28,200
Fief Crevier	" " "	Charles Crevier	--	6,700
St. François	Jean de Lauzon	Pierre Boucher	Yamaska	7,000
Rivière au Saumon	Co. of New France	Louis Couillard de l'Espinay		6,000
Islands Madeleine, St. John, Brion	" " " "	Sieur Doublet	--	-- (10)
Bonne Pêche	M. d'Avaugour	Pierre Denis de la Ronde	Gaspé	<u>3,500</u>
Total 1662				51,400
<u>1664</u>				
Champlain	M. de Mesy	Sieur de la Touche Champlain	Champlain	10,580

Seigniorship and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1665</u>				
Longueuil	Jean de Lauzon	Charles Le Moyne	Chambly	St. Helen & (11) Rond Islands
<u>1668</u>				
Fief St. Maurice	Jean Talon	Jeanne Jalope	St. Maurice	14,100 (12)
Cap St. Michel	M. de Courcelles	Jacques LeMoyne & Michel Messier	Verchères	<u>2,500</u>
<u>Total 1668</u>				16,600
<u>1669</u>				
Ste. Marie	M. de Courcelles	Sieur Lemoine	Quebec	2,600
<u>1670</u>				
Labadie	Jean Talon	Sieur Labadie	St. Maurice	10,580
Pointe du Lac	M. de Courcelles	Sieur de Normanville	" " "	<u>3,500</u>
<u>Total 1670</u>				14,080
<u>1672</u>				
Ile Percé	Jean Talon	Pierre Denys de la Ronde et al	Gaspé	7,000
Arpentigny de Martignon	" "	Sieur de Martignon	R. St. John	254,000
Potier de St. Denis	" "	Sieur Potier de St. Denis	" " "	84,000
Marsan de Soulanges	" "	Sieur Marsan de Soulanges	" " "	28,200
Joybert	" "	Sieur de Joybert	" " "	7,000
Ste. Thérèse Island	" "	Sieur du Gué		

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Bouchard Island	Jean Talon	Sieur Fortel	L'Assomption	--
L'Islet du Portage	" "	Sieur Grandville	Kamouraska	7,000
Rivière Ouelle	" "	Sieur de la Bou- teillerie	" "	21,100
Ste. Anne de la Pocatière	" "	Sieur Combe Pocatière	" "	15,800
Tilly	" "	Sieur Villieu	Nicolet	(13)
La Durantaye	" "	Sieur de la Duran- taye	Bellechasse	28,200
Nicolet	" "	Sieur de Laubia	Nicolet	28,200
Sorel	" "	Sieur de Sorel	Richelieu	35,200
St. Ours	" "	Sieur de St. Ours	" "	35,200
Chambly	" "	Sieur de Chambly	Chambly	42,300
Contrecoeur	" "	Sieur de Contrecoeur	Verchères	28,200
Varennnes	" "	" " Varennes	" "	2,300
Ste. Anne de la Pérade	" "	" " Lanaudière	Champlain	86,000
Berthier	" "	" " Randin	Bellechasse	7,000
D'Orvilliers or Antoya	" "	" " Comporté	Berthier	7,000
La Valtrie	" "	" " La Valtrie	"	15,800
Perrot Island and others	" "	" " Perrot	Montreal Is.	
Gastineau	" "	" " Boucher	St. Maurice	5,300
Les Ecureuils	" "	" " Toupin	Portneuf	3,500
St. Lussan	" "		Saguenay	14,100

Seignior and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Montapeine	Jean Talon	Sieur de Bissot	Bellechasse	5,900
Courtemanche	" "	J.B. Le Gardeur Jr.	L'Assomption	7,000
Gamache	" "	Srs.Gamache & Belle- avance	Lotbinière	3,500
La Guillaudière	" "	Sieur de Grandmaison	Verchères	2,500
La Chevrotière	" "	Belle de la Tesserie	Portneuf	10,000
Bonsecours	" "	Sr.Amyot de Villeneuve	Lotbinière	1,500
Lafrenaye	" "	Srs.Gamache and Belle- avance	" "	3,500
St.Joseph	" "	Sr. Fournier	Quebec	5,000
Maranda	" "	Sr. Duquet	Lotbinière	3,000
Lotbinière	" "	Sr. de Lotbinière	" "	12,000
St.Pierre les Becquets	" "	Sr.Romain Becquet	Nicolet	25,000
Lussaudière	" "	Sr. de Lussaudière	Yamaska	14,100(14)
Bellevue	" "	Charles Denys de Vitré	Verchères	3,500
Verchères	" "	Sr. de Verchères	" "	3,500
Boucherville	" "	Sr. Boucher	Chambly	19,100
Rivière du Loup	" "	Sr. de Manereuil	Maskinongé	14,100(15)
Ils Dupas	" "	Sr. Dupas	Berthier	5,300
Beaumont	" "	Sr. des Islets	Bellechasse	
Maskinongé	2	Picrre and J.B.Legardeur	Maskinongé	15,800
Grondines	"	Hospitalières	Nicolet	15,800(16)

Seigniorry and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Lanoraie	Jean Talon	Sr. de Lanoraie	Berthier	3,500
Vincelotte	" "	G. de Chavigny widow Amyot	L'Islet	7,000
Matane	" "	Sr. Damours	Matane	10,500
Berthier or Bellechasse	" "	Sr. Berthier	Bellechasse	28,200 (17)
Yamachiche	" "	Sr. Boucher	St. Maurice	21,100 (18)
Pointe du Lac	" "	Jean Sauvaget	" "	3,500 (19)
Longueuil	" "	Sr. de Longueuil	Chambly	(20)
<u>Total 1672</u>				1,006,100
<u>1673</u>				
Chateauguay	Frontenac	Sr. Lemoyne de Longueuil	Chateauguay	42,300
Rivière du Loup	West Indies Co.,	F. Deonis, Aubert de LaChenaye, Dallier du Parc	Rimouski	120,000
Terrebonne	" " "	Dallier des Landes	Terrebonne	28,200
<u>Total 1673</u>				190,500
<u>1674</u>				
Deschaillons	Frontenac	Sr. de St. Ours	Lotbinière	28,200
Petite Nation	West Indies Co.,	Sr. Laval	Papineau	176,400
Kamouraska	Frontenac	Sr. de la Durantaye	Kamouraska	42,300
Pointe à l'Original	West Indies Co.,	Sr. Provost	Above Montreal	28,200
Berthier	Frontenac	Sr. Berthier	Bellechasse	7,000
Pointe du Lac	" "	Sr. Normanville	St. Maurice	50 (21)

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Vieupont	Frontenac	Michel LeNeuf du Hérisson	St.Maurice	1,260 (22)
<u>Total 1674</u>				<u>283,860</u>
<u>1675</u>				
Roquetaille	Frontenac	Pierre Godefroy	Nicolet	7,000
Bic	" "	Charles Denys de Vitré	Rimouski	28,200
Fort Frontenac	His Majesty	Robert Cavelier de La Salle	Kingston	14,100
Monts Pelés	Frontenac	Pierre Duquet	--	42,300
Métis	" "	J.B. de Peiras	Gaspé	28,220
Champlain	" " and Champigny	Mrs. La Touche Champlain	Champlain	<u>31,700</u>
<u>Total 1675</u>				<u>151,520</u>
<u>1676</u>				
Nachouah or Soulanges	Frontenac and Duchesneau	Pierre Joybert Sr. de Soulanges	R.St. John	56,400
Gemeseik	" " " " "	" " " "	" " "	28,200
Chignectou or Beaubassin	His Majesty	Michel Le Neuf de la Vallières	Acadia	70,500
Gentilly	Duchesneau	Sieur Pelletier de la Terrade	Nicolet	15,000 (23)
<u>Total 1676</u>				<u>170,100</u>
<u>1677</u>				
L'Islet à la Peau	Frontenac	Widow Lacombe	L'Islet	7,000
L'Islet St. Jean	" "	Louis Couillard de l'Espinay	" "	14,100

Seigniori and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
St.Jean Port Joli	Frontenac	Noel Langlois	L'Islet	28,200
L'Islet	" "	Geneviève Couillard	"	14,100
Bonsecours	Frontenac and Duchesneau	François Bélanger	"	21,100
Ste.Anne de la Pocatière	Frontenac	Sr.Combe Pocatière	Kamouraska	<u>16,800</u>
<u>Total 1677</u>				101,300
<u>1678</u>				
St.François	Frontenac	Sieur Crevier	Yamaska	7,000(24)
Verchères	" "	Sieur de Verchères	Chambly	<u>3,500(25)</u>
<u>Total 1678</u>				10,500
<u>1679</u>				
Ste Marguerite	Frontenac	Sieur Boyvinet	--	(26)
Mingan	Duchesneau	Jacques Lalonde and Louis Jolliet	Labrador	
St.Denis	Frontenac	Nicolas Juchereau de S.t Denis	Kamouraska	28,200
Minitiguish or Randin	Frontenac and Duchesneau	--	Acadia	254,000
River Magdalen	" " "	Antoine Caddé	Gaspé	<u>7,000</u>
<u>Total 1679</u>				289,200
<u>1680</u>				
Anticosti Island	Duchesneau	Louis Jolliet	--	
Sault St.Louis	His Majesty	Jesuit Fathers	--	49,300(27)
Argenteuil	Frontenac and Duchesneau	D'Aillebout de Musseaux	Argenteuil	56,000

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Nicolet	Frontenac and Duchesneau	Sieur de Laubia	Nicolet	42,300
<u>Total 1680</u>				147,600
<u>1682</u>				
Guillaume Bonhomme	M.de La Barre and de Meulles	Guillaume Bonhomme	Portneuf	14,100
Rivière du Gouffre	" " " "	Pierre Dupré	Saguenay	14,100
<u>Total 1682</u>				28,200
<u>1683</u>				
Madawaska	La Barre and de Meulles	Chas. Aubert de la Chesnaye	New Brunswick	42,300
Les Eboulements	" " " "	Pierre Lessard	Saguenay	17,600
Pierreville	" " " "	Sr. Laurent Philippe	Yamaska	10,500
Baie St. Antoine	" " " "	Jacques Le Febvre	"	28,200
Yamaska	" " " "	Sr. Le Neuf de la Vallières	"	10,500 (28)
Mille Iles	" " " "	Sr. Du Gué	Two Mountains	63,500 (29)
Lake St. Charles	" " " "	Charles Denys de Vitré	Quebec	--
Megos or Magesse	" " " "	Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye	Acadia	42,300
<u>Total 1683</u>				214,900
<u>1684</u>				
St Etienne	La Barre and de Meulles	Marie Boucher		
Ile Verte	" " " "	Rouer de la Cordonnère	Rimouski	28,200
Medoctec	" " " "	René Damours	R. St. John	-

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1685</u>				
Lotibnière	La Barre and de Meul- les	M.de Lotbinière	Lotbinière	98,700 (30)
<u>1687</u>				
Trois Pistoles	Denonville and Cham- pigny	Charles Denys de Vitré	Rimouski	28,200
Coudres Island	" " " "	Quebec Seminary	Saguenay	
Bonsecours	" " " "	Sr.Amyot de Ville- neuve	L'Islet	<u>12,400</u>
<u>Total 1687</u>				40,600
<u>1688</u>				
Cap Chat	Denonville and Cham- pigny	Denis Riverin	Gaspé	
Donaquet	" " " "	La Mothe Cadillac	Acadia	28,200
Rimouski	" " " "	Rouer de la Cordon- nière	Rimouski	28,200
Ste Anne des Monts	" " " "	Denis Riverin	Gaspé	3,500
D'Autré	" " " "	Jean Bourdon	Berthier	28,200
Beaumont	" " " "	Charles Couillard de Beaumont	Bellechasse	(31)
Checabenecadie	" " " "	M ait e Leneuf	Acadia	
Lanoraie	" " " "	Sieur de Lanoraie	Berthier	<u>23,200 (32)</u>
<u>Total 1688</u>				116,300
<u>1689</u>				
Pachot	Denonville and Cham- pigny	François Pachot	Gaspé	7,000
Kanibekachiche	" " " "	Sieur Dubreuil	R.St John	42,300
Belle-Isle	" " " "	Riverin et al.	Labrador	-

Saigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate area
St. Mathieu	Denonville and Cham-	Mathieu Martin	Acadia	--
Blanc Sablon	" " "	Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, François Pachot et al.	Labrador	63,500
Pocmouche or Nepiséguit	" " "	Michel Degrez	Acadia	7,000
St. Castin	" " "	M. de St. Castin	Acadia	28,200
Lauzon	" " "	--	Levis	<u>16,500</u>
<u>Total 1689</u>				164,500
<u>1690</u>				
Genaple	Frontenac and Cham-	Sieur de Bellefonds	R. St John	--
Gobin	" " "	Sieur Gobin	Bay of Chaleur ^s	846,700
Miramichi	" " "	Nicolas Denys	Acadia	1,587,600
Restigouche	" " "	Pierre Lemoyne d'I- berville	"	<u>846,700 (33)</u>
<u>Total 1690</u>				3,281,000
<u>1691</u>				
Grande Vallée	Frontenac and Cham-	Sieur Hazeur	Gaspé	42,300
Marson	" " "	Widow Marson	Acadia	56,400
Mouscoudabouet	" " "	Sieur des Gâtins	"	<u>28,200</u>
<u>Total 1691</u>				126,900
<u>1692</u>				
Mattinière	" " "	Bermen de la Marti- nière	Bellechasse	-

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1693</u>				
Lake Mitis	Frontenac and Cham-	Sieur Louis Rouer	Gaspé	--
Grand Menane	" " pigny	Paul d'Ailleboust de	Acadia	--
D'Auteuil	" " "	Sevigny Ruelle d'Auteuil	Portneuf	17,600
Fossambault	" " "	Sieur de Gaudarville	"	10,000
Ste Claire	" " "	René Le Page	L'Islet	14,100
Lotbinière	" " "	M.de Lotbinière	Lotbinière	86,000
La Durantaye	" " "	Sieur de la Durantaye	Bellechasse	28,200
Vincelotte	" " "	Geneviève de Chavigny	L'Islet	14,100
Nepisiguit	" " "	Michel Degrez	Acadia	<u>28,200</u>
<u>Total 1693</u>				198,200
<u>1694</u>				
Rouville	Frontenac and Cham-	J.B.Hertel, Sieur de	Rouville	21,100
Beloëil	" " pigny	Rouville Joseph Hertel	Verchères	21,100
Lake Matapédia	" " "	Charles Damours	Rimouski	--
St.Denis	" " "	Sieur de Falaise	Richelieu	<u>28,200</u>
<u>Total 1694</u>				70,400
<u>1695</u>				
Cournoyer	Frontenac and Cham-	Jacques Hertel	Verchères	28,200
Cerfs Islands or St.Charles	" " pigny	François Hertel	Richelieu	28,200
Le Gardeur de Tilly	" " "	LeGardeur de Tilly	R.Richelieu	63,500
Cabanac	" " "	Joseph Desjordy	R.Richelieu	63,500

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Desjordy	Frontenac and Cham- Pigny	François Desjordy	R.Richelieu	42,300
Pointe aux Chênes	" " "	Sieur des Goutins	R.St.John	28,200
Thibaudeau	" " "	Pierre Thibaudeau	Acadia	28,200
Des Coudets	" " "	Sieur Chartier	"	10,500
Bourgochemin	" " "	Sieur Bourgochemin	St.Hyacinthe	63,500
Grand Pré	" " "	Louis Boucher	St.Maurice	21,100
Damour des Plaines	" " "	Bernard Damours	R.St.John	<u>42,300</u>
<u>Total 1695</u>				419,500
<u>1696</u>				
Pabos	Frontenac and Cham- pigny	Sieur Hubert	Gaspé	63,500
Lepage and Thivierge	" " "	Sieur Lepage and Thi- burge	Rimouski	21,100
Lessard	" " "	Pierre Lessard	"	21,100
Notre Dame du Portage	" " "	Sieur de Grandville and Chas.Aubert de la Ches- naye	Kamouraska	28,200
Les Aulnets	" " "	François Desjordy	" "	56,400
Duplessis	" " "	Sieur Duplessis	Acadia	169,300(34)
Port Daniel	" " "	René d'Eneau	Gaspé	24,700
L'Islet du Portage	" " "	Chas.Aubert de la Chesnaye	Kamouraska	42,300(35)
La Durantaye	" " "	Sieur de la Durantaye	Bellechasse	<u>28,200(36)</u>
<u>Total 1696</u>				454,800

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1697</u>				
Boisselerie	Frontenac and Cham- pigny	Sieur Boisselerie	Acadia	282,200
Articogneth	" " "	Charles Denys de Vitré	" "	112,800
Outlas	" " "	Sieur Outlas	" "	112,800
Martin de Lino	" " "	Sieur de Lino	" "	176,400
St. Paul	" " "	Paul Dupuy	" "	63,500
De Cottentré	" " "	Sieur de Cottentré	" "	112,800
Hauteville	" " "	Sieur Hauteville	" "	176,400
Le Gardeur	" " "	Sieur le Gardeur	" "	141,100
Fief de la Croix	" " "	Sieur de la Croix	Bonaventure	56,400
Vilrenard	" " "	Sieur de Vilrenard	Acadia	21,100
Anse de l'Etang	" " "	François Hazeur and Riverin	" "	7,000
Grande Rivière	" " "	Jacques Cochu	Gaspé	22,400
Louis Jolliet	" " "	Louis Jolliet	Beauce	63,500
Ste Anne de la Perade	" " "	Sieur de Lanaudière	Champlain	25,000 (37)
Champlain	" " "	Mme. de la Touche Cham- plain	" "	<u>31,700</u> (38)
<u>Total 1697</u>				1,405,100
<u>1698</u>				
Hubert	Frontenac and Cham- pigny	Louis Hubert	Quebec	28,200
Longueil	" " "	Charles Lemoyne	Chambly	<u>47,000</u> (39)
<u>Total 1698</u>				75,200

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1699</u>				
Sillery	Callières and Champigny	Jesuit Fathers	Quebec	10,500
<u>1700</u>				
Chipaudy	" " " "	Sieur de Villieu	Acadia	28,200
Tarrieu	" " " "	Pierre Tarrieu	Champlain	<u>21,100</u> (40)
<u>Total 1700</u>				<u>49,300</u>
<u>1701</u>				
St.Charles de Richelieu	" " " "	Sieur René Fezeret	Richelieu	15,800
Maskinongé	" " " "	Ursulines	St.Maurice	<u>10,500</u>
<u>Total 1701</u>				<u>26,300</u>
<u>1702</u>				
Mont Louis	Callières and Champigny	Nicolas Bourlet	Gaspé	63,500
Maillou	" " " "	Jos, and Jean Maillou	Levis	28,200
Bonsecours	" " " "	Hospitalières	Richelieu	15,800
Vaudreuil	" " and Beauharnois	Sieur de Vaudreuil	Vaudreuil	28,200
Soulanges	Callières and Champigny	Sieur de Soulanges	" "	<u>28,200</u>
<u>Total 1702</u>				<u>163,900</u>
<u>1703</u>				
Grandchamp or Pentagouet	Callières and Beauharnois	Thomas Lefebvre	Maine	42,300
<u>1705</u>				
Portachois	Vaudreuil and Beauharnois	François Hazeur	Nfld	211,600

Seigniory and Year	Gr nted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Carufel	Vaudreuil and Beauharnois	Jean Sicard	St.Maurice	--
<u>Total 1705</u>				<u>211,600</u>
<u>1706</u>				
St.Paul	Vaudreuil and Raudot	Amador Godefroy	Labrador	352,800
Les Ecureuils	" " "	Sieur Toupin	Portneuf	<u>7,000(41)</u>
<u>Total 1706</u>				<u>359,800</u>
<u>1707</u>				
Port Maltais	His Majesty	Beauharnois	Acadia	56,400
Chloridon	Vaudreuil and Raudot	Charles Morin	Gaspé	141,100
Pasbébiac	" " "	Pierre Haimard	Bonaventure	28,200
Islet du Portage	" " "	Widow Grandville	Kamouraska	<u>14,100(42)</u>
<u>Total 1707</u>				<u>239,800</u>
<u>1708</u>				
Monnoir	Vaudreuil and Raudot	Sieur Ramezay	Rouville	42,300
Bourg Marie	" " "	Marie Fezeret	Richelieu	15,900
Dumontier	" " "	Sieur François Dumontier	St.Maurice	<u>31,700</u>
<u>Total 1708</u>				<u>89,900</u>
<u>1710</u>				
Louvigny	Vaudreuil and Raudot	Sieur Louvigny	P.E.I.	-
Ramezay	" " "	Sieur Ramezay	St.Hyacinthe	63,500

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Montarville	Vaudreuil and Raudot	Pierre Boucher de Boucherville	Chambly	<u>3,780</u>
<u>Total 1710</u>				67,280
<u>1711</u>				
Grondines	Vaudreuil and Raudot	Hospitalières	Nicolet	10,500(43)
<u>1713</u>				
Ramezay	Vaudreuil and Begon	Sieur Ramezay	St.Hyacinthe	56,400(44)
Beloeil	" " "	Lemoine de Longueil	Chambly	10,500(45)
Beaumont	" " "	Charles Couillard de Beaumont	Bellechasse	<u>- (46)</u>
<u>Total 1713</u>				66,900
<u>1717</u>				
Two Mountains	Vaudreuil and Begon	Sulpicians	Two Mountains	276,100
<u>1727</u>				
Rivière du Loup	Beauharnois and Dupuy	----	Maskinongé	15,800
<u>1729</u>				
Beauharnois	His Majesty	Beauharnois	Beauharnois	254,100
<u>1731</u>				
Des Plaines	His Majesty	Lepage de Ste.Claire	Terrebonne	--
Dosquet	Beauharnois and Hocquart	Mgr.Dosquet	Yamaska	60,000
<u>1732</u>				
Berthier	" " "	Sieur Randin	Bellechasse	63,500(47)
Rigaud	" " "	Sieur Vaudreuil	Beauharnois	<u>63,500</u>
<u>Total 1732</u>				<u>127,000</u>

Seignior and Year	Granted by			Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1733</u>						
Bleurie	Beauharnois and Hoc-			Sabrevois de Bleurie	St. Hyacinthe	63,500(48)
Noyan	" " "			Chavoy de Noyan	--	42,300(49)
Foucault	" " "			Sieur Foucault	Rouville	42,000(50)
Sabrevois	" " "			Sabrevois de Bleurie	--	42,300(51)
De Leury	" " "			Chaussegros de Leury	Huntingdon	42,300
Lacolle	" " "			Denys de la Ronde	" "	42,300(52)
Boisfranc	" " "			Sieur Daine	Missisquoi	31,700(53)
Lafontaine de Belcour	" " "			Lafontaine de bel-	" "	25,000(54)
Lusignan	" " "			Sieur Lusignan	--	42,300(55)
Beaujeu	" " "			Sieur Beaujeu		42,300(56)
De Livaudière	" " "			Sieur Livaudière	U.S.A.	42,300(57)
Estèbe or Lagauchetière	" " "			Sieur de la Gauche- tière	U.S.A.	42,300(58)
St. Vincent	" " "			Sieur St. Vincent	--	<u>42,300(59)</u>
<u>Total 1733</u>						542,900
<u>1734</u>						
Grande Ile	Beauharnois and Hoc-			Sieur de Contrecoeur	U.S.A.	-- (60)
De la Perrière	" " "			Sieur de la Perrière	U.S.A.	28,200(61)
Pécandière	" " "			Sieur de Contrecoeur	U.S.A.	42,300(62)
De Beauvais	" " "			Sieur de Beauvais	U.S.A.	42,300(63)

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
Nouvelle Longueuil	Beauharnois and Hoc-quart	Lemoine de Longueuil	Vaudreuil	42,300
La Valtrée	" " "	Sieur La Valtrie	Berthier	26,400 (64)
Pointe du Lac	" " "	--	St. Maurice	- (65)
Two Mountains	" " "	Sulpicians	Two Mountains	-
<u>Total 1734</u>				<u>181,500</u>
<u>1735</u>				
La Nouiller de Boisclerc	Beauharnois and Hoc-quart	Sieur de Boisclerc	-	49,300
<u>1736</u>				
Taschereau	" " "	Sieur Taschereau	Beauce	42,300
St. Joseph de Beauce	" " "	Sieur Vaudreuil	"	42,300
St. François de Beauce	" " "	Sieur de la Gorgen-diére	"	42,300
Aubert Gallian	" " "	Widow Aubert	"	28,200
D'Ailleboust	" " "	Sieur D'Argenteuil	Berthier	42,300
Aubin de l'Isle	" " "	Aubin de l'Isle	Beauce	28,200
De Ramezay	" " "	Widow Boishebert	Kamouraska	42,300
Moinaudière	" " "	Pierre Raimbault	U.S.A.	112,800
Daigneau	" " "	Sieur Douville	U.S.A.	42,300
Lafontaine de Belcour	" " "	Sieur Belcour	Bellechasse	<u>15,800</u>
<u>Total 1736</u>				<u>438,800</u>
<u>1737</u>				
Belle Plaine	Beauharnois and de la Rouvillière	Charlotte Le Gardeur	Lotbinière	15,800

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
St.Etienne	Beauharnois and	Sieur Cugnet	Dorchester	42,300
Rochbert	" " Rouvillière	L.Joseph Rochbert	U.S.A.	42,300(66)
<u>Total 1737</u>				100,400
<u>1738</u>				
Gaspé	Beauharnois and Hoc-	Widow Aubert	Lotbinière	15,800
Belle Plaine	" " & Rouvillière	Charlotte Le Gar-	" "	10,600
St.Gilles de Beaurivage	" " & Hocquart	Sieur de Beaurivage	" "	-
<u>Total 1738</u>				26,400
<u>1739</u>				
Dusablé	Beauharnois and Hoc-	Sieur du Sablé	Berthier	21,100
Sorel	" " quart	Sieur Sorel	Richelieu	15,800(67)
Lanoraie	" " "	-	Berthier	- (68)
D'Autré	" " "	-	L'Assomption	- (69)
Monnoir	" " "	Sieur Ramezay	Rouville	42,300(70)
<u>Total 1739</u>				79,200
<u>1741</u>				
Bourg Louis	" " "	Louis Fournel	Portneuf	58,200
<u>1743</u>				
Hocquart	His Majesty	Hocquart	U.S.A.	140,000(71)
<u>1744</u>				
Livaudière	Beauharnois and Hoc-	Peau de Livaudière	Bellechasse	15,800(72)
	quart			

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
<u>1748</u>				
St. Hyacinthe	La Galissonnière and Bigot	Rigaud de Vaudreuil	St. Hyacinthe	127,000
St. Armand	" " "	René Le Vasseur	Missisquoi	<u>127,000</u>
<u>Total 1748</u>				254,000
<u>1749</u>				
Ramezay	La Jonquière and Bigot			254,000
Montapeine	" " "	Sieur Bermen	Bellechasse	- (73)
<u>1750</u>				
St. Denis	La Jonquière and Bigot	Sieur St. Denis	Richelieu	(74)
Rivière Ouelle	" " "	Widow Boishébert	Kamouraska	28,200 (75)
La Salle	" " "	Sieur de Senneville	Huntingdon	-
Sault Ste. Marie	" " "	de Bonne and Repentigny	Ontario	254,000
Gastineau	" " "	Gastineau Duplessis	St. Maurice	25,000 (76)
Maskinongé	" " "	Sieur de la Naudière	Maskinongé	- (77)
Nicolas Rioux	" " "	Nicolas Rioux	Rimouski	<u>-</u>
<u>Total 1750</u>				307,200
<u>1751</u>				
De Guir	La Jonquière and Bigot	Sieur De Guir	Yamaska	28,200
Maricourt	Longueuil and Bigot	Sieur Desgrais	Kingston	63,500
St. Gervais	Duquesne and Bigot	Pean de Livaudière	Bellechasse	14,100 (78)
Daneau de Muy	" " "	Sieur de Muy	U.S.A.	84,600

Seigniory and Year	Granted by	Granted to	County	Approximate Area
St. Barnabé	Duquesne and Bigot	Sieur Barnabé	Rimouski	- (79)
<u>Total 1751</u>				190,400
<u>1752</u>				
Deschaillons	Duquesne and Bigot	-	Lotbinière	56,400 (80)
Mille Iles	" " "	Sieur Dumont	Two Mountains	- (81)
<u>1753</u>				
Perthuis	" " "	Sieur Perthuis	Portneuf	95,200
Terrebonne	" " "	Louis La Corne	Terrebonne	- (82)
<u>1754</u>				
Courval	" " "	Sieur Cressé Jr.	Yamaska	42,300
<u>1755</u>				
Beaujeu	Vaudreuil and Bigot	Lienard de Beaujeu	U.S.A.	112,800
<u>1758</u>				
D'Alainville	" " "	Chartier de Lotbinière	U.S.A.	141,100

(1) This table was prepared largely from: Inventaire des Concessions en Fief et Seigneurie. Fois et Hommages et Aveux et Denombrements conservés aux Archives de la Province de Quebec, by Pierre Georges Roy. Beauceville. L'Eclaireur Limitée. 1927.

(2) One Arpent - 0.845 acre

(4) Disappeared with the grant of de Maur's Seigniory.

(3) Reunited to the Royal Domain before 1676. (5) Obtained for the Sieur de Lauzon.

- (6) Including also Ile aux Grues and Ile aux Oies.
- (7) Increase to the 1640 concession.
- (8) Given to the Jesuits in 1657.
- (9) Increase to the original concession.
- (10) Same concession to the Comte de St. Pierre in 1720.
- (11) Increase to the previous concession.
- (12) Reunited to the Royal Domain in 1711.
- (13) United to Domain and Reconceded in 1683.
- (14) Cancelled and regranted in 1683.
- (15) Cancelled and regranted in 1683.
- (16) Increase to previous concession.
- (17) Increase to the 1637 concession.
- (18) " " " " 1653 " "
- (19) " " " " 1656 " "
- (20) " " " " 1657 " "
- (21) Increase to the previous concession.
- (22) " " " " " " " "
- (23) " " " " " " " "
- (24) " " " " " " " "
- (25) " " " " " " " "
- (26) Reunited to Domain and regranted in 1691.
- (27) Reunited to Domain in 1732.
- (28) Given to Aubert de la Chesnaye in 1685.
- (29) Reunited to Domain and reconceded in 1714.
- (30) Previous concession increased to this figure.
- (31) Increase to previous concession.
- (32) " " " " " " " "
- (33) Given the same year to Richard Denys de Fronsac.
- (34) Reunited to Domain in 1697.
- (35) Increase to previous concession.
- (36) " " " " " " " "
- (37) " " " " " " " "
- (38) " " " " " " " "
- (39) " " " " " " " "
- (40) Increase to Ste. Anne de la Pérade.
- (41) Increase to previous concession.
- (42) " " " " " " " "
- (43) " " " " " " " "
- (44) " " " " " " " "
- (45) " " " " " " " "
- (46) " " " " " " " "

- (47) Increase to previous concession.
- (48) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re-
conceded 1750.
- (49) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re-
conceded 1743.
- (50) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re-
conceded 1743.
- (51) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re-
conceded 1743.
- (52) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re
conceded 1743.
- (53) Reunited to Domain in 1741.
- (54) " " " " " 1741.
- (55) " " " " " 1741.
- (56) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re
conceded 1752.
- (57) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re
conceded 1752.
- (58) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re-
conceded 1744.
- (59) Reunited to Domain in 1741.
- (60) Reunited to Domain in 1741, re-
conceded 1749.

- (61) Reunited to Domain in 1741.
- (62) " " " " " 1741.
- (63) " " " " " 1741.
- (64) Increase to previous concession.
- (65) " " " " " " "
- (66) Reunited to Domain in 1741.
- (67) Increase to previous concession.
- (68) " " " " " " "
- (69) " " " " " " "
- (70) " " " " " " "
- (71) Including an increase in 1745 .
- (72) Increase to La Durantaye.
- (73) Increase to previous concession.
- (74) " " " " " "
- (75) " " " " " "
- (76) " " " " " "
- (77) " " " " " "
- (78) Increase to La Durantaye.

- (79) Increase to Rimouski
- (80) Increase to previous concession.
- (81) Increase to previous concession.
- (82) Increase to previous concession.

Table 7. Census of New France, 1665-1666. (1) Population, Number of families, number of farmers (habitants) and farm population.

Locality	Population	Number of families	Number of farmers	Farm population
Total	3,215	538	476	2,005
Quebec	547	71	13	64
Beaupré	533	89	70	339
Beauport	185	29	18	106
Isle d'Orleans	452	96	121	314
St. Jean, St. François, St. Michel	153	27	26	124
Notre Dame des Anges,) La Rivière St. Charles) Charlesbourg)	112	24	33	86
Coste de Lauzon	13	3	3	13
Trois Rivières and Surr.	455	69	61	341
Montreal	625	107	106	471

(1) Can. Arch Series G.1 Vol 460-1. The above table is a recompilation of this census.

Table 8. Census of New France, 1667 (1). Population, number of families, number and area of farms and livestock.

Locality	Population	Number of families	Number of farms	Farms of				
				1 to 4 "arpents"	5 to 10 "arpers"	11 to 50 "arpents"	51 to 100 "arpents"	101 "ar- pents" and over
Total	3918	817	713	169	235	278	16	15
Quebec	453	72	11	1	4	3	2	1
Beaupre	664	133	127	22	51	52	2	0
Beauport	183	33	32	1	10	17	2	2
Island of Orleans	427	113	108	25	46	35	1	1
Cote Ste-Genevieve) Cote St. François) Cote St. Michel)	187	40	37	0	17	17	1	2
Sillery	56	7	7	0	1	5	0	1
Cap Rouge	159	30	26	0	6	18	0	2
Cote St. Ignace	50	12	11	1	6	4	0	0
Notre-Dame des Anges (2)) Riviere St. Charles) Charlesbourg)	282	82	107	73	17	14	2	1
Lauzon	111	25	21	0	12	9	0	0
Trois-Rivieres	214	41	33	3	4	22	3	1
Cap de la Madeleine) La Touche) ChAMPLAIN)	359	82	74	16	27	26	2	3
Montreal and surroundings	766	147	119	27	34	56	1	1

Table 8. Census of New France, 1667 (1). Population, number of families, number and area of farms and livestock. (cont.)

Locality	Total area under cultivation	Number of farms re- porting cattle	Total number of cattle	Farms reporting			
				to 4 heads	5 to 10 heads	11 to 24 heads	25 heads and over
Total	11,559	430	2,683	228	149	44	9
Quebec	345	10	152	4	2	1	3
Beaupre	1,711	91	552	41	36	14	0
Beauport	862	27	151	15	8	4	0
Island of Orleans	1,236	70	333	37	27	6	0
Cote Ste Genevieve) Cote St. Francois) Cote St. Michel)	832	12	129	2	4	5	1
Sillery	256	7	59	2	4	0	1
Cap Rouge	617	22	91	17	3	2	0
Cote St. Ignace	112	3	9	3	0	0	0
Notre-Dame des Anges (2)) Riviere St. Charles) Charlesbourg)	914	30	487	14	7	5	4
Lauson	233	18	59	13	5	0	0
Trois-Rivieres	1,012	29	142	12	17	0	0
Cap de la Madeleine) La Touche) ChAMPLAIN)	1,554	33	171	20	10	3	0
Montreal and surroundings	1,875	78	348	48	26	4	0

(1) Can. Arch. Series G.1. Vol. 460-2. This census will also be found in First Census of Canada, 1871, Vol. IV, pp. 6 and 7. It will be noted that the above figures do not agree completely with those published in Vol. IV, 1871. These figures are a recompilation of the figures contained in Series G.1. The main difference is in the number of families which the writer has counted on the principle now followed in census compilations. A number of the 817 families, will be families of one person.

(2) 85 sheep are also reported in Notre Dame des Anges.

Table 9. Census of Acadia, 1671 (1). Population, number of families, number and area of farms and livestock.

Locality	Population	Number of families	Number of farms	Farms of			
				1 to 4 "arpents"	5 to 10 "arpents"	11 to 50 "arpents"	51 "arpents" and over
Total	436	76	53	20	21	12	0
Port Royal (2)	363	68	49	17	20	12	0
Pobomkom (2)	14	3	1	0	1	0	0
Cap Neigre	14	2	2	2	0	0	0
Pentaguet	25	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mouskadebouet	13	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ste. Pierre (Cape Breton)	7	1	1	1	0	0	0

Table 9. Census of Acadia, 1671 (1). Population, number of families, number and area of farms and livestock. (cont.)

Locality	Total area under cultivation "arpents"	Number of farms reporting cattle	Total number of cattle	Farms reporting				No. of sheep	No. of goats	No. of swine
				1-4 heads	5-10 heads	11-24 heads	25 heads and over			
Total	430	47	866	10	15	19	3	407	36	55
Port Royal (2)	417	44	829	10	14	17	3	399	0	0
Pobomkom (2)	6	1	12	0	0	1	0	8	12	20
Cap Neigre	3	2	25	0	1	1	0	0	24	35
Pentaguet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mouskadebouet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Pierre (Cape Breton)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(1) This recomputation shows slight differences with the figures published in the census volume.

(2) The census further reports that 525 "barriques" and 57 barrels of grain had been harvested at Port Royal and 5 "barriques" at Pobomkom.

Table 10. Census of 1681⁽¹⁾: Population, number of families, number of farms and area under cultivation classified by size of farm.

Locality	Population	Number of families	Number of farms	Area under cultivation "arpents"	Farms classified according to area under cultivation			
					1-4 arpents"	5-10 "arpents"	11-50 "arpents"	51 "arpents" and over
Total	9,673	1,893	1,583	24,644	246	636	646	55
Quebec	1,198	215	54	1,998	1	12	30	11
Abenaqui and Algonquin								
Mission at Sillery	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Huron Mission at Lorette	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beaupre	728	121	109	2,213	7	26	70	6
Beauport	409	47	35	1,225	1	8	22	4
Bourg Royal	71	16	16	208	-	9	7	-
Village St. Claude	27	4	4	32	-	4	-	-
Charlesbourg	86	15	15	209	4	5	6	-
Village St. Joseph	37	8	8	110	-	3	5	-
Village St. Bernard	63	15	14	120	3	8	3	-
Petite Auvergne	304	68	62	723	6	29	27	-
Coste St. Michel	109	20	19	370	-	2	16	1
Coste St. François	55	8	8	198	-	3	4	1
Seigneurie de Gaudarville	66	16	16	265	-	5	11	-
Seigneurie de Maure	155	31	29	316	-	16	13	-
Dombourg, Neuville	376	70	67	1,001	-	22	45	-
Pointe aux Ecureuils	16	4	4	26	-	4	-	-
Portneuf	31	3	3	90	-	-	2	1
Chavigny	12	1	1	20	-	-	1	-
St. Charles des Roches	55	14	14	98	6	4	4	-
Seigneurie de la Prade	25	7	6	78	-	4	2	-
Lotbiniere	58	11	11	77	6	3	2	-
Villieu	15	5	5	28	3	2	-	-
Leuzon	293	49	47	557	6	23	18	1
Cap. St. Claude	27	5	5	24	4	-	1	-
Beaumont	53	15	15	64	11	4	-	-
La Durantaye	59	15	14	92	6	5	3	-
Bellechasse	226	47	45	317	14	28	3	-
La Bouteillerie	62	11	11	134	1	8	2	-
Isle aux Oyes	39	6	6	66	-	4	2	-
Comté de St. Laurens								
(Island of Orleans)	1,079	188	177	2,419	14	71	91	1
Isle d'Anticosty	12	1	1	2	1	-	-	-
Trois-Rivieres et garnison	156	34	23	559	2	3	16	2

Table 10. Census of 1681⁽¹⁾: Population, number of families, number of farms and area under cultivation classified by size of farm. (cont.)

Locality	Population	Number of families	Number of farms	Area under cultivation "arpents"	Farms classified according to area under cultivation			
					1-4 "arpents"	5-10 "arpents"	11-50 "arpents"	61 "arpents" and over
Riviere du Loup	20	6	6	56	-	4	2	-
Ste Anne de la Perade	106	22	17	151	10	4	3	-
Batiscan	250	49	47	551	4	25	18	-
Champlain	253	50	39	906	1	6	30	2
Fief Hertel	25	5	4	38	1	2	1	-
Prairies Marsollet	16	3	3	26	-	2	1	-
Cap de la Madeleine	204	39	38	807	3	7	25	3
Nicolet	37	9	9	85	3	4	2	-
Linotot	47	15	15	126	3	10	2	-
St. Francois (Seigneurie)	52	16	14	155	4	6	4	-
Montreal (Isle de) et garnison	1,422	286	250	5,219	14	88	101	17
Sault St. Louis (Mission)	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Isle Jesus	24	4	4	72	1	1	2	-
La Chenaye	72	22	20	203	4	12	3	1
Repentigny	117	30	31	341	4	21	5	1
Villemur	31	9	9	68	3	5	1	-
Autray	22	5	4	53	-	1	3	-
La Valtrie	43	10	10	77	3	5	2	-
La Prairie de la Madeleine	148	39	36	214	14	19	3	-
Longueil	79	19	16	150	6	4	6	-
Isle Ste Therese	54	14	14	99	8	5	1	-
Du Tremblay	28	6	6	67	1	3	2	-
Boucherville	179	40	32	328	8	20	3	1
Varennes	72	26	24	202	7	14	3	-
Vercheres	61	12	12	110	2	6	4	-
Contrecoeur	69	14	14	145	8	4	1	1
St. Ours	87	22	21	181	3	16	2	-
Chambly	78	17	17	133	2	14	1	-
Sorel	117	27	26	392	4	13	8	1
Monceaux	5	1	1	50	-	-	1	-
Missions iroquoises	14	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mission des Outaouais	27	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

(1) Can. Arch. Series G.1. Vol. 460-3. The above table is a recompilation of the copy held at the Archives and does not agree in every case with the summary given in Vol. IV, Census of 1871, pp.11-14. As in the censuses of 1666 and 1667, the number of families was counted in the same way as in the present day censuses.

Table 11. Census of 1981 (1): Number of livestock and numbers reported pr farm.

Locality	Number of cattle	Number of farms reporting cattle	Farms reporting between				No. of horses	No. of asses	No. of sheep	No. of goats
			1-4 cattle	5-10 cattle	11-24 cattl	25 cattle or more				
Total	6,896	1,264	765	401	94	19	94	8	602	18
Quebec	442	57	39	13	5	6	38	3	158	-
Beaupre	788	103	31	51	19	2	12	-	-	-
Beauport	292	36	12	17	6	1	5	-	46	-
Bourg Royal	39	12	11	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Village St. Claude	7	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charlesbourg	47	15	12	3	-	-	4	-	-	-
Village St. Joseph	24	7	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Village St. Bernard	25	9	8	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
Petite Auvergne	224	55	38	14	3	-	6	1	-	-
Coste St. Michel	63	17	14	3	-	-	7	1	-	-
Coste St. François	32	6	2	4	-	-	1	-	-	-
Gaudarville	45	12	8	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
De Maure	59	20	16	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dombourg, Neuville	234	60	47	11	2	-	-	2	-	-
Pointe aux Ecureuils	8	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Portneuf	32	3	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
Chavigny	19	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
St. Charles des Roches	46	10	7	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
La Prade	19	4	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lotbiniere	27	8	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Villieu	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lauzon	161	37	24	12	1	-	1	-	-	-
Cap St. Claude	9	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beaumont	9	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
La Durotaye	21	8	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bellechasse	240	35	12	16	7	-	-	-	-	-
La Bouteillerie	104	11	2	4	5	-	-	-	-	-
Isle aux Oyes	88	5	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-
Comte de St. Laurens	907	160	79	66	13	2	2	1	80	-
(Island of Orleans)										
Isle d'Anticosty	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trois-Rivieres	110	22	14	7	1	-	2	-	-	-
Riviere du Loup	24	6	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ste Anne de la Perade	135	15	11	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Batiscan	135	39	27	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Champlain	157	33	22	10	1	-	-	-	-	-
Fief Hertel	10	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prairies Marsollet	11	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	12	-
Cap de la Madeleine	208	35	12	20	3	-	-	-	-	-
Nicolet	20	7	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lincot	25	8	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 11. Census of 1681 (1): Number of livestock and numbers reported per farm. (contd).

Locality	Number of cattle	Number of farms reporting cattle	Farms reporting between				No. of horses	No. of asses	No. of sheep	No. of goats
			1-4 cattle	5-10 cattle	11-24 cattle	25 cattle or more				
St. François (Seigneurie)	33	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Montreal (Isle de)	1,076	186	116	55	13	2	10	-	244	-
Sault St. Louis (Mission)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Isle Jesus	52	4	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
La Chenaye	75	11	4	6	-	1	-	-	-	-
Repentigny	22	11	11	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Villemar	31	9	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Autray	22	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
La Valtrie	24	6	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
La Prairie de la Madeleine	107	29	20	9	-	-	2	-	-	-
Longueil	54	11	7	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Isle de Ste Therese	30	7	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Du Tremblay	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Boucherville	107	29	24	4	-	1	-	-	-	-
Varennes	59	14	10	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Vercheres	56	11	6	4	1	-	-	-	-	-
Contrecoeur	55	11	7	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
St. Ours	64	13	9	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Chambly	43	13	10	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saurel	120	20	12	7	-	1	-	-	62	18
Monceaux	15	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

(1) See note (1) Table 10.

Table 12. Census of Acadia, 1686 (1): Population, number of families, number of farms, area under cultivation.

Locality	Population	No. of families	No. of farms	Area of land under cultivation "arpents"	Fms classified according to area under cultivation			
					4 "arpents"	5-10 "arpents"	11-50 "arpents"	51 "ar- pents" and over
Total	879	155	90	897	36	33	19	1
Port Royal	592	95	61	378	29	26	7	-
Cap de Sable	15	5	2	7	2	-	-	-
La Heve et Mirliguaiche	19	8	2	3	2	-	-	-
Les Mines	57	10	5	83	1	1	2	-
Beaubassin or Chignectou	127	21	20	426	3	6	10	1
Riviere St. Jean	16	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chedabouctou	21	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nepissigny	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
L'Isle Percee	26	5	-	-	-	-	-	-

(1) G.I. Vol.466, pp.14-57. Census of 1871, Vol. IV, p.20.

Table 13. Census of Acadia, 1686: Numbers of livestock.

Locality	No. of cattle	No. of farms reporting cattle	Farms reporting between				No. of sheep	No. of swine
			1-4 cattle	5-10 cattle	11-24 cattle	25 cattle and over		
Total	986	85	14	40	29	2	759	607
Port Royal	643	59	11	20	18	-	627	351
Cap de Sable	17	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
LaHeve et Mirliguaiche	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Les Mines	90	5	-	2	2	1	21	67
Beaubassin or Chignectou	236	19	3	6	9	1	111	189
Riviere St. Jean	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chedabouctou	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nepissigny	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L'Isle Percee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 14. Census of 1693 (1): Population, number of families, number offarms, area under cultivation.

Locality	Popula- tion	No. of families	No. of farms	Area of land under cultivation "arpents"	Farms classified according to area under cultivation			
					1-4 "arpents"	5-10 "arpents"	11-50 "arpents"	51 "arpents" and over
Total	1,018	182	144	1,840	19	58	67	-
Port Royal	500	81	77	1,298	7	16	54	-
Cap Sable	32	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beaubassin	119	21	14	157	-	9	5	-
Les Mines	307	57	47	360	8	31	8	-
Port Razoir	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
La Heve	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Riviere St. Jean	21	6	6	25	4	2	-	-
Pesmonquadis	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pentagouet	14	4	-	-	-	-	-	-

(1) Series G-1-466 pp.60-102. Census of 1871, Vol. IV, p.32.

Table 15. Census of 1693: Number of livestock.

Locality	No. of cattle	No. of farms reporting cattle	Farms reporting				No. of sheep	No. of swine
			1-4 cattle	5-10 cattle	11-24 cattle	25 cattle and over		
Total	1,793	148	16	60	67	5	1,832	1,232
Port Royal	955	75	7	30	37	1	1,240	733
Cap Sable	54	4	-	-	4	-	-	42
Beaubassin	309	19	1	6	8	4	272	142
Les Mines	461	47	6	23	18	-	320	315
Port Razoir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
La Heve	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Riviere St. Jean	14	3	2	1	-	-	-	-
Pesmonquadis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pentagouet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 16. Census of Acadia, 1698 (1): Population, number of farms clasified according to the area under cultivation, and fruit trees.

Locality	Popu- lation	No. of families	No. of farms	Area of land under culti- vation "arpents"	Farms classified according to area under cultivation				Farms reporting fruit trees	Fruit trees reported
					1-4 "ar- pents"	5-10 "ar- pents"	11-50 "ar- pents"	51 "arpents" and over		
Total (2)	808	138	107	1,735	15	25	65	2	58	1,799
Port Royal	583	99	73	1,257	7	16	48	2	55	1,766
Beaubassin	183	29	24	298	4	8	12	"	3	33
Riviere St. Jean	42	10	10	180	4	1	5	"	"	"

(1). Acadie Recensement, G-1-466, pp.107-145. Also census of 1871, Vol IV, p.44.

(2). The recompilation made by the writer shows slight differences with the figures given in Volume IV of the Census of 1871. There is no doubt that there were also a few all gardens in other places which are not covered in this census.

Table 17. Census of Acadia, 1698: Numbers of livestock.

Locality	No. of cattle	Farms reporting cattle	Farms reporting				No. of swine	No. of sheep
			1-4 cattle	5-10 cattle	11-25 cattle	26 cattle and over		
Total	1,033	103	8	44	43	8	807	1,314
Port Royal	936	70	4	32	28	6	576	1,136
Beaubassin	352	29	4	9	15	1	160	178
Riviere St. Jean	45	4	"	3	"	1	71	"

Table 18. Census of Acadia, 1707 (1): Population, number of farms and umbers of livestock.

Locality	Popu- lation	No. of families	No. of farms	No. of cattle	No. of families reporting cattle	Families reporting				No. of swine	No. of sheep
						1-4 cattle	5-10 cattle	11-25 cattle	26 cattle and over		
Total	1,497	241	213	2,419	233	53	8	90	8	2,055	2,587
Cobeguitte	82	17	17	180	17	2		8	-	114	124
Minnes	578	83	73	766	78	17	3	27	3	639	718
Beaubassin	271	45	40	510	42	2	1	22	-	328	500
Port Royal	566	96	83	963	96	32	2	33	5	974	1,245

(1) This census like that of 1698 is incomplete. Can. Arch. G.1. 466 pp 215-231.

Table 19. French population of New France by parishes and Seigniories for the censuses of 1692, 1695 and 1698.

Localities	1692	1695	1698
Total	11,075	12,786	13,815
Quebec	1,570	1,549	1,988
Malbaie	21	16	13
Baie St. Paul	61	72	75
Cap Tourmenté	123	181	181
Ste. Anne	190	236	222
Chateau Richer	248	315	373
Ange Gardien	257	251	315
Beauport)	281	329	444
)			
Petit Village)			
Charlesbourg)			
Petite Auvergne)	269	151	315
St. Bernard)			
St. Claude)			
St. Romain)	53	157	99
Petit St. Antoine)			
Grand St. Antoine)	81	149	97
Route Ste. Barbe)			
Comté D'Orsainville)	125	123	134
Bourg Royal)			
Notre Dame des Anges	104	131	151
Petite Rivière	89	121	133
St. Jean)	157)		
St. Michel)	)		
		227	188
Sillery	89)		

Table 19. French population of New France by parishes and seigniories for the censuses of 1692, 1695, 1698.(Cont.)

Localities	1692	1695	1698
Cap Rouge) Gaudarville) Champigny)	78	97	107
Ancienne Lorette) Jeune Lorette)	45	57	68 3
Demaure	177	249	244
Neuville) Ecureuils)	382	427	534
Portneuf) Eschambault)	91	103	168
Les Grondines	56	74	85
Lotbinière) Rivière du Chêne)	67	91	116
Ste.Croix) Villieu)	66	98	136
Vincennes) Côte de Lauzon)	371	390	397
Sault de la Chaudière	-	-	3
Beaumont) Berthier) La Durantaye)	206	234	272
Rivière du Sud ou l'Espinay	86	102	146
St.Pierre) Ste.Famille) St.François) St.Jean) St.Paul)	243) 359) 213) 224) 249)	791 698	738 734

Table 19. French population of New France by parishes and seigniories for the censuses of 1692, 1695, 1698.(Cont.)

Localities	1692	1695	1698
Vincelot) Gagnier) Port Joly) Bonsecours) Rivière des Trois) Saumons)	126	164	246
Grande Anse	69	87	89
Rivière Ouelle) Bouteillerie)	89	104	105
Rivière du Loup) Le Bic)	14	13	22
Isles aux Oies) Isles aux Grues)	29	38	40
Trois-Rivières) Rivière du Loup) Baie St. Antoine) Tonnancour) Labadie)	343	349	358
Ste. Anne de la Pérade	121	164	145
Batisoan	347	362	422
Champlain) Gentilly)	331	238	326
Cap de la Madeleine) Rivière Puante) Marsolet) Becancour)	134	178	241
St. François	78	101	98
Ville-Marie (Isle de Montréal)	801	1,468	1,185
Berthier	41	-	-

Table 19. French population of New France by parishes and seigniories for the censuses of 1692, 1695, 1698.(Cont.)

Localities	1692	1695	1698
La Valtrie) D'Autray)	21	-	-
Repentigny	78	67	80
Isle Jésus	49	22	13
La Chenaye	32	43	42
Isle Ste. Thérèse	68	85	87
Pte aux Trembles (et bas de l'Isle)	232)		
St. François) St. Martin)	75)	379	256
La Montagne	-	-	3
Rivière des Prairies	38	58	47
Rivière St. Pierre) Lachine (et haut de) l'Isle))	271	256	270
Sorel	81	87	59
Saint-Ours	57	66	79
Contrecoeur	52	44	48
Verchères	48	43	36
Saint-Michel	17	50	39
Varenes	74	106	112
Boucherville (et les Isles)	343	384	393
Tremblay) Longueuil)	163	134	223

Table 19. French population of New France by parishes and seigniories for the censuses of 1692, 1695 and 1698. (Cont.)

Localities	1692	1695	1698
Prairie de la) Madelaine) St. Lambert)	181	229	225
Chateauguay	-	-	1
Isle St. Paul	13	21	21
Sault-au-Recollet	-	3	1
Missions éloignées	28	24	24

Table 20. Agriculture by Government, censuses of 1692,
1695 and 1698.

Population	1692	1695	1698
Total (including settled Indians)	12,431	13,639	15,355
Government of Quebec	7,426	7,977	9,458
Government of Three Rivers	1,521	1,392	1,590
Government of Montreal	3,484	4,270	4,307
Area under cultivation	"arpents"	"arpents"	"arpents"
Total	26,669	28,110	32,524
Government of Quebec	13,768	16,627	19,844
Government of Three Rivers	5,792	4,510	4,205
Government of Montreal	7,109	6,973	8,475
Area in pasture			
Total	3,642	3,595	5,159
Government of Quebec	1,856	1,903	2,711
Government of Three Rivers	507	620	173
Government of Montreal	1,279	1,072	2,275
Yield of Wheat	"minots"	"minots"	"minots"
Total	89,711	129,154	160,978
Government of Quebec	48,862	72,082	99,613
Government of Three Rivers	14,001	17,485	22,339
Government of Montreal	26,848	39,587	39,026
Yield of other grains			
Total	26,707	41,155	55,349
Government of Quebec	15,568	18,960	29,440
Government of Three Rivers	6,639	5,113	4,831
Government of Montreal	8,500	17,082	21,578
Number of horses			
Total	400	580	684
Government of Quebec	316	425	512
Government of Three Rivers	38	45	48
Government of Montreal	46	110	124
Number of cattle			
Total	7,456	9,181	10,209
Government of Quebec	4,539	5,408	6,580
Government of Three Rivers	935	1,032	719
Government of Montreal	1,982	2,741	2,910

Table 20. Agriculture by Government, censuses of 1692,
1695 and 1698. (Cont.)

	1692	1695	1698
Number of sheep			
Total	903	918	994
Government of Quebec	294	334	398
Government of Three Rivers	140	103	153
Government of Montreal	469	481	443
Number of swine			
Total	3,045	5,333	5,147
Government of Quebec	2,234	3,103	3,428
Government of Three Rivers	408	591	395
Government of Montreal	403	1,639	1,324

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698. (1)

Seignior	Parish	County
Malbaie.....	{ St. Etienne de la Malbaie St. Fidèle de Mont Murray St. Siméon St. Agnès de Murray Bay Ste. Irénée (pt.)	Charlevoix " " " "
Rivière du Gouffre and Baie St. Paul.....	{ Rivière du Gouffre Baie St. Paul St. François Xavier de la Petite Rivière St. Urbain	Charlevoix " " " "
Beaupré.....	{ Chateau Richer L'Ange Gardien Ste. Anne de Beaupré St. Joachim St. Ferréol St. Tite des Caps Ste. Brigitte de Laval	Montmorenc; " " " " " "
Island of Orleans....	{ Ste. Famille St. François St. Jean St. Laurent St. Pierre	Montmorenc " " " "
Beauport.....	{ Beauport St. Dunstan du Lac Beauport St. Michel Archange	Quebec " "
Notre Dame des Anges.....	{ St. Charles de Charlesbourg St. Gabriel de Valcartier (pt.) Notre Dame des Laurentides (pt.) St. Gérard Majella (pt.)	Quebec " " "
St. Gabriel and St. Ignace.....	{ Jeune Lorette Ancienne Lorette Notre Dame des Laurentides (pt.) St. Gérard Majella (pt.) St. Félix du Cap Rouge (pt.)	Quebec " " " "
Quebec	City of Quebec	Quebec

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698.(1) (Cont.)

Seigniorv	Parish	County
Gaudarville and Sillery.....	Ste. Foy St. Colomb de Sillery St. Félix du Cap Rouge(pt.)	Quebec " "
Demaure.....	St. Augustin St. Félix du Cap Rouge	Portneuf Quebec
Neuville and Ecureuils.....	Pointe aux Trembles (pt.) St. Jean Baptiste des Ecureuils Ste. Jeanne de Neuville(pt.) St. Catherine de Fossambault (pt.)	Portneuf " " " "
Portneuf.....	Cap Santé Ste. Jeanne de Neuville(pt.) Notre Dame de Portneuf St. Basile St. Christine	Portneuf " " " "
Deschambault.....	St. Joseph de Deschambault Notre Dame de Portneuf(pt.) St. Alban St. Gilbert	Portneuf " " "
Grondines.....	St. Charles des Grondines St. Casimir St. Ubald St. Thurihe St. Rémi	Portneuf " " " "
Ste Anne.....	Ste. Anne de la Pérade St. Stanislas de la Rivière des Envies (pt.) St. Narcisse (pt.) St. Prosper (pt.) St. Tite (pt.) St. Jacques des Piles(pt.) St. Jean des Piles(pt.) St. Roch de Mékinac(pt.) St. Théophile (pt.)	Champlair " " " " " " "

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698.(1) (Cont.)

Seigniorv	Parish	County
Batiscan.....	St.François Xavier de Batiscan	Champlain
	Ste. Geneviève de Batiscan (pt.)	"
	St. Narcisse (pt.)	"
	St. Stanislas de la Rivière des Envies (pt.)	"
	St. Adelphe (pt.)	"
	St. Prosper (pt.)	"
	St. Tite (pt.)	"
	St. Séverin (pt.)	"
	St. Luc (pt.)	"
Champlain.....	La Visitation (pt.)	Champlain
	Ste Geneviève de Batiscan (pt.)	"
	St. Maurice (pt.)	"
	St. Luc (pt.)	"
Cap de la Madeleine....	Cap de la Madeleine	Champlain
	St. Maurice (pt.)	"
	St. Louis de France(pt.)	"
	Notre Dame du Mont Carmel	"
	Notre Dame de la Présentation St. Théophile (pt.)	"
Trois-Rivières.....	City of Trois-Rivières	St. Mau
Tonnancour and Labadie.	La Pointe du Lac	St. Mau
Rivière du Loup.....	Rivière du Loup (en haut)	Maskinongé
	St. Léon le Grand	"
	St. Paulin	"
	St. Ursule (pt.)	"
	Notre Dame des Neiges(pt.)	"
	St. Angèle (pt.)	"
Maskinongé or Rivière Puante.....	St. Joseph de Maskinongé	Maskinongé
	Ste. Ursule (pt.)	"
	St. Justin (pt.)	"
	St. Didace (pt.)	"

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698. (1) (Cont.)

Seigniory	Parish	Coun
Berthier.....	{ Ste Geneviève de Berthier St. Cuthbert St. Edmond de Berthier(pt.) St. Barthélémi St. Norbert	Berth " " " "
Lavaltrie.....	{ Lavaltrie St. Paul de Lavaltrie(pt.) St. Charles Borromée(pt.)	Berth. " "
Autray, Lanoraie, Marsolet.....	{ St. Joseph de Lanoraie St. Thomas de North Jersey St. Lin (pt.)	Berth. Joliet L'Assc
Lachenaie.....	{ St. Lin (pt.) Lachenaie	L'Assc "
Repentigny.....	Repentigny	L'Assc
Jesus Island.....	All the Island	--
Montreal Island...	All the Island	--
Ste. Thérèse and St. Paul Islands	Montreal Island	--
Bic.....	{ Ste. Cecile du Bic St. Valérien	Rimo "
Rivière du Loup....	{ Rivière du Loup (en bas) St. Antonin Notre Dame du Portage(pt.) St. Georges de Cacouna St. Arsène	Temi "
Rivière Ouelle or La Bouteillerie...	{ Rivière Ouelle St. Denis de la Bouteil- lerie (pt.) Mont Carmel St. Pâcome St. Philippe (pt.)	Kamo "

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698. (1) (Cont.)

Seignior	Parish	Count
Ste. Anne de la Pocatière or Grande Anse.....	Ste. Anne de la Pocatière	Kamour
	St. Onésime	"
	St. Louis de Kamouraska	"
	St. André de Kamouraska	"
	Notre Dame du Portage (pt.)	Temisc
	St. Alexandre	Kamour
	Ste. Hélène	"
	St. Pascal	"
	St. Germain	"
	St. Joseph	"
Bonsecours.....	St. Philippe (pt.)	"
	St. Denis de la Bouteillerie (pt.)	"
	Notre Dame de Bonsecours de l'Islet	L'Isl
	St. Cyrille	"
Port Joli and Trois Saumons....	St. Eugénie	"
	St. Aubert (pt.)	"
	St. Jean Port Joli	L'Isl
Vincelotte, Gagnier and Iles aux Oies and aux Grues..	St. Aubert (pt.)	"
	Cap St. Ignace	Montm
Rivière du Sud or L'Espinay.....	St. Antoine de l'Ile aux Grues	"
	St. Thomas de la Pointe à la Caille	Montm
	St. Pierre de la Rivière du Sud	"
Berthier or Bellechasse.....	Berthier (en bas)	Montm
	St. François de la Rivière du Sud	"
	St. Michel	Belle
La Durantaye.....	La Durantaye (pt.)	"
	St. Raphael (pt.)	"

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698. (1) (Cont.)

Seignior	Parish	Coun
Beaumont.....	La Durantaye (pt.)	Bellec
	St. Raphael (pt.)	"
	St. Nérée (pt.)	"
	St. Gervais et Protais	"
	St. Lazare (pt.)	"
	St. Charles Borromée	"
	St. Etienne de Beaumont	"
Lauzon and Montapaine.....	St. Joseph de Lévis	Lévis
	St. Nicolas	"
	St. Anselme de Dorchester (pt.)	Dorche
	Rivière Boyer	Lévis
	St. Isidore	Dorche
	Notre Dame de la Victoire	Lévis
	St. Louis de Gonzague	"
	de Pintendre	"
	St. David de l'Auberivière	"
	St. Jean Chrysostome	"
	St. Romuald d'Echemin	"
Villia or Tilly...	Ste Hélène de Breakeyville	"
	St. Lambert (pt.)	"
	St. Etienne de Lauzon	"
	St. Antoine de Tilly	Lotbin
	St. Apollinaire	"
	St. Flavien (pt.)	"
Ste. Croix.....	Issoudun (pt.)	"
	St. Jacques de Leeds	Mégar
	St. Gilles (pt.)	Lotbin
	St. Louis de Lotbinière	Lotbin
	St. Edouard de Lotbinière	"
Lotbinière.....	Ste. Emmélie	"
	Issoudun (pt.)	"

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698. (1) (Cont.)

Seignior	Parish	Count
Deschaillons or rivière du Chêne...	{ St. Jean Deschaillons Notre Dame de Lourdes Villeroy Ste. Philomène de Fortierville	Lotbini Méganti Lotbini
Gentilly.....	{ St. Edouard de Gentilly Ste. Gertrude (pt.) Ste. Marie de Blandford	Nicolet " "
Bécancour.....	{ Bécancour Ste. Gertrude (pt.) Ste. Marie de Blandford (pt.) St. Grégoire le Grand St. Célestin Ste. Angèle de Laval Précieux Sang	Nicolet " " " " " "
St. François.....	{ St. François du Lac Notre Dame de Pierreville St. Thomas de Pierreville St. Elphège (pt.) St. Gérard Majella (pt.)	Yamaska " " " "
Baie Ste. Antoine....	{ St. Antoine de la Baie du Febvre La Visitation (pt.) St. Elphège (pt.) St. Zéphrin de Courval (pt.)	Yamaska " " "
Sorel.....	{ St. Pierre de Sorel Ste. Anne de Sorel St. Joseph Ste. Victoire (pt.) St. Robert (pt.) St. Louis (pt.)	Richelieu " " " " "
St. Ours.....	{ St. Ours St. Bernard (pt.) St. Roch de Richelieu Contrecoeur (pt.) St. Jude de St. Ours (pt.) St. Barnabé (pt.)	Richelieu St. Hyacinthe Richelieu Verchères St. Hyacinthe St. Hyacinthe

Table 21. Approximate territory covered by the seigniories which showed population in 1698. (1) (Cont.)

Seignior	Parish	County
Contrecoeur.....	{ Contrecoeur (pt.) St. Antoine de Padoue	Verchère "
Verchères.....	{ Verchères Ste. Théodosie	Verchère "
Varennas.....	{ Varennes Ste. Julie (pt.)	Verchère "
Boucherville.....	{ Ste. Famille de Boucherville St. Hubert (pt.)	Chambly "
Longueuil.....	{ St. Antoine de Longueuil St. Hubert (pt.) St. Jean (pt.) Lacadie (pt.) St. Blaise (pt.) St. Lambert	Chambly " St. Jean " Chambly
Prairie de la Madeline.....	{ St. Philippe Laprairie Lacadie (pt.) St. Blaise (pt.) St. Jacques le Mineur St. Isidore St. Rémi de la Salle (pt.)	Laprairie " St. Jean " Laprairie " "
Châteauguay.....	{ St. Joachim St. Rémi de la Salle (pt.)	Châteauguay Laprairie

(1) The purpose of this table is to show the extent of the territory covered by the seigniories in 1698. We cannot claim absolute accuracy for tracing back the boundaries of the old seigniories, but it is