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A HISTORY OF NATIVE CLAIMS PROCESSES IN CANADA

1867-1979

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for

Research Branch,
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remained highly contentious even after many attempts to settle them by negotiations, special investigations, commissions, court actions, and legislation - the Oka dispute and the British Columbia land question.¹² However, by 1961 at least two other claims had received public attention of more recent origin. One of these, the claim of the Caughnawaga Band against the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, would be negotiated throughout the 1960's with little reference to developments in respect of the establishment of an Indian Claims Commission, while the other - the Blackfoot claim - would be very closely associated with those developments.

As a result of an Order in Council dated 16 September 1955, a portion of the Caughnawaga Indian Reserve was expropriated for purposes associated with the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, pursuant to Section 35 of the *Indian Act*, Section 18 of the *St. Lawrence Seaway Act*, and the *Expropriation Act*.¹³ Prior to the Order in Council, the Band Council voted against the surrender of any reserve lands. Despite having received advice to the effect that there was no legal recourse against the expropriation,¹⁴ the band embarked upon a course of opposition which included both litigation and negotiation.

While many band members opposed the expropriation and prepared to contest it, settlement of various individual claims began in 1956.¹⁵ In June of that year, after having reviewed the compensation being given individuals, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration expressed concern to Daniel, Richard C. A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada 1867-1979, Prepared for Research Branch, DIANA, February 1980

the President of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, about the valuation of land which, in the Minister's opinion, was unreasonable in some instances.¹⁶ Interest in this matter resulted in the Department's engagement of the firm of Warnock Hershey Company Limited to present a second appraisal which apparently led to an increase in the original offer.¹⁷

The Caughnawaga Band Council was not entirely satisfied with this course of action by the government, and urged instead that legal action be taken in the form of a referral, to the Supreme Court of Canada, of the question of whether the Indians' rights could be violated as had allegedly occurred in the expropriation. The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration replied that he would put the matter before the cabinet but that he could make no further commitment. A second suggestion by the Council that a Royal Commission be established to investigate the position of the band was rejected by the Minister.¹⁸

Upon failure to enlist the support of the federal government for legal action to challenge the expropriation, the Caughnawaga Band initiated independent legal action through the law firm of Caregnon, Colas and Provost.¹⁹ An application for an injunction against the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority was rejected by the Quebec Superior Court in 1957, and an appeal to the Quebec Court of Appeal was equally unsuccessful.²⁰

While the Band Council fought the government's right to expropriate the Indians' Reserve land, many individuals continued to accept compen-

sation for their lots from the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority.²¹ By August 1956, seventy-five per cent of the cases had been settled,²² and in early 1957, the Attorney-General of Canada took action against those individuals who had yet to vacate homes on land which had been expropriated. Once again, an appeal by the band failed.²³ Thus on 6 March 1957, the Seaway Authority obtained a writ to evict the six remaining Indians.²⁴

In spite of defeat in the courts, the Band Council continued its protest in the form of a 1958 resolution which contended that the lands of the Caughnawaga Reserve had never been ceded, sold, or surrendered, and that they belonged to the band as a whole.²⁵ Further legal action, however, appeared to offer few opportunities.

The next step in the Caughnawaga Band's protest took the form of a campaign in which petitions were delivered to the United Nations.²⁶ In 1961, an international lawyer employed by the band, Omar Z. Ghobashy of New York, published a book entitled *The Caughnawaga Indians and the St. Lawrence Seaway*, in which he argued the case and documented his negotiations with the government.²⁷ These efforts may have had some value as publicity for the claim but resulted in no concrete developments.

Seeing no prospect of reaching an agreement with the band, the Director of Indian Affairs decided, in 1960, that his Department should withdraw from negotiations, and for the remainder of the decade negotiations were conducted by the Seaway Authority and the band directly, with

the I.A.B. acting as an interested observer.²⁸ The intention of the Seaway Authority with regard to compensation, as expressed by their solicitor in 1963, involved a plan for the return of that portion of the land which was only temporarily expropriated, and monetary compensation to the band equal to ten per cent of the total individual claims plus one hundred per cent of the value of expropriated land belonging to the band as a whole.²⁹ A similar offer was acceptable to the St. Regis Band which had similar claims, but the Caughnawaga Band found it unacceptable.³⁰

In 1967 the band formed the 'St. Lawrence Seaway Expropriation Settlement Committee' and received Indian Affairs funding to prepare for further negotiations.³¹ By January 1968, the Committee had submitted a brief to the Seaway Authority, claiming eleven and one-half million dollars as compensation for land and damages.³² The band sought the active support of the federal government, but the Minister responsible for Indian Affairs maintained a position of neutrality.³³

An agreement representing the first phase of settlement was finally reached on 18 August 1969, as the band accepted \$862,210 in cash and 545 acres of land valued at \$1,142,969.³⁴ Negotiations for settlement regarding damages continued until 17 March 1973, when the Band Council passed a resolution accepting the Seaway Authority's offer of a final settlement of all remaining claims in the amount of \$1.56 million in cash and the return of 250 acres of expropriated land on either side of the seaway canal.³⁵

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CHAPTER TEN

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HISTORIC CAUGHNAWAGA

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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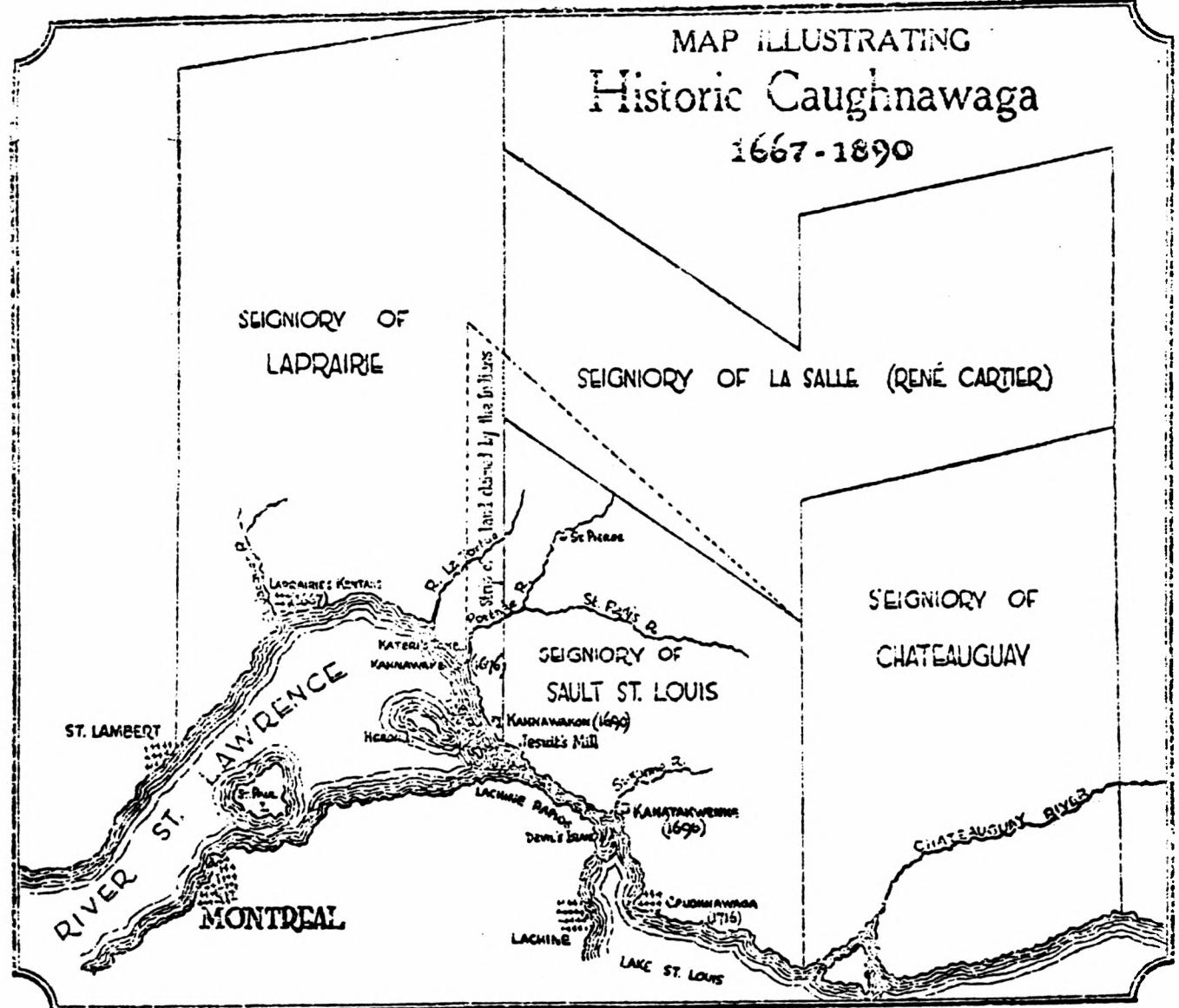
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MAP ILLUSTRATING
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1667-1890



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respect to Sault St. Louis."¹ When the annual stipend allotted to the missionaries by the French Crown ceased, as it did after the Conquest, the Jesuits continued to meet their own expenses out of the revenue derived from the seigniory of La-prairie; but the decision of General Gage, which took the title and the administration of the other seigniory out of their hands, practically closed one of the only sources of help they had for the sick and the indigent of the mission.²

Thus, the satisfaction which the Indians experienced over their victory was of short duration. The ownership of the seigniory of Sault St. Louis remained confirmed in their favour, but its eastern boundary line was changed again. In September of the same year, 1762, owing to "circumstances relative to the patent which the Jesuits claimed from Louis XIV,"³ General Gage reconsidered his decision regarding the limits of the two seigniories and ordered the surveyor Péladeau to replace the posts on the boundary line where they had originally stood—*où les anciennes avaient été plantées.*⁴ A closer investigation had shown him, according to the testimony of Sir William Johnson, that this land had been given by the King of France to the

Jesuits solely¹ and he handed back to them the strip which, six months previously, he had adjudged did not belong to them. This new decision aroused the bitter resentment of the Caughnawaga Indians, which, as we shall see, was not soon to die out.

It would seem that their resentment was shared by a neighbouring proprietor, René Cartier, seignior of LaSalle, who perceived in the governor's new order an encroachment upon his rights. At his request, in December, 1763, Brigadier-General Burton, the successor of General Gage, directed that the boundary lines of the upper ends of Sault St. Louis and of Laprairie should be examined again by two sworn surveyors, one to be named by Cartier, the other by the Jesuits.

In the event of disagreement, the two surveyors were to select a third whose decision should be final. In 1765, Cartier appointed the surveyor Raymond to perform this service, while the choice of the Jesuits fell upon Jean Péladeau. A disagreement having arisen, a third surveyor named Guyet was called in. When Péladeau learned that Guyet favoured the views of Raymond, he refused to have further dealings with them, and the two proceeded to establish boundaries which curtailed the width of the upper end of the Laprairie seigniory to two leagues. The Jesuit owners demurred at this restriction, and, in February, 1766, they took their case to the Court of Common Pleas in Montreal. Judgment was given against them, but in

1. Canadian Archives: Ind. Corresp. C. 269.

2. Lord Howick wrote from Downing Street during the discussion on the Caughnawaga Indian claims in 1833: "It was deemed to be by no means established that the Jesuits contributed to the subsistence of the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, subsequently to their being deprived of the management of that seigniory, in a greater degree than their charity might have disposed them to contribute towards the relief of any indigent persons professed the Roman Catholic faith." (Caughnawaga Archives).

3. Deed, Colon. Hist. N. Y., Vol. VII, p. 550.

4. Colonial Office Records, Ser. Q., Vol. 139, p. 70.

August, 1768, they appealed to the Superior Court in Quebec. There the judgment of the lower tribunal was reversed. The plea of René Cartier was rejected and the Jesuits were restored to the possession of their strip of land.

After all this litigation, of which they had been the first instigators, the Caughnawaga Indians found themselves in a worse situation than ever. Except their title to the seigniory of Sault St. Louis, which had been definitely granted to them, they had lost whatever they had won, and, what was more serious for them, they no longer had the Jesuits to help them in the administration of their affairs. Henceforth, as wards of the King of England, they had to deal not with men who had always treated them with fatherly care, but with agents of a Government who would undoubtedly mete out full justice to them, but a justice untempered by the charity they had so long experienced at the hands of their missionaries.

Their futile efforts to have Gage's judgment reversed, for the purpose of regaining the strip of land which they claimed was theirs, constituted a grievance which the Indians living in 1763 transmitted to their descendants, and for seventy years, notwithstanding the decisions of departmental officials and law courts, every Canadian governor on assuming office was reminded by formal delegations from Caughnawaga that they had been victims of an injustice, perpetrated by their former missionaries and continued by successive Colonial Governments. Records still extant show that a

great deal of time and labour was spent in trying to convince them that their grievance was an imaginary one. They clamoured for their rights, and even in the nineteenth century, as we shall see later on, they sent envoys across the Atlantic on two different occasions to interview the King of England.

The order issued by General Gage to restore the disputed strip of land to the Laprairie seigniory fully confirmed the Jesuits in the tradition which they had held since the visit of Lafitau to the Court of France in 1718; they had always contended that the limits between the two seigniories had been definitely fixed in that year, that the old stone mill which they had built remained within the boundaries of Laprairie, and that the several thousand acres of cleared land, which they had always claimed as belonging to their Laprairie property, greatly enhanced its value. It may seem unwarranted to attribute less worthy motives to the doing of a generous human act, but in the light of after events, the suspicion is justified that it was not pure love for the old French Jesuits, but rather the predatory tendencies of the new masters of the colony, which urged the first English governor of Montreal to restore the disputed strip of land so readily.

The persecution which the Order was undergoing in Europe in those years and its banishment from France in 1762, made a deep impression upon the higher British officials in America, especially see William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian

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Fenton, William H. and Elisabeth Tooker; "Mohawk" Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5. Northeast, Bruce G. Trigger;
Volume Editor. 1978 p.p. 466-480

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Mohawk

WILLIAM N. FENTON AND ELISABETH TOOKER

The Mohawk ('mō,hōk) were the keepers of the eastern door of the Iroquois Confederacy. In the second half of the seventeenth century they were reported to have had about 400 warriors, one-third to one-half as many as the Senecas and perhaps 100 more than the other Iroquois tribes ("The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual," table 1, this vol.). Nevertheless, their position in the League (according to some traditions their chief Deganawida was instrumental in establishing it) and their location as the Iroquois tribe closest to Albany and the fur traders there gave them considerable influence among the other Iroquois tribes.

Seventeenth Century: Territory

The homeland of the Mohawks, the region where their principal villages were located, was a section of the middle Mohawk Valley extending from Schoharie Creek a little west of Amsterdam upriver to East Canada Creek, a few miles east of Little Falls ("The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual," fig. 1, this vol.) (Lenig 1965:1; Grassman 1952:98). Much of this land is now part of Montgomery County. Their hunting territories extended north into the Adirondack Mountains and south down the East Branch of the Susquehanna nearly to Oneonta.

Thus, the lands of the Mohawks lay athwart the principal route between the Hudson River and the Upper Iroquois. This trail went west from Albany across the pine barrens to Schenectady (*skahnéhtai* 'beyond the pines',* the name now given to Albany—Lounsbury 1960:26), so avoiding the unnavigable section of the lower Mohawk River that falls precipitously into the Hudson at Cohoes. From Schenectady, the route went up

* The italicized Mohawk words in the *Handbook* are spelled in the phonemic system described by Chafe ("Comparative Sketch of the Northern Iroquoian Languages," vol. 17). The nasalized vowels are central *ɛ* (the *a*, *v*, or *eh* of other sources) and high back *o* (the *u* or *oo* of others). The circumflex over a vowel indicates the falling accent resulting from the loss of a following laryngeal. Other letters are used in their standard *Handbook* values. Phonemicizations of Mohawk forms have been provided by Marianne Mithun and the cited published sources. Since the available materials reflect different local varieties of Mohawk there is some dialect mixture in the cited forms. In particular it has not always been possible to determine whether or not final glottal stop (?) should be written, as this sound is not pronounced by many speakers.

the Mohawk to Rome (Fort Stanwix). There a portage ("The Great Carrying Place") led to Wood Creek, a stream that empties into Oneida Lake. The Oneida lived southeast of this lake near Oneida Creek. The route to the other Iroquois tribes went across Oneida Lake to its outlet at Brewerton, long an Indian fishing station, and down the Oneida River to the Oswego River. Downstream from this junction was Oswego, a fort and trading post built by the English in the eighteenth century in order to attract Indian trade from the French posts on the Saint Lawrence. Upstream lay Onondaga Lake and beyond that the principal Onondaga village, a village that could also be reached by taking an overland trail that went south of Oneida Lake through the Oneida village (Morgan 1851:map).

In the seventeenth-century accounts, the Mohawks are said to have had anywhere from three to eight villages. Although some of these differences may reflect a population decline through war, disease, and migration (Hewitt 1907b:924; Fenton 1940:208), they do not reflect any sudden and radical change in the number of Mohawk villages in this period. Rather, the available data indicate that throughout the seventeenth century, the Mohawks had three principal villages (often termed "castles") and several smaller ones. These smaller villages were apt to be noted by those traveling through Mohawk country, such as the Dutch journalist who recorded seeing eight in 1634 (Jameson 1909:140-155), the Jesuit missionaries who mentioned six in 1667 and 1670 and seven in 1669 (JR 51:205, 52:123, 53:153), and Wentworth Greenhalgh who mentioned five in 1677 (O'Callaghan 1849-1851:1:11-12). Those with more intimate knowledge, such as Johannes Megapolensis writing in 1644 (Jameson 1909:178-179; and cf. NYCD 13:15, 72, 112), Isaac Jogues in the 1640s (JR 24:283, 29:23, 31:39, 45-47, 83, 32:25; Shea 1857a:180-187; Grassman 1969:623), and the Jesuits in some accounts of their mission (JR 51:187, 201, 57:83, 89), most often mention three villages or castles. In so doing, they undoubtedly refer to the principal villages. From the time of the first recorded visits of Whites until 1666 when they were burned by the French, these Mohawk villages were located on the south side of the Mohawk River.

Of the three castles, the name of the most eastern (also called the Lower or the First Castle) is the most variable, perhaps indicating that this village moved several times.

In the 1630s and 1640s. The Iroquois often changed the name of the village when they rebuilt it in a new location, although in the latter half of the seventeenth century a new Mohawk village was usually given the name of the older one. The Dutch journalist (probably Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert) who visited the First Castle in 1634 recorded its name as Onekagoncka (Jameson 1909:142). In 1644 Megapolensis said the First Castle was called Asserué (Jameson 1909:178-179), a name Jogues writing a year earlier recorded as Ossernenon (Shea 1857a:186; Grassman 1969:623). This village was located one-quarter mile south of the Mohawk River, southeast of present Auriesville (Fenton 1940:206; Martin 1885:259-263; Ewing 1953) and was subsequently moved west. In 1646 Jogues said that Osserrion (i.e., Ossernenon) was called Oneugouré (JR 29:51), perhaps indicating it had moved since he had been there four years earlier. In any case, it undoubtedly had moved by 1659 for that year the name of the village is given as Kaghuwage (NYCD 13:112), a spelling of Caughnawaga (*kahnawâ'ke* 'at the rapids'). After this village was destroyed by Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy's expedition in 1666, it was rebuilt north of the river on the west side of Cayadutta Creek and west of present Fonda (JR 51:295; Grassman 1952a). Nevertheless, it retained the name Caughnawaga, a name also given to the settlement which was established on the Saint Lawrence in 1676 by Mohawks, many of whom came from the Mohawk Valley Caughnawaga. In 1668 two-thirds of its population was said to be Huron and Algonquian captives (JR 51:187).

In this period, the name of the second Mohawk castle, Kanagaro, although variously spelled, remained the same (Jameson 1909:142, 179; Shea 1857a:186; Grassman 1969:623; JR 53:139, 57:111; NYCD 2:712, 13:479; O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:11). The name *kand'karo'* has been translated as 'a pole in the water' (Hewitt 1907c:649). It was located two leagues from the first castle (JR 51:201); and after it had been burned by the French in 1666, it also moved north of the river (Fenton 1940:207).

Occasionally another large village between Kanagaro and the upper castle is mentioned (Jameson 1909:144; O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:11). Apparently the Mohawks had a relatively large village in addition to the three principal castles with the result that sometimes the Mohawks are reported to have had four castles (NYCD 13:122, 464, 499, 500).

The name of the upper castle, the largest Mohawk village and the "capital" of the country, remained the same during this period. It was known as Tionnontoguen, variously spelled (Jameson 1909:145, 179; Shea 1857a:186; Grassman 1969:623; JR 51:201-205, 53:137; O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:12, 2:87; NYCD 3:565), which has been interpreted as *teyonqtó'ke* 'valley; between two mountains' (Lounsbury 1960:26; compare

Cuoq 1882:49). After it had been burned in 1666, it was rebuilt one-quarter of a league from its old location (JR 51:201-203).

In 1644 Megapolensis, noting that the Mohawks were divided into three tribes (that is, clans), implied that the Tortoise (Turtle) lived in the first castle, the Bear in the second, and the Wolf in the third (Jameson 1909:178-179), a statement that often has been interpreted as meaning that the Mohawks had clan villages. If the Iroquois custom of clan exogamy was in existence in the seventeenth century (as seems certain), Megapolensis's statement cannot be literally correct. If all the women in a village belonged to the same clan, their husbands would belong to at least one different clan (more probably to both of the other two clans). If all the men in a village belonged to one clan, their wives would belong to one or probably the two other clans. Furthermore, assuming as is likely that the Iroquois preference for matrilocal residence also then prevailed, all or most of the married men in a village would have come from other villages. The married men holding chiefly titles would not be living in the same village as would the women who selected them or the other women and the unmarried men of their clan to whom they had the obligations associated with clan affiliation. Thus it seems likely that villages were endogamous, multiclán units. Some confirmation of this conclusion is found in the 1646 report that Jogues gave a present of wampum "to one of the great families [probably clans] of the Annierronnon [Mohawk] scattered through their three villages" (JR 29:53, 293). Most probably Megapolensis's statement, if true, refers to the principal or dominant clan in each village, and chiefs holding names belonging to that clan also lived in the village associated with it. If this was the case, it would mean that with the possible exception of the Turtle clan (the position associated with the name Hiawatha is not now filled), three chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy lived in each principal Mohawk village. The Mohawk hold nine chieftainships in the League, each clan holding three such names (see "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual," this vol.).

History to 1670

Because they were the easternmost of the Iroquois tribes, the Mohawk were the first to feel the impact of European activities along the eastern seaboard. At the end of the sixteenth century the Mohawk were at war with the Algonquin and Montagnais who were trading with the French at Tadoussac. At least one aim of the Mohawk was to acquire as booty some of the iron axes, knives, and sword blades that were making their northern neighbors more formidable (Champlain 1922-1936, 2:96). Still earlier, the desire to circumvent groups who lived nearer these sources of European goods may have led the

Mohawk to attack the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians. It has been speculated that the need to protect their western flank while engaging in these conflicts led the Mohawk to become the prime movers in founding the Iroquois confederacy (Tooker 1964:3-4).

Additional French support for their Algonquin trading partners after the founding of Quebec in 1608 and in particular the loss of 100 Mohawk warriors near the mouth of the Richelieu River in 1610 made raids along the Saint Lawrence increasingly costly to the Mohawk. Moreover, the previous year Samuel de Champlain had assisted an Algonquian expedition to defeat a Mohawk war party along the southwestern shore of Lake Champlain, killing several headmen ("Early Iroquoian Contacts with Europeans," fig. 2, this vol.). The Mohawk were therefore willing to abandon their attacks in favor of trading with the Dutch after fur traders of that nationality began to frequent the Hudson River soon after Henry Hudson's exploration of it in 1609 (Desrosiers 1947:47). There is a tradition that a treaty of friendship between the Dutch, the Mohawk, and the Mahican was concluded about 1618, and what was presented as the document of that treaty, dated 1613, has been published (Van Loon 1968). However, it has been argued that a treaty of this date is unlikely (Hunt 1940:26-27; Trelease 1960:34), and although some scholars accept the validity of the document ("Mahican," this vol.) others do not. In any event the Mohawk seem to have been able to cross Mahican territory to trade with the Dutch, and Dutchmen accompanied the Mohawk on a raid against the Susquehannock in 1615. Dutch efforts to use Mahican contacts to forge trading links between Fort Orange and the Montagnais and Algonquins led the Mohawk to forestall such an alliance. Following the conclusion of a shaky truce with the French and their Algonquin allies, the Mohawk attacked the Mahican and in a hard-fought war that lasted 1624-1628 extended their influence eastward to seize control of the territory around the Dutch trading post at Fort Orange. As a result of this war, the Mohawk acquired rights of passage over trade and other forms of contact between the Dutch and the tribes living to the north. The Mohawk determined not to allow groups who were or even potentially were their enemies to have dealings with the Dutch and insisted on being friendly intermediaries between the Iroquois tribes to the west and the Dutch to the east. The Dutch resented Mohawk control but were too weak to do anything about it. Moreover, the Mohawk used periodic rapprochements with the French to persuade the Dutch to lower the price of their trade goods (Trigger 1971).

Throughout the early seventeenth century the Mohawk became increasingly dependent on a wide range of European goods. To secure greater numbers of furs to trade with the Dutch, the Mohawk abandoned whatever conservation they had formerly practiced within their

own territory and began once again to raid the Algonquian peoples to the north. While they continued to seize European goods as booty, the primary objectives of these raids came to be to seize beaver pelts from the Algonquians and to hunt beaver within Algonquian territory. At various times the Mohawk sought to persuade the French to adopt a policy of neutrality with respect to Indian quarrels and to confine their activities to trading with whatever Indians reached their posts. When this policy proved unsuccessful, they waged war on the French, seeking to confine them to their settlements and if possible to force them to withdraw from Montreal and Trois Rivières (Trelease 1960; Trigger 1976:603-664).

In the early 1640s the Mohawk obtained guns, first from the English and then in large numbers from the Dutch. Firearms put an end to the traditional combat of large parties meeting face to face, exchanging taunts, and after a few volleys of arrows closing to slug it out with spear and club before retiring carrying their dead and wounded to some prearranged enclosure. Hereafter the Mohawk excelled at fighting in the woods and particularly from tree to tree. Father Jerome Lalemant marveled how so few people could wreak such havoc and admired the military skill of the Mohawk (JR 45:207-211). Taking advantage of their new firepower, the Mohawk increasingly harassed the French, their Algonquian allies, and the Huron who came to the Saint Lawrence valley to trade. Although the Mohawk concluded a brief truce with these groups in 1645, in order to recover some Mohawks who had been taken prisoner, this truce came to an end the following year after the inhabitants of Ossernenon slew the French envoy, Father Isaac Jogues, on a charge of practicing sorcery (JR 30:227-229). Father Jogues had been adopted by a Mohawk family after he had been captured by them in 1642 but had escaped and returned to France soon after. After 1646 the Mohawk aided the western Iroquois to disperse the Huron, Petun, Neutral, and Erie. This netted them a rich booty in furs and captives. The captives were valued as replacements for a population that since at least 1634 had been repeatedly decimated by smallpox and other epidemics of European origin. During this period a brief alliance with the Mahican secured the Mohawk's eastern flank, but a Mohawk attack on the well-armed Susquehannock in 1651-1652 did not eliminate these trading rivals to the south. However, after the Dutch seized New Sweden in 1655 the Susquehannock were forced to make peace with the Mohawk (JR 37:97).

Maintaining public policy became more difficult as mounting dependence on European goods, an unprecedented mortality rate, and the need to naturalize growing numbers of aliens into Mohawk society produced increasing dependence on warfare. Leadership diffused, figures of authority multiplied, and traditional chiefs lost power to military leaders. Being a segmented society with

multiple chiefs, the Mohawk were poorly structured to cope with such contingencies. Also, drinking rum brought by Dutch traders set off brawls making the towns unpleasant to live in.

After 1651, Mohawk efforts to supervise relations between the other Iroquois tribes and European traders led the western tribes of the confederacy to seek their own trading alliances with the French, thereby challenging the Mohawk's role as keepers of the eastern door of the confederacy. To avoid isolation and in an effort to receive their share of the Hurons at Quebec (whom the Jesuits were helping to persuade to join the missions they hoped to establish among the Iroquois), the Mohawk followed the other Iroquois tribes into making peace with the French in 1653. This peace, agreed to by the French out of weakness, allowed the Mohawk to continue to wage war on the Indian allies of the French. Despite four visits to their country by the Jesuit missionary Simon Le Moyne between 1655 and 1659, many Mohawks continued to oppose this peace. In 1658, after increasingly violent confrontations, they persuaded the Onondaga to terminate the Jesuit mission of Sainte Marie at Gannentaha that had been established in their midst (JR 44:149-153). After 1659 the Mohawk held aloof from the prolonged war between the western Iroquois and the Susquehannock.

New York became an English colony in 1664, but the change little affected the Mohawks. They continued to trade with Albany, dealing with the Dutch who remained there to carry on trade under the English flag. English goods were generally of better quality and sold at lower prices than French goods—a circumstance that helped the Mohawks maintain their position in the fur trade and their close ties with Albany. The other Iroquois tribes made peace with the French in 1665. They did this in part because they were engaged in a war with the Susquehannock to the south that was of little interest to the Mohawks and did not wish to continue war on other fronts, particularly as the French threatened to attack the Iroquois. They also did it because some wished to open trade relationships with the French and thereby not remain so dependent on the Mohawk-Albany trade. The Mohawk did not make peace, and that winter an expedition led by Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle went to attack them. By mistake the expedition arrived near Schenectady rather than the Mohawk villages; led into an ambush there by some Mohawks, they retreated. The failure of Courcelle's expedition induced de Tracy to lead another expedition against the Mohawks in the fall of 1666. This expedition succeeded in burning the Mohawk villages and their supplies of corn, and in 1667 the Mohawks along with the other Iroquois tribes concluded a peace with the French at Quebec. That same year the Jesuit Fathers Jacques Frémin and Jean Pierron went to the Mohawk country to begin a new mission there.

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Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Saint Lawrence Settlements

In the decade following the conclusion of peace with the French, a number of Iroquois, particularly Mohawks, left their homeland and settled on the Saint Lawrence in the vicinity of Montreal. Two such settlements were established in the 1670s—one on the south side of the Saint Lawrence and the other on the north side on the Island of Montreal. There, although they adopted Catholicism, the Iroquois continued to practice an economy similar to that of their homeland. Their alliance was with the French, and they often joined the French on expeditions against various Indians, including the Iroquois who had remained in their old homeland, and against the English. In the eighteenth century, they played a prominent role in the illicit trade between Montreal and Albany and also became voyageurs for the fur companies.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, two other Iroquois settlements were established on the Saint Lawrence. One composed principally of Onondagas was established at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg, New York) in the late 1740s (see "Onondaga," this vol.). Another was established about the same time at Saint Regis by some Iroquois from Caughnawaga. Both these settlements were situated so as to afford protection against possible English invasion of the upper Saint Lawrence, although they proved inadequate when that invasion finally came.

Caughnawaga

In 1667 some French families, no longer fearing Iroquois attacks, took up residence on the south side of the Saint Lawrence opposite Montreal at La Prairie (also known as La Prairie de la Madeleine) on land that had been given to the Jesuits 20 years before (JR 25:289, 48:295; Devine 1922:13). That same year Father Pierre Raffeix, who was encouraging the French to settle at La Prairie, also persuaded a half-dozen Oneidas who had come to Montreal to spend the winter there. One of this group was Catherine Gandeaktena, an Erie woman held captive by the Oneidas. Having been converted by Father Jacques Bruyas at Oneida, she had resolved to live with the French and had persuaded a few others including her husband to join her. In early spring 1668 a few other Oneidas who had been hunting that winter in the surrounding country joined their relatives at La Prairie, and toward the end of the summer the group went to Quebec where they were further instructed and baptized. They returned to La Prairie in the fall and spent the winter hunting in the vicinity, coming back to the house that had been built for them at La Prairie for important feast days, a practice continued in later years. In spring 1669 François-Xavier (Pierre) Tonsahoten, husband of Catherine Gandeaktena, built a house at La Prairie. Others followed his example, and in 1670 there were five houses

and about 20 families at the new mission (JR 55:35, 61:195-199, 63:149-161).

They were joined by yet others who also had decided to live there permanently, and during the 1670s the settlement grew rapidly. Some who settled were Iroquois who had come to the Saint Lawrence to hunt and trade. La Prairie's location attracted a number of visitors, some of whom stayed. Also, residents of La Prairie persuaded some of the Iroquois they met when hunting in the region to visit their village, and some of these Indians decided to settle there. Still others decided to move to La Prairie after they had been converted by the Jesuits living in the Iroquois villages south of Lake Ontario or had been influenced by their countrymen to migrate to the Saint Lawrence (JR 63:159, 167-181, 195-197, 58:81-85, 249-251). Of these, some went to the La Prairie settlement and others to Notre Dame de Foy, where the small group of Hurons who had fled to Quebec after the destruction of their country in 1649 had moved their village in 1669. This village was moved again at the end of 1673 to Lorette, a league and one-half farther from Quebec. In the mid-1670s about 300 Hurons and Iroquois lived there (JR 57:53, 71, 58:131, 147, 171, 60:27, 69-85, 145, 309, 61:169; see "Huron of Lorette," this vol.). But during the 1680s the population at Lorette declined (JR 62:169).

The Iroquois who had settled at La Prairie found the soil unsuitable for growing Indian corn—it was too damp—and in 1676 they moved a league and one-quarter upriver to the Sault Saint Louis (Lachine Rapids) (JR 60:275, 61:241, 63:191). In consequence, the name of the mission was changed from that of Saint François Xavier des Près to Saint François Xavier du Sault, and the Indians living there came to be known as the Indians of the Sault. The Indian name for the place was Caughnawaga, the same name as given to the Lower Mohawk castle in the Mohawk Valley from which a number of

Mohawks at the Saint Lawrence settlement had come.

Although the first settlement at La Prairie had been composed principally of Oneidas, it soon attracted large numbers from other tribes, particularly Mohawks. In fact, so many Mohawks came to La Prairie that it was said that in 1673 there were more Mohawk warriors living there than in their own country (JR 63:179). Particularly notable among those Mohawks who decided to migrate was a chief known to the people of Albany as Kryn and to the French as Joseph Togouiroui and as the Great Mohawk. In 1673 he led some 40 Mohawks from the Caughnawaga village in the Mohawk Valley to the Saint Lawrence (JR 57:105-109, 58:83-85, 61:169, 63:177-179). Another was the pious Catherine Tekakwitha (*katerí tekahkwí:tha?*) the first Indian to be declared venerable by the Roman Catholic Church. Some Onondagas and Hurons also took up residence at La Prairie and were numerous enough so that both of these groups had their own chiefs as did the Mohawks. Among the various Indians who came were a number of captives; consequently, it was said that some 20 tribes were represented there (JR 55:35, 56:19, 57:75, 58:75, 207, 60:277, 287, 61:241, 63:153, 169, 181).

Although they initially tried to remain neutral as relations between the French and the Confederacy became increasingly strained in the 1680s, the Caughnawagas were drawn into the conflict on the French side. After the massacre of Lachine in 1689, the Caughnawagas moved to Montreal (NYCD 9:438, 441) where they remained for a year. Previous to this, they had lived for 13 years at the Sault village and consequently the soil nearby was becoming exhausted. Therefore, it was decided to move the village a few miles upriver onto land granted by the king in 1680. The village was moved again a couple of miles upriver in 1696, the year before King William's War formally ended. In this war the Caughnawagas had been subject to Iroquois raids on the Saint



Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris: Vd. 206, tome 1, fol. [p. 37].

Fig. 1. Caughnawaga in the mid-18th century. At right the church (A) and the missionary's house (B), at left the Mohawk bark-covered longhouses (3 at left with raised smoke hole covers). Fields are in the background; nearer are a few horses and people carrying guns, fishing with poles, and canoeing. Contemporary sketch in ink and watercolors.

Lawrence and also had taken part in French expeditions against the Iroquois including Louis de Buade de Frontenac's expedition against the Onondagas in 1696, the last French expedition of the war against the Iroquois (Devine 1922:89-129).

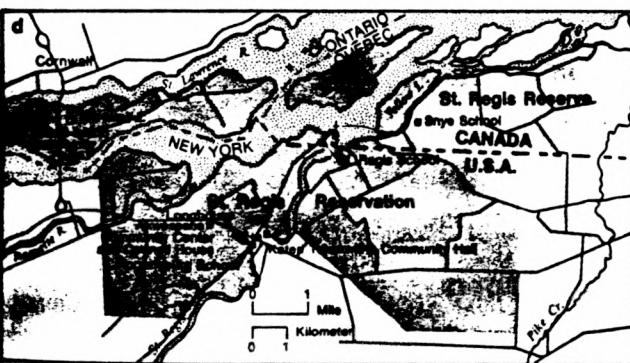
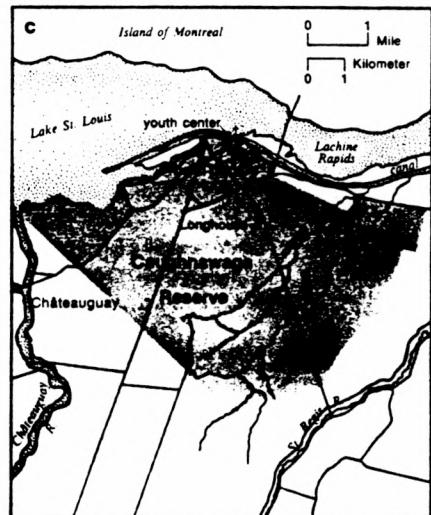
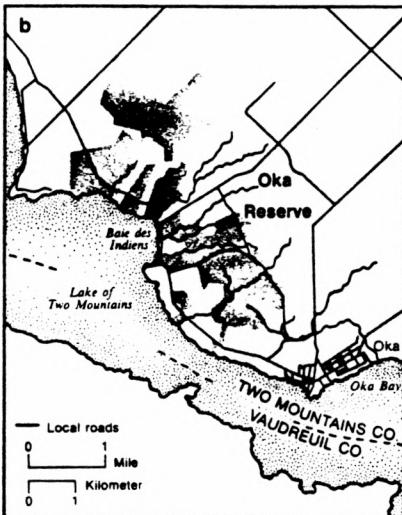
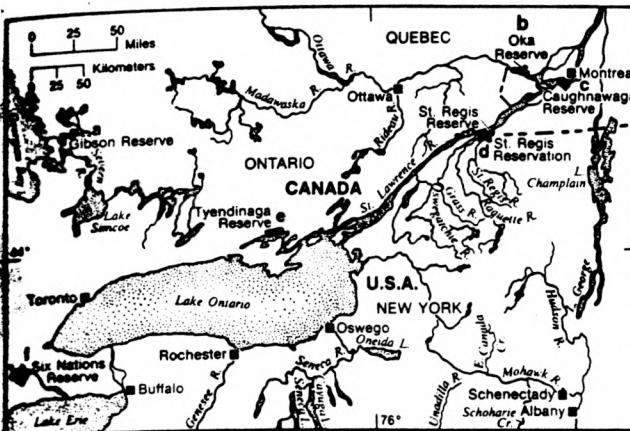
In Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713, they participated in many raids on New England including those on Deerfield in 1704 and on Groton, Massachusetts, in 1707. At the same time, they were the key participants in the contraband trade between Montreal and Albany, a role they continued to play after the conclusion of the war in 1713. Later in the century as the fur trade moved west, they

became voyageurs and trappers for the fur companies in western Canada where some of them remained (see "Iroquois in the West," this vol.).

By 1714 the soil at Caughnawaga was exhausted as was the wood that could be gathered nearby, and the Indians decided to move their village two leagues farther up the Saint Lawrence. In 1716, they began the process of moving to the new village, which retained the name of the old (fig. 1) (JR 67:25; Charlevoix 1761, 1:218; Devine 1922:173-181). Caughnawaga remained a seigniory of the Jesuits until 1762 when the new English governor of Montreal refused to recognize the claims of the Jesuits and the lands were retained by the Crown for the use of the Indians (fig. 2) (Devine 1922:282-284).

In 1716 there were estimated to be about 200 warriors at Caughnawaga (JR 67:25), although there had been only 100 there in 1687 (Lahontan 1940:49). In 1736 there were reported to be 300 warriors (O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:17; NYCD 9:1053), the same number reported to be living at Caughnawaga and Saint Regis in 1763 (O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:27; NYCD 7:582).

Fig. 2. Modern Mohawk reserves and reservation. a, Gibson Reserve; b, Oka Reserve; c, Caughnawaga Reserve; d, St. Regis Reservation and Reserve; e, Tyendinaga Reserve; f, Six Nations Reserve, see also "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario," fig. 1, this vol.



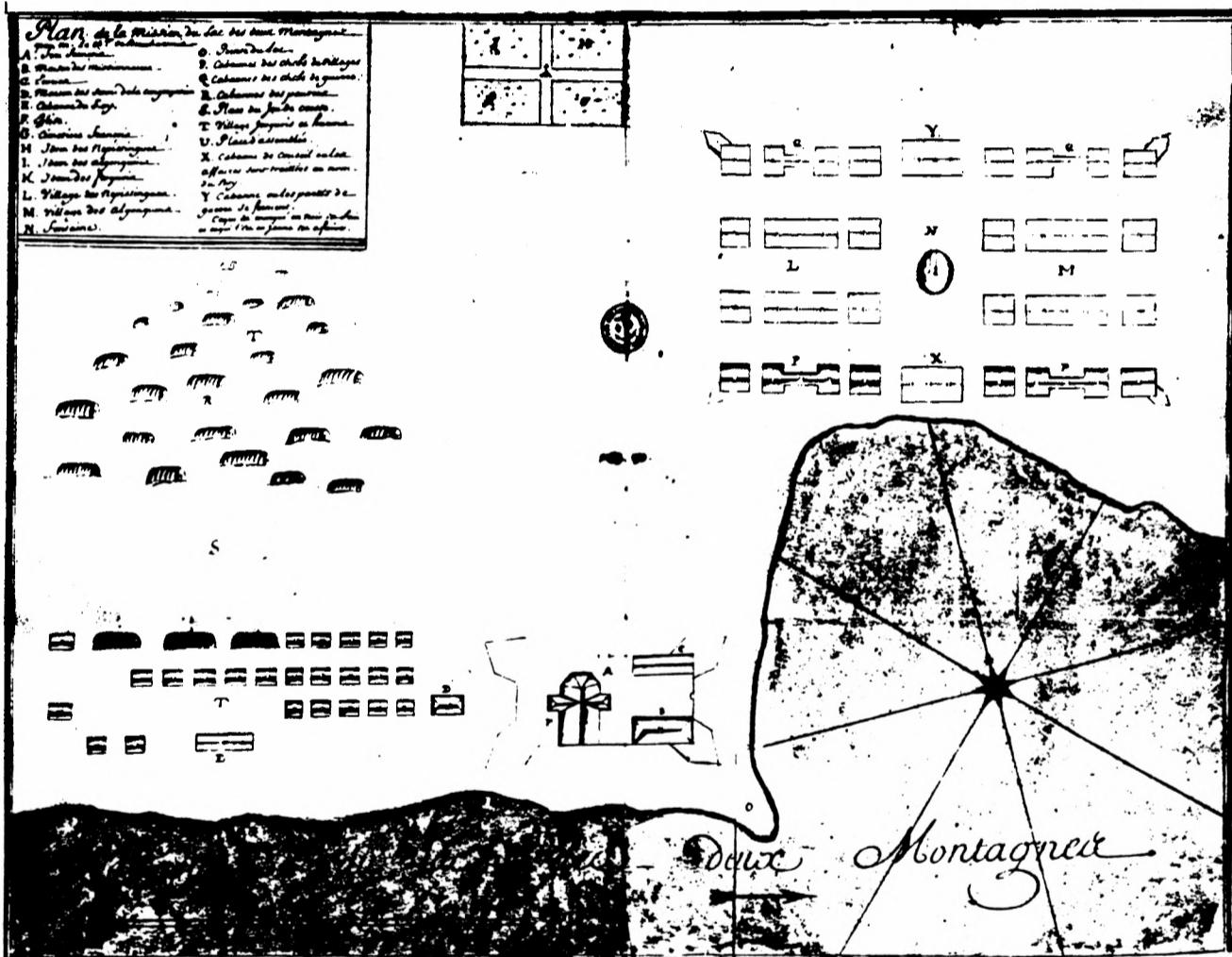
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Iroquois of the Mountain

About the time the Iroquois settlement at La Prairie moved upriver to the Sault Saint Louis, some Iroquois asked to settle on the Island of Montreal. This request was granted, and in 1676 the Sulpicians, seigneurs of Montreal, established a mission at Mount Royal. The Indians who settled there, including some from the Sault, came to be known as the Iroquois of the Mountain, after the location of the mission. Like the Iroquois of the Sault, the Iroquois of the Mountain became increasingly attached to the French, participating in the French expeditions against the Iroquois and in turn being attacked by those Iroquois who continued to reside in their old homeland (Shea 1855:309-311, 317-323).

In 1687 there were reported to be 80 warriors in this Iroquois group (Lahontan 1940:49). In 1694, this settle-

ment at Mount Royal consisting of 50 houses, 15 French houses, a church, and palisade burned after a drunken Indian had set fire to one of the houses. After the destruction, a stone fort—completed in 1698—was built. In 1696 many of the Indians had moved from this village to a new one on the Rivière des Prairies near Sault au Recollet called Nouvelle Lorette, but some Indians remained at the old mission at the Mountain until 1704 when it was abandoned. In 1721 the village at the Sault au Recollect was moved to the Lake of Two Mountains on land that had been granted to the Sulpicians as a seigniory. Not long after, they were joined by Nipissings from Île aux Tourtes and Algonquins from Sainte-Anne-de-Bout-de-l'Île (Shea 1855:327-329, 333-334; O. Maurault 1930:122-123). In 1736 there were estimated to be 50 Nipissing and 20 Algonquin fighting men living at the Lake of Two Mountains as well as 60 Iroquois warriors.



Archives de la Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Paris: Plans et Fortifications, Amér. Sept., 490B.

Fig. 3. Map of the Lake of Two Mountains settlement in 1743. The letters are explained as follows: A. French fort; B. missionaries' house; C. stables; D. nuns' quarters; E. royal lodge; F. church; G. French cemetery; H. Nipissing cemetery; I. Algonquin cemetery; K. Iroquois cemetery; L. Nipissing village; M. Algonquin village; N. cistern; P. lodges of village chiefs; Q (above L and M). lodges of war chiefs; R. lodges of the poor; S. lacrosse field; T. Iroquois and Huron village; X. council house; Y. lodge for organizing war parties. * = "to be built." The squares in the structures shown in plan seem to represent smoke holes. Contemporary drawing in ink and watercolors probably by Claude Chevalier de Beauharnois, nephew of the governor-general of New France.

(O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:16-17; NYCD 9:1053); in 1763, 150 Indian warriors were reported living there (fig. 3) (O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 1:27; NYCD 7:582).

First at Montreal and later at Lake of Two Mountains the settlement attracted Indians of various tribes, but Mohawks apparently predominated as the language that came to be spoken there by all groups was Mohawk. Like those at Caughnawaga, they often participated in raids against the English in the eighteenth century. However, although throughout their history the Iroquois of the Mountain have maintained a close relationship to those of the Sault and have often engaged in the same kind of activity, there are differences. For example, Oka contained an Algonquin community, from which the Oka Iroquois learned Algonquin hunting techniques, sharing with them the hunting grounds north of the Ottawa between the Matawin on the north and the Black River on the east. Nevertheless, they continued to practice agriculture in the traditional Iroquois fashion (Speck 1923a).

Saint Regis

In the middle of the eighteenth century, for various reasons—including exhaustion of land at Caughnawaga, a factional dispute there, and the desire of the French to establish an additional post on the Upper Saint Lawrence—a group from Caughnawaga moved to the head of Lake Saint Francis and built a village where an elevated point juts into the Saint Lawrence between the Saint Regis and Racquette rivers. It was named Saint Regis in memory of Jean François Régis, a French ecclesiastic canonized in 1737 who before his death in 1640 at the age of 43 had wanted to become a missionary to the Iroquois (Hough 1853:113-114).

The exact date of the first settlement at Saint Regis is uncertain. In 1747 it was reported that some Indians from the Sault had recently settled at the mouth of the River Louis at the head of Lake Saint Francis (NYCD 10:105), and it may be that this account refers to those Caughnawagas who by Saint Regis tradition first settled at Saint Regis. One such tradition states that the first settlers were two brothers (another tradition states only one brother came), John and Zachariah Tarbell, who had been taken captive by Caughnawagas during a raid on Groton, Massachusetts, on June 20, 1707. The brothers were subsequently adopted and later married daughters of Caughnawaga chiefs, but they quarreled with others at Caughnawaga and the missionary advised them to leave. The two brothers, their wives, and their wives' parents settled at what is now Saint Regis (Hough 1853:112-113; cf. DCB 3:615).

It has also been suggested that Saint Regis was founded in 1755 (Devine 1922:255; Frisch 1970a:208). In 1754 it was reported that more than 30 families living at Caughnawaga planned to settle at Lake Saint Francis as the lands at the Sault were exhausted, and by July of the following year the new mission had been established at

Saint Regis. The French felt that it along with the other Iroquois settlements along the Saint Lawrence at La Presentation, Lake of Two Mountains, and Caughnawaga would form a barrier between them and the pro-British Iroquois living in their old homeland, and they also hoped to attract to Saint Regis other Iroquois who wanted to leave that area but who did not want to settle at Caughnawaga (NYCD 10:266-267, 301).

About this time the French and Indian War broke out; presumably in this war the Saint Regis Indians sided with the French, although a few joined Jeffrey Amherst and the British when they came up the Saint Lawrence in 1760. The year before, the Abenaki settlement on the Saint François River some 60 miles below Montreal had been destroyed by the British, and some of the surviving remnants were given refuge at Saint Regis. Their village was rebuilt in 1767, but the Abenakis remained at Saint Regis for at least another seven years before returning to it (Frisch 1970a:209).

During the American Revolution, a considerable portion of the Saint Regis Indians joined the British while the sympathies of others were with the Americans (Hough 1853:122). After the war, some Oswegatchies (see "Onondaga," this vol.) and perhaps also Indians from other Iroquois communities moved to Saint Regis (Frisch 1970:70).

History from 1670

Mohawk Valley 1670-1770

The migration of Mohawks from the Mohawk Valley to the Saint Lawrence continued into the early years of the 1680s. In 1683 it was reported that as many as 200 had come to settle at the Sault within the last two years (JR 62:237). And, in the early 1680s, the Iroquois were deterred from attacking the French as the Mohawks said that they would not agree to such a war so long as their countrymen lived among them (JR 62:255). Nevertheless, they were drawn into the conflict, and in 1693 the French sent an expedition that included Iroquois from the Sault and Mountain against the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley and burned their villages. The success of this expedition as well as that three years later against the Onondaga led the Mohawks and other Iroquois eventually to conclude a peace with the French in 1701. But even before the peace was formally concluded, some Mohawks left the Mohawk Valley for the Saint Lawrence and in 1700 it was reported not only that the Mohawks had lost men in the war but also that with these new immigrants almost two-thirds of the Mohawks were living in Canada (NYCD 4:648).

The peace established with the French at Quebec in 1701 and the renewal of the Iroquois alliance with the English that same year continued when war broke out the following year between France and England. This policy of neutrality permitted the contraband trade involving

the Iroquois on the Saint Lawrence, a trade by which English goods were exchanged for French furs. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Iroquois used war and skillful diplomacy to maintain their advantage in the fur trade, playing off French against English when necessary. The important illicit trade (usually tacitly consented to by both French and English) in the eighteenth century was only one facet of the complex strategy the Iroquois used to achieve this end.

Although for the most part the Iroquois pursued a policy of neutrality during Queen Anne's War—a policy desired by the French—the English from time to time attempted to draw the Iroquois into it. The most famous of such efforts to keep the Iroquois in the English interest was the visit of the "Four Indian Kings" to London in 1710. Three of the four "Kings" were Mohawks (one was Hendrick—fig. 4—and another the grandfather of Joseph Brant) and the other a River Indian (possibly a Mahican). The four toured London, were feted, had an audience with the queen, of whom they requested missionaries, had their portraits painted ("Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," figs. 19-20, "Mahican," fig. 4, both this vol.),



Public Arch. of Canada, Ottawa.

Fig. 4. Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, or Hendrick (b. ca. 1680, d. 1755), Mohawk, painted from life during his visit to London in 1710, by John Verelst. He wears European clothing, including a scarlet cloak given him in London, except for a belt or burden strap decorated with dyed moosehair or porcupine quills in black, red, and white. He holds a wampum belt, while behind him is a wolf, indicating his clan.

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and were the subject of a number of literary pieces (R.P. Bond 1952).

One result of the visit was the building, 1710-1712, of Fort Hunter where the Schoharie empties into the Mohawk. A wooden chapel was built within the fort and Queen Anne gave to it a set of communion plate, each piece bearing the inscription "The gift of her Majesty Ann, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of her Plantations in America. Queen, to her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks" (Frey 1898:32).

The building of the chapel at Fort Hunter represented an intensification of Protestant missionary activity begun in the previous century and conducted by Dutchmen out of Albany and Schenectady. Notable early missionary work was carried out by Johannes Megapolensis, pastor at Fort Orange from 1642 to 1649, who admitted about 30 to church membership. After Megapolensis left, little such work was done until Godfreidus Dellius became pastor at Albany and Schenectady in 1683. Dellius translated a few portions of the Bible into Mohawk, preached among the Indians, and organized an Indian church. He was suspended from his office by civil authorities in 1699, and the following year Johannes Lydius who had just settled in Albany received an appointment to teach the Mohawks. That same year Bernardus Freeman was appointed minister at Schenectady, where he continued the work of translation and conversion. After he left in 1705 and Lydius died in 1709, Dutch missionary efforts declined, although a few pastors did do some missionary work in addition to their other duties (Corwin 1925).

English missionary work among the Mohawks began in 1704 when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (organized in 1701) sent Thoroughgood Moor (Moore) as missionary. Discouraged by the lack of Indian interest in his efforts, Moor left after spending nearly a year in Albany. Subsequent missionary activity met with little greater success. William Andrews, sent as missionary to the Indians at Fort Hunter in 1712, left in 1719 also discouraged by the lack of Indian interest in the church and school established there (Humphreys 1730:284-311; Lydekker 1938:13-51).

At this time there were two principal Mohawk settlements in the Mohawk Valley: the Lower Mohawk Castle near Fort Hunter, also called Tiononderoge (*teyqtaró:ke* 'junction of two waterways', a name variously spelled — Hewitt 1910h — and not to be confused with the name of the seventeenth-century upper castle), and the Upper Mohawk Castle, or Canajoharie (*kana?tsyóhare* 'washed kettle' after a kettlelike basin worn in the rocks of a creek), 20 or more miles upriver (Lounsbury 1960:25). In 1713 the lower castle was a palisaded village of 40 or 50 houses and had a population of 360, and the upper castle, a village of between 20 and 30 houses. In addition, there were several small villages of approximately seven or eight houses (Lydekker 1938:37, 40). The village at Fort

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Hunter may have been established when the fort was built: in 1705, it had been reported that one of the Mohawk castles was located on a high hill and the other about 12 miles distant (Humphreys 1730:289; Lydekker 1938:19)—half the distance later reported to separate the two villages. Be that as it may, the Mohawks continued to have only two principal settlements during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century.

The Mohawk settlements were not the only ones in the region. Throughout the seventeenth century, the westernmost White settlement was at Schenectady. But after Fort Hunter was built the Mohawk country became relatively safe from attack, and White settlers began buying land from the Indians and moving into the area. As early as 1713, some may have settled as far west as Palatine. In 1712 Palatines (German Protestant refugees from the Palatinate) began to settle on the Schoharie Creek, but the great influx of Palatines into the Mohawk Valley began in 1723 after several large patents had been granted. Their numbers so increased that by 1735 the Mohawk between Fort Hunter and Frankfort had become a German river. At the same time, traders established themselves in the region as well as at Oswego, attracting the Indian trade in furs away from Albany and Schenectady. By 1730 flatboats and bateaux were transporting traders' merchandise as well as the farmers' grain and potash and pearlash along the river (Frey 1898; Hislop 1948:114).

About the same time, interest in reestablishing missionary work among the Mohawks revived. In 1727 the mission at Fort Hunter was reopened, and John Miln, who had been appointed to serve both the Indian mission and Albany, visited Fort Hunter four times a year. He returned to England four years later, and in 1735 Henry Barclay was appointed catechist. Two years later Barclay was ordained, and in 1741 he rebuilt the chapel at Fort Hunter. The following year, schools were opened at both the upper and lower castles, and in 1743 most of the Mohawks were reported to be at least nominal Christians. Barclay left in 1746, and the Mohawks were without a minister until 1750 when John Ogilvie took up the work. He was followed by several others, one of whom dedicated the church built at the upper castle by William Johnson (Lydekker 1938:52-64, 111-150).

Although a number of Whites had settled in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys on land sold by the Mohawks, the Mohawks continued their active participation in the fur trade. Of the traders who established posts in their territory, the most notable was William Johnson, who had come to the Mohawk Valley in 1738 to manage lands his uncle had purchased there. The following year he himself began to buy land in the valley. At the same time, he began trading at Oquaga, a village on the Susquehanna River where some Mohawks as well as other Indians had settled, and on the Mohawk River, the latter activity successfully drawing away trade from

Albany. As his trade grew, so also did his influence with the Indians, particularly the Mohawks, whom he endeavored to keep in the English interest. In their turn, these activities led Johnson into military command, first in King George's War and later to a more important role in the French and Indian War. He was made a baronet for his role in the Battle of Lake George in 1755, an engagement in which Hendrick, the influential chief of the Upper Mohawks, was killed. After the French and Indian War, he continued to exercise his influence among the Indians of the Northeast and until his death in 1774 was the leading figure at a number of councils including that at Fort Stanwix in 1768, which established a new boundary line between the Indian and White territories (Pound 1930; Flexner 1959).

Final Exodus from the Mohawk Valley

Those Mohawks who had remained in the Mohawk Valley had prospered, so much so that at the time of the American Revolution it was said that they lived considerably better than most White farmers in the valley (Stone 1838, 2:38; Graymont 1972:146-147, 219). They still had two principal settlements, one at Canajoharie and the other at Fort Hunter. In 1773 the Upper Mohawks at Canajoharie were reported to number 221 and the Lower Mohawks at Fort Hunter, 185 (NYCD 8:458); but by the end of the war, virtually none remained. Both the Upper and Lower Mohawks had permanently settled in Canada.

As the Mohawks of the Mohawk Valley had long been allied with the English more strongly than the other Iroquois tribes, when the war began between the disaffected colonists and the Crown, many Mohawks joined the British cause. But not all concurred, and some of the Mohawk chiefs wished to remain neutral. Most notable of these was Little Abraham (Tigoransera), of the Fort Hunter Mohawks, who on various occasions, including the council at Albany with the Six Nations in August 1775, averred Mohawk neutrality (Stone 1838, 1:71-72, 100-101, 121-132, 135-137, 147-148). Nevertheless, those who remained in their villages did not escape the war's destruction. In 1777, to avenge the defeat at Oriskany, some Oneidas and Americans attacked and plundered the Canajoharie and Fort Hunter Mohawk settlements. In consequence, 100 Lower Mohawks fled to Gen. John Burgoyne's army then invading New York and eventually went to Montreal (NYCD 8:725-726; Graymont 1972:146-148; Lydekker 1938:164). A few remained at Fort Hunter, and in October 1779 Gen. John Sullivan, believing that they were supplying intelligence to the enemy, sent Col. Peter Gansevoort with 100 men to imprison the Lower Mohawks. At the time there were six or seven families left, and Gansevoort found only four houses still occupied. Gansevoort took all the Indian inhabitants of the settlement prisoner, but they were later ordered released by Gen. George Washington on Gen.

Philip Schuyler's advice that they had remained peaceful (Stone 1838, 2:37-40; Graymont 1972:218-220). Early the next year, Little Abraham and three other Iroquois volunteered to deliver a message to the British at Niagara. The four envoys were subsequently imprisoned at Niagara, and Little Abraham died as a result of the harsh confinement there (Graymont 1972:225-228, 279).

The Fort Hunter Mohawks who fled to Montreal in 1777 established a settlement near Lachine (Cruikshank 1930:391; Lydekker 1938:163). Their leader was Capt. John Deserontyon. At about the same time, the Upper Mohawks from Canajoharie under Capt. Joseph Brant (brother of Sir William Johnson's mistress, Molly Brant) gathered at Fort Niagara. In the course of the war, parties from both settlements attacked what was then the northwest frontier of New York, Captain Brant's incursions achieving particular notoriety in the region.

Once the war had ended, resettlement of these Mohawks in their old valley was an obvious impossibility. Further, not only was the Treaty of Paris silent regarding the future of the Indians, but also the Americans held the territory guaranteed to the Iroquois in 1768 by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The Loyalist Mohawks were understandably reluctant to settle on these lands still held by the Iroquois (Stone 1838, 2:238). Accordingly Gov. Frederick Haldimand in fulfillment of an old promise obtained some land at the Bay of Quinté for them in the fall of 1783 from the Mississauga Indians. But Brant and others at Niagara wanted to remain closer to the Senecas and other Iroquois living in what was to become a part of western New York State a few years later. Consequently, Haldimand purchased from the Mississauga in 1784 a large tract of land along the Grand River and granted it to the Iroquois. Attempting to unite the Mohawks, Haldimand and others urged the Lower Mohawks then at Lachine to settle at Grand River, but Deserontyon refused. He felt that the location was too close to the Americans, and in 1784 he and most of the Lachine Mohawks moved to the Bay of Quinté. They arrived on May 22, the same day the Mississauga announced at a council at Niagara their decision to transfer the Grand River land to the Iroquois. In the winter and spring of 1784-1785, Brant and the Mohawks at Niagara and a number of other Indians moved to the Grand River Reserve. In addition, about 25 out of the total of 125 who were living at Lachine early in 1784 went to Grand River instead of the Bay of Quinté, but they rejoined the Mohawks at Quinté four years later after some disputes with Brant (Herrington 1921:1-11; Johnston 1964:xxxiii-xl; Torok 1965:76).

Thus, a year after the Treaty of Paris was signed, the Mohawks who were living in the Mohawk Valley when the American Revolution began were settled on two reserves in Canada. Their descendants still live there. One is the Tyendinaga Indian Reserve (sometimes referred to

as Deseronto). The original grant of this reserve was increased in 1793 to include the whole of Tyendinaga Township (in Hastings County, Ontario) ("Iroquois Since 1820," fig. 1, this vol.), but a series of land surrenders has reduced the reserve to 17,000 acres (27 square miles) (fig. 2) (Torok 1966:39). The original grant of the other reserve, the Six Nations Reserve on the Grand River, has also been reduced in size.

With the establishment of these reserves, village autonomy reasserted itself (Torok 1965). After 1784 the Mohawks who had moved from Fort Hunter by way of Lachine to the Bay of Quinté developed and maintained a political organization separate from those who had migrated from Canajoharie to the Grand River by way of Niagara (see "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario," this vol., for the subsequent history of the Mohawks who settled there). The separation is symbolized by the disposition of the silver communion service given by Queen Anne to the Mohawks. In 1783 Captain Deserontyon returned to the Mohawk Valley and brought back the silver, which was later divided between the two Mohawk groups (Herrington 1921:8).

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

When those Mohawks who had been allies of the British for over a century left the Mohawk Valley and settled permanently in Canada after the American Revolution, they came to live in the country where their compatriots—allies of the French in the long struggle between France and England for control of the continent—had resided for almost 100 years. To these five settlements, a sixth was added when some Mohawks left Oka in 1881 and settled at Gibson (Watha) on the Moon and Muskoka rivers near Bala east of Georgian Bay (fig. 2) (Mooney and Hewitt 1910a:113). As can be seen from table 1, Oka and Gibson remained the smallest of these Mohawk settlements and of the total Mohawk population, about one-third were descendants of those who had moved to Canada after the American Revolution.

Some of these Mohawks, however, rather inadvertently found themselves living in the United States. By the terms

Table 1. Mohawk Population in 1890

Grand River	1,344	19.2%
Tyendinaga	1,056	15.1%
Caughnawaga	1,722	24.7%
St. Regis (Canada)	1,190	33.6%
St. Regis (United States)	1,157	
Oka	375	5.4%
Gibson	137	2.0%
Total	6,981	100.0%

SOURCE: U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1892:5.

NOTE: Not included in these figures are the few Mohawks living in the west ("Iroquois in the West," this vol.).

of the Treaty of Paris, the boundary line between Canada and the United States was drawn at 45° north latitude, which placed part of the Saint Regis lands in Canada and part in the United States. By an agreement signed in 1791, Alexander Macomb bought from New York State a considerable tract of land in the northern part of the state. Excepted from this purchase was a tract of land six miles square near the Saint Regis village and two islands, which were reserved for the use of the Indians. But the following year, the first of a series of delegations was sent to Albany to assert the claims of the Saint Regis Indians to various lands in the state. The dispute was finally resolved in 1796 when a treaty was signed with the Seven Indian Nations of Canada ceding all the Saint Regis lands on the American side to New York State except a tract six miles square near Saint Regis village, a square mile on the Salmon River (now Fort Covington), and a square mile on the Grass River and the meadows on both sides of this river. In a series of treaties between 1816 and 1845, various of these lands were sold except for about 14,000 acres (Hough 1853:126-151, 159-172, 245; Fletcher 1888:562; New York (State) Legislature. Assembly 1889:11-12; Kappler 1904-1941, 2:45-46). In addition to this tract in Franklin County, New York, the Saint Regis Indians in 1976 owned 7,384 acres in the Province of Quebec and the 2,050-acre Cornwall Island in the Province of Ontario (fig. 2).

The international boundary bisecting the Saint Regis lands was largely ignored by both governments in administering these lands and by the Indians themselves until the War of 1812 when as a consequence of their location they were drawn into the conflict despite some attempts to remain neutral. After the war, the American government paid annuities only to the "American Indians"; the British government similarly ordered that annuities and presents be given only to the British party at Saint Regis and refused to permit members of the "American" party to live on lands on the Canadian side. As a result, a schism developed that has remained to the present day (Frisch 1970:75-83).

With the exception of the Saint Regis Mohawks on the American side who adopted a system of governance by three elected trustees (now called "chiefs") in 1802 (Frisch 1970:76-77, 92), the old system of governance by hereditary chiefs was retained on the various Mohawk reserves throughout much of the nineteenth century (fig. 5), although on some reserves modifications of the system were introduced. At Saint Regis, the council consisted of 12 chiefs—three chiefs from each of the four major clans, Wolf, Turtle, Bear, and Snipe (the Snipe clan apparently introduced by migrants from Oswegatchie)—rather than the nine chiefs of traditional Mohawk practice. At Tyendinaga, the tribal council consisted of 11 life chiefs, each selected by a "family mother" and said to represent one of the 11 lineages of Mohawks who originally settled



McCord Mus., Montreal: Notman Photographic Arch.
Fig. 5. Chief at Oka with wampum belts and wearing crucifix.
Photograph by William Notman, 1870.

at the Bay of Quinté. However, at the insistence of the Canadian government the system of governance on all the Mohawk reserves was changed to that of an elected council, and the chieftainship systems of these reserves lapsed (Hough 1853:173, 177; Frisch 1970:78, 81-82, 91, 102-108; Voget 1951:225, 230; Speck 1923a:225; Torok 1966:132-135, 1967).

As it had been in the eighteenth century, Catholicism continued to be important at Caughnawaga, Saint Regis, and Oka in the nineteenth century, but Methodist (United) churches also were established on all three reserves. The Methodist church established at Saint Regis in the 1840s had communicants on both sides of the border although the church was located on the American side, much as the Catholic church on the Canadian side also served residents on both sides (Frisch 1970:89-91). A number of Oka Iroquois became Methodists in the 1870s after a missionary was sent there. The Algonquins remained Catholic and subsequently many of them moved to Maniwaki (Speck 1923a:226; Parent 1887; D.B. Smith 1974:130). As it had been earlier when the Lower Mohawks were living in the Mohawk Valley, the Anglican church continued to be important at Tyendinaga. A Pentecostal church was established at Tyendinaga in the early 1930s, but residents of this reserve remain predominantly Anglican (Torok 1966:118, 1967:31).

As a consequence of the conversion of the Mohawks to Christianity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, old Mohawk religious practice had largely lapsed and the teachings of Handsome Lake, grounded as they were in old Iroquois religious practice and belief (see "Origins of the Longhouse Religion" and "Iroquois Since 1820," this vol.) had no adherents among the Mohawks of the six eastern reserves in the nineteenth century. The Longhouse religion was introduced at Caughnawaga in the 1920s (Postal 1965:272) and at Saint Regis in the 1930s (Frisch 1970:113-115). Subsequently, the Saint Regis and Caughnawaga Longhouses ("Iroquois Since 1820," fig. 4, this vol.) were included in the biennial circuit of Six Nations meetings at which the Code of Handsome Lake is preached, although they do not always elect to host such a meeting. The ceremonials of the Longhouse were also introduced, and although practice is not identical to that of the older Longhouses, many of the same ritual patterns are followed.

At both Caughnawaga and Saint Regis, the Longhouse followers constitute a political as well as religious movement and have reinstated the hereditary chieftainship system in opposition to the elected council. The Saint Regis chiefs are affiliated with the Confederacy in New York State (Frisch 1970:113-117, 181-182); at Caughnawaga, two sets of hereditary chiefs have been raised up, one affiliated with the New York Confederacy and the other with the Six Nations Confederacy in Canada (Voget 1951:222-225; Postal 1965:272; see "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual," this vol. for a description of the Condolence council at which chiefs are raised up).

The economic changes on the Mohawk reserves have followed much the same course as those on other Iroquois reservations in Canada and the United States: in the nineteenth century, reliance on hunting declined and reliance on agriculture increased, and in the twentieth century, Mohawks have become increasingly engaged in wage work. In the eighteenth century, some Mohawks from Caughnawaga and Saint Regis became raftsmen and lumberjacks (Fenton 1940:212). Craft work including basketry and bead work also was an important source of income on these two reserves (Fletcher 1888:565; U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1892:40; Carse 1949:41). More recently, Mohawks from Caughnawaga and Saint Regis have become renowned as high steel workers. They first learned of this type of work in 1886 when the Victoria Tubular Bridge was being built across the Saint Lawrence River near the Caughnawaga Reserve. They have become so interested and adept at it that numbers have continued to be employed as high steel workers ("Iroquois Since 1820," fig. 17, this vol.)—an occupation that values certain attitudes of mind not unlike those valued by Mohawk warriors in earlier centuries (Freilich 1958; J. Mitchell 1960).

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Fenton, William H. and Elisabeth Tooker; "Mohawk" Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5. Northeast, Bruce G. Trigger; Volume Editor. 1978 p.p. 466-480

Synonymy†

The name Mohawk, in general use in this spelling since Colden (1747), continues that originally used by the seventeenth-century English settlers in southern New England. It appears in many forms (from Hewitt 1907b, except where indicated), for example Mahwukes, 1666; Mawhawkes, 1648; Mohacks, 1673; Mohaggs, 1691; Mohaukes, 1666; Mohoggs, 1702 (Livingston 1956:185); Mowacks, 1644; Mowhakes, 1650. The most etymologically correct early spelling is Mohowawogs, 1638 (Roger Williams), which has the English plural -s added to a Narragansett or Massachusetts word for 'man-eaters', cognate with Unami *mhuwé'yok* 'cannibal monsters'.

A second set of Algonquian names for the Mohawk derives from Proto-Eastern Algonquian *me'nkwe:w 'Iroquoian' (see the synonymy in "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," this vol.). These include the alternate Narragansett name Mauquauog (pl.; Williams 1936:16), Eastern Abenaki *mékwe* (pl. *mékvak*), and the Mahican source of the Dutch and early New York English name, recorded as follows: Maquaas, 1614 (Block in Stokes 1915-1928, 2: C. Plate 23); Maques, 1633; Maquas, 1714 (Livingston 1956:221); Moquas, 1678. Only one source has variants of the apparently blended form Mahakuaas (Megapolensis 1909:172).

The Mohawks' name for themselves is *kanyé'kehá'ka'* or *kanyé'keháró'nq*? (Cuoq 1882:164), meaning 'people of *kanyé'ke*'; the earliest recordings are Dutch Kajingahaga, 1644 (Megapolensis 1909:172); and French gannie-gehronnons, 1668 (JR 51:118). *kanyé'ke*, originally referring to the Mohawk country on the Mohawk River and now used for any Mohawk reservation, has long been interpreted as 'the place of the flint, or gun-flint' (Hale 1883a:72; Cuoq 1882:164). The stem *-nye-* does not match that of modern Mohawk *kánhyá'* 'flint' (Oneida *kánhyé?*) but can be compared with seventeenth-century kannien 'firesteel' (Bruyas 1863:76). A 1736 source says "the Mohawks . . . have for device of the village a steel and a flint" (NYCD 9:1056), and Sir William Johnson (O'Callaghan 1849-1851, 4:432) wrote in 1771 that the symbol of the Mohawk nation was "a steel, such as is used to strike fire out of Flint." But Johnson, although he suggested that Canniah 'firesteel' was the basis of their self-designation Canniungae(s), observed that the implications of this were uncertain since firemaking with flint and steel was of European origin. A similar semantic notion is reflected by Unami Delaware Sankhicani 'people of the gunlock' (Heckewelder 1876:99). The other Iroquoian languages mostly have related or borrowed names: Oneida *latinyé'kehá'ká'* (pl.), Cayuga

† This synonymy was prepared by Ives Goddard, incorporating some references from Elisabeth Tooker. Iroquois forms were furnished by Marianne Mithun (Mohawk, Cayuga, and Tuscarora), Michael K. Foster (Cayuga), Hanni J. Woodbury (Onondaga), and Clifford Abbott and Floyd G. Lounsbury (Oneida).

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kanyęʔkEó·nq? or *kayeʔkEó·nq?*, and Council name *kanyęʔké·ka?*, Seneca *kanyęʔke·onq?* (Chafe 1967:74), Tuscarora *kaniʔke·há·ka?*. Different is Onondaga *kohsáshé·nq?*, though *kanyęʔké·ka?* refers to any Mohawk reservation in Canada and Zeisberger (1887a) has *Gamingehága* (mi for nie?).

The Huron name corresponding to the Mohawk self-designation was recorded as *Annieńer'onon* (JR 38:188) and *annieneeronnon* (Potier 1920:154), probably for *(y)anyeʔrehró·nq?*; compare Wyandot *yaniéyerūnū* (Gatschet 1881:5). This was borrowed as the French name, appearing as *Ignierhonons* and *Aguierhonon*, with u misprinted for n (Sagard-Théodat 1865:41, 1865a); *Agnierhonons*, 1635 (JR 8:116); *Agnierhonon*, 1639 (JR 17:76); *Agneehrono[n]*, 1640 (JR 18:232); *Agneronons*, 1647 (JR 30:226); *Annieronnons*, 1648 (JR 33:64); *Agnieronnons*, 1655 (JR 41:216); *Agniehronnons*, 1671 (JR 55:158); *Anniehronnons*, 1653 (JR 40:160); *Anniennhronnons*, 1657 (JR 43:272). Occasional spellings with ng show contamination with the Mohawk form: *Annienge'ronnons*, *Agniengeronons* (JR 45:92, 42:254). The Huron name for the Mohawk country was *Annieńe*, appearing as *Agné*, *Agnée*, *Agniè*, *Anié* (JR 38:198, 47:148, 23:154, 53:152, 40:160), and they are sometimes referred to as *les Iroquois d'Agnié* or *la Nation d'Agnié* (JR 51:208, 236). From this comes the shortened French name appearing as *Agnez*, 1669 (JR 52:116); *Agnies*, 1670 (JR 53:54); *Agnies*, 1691 (JR 64:58); *Aniez* (Perrot in Blair 1911-1912, 1:199); *Aniers* (*Bacqueville de la Potherie* 1753, 1:319); and the eventually standardized *Agniers*, 1691 (JR 64:58; DCB 1:14).

Other names for the Mohawk include *Munsee čkáha·w* (Michelson 1922:41; Goddard 1965-1970) and *Micmac kwédeč'* (Rand 1888:172). For the use of Lower Iroquois for Mohawk, see the synonymy in "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," this volume.

The Mohawk and Seneca are referred to in Mohawk council language as *ronathnáwerote?* (G. Michelson 1973:51). Another council name, equivalent to the first Mohawk chief's title *tekarihó·ké* (G. Michelson 1973:91), is attested as *Tgarihóge*, about 1750 (*Pyrlaeus* in Gatschet 1881-1882); *Teakawreahogeh* (Hewitt 1907b:926); and Seneca *Da-gä-e-ö-gä* (Morgan 1851:97).

Villages and Reservations

Caughnawaga (,käknä'wägu), Quebec, has its name from Mohawk *kahnawā·ke* 'at the rapids'; the people there are called *kahnawaʔkehró·nq?*. The Oneida place-name is the same, but the people are *kahnawaʔkeha·kā*. Cayuga has *kAnáw'akeh*, and the Onondaga forms are *kahná·wā·ke* and *kahnawaʔkéhē·nq?*, the latter also being a general name for 'Mohawks'. Algonquin has borrowed the Mohawk words as *kanawage* 'la mission du Sault-St.-Louis' and *kanawagenāno* 'Iroquois du Sault' (Cuoq 1886:144; Lemoine 1911). From this also comes Shawnee

kaʔnawa·ki 'Mohawk' (sg.; Voegelin 1938-1940, 8:305). The numerous spellings in the historical sources, such as Cagnawagees, Coghnawagees, and Conewagas (Trowbridge 1939:66), are listed by Hewitt (1907b).

The Gibson settlement has also been referred to as Watha.

Oka Reserve has its name from Algonquin *oka* 'wall-eyed pike'. The Mohawk name is *kanehsatā·ke* or *kanehsatā·ke* 'place of reeds' (Mary McDonald, personal communication 1976), or *kanehsahitā·ke* 'there is plenty of sand' (G. Michelson 1973:78), or 'at the foot of the hillside' (Cuoq 1882:10). This last interpretation is taken to refer to the high hills behind the Oka village, but the name was first used for the predecessor settlement at Montreal (Charlevoix 1761, 1:217-219; Speck 1923a:220; Boyce 1973a:292). Algonquin has the borrowings *kanactage* 'Lac des Deux-Montagnes' and *kanactagenāno* 'Iroquois du Lac' (c = š; Cuoq 1886:144; Lemoine 1911). These Mohawks are referred to in historical sources as Iroquois of the Mountain (French *Iroquois de la Montagne*), a reference to their earlier settlement at Montreal, and by variants of the place-name, such as *Canaghsadagaes* and *Conasadagahs*, or of a name appearing, for example, as *Scawendadeys*, *Scenondidies*, and *Shouwendadies*; for these and other forms see Mooney and Hewitt (1910a).

Saint Regis Reserve is called in Mohawk *ahkwesáhsne* 'where the partridge (*Bonasa umbellus*) drums', and the people there are *ahkwesahshró·nq?*. An explanation of this name is in Fletcher (1888:563). It appears in English and French contexts in the traditional missionary spelling *Akwesasne*, and in other Iroquois languages as Oneida *ahkwesásne*, Onondaga *shakósáske*, Cayuga *kwésAsne?*, and Seneca *wakui-saskeóno* 'Saint Regis tribe' (Gatschet, in Mooney 1910l). Algonquin has *wejacininano* 'Iroquois de St.-Régis' (Cuoq 1886:431). By synecdoche residents often refer to the reservation by the name of one of the towns on it or nearby, Roosevelttown and Ogdensburg (Mohawk *showé·katsi*; *Swekatsi* in Cuoq 1882:155; Oswegatchie and other early forms in Hewitt 1910h; see "Onondaga," this vol.).

Tyendinaga, probably from the name of Joseph Brant (*thayetané·ké?*), and Deseronto, from the name of John Deserontyon, are used as names for the reserve of the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté.

Sources

The history of the Mohawks has been summarized by Carse (1949) and incidentally in T.W. Clarke's (1940) military history of the Mohawk Valley. Seventeenth-century Mohawk history is extensively detailed by Grassman (1969). French missionary activity in the seventeenth century has been described by a number of authors including Shea (1855), and Dutch missionary work, by Corwin (1925).

Various aspects of the visit of the "Four Indian Kings" to London in 1710 are treated in R.P. Bond (1952). The history of Anglican missionary work in the Mohawk Valley is discussed in Humphreys (1730) and more fully in Lydekker (1938). Sir William Johnson's life has attracted a number of biographers, two of the most important being Pound (1930) and Flexner (1959). Joseph Brant's role in the American Revolution and in the subsequent establishment of the Six Nations Reserve is

considered in Stone's (1838) biography. John Deseronty's comparable role in the Revolution and the establishment of the Tyendinaga Reserve has been discussed by Cruikshank (1930), Herrington (1921), and Torok (1965). The history of the Saint Regis Reserve is discussed in Hough (1853:110-203) and Frisch (1970, 1970a). A general history of Oka is given by O. Maurault (1930, 1937); for additional sources on Oka see D.B. Smith (1974:129-131).

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4

* Richard Colebrook Harris

The Seigneurial System in Early Canada

A Geographical Study

1966

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Habitants' Use of the Land : 155

Apple trees were most common, and much of the crop was converted into a cider which was reported to be the equal of that in Normandy.²⁴ Plum trees thrived everywhere in the colony. Pears could be grown near Montreal but farther downstream the winters were too severe, as they were everywhere for peaches and apricots.²⁵ Cherry trees may have been grown here and there, and a few vineyards were planted on sunny southern exposures near Montreal.²⁶

Of the approximate half of their cleared land which the habitants did not plant in any one year, some was plowed fallow, but most was meadow and pasture. Although there were commons in many seigneuries, and although habitants often turned their cattle, sheep, and particularly their swine out to graze in the forests behind their farms, the need to put up a lot of hay to tide livestock over a long winter, and to provide a pasture from which they could not stray into neighboring fields, led habitants to supplement these meadows and pastures with their own. Initially natural meadow along the river was used for both hay and grazing, but when it became insufficient a sizable field in another part of the farm was allocated for these purposes. Other than Peter Kalm's remarks that grass and white clover were planted in the meadows, and that he considered them better than those in the English colonies,²⁷ there is little information about the quality and carrying capacity of the Canadian meadows.

From the earliest years of the colony, cattle were its most important livestock. In the 1660's most habitants owned two or three cows and perhaps an ox, and by the eighteenth century there were five or six cows and one or two oxen on most well-established farms, while the most prosperous habitants owned as many as eighteen or twenty head. Cattle were raised primarily for domestic use, and provided milk, butter, cheese, and meat for the habitant's table, and power for his farm operation. There were small surpluses on many farms, and milk, butter, cheese, and occasionally a cow or an ox found their way to the town markets. Most of the cattle in the colony were concentrated near the towns (see Fig. 8-6), although this concentration was not as marked as in the case of wheat (compare Fig. 8-5) because livestock could be walked to market. Consequently the average number of cattle per family was not necessarily highest near the towns. In the Government of Quebec the ratios were highest towards the westward margin of the government, and in Beaupré, on the Ile d'Orléans, and well below Quebec along the south

Harris, Richard Colebrook. The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 1964

helped us discern the type of structure. We found many valuable relics that shed light on the condition of the time. The finding of the church sixty feet long partially under the roadway was an achievement that made me very happy indeed.

Caughnawaga's Fourth Site

by Wilfrid Jury

WHEN I left Caughnawaga last November (1955), I wondered if I would ever have the opportunity of coming back. Through the efforts of Father Béchard, it was possible for me to return again on September 5, 1956. Our President (University of Western Ontario), Doctor Edward Hall, kindly consented to my coming at the completion of a very busy summer. The site was prepared in part thanks to the cooperation of the Seaway people and others interested in St. Francis Xavier IV.

Since we were rushed for time, as a time-saving device, we employed bulldozers, furnished by Jean Bédard, Ltée, Mirion Frères and the Great Northern Construction Companies to take off the dense growth of rubble and weeds that covered the whole site. Luck was with us for we obtained good bulldozer operators who did not go below the plough's depth in removing the topsoil. This eliminated a great deal of heavy labor and we were able to go rapidly over the site. It was a large place. There were enough Indian houses to accommodate from eight hundred to a thousand people. We located only one longhouse in which the usual firepits with the sleeping bunks along the sides could be traced.

As soon as we arrived we gridded the site. This was done partially by the Seaway surveyors; then we started to relocate our last year finds, and continued digging in what was obviously the Jesuit residence. We completed it, retracing the fireplace and the outlines of the rooms. The marks of the logs in the ground

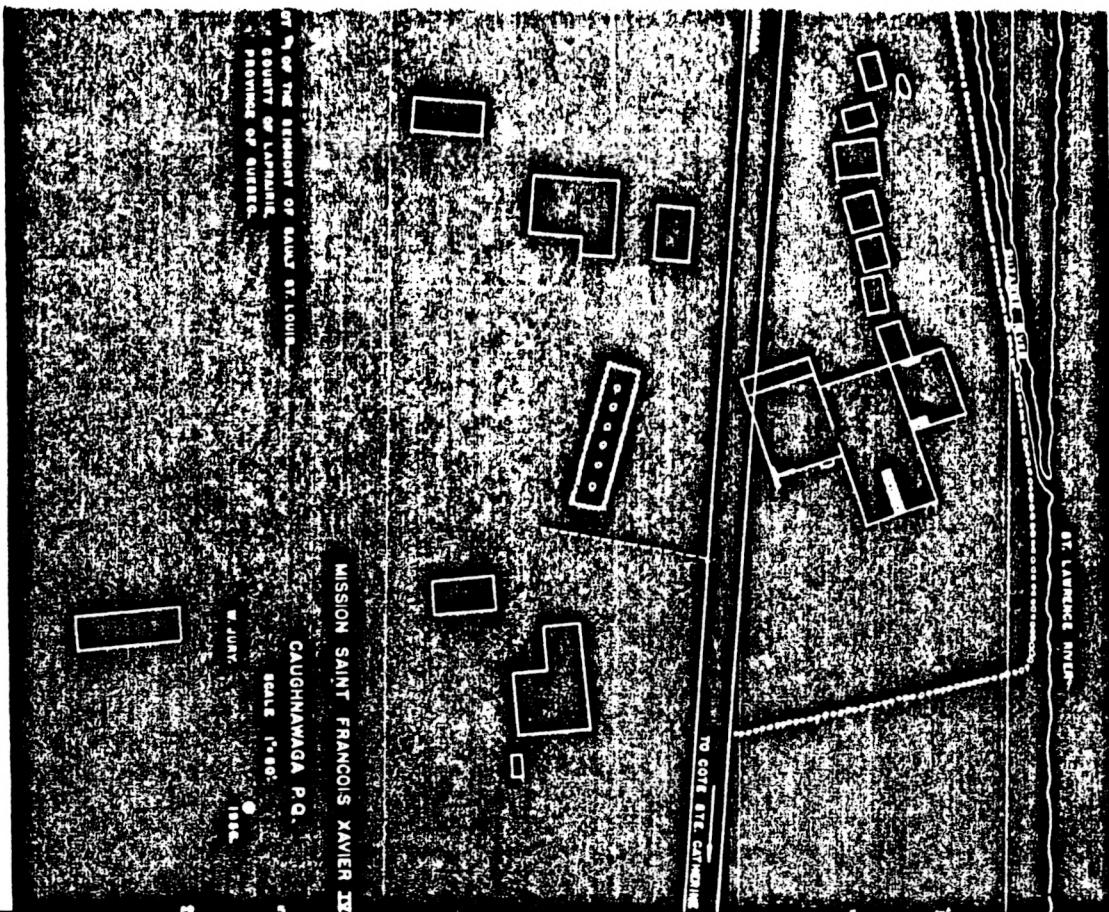
A few decorative pieces of pottery bear witness that the Indian pots had disappeared. No crockery of native origin was discovered. They used clam shells as spoons — a great number came to light. I presume that since we found no forks they used their fingers, although they certainly had a great number of knives.

The solace of tobacco was much enjoyed. Nearly every Indian must have been a smoker because many fragments of Indian pipes were unearthed and over a thousand five hundred fragments of the white man's pipe.

From the relics that ranged from the white man's guns, swords, doorlatches, iron tools, cooper cuttings, and the different Indian objects revealed, we know something of the life that the Indians must have led. We can also read into that story something of the hardship and endurance that must have been the lot of the Fathers who were their spiritual guides.

At the completion of this year's work at the lower end of Caughnawaga, we hope that another chapter in the early period of Canadian and American history will be revealed when a report is finally published. I am ready to say that we have a very fine display of relics. This year my wife accompanied me and catalogued over three thousand six hundred and forty-three relics and will help in writing the final report.

I wish also to thank the Jesuit Order for allowing me the privilege of working at the site of St. Francis Xavier IV.



1. Kaniatukwenke, site of St. Francis Xavier IV
2. Building by Jean Béroud Luce, Miron Frères, and the Great Northern Construction Co.
3. At work : in the center, Mrs. Jury taking care of the field book.

7

Kateri. Vol. 9, No. 1, Dec. 1956



4. Digging at the Church site, along the road, parallel to the St. Lawrence
5. Foundation stones of the Church, facing the St. Lawrence
6. The left corner of the Church in the direction of the river

7. Across the road from the Church, to the right of the long-house, a volunteer
carefully scraping an ash-pit
8. Messrs. de Escobar, S.J. and Mendoza, S.J. from Cuba doing their part...
9. To the left of the long-house, workers unearthing hundreds of artifacts

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1955/12/60

Kanatakwenke, Fourth Site of Caughnawaga

by Wilfrid Jury

EARLY in the spring, Father Béchard, in a letter which arrived at my desk at the University of Western Ontario, had acquainted me with the danger to which the foresite of Caughnawaga might be exposed, on account of the St. Lawrence Seaway excavations. At the close of the summer, arrangements were made for me to visit Caughnawaga and do a little exploratory examination in hopes that we would be able to find the foresite. I left home on October 29, at 7:00 P.M. and, arrived in Montreal about 7:30 A.M. the following morning. I was met by Father Béchard and Brother Beaudry who drove me to the Jesuit residence of the Mission.

We immediately called upon the seaway people and the Department of Indian Affairs' representative and were cordially received. A few of the older Indian residents pointed out where they thought the site was. It is situated at the confluence of the little stream known as La Suzanne and the mighty River St. Lawrence.

Our first test trench was run on a part of the land reported by an Indian woman to be the spot where she had picked up relics for many years. We found evidence that Indians had resided there. For two days we continued our excavations. Later we moved closer to the banks of the St. Lawrence hoping to find the palisades that undoubtedly surrounded the village. No palisade poles were found. I then went to a higher elevation nearer the banks of the little river, running a test trench five feet wide.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Archeologist Wilfrid Jury of the University of Western Ontario is well known for more than fifty Indian sites he discovered and explored, particularly for his seven years' work at the Canadian Martyrs' Shrine at old St. Mary's, Midland Ontario. To excavate Kanatakwenke, no one is better qualified.

6

1955/12/60

I soon came upon the bedlogs of the foundation of a dwelling that had nails spread around the outside. This, of course, indicated that we were on the site of a dwelling built by the French Fathers. We continued our digging, running the five foot test trench directly away from the St. Lawrence and found one piece of Indian pottery, a number of small pieces of glass, probably bottles used for mass wine, two pieces of European pottery or vessels, and one hinge used to hang the shutters on. We were at the site of the building which, in all probability from its situation, may well be that of the Jesuit residence. Undoubtedly the church will not be far from it. Rumors and reports told us that the Jesuit cemetery or the cemetery containing the bones of Indians and, it is hoped, of Fathers James de Lamberville, S.J. and James Bruyas, S.J. was across the way.

One kindly resident told us of an arched tomb built of stone and brick that has long been supposed to be the grave of one of the Fathers. This we opened and found to be a bake oven containing hundreds of stones. We found it to be four feet wide and about twelve feet long. At one end, many bricks were recovered, about six bushels in all, and eighteen of them were intact. Here we found six inches of white ash with a few pieces of carbonized wood and a few nails in them. Assuredly, this was one of the bake ovens used while the village was located there.

We now have established the fourth site of the Mission known to the Iroquois as **Kanatakwenke**. It is a picturesque site. The roar of the mighty St. Lawrence and the Lachine Rapids is very much the same today as it was when the site was occupied. We have only to turn back in our imagination the pages of history to visualize this village before it was moved. It is one of the landmarks of Canada. This historic site must be preserved. It is in jeopardy from the development of the seaway. It is important that Canadians preserve these old sites. The University of Western Ontario is proud to have had the opportunity of doing a small piece of research in definitely establishing the site. I have had much experience and it is always a thrill to find a site on which the early missionaries of our country have lived and labored among the natives of Canada. It is my sincere hope that this place, so long ago abandoned, will be excavated soon, and the sites of the dwellings and the church with the graveyard found and set aside as a memorial that will be kept in reverence and respect.

7

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Photo: Armour Landry

Mr. Wilfrid Jury with one of the two caskets for mass-wine kegs he uncovered.

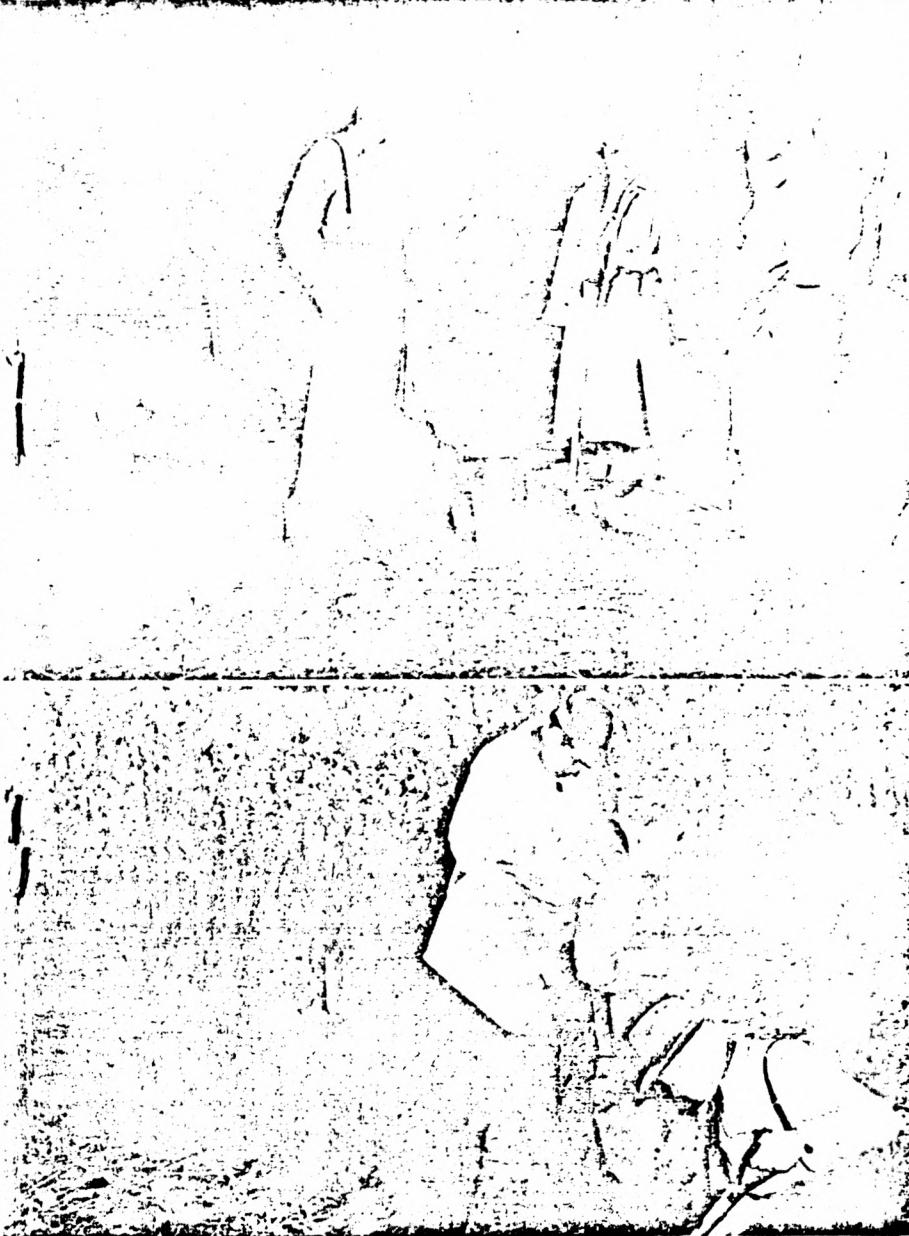


Photo: Armour Landry

▲ Archeologist Jury, Mrs. James Delormier and Mr. Harold H. Chapman of the Department of Indian Affairs, the Vice-Postulator (with Gallic beret) on the fourth site of Caughnawaga at the confluence of La Suzanne Creek and the St. Lawrence River.

▲ Indian Harry Mayo, the Vice-Postulator, and Professor Wilfrid Jury work at uncovering the hearth of the Jesuit residence (1696-1715).

Kateri. Vol. 8, No. 1, Dec. 1955

SR ALBINA FAUTEL X
S.G.M.

L'HOPITAL GENERAL

Nihil obstat :

CAROLUS LECOQ, censor

16 octobris 1913.

DES SŒURS DE LA CHARITE

(SŒURS GRISES)

DEPUIS SA FONDATION JUSQU'A NOS JOURS

TOME PREMIER

Permis d'imprimer :

† PAUL, arch. de Montréal.

6 juin 1915



MONTREAL

SŒURS GRISES
PROVINCE VILLE-MARIE

L'Hopital Général des Sœurs de la Charité
(Sœurs Grises) Depuis sa Fondation jusqu'à
nos Jours, Tome Premier, Montréal 1913.

abbé de Néanflé-le-Vieux, docteur de la Faculté de théologie de Paris. La mère Despins voyait plus que des liens de vénération et de reconnaissance à entretenir avec Saint-Sulpice. Pour maintenir dans sa jeune famille l'esprit de sa fondation, elle sentait le besoin de puiser à la source même; les éléments qui, dans le plan divin, en avaient fait jusque-là la lumière et la force. Elle écrivit en ce sens à M. Bourachot. Le nouveau supérieur s'empressa de lui promettre son intérêt, son dévouement, sa protection(1).

A Montréal, M. Montgolfier continua d'entourer de sa sollicitude, cette famille qu'il avait si paternellement adoptée. Préposés plus immédiatement au soin des âmes des hospitalières et des pauvres, MM. de Féligonde et Poncin poursuivirent avec le même zèle leur œuvre de sanctification.

Se sentant peu d'aptitude pour la conduite des affaires temporelles de la maison, mère Despins ne tarda pas à en remettre le soin à sœur Coutlée. Dans la suite, elle aimera à se prévaloir de cette mesure afin de mieux faire ressortir sa prétendue incapacité. "Si je n'avais pas eu la sœur Coutlée, disait-elle, je n'aurais jamais pu être supérieure." L'événement a prouvé plus

(1) Lettre de 1772.

L'Hopital Général des Soeurs de la Charité
 (Soeurs Grises) Depuis sa Fondation jusqu'à nos
 Jours. Tome Premier. Montréal 1771
 (Provided by the Grey Nuns)

d'une fois que mère Despins savait traiter par elle-même tous les genres d'affaires.

Ainsi en advint-il dans les difficultés que lui susciterent à quelques mois de là les sauvages du Sault-Saint-Louis, au sujet de la seigneurie de Châteauguay. Cette seigneurie située sur la rive droite du Saint-Laurent, occupe la région qui s'étend entre Beauharnois, la seigneurie de La Salle et la réserve des sauvages du Sault-Saint-Louis. Ce dernier voisinage était loin d'être une garantie de paix et de tranquille possession pour les colons établis en ces lieux.

Ayant du droit de propriété une idée très spéciale, les iroquois ne se faisaient aucun scrupule de s'attribuer ce qui leur convenait le mieux sur le terrain d'autrui. Après avoir coupé et consumé sans ménagement le bois de leur réserve, feignant d'en ignorer les limites, ils envahissaient les domaines étrangers, ceux de l'hôpital de préférence, et les dévastaient comme à plaisir. Dans leur insubordination, ils en vinrent jusqu'à empêcher les fermiers de couper du bois sur leurs propres terres.

Ces prétendus droits, les iroquois les avaient fait valoir dès le temps de Mme d'Youville, et la courageuse mère n'avait rien négligé pour maintenir l'intégrité du domaine des pauvres. Le 23 septembre 1771, elle s'était vue forcée de porter ses réclamations au gouverneur Guy

Carleton. Mme d'Youville mourait trois mois après, sans avoir reçu de réponse. Les indiens savaient que la politique du Gouverneur était de les inénergier. N'ayant du reste aucun coup de feu à redonter des sœurs Grises, leur audace ne connut plus de frein. Non seulement ils dépouillaient les bois et les champs voisins, mais ruses et menaces étaient, par eux, mises en œuvre pour empêcher les censitaires de payer leurs rentes au manoir seigneurial. Si bien que, au mois de mai 1772, la mère Despins dut à son tour intéresser contre eux le Gouverneur.

Le général Carleton admettait la justice de ces réclamations mais il avait ses raisons pour ne point indisposer les iroquois. L'horizon politique était menaçant ; les cris de révolte des Etats-Unis contre l'Angleterre trouvaient quelque écho en Canada. De crainte d'aigrir les esprits en condamnant les sauvages, le Gouverneur gardait le silence. Toutefois de nouveaux excès obligèrent mère Despins à porter contre eux de nouvelles plaintes (1). Elle en référa cette fois à M. Cramahé qui avait part au gouvernement général.

Toujours pour les mêmes raisons sa requête n'eut pas plus d'effet que les précédentes. Les déprédatiōns des iroquois restaient impunies. Le

(1) Lettre du 7 janvier 1773.

L'Hopital Général de Sœurs de la
(Sœurs Grises) Depuis sa Fondation
Jusqu'à nos Jours. Tome Premier.
Montreal 1913. (Provided by the
Grey Nuns)

Gouverneur pressa même mère Despins de leur céder seize arpents de terre, avec promesse de dédommager la communauté par une rétribution équitable. La transaction fut acceptée, mais Carleton dut quitter le Canada avant d'avoir pu remplir ses engagements. L'extrême pénurie de l'hôpital obligea mère Despins à les rappeler dans la suite à son successeur le général Haldimand; elle en prit occasion pour solliciter la remise du droit d'amortissement (1). Ce droit que la communauté devait à la couronne pour l'acquisition de la seigneurie de Châteauguay n'avait jamais encore été payé et pesait déjà lourdement sur la pauvre maison.

Cette fois, le gouverneur se laissa toucher. Il écrivit : "Voulant récompenser les bons services que les dames religieuses de l'Hôpital Général ont rendus et rendent jurementlement au public, par l'asile que leur maison donne aux infirmes, aux pauvres des deux sexes ainsi qu'aux enfants trouvés; nous par ces présentes au nom du Roi, faisons don et remise du droit d'amortissement qui est dû à sa Majesté pour l'acquisition que les susdites dames religieuses ont faite de la seigneurie de Châteauguay, mentionnée en la présente requête (2).

(1) Droit de Quint.

(2) Cette remise a été estimée à 4000 livres.

"Donné au Château Saint-Louis, à Québec ce
29 janvier 1781."

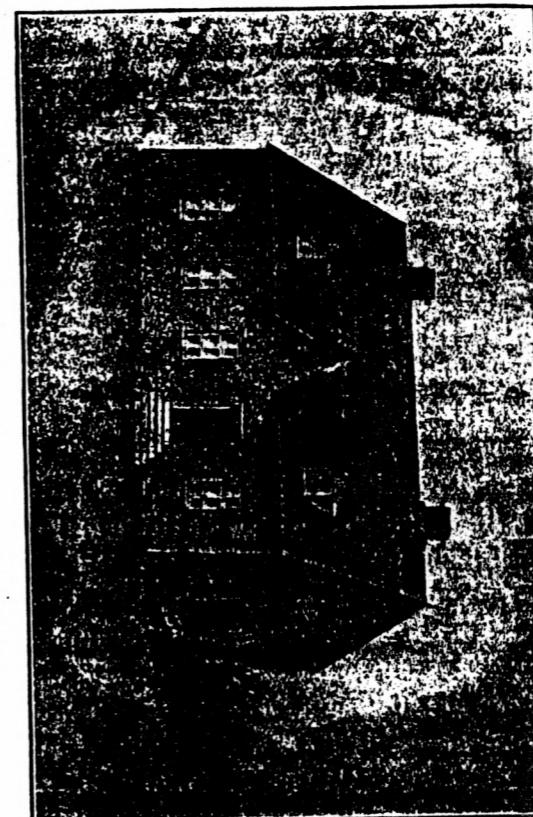
Fred. Haldimand.

Toutefois, là ne se terminèrent pas les difficultés avec les sauvages. Pour les satisfaire, mère Despins fit tracer à maintes reprises les lignes qui devaient limiter les deux propriétés (1). Vainement: à les entendre "les fossés et les clôtures ne se trouvaient jamais au bon endroit." Un volume entier ne suffirait pas pour raconter ces ennuyeuses contestations; et jamais on ne vit mieux se vérifier le proverbe populaire: *Qui terre a guerre a.*

Pour employer la réflexion naïve de nos anciens mémoires, "ces démêlés ne coulèrent pas de fait aussi facilement que sur le papier." Au contraire ils coûtèrent beaucoup de démarches, de voyages pénibles et onéreux, et ce ne fut qu'après bien des années d'efforts et des sacrifices renouvelés que la paix put être définitivement conclue.

A travers ces difficultés, mère Despins trouva moyen de faire construire un manoir en pierre sur l'île Saint-Bernard. Jusque-là, on avait utilisé l'habitation en bois, élevée par M. de Longueuil, sur le versant oriental de la colline, à mi-côte du verger. Vieille de plus d'un siècle la pauvre mesure tombait pièce par pièce et n'offrait guère de sécurité à ses hôtes. Un em-

MANOIR BÂTIS SUR L'ÎLE SAINT-BERNARD EN 1774



L'Hopital Général des Sœurs de la
Charité (Sœurs Grises) Depuis sa
Fondation jusqu'à nos Jours. Tome
Premier. Montréal 1913. (Provided by
the Grey Nuns)

placement plus rapproché du rivage fut choisi pour établir le nouveau manoir; c'est l'endroit même où se dresse dans un bouquet d'ormes et d'érables, le manoir actuel. Les plans de cette construction furent tracés par M. Montgolfier; elle mesurait 58 pieds de longueur sur 48 de largeur. Terminé en 1774, ce second manoir subsista jusqu'en 1836, époque où les murs furent démolis, les fondations exceptées, pour faire place aux murs qui existent encore aujourd'hui.

L'Hopital Général de Soeurs de la Charité (Sœurs Grises) Depuis 58
 Fondation jusqu'à nos Jours
 Tome Premier. Montréal 1913.
 (Provided by the Grey Nuns)

CHAPITRE II

Reconnaissance d'un vieillard.—Première rédaction des constitutions.—Mgr de Pontbriand y donne son approbation.—Légère modification du costume.

1772—1776

Tout n'était pas difficulté pour mère Despins dans l'administration de l'hôpital. Tandis que ces contestations s'élevaient au dehors, la Providence lui inénageait au dedans de reconfortantes compensations. Les bénédicitions répandues sur le ministère des hospitalières et l'atmosphère de contentement qu'on respirait à ce foyer y attiraient de secourables sympathies.

Un jour, le désir de mener une vie paisible, et plus encore, l'espérance de trouver de bons soins y conduisit un vieillard septuagénaire et infirme. C'était François Brébion dit Sans-Cartier. Originaire de Saint-Cybar, au diocèse d'Angoulême, il avait été soldat dans les troupes de la colonie (1); mais l'armée n'a pas coutume de transformer ses héros en Crésus.

(1) Dictionnaire généalogique. A son entrée à l'hôpital F. Brébion avait soixante-quatorze ans.

La Prairie in New France**1647-1760****A Study of Social History****Louis Lavallée**

McGill-Queen's University Press
Montreal and Kingston • London • Buffalo

[Translator's note: terms with no English equivalent are given in French in italics
with an explanation in square brackets on first appearance as defined by Harris,
The Seigneurial System in Early Canada]

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1647-1760: étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.

CHAPTER THREE

Institutional Contexts: The Seigneurial

Subject to a geographical infrastructure already in existence that could only be changed with difficulty, the population of La Prairie, nearly all peasants, developed within two merged institutions. What the habitants of La Prairie during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were familiar with, what formed the legal, economic, social and religious contexts of their existence and their daily lives, were the seigneurial and the parish. Their boundaries coincided (or almost, at least until 1752), a synchronicity sometimes seen in Canada that was less common in the France of the ancien régime. Rural society has to be studied within these two contexts, which also constituted the land boundaries. The unity of rural society was symbolized by the grouping of habitants, the nucleus of peasant social life, combined with seigneurial, agricultural and parish groupings.

DESIRED GOALS

The first of these institutions that structured peasant life was the seigneurial, which preceded the parish. The basic framework of agrarian life, the seigneurial defined land boundaries and, to a large extent, basically determined the social and economic life of its inhabitants. It is this institution that we wish to reconstruct and describe here, mainly using the example of La Prairie. We will not enter into debates which, until very recently, arose from study of the seigneurial system aimed at understanding the nature of the society which had developed in the St. Lawrence valley. Called upon to write a historiographical account, Fernand Ouellet wrote on this subject that from the time of Garneau until 1960 "the idea had prevailed that the institutions of the ancien régime (especially the seigneurial system), transplanted to the St. Lawrence valley, had been so refined that an ethnically, linguistically and religiously homogeneous society, exempt from class struggle, had been able to flourish in the new land and form a nation."¹ Our goals are more modest and will not reach such dizzying heights, which the archives we consulted do not even begin to scale. Using a reduced model, we intend only to illustrate the importance of the seigneurial context (whose "portrait still largely remains to be drawn"),² which in La Prairie's case is in no way contrived, in which the course of settlement was determined, controlled by geographical imperatives to which the seigneurs readily submitted. It is also our intention to depict the institutional, economic and fiscal structure which, in its development, through its

¹Ouellet, "La modernisation de l'historiographie", 27.

²Mathieu and Brisson, "La Vallée laurentienne", 108.

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administration and the limitations and obligations it entailed, created relationships of authority between the parties involved, the importance of which must be measured. It may also have constituted, under model conditions not always present in New France, a remarkable springboard for establishing the economic superiority and social, political and administrative power of an individual, a family or a community. Once this analysis is complete, we will compare the seigneurial microcosm of La Prairie with the French model it was heir to and examine the similarities and differences that may result from the transfer of an institution from an "adult society" to a developing society.

Such an exercise, in the form of a monograph, has proven reliable in France. For 30 years, it has richly served rural history and, because of the variety in the provinces, has allowed for an understanding of the diversity of the seigneurial system and the heterogeneity of the peasant population. In Canada, the study of the seigneurie, understood in its broad historical, legal and geographical outlines,³ has hardly used the monographical method⁴ which, using case studies, could well offer an inside look into the very essence of this institution. Louise Dechêne was the first, in *Habitants et marchands* [. . .], and a few rare historians whose work has been published⁵ have followed this path which, however, may very quickly come to an impasse. Not all seigneuries in fact lend themselves to this method, and it is presumptuous to believe that the seigneurial story in New France will one day be reconstructed in detail. For that to happen, we would have to count on copious documentation that is lacking in most cases. We only have to open the *Inventaire des concessions en fief et seigneurie* [. . .]⁶ to be convinced of the paucity of documentation left by most lay seigneuries. Their history can only be reconstructed (and then only partially) by heroic effort and aided only by the intendant's archives and notaries' minutes, which teach us less about seigneurial administration than land settlement and transfers of land ownership. More assiduous in administration, the ecclesiastical seigneurs left extensive archives. The Séminaire de Québec and the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal are repositories of the finest bodies of seigneurial documents. In her research on the seigneurie on Montréal Island, Louise Dechêne was well served by rich documentation. The Jesuits, whose order was suppressed in France in 1764, saw

³We are reminded in particular here of the work of Trudel, Les débuts du régime seigneurial, which stops at 1663, and of the work of geographers Harris and Courville.

⁴We are forgetting here the long series of histories of parishes and seigneuries collected by A. Roy, "Bibliographie", 255-353. They remain useful for following political, military and religious events, but do not correspond to our canons of economic and social history.

⁵Lacroix, Les origines; Greer, Peasant; Barbeau, La seigneurie; Dépatie, Lalancette et Dessureault, Contributions à l'étude; Lemoine (Longueuil) suggested an approach for seigneurial monography in New France based on available sources.

⁶P.G. Roy, Inventaire des concessions.

49 The seigneurie

their papers (and their property) transferred to the British Crown in 1800 upon the death of Father Casot, the last survivor of the Company of Jesus in Canada. They comprise nearly 150 volumes of various documents in the National Archives of Quebec in Québec, and approximately forty of them concern the twin seigneuries of La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis. The "Biens des Jésuites" collection therefore invites us to recreate the history of the two seigneuries between the time of their concession to the Company of Jesus and the end of the French regime, which marks the end of this inquiry. Added to the notarial minutes, this corpus forms a body of documentation that was our basic resource, and the approach we intend to take is based on the paths it suggested to us.

SEIGNEURIAL LAND TITLES

La Prairie

Legal development preceded economic and social development. Let us review the facts and stages by examining land titles, the first going back to the first half of the seventeenth century, the heroic period of the colony immersed in the mysticism that was present at the founding of La Prairie. Three brief documents spaced over approximately 30 years, which would subsequently be used by the Jesuits to justify their ownership and authority, provide us with the boundaries of the fief and seigneurie of La-Prairie-de-la-Madeleine. The first, dated in Paris April 1, 1647, is the baptismal certificate of the seigneurie granted by François de Lauzon, a magistrate in the Bordeaux Parliament. Owner of the seigneurie of La Citière since 1635, he subdivided a portion of it in 1647 and, in a gesture of piety in keeping with the Tridentine Reform that was losing momentum, he granted the Jesuits,

who are still exposed to danger every day bringing the savage peoples of the said country to know the true God [. . .], two leagues of land along the south shore of the said St. Lawrence River, starting from Sainte-Hélène Island to a quarter of a league beyond a prairie called La Magdelaine opposite the islands that are near the falls on Montréal Island, an area about two leagues in length, which we grant them along the said St. Lawrence River, by four leagues in depth, extending into the lands toward the south, with woods, meadows, lakes, rivers, ponds and quarries that are found within the said lands into which the religious of the company will send such persons as it pleases them, to cultivate the lands, such donation thus made in order to be included in their prayers and holy sacrifice.⁷

⁷NAQ, Concession by François de Lauzon of the fief of La Prairie de la Madeleine, "Biens des Jésuites" collection, 1 Apr. 1647.

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This act, as generous as it was imprecise, made La Prairie, after La Citière from which it was subdivided, the first fee concession on the south shore of the Government of Montréal. On May 3, 1649, Governor d'Ailleboust, without giving more precise information on the original concession, gave the Jesuits possession of the lands of La Prairie,⁸ which they legally acknowledged the following June 13, according to the terms reiterated in the concession contracts at the beginning of the 1670s. It would take nearly 30 years, a time when the colonial administration began to prepare *papier terrier* [a list of documents pertaining to land ownership], before Intendant Duchesneau, at the request of the Jesuits (who then complained of the imprecise terms of the 1647 grant and feared having their ownership of the seigneury questioned), clarified and confirmed the first title. From then on, the seigneury of La Prairie was to include "fishing rights in the St. Lawrence River, the Boquet and Foquet islands, the marshlands, flats and quarries that front the said two leagues of width to be enjoyed [. . .] in fee with all seigneurial rights and high, middle and low courts of law, which will be designated under the jurisdiction of the royal courts in the city of Trois-Rivières."⁹ Strengthened by this recognition of their ownership, the Jesuits could then ask a notary, Romain Becquet, to prepare the first seigneury *aveu*¹⁰ and a land surveyor, Bénigne Basset, to determine the boundary between the seigneuries of La Prairie and Longueuil.¹¹ In law, the seigneurial history of La Prairie was based on those texts, which were never subsequently contested and, until 1760, would be the official deeds of title held by the Jesuits.

Sault-Saint-Louis

While the legal history of the seigneury of La Prairie ended in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the legal history of the neighbouring seigneury, Sault-Saint-Louis, began at that time and, unlike La Prairie's, was to be increasingly uncertain. The history of the two territories was closely linked, because, as neighbours, they were obliged to maintain social and economic relations, but, above all, because the ambiguity of the titles would enable the Jesuits, already the seigneurs of La Prairie, to use that uncertainty to implement a policy of land distribution to French colonists within a seigneury that originally was not to receive any. That troubled

⁸Ibid. The Jesuits take possession of the fief of La Prairie de la Madeleine, 3 May 1649.

⁹Ibid. Concession of title to the fief and seigneury of La Prairie de la Madeleine and explanatory deed by Intendant Duchesneau, 1676.

¹⁰ASQ, *Aveu et dénombrement* [a list of the landholdings within a seigneury, including the buildings, cleared land, livestock and the dues with which the landholdings were charged] of the fief and seigneury of La Prairie de la Madeleine, Faribault documents, no. 120, 8 Nov. 1677.

¹¹NAQM, Basset, 15 Sept. 1678, Record of the boundary between the seigneuries of La Prairie and Longueuil.

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and emotionally charged history extended beyond mere legality and evoked the sometimes tense and always unequal relations between the white and Native populations, the ecclesiastical seigneurs and the Indigenous people, maintained through missions and teaching.

Let us review the facts that, from the outset, created the situation that gave rise to the problem under discussion. They were related in the chronicle left by Father Chauchetière who remains the most reliable source on the subject.¹² Yvon Lacroix drew partly on that chronicle to reconstruct in detail the history of the early seigneurie.¹³ Originally, La Prairie witnessed the creation of a mixed French and Native society that settled, starting in 1667-1668, in the Saint-Jacques River basin, near the future site of the village. That society was modelled on the societies the Jesuits had established previously in Québec and Trois-Rivières. The founding of the mission, which closely followed the peace imposed by the Marquis de Tracy, was one of the attempts at reconciliation with the Iroquois Nation to dissuade the Native people from attacking the region. That argument was used repeatedly by the Jesuits and the administrators who supported them in their land claims at Sault-Saint-Louis. The two communities shared the same church adjoining the seigneurial manor built on the domain, but, like everywhere else in similar missions, the French and the Native people engaged in different agricultural activities, and the Native people preferred to grow corn rather than wheat. The corn crops very quickly depleted the land, and the proximity to the French soon reminded the missionaries that any co-habitation would create alcohol problems leading to noisy and quarrelsome drunkenness that all too often was the result of the acculturation of the Amerindian peoples upon contact with the French. Those were the reasons cited by the Jesuit superior in 1674, when he approached Frontenac for "an augmentation of land, approximately one and a half leagues wide, to add to their settlement at la prairie de la Magdelaine which is nearly three leagues wide and one of the most beautiful in the whole country."¹⁴ Suspicious, Frontenac wrote: "their real reason is [. . .] that they do not want any neighbour around, too close to them. With so much land available in this country, that land would be better used by good habitants with families and older children who are asking me for land. I put them off until this summer when I will go to Montréal."¹⁵

[See map, page 53, original French text: Chapter 3, "Les cadres: la seigneurie" in

¹²"Narration annuelle de la Mission du Sault depuis la fondation jusques à l'an 1686", JR, LXIII: 140-244.

¹³Lacroix, Les origines, 15-43.

¹⁴NAC, Memorandum from Frontenac to the Minister, C 11 A, 4, 14 Nov. 1674, fol. 206-207.

¹⁵Ibid.

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La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1647-1760, Étude d'histoire sociale by Louis Lavallée]:

Map 2

Relocations of the Native Mission

(according to E.J. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, map insert)

Rejected by the governor, whose aversion for Jesuits was obvious, the Jesuits then turned to Intendant Duchesneau in whom they found an ally convinced of the excellence of the mission at La Prairie, which he had visited in the month of June, 1675.¹⁶ In early 1676, Duchesneau gave in to the Jesuits' arguments. Fearing that the Iroquois from the mission at La Prairie would abandon the land, which was too wet, and return to their country, which "would be very prejudicial to their salvation and contrary to the intentions of His Majesty,"¹⁷ he authorized the missionaries "out of consideration for the said savages" to have them work on the two-league width of land starting at a point opposite Sault-Saint-Louis. The fear of losing allies who were partially settled in villages,¹⁸ whose relative stability depended on a particular style of agricultural life and conversion to Christianity offered by the missionaries, explained the intendant's action which, in July 1676, resulted in the first relocation of the mission. Duchesneau's authorization was confirmed four years later by two concessions, the terms of which were full of irregularities and would fuel protest by the Caughnawaga Iroquois until the twentieth century. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, the Caughnawaga Iroquois had felt wronged and dispossessed of lands they said belonged to them. On May 29, 1680, Louis XIV, while visiting Fontainebleau, granted to his "dearly beloved religious of the Company of Jesus" the land called the Sault "consisting of two leagues of land starting at a point opposite the Saint-Louis rapids [. . .], measuring the same in depth,"¹⁹ adjoining the seigneurie of La Prairie. The grant subsequently specified, however, that the land, which was to be used to settle the Native people,

¹⁶ JR. LIX: 284.

¹⁷ NAQ, Document signed by Duchesneau, "Biens des Jésuites" collection, 31 Jan. 1676.

¹⁸ NAQ. In an anonymous petition addressed to Colbert in 1676, the author, whom we infer is a Jesuit, argued that to achieve lasting peace between the French and the Iroquois, the Iroquois had to be attracted in greater numbers than could be done at La Prairie by granting the Jesuits a new territory that would enable the missionaries to make them good Christians and true subjects of the king. In that way, he wrote, "we strengthen ourselves while reducing their strength." The Iroquois war was thus invoked to obtain Sault-Saint-Louis and settle the Native people there who, it was feared, would be lost to the English. Such reasoning, however valid it might be, would not prevent the Iroquois after 1680, the date of the Sault-Saint-Louis concession, from making forays into the plains of Montréal right to the heart of La Prairie which would not be protected to any greater extent by the establishment of Saint-François-Xavier. "Biens des Jésuites" collection.

¹⁹ NAQ. This text and those that follow were compiled in 1762 by Governor Gage who was called upon to rule in the Military Council held in Montréal on the dispute between the Native people of Sault-Saint-Louis and the Jesuits. That important case is found in the "Biens des Jésuites" collection.

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will belong to us [the king] fully cleared when the said Iroquois abandon it. We allow all who may wish to take rings, knives and other small notions and the like to the said Iroquois to do so. We expressly prohibit the French who dwell among the said Iroquois and other savage nations who settle on the said land called the Sault to own and raise any livestock, or any person to establish any taverns in the village of the said Iroquois that will be built on the said land.

Five months later, in a deed dated October 31 that is no less ambiguous than the first, Frontenac and Duchesneau (we can imagine the indignation felt by the governor who was obliged to submit to the authorities in France) conceded to the Jesuits, who were strengthened by their success and the royal grant, ownership of a remaining piece of land approximately one and a half leagues in length to be taken from the land called the Sault upriver toward the uninhabited seigneurie of Châteauguay, by two leagues in depth under the same terms, provisions and conditions as the first concession.

The relative uncertainty of those two documents and the proximity of the seigneuries of La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis would soon lead the Jesuits to ignore the stipulations of the two title deeds (or to interpret them in their favour) and enable them to settle a substantial portion of the Sault-Saint-Louis lands (those closest to the border between the two seigneuries) by granting concessions to French settlers. Those lands were to be used to settle and keep the Native people, according to the intentions of the French and colonial authorities. The policy of settlement of Sault-Saint-Louis carried out by the seigneurs of La Prairie was all the more speedy and definitive because the Native people, still dependent on a method of cultivation that depleted the soil, were obliged to relocate three times toward the seigneurie of Châteauguay between 1690 and 1716 before settling that year at Caughnawaga, where they would remain to the present day. Moving farther away from the inhabited mission through four migrations from 1676 on accentuated the distance separating the white and Native populations and, for a long time, condemned the Native people to being passive witnesses to the advance of settlement and French colonization beyond the borders of its territory.

The following year, the last relocation of the village to Caughnawaga (which Charlevoix visited in 1721)²⁰ enabled the Jesuits to petition for the two concessions of 1680 to be combined under a single warrant and for their proprietary title to Sault-Saint-Louis to be confirmed, in spite of the specific conditions and prohibitions that were to remain attached to it. On June 15, 1717, the king, informed of the most recent relocation and wishing to retain the lands conceded to the Jesuits as well as to the Native people, reconfirmed the double concession of the Sault to the Jesuits, on condition that the fief would belong to

²⁰ Journal d'un voyage fait . . . par le P. de Charlevoix, 175f.

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him when the Iroquois abandoned it.²¹ The Marine Council that decided the issue noted that there was no danger in reconfirming the Jesuits' proprietary rights, because for 37 years they had made no profit from the lands abandoned by the Native people, and they would not be able to profit more in the future, because the Native people intended to return there when the lands once again were suitable for cultivation. In any case, the Council finally noted, the Jesuits could not concede those lands to French settlers who had trouble living near the Native people. The candour of the Council, which was poorly informed of the actions of the seigneurs, was confirmed by the notarized documentation (the only valid testimony) which, before and particularly after 1717, proved that the Jesuits, less naive than the Marine Council members, did not observe the conditions included in the two 1680 deeds and reiterated in similar terms in the 1717 warrant. The settlement of the territory that we are about to examine will eloquently demonstrate that.

It would be some time before the Native people expressed their complaints; it was not until the second third of the eighteenth century that the situation was brought to the attention of the authorities in France, a situation they were slow to condemn. In a reply to the Jesuits in 1736 by the great road engineer Lanouillier de Boisclerc, who wanted to (but would not) obtain the future seigneurie of La Salle, neighbouring Sault-Saint-Louis, we found written confirmation in his hand of a reality that until then had only been suggested in notarial minutes. Having thoroughly examined the documentation of the original titles to which he referred, and perhaps on the basis of information from the Native people, he alleged that the Jesuits

had conceded to settlers not only the lands cleared by the savages at old Sault-Saint-Louis before the 1717 concession but also the uncleared lands in the interior of the said old Sault-Saint-Louis. If the Reverend Fathers had followed His Majesty's intentions which are stated in the 1680 and 1717 title deeds, they would not have conceded the cleared lands to French settlers, namely St-Yves, Jean-Baptiste La Fontaine, Claude Bizaillon, René Dupuy, Joseph and Pierre Gaignier and several others, on the basis of *cens* [token cash payment levied on land] *et rentes* [charge levied by a seigneur for land held from him], both on the frontage and in the interior of the said old Sault. They have, however, contrary to the very stipulations of the title deeds, overlooked the problems they are creating by appropriating land that the King, moreover, did not give them at all. On the contrary, His Majesty reserved the land for himself whenever it might be abandoned by the said savages.²²

²¹NAC, Marine Council Decree, C 11 A, 106, 7 and 14 Dec. 1717, fol. 380-384.

²²NAC, "Response aux objections que les R.P. Jésuites font naître pour s'opposer à la concession accordée au sieur de Boisclerc derrière le Sault-Saint-Louis", C 11 A, 66, 15 Oct. 1736, fol. 27-28.

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His report was convincing not only because it followed the provisions of the original deeds of title, but, above all, because it provided the names of the settlers who, from 1704 on, received lands at *côte* [short line of settlement along a river or road] Sainte-Catherine and *côte* Saint-Louis²³ in areas cleared and abandoned by the Native people following their successive relocations. That revelation is echoed in 1750, the year when, in the words of Governor La Jonquière, the Iroquois of Sault-Saint-Louis

claim that because the lands the King had granted them at la prairie were not good, His Majesty was willing to grant them others from the middle of the mouth of the Tortue River to the middle of the mouth of the Chateaugué River [. . .]. The savages also claimed, he wrote, that the Jesuits continue to want their lands; that they are not free to expand their cleared land; that should they want to build or repair their cabins, when their log houses are almost finished, the French settlers who have title from the Jesuits take what they have worked to build away from them, along with whatever produce they can gather on their land, saying that it is their garden; in a word, they always threaten to have them punished by the Jesuits. On the basis of all those reasons, the savages entreat me to mark the limits of their land, so that they may be left in peace and not obliged to abandon their village.²⁴

The high point of that story came in 1762, when General Gage, who was presiding over the Military Council in Montréal, tried the case²⁵ between the Native people of Sault-Saint-Louis and the Jesuits. The judgment, which was to be overturned several months later when Gage reversed his decision, is less significant to us here than the defence led by the Jesuits to the accusations brought against them by the Native people. On the one hand, the plaintiffs asked that they be given back their lands at Sault-Saint-Louis that the seigneurs of La Prairie had in the past conceded and continued to concede to French settlers. On the other hand, Father Well, representative of the Order, contended that the control and ownership of the lands at Sault-Saint-Louis should be recognized as belonging to the Jesuits and, to support his case, made a series of uneven arguments that at first would not convince the judge. Far from denying the facts, the defence readily admitted that the Jesuits had conceded lands at Sault-Saint-Louis to French

²³Confirmed by the acts of concession of land we reviewed.

²⁴NAC, La Jonquière to the Minister, C 11 A, 95, 25 June 1750, fol. 140-141.

²⁵NAQ. All of the quotations that follow are taken from the documents compiled in the "Biens des Jésuites" collection.

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colonists²⁶ for a long time but considered that practice fully justified and authorized by the title deeds themselves. In fact, the deeds specified: 1) that the settlers who "dwell among the savages shall not sell any drink nor establish taverns." That, the Jesuit representative noted, therefore implied permission to grant plots to other than Native people. That reasoning was refuted by Gage who pointed out the statement in the original title forbidding French settlers who "dwell" among the Native people "to own or raise any livestock," which in his view made it practically impossible for colonists to settle there and proved that the King had reserved the lands solely for the Native people; 2) that the King wanted land "fully cleared" that would revert to him when the missionaries left Sault-Saint-Louis. That intention, according to Father Well, obliged the Jesuits to concede land to settlers. To that argument, Gage replied that if the King had wanted the Jesuits to have the lands cleared, he would then, in the manner generally followed in seigneurial concessions, have instructed them to settle colonists there, but such an obligation was not included in the title deeds to Sault-Saint-Louis. The Company's representative finally advanced the claim that all seigneuries were granted by the King of France only "on condition of concession", and that his intention in favouring the Jesuits "was undoubtedly to make concessions" to settlers who could cover the seigneurs' costs of living and the cost of constructing a church and the buildings needed by the missionaries. Based on the reservations made in the 1680 title deeds, cited in the 1717 warrant, the judge presiding over the Military Court rejected that last claim and refused to recognize the Jesuits as temporal seigneurs of Sault-Saint-Louis. Those lands, he declared, were not granted in seigneurie, but rather conceded without seigneurial title solely to locate and settle the Native people there. That did not, in his view, entitle the Jesuits to distribute concessions to French settlers and to exercise the usual seigneurial rights (dues, justice, hunting and fishing, etc.) that were not specified in the original titles.

As might be guessed, as a result of that trial, the magistrate ruled against the Jesuits and recognized the rights of the Native people of Sault-Saint-Louis, who were "limited and ignorant of the rules of the bar". In a very harsh judgment, which probably explains its reversal several months later, Gage ordered that the plaintiffs be given possession of the lands and buildings of the mission, and that all revenues from Sault-Saint-Louis belonged to them. In addition, all the concessions granted up to then by the Jesuits to habitants who had not lived on the land and all concessions granted since September 8, 1760 (the date of the capitulation of Montréal) were cancelled. The colonists settled before that date who had observed the provisions of the concession contracts continued to hold their lands, but the *rentes* and other seigneurial dues owing were to revert to the Native people. The harshness of the sentence, handed down in Montréal March 22, 1762, created a dangerous precedent and inevitably foretold the decision in

²⁶He admitted that the Jesuits had sold at most one sixth of the lands at Sault-Saint-Louis to support themselves and maintain the mission buildings.

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September of the same year obliging the magistrate to reverse his decision in favour of the Jesuits.²⁷ The Jesuits thus regained the lands conceded in the eastern portion of Sault-Saint-Louis, on the border of the seigneurial property of La Prairie for which the concessions were only an extension of previous ones.

Could it have been otherwise, when the colonial authorities had been supporting the activities of the seigneurs of La Prairie for a long time, becoming accomplices to their conduct by administrative actions that recognized their proprietary rights? In 1732, Hocquart, in response to the Jesuits' petition, issued an ordinance requiring habitants of the seigneurial of Sault-Saint-Louis to live on the land and to clear their lands within nine months, otherwise the lands would be reunited to the domain.²⁸ That decision recognized *de facto* the Jesuits as seigneurs of Sault-Saint-Louis and their right to concede lands there to French settlers. Twelve years later, the bishop agreed to the construction of a church at *côte Saint-Pierre*,²⁹ seat of the future parish of Saint-Constant; a portion of its property was included in Sault-Saint-Louis. Those two decisions were cited as evidence of ownership before the court in 1762 but were not accepted. They suggested a new determination on the part of the Jesuits from 1732 on that they had not had the audacity to reveal before then. The best evidence of that is the *aveu et dénombrement* of Sault-Saint-Louis that Hocquart received in 1733.³⁰ That document, like that of La Prairie which was its twin, surely dates from 1723 and not 1733. In it, Father Dupuy, the Jesuits' representative who presented the *aveu*, declared ownership of land there, not a fief as in the *aveu* of La Prairie and the claim contained in the ordinance for return of the lands at Sault-Saint-Louis. Furthermore, Father Dupuy made no reference in the *aveu* to land conceded to French settlers (there were already many in 1723), but, in a text of absolute discretion, he noted that there was nobody at Sault-Saint-Louis except some Iroquois settled there who had cleared approximately 250 arpents. We can then better understand why the Jesuits had not produced before Gage that weak *aveu*, in which they did not show the same assurance as in 1732 and acknowledged neither the feudal nature of Sault-Saint-Louis nor the lands conceded to settlers.

The practice followed by the Jesuits was not peculiar to Sault-Saint-Louis. It was found elsewhere in a similar form or in other forms, but the result was always the same: the Native community was dispossessed in favour of the French

²⁷ Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 284.

²⁸ ANQ, Ordinance of Intendant Hocquart, 12 Jan. 1732.

²⁹ ANQ, Order by Mgr. de Pontbriand, Registry of Ecclesiastical Insinuations, 12 A, Vol. C, 5 Nov. 1744, fol. 187.

³⁰ ANQ, *Aveu et dénombrement* of Sault-Saint-Louis, *Aveux et dénombrements*, French régime, Book no. 2, 20 Apr. 1733, fol. 416.

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population of lands conceded under the trusteeship of the ecclesiastical seigneurs³¹ or of lands the Native people had cleared, which were later granted or sold to colonists. The seigneurie of Sillery studied by Léon Gérin was a good example.³² Originally granted to the Native people under the supervision of the Jesuits in 1651, the Jesuits first incorporated a portion of it into the neighbouring fief of Saint-Gabriel, granted to them by Robert Giffard in 1667. Then, in 1669, they obtained exclusive ownership of the whole property after the Native people had left because the lands were depleted, and the missionaries had already distributed many concessions to colonists who were gradually encircling the mission. Three times, in 1791, 1793 and 1819, the Hurons claimed the seigneurie, but each time they were dismissed.³³ In the missions they ran on Montréal Island, the Sulpicians proceeded otherwise because the seigneurie belonged to them, but the impact of their actions remained the same. Knowing full well that the Native people would leave the lands one day, because they were reputed to be "flighty", the Sulpicians reserved lands for them at la Montagne or at Sault-au-Récollet that they cleared and that the seigneurs recovered to lease or grant for accrued *rente*³⁴ when the Native people migrated. In the same way, the Jesuits recovered the cleared lands at *côte* Sainte-Catherine that were abandoned by the Iroquois after their relocations, but they conceded them instead to faithful habitants who had supported them during the disagreement over patronage of the new stone church in 1704-1705.

The lengthy digression that our examination of Sault-Saint-Louis required nonetheless allowed us to take a critical look at the legal nature of the Canadian seigneurie and, in particular, to examine the ecclesiastical seigneurs' policy of appropriation at the expense of the Amerindian populations they supervised in the missions. With the territorial framework thus defined, it is now possible to study the course of populating and settling the vast land within the seigneurial borders.

SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND

Studying land settlement within seigneurial boundaries means recognizing *a priori* not only the significance of that restrictive institutional context, which dictated the boundaries of population, but also the aptitude and ability of the seigneurs to direct settlement. In this regard, their freedom was, however, neither total nor absolute, because at La Prairie, no doubt like everywhere else, it was subject to the topographical imperatives that took priority over other conditions and directed the

³¹ Dechêne, Habitants, 33-35.

³² Gérin, "La Seigneurie", 73-115.

³³ Dechêne, Habitants, 35; Gérin, "La Seigneurie", 106-107.

³⁴ Dechêne, Habitants, 35; Tremblay, "La politique missionnaire."

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patterns of settlement and to the inexorable movement that, in the eighteenth century, reached the interior of the seigneurie, following and extending routes already traced by geography, economy and social life. There is, therefore, no question of reducing the landholding history of La Prairie to the sole authority of the Jesuits and attributing to them the entire responsibility for the course of settlement. The geographer Harris demonstrated that the map of settlement of seigneurial lands obeyed the "dictates of geography" more than the whims of the seigneurs, no matter how strong they were.³⁵ We only intend here to measure the movement they ordered and directed according to the existing conditions, quite apart from any theoretical model they might have had in mind. In the area of land distribution, however, their role was real and definitive, otherwise it would be impossible to explain, all conditions being approximately equal, the extremely variable development of seigneuries on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, in the Government of Montréal, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This study was based on a rich corpus that enabled us to follow the settlement of land concessions throughout the lengthy period of the French regime, within the substantial area of the seigneuries of La Prairie³⁶ and Sault-Saint-Louis.³⁷ That body of documentation comprised 890 concession contracts for lands and plots between 1671 and 1760 found in the records of seigneurial and royal notaries who practised in the Government of Montréal. The first collection of documentation was supplemented by the voluminous *Terrier de La Prairie* that compiled the previous acts and arranged them according to *côtes* in chronological order, and finally, a small, approximately 20-page book tracing the history of each of the *côtes* from its origin until approximately the years 1738-1740.³⁸ The contents of the serial documents, their time-space organization, the curves and tables that they enabled us to prepare suggested the outline for this analysis. If we are not mistaken, there has never before been as exhaustive a study.³⁹

³⁵ Harris, The Seigneurial System, 127.

³⁶ 2 X 4 leagues, which was 56 448 arpents, the Jesuits were granted as a fief.

³⁷ 3 1/2 X 2 leagues, which was 49 392 arpents. Only a portion of that seigneurie would be conceded for a cens to colonists. It bordered the river, extending côte Saint-Catherine which started in the seigneurie of La Prairie. It also followed the Tortue and Portage rivers to the border between the two seigneuries and occupied a strip of land, the centre of which was the location designated for the parish of Saint-Constant.

³⁸ NAQ, like the Terrier, this book is held in Québec in the "Biens des Jésuites" collection.

³⁹ Jarnoux's study ("La colonisation de la seigneurie de Batiscan", 163-191), which also examined a Jesuit seigneurie, is related to ours.

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Major Settlement Patterns

Colonization at La Prairie followed patterns dictated by the region's hydrography, as has often been said about other regions of Canada. That truism applies particularly well in the case of this seigneurie, which benefited from a generous geography. Although in the long term, settlement occurred on the St. Lawrence River stretching along the seigneurie's frontage and on the rivers and streams flowing into the St. Lawrence, early settlement was confined to more specific choices that were better defined and imposed by the particular advantages of the land relief. In other words, this meant that initially, there were gaps in settlement along the seigneurie's river frontage, and of the four rivers that flow through its territory, only one was to witness the settlement that began in 1667. The seigneurs chose the Saint-Jacques River basin, La Prairie's geographical and economic centre, for establishing their mission and settling the first colonists. This area, with its village, common and mill, would quickly become the cornerstone of the seigneurie, offering considerable advantages that were the reason for its choice as the initial site for settlement. The geographical attributes which gave the first Native mission and the entire seigneurie its evocative name were pointed out by the narrator of the Jesuit *Relations* of 1670-1671. He was only repeating Champlain's text, which would later be retold by voyageurs and chroniclers. "This dwelling place," he wrote, "[. . .] is located on a raised plain, like a small mountain, at the approach to a vast prairie [. . .] through which a small, winding, very pleasant river flows."⁴⁰ The prairie must have been more prominent than the other features, because it gave its name to the first mission, Saint-François-Xavier-des-"Prés" [meadows], and the seigneurie of La-"Prairie"-de-la-Madeleine.

It was from this original pivot that the Jesuits established in 1671, the date of the first concession contract drawn up by their secretary Joseph Tissot, five lines of settlement or *côtes* (in addition to the plots in the village) to which they would remain faithful until 1694. It was not until this last date and later, in 1699 and 1704, that they agreed to open new *côtes*, which would only be natural extensions of the settlement lines already established bordering the river and in the interior of the seigneurie. The first five lines followed both banks of the Saint-Jacques River and the St. Lawrence River in the direction of Longueuil. *Côtes* Saint-Jean, Les Prairies and La Fourche occupied the entire river basin contained between the domain, which bordered the St. Lawrence River on both sides, and the Saint-Claude stream, which marked the southern edge of settlement. Finally, it was the Saint-Lambert *côte*, or prairie (thus named for the natural prairie found on the shores of the St. Lawrence conceded to its habitants as common land), which ran through *côte* Mouillepied and rejoined the Longueuil seigneurie that was the

⁴⁰ J.R., IV:32. Describing the seigneurie in 1712, Gédéon de Catalogne would specify that "Most of the land under cultivation there was prairie which the inhabitants drained with ditches, making the land fertile for growing grains and vegetables, although subject to fog." ("Rapport sur les seigneuries et établissements" in Munro, Documents, 109).

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fulcrum for settlement of La Prairie on the northeast side. In directing development toward Longueuil, preferring the poor lands of Saint-Lambert and Mouillepied⁴¹ to the richer soil of *côte* Saint-François-Xavier, the Jesuits were less guided by geographical advantages (which would normally have led them to the fertile land along the Tortue River) than by the imperatives of settlement that forced them to concentrate on Longueuil, which was settled at the same time as La Prairie. That no doubt explained why the seigneurs, after the abortive attempts of 1673, gave up developing *côte* Saint-François-Xavier until 1694⁴² (according to the *Terrier*, "it started at the top end of the common and continued to the Tortue River") which would become the most advanced line of settlement to the northwest on the south shore of the St. Lawrence. Perhaps also, as the coming years tended to confirm, the Jesuits were already convinced at that time (1673) of the necessity of moving the Saint-François-Xavier-des-Prés mission toward Sault-Saint-Louis, further from the Amerindian population, whose proximity to the French had become harmful to the Native people. It would have been contrary to their intentions to open a *côte* to French colonization that would have brought together and linked the two communities that they wanted to separate. That reason was barely or no longer valid in 1694, the year when, in a second attempt that would succeed this time, *côte* Saint-François-Xavier was developed. The Iroquois mission which had moved from Kahnawake in 1690 to Kahnawakon,⁴³ beyond the Portage River, was sufficiently distant that settling the Tortue River basin could be considered.

Settlement thus begun in the early 1670s was therefore well underway. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, all the lands in the first ranges (except for a few farther back) of the five original *côtes* were conceded, and the river-front between Longueuil and the village of La Prairie was fully occupied. The other portion between the domain and the seigneurie of Sault-Saint-Louis would be progressively conquered from 1694 to 1721, as the forced migrations of the Native mission toward Caughnawaga would allow the Jesuits to develop *côtes* Saint-François-Xavier, Saint-Ignace and Sainte-Catherine and gradually broach the eastern portion of the neighbouring fief. Settlement was then extended and, as everywhere else in Canada, the Jesuits directed colonization according to the waterways which extended deep into the interior of the seigneurie. The opening dates of the various *côtes* marked the conquest of the territory, the back portions of which, facing the Richelieu valley, Sault-Saint-Louis and the seigneurie of La

⁴¹The land in these two *côtes* had little agricultural value; it was rocky, with clay soil. Its agricultural potential, more limited than elsewhere in the seigneurie, explains why the habitants, in 1672, requested a decrease in rentes that the indignant seigneurs had to grant them. See Administration of the Seigneurie.

⁴²The Jesuits granted several concessions there in 1673, but, very quickly, they reclaimed them and closed this *côte* to settlement.

⁴³Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 100.

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Salle, were slowly overtaken by concessions still granted in the same way until the end of the French regime. Lists of the concessions trace the chronological and spatial path followed by the seigneurs who, until 1760, let themselves be guided by geographical and hydrographical imperatives. Let us follow the map that will direct our itinerary to the interior of the seigneurie. In 1699, *côte* Fontarabie was opened as an extension of *côte* La Fourche through which flowed tributary streams of the Saint-Jacques River. In 1712, the Jesuits went beyond the common and, following the Saint-Jacques River, conceded the first lands on *côte* Saint-Joseph, the future site of Saint-Philippe parish. The following year, they began settling the land between *côtes* La Fourche, Les Prairies and Fontarabie which in the *Terrier* was called L'Ange-Gardien. In 1717, *côte* Saint-Jacques was created, named after the river and adjoining *côte* Saint-Joseph. In 1725, there was a burst of settlement in all directions and *côtes* added toward the interior were extended, completing settlement already underway: Saint-François-Borgia and Saint-Marc in 1726, Saint-Philippe the following year, Saint-Raphaël and Saint-André in 1734, Saint-Claude in 1745, Saint-Stanislas in 1750 (which, after 80 years of settlement, reached the Acadie River), Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague in 1751, Saints-Anges (on both sides of the recently completed road leading to Saint-Jean) and Saint-Constant, two years later, on the boundary of the Longueuil fief, which were the last two *côtes* to be settled before the conquest.

Progress through Time and Space

Shown on tables that illustrate time-space progression, the course of settlement, measured using the 890 concession contracts we organized, showed, with a few interruptions, a vigour that must be compared with the increase in the population of La Prairie.

Table 4. [See pages 66 and 67 of original text.] Concessions of Plots in the Village of La Prairie (1671-1759). [Headings:] [Column 1] - Year; [Column 2] - Number of Contracts; [Column 3] - Surface Area in Rods. Source: 104 plot contracts. We included all the contracts, but did not include in the cumulative surface area those plots already conceded, reunited with the domain and reconceded. The question marks indicate that the surface area of certain plots is unknown; their measurements are not shown in the contract or in the *Terrier*. Their extremely variable dimensions did not allow an estimate.

Graph 1. [See page 68 of original text.] Distribution by Decade of Plot Contracts (1671-1759). [Header:] Number of Contracts. [Footer:] Period. Source: 104 plot contracts. Note: The last period only covers nine years.

The village. The village, whose development is difficult to follow (Table 4, Graph

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1), because plot contracts were badly maintained, confusing, or given verbally,⁴⁴ showed uneven growth over time. In the first ten years, during which there was a strong population increase, the Jesuits distributed approximately twelve plots. Once the first wave of development was over, no plots were granted between 1680 and 1693. It was not until 1694 that distribution began again. After the hesitations at the end of the century, distribution recommenced, sometimes with interruptions, and was maintained almost until the end of the French regime. The peak, in 1721-1730, was related to the decision to enlarge the size of the village, which took over land from the common. The two most significant interruptions occurred from 1730 to 1734 and from 1742 to 1745 (land concession activity in the early 1730s also decreased), and they can no doubt be explained by the new vigilance and parsimony shown by the seigneurs as a result of the somewhat belated resolution evidenced by the intendant, clearly revealed by Hocquart, who was determined to see that the Edict of Marly was respected. On the eve of the conquest, the village of La Prairie, organized around Saint-François-Xavier, Saint-Ignace, Saint-Lambert, Saint-Michel, Sainte-Marie and Saint-Joseph streets, consisted of approximately 50 plots⁴⁵ occupied by artisans, a few merchants, some habitants whose land was nearby, the notary's house, the house of the Soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, the church, the rectory, the guardhouse and the fort commander.

Table 5. [See pages 70 and 71 of original text.] Land Concessions in the Seigneuries of La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis (1672-1759). [Headings:] [Column 1] - Year; [Column 2] - Number of Contracts; [Columns 3 and 4] - Surface Area in Arpents; [Column 3 subheading] - La Prairie; [Column 4 subheading] - Sault-Saint-Louis. Source: 786 concession contracts. We included all the contracts, but did not include in the cumulative surface area land already conceded, reunited with the domain and reconceded. The numbers in parentheses indicate land that was not measured for which we estimated the surface area, based on the dimensions of neighbouring land in the same *côte*. We combined La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis in the same table, because a significant number of contracts involved land shared by the two seigneuries.

Figure 1.1. [See page 72 of original text.] Land Concessions in the Seigneur of La Prairie (1672-1715). [Header] - Number of Arpents (in thousands). [Footer:] Year.

⁴⁴The author of the Terrier could not find them in many cases. He raised questions that often went unanswered and looked for the original contracts that were lost or never existed. The seigneurs were not always assiduous in keeping plot deeds. That perhaps explains why the aveu of 1723 did not include the village and why the Terrier, which partially reconstructed its history, is full of uncertainty and questions. Those facts are no doubt evidence of unauthorized development at the beginning.

⁴⁵Several plots were grouped together, which explains why the number of contracts (104) is higher.

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Figure 1.2. [See page 72 of original text.] Land Concessions in the Seigneurie of La Prairie (1716-1759). [Header:] Number of Arpents (in thousands). [Footer:] Year. [Shaded box:] Estimated Surface Area. [Bottom note:] We estimated the surface area of land that was not measured, based on the dimensions of neighbouring land in the same *côte*.

La Prairie. The concession of land in the seigneurie of La Prairie certainly fluctuated (annual variations are shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2, expressed in surface area) after initial hesitations related to low settlement levels, but with constant activity that did not stop between 1711 and 1759. After a remarkable beginning in 1672, the initial activity could not maintain as strong a pace and gradually slowed, dying out in the early 1680s. Between 1681 and 1692, after allowing the first immigrants to settle in the seigneurie, the Jesuits conceded fewer than 150 arpents, grouped in the last three lands in *côte* Saint-Lambert, the first range of which was thus full in 1690. From 1693 on, settlement started again with renewed force, hesitant at first but continuing steadily beyond 1710.

Let us look at the high and low points shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 and see what they suggest. The first significant peak in chronological order appeared in 1694 and is both misleading and promising. Of the 3 844 arpents conceded that year, Father François Vaillant, director of the seigneurie of La Prairie, reserved for habitants "who now live there and those who will subsequently live there [. . .] from the shore of the Tortue River to the common of Saint-Lambert prairie"⁴⁶ 2 855 arpents for the La Prairie common, which the habitants jealously guarded so as to preserve their rights recognized in the original deed, to further structure and strengthen the community of habitants. The second peak, the most marked after that of 1694, occurred in 1717 when, because of the surge in population, the seigneurs opened *côte* Saint-Jacques, settled *côte* Saint-Joseph and, in particular, granted *censitaires* [who paid a *cens* for a land grant] in Les Prairies extensions of the first range of this *côte*, site of the original pioneer settlements of 1672. The third peak, in 1723, was less pronounced than the preceding peak and followed existing lines of settlement: Saint-Jacques, Fontarabie and Saint-Joseph, the first ranges of which were not full; Mouillepied, Saint-Lambert and Les Prairies, the second ranges of which were fully occupied or would be within the next few years. It was then approximately 30 years until the last thrust of a settlement policy which, lacking reserves, was to die in the early nineteenth century. Colonization in 1750, 1753 and 1754, supported by a population in excess of 1 500 persons, extended to the boundaries of the seigneurie in a southwestern line toward *côtes* Saint-Claude, Saint-André and Saint-Philippe, then in a southeastern line toward *côtes* Saint-Stanislas, Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague, Saints-Anges and Saint-Constant, recently developed since completion of the road leading to Fort Saint-Jean. On the eve of the conquest, that road was to become one of the most

⁴⁶ NAQM, A. Adhémar, Concession of the common at La Prairie de la Madeleine, 19 May 1694.

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heavily used land routes for armies coming from Montréal to reach the Richelieu valley. This belated upsurge, the most significant in close to a century, was certainly related to the Seven Years' War, which was to open the Jesuit seigneur more to the outside, attract an influx of new colonists, often soldiers and a few Montréal merchants, and dramatically change the economic and social life of its habitants. This was a transition period, in which everyone (not only military personnel), was carried along by a conflict to which La Prairie, because of its geography, was privileged to be one of the most attentive witnesses.

In the opposite direction, the most pronounced trough on the graph after 1710, occurring between two level periods and stretching over four years (1730-1733), coincided with the decrease in plot concessions. We must cite the same reasons and believe that Hocquart's harsher application of the Edict of Marly after 20 years of fruitless attempts had for several years forced the most generous seigneurs to be more thrifty in the distribution of new lands.⁴⁷ In addition, along with this unaccustomed parsimony, the Jesuits would launch a sizeable offensive to reunite to the domain land abandoned or in arrears.

At the end of the French regime, the seigneurs of La Prairie had therefore conceded a total of 47 316 arpents (including the common but excluding the village) or 83.8% of a territory comprising 56 448 arpents. Distributed through 22 *côtes*, this energetic enterprise, spread over 88 years (1672-1759), would necessitate nearly 650 notarized contracts. Of the 47 316 arpents granted, 14 559 (30.8%) had been granted during the last ten years only, at a time when the population threshold reached had considerably accelerated the course of settlement.

Figure 2. [See page 75 of original text.] Land Concessions at Sault-Saint-Louis (1704-1759). [Header] - Number of Arpents. [Footer] - Year. [Shaded box] - Estimated Surface Area. Note: We estimated the surface area of land that was not measured, based on the dimensions of neighbouring land in the same *côte*.

Sault-Saint-Louis. At Sault-Saint-Louis, which was granted to the Jesuits in the 1680 deeds, combined and confirmed by the 1717 warrant, the settlement by colonists was later and moderate (Figure 2). The reason was that the very purpose of Sault-Saint-Louis initially was only to support the establishment of a Native mission, a purpose that the seigneurs of La Prairie had respected for nearly 25 years and then gradually deprived of its meaning, interpreting ambiguous titles in their favour. French settlement, still limited to the eastern portion of Sault-Saint-Louis, where the land adjoined La Prairie, advanced slowly, encouraged by the four migrations which, from 1676 to 1716, saw the Iroquois village repeatedly moved upriver and abandoned, at Kahnawake, Kahnawakon and Kahnatakwénké, to finally

⁴⁷ In the space of four years (1730-1733), the Jesuits conceded only 675 arpents of new land.

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reach Caughnawaga in 1716,⁴⁸ far from the seigneurial boundary separating the two fiefs.

Between 1704, the date of the first concessions at Sault-Saint-Louis, and 1719, settlement was tentative and amounted to 1 042 arpents distributed in *côte* Sainte-Catherine on both banks of the Portage River and in *côtes* Saint-François-Xavier and Saint-Ignace on both sides of the Tortue River. All those lands were partly or completely outside the borders of La Prairie and *côte* Sainte-Catherine, on land cleared by the Native people around the abandoned villages; the contracts made until 1716 (the date of the last relocation of the mission) all included a provision prohibiting their holders from living there before the Native people left the village of Sault-Saint-Louis, Kanatakwenke.⁴⁹ The final establishment of the Native village at Caughnawaga between 1716 and 1719 and the distance separating it from La Prairie from then on would make the Jesuits more rash and allow them to heavily settle Sault-Saint-Louis by following a sustained policy of land distribution from 1720 until the end of the French regime. In 1720, which marked the beginning of this peaceful offensive, the seigneurs granted 910 arpents to habitants at La Prairie. This number speaks for itself; slightly lower than the total number of arpents conceded over the first 15 years, it indicates the future of a settlement plan that was cleverly orchestrated and faithfully followed. At the end of the French regime, the Jesuits occupied 26.4% of Sault-Saint-Louis after having granted 13 065 arpents (the surface area of the fief was 49 392 arpents) as concessions, all bordering the St. Lawrence River and the Tortue and Portage rivers and essentially grouped around the parish of Saint-Constant, the centre of French settlement at Sault-Saint-Louis.

In 1760, the two properties whose settlement in time and space we have just described presented a picture whose contours were unequally delineated by the seigneurs and by topography. The seigneurs, by regulating settlement activity which they did not completely control and which was controlled by other factors, nevertheless humanized the geography of the two fiefs, in a way that echoed the sacred history of their Order. They borrowed some place names from Jesuit hagiography. The Jesuit calendar was created and grew quickly during the Catholic reform, of which the Order was the main promoter. It was present throughout La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis, often evoked in the names of village streets and *côtes* in the flat countryside. The first to be honoured, Saint Francis Xavier, gave his name to a street in the village, a *côte* joining the two seigneuries, the Native mission and the original parish of La Prairie before finally being displaced by the Virgin in 1705, at the height of a dispute between the Jesuits and the Sulpicians which will be discussed in the next chapter. The names of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Company of Jesus, Saint Stanislas Kostka,

⁴⁸ Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 180.

⁴⁹ NAQM. See, for example, M. Lepailleur, Concession to René Bourassa, 18 Jan. 1716.

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Saint Louis of Gonzaga, Saint Francis Borgia and Saint Jean-François Régis were also used in the village and the two fiefs, recalling the role the Jesuits played in colonization and in seigneurial life.

Other names were added to the toponomy, more eloquent, more lasting and better anchored in the countryside, that are evident throughout the seigneurial map. On the one hand, the Jesuits reserved for themselves the privilege of naming places, drawing from a familiar vocabulary that was a reminder of their sacred history. On the other hand, they were powerless to order the land, because it obeyed geographical imperatives to which, in spite of themselves, they had to submit. At La Prairie, the lines of settlement along *côtes*, like everywhere else in Canada, followed the St. Lawrence River, rivers and streams, and that structural reality ordered the countryside. The richness of the water system based on the St. Lawrence, the four main rivers and the numerous streams which flowed into them, left an indelible line on the land map, more capricious in its form than the careful parallelism of a theoretical model to which we have long been accustomed. Generally, the area of the seigneurie at La Prairie showed many long, narrow rectangles, a familiar picture which would surprise no one, but also, above all, a layout more in harmony with the countryside and waterways than with a geometric plan. The result was a very uneven design and layout and an extremely varied landscape that still appear on modern maps (those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), because they were not amended, that remain the only maps we are able to use.⁵⁰ At La Prairie, the often proclaimed parallelism was not even present all along the riverbanks. The parallelism was interrupted twice by the Saint-Jacques and Tortue rivers which necessitated different directions. And when it did exist, it was soon interrupted in the back country, when the line of land following the rivers perpendicularly cut across *côtes* on the St. Lawrence and formed a puzzle whose pieces were not laid out analogously or symmetrically.

Map 3. [See page 77 of original text.] Land map in the seigneurie of La Prairie (according to J. Riel's map, 1861).

Concession Terms and Conditions

The main seigneurial activity, the concession of lands in the fief of La Prairie and at Sault-Saint-Louis, followed an unchanging model established very early on, to which the Jesuits would remain faithful until 1760. Usually, an act of concession granted verbally or by private agreement preceded the notarized contract and was valid throughout the probation period, during which the colonist, in principle, had to prove his willingness to settle by working the land. In practice, however, that last condition was not always respected and, provided that the *censitaire* paid the

⁵⁰We did not find any old map of the two seigneuries.

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rentes, his ownership was not questioned, as evidenced by acts of concession for sales of lands on which "no work" was done. During La Prairie's hesitant beginnings, the notarized deed was not always issued after the act, which for a long time remained the only proof of the habitant's ownership. When the author of the *Terrier* organized the concession deeds to the first land and the original plots in the village, he also mentioned the few cases, very few it is true, where acts served as notarized contracts, where plots were granted in the greatest confusion, without an act or contract. This negligence was however short-lived, and the seigneurs were soon to institutionalize the practice of notarized documents to comply with colonial authorities, prepare the *aveux* and clearly establish the assessment of *lods et ventes* [tax levied by the seigneur on the sale of a concession] which self-interest demanded. In any case, the Jesuits would not stop issuing temporary acts. Indications in the *Terrier*, property rolls and contracts prove that they followed that practice until the end of the French regime.

The statement "which he has held for several years" sometimes included in concession contracts and the identity of the concession-holder's neighbours shown on the same deeds, even though no contract had yet been received, suggested the existence of such acts before the visit to the notary. Finally, the property rolls for 1738 which alphabetically listed the *censitaires* in La Prairie, sometimes mentioned recently granted concession acts that were notarized shortly afterwards, for which we found confirmation.

Graph 2. [See page 79 of original text.] Distribution by Month of Concession Contracts (1671-1759). [Header] - Number of Contracts; [Footer] - Month.
Source: 890 concession contracts.

The distribution by month (Graph 2) of 890 concession contracts (lands and plots combined) showed strong periods of seigneurial activity within one year and shed light on the land distribution policy adopted by the Jesuits. As we might imagine, the curve dipped in the winter (except for the peak in March) and in the fall (except for the peak in November), climbed in May, peaked in June-July, and in August reached May levels. The seigneurs conceded more land in the spring and summer, and their strong activity in this area coincided with the period of most intense agricultural activity. May, June, July and August represented 47% (419/890) of the contracts; June and July alone represented 30.8% (274/890).

Figurative Plan. [See page 80 of original text.] Concessions in *Côte Saint-Lambert* (Chronological and Spatial Order). [Headings] - DATES - SPATIAL ORDER; [Box 1] - Unconceded Land; [Box 2] - Conceded Land; [Box 3] - Land Already Conceded. [Note beside boxes:] Numbers in the first column (1-24) indicate the chronological order of land distribution. The concession dates for each plot of land follow. The last numbers (1-32) refer to the number of plots of land included in the *côte*.
Source: *Terrier de La Prairie* and concession contracts.

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The dates of the contracts and the location of the conceded land in the *Terrier* also allowed us to reconstruct the plan which the Jesuits developed for settling the various *côtes*, at the same time allowing us to understand the strategy used for controlling the land and ensuring settlement. Throughout the 22 *côtes* of the seigneurie of La Prairie, they applied the same pattern, which we can follow on a reduced scale using a figurative plan which shows the progress of colonization in *côte* Saint-Lambert, one of the first territories conquered by the *censitaires* in the last third of the seventeenth century.

Côte Saint-Lambert extended from *côte* Mouillepied, which adjoined the fief of Longueuil, to the domain which the Jesuits reserved for themselves on both banks of the Saint-Jacques River. Official settlement⁵¹ of Saint-Lambert, which started in the fall of 1672, began with two plots of land of 40 arpents each, conceded the same day (to different persons), almost fully occupying the geographic centre of the *côte*. Although the Jesuits did not always follow that practice for most *côtes*, they usually based initial colonization on a concentration of land concessions (two, three, and sometimes four), all neighbouring and conceded the same day to different habitants. We can verify that practice, among others, in *côte* Saint-François-Xavier, which was structured in 1694 around the first four plots of land all granted on July 3 of the same year, *côte* Les Prairies, originally concentrated around three concessions granted May 31, 1672, and *côte* Saint-Joseph, which was created in 1712 from two plots of land granted on January 22. This concentration ensured at the outset a more or less dense grouping from which settlement could then continue. Sustained by the original base of concentration, colonization then took off and progressively took over land in the *côte* by moving away from its base and establishing beachheads, outposts which marked the course of settlement but with no support at the outset. Little by little, the sectors joined up, the initial corridor was settled and soon the conceded lands were supported on both sides by already occupied concessions. That was the model that the seigneurs applied at Saint-Lambert, and the gradual conquest of that territory can be followed on the figurative plan. The beachheads, necessarily numerous at the beginning (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 8 in the first column), all established in the first year of settlement of the *côte*, subsequently amounted to only two (Nos. 16 and 21) which the Jesuits established in 1674 and 1677. The relative isolation which the first lands suffered without any support was soon broken. It took a total of 18 years for the first range of *côte* Saint-Lambert, which covered 80 arpents, to be completely conceded, and 71 of the concessions were within the first six years. Fifty years after that *côte* was opened, the *aveu* of 1723, drawn up by the Jesuits, showed Saint-Lambert as not fully occupied but changed somewhat from 1672 onward. Of the 32 concessions originally

⁵¹We know that the real settlement of the *côte* preceded in time as we can determine from the concession contracts. However, it is impossible to know its extent, because the temporary acts granted by the Jesuits were not kept.

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comprising the *côte*, 20 (62.5%) changed family, and of the 29 original owners, only 11 (37.9%) remained, founded families and left descendants. The great mobility of owners, which was evident within ten years of the date of concession, surprised no one. It was characteristic of the unstable beginnings and had already been observed on Montréal Island⁵² and in the Québec area.⁵³

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SEIGNEURY

The explanatory deed to the imprecise title of 1647, granted by Intendant Duchesneau in 1676, was to confirm the feudal character of La Prairie, citing its surface area and establishing the authority of the Jesuits whom it recognized as holders in fee, with all seigneurial rights and the right to dispense justice in low, middle and high courts of law. This confirmation, which clearly defined the seigneurial structure of La Prairie, implied that from that point on, the seigneur could be a true system for controlling a group of people and a system of land exploitation through the partial exercise of public authority.

In theory, the seigneur, as holder in fee of a certain expanse of land, reserved a portion for himself as property which he held, including right of use, and conceded the rest, either as *arrière-fiefs* [sub-concessions] or for a *cens* in exchange for, in the case of the latter, dues payable either in money or in kind which symbolized his pre-eminence as owner. Through the seigneur's power to judge civil and criminal matters and finally, through banalities [charges a seigneur levied for services he provided], he exercised individual rights over *censitaires* that were acknowledged by the Crown. From this ideal and completely theoretical model came the power of the seigneur who, according to Pierre Goubert, simultaneously became a master, a tax collector and a judge.⁵⁴ In principle, those roles accounted for his ability to affirm his economic superiority, fiscal power and political authority, nurtured by the rights and privileges conferred on him by a system of which he was to become the main beneficiary.

The seigneur's economic power stemmed first from the size of the domain which normally made him the largest producer and the peasants' primary economic competitor, when rigorous land exploitation allowed him to accumulate sizeable agricultural surpluses. His power was further strengthened by the banalities, in particular the mill banality, which was compulsory for peasants who were always quick to denounce a costly service that was nevertheless indispensable and for which they had no alternative. There were dues the seigneur, as pre-eminent owner, also collected, that were listed in the periodically revised *terriers*. The *cens*, a reminder to the peasant of his lack of full ownership, the *rente*, less

⁵²Dechêne, Habitants, 292.

⁵³Harris, The Seigneurial System, 141-143.

⁵⁴Braudel and Labrousse, eds., Histoire économique et social de la France, II: 122.

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symbolic than the *cens*, and the transfer dues which the *censitaires* sometimes tried to disguise were the most obvious forms of seigneurial taxation. While revenues from the domain and seigneurial rights were, above all, the mark of the seigneur's economic domination, the right to dispense justice, the most notable right, ensured his political and administrative domination. That authority, always included at the beginning of the *terriers* because it was the most important, gave power to a fief, imprescriptibility⁵⁵ to the *cens* and dues, and to the seigneur, a formidable weapon that was, however, most of the time reduced to civil matters, since the seigneur often relinquished too-costly criminal jurisdiction to the royal courts. From this very unevenly applied and invoked collection of rights necessarily arose relationships of power, domination, submission and dependence between the seigneur and his *censitaires* that allow us to judge the importance and significance of the seigneurial institution.

This excellent archetype, borrowed from the France of the ancien régime, which we want to examine using the example of La Prairie, whose seigneurial title, based on the French model, in many ways evoked an ideal image, was intended to be applied to a completely distinct geographic, social and economic environment. The product of an "adult society," the seigneurial system, transplanted in America, provided a framework for a population, a society in formation subject to conditions that were different from those in old France. Within the context of the French-colonial comparison, this borrowing allows us to predict the different responses from both and inevitably foretells the distinctions which, through the example of La Prairie, should attest to its unique Canadian character.

Our presentation, which begins with comparative analysis, follows the standard pattern. It is essentially a presentation of seigneurial rights, a trivial exercise one might say, surely no longer useful in France but which appears necessary here, since in the past it was too often solely limited to the legal aspect. Documentation left by the seigneurs of La Prairie obliges us to go beyond that cursory stage and discover, through their administration, the essence of the seigneurial system. We may finally be able to assess its strength or weakness, its power or pallor. A comparative judgment of that system needs to be made that sheds light on the study of French-colonial relationships.

The Domain

The domain the Jesuits reserved for themselves at La Prairie occupied a small area and followed a developmental path unlike that of the domains of French seigneurs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The meagreness of this reserve, and the little attention the Jesuits paid it are commensurate with the meagre documentation that allowed us to reconstruct its short history leading to its gradual

⁵⁵ Saint-Jacob, Les paysans, 58.

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diminution and disappearance in 1726. In total, the reserve covered 259 arpents on the shores of the St. Lawrence River, unevenly distributed between the two banks of the Saint-Jacques River, whose mouth formed a vast plain covered with natural prairie (rare good fortune in an essentially wooded country) which would become the centre of the first settlements and the site chosen by the seigneurs to establish a domain that from the outset was easy to exploit.

This seigneurial reserve, which the texts refer to as "the Jesuits' farm," basically comprised 211 arpents on the southwest shore of the river, which the seigneurs would lease between 1675 and 1705 when it was subdivided. The four leases granted by the Jesuits remain the only documents related to this part of the domain. The severity of their terms no doubt explains the difficulty of finding a tenant and perhaps in part the action taken in 1705. The first lease that Father Frémin granted in 1675 to Charles Boyer and his wife Marguerite Ténard,⁵⁶ which he probably wanted to use as an example, remained unique for its presentation and requirements. It made the Boyer couple into veritable domestic servants, bound by demanding obligations imposed on them by the contract. Boyer, who agreed to work the farm and occupy the buildings, had to comply with the following conditions: deliver 500 livres worth of wheat each year to Montréal; feed the fathers for 180 livres per person, per year for the term of the lease and feed all visitors to the Jesuits for 10 sols per person, per day (these amounts were deducted from the farm revenue); take meals to the fathers in their rooms and cook the "little extras" given to them; provide 12 livres worth of bread per week; haul 15 cords of wood each year and provide the missionaries three days of hauling according to their needs; and, finally, maintain the fences and bridges and carry the fathers' heating wood to the small kitchen in their house. This unusual document was not repeated, and subsequent leases, which relaxed the terms of the agreement, would take the form of an actual lease contract from which most of the domestic services required in the first lease would disappear.

It is impossible to estimate the annual revenue from the farm on the domain; it was mostly subdivided in 1705, the year in which the seigneurs concluded four sales⁵⁷ in one day which allowed two of the most important habitants of La Prairie, Pierre Gagné and Jacques Deneau, and two Montrealers, the merchant Jean Soumande and the mason Gilbert Maillet (rare examples of city dwellers acquiring land at La Prairie), to buy for 6 000 livres the 211 arpents that would become the first four lands in *côte* Saint-Jean. The rest of the domain, comprising 48 arpents, almost all prairie, which enclosed *côte* Saint-Lambert, would survive only another 20 years or so before being similarly subdivided. The Jesuits renounced their claim to it in 1726⁵⁸ when Pierre Pinsonneau agreed to pay 1 800 livres for land that

⁵⁶ NAQ, Tissot, Lease from the Jesuits to Charles Boyer, "Biens des Jésuites" collection, 29 June 1675.

⁵⁷ NAQM, The deeds dated 8 Nov. 1705 were filed in the papers of notary Antoine Adhémar.

⁵⁸ NAQM, Barette, Sale by the Jesuits to Pierre Pinsonneau, 7 Oct. 1726.

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then yielded 325 to 350 bales of hay each year to the seigneurs.

As much as it is possible to judge by the example of La Prairie (which includes, however, other examples),⁵⁹ this short history of a modest domain illustrates one of the major traits of the seigneurial system in New France which primarily distinguishes it from the French system. Whereas in France, the reserve often occupied a sizeable area within the seigneurial system, an area which the seigneurs would try to increase in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which constituted the main source of income for the landholder, in Canada it was often given the smallest portion of land, reached a ceiling or was reduced, and provided meagre financial support. All of that encouraged the seigneurs to sell such domains, gradually reduce their size or keep them to their original, sometimes paltry, size. Economic conditions specific to New France, weak markets and sparse settlement explained the mediocrity of the domains, whose yield was not in as much demand as in France. Here, we thus encounter, on the reduced scale of the analysis of the seigneurial reserve at La Prairie, a problem frequently emphasized by Canadian historiography, which will be raised again later in this book. It suggests that economic and social progress in Canada was not a result of conquering land and that low land revenues held little attraction and were a hard sell.

Monopolies

The seigneurial deeds of title to La Prairie explicitly or implicitly recognized that the Jesuits held a body of individual rights which they would not exercise equally. The first of those, which in France was the most important and which the *terriers*, actual constitutions of the seigneuries, never failed to mention, was justice. This was a formidable means (civil justice, in particular, because criminal justice was almost always relinquished to the royal courts) available to some tens of thousands of seigneurs to settle disputes between peasants, arguments over boundary lines and grazing, succession matters, minor children, guardianship; to rule on all kinds of disputes that never failed to arise between seigneurs and their *censitaires*; and finally, above all, to ensure the preservation of their rights and the collection of dues, with recourse where necessary to constraint.

This "village justice," abuses of which were constantly denounced by French

⁵⁹ Dechêne ("L'évolution du régime seigneurial," 177) was able to establish that the domain of the Sulpicians, including forest, in the eighteenth century did not reach 3% (slightly fewer than 4 000 arpents) of the surface area of Montréal Island and that the farms of the Montréal seigneurs were, together with the farms of the Séminaire de Québec, probably among the largest in the colony. In her view, that suggested the domains that the lay seigneurs reserved for themselves must have been smaller. On Jésus Island, the main domain occupied approximately 675 arpents and represented less than 2% of seigneurial lands. (Dépatie, Lalancette and Dessureault, Contributions à l'étude, 29). Lemoine, who studied Longueuil, La Prairie's neighbouring seigneurial, remarked on this same phenomenon. In 1723, the domain comprised only 300 arpents and was not extended until 1760 (Longueuil, 61). Greer (Peasant, 93) observed an analogous development in the Richelieu valley in the eighteenth century.

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peasants, existed in Canada. It appears to have played an important role under the French regime and "merits further study."⁶⁰ When Canadian seigneurs exercised this right, they most often maintained only lower courts, the role of which, as in Montréal, was limited to knowing the property rolls and ensuring payments were made and recorded and regulations followed.⁶¹ For reasons that we do not fully understand (too-high costs, difficulty recruiting court officers?), the Jesuits relinquished this privilege at the outset, placing themselves under royal justice. This obliged them, however, to present their cases before the court at Trois-Rivières, the closest royal jurisdiction to La Prairie, before royal courts were established in Montréal in 1693, after the Sulpicians were stripped of most of their legal authority. However, the absence of a royal jurisdiction in Montréal before that time had drawbacks and, after 1683, Father Raffeix, director of the seigneurie at La Prairie, had to present a petition to Intendant de Meulles. Concerned about late payment of *rentes* from his *censitaires*, he asked the intendant for permission "because the royal court is more than 30 leagues [from La Prairie], [. . .] to have his debtors summoned before the nearest judge, who is in Montréal, to be initially tried by him."⁶² On February 23 of the same year, the intendant acceded to the arguments of the La Prairie seigneurs and authorized them to take their *censitaires* before the court on Montréal Island which would be able to give the Jesuits' cases first hearing. Appeals, however, had to be heard by the lieutenant general of the royal court at Trois-Rivières.⁶³ Ten years later, it was no longer an issue and, until the end of the French regime, La Prairie took its disputes before the royal judge in Montréal. This practice, which can be traced through court records, was one of the many ways in which the Jesuit seigneurie was dependent on Montréal.

There is little to say about hunting and fishing rights, because the documentation is almost completely silent on this topic. That silence results from the minimal interest the seigneurs paid it, in an untamed land where such monopolies did not have the same significance as in France and were, in most cases, difficult to apply. Hunting rights, jealously guarded by French seigneurs, on which they never compromised and often the focal point of peasant resistance, were in Canada more honorary than real. Although François-Joseph Cugnet could state that, to protect the prerogatives of the seigneurial class to which he belonged, no *censitaire* had the right to hunt without permission from the seigneur within the fief, or even on his own land,⁶⁴ it is difficult to see how in a country so

⁶⁰ Dickinson, "La justice seigneuriale," 323.

⁶¹ Dechêne, Habitants, 252-253.

⁶² P.G. Roy, Ordonnances, commissions, 23 Feb. 1683, II: 17.

⁶³ Ibid., 17-18.

⁶⁴ Cugnet, Traité, 51.

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generously wooded, where the inhabitants, often members of the militia, possessed arms (as shown in their estate inventories), the seigneurs could have maintained this privilege. The habitants of La Prairie certainly hunted, tolerated by the seigneurs who, at times, must have been delighted by it. In fact, they sometimes accepted "partridges" as dues, which were entered in the property rolls in place of the endless capons owed each year for the land.

We are hardly better informed about fishing, which we know was tolerated, with the exception of net fishing⁶⁵ and fishing for commercial purposes. The few references, always very discreet, in the notarial minutes or seigneurial books prove, however, that the Jesuits attempted to regulate it. Under the domain leases, the seigneurs twice⁶⁶ granted their farmers the right to fish in the Saint-Jacques River which bordered the "Jesuit farm." In exceptional cases, the director of the seigneur recorded in the 1737-1738 property roll verbal or written permission granted to the few habitants who requested it. In 1737, Jean-François Dumay and René Bourassa obtained the right to fish in the Saint-Jacques River in exchange for "twenty-four pieces of fish," an authorization that was renewed two years later. "On April 12, 1738," the director wrote, "I gave Barraux permission to fish at Sault-Saint-Louis opposite the land belonging to Gagné and Boutin on the condition that he give one fish for every ten he kept." A few days earlier, he had authorized the wife of the miller Pierre Bertrand, known as Desrochers, to fish near Boquet Island under the same terms. Those brief pieces of information, together with the few in concession contracts, are the extent of the documentation, as poor as it is sparse, concerning a seigneurial right to which the Jesuits appear to have paid little attention.

It was completely different in the case of flour mills, the only seigneurial monopoly which the Jesuits really exercised. The archives allowed us to trace almost a century of the turbulent history of this banality, which seems to have been a constant worry for the seigneurs of La Prairie and, for the *censitaires*, a necessary charge which sometimes caused grumbling. The Jesuits had two mills built on seigneurial land. The first, a windmill, already mentioned in the concession contracts drawn up by Tissot in 1672, was built on a small promontory on the common, near the fort and the St. Lawrence River. The second, a watermill, which operated as temperantly as the windmill, was first located at *côte* Sainte-Catherine, at the mouth of the Portage River, on the site of the former mission established at Kahnawake. It was built in the spring of 1718.⁶⁷ The seigneurs' decision to build a mill at that time close to Sault-Saint-Louis is certainly

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶NAQM, A. Adhémar, Lease from the Jesuits to Pierre Gagné, 4 June 1697; Lease from the Jesuits to Pierre Pinsonneau, 8 Oct. 1702.

⁶⁷NAQM, M. Lepailleur, Contract between the Jesuits and Guillaume Jourdain, master mason, 1 Apr. 1718.

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related to the last relocation of the Iroquois mission which, by 1716, had reached Caughnawaga and had left available previously occupied land which the Jesuits would gradually settle. They abandoned the mill around 1750-1752 and had another one built up the St. Lawrence River on the border between the two seigneuries on a strip of land claimed by the Native people of Sault-Saint-Louis (which they would not obtain) on the same spot (Kahnawakon) where they had established their village in 1690.

Documentation concerning the administration of the two mills at La Prairie endlessly evokes the numerous difficulties they caused the seigneurs. In order to satisfy the colonists, they were obliged to offer a service, no doubt profitable in the eighteenth century when the population had grown considerably, but always subject to the whims of the climate, costly to maintain and repair and dependent on a group of too-often unreliable millers who, as was the case in France, were known to be stubborn and sometimes rogues. Approximately 20 notarized leases signed by the Jesuits show the provisions of the contracts granted to those too-numerous millers who the seigneurs vainly attempted to keep, or who, on the contrary, they had to fire. The Jesuits provided a house and small plot of land for a garden to the millers, who were sometimes farmers and who had to demand every fourteenth minot from the *censitaires*. In return, the millers had to do small repairs and annually pay the seigneurs 70 to 90 minots of wheat or half of the milled product payable every three months. The high number of leases, their relatively short duration, the severity of their clauses and sometimes their cancellation suggest demanding working conditions and recruitment difficulties, illustrated by the mobility of the La Prairie millers, who, with a few exceptions, always came from outside the seigneurie. Between 1689 and 1756, where it is possible to identify them, there were no fewer than 16 different millers who in the space of 68 years occupied the windmill at La Prairie, representing an average stay of slightly more than four years. Contracts therefore generally had short terms, sometimes one year, more often three or five, but rarely more. The short contract term and the fact that 25% of those contracts were not fulfilled to the end of their term are evidence both of the rigours of the work required and the unreliability of the millers who no doubt always profited from their stay at La Prairie and preferred to leave the seigneurie after one term. On a few occasions, the seigneurs would try to join the two mills under the same lease, but the results were hardly better. That practice, which they quickly abandoned, is better evidence than any other of the difficulty of managing a monopoly that relied on a group of specialized workers whose reduced numbers⁶⁸ condemned the seigneurs to draw from a quickly exhausted pool of workers.

No other individual better combines the many facets of the La Prairie miller and sums up the turbulent history of this banality than Pierre Bertrand Desrochers.

⁶⁸ Objois, "Les meuniers dans la seigneurie," 94-97.

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In 1716,⁶⁹ the Jesuits granted him a first lease, which he, like all other millers, was unable to sign and which he could not fulfil because he had not fulfilled his previous commitments at the Lachenaie mill.⁷⁰ Two years later, he returned to La Prairie and took a three-year lease, for half the grain, on the two mills of the seigneurie,⁷¹ a contract no doubt renewed in 1721⁷² and renewed again under the same conditions in 1725.⁷³ Unable to finish his last mandate, he was fired and left La Prairie following a request to seize his property presented by the Jesuits to the King's prosecutor in Montréal.⁷⁴ To justify firing the miller, whose property was to be seized, Father d'Heu, director of the seigneurie, raised arguments often used in France⁷⁵ and denounced a situation that had become intolerable for the mill users. Pierre Bertrand Desrochers did not satisfy the habitants of La Prairie, did not operate both mills simultaneously or regularly, produced bad flour, held back more than he was allowed, did not pay the rent for the mill and, at night, transported wheat and other items belonging to the seigneurs to defraud them of payments he owed them. Exiled for ten years, Desrochers nevertheless came back to La Prairie in 1738 and again received a lease for the two mills of the seigneurie, this time a one-year lease.⁷⁶ The rehiring of a banished miller whose practices were deplored perfectly illustrates the recruitment difficulties already mentioned that led the Jesuits to action they would soon regret. In fact, petitioned by the *censitaires*, led by their militia captains, and by the seigneurs, represented by Father de la Bretonnière who reproached him for the same problems he had caused in 1727, Hocquart ordered Desrochers to leave in 1743⁷⁷ and, in order to get rid of him as quickly as possible, the Jesuits cancelled his outstanding debts.

The departure of Pierre Bertrand Desrochers would not, however, solve the problem of the mills at La Prairie, which was not only related to the millers but also

⁶⁹NAQM, M. Lepailleur, Lease from the Jesuits to Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, 12 Sept. 1716.

⁷⁰NAQM, Barette, Agreement between the Jesuits and Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, 3 Oct. 1716.

⁷¹Ibid., Lease from the Jesuits to Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, 28 Nov. 1718.

⁷²The minute book was not kept.

⁷³NAQM, Barette, Lease from the Jesuits to Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, 30 Oct. 1725.

⁷⁴NAQ, Request by the Jesuits to seize property, "Biens des Jésuites" collection, 10 Dec. 1727.

⁷⁵Goubert, La vie quotidienne, 186-189.

⁷⁶NAQM, Barette, Lease from the Jesuits to Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, 24 July 1738.

⁷⁷NAQ, Ordinance by Intendant Hocquart, 21 June 1743.

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to a costly system, reserved for the directors, subject to the arbitrariness of the elements, limited by geography and too many users to only offering reduced services that were poorly distributed over a vast territory. The habitants of La Prairie were only too well aware of the inadequacies and imperfections when, in an appeal in the form of a petition and ultimatum issued to the seigneurs shortly after the conquest, they denounced the drawbacks of a monopoly that was not concerned about people and created suspect practices, also present on Montréal Island⁷⁸ and Jésus Island.⁷⁹ In a request to Father Floquet, director of the seigneurie of La Prairie, they wrote:

very humbly entreat [the list of 30 inhabitants named in the document follows] and have the honour of very respectfully advising you that for several years and, in particular, last year, they have not ceased asking you for a flour mill able to serve all your vassals. The latter find themselves again forced in spite of themselves, to ask you for the same thing [. . .] which in all fairness and justice must be granted for several reasons which are well-known to you, my Reverend Father and seigneur, and that those who make this petition are honoured to point out to you. Firstly, your mill in the Sault is dead to all in the winter; in the fort, since autumn it only works at times and for outsiders who have no right to use it, yet have that privilege. In the summer, because of lack of water, the watermill is practically useless to your tenants. Secondly, the windmill cannot always work, sometimes because of lack of wind, sometimes because of breakdowns that occur all too frequently [. . .] which has placed and annually places your tenants in the difficult position of taking matters into their own hands and going to outside mills to have their grain milled. This is a significant wrong to the petitioners, seeing that it causes them great loss for the number of days each must take every year to go have flour made at Sault des Récolets, sometimes at Chambly, at Chateaugué, or Boucherville mountain, during time that is precious to the habitants, for example, during the autumn when work has to be done seeding and harvesting, added to the difficult winter when each is exposed to a thousand dangers of losing his life, as has already happened to several. This situation is continuing and easy to prove; it would not have happened and would happen no more if it would please you to give it your attention and consider in addition that not content to pay the exact *cens et rentes* and other seigneurial dues for which they are given no services, they are still paying double

⁷⁸Dechêne, Habitants, 253-254.

⁷⁹Dépatie, Lalancette and Dessureault, Contributions à l'étude, 45.

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because of the number of days they spend each year going to outside mills. In light of [. . .] the fair claims of the said petitioners, they dare to hope that you will agree to allow them to bring to your attention that there is a site in your seigneurie commonly known as "cheval de terre" [on the banks of the Acadie River] where your sawmill used to be, where you can have a flour mill built that would work winter and summer. That is the only way to bring peace and tranquillity to your tenants who would be in despair if forced to seek legal recourse in this matter, but they hope that within eight days you will deign to respond favourably to their fair request; with prayers that they will not cease [. . .] together to offer heaven for your health and prosperity.⁸⁰

This final request, which sums up the most common grievances of the *censitaires*, only reiterates the problems that must have been occurring at banal mills everywhere else in Canada. To give more weight to their argument, the habitants were not embarrassed to make the unusual confession that they used outside mills which were forbidden to them.⁸¹ Their threat to the seigneurs to take legal action and the hope of seeing a situation that was making them desperate corrected are commensurate with the flaws of a monopoly that the Jesuits would not abandon, even though they were incapable of eliminating its imperfections.

Fixed and Occasional Dues

All too often we know only the rates and legal aspects of these dues, although it is possible to trace their evolution through time and space and observe how they

⁸⁰ NAQM, Separate documents, undated. Some indications allow us to situate this text chronologically and believe that it is subsequent to the conquest. The sawmill built on the Montréal River referred to in the document no longer existed when the request was written. However, it was still in operation at the end of the French régime. (NAQM, Panet, Lease by the Jesuits to René Cartier, 22 May 1758.) Father Floquet, to whom this request was addressed, was director of the seigneurie of La Prairie from 1760 to 1772. Finally, a note in the margin of the manuscript indicates that the document came from the papers of the notary Hantraye, who practised from 1765 to 1776. It may therefore be concluded that the petition must in all likelihood have been written between 1765 and 1772. It is interesting to note that originally, the request was to end only with the prayers for health and prosperity which were erased and finally moved to the end of the text to make space for the clause referring to possible legal action. This last-minute correction emphasizes the determination of the applicants and changes somewhat the tone of the request.

⁸¹ This practice, which appears to have become commonplace to the habitants of La Prairie, existed previously. Already in 1728, Father d'Heu, who deplored "that some of the habitants of La Prairie de la Magdelaine have no difficulty transporting most of the grain they need to feed their families and have it ground into flour at other mills." (NAQM, Barette, Power of attorney of the Jesuits to Thomas, 29 Apr. 1728.) gave power of attorney to Mr. Thomas, master miller, to prevent these practices and take those responsible to court. They were also denounced in Montréal (Dechêne, *Habitants*, 254; "L'évolution du régime seigneurial," 165) and elsewhere in Canada (Cugnet, *Traité*, 38). What is astonishing in the document addressed to Father Floquet is the brutal frankness of the habitants of La Prairie and their temerity in admitting to illegal acts which had become commonplace to them. Such an admission, with such heavy consequences, suggests that the situation had become unbearable for those using the mills at La Prairie.

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came to be more strictly administered in the eighteenth century. This analysis, in the context of the lengthy period of the French regime, begins with a rather cursory description but also and more importantly with an understanding of a seigneurial policy that solidified over the years, whose course and progress revealed the power relationship between the Jesuits and the *censitaires*. The seigneur thus appeared to be, not a static institution mired in a kind of immobility, but a flexible organization that changed with the pace of demography and colonization and adapted to the changing conditions in society that the colonial and seigneurial authorities tried to follow.

Firstly, it is important to understand the composition of the *cens et rentes* that were paid by the settlers of La Prairie. The *rente* for village plots was six deniers per *toise* [6.4 feet in length] of area, a rate that remained unchanged until 1760. In the *côtes*, the *cens* for plots of land was one denier per arpent of frontage, a lower amount than appeared to be most common at the end of the French regime.⁸² The *rente* had been set at one sol per arpent of area and one capon (sometimes converted to wheat) per arpent of frontage. Dues for the common were added to *cens et rentes*; *censitaires* in Mouillepied were obliged to pay five sols per animal for the use of prairie land on the river bank, and *censitaires* in the other *côtes* had to pay 30 sols per year to pasture their animals in the vast expanse of land conceded in 1694. Before 1717, all dues were calculated in local currency, and it was not until the royal decree in that year, which was renewed in 1730, that they were converted to royal currency and reduced by one quarter.⁸³ The Jesuits would comply with that decree and amend in the *Terrier* the amount of dues (by deducting 25%) owed for lands conceded before 1717. The dues were to be delivered to the seigneurial manor of La Prairie or to the Jesuits' residence in Montréal where the superior who was responsible for the management of the seigneurie lived. Until 1744, dues were payable on December 1st, but after that year, seigneurs and *censitaires* agreed⁸⁴ that from then on dues would be paid on November 11, as was generally done in France and elsewhere in the colony.

The standard rate of *rente* established at the outset by the seigneurs would

⁸² According to Harris (*The Seigneurial System*, 64) and Cugnet (*Traité*, 44), the *cens* was usually one sol per arpent of frontage [12 deniers = 1 sol and 20 sols = 1 livre].

⁸³ In his 1717 decree, the King ordered "that cens, rentes, dues, farm leases, rents and other debts contracted prior to the publishing of this decree, and where currency of France is not stipulated, may be paid in the currency of France, with a deduction of one quarter which is the reduction from local currency to the currency of France." ("Déclaration du roi abolissant la monnaie de carte et la monnaie du pays, 5 July 1717," in Shortt, *Documents*, I: 402.) The King reiterated its contents on March 25, 1730. (*Edits, ordonnances royaux*, I: 525-526.)

⁸⁴ An imposing delegation of captains and officers of the militia representing the settlers of La Prairie met Father de Gonnor, director of the seigneurie, in 1745 and agreed to change the due date for payment of rentes (NAQM, Souste, contract between the settlers of La Prairie and Father Nicolas de Gonnor, 26 Sept. 1745.) The following October 3, François Guy, major in the militia of the seigneurie, posted the text on the door of the parish church.

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not vary under the French regime,⁸⁵ with two exceptions that it is useful to cite here. The two corrections made by the Jesuits occurred at the beginning and end of the period under study. As a result of a request made to the seigneurs in 1672,⁸⁶ in which they described the poverty of their lands, the habitants of *côtes* Mouillepied and Saint-Lambert, after an unusual confrontation that was to offend the Jesuits, received a reduction in *rente*, which was set from then on at half a sol per arpent of area. The other event took place at the end of the French regime, at a time when demand for wheat was high, its trade was regulated and the prices were artificially inflated by the war. Busy from 1750 to 1760 settling the new *côtes* Saint-Stanislas, Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague, Saint-Constant and Saints-Anges (all on the Saint-Jean road which was very heavily used during the war of the conquest), the seigneurs were able to convert capons into a more generous *rente* of half a *minot* [one minot = 1.05 bushel] of wheat per 20 arpents of area.⁸⁷ Thus, for a 120-arpent plot of land (4 x 30) conceded in *côte* Saint-Jacques in 1723, six livres *rente* was to be paid and four capons valued at one livre each, which is four livres or two *minots* of wheat. The same concession granted in 1754 in *côte* Saint-Stanislas obliged its holder to pay six livres *rente* and three *minots* of wheat. The Jesuits were to profit little from that increase, however, because on the eve of the conquest, the space that remained to be conceded in the seigneurie of La Prairie was shrinking, leaving little room to open new *côtes*.

In addition, the seigneurs must surely have collected extremely lucrative dues for land transfers, judging by the movement of landholdings which seemed very active at La Prairie. We gathered nearly 1 300 bills of sale and somewhat fewer than 200 exchange contracts which gave an indication of the many transactions, on most of which *lods et ventes* weighed heavily (rate of 8.3%), which the Jesuits never forgot to claim and the *censitaires* sometimes tried to evade. Nothing in the seigneurial documents, however, provides any information on the revenue earned by the Jesuits each year, and we gave up calculating the total when it became obvious that it would be a monumental task.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Harris wrote (*The Seigneurial System*, 67) that there was probably no more stable price in Canada than the rente owing for lands in the seigneuries of the Jesuits.

⁸⁶ NAQM, "Requête des habitans de la prairie Saint-Lambert", Élisée Choquet collection, June 1672.

⁸⁷ We found the same thing in the older *côtes* where some land remained to be conceded at the end of the French regime (Saint-Raphaël, Saint-Joseph, les Prairies, Saint-Marc, Saint-André and Saint-Jacques).

⁸⁸ That exercise would have required gathering a significant number of notarized contracts, because the *lods et ventes* were not only due on a sale, but also on any alienation by an act equivalent to a sale (when land was given, for example, in payment for a sale), on all land transfers by sale from father to son and from son to father, to outsiders, to relatives before partition in joint succession or after partition when they were considered leases with redeemable rente, on gifts of tenancy at will or life annuities on the purchase price or the principal of the rentes, on the balance owing or cash paid in return in exchanges. It would also have been necessary to account for remissions granted to the most zealous payers, fines imposed on those who were delinquent in payment and on those who attempted to disguise land transfers (Cugnet,

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Without knowing the changes in the cumulative amount of annual and occasional dues, it seemed preferable to focus on their administration and collection; the methods of handling them are easy to follow based on the many indicators that can be derived from the mass of documents left by the Jesuits. The strictness of the seigneurial system at La Prairie and its gradually increasing severity did not arise from changes in the rate of fixed and occasional dues which, except on the few occasions already identified, did not vary, but from increasingly attentive and assiduous administration, more vigilant management, that became more careful and strict in the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of La Prairie's history, the Jesuits, in a succinct text, had unequivocally affirmed their control over the seigneury and tried to assert their authority, still completely honorary, as collectors. In response to a request from the habitants of *côte Saint-Lambert* who, citing the poorness of their land, were asking for a reduction in *rentes*, Father Dablon, rector of the Collège de Québec and superior of all the missions, wrote indignantly in 1672:

I have never before now seen vassals making laws for their seigneur, who, as master of his land, gives it on such conditions as he wishes, without anyone being able to complain, because each is free to accept such conditions or not. Moreover, if the vassals are not content with the conditions offered to them, they can do what is done everywhere else in such circumstances, which is to rid themselves of their concession as advantageously as they can.⁸⁹

In spite of the resolute tone, the Jesuits would bow to the demands of the *censitaires*. Afraid of losing the few habitants who had settled in an almost empty seigneury, they would agree to reduce their *rentes* by half, a signal favour that was never subsequently questioned, but that the seigneurs were careful not to grant to others. In spite of that concession, unique in the seigneurial history of La Prairie and which can only be understood in light of the difficult conditions that existed at the beginning, the peremptory statement by Father Dablon established the path the Jesuits intended to follow in administering and collecting their routine dues for a long time. It also established, by including it in the text, the scope and value (both real and symbolic) of recognitive seigneurial taxation and, most importantly, of the Jesuits' power and authority to which they would give new meaning in the eighteenth century.

Collection of dues left few traces in seventeenth-century archives. Settlement of the seigneury began slowly; seigneurial administration was discreet,

⁸⁹ *Traité*, 46-50.) The magnitude of the task soon dissuaded us from reconstructing a puzzle whose outline was not always clearly defined.

⁸⁹ NAQM, "Response à la requête des habitans de la prairie Saint-Lambert," Élisée Choquet collection, July 1672.

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and no property records were kept, as they would be later. Population was low, income poor,⁹⁰ and the Jesuits did not trouble themselves with too heavy administration, which would have required expenditures that were not justified by a seigneurie with an uncertain future. A very revealing text, however, stated the policy the seigneurs wanted to establish and drew a portrait of the *censitaires* that would remain unchallenged. In 1683, Father Raffeix's request to the intendant for permission to seek recourse in the seigneurial courts of law in Montréal already showed, only a few years after opening the seigneurie for settlement, the importance of their fiscal power to the Jesuits. They clearly intended to assert it when faced with *censitaires* who were reputedly bad payers, who too often forgot to pay their dues, delayed payment and let arrears accumulate.

Humbly entreat [. . .] and point out to you, he wrote, that he is owed [. . .] by a number of individuals, several sums of deniers for seigneurial *cens et rentes*, arrears thereto and other things that he provided for them; which sums he is unable to collect, no matter what demands he makes. On the contrary, his debtors furtively carry what they have away from their homes every day and sell it without his knowledge; that is why he is appealing to you for recourse [. . .] if it please you [. . .] to allow the applicant [. . .] to have seized and distrained at their own peril all that can be found that belongs to his debtors, and for those at la prairie de la Magdalaine, since there is still no judge established there, and the royal court [at Trois-Rivières] is more than 30 leagues away, if it please you to allow him to have his debtors summoned before the nearest judge who is in Montréal to be initially tried by him.⁹¹

That isolated request, which at the same time attested to the poor payment habits of the habitants and the resolve of the seigneurs, a resolve, however, they had neither the means nor the will to really apply, would find few echoes in the judicial archives of the seventeenth century. It was not until later in the eighteenth century, at a time when the seigneurie was becoming established and the population growing, that the management and collection of dues tightened, supported effectively by an administration that gradually provided the means to do so after 1730. From 1738 on, in particular, the Jesuits launched a major offensive primarily aimed at regulating collection of their dues which were assessed regularly. It necessitated substantial accounting work, all the more so because, in this area,

⁹⁰ In a memorandum entitled "Les revenus de Jésuites en Canada (1701)", the seigneurs of La Prairie and Saint-Lambert "where there is a mill, domain land and rentes from a few tenants who remained and were almost all ruined by the Iroquois war" stated 385 livres (JR, LXV: 182).

⁹¹ P.-G. Roy, Ordonnances, commissions, 23 Feb. 1683, II: 17.

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this area, the director of the seigneurie worked alone, having still refused to hire the staff that was undoubtedly necessary but too costly. In the late 1730s, the seigneurs of La Prairie would therefore record their dues in a property roll, which was revised six times between 1738 and 1760. Each of the record books⁹² showed the list of *censitaires* in alphabetical order, the amount of land owned and the total amount of dues. These documents were sometimes accompanied by comments on the character of the habitants and contained a great deal of information on the method of payment, which was not uniform, and on the measures to be taken to require those who were behind in their payments to pay the dues owing, for which the Jesuits now had more accurate records. The property rolls were the first draft of the actual *Terrier* that the seigneurs produced at the same time, which showed the history of landholdings by *côte* and recorded land transfers, allowing the Jesuits, with the supporting documents, to claim through the courts where necessary *cens*, *rentes*, common dues and *lods et ventes*. Given the wealth of information that it provides, this rare corpus ordered a detailed analysis of the method of collection practised within an ecclesiastical seigneurie, which we do not, however, believe was typical.

In examining collection methods, we observed numerous examples where the seigneurs were frequently forced to accept many things other than the money, wheat and capons stipulated in the contracts. They had to settle for what the *censitaires* could manage, the needs at the time, and, in general, as long as they got something, they seemed disposed to accept almost anything as payment. The following list enumerates the varied forms payment of dues could take. It repeats some of the items included in the various property rolls by the director of the seigneurie. In those pages, he noted:

- He gave 2 partridges.
- He brought me back from La Prairie (30 sols).
- He gave 1 1/2 days (45 sols).
- Received 2 chickens for 1 capon.
- The hospital [Hôtel-Dieu] provided 3 medications and the equipment for injections.
- She provided bacon worth 3 livres.
- He gave fish.
- He gave a pig.
- He gave butter.
- He gave cheese.
- I received 2 pairs of clogs.
- He gave 1/2 day harness work (3 livres).
- I credit him 20 livres for labour at the mill.
- He gave 64 livres in labour in the ironworks at the mill.

⁹²These documents are found in the "Biens des Jésuites" collection held in the NAQ.

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I received 1 calf and 1 sheep.

I assess the 3 times he hauled ice (8 livres).

Received in labour (4 livres).

I received 6 partridge, 1 merganser, 3 small birds, and some pigeons.

He gave peas and 1 turkey.

I received hay and onions.

He provided ducks and candles.

Paid in various forms, the dues were not always delivered on time to the seigneurial manor, and the Jesuits faithfully recorded in their books the delays which they used various means to counteract, from writs served by a bailiff to legal action before the courts in Montréal. The *censitaires* in La Prairie were no different from those on Montréal Island, reputed to be bad payers, and the Jesuits, who appeared to be as patient as the Sulpicians, only took their cases before the royal court after having exhausted all other avenues.⁹³ The arrears were scrupulously recorded in the various property rolls, and many were the settlers who owed two, three or four years' *rentes*. When the delay was not too serious, the director of the seigneur showed indulgence. Hoping for eventual payment, on the good faith and promises of the settler, he then wrote in the property rolls: "promises to pay in the spring from his voyageur wages," "promises me to pay me on January 4 at the ice-cutting," "he will go work at Chambly," "he will sell his cattle this winter and promises a pig," "promises 100 planks," or even "promises to give one of his children to work by the month" and so on. If the commitments were not met, and there was little hope of speedy payment, the bailiff was called to serve a writ. Of the 302 *censitaires* who appeared in the 1742 property roll, 59 (19.5%) who, like Pierre-François Giroux, "do not keep their word" or refused to pay were visited by the bailiff. Finally, when the arrears habitually exceeded three or four years, the seigneurs brought the most resistant *censitaires* before the royal judge in Montréal. But it would be well into the eighteenth century before the Jesuits had recourse to the courts, which would always give judgment in their favour. It was only starting in 1741, and very sporadically until 1760, that the seigneurs would prosecute *censitaires* who were unable to pay their dues through the courts. The year 1742 was the high point of this somewhat belated offensive with about 40 cases of arrears taken before the courts. While most of the accused habitants owed from three to six years' *rentes*, some had waited eight, nine, 16 and even 18 years to pay their dues.⁹⁴ The property rolls also showed remissions granted by the seigneurs on occasion to some of the most

⁹³ Dechêne, *Habitants*, 249-258. The same phenomenon was observed on Jésus Island (Dépatie, Lalancette and Dessureault, *Contributions à l'étude*, 77-79) and in the Richelieu Valley (Greer, *Peasant*, 127-128).

⁹⁴ NAQM. See, in particular, among so many others, the case of Jacques Lemieux (9 Feb. 1742), Charles Deneau (23 Feb. 1742) and François Marie (28 Feb. 1747), in Court Records.

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disadvantaged habitants, always fewer than the prosecutions taken to court. In 1738, Louis Ménard was exempted from three years' *rentes* he owed because fire had destroyed his house; Jean-Baptiste Raymond, known as Toulouse, one of the poor on the seigneurie, paid nothing in 1738, because the Jesuits forgave him all dues out of charity. Well served by accurate records that followed and recorded all land transfers, the director also had time to verify the accuracy of his *censitaires'* statements, when they sometimes tried clumsily to dupe him by hiding purchases that were subject to *lods et ventes*. Such references are, however, sparse: "wanted to hide that purchase," "lied," "did not show the purchase contracts," "the cheater owes me," which suggests that the habitants, in general, submitted to payment of transfer dues that the director of the seigneurie, increasingly severe in the eighteenth century, carefully supervised.

When it came to collecting dues, there is no doubt that, overall, the vigilance of the seigneurs tightened considerably starting in the 1730s. With property rolls in hand, bailiffs standing by, prosecutions in court where necessary, from then on they demanded their dues more ruthlessly, while still demonstrating the same patience toward those who were behind in their payments and an equal paternal benevolence toward the most impoverished. The increased watchfulness of the Jesuits can be seen in notarial minutes that, from the early 1730s, attested to the new severity. Loans, which until then had rarely referred to arrears, starting in 1730 and 1740 in particular, more frequently specified that the loan granted by a Montréal merchant to a habitant in La Prairie, must, among other things, be used to pay *cens*, *rentes* and *lods et ventes*. More numerous than loans, land sales also echoed the more demanding seigneurial policy throughout the lengthy period of the French regime. In 1 270 bills of sale from 1672 to 1760, we found 98 references to arrears, only 15 (15.3%) of which appeared before 1731. More specifically, 75 (76.5%) of them were recorded between 1740 and 1760. Assuming that most of those sellers parted with their land because they were unable to pay dues that were being claimed more ruthlessly starting in the late 1730s, we then have a better grasp of the new pressure *censitaires* were to experience in the final 20 years of the French regime. It indicated a more resolute and stringent seigneurial administration that explained the forced sales involving bailiff's writs, prosecutions in the courts and reuniting lands to the domain.

Reuniting Land

Reuniting lands to the domain was part of the same seigneurial policy that showed patience and tolerance but tightened in the eighteenth century. The *censitaire* was obliged, according to the terms of his contract, to live on the land within one year, work the land, "clear the land to both neighbours," "make allowance for roads" needed, build ditches and, finally, submit to the mill banality and pay the dues owed. If those commitments were not met, the habitant risked losing his land, and the seigneur then had the right to reunite it to the domain, a right that was reiterated and institutionalized by the Edict of Marly in 1711. The case that we

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have built based on the *Terrier* and acts of concession, exchange and sale enables us to assess a poorly understood phenomenon in which Jacques Mathieu was probably the first to take a real interest.⁹⁵

Before 1760, the Jesuits reunited 72 lands in their seigneuries of La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis. Of that number, 51 were in La Prairie, four were located on both seigneuries, and 17 were in Sault-Saint-Louis. They also invoked that right to reunite 25 plots in the village of La Prairie. In total, that represents 4 240 arpents in La Prairie and 1 846 arpents in Sault-Saint-Louis, which is 9.4% and 14.1% of all the land granted in the two fiefs under the French regime. We can thus understand the significance of that practice, the extent of which was, however, uneven over time. In fact, out of 73 reunions (58 lands and 15 plots) that can be dated, 53 (42 lands and 11 plots) (72.6%) took place after 1730, and 16 out of the 42 (38.1%) lands reunited after that date were reunited in 1732 alone. That tallied perfectly with what we have found up to now and coincided with stricter rural regulation after 1730. Jacques Mathieu, who identified nearly 300 ordinances between 1663 and 1759 that regulated landholding in the St. Lawrence valley and bound *censitaires* in various ways, was able to determine that more than half of them (167/295, 56.6%) were approved during the last 30 years of the French regime and that Hocquart's intendance was the most prolific in that regard.⁹⁶ The Jesuits, who had always reunited lands to the domain, thus exercised that right more frequently after 1730 and, at a time when they were demanding payment of their dues with renewed vigour, proceeded to carry out an unprecedented number of reunions, with the colonial authorities' agreement. The two actions were related when seigneurial administration that had become more vigilant in the eighteenth century became significantly harsher.

Intendant Hocquart was thus addressing the habitants of La Prairie in 1730 when he released a notice reiterating the contents of the Edict of Marly.⁹⁷ In the text, which François Leber, captain of the first militia company, was to read in front of the parish church, the intendant identified several *censitaires* who were not living on the land, had not done any clearing and had not paid their *cens et rentes*. He granted them nine months to honour their obligations; if they failed to do so, their lands would be reunited to the domain. One year later, the militia captains travelled the two seigneuries, making a list of 18 habitants who had not respected the concession contracts and whose neighbours were complaining.⁹⁸ Finally, in

⁹⁵ Mathieu, "Les réunions de terres", in Sociétés villageoises, 79-89.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 84.

⁹⁷ NAQ, Ordinance of Intendant Hocquart, 29 July 1730. This is the first ordinance concerning La Prairie that refers to the Edict.

⁹⁸ NAQ, Barette, Land declaration, "Biens des Jésuites" collection, 28 June 1731.

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Finally, in early 1732, two ordinances⁹⁹ reunited to the Jesuits' domain all the lands visited, except one. That unusual procedure, which obliged the intendant to resume application of the Edict of Marly, would never arise again in the history of the two fiefs. Imbued with new intentions for stricter administration, determined to have the edicts followed whose provisions had just been reiterated, better informed by the updated records in the property rolls and the *Terrier*, the Jesuits would supervise the collection of dues more attentively starting in the 1730s. That was the reason most frequently cited before the courts for reuniting to the domain concessions charged with arrears.¹⁰⁰ Equally well-advised of the recent requirements issued by Québec that their seigneurs were subject to, the *censitaires* at La Prairie and Sault-Saint-Louis would, in greater numbers after 1730, voluntarily return to the Jesuits by notarized acts the lands they were unable to work or for which they could not pay the dues. They thus submitted to action that had become familiar and avoided the unpleasantness and costs of proceedings in the royal courts from which they always emerged the losers.

CONCLUSION

In concluding this lengthy exploration of a Canadian seigneurie, it is possible to render an account of the discoveries we made and the areas that remain obscure in our investigation. Before following its settlement, which spilled beyond its own property and reached into a portion of the neighbouring fief, we first identified the deeds of title to the seigneurie of La Prairie, whose ambiguity allowed the Jesuits to settle with French colonists an area originally reserved for the Native people. Finally, we revealed how it was managed through administration of the domain, the mill banality, and, above all, the collection of various dues: *cens*, *rentes* and *lods et ventes*. In spite of the rich documentation we had available to us, the basic elements were missing that would have enabled us to calculate the institution's revenue and prepare an orderly inventory. That lack, which can be explained by the disappearance of seigneurial accounting records, was significant in the final picture we want to present here. It will therefore necessarily be incomplete and based only on the partial analyses we carried out.

The seigneurial regime evolved at La Prairie between the time when, in the seventeenth century, it provided a framework for a low, unstable population and the end of the French regime, a period in which colonization definitively gained momentum, and habitants settled most of the territory. At first, the seigneurs' hesitancy was obvious when they had to hear the complaints of *censitaires* and agree with them, on one occasion in particular. The victory of the habitants of *côte* Saint-Lambert in 1672 thus marked the limits of a system that, in principle

⁹⁹NAQ, Ordinances of Intendant Hocquart, 10 and 12 Jan. 1732.

¹⁰⁰On Jésus Island (Dépatie, Lalancette and Dessureault, Contributions à l'étude, 51), late payment of rentes was also one of the main reasons for reuniting lands to the domain.

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and in law, possessed all the attributes of authority recognized by its seigneurial rights. The affirmation of Jesuit control and power that can be seen in Father Dablon's reply in the same year was anachronistic and inappropriate to a nearly uninhabited seigneurie whose survival was tied to the stability of colonists it would have been unwise to annoy. The conditions of the milieu thus explain the short-lived retreat of the Jesuits, who were more committed in the beginning to promoting settlement of their seigneurie than demonstrating sovereignty of some kind, to which there was no one to respond. It was not until later, in the eighteenth century, that the regime gradually became more invasive and acquired an authority that it had vainly tried to establish before then. It became more rigid, toughened starting in the 1730s and from then on became an increasingly restrictive system to which in 1750 more than 1 500 individuals were subject.

The new authority of the seigneurie was not to be found in an increase in dues. They remained unchanged and subject to notarized contracts even though, in a final, somewhat belated, offensive that, in particular, affected the new *côtes* opened to colonization at the end of the French regime, the seigneurs converted capons into wheat to their own benefit (by raising the rate), when high demand and inflated prices made it more advantageous. That practice, however, remained exceptional and affected only a few lands, not necessarily the best or best situated ones. The strengthening of the seigneurial regime occurred, above all, through more assiduous and methodical administration, the first signs of which were observed between 1730 and 1740. It was during that decade, a transition period for rural history in Canada, that the administrative machinery was introduced in La Prairie that would retain the same form until the conquest. During those years, the Jesuits, who could then count on a stable population pool that was to grow, set up accounting methods to determine the assessment of revenue. They began a laborious process that led them to list *censitaires* and calculate the amount of dues they owed, a time-consuming task that was indispensable for accurately calculating their total revenue. That policy was to begin with the creation of the first property roll at the end of the 1730s, which was then regularly updated, and culminate with the production of the *Terrier*, the actual constitution of the seigneurie of La Prairie, which allows us today to reconstruct the landholding history. Parallel to the new direction they gave their administration, the Jesuits, who were better informed of the character and number of *censitaires*, were determined to improve collection of the fixed and occasional dues that, along with the mill banality, were their most obvious sources of revenue. With the support of their records, they claimed their dues, and, although they often showed patience, even indulgence, they did press the habitants for payment and took action against the most stubborn delinquents by serving them with writs and, where necessary, taking them to court in Montréal. Finally, more attentive to making the territory rapidly won by colonization productive, in particular after 1730, they reunited to the domain lands left vacant by their owners or lands which, burdened with arrears, were no longer producing income.

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In spite of such changes, explained less by new requirements than by firmer administration and more marked severity in the method of collection, the seigneurie of La Prairie indeed appeared to be a pale imitation of its French model. Although legally it possessed all the attributes of the French seigneurie it was heir to, in practice, it did not make use of them all, because it did not have the means, or the environment was unsuitable. The Jesuits gave up the right to enforce the law early on, the most significant right exercised by tens of thousands of seigneurs in France, preferring to rely on the seigneurial court of Montréal, which became the royal court in 1693. By refusing to exercise the right to dispense justice, the most important right of all, because it gave a fief its power,¹⁰¹ the Jesuits gave up a basic right whose importance was measured less by material profits they could have gained than by the real authority they could have exercised, symbolized by the presence of the seigneurial court and its staff on the domain. In addition, the other monopolies included in seigneurial deeds of title and concession contracts did not have the same significance as in France. Fishing and hunting rights, jealously guarded in France, were more flexible and subject to numerous exceptions that French peasants would have envied. Poaching, which was condemned and routinely prosecuted in France, left no trace here in judicial archives, and the seigneurs of La Prairie seemed completely incapable of eliminating it, which should come as no surprise. The mill banality, which at La Prairie was dependent on the high mobility of millers, was frequently avoided by some habitants who preferred, for all sorts of reasons, to take their grain to outside mills. Finally and above all, the Jesuits reserved a very modest domain for themselves from the start, which they first reduced in 1705 and finally alienated in 1726. That is perhaps the major difference between the seigneurie in France and the seigneurie we studied at La Prairie. When we recognize that French seigneurs often tried, throughout the ancien régime, to enlarge their domains, which were their main source of revenue and (most of the time) made them the major property owners of the seigneurie, we can then better appreciate the distance that, on the economic level this time, separated the French model from the example of La Prairie, which, however, we do not claim represents the entire Canadian seigneurial reality.¹⁰² We should therefore probably not be surprised that the Jesuits assigned the administration of the seigneurie to one of their own, who was solely responsible for its management. Such a heavy administrative burden on one man who never, as was usually the case in France or in Montréal, assigned the task of collecting the various dues to a collector supported by a more or less numerous staff, was also a measure of the seigneurie of La Prairie. The Jesuit fief, in practice, had neither the weight nor the impact of its most common original model.

¹⁰¹Saint-Jacob, Les paysans, 58.

¹⁰²Dechêne found a seigneurie on Montréal Island that was more closely related to the French model, which, in her view, was nothing to envy (Habitants, 257).

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1647-1760

Étude d'histoire sociale

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vages de la prairie viennent d'ouverture sur les neiges
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du Père Claude Chauchetière (1645-1710) intitulé
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dans la documentation notariée qu'il faut chercher la manifestation la plus visible de cette poussée remarquable de population que La Prairie a connue au XVIII^e siècle et qui s'est affirmée en particulier dans les années qui ont précédé la Conquête. Son volume a considérablement augmenté au cours de la dernière décennie du Régime français et un peu plus de 30 % de tous les actes recueillis l'ont été à l'intérieur de cette courte période.

De cette population que nous avons mesurée sur près d'un siècle, beaucoup resterait à dire. Nous avons peu décrit, avons encore moins tenté de chiffrer (ou devinera pourquoi), cette population flottante qui circule dans la seigneurie, loge dans ses auberges, s'abreuve à ses cabarets. Elle devait être relativement importante et grossir à l'occasion le volume démographique de la seigneurie, lieu de transit fréquemment emprunté. Elle nous échappe presque totalement et ne pourra jamais être saisie parce que mobile par définition. Nous n'avons pas davantage cherché à connaître la densité des côtes et du village, puisqu'il nous manquait trop d'éléments qui auraient pu nous conduire à découvrir le taux spatial d'occupation d'une des seigneuries les plus peuplées du gouvernement de Montréal. Faute de pouvoir pousser plus loin cette analyse de la population, il convient maintenant de la replacer dans son premier cadre institutionnel : la seigneurie.

Lavallée Louis, La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992

CHAPITRE TROIS

Les cadres : la seigneurie

Assujettie à une infrastructure géographique qui lui est antérieure et qu'elle peut difficilement modifier, la population de La Prairie, paysanne dans sa presque totalité, évolue au sein de deux institutions fondées l'une dans l'autre. Ce que connaissent les habitants de La Prairie aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, ce qui l'orne le cadre juridique, économique, social et religieux de leur existence et de leur vie quotidienne, ce sont la seigneurie et la paroisse dont les limites coïncident (à peu de chose près jusqu'en 1752 du moins), synchronie quelquefois présente au Canada dont la France d'Ancien Régime a été plus rarement le témoin. C'est à l'intérieur de ces deux cadres qui constituent en même temps les limites du territoire qu'il faut suivre la société rurale dont l'unité est symbolisée par l'assemblée des habitants, hant lieu de la sociabilité paysanne confondue avec l'assemblée seigneuriale, agricole et paroissiale.

LES BUTS RECHERCHÉS

La première de ces structures qui encadre la vie paysanne et a précédé la paroisse, c'est la seigneurie. Armature essentielle de la vie agraire, elle a déterminé l'unité de son territoire et a balisé en grande partie les contours essentiels de la vie sociale et économique de ses habitants. C'est cette institution que nous voulons reconstituer et décrire ici à travers l'exemple de La Prairie principalement. Nous ne participerons pas aux débats qui jusqu'à très récemment se sont alimentés à l'étude du régime seigneurial pour connaître la nature de la société qui s'était formée dans la vallée laurentienne. Appelé à dresser un bilan historiographique, Fernand Ouellet écrivait à ce propos que depuis Garneau et jusqu'en 1960 avait « prévalu l'idée que les institutions d'Ancien Régime [le régime seigneurial surtout] ».

transplantées dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent avaient fait l'objet d'une telle épuration qu'une société homogène sur le plan ethnique, linguistique et religieux, exempte de luttes de classes, avait pu s'épanouir sur ce nouveau territoir et y former une nation ».¹ Notre propos sera plus modeste et n'atteindra pas ces vertigineuses altitudes auxquelles les archives que nous avons consultées ne conduisent guère. À la lumiére d'un modèle réduit, nous ne voulons qu'illustrer l'importance du cadre seigneurial (dont « le portrait reste encore largement à dessiner »)² qui à La Prairie n'a rien d'artificiel et à l'intérieur duquel s'est établie la marche du peuplement commandée par les impératifs de la géographie auxquels se sont volontiers soumis les seigneurs. Nous avons également l'intention de représenter ce complexe institutionnel, économique et fiscal qui, de par sa définition, à travers sa gestion, les limites et les obligations qu'il entraîne, crée entre les parties concernées des relations d'autorité dont il faudra mesurer le poids. Il peut aussi constituer dans des conditions exemplaires qui ne sont pas toujours présentes en Nouvelle-France un remarquable tremplin pour asseoir la supériorité économique, le pouvoir social, politique et administratif d'un individu, d'une famille ou d'une collectivité. Cette analyse terminée, il ne sera pas interdit de comparer le microcosme seigneurial de La Prairie au modèle métropolitain dont il est l'héritier et de s'interroger sur les similitudes et les contrastes qui peuvent résulter du transfert d'une institution d'une « société adulte » à une société en formation.

Cet exercice qui suit le mode monographique n'a plus à faire ses preuves en France. Il a depuis 30 ans généreusement nourri l'histoire rurale et a permis de saisir à travers la variété provinciale la diversité du régime seigneurial et l'hétérogénéité de la paysannerie. Au Canada, l'étude de la seigneurie que l'on connaît dans ses grands traits historiques, juridiques et géographiques³ n'a à peu près pas emprunté le chemin de la monographie⁴ qui était susceptible par des analyses de cas de nous livrer de l'intérieur l'essence de cette institution. Louise Dechêne, la première, dans *Habitants et marchands...*⁵ et quelques rares historiens dont les travaux ont été

1 Ouellet, « La modernisation de l'histoire », 27.

2 Mathieu et Brisson, « La vallée laurentienne », 108.

3 On pense ici surtout à l'ouvrage de Trudel, *Les débuts du régime seigneurial*, qui s'arrête en 1663 et aux travaux des géographes Harris et Courville.

4 Nous oublierons ici la longue série des histoires de paroisses et de seignuries qu'a recensées A. Roy, « Bibliographie », 255-353. Elles demeurent utiles pour suivre l'événementiel politique, militaire et religieux, mais ne répondent pas à nos canons d'histoire économique et sociale.

publiés⁵ qui suivi cette voie qui très vite cependant peut devenir une impasse. En effet, toutes les seigneuries ne se prêtent pas à cette pratique et il est présumptueux de croire que la traume seigneuriale en Nouvelle-France sera un jour reconstituée dans le détail. Pour que cela ait lieu, il faudrait compter sur une documentation copieuse qui fait défaut dans la plupart des cas. Il n'est que d'ouvrir *l'Inventaire des concessions en fief et seigneurie...*⁶ pour se convaincre de la maigreur de la documentation léguée par la majorité des seigneuries laïques. Leur histoire ne pourra être restituée (et très partiellement encore) qu'au prix d'un effort héroïque et à l'aide des seules archives de l'intendance et des minutes des notaires qui nous renseignent moins sur la gestion seigneuriale que sur l'occupation du territoire et le mouvement de la propriété foncière. Plus appliqués dans leur administration, les seigneurs ecclésiastiques ont, quant à eux, laissé des masses d'archives. Le Séminaire de Québec et le Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal sont dépositaires des plus beaux corpus de documents seigneuriaux et Louise Dechêne dans ses recherches sur la seigneurie de l'île de Montréal a été bien servie par une opulente documentation. Les Jésuites, dont l'ordre fut supprimé en France en 1764, ont vu leurs papiers (et leurs biens) cédés à la Couronne britannique en 1800 à la mort du père Casot, dernier survivant de la Compagnie de Jésus au Canada. Cela occupe près de 150 volumes de documents divers aux Archives nationales du Québec à Québec dont près d'une quarantaine concernent les seigneuries jumelles de La Prairie et du Sault-Saint-Louis. Ce fonds « Biens des Jésuites » nous invite donc à recréer l'histoire des deux seigneuries entre le moment de leur concession à la Compagnie de Jésus et la fin du Régime français qui marque le terme de cette enquête. Ajouté aux minutes notariales, ce corpus forme un ensemble qui a constitué notre point d'appui essentiel et la démarche que nous entendons suivre est tributaire des pistes qu'il nous a suggérées.

LES TITRES SEIGNEURIAUX

La Prairie

Le juridique a précédé l'économique et le social. Rappelons-en les faits et les étapes par l'examen des titres dont le premier nous ramène

5 Lacroix, *Les origines*; Greer, *Peasant*; Baribeau, *La seigneurie*; Dépatie, Lalancette et Dessureault, *Contributions à l'étude*; Lemoine (*Longueuil*) a proposé à partir des sources disponibles une méthode d'approche pour la monographie seigneuriale en Nouvelle-France.

6 P.-G. Roy, *Inventaire des concessions*.

dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle, période héroïque de la colonie qui baigne dans le mysticisme auquel n'est pas étrangère la fondation de La Prairie. Trois documents succincts espacés d'une trentaine d'années et qui serviront par la suite aux Jésuites pour justifier leur propriété et leur autorité nous livrent le contenu du *lieu et seigneurie de La-Prairie-de-la-Madeleine*. Le premier, daté à Paris du 1^{er} avril 1647, est l'acte de baptême de la seigneurie conféré par François de Lauzon, magistrat au Parlement de Bordeaux. Propriétaire de la seigneurie de La Citière depuis 1635, il en démembre une partie en 1647 et, selon un mouvement de piété s'inscrivant dans une réforme tridentine qui s'essouffle, il accorde aux Jésuites

lesquels s'exposant encor tous les jours dans les dangers pour attirer les peuples sauvages du dit pays à la connaissance du vrai Dieu [...] deux lieues de terre le long de la dite rivière Saint-Laurent du côté du sud, à commencer depuis l'île Sainte-Hélène jusques à un quart de lieue au-delà d'une prairie dite de La Magdelaine vis-à-vis des îles qui sont proches du sault de l'île de Montréal, espace qui contient environ deux lieues que nous leurs donnons le long de la dite rivière de Saint-Laurent sur quatre lieues de profondeur dans les terres tirant vers le sud, ensemble les bois, prairies, lacs, rivières, étangs et carrières qui se trouvent dans l'étendue des dites terres dans lesquelles les religieux de la compagnie feront passer telles personnes qu'il leurs plaira pour les cultiver, cette donation ainsi faite afin d'être participant de leurs prières et saint sacrifice.⁷

Ce geste aussi généreux qu'imprécis fait de La Prairie, après La Citière dont elle est détachée, la première concession en *lieu* sur la rive sud du gouvernement de Montréal. Le 3 mai 1649, le gouverneur d'Ailleboust, sans donner davantage de précisions sur la concession originale, met les Jésuites en possession des terres de La Prairie⁸ et ceux-ci en prennent officiellement acte le 13 juin suivant selon les termes rappelés dans les contrats de concession au début des années 1670. Il faut attendre près de 30 ans, époque où l'administration coloniale procède à la collection du papier terrier, pour que l'intendant Duchesneau, à la demande des Jésuites qui déplorent alors les termes imprécis de la donation de 1647 et craignent d'être inquiétés dans la possession de la seigneurie, réaffirme en le com-

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992

⁷ Concession par François de Lauzon du *lieu de La Prairie de la Madeleine*, 1^{er} avril 1647, fonds « Biens des Jésuites », ANQQ.

⁸ Prise de possession par les Jésuites du *lieu de La Prairie de la Madeleine*, 3 mai 1649, ibid.

plétant et le clarifiant le titre premier. On doit dorénavant comprendre dans la seigneurie de La Prairie le « droit de pêche dans le fleuve Saint-Laurent, les îles Boquet et Foquer, îlets de jonc, baitures et carrières qui sont au devant des dites deux lieues de front pour en jouir [...] en lieu avec tous droits de seigneurie et justice, haute moyenne et basse les appellations de laquelle ressortiront à la justice royale de la ville des Trois-Rivières ».⁹ Forts de cette reconnaissance qui confirmait leur qualité de propriétaires, les Jésuites pouvaient dès lors demander au notaire Romain Becquet de rédiger le premier aveu de la seigneurie¹⁰ et à l'arpenteur Bénigne Basset d'établir la division entre les seigneuries de La Prairie et de Longueuil.¹¹ En droit, l'histoire seigneuriale de La Prairie s'appuie donc sur ces textes qui ne seront jamais contestés par la suite et, jusqu'en 1760, ils feront loi des titres officiels de propriété que détiennent les Jésuites.

Le Sault-Saint-Louis

Si l'histoire juridique de la seigneurie de La Prairie se termine dans le dernier quart du XVII^e siècle, celle du Sault-Saint-Louis, seigneurie voisine, commence au même moment et, contrairement à La Prairie, l'histoire juridique du Sault-Saint-Louis va connaître une incertitude croissante. L'histoire des deux territoires est étroitement liée parce que leur voisinage les oblige à entretenir des relations sociales et économiques, mais surtout parce que l'ambiguité des titres allait autoriser les Jésuites, déjà seigneurs de La Prairie, à utiliser cette équivoque pour mettre en œuvre une politique de distribution de terres à des colons français dans une seigneurie qui ne devait pas en recevoir à l'origine. Cette histoire tourmentée et chargée d'émotionnisme déborde le seul cadre juridique et évoque les relations quelquefois tendues et toujours inégales qu'ont entretenu entre elles les populations blanche et indienne, les seigneurs ecclésiastiques et les indigènes par la voie des missions et des tutorats.

Rappelons les faits qui au départ ont créé une situation de laquelle est né le problème évoqué ici. Ils sont relatés dans la chronique qu'en a laissée le père Chauchetière qui demeure à ce sujet le guide le plus

⁹ Concession à titre de *lieu et seigneurie de La Prairie de la Madeleine* et acte d'explication de l'intendant Duchesneau, 1670, ibid.

¹⁰ Avenu et dénombrement du *lieu et seigneurie de La Prairie de la Madeleine*, 8 nov. 1677, ASQ, documents Faribault, n° 120.

¹¹ Basset, 15 sept. 1678, procès-verbal de la ligne de division entre les seigneuries de La Prairie et de Longueuil, ANQM.

sûr.¹² Yvon Lacroix s'en est inspiré en partie pour reconstituer dans le détail l'histoire des débuts de la seigneurie.¹³ La Prairie est à l'origine témoin de la formation d'une société mixte, française et indienne, qui, depuis 1667–1668, est établie dans le bassin de la rivière Saint-Jacques, à proximité du futur village. Cette société a emprunté son modèle aux sociétés que les Jésuites avaient constituées auparavant à Québec et à Trois-Rivières. La fondation de cette mission qui suit de peu la paix qu'impose le marquis de Tracy s'inscrit dans les tentatives de rapprochement menées auprès de la nation iroquoise pour dissuader les Indiens d'attaquer la région. Cet argument est sans cesse rappelé par les Jésuites et les administrateurs qui les appuient dans leurs demandes de terres au Sault-Saint-Louis. Les deux communautés partagent la même église aménagée à même le manoir seigneurial élevé sur le domaine mais, comme partout ailleurs dans de semblables missions, Français et Indiens s'adonnent à des activités agricoles distinctes et ces derniers préfèrent la culture du maïs à celle du froment. Très vite, la culture du blé d'Inde épouse les terres et la proximité des Français a vite fait de rappeler aux missionnaires que toute cohabitation ne va pas sans engendrer le problème de l'eau-de-vie à l'origine d'une ivresse bruyante et querelleuse qui n'est souvent que le résultat de l'acculturation qu'ont subie au contact des Français les populations amérindiennes. Ces motifs sont ceux que le supérieur des Jésuites invoque en 1674, année où il s'adresse à Frontenac pour obtenir « une augmentation de terre d'environ une lieue et demie de front pour ajouter à leur habitation de la prairie de la Magdelaine qui en a près de trois et qui est une des plus belles de tout le pays ».¹⁴ Suspicioux, Frontenac écrit : « leur véritable raison est [...] qu'ils ne veulent point autour de voisins qui les éclaire de près et qu'ayant une quantité innombrables de terres en ce pays celle-là accomoderoit mieux de bons habitans chargés de famille et d'ensans desja grands qui me les demandent, je les ay remis a cet esté que je monterois à Montréal ».¹⁵

Déboutés par le gouverneur dont l'aversion pour les Jésuites est manifeste, ceux-ci se tournent alors vers l'intendant Duchesneau en qui ils trouvent un allié convaincu de l'excellence de la mission de

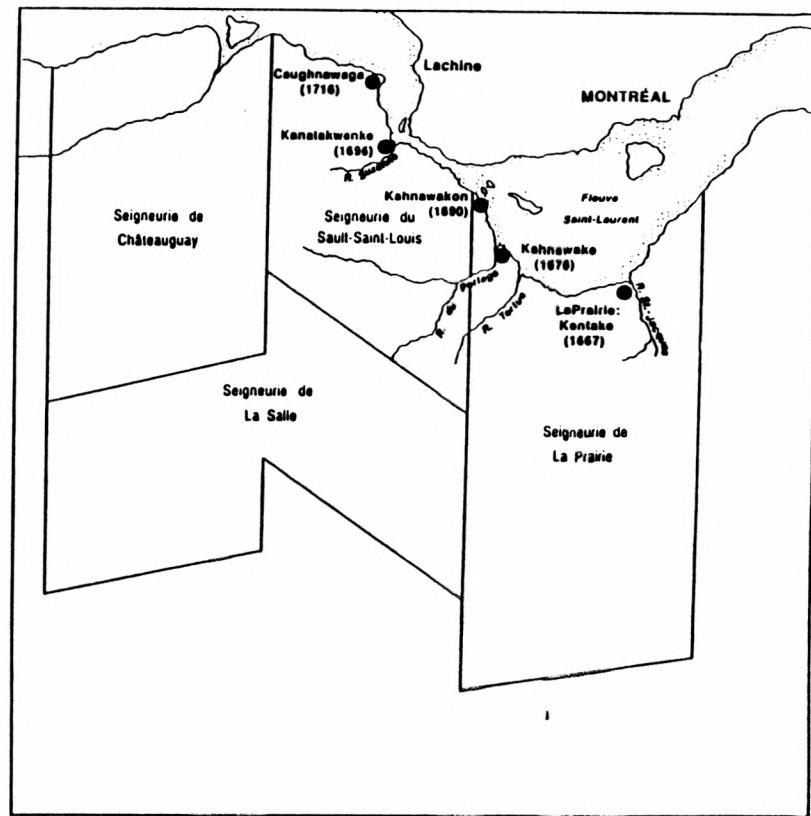
Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

¹² - Narration annuelle de la Mission du Sault depuis la fondation jusque à l'an 1686 », *JR*, LXIII: 140–244.

¹³ Lacroix, *Les origines*, 15–43.

¹⁴ Mémoire de Frontenac au ministre, 14 novembre 1674, CIIA, 4, f° 206–207, ANC.

¹⁵ Ibid.



Carte 2
Les déplacements de la mission indienne
(d'après E. J. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, carte hors-texte)

La Prairie qu'il avait visitée au mois de juin 1675.¹⁶ Au début de 1676, Duchesneau se rend aux arguments des Jésuites. Craignant que les Iroquois de la mission de La Prairie n'abandonnent des terres trop humides et ne retournent dans leur pays, ce qui « seroit très préjudiciable à leur salut et contraire aux intentions de sa Majesté »,¹⁷ il autorise les missionnaires « en considération desdits sauvages » à les faire travailler sur l'étendue de deux lieues de terre de front à commencer à une pointe vis-à-vis du Sault-Saint-Louis. La

¹⁶ *JR*, LIX: 284.

¹⁷ Document du 31 janv. 1676 signé Duchesneau, fonds « Biens des Jésuites », ANQQ.

craindre de perdre des alliés en partie sédentarisés¹⁸ dont la stabilité relative dépend d'un mode de vie agricole particulier et d'une christianisation assurée par les missionnaires explique le geste de l'intendant qui, en juillet 1676, débouche sur la première migration de la mission. Le billet d'autorisation de Duchesneau est confirmé quatre ans plus tard par deux concessions dont la teneur truffée d'équivoques allait jusqu'au XX^e siècle nourrir la contestation des Iroquois de Caughnawaga qui, dès le milieu du XVIII^e siècle, s'étaient sentis lésés et dépossédés des terres qu'ils disaient être les leurs. Le 29 mai 1680, Louis XIV, de passage à Fontainebleau, fait don à ses « chers et bien aimés religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus » de la terre nommée le Sault « contenant deux lieues de pays à commencer à une pointe qui est vis-à-vis les rapides Saint-Louis [...] sur pareille profondeur »¹⁹ joignant la seigneurie de La Prairie. La suite de la donation précise cependant que cette terre qui doit servir à l'établissement des Indiens

nous [le roi] appartiendra toute défrichée lorsque les dits Iroquois l'abandonneront. Permettons à tous ceux qui voudront porter aux dits Iroquois des bagues, couteaux, et autres menues merceries et chose semblable de ce faire. Faisons très expresses inhibitions et défenses aux François qui s'habiteront parmi les dits Iroquois, et autres nations sauvages qui s'établiront sur la dite terre nommée le Sault d'avoir et tenir aucun bestiau et à toute personne d'établir aucun cabaret dans le bourg des dits Iroquois qui sera bâti dans la dite terre.

Cinq mois plus tard, dans un acte non moins ambigu que le premier et daté du 31 octobre, Frontenac et Duchesneau (on devine

Lavalée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760. Étude d'histoire sociale*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992

¹⁸ Dans une requête anonyme adressée à Colbert en 1676 (fonds « Biens des Jésuites », ANQQ), l'auteur que l'on devine être jésuite fait valoir que pour établir une paix durable entre les Français et les Iroquois, il fallait attirer ceux-ci en plus grand nombre que l'on pouvait le faire à La Prairie en concédant aux Jésuites un nouveau territoire qui permettrait aux missionnaires d'en faire de bons chrétiens et de vrais sujets du roi. Par ce moyen, écrit-il, « nous nous fortifierons en diminuant leur force ». La guerre iroquoise est donc invoquée pour obtenir le Sault-Saint-Louis et y loger les Indiens que l'on craint de perdre au profit des Anglais. Ce raisonnement, si valable soit-il, n'allait pas empêcher les Iroquois après 1680, date de la concession du Sault-Saint-Louis, de mener des incursions dans la plaine de Montréal jusqu'au cœur de La Prairie qui ne sera pas davantage protégée par l'établissement de Saint-François-Xavier.

¹⁹ Ce texte et ceux qui vont suivre ont été réunis en 1762 par le gouverneur Gage appelé à statuer au Conseil militaire tenu à Montréal sur le différend entre les Indiens du Sault-Saint-Louis et les Jésuites. Cet important dossier se trouve dans le fonds « Biens des Jésuites » aux ANQQ.

l'indignation du gouverneur obligé de se soumettre aux autorités métropolitaines) concèdent aux Jésuites, forts de leur succès et de la donation royale, un restant de terre d'une lieue et demie ou environ de longueur à prendre depuis la terre nommée le Sault en montant vers la seigneurie de Châteauguay, inhabitée, sur deux lieues de profondeur aux mêmes charges, clauses et conditions portées dans la première concession.

L'incertitude relative que renferment ces deux documents et la proximité des seigneuries de La Prairie et du Sault-Saint-Louis allaient rapidement conduire les Jésuites à ne pas tenir compte des dispositions portées dans les deux cessions (ou à interpréter celles-ci en leur faveur), et les autoriser à occuper par des concessions accordées à des Français toute une portion des terres du Sault-Saint-Louis (les plus proches de la frontière des deux seigneuries) qui devaient, selon les vœux des autorités métropolitaines et coloniales, servir à établir et retenir les Indiens. Cette politique d'occupation du Sault-Saint-Louis conduite par les seigneurs de La Prairie sera d'autant plus rapide et prononcée que les Indiens, toujours dépendants d'un mode de culture qui épouse le sol, seront obligés de se déplacer à trois reprises vers la seigneurie de Châteauguay entre 1690 et 1716 pour occuper cette dernière année l'emplacement de Caughnawaga qu'ils ne quitteront plus jusqu'à aujourd'hui. L'éloignement de la mission vécue depuis 1676 à travers quatre migrations accentuait l'espace qui séparait les populations blanche et indienne et condannait cette dernière à devenir le témoin longtemps passif de l'avance du peuplement et de la colonisation française au-delà des frontières de son territoire.

L'année qui suit le dernier déplacement de la bourgade à Caughnawaga (qu'a visitée Charlevoix en 1721)²⁰ autorise les Jésuites à demander que l'on réunisse dans un seul brevet les deux concessions de 1680 et que l'on réaffirme leurs titres de propriété du Sault-Saint-Louis, en dépit des conditions particulières et des interdictions qui devaient y rester attachées. Le 15 juin 1717, le roi, informé de la dernière migration et désirant conserver les terres concédées tant aux Jésuites qu'auxdits Indiens, reconfirme la double concession du Sault aux Jésuites, à condition que le lieu lui appartienne lorsque les Iroquois l'abandonneront.²¹ Le Conseil de Marine qui délibère sur la question observe qu'il n'y a là aucun danger à reconfirmer les Jésuites dans leurs droits de propriété, puisque depuis 37 ans, ils

²⁰ *Journal d'un voyage fait [...] par le P. de Charlevoix*, 175 ss.

²¹ Arrêt du Conseil de Marine, 7, et 14 déc. 1717, C11A, 106, f° 380-384, ANC.

n'ont tiré aucun profit des terres abandonnées par les Indiens et qu'ils ne pourront pas en profiter davantage dans le futur, car les Indiens comptent y retourner quand ces terres seront redevenues propres à la culture. De toute façon, note enfin le Conseil, les Jésuites ne pourraient concéder ces terres à des Français qui ont du mal à vivre à proximité des Indiens. La candeur du Conseil, mal informé des faits et gestes des seigneurs, est confirmée par la documentation notariée (le seul témoignage valable) qui, avant et après 1717 surtout, prouve que les Jésuites, moins naïfs que les membres du Conseil de Marine, n'ont pas respecté les conditions inscrites dans les deux actes de 1680 et rappelées dans des termes similaires par le brevet de 1717. L'occupation du territoire que nous allons bientôt suivre le démontrera éloquemment.

Les Indiens mettront du temps avant d'exprimer leurs doléances et il faut attendre le deuxième tiers du XVIII^e siècle pour que soit portée à l'attention des autorités métropolitaines une situation qu'ils tardent à dénoncer. Dans une réplique aux Jésuites formulée en 1736 par le grand voyer Lanouillier de Boisclerc, qui désire obtenir (il ne l'obtiendra pas) la future seigneurie de La Salle, voisine de celle du Sault-Saint-Louis, on retrouve sous sa plume la confirmation écrite d'une réalité que seules les minutes des notaires avaient jusque-là suggérée. Fort bien documenté après avoir pris connaissance des titres originaux auxquels il renvoie, et peut-être sur la foi des informations que lui ont livrées les Indiens, il allègue que les Jésuites

ont concédé à des habitants non seulement les déserts que les sauvages ont fait au vieux Sault-Saint-Louis avant la concession de 1717 mais encore les terres qui sont en bois de bout dans les profondeurs du dit vieux Sault-Saint-Louis. Si les Révérends Pères avoient suivi les intentions de sa Majesté et qui sont énoncées dans les titres de 1680 et 1717, ils n'auroient pas concédé ces déserts à des François nommément à S^t-Yves, Jean-Baptiste La Fontaine, Claude Bizaillon, René Dupuy, Joseph et Pierre Gaignier et à plusieurs autres à titre de cens et rentes, tant sur le front dudit vieux Sault que dans les profondeurs. Ils ont cependant contre les dispositions même de ces titres passé sur les inconvénients qu'ils font naître en s'appropriant d'ailleurs du terrain que le Roy ne leur a point donné et qu'au contraire sa Majesté se réserve lors de l'abandon qu'en pourront faire lesdits sauvages.²²

²² « Response aux objections que les R.P. Jésuites font naître pour s'opposer à la concession accordée au sieur de Boisclerc derrière le Sault-Saint-Louis », 15 oct. 1736, C11A, 66, f° 27-28, ANC.

Son exposé est convaincant non seulement parce qu'il suit les clauses portées dans les titres originaux, mais surtout parce qu'il livre les noms des habitants qui, depuis 1704, ont reçu des terres à la côte Sainte-Catherine et à la côte Saint-Louis²³ aux endroits « désertés » et abandonnés par les Indiens à la suite de leurs déplacements successifs. Cette démonstration trouve ses échos en 1750, année où, par la voix du gouverneur La Jonquière, les Iroquois du Sault-Saint-Louis

représentent que les terres que le Roy leur avait donné à la prairie n'ayant pas été bonnes sa Majesté voulut bien leur en accorder d'autres depuis le milieu de l'entrée de la rivière à la Tortue jusqu'au milieu de celle de Chateaugué [...] les sauvages m'ont aussi représenté, écrit-il, que les Jésuites veulent tous les jours leurs terres, qu'ils n'ont pas la liberté d'agrandir leurs déserts que s'ils veulent bâtir ou raccommoder leurs cabanes lorsque leurs pièces ou perches sont presque faites les français qui ont des titres des Jésuites leurs obtiennent leurs ouvrages de même que les fruits qu'ils peuvent cueillir sur leur terre en leur disant que ce sont leur jardin en un mot qu'ils les menacent toujours de les faire châtier par les Jésuites. Sur le fondement de toutes ces raisons ces sauvages me supplient de faire borner leur terrain ainsi qu'ils soient tranquils et ne soient pas obligés d'abandonner leur village.²⁴

Cette histoire connaît ses moments les plus forts en 1762, date à laquelle le général Gage, qui préside le Conseil militaire à Montréal, instruit le procès²⁵ entre les Indiens du Sault-Saint-Louis et les Jésuites. Il nous importe moins de connaître ici le contenu du jugement, qui sera cassé quelques mois plus tard quand Gage reviendra sur sa décision, que la défense fournie par les Jésuites aux accusations portées contre eux par les Indiens. D'une part, les demandeurs réclament qu'on leur restitue les terres du Sault-Saint-Louis que les seigneurs de La Prairie ont concédées dans le passé et continuent de concéder à des Français. D'autre part, le père Well, procureur de l'ordre, entend que l'on reconnaisse aux Jésuites la maîtrise et la propriété des terres du Sault-Saint-Louis et, pour appuyer sa preuve, il retient une suite d'arguments d'inégale valeur qui dans un premier temps ne convaincront pas le juge. Loin de nier les faits, le défendeur

²³ Les actes de concession que nous avons dépouillés le confirment.

²⁴ La Jonquière au ministre, 25 juil. 1750, C11A, 95, f° 140-141, ANC.

²⁵ Les pièces sont réunies dans le fonds « Biens des Jésuites », aux ANQQ. Toutes les citations qui suivent en sont extraites.

admet d'emblée que les Jésuites ont depuis longtemps concédé des terres au Sault-Saint-Louis à des colons français,²⁶ mais estime que cette pratique était parfaitement fondée et autorisée par les titres mêmes. En effet, ceux-ci précisent : 1) que les habitants qui « demeureront parmi les sauvages ne pourront vendre aucune boisson, ni faire de cabarets ». Cela, note le procureur des Jésuites, supposait donc la permission de donner des emplacements à d'autres qu'aux Indiens. Raisonnement réfuté par Gage lorsqu'il rappelle que l'énoncé du titre original défend aux Français qui « s'habiteront » parmi les Indiens « d'avoir et tenir aucun bestiau », ce qui à ses yeux constitue pour les colons une impossibilité majeure de s'y établir et prouve que le roi réservait ces terres aux seuls Indiens; 2) que le roi voulait une terre « toute défrichée » qui lui reviendrait lorsque les missionnaires quitteraient le Sault-Saint-Louis. Ce vœu, selon le père Well, a obligé les Jésuites à concéder des terres à des habitants. À cet argument, Gage réplique que si le roi avait souhaité que les Jésuites fassent défricher des terres, il aurait alors, selon le mode habituellement suivi dans les concessions seigneuriales, chargé ceux-ci d'y établir des habitants, mais cela n'est pas inscrit dans les actes du Sault-Saint-Louis. Le procureur de la Compagnie l'ait enfin valoir que toutes les seigneuries ne sont octroyées par le roi de France qu'à « charge de concession » et que son intention en gratifiant les Jésuites « était sans doute de faire des concessions » à des habitants qui pourraient défrayer les seigneurs des coûts occasionnés par leur subsistance, la construction d'une église et des bâtiments nécessaires aux missionnaires. En s'appuyant sur les réserves contenues dans les titres de 1680, rappelées dans le brevet de 1717, le président du tribunal militaire désavoue cette dernière proposition et refuse de reconnaître les Jésuites comme seigneurs temporels du Sault-Saint-Louis. Ces terres, déclare-t-il, ne leur ont pas été données en seigneurie, mais plutôt concédées sans titre seigneurial uniquement pour y fixer et établir des Indiens. Cela ne les habilité donc pas, selon lui, à y distribuer des concessions à des Français et à exercer les droits seigneuriaux habituels (redevances, justice, chasse et pêche, etc.) qui ne sont pas précisés dans les textes originaux.

On devine à la suite de cette instruction que le magistrat a débouté les Jésuites et a reconnu les Indiens du Sault-Saint-Louis « gens bornés et ignorants des règles du Barreau » dans leurs droits. Dans un jugement très sévère qui explique sans doute sa révision quelques

²⁶ Il confesse que les Jésuites ont fait valoir tout au plus la sixième partie des terres du Sault-Saint-Louis, et cela, pour subvenir à leur subsistance et à l'entreteni des bâtiments de la mission.

mois plus tard, Gage ordonne que les plaignants soient mis en possession des terres et des bâtiments de la mission et que tous les revenus du Sault-Saint-Louis leur appartiennent. En outre, toutes les concessions jusque-là accordées par les Jésuites à des habitants qui n'ont point tenu feu et lieu et toutes celles consenties depuis le 8 septembre 1760 (date de la capitulation de Montréal) sont annulées. Les colons établis avant cette date et qui avaient respecté les clauses des contrats de concession continuaient à jouir de leurs terres, mais les rentes et autres droits seigneuriaux dont ils étaient redéposables devaient revenir aux Indiens. La brutalité de cette sentence, rendue à Montréal le 22 mars 1762, créait un dangereux précédent et annonçait fatallement la décision de septembre de la même année obligeant le magistrat à revoir son jugement en faveur des Jésuites.²⁷ Ceux-ci récupéraient ainsi les terres concédées dans la partie orientale du Sault-Saint-Louis, à la frontière du territoire seigneurial de La Prairie dont les concessions n'étaient que le prolongement des précédentes.

Pouvait-il en être autrement, puisque depuis longtemps les autorités coloniales cautionnaient les pratiques des seigneurs de La Prairie en devenant complices de leur conduite dans des gestes administratifs qui reconnaissaient leurs droits de propriété. En 1732, Hocquart, en réponse à la requête des Jésuites, promulguait une ordonnance qui obligeait les habitants de la seigneurie du Sault-Saint-Louis à tenir feu et lieu et à « désérer » leurs terres dans les neuf mois, sinon elles seraient réunies au domaine.²⁸ Cette décision reconnaissait de facto les Jésuites seigneurs du Sault-Saint-Louis et leur droit d'y concéder des terres à des Français. Douze ans plus tard, l'évêque consentait que soit érigée une église à la côte Saint-Pierre,²⁹ siège de la future paroisse Saint-Constant dont une partie du territoire se trouvait au Sault-Saint-Louis. Ces deux décisions ont été invoquées comme preuves de propriété devant le tribunal de 1762 qui ne les a cependant pas retenues. Elles suggèrent une fermeté nouvelle des Jésuites à partir de 1732 qu'ils n'avaient pas eu jusque-là l'audace d'afficher. Le meilleur témoignage en est l'aveu et dénombrement du Sault-Saint-Louis que Hocquart reçoit en 1733.³⁰ Ce document, comme celui de La Prairie dont il est le ju-

²⁷ Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, 284.

²⁸ Ordonnance de l'intendant Hocquart du 12 janv. 1732, ANQQ.

²⁹ Mandement de Mgr de Pontbriand, 5 nov. 1744, AAQ, 12 A, registre des inscriptions ecclésiastiques, vol. C, f° 187.

³⁰ Aveux et dénombrement du Sault-Saint-Louis, 20 avr. 1733, Aveux et dénombrements, Régime français, cahier n° 2, f° 416 ANQQ.

meau, date certainement de 1723 et non de 1733. Or le père Dupuy, procureur des Jésuites qui présente l'aveu, déclare y posséder une terre et non un fief comme dans l'aveu de La Prairie et la requête contenue dans l'ordonnance de réunion des terres du Sault-Saint-Louis. Il n'y fait d'autre part aucune mention de terre concédée à des Français (il y en avait déjà beaucoup en 1723) mais, dans un texte d'une absolue discréetion, il note qu'il ne se trouve au Sault-Saint-Louis que des Iroquois établis qui ont défriché environ 250 arpents. On comprend mieux alors que les Jésuites n'aient pas produit devant Gage ce timide aveu où ils n'affichaient pas la même assurance qu'en 1732 et dans lequel ils ne reconnaissaient ni le caractère féodal du Sault-Saint-Louis ni les terres concédées à des habitants.

Cette pratique suivie par les Jésuites n'est pas particulière au Sault-Saint-Louis. On la retrouve ailleurs selon le même modèle ou dans des formes différentes, mais le résultat est toujours semblable : la communauté indienne est dépossédée au profit de la population française de terres concédées sous la tutelle des seigneurs ecclésiastiques³¹ ou de terres qu'elle a défrichées et qui plus tard sont données ou vendues à des colons. La seigneurie de Sillery analysée par Léon Gérin en est un bon exemple.³² Primitivement accordée aux Indiens sous la direction des Jésuites en 1651, ceux-ci en intègrent d'abord une partie dans leur fief voisin de Saint-Gabriel que leur a donné Robert Giffard en 1667. Puis, en 1699, ils en obtiennent la totalité en propre après que les Indiens l'eurent quittée parce que les terres étaient usées et que les missionnaires avaient déjà distribué beaucoup de concessions à des colons qui encerclaient progressivement la mission. À trois reprises, en 1791, 1793 et 1819, les Hurons réclamèrent la seigneurie, mais à chaque occasion ils furent renvoyés.³³ Dans les missions qu'ils dirigent sur l'île de Montréal, les Sulpiciens procèdent autrement parce que la seigneurie leur appartient, mais la portée de leurs gestes reste la même. Sachant fort bien qu'ils les quitteraient un jour, les Indiens étant réputés « volages », ils leur réservent à la Montagne ou au Sault-au-Récollet des terres qu'ils mettent en valeur et que les seigneurs récupèrent lors des migrations pour les affirmer ou les donner à rente constituée.³⁴ De

³¹ Dechêne, *Habitants*, 33-35.

³² Gérin, « La seigneurie », 73-115.

³³ Dechêne, *Habitants*, 35; Gérin, « La seigneurie », 106-107.

³⁴ Dechêne, *Habitants*, 35; Tremblay, « La politique missionnaire ».

la même manière, les Jésuites recouvrent les terres défrichées de la côte Sainte-Catherine abandonnées par les Iroquois après leurs déplacements, mais ils les concèdent plutôt à de fidèles habitants qui les ont appuyés lors de la querelle entourant le patronage de la nouvelle église de pierre en 1704-1705.

Cette longue digression qui nous a obligé à passer par le Sault-Saint-Louis aura toutefois permis de jeter un regard critique sur le caractère légal de la seigneurie canadienne et d'examiner surtout la politique d'appropriation des seigneurs ecclésiastiques aux dépens des populations amérindiennes qu'ils encadraient dans les missions. Le cadre territorial ainsi délimité, il y a lieu maintenant de suivre à l'intérieur de ces frontières seigneuriales la marche du peuplement et l'occupation de ce vaste territoire.

L'OCCUPATION DU TERRITOIRE

Suivre l'occupation du territoire à l'intérieur des limites seigneuriales, c'est reconnaître a priori non seulement l'importance de ce cadre contraignant qui dicte les frontières du peuplement, mais aussi l'aptitude et la capacité des seigneurs de diriger ce mouvement. En ce domaine, leur liberté n'est cependant ni totale ni absolue, puisqu'elle doit à La Prairie, comme partout ailleurs sans doute, se soumettre aux impératifs de la topographie qui sont antérieurs aux autres conditions et commandent les lignes du peuplement, au mouvement inexorable qui au XVIII^e siècle gagne les profondeurs de la seigneurie s'appuyant en les prolongeant sur les voies déjà tracées par les pôles géographiques, économiques et de sociabilité. Il n'est donc pas question de réduire l'histoire foncière de La Prairie à la seule autorité des Jésuites et de leur attribuer l'entièvre responsabilité de la marche du peuplement. Le géographe Harris a démontré que la carte de l'occupation des terres seigneuriales obéissait davantage à la « dictature de la géographie » qu'aux caprices des seigneurs, si rigoureux fussent-ils.³⁵ Nous ne voulons ici que mesurer le mouvement qu'ils ont ordonné et dirigé au gré des conditions qui s'imposaient à eux bien au-delà d'un modèle théorique auquel ils auraient pu songer. En ce domaine de la distribution des terres, leur rôle fut cependant réel et déterminant, sinon il devient impossible d'expliquer, toutes conditions étant à peu près égales, le développement très variable qu'ont connu aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles les

³⁵ Harris, *The Seigneurial System*, 127.

seigneuries de la rive sud du Saint-Laurent, dans le gouvernement de Montréal.

Cette étude repose sur un très riche corpus qui nous a permis de suivre dans le temps long du Régime français et dans l'espace considérable que couvre la superficie des seigneuries de La Prairie³⁶ et du Sault-Saint-Louis³⁷ l'occupation du territoire concédé. Il est constitué par les 890 contrats de concession de terres et d'emplacements que nous avons repérés entre 1671 et 1760 chez les notaires seigneuriaux et royaux qui ont pratiqué dans le gouvernement de Montréal. Ce premier ensemble est complété par le volumineux Terrier de La Prairie qui recoupe les actes précédents et les ordonne selon les côtes en ordre chronologique et finalement par un petit cahier d'une vingtaine de pages retraçant l'histoire de chacune des côtes depuis les origines jusque vers les années 1738-1740.³⁸ Le contenu de ces documents sériels, leur regroupement spatio-temporel, les courbes et les tableaux qu'ils nous ont autorisé à dresser suggèrent les lignes maîtresses de cette analyse qui, sauf erreur, n'a jamais été conduite aussi loin.³⁹

Les lignes directrices

La colonisation suit à La Prairie des directions dictées par l'hydrographie, truisme maintes fois rappelé à l'échelle canadienne et qui convient parfaitement à cette seigneurie servie par une géographie généreuse. Si à long terme le peuplement se greffe au fleuve arrosant toute sa façade et s'accroche aux rivières et aux ruisseaux qui alimentent le Saint-Laurent, l'occupation primitive doit cependant obéir à des choix plus précis, mieux définis, imposés par les avantages particuliers du relief. En d'autres termes, cela signifie que tout son front en bordure du fleuve n'est pas également occupé à l'origine et que des quatre rivières qui arrosent son territoire une seule sera

³⁶ 2 x 4 lieues, soit 56 448 arpents que les Jésuites ont reçus en fief.

³⁷ 3 1/2 x 2 lieues, soit 49 392 arpents. Il n'y a qu'une partie de cette seigneurie qui sera concédée en cessions à des colons. Elle borde le fleuve et prolonge la côte Saint-Catherine dont l'origine est dans la seigneurie de La Prairie. Elle suit également les rivières de la Tortue et du Portage à la frontière des deux seigneuries et occupe une bande de terre dont le centre est le lieu désigné pour la paroisse Saint-Constant.

³⁸ Comme le Terrier, ce cahier est déposé à Québec dans le fonds « Biens des Jésuites », aux ANQG.

³⁹ S'apparente à notre étude celle de Jarnoux (« La colonisation de la seigneurie de Batiscan », 163-191) qui porte aussi sur une seigneurie jésuite.

témoin de son mouvement amorcé en 1667. Les seigneurs ont choisi le bassin de la rivière Saint-Jacques, cœur géographique et économique de La Prairie, pour établir leur mission et y fixer les premiers colons. Cet espace qui, avec son village, sa commune, son moulin, allait très vite devenir la pierre angulaire de la seigneurie, présentait des avantages considérables auxquels n'est pas étranger son choix comme foyer initial de peuplement. Les attributs géographiques qui ont valu à la première mission indienne et à toute la seigneurie leur nom évocateur ont été soulignés par le narrateur de la *Relation de 1670-1671*. Il ne fait que reprendre le texte de Champlain que répéteront plus tard voyageurs et chroniqueurs. « Cette résidence, écrit-il, [...] est situé sur une plaine qui est eslevée comme une petite montagne, à l'entrée d'une vaste prairie [...] qui est arrosée par divers contours d'une petite rivière fort agréable ».⁴⁰ Il faut croire que le second caractère était plus manifeste que le premier, puisqu'il a laissé son nom à la mission primitive, celle de Saint-François-Xavier-des-« Prés » et à la seigneurie de La-« Prairie »-de-la-Madeleine.

C'est à partir de ce pivot originel que les Jésuites établissent dès 1671, date du premier contrat de concession rédigé par leur secrétaire Joseph Tissot, cinq lignes de peuplement ou côtes (en plus des emplacements au village) auxquelles ils vont rester fidèles jusqu'en 1694. Il faut attendre cette dernière date et, plus tard, en 1699 et 1704, pour qu'ils consentent à ouvrir de nouvelles côtes qui ne seront que les prolongements naturels, en bordure du fleuve et à l'intérieur de la seigneurie, des axes de colonisation déjà tracés. Les cinq premiers noyaux suivent les deux rives de la rivière Saint-Jacques et le fleuve en direction de Longueuil. Ce sont les côtes Saint-Jean, des Prairies et de la Fourche qui occupent tout le bassin de la rivière compris entre le domaine (il longe le fleuve de part et d'autre de la même rivière) et le ruisseau Saint-Claude, limite de peuplement en direction du sud. C'est finalement la côte ou prairie Saint-Lambert (ainsi baptisée à cause des prairies naturelles que l'on y trouve au bord du Saint-Laurent concédées en commune à ses habitants) qui par la côte de Mouillepied rejoint la seigneurie de Longueuil, point d'appui du côté nord-est de la colonisation à La Prairie. En orientant le développement en direction de Longueuil, en préférant les terres

⁴⁰ JR, LV : 32. Décrivant la seigneurie en 1712, Gédéon de Catalogne précisera que

• La pluspart des terres qui y sont en culture estoient des prairies que les habitans ont desséchées par des fossés, ce qui les a rendues fertiles en toutes sortes de grains et légumes, quoique sujettes à brûmer ». (« Rapport sur les seigneuries et établissements », dans Munro, *Documents*, 109).

pauvres de Saint-Lambert et du Mouillepied⁴¹ aux sols plus riches de la côte Saint-François-Xavier, les Jésuites se sont moins laissés guider par les avantages de la géographie (qui auraient dû les conduire normalement vers les belles terres baignant la rivière de la Tortue) que par les impératifs du peuplement qui leur commandaient de s'appuyer sur Longueuil dont la colonisation était contemporaine de celle de La Prairie. Ce motif explique sans doute que les seigneurs, après les tentatives avortées de 1673, ont renoncé jusqu'en 1694 à développer la côte Saint-François-Xavier⁴² (selon le Terrier, « elle commence au bout d'en haut de la commune et continue jusqu'à la rivière de la Tortue ») qui serait devenue en direction du nord-ouest la ligne de peuplement la plus avancée sur la rive sud du Saint-Laurent. Peut-être aussi, les années à venir tendront à le confirmer, les Jésuites étaient-ils déjà convaincus à cette date (1673) de la nécessité de déplacer la mission de Saint-François-Xavier-des-Prés vers le Sault-Saint-Louis pour éloigner la population amérindienne dont le voisinage avec les Français lui était devenu nocif. Il aurait été contraire à leurs intentions d'ouvrir à la colonisation française une côte qui aurait rapproché et relié deux communautés que l'on voulait séparer. Cette raison n'existe plus ou peu en 1694, année où, dans un second essai qui cette fois réussira, on va développer la côte Saint-François-Xavier. La mission iroquoise qui avait quitté Kahnawake en 1690 et gagné Kahnawakon,⁴³ au-delà de la rivière du Portage, était suffisamment éloignée pour que l'on songe à coloniser le bassin de la rivière de la Tortue.

La colonisation ainsi amorcée au début des années 1670 est donc bien lancée. À l'aube du XVIII^e siècle, toutes les terres des premiers rangs (sauf quelques-unes plus en retrait) des cinq côtes primitives sont concédées et la façade du fleuve comprise entre Longueuil et le village de La Prairie est totalement occupée. L'autre partie contenue entre le domaine et la seigneurie du Sault-Saint-Louis sera progressivement conquise de 1694 à 1721, au fur et à mesure que les migrations forcées de la mission indienne vers Caughnawaga vont autoriser les Jésuites à développer les côtes Saint-François-Xavier, Saint-Ignace et Sainte-Catherine et à grignoter graduellement la

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760. Étude d'histoire sociale*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992

⁴¹ Les terres de ces deux côtes sont de faible valeur agricole, rocheuses et argileuses. Leur potentiel agronomique plus limité qu'ailleurs dans la seigneurie explique que ses habitants ont réclamé dès 1672 une réduction des rentes que les seigneurs, indignés, ont dû leur accorder. Voir *La gestion de la seigneurie*.

⁴² Les Jésuites y ont concédé plusieurs terres en 1673 mais, très rapidement, ils les ont reprises et fermé la côte à la colonisation.

⁴³ Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, 100.

partie orientale du fief voisin. L'occupation se prolonge ensuite et, comme partout ailleurs au Canada, les Jésuites dirigent la colonisation en fonction des cours d'eau qui s'enfoncent dans les profondeurs de la seigneurie. Les dates d'ouverture des différentes côtes balisent la conquête du territoire dont l'arrière-pays, tourné vers la vallée du Richelieu, le Sault-Saint-Louis et la seigneurie de La Salle, est peu à peu gagné par les concessions toujours données selon le même modèle jusqu'à la fin du Régime français. Leur énumération trace la voie chronologique et spatiale suivie par les seigneurs qui jusqu'en 1760 se sont laissés guider par les impératifs de la géographie et de l'hydrographie. Suivons la carte qui va orienter notre itinéraire à l'intérieur de la seigneurie. En 1699, dans le prolongement de la côte de la Fourche, s'ouvre la côte de Fontarabie arrosée par les ruisseaux qui sont les embranchements de la rivière Saint-Jacques. En 1712, les Jésuites franchissent la commune et, suivant le tracé de la rivière Saint-Jacques, ils concèdent les premières terres à la côte Saint-Joseph, futur emplacement de la paroisse Saint-Philippe. L'année suivante, ils commencent à occuper le terrain compris entre les côtes de la Fourche, des Prairies et la côte de Fontarabie qui au Terrier reçoit le nom de l'Ange-Gardien. En 1717, la rivière Saint-Jacques donne naissance à la côte du même nom adossée à celle de Saint-Joseph. En 1725, la colonisation éclate dans toutes les directions et les côtes qui s'ajoutent vers l'intérieur prolongent en les complétant les fronts de peuplement déjà esquissés. Saint-François-Borgia et Saint-Marc en 1726, Saint-Philippe l'année suivante, Saint-Raphaël et Saint-André en 1734, Saint-Claude en 1745, Saint-Stanislas en 1750 (qui permet après 80 ans de colonisation d'atteindre la rivière L'Acadie), Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague en 1751, les Saints-Anges (de part et d'autre du chemin tardivement achevé conduisant à Saint-Jean) et Saint-Constant, deux ans plus tard, à la frontière du fief de Longueuil et qui sont les dernières côtes occupées avant la Conquête.

Mesure de la progression spatio-temporelle

Portée sur des tableaux qui en illustrent la progression spatio-temporelle, la marche de l'occupation mesurée à l'aide des 890 contrats de concession que nous avons ordonnés accuse, à part quelques ratés, une vigueur que l'on doit mettre en parallèle avec la croissance qu'a connue la population de La Prairie.

Le village. Le village, dont il n'est pas facile de suivre le développement (tableau 4, graphique 1) parce que les contrats d'emplace-

Tableau 4
Concessions d'emplacements dans le village de
La Prairie (1671-1759)

Année	Nombre de contrats	Superficie en perches
1671	1	9
1672	—	—
1673	5	54
1674	2	18
1675	—	—
1676	—	—
1677	—	—
1678	2	18
1679	2	15
1680	—	—
1681	—	—
1682	—	—
1683	—	—
1684	—	—
1685	—	—
1686	—	—
1687	—	—
1688	—	—
1689	—	—
1690	—	—
1691	—	—
1692	—	—
1693	—	—
1694	1	21
1695	3	24
1696	4	19 1/3
1697	4	167 + ?
1698	—	—
1699	—	—
1700	—	—
1701	—	—
1702	—	—
1703	2	7 + ?
1704	2	19
1705	2	307
1706	2	58
1707	1	—
1708	—	—
1709	—	—
1710	—	—
1711	2	27
1712	3	85
1713	—	8
1714	—	7
1715	8	—
1716	—	—
1717	—	—
1718	—	—
1719	—	15
1720	—	50
Total	104	1 972 + ?

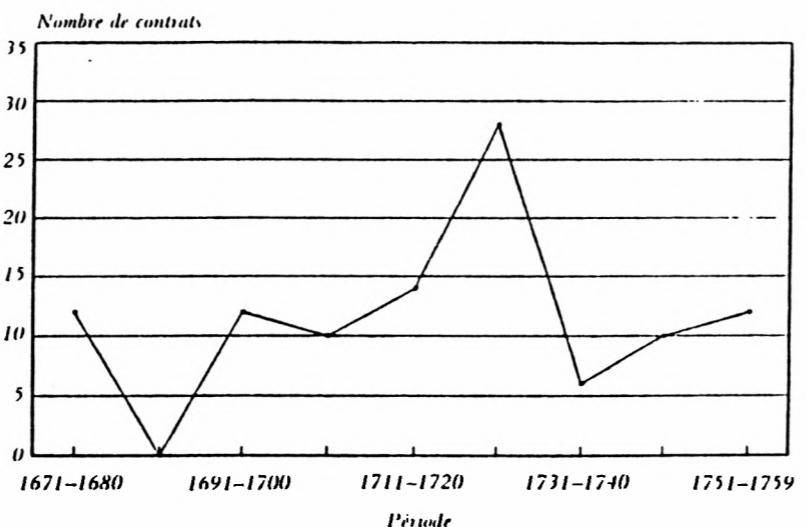
Lavallée Louis, La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Etude d'histoire sociale. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992

Tableau 4 (suite)
Concessions d'emplacements dans le village de
La Prairie (1671-1759)

Année	Nombre de contrats	Superficie en perches
1721	5	201 + ?
1722	8	25 2/3 + ?
1723	2	56 + ?
1724	3	114 + ?
1725	2	42
1726	4	119
1727	2	47
1728	—	—
1729	—	31
1730	—	—
1731	—	—
1732	—	—
1733	—	—
1734	—	—
1735	—	6
1736	—	—
1737	—	6
1738	—	7
1739	—	15
1740	2	1/2
1741	1	—
1742	—	—
1743	—	—
1744	—	—
1745	—	—
1746	6	65 1/2 + ?
1747	1	—
1748	—	—
1749	—	—
1750	—	—
1751	—	—
1752	—	—
1753	2	63
1754	2	—
1755	3	—
1756	1	100
1757	3	124 + ?
1758	1	—
1759	—	—
Total	104	1 972 + ?

Source : 104 contrats d'emplacement. Nous avons compté tous les contrats, mais nous n'avons pas reporté dans le cumul des superficies les emplacements déjà concédés, réunis au domaine et reconcédés. Les points d'interrogation signifient que nous ne connaissons pas la superficie de certains emplacements dont les mesures ne sont indiquées ni dans le contrat ni dans le Terrier. La dimension très variable nous a interdit d'en proposer une estimation.

Graphique 1
Répartition décennale des contrats d'emplacement (1671-1759)



Source : 104 contrats d'emplacement.

La dernière période ne comprend que deux ans.

ment sont mal tenus, confus ou donnés verbalement,⁴⁴ présente une poussée inégale dans le temps. Les dix premières années, contemporaines d'une forte croissance démographique, voient les Jésuites distribuer une douzaine d'emplacements. La première vague d'établissements passée, aucun emplacement n'est concédé entre 1680 et 1693. Il faut attendre ensuite 1694 pour que soit amorcée la reprise. Après les hésitations de la fin du siècle, le mouvement reprend son souffle, brisé en quelques occasions, et se maintient à peu près jusqu'à la fin du Régime français. Le sommet de 1721-1730 est relié à la décision d'agrandir le village qui gagne du terrain aux dépens de la commune. Les deux plus importantes ruptures ont lieu de 1730 à 1734 et de 1742 à 1745 (le mouvement de concession

⁴⁴ Le rédacteur du Terrier n'arrive pas à s'y retrouver dans bon nombre de cas. Il se pose des questions qui restent souvent sans réponse, cherche les contrats originaux qui sont perdus ou n'ont jamais existé. Les seigneurs n'ont pas toujours été très rigoureux dans la tenue des actes d'emplacement. Cela explique peut-être que l'aveu de 1723 ait oublié le village et que le Terrier qui en a partiellement reconstitué l'histoire soit rassasié d'incertitudes et d'interrogations. Ces faits témoignent sans doute du développement sauvage qu'il a connu à ses débuts.

des terres connaît au début des années 1730 le même creux) et elles trouvent sans doute leur explication dans la vigilance et la parcimonie nouvelles qu'affichent les seigneurs à la suite de la fermeté, un peu tardive, dont fait preuve l'intendance bien déterminée par la voix de Hocquart à faire respecter les Arrêts de Marly. À la veille de la Conquête, le village de La Prairie, regroupé autour des rues Saint-François-Xavier, Saint-Ignace, Saint-Lambert, Saint-Michel, Sainte-Marie et Saint-Joseph, contient une cinquantaine d'emplacements⁴⁵ occupés par des artisans, de très rares marchands, quelques habitants dont les terres sont à proximité, la maison du notaire, celle des Sœurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, l'église, le presbytère, le corps de garde et le commandant du fort.

La Prairie. La concession des terres dans la seigneurie de La Prairie, dont on a représenté aux figures 1.1 et 1.2 les oscillations annuelles exprimées en superficie, connaît après les hésitations du début reliées à la faiblesse du peuplement des fluctuations, certes, mais au sein d'un mouvement continu qui ne s'est jamais arrêté entre 1711 et 1759. Après un départ remarqué, en 1672, le mouvement initial est incapable de maintenir un rythme aussi vigoureux et, progressivement, il s'essouffle pour venir mourir à l'aube des années 1680. Entre 1681 et 1692, après avoir permis aux premiers immigrants de s'établir dans la seigneurie, les Jésuites concèdent moins de 150 arpents regroupés dans les trois dernières terres de la côte Saint-Lambert dont le premier rang est ainsi complété en 1690. La colonisation va retrouver ensuite, à partir de 1693, une vigueur nouvelle, hésitante d'abord, mais ferme dans sa continuité au-delà de 1710.

Observons les sommets et les dépressions qui ressortent des figures 1.1 et 1.2 et voyons ce qu'ils suggèrent. Le premier sommet en importance dans l'ordre chronologique apparaît en 1694 et il est à la fois trompeur et révélateur d'un essor prometteur. Des 3 844 arpents concédés cette année-là, le père François Vaillant, gérant de la seigneurie de La Prairie, en réserve aux habitants « qui y sont présentement habituez et à ceux qui s'y habitueront par la suite [...] depuis la coste de la Tortue jusques à la commune de la prairie Saint-Lambert »⁴⁶ 2 855 arpents pour la conumie de La Prairie qui allait structurer et fortifier davantage l'assemblée des

⁴⁵ Plusieurs emplacements ont été regroupés, ce qui explique que le nombre de contrats (104) est plus élevé.

⁴⁶ A. Adhémar, 19 mai 1694, concession de la commune de La Prairie de la Madeleine, ANQM.

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Tableau 5

Concessions de terres dans la seigneurie de La Prairie et au Sault-Saint-Louis
(1672-1759)

Année	Nombre de contrats	Superficie en arpents	
		La Prairie	Sault-Saint-Louis
1672	29	1 478 1/2	—
1673	20	1 000	—
1674	12	590	—
1675	6	290	—
1676	4	330	—
1677	6	248	—
1678	5	196	—
1679	2	114	—
1680	1	50	—
1681	—	—	—
1682	—	—	—
1683	—	—	—
1684	—	—	—
1685	—	—	—
1686	—	—	—
1687	—	—	—
1688	—	—	—
1689	1	—	—
1690	3	130 1/2	—
1691	—	—	—
1692	—	—	—
1693	1	100	—
1694	18	3 844	—
1695	7	445	—
1696	2	370	—
1697	—	—	—
1698	—	—	—
1699	3	225	—
1700	—	—	—
1701	4	377	—
1702	—	—	—
1703	—	—	—
1704	10	544	176
1705	6	391	—
1706	8	663	309
1707	1	40	—
1708	—	—	—
1709	1	55	35
1710	—	—	—
1711	2	160	—
1712	6	491	—
1713	7	486	—
1714	10	629	131
1715	7	473	153
1716	6	230 1/2	—
1717	26	2 265	—
1718	8	362	—
1719	13	633 1/2	227 1/2
1720	5	289 1/4	910

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Tableau 5 (suite)

Concessions de terres dans la seigneurie de La Prairie et au Sault-Saint-Louis
(1672-1759)

Année	Nombre de contrats	Superficie en arpents	
		La Prairie	Sault-Saint-Louis
1721	3	125	190
1722	8	300	180
1723	32	1 570 1/2	840
1724	2	53	—
1725	60	1 177 3/4	1 620
1726	12	468	600
1727	13	970	660
1728	8	399	240
1729	6	452	—
1730	11	222	810
1731	3	153	180
1732	13	120	450
1733	7	180	360
1734	15	630	360
1735	14	1 080	180
1736	4	341	—
1737	8	300	210 + (90) = 300
1738	9	720	60
1739	18	584	256
1740	13	785 1/2	136
1741	16	510	285 + (50) = 335
1742	12	561	40 + (90) = 130
1743	17	420 + (90) = 510	600 + (630) = 1 230
1744	6	260	150
1745	9	670	—
1746	16	870	735
1747	6	90	180
1748	10	520	90
1749	13	675	—
1750	38	2 426 + (630) = 3 056	—
1751	17	615 + (450) = 1 065	—
1752	6	247	60
1753	37	3 870 + (315) = 4 185	—
1754	36	2 776 + (380) = 3 156	315
1755	4	180 + (90) = 270	—
1756	8	510	16
1757	16	780 + (270) = 1 050	(450)
1758	3	240	—
1759	7	600 + (180) = 780	—
Total	786	44 911 + (2 405) = 47 316	11 755 + (1 310) = 13 065

Source : 786 contrats de concession. Nous avons compté tous les contrats, mais nous n'avons pas reporté dans le cumul des superficies les terres déjà concédées, réunies au domaine et reconcédées. Les chiffres en parenthèses représentent les terres qui n'étaient pas mesurées et dont nous avons estimé approximativement la superficie en nous fondant sur la dimension des terres voisines de la même côte. Nous avons réuni dans le même tableau La Prairie et le Sault-Saint-Louis parce que bon nombre de contrats concernent des terres partagées entre les deux seigneuries.

Figure 1.1
Concessions de terres dans la seigneurie de La Prairie (1672-1715)

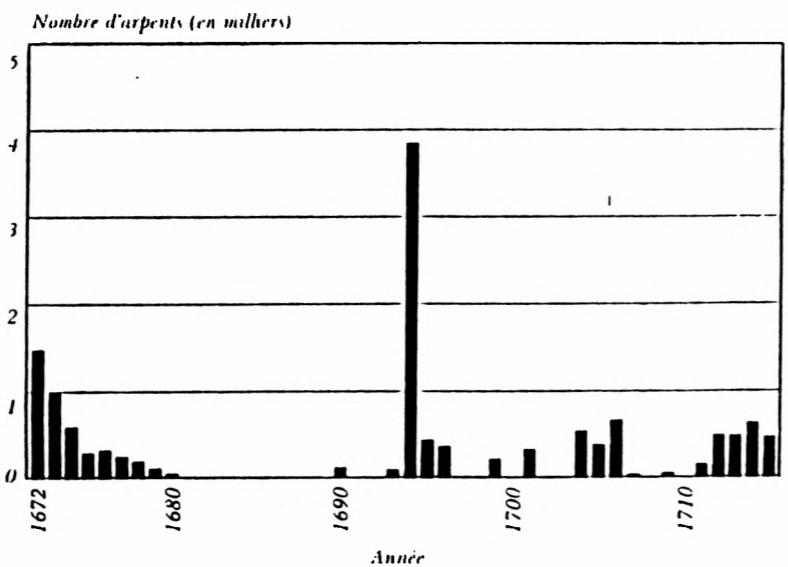
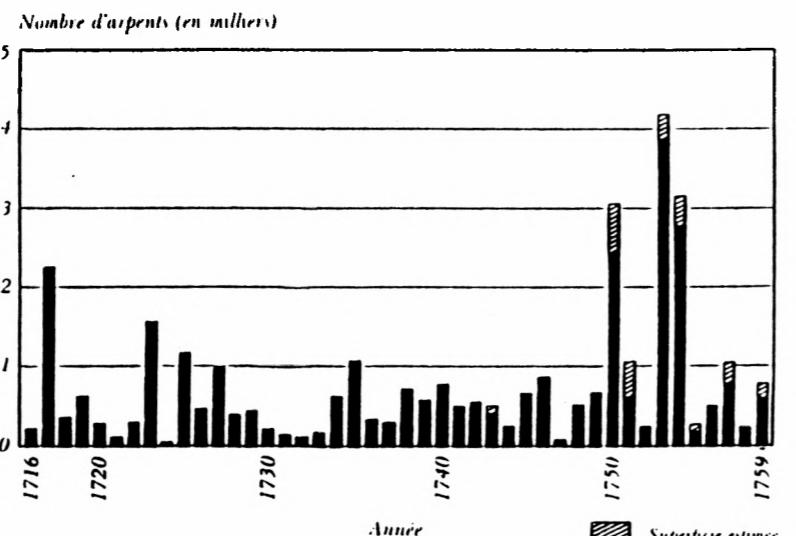


Figure 1.2
Concessions de terres dans le seigneurie de La Prairie (1716-1759)



Nous avons estimé approximativement la superficie des terres qui n'étaient pas mesurées en nous fondant sur la dimension des terres voisines de la même côte.

habitants et faire l'objet de leur part d'une attention jalouse pour en préserver les droits reconnus dans l'acte original. La deuxième pointe, la plus marquée après celle de 1691, se dégage en 1717, année où, sur la lancée irrésistible de sa population, les seigneurs ouvrent la côte Saint-Jacques, peuplent la côte Saint-Joseph et, surtout, cèdent aux censitaires des Prairies les continuations du premier rang de cette côte à l'origine des établissements pionniers de 1672. La troisième pointe, celle de 1723, est moins prononcée que la précédente et suit les directions déjà tracées : Saint-Jacques, Fontarabie et Saint-Joseph dont les premiers rangs ne sont pas complétés; Mouillepied, Saint-Lambert et les Prairies dont le deuxième rang est totalement occupé ou le sera dans les quelques années qui vont suivre. Il faut ensuite sauter une trentaine d'années pour retrouver les derniers élans d'une politique qui, faute de réservoir, va mourir à l'aube du xix^e siècle. En 1750, 1753 et 1754, la colonisation, soutenue par une population dépassant les 1 500 personnes, est portée jusqu'aux couloirs de la seigneurie dans l'axe sud-ouest vers les côtes Saint-Claude, Saint-André et Saint-Philippe, puis dans l'axe sud-est en direction des côtes Saint-Stanislas, Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague, des Saints-Anges et Saint-Constant récemment prouvées depuis que l'on a achevé le chemin qui mène au fort Saint-Jean. Chemin appelé à devenir à la veille de la Conquête l'une des voies terrestres les plus empruntées par les armées qui de Montréal gagnaient la vallée du Richelien. À cette poussée tardive, la plus remarquable sur près d'un siècle, n'est certainement pas étrangère la guerre de Sept Ans qui devait ouvrir davantage sur l'extérieur la seigneurie des Jésuites, y attirer de nouveaux colons souvent soldats, quelques marchands montréalais, et bouleverser la vie économique et sociale de ses habitants. Période charnière donc où tout s'agit (et pas seulement les militaires) au gré d'un conflit dont La Prairie a été de par sa géographie l'un des témoins privilégiés les plus attentifs.

Dans le sens contraire, le creux le plus prononcé après 1710 qui se situe entre deux paliers et se prolonge sur quatre ans (1730-1733) coïncide avec celui que connaît le mouvement de concession des emplacements. Il faut invoquer ici les mêmes motifs et croire que l'application plus sévère par Hocquart des Arrêts de Marly après 20 ans d'essais infructueux a pendant quelques années contraint les seigneurs les plus généreux à se montrer davantage économiques dans la distribution de nouvelles terres.⁴⁷ Par ailleurs, parallèlement à

⁴⁷ Dans l'espace de ces quatre années (1730-1733), les Jésuites ne concèdent que 675 arpents en terres nouvelles.

cette inhabituelle parcimonie, les Jésuites vont lancer une importante offensive pour réunir au domaine les terres abandonnées ou grevées d'arrérages.

À la fin du Régime français, les seigneurs de La Prairie avaient donc concédé au total (commune incluse, mais village non compris) 47 316 arpents, soit 83,8 % d'un territoire qui en comprenait 56 448. Répartie à travers 22 côtes, cette énergique entreprise échelonnée sur 88 ans (1672-1759) aura nécessité près de 650 contrats notariés. De cette superficie de 47 316 arpents attribués, 14 559 (30,8 %) l'avaient été au cours des seules dix dernières années à un moment où le seuil de population atteint avait considérablement accéléré la marche du peuplement.

Le Sault-Saint-Louis. Au Sault-Saint-Louis, territoire accordé aux Jésuites par les actes de 1680 réunis et confirmés par le brevet de 1717, l'occupation par les colons fut plus tardive et modérée (figure 2). Cela s'explique par la vocation même du Sault-Saint-Louis qui ne devait au départ que soutenir l'établissement d'une mission indienne, vocation que les seigneurs de La Prairie ont respectée pendant près de 25 ans et qu'ils ont ensuite progressivement vidée de son contenu interprétant en leur faveur des titres équivoques. L'avance du peuplement français, toujours limité à la partie orientale du Sault-Saint-Louis, là où les terres rejoignent celles de La Prairie, s'est faite lentement, encouragée par les quatre migrations qui, de 1676 à 1716, avaient vu le village iroquois se déplacer en amont et quitter successivement Kahnawake, Kahnawakon et Kahnatakwene pour finalement gagner en 1716 Caughnawaga,⁴⁸ loin de la ligne seigneuriale séparant les deux lieux.

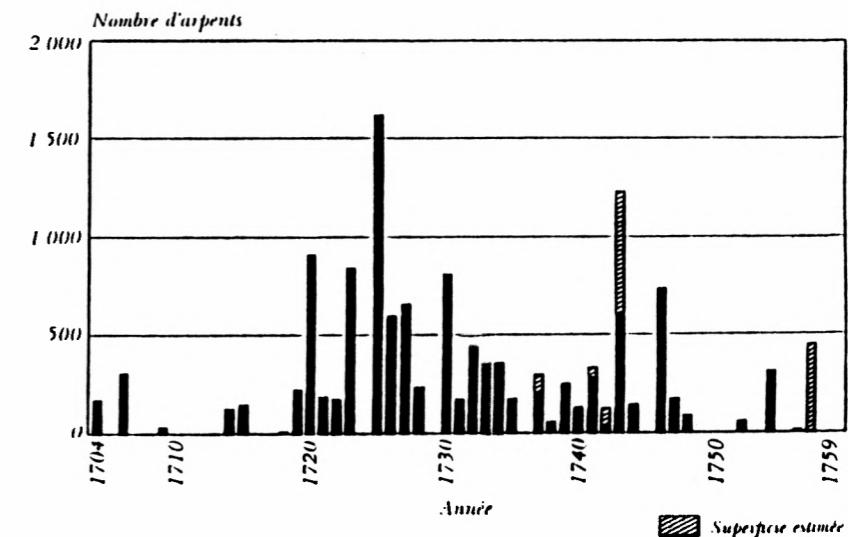
Entre 1704, date des premières concessions au Sault-Saint-Louis, et 1719, l'occupation est timide et se résume aux 1 042 arpents distribués à la côte Sainte-Catherine, sur les deux rives de la rivière du Portage, aux côtes Saint-François-Xavier et Saint-Ignace, de part et d'autre de la rivière de la Tortue. Toutes ces terres sont situées partiellement ou totalement au-delà des frontières de La Prairie et celles de la côte Sainte-Catherine, occupant les espaces défrichés par les Indiens autour des villages abandonnés, comportent toutes dans les contrats passés jusqu'en 1716 (date du dernier déplacement de la mission) une clause qui interdit à leurs détenteurs d'y résider avant que les Indiens n'aient quitté le village du Sault-Saint-Louis, Kahnatakwene.⁴⁹ L'installation définitive de la bourgade indienne à

Lavalée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

⁴⁸ Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, 180.

⁴⁹ Voir pour exemple : M. Lepailleur, 8 janv. 1716, concession à René Bourassa, ANQMT.

Figure 2
Concessions de terres au Sault-Saint-Louis (1704-1759)



Nous avons estimé approximativement la superficie des terres qui n'étaient pas mesurées en nous fondant sur la dimension des terres voisines de la même côte.

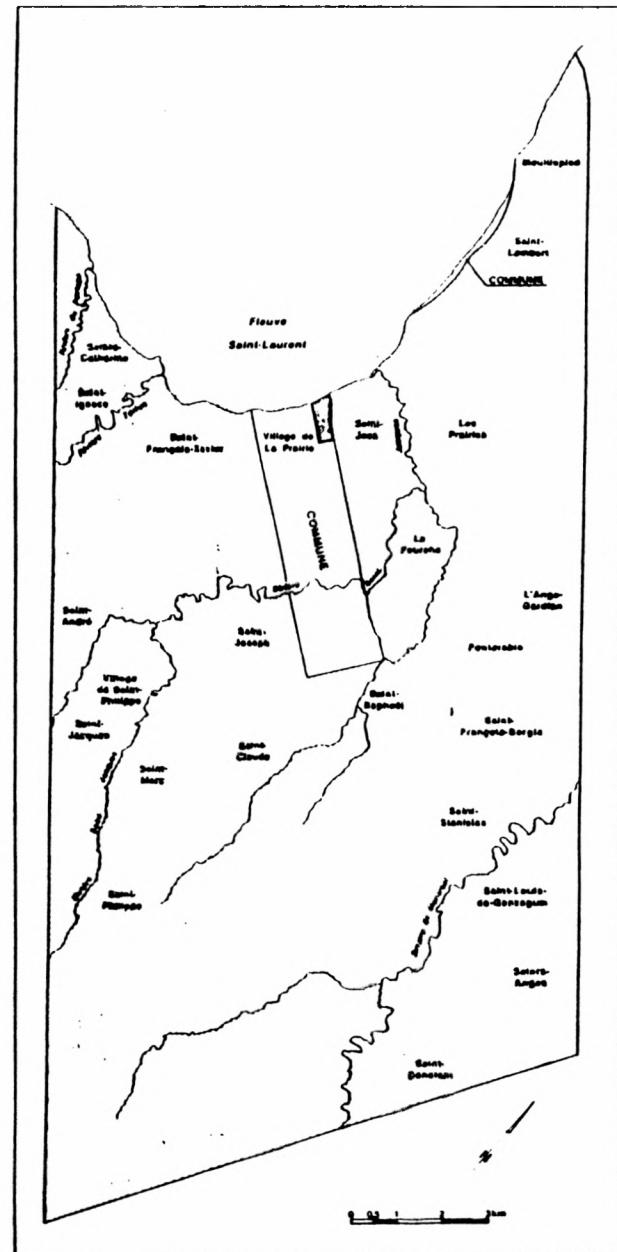
Caughnawaga entre 1716 et 1719, et la distance qui la sépare dorénavant de La Prairie allaient rendre les Jésuites plus téméraires et les autoriser à investir massivement le Sault-Saint-Louis en menant, à partir de 1720 jusqu'à la fin du Régime français, une politique soutenue de distribution des terres. L'année 1720 marquant le début de cette offensive pacifique voit donc les seigneurs attribuer 910 arpents à des habitants de La Prairie. Ce chiffre éloquent, de peu inférieur au total des arpents concédés au cours des 15 premières années, rend compte pour l'avenir d'un plan d'occupation savamment orchestré et fidèlement suivi. Au terme du Régime français, les Jésuites occupaient 26,1 % du Sault-Saint-Louis après avoir accordé 13 065 arpents (la superficie du lieu est de 49 392 arpents) en concessions, toutes greffées au fleuve, aux rivières de la Tortue et du Portage et réunies pour l'essentiel autour de la paroisse Saint-Constant, cœur de la colonisation française au Sault-Saint-Louis.

En 1760, les deux territoires, dont nous venons de suivre l'occupation spatio-temporelle, présentent une image dont les contours ont été inégalement tracés par les seigneurs et la topographie. Les premiers, en réglant un mouvement dont ils n'étaient pas totalement les maîtres et que commandaient d'autres agents, ont cependant

luminisé dans un sens qui renvoie à l'histoire sacrée de leur ordre la géographie des deux fiefs. C'est ainsi qu'elle a emprunté à l'hydrographie jésuite quelques-unes de ses dénominations. Le calendrier jésuite est né et s'est enrichi rapidement au cours de la réforme catholique dont l'ordre a été le principal promoteur. Il est partout présent à La Prairie et au Sault-Saint-Louis et les rues du village ou les côtes du plat pays l'évoquent à maintes reprises. Le premier à être honoré, saint François Xavier a laissé son nom à une rue du bourg, à une côte réunissant les deux seigneuries, à la mission indienne et à la paroisse primitive de La Prairie enfin avant d'être déclassé par la Vierge en 1705, au plus fort d'un différend qui a opposé Jésuites et Sulpiciens et dont nous rappellerons la nature au chapitre suivant. Saint Ignace de Loyola, fondateur de la Compagnie, saint Stanislas Kostka, saint Louis de Gonzague, saint François Borgia et saint Jean-François Régis marquent aussi la toponymie du village et des deux fiefs en rappelant le rôle que les Jésuites ont joué dans la colonisation et la vie seigneuriale.

Aux traits toponymiques s'en ajoutent d'autres, plus éloquents, plus durables et mieux ancrés dans le paysage, qui transparaissent au travers de la carte seigneuriale. Si les Jésuites se sont réservé le privilège de désigner les lieux en puisant au sein d'un vocabulaire familier qui devait rappeler leur histoire sacrée, ils ont en revanche été bien impuissants à ordonner l'espace foncier, parce que celui-ci obéissait à des impératifs géographiques auxquels ils devaient se soumettre malgré eux. À La Prairie, les lignes de peuplement articulées aux côtes ont, comme partout ailleurs au Canada, suivi le cours du fleuve, des rivières, des ruisseaux, et cette réalité structurelle a ordonné le paysage. La richesse du réseau hydrographique fondée sur le Saint-Laurent, quatre rivières principales et les multiples ruisseaux qui les alimentent, a dessiné d'un trait indélébile la carte foncière, plus capricieuse dans sa forme que le beau parallélisme auquel un modèle théorique nous a longtemps habitués. L'espace seigneurial de La Prairie présente en général une multitude de rectangles étroits et allongés, image familière qui n'étouffera personne, mais aussi et surtout une ordonnance s'harmonisant davantage au paysage et aux cours d'eau qu'à un plan géométrique. Il en résulte un décor très irrégulier et un paysage extrêmement bigarré qu'ont reproduits, parce qu'ils n'avaient pas été modifiés, les cartes modernes (celles du xix^e et du xx^e siècles) qui demeurent les seules que nous pouvons utiliser.⁵⁰ À La Prairie, le parallélisme souvent proclamé n'est même pas présent partout en bordure du fleuve. À

50 Nous n'avons retrouvé aucune carte ancienne des deux seigneuries.



Carte 3
Le dessin de la carte foncière dans la seigneurie de La Prairie
(d'après la carte de J. Riel, 1861)

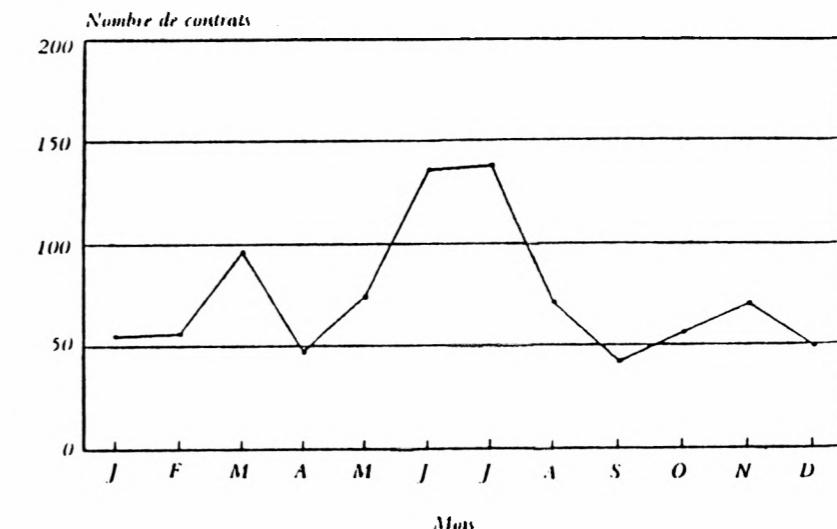
deux reprises, il est rompu par la rivière Saint-Jacques et la rivière de la Tortue qui commandent des orientations différentes. Et quand il existe, il a vite fait d'être brisé dans l'arrière-pays, lorsque la ligne des terres qui suit les rivières coupe perpendiculairement les côtes baignées par le Saint-Laurent et forme un puzzle dont tous les morceaux ne s'agencent pas selon un ordre analogue et symétrique.

Les modalités de concession

Activité seigneuriale maîtresse, la concession de terres dans le fief de La Prairie et au Sault-Saint-Louis suit un mode invariable très tôt établi auquel les Jésuites vont demeurer fidèles jusqu'en 1760. Habituellement, le billet de concession verbal ou sous seing privé précède le contrat notarié et vaut aussi longtemps que dure la période probatoire au cours de laquelle le colon doit en principe faire la preuve de sa volonté de s'établir en mettant la terre en valeur. Mais en pratique, cette dernière condition n'est pas toujours respectée et pourvu que le censitaire paie les rentes, il n'est pas troublé dans sa possession, comme en témoignent les ventes de terres concédées par billets et qui ne portent « aucun travail ». Dans la période de l'ottement des débuts de La Prairie, l'acte notarié ne suit pas toujours le billet qui demeure pendant longtemps la seule preuve de possession de l'habitant. Lorsque le rédacteur du Terrier ordonne les actes de concession des premières terres et des emplacements primitifs au village, il évoque aussi les quelques cas, peu nombreux il est vrai, où des billets ont fait foi de contrats notariés et où des emplacements ont été attribués dans la plus totale confusion, sans billet, ni contrat. Ces négligences seront cependant momentanées et, très tôt, les seigneurs vont institutionnaliser la pratique du document notarié pour se plier à la volonté des autorités coloniales, préparer les aveux et mieux fixer l'assiette des lots et ventes à laquelle leur intérêt commandait de veiller. De toute façon, les Jésuites ne cesseront pas d'accorder des billets provisoires. Les indications relevées dans le Terrier, les censiers et les contrats prouvent qu'ils ont suivi cette pratique jusqu'à la fin du Régime français.

La mention « dont il joint depuis plusieurs années » quelquefois inscrite dans les contrats de concession, l'identité des voisins du concessionnaire révélée par les mêmes actes, alors qu'ils n'ont pas encore reçu de contrat, suggèrent l'existence de tels billets qui ont précédé la visite chez le notaire. Enfin, le censier de 1738 qui présente dans l'ordre alphabétique la liste des censitaires de La Prairie fait par moment allusion à des billets de concession récemment accordés dont nous retrouvons la confirmation notariée peu de temps après.

Graphique 2
Répartition mensuelle des contrats de concession (1671-1759)



Source : 890 contrats de concession.

Le regroupement mensuel (graphique 2) des 890 contrats de concession (terres et emplacements réunis) isole à l'intérieur de l'année les moments forts de cette activité seigneuriale et éclaire la politique qu'ont adoptée les Jésuites dans la distribution du sol. On pouvait s'en douter, la courbe s'illécit à l'hiver (sauf la pointe de mars) et à l'automne (sauf la pointe de novembre), se redresse en mai, enflue en juin-juillet et retrouve en août le palier du mois de mai. Les seigneurs concèdent plus de terres au printemps et à l'été et leur animation dans ce domaine se conjugue avec la période agricole la plus intense. Mai, juin, juillet, août rassemblent 47 % (419/890) des contrats et les seuls mois de juin et juillet en regroupent 30,8 % (27,1/890).

La date des contrats et la localisation dans le Terrier des terres concédées nous invitent également à reconstituer le plan que les Jésuites ont mis au point pour occuper les différentes côtes en même temps qu'ils nous permettent de comprendre la stratégie déployée pour maîtriser l'espace et assurer la marche du peuplement. Partout à travers les 22 côtes de la seigneurie de La Prairie, ils ont appliqué le même patron que nous pouvons suivre à une échelle réduite à l'aide d'un schéma (plan figuratif) qui représente l'avance de la colo-

Plan figuratif L'ordre chronologique et spatial des concessions à la côte Saint-Lambert

DATES	ORDRE SPATIAL																															
1 09/10/72	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
2 08/12/72	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
3 11/12/72	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
4 13/12/72	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
5 29/01/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
6 22/06/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
7 29/06/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
8 16/07/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
9 20/07/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
10 24/07/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
11 25/07/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
12 21/09/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
13 01/10/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
14 09/10/73	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
15 24/02/74	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
16 01/04/74	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
17 19/04/74	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
18 30/05/75	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
19 12/02/76	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
20 11/06/76	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
21 25/12/77	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
22 15/01/78	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
23 01/12/78	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
24 12/08/90	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

Source : Recueil de la Plaine et contenus de concession

nisation à la côte Saint-Lambert, l'un des premiers territoires conquis par les censitaires dans le dernier tiers du XVII^e siècle.

La côte Saint-Lambert s'étend entre la côte de Mouillepied qui rejoint le lieu de Longueuil et le domaine que se sont réservé les Jésuites sur les deux rives de la rivière Saint-Jacques. L'occupation

officielle⁵⁴ de Saint-Lambert, qui démarre à l'automne de 1672, commence par deux terres de 40 arpents chacune concédées le même jour (à des personnes différentes) et occupant à peu près le centre géographique de la côte. Si les Jésuites n'ont pas dans la plupart des côtes toujours respecté la dernière condition, ils ont habituellement appuyé en revanche la colonisation initiale sur une concentration de terres (deux, trois, quatre parfois), toutes voisines les unes des autres et concédées le même jour à des habitants distincts. Cette pratique, nous pouvons la vérifier, entre autres, à la côte Saint-François-Xavier qui s'articule en 1694 autour des quatre premières terres toutes attribuées le 3 juillet de la même année, à la côte des Prairies dont l'origine est fondée sur trois concessions accordées le 31 mai 1672 et à la côte Saint-Joseph qui prend naissance en 1712 à partir de deux terres octroyées le 22 janvier. Elle assure au départ un regroupement plus ou moins dense à partir duquel le peuplement peut ensuite s'effectuer. Soutenue par le pivot originel, la colonisation prend alors son envol et gagne progressivement l'espace de la côte en s'éloignant de son point de départ et en établissant des têtes de pont, sorte de postes avancés qui balisent la marche du peuplement, mais ne trouvent au début aucun point d'appui. Petit à petit, les secteurs sont raccordés entre eux, le couloir initial se peuple et, très vite, les terres concédées s'appuient de part et d'autre sur des concessions déjà occupées. C'est ce modèle que les seigneurs appliquent à Saint-Lambert dont on pent à l'aide du plan figuratif suivre la conquête graduelle du territoire. Les têtes de pont, inévitablement nombreuses au départ (n°s 1, 2, 3, 5, 8 apparaissant dans la première colonne) et toutes établies dans la première année d'occupation de la côte, se résument ensuite aux deux seules (n°s 16 et 21) que les Jésuites érigent en 1674 et 1677. L'isolement relatif dont souffrent les premières terres sans aucun point d'appui est vite rompu. Il a fallu 18 ans au total pour que le premier rang de la côte Saint-Lambert qui court sur 80 arpens soit entièrement concédé et 71 de ceux-ci lavaient été à l'intérieur des six premières années. Cinquante ans après l'ouverture de cette côte, l'aveu de 1723 que les Jésuites ont dressé offre de Saint-Lambert une image qui n'est pas finie, mais passablement modifiée depuis 1672. Des 32 terres composant la côte à l'origine, 20 (62,5 %) ont changé de famille et des 29 propriétaires primitifs, 11 (37,9 %) seulement ont fait souche

5) On sait que la véritable occupation de la côte précéda dans le temps celle que nous pouvons mesurer à l'aide des contrats de concession. Il est cependant impossible d'en connaître le contenu parce que les titres temporaires accordés par les Jésuites n'ont pas été conservés.

sur place et ont laissé des descendants. Cette grande mobilité des propriétaires qui se manifeste surtout dans la décennie suivant la date de concession n'étonnera personne. Elle est caractéristique de l'instabilité qui accompagne les débuts et on l'a déjà observée sur l'île de Montréal⁵² et dans la région de Québec.⁵³

LA GESTION DE LA SEIGNEURIE

L'acte d'explication du titre imprécis de 1647, donné par l'intendant Duchesneau en 1676, devait confirmer le caractère féodal de La Prairie, en rappeler l'étendue et asseoir l'autorité des Jésuites à qui il reconnaissait la jonissance en fief avec tous droits de seigneurie et de justice, haute, moyenne et basse. Cette confirmation qui définissait clairement le complexe seigneurial de La Prairie impliquait dès lors que la seigneurie pouvait être un véritable système de commandement par l'exercice d'une portion de la puissance publique sur un groupe d'hommes et un régime d'exploitation du sol.

En théorie, le seigneur détenteur d'une certaine étendue de territoire qu'il tient en fief s'en réserve une partie dont il jouit en propriété utile et concède le reste soit en arrière-fiefs, soit en censives, moyennant, dans ce dernier cas, un certain nombre de redevances en argent ou en nature qui symbolisent sa propriété éminente. Par le pouvoir de juger au civil et au criminel, par les banalités enfin, il exerce sur les censitaires des droits personnels que lui reconnaît la royauté. De ce schéma idéal et tout théorique découle la puissance du seigneur qui, selon les termes de Pierre Goubert, devient à la fois un maître, un perceiteur et un juge.⁵⁴ Ces qualités doivent en principe rendre compte de sa capacité d'affirmer sa supériorité économique, son pouvoir fiscal et son autorité politique nourris à même les droits et priviléges que lui confère un régime dont il doit devenir le principal bénéficiaire.

La puissance économique du seigneur procède d'abord de l'importance du domaine qui, normalement, fait de lui le plus gros exploitant et le premier concurrent économique du paysan, quand une exploitation rigoureuse lui permet de constituer d'appreciables surplus agricoles. Elle est ensuite fortifiée par les banalités, notamment par la banalité du moulin à laquelle doivent se soumettre des paysans toujours prompts à dénoncer un service onéreux qui leur est cependant indispensable et auquel ils n'ont pas de substitut. À

⁵² Dechêne, *Habitants*, 292.

⁵³ Harris, *The Seigneurial System*, 141-143.

⁵⁴ Brandel et Labrousse, dir., *Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, II : 122.

droits perçus au titre de propriétaire éminent et répertoriés dans les terriers relais périodiquement. Le cens qui rappelle au paysan le caractère incomplet de sa propriété, la rente, moins symbolique que le cens, et les droits de mutation que les censitaires essaient quelquefois de camoufler constituent le plus clair de la fiscalité seigneuriale. Si les revenus du domaine et les droits seigneuriaux sont surtout la marque de la domination économique du seigneur, le droit de justice, le plus notable, assortit sa domination politique ou administrative. Ce pouvoir, toujours inscrit, parce que le plus grand, en tête des terriers, donne au fief sa puissance, aux cens et aux droits l'imprescriptibilité,⁵⁵ au seigneur une arme redoutable cependant réduite la plupart du temps aux affaires civiles, depuis que celui-ci a souvent renoncé à la juridiction criminelle, trop coûteuse, abandonnée aux tribunaux royaux. De cet ensemble très inégalement appliqué et vécu doivent se dégager des rapports de force, de domination, de soumission et de dépendance établis entre le seigneur et ses censitaires qui permettent de juger de l'importance et de la sigilication de l'institution seigneuriale.

Ce bel archétype emprunté à la France d'Ancien Régime, nous voulons le suivre à travers l'exemple de La Prairie dont les titres seigneuriaux construits sur le modèle métropolitain évoquent à maints égards une image idéale que l'on a voulu appliquer à un milieu géographique, social et économique totalement distinct. Produit d'une « société adulte », le régime seigneurial transposé en Amérique a encadré une population, une société en formation soumise à des conditions étrangères à celles de l'ancienne France. Replacé dans la confrontation métropole-colonie, cet emprunt laisse présager des réponses différentes fournis par l'une et l'autre et annonce infailliblement des démarcations qui devraient attester à travers l'exemple de La Prairie de la spécificité canadienne.

Notre démonstration qui débouche sur l'analyse comparée suit le tracé le plus classique. Pour l'essentiel, elle se résume à la présentation des droits seigneuriaux, exercice banal, dira-t-on, qui n'a sans doute plus son utilité en France mais paraît nécessaire ici, puisqu'il s'est trop souvent limité dans le passé au seul aspect juridique. La documentation laissée par les seigneurs de La Prairie nous oblige à dépasser ce stade sommaire et à déconvrir à travers la gestion qu'ils ont assurée l'essence du régime seigneurial dont on pourra finalement mesurer la vigueur ou la mollesse, la puissance ou l'anémie et sur lequel on devra porter un jugement comparatif qui éclairera l'étude des relations métropole-colonie.

⁵⁵ Saint-Jacob, *Le paysan*, 58.

Le domaine

Le domaine que les Jésuites se réservent à La Prairie occupe peu d'espace et suit une évolution contraire à celle que connaissent les domaines des seigneurs français aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. L'exiguïté de cette réserve et le peu d'intérêt que les Jésuites y portent sont à la mesure de la maigre documentation qui permet d'en reconstituer la courte histoire qui se réduit à sa contraction progressive et à sa disparition en 1726. Au total, elle comprend 259 arpents, en bordure du fleuve, inégalement répartis des deux côtés de la rivière Saint-Jacques dont l'embouchure formait une vaste plaine couverte de prairies naturelles (rare privilège dans un pays essentiellement boisé) qui allaient devenir le cœur des premiers établissements et le site retenu par les seigneurs pour établir un domaine facile à exploiter dès le début.

L'essentiel de cette réserve seigneuriale que les textes appellent « la ferme des Jésuites » est constitué par les 211 arpents du côté sud-ouest de la rivière que les seigneurs vont donner à bail entre 1675 et 1705, date de son démembrement. Les quatre baux consentis par les Jésuites demeurent les seuls documents relatifs à cette partie du domaine. Leur sévérité explique sans doute la difficulté de trouver preneur, et peut-être en partie le geste de 1705. Le premier bail que le père Frémin accorde en 1675 à Charles Boyer et Marguerite Ténard⁵⁶, sa femme, et qu'il aurait sans doute voulu exemplaire, est demeuré unique dans sa présentation et ses exigences. Il fait du couple Boyer de véritables serviteurs domestiques liés par des obligations exigeantes que leur impose le contrat. Boyer, qui accepte de mettre la ferme en valeur et d'en occuper les bâtiments, doit répondre aux conditions suivantes : livrer chaque année à Montréal 500 livres en blé; nourrir les Pères pour 180 livres par tête, par an, pendant la durée du bail, et donner à manger à tous ceux qui viendront rendre visite aux Jésuites en comptant 10 sols par personne, par jour (ces deux sommes étant comptées en déduction du revenu de la ferme); porter la nourriture des Pères dans leur chambre et faire cuire les « petits extraordinaires » qui leur seront offerts; fournir chaque semaine 12 livres de pain; traîner chaque année 15 cordes de bois et assurer aux missionnaires 3 jours de trainage selon leurs besoins; entretenir enfin les clôtures et les ponts, puis porter le bois de chauffage des Pères dans la petite cuisine de leur résidence. Ce document singulier n'a pas été repris et les baux ultérieurs qui as-

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760. Étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

⁵⁶ Tissot, 29 juin 1675, bail des Jésuites à Charles Boyer, fonds « Biens des Jésuites », ANQ.

souliront les termes de l'entente prendront la forme d'un véritable contrat de fermage dans lequel la plupart des services domestiques exigés au bail initial auront disparu.

Cette ferme du domaine dont il est impossible d'apprécier le revenu annuel est dans sa majeure partie démembrée en 1705, année où les seigneurs concluent, le même jour, quatre ventes⁵⁷ qui permettent à deux habitants du lieu parmi les plus importants, Pierre Gagné et Jacques Deneau, et à deux Montréalais, le marchand Jean Soumande et le maçon Gilbert Maillet (rares exemples où des citadins acquièrent des terres à La Prairie), d'acheter pour 6 000 livres les 211 arpents, appelés à devenir les quatre premières terres de la côte Saint-Jean. Le reste du domaine composé des 48 arpents, presque tous en prairies, qui fermaient la côte Saint-Lambert ne survivra qu'une vingtaine d'années au lotissement précédent. Les Jésuites y renonceront en 1726,⁵⁸ date à laquelle Pierre Pinsonneau acceptera de verser 1 800 livres pour des terres qui jusque-là rapportaient chaque année aux seigneurs 325 à 350 bottes de foin.

Autant qu'il est possible d'en juger à travers l'exemple de La Prairie (auquel s'ajoutent cependant d'autres cas),⁵⁹ cette brève histoire d'un modeste domaine illustre l'un des traits majeurs du régime seigneurial en Nouvelle-France qui le distingue au premier chef de celui de la métropole. Alors qu'en France la réserve occupe au sein de la seigneurie un espace souvent considérable que les seigneurs vont tenter d'accroître aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles et qui constitue le principal poste de revenu des rentiers de la terre, elle est ici souvent réduite à la portion congrue, plafonnée ou se comprime et n'est que d'un faible apport financier. Tout encourageait les seigneurs à liquidifier ces domaines, à les réduire graduellement ou à les maintenir

⁵⁷ Les actes datés du 8 nov. 1705 sont déposés dans le greffe du notaire Antoine Adhémar aux ANQ.

⁵⁸ Barete, 7 oct. 1726, vente des Jésuites à Pierre Pinsonneau, ANQ.

⁵⁹ Dechêne (« L'évolution du régime seigneurial », 177) a pu établir que le domaine des Sulpiciens, lors compris, n'atteignait pas au XVII^e siècle 3 % (un peu moins de 1 000 arpents) de la superficie de l'île de Montréal et que les fermes des seigneurs de Montréal comptaient sans doute avec celles du Séminaire de Québec parmi les plus importantes de la colonie. Selon elle, cela laisse supposer que les domaines que s'étaient réservés les seigneurs laics devaient être de moindre dimension. À l'île Jésus, le domaine principal occupait environ 1 750 arpents et représentait moins de 2 % du territoire seigneurial. (Dépatie, Lalancette et Desjardins, *Contributions à l'étude*, 29). Lemire qui a étudié Longueuil, seigneurie voisine de La Prairie, a remarqué le même phénomène. En 1723, le domaine ne comprend que 300 arpents et ne connaît pas d'expansion jusqu'en 1760. (*Longueuil*, 61). Greer (*Peasant*, 93) a constaté une évolution analogue dans la vallée du Richelien au XVIII^e siècle.

dans leurs dimensions originelles, quelquefois dérisoires. Les conditions économiques particulières à la Nouvelle-France, la faiblesse des marchés et un peuplement clairsemé expliquent la médiocrité des domaines dont le produit foncier n'a pas trouvé la même demande que dans la métropole. On rejoint donc ici à l'échelle réduite de La Prairie analysée à travers sa réserve seigneuriale un problème fréquemment souligné par l'histoiregraphie canadienne que nous évoquerons à d'autres occasions plus loin dans ce livre. Il suppose que la promotion économique et sociale au Canada ne passe pas par la conquête des terres et que la rente foncière qui est d'un faible rapport attire peu et se vend mal.

Les monopoles

Les titres seigneuriaux de La Prairie reconnaissent explicitement ou implicitement aux Jésuites un ensemble de droits personnels qu'ils n'exerceront pas également. Le premier de ceux-là, qui en France est le plus grand et que ne manquent jamais de rappeler les terriers, véritables constitutions des seigneuries, c'est la justice. Formidable moyen dont disposent (au civil surtout, puisque le criminel a été presque toujours abandonné aux tribunaux royaux), quelques dizaines de milliers de seigneurs pour juger les conflits entre paysans, les querelles de bornage et pâtrage, pour régler les affaires de successions, de minorités, de tutelles, pour statuer sur les démêlés de toutes sortes qui ne manquent pas de survenir entre eux et leurs censitaires, pour assurer enfin et surtout la conservation de leurs droits et la perception des redevances en ayant recours au besoin à la contrainte.

Ces « justices de village » dont les abus sont constamment dénoncés par les paysans français existent au Canada. Elles semblent bien avoir joué un rôle important sous le Régime français et « mériteraient d'être mieux connues ».⁶⁰ Quand les seigneurs canadiens exerceht ce droit, ils ne retiennent la plupart du temps que la basse justice dont le rôle, comme à Montréal, se limite à connaître de la censive, à en assurer les rentrées et l'observance des règlements.⁶¹ Pour des raisons que nous connaissons mal (coût trop élevé, difficulté de recruter des officiers?), les Jésuites renonceront dès le début à ce privilège pour s'en remettre à la justice royale. Elle les oblige cependant à présenter leurs causes devant le tribunal de Trois-Rivières, juri-

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

60 Dickinson, « La justice seigneuriale », 323.

61 Dechièvre, *Habitants*, 252-253.

dition royale la plus rapprochée de La Prairie, avant que la royauté n'établisse, en 1693, sa justice à Montréal, après avoir dépouillé les Sulpiciens de l'essentiel de leur puissance judiciaire. L'absence d'une juridiction royale à Montréal avant cette date comporte toutefois des inconvénients et, dès 1683, elle va obliger le père Ralfeix, gérant de la seigneurie de La Prairie, à adresser une supplique à l'intendant de Meulles. Inquiet du retard apporté par ses censitaires au paiement des rentes, il lui demande la permission « la justice royale en étant esloignée [de La Prairie] de plus de 30 lieues [...] de faire assigner ses débiteurs devant le juge le plus proche qui est celui de Montréal pour estre par lui condamnés en première instance ».⁶² Le 23 février de la même année, l'intendant se rend aux arguments des seigneurs de La Prairie et autorise ceux-ci à se pourvoir contre leurs censitaires devant le bailli de l'île de Montréal qui pourra entendre en premier lieu les causes des Jésuites, les appels étant cependant réservés au lieutenant général du tribunal royal de Trois-Rivières.⁶³ Dix ans plus tard, la question ne se pose plus et, jusqu'à la fin du Régime français, La Prairie portera ses différends devant le juge royal de Montréal. Cette pratique que l'on peut suivre au fil des registres d'audiences marque l'une des multiples dépendances de la seigneurie des Jésuites à l'égard de Montréal.

Des droits de chasse et pêche, il y a peu à dire parce que la documentation est presque totalement muette à leur sujet. Ce silence des textes rend compte du faible intérêt que les seigneurs leur portent dans un pays sauvage où ces monopoles n'ont pas la même portée qu'en France et sont dans la plupart des cas difficilement applicables. Le droit de chasse, sur lequel les seigneurs français veillaient jalousement, ne transigeaient jamais et autour duquel se cristallisera souvent la résistance paysanne, est au Canada plus honorifique que réel. François-Joseph Cugnet peut toujours écrire, pour protéger les prérogatives de la classe seigneuriale à laquelle il appartient, qu'aucun censitaire n'a le droit de chasser sans permission du seigneur dans l'étendue du fief ni même sur sa propre terre,⁶⁴ on voit mal comment, dans un pays généreusement boisé où les habitants, souvent miliciens, possèdent des armes signalées dans les inventaires après décès, les seigneurs auraient pu préserver ce privilège. Les habitants de La Prairie pratiquent certainement la chasse que tolèrent les seigneurs et qui, en certaines occasions, devait

62 P.G. Roy, *Ordonnances, commissions*, 23 fév. 1683, II : 17.

63 Ibid., 17-18.

64 Cugnet, *Traité*, 51.

faire leurs délices. En effet, ils acceptent quelquefois en redevance des « perderies » qui sont consignées aux censiers à la place des sempiternels chapons dont les terres étaient chaque année redevables.

De la pêche, dont on sait qu'elle est tolérée, sauf quand elle se pratique au filet⁶⁵ et à des fins commerciales, on est à peine mieux informé. Les quelques mentions, toujours très discrètes, qui s'échappent des minutes notariales ou des livres seigneuriaux prouvent cependant que les Jésuites ont tenté de la réglementer. Dans les baux du domaine, les seigneurs accordent à deux reprises⁶⁶ à leurs fermiers le droit de pêcher dans la rivière Saint-Jacques qui baigne la « ferme des Jésuites ». Exceptionnellement, le gérant de la seigneurie inscrit au censier de 1737-1738 les permissions verbales ou écrites accordées à de rares habitants qui en ont fait la demande. En 1737, Jean-François Duniay et René Bourassa obtiennent le droit de pêcher dans la rivière Saint-Jacques moyennant « vingt-quatre pièces de poisson », autorisation renouvelée deux ans plus tard. « Le douze avril 1738, note le gérant, j'ai permis à Barrans de pêcher au Sault-Saint-Louis devant les terres de Gagné et Bontin à condition de donner le onzième poisson ». Quelques jours plus tôt, il avait autorisé la femme du meunier Pierre Bertrand, dit Desrochers à pêcher près de l'île à Boquet selon les mêmes conditions. Si l'on ajoute à ces brèves informations les quelques autres contenues dans les contrats de concession, on a vite fait le tour d'une documentation aussi pauvre qu'éparse à la mesure d'un droit seigneurial auquel les Jésuites semblent avoir accordé peu d'attention.

Il en va tout autrement des moulins à farine, seul monopole seigneurial que les Jésuites ont vraiment exercé. Les archives nous permettent de suivre sur près d'un siècle l'histoire agitée de cette banalité qui semble avoir été pour les seigneurs de La Prairie un souci constant et pour les censitaires une charge nécessaire provoquant quelquefois leurs murmures. Les Jésuites ont fait construire deux moulins sur le territoire de la seigneurie. Le premier, un moulin à vent, que les contrats de concession rédigés par l'issor en 1672 mentionnent déjà, s'élève sur un petit promontoire dans la commune, à proximité du fort et du fleuve. Le deuxième, un moulin à eau, au fonctionnement tout aussi capricieux que celui de la commune, occupe d'abord un emplacement à la côte Sainte-Catherine, à l'embouchure de la rivière du Portage, sur l'emplacement de l'an-

cienne mission établie à Kahnawake. Il a été construit au printemps de 1718.⁶⁷ La décision des seigneurs d'édifier à cette date un moulin près du Sault-Saint-Louis n'est certainement pas étrangère à la dernière migration de la mission iroquoise qui, à partir de 1716, a gagné Caughnawaga et a laissé libres les territoires occupés précédemment que les Jésuites vont investir progressivement. Ils l'abandonnent vers 1750-1752 et en font élever un autre, en amont du fleuve, à la frontière des deux seigneuries sur une bande de terre réclamée par les Indiens du Sault-Saint-Louis (que ceux-ci n'obtiendront pas), à l'endroit même (Kahnawakon) où ces derniers avaient établi leur bourgade en 1690.

La documentation relative à la gestion des deux moulins de La Prairie évoque sans cesse les nombreuses difficultés qu'ils ont occasionnées aux seigneurs. Ceux-ci sont obligés pour satisfaire les colons d'offrir un service, sans doute rentable au XVIII^e siècle, époque où la population a augmenté considérablement, mais toujours tributaire des caprices du climat, coûteux en entretien et réparations et dépendant d'un groupe de meuniers trop souvent instables qui, comme en France, passaient pour de fortes têtes et quelquefois des fripons. Une vingtaine de baux notariés conclus par les Jésuites nous renseignent sur les dispositions des contrats consentis à ces trop nombreux meuniers que les seigneurs tentent en vain de retenir ou dont, au contraire, ils requièrent le revoi. À ces meuniers, quelquefois agriculteurs, qui doivent exiger des censitaires le quatorzième miette, les Jésuites fournissent une maison et un petit terrain servant de jardin. Ils doivent en retour effectuer les menues réparations et verser chaque année aux seigneurs 70 à 90 minots de blé fraîchement ou la moitié des montures payables de trois mois en trois mois. Le nombre élevé des baux, leur durée relativement brève, la sévérité des clauses qu'ils contiennent, leur annulation parfois, suggèrent des conditions de travail exigeantes et un recrutement difficile qu'il illustre la mobilité des meuniers de La Prairie dont l'origine, à part quelques exceptions, est toujours extérieure à la seigneurie. Entre 1689 et 1756, là où il est possible de les identifier, on ne compte pas moins de 16 meuniers différents qui en 68 ans ont occupé le moulin à vent de La Prairie, soit une présence moyenne un peu supérieure à quatre ans. Les contrats sont donc en général de courte durée, un an quelquefois, plus souvent trois ou cinq, mais rarement davantage. La brièveté des contrats, le fait que 25 % de ceux-ci n'ont pas été respectés jusqu'à la fin rendent compte à la fois

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ A. Adhémar, 4 juin 1697, bail des Jésuites à Pierre Gagné; 8 oct. 1702, bail des Jésuites à Pierre Pussonneau, ANQM.

⁶⁷ M. Lepailleur, 1^{er} avril 1718, marché entre les Jésuites et Guillaume Jourdain, maître maçon, ANQM.

de la rigueur du travail exigé et de l'instabilité des meuniers qui n'ont sans doute pas toujours trouvé leur profit à La Prairie et ont préféré quitter la seigneurie au terme d'un premier engagement. À quelques reprises, les seigneurs vont tenir de jumeler les deux moulins dans le même bail, mais les résultats ne seront guère plus heureux. Cette dernière pratique à laquelle ils ont vite renoncé témoigne mieux que toutes les autres de la difficulté de gérer un monopole qui reposait sur un groupe d'ouvriers spécialisés dont les effectifs réduits⁶⁸ condamnaient les seigneurs à puiser au sein d'un réservoir vite tari.

Aucun autre personnage que Pierre Bertrand, dit Desrochers ne réunit mieux les multiples facettes du meunier de La Prairie et ne résume davantage l'histoire animée de cette banalité. Les Jésuites lui consentent en 1716,⁶⁹ un premier bail, qu'il est incapable de signer comme tous les autres meuniers et qu'il ne peut respecter, faute d'avoir rempli ses engagements précédents au moulin de Lachenaie.⁷⁰ Deux ans plus tard, il est de retour à La Prairie et prend à ferme pour trois ans, à moitié grains, les deux moulins de la seigneurie,⁷¹ contrat sans doute renouvelé en 1721⁷² et repris selon les mêmes conditions en 1725.⁷³ Incapable de terminer son dernier mandat, il est congédié et quitte La Prairie à la suite d'une requête en saisie adressée par les Jésuites au procureur du roi à Montréal.⁷⁴ Pour justifier le congédiement du meunier dont on va confisquer les biens, le père d'Heo, gérant de la seigneurie, reprend des arguments souvent invoqués en France⁷⁵ et dénonce une situation devenue intolérable pour les usagers. Pierre Bertrand, dit Desrochers ne satisfait pas les habitants du lieu, ne fait pas tourner les deux moulins en même temps, n'y est pas assidu, produit de la mauvaise farine, retient plus que ce qui lui est permis, ne paie pas la ferme des moulins et transporte, la nuit, du blé et d'autres effets appartenant aux seigneurs pour les frustrer de leurs paiements. Exilé pendant dix ans, Desrochers revient cependant à La Prairie en 1738 et reçoit de nouveau, aux termes d'un bail d'un an cette fois,⁷⁶ les deux moulins de la seigneurie. Ce rappel d'un meunier

Lavalée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

⁶⁸ Objois, « Les meuniers dans la seigneurie », 91-97.

⁶⁹ M. Lepailleur, 12 sept. 1716, bail des Jésuites à Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, ANQQ.

⁷⁰ Barete, 3 oct. 1716, accord entre les Jésuites et Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, ANQQ.

⁷¹ Ibid., 28 nov. 1718, bail des Jésuites à Pierre Bertrand Desrochers.

⁷² La minute n'a pas été conservée.

⁷³ Barete, 30 oct. 1725, bail des Jésuites à Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, ANQQ.

⁷⁴ Requête des Jésuites pour saisie, 20 déc. 1727, fonds « Biens des Jésuites », ANQQ.

⁷⁵ Goubert, *La vie quotidienne*, 186-189.

⁷⁶ Barete, 24 juil. 1738, bail des Jésuites à Pierre Bertrand Desrochers, ANQQ.

banni dont on a déploré les pratiques illustré parfairement les difficultés de recrutement déjà évoquées qui obligent les Jésuites à poser un geste dont ils auront bientôt à se repenir. En effet, supplié par les censitaires menés par leurs capitaines de milice et les seigneurs représentés par le père de la Bretonnière qui lui reprochent les mêmes maux qu'en 1727, Hocquart ordonne à Desrochers de dégager en 1743⁷⁷ et, pour s'en défaire le plus rapidement, les Jésuites lui font grâce de ses dettes.

Le départ de Pierre Bertrand, dit Desrochers ne réglera pas pour autant le problème des moulins de La Prairie qui n'est pas uniquement lié aux meuniers mais aussi à un système onéreux, réservé à des gestionnaires, soumis à l'arbitraire des éléments naturels et contraint par le milieu géographique et le trop grand nombre d'usagers à n'offrir que des services réduits, mal répartis sur un très vaste territoire. Les habitants de La Prairie en avaient bien perçu les carences et les imperfections lorsque, dans un appel en forme de pétition et d'ultimatum lancé aux seigneurs peu de temps après la Conquête, ils dénonçaient les inconvénients d'un monopole qui transcendaient les hommes et donnaient naissance à des pratiques suspectes, également présentes sur l'île de Montréal⁷⁸ et l'île Jésus.⁷⁹ Dans une requête adressée au père Floquet, gérant de la seigneurie de La Prairie, ils écrivaient :

souhaitent très honnablement [suit la liste des 30 habitants nommés dans le document] et ont l'honneur et vous représentent très respectueusement que depuis plusieurs années et notamment l'année dernière ils n'ont cessé de vous demander un moulin à farine en état de pouvoir servir tous vos vasseaux. Ces derniers se trouvent encore forcés et malgré eux à vous réitéré la même chose [...] ce qui par toute équité et justice leur doit être accordé et cela pour plusieurs raisons qui vous sont mon Révérend père et seigneur très connues et que les exposants en la présente requête vont avoir l'honneur de vous déclaire. Premièrement votre moulin du Sault est mort pour tout le monde dans l'hiver et dans le fort des l'automne il ne marche qu'un peu encore c'est pour des étrangers qui n'y ont aucun droit et qui cependant se trouve privilégiés. Dans l'été l'eau lui manque de sorte que il est presque connue inutile à vos tenanciers. Secondelement le moulin à vent ne peut pas toujours marcher tantôt faute de vent et tantôt par les tractions qui ne l'ay arrivent que trop fréquemment [...] ce qui a mis et met annuellement tous vos tenanciers en la dure nécessité de se pourvoir et d'avoir recours à des moulins étrangers pour faire mouitre leur grains. Ce qui fait un tort con-

⁷⁷ Ordinance de l'intendant Hocquart du 21 juin 1743, ANQQ.

⁷⁸ Dechéne, *Habitants*, 253-254.

⁷⁹ Dépatie, Lalancette et Dessureault, *Contributions à l'étude*, 45.

siderable aux suppliants vu que cela leur occasionne à chacun une perte des plus grandes par la quantité de journées qu'un chacun est obligé d'employer pendant le cour de chaque année pour aller faire faire leur farine tantôt au Sault des Récolets tantôt à Chambly et tantôt à Chateauguay et à la montagne de Boucherville et cela dans des temps précieux pour l'habitant savoir dans les temps par exemple de l'automne où il faut faire labourer dans les semences et dans récoltes en y adjointant le temps facheux d'hiver où un chacun est exposé à mille danger de perdre la vie comme il est déjà arrivé à plusieurs. Ce qui est un fait constant et facile à prouver; ce qui ne seroit arrivé et n'arriveroit pas davantage s'il vous plaisoit y avoir égard et considérer en outre que non contents de payer exactement les cens et rentes et autres droits seigneuriaux et pour lesquels on ne leur accorde aucune grace seroient encore dans le cas de payer doublement et triplement par les nombres des journées qu'ils passent annuellement en allant aux moulins étrangers. Ce considéré [...] aux justes représentations desdits suppliants ils osent espérer que vous voudrez bien leur permettre de vous faire observer qu'il y a un endroit dans votre seigneurie vulgairement nommé le cheval de terre [en bordure de la rivière l'Acadie] et où étoit autrefois construit voire moulin à scie et à l'endroit duquel vous pouvez y faire construire un moulin à farine qui marcheroit l'hiver et l'été. Voilà l'unique moyen pour donner la tranquillité et le repos à tous vos tenanciers qui seroient au dernier des désespoirs si ils se voyoient forcés d'avoir recours à justice pour leur estre sur ce pourvu mais ils se flattent que dans huit jours vous daignerez favorablement répondre à leur juste demande; ce sous les vœux qu'ils ne cesseront [...] d'offrir ensemble au ciel pour votre santé et prospérité.⁸⁰

Cette ultime requête qui synthétise les griefs les plus communs des censitaires ne fait que rappeler ici les ennuis que, partout ailleurs au Canada, ont dû connaître les moulins banaux. Pour donner plus

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

⁸⁰ Pièces détachées, sans date, ANQH. Quelques indices nous permettent de situer ce texte chronologiquement et de croire qu'il est postérieur à la Conquête. Le moulin à scie constitue sur la rivière de Montréal auquel il est fait référence dans l'acte n'existe plus au moment où la requête est rédigée. Il est cependant toujours en marche à la fin du Régime français. (Pauet, 22 mai 1758, bailli des Jésuites à René Cartier, ANQH). Le père Floquet à qui est adressée la demande a été gérant de la seigneurie de La Prairie entre 1760 et 1772. Finalement, une note ajoutée en marge du manuscrit indique que le document provient des papiers du notaire Haufraye qui a pratiqué de 1765 à 1776. On peut donc conclure que la pétition a dû vraisemblablement être rédigée entre 1765 et 1772. Il est intéressant de noter qu'à l'origine la requête devait se clore uniquement sur des vœux de santé et de prospérité qui ont été biffés et finalement reportés à la fin du texte pour faire place à la clause d'un possible recours en justice. Cette correction de dernier moment souligne la détermination des requérants et modifie passablement le ton de la demande.

de poids à leur argumentation, les habitants ne se sentent pas gênés de confesser dans un singulier aveu qu'ils utilisent des moulins étrangers qui leur sont interdits.⁸¹ La menace d'un recours en justice qu'ils font peser sur les seigneurs et l'espoir nourri de voir corriger une situation qui les désespère sont à la mesure des délats d'un monopole que les Jésuites n'abandonneront pas, mais dont ils sont incapables d'éliminer les imperfections.

Les droits fixes et casuels

De ces droits dont on ne connaît trop souvent que les taux et les aspects juridiques, il est possible de retracer ici l'évolution dans le temps et l'espace et d'observer la gestion devenue plus rigoureuse au XVIII^e siècle. Cette analyse, replacée dans la longue durée du Régime français, débouche sur le descriptif le plus sommaire, mais aussi et davantage sur la compréhension d'une politique seigneuriale qui s'est raffermie au fil des ans et dont on pourra saisir le cours et la progression révélateurs des rapports de force établis entre les Jésuites et les censitaires. Ainsi, la seigneurie nous est apparue non pas comme une institution statique, ancrée dans un quelconque immobilisme, mais comme un organisme flexible qui se meut au rythme de la démographie et de la colonisation et s'adapte aux conditions mouvantes de la société que les autorités coloniales et seigneuriales ont tenté de suivre.

Il faut d'abord connaître la teneur des cens et rentes que versent les habitants de La Prairie. Les emplacements au village doivent 6 deniers de rente par toise de superficie, taux invariable jusqu'en 1760. Dans les côtes, les terres paient un denier par arpent de front de cens, montant inférieur à celui qui semble le plus commun à la fin du Régime français.⁸² La rente a été fixée à un sol par arpent

⁸¹ Celle habitude qui semble devenue familière aux habitants de La Prairie existait auparavant. Déjà en 1728, le père d'Ile, qui déplore « qu'une partie des habitants de Laprairie de la Magdelaine ne se lout aucun dilliculté de transporter la plus grande partie des grains qu'ils ont besoyn pour la subsistance de leur famille et en faire faire des farines à d'autres moulins » (Barette, 29 avr. 1728, procuration des Jésuites à l'Île, ANQH), donne procuration au sieur Thomas, maître farinier, pour empêcher ces pratiques et poursuivre en justice les responsables. Elles étaient également dénoncées à Montréal (Dechêne, *Habitants*, 254); « L'évolution du régime seigneurial », 165) et ailleurs au Canada (Cuguet, *Traité*, 38). Ce qui étonne dans le document adressé au père Floquet, c'est la brusque franchise des habitants de La Prairie et leur témérité à avouer des gestes illégaux qui leur sont devenus communs. Un tel aveu si lourd de conséquences laisse deviner une situation devenue insupportable pour les usagers des moulins de La Prairie.

⁸² Selon Harris (*The Seigneurial System*, 64) et Cuguet (*Traité*, 44), le cens est habuellement de un sol par arpent de front.

de superficie et à un chapon (quelquefois converti en blé) par arpent de front. Aux cens et rentes s'ajoutent les droits de commune qui obligent les censitaires du Mouillepied à payer 5 sols par bête pour l'utilisation d'une prairie en bordure du fleuve et ceux des autres côtes à verser 30 sols chaque année pour faire pacager dans l'immense terrain concédé en 1694. Avant 1717, toutes ces redevances sont comptées en monnaie du pays et il faut attendre la déclaration royale de la même année, renouvelée en 1730, pour qu'elles soient converties en argent tournois et réduites du quart.⁸³ Les Jésuites s'y conformeront et corrigeronnt au Terrier le montant des redevances (en défaillant 25 %) que doivent les terres concédées avant 1717. Elles sont portables à la maison seigneuriale de La Prairie ou à la résidence des Jésuites à Montréal où demeure le supérieur qui assure la gérance de la seigneurie. Jusqu'en 1744, elles sont payables le 1^{er} décembre mais, après cette date, seigneurs et censitaires s'entendent⁸⁴ pour qu'elles soient dorénavant acquittées le 11 novembre, comme cela se faisait généralement en France et ailleurs dans la colonie.

Le taux uniforme de la rente établi au départ par les seigneurs ne variera pas sous le Régime français,⁸⁵ à deux exceptions près qu'il n'est pas inutile de rappeler. Les deux corrections apportées par les Jésuites occupent le début et la fin de notre période. À la suite d'une requête adressée aux seigneurs en 1672,⁸⁶ dans laquelle ils évoquent la pauvreté de leurs terres, les habitants des côtes de Mouillepied et Saint-Lambert obtiennent, après un singulier affrontement qui va offenser les Jésuites, une réduction de leur rente

⁸³ Dans sa déclaration de 1717, le roi ordonne « que les fens, rentes, redevances, baux à ferme, loyers et autres dettes qui auront été contractées avant l'enregistrement des présentes et où il ne sera point stipulé monnoye de France puissent estre acquittées avec la monnoye de France, à la déduction du quart qui est la réduction de la monnoye du pays en monnoye de France ». (« Déclaration du roi abolissant la monnoye de carte et la monnoye du pays, 5 juil. 1717 », dans Shortt, *Documents*, I : 402). Le roi en rappelle la tenue le 25 oct. 1730. (*Edit. ordonnances royaux*, I : 525-526).

⁸⁴ Une imposante délégation de capitaines et d'officiers de milice représentant les habitants de La Prairie rencontre en 1745 le père de Gonnor, gérant de la seigneurie, et donne son accord au changement de date effectué pour le paiement des rentes. (Sonste, 26 sept. 1745, contrat entre les habitants de La Prairie et le Père Nicolas de Gonnor, ANQH). Le 3 octobre suivant, François Guy, major des milices de la seigneurie, publie le texte à la porte de l'église paroissiale.

⁸⁵ Harris écrit (*The Seigneurial System*, 67) qu'il n'y a probablement pas au Canada de prix plus stable que la rente dont sont redevables les terres dans les seigneuries des Jésuites.

⁸⁶ « Requête des habitants de la paroisse Saint-Lambert », juin 1672, fonds Élisée Choquet, ANQH.

dorénavant fixée à un demi sol par arpent de superficie. L'autre épisode qui se déroule à la fin du Régime français, à un moment où la demande en blé est forte, son commerce réglementé et les prix artificiellement gonflés par la guerre, permet aux seigneurs, occupés entre 1750 et 1760 à peupler les nouvelles côtes Saint-Stanislas, Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague, Saint-Constant et des Saints-Anges (toutes greffées au chemin de Saint-Jean, très fréquenté pendant la guerre de la Conquête), de convertir les chapons en une rente plus généreuse d'un denier minot de blé par 20 arpents de superficie.⁸⁷ Ainsi, une terre de 120 arpents (4 x 30) concédée à la côte Saint-Jacques en 1723 doit 6 livres de rente et 4 chapons évalués à une livre chacun, soit 4 livres ou 2 minots de blé. La même concession accordée en 1754 à la côte Saint-Stanislas oblige le preneur à verser 6 livres de rente et 3 minots de blé. Toutefois, les Jésuites profiteront peu de cette augmentation, puisqu'à la veille de la Conquête, l'espace qui reste à concéder dans la seigneurie de La Prairie se rétrécit comme une peau de chagrin et laisse peu de place à l'ouverture de nouvelles côtes.

En outre, les seigneurs devaient sans doute percevoir des droits de mutation fort lucratifs, si l'on en juge d'après le mouvement de la propriété foncière qui à La Prairie semble très agité. Nous avons réuni près de 1 300 actes de vente et un peu moins de 200 contrats d'échange qui donnent la mesure de ces multiples mutations sur la plupart desquelles pèsent lourdement (taux de 8,3 %) les lods et ventes que les Jésuites n'oublient jamais de réclamer et que les censitaires tentent parfois d'esquiver. Rien dans les papiers seigneuriaux ne nous renseigne cependant sur le revenu qu'en ont tiré chaque année les Jésuites et nous avons renoncé à en calculer le total à la suite d'un comptage qui risquait de devenir héroïque.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Nous vérifions la même chose dans les anciennes côtes où il reste quelques terres à concéder à la fin du Régime français (Saint-Raphaël, Saint-Joseph, les Prairies, Saint-Marc, Saint-André et Saint-Jacques).

⁸⁸ Cet exercice nous aurait obligé à rassembler un nombre considérable de contrats notariés, puisque les lods et ventes sont non seulement des pour vente mais aussi pour toute alienation par acte équivalent à une vente (lorsqu'une terre est donnée, par exemple, en paiement d'une dette), pour toutes transmissions par vente du père au fils et du fils au père, ou à des étrangers, ou à des parents ayant partage d'héritage indivis ou après le partage quand elles sont qualifiées du titre de baux à rente rachetable, pour des donations à titre de précaire ou de rentes viagères sur le prix de l'acte ou du principal des rentes, pour des souffles ou retour en argent versés dans les charges. Il aurait aussi fallu tenir compte des remises accordées aux payeurs les plus empêtrés, des amendes imposées aux retardataires et à ceux qui tentent de canouiller les obligations. (Cugnet, *Traité*, 46-50). L'ampleur de l'opération nous a vite dissuadé de reconstruire un casse-tête dont les contours n'étaient pas toujours parfaitement délimités.

Faute de connaître l'évolution du montant cumulé des redevances annuelles et casuelles, il vaut mieux s'intéresser à leur gestion et perception dont il est aisément de suivre le mode à partir des nombreux indices qui ressortent de la masse de documents que nous ont légués les Jésuites. La rigueur du régime seigneurial et son durcissement progressif ne passent pas à La Prairie par la modification du taux des droits fixes et casuels qui, sans en quelques occasions déjà identifiées, n'a pas varié, mais par une administration de plus en plus attentive et appliquée, une gestion davantage vigilante, devenue plus soigneuse et sévère au XVIII^e siècle.

À l'aube de l'histoire de La Prairie, les Jésuites avaient, dans un texte lapidaire, affirmé sans équivoque leur maîtrise de la seigneurie et tenté d'asseoir leur autorité, encore toute honorifique, sur leur qualité de percepteur. Répondant à une demande présentée par les habitants de la côte Saint-Lambert qui, invoquant la médiocrité de leurs terres, réclamaient une réduction de leurs rentes, le père Dablon, recteur du Collège de Québec et supérieur de toutes les missions, écrivait, indigné, en 1672 :

je n'ay point vu jusqu'à présent que les vassaux lissent la loy à leur seigneur, lequel estant maistre de sa terre, il la donne à telles conditions qu'il veut, sans que personne s'en puisse plaindre, puisqu'il est libre à un chacun d'accepter ces conditions ou non. Au reste, s'ils ne sont contents de celles qui ont été proposées, ils peuvent faire ce qui se fait partout ailleurs en pareille rencontre, qui est de se défaire de leur concession le plus avantageusement qu'ils pourront.⁸⁹

Malgré la fermeté du ton, les Jésuites se rendront aux exigences des censitaires. Craignant de perdre les rares habitants qui peuplent une seigneurie presque vide, ils accepteront de réduire de moitié leurs rentes, privilège insigne jamais remis en question par la suite, mais que les seigneurs se garderont bien de reconnaître à d'autres. En dépit de cette concession, singulière dans l'histoire seigneuriale de La Prairie et qui ne se comprend qu'à la lumière des conditions difficiles du début, la péremptoire affirmation du père Dablon traçait pour longtemps la ligne que les Jésuites entendaient suivre dans la gestion et la collecte de leurs droits les plus usuels. Elle consacrait également, en l'inscrivant dans le texte, la portée et la valeur (aussi réelles que symboliques) de la fiscalité seigneuriale cognitive, au

⁸⁹ Lavalée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

⁸⁹ • Response à la requête des habitants de la prairie Saint-Lambert •, juil. 1672. Ionds Élisée Cloquet, ANQH.

premier chef, de la puissance et de l'autorité des Jésuites et à laquelle ils devaient donner une dimension nouvelle au XVIII^e siècle.

La perception des redevances laisse peu de traces dans les archives du XVII^e siècle. Le peuplement de la seigneurie s'amorce lentement, l'administration seigneuriale est discrète et ne tient pas de livres censiers, comme elle le fera plus tard. La population est faible, les rentrées médiocres⁹⁰ et les Jésuites ne s'embarrassent pas d'une gestion trop lourde qui aurait nécessité des dépenses que ne justifiait pas une seigneurie à l'avenir mal assuré. Un texte très révélateur annonce cependant la politique que les seigneurs veulent établir et trace des censitaires au portrait qui ne s'est pas démenti par la suite. En 1683, la permission que le père Ralleix demande à l'intendant de recourir à la justice seigneuriale de Montréal illustre déjà, quelques années seulement après l'ouverture de la seigneurie à la colonisation, tout l'intérêt que les Jésuites portent à leur pouvoir fiscal qu'ils entendent bien affirmer face à des censitaires réputés mauvais payeurs, qui oublient trop souvent de verser leurs redevances, en retardant le paiement et laissent s'accumuler les arrérages.

Supplie humblement [...] et vous remonstre, écrit-il, qu'il lui est dû [...] par plusieurs particuliers, plusieurs sommes de deniers pour cens et rentes seigneuriale, arrérages d'icelle et autres choses qu'il leur a fournis; lesquelles sommes il ne peut estre payé, quelque demande qu'il en fasse : Au contraire ses débiteurs emportent tous les jours l'irrévènement de chez eux ce qu'ils y ont et le vendent à son inscœu, pourquoy il a recours à vous pour bly estre sur ce pourveu [...] il vous plaise [...] permettre au suppliant [...] faire saisir et exécuter à ses périls et fortunes tout ce qu'il pourra trouver apartenir à ses débiteurs, et pour ceux qui sont à la prairie de la Magdalaine, ny ayant point eucore de juge establi, et la justice royale [de Trois-Rivières] en étant esloignée de plus de 30 lieues, il vous plaise lui permettre de faire assigner ses débiteurs devant le juge le plus proche qui est celui de Montréal pour estre par bly condamnés en première instance.⁹¹

Cette réplique isolée, qui témoigne à la fois de la mauvaise qualité de payeurs des habitants et de la fermeté des seigneurs qu'ils n'ont cependant ni les moyens ni la volonté d'appliquer véritablement, trouvera peu d'échos dans les archives judiciaires du XVII^e siècle. Il

⁹⁰ Dans un mémoire intitulé : « Les revenus des Jésuites en Canada (1701) », les seigneurs de La Prairie et de Saint-Lambert « où il y a moulin, terre des domaines et rentes de quelques tenanciers qui ont resté et presque tous ruinés par la guerre des Iroquois » déclarent 385 livres. (*JR*, LXV : 182).

⁹¹ P.-G. Roy, *Ordonnances, commissions*, 23 fév. 1683, II : 17.

Faut attendre plus tard au XVIII^e siècle, époque où la seigneurie se développe et la population augmente, pour que la gestion et la perception se raffermissent, bien appuyées par une administration qui, petit à petit après 1730, s'en est donné les moyens. C'est à partir de 1738 surtout que les Jésuites lancent une vaste offensive qui vise essentiellement à régler la collecte de leurs droits dont l'assiette est établie périodiquement. Cela a nécessité un important travail de comptabilité, d'autant plus qu'en cette matière le gérant de la seigneurie œuvre seul, ayant toujours refusé de s'entourer d'un personnel sans doute nécessaire mais trop onéreux. À la fin des années 1730, les seigneurs de La Prairie vont donc coucher leurs redevances sur un livre censier qui, entre 1738 et 1760, sera repris à six occasions. Chacun des cahiers⁹² présente dans l'ordre alphabétique la liste des censitaires, la quantité de terre possédée et le montant total des redevances. Ces documents sont quelquefois assortis de commentaires sur la qualité des habitants et contiennent de nombreux renseignements sur le mode de paiement, qui n'est pas uniforme, et sur les mesures à prendre pour obliger les retardataires à payer les droits dont les Jésuites ont maintenant une mesure plus exacte. Les censiers constituent l'ébauche du véritable Terrier que les seigneurs produisent au même moment et dans lequel on retrouve côté par côté l'historique des terres et la mise à jour des mutations qui autorisent les Jésuites, documents à l'appui, à réclamer, au besoin en justice, les cens, rentes, droits de commune et lods et ventes. Compte tenu de la richesse des informations qu'il nous livre, ce corpus d'une rare qualité commande une analyse détaillée du mode de perception pratiqué à l'intérieur d'une seigneurie ecclésiastique que nous ne croyons toutefois pas exemplaire.

Dans la façon de percevoir les droits, nous observons une multitude de manières qui condamnent très souvent les seigneurs à accepter bien d'autres choses que l'argent, le blé et les clapiers inscrits dans les contrats. Ils doivent composer avec les possibilités des censitaires, les besoins du moment et, somme toute, pourvu qu'ils y trouvent leur compte, ils paraissent disposés à recevoir en paiement à peu près n'importe quoi. La liste qui suit énumère les formes variées que pouvait revêtir le versement des redevances. Elle reprend quelques-unes des mentions inscrites dans les différents censiers par le gérant de la seigneurie. Au fil des pages, celui-ci note :

Il a donné 2 perderies.

Il m'a ramené de La Prairie (30 sols).

⁹² On trouve ces documents dans le fonds « Biens des Jésuites » déposé aux ANQG.

Il a donné 1/2 journée (15 sols).

Reçu 2 pondets pour 1 clapon.

L'Hôpital [Hôtel-Dieu] a fourni 3 potions et de quoi faire des injections.

Elle a fourni du lard à 3 livres.

Il a donné du poisson.

Il a donné un cochon.

Il a donné du beurre.

Il a donné du fromage.

J'ai reçu 2 paire de sabots.

Il a donné 1/2 journée de lardois (3 livres).

Je lui tiens compte de 20 livres pour l'ouvrage fait au moulin.

Il a donné 6 q livres en travail dans la ferrure du magasin.

J'ai reçu 1 veau et 1 mouton.

J'estime les 3 fois qu'il a trainé la glace (8 livres).

Reçu en ouvrage (4 livres).

J'ai reçu 6 perderies, 1 bee-scie, 3 petits oiseaux et des tourires.

Il a donné des pois et 1 dinde.

J'ai reçu du loin et des cagnons.

Il a fourni des canards et des chandelles.

Payées sous diverses formes, les redevances ne sont pas toujours portées à temps au manoir seigneurial et les Jésuites consignent fidèlement dans leurs livres ces retards contre lesquels ils utilisent divers recours, qui vont de l'exploit signifié par huissier à la poursuite devant le bailliage de Montréal. Les censitaires de La Prairie ne sont pas différents de ceux de l'île de Montréal, réputés mauvais payeurs, et les Jésuites qui paraissent aussi patients que les Sulpiciens ne portent leurs causes devant le tribunal royal qu'après avoir épousé tous les autres moyens.⁹³ Les arrérages sont scrupuleusement notés aux divers censiers et nombreux sont les habitants qui doivent deux, trois ou quatre années de rentes. Quand le retard n'est pas trop prononcé, le gérant de la seigneurie fait preuve d'indulgence. Espérant un paiement éventuel, fondé sur la bonne foi et les promesses de l'habitant, il inscrit alors au censier : « promet de payer au printemps de ses gages de voyageur », ou « me promet le 4 janvier aux glaces de me payer », ou « il ira travailler à Chambly », ou « il vendra ses bœufs cet hiver et promet un porc », ou « proutet 100 madriers », ou encore « promet de donner un de ses enfants à travailler au mois », etc. Si les engagements ne sont pas respectés et qu'il y a peu

⁹³ Dechéne, *Habitants*, 249-258. On constate le même phénomène sur l'île de Jésus (Départie, Lacharre et Dessourceau), *Contributions à l'étude*, 77-79) et dans la vallée du Richelien. (Greco, *Peasant*, 127-128).

Lavallée Louis, *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1670-1760. Étude d'histoire sociale*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

d'espoir d'un versement rapide, ou l'ait appel au huissier qui signifie un exploit. Sur les 302 censitaires apparaissant au censier de 1742, 59 (19,5 %), qui, comme Pierre-François Giroux, « n'ont point de parole » ou refusent de payer, reçoivent la visite du huissier. Enfin, quand les arrérages excèdent habituellement trois ou quatre ans, les seigneurs traduisent les plus résistants des censitaires devant le juge royal établi à Montréal. Mais il faut attendre longtemps au XVIII^e siècle pour que les Jésuites aient recours au tribunal qui va toujours leur donner gain de cause. Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1741, et cela, d'une façon très sporadique jusqu'en 1760, que les seigneurs vont poursuivre en justice les censitaires incapables d'acquitter leurs redevances. L'année 1742 est le moment fort de cette offensive un peu tardive avec une quarantaine de causes pour arrérages portées devant le bailliage. Si la plupart des habitants visés doivent entre 3 et 6 ans de rentes, quelques-uns attendent cependant depuis 8, 9, 16 et même 18 ans pour verser leurs redevances.⁹⁴ Les censiers permettent aussi de connaître les reniées que les seigneurs consentent à l'occasion à certains habitants les plus déshérités, toujours moins nombreuses que les poursuites devant le bailliage. En 1738, Louis Ménard est exempté des trois années de rentes qu'il doit à cause de l'incendie qui a détruit sa maison; Jean-Baptiste Raymond, dit Toulouse, l'un des panvres de la seigneurie, ne paie rien en 1738 parce que les Jésuites lui ont tout reniés par aumône. Bien servi par des registres précis qui suivent et consignent toutes les mutations foncières, le gérant a aussi le loisir de vérifier l'exactitude des déclarations de ses censitaires, lorsque ceux-ci tentent parfois, très maladroitement, de le duper en dissimulant des achats portant lods et ventes. Ces mentions sont toutefois très éparses : « a voulu cacher cet achat », « a menti », « n'a pas exhibé les contrats d'achat », « ue doit le trompeur », ce qui laisse croire que les habitants se sont soumis en général au paiement des droits de mutation que le gérant de la seigneurie, de plus en plus sévère au XVIII^e siècle, surveille attentivement.

Au total, quand il s'agit de percevoir les droits, il ne fait pas de doute que la vigilance des seigneurs s'est considérablement resserrée à partir des années 1730. Censiers en mains, huissiers à l'appui, recours en justice, le cas échéant, ils exigent dorénavant leurs redevances avec plus d'appréciation, tout en manifestant cependant la même

⁹⁴ Voir en particulier, parmi tant d'autres, dans les Registres des audiences, déposés aux ANQ, les cas de Jacques Lemieux (9 fév. 1742), Charles Deneau (23 fév. 1742) et François Marie (28 fév. 1747).

patience à l'égard des retardataires et une égale bienveillance paternelle à l'endroit des plus démunis. Cette surveillance accrue des Jésuites se lit dans les minutes notariales qui sont devenues, depuis le début des années 1730, les témoins de cette sévérité nouvelle. Les obligations, qui jusque-là faisaient très rarement mention d'arrérages, sont, à partir de 1730 et de 1740 surtout, plus nombreuses à préciser que le prêt consenti par un marchand montréalais à un habitant de La Prairie doit, entre autres choses, servir à acquitter les cens, les rentes et les lods et ventes. Plus abondantes que les obligations, les ventes de terres se font aussi l'écho, dans le temps long du Régime français, de cette politique seigneuriale plus exigeante. Dans les 1 270 actes de vente dépouillés entre 1672 et 1760, nous avons recensé 98 mentions d'arrérages, dont 15 seulement (15,3 %) apparaissent avant 1731. Plus spécifiquement, 75 (76,5 %) d'entre elles sont consignées entre 1740 et 1760. Si l'on admet que la plupart de ces vendeurs se déparent de leurs terres, parce qu'ils sont incapables d'acquitter des droits qui leur sont plus严厉ement réclamés depuis la fin des années 1730, on saisit mieux alors la pression nouvelle que doivent subir les censitaires au cours des 20 dernières années du Régime français. Elle rend compte d'une gestion seigneuriale plus ferme et rigoureuse qui explique ces ventes forcées sur lesquelles s'alignent les exploits d'huissiers, les poursuites devant le bailliage et les réunions de terres au domaine.

Les réunions

La réunion des terres au domaine participe de la même politique seigneuriale qui fait preuve de patience et de tolérance, mais se raffermit cependant au XVIII^e siècle. Le censitaire a l'obligation, inscrite dans son contrat, de tenir « feu et lieu » dans un an, de mettre la terre en valeur, de « descouvrir ses deux voisins », de « souffrir les chemins » nécessaires, de faire les fossés, de se soumettre enfin à la banalité du moulin et de payer les redevances. Faute de respecter ces engagements, l'habitant risque de perdre sa terre et le seigneur est alors autorisé à la réunir au domaine, autorisation qui est rappelée et institutionalisée par les Arrêts de Marly en 1711. Le dossier que nous avons constitué à partir du Terrier, des actes de concession, d'échange et de vente nous autorise à mesurer un phénomène mal connu auquel Jacques Mathieu a sans doute été le premier à s'intéresser véritablement.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Mathieu, « Les réunions de terres », dans *Sociétés villageoises*, 79-89.

Avant 1760, les Jésuites ont réuni 72 terres dans leurs seigneuries de La Prairie et du Sault-Saint-Louis. De ce nombre, 51 sont à La Prairie, 4 sont partagées entre les deux territoires et 17 occupent le Sault-Saint-Louis. Ils ont également utilisé le droit de réunion pour 25 emplacements au village de La Prairie. Au total, cela représente 4 240 arpents à La Prairie et 1 846 arpents au Sault-Saint-Louis, soit 9,4 % et 14,1 % de toutes les terres attribuées dans les deux fiefs sous le Régime français. On comprendra ainsi toute la considération qu'il faut accorder à cette pratique dont l'ampleur est cependant inégale dans le temps. En effet, des 73 réunions (58 terres et 15 emplacements) qu'il est possible de dater, 53 (42 terres et 11 emplacements) (72,6 %) ont eu lieu après 1730 et 16 des 42 (38,1 %) terres réunies au-delà de cette date l'ont été au cours de la seule année 1732. Cela s'accorde parfaitement avec ce que nous avons vérifié jusqu'ici et coïncide avec une réglementation plus sévère du monde rural après 1730. Jacques Mathieu, qui a recensé entre 1663 et 1759 près de 300 ordonnances réglementant la tenue des terres dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent et contrignant de diverses façons les censitaires, a pu établir que plus de la moitié d'entre elles (167/295=56,6 %) avaient été promulguées au cours des 30 dernières années du Régime français et que l'intendance de Hocquart avait été la plus prolixie dans ce domaine.⁹⁶ Les Jésuites qui ont toujours réuni des terres au domaine exercent donc davantage ce droit après 1730 et, au moment où ils réclament avec une nouvelle vigueur leurs redevances, ils procèdent en accord avec les autorités coloniales à un nombre sans précédent de réunions. Les deux actions sont liées quand la gestion seigneuriale, devenue plus vigilante au XVIII^e siècle, se durcit considérablement.

L'intendant Hocquart s'adresse donc aux habitants de La Prairie et, en 1730, il lance un avertissement qui rappelle le contenu des Arrêts de Marly.⁹⁷ Dans ce texte, que lira à la porte de l'église paroissiale François Leber, capitaine de la première compagnie de milice, l'intendant identifie plusieurs censitaires qui ne tiennent ni feu ni lieu, n'ont fait aucun « désert » ni « découvert » et n'ont point payé leurs cens et rentes. Il leur accorde un délai de neuf mois pour honorer ces obligations, faute de quoi ils verront leurs terres réunies au domaine. Un an plus tard, les capitaines de milice parcourront les deux seigneuries et dressent une liste de 18 habitants qui n'ont pas

⁹⁶ Ibid., 84.

⁹⁷ Ordinance de l'intendant Hocquart du 29 juil. 1730, ANQQ. C'est la première ordonnance concernant La Prairie dans laquelle on fait référence à ce document.

respecté les contrats de concession et dont les voisins se plaignent.⁹⁸ Enfin, au début de 1732, deux ordonnances⁹⁹ réunissent au domaine des Jésuites toutes les terres visitées, sauf une. Cette singulière procédure qui oblige l'intendant à reprendre l'application des Arrêts de Marly n'interviendra plus ensuite dans l'histoire des deux lieux. Bien informés des volontés nouvelles d'une administration plus ferme, décidés à faire respecter des édits dont on vient de leur rappeler les dispositions, les Jésuites, mieux servis par la mise à jour des censiers et du Terrier, vont, à partir des années 1730, surveiller plus attentivement la collecte des redevances, motif le plus fréquemment invoqué devant le bailliage pour réunir à leur domaine des concessions grevées d'arrérages.¹⁰⁰ Également instruits de ces récentes exigences venues de Québec auxquelles se sont soumis leurs seigneurs, les censitaires de La Prairie et du Sault-Saint-Louis se feront plus nombreux, au-delà de 1730, à rendre volontairement aux Jésuites par le moyen de billets notariés les terres qu'ils sont incapables de faire valoir ou dont ils ne peuvent acquitter les droits. Ils se soumettent ainsi à une conduite devenue familière et évitaient l'odieux et les frais d'une cause portée devant le tribunal royal dont ils sortaient toujours perdants.

CONCLUSION

Au terme de cette longue prospection au cœur d'une seigneurie canadienne, il est possible de dresser un bilan qui rend compte des acquis et des silences de notre enquête. Cette seigneurie de La Prairie, nous en avons d'abord dégagé les titres, avant d'en suivre l'occupation qui a débordé son seul territoire et a gagné une partie du lieu voisin, où l'ambiguïté des actes de propriété invitait les Jésuites à peupler de colons français un espace en principe réservé aux Indiens. Nous en avons finalement découvert la gestion à travers la régie de son domaine, la banalité du moulin, et surtout la perception des droits divers, cens, rentes et lods et ventes. Malgré la richesse de la documentation dont nous disposons, il nous a cependant manqué les éléments essentiels qui auraient permis de chiffrer les revenus de l'institution et d'en dresser un inventaire ordonné. Cette lacune, qui s'explique par la disparition des livres de comptes seigneuriaux,

⁹⁸ Barete, 28 juin 1731, déclaration de terres, fonds « Biens des Jésuites », ANQQ.

⁹⁹ Ordinances de l'intendant Hocquart des 10 et 12 janv. 1732, ANQQ.

¹⁰⁰ À l'île Jésus (Départie, Lalancette et Dessureault, *Contributions à l'étude*, 51), le retard dans le paiement des rentes est également l'une des principales raisons de réunion des terres au domaine.

pèse lourd dans la portée du tableau final que nous voulons dresser ici. Il sera donc forcément incomplet et tributaire des seules analyses partielles que nous avons menées.

Le régime seigneurial a évolué à La Prairie entre le moment où, au XVII^e siècle, il encadre une population faible et instable et la fin du Régime français, période au cours de laquelle la colonisation a pris son essor définitif et où les habitants occupent la majeure partie du territoire. Au début, les hésitations des seigneurs sont manifestes quand ceux-ci doivent entendre les doléances des censitaires et leur donner raison, en une occasion en particulier. Ainsi, la victoire des habitants de la côte Saint-Lambert en 1672 marque les limites d'un système qui, en principe et en droit, possède tous les attributs d'une autorité que lui reconnaissent les titres seigneuriaux. L'affirmation de la maîtrise et de la puissance des Jésuites, que l'on peut lire dans la réponse du père Dablon cette même année, est anachronique et convient mal à une seigneurie presque vide dont la survie est liée à la stabilité des colons que l'on aurait été malvenu de mécontenter. Les conditions du milieu expliquent donc la retraite très éphémère des Jésuites, engagés au départ davantage dans la promotion de leur seigneurie que dans la démonstration d'une quelconque souveraineté à laquelle rien ne répondait. Ce n'est que plus tard, au XVIII^e siècle, que le régime devient petit à petit envahissant et conquiert une autorité qu'il avait vainement tenté d'asseoir jusque-là. Devenu plus rigide, il se durcit à partir des années 1730 et s'impose dorénavant comme un système de plus en plus contraignant auquel se soumettent en 1750 plus de 1 500 personnes.

Cette emprise nouvelle de la seigneurie, il ne faut pas la chercher dans l'augmentation des redevances. Elles restent immuables et assujetties à des contrats notariés, même si dans une offensive ultime, un peu tardive, qui touche surtout les nouvelles côtes ouvertes à la colonisation à la fin du Régime français, les seigneurs convertissent à leur profit (en augmentant le taux) les chapons en blé que la forte demande et le goufflement des prix ont rendu plus avantageux. Cette pratique reste toutefois exceptionnelle et ne touche que peu de terres et pas nécessairement les meilleures et les mieux situées. L'allongissement du régime seigneurial passe surtout par une gestion plus appliquée et méthodique dont on repère les premières traces entre 1730 et 1740. C'est à l'intérieur de cette décennie, période charnière de l'histoire rurale au Canada, qu'est mis en place à La Prairie l'appareil administratif qui devait se maintenir dans les mêmes formes jusqu'à la Conquête. Au cours de ces années, les Jésuites, qui peuvent alors compter sur un bassin de population stable appelé à s'élargir, se donnent les moyens comptables de fixer l'assiette de leurs revenus.

Ils amorcent un laborieux processus qui les conduit à dénombrer les censitaires et à chiffrer le montant de leurs redevances, opération coûteuse en temps, mais indispensable pour connaître avec précision le total de leurs recettes. Cette politique débouchera sur la constitution d'un premier censier à la fin des années 1730, mis ensuite à jour périodiquement, et culminera avec la confection du Terrier, véritable constitution de la seigneurie de La Prairie, qui nous autorise aujourd'hui à en reconstituer l'histoire foncière. Parallèlement à cette direction nouvelle qu'ils donnent à leur administration, les Jésuites, mieux informés de la qualité et du nombre des censitaires, s'attachent à mieux percevoir les redevances fixes et casuelles qui, avec la banalité du moulin, constituent le plus clair de leurs revenus. Registres à l'appui, ils réclament leurs droits et, s'ils font souvent preuve de patience sinon d'indulgence, ils pressent cependant les habitants de les payer et poursuivent les retardataires les plus tenaces en leur signifiant des exploits et, au besoin, en les traduisant devant le bailliage de Montréal. Enfin, plus attentifs à la valorisation d'un territoire rapidement gagné par la colonisation, ils s'occupent, surtout après 1730, de réintégrer au domaine les terres laissées vacantes par leurs propriétaires ou celles qui, chargées d'arrérages, ne sont plus d'autant apport.

Malgré cette évolution qui se traduit moins dans des exigences nouvelles que dans une fermeté plus prononcée de la gestion et une sévérité plus marquée du mode de perception, la seigneurie de La Prairie nous semble toutefois une bien pâle image de son modèle français. Si, juridiquement, elle possède les attributs de la seigneurie française dont elle est l'héritière, en pratique, elle ne les déploie pas tous parce qu'elle n'en a pas les moyens ou que le milieu s'y prête mal. Au droit de justice, le plus important et qu'exercent dans la métropole quelques dizaines de milliers de seigneurs, les Jésuites ont très tôt renoncé, préférant s'en remettre au tribunal seigneurial de Montréal, devenu royal en 1693. En refusant cette capacité de juger, la plus grande, parce qu'elle donne au siège sa puissance,¹⁰¹ les Jésuites abandonnaient un droit essentiel dont l'importance se mesure moins dans les profits matériels qu'ils auraient pu en tirer que dans l'exercice d'une autorité réelle, symbolisée par la présence sur le domaine du tribunal seigneurial et du personnel qui y était attaché. En outre, les autres monopoles inscrits dans les titres de la seigneurie et les contrats de concession n'avaient pas la même portée qu'en France. Le droit de pêche et de chasse, jalousement surveillé dans la métropole

pole est plus souple à La Prairie et souffre de nombreuses exceptions qu'auraient enviées les paysans de la métropole. Le braconnage, qui est dénoncé et régulièrement poursuivi en France, n'a pas laissé de traces ici dans les archives judiciaires et les seigneurs de La Prairie semblent bien incapables de l'enrayer, ce qui ne doit pas nous étonner. La banalité du moulin, dépendante à La Prairie de la forte mobilité des meuniers, est fréquemment contournée par certains habitants qui préfèrent, pour toutes sortes de raisons, porter leurs grains à des moulins étrangers. Enfin et surtout, les Jésuites se sont réservé au départ un très modeste domaine qu'ils ont d'abord réduit en 1705 et finalement aliéné en 1726. Là réside peut-être la distinction majeure qui sépare la seigneurie métropolitaine de celle que nous avons étudiée à La Prairie. Quand on sait que les seigneurs français ont souvent tenté, pendant tout l'Ancien Régime, d'agrandir leurs domaines qui leur procurent l'essentiel de leurs revenus et font d'eux (la plupart du temps) les principaux propriétaires fonciers de la seigneurie, on peut alors mieux apprécier toute la distance qui, sur le plan économique cette fois, dissocie le modèle métropolitain de l'exemple de La Prairie, dont nous ne prétendons pas toutefois qu'il représente toute la réalité seigneuriale canadienne.¹⁰² Ainsi donc, il ne faut sans doute pas se surprendre si les Jésuites ont confié la gestion de la seigneurie à l'un des leurs qui, seul, va en assurer la gérance. Cette administration besogneuse, réduite à un seul homme, qui ne confiera jamais, comme c'est généralement le cas en France, ou à Montréal, la tâche de percevoir les droits divers à un receveur soutenu par un personnel plus ou moins nombreux, donne aussi la mesure de la seigneurie de La Prairie. Le fief des Jésuites n'avait en pratique ni le poids ni la portée de son modèle originel le plus commun.

¹⁰² Dechêne a trouvé sur l'île de Montréal une seigneurie qui s'apparente davantage au modèle français auquel elle n'a, selon elle, rien à envier. (*Habitants*, 257).

CHAPITRE QUATRE

Les cadres : la paroisse

Si le manoir seigneurial des Jésuites est le symbole de la domination du temporel, l'église du village établit celle du spirituel et constitue, davantage que le premier, le cœur de la vie villageoise où se réunissent chaque dimanche à « l'issue de la messe paroissiale » les habitants de La Prairie confondus dans une seigneurie et une paroisse dont les limites vont coïncider (à peu de chose près) pendant la majeure partie du Régime français. Cette synchronie des deux structures est beaucoup plus rare en France et ne semble pas toujours évidente dans la colonie, puisque l'augmentation rapide de la population canadienne au XVIII^e siècle a obligé les autorités à multiplier les paroisses à l'intérieur des cadres seigneuriaux qui ne se sont pas toujours identifiés à une seule paroisse. Ainsi, à l'occasion, paroisse et seigneurie ne coïncident pas en Nouvelle-France, mais quand c'est le cas, comme à La Prairie, la cohésion sociale de la communauté s'en trouve renforcée.¹ Cela ne signifie pas pour autant que les attitudes des habitants de La Prairie à l'égard du seigneur et du curé soient uniformes et s'expriment de la même manière. Il y a là deux paliers, du profane au sacré, que les paysans distingueront toujours (quoique les seigneurs soient aussi des ecclésiastiques), à partir de 1686 en particulier, parce qu'aucune identité n'existe plus entre le seigneur et le curé depuis que les Jésuites ont cédé aux Sulpiciens et à des séculiers la responsabilité du ministère de La Prairie. Si nous soulignons ici cette rencontre simultanée des cadres temporel et spirituel, c'est pour mieux observer dans un décor unique l'expression la plus manifeste de la sociabilité villageoise, la communauté d'habitants qui à La Prairie s'identifie avec l'assemblée seigneuriale,

¹ Harris, *The Seigneurial System*, 190.

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DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SEIGNIORIAL TENURE IN CANADA

1598-1854

**EDITED, WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES,**

BY

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**TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
1908**

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of St. Sulpice lay the fief of La Valterie, named from the deceased Margane de la Valterie, in his lifetime a lieutenant of the Carignans. With a soil only "ordinarily good," and the misfortune of having had its earlier settlers decimated by the savages, this seigniory had managed to hold its own in the matter of development. The adjacent fiefs of Lanoraie and Derrière Dautré were held mainly by Jean-Baptiste Neveu, a Quebec merchant, who had given them little of his attention. Lanoraie contained but few settlers, not so much because its soil was poor as "because the mills were situated at long distances from the residences of the curé and the seignior." Derrière Dautré was without inhabitants, the Mohawks having laid it waste after massacring both the original seignior and his dependants. Passing by the adjoining fief of Dautré, originally one of the various properties of Jean Bourdon, first surveyor-general of New France, but now in the hands of Choré de St. Romain, Catalogne reached the important military seigniory of Berthier-en-Haut, given originally to Lieutenant Randin of the Carignan regiment, but shortly afterwards transferred to Alexandre Berthier. In 1712 it was held by the Sieur de Rigauville, who had married Berthier's widow. With its augmentations it formed one of the most extensive of the seigniories, besides being excellently situated and possessing a fertile soil. In this seigniory, which marked the eastern limit of the district of Montreal on the north side of the river, substantial progress had been made, a large part of the lands having been parcelled out to settlers.

Proceeding along the south shore from Montreal eastward, Catalogne mentions first the fief of Isle Perrot, so called from the name of its original owner, a former governor of Montreal, but now in the hands of one Trottier, who was alike seignior and sole inhabitant of the island. On the mainland the fief of Châteauguay, once the property of the Lemoynes, gave new proof of Iroquois devastation. Hunting

Munro, William Bennett. Documents Relating to the Seignioral
Tenure in Canada, 1518-1834. Toronto: The Champlain
Society, 1938. pp 74-150 Relevant pages 108-109
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the beaver and luring the salmon engaged the energies of its few inhabitants, few of whom showed any partiality for the steady toils of yeomanry. The adjoining tract, known as the Mission of Sault St. Louis, was held in mortmain by the Jesuits, who kept it as a reservation for the Christianised Indians under their care, a use to which it has been consecrated ever since. In Catalogne's time, as at all other stages of redskin economy, the lands of the Mission were cultivated by the squaws, the braves preferring to occupy themselves "in hunting, fishing, and war." With this location as a base, however, both French and Indians carried on a considerable clandestine commerce with Albany. Alongside the Mission lay two more Jesuit fiefs, La Prairie and St. Lambert, both of which, like all the other estates belonging to this order, were being steadily cleared and improved.

Largest in point of area, however, and most valuable among the south-shore seigniories in the district of Montreal, was the fief of Longueuil, now ranking as a barony. It was first settled by Charles Lemoyne, the son of a Dieppe innkeeper, and one of the earliest immigrants to the colony. At his death it passed to his eldest son, also Charles Lemoyne, who in 1700 was made first Baron de Longueuil by a patent setting forth in grateful terms the signal services which the seignior and his nine adventurous brothers had rendered their sovereign alike in peace and in war. The barony of Longueuil was at this time wearing an air of progress and prosperity. It had numerous inhabitants, who found the life of the yeoman made easy by the considerable sums which the baron had spent in draining and improving the lands for cultivation; and even at this stage in its development it was well provided with mills and churches, not to speak of the pretentious baronial château flanked by its four towers of solid masonry, which reminded the newcomer of the embattled castles of old Normandy. Here the seigniorial system was working out so logically in all its various phases that the

Munro, William Bennett. Documents Relating to the Seignorial
Tenure in Canada, 1778-1851. Toronto: The Champlain
Society, 1908. pp 74-150 [relevant pages 158-159]
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PAR

PIERRE-GEORGES ROY

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FIEF ET SEIGNEURIE DE CHATEAUGUAY

29 septembre 1673.

Acte de concession du comte de Frontenac, gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France, à M. Lemoyne, écuyer, sieur de Longueuil, de "deux lieues de terre de front à commencer dix arpents au-dessous de la rivière du Loup en montant dans le lac St-Louis du côté du sud et de profondeur trois lieues ensemble l'isle St-Bernard qui est à l'embouchure de la dite rivière." En terre, fief, seigneurie et justice.

Cahier d'intendance no 2, concessions en fiefs, folio 425.

Publié dans *Pièces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale*, p. 355.

27 août 1677.

Aveu et dénombrement de Charles Lemoyne de Longueuil pour le "fief et seigneurie de Châteauguay, ci-devant appelé la rivière du Loup, assis dans le lac Saint-Louis, du côté du sud, vis-à-vis des îles de Courcelles, consistant en trois lieues de large, le long du lac, sur pareille quantité de trois lieues de profondeur, avec les îles Saint-Bernard et Saint-Nicolas, îlets et battures adjacentes..."

Greffé de Bénigne Basset, notaire à Montréal, 27 août 1677. Pièce détachée aux Archives de la province de Québec.

6 août 1706.

Acte de vente de messire Charles Lemoyne, baron de Longueuil, chevalier de Saint-Louis, faisant pour lui et au nom de tuteur des enfants de feu Jacques Lemoyne de Sainte-Hélène, et encore pour Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville, Joseph Lemoyne de Sérigny, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne de

Roy, Pierre-Georges. Inventaire des Concessions en Fief et Seigneurie Fois et Hommages et Aveux et Dénombrements conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec Vol. 3 Beaujeuville: L'Eclaireur Limitee 1928

Bienville, ses frères, et encore pour Jean Bouillet de la Chassaigne et Marie-Anne Lemoyne, son épouse, Jacques Leber de Senneville, comme tuteur d'Antoine Lemoyne de Châteauguay, et Jean-Baptiste Nolan, comme curateur à la succession de Paul Lemoyne de Maricour, etc., etc., à Zacharie Robutel de Lanoue, lieutenant dans les troupes, demeurant à Châteauguay, du fief, terre et seigneurie de Châteauguay, avec toutes les îles dites à la Paix, etc., etc.

Greffé d'Antoine Adhémar, notaire à Montréal, 6 août 1706. Pièce détachée aux Archives de la province de Québec.

8 juin 1724.

Acte de foi et hommage de Zacharie Robutel de Lanoue, lieutenant dans les troupes du détachement de la marine, pour le fief et seigneurie de Châteauguay qu'il a acquis des enfants et héritiers de Charles Lemoyne de Longueuil.

Fois et hommages, régime français, cahier no 2, folio 97.

9 juin 1724.

Aveu et dénombrement de Zacharie Robutel de Lanoue, lieutenant dans les troupes du détachement de la marine, pour le fief et seigneurie de Châteauguay.

Aveux et dénombremens régime français, cahier no 1, folio 146.

25 août 1764.

Acte de cession de Joachim Robutel de Lanoue à dame Marie-Anne Robutel de Lanoue, sa soeur, de tous les droits et prétentions généralement quelconques qu'il peut avoir et prétendre comme fils ainé dans le domaine, terre et seigneurie de Châteauguay à lui appartenant de la succession de ses père et mère.

Roy, Pierre-Georges. Inventaire des Concessions en Fief et Seigneurie Fois et Hommages et Aveux et Dénombrements Conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec.

Vol 3. Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitee. 1925

Greffé de Pierre Panet, notaire à Montréal, 25 août
1764

8 juin 1766.

Acte de vente de demoiselle Marie-Anne Robutel de Lanoue à dame Marie-Marguerite Dufros de la Jemmeray, veuve de François-Madeleine d'Youville, au nom et comme directrice et administratrice des Pauvres de l'Hôpital général de Montréal, de la terre et seigneurie de Châteauguay.

Greffé de Panet et Sanguinet, notaires à Montréal, 8 juin 1766.

26 juin 1773.

Procès-verbal d'arpentage de John Collins, député arpenteur-général, entre les Soeurs de l'Hôpital général de Montréal, propriétaires du fief et seigneurie de Châteauguay, et les chefs du village iroquois de Caughnawaga, propriétaires de la seigneurie du Sault, qui fixe les lignes de séparation entre les dites deux seigneuries.

Mentionné dans l'acte de foi et hommage du 27 février 1781.

27 février 1781.

Acte de foi et hommage de Louis Langlois Germain fils, de la ville de Québec, au nom et comme fondé de procuration des Soeurs de la Charité de l'Hôpital général de Montréal, pour le fief et seigneurie de Châteauguay et des îles à la Paix.

Fois et hommages, régime anglais, cahier no 1, folio 214.

1er décembre 1860.

Cadastre de la seigneurie de Châteauguay, possédée par les Soeurs de l'Hôpital général de Montréal fait le 1er

Roy, Pierre-Georges Inventaire des Concessions en Fief et Seigneurie Fois et Hommages et Avenus et Dénembrements conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec Vol. 3

Beauceville : L'Eclaireur Limitée, 1928.

décembre 1860, par Henry Judah, écuyer, commissaire
(no 35).

Archives de la province de Québec.

FIEF DES ILES A LA PAIX

(Détaché du sief et seigneurie de l'île Perrot)

29 octobre 1672.

Acte de concession de Jean Talon, intendant de la Nouvelle-France, au sieur Perrot, capitaine au régiment d'Auvergne et gouverneur de l'île de Montréal, de l'île dite Perrot et autres adjacentes comprises l'île de la Paix... pour jouir des dites îles en fief et tous droits de seigneurie et justice...

Cahier d'intendance no 2, concessions en fiefs, folio 479 bis.

Publié dans *Pièces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale*, p. 259.

2 mars 1684.

Acte de vente de François-Marie Perrot, gouverneur de Montréal, et dame Marie La Guide, son épouse, à Charles Lemoyne, sieur de Châteauguay, de la terre, fief et seigneurie de l'île Perrot, avec les terres adjacentes, compris les îles de la Paix, etc., etc.

Greffe de Bénigne Basset, notaire à Montréal, 2 mars 1684. Pièce détachée aux Archives de la province de Québec.

6 août 1706.

Acte de vente de Charles Lemoyne, baron de Longueuil, tant en son nom que pour ses cohéritiers, à Zacha-

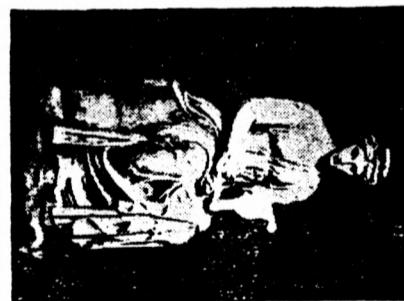
Ruy, Pierre-Georges. Inventaire des Concessions en Fief et Seigneurie Fois et Hommages et Aveux et Dénombrements conservés aux Archives de la Province de la Quebec. Vol. 3 Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitée, 1728

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IV — SAULT ST-LOUIS

Despite the almost constant state of warfare which existed between the Indians of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Algonkian and Huron allies of the French, the Jesuits did not shirk the task of carrying the Christian gospel to their enemies. Fathers Jogues and Bressani, while prisoners of the Iroquois, had attempted to win converts among them, and when, after the conclusion of peace in 1653, the Onondaga invited the French to establish a mission in the Iroquois country, the invitation was accepted with alacrity.

In 1654 Father Le Moyne was sent upon an exploratory visit to the Onondaga and Governor Lauzon granted to the Jesuits a tract of land ten leagues square in the Onondaga country for the proposed mission. The Jesuits were to be free to choose their own location and were to be accorded full seigneurial rights. In the following year Fathers Dablon, Chaumonot and Le Moyne, began their brief and precarious mission among the Onondaga and Mohawk. The missionaries enjoyed more immediate success among the Iroquois than they had at first experienced among the Huron. This was due partly to the large numbers of christianised Huron who had been adopted into the Five Nations; partly it was due to the Iroquois admiration for the courage displayed by the Jesuit Fathers.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the peace from which the Jesuits hoped for so much, came to an end in 1658. Forewarned, the French were able to slip stealthily away from the mission at dead of night while the Indians slept soundly "après avoir bien chanté, & bien dansé".⁵⁶

Following the chastisement of the Iroquois by Courcelle and de Tracy, the Confederacy sued for peace and once more asked the French to establish a mission in their country. By 1667 the Jesuit missionaries were again active among the Iroquois. In that year Fathers Frémin, Bruyas and Pierron, arrived in the Mohawk country. Former Huron and Algonkian Indians adopted by the Mohawk were able to reveal themselves as Christians and with their assistance a number of notable conversions were made, including the Onondaga chief, Garakontié, and the Mohawk, Kryn. Both pagan Indians and heretical English

55. RDJ., XLIII: 300; XLIV: 24.

56. *Ibid.*, XLIV: 310.

Stanley, G. E. F. G. "The First Indian Reserves in Canada
in Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française
Vol. IV No 2. September 1950.

were alarmed at the success of the French and their opposition was such that the French were finally compelled to abandon the Iroquois mission in 1687. Several attempts were made to re-open it after that date by Fathers Bruyas, Lamberville, Le Valiant, d'Hue and Mareuil; but after 1708 the efforts of the French were directed less towards gaining converts among the nations of the Confederacy than persuading those who had accepted baptism to settle in Canada.

The fact is that the Iroquois converts were not a popular group among their own people. They were looked upon with suspicion and subjected to abuse and persecution by their fellows. To face unpopularity required more moral stamina than most Indians possessed and the Jesuits, knowing that their converts required constant encouragement and assistance to break with the habits and traditions of centuries and remembering the good example set by the sedentary colonies of Sillery and Notre-Dame de Foye in their earlier years, determined to draw the Iroquois converts or "praying Indians" from the cantons of the Confederacy and settle them in a sedentary colony in Canada. No great obstacle presented itself to the adoption of such a policy. The Iroquois were, after all, an agricultural people, accustomed after a primitive fashion to till the soil. A mission removed from the proximity of the Dutch and English and from the vices of their neighbours might achieve much in the way of evangelization and civilization, and, incidentally provide Canada with a strong body of Indian warriors in the event of attack. The Christian Iroquois were therefore encouraged, when they showed any inclination to escape the taunts of their own kindred, to go to Canada.

A suitable location for the new Indian colony was already available. In 1647 Governor de Lauzon had granted the Jesuits a tract of land on the south shore of the St-Lawrence extending from St-Helen's Island to the Lachine rapids or Sault St-Louis. The Jesuits had been unable to make any use of this grant at this date owing to its exposure to Iroquois attack, but after the conclusion of peace with the Iroquois and the establishment of the mission in the country of the Confederacy, Father Raffeix undertook to develop the lands which the Order had thus acquired on the south shore. In 1667 a chapel was built which was dedicated to St-François-Xavier, around which sprang up a French community which became known as La Prairie. Although it was not originally intended as an Indian mission, Christian Indians

from time to time visited St-François-Xavier, among them Kryn, The Great Mohawk. Late in the summer of 1667 a small party of Oneida, including Pierre Tonsahoten, an old Huron convert whom Father Bruyas had found among the Iroquois, visited Montreal. Although only Tonsahoten was a Christian the *Relation* for 1667 stated that when

ces pauvres barbares qui ne sçavoient ce qui cestoit que de prestres d'église et de ceremonie estant entrés dans l'église du Montreal furent tellement ravis... qu'ils ne penserent plus aux iroquois d'où ils venoient.⁵⁷

The Oneida subsequently visited the Christian Huron at Quebec and were so impressed with their piety and sobriety that they accepted Christian baptism at the hands of Bishop Laval, returning afterwards to settle near Father Raffeix's chapel at La Prairie. Other Indians visiting Canada were also attracted to La Prairie and within three years twenty families, largely Iroquois, had settled here. In 1671 Father Dablon wrote:

il y en a quantité d'autres qui se disposent à descendre ici bas pour y faire profession de la Foy, qu'ils n'ont embrassée que dans le cœur n'ayant pas le courage de se déclarer Chrestiens parmi leurs gens encore infidèles, & pour des difficultez presque insurmontables d'y faire leur salut.⁵⁸

By 1674 it was reported that 180 Indians had taken up permanent residence at the mission and were leading "une vie exemplaire."⁵⁹

For some years the mission was relatively free from drunkenness and was regarded as a model of virtue among the several Indian villages. It produced the Indian saint, Katherine Tegakwita, who died in "an odour of sanctity" in 1680; it produced Indian apostles like Hot Powder, an Oneida alleged to have been one of the slayers of Brébeuf in 1649. But this initial display of fervour and piety was misleading. Every Indian mission had reported the same initial enthusiasm, then came a falling from grace as time proceeded. Such had

57. *Ibid.*, LXIII: 150-2.

58. *Ibid.*, LIV: 282.

59. *Ibid.*, LVIII: 250.

been the case at Sillery; such was the case at Saint Francis; such was to be the case at La Prairie or Kentaké, as the Indians called it. In 1681 the *Jesuit Relations* reported only a few isolated instances of drunkenness, the worst delinquents being expelled from the village. Within a few years there is a change in the tone of the *Relations*. In 1683 the remarks about drunkenness at Kentaké were defensive in character — drunkenness is being kept out of the village but the battle against the bootlegger has not been won. It was indeed a lost cause, for the proximity of Montreal and the lack of assistance from the civil authorities made it almost impossible to prevent the Indians from obtaining spirituous liquors. In 1671 Governor Frontenac, at the request of the ecclesiastical authorities, prohibited the sale of intoxicants to the Indians at La Prairie and closed a tavern which had been opened near the mission: but several years later, owing to his animosity towards the Jesuits, Frontenac permitted the tavern to re-open its doors, ostensibly to sell liquor only to the white settlers.⁶⁰

The only solution to the liquor problem seemed to lie in the removal of the Indians from temptation since temptation could not be kept from the Indians. The Indian colony must be moved to a new location. There were other arguments in favour of such a course. The fact is that the French settlers at La Prairie were growing in numbers and had already taken up the best areas for cultivation. The little plots which the Indians tilled were inadequate to raise sufficient corn to feed their families. Some of the Indians were even beginning to mutter things about returning to their former homes in the Mohawk valley.

Accordingly the Jesuits applied to the civil authorities for permission to remove the Indians further up the St-Lawrence river. Acting upon his own authority the Intendant Du Chesneau consented to grant to the Jesuits a tract of land comprising two leagues frontage on the St-Lawrence river opposite the Lachine rapids. Here the Indians might have their own reserve, their own lands, their own church: here they could participate as active worshippers in their own chapel rather than remain as silent onlookers in the chapel at St-François-Xavier with its white congregation. The move to the new location was made in 1676. Seldom was there greater enthusiasm or more real devo-

60. *Ibid.*, LXIII: 198-200.

Stanley, Geo. F.G. "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada" in
REVUE D'HISTOIRE DE L'AMÉRIQUE FRANÇAISE Vol. IV No. 1,

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tion displayed by Christian neophytes than among the Iroquois as they took over their new reserve at Kahnawaké at the Sault St-Louis.

The move from La Prairie to Kahnawaké met with a cool reception from Governor Frontenac. Such an effort to segregate the Indians was contrary to the whole principle behind his domestic Indian policy based as it was upon the close mingling of the white men and the red.⁶¹ At La Prairie the Indians and the whites had lived together and shared the same mission; at Kahnawaké the Indians were to be by themselves. Frontenac therefore not only refused to confirm Du Chesneau's promise but wrote to King Louis XIV that he had no intention of giving the Jesuits title to the lands at the Sault St-Louis until he had received definite instructions to do so from the king himself.⁶² The king returned a curt reply to his irascible governor and on 31 October 1680 Frontenac affixed his seal to the grant.

The royal grant, dated at Fontainebleau 29 May 1680, ran in part as follows:

...desirous of contributing to the conversion and instruction of the said Iroquois, and to act favourably towards the said Petitioners, We have given them... the said piece of land called the Sault, containing two leagues of frontage, commencing at a point opposite the St-Louis Rapids, ascending along the lake in similar depth, with two Islands and Islets and the beach lying opposite and adjoining the lands of the said Prairie de la Magdelaine, on the condition that the said tract... will revert to us all cleared, when the said Iroquois will leave it.⁶³

The Indians at the Sault St-Louis, although they had formerly fought against the French and the Algonkian nations, joined forces with the French in the wars which followed the return of Frontenac to France. Despite this fact, the loyalty of the Sault Indians was never, like that of the Abenaki, completely above suspicion. The Canadian

61. See Groulx, *op. cit.*; also G. F. G. Stanley "The policy of 'Francisation' as applied to the Indians during the Ancien Régime," (*La Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. III, no 3, décembre 1949: 333-348).

62. *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927* (King's Printer, Quebec, 1927), 110, Frontenac à Louis XIV, 6 novembre 1679.

63. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1680-1890* (3 vols., Ottawa, 1891), I: 13-4.

Stanley, Geo. F.G. 'The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada
in *Revue d'Histoire de L'Amérique Française* Vol. IV No. 2.

September 1950

Iroquois were not willing to raise the tomahawk against their own kindred in the Confederacy. Too many of those living at "the praying castle" on the St-Lawrence had blood relations still living in the Iroquois cantons south of Lake Ontario for the French to expect them to take the warpath against the nations of the Confederacy. There was, moreover, a constant intercourse and trade between the pagan and the Christian Iroquois which neither the English nor the French could prevent. The Jesuits were not opposed to this intercourse. To them it offered opportunities to use their neophytes to win more converts in the cantons: but to the governor of New France it was a breach in the French fur trade monopoly through which beaver pelts that should be on their way to Quebec slipped through to the English traders at Albany. This, at least, was the burden of the complaints of the elder Vaudreuil.

Only a few years elapsed before the Iroquois of the Sault were again on the move. Indian lands under steady cultivation soon became impoverished and Montreal was still too nearby for the Jesuits to be able to control effectively the surreptitious liquor trade. Accordingly, the Indians moved further westward along the river first to Kanhawakon in 1690 and then to a new Kahnawaké in 1696. From the latter we get the present day corruption of Caughnawaga.

These frequent moves were in no way disturbing to the Indian mind. The average life of an Iroquois town in the cantons of the Confederacy was little more than twenty years; as the surrounding territory became exhausted, the Indians simply packed up and moved to a new location. Indian methods of cultivation were crude in the extreme and the continual cropping of maize took a great deal of nourishment from the soil. Accordingly, in 1704, Father Cholenech represented to the Marquis de Vaudreuil:

Ces sauvages ne pouvaient plus rester dans leur village, parce que les terres y sont usées et les bois trop éloignés et que c'est une nécessité indispensable pour eux de se placer ailleurs. (Les Sauvages ne cultivent que du bled d'inde qui dégrasse fort la terre, leurs terres ne peuvent pas leur durer longtemps).⁶⁴

On 15th November the Intendant Begon wrote to Paris pointing out the determination of the Indians "de transporter leur village à deux

64. PAC., C 11A, 106: 380-4. See also RDJ., LXVII: 24-6.

lieues au dessus sur le fleuve St-Laurent du même côté où ils sont à présent" and emphasizing that the Confederate Indians, acting at the instigation of the English, were making every effort "soit par présents ou par menaces pour attirer chez eux tous les sauvages du Sault"; the only way to retain them in the French service would be "en leur accordant le changement qu'ils demandent et le fond nécessaire pour desérer deux arpents en quarri et y faire une enceinte de pieux avec un nouveau fort et une église".⁶⁵

The terms of the original grant made to the Jesuits by Louis XIV in 1680 had been conditional upon the return of the land to the king should the Indians and the missionaries choose to leave it. Owing to the activities of the Jesuits and the labours of the Indians the greater part of the original land had been cleared of trees and was ready for occupation by European colonists: the Jesuits felt, not without some justification, that they were entitled to compensation for their improvements. Governor Vaudreuil sympathised with this point of view. He felt that it would be distinctly unfair to insist upon the reversionary clause, particularly as the Jesuits were about to incur new expenses in connection with the construction of the new village. In 1717, Father Lafiteau sent a petition to the Council of the Marine department in Paris asking that the restrictive clause be not applied and that the Jesuits be permitted to retain the original grant for their own use.⁶⁶ Lafiteau's petition was graciously received and the grant to the Jesuits was confirmed. It is interesting to note that the Council of the Marine department considered the possibility of issuing new letters patent to the Jesuits and Indians conjointly:

Qu'il falloit par de nouvelles lettres patentes accorder aux Jésuites conjointement avec les Iroquois les terres du Sault St-Louis qu'ils ont quitté, celles où ils s'établissent de nouveau actuellement et la lieue et demye d'augmentation concédée par M. de Frontenac.⁶⁷

But in the end it was decided that the original deed would be sufficient

65. *Ibid.*

66. PAC., C 11A, 106: 402-5, Arrêt du Conseil de Marine concernant la mission des Jésuites, 8 février 1718.

67. *Ibid.*: 405-6.

Stanley, Geo. F.G. "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada" in
Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française, Vol. IV, No. 2
September 1950

THE FIRST INDIAN "RESERVES" IN CANADA

and that the document issued in 1680 would meet the requirements of the moment.⁶⁸

This was the fourth migration of the Iroquois of the Caughnawaga. The first settlement had been undertaken by Father Garnier on the Prairie in 1667. Many of the Indians who made this migration had been born in one or other of the three villages along the St. Lawrence River which had been established earlier. They had been brought up under French and Catholic influence and had made some progress towards adjustment since they had come into a Christian pattern of life and because of the ever increasing filtration of European blood into their veins. During the wars and expeditions which they carried out against the tribes of New York a number of prisoners had been taken, men and women, white and Indian. These prisoners were frequently ransomed and sometimes married into the tribe; Silas Rice captured at Boston in 1703, Eunice Williams, one of the captives taken at the field in 1704, Jacob Hill and John Stacey, two boys taken at the battle of Lake George in 1755, are outstanding instances of this. Peter Kalen, a Mohawk who had been captured in Canada in 1749, was struck by the high degree of miscegenation among the Indians. He concluded that the Sault St-Louis or Caughnawaga Indians had lost all trace of their original strong European strain in them. He was interested to find that the Indians still clung to the Iroquois tongue but, with this exception, there was but little difference between the Indian and the white man.

V — ST-REGIS

As the struggle between the French and the English for control of North America entered its final phase, both contestants made every effort to win the support of the Iroquois. English agents worked among the Caughnawaga Indians: French agents were sent to the Iroquois of the Confederacy. It was in accordance with the Marquis Duquesne's plan that the Marquis Duquesne invited the Confederate Indians to a conference to be held in Montreal in 1754. The Confederate Indians had never looked upon the Marquis Duquesne as a friend; they might sympathise with him, accept his presents and fight under his flag, but they were free to make whatever arrangements they might see fit.

68. E.J. Devine, s.j., *Historic Caughnawaga* (Montreal, 1948).

eues au dessus sur le fleuve St-Laurent du même côté où ils sont à résent" and emphasizing that the Confederate Indians, acting at the instigation of the English, were making every effort "soit par présents i par menaces pour attirer chez eux tous les sauvages du Sault"; the only way to retain them in the French service would be "en leur accordant le changement qu'ils demandent et le fond nécessaire pour ériger deux arpents en quarri et y faire une enceinte de pieux avec un nouveau fort et une église".⁶⁵

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67. *Ibid.*: 405-6.

Stanley, Geo. F.G. "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada" in
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and that the document issued in 1680 would meet the requirements of the moment.⁶⁸

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V — ST-REGIS

As the struggle between the French and the English in North America entered its final phase, both contestants made every possible effort to win the support of the Iroquois. English agents were active among the Caughnawaga Indians: French agents were sent among the Iroquois of the Confederacy. It was in accordance with this policy that the Marquis Duquesne invited the Confederate Indians to send representatives to an Indian conference to be held in Montreal in 1754. The Confederate Indians had never looked upon themselves as subjects of Great Britain; they might sympathise with the English, accept their presents and fight under their flag, but they still felt themselves free to make whatever arrangements they might choose with

68. E.J. Devine, s.j., *Historic Caughnawaga* (Montreal, 1922), 178.

the French. Accordingly, Duquesne's council was attended by Indians from the Five (or, more correctly at this date), Six Nations. To them the French Governor put forward the proposal that a Mohawk colony be established in Canada, not at Caughnawaga, but in a new Indian village on the St-Lawrence above Montreal. A new settlement had, in fact, already been started two years earlier, by some Indians from Sault St-Louis. The soil around the old mission was once more growing less productive and about thirty families of the Sault announced their intention of seeking homes elsewhere on the banks of Lake St-Francis, sixty miles above Montreal. On 31 October 1754 Duquesne wrote to Paris that a number of Mohawk had agreed to join the Caughnawaga families who had proceeded to Lake St-Francis and urged the king to authorize the expenditure of such funds as might be necessary for the construction of a saw mill to provide the Indians with the lumber wherewith to build their houses⁶⁹. The new colony, said the Governor, would not only provide New France with a valuable listening post in the direction of Oswego, but would serve as an outwork for the defence of Montreal. It was obviously not part of Duquesne's policy in encouraging the establishment of another sedentary Indian colony to deplete the strength of the old one at the Sault. It was simply designed to provide an additional centre of attraction for those Iroquois of the Confederacy who might be disposed to settle in Canada and thus add to the Indian strength in New France. At the very least it might be the means of preventing some of the Mohawk from being used by the English in the event of hostilities.

The new colony may be said to date from 1752 when thirty Caughnawaga families moved from the Sault under the guidance of Father Billard.⁷⁰ After taking up temporary quarters at the head of Lake St-Francis, the mission was finally established at the mouth of the St-Regis river where a grant of land was obtained for the purpose of the colony from King Louis XV. The mission thus became known by the name of St-Regis, but the Indians called it Akwesasne. In 1759, the Jesuits built a mill at the new location. Although the mission was

69. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edit., E.B. O'Callaghan (14 vols, Albany, 1856-83), X: 266-7, Duquesne to de Machault, 31 octobre 1754.

70. Abbé G. Forbes, "Saint-Régis", *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 8 (1902): 12-3.

Stanley Geo F.G. "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada" in
Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française, Vol. IV. No 2.
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established just prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years War with the possibility of the war in mind, the St-Regis Indians took very little part in the hostilities: within a few years of founding of the mission the French cause in North America had suffered defeat and the political direction of Indian affairs passed from the hands of the French Governors to those of the British.

VI — LAC DES DEUX MONTAGNES

Shortly after the Christian Iroquois had begun to settle at La Prairie, another Indian colony started of its own volition on the mountain visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535. Here in 1671 a group of Indians, consisting of eight warriors and their families, settled in the vicinity of Montreal⁷¹. To leave such a group for any length of time without spiritual help was unthinkable and five years later the Indian village on the mountain became a formal mission under the guidance of "the Gentlemen of St-Sulpice". In 1680, records of baptisms and deaths were started. The mountain mission soon found a benefactor in the person of François Vachon de Belmont who, like M. de Sillery, was prepared to spend a fortune — his own — upon the work of converting and civilizing the Indians. The mission therefore entered a period of expansion and prosperity. Houses were constructed for the priests and cabins for the Indians; a school was opened for the education of the native children. The colony grew in size but in so doing it differed from all the other Indian colonies established in New France: its members were not from one single Indian nation like those at the Sault and Saint-Francis but from several. Within the limits of the Mount Royal colony were gathered together a motley group of Huron, Algonquin, Pawnee, Iroquois, Foxes and even several Sioux from the far western territories. In all they numbered 210 souls⁷².

The Sulpician mission of the mountain, like that of the Jesuits at La Prairie on the opposite side of the St-Lawrence river, was at the outset a course of edification to all who saw it. Unfortunately it fol-

71. Mgr O. Maurault, *Nos Messieurs* (Montréal, 1936), 207. See also same author, "Oka, les Vicissitudes d'une Mission Sauvage", *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne* (juin 1930): 1-2.

72. *Ibid.*, 207-8.

though these can never be completely ignored — which prompted the church and the government to set aside, for his benefit, lands which might be used for his spiritual and economic betterment.

GEN:

George F.G. STANLEY,
*Professor of History,
Royal Military College of Canada*

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pp. 108-118

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A reference work on the history, environment,
economic and legal position of the Indians and
Inuit of Quebec

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VOLUME II: Economics Housing Education Health

VOLUME III: Indian Act Native Rights Reserve Land Transactions
A Report on the James Bay Project

Prepared at the
NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN STUDIES INSTITUTE

Under the direction of
G. WILLIAM CRAIG

For the
INDIANS OF QUEBEC ASSOCIATION

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LAND TRANSACTIONS

IN

ALPHABETICAL

ORDER

The First Peoples in Quebec, Thunderbird Presss, 1973, Volume III
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CAUGHNAWAGA

Iroquois

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
May 29 1680	Grant	Grant of Sault St. Louis to the Society of Jesus from the King of France.	2 leagues x IT & S, 2 leagues V.1, p.13, #4	
Oct 31 1680	Grant	Grant of more land to the Society of Jesus from Count de Frontenac and Jacques Dumesneau.	½ league x IT & S, 2 leagues V.1, p.14, #4	
Jan 3 1762	Title Deed Concession	Concession of land on St. Pierre River to Pierre Lefebvre Jr. by the Jesuits.		IT & S. V.2, p.292, "F"
Mar 22 1762	General Gage's Judgement	Declares lands of May and Oct 1680 grants to be in the possession of the Indians, to revert to His Majesty, if they should give up the lands.		IT & S, V.2, p.298, "H"
Sept 20 1764	Copy Ordinance	Governor Murray's Judgement, ratified and confirmed all orders, judgements and decrees made between the years 1760 and 1764, except where contested.		IT & S, V.2, p.304, "I"
Nov 12 1764	Copy Ordinance	An extension of the time allowed for appeal of Copy Ordinance of Sept. 20, 1764.		IT & S, V.2, p.305
July 27 1764	Procès- Verbal & Plan	Establishes the boundary between Prairie of La Magdalene and Sault St.Louis.		Reserve Abstract
Dec 19 1827	Letters Patent	Outlining of clauses and conditions of the new titles.		
May 16 1850	Band Council Resolution	Stating terms on which they are willing to sell land to the Lake St.Louis and Province Line Railway.		Reserve Abstract
Apr 15 1867	Document	States that the Indians have the usufruct of the lands until the death of their last survivor and establishes the right-of-way for the Montreal and Champlain Railway.		IT & S, V.1, p.310- 311, # 133

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Apr 6 1871	OC 777	Recommends that the Caughnawaga Ship Canal Co. be allowed to purchase land for canal pur- poses.		Reserve Abstract
Oct 15 1884	Surrender for Leasing	Parcel of land, 40 ft x 160 ft, surrendered for two year period for leasing.		Reserve Abstract
Nov 9 1887	Quit Claim 241	Surrender of village lot opposite church by J. Phillip and wife for school purposes.		IT & S, V.2, p.206, #241
Feb 17 1888	OCPC 211	Authorizes sale of land to Atlantic and Northwestern Railway Co.	60 arp. 25.47 perches	Reserve Abstract
Mar 5 1889	OC 466	The reserve at Caughnawaga to be designated the Caughnawaga Indian Reserve and be divided into six sections.		Reserve Abstract
Dec 7 1895	OC 3454	Authorizes sale of land to South Western Railway Co., purchased later by St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Co.	63.175 arpents	Reserve Abstract
June 12 1896	OC 2055	Authority for sale of land required by South Western Railway Co.	4.04 arpents	Reserve Abstract
Apr 23 1897	LP 11698	Granting of railway right- of-way to New York Central Railway.	53.38	CLSR T of Trans
Sept 17 1897		Railway right-of-way sold to Canadian Pacific Railway.	2.98	CLSR T of Trans
Feb 28 1898	OC 458	Canada to C.P.R. authority to lay a water pipe through part of the reserve.		Reserve Abstract
July 4 1898	OC 1765	Canada to Atlantic and North- west Railway Co. Authorizes use of land for ballast pit and approaches for five year period with renewal privileges.		Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Sept 17 1898	OC 2203	Canada to C.P. authority to acquire road right-of-way.	3 arp. 52.74 perches	Reserve Abstract
Jan 13 1899	OC 24	Canada to Atlantic and NW Railway Co. part of Lots 220 and 223 for purposes of drainage as long as required.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 26 1903	OC 459	Canada to St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Co. Right-of-way through Lots 209 and 213.	0.74	Reserve Abstract
July 12 1906	OC 1419	Orders division of Reserve into sections be done away with.		Reserve Abstract
Aug 19 1907	Letter of Permission	Government of Canada to Missionary Society of Methodist Church - granting of parcel of land (as per Band Council Resolution, Aug 2, 1907.)		Reserve Abstract
Apr 1 1909	OCPC 661	Surrender of stone within certain parcels of common land.		Reserve Abstract
June 7 1910	OCPC 1193	Extension for Adirondack Junction Station granted to CPR.	0.22	Reserve Abstract
Jan 24 1911	OCPC 117	Granting permission for CPR to have a parcel of land for double tracking railway right-of-way.	2.73	Reserve Abstract
June 8 1911	OCPC 1362	Power line right-of-way granted to Canadian Light and Power Co.	55.20	Reserve Abstract
Aug 12 1911	OCPC 1892	Surrender of island lying east of village of Caughnawaga to be sold for industrial purposes. Reconveyed to band in 1945.	61.40	Reserve Abstract
June 6 1912	OCPC 1530	Granting of authority for CPR to purchase additional land.	18.03	Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Sept 30 1912	PC 2629	Granting of further land to CPR to facilitate the double tracking.	4.79	Reserve Abstract
Nov 17 1912	Surrender 672	Surrender of stone from holdings 80, 86 and rights- of-way from quarry to wharf, from quarry to N.Y. Central Railway and use of wharf for unloading.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 18 1913	LP 16848	Granting of right-of-way to CPR.	6.767	CLSR T of Trans
Mar 14 1913		Granting of right-of-way to CPR.	12.42	CLSR T of Trans
Dec 3 1913	OCPC 3034	Acceptance of Surrender 672.		Reserve Abstract
Feb 4 1914	Agreement	Granting of a 25 year fran- chise to Light, Heat and Power Co.		
June 5 1914		Canada to CPR Co. 2,100 sq ft of land. Recommends exchange of land with CPR for a similar area.	2,100 sq ft	Reserve Abstract
Oct 31 1914	Deed of Sale 21156	Parcel of land returned to Crown Canada by CPR.	2,100 sq ft	Reserve Abstract
Mar 15 1915	Surrender	Surrender of the stone on and under Indian Holding 87.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 22 1915	OCPC 612	Acceptance of surrender above.		Reserve Abstract
May 3 1917	Judgement	Judgement of the Exchequer Court. St. Nicholas Island rests with the province, rather than Indians of Caughnawaga.		Reserve Abstract
Sept 29 1921	Lease 225	Leasing of reserve Lots 195, 196, 197, 202, 202A, 203, 204, 205, 211, 206, 208 to Kanawa- ki Golf Club for 75 years from Oct 1, 1920.	61.0	Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Sept 29 1921	Lease 226	Leasing of reserve Lots 199 and 200 for 75 years to Kanawaki Golf Club.	30.75	Reserve Abstract
Sept 29 1921	Lease 227	Leasing of reserve lot 195 for 75 years to Kanawaki Golf Club.	11 acres 1 rood 11 perches	Reserve Abstract
Sept 29 1921	Lease 228	Leasing of reserve Lot 97 for 50 years to Kanawaki Golf Club.	51.75	Reserve Abstract
Nov 17 1922	Band Council Resolution	Nullifies contract agreement with the Caughnawaga Light, Heat and Power Co., made on Feb. 4th, 1914.		Reserve Abstract
Nov 25 1924	Agreement	Franchise to United Power Co. Ltd. to furnish electricity to Caughnawaga Indian Reserve for 25 years.		Reserve Abstract
Dec 26 1924	Lease 276	Leasing of a portion of Lot 198 to Kanawaki Golf Club for 71 years.	4.0	Reserve Abstract
Mar 12 1927	Lease 307	Leasing of Holding 207 to Kanawaki Golf Club for 69 years.	8.0	Reserve Abstract
Oct 27 1927	Lease 313	Leasing of Holding 209 to Kanawaki Golf Club for 68 years.	12.0 1 rood 20 perches	Reserve Abstract
Apr 25 1930	Permit	Granting of a telephone right-of-way to Bell Telephone Co.		Reserve Abstract
May 29 1930	OCPC 7141	Granting of a power line right-of-way to Cedar Rapids Manufacturing and Power Co. (this Co. later succeeded by Hydro-Quebec) for as long as is required.		Reserve Abstract
Jan 30 1932	Lease 372	Leasing of portions of Lots 204 and 211 to Kanawaki Golf Club for 64 years.	34.79	Reserve Abstract
May 27 1932	Surrender 1182	Surrender of a portion of common lands west of village for leasing of the quarrying rights.		Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Aug 22 1932	OCPC 1845	Acceptance of Surrender 1182.		Reserve Abstract
Dec 7 1932	OCPC 2675	Granting of lands to Corpora- tion Pont de Lac St. Louis as access to Mercier Bridge.	11.38	Reserve Abstract
Dec 16 1932	Surrender	Surrender of the stone situat- ed on and under holdings 80 and 86.		Reserve Abstract
Jan 14 1933	OCPC 33	Acceptance of above Surrender.		
May 4 1933	PC 1362	Granting of a right-of-way to Hydro-Quebec.	55.2	
Dec 18 1934	OCPC 3196	Reinstates OC 466, Mar 5, 1889 by dividing the reserve into six sections.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 9 1936	OCPC 534	Road right-of-way transferred to the Province of Quebec for widening existing road and providing improved approach to Mercier Bridge.	2.11	Reserve Abstract
Aug 9 1937	Procès- Verbal 32467	Survey of dividing line be- tween reserve and parish of St. Constant and part of parish of St. Isidore.		Reserve Abstract
Dec 21 1940	OCPC 7527	Permission granted for work crews to enter the reserve for the purposes of widening the Malone- New York highway and the Caughnawaga highway.	36.7	Reserve Abstract
June 4 1943	OCPC 4576	Crown Canada granting permis- sion for Montreal Light, Heat and Power Consolidated to have a temporary power transmission line.		Reserve Abstract
Aug 16 1945	OCPC 5591	Setting apart the island lying east of the reserve as an ad- dition to the reserve.		Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Nov 7 1946	OCPC 4605	Granting of a continuation to Hydro-Quebec for power line right-of-way until Dec 31, 1949.		Reserve Abstract
Apr 22 1948	OCPC 1786	Purchase by Crown Canada from the executor of the estate of Louise J. Pinsonneault the eastern half of Lot 100 for addition to school lands.		Reserve Abstract
Apr 12 1949	PC 1847	Granting of an easement for Bell Telephone right-of-way.		Reserve Abstract
Nov 25 1949	Band Council Resolution	Permission for Bell Telephone underground right-of-way for as long as required.		Reserve Abstract
Apr 10 1950	Agreement	Permission to install and maintain an electric transmission wire for one year and thereafter as required. Agreement terminated in 1951.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 31 1950	OCPC 1605	Granting of right-of-way to Hydro-Quebec.		
Aug 21 1952	OCPC 3821	Granting of right-of-way to Hydro-Quebec for as long as required.		Reserve Abstract
Dec 21 1954	Permit	Canada granting permission to Bell Telephone to lay underground cables.		Reserve Abstract
June 2 1955	OCPC 1955- 797	Consents to the taking of the Indian interests in seigniory of Sault St. Louis, expropriated by the St. Lawrence Seaway. Compensation of \$3,000.		Reserve Abstract
June 21 1955	Permit	Authority to Bell Telephone to erect four telephone poles and three anchors on reserve.		Reserve Abstract
Sept 16 1955	OCPC 1955-1416	Expropriation of lands for the St. Lawrence Seaway.	1,262.00	Reserve Abstract
Feb 9 1956	OCPC 1956-231	Expropriation of lands for the St. Lawrence Seaway.	6.04	Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Mar 20 1956	Permit	Canada granting Bell Telephone Co. authority to place underground conduit under highway 3, leasing parcel of land.		Reserve Abstract
May 22 1956	Permit	Canada granting Bell Telephone right-of-way.		Reserve Abstract
May 30 1956	Lease 643	Canada leasing parcel of land to Marconi Co. for radio transmission towers for 50 years for \$3,000 rental a year, subject to review every 15 years.	10.3	Reserve Abstract
Oct 11 1956	OCPC 1956- 1538	Expropriation of lands for St. Lawrence Seaway.	89.633	Reserve Abstract
Jan 31 1957	Permit	Granting of a right-of-way to Bell Telephone Co.		Reserve Abstract
May 7 1957	Permit	Bell Telephone right-of-way to go down Main Street north of Highway 3 and south of Isidore Road.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 24 1958	Permit	Granting Bell Telephone a right-of-way for placing the poles.		Reserve Abstract
Jan 8 1959	Permit	Permission for a new pole line to Bell Telephone Co.		Reserve Abstract
Aug 31 1959	Quit Claim	Canadian National Railway claim on Lot 2 (St. Isidore Road), used as a road since 1882.		Reserve Abstract
Feb 26 1960	Permit	Canada granting to Bell Telephone Co. a right-of-way for installation of approximately 702 feet of cable on Main Street.		Reserve Abstract
Sept 23 1963	Agreement	Band granting permission to CPR to maintain a telecommunication wire along side of St. Isidore Road.		Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
May 1 1965	Band Council Resolution 321/65-66	Allowing Sanitary Refuse Col- lectors permission to use Lots 384, 387 and parcels 1,2,3,4 on Lot 386.	41.6	Reserve Abstract
Sept 23 1965	Band Council Resolution 321/65-66	Band sets aside Lot 77 and 88 for school and recreation.		Reserve Abstract
Mar 12 1966	Band Council Resolution 641/65-66	Band grants permission for the Mohawk Legion to occupy and use piece of land, 40 ft x 80 ft, in front of Roman Catholic Church.		Reserve Abstract
Sept 22 1966	OCPC 1966-1824	Reconstitution of land ex- propriated for the St. Law- rence Seaway to the Caugh- nawaga Indian Reserve.	251.809	CLSR T of Trans
Dec 22 1966	Permit 844	Granting permission to Sanitary Refuse Collectors Inc. for use of Lots 384, 387 and parcels 1, 2, 32, 3 and 4 on Lot 386 for five years.	32.0	Reserve Abstract
Jan 16 1967	Band Council Resolution 124/66-67	Band agrees to execute subsidiary contract regard- ing Lot 387.	9.0	Reserve Abstract
Jan 23 1967	Band Council Resolution	Band granting permission to La Salle Refuse Disposal Inc. to use Lots 546-547.	38.5	Reserve Abstract
Apr 14 1967	Agreement	Canada granting permission to La Salle Refuse Collec- tion Inc. to use part of Lot 387. Amendment to Permit 844.	9.0	Reserve Abstract
Apr 17 1967	Agreement 850	Canada granting permission to Sanitary Refuse Collection Inc. to use Lots 546-547 for five years.	38.5	Reserve Abstract

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Sept 11 1967	Band Council Resolution	Resolves that proposed lump sum settlement for back payment of seigniorial dues in Cote St. Catherine area be unanimously rejected.		Reserve Abstract
Nov 11 1967	Band Council Resolution 113/67-68	Granting permission for United Church to use Lot 622 for as long as required.		Reserve Abstract
Nov 11 1967	Band Council Resolution 114/67-68	Cemetery site in Lot 511 for Caughnawaga United Church.		Reserve Abstract
Feb 10 1968	Band Council Resolution 89/67-68	Addition of parcel of land adjacent to south side of United Church to cemetery Lot 511.	1.5	Reserve Abstract
Feb 10 1968	Band Council Resolution 90/67-68	Resolves that parcel of land on north east of Catholic cemetery be annexed to Catholic cemetery.		Reserve Abstract
Oct 16 1970	Permit	Permission to erect and maintain a panel poster on portion of Lot 155A for one year.		Reserve Abstract
Jan 24 1972	Addendum to Lease 643	Crown Canada to Canadian Marconi Co. Leased parcel of land from June 1, 1971 to May 31, 1986.		Reserve Abstract
March 1973		Caughnawaga Indians accept final settlement of \$1.5 million for land expropriated for St. Lawrence Seaway.		

Summary

The land for the Caughnawaga Indian Reserve was given to the Indians by the Jesuits in 1762. The reserve is situated five miles south west of Montreal. The Indians have surrendered the stone rights to numerous

holdings on their reserve, as well as allowing a multiplicity of rights-of-way to be granted. The railway companies have expropriated 146.44 acres. Certain lands have also been expropriated by the St. Lawrence Seaway Project. The present area of the reserve, according to Dorion, is 12,478.73 acres.

The First Peoples in Quebec. Thunderbird Press, 1973, Volume III
pp. 108-118

DONCASTER

Caughnawaga & Oka Indians

<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1851	Statutes of Canada 14-15 Vict Chap 106	Authorization for establishing Indian reserves.	230,000	Dorion Report
June 8 1853	OC 482	Land distributed. Situated ten miles north east of Ste. Agathe. Covers Lot 61 of the township of Doncaster, electoral district of Terrebonne.	18,500	Dorion Report

Summary

The reserve was created by virtue of the Act of 1851. The 18,500 acres of land for the reserve were allotted in 1853 for the benefit of the Caughnawaga and Oka Indians. One-third of the woodlot belongs to the Oka Indians and two-thirds to Caughnawaga. The Indians can exploit the woodlot without having to live there.

The First Peoples in Quebec. Thunderbird Press, 1973, Volume III
pp. 108-118

**The Historical Background
of Indian Reserves and
Settlements in the Province of Quebec**

Villeneuve, Larry. The Historical Background of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the Province of Quebec, Research Branch Indian & Northern Affairs Canada 1984

by
Larry Villeneuve

Revised and Updated
by
Daniel Francis

for
Research Branch
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada

1984

Villeneuve, Larry. The Historical Background
of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the
Province of Quebec, Research Branch
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III. Caughnawaga

In 1647 the Jesuits of the St. François Xavier Mission received a tract of land at La Prairie de la Madelaine to establish a small mission as a resting point for their travelling missionaries. Twenty years later a missionary centre was founded at La Prairie to be used as a refuge for Iroquois converts. In 1669 the provision of intoxicants to Indians at the mission was forbidden, however it was never effectively controlled and continued to be a source of much trouble. By 1676 the mission at La Prairie was over-crowded with French settlers and the soil had proven ill-suited to growing Indian corn. To alleviate these problems, Louis XIV granted a tract of land to the west of La Prairie on the Sault St. Louis. A further grant of land was made on October 31, 1680 on the condition that the land would revert to the Crown if the Indians ever abandoned it. In 1696 soil exhaustion was again a problem and the village moved farther upriver opposite Devil's Island just above the rapids.

In the early 1700s New France was embroiled in a conflict with the British and French authorities, and it was decided that increased protection was necessary for the fledgling colony at Montreal. They requested that the mission

and Indian settlement be established at the lower end of Lac St. Louis along with a fort to defend against attack from the West. The Jesuits were opposed at first because they feared the influence of the garrison soldiers, however soil exhaustion was recurring at the old settlement and after pressure from the government the Jesuits finally agreed. In 1717 the fourth and final move to a point 4.8 kilometres west of La Susanne on the river front was made, where a missionary residence was built between 1717 and 1721 and a church in 1721. It was not until 1754 that the construction of the stone fort began along the river front. The new settlement was called Sault St. Louis by the French and Kanawaké by the Indians.²³

The Jesuits at Caughnawaga considered themselves to be the owners of both La Prairie and Sault St. Louis seigneuries, however after the Conquest their title was challenged. While La Prairie was indisputably Jesuit land, the other had been granted conjointly to the missionaries and the Indians. The boundary between the two was ill-defined, leaving a strip of land about 15 hectares wide in contention. In 1762 the Jesuits leased part of this strip to a French farmer and the Indians challenged their right to do so, claiming the land belonged to the Sault St. Louis seigneurie. General Thomas Gage ruled that the disputed land should be attached to Sault St. Louis and further, that the Jesuits had no claim on the seigneurie.

as a whole; it would henceforth be retained by the Crown for the use of the Indians. The community was now designated a band and called "the Iroquois of Caughnawaga".

(The name of the reserve changed in 1980 to Kahnawaké.)

However, the Indians' victory over the Jesuits was short-lived. Later in 1762 General Gage re-examined his decision and returned the strip of land to the Jesuits, having discovered that it was given by the King to the missionaries for their own use.²⁴ Unwilling to accept the decision, the Caughnawaga Indians subsequently exhausted every legal avenue in attempts to have their claim to the land recognized.

In 1769 Sir Guy Carleton ordered the Deputy Surveyor General, John Collins, to fix the boundaries of La Prairie and Sault St. Louis seigneuries, a survey which reaffirmed the Jesuits' continued ownership of the property. On August 29, 1794, Governor Carleton ordered Sir John Johnson to initiate a new inquiry into the right of the Caughnawaga Indians to the land which they claimed. In 1798 the Crown, on behalf of the Indians, sued the Jesuits for the strip of land. The missionaries, represented by Father Casot, lost their case before the Court of the King's Bench that same year, however they appealed the decision in 1799 and were successful. With the death of Father Casot a few months later, the last survivor

of the Jesuit Order to supervise the missions in Lower Canada, the government inherited the estates of the Jesuits, along with all outstanding disputes.

In 1807 the Indians sent a delegation to England to discuss their claim with Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of the Colonies, who wrote:

The Iroquois must clearly understand that he (Sir James Craig) could not take upon himself to alter the boundaries of seigniories so long made and so formally established to the mutual satisfaction of all the parties who were concerned.²⁵

Likewise in 1820 Governor Dalhousie ruled against their claim, declaring that the land in question had never belonged to the Indians, "having been held and enjoyed by the late Order of Jesuits as seigniors in possession."²⁶

Despite these repudiations the Indians were still determined to continue their grievance. In 1828 another delegation of Indians insisted that when the Jesuits were planning to construct a grist mill on the disputed territory they had first secured the permission of the Indians, thus admitting that

it belonged to the Indians. However, Governor Sir James Kempt reminded the Indians that the accuracy of the boundary lines had been accepted by the King's attorney-general and the courts.

Undaunted, the Indians decided to meet with the King himself, however they were informed when they arrived in England that he was in the country and could not see them.²⁷ The delegation instead presented their case to the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray, who on January 15, 1830, gave them little hope of redress since legal decisions had so far been unanimously against them. Besides, it was a matter for the colonial administration to settle, not the home government. Although the delegation failed in their mission to restore the strip of land, they did receive a promise of a church bell and a sum of money to repair their church and presbytery.

Finally, the 1845 Commission appointed to inquire into the affairs of Indians in Canada reported concerning the claim of the Iroquois:

The Roman Catholic Missionary, Mr. J. Marcoux, in his answer to the queries of the Commissioners, renews a claim which has been frequently put forward by these Indians to a portion of the Seigniory

of La Prairie de la Magdelaine, adjoining their lands at the Sault. This claim has been repeatedly investigated by the officers of the Crown, and in the Courts at Law. It was very fully reported upon by Sir James Kempt in 1830, who shewed that it had been rejected by several judgements of the law courts of Lower Canada, and by three Governors of that Province. The question having been again revived, the line of boundary as established against them, was verified by an order of Lord Sydenham, dated 15th April 1840, upon an approved Report of the Executive Council of that part of the Province, of the 11th September 1839, and your Commissioners Conceive that this decision should be considered final.²⁸

And that seemed to settle the matter.

Another dispute involving the Caughnawaga Reserve resulted from the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. A certain amount of land belonging to the reserve was required for the project and the Seaway Authority was given approval to acquire 510.3 hectares through expropriation. On March 30, 1955 the elected council at Caughnawaga voted against surrendering

any land. However individual band members began to make settlements with the Authority and by April 1956 three-quarters of the cases had been settled. Meanwhile the band took legal action in an attempt to halt the project but was unsuccessful and on March 6, 1957 the Authority obtained a writ to evict the six remaining Indians who had not agreed to settle. Further legal action continued to be fruitless and in 1959 the band submitted a petition to the United Nations stating that:

the Canadian authorities have deprived and continue to deprive our people of their inherent rights of possession of their land and property by confiscating real and personal property without due process of law and without just, adequate and prompt compensation, in connection with the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway and other public projects. The method of confiscation is accomplished by brutal force which is unnecessary and unreasonable²⁹

Negotiations took place between the Authority and the band throughout the 1960s and agreement was finally reached in 1969. Under the terms of the agreement the Indians received \$862,210 and 220.7 hectares of land, valued at \$1,142,969.

Four years later the band received a final settlement for all remaining claims of \$1.56 million and the return of 101.25 hectares of expropriated land.³⁰

Villeneuve, Larry. The Historical Background of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the Province of Quebec. Research Branch Indian & Northern Affairs Canada 1984

ENDNOTES

- 1 G.F.G. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada", Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française (Sept. 1950).
- 2 For a more detailed account of Indian policy during this period, see Daniel Francis, A History of the Native Peoples of Quebec 1760-1867 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983).
- 3 This list is based on Commission d'Etude sur l'Intégrité de Territoire du Québec, Vol. 4: Le Domaine Indien (Quebec: 1971); Toby Ornstein, et. al., The First Peoples in Quebec, Vol. 3 (Montreal: Thunderbird Press, 1973); Schedule of Indian Bands, Reserves and Settlements (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, April 1, 1983); Reserve General Registry Files, Ottawa, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- 4 Canada, Public Archives (hereinafter cited as PAC), RG 10 A3, Vol. 429, p. 30251.
- 5 PAC, RG10 A3, Vol. 494, pp. 31028-31031.
- 6 Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, "Correspondence Relating to Canada, 1839", ("Report of a Committee of the Executive Council respecting the Indian Department, 1836"), Enclosure.

- 7 Ibid., p. 260.
- 8 PAC, RG10, Vol. 10024, Report to Privy Council by H.L. Langevin, Oct. 9, 1868.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 PAC, RG10, Vol. 10024, Report to Privy Council by H.L. Langevin, Oct. 26, 1868.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 PAC, RG10, Vol. 10024, Memorandum by J. McGirr, Indian Agent at Oka, to Dept. of the Interior, March 23, 1878.
- 13 Richard C. Daniel, A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada, 1867-1979 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1980), p. 83.
- 14 PAC, Haldimand Papers, Vol. B115, pp. 234-36, Sir John Johnson to Haldimand, March 11, 1784.
- 15 Ibid., Vol. B63, p. 216.
- 16 PAC, RG10 A3, Vol. 590.
- 17 Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, p. 259.
- 18 Canada, Legislative Assembly, Journals 1844-45, "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada", Jan. 22, 1844, Appendix EEE.
- 19 Adair Ireland-Smith, "Research Report on the Issues Concerning the Interests of the St. Regis Akwesasne

Indian Band in the St. Lawrence River and the Islands Therein", published report done for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1980.

- 20 Quoted in J.A.J. McKenna, Memorandum respecting the claim of the Iroquois of St. Regis to the Islands in the St. Lawrence River, Oct. 13, 1896, p. 4. On file at the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa.
- 21 Ireland-Smith, p. 36.
- 22 Ibid., p. 71.
- 23 Wm. N. Fenton and Elizabeth Tooker, "Mohawk" in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, Bruce Trigger, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 469-70.
- 24 E.J. Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montreal: The Messenger Press, 1922), p. 278ff.
- 25 Quoted in Ibid., p. 339.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., p. 344.
- 28 "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada", 1844-45, Appendix T.
- 29 Quoted in O.Z. Ghobashy, The Caughnawaga Indians and the St. Lawrence Seaway (New York: Devin-Adair, 1961), p. 58.
- 30 Richard C. Daniel, p. 141.

1611/00/00

180, 184

THE WORKS OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

IN SIX VOLUMES

REPRINTED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY SIX CANADIAN
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aduisasmes vingt vaisseaux qui estoët à quelque quatre lieux
à l'Ouest de nous, que nous iugions estre Flamans à les voir ^{p. 127}
de nostre vaisseau.

Et le 25. dudit mois nous eusmes la veue de l'isle de
Grenezé,¹ après auoir eu vn grand coup de vent, qui dura
iusques sur le midy.

Le 27. dudit mois arriuasmes à Honfleur.²

twenty vessels some four leagues to the west of us, which we
took to be Flemish; for such they appeared from our ship.
On the twenty-fifth of the month we sighted the island of
Guernsey,¹ after a stiff blow which lasted till noon. On the
twenty-seventh of the month we arrived at Honfleur.²

¹ One of the Channel islands.

² See p. 109, note 2.

LE TROISIESME

VOYAGE DV SIEVR DE

Champlain en l'annee 1611.

THE THIRD

VOYAGE OF THE SIEUR DE

Champlain in the year 1611.

rendre vnie, & prestes à y bastir ; & peut on faire passer l'eau au tour aisement, & en faire vne petite isle, & s'y establir cōme l'on voudra.

Il y a vn petit islet¹ à quelque 20. thoises de ladite place Royalle, qui a quelques cent pas de long, où l'on peut faire vne bonne & forte habitation. Il y a aussi quantité de prairies de très-bonne terre grasse à potier, tant pour bricque que pour bastir, qui est vne grande cōmodité. I'en fis accommoder vne partie & y fis vne mouraille de quatre pieds d'espoisseur & 3. à 4. de haut, & 10. toises de long pour voir comme elle se conserueroit durant l'yer quād les eaux descenderoient, qui à mon opinion ne sçauroit paruenir iusques à lad. muraille, d'autāt que le terroir est de douze pieds esleué dessus ladite riuiere, qui est assez haut. Au milieu du fleuee y a vne isle d'enuiron trois quarts de lieues de circuit, capable d'y bastir vne bonne & forte ville, &

can be made to encircle the place very easily, and a little island formed of it, on which to erect such an establishment as one may wish.

Some yards from the Place Royale lies a small island,¹ about a hundred yards long, where a good strong dwelling might be built. There are also many level stretches of very good rich potter's clay suitable for brickmaking and building, which is a great convenience. I had a portion of it prepared, and built there a wall, four feet thick, three or four feet high and ten yards long, to see how it would last during the winter when the waters came down. I did not think the water would reach the wall; for the land was quite high, being twelve feet above the river. In the middle of the river is an island which we named St. Helen's island, three-quarters of a league in circumference, where there is

¹ Market Gate island. See Plate VII, p. 185, and Vol. I, 148, note 1.

l'auons nommée l'isle de sainte Elaine.¹ Ce saut descend en maniere de lac, où il y a deux ou trois isles & de belles prairies.

Le premier iour de Iuin le Pont arriua audit saut, qui n'auoit rien sceu faire à Tadoussac ; & bonne compagnie le suiuirent & vindrent après lui pour y aller au butin, car sans ceste esperance ils estoient bien de l'arriere.

Or attendant les sauages, ie fis faire deux iardins, lvn dans les prairies, & l'autre au bois, que ie fis deserter²; & le deuixiesme iour de Iuin i'y semay quelques graines, qui sortirent toutes en perfection, & en peu de temps, qui demonstre la bonté de la terre.

Nous resolusmes d'enuoyer Sauignon nostre sauage avec vn autre, pour aller audeuant de ceux de son pays,

² Voir ci-dessus, p. 60, note 2.

room to build a good strong town.¹ The river at the foot of this rapid is like a lake, where there are two or three islands, and fine meadows.

On the first day of June Pont-Gravé arrived at the rapid, having been unable to do any trade at Tadoussac. And a large company followed him, coming after him for the sake of the booty; for, without this hope they would be very backward.

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.

We decided to send our Indian, Savignon, along with another, to meet those of his tribe, to quicken their coming.

¹ Probably so named after Hélène Bouillé, to whom Champlain had just been married. See Vol. I, 147, note 2, and *in ra*, pp. 315 *et seq.*

afin de les faire haster de venir, & se deliberent "d'aller dans nostre canot, qu'ils doubtoient," d'autant qu'il ne valoit pas beaucoup.

Ils partirent le cinquiesme iour dudit mois. Le lendemain arriua quatre ou cinq barques (c'estoit pour nous faire escorte) d'autant qu'ils ne pouuoient rien faire audit Tadoussac.

Le septiesme iour ie fus recognoistre vne petite riuiere par où vont quelques fois les sauuages à la guerre, qui se va rendre au saut de la riuiere des Yroquois:¹ elle est fort plaisante, y ayant plus de trois lieues de circuit de prairies, & force terres, qui se peuuent labourer : elle est à vne lieue du grand saut,² & lieu[e] & demie de la place Royale.³

Le neuifiesme iour nostre sauusage arriua,⁴ qui fut quelque peu pardela le lac qui a quelque dix lieues de long, lequel

^a Lisez *se delibererent*, c'est-à-dire *hésitèrent*.

^b Voir ci-dessus, p. 143, note ^a.

They decided, after deliberation, to go in our canoe, of which they had doubts, since it was not a very good one.

They set out on the fifth day of the month. On the following day arrived four or five pinnaces to act as our escort, since they could do no trade at Tadoussac.

On the seventh I went to explore a little river by which the natives sometimes go on the war-path ; for it leads away to the rapid of the river of the Iroquois.¹ It is very pleasant and skirts more than three leagues of meadows and much arable land. It is situated one league from the Great Rapid² and a league and a half from the Place Royale.³

On the ninth day our Indian arrived.⁴ He had gone a little beyond the lake, which is about ten leagues long, and

¹ By going up the river St. Lambert and following the Montreal river, one can reach Chamby basin. (Lav.)

² The Lachine rapids. ³ See p. 176. ⁴ Savignon. See p. 179.

i'auois veu auparauant,¹ où il ne fit rencontre d'aucune chose, & ne purent passer plus loin à cause de leurdit canot qui leur manqua ; & furent contraints de s'en reuenir. Ils nous rapporterent que passant le saut ils virent vne isle où il y auoit si grande quantité de herons, que l'air en estoit tout couvert. Il y eust vn ieune homme qui estoit au sieur de Mons appellé Louys, qui estoit fort amateur de la chasse, lequel entendant cela, voulut y aller contenter sa curiosité, & pria fort instammēt nostredit sauusage de l'y mener : ce que le sauusage luy accorda avec vn Capitaine sauusage Montagnet fort gentil personnage, appellé Outetoucos. Dés le matin led. Louys fut appeler les deux sauuages pour s'en aller à ladite isle des herons. Ils s'embarquerent dans vn canot & y furent. Ceste isle est au milieu du saut,² où ils prirent telle quantité de heronneaux & autres oyseaux qu'ils voulurent, & se rembarquerent en leur canot. Outetoucos

which I had seen before.¹ He had not met with anything, and they could not go any farther on account of their canoe, which failed them, and so were obliged to come back. They reported to us that, when passing the rapid, they had seen an island where there were so many herons that the air was full of them. There was a young man called Louis, in the service of the Sieur de Monts, who was a great lover of hunting. On hearing this he wanted to go to the place and satisfy his curiosity, and urgently begged our Indian to take him there. The Indian consented and also took along a Montagnais chief, named Outetoucos, who was a very agreeable person. On the following morning Louis went and called the two Indians to go to the Herons' island. They got into a canoe and went there. This island is in the middle of the rapid.² Here they caught as many young herons and other birds as they wished, and got into their canoe again.

¹ The lake of Two Mountains. See p. 175. ² See Plate VII, p. 185.

contre la volonté de l'autre sauuage & de l'instance qu'il peut faire, voulut passer par vn endroit fort dangereux, où l'eau tomboit près de trois pieds de haut, disant que d'autresfois il y auoit passé, ce qui estoit faux, il fut long temps à debatre contre nostre sauuage qui le voulut mener du costé du Sud le long de la grand Tibie,^a par où le plus souuent ils ont accoustumé de passer, ce que Outetoucos ne desira, disant qu'il n'y auoit point de danger. Cōme nostre sauuage le vit opiniastre, il condescendit à sa volonté : mais il luy dit qu'a tout le moins on deschargeast le canot d'vne partie des oyseaux qui estoient dedans, d'autant qu'il estoit trop chargé, ou qu'infaliblement ils empliroïēt d'eau, & se perdroient^b: ce qu'il ne voulut faire, disant qu'il seroit assez à temps s'ils voyoient qu'il y eut du peril pour eux. Ils se laissèrent donc driuer dans le courāt. Et comme ils furent dans la cheute du saut, ils en voulurent sortir & ietter leurs

^a Faute d'impression pour *Terre*. (Voir l'édition de 1632.)

^b A lire *perdroient*.

Outetoucos, against the wish of the other Indian and in spite of his earnest solicitation, was determined to go down a very dangerous place, where the water fell nearly three feet, saying that he had gone that way before, which was not true. For a long time he disputed with our Indian, who wanted to take him on the south side, along the main shore, which is the way they are more accustomed to go. This, Outetoucos did not wish, declaring that there was no danger. When our Indian saw that he was obstinate, he yielded to his desire, but said that at least the canoe should be lightened of some of the birds in it, as it was overloaded, or that otherwise they would certainly be swamped and lost. But Outetoucos would not do so, saying it would be time enough when they saw that they were in danger. So they let themselves drift with the current ; but when they were on the brink of the rapid, they tried to get out of it by throwing

charges, mais il n'estoit plus temps, car la vitesse de l'eau les maistrisoit ainsi qu'elle vouloit, & emplirent aussitost dans les boullons du saut, qui leur fesoient faire mille tours haut & bas. Ils ne l'abandonnerent de long temps : Enfin la roideur de l'eau les lassa de telle façon, que ce pauvre Louys qui ne sçauoit nager en aucune façon perdit tout iugemēt & le canot estat au fonds de l'eau il fut constraint de l'abandonner : & reuenant au haut les deux autres qui le tenoient tousiours ne virent plus nostre Louys, & ainsi mourut miserablement.¹ Les deux autres tenoient tousiours ledit canot : mais comme ils furent hors du saut, ledit Outetoucos estant nud, & se fiant en son nager, l'abandonna, pensant gaigner la terre, bien que l'eau y courust encor de grande vitesse, & se noya : car il estoit si fatigué & rompu de la peine qu'il auoit eue, qu'il estoit impossible qu'il se peust sauver

overboard their load. It was now, however, too late, for the swift water had them completely in its power. And their canoe filled quickly in the whirling waters of the rapid, which tossed them up and down in all sorts of ways. They clung to it for a long time. At length the strength of the current wore them out, so that this poor Louis, who was quite unable to swim, lost his head completely, and the canoe going under, he was forced to abandon it. The other two continued to cling to it, and came to the surface, but saw nothing more of our Louis. In this miserable manner did the poor fellow die.¹ The other two still clung to the canoe ; but when they got clear of the rapid, Outetoucos, who was naked, and trusted to his ability to swim, abandoned it, thinking he could reach the shore, although the water was still running very swiftly. But he was drowned ; for he was so exceedingly worn out by his exertions, and having

¹ It was very likely in memory of this Louis that the rapid was named St. Louis. (Lav.)

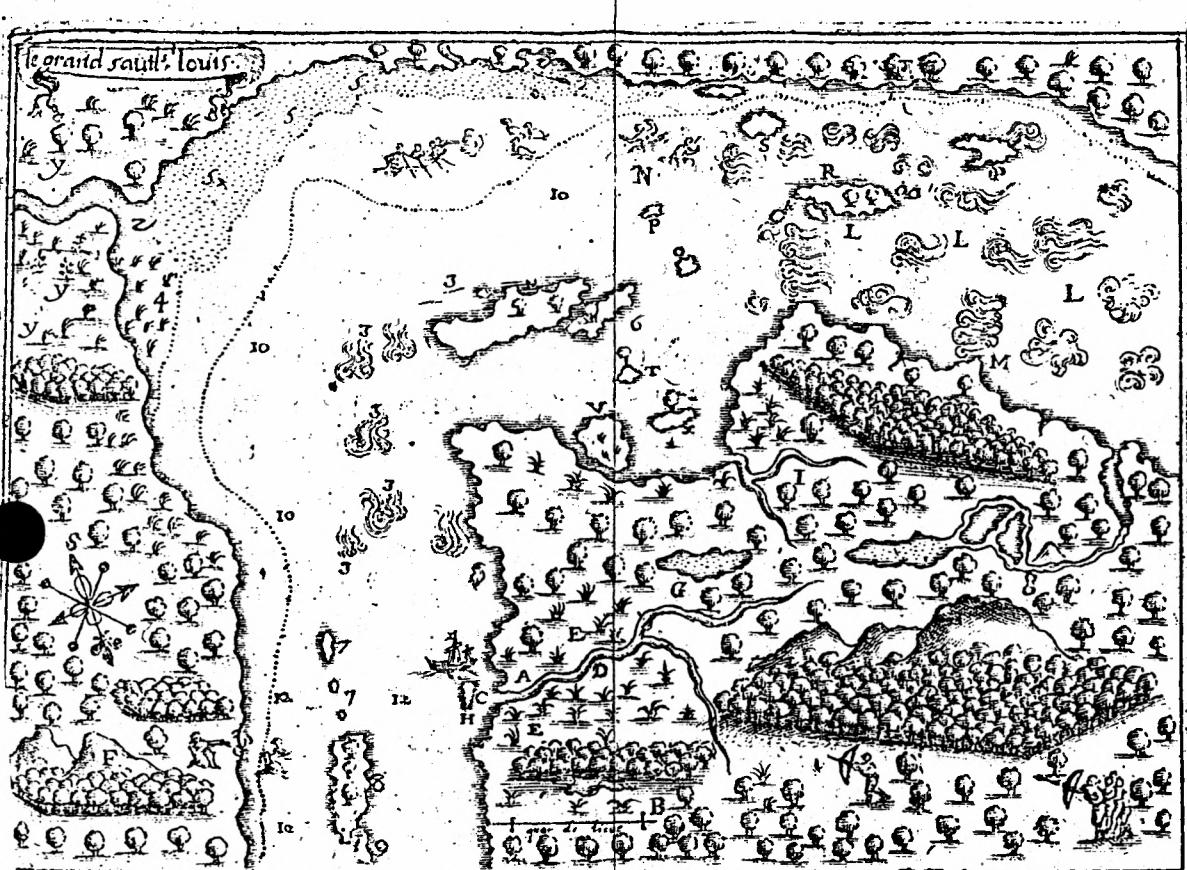
ayant abandonné le canot, que nostre sauage Sauignon mieux aduisé tint tousiours fermement, iusques à ce qu'il fut dans vn remoul,^a où le courant l'auoit porté, & sceut si bien faire, quelque peine & fatigue qu'il eut eue, qu'il vint tout doucement à terre, où estât arriué il ietta l'eau du canot, & s'en reuint avec grâde apprehētion qu'on ne se vāgeast sur luy, comme ils font entre eux, & nous conta ces tristes nouuelles, qui nous apporterent du desplaisir.

Le lendemain ie fus dans vn autre canot audit saut avec le sauage, & vn autre de nos gens, pour voir l'endroit où ils s'estoient perdus : & aussi si nous trouuerions les corps, & vous asseure que quand il me monstra le lieu les cheueux me herisserent en la teste, de voir ce lieu si espouventable, & m'estonnois comme les defuncts auoient esté si hors de iugement de passer vn lieu si effroiable, pouuant aller par
^{p. 74}

^a Autre forme de *remous*.

abandoned the canoe, it was impossible to save himself. Our Indian Savignon, being more prudent, continued to hold firmly to the canoe, until it reached an eddy, to which the current carried it. Here he managed, in spite of the labour and fatigue he had undergone, to reach shore easily. He then emptied the water out of the canoe, and returned in great fear, lest vengeance should be visited upon him, as is usual amongst the Indians. He told us this sad story, which filled us with sorrow.

On the following day I went in another canoe to the rapid, along with this Indian, and one other of our men, to see the place where the two had perished, and whether we could find their bodies. And I assure you that when he showed me the spot my hair stood on end to see such an awful place, and I was astonished that the victims had been so lacking in judgment as to go through such a frightful place, when



A. Petite place que ie fis defricher.

B. Petit estang.

C. Petit islet où ie fis faire vne muraille de pierre.

D. Petit ruisseau où se tiennent les barques.

E. Prairies où se mettent les sauvages quand ils viennent en ce pays.

F. Montaignes qui paroissent dans le terres.

G. Petit estang.

H. Mont Royal.

I. Petit ruisseau.

L. Le saut.

M. Le lieu où les sauvages passent leurs canots, par terre du costé du Nort.

N. Endroit où vn denos gens & vn sauvage se noyèrent.

O. Petit islet de rochers.

P. Autre islet où les oyleaux font leurs nids.

Q. L'isle aux herons.

R. Autre isle dans le saut.

S. Petit islet.

T. Petit islet rond.

V. Autre islet demy couvert d'eau.

X. Autre islet où il y a force oyseaux derriiere.

Y. Prairies.

Z. Petite riuere.

2. Isles assez grandes & belles.

3. Lieux qui descourent quand les eaux baissent, ou il se fait grâds bouillônes mets, comme aussi faire audit saut.

4. Prairies plaines d'eaux.

5. Lieux fort bas & peu de fonds.

6. Autre Petit islet.

7. Petis rochers.

8. Isle saint Helaine.

9. Petit islet desgarny d'arbres.

8. Marescages qui s'escoulent dans le grand saut.

2.—FAIRLY LARGE AND BEAUTIFUL ISLANDS.

ul's island, mistaken no doubt for topographical reasons for two islands. The figure 2 is partially turned, thus resembling an N.

ACES WHICH APPEAR ABOVE WATER WHEN THE WATER IS LOW AND WHERE THERE ARE GREAT RIPPLES AS IN THE SAID RAPID.

shoals, with the whirlpools at low water, are well known, but are higher up the river than Champlain places them.

LE GRAND SAULT ST. LOUIS.

A.—SMALL OPEN SPACE WHICH I HAD CLEARED.

Place Royale, as shown in the text (p. 176), on the south-west point of the mouth of the R. St. Pierre. According to the detailed plan of Montreal in Bellin's *Petit Atlas Maritime*, it was at or very near the modern Custom House Square.

B.—SMALL POND.

Obliterated by the modern city.

C.—SMALL ISLAND ON WHICH I HAD A STONE WALL BUILT.

Market Gate island (*cf.* Vol. I., p. 148), now joined by quays to the city. The above-mentioned map would fix its position as opposite to the end of St. Sulpice Street, and therefore underneath the outer portion of Albert Wharf. The King's Basin, partly enclosed by this wharf, received the outlet of St. Pierre river.

D.—SMALL STREAM IN WHICH THE BOATS ARE KEPT.

St. Pierre river, flowing from lake St. Pierre, which also had an outlet by a stream emptying above the Lachine rapids. Its general course was that of the Lachine canal.

E.—MEADOWS WHERE THE SAVAGES ENCAMP WHEN THEY COME TO THESE PARTS.

F.—MOUNTAINS WHICH ARE SEEN IN THE DISTANCE.

Mounts St. Bruno and St. Hilaire, which are respectively ten and sixteen miles away. Champlain saw them, no doubt, from Mount Royal, whence they appear to be close together as Champlain draws them. Rougemont lies too far south to fall into this group.

G.—SMALL POND.

H.—MOUNT ROYAL.

This letter is duplicated below Market Garden island. Here it is probably, as Laverdière notes, an engraver's error for a sounding of 11 feet.

I.—SMALL STREAM.

Originally this stream, which still exists, connected the river St. Pierre with the St. Lawrence opposite to Nuns island.

L.—THE RAPID.

The Lachine rapids, the length of which is here exaggerated, for they barely extend above *Île au Diable*.

M.—THE SPOT WHERE THE SAVAGES PORTAGE THEIR CANOES ALONG THE NORTH SHORE.

This would indicate the western end of the portage round the Lachine rapids.

N.—THE SPOT WHERE ONE OF OUR MEN AND AN INDIAN WERE DROWNED.

(See p. 181.)

O.—SMALL ROCKY ISLET.

P.—ANOTHER ISLET WHERE THE BIRDS BUILD THEIR NESTS.

Although this letter is duplicated, the one between N and O is probably meant.

Q.—HERON ISLAND.

As seen on the modern map this letter, which has been omitted by Champlain, is represented by his R. On the naming of this island, *see* p. 181.

R.—ANOTHER ISLAND IN THE RAPIDS.

The present *Île au Diable*, misprinted on Champlain's map as P, as Laverdière shows.

S.—SMALL ISLET.

Now a group of small rocky islands.

T.—SMALL ROUND ISLET.

V.—ANOTHER ISLET HALF COVERED WITH WATER.

X.—ANOTHER ISLET ON WHICH ARE MANY RIVER FOWL.

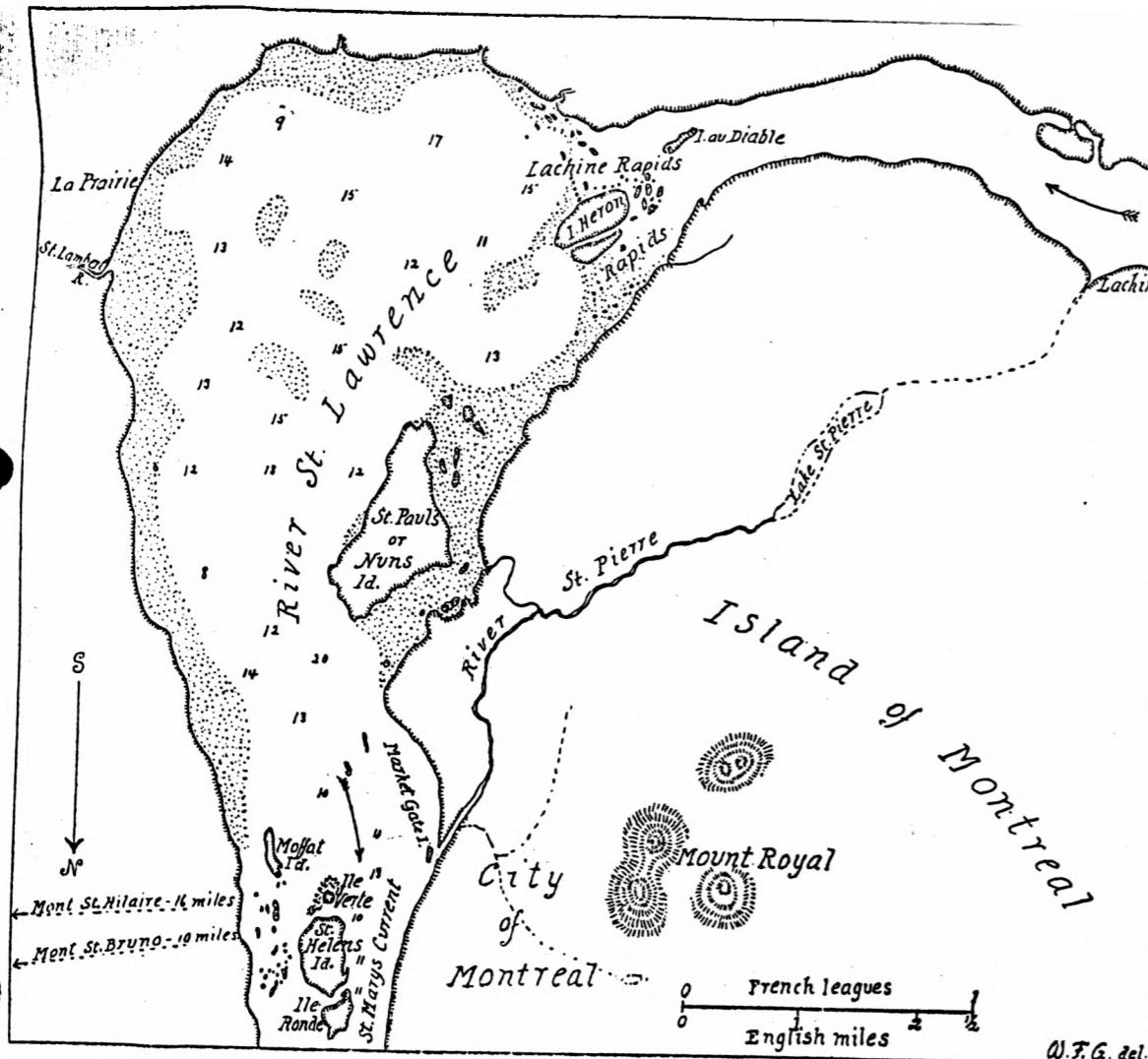
The above three islets, which to-day are very insignificant, owe their prominence on Champlain's map possibly to their propinquity to one of his sketching-points.

Y.—MEADOWS.

Note that a village has been named for them.

Z.—SMALL RIVER.

River St. Lambert, important for the reasons stated in the text, p. 180.



4.—MEADOWS COVERED WITH WATER.
Not shown nowadays, according to the best maps.

5.—PLACES WHERE THE WATER IS LOW AND SHALLOW.

6.—ANOTHER LITTLE ISLET.
Apparently the small group south-west of St. Paul's island.

7.—SMALL ROCKS.
Moffat's island and Ile Verte with the adjoining rocks.

8.—ST. HELEN'S ISLAND.
Now a public park.

9.—SMALL ISLET BARE OF TREES.

8.—SWAMPS WHICH EMPTY INTO THE GREAT RAPID.
The dotted line may possibly indicate the safest route for travel by canoe. (See p. 175.)

Champlain's map of *Le Grand Sault St. Louis* is not based on surveys in the modern sense, but on compass-aided sketches from prominent points—in this case the summit of Mount Royal and a point near the Lachine rapids. In view of the difficulties surrounding its production (cf. Vol. I., pp. 196), the map, as every surveyor will admit reflects much credit upon the geographical skill of its maker.

VOYAGES DU SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN 185

ailleurs : car il est impossible d'y passer pour auoir sept à huit cheutes d'eau qui descendēt de degré en degré, le moindre de trois pieds de haut, où il se faisoit vn frain & bouillonnement estrange, & vne partie dudit saut estoit toute blâche d'escume, qui mōtroit le lieu plus effroyable, avec vn bruit si grand que l'on eut dit que c'estoit vn tonnerre, comme l'air retentissoit du bruit de ces catarques. Après auoir veu & consideré particulieremēt ce lieu & cherché le long du riuage lesdicts corps, cependant qu'une chaloupe assez legere estoit allée dvn autre costé, nous nous en reuinsmes sans rien trouuer.

[PLANCHE: LE GRAND SAULT ST. LOUIS.]

* Vieux mot = le mouvement et le bruit des vagues.

they might have gone another way; for it was impossible to go through there, on account of seven or eight waterfalls which tumble from ledge to ledge, the lowest of which is three feet high. All this made a remarkable noise and whirl, and part of the rapid was completely white with foam, which indicated the worst spot. There was a noise so loud that one would have said it was thunder, as the air rang from the sound of these cataracts. Having viewed and carefully considered this place, and searched along the bank for the dead bodies, at the same time that a rather light shallop had gone in another direction, we came back without finding anything.

[PLATE VII]

Biggar, H. P. (ed. and translator). *The Works of Samuel De Champlain*. Vol. II. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1925

1645-1646

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TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791



See p. 18

Edited by
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

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HURONS, IROQUOIS, LOWER CANADA:
1645-1646

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[118] CHAPITRE VIII.

DE L'HABITATION DE VILLE-MARIE, EN L'ISLE DE MONTREAL.

LA paix, l'vnion & la concorde, ont fleury cette année dans l'Isle de Môtreal, l'asseurance a été parmy les François, & la crainte a troublé de temps en temps les Sauuages. Auant que d'en rendre la raison, il fera bon de remarquer que tout ainsi que sous le nom d'Iroquois, nous comprenons diuers peuples, les Annierronons, les Oni8etchan8ns, [sc. Oni8etchronons] les Onontagueronons, les S8nt8aronons, & quelques autres, de mesme aussi sous le nom & sous la langue des Algonquins nous logeons quantité de nations, dont quelques-vnes sont fort petites, & d'autres fort peuplées, les 8a8iechkarini8ek, les Kichesipirini8ek, ou les Sauuages de l'Isle, pource qu'ils habitent vne Isle qui se rencontre sur le chemin des Hurons, les Onontchataronons, ou la nation d'Iroquet, les Nipisiriniens, les Mata8chkairini8[e]k, [119] les Sagachiganirini8ek, les Kin8chebiirini8ek, & plusieurs autres depuis la paix faite entre les Annierronons, les François & leurs alliez: il s'est trouué pour l'ordinaire quelques-vns de toutes ces nations à Montreal.

Teswëhat, autrement le Borgne de l'Isle, Ta8ichkaron Capitaine des Onontchataronons, & Makate8anakisitch Capitaine des Mata8chkairini8ek, s'estoient resolus de demeurer là, d'y passer l'hyuer & d'y

[118] CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF VILLE-MARIE, IN THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL.

PEACE, union, and concord have flourished this year in the Island of Montreal; confidence has prevailed among the French, and fear has, from time to time, troubled the Savages. Before giving a reason for this, it will be well to remark that, just as under the name of Iroquois we include various peoples,—the Annierronons, the Oniwitchronons, the Onontagueronons, the Sountwaronons, and some others,—likewise, also, under the name and the language of the Algonquins we include many nations. Some of these are very small, and others very populous: the Wawiechkariniwek, the Kichesipiriniwek or the Savages of the Island—because they inhabit an Island which is encountered on the way to the Hurons,—the Onontchataronons or the Iroquet nation, the Nipisiriniens, the Mataouchkairiniwek, [119] the Sagachiganiriniwek, the Kinouchebiiriniwek, and several others. Since the peace made between the Annierronons and the French and their allies, there have been found at Montreal, as a rule, some persons from all these nations.

Teswëhat,—otherwise le Borgne of the Island,—Tawichkaron, Captain of the Onontchataronons, and Makatewanakisitch, Captain of the Mataouchkairiniwek, had resolved to dwell there, to spend the winter there, and there to plant Indian corn in the

honorer la Feste: les Sauuages allarmez accourent, demandent ce que c'est, on leur dit qu'à mesme iour le Fils de Dieu auoit esté nommé I E S V S: c'est à dire Sauueur, & que le bruit des canons donnoit à entendre qu'il le falloit honorer: allons, se dirent-ils, les vns aux autres, & luy rendons ce mesme honneur: ils chargent leurs arquebuses, & font vne salue fort gentille.

Le iour du saint Sacrement, ils voulurent assister à la Procession: on fit marcher vne escoüade d'arquebusiers François, les Payens estoient de la partie aussi bien que les Chrestiens. Ils marcherent tous deux à deux, avec vn bel ordre & vne belle modestie, depuis la Chappelle iusques à l'Hospital, où on auoit dressé vn beau Reposoir. Il est bien difficile de voir I E S V S - C H R I S T honoré par des Barbares, sans en ressentir de la ioye iusques au profond du cœur.

Pour conclusion de ce Chapitre, ie diray deux mots de grande consolation. Le Capitaine Huron, dont i'ay fait mention cy-dessus, ayant veu la beauté des bleds d'Inde de Montreal, a pris resolution d'aller [145] querir sa famille, & d'en amener encore vne autre pour y venir faire leur demeure; s'il continuë dans sa pensée, il ébranlera beaucoup d'Hurons, & ie ne puis douter que si les Iroquois plus hauts ne descendent point iusques à Montreal, cette Isle ne se peuple de Sauuage[s] avec le temps, & que Dieu n'y soit honoré.

Le Pere Isaac Jogues qui est retourné aux Iroquois pour y passer l'hyuer, a dans ses ordres de faire tout son possible d'inciter à la paix tous les Iroquois supérieurs, qu'il verra dans les bourgades des Annierron-

cannon were fired at daybreak, to honor the Feast; the Savages run up in alarm, and ask what that is. They are told that on that day the Son of God had been named J E S U S, —that is, " Savior;" and that the noise of the cannon signified that he should be honored. " Come," they said to one another, " and let us render him that same honor;" they load their arquebuses, and fire a very neat salute.

On the day of the blessed Sacrament, they wished to be present in the Procession: there was in the march a squad of French arquebusiers, and the Pagans, as well as the Christians, took part therein. They all marched two by two, in fine order and with becoming modesty, from the Chapel even to the Hospital, where had been set up a beautiful temporary Altar. It is very difficult to see J E S U S C H R I S T honored by Barbarians, without feeling joy thereat, even to the depth of the heart.

As conclusion to this Chapter, I will make two statements of great consolation. The Huron Captain whom I mentioned above, having observed the fine appearance of the Indian corn at Montreal, has taken the resolution to go [145] and fetch his family, and to bring still another, in order to come and make their dwelling there. If he continues in his purpose, he will influence many Hurons; and I cannot doubt that, unless the upper Iroquois come down as far as Montreal, that Island will be peopled with Savages in course of time, and that God will be honored there.

Father Isaac Jogues, who has returned to the Iroquois to pass the winter there, has among his orders to do all in his power to incline to peace all the upper Iroquois whom he shall see in the villages

nons; & en cas de refus, il a commission de presser fortement les Annieronnons de les empescher de venir sur la Riuiere des prairies, par où passent les Hurons bornans leurs guerres sur le grand fleuve de saint Laurent bien loing au delà de Montreal, ou du moins de leur deffendre de ne point approcher de cette Isle, ny des pays qui sont vis à vis de leurs bourgades: comme estant en quelque façon de leur district. Si Dieu nous accorde cette benediction, cette Isle fera le centre de la paix: comme elle a esté l'objet de toutes les guerres. La patience, & la confiance emportent tout.

of the Annieronnons; and, in case of refusal, he has commission strongly to urge the Annieronnons to prevent the former from coming upon the River des prairies, where the Hurons pass,—limiting their wars on the great river of saint Lawrence very far beyond Montreal,—or at least to forbid them to approach that Island, or the countries which are opposite their villages, as being in some sense of their own district. If God grant us this blessing, that Island will be the center of the peace, as it has been the object of all the wars. Patience and confidence overcome everything.

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Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

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[47] CHAPITRE IV.

DE LA MISSION DES MARTYRS COMMENCÉE AU PAYS
DES IROQUOIS.

QVAND ie parle d'vne Miffion aux Iroquois, il me semble que ie parle d'vn sонge, & neant moins c'est vne verité: c'est à bon droit qu'on luy fait porter le nom des Martyrs: car outre les cruaitez que ces Barbares ont desia fait souffrir à quelques personnes amoureusees du salut des ames, outre les peines & les fatigues que ceux qui sont destinez à cette Miffion doivent encourir, nous pouuons dire avec verité qu'elle a desia esté empourprée du sang d'vn Martyr: car le Frācois qui fut tué aux pieds du Pere Isaac Iogues, perdit la vie pour auoir fait exprimer le signe de nostre creance à quelques petits enfans Iroquois: ce qui choqua tellement leurs parens, que s'imaginant qu'il y pouuoit auoir quelque fort dans cette action, ils en firent vn crime & vn martyre tout ensemble.

[48] Adioustez que s'il est permis de coniecturer en des choses qui donnent de grandes apparences, il est croyable (si cette entreprise reüssit) que les desseins que nous auons contre l'empire de Satan pour le salut de ces peuples, ne porteront point leurs fructs qu'ils ne soient arrouzez du sang de quelques autres Martyrs. Le dessein toutesfois principal de cette denomination, est que cette Miffion soit assistée du credit

[47] CHAPTER IV.

OF THE MISSION OF THE MARTYRS, BEGUN IN THE
COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS.

WHEN I speak of a Mission among the Iroquois, it seems to me that I speak of a dream, and yet it is a truth. It is with good right that it is made to bear the name of the Martyrs; for—besides the cruelties which those Barbarians have already inflicted upon some persons impassioned for the salvation of souls; besides the pains and fatigues which those who are destined to this Mission are bound to incur—we may say with truth that it has already been crimsoned with the blood of one Martyr; for the Frenchman who was slain at the feet of Father Isaac Jogues lost his life for having expressed the sign of our creed to some little Iroquois children, which so greatly offended their parents that they—imagining that there might be some spell in this action—made of it at once a crime and a martyrdom.

[48] Add this, that—if it be permitted to conjecture, in things which indicate great probabilities—it is credible (if this enterprise succeed) that the designs which we have against the empire of Satan, for the salvation of these peoples, will not yield their fruits before they be sprinkled with the blood of some other Martyrs. Nevertheless, the principal design of this denomination is that this Mission may be assisted with the influence and favor of those

[57] il ramassa quelque peu de Chrestiens qui sont encor là, les instruisit & leur administra le Sacrement de Penitence, il fit souuent la ronde par les cabanes, visita les malades, & enuoya au Ciel par les eaux du Baptesme quelques pauures creatures mourantes, mais des riches predestinez.

Apres toutes ces assemblées les Annieronnons preférerēt le depart des François, disans qu'vne troupe d'Iroquois d'en haut estoit partie pour attendre au passage les Hurons qui deuoient descendre aux François, & que ces guerriers tireroient de là à Montreal pour venir passer deuant Richelieu, & remonter en leur pais par la riuiere des Iroquois: Nous ne croyons pas, disoient-ils, qu'ils vous faillent aucun mal quand ils vous renconteront, mais nous craignons pour les deux Algonquins qui sont avec vous.

Le Pere leur dist là dessus fort à propos, qu'il s'étonnoit comme ils permettoient à ces hauts Iroquois de descendre dans leur district, & de venir faire la guerre dans leurs limites, descendans les fauts & les cheutes d'eau qui estoient du ressort & dans les marches des Annieronnons. [58] Nous leur en auons donné aduis, respondent-ils. Quoy donc, fit le Pere, méprisen-t-ils vostre parole! ne voyez-vous pas qu'on vous imputera tous les desordres qu'ils pourroient commettre? Ils ouurirent les yeux à cette raiion, & promirent d'y apporter vn remede efficace.

Pour conclusion, le Pere, nos François & leurs guides partirent du bourg de la sainte Trinité, le 16. de Iuin, ils cheminerent quelques iours par terre, non sans peine: car il faut faire comme les cheuaux d'Arabie, porter ses viures & son bagage, les ruif-

He gathered some few Christians,— who are still there,—instructed them, and administered to them the Sacrament of Penance; he often made the round of the cabins, visited the sick, and sent to Heaven by the waters of Baptism some poor dying creatures,— predestined, however, to riches.

After all these assemblies, the Annieronnons urged the departure of the French,—saying that a band of Iroquois from above had started in order to await, at the passage, the Hurons who were to come down to the French; and that those warriors would move thence to Montreal, in order to come and cross before Richelieu, and go back to their own country by the river of the Iroquois. "We do not believe," said they, "that they will do you any harm when they meet you; but we fear for the two Algonquins who are with you."

The Father thereupon told them, very pertinently, that he was astonished to see how they permitted those upper Iroquois to come down into their district, and proceed to make war within their limits, descending the rapids and waterfalls which were of the jurisdiction and within the marches of the Annieronnons. [58] "We have given them warning of this," they answered. "What then?" said the Father, "do they despise your commands? Do you not see that all the lawless acts that they may commit will be imputed to you?" They opened their eyes at this argument, and promised to apply to the matter an efficacious remedy.

In conclusion, the Father, our French, and their guides left the village of the holy Trinity on the 16th of June. They journeyed for several days by land, not without difficulty: for it is necessary to do

PRAIRIE DE LA MADELEINE (1er avril 1647) - CAHIER D'INT. conc. en fiefs
N° 2, fol. 125 - Ces copies faites dans l'imprimé: Pièces et documents

TITRE DU FIEF DE LA PRAIRIE DE LA MAGDELAINE.

LES REVERENDS PERES JESUITES.

Nous, FRANCOIS DE LAUZON, conseiller du roy en sa cour de parlement de Bourdeaux, à tous présents et à venir, salut:

Etant bien informéz de l'assistance que recoivent les habitans du pays de la Nouvelle-France, par le moyen des religieus de la compagnie de Jesus, lesquels s'exposant encore tous les j dans les dangers pour attirer les peuples sauvages du dit pays la connoissance du vray Dieu, et ayant leu la requeste que nous présenté, en leur nom, le procureur des dits religieux, par laq le ils nous demandent une partie des terres qui nous ont été cédées par Messieurs de la compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, sei gneurs du dit pays, par la donation que leur en a faite Sa Maje té, lesquelles terres sont scituées le long du grand fleuve St. Laurent du costé du midy; à ces causes, et pour la bonne volont

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que nous avons envers les religieux de la dite compagnie, nous leur avons bien volontiers donné, accordé, ce qu'ils nous demandent, par ces présentes leur donnons et accordons deux lieues de terre le long de la dite rivière St. Laurent du costé du sud, à commencer depuis l'Isle de Ste. Hélène, jusques à un quart de lieue au delà d'une prairie dite de la Magdalaine, vis-à-vis des îles qui sont proches du Sault de l'Isle de Montréal, espace qui contient environ deux lieues que nous leur donnons le long de la dite rivière St. Laurent, sur quatre lieues de profondeur dans les terres tirant vers le sud, ensemble les bois, prairies, lacs, rivières, estangs et carrières qui se trouveront dans l'estendue des dites terres, dans lesquels les religieux de la compagnie feront passer telles personnes qu'il leur plaira pour les cultiver. Cette donation ainsy faite, afin d'estre participant de leurs prières et saints sacrifices. Prions Monsieur de Montmagny, lieutenant-général pour le roy à Québec, et en toute l'estendue du fleuve St. Laurent et lieux qui en dépendent, qu'il luy plaise faire jouir de la présente concession les religieux de la dite compagnie, leur assignant les bornes et limites des dites terres cy-dessus déclarées et d'en faire dresser un procès-verbal.

Fait et concédé en notre hostel, à Paris, le premier jour
d'avril mil-six-cent-quarante-sept.

(Signé) DE LAUZON (CAHIER D'INTENDANCE
CONCESSION EN FIEF, No 2, vol. 125.)

Archives de la Province. Documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale, p. 75.

TRANSLATION.

TITLE OF FIEFFORLAPRAIRIES DE LA MAGDELAINETHE REVEREND JESUITS PRIESTS

We, François de Lauzon, the King's Counsel and his court of Parliament in Bordeaux, to all present and to come, greetings:

Being well informed of the assistance which the habitants of the country of New France are receiving, by the means of the priests in the company of Jesus, they which expose themselves everyday to the dangers in attracting Indians of said country into the knowledge of the true God, and having read the request which they are asking us for a portion of lands which were consigned to us by Gentlemen in the name of New France, seigneurs of said country, by the donation made by them to His Majesty, lands which are situated along the St. Lawrence River on the southshore, to its causes, and for the good will that we have towards the priests of the said order, we are very willing to give them, accordingly, that which they asked for, by this present we give and grant them two leagues of land along the said Saint Lawrence River on the southshore to start from St. Helen's Island, to just $\frac{1}{2}$ of a league beyond the said Prairie de la Madgelaine, opposite the islands which are near the Sault of the Island of Montreal, the space which contains about two leagues which we give them along the said St. Lawrence River, by about four leagues in depth on lands going towards the south, together with the woodlands, prairies, lakes, rivers, ponds, and quarries which are found in the agreement of said lands, in which the priests of the order will make passage for such persons that will please them for cultivating. This donation is thus made, in order to have the participation of their prayers and saintly sacrifices. We request Monsieur de Montmagny, lieutenant general for the King in Quebec, and on all the dependent sites, if it pleases him in granting the present to the Priests of the said order, allotting them the boundaries and limits of said lands declared above and to set up a Procès-verbal.

Made and granted in our Mansion, in Paris on the first day of April, sixteen hundred and forty-seven.

PROCES-VERBAL DE LOUIS D'AILLEBOUST, GOUVERNEUR
ET LIEUTENANT-GENERAL POUR LE ROI EN TOUTE L'ETENDUE
DU FLEUVE SAINT-LAURENT, QUI FIXE LES BORNES ET LIMI-
TES DE LA CONCESSION DE LA PRAIRIE DE LA MADELEINE,
ET CONSTATE LA PRISE DE POSSESSION DE LA DITE CONCES-
SION PAR LES PERES JESUITES, EN PRESENCE DE FRANCOIS
DE CHAVIGNY ET DE JEAN BOUPDON.

(3 mai 1649)

Louis d'ailleBoust gouverneur et Lieutenant gnal
pour le Roy en toute lestendue du fleuve st Laurens
terres et isles adjacentes de part et dautres dyceluy
a tous presens et a venir salut en vertu de certaines
lettres de concession en datte du premier avril 1647
Signé Lauson faitte aux RR peres de la compagnie de
Jesus d'une quantité de terres seituez le long des
Bords du grand fleuve st Laurens au levant de lhabitaōn
de ville marie en Lisle de montreal a commencer depuis
Lisle st helene et remontant led fleuve jusques a un
quart de lieu audessus de Laprairie de la Magdalaine
proche du grand sault st Louis, a La requette du R Pere
hierosme Lallement superieur desd. religieux de lad
Compagnie de Jesus residans en la Nouvelle france nous

avons marqué et désigné les limites en présence de
francois de chavigny escuyer Sieur du lieu lun des
conseillers nommé pour sa Majesté et Jean Bourdon in-
genieur et arpenteur en ce pays a ce avec nous appal-
lez, avons iceux dits religieux mis en possession
desd: terres pour en jouir suivant et ainsy qu'il est
porté par lesd. terres de concession fait au fort de
ville marie en Lisle de montreal ce troisiem de May
mil six cens quarante neuf signé D'ailleboust Bourdon
de Chavigny

Archives de la Province de Québec. CAHIER D'INTENDANCE,
CONCESSIONS EN FIEFS, N° 3, FOL. 126 v.

G/D

ANQ. Cahier d'intendance, concession en fiefs, no. 3, fol. 126 v.

1661-1662

Jesuits. Letters from missions, North America.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN,
AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND
NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY POR-
TRAITS, MAPS AND FACSIMILES.

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791



See pp. 151-153

Edited by
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

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[1] Relation de ce qvi s'est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de IESVS au païs de la Nouuelle France, depuis l'Eſté de l'année 1661. jusques à l'Eſté de l'année 1662.

CHAPITRE I.

DIUERSES GUERRES DES IROQUOIS.

VN Ancien disoit assez bien que la Fortune est vne ambitieuse, qui n'aspire qu'à de nobles rauages; & qu'elle en veut bien [2] plus aux grands Edifices qu'aux Cabanes champestres, qui se defendent par leur basſeſſe de la fureur de ce Meteore, pendant que les cimes des hautes montagnes en reçoivent tous les coups.

Peut eſtre auons nous eſté assez humiliiez l'an paſſé, & mis assez bas pour n'eſtre pas atteints des foudres des Iroquois, qui ont tourné leurs armes ailleurs, & qui font assez ſuperbes pour dédaigner des conqueſtes qui leur font ordinaires. Ils en vont faire à trois & quatre cent lieuës d'icy, ne laiſſant aucun coing de ces vastes forêts, qu'ils ne rempliſſent d'effroy & de ſang.

Les vns ont pris leur marche vers le Leuant, du Coſté de la nouuelle Angleterre, pour y combattre les Abnaquiois, qui font [3] Sauuages dociles, & bien ſuceptibles des bonnes impreſſions qu'on leur donne, ainsi que le teſmoigne vn de nos Peres, qui a par plusieurs fois donné iufqu'à eux par des routes

[1] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS in the country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1661 to the Summer of the year 1662.

CHAPTER I.

DIVERS IROQUOIS WARS.

ONE of the Ancients has well said that Fortune is ambitious, seeking only noble prey; and that her designs are much [2] oftener against stately Edifices than against rustic Cabins which, by their lowliness, are defended against this Meteor's fury, while the peaks of lofty mountains receive all its blows.

Perhaps we were so humbled last year and reduced to so lowly a state as not to be hit by the thunderbolts of the Iroquois, who have turned their arms elsewhere, and are haughty enough to disdain the conquests to which they are accustomed. They are going in pursuit of others, three and four hundred leagues from here, leaving no corner of these vast forests which they do not fill with terror and blood-shed.

Some have directed their course Eastward, toward new England, there to fight the Abnaquiois, [3] Savages of docile nature, and very ſuceptible to all good influences,—as is testified by one of our Fathers,

affreuses, & par des chemins de famine & de precipices qu'il faut passer: Ils habitent les bords d'une Rivière nommée Kenebeki, & cultivent un pays si délicieux, à leur dire, qu'ils tiennent par tradition de leurs Fables, que le fils de celuy qui a tout fait, voulant se faire Sauvage, n'auoit point trouué de terre plus belle que la leur pour y faire son sejour. C'est plus dans ce lieu de paix & de delices que quelque bande d'Agnieeronnons va porter le trouble avec les armes, pour venger un affront fait à trente des leurs, qui voulants [4] exiger quelque sorte de tribut de ces peuples, en furent tous massacrez, à la refusé d'un, qui apres auoir eu les lèvres d'en haut tronçonnées, & la teste à demy-escorchee, fut renvoyé en cet équipage pour porter la nouvelle de ce qui s'estoit passé envers ses Compatriotes, avec ordre de leur dire qu'on les destinoit à une semblable ignominie, s'ils entreprenoient une pareille vexation.

Ces superbes, plus accoustumez à faire la loy, qu'à la subir, se font mis incontinent en campagne, avec dessein d'employer deux années, avant leur retour, pour prendre vengeance de cet affront.

Nous auons appris depuis peu qu'ils ont déjà bien commencé, [5] ayant surpris une bourgade entière, lors que tous ses habitants estoient yures par les boiffons que les Hollandais leurs traittent; de forte qu'ayant bien pris leur temps, ils s'emparerent du bourg, qui n'estoit plus qu'un grand Cabaret remply d'yvrongnes. Ils firent nager le sang dans les Cabanes aussi abondamment que le vin y couloit auparauant: Ils bruslerent en suite les femmes & les enfans, & tous ceux que le fer auoit espargnez. Il n'y eut qu'un vieillard qui trouua grace, parce qu'il n'estoit pas pour lors yvre, & qu'il auoit esté peu auparauant

who has several times gained access to them by frightful roads and ways beset with famine, and with precipices that must be passed. They dwell on the banks of a River called Kenebeki, and cultivate a country so delightful, according to their account, that they maintain, following their Legendary tradition, that the son of him who made all things, choosing to become a Savage, found no land more beautiful than theirs wherein to sojourn. Into that peaceful and delightful region a band of armed Agnieeronnons is about to carry disturbance, in order to avenge an insult offered to thirty of their number who, wishing [4] to exact a sort of tribute from those people, were themselves all slain by them, with a single exception. This man, after having his upper lip cut off and losing half his scalp, was sent back in that plight to carry the tidings of what had befallen his Compatriots, being ordered to tell his countrymen that like ignominy was in store for them if they undertook a similar act of molestation.

Those arrogant people, more accustomed to impose laws than to obey them, straightway took the field, purposing to devote two years, before their return, to the avenging of this insult.

We learned recently that they had already made a good beginning, [5] by surprising an entire village when all its inhabitants were intoxicated with liquor, sold to them by the Dutch; thus, by a wise choice of their time, they captured the village, which was nothing but a great Pot-house full of drunken men. They made blood flow in the Cabins as freely as wine had flowed there before; and then burned the women and children, and all whom the sword had spared, only one old man meeting with mercy, because he

en Ambassade chez les Agnieronnons pour traitter de paix avec eux: Il fut d'abord bien receu à Agnié; & quoy que captif il fut consideré comme vn [6] homme venerable par sa vieillesse & par sa temperance: Apres quelque sejour dans Agnié, il fut, par malheur, rencontré par cinq ou six Iroquois yvrcs, qui se saisirent de luy, & sans delay l'attacherent à vn posteau, où ils luy firent endurer toutes les cruaitez, que la barbarie, jointe à l'yvrongnerie, peut inuenir; mais il les souffrit dvn visage égal, sans iamais laisser tomber vne larme de ses yeux, ny lascher vne parole de plainte de sa bouche. Quel mal heur pour ce pauure homme de perir par l'yvrongnerie de quatre ou cinq frippons, apres auoir euté ecclie dvn bourg tout entier. Voilà donc la guerre du Leuant qui occupe vne partie des Iroquois.

D'autres poussent plus loing [7] vers le Sud, sans sçauoir bonnement à qui ils en veulent: ils cherchent des hommes qu'ils ne cognoissent pas, ils ont la guerre auant que d'auoir des ennemis. Ils marchent plus de deux cent lieuës dans les Forests, sans bousfoles, & sans s'égarer; Et enfin rencontrent la mer vers les costes de la Virginie, à ce que nous presumons. Ils trouuent vn païs où l'on ne sçait ce que c'est que de neiges, tout y est tousiours verd, excepté les Castors qui y sont blancs. Les hommes y sont habillez comme les femmes, & les femmes comme les hommes, sur tout pour ce qui est dc la coëffeure. Les Ours, les Sangliers, les Leopards & les Lions peuplent ces deserts bien plus que les hommes; les cocqs-d'Inde & [8] les poules y volent en bandes, comme les Estourneaux en France, & l'on entend le chant du coq dans les bois, comme l'on fairoit dans nos villages. Il y a des forests entieres d'arbres bien

was not drunk at the time and had, shortly before, gone on an Embassy to the Agnieronnons' country, to treat for peace with them. At first he was well received at Agnié, and, although a captive, was regarded as a [6] man worthy of veneration because of his age and temperance. After remaining some time in Agnié, he was unfortunately met by five or six drunken Iroquois who seized him and bound him without delay to a stake, where they made him suffer all the cruelties that barbarism added to drunkenness can devise; he, however, bore them with a tranquil countenance, never letting a tear fall from his eyes, or a word of complaint escape from his lips. What a misfortune for this poor man, to perish through the intoxication of four or five rascals, after escaping from that of an entire village! That, then, is the war in the East which is occupying a part of the Iroquois.

Others are pushing their way farther down [7] toward the South, without well knowing against whom they bear a grudge, seeking, they know not whom, and declaring war before they have any enemies. Proceeding more than two hundred leagues through the Forests, without compass and yet unerringly, they finally reach the sea near the Virginia coast, as we suppose. They find a country where snow is unknown and everything is always green, except the Beavers, which are white. The men there dress like women, and the women like men, especially in regard to head-dress. Bears, wild Boars, Leopards, and Lions inhabit those wildernesses much more than man; while Turkeys and [8] fowls fly in flocks, as Starlings do in France, and the cock's crow is heard in the woods just as in our

femblables aux palmiers: ce sont, disent nos Iroquois, des roseaux, gros & hauts comme les chefnes, mouël-
leux & noiez d'espace en espace; les fueilles ont
trois pieds de longueur, & vn de large, & deux ou
trois pouces d'espaisseur; elles sont au reste rondes
& droites comme des espées, & seruent comme de
corps-de-garde ou d'appuy au tronc qui est foible &
molasse de soy mesme, mais enuironné comme d'une
muraille armée de coutelats. Nos guerriers rencon-
trerent par hazard vn de ces Arbres renuersé, [9] ils
s'en approcherent, & trouuerent dans le creux trois
grands Ours, qui y logeoient bien au large, & qui
s'estoient engraissez de la moüelle de cét Arbre, qui
leur seruoit de nourriture, & de logement tout
ensemble; de forte qu'ils ne quittent point la maison
qu'apres l'auoir mangée.

Tirant vn peu plus vers le Couchant que vers le Midy, vne autre bande d'Iroquois va chercher jusques à quatre cent lieües d'icy vne Nation qui n'est crimi-
nelle que parce qu'elle n'est pas Iroquoise; on la
nomme Ontôagannha, comme qui diroit là où on ne
fçait pas parler, à cause de l'Algonquin corrompu qui
y est en vstage. Au reste, si nous en croions à nos
Iroquois, qui en font retournez, & aux Esclaves [10]
qu'ils en ont amenez, c'est vn païs qui n'ayant rien
des rigueurs de nos hyuers, joiüt d'une faison tousiours
temperée, & comme d'un Printemps & d'un Automne
continuel; La terre y est si fertile, qu'on en pourroit
presque dire à proportion ce que les découreurs
Israëlitels disoient de la terre de Promission; Car pour
ne parler que du bled d'Inde seulement, il pousse
vne tige si extraordinairement grosse, & si haute,
qu'on la prendroit pour vn arbre, & porte des espics
de deux pieds de long, dont les grains paroissent

villages. There are whole forests of trees very similar to palms. These are, our Iroquois say, reeds, in thickness and height equal to oak-trees; they are pithy and have knots at intervals; and they bear leaves three feet long, a foot wide, and two or three inches thick. These leaves are, moreover, round, and as straight as a sword, and serve as a body-guard or support to the trunk, which is, of itself, weak and flabby, but is girt about as with a rampart armed with cutlasses. Our warriors found by chance one of these Trees prostrate, [9] and, upon approaching it, discovered in its hollow three large Bears, which were enjoying spacious lodgings, and had grown fat on the pith of this Tree, which served them for food and shelter at the same time. Thus they leave their house only after they have eaten it.⁸

Proceeding rather Westerly than Southerly, another band of Iroquois is going four hundred leagues from here in pursuit of a Nation whose only offense consists in its not being Iroquois. It is called Ontôagannha, signifying "the place where people cannot speak"—because of the corrupt Algonquin in use there.⁹ Furthermore, if we believe our Iroquois who have returned thence, and the Slaves [10] whom they have brought thence, it is a country which has none of the severity of our winters, but enjoys a climate that is always temperate—a continual Spring and Autumn, as it were. The soil there is so fertile that one could almost say of it, within bounds, what the Israelite discoverers said of the Promised land; for, to mention the Indian corn only, it puts forth a stalk of such extraordinary thickness and height that one would take it for a tree, while it bears ears two feet long with grains that resemble in size our large

comme ceux de nos gros Mufcats: On n'y voit point d'Orignaux ny de Castors, qui ne s'habituent que dans les païs froids: Mais en recompense les Cerfs, les Buffes, les Porcs fauverages, [11] & vne autre espece de grands animaux dont nous n'auons aucune connoissance, peuplent ces belles forests, qui font comme autant de Vergers, n'y ayant presque que des arbres fructiers, parmy lesquels viuent bien en repos des oyseaux de toutes couleurs, & de tous rameges, sur tout les petits Perroquets qui y font en si grand nombre, que nous auons veu de nos Iroquois retourner de ces pais avec des escharpes & des ceintures qu'ils estoient faites de ces oyseaux enlassez les vns dans les autres. Il s'y trouue de plus vne espece de Serpents d'vne prodigieuse grosseur, & longs de deux brasses; mais ce font des Serpents innocents, dont le venin n'est pas malin, ny la picqueure mal-faifante. [12] Les hommes n'y font pas si bons que les serpents, car ils vfent d vn poifon, dont ils fçauent bien l'art d'infester les sources, & mefme les riuieres entieres, & le font avec tant d'adrefse, que les eaux ne perdent rien de leur beauté, quoys qu'elles soient toutes corrompuës. Leurs bourgades font placées le long d vn beau fleue qui les porte jusques au grand Lac (c'est ainsi qu'ils nomment la Mer) où ils ont commerce avec des Europeans, qui prient Dieu comme nous, & qui ont l'vfage des Chappelets & des Cloches pour appeller aux Prieres: A la façon dont ils nous les depeignent, nous iugeons que ce sont des Espagnols. Cette Mer est sans doute ou la Baye du S. Esprit dans le Golfe de Mexique en la coste de [13] la Floride, ou bien la Mer Vermeille, fur la coste de la nouuelle Grenade dans la grande Mer du Sud: Quoy qu'il en

Muscateil grapes. No Moose or Beavers are seen there, as they live only in cold countries; but, to make up for this, Deer, Buffalo, wild Hogs, [11] and another species of large animal wholly unknown to us, inhabit those beautiful forests, which are like so many Orchards, consisting almost wholly of fruit-trees. In their branches live very peacefully birds of all colors and of every note, especially little Paroquets, which are so numerous that we have seen some of our Iroquois return from those countries with scarfs and belts which they had made from these birds by a process of interweaving. One finds there also a kind of Serpent of prodigious size and two brasses in length; but these are harmless Snakes, their venom not being hurtful or their sting injurious. [12] The people are not so inoffensive as the snakes, for they make use of a poison with which they understand perfectly the art of infecting springs, and even whole rivers; and they do it with such skill that the water loses nothing of its fair appearance, although it be tainted throughout. Their villages are situated along a beautiful river which serves to carry the people down to the great Lake (for so they call the Sea), where they trade with Europeans who pray as we do, and use Rosaries, as well as Bells for calling to Prayers. According to the description given us, we judge them to be Spaniards. That Sea is doubtless either the Bay of St. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of [13] Florida; or else the Vermilion Sea, on the coast of new Granada, in the great South Sea.¹⁰ Be that as it may, against those peoples the Onnon-tagheronnon Iroquois have turned their arms, to appease (as they say) the souls of those of their number who were killed there eight or nine years ago. Those

soit, c'est vers ces peuples que les Iroquois Onnon-tagheronnons ont tourné leurs armes, pour appaifer (disent-ils) les ames de ceux des leurs qui y ont esté tuez il y a huit ou neuf ans, & qui ne trouueront point de lieu de repos en l'autre monde, qu'elles n'ayent esté comme expiées par les feux des captifs bruslez: Cruelle expiation qu'ils ont commencée l'hyuer dernier, par de pauures femmes, & par des enfans à la mammelle, qui ont esté la proye des flammes & de la cruaute de ces trop immifericordieux Barbares.

Vn autre party Iroquois commence [14] vne guerre de deux ans contre la Nation qu'on nomme du Bœuf; Vn autre tourne sa marche contre la Nation du Petun du costé des Nezpercés; Vn autre estant allé comme à la descouverte d'un païs nouveau, s'est engagé si auant dans les bois inconnus, qu'ils y ont pery de faim.

Les autres ont esté plus heureux dans la nouuelle entreprise qu'ils ont faite cét hyuer dernier sur nos Sauuages du Nord; ce sont ceux vers qui deux de nos Peres furent l'an passé, par des chemins escartez de Tadoussac, quand ils se rendirent à Necouba, bien à propos pour plusieurs Neophytes, dont les vns ont esté instruits tout de nouveau des mysteres de nostre Religion, & les autres ont esté reconciliez à Dieu. [15] Tous ces pauures Neophytes ont pû, par apres, reconnoistre les foins que la Prouidence a eu de leur salut, leur ayant enuoyé des Missionnaires dans des conjonctures tout à fait admirables; car jamais ny Iroquois, ny François n'auoient mis le pied en leur païs: jamais on n'auoit parlé ny à Agné, ny à Kebec de Necouba; & voila qu'en la mefme année & les vns & les autres y arriuent; mais cette douce Prouidence a voulu que nos Peres y arriuassent les premiers, pour

souls will find no resting-place in the other world until they have been atoned for, as it were, by fires of burnt captives,—a cruel expiation, begun last winter with some poor women and infants at the breast, who fell victims to the flames, and to the cruelty of those too pitiless Barbarians.

Another Iroquois expedition is beginning [14] a two years' war against the so-called Ox Nation;¹¹ another is turning its course against the Tobacco Nation, in the direction of the Nezpercés; and still another, starting out to discover, as it were, a new country, penetrated so far into the unknown forests that the men perished there of hunger.

The rest were more successful in the new undertaking executed by them, this past winter, against our Savages of the North. These are the people whom two of our Fathers visited last year by remote paths from Tadoussac, when they repaired to Necouba, very seasonably for many Neophytes, some of whom were instructed anew in the mysteries of our Religion, while the others made their peace with God. [15] All those poor Neophytes were able later to recognize the care which Providence had for their salvation by sending them Missionaries under circumstances truly wonderful. For never before had either Iroquois or Frenchman set foot in their country, nor had mention ever been made of Necouba, either at Agné or at Kebec; and, behold, in the same year men came thither from both places. It was, however, the will of that gentle Providence that our Fathers should arrive there first, to rescue from the fires of Hell those who, although they knew it not, would soon be cast into the fires of the Iroquois.

What we are about to relate we learned from two

tirer des feux d'Enfer, ceux qu'ils ne croyoient pas devoir estre bien-tost iettez dans les feux des Iroquois.

Nous auons appris, ce que nous en allons dire, par deux Sauuages, qui ayans esté pris à Necouba [16] mesme par les Agneronnons, se sont heureusement eschappez de leurs mains lors qu'ils approchoient de leur bourg. L'un des deux âgé de vingt ans, vfa d'adrefle pour sa fuite; car sur les chemins ayant mis les Iroquois en belle humeur, ioüant avec eux tantost aux pailles, tantost aux dez, qui sont leurs jeux les plus ordinaires, les prouoqua à la course, defiant le plus habile d'eux, tout estropié qu'il estoit. L'emulation se met dans la compagnie, on s'assemble, on choisit le plus dispos des Iroquois: le captif entre en lisse avec luy, & les bornes de la course ayant esté marquées, ils commencent à courir à qui mieux, mieux; mais ce captif qui regardoit sa liberté comme le prix de sa victoire, [17] tenoit le deuant avec les acclamations de ses ennemis mesmes, qui changerent de ton quand ils virent que le Victorieux passoit les bornes qu'ils auoient posées, s'enfongant dans le bois, & refusant les loüanges & la gloire à laquelle on l'invitoit: Il continuë donc sa route avec autant plus de courage qu'il n'auoit plus de Riual de sa victoire; la crainte & l'esperance luy donnant des forces: mais il courroit à son mal-heur, s'estant inopinément ietté entre les mains d'une autre bande d'Iroquois, qui ne furent pas plus rusez que les premiers: car ils le laisserent eschapper, lors qu'ils estoient prets de le ietter au feu.

C'est ce qu'il nous a rapporté à son arriuée à Montreal, disant [18] que toutes les terres du Nord qui n'auoient iamais veu d'Iroquois, en sont tellement infectées, qu'il n'y a plus de cauerne assez sombres

Savages who, after being captured at Necouba [16] itself by the Agneronnons, happily escaped from their hands when they were approaching their village. One of them, twenty years of age, used cunning to effect his escape. After putting the Iroquois in good humor on the way by playing with them,—now at straws, and now at throwing dice, the games most played by them,—he challenged them to a race, and defied the most agile of their party, all disabled as he was. Emulation sprang up in the company, and they gathered around; the nimblest of the Iroquois was chosen, the captive entered the lists with him, and, the goals being marked, they started to run, each at his best speed. The prisoner, however, regarding his liberty as the prize of victory, [17] took the lead, amid the applause of his enemies themselves. But they changed their tone when they saw the Victor passing the goal they had set and plunging into the woods, refusing the praise and glory to which they invited him. Thus he continued on his course with all the more courage that he no longer had any Rival in his victory, fear and hope lending him strength. But he was running toward his own ill luck; for he unexpectedly threw himself into the hands of another band of Iroquois. These, however, were no shrewder than the first; since they allowed him to escape, when they were on the point of consigning him to the flames.

Such was the account he gave us upon his arrival at Montreal. He told us, moreover, [18] that all the lands of the North, which had never before seen any Iroquois, have become so infested with them that there is no cavern in those vast regions of rocks dark enough to serve as a place of concealment, or any

parmy ces grands païs de rochers, pour s'y cacher, ny de forest assez profonde pour y confier sa vie; que dés le commencement de l'hyuer ils ont fait vne grande prise de plusieurs familles, composées d'hommes, de femmes & d'enfans, qui n'ont jamais combattu contre d'autres ennemis que contre leurs Castors & leurs Orignaux; que poustant outre leurs victoires, ils auoient surpris à Necouba bon nombre d'autres Sauuages, lorsqu'ils estoient occupez à des obseques, ayans iustement pris le temps qu'ils faisoient le festin d'un mort, & qu'ils n'auoient en [19] main au lieu d'armes que des plats & des cuillieres, les obligeant ainsi de continuer pour eux-mefmes les pleurs qu'ils auoient commencez pour ce defunct; que leur dessein n'estoit pas de s'en tenir là, mais de donner iufqu'à la mer du Nord, d'y enleuer comme vn torrent tout ce qu'ils y rencontreront, puis descendre par le lac Saint Iean & par Tadoussac, grossissant toujours, en chemin faifant, le nombre de leurs prisonniers: & enfin remonter par nostre grand fleue de Saint Laurens, pour passer deuant Quebec, & deuant nos autres habitations, chargez de despoüilles & de victimes, qui embelliront de leurs larmes, & de leur fang la triomphante entrée que ces Barbares fe preparent [20] de faire dans leurs bourgades.

Voilà donc, comme nos ennemis s'estant espandus par toutes ces contrées, nous ont laissé en paix cét [sc. c'est] vne partie de l'Esté, parce qu'ils ont porté la guerre tout alentour de nous: de forte que nous ne sommes heureux que par le malheur d'autrui; quoy qu'à vray dire, le malheur de nos Alliez est le nostre, puis que la source du Castor demeure tarie par la perte de ceux qui en font le transport à nos habitans.

forest deep enough to be entrusted with one's life. In the very beginning of the winter the Iroquois made a great capture of a number of families, composed of men, women, and children, who had never fought against other enemies than their own Beavers and Moose; and, pushing their conquests farther, they surprised a large body of Savages at Necouba engaged in funeral rites. The enemy chose just the time when these were holding the banquet for a dead person and had in [19] hand, instead of arms, nothing but dishes and spoons; and thus compelled them to continue for themselves the lamentations they had begun for the deceased. We were told that the plan of the Iroquois was, not to pause there, but to push on as far as the North sea, to carry all before them there, like a torrent; then to descend by way of lake Saint John and Tadoussac, ever adding to their prisoners as they went; and finally to return homeward by our great Saint Lawrence river, in order to pass in front of Quebec and our other settlements, laden with spoils, and with victims who would adorn with their tears and blood the triumphant entry which these Barbarians are preparing [20] to make into their villages.

Thus, then, our enemies, dispersing through all those regions, have left us in peace for a part of the Summer, because they were waging war all around us. Consequently, our good fortune is due only to the misfortune of others, although, to tell the truth, our Allies' ill fortune is our own, since the fountain-head of Beaver-skins is dried up with the ruin of those who bring them to our settlers.

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No. 173

The Burrows Brothers.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. XLVII

IROQUOIS, LOWER CANADA: 1661-1663

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166-1663

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Déclaration Des Terres Que Les Peres Jesuites possedent dans Le pais De La Nouvelle France. 1663.

TERRES QUI SONT EN VALEUR ET EN PARTIE DEFREICHÉES

A Quebec et aux Environs

1° PAR Concessions de Messieurs de la Compagnie de la Nouuelle France—Le 18 Mars 1637. a quebec en la haute Ville Six Arpents de Terre—pour L'emplacement de la maison des peres Jesuites et du College, qui y sont Bastis. De plus Deux Arpens de Terre y adioincts du costé du Couchant,acheptés de Monsieur Couillard en 1663. En outre du costé du Nord 100 perchesacheptées de la parroisse de quebek en 1662 et 1663 pour un moulin a vent qui y est Basty

Demeurent en cet Endroict 15 Jesuites et plus pour L'ordinaire et 10 ou 12 Domestiques ou Seruiteurs. et de plus une vingtaine de pensionnaires qui font une partie des Escholiers du College

2°. Par Concession de Messieurs de la Compagnie de la Nouuelle France le 21 Janvier 1637. a Quebec encore mais en la basse Ville, un cellier avec une cour, Le tout contenant Soixante pieds de Long sur quarante de Large.

3°. Par Concession de Monsieur le Duc de Ventadour le 10 Mars 1626 et de Messieurs de la Compagnie de la Nouuelle France le 15 Janvier et le 18 Mars

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Declaration of The Lands Which The Jesuit Fathers possess in The country Of New France, 1663.

LANDS WHICH ARE OF VALUE AND PARTLY CLEARED.

1 ST. By Concessions of the Gentlemen of the Company of New France, The 18th of March, 1637. At quebec, in the upper Town, Six Arpents of Land for The site of the Jesuit fathers' house and College which are Built there. Furthermore, Two Arpents of Land adjoining these on the West, bought from Monsieur Couillard in 1663. Also, on the North, 100 perches bought from the parish of quebek in 1662 and 1663, for a windmill which is Built there.

In this Place live 15 Jesuits, and usually more, and 10 or 12 Domestics or Servants; and, besides, about twenty boarders who form part of the Pupils of the College.

2nd. By Concession of the Gentlemen of the Company of New France, the 21st of January, 1637. At Quebec also, but in the lower Town, a cellar with a court, The whole comprising a Length of Sixty feet and a Width of forty.

3rd. By Concession of Monsieur the Duke de Ventadour, the 10th of March, 1626, and of the Gentlemen of the Company of New France, the 15th of January and the 18th of March, 1637. Near Quebec,

At Quebec and its Environs.

1637 proche de Quebec uers Beauport les terres dictes de notre Dame des Anges dont Lestendue est d'une Lieüie de Large en partie sur la Riuiere St Charles et en partie sur le Fleue St Laurens avec la profondeur de quatre Lieüies, dont les dict peres Jouissent en pleine propriété en Franc Aleu avec touts droicts de haute moyenne et Basse Justice Seigneuriaux et Feudaux. Les dict Peres ont partagé Les Terres en vintequatre concessions Sur les Bords de la dicte Riuiere St Charles et Fleue St Laurens et les ont donnees a autant d'habitans qui y Resident actuellement et qui ont bien en tout 400 Arpens de terres deffrichés. Les dict Peres ne s'estant Reserués que Deux metairies Lune a Notre Dame des Anges ou il y a 100 Arpens deffrichés y compris les terres ou est Basti un Moulin a vent. Et en cette metairie y demeurent pour L'ordinaire cinq ou six hommes pour en Avoir foing: L'autre a Notre Dame de Bon Secours ou il y a 150 Arpens de Terres deffrichés et cultiués par six ou 8 hommes qui y Resident De plus les dict peres se sont Reserués 5 Arpens de Front des Terres qui sont les moins propres a estre cultuees pour en tirer du Bois de Chauffage et il y a bien en cet endroict 50 Arpens de Bois Abbatu, Le nombre des habitans de toute cette Seigneurie peut Bien monter jusques a 140 Ames.

4°. Par Concession du 20 Janvier Vis a Vis de Quebec en la seigneurie et coste de Lauson 5 Arpens de Front et 40 de profundeur sur le Fleue St Laurens Ausquels sont adioincts six Autres Arpens de Front sur 40 de profundeur par Achapt de Monsieur de Lauson le 15 novembre 1653 et la les dict Peres ont une pesche D'Anguille et y ont Fait abbatre 44

toward Beauport, the lands called notre Dame des Anges, The extent of which is one League in Width,—part upon the River St. Charles, part upon the River St. Lawrence,—with a depth of four Leagues, of which the said fathers Enjoy full possession in Free-hold, with all rights of high, middle, and Low Justice, Seigniorial and Feudal. The said Fathers have divided The Lands into twenty-four grants Upon the Banks of the said River St. Charles and River St. Lawrence, and have given them to as many habitans, who actually Reside there, and who have in all 400 Arpents of cleared lands. The said Fathers have Reserved for themselves only Two small farms, one at Notre Dame des Anges, where there are 100 Arpents cleared, comprising the land on which a Windmill is Built. And on this farm there usually live five or six men to Take care of it. The other is at Notre Dame de Bon Secours, where there are 150 Arpents of Land, cleared and cultivated by six or 8 men who Reside there. Furthermore, the said fathers have Reserved 5 Arpents of Frontage of the Lands which are least suitable for cultivation, to obtain therefrom Fire-Wood; and in this place there are probably 50 Arpents of Felled Wood. The number of habitans in this entire Seigniory may be as many as 140 Souls.

4th. By Concession of the 20th of January. Opposite Quebec, in the seigniory and coste de Lauson, 5 Arpents of Frontage by 40 in depth upon the River St. Lawrence. To which are added six Other Arpents of Frontage by 40 in depth by Purchase from Monsieur de Lauson, the 15th of November, 1653; and there the said Fathers have an Eel-fishery and have Had felled 44 Arpents of Wood, which 44 Arpents are cultivated by the huron savages.

Arpens de Bois lesquels 44 Arpens sont cultiues par les sauuages hurons

5°. Par Concession de M^r de la Compagnie de la Nouuelle France le 13 Mars 1651 et la confirmation par lettres patentes du Roy en Juillet 1651 Registrees en Parlement le 11 Auril 1658; a Deux Lieües au dessus de Quebec, Les Sauuages Xens Residents a Sillery ont la Consistance d une Lietie de Terre sur le Fleue St Laurens sur 4 Lieües de profondeur, dont les dictz Sauuages ont esté establis Seigneurs par la Concession a Eux faicte.

Or les peres Jesuites ayant esté establis Tuteurs Directeurs et protecteurs Des dictz Sauuages par lettres du Roy en Juillet 1651. Registrees en parlement le 11^e. Auril 1658 ils ont ensuite partagé ces Terres en 70 concessions données au nom des dictz Sauuages a autant D habitans Fran^cois qui y Resident ayant Reserué Seulement 7 Arpens de Front ou les dictz peres ont fait construire un Fort de pierre flanqué de 4 Tourrelles dans lequel les Sauuages se retirent pour y Faire en seurté leur Demeure Ordinaire avec les dictz peres qui y ont Basti une chapelle et une maison en laquelle ils Resident 8 ou 10 personnes tant Eux que leur Domestiques. Les dictz peres possedent de plus 30 Arpens de Terre dans L'Ance du dict Sillery. y compris le platon sur lequel est Basty un moulin A vent. Le nombre de tous les habitans de cette Seigneurie peut bien monter iusques a Deux cents trente Ames

A
Tadoussac
6°. Par Concession de M^r de Lauson Le 1^{er}. Juillet 1656 a Tadoussac ou les dictz Peres ont basti une chapelle et maison sans y faire pourtant Residence sinon au Temps que les Sauuages sy trouuent

5th. By Concession of the Gentlemen of the Company of New France, the 13th of March, 1651, and the confirmation by letters patent of the King in July, 1651, Registered in Parliament the 11th of April, 1658. At Two Leagues above Quebec, The Christian Savages Residing at Sillery have the Extent of a League of Land upon the River St. Lawrence, by 4 Leagues in depth, of which the said Savages have been constituted Seigniors by the Concession made to Them.

Now, the Jesuit fathers having been constituted Guardian Directors and protectors of The said Savages by letters of the King in July, 1651, Registered in parliament the 11th of April, 1658, they have consequently divided these Lands into 70 grants, given in the name of the said Savages to as many French habitans, who Reside there; having Reserved for themselves Only 7 Arpents of Frontage, where the said fathers have had constructed a stone Fort, flanked by 4 Towers, into which the Savages retire to Make their Usual Abode there in security with the said fathers, who have Built a chapel and a house there in which they Reside, 8 or 10 persons, including Themselves and their Domestics. The said fathers possess, besides, 30 Arpents of Land in The Cove of the said Sillery, including the level tract upon which a windmill is Built. The number of all the habitans of this Seigniory probably amounts to Two hundred and thirty Souls.

6th. By Concession of Monsieur de Lauson, The 1st of July, 1656. At Tadoussac, where the said Fathers have built a chapel and a house,—without, however, Residing at that place, except in the Season when the Savages are there.

*At
Tadoussac*

*Aux Trois
Riuieres
et Aux
Environs*

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1°. Par Concession de M^r D'Aillebourt le 5^e Juin 1651 une place Dun Arpent de terre ou Environ dans le Bourg des Trois Riuieres, sur laquelle les peres Jesuistes ont basti une maison, ou demeure A present un Fermier avec Sa femme et quelques Enfans

2°. Par Concession des Messieurs de la Compagnie de la Nouuelle France du 25 Feb. 1637 une Terre proche du dict Bourg contenant 96 Arpens touts deffrichés qui Aboutissent proche du Costeau dict de St. Louis. De plus une piece de Terre de demi Arpent de Front et de Dix de profondeur aboutissant a la susditte Terre de 96 Arpens

3° Par La Concession susdite du 25 Fevrier 1637 une Terre de 500 Arpents Aboutissant du costé du Nordest proche dun Lieu nommé communement La Briqueterie. Cette Terre est toute deffrichee Plus 14 Arpens vers le bois proche de la concession du Sieur harteil par Accommodement faict avec le sieur hartel

4°. Par Concession de M^r de Lauson du 20^e octob. 1654 une isle ditte de S^t. Christofle au milieu du fleuve des Trois Riuieres contenant 80 Arpens ou Environ, avec pouvoir de la donner à cens et à Rente comme de faict les dictes peres L'ont distribuee a six habitants qui l'ont deffrichee

5°. Par Concession de M^r. de la Ferté Abbé de Ste. Magdelaine du 20^e Mars 1651 une Estendue de deux lieties de Terre le long du grand Fleuve de St. Laurens depuis le cap nommé des 3 Riuieres en descendant sur le dict grand Fleuve avec 20 Lieties de profondeur du costé du Nord avec le Droict de Seigneurie et Nommance que le dict Sieur Donateur

*At Three
Rivers and
its
Environs.*

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1st. By Concession of Monsieur D'Aillebourt the 5th of June, 1651. A tract Of one Arpent of land, or Thereabout, in the Town of Three Rivers, upon which the Jesuit fathers have built a house, where dwells At present a Farmer with His wife and Children.

2nd. By Concession of the Gentlemen of the Company of New France, on the 25th of February, 1637. A Tract of land near the said Town, containing 96 Arpents all cleared, which Abuts upon the so-called Costeau de St. Louis. Furthermore, a piece of Land half an Arpent in Frontage, and Ten in depth, abutting upon the aforesaid Tract of 96 Arpents.

3rd. By The aforesaid Concession of the 25th of February, 1637, an Estate of 500 Arpents, Ending, on the Northeast, near a Place commonly called La Briqueterie. This Land is all cleared. Besides, 14 Arpents toward the woods near the grant of Sieur harteil [Hertel], by Arrangement made with sieur hartel.

4th. By Concession of Monsieur de Lauson on the 20th of October, 1654. An island called St. Christofle, in the middle of the river of Three Rivers, containing 80 Arpents or Thereabout, with power to give it in lease and Rent; and, in fact, the said fathers have divided It between six habitants, who have cleared it.

5th. By Concession of Monsieur de la Ferté, Abbé of Ste. Magdelaine, on the 20th of March, 1651. An Extent of two leagues of Land along the great River St. Lawrence, from the so-called cape of 3 Rivers, going down the said great River, with 20 Leagues of depth on the North; with the Right of Seigniory

avec par Concession a luy faictes par Messieurs de la compagnie de la Nouuelle France. Les dictz peres ont partagé ces terres en 40 concessions qu'ils ont donné a autant D'habitans qui y resident actuellement et continuent a donner de nouuelles concessions a touts ceux qui se presentent, et ne se sont reserués que 3 pieces de Terre La 1^{re} de 4 Arpents de front proche le dict cap des 3 Riuieres dont il y en a 46 de deffrichés et ou il y a un moulin a uent. La 2^{de}. proche la Riuiere dicte de Fauerel de 4 Arpents et demy de front dont il y a 50 Arpens de deffrichés et ou les dictz peres ont une maison en laquelle ils resident au nombre de 8 ou 10 personnes tant eux que leur domestiques. Ils ont aussi construit en ce mesme lieu un fort ou les Sauuages se Refugient et demeurent ordinairement pour y estre plus commode-ment Instruicts. La 3^{esme} de onze Arpens de front vers le lieu quon nomme communement le Desert Bruslé ou il ny a encore que 5 ou 6 Arpens de Bois a battre parceque c'est le quartier le plus esloigné des Susdictes concessions



DECLARATION DES AUTRES TERRES QUE LES PERES
JESUISTES POSSEDENT DANS LE PAIS DE
LA NOUUELLE FRANCE 1663.

TERRES QUI NE SONT PAS EN VALEUR ET NE SONT
PAS ENCORE DEFFRICHEES FAUTE DHABITANS.

1^o. PAR Concession de messieurs de la compagnie de la Nouuelle France le 20^e. Mars 1658. L'Isle apellée des Ruaux situee dans le Fleuve St Lau-rens proche et au dessous de L'isle d'Orleans, elle a enuiron deux lieues de circuit et les dictz peres la

and Nomination which the said Sieur Donor has through the Concession made to him by the Gentle-men of the company of New France. The said fathers have divided these lands into 40 grants, which they have given to as many habitans, who actually reside there; and they are continuing to give new concessions to all those who present themselves, and have only reserved for themselves 3 pieces of Land. The 1st, of 4 Arpents frontage, near the said cape of 3 Rivers, of which there are 46 cleared and upon which there is a windmill. The 2nd, near the River called Faverel, of 4 Arpents and a half frontage; of this, there are 50 Arpents cleared, and there the said fathers have a house in which they reside, to the number of 8 or 10 persons, including themselves and their domestics. They have also constructed in this same place a fort where the Savages take Refuge, and commonly remain in order to be more conveniently Instructed. The 3rd, of eleven Arpents front-age, toward the place commonly called "the Burned Clearing," where there are yet only 5 or 6 Arpents of Woods to fell, because it is the quarter most distant from the Aforesaid concessions.



DECLARATION OF THE OTHER LANDS WHICH THE
JESUIT FATHERS POSSESS IN THE COUNTRY
OF NEW FRANCE, 1663.

LANDS WHICH ARE NOT YET OF VALUE, AND ARE NOT
YET CLEARED FOR LACK OF HABITANS.

1ST. By Concession of the gentlemen of the com-
pany of New France, the 20th of March, 1658.
The Island called des Ruaux, situated in the River

possèdent en toute propriété et Seigneurie et n'est encore cultivee faute d'habitans

2° Par Concession de M^r de Lauson le 15 Auri 1652 en vertu du pouuoir a luy donné par M^{rs} de la comp de la nouuelle France, La Riuiere dicte de L'Assomption Tombant en la Riuiere des prairies et Fleuee S^t Laurens vis a vis la pointe de L'Isle de Mont Real et demi lieüe de front sur et en Remontant la dicte Riuiere Des prairies depuis le coing d'en haut et L'emboucheure de la dicte Riuiere de L'Assomption et 3 Lieües de front sur la Riuiere S^t Laurens a commencer au coing d'en Bas de Lemboucheure de la ditte Riuiere de L'Assomption ensemble les Isles qui se Rencontrent vis a vis de la dicte Concession dans la Riuiere des prairies et Le plus 4 Lieües de profondeur dans les Terres du costé du Nord dont les dict peres Jouissent en fief et en touts droicts de haute basse et moyenne Justice et seigneurie

3°. Par Concession de M^r. de Lauson le 1^{er} Avril
1647 deux lieutes de Terre le long de la Riuiere St
Laurens du coste du Sud a commencer depuis l'isle
St^e helene Jusqu'a un quart de Lietie au dela dune
prairie dicte de la magdelaine vis a vis des Isles qui
sont proches du Saut de l'Isle de monreal, espace
qui contient environ Deux Lieties Lelong de la ditte
Riuiere St Laurens sur 4 lieues de profondeur dans
les Terres Tirant vers le Sud.

4°. Par concession des Mes^{rs} de la compagnie de la N. Fr. le 15 Janvier 1636, L'isle dicte de Jesus a la poincte qui regarde le Nordest situee dans la Riuiere des prairies entre l'isle de Monreal et le costé du nord de la Terre Ferme laquelle isle est la plus

l'asalein, et qu'il faille demander aux fermes
des Contracts, tout Comptoir, Monsigneur, je vous
plaît maintenir les cultivateurs dans le droit
et la justice, dont les font en
ces froides grecques lieux, ayant deux ans en ce
professeur suivi d'une - deux ans pour
touche; j'en pieces authentiques de leur partie; affecte du
et j'en écris au maître, que les seignants
et j'en prends dépenses que les seignants
d'Asphale, les grands seigneurs l'estissement
ont fait assister à la réunion pour l'interrogation du donahiv,
de l'Asphale, lequel fut fait en l'an Cent trente
et deux, par le Roi, et le Roi, et le Roi, et le Roi,

St. Lawrence near and below The island of Orleans. It is about two leagues in circumference, and the said fathers possess it in full ownership and Seigniory; and it is not yet cultivated, for lack of habitans.

2nd. By Concession of Monsieur de Lauson, the 15th of April, 1652, in virtue of the power given to him by the Gentlemen of the company of new France. The River called de L'Assomption, Flowing into the River des prairies and the River St. Lawrence, opposite the point of The Island of Mont Real; and half a league of frontage upon and Ascending the said River Des prairies from the bend upward; and The mouth of the said River de L'Assomption, and 3 Leagues frontage upon the River St. Lawrence, beginning at the bend below The mouth of the said River de L'Assomption; together with the Islands which are Encountered opposite the said Concession in the River des prairies; and, besides, 4 Leagues of depth within the Lands on the North side, which the said fathers Enjoy in fief and in all rights of high, low, and middle Justice and seigniory.

3rd. By Concession of Monsieur de Lauson, on the 1st of April, 1647. Two leagues of Land along the River St. Lawrence, on the South side, beginning at the island of Ste. helene and Extending a quarter of a League beyond a prairie called de la magdelaine, opposite the Islands which are near the Cataract of the Island of monreal—a space comprising about Two Leagues Along the said River St. Lawrence, by 4 leagues of depth within the Lands Extending toward the South.

4th. By concession of the Gentlemen of the company of New France, the 15th of January, 1636. The island called Jesus, at the point which looks

grande de toute celles qui sont comprises entre la dicte Isle de Montreal et le costé du nord de la Terre Ferme

5°. Par concession de M^r de la Ferté Abbé de S^te Magdeleine du 13^e Mars 1639 au dessous des 3 Riuieres L'espace de Terre qui est depuis le Fleueue Baptiscan, Jusques au Fleueue Champlain quard de lietie audeça et quart de lietie au dela le tout faisant bien deux lieues de largeur sur Vingt de profondeur en plein fief foy et hommage haute moyenne et Basse Justice

A M D V G. M F

[Endorsed: Au R^d Pere Ragueneau Copie de la declarão de nos Concessions donnée a M^r l'Intendant en 1663.]

[Endorsed: Cecy est la Copie de la declaration qui a été mise entre les mains de M^r. L'intendant En octob. 1663.]

Northeast, situated in the River des prairies between the island of Monreal and the shore of the Mainland on the north, which island is the largest of all those which are comprised between the said Island of Montreal and the shore of the Mainland on the north.

5th. By concession of Monsieur de la Ferté, Abbé of Ste. Magdeleine, on the 13th of March, 1639. Below 3 Rivers, The space of Land which is between the River Baptiscan and the River Champlain, a quarter of a league on this side and a quarter of a league on the other, making in all two good leagues of width by Twenty in depth, in full fief, faith, and homage, high, middle, and Low Justice.

A. M. D. V. G. M. F.

[Endorsed: To the Reverend Father Ragueneau. Copy of the declaration of our Concessions, given to Monsieur the Intendant in 1663.]

[Endorsed: This is the Copy of the declaration that was placed in the hands of Monsieur The intendant In october, 1663.]

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

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LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS: 1667-1687

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1667- No 85

8

Narration annuelle de la fondation de la Mission
du Sault jusqu'à 1685

APRES cinq années de delay passéees en diverses peines d'esprit que j'ay eu comme celles qui pourroient arriver a ceux dont parle St. Paul qui *veritatem in injustitia detinent* ie suis en fin obligé de me rendre et de mettre moins mal que ie pourray sur le papier ce qui sest passé depuis cinq ans et ce que la foy a produit dans ce pays: l'oublie dans lequel la pluspart de ces choses pourroient tomber pourroit peut estre mestre imputé un iour et

~~deprive myself of the prayers of the Indians~~
fante des prières des premiers apostres du Canada dans lesquels ie me confie beaucoup, pour n'avoir pas voulu contribuer a rendre leur memoire plus eclatante et suivre les touches que iay eu souvent de mettre la main a la plume et de ramasser les thresors quils ont eux mesmes trouvée et dont ils nous ont fait les dépositaires. ces pensées qui me semblent si justes me donnerent plus de peine il y a cinq ans: apres que ieus receu certaines lettres de france dans les quelles ont me mandoit q'une de mes lettres avoit esté leue publiquement quoique i eufse prié celuy a qui ie l'ecrivois qui est un de mes freres de la lire en secret et de l'envoyer a son adresse on me fit trouver bon cequi c'estoit passé adioutant que je ne faisois pas bien de cacher les choses d edification semblables a celles que iavois écrit lesquelles estant comparées

Narrative for each year from the foundation of the Mission of the Sault until 1685.

AFTER five years of delay, spent in various mental difficulties, like those which might happen to the persons of whom St. Paul says, *qui veritatem in injustitia detinent*,—I am at last obliged to yield, and to put on paper, as best as I can, what has occurred within five years, and what the faith has produced in this country. The oblivion into which most of these things would probably fall might perhaps be imputed to me some day, and ~~caused by God~~ and I might by my own fault deprive myself of the prayers of the Indians in Canada, wherein I greatly trust, for not having been willing to contribute toward rendering their memory more illustrious, and to follow the impulses that I have often felt for putting my hand to the pen and collecting the treasures which they themselves found, and whereof they have made us the custodians. These thoughts, which seem to me so just, gave me more pain five years ago, when I received certain letters from france, in which I was informed that one of my letters had been publicly read,—although I had begged the one to whom I wrote it, who is one of my brothers, to read it in secret and send it to its address. They made me see the importance of these occurrences, adding that I did not do well to conceal things of edification, like those which I had written,—which, being compared with what

avec ce quon lisoit a lors des mifsons de la ehine eurent plus d'agreement et toucherent davantage ceux qui les lisoint, iavois menacé ceux a qui i eerivois alors de ne leur eerire iamais sils ne me gardoient le seeret enfin le seerct a esté rompu on ma reprohé aussy en Canada d'estre trop paresseux a faire des relations. L'obeiffance ma obligé ensuite a le faire. tout cela a emporté mon esprit qui estoit resolu premierement de ne rien dire que ie neufse vu ou entendu. secondelement ayant eerit quelque chose ie me resolus de cefser et de vivre dans le lieu ou Dieu ma mis en ce monde, et de profiter en mon particulier des exemples de vertu que ie vois tous les jours dans nos nouveaux ehrestiens. enfin la crainte que iay destre opigniastre en effet comme quelqu me là rcproché me constraint de donner quelque forme a quelqu'espeee d'annales que iay fait et a dautres remarques qui n'estoint faite que pour ma consolation particuliere attendant ce qui en arrivera

Je me retranche aux seules mifsons iroquoises auxquelles Dieu m'a appliqué et surtout a la mifson du Sault qui est ma fin ainsy on verra iey la naissance et le progres de cette nouvelle eglise. I attache que iay a cette mifson est aussy entienne que la mifson mesme, car comme il y a dixneuf ans passé eet hyver que les mifsons iroquoises ont commencé, il y a aussy dixneufans que Dieu qui mavoit desia fait connoistre Sa Volunté me disposa aux mifsons étrangères et me toucha plus particulièremenr pour mattirer a luy par une abondanee desa miserieorde quil versa sur moy la nuit De Noël qui est aussy lattrait particuler par

people were then reading about the missions in ehina, had more charm, and more profoundly toueched those who read them. I had threatened those to whom I was then wrting that I would never write to them again, unless they kept my secrect; but at last the seeret has been revealed. I have also been reproached in Canada as being too indolent to eompose relations; but obedience then obliged me to do so. All this has earried away my mind, which had first resolved to say nothing but what I had seen or heard. Seeondly, having written something, I resolved to stop; to live in the place where God has put me in this world; and to profit in my own person by the examples of virtue which I see every day among our new christians. Finally, the fear that I have of being really obstinate—as some one has reproached me with being—constrains me to give some form to a sort of annals that I have compiled; and to other observations which were made only for my private consolation, awaiting future events.

I limit myself to the iroquois missions alone, to which God has appointed me,—and especially to the mission of the Sault, which is my speial purpose; thus the reader will here see the birth and progress of this new church. My attachment for this mission is as old as the mission itself. As it was nineteen years ago this winter that the iroquois missions began, it is also nineteen years since God, who had already made known to me His Will, inclined me to the foreign missions. At that time he more speially moved me, so as to draw me toward him by an abundance of his mercy, which he poured upon me on a Christmas night—which is also the special attraction by which he has drawn the

lequel il a attiré les sauvages ce fut l'an 1667. Cinq ans apres Dieu me disposa plus particulierement des la france environ la feste de S. francois Xavier et mattacha aux mifions iroquoises mayant donné beaucoup de goust pour la langue hurone qui est celle dont les Iroquois se servent pour prier; le R. P. mercier que ie vis en france a la fin de decembre me donna les preceptes de cette langue, que iappris aussy tost et me rendis capable de reciter le chapelet en huron que ie disois plutost en cette langue qu'en latin a cose de la consolation spirituelle que cette facon deprier Dieu me causoit aussy tost que iarrivé en Canada, on me mit en effect a la mifion des Hurons et apres un an on me envoya au Sault ou iay demeuré iusques a la presente année et l'an 1680 Dieu confirma en moy par les prieres de Catherine qui est assez connue tout cequi seftoit pafé les années precedentes.

*Catherine
decédée en
odeur de
saintete au
sault l'an
1680 17
avril.*

L'AN 1667.

LE temps des guerres qui ont esté entre les fran-
cois et les Iroquois etant pafé, on vit la prophesie d'Isaye accomplie a la lettre les ours et les lions habiteront avec les agneaux: on vit les iroquois venir rechercher l'amitié des françois on vit les françois aller en mission au pais des iroquois—le temps couloit quand chacun pensoit a s'habituer sur les terres de la nouvelle france. Le montreal qui estoit le grand theatre de la guerre devient un champ fertile. On pafsa mesme le fleuve de St Laurent et on establit vis avis du montreal la seigneurie de la prairie, lieu choisy de Dieu pour y faire une des plus

savages. This was in the year 1667. Five years later, God gave me more special preparation—while I was still in france, about the feast of St. francis Xavier,—and attached me to the iroquois missions, by giving me much taste for the huron language, which is the one that the Iroquois use for prayer. The Reverend Father mercier, whom I saw in france at the end of december, gave me lessons in that language; I quickly learned it, and rendered myself able to recite the rosary in huron—which I said in that language rather than in latin, because of the spiritual consolation which this manner of praying to God procured for me. As soon as I arrived in Canada, I was actually appointed to the mission of the Hurons; and after a year I was sent to the Sault, where I have remained until the present year. Moreover, in the year 1680 God confirmed in me, through the prayers of Catherine, who is sufficiently well known, all that had come to pass in the preceding years.

THE YEAR 1667.

THE time of the wars between the french and the Iroquois being past, we saw the prophecy of Isaias literally fulfilled: "The bears and the lions shall dwell with the lambs." We saw the iroquois come to seek the friendship of the french; we saw the french go on missions to the country of the iroquois. That was the time when every one thought of making himself a home on the lands of new france. Montreal, which was the great theater of the war, became a fertile field. People even crossed the St. Lawrence river, and established opposite montreal the seigniory of la prairie—a place chosen by God for forming there one of the

belles missions qu'on ait vu en Canada. Les francois disposerent le lieu sy estant transportés pour y faire un village lequel commenca l'an 1667.

Boquet descendoit envoyé par le p. fremin pour donner avis a quebec de ce quon peut dire en fr. sur ce pays

Tandis que le R. P. Rafeix est occupé à faire défricher les terres à la prairie et invitait de nouveaux habitants à l'y suivre Dieu invitait des sauvages à y venir: cette invitation se fit, lorsqu'il voulut que Tonsahoten avec quelques autres s'offrit à descendre d'Onnei8t pour venir conduire au montreal un des missionnaires qui devait revenir sur les glaces sept personnes onnei8ts jetterent les fondements de toute la mission de St. Francois Xavier. Le nommé Ton Sahoten fut contraint de descendre pour chercher des remèdes qu'il ne trouvoit point en son pais il estoit chrestien avoit nom pierre allant en guerre il dit a sa femme quelle eust soing du p. Bruias qui ne faisoit quarriver et quelle appris sa priere L'illustre gandeakteua femme de celuy que iay nommé Tonsahoten estoit de la nation des chats destruite par les iroquois elle estoit esclave mais elle avoit un naturel tres bon et très propre pour le christianisme elle servit de guide aux six personnes qui venoient à montreal. elle faisoit ses prières quoquelle ne fust pas encore baptisée. elle avoit fait des lors des choses si grandes pour Dieu qu'on a fait le récit de ses grandes actions en particulier dans les relations on lecrira ailleurs cette petite troupe arriva à montreal sur les glaces où le P. Rafeix les rencontra quelque temps apres leur arrivée et les invita à aller sur ses terres, ces pauvres barbares qui ne scavoint ce que cestoit que de pretres d'église et de ceremonie estant entrés dans leglise du montreal

fairest missions that has been seen in Canada. The french prepared the place, repairing thither to build a village, which began in the year 1667.

While the Reverend Father Rafeix was occupied in having the lands cleared at la prairie, and was inviting new settlers to follow him thither, God was inviting some savages to come to this place. This invitation took place when he willed that Tonsahoten, with some others, should offer to come down from Onneiout to conduct over the ice to montreal one of the missionaries who was to come back. Seven persons, onneiouts, laid the foundations of the whole mission of St. Francois Xavier. This Tonsahoten was constrained to come down, in order to get some remedies which he did not find in his own country. He was a christain, and was named pierre. On going to war, he told his wife that she should take care of father Bruias, who had just arrived, and that she should learn his prayer. The illustrious gandeakteua, wife of the one whom I have called Tonsahoten, was from the chat nation, destroyed by the iroquois. She was a slave; but she had a very good disposition, and one well adapted to the christian faith. She served as guide to the six persons who came to montreal. She said her prayers, although she was not yet baptized. She had, from that time, done such great things for God's sake that the story of her noble deeds was set forth in detail in the relations. It will be written elsewhere. This little band arrived at montreal, over the ice. There Father Rafeix met them, some time after their arrival, and invited them to go upon his lands. These poor barbarians, who knew not the meaning of priests, church, and ceremonies, having entered the church

Boquet, sent by father fremin, came down to quebec to give information concerning what can be told in france about this country.

furent tellement ravis et surtout Gandeakteua qu'ils ne penserent plus aux iroquois d'où ils venaient. Gandeakteua prit aussi tôt résolution de gagner son mari pour le faire demeurer, et elle s'attacha pour tout le reste de ces jours avec les français. Ces St^{es} pensées crurent tout le reste de l'hiver et en attendant une parfaite instruction des mystères de notre sainte foi et la grâce du baptême. Elle passa avec les cinq autres l'hiver à la prairie vivant sous le même toit que les français, qui n'étaient qu'un simple hangar de planches droites et appuyées l'une contre l'autre en dos d'âne. Comme on savait que c'était en paix plusieurs venaient chasser du côté de Montréal et s'arrêter à divers endroits de l'île sans avoir aucun dessein, ils le faisaient ainsi tous les ans 4 ans durant. Ils étaient ainsi dispersés dans les bois tandis que la terre se préparait à les recevoir à la prairie où l'esprit de Dieu les conduisit tous ou étant rassemblés on vit renouveler ce qui était arrivé à Jérusalem quand l'église se forma de toutes les nations rassemblées. On eut en ce petit nombre de sauvages des hommes de différentes langues un qui était de la nation des éhats l'autre des hurons quelques uns français iroquois, d'autres Gandastogues et maintenant la mission est de plus de dix ou douze nations qui parlent toutes iroquois.

1668

On admirera durant les années suivantes les différentes manières de vocation dont Dieu a servi pour ramasser les nations qui composent cette mission, et parce que la vocation extérieure est ce qui

à Montréal, étaient si heureux — et spécialement Gandeakteua — que elles ne plus penser à l'Iroquois d'où elles venaient. Gandeakteua a une fois résolu d'induire son mari à rester; et elle s'est attachée à elle-même à la française pour toute la durée de ses jours. Ces saintes pensées ont grandi pendant toute la durée de l'hiver; et, alors qu'elles attendaient une complète instruction dans les mystères de notre foi sainte et la grâce du baptême, elle a passé l'hiver avec les cinq autres à la prairie, vivant sous le même toit que les français, qui n'étaient qu'un simple abri de planches droites et appuyées l'une contre l'autre en forme de dos d'âne. Comme on savait que c'était en paix plusieurs venaient chasser du côté de Montréal et s'arrêtaient à divers endroits de l'île sans avoir aucun dessein, ils le faisaient ainsi tous les ans 4 ans durant. Ils étaient alors dispersés dans les bois tandis que la terre se préparait à les recevoir à la prairie où l'esprit de Dieu les conduisit tous ou étant rassemblés on vit renouveler ce qui avait été arrivé à Jérusalem quand l'église se forma de toutes les nations rassemblées. On eut alors un petit nombre de sauvages des hommes de différentes langues un qui était de la nation des éhats l'autre des hurons quelques uns français iroquois, d'autres Gandastogues et maintenant la mission est de plus de dix ou douze nations, qui parlent toutes iroquois.

1668.

People will admire, during the years to come, the different kinds of vocation which God has used in order to gather up the nations who compose this mission; and because the external calling — rather than the light of the faith and the affections which God diffuses in the hearts of men — is what most

tombe plus sous les sens et ce qui fait connoistre Dieu au peuple plutost que la lumiere de la foy et les affections que Dieu repand dans le cœur des hommes; il sera bon de parler aillieurs de quelques vocations particulières.

Ce fut donc l'année mil six cent soixante huit que tous ces sauvages descendirent à Québec après qu'on en eut donné la nouvelle à Monseigneur Lévesque pendant quon portoit cette nouvelle au petit printemps de la fonte des neiges d'autres onneigts parents des six premiers fe rendirent des environs où ils chassoint l'hiver à la prairie ainsi de six sauvages qui avoient passé l'hiver à la prairie le nombre monta jusqu'à dix ou douze: lesquels descendirent tous ensemble à Québec sur la fin de l'été. Le R. P. Rafeix les présenta le R. P. Chomonot les instruisit ou plutost acheva de les instruire car ils avoient déjà commencé l'exercice de la prière à la prairie. ainsi la troupe fut bientôt capable de recevoir le baptême. ce fut monseigneur qui leur conféra ce sacrement et qui posa ainsi la première pierre à cet édifice spirituel dont la structure est admirable. Le chef de cette bande sainte s'appela François Xavier du nom de toute la mission et sa femme fut nommée Catherine: nom qui a été remarquable dans cette ère et qui est vénérable dans une autre Catherine qui est morte depuis peu dans la mission en odeur de sainteté. La cérémonie étant finie on voulut arrêter François Xavier à la mission des Hurons: mais Dieu quia ses désseins osta la pensée à cet homme la d'y demeurer; sa femme eut volontiers accepté l'offre si Dieu ne l'eust pas choisie pour venir fonder la sainte famille à la prairie Nos nouveaux baptisés sen-

strikes the senses and makes God known to the people, it will be well to speak elsewhere of some special vocations.

It was in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight that all the savages landed at Quebec, after news thereof had been given to Monseigneur the bishop. While they were bearing this news,—in the early spring, at the melting of the snows,—other Indians, relatives of the six who had first come, took themselves from the surrounding country, where they hunted during the winter, to la prairie. Thus, from six savages who had spent the winter at la prairie the number rose to ten or twelve, who all together came down to Quebec about the end of the summer. The Reverend Father Rafeix introduced them; the Reverend Father Chomonot instructed them,—or rather finished instructing them, for they had already begun the practice of prayer at la prairie. Thus the band was soon qualified to receive baptism. Monseigneur was the one who conferred this sacrament upon them, and who thus laid the first stone of that spiritual building whose structure is so admirable. The chief of this pious band was called Francois Xavier, from the name of the whole mission; and his wife was named Catherine—a name which has become remarkable in her and is venerable in another Catherine who died in the mission recently, in the odor of sanctity. The ceremony being finished, they wished to detain Francois Xavier in the mission of the Hurons; but God, who has his own designs, took away from that man the intention of dwelling there. His wife would gladly have accepted the offer, if God had not chosen her to come to found the holy family

*le p.
Rafeix.*

retournerent l'automne et sen furent debarquez a la prairie ou a suuefssion de temps avec plusieurs autres ils ont fait un beau village ils passerent le reste de lan dans la mesme eabane que les francois avoient faite pour eux: ils partirent ensuite pour aller a la chafse au commencement de l'hyver; ils nalloint pas loing sans trouver des bêtes eepandant pour le peu de temps quils demeuroidt dans le bois; ear ils se rendoint au village a toutes les grandes fetes et fur tout a noel, ils emportoint avec eux un petit calandrier ou les fetes et les dimanches estoient marquees de la main du pere qui les instruisoit: ainsy ils estoient tous reimplis de la graee du baptesme quils conservoint dans le bois mesme estant exaete a faire la priere les matins et les soirs; cet hyvernement fut la reiglc de tous les autres qui ont suivy et qui ont sanctifié depuis plusieurs sauvages dans le bois ou quelques uns sont morts en predestines ou d'autres ont vefeu en anges des six mois durant ou dautres se sont exposés pour la foy et ont fait les apostres preschants tout l'hyuer a ceux qui n'estoient pas encore chrestiens.

1669

Tandis que nos sauvages estoient ainsy ala chafse Le p. Rafeix faisoit preparer de la terre et ses bons chrestiens estant de retour il leur marqua leur champ apres la semence faite. françois Xavier batit une cabane qui devoit a lavenir estre le modelle de toutes les autres, eabane si heureuse quelle est comme la mere de soixante autres au milieu desquelles elle se trouve et que celuy qui la batie est devenu comme le pere des croyants qui sont a present en tres grand

[confraternity] at la prairie. Our newly-baptized people returned in autumn, and landed at la prairie, where in the course of time they and many others have built a fine village. They spent the rest of the year in the same cabin which the french had built for them. At the beginning of winter, They set out to go hunting; they did not go far, and found no beasts, beeause of the short time that they spent in the woods,—for they betook themselves to the village on all the great feast-days, and espeecially at christmas. They carried with them a little calendar, in which feasts and sundays were marked by the hand of the father who instructed them. Thus they were all filled with the graee of baptism, which they preserved even in the woods—being punctual in saying prayers, both morning and evening. This wintering beeame the rule of all the others who have followed, and who have since sanctified many savages in the woods. Some have died there as predestined souls; others have lived there like angels for a period of six months; others have exposed themselves there for the faith, and have aeted as apostles, preaching all winter to those who were not yet christians.

1669.

While our savages were thus hunting, father Rafeix caused the land to be prepared; and, his good christians having returned, he marked out their field for them, after the planting was done. François Xavier built a cabin, which in future was to be the pattern for all the others—a cabin so blessed that it is the mother, as it were, of sixty others, in the midst of whieh it stands; and that the one who built

nombre, il n'y avoit encore que deux familles tout au plus dans cette cabane il n'y avoit pas un qui ne fust baptisé depuis peu: cependant la bonne odeur de ces nouveaux chrestiens remplit tellement les bois dicy autour que plusieurs les vinrent visiter. Leur reputation fut mesme jusque au païs des iroquois; laquelle y fut la source de mille benedictions que Dieu versoit sur les infidelles amesme temps qu'ils entendoint parler dela nouvelle mission il y avoit beaucoup de sauvages qui vivoient sur les bordages du fleuve de St Laurent en montant du costé des outa8ak, la curiosité les attira a la prairie quelques uns y venoint comme supposte du demon pour debaucher les autres et cependant ils se trouverent tous pris par les filets de levangile peu a peu cabane a cabane et homme a homme; cest ainsy que les commencements de la mission ont esté semblables au grain de moutarde. ces visiteurs voyant les bleds tres beaux eurent la pensee dy demeurer et debatir leur cabanes la premiere cabane ne demeura pas longtemps seule en moins dun an il y en eut quatre: entre autres on y vit celle dun onnatague lequel a esté baptisé en france et aqui le Roy donna son nom et une belle medaille d'argent quil a toujoures pendue a son col.

1670

*Father Rafeix
Father Pierson*

On connut cette année plus clairement le dessein que Dieu avoit sur les iroquois. les cinq cabanes toutes remplies de gens baptisés commencerent a prendre les exercices réglés d'une mission, lesquels navoient este a peu pres jusque a ce temps la que comme on les fait dans les bois, tandis quon est a la

it has become the father, as it were, of the believers, of whom there are now a very great number. There were as yet only two families, at most, in this cabin; there was not one who was not recently baptized; yet the good name of these new christians so filled the woods round about here that many people came to visit them. Their reputation went even to the country of the iroquois, and was the source there of a thousand blessings which God poured upon the infidels. At the same time when mention of the new mission was heard, there were many savages who lived on the banks of the St. Lawrence, up the river, in the direction of the outawak. Curiosity drew these to prayer. Some came to it as agents of the demon, to corrupt the others; and yet they all found themselves caught by the nets of the gospel—little by little, cabin by cabin, and man by man. Thus it is that the beginnings of the mission have been like the grain of mustard seed. These visitors, seeing the corn very fine, resolved to remain there and build their cabins. The first cabin did not stay long alone; in less than a year there were four. Among others, we saw there that of an onnatague who was baptized in france,—to whom the King gave his name, with a handsome silver medal, which he constantly wears suspended to his neck.

1670.

This year we recognized more clearly the design which God had regarding the iroquois. The five cabins, all filled with baptized people, began to adopt the regular practices of a mission. Until that time, these had been little more than those which are observed in the woods while the hunt is going

*Father Rafeix.
Father Pierson.*

chafse, c'est a dire qune personne faisoit les prieres et les autres suivoint, les apprenants a force de les repeter tous les jours, on disoit la messe dans la petite cabane de planches qui estoit comme une pour les françois et pour les sauvages quoique le nombre fut petit on ne laissoit pas de faire les prieres soir et matin. L'affection que les sauvages tesmoignoient avoir pour la foy obliga d'y tenir deux missionnaires selon le tesmoignage qu'en rend la relation imprimée de 1670 et 1671: on commenca a y faire des batimans tels qu'on les voit encore pour y faire une eglise a la facon dupais. Le pere pierre Rafeix y mit la premiere main: il estoit infatigable dans le soing quil prenoit des Sauvages et des françois. les sauvages faisoint dit la relation 20 familles: le R. pere Dablon descendant des outaouaks a quebek pour y aller prendre la superiorité p[er]sa a la p[er]airie et ayant vu ensuite la mifson entienne des hurons dit que la nouvelle avoit les mesmes exercices de piété que l'entienne nous verrons les progres que la nouvelle va faire dans la foy. dans la devotion, et dans la pratique de toutes les plus eminentes vertus, qui reluisent dans ces commencements de mission: mais que Dieu a tenu caches dans l'enceinte de la prairie il ny avoit encore ny capitaine ny dogique a proprement parler et les mifsonnaires prenoient tous les soings sans les partager. mais le nombre estant plus grand il fallut creer des capitaines qui eussent intendance sur le village et des dogiques qui furent propres pour faire les prieres et qui eussent le soing des affaires de Dieu le tout fut accomplit l'année suivante

on—that is, one person said the prayers and the others followed, learning them by dint of repeating them every day. Mass was said in the little board cabin, which was common for the french and the savages. Although the number was small, they nevertheless held prayers evening and morning. The affection which the savages showed for the faith obliged us to keep two missionaries there, according to the statement made in the printed relation of 1670 and 1671. They began to erect buildings there, such as one still sees, intending to build a church there in the manner of the country. Father pierre Rafeix began the enterprise. He was indefatigable in the care that he took of the Savages and of the french. The savages, says the relation, comprised 20 families. Reverend father Dablon, coming down from the outaouaks to quebek in order to go thither and assume the duties of superior, stopped at la prairie; and, having thereafter seen the old mission of the hurons, said that the new one had the same pious exercises as the old one. We shall see the progress that the new one will make in the faith, in devotion, and in the practice of all the most eminent virtues, which shine forth in these missionary beginnings, but which God has kept concealed within the enclosure of la prairie. There was not as yet either captain or dogique, properly speaking, and the missionaries took all the cares without dividing them; but when the number was greater, it was necessary to elect captains who should have jurisdiction over the village, and dogiques, who should be qualified to hold prayers and take charge of the affairs of God. All that was accomplished in the year following.

*Father
Rafeix.
Father
Fremin.
Father
Pierson.*

1671

Les iroquois ont leur police comme tout le reste des peuples de la terre. La difference quil y a: cest que la leur peut estre appellée de pure nature ou plusieurs choses manquent. mais la foy de nos nouveaux chrestiens fit bien voir quil ny auroit rien dc plus beau que le monde si levangile y estoit gardé. Elle nota du nouveau village cn fait dc police que ce que levice avoit gatté dans les entiens villages des iroquois. Etants donc convenus ensemble leté de l'année présente de prcndre pour iamais lhabitation dela prairie ils se résolurent de créer deux chrestiens pour la police et la guerre lautre pour avait loëüil a lexercice du christianisme et de la relligion ils recommanderent l'affaire a Dieu quils Jugercnt estre de la derniere importance, ils entendirent la messe a cette intention, puis sestants afsemblés ils choisirent tous d un commun accord les deux qui en effect ont le plus de merite et de capacité pour lexercice de ces deux charges. cette election se fit a la pluralité des voix, comme les autres affaires se font chez les iroquois ou les chefs parlent a la verité, mais ils prennent leur langue des entiens de leur village: on a obeï depuis a nos deux capitaines; lesquels comme on a vu par exprience une fois perdent leur credit quand ils ne sont pas bons chrestiens, on leur obeit exactement surtout pour observer cequi estoit réglé pour les bonnes mours. Admirous icy la puissance divine laquelle bannit autrefois de Rome toutes les abominations quelles romains avoient apportées dans leur pantheon tirecs des depouilles de tant de peuples quils avoient soumis a leur empire.

1671.

The iroquois have their government like all the rest of the peoples of the earth. The difference bctween them is, that theirs may be called that of pure nature, wherein many things are wanting; but the faith of our new christians plainly showed that there would be nothing more beautiful than this world, if the gospel were obscrved in it. It took from the new village, in the matter of government, only what vice had spoiled in the old iroquois vil-lages. Having then agreed together, in the summer of the current year, to accept forever the settlement of la prairie, they resolved to elect two christians — one for government and war, the othcr to watch over the observance of christianity and religion. They recommended the matter to God, Judging it of the utmost importance, and with this intention heard mass. Then having assembled, they all with one consent chose the two who in fact have most merit and capacity for the cxercise of these two offices. This election took place by majority of votes, as other transactions are settled among the iroquois — among whom the chiefs indeed speak, but they take the word from the elders of their village. Since then, our two captains have been obeyed, but, as was once seen by experience, lose their influence if they are not good christians. They are strictly obeyed, especially in the observance of their regulations for good morals. Let us admire here the divine power, which formerly banished from Rome all the abominations which the romans had introduced into their pantheon, derived from the spoils of so many peoples whom they had subjected to their sway. To-day, it purges our little flock

aujourd'hu elle purge notre petit troupeau de toutes les brutalites que nos iroquois avoient prises chez seize nations quils ont destruit par leur vaillance et par leur industrie ainsy tant de mauvaises coutumes ont este quittees tout d un coup pour prendre toutes les coutumes de l'eglise: ce qui est d'autant plus admirable que les Sauvages nont coutume que de se conduire par imagination, quils sont entourés de superstitions quils voyent souvent au pais: et cependant personne nen parle icy on en fait aucun estat et on saccuse dy avoir seulement pensé. nostre eglise naissante prenoit ainsy Sa forme et son estat ces barbares ramassés de plusieurs nations ne faisoit q'un la charité les unifsoit jusques a navoir rien de propre, cequi revenoit plus au genie iroquois chez lesquels la societé les visites l'hospitalite les festins les dons mutuels sont fort en usage. on a demeuré longtemps sans y voir mesme l'ombre du vice ce qui charmoit ceux qui les venoient visiter. le p. fremin misionnaire en chef de ce temps la ne manquoit pas de les disposer a la reception des sacrements encore in connus a ces nations barbares la confession et la communion il y avoit des prædestines en qui la grace croifsoit tous les iours a qui il ne fallut pas beau coup detemps pour se disposer; ainsy donc on commença avoir communier des sauvages a la prairie aussy devotement et plus que les françois; aussy tost que le feu du S^t Sacrement eut animé nos nouveaux chrestiens il ne se put contenir en eux mesme: les pp. misionnaires entendoint tous les iours de leurs enfans les sentiments de leur cœur pleins du S^t Esprit. Le p. Pierson mesme ictta les semences de

from all the brutalities which our iroquois had borrowed among the sixteen nations whom they destroyed by their valor and adroitness. Thus they have suddenly forsaken so many evil customs, in order to adopt all the customs of the church,—which is all the more admirable because the Savages are wont to guide themselves only through the imagination, and are surrounded with superstitions, which they often see in their country. And yet no one speaks of these here; they have no esteem for them, and accuse themselves for even having thought of them. Our infant church thus took form and organization. These barbarians, gathered from several nations, made but one; charity united them even to the extent that they possessed nothing individually— which best suited the iroquois nature, among whom sociability, visits, hospitality, feasts, and mutual gifts are much in vogue. It was a long time before even the shadow of vice was seen there,—which charmed those who came to visit them. Father fremin, their chief missionary at that time, did not fail to prepare them to receive the sacraments of confession and communion, as yet unknown to these barbarous nations. There were some predestined ones, in whom grace increased every day, who did not require much time for preparation. Thus, then, the fathers began to have savages receive communion at la prairie, which they did even more devoutly than did the french. As soon as the fire of the Blessed Sacrament had animated our new christians, it could not be confined to themselves; the missionary fathers heard every day from their children the sentiments of their hearts, filled with the Holy Ghost. Father Pierson even sowed the seeds of the Holy family,

la S^e famille en donnant quelques chapelets aux plus entiens chrestiens et chrestiennes. les Sauuages allant par les bois faisoint presque autant de chrestiens qu'ils trouvoient d'autres sauvages dans les quartiers de leur chafse par lexactitude qu'ils avoient a la priere et par leurs bons discours.

Ce fut alors quon mit a l'entree du village deux arbres memorables a l'un desquels on attacha livrerie a la autre limpurete toutes deux subjuees par la foy; on fit un proverbe aux iroquois de ce mot ie men vais a la prairie eest a dire ie quitte la boisson et la pluralité des femmes parceque quand quelquin parloit de demeurer a la prairie on lui proposoit d'abord ces deux articles quil falloit pafscr sans restriction et sans limite. autrement on n'estoit pas receu. le village de la prairie avec toutes ces qualités devient un argument dc eredibilité a tous les iroquois qui y pafsoint tous les primptemps dont la pluspart ne croyoint pas ec que on leur en avoit dit au pais. ils venoient le voir eux mesmes et ayant vu admiroint les merveilles qu'ils avoient desia entendu plusieurs qui nestoient pas iroquois naturalises penserent a se derober pour venir a la prairie il en defila beaucoup durant toutes les années suivantes.

1672.

Ceux qui estoient desia baptises au pais aimerent mieux perdre alors tout eequils avoient au pais que de perdre la foy qu'ils ny pouvoient conserver, ils venoient a la prairie en eachette tant de leur propre mouvement que de celuy des prædictateurs de l'evangile; nous scavons par autant de bouches quil y a icy de

by giving some rosaries to the eldest christian men and women. The Savages going through the woods made, by means of their exaetness in prayer and their pious utterances, almost as many christians as they found other savages in the regions where they hunted.

Then it was that two memorable trees were placed at the entrance to the village; to one they attached drunkenness, to the other, impurity—both subjugated by the faith. Among the iroquois, this saying became a proverb, "I am off to la prairie,"—that is to say, "I give up drink and polygamy." This was beeause, when any one spoke of living at la prairie, there were first set before him these two clauses, which must be accepted without restriction and without limit; otherwise, he was not received. The village of la prairie, with all these qualities, became an argument for belief to all the iroquois who went by there every spring,—most of whom did not believe what had been said of it to them in their own country. They themselves came to see it, and, having seen, admired the wonders of whieh they had already heard. Many who were not naturalized iroquois resolved to steal away and come to la prairie; many thus slipped away during all the following years.

1672.

Those who were already baptized in their own country then prefcrred to lose everything that they had at home rather than the faith, which they could not there preserve. They came to la prairie in seeret, as much from their own impulse as from the instigation of the preachers of the gospel. We know, by as many mouths as there are christians here, that one cannot, without some sort of iniracle,

chrestiens qu'on ne peut estre sans quelqu'espce de miracle ou bon chrestien ou perséverer en chrestien chez les iroquois: la prairie a donc este de tout temps l'azile de ceux qui vonloint de bon cœur prier Dieu et estre chrestien: ces saints fugitifs firent quon commença avoir dans les bois d'yez autour des chemins de chasse fort battus; car la chafse estoit le prétexte quon prenoit alors pour venir demeurer a la prairie. Les chrestiens qui partoint de la prairie allant a la chasse des betes alloiuut aufsy a la chafse des hommes; les chasseurs emmenoient tousiours quelques uns de leur parens ou de leur connoissance le printemps par forme de visite ou Dieu leur touchant le cœur ils se faisoint instruire et devenoient chrestiens Tous ceux qui estoient venus des iroquois sestoient ainsy comme derobes a la fureur des ivrognes et des cnemis de la priere ce qui iccta en defiance les entiens qui ne declamoint autre chose dans leurs conseils que la destruction de leur terre par les françois et par les mifionnaires. plus ils croioit plus on eut envie devenir voir ce qui se passoit et il restoit toujours quelqu de ces curieux lesquels peu a peu prenans party quoiquon s'en deffiaist et quon ne les baptisast quapres de longues epreuves sattachoient enfin pour tousiours a la prairie. Les onnei8ts ont ete les premiers dela mission et leurs vertus estants comme des vertus mercs engendrerent plusieurs enfants qui donnerent ainsy naissance a plusieurs anniers qui sont a present en plus grand nombre parmy celuy des croyans et parmy les gens de la nation d agnié ceux du village de Ganda8age ont pris le premier rang comme du au sang des martirs qui a

either be a good christian, or persevere as a christian, among the iroquois. La prairie has, then, always been the asylum of those who wished sincerely to pray to God and be christians. Thcse holy fugitives began to make, in the woods round about here, well-beaten hunting paths; for the chase was the prtext which they then adopted, in order to come to live at la prairie. The christians, who left la prairie, in going to hunt beasts, went also to hunt men; the hunters always brought back some of their kinsmen or acquaintances in the spring, in the guise of a visit,— wherein, God touching their hearts, they had themselves instructed and became christians. All those who had come from the iroquois had thus eluded, as it were, the fury of the drunkards and the enemies of prayer. This made the elders distrustful; in their councils, their declamations all concerned the destruction of their land by the french and by the missionaries. The more they complained, the more people were desirous of coming to see what was going on; and among these curious ones some always remained. These, gradually enlisting in our ranks,—although they were distrusted, and were not baptized save after long probations,—finally attached themselves forever to la prairie. The onneiouts were the first of the mission, and their virtues—being, as it were, mother-virtues—engendered numerous children, giving birth to many anniers, who are at present most numerous. In the number of the believers, among the people of the nation of agnié, those of the village of Gandawage have taken the first rank, as if this were due to the blood of the martyrs, which was first shed in the death of father Jogue, who

esté premierement repandu en la mort du p Iogue qui y eut la teste cassee le sang du R P. Brebeuf qui a esté repandu par les aniés: cest aufsy gandaſage qui a receu le 1^r les prædicteurs de levangile en la personne des RR. pp. fremin Bruyas et pierron qui apres la paix faite furent envoyies plénipotentiaires dans ces pais la, cest en ce village qu'on a baty la 1^{re} chapelle cest ce village qui a donne un thresor a nostre mission en la personne d'une sauvagesse decedee depuis six ans en odeur de sainteté.

Lonnontagué par ses intrigues ordinaires entreprit de destruire nostre petite eglise par ses fourberies sous pretexte d'embafade et ils deviendront les ministres denfer en semant de faux bruits; ils dirent bien du mal de la foy: ils exagerooint le sort malheureux disoint-ils de nos chrestiens qui furent deslors a lepreuve et qui netant pas venus par enteresst ne se rendirent point a toutes ces raisons apparentes pour venir aux exemples particuliers i'en rapporte un cité dans la relation de 1671 et 1672 une femme onnontagué avoit un mary qui nestoit pas si fervent quelle et deux enfans une fille et un garçon. Le malheureux se laifsa aller aux beaux discours de ces embafadeurs du diable, qui le prirent par son foible, cest a dire par la guerre ou il a esté depuis et par la boisson qui luy a fait pcrdre le nez; ce sont les deux demons qui pofscdent les sauvages. nostre femme forte par lorde du p. mifsonnaire sen fut avec luy pour tascher de conserver son mary; mais ce malheureux aufsy tost quil fut au pais il la traitta si mal que les parens infidelles de cette femme chres-tienne en eurent compaffion et crurent quils estoient

there had his head crushed; and to the blood of the Reverend Father Brebeuf, which was shed by the aniés. It was also gandawage which 1st received the preachers of the gospel, in the persons of the Reverend fathers fremin, Bruyas, and pierron—who, after the conclusion of peace, were sent as plenipotentiaries to those countries. It was in that village that the 1st chapel was built; and that village has given a treasure to our mission, in the person of a savage woman who died, six years ago, in the odor of sanctity.

The onnontagué, with his usual plots, undertook to destroy our little church through his treacheries, under pretext of an embassy; and these men became ministers of hell by sowing false reports. They said much evil of the faith. They exaggerated the unhappy lot, as they said, of our christians, who were then on probation; but these, not having come for self-interest, did not surrender to all these apparent reasons. To come down to particular instances, I will report one that was mentioned in the relation of 1671 and 1672. An onnontagué woman had a husband who was not so fervent as she; and two children, a daughter and a son. The unhappy man allowed himself to be carried away by the fine speeches of those ambassadors of the devil; they took him on his weak side,—that is, by the war, where he has since been, and by drink, which has cost him the loss of his nose; these are the two demons who possess the savages. Our brave woman, by order of the missionary father, went away with her husband for the sake of trying to save him. But that wretched man, as soon as he was in their own country, treated her so ill that this christian woman's infidel kinsmen took compassion on her,

deshonores dans la personne de leur parente: ils menacerent cet ivrogne dc mort: ce qui l'obligea a ne traitter pas sa femme si mal quil avoit fait; la pauvre femme qui apprehendoit de perdre sa foy plustost que la vie son mary la voulant la contraindre a renoncer a son baptesme, elle se resolut de labandonner, ce quelle fit lorsqu'il fut en guerre son petit garçon fut le premier a dire a sa mere: allons nous en retournons a la prairie; cest la aufsy ou ils ont vecu en paix: cette paix dela conscience a tousiours soutenu cette genereuse femme et ses enfans qui ont servy dexemple de sagefse a toutes les cabanes du village et ce qui est remarquable cest que la foy a tousiours emporté sur les regrets quils pouvoient avoir davoir beaucoup quitte au pais nayant pas trouvé les mesmes avantages temporels parmy le françois, quoique quelques uns eussent esté racheptés et tires du feu par les gens de la cabane de cette femme qui est une des principales d'onnontague.

On peut voir par les registres et les papiers de baptesme que le diable se trompoit lui mesme parce que par ces commencements de persecution il ne faisoit quallumer le flambeau de la foy dans nos chrestiens, en les obligeant de seclaircir de plusieurs choses; et lamour de la charité en les unissant de plus en plus à Dieu, dont ils sentoient avoir besoing. cest pour cela que des lors on vit des sauvages faire honte dans leglise a la messe aux prières aux plus entiens chrestiens: ils venoient deslors debien loing l'hiver pour afsister aux ceremonys de la messe de minuit ou de vendredy saint; quelquefois on les a vu faire mesme l'adoration de la croix dans les bois

and believed that they were dishonored in the person of their kinswoman. They threatened this drunkard with death, which obliged him not to treat his wife so ill as he had done. The poor woman,— who dreaded more to lose her faith than her life,— as her husband tried to constrain her to renounce her baptism, resolved to forsake him, and did so while he was at war. Her little son was the first to say to his mother: "Let us go away; let us return to la prairie." There, accordingly, they have lived in peace; that peace of conscience has ever sustained this noble woman and her children, who have served as examples of right living to all the cabins of the village. And what is remarkable is, that the faith has always gained the day over the regrets which they might feel for having given up much in their own country, for they have not found the same temporal advantages among the french,—although some of these had been ransomed and drawn out of the fire by the people of this woman's cabin, which was one of the principal ones at onnontague.

One may see by the registers and baptismal records that the devil was himself deceived— because, through these beginnings of persecution, he only kindled the torch of the faith in our christians, by obliging them to become enlightened in various matters, and the love of charity, by uniting them more and more to God, of whom they felt they had need. That is why, from that time, we saw savages—in the church, at mass, and at prayers— cause shame to the oldest christians; they came from a great distance, in winter, to attend the ceremonies of midnight mass or of good friday. Sometimes they have even been seen to make the adoration of the cross in

comme on le sc̄ait par le rapport des francois qui l'ont vu et y ont assisté. l'eglise estoit divisee en deux appartemens, l'un pour les françois et l'autre pour les sauvages quoique tout ne fust q'un des françois et des sauvages; comme on le voyoit dans les resjouissances publiques les visitcs et les petits services quils se rendoient les uns aux autres.

Ce mélange donna pourtant occasion au demon de tenter les sauvages il se servit des françois qui traittoient avec les sauvages et voulut etablier cabaret a la prairie le monde y estant desia assez nombreux; mais la divine providence se servit de lauctorite supreme laquelle se dementit ensuite, pour destruire ce demon, monsieur le comte de frontenak sceut bon gré au p. fremin de ce qu'il avoit fourny des farines pour le fort de Catarakwi etant ensuite venu a la prairie lesté il fit une ordonnance et deffense exprefse de traitter des boissons en y vrantes a la prairie; ainsy le demon fut etouffé dans son berceau.

1673

La mission crut notablement et a cru a proportion les années suivantes cette multitude fut occasion a de plus grands maux comme nous verrons cy apres. Les sauvages s'estants instruits lesté au village alloint prescher nostre foy dans les bois lhyver faisant leur chasse, les iroquois infidèles venant par hazard en chassant aux cabanages de nos nouveaux Chrestiens, admiroint le changement qui s'estoit fait en ces nouveaux apostres. Les fcmmes qui de tout temps sont appellées le sexe devot avoient plustost appris les prières que les hommes et c'estoit elles

the woods, as we know by the report of the french who have seen and taken part in it. The church was divided into two apartments, one for the french, and the other for the savages—although the french and savages all acted as one body, as was seen in the public rejoicings, and in the visits and the little services that they rendered one another.

This mingling, however, gave occasion to the demon to tempt the savages; he employed the french who traded with them, and he sought to establish a tavern at la prairie, as the inhabitants were already quite numerous. But divine providence used the supreme authority—which afterward contradicted itself—to destroy this demon. Monsieur the count de frontenak was grateful to father fremin because he had furnished flour for the fort of Catarakwi. Subsequently coming to la prairie in the summer, he made an ordinance expressly prohibiting the trade in intoxicating drinks at la prairie; Thus the demon was stifled in the cradle.

1673.

The mission notably grew, and has grown proportionately in the years following. This multitude was the occasion for greater evils, as we shall see hereafter. The savages, having become instructed in summer at the village, went to preach our faith in the woods in winter, while pursuing their hunting. The infidel iroquois, coming by chance, while hunting about the cabins of our new Christians, admired the change which had occurred in these new apostles. The women, who from all time have been called the devout sex, had learned the prayrs sooner than the men; and they were the ones who

qui les faisoint a haute voix dans le bois. une de celles la qui les fait encore a présent a leglise du sault les faisoint dans le bois durant lhyver ou son mary lavoit menec a la chasse du costé de chambly, un fameux guerrier celebre chez les Anies, parce quil a défait la nation des loups, tomba licureusement dans la cabanc de celle dont nous parlons: laquelle ne tomba alors dans linconvenient dans lequel tombent souvent les Sauvages; cest a dire le respect humain nayant egard a la bonne ou mauvaisc disposition dc leur hoste celle faisoit tousiours les prieres: cet homme de gucrre les ecouta et y prit plaisir en admirant le sens et les paroles: il y prit goust et les apprit par cœur en les entendant répeter, il disoit quelquefois: celuy qui vous enseigne a bien dc lcsprit; cela cst bien trouve. mais on luy dit que ces prieres la etoient faites avant que les pp. missionnaires fussent au monde. ce discours luy en donna encore plus destime; il les apprit fort bien et ne quitta point ceux qui les luy avoient apprises. le primptemps suivant il vient au village de la prairie avec eux, il y fit comme eux, cest a dire que selon la louable coutume qui est icy et qui commença deslors, il fut a leglise ou avant dentrer dans la cabane ou aussy tost apres avoir laifse son paquet. il recite ses prieres avec ses guides: cequi obligea le p. fremin a demander qui etoit cet homme la et dou il venoit et qui luy avoient appris les prieres; on luy depeint la qualité du personnage, ses sentimens et comme il avoit passé lhyver. le pere iugeant de lesprit ne trouva en luy q'un deffault; cest a dire quil n'estoit pas marié et il ny avoit pas encore de

said them aloud in the woods. One of thosc women who still says them now in the church of the sault, said them during the winter in the woods,—whither her husband had taken her while hunting, in the direction of chambly. A famous warrior—celebrated among the Anies, because he defeated the nation of the loups—luckily happened to enter the cabin of her of whom we speak. She did not fall into the embarrassment into which the Savages often fall—that of human respect. Having no regard for the good or evil disposition of their guest, she always said her prayers. This warrior listened to them, and took pleasure therein, admiring their meaning and words. He had a relish for them, and learned them by heart, through hearing them repeated. He sometimes said: "The one who teaches you has much sense; that is well put." But they told him that those prayers were madc before the missionary fathers wcre in the world. This remark still more increased his esteem for them; he learned them very well, and did not leave those who had taught them to him. In the following spring he came with that family to the village of la prairie. He did there like them,—that is, according to the praiseworthy custom which prevails here, and which began at that time, he went to church either before entering the cabin, or immediately after laying down his bundle. He rcited his prayers with his guides; that obliged father fremin to ask who that man was, and whence he camc, and who had taught him the prayers. They described to him the rank of this person, his thoughts, and how he had spent the winter. The father, judging of his intelligence, found in him only onc failing; he was not marrid.

filles a luy presenter, il luy dit donc en partie pour sonder cet esprit d'aller au pais et de mener son camarade aufsy, d'y choisir celle qui leur plairoit davantage et de revenir et quil seroit baptisé, cette proposition ne deplut pas a nostre homme: lequel adioûte quil retourneroit et quil feroit voix sil avoit du credit. il sen retourne il parle en secret a plusieurs il choisit une femme: ayant gaigne beaucoup de personnes il arrete le iour de départ general; le soir venu il fait eclatter laffaire et il dit adieu a haute voix en plein village; et ordonne a ses gens defaire leur paquet un pere mesme se ioint avec eux pour les emmener; la qualite le zèle et lesprit de Dieu quil posse doit ferma la bouche a tous les entiens qui enragoient dans leur cœur voyant une telle hardiesse et ne sachant a qui sen prendre; ils eussent fait aufsy tost casser la teste a un autre qui auroit eu moin d'autorité cet adieuache, on voit partir une quarantaine de personnes hommes femmes et enfans, qui quittent leur patrie pour venir se faire chrestiens a montreal ce premier assault donne a l'infidélité a de peuple le pais d'anié car il reussit si bien que depuis ce temps la, on est descendu des iroquois pour venir deinerer a la prairie en grandes troupes et en moins de Sept ans, les guerriers d'Anié sont devenus plus nombreux a montreal quils ne sont au pais, cela fait enrage et les entiens des villages et les flammants de manate et d'orange 200 personnes furent ainsy en peu de temps adioustees au nombre des chrestiens de la prairie en moins dun an ou deux cela resiouit fort les françois qui commencerent a sadowner tout de bon a la traite et se servants

*Le pere
Boniface*

and there were as yet no maids to offer him. He then told him, partly to sound this mind, that he should go to his own country, taking his comrade also, and there choose her who should please him most, and come back; and that he would be baptized. This proposition did not displease our man, who added that he would return, and would show whether he had any influence. He goes back; he speaks to many in secret, and chooses a wife. Having gained many persons, he sets the day for the general departure. When evening comes, he divulges the matter, and in a loud voice bids farewell in the midst of the village, and orders his people to pack their bundles. A father even joins them to lead them away. The rank, the zeal, and the spirit of God which this man possessed shut the mouths of all the elders, who were in their hearts enraged at seeing such boldness and not knowing whom to blame. They would at once have broken the head of another man, who had less authority. This farewell being finished, about forty persons are seen to depart,—men, women, and children,—leaving their fatherland to come to make themselves christians at montreal. This first shock given to infidelity has depopulated the country of anié; for it succeeded so well that, from that time, people have come down from the iroquois in great bands, in order to live at la prairie; and in less than Seven years the warriors of Anié have become more numerous at montreal than they are in their own country. That enrages both the elders of the villages and the flemings of manate and orange. In a short time, less than a year or two, 200 persons were thus added to the number of the christians of

*Father
Boniface.*

de la mauvaise volonté de monsieur le comte de frontenak qui avoit changé depuis lan pafse ils introduisirent la boisson a la derobée a la prairie un surtout plus hardy que les autres mit le bouchon dans le village mesme; mais l'adresse du p. fremin et la fermeté desprit accompagnée de son zèle arreta le cours de ce malheureux commerce et sauva son troupeau des flots de la mer rouge qui lalloit engloutir; ce fut en cette occasion que les capitaines firent voir ce qu'ils estoient en combattant le vice de l'yvrognerie qu'ils avoient abandonné au pais pour ceux qui en faisoint leur Dieu.

Ce monstre abbatu fut suivy d'un autre il y avoit dans ce grand nombre de Sauvages trois différentes nations bien nombreuses agniers hurons et onontagues; on crut quil falloit donner a chacune son chef on safsembla donc pour cela; mais la disension se mit dans une partie les hurons furent longtemps en deliberation les agniers et les onnontagues eurent aufsy tost fait leur choix enfin les hurons piqués au ieu se separerent et furent faire une nouvelle mifzion au dela dela rivière, cette separation fut rude et na pas laifse durant quelque temps de tenir les esprits en desunion mais enfin trouvans partout la mesme foy et le mesme evangile et surtout lunion qui est entre tous les mifzionnaires du canada a rompu les efforts du demon encore une secondefois.

Dieu affligea luy mesme cette mifzion en luy enlevant son appuy dans la personne de Catherine Gandeactea illustre en vertu dont la memoire est encore en benediction a la prairie 12 [ans] apres sa mort cestoit vrayment une grande affliction, parceque les

la prairie. That greatly rejoiced the french, who began to apply themselves in good earnest to the trade; and—availing themselves of the ill will of monsieur the count de frontenak, whose feelings had altered during the past year—by stealth they introduced drink at la prairie. One especially, bolder than the others, located a tavern in the village itself. But the adroitness and the firmness of character of father fremin, together with his zeal, checked the progress of this wretched traffic, and saved his flock from the waves of the red sea which were likely to swallow it up. It was on this occasion that the captains showed what they were by combating the vice of drunkenness,—which they had abandoned in their own country to those who made of it their God.

This monster, being felled, was followed by another. In this great number of Savages, there were three different nations, very numerous—agniers, hurons, and onontagues; and we regarded it as necessary to give to each one its own chief. They then assembled for that purpose, but dissension arose in one faction. The hurons were long in consultation; the agniers and the onnontagues had immediately made their choice. Finally the hurons, being piqued in the contest, separated themselves, and went to start a new mission beyond the river. This separation was painful, and did not fail to keep their minds at variance for some time; but finally, their finding everywhere the same faith and the same gospel, and especially the union which prevails among all the missionaries in canada, for a second time thwarted the efforts of the demon.

God himself afflicted this mission by taking from it its support in the person of Catherine Gandeac-

pauvres perdirent alors leur mere les chrestiens leur exemple les françois et les sauvages leur bien aimée; on fera un recit de ses vertus qui font dire à tout le monde que celle la est au ciel elle a laisſe la chapelle heritiere des ornementz de sa ieunefse qui sont devenus pretieux par la consecration quelle en a fait de son vivant et par la multitude d'autres presents quon voit attachés aux poutres de la chapelle et au devant d'autel quils ont attire les années suivantes.

Cette mort donna occasion à une louable coutume qui regne dans la mifion a present on ne doute pas que les sauvages nayent en du temps de leur infidélité plusieurs superstitions dans leurs enterremens; comme dans toute autre chose, le royaume de Dieu s'establissant à la prairie nostre seigneur donna la pensée au mary de la defunte Catherine de faire une proposition: ce pauvre affligé voyant sa femme desesperée fit un festin a ses amis et leur tient ce discours, autrefois avant que nous fussons chrestiens nous [nous] servions de superstitions pour guerir nos malades et les malades nous ietoint dans la dernière affliction, maintenant que nous prions nous invoquons le nom de Jesus pour leur guerison. sils meurent nous nous consolans dans l'esperance deles voir au ciel disons donc nostre chapelet pour lagonisante avant que de manger.

Le mesme apres la mort de sa femme se comporta en parfait chrestien La coutume des Sauvages est de donner tous les biens du defunct a leurs parens et a leurs amis pour pleurer leur mort et d'enterrer avec eux une partie de ce qu'ils ont eu durant leur

teua, illustrious in virtue, whose memory is still blessed at la prairie, 12 years after her death. It was truly a great affliction, because the poor then lost their mother, the christians their example, the french and the savages their well-beloved. A narrative is to be made of her virtues, which cause every one to say that she is in heaven. She has left the chapel heir to the ornaments of her youth, which have become precious through the consecration that she made of them during her lifetime, and through the multitude of other presents — which one sees attached to the beams of the chapel and to the frontal — which they have attracted in the years following.

This death gave occasion to a praiseworthy custom which now prevails in the mission. There is no doubt that the savages, in the time of their infidelity, had many superstitions in their burials, as in everything else. The kingdom of God becoming established at la prairie, our lord inspired the husband of the deceased Catherine to make a proposition. This poor afflicted man, seeing his wife despaired of, made a feast to his friends, and addressed them as follows: "Formerly, before we were christians, we employed superstitions to cure our sick, and sicknesses cast us into the utmost affliction. Now that we pray, we invoke the name of Jesus for their cure. If they die, we console ourselves in the hope of seeing them in heaven. Let us then say our rosary for the dying woman before we eat."

The same man, after his wife's death, behaved like a perfect christian. It is the custom of the Savages to give all the goods of the deceased to their relatives and friends, in order to bewail their death, and to bury with them a portion of what they owned

vie et de dresser des tombeaux et peindre des bêtes et des oiseaux quils appellent genies ou maistres de la vie; mais le mary de nostre deffunete en qualite de premier capitaine afsembla le conseil des cutincs et leur dit quil ne falloit plus garder leurs premieres coutumes, qui ne profitoint de rien a leurs morts que pour luy sa pensee estoit de parer le corps de la deffunete de ce quelle avoit deplus pretieux, puis quelle devoit resusciter un iour, et d'employer le reste de ce qui luy avoit appartenu a faire l'aumosne aux pauvres, cette pensee fut suivie d'un chacun et elle est devenie, comme unc loy quils ont observée depuis exactement layant mesme blasmé d'avoir couvert le corps de sa femme ils ne l'ont pas imite en cela, mais donnent aux pauvres les habits les plus pretieux et couvrent le corps de leurs habits ordinaires disant que les deffuncts aimeront mieux qu'on fasse prier Dieu pour eux de leur propres richesses; en occasion dont nous parlons on distribua aux pauvres en tout trois cents livres et en faisant cette louable distribution on disoit priez pour la deffunete.

1674

*Vita qua
succession
tempis ces
sortes de
mariages
est este pris
par les
mariages
comme
nubinage
o un mary*

Cette annee fut heureuse pour la mission; parce qu'on y establit solidement les mariages de la maniere quils se font dans toute leglise, quelques uns qui estoient maries de la maniere que les Sauvages se marient, nont point d'autres ceremonies que celle du baptesme dans lequel ils dirent quils ne quitteront jainais leurs femmes on [n']avoit pas encore establi les ceremonies du mariage mais les Sauvages

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during their life; and to set up tombs, and paint thereon beasts and birds which they call spirits or masters of life. But the husband of our deceased woman, in his capacity of first captain, assembled the council of the elders and told them that their former customs must no longer be observed, as these were of no profit to their dead. He said that, as for him, his purpose was to adorn the dead woman's body with her most precious goods, since she was to rise again some day; and to employ the rest of what had belonged to her in giving alms to the poor. This opinion was seconded by each one; and it has become a sort of law, which they have since scrupulously observed. They even blamed him for covering his wife's body. They have not imitated him in that, but give the most precious clothes to the poor, and cover the body with their ordinary clothes,—saying that the deceased will prefer to have prayers said for them out of their own riches. On the occasion of which we speak, they distributed to the poor three hundred livres, in all; and, while making this praiseworthy distribution, they said, "Pray for the dead woman."

1674.

This year was a blessed one for the mission, because marriages in it were securely established, in the manner in which they are solemnized throughout the church. Some who had been married in the Savage fashion had no other ceremonies than that of baptism, at which they said that they would never leave their wives. The marriage ceremonies had not yet been established; but the Savages on becoming more instructed and better trained, were

*Nota that,
in the course
of time,
marriages
of this sort
were
esteemed as
concubinage
by the
savages;
for, a*

estants plus instruits et plus accoutumes, nont plus esté maries quen face d'eglise; et Dieu a donné une si grande benediction que jusques icy ça esté une chose bien rare que le divorce et celuy qui la fait est en abomination il y a bien ving ans que la mission est fondee et on ne trouveroit pas ving personnes qui ayent quitté leurs femmes, et ceux qui les ont quittées sont tousiours retournés apres quelques années mourir au village on n'apporte pour raison de cet etat ou sont les sauvages que la puissance de Dieu qui peut affermir des esprits plus legers que le vent et la plume: cest a dire esprits de sauvages quoy que les années pafsees on ayt fait plusieurs mariages les papiers de mariages en marquent davantage cette année; que si Dieu a permis que quelques uns aient fausse leur parole, ce n'a esté que pour nous faire voir de ieuncs femmes vivre seules comme des anges et faciliter a plusieurs par la le chemin a la virginite perpetuelle comme il est arrivé a deux qui l'ont portée depuis peu dans le ciel commc il est marque les années suivantes.

1675

Cet accroifsement de la foy et de la vertu des sauvages faisoit croire quils estoient aufsy propres pour le christianisme que les autres peuples de la terre on avoit ietté il y a quatre ans les semences d'une dcvotion qui est grande en ce pais quon appelle la saincte famille. Le p. pierçon avoit donne des chapelets de la S^e famille a quelques personnes d'elite, la premiere fut catherine Gandeakteua mais il n'en avoit pas fait l'explication, ce qui donna occasion aux sauvages de la demander dautant plus

married only according to the rites of the church. And God has given so great a blessing that divorce has thus far been a very infrequent occurrence, and the one who has effected it is held in abomination. It is fully twenty years since the mission was founded, and one would not find twenty husbands who have left their wives; and those who have left them have always returned, after some years, to die in the village. For this condition in which the savages are, no reason is adduced save the power of God, who can strengthen minds lighter than wind and down—for such are the minds of savages. Although many marriages have occurred in past years, the marriage records indicate still more this year. But if God has allowed some to break their word, it has been only to show us young women living alone like angels, and thereby facilitating for many the way to perpetual virginity. This has happened in the case of two who have lately carried it to heaven—as is noted in the following years.

1675.

This increase of faith and virtue among the savages led to the belief that they were just as fit for christianity as are the other peoples of the earth. There had been sown, four years ago, the seeds of a devotion which is great in this country; they call it "the holy family." Father pierçon had given rosaries of the Holy family to some chosen persons—the first was catherine Gandeakteua; but he had not made the explanation thercof. This gave occasion to the savages to ask for it the more urgently, because they knew that it had been taught to the savages of Lorette. Father fremin, judging

*husband
and a wife
being
unable to
agree, an
old savage
woman told
them that
they lived
together
like people
who sin,
because no
holy water
had been
sprinkled on
them at
their
marriage.*

instamment quils scavoint qu'on lavoit enseigne aux sauvages de Lorette. Le p. fremin iugeant que si on faisoit un choix de gens des plus fervents la multitude ne nuiroit pas a la mifson; etablit la S^{te} famille laquelle commenç a avoir quelque eclat cette année parceque les années precedentes cestoit une petite assemblee mais le nombre de ces personnes choisies augmenta avec le nombre des chrestiens et de la nifson. Cette année fut la dernière d'un jeune homme nommé martin Skandegorthaksen aage de ving decede en predestine dans les bois: on fera un recit de cette mort.

1676

Cest une merveille de voir lestat de la mifson etant si nouvelle que les sauvages navoient point encore entendu parler de la confirmation que seront ils donc quand le s esprit sera descndu sur eux, comme il le fera cette année monseigneur l'evesque de quebek qui avoit conferé dans son eglise cathedrale le baptesme aux six premiers personnes de la mifson vient achever son ouvrage au mois de may: La narration est bien aulong dans la relation de 1672. Lestime queles Sauvages faisoit dela personne qui touche de plus pres nostre Seigneur parmy celles de tous les prestres marquoit le fonds de leur ame; lorsquils scurent que M^{gr} arrivoit a la prairie ils firent sur leau un echafaut pour debarquer commodement; ils avoient bordé le chemin de branchages et lallée se terminoit a un throsne pratiqué avec du gason et de la verdure ou M^{gr} ayant pris place il reçu les complimens que les capitaines luy firent le landemain dela pentecoste qui se celebroit alors fut un temps

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that, if a selection were made of the most fervent people, the multitude would not be injurious to the mission, established the Holy family. This association began only this year to have some luster, because in the preceding years it was but a small assembly; but the number of these chosen persons increased with the number of the christians and with the mission. This year was the last for a young man named martin Skandegorthaksen, aged twenty years; he died in the woods as one predestined. An account of this death will be given.

1676.

It is a wonder to see the state of the mission when it was so new that the savages had not yet heard confirmation mentioned; what will they then be when the holy ghost shall have descended upon them, as will be the case this year! Monseigneur the bishop of quebek, who in his cathedral church had conferred baptism on the first six persons of the mission, came to complete his work in the month of may. The account of it is given at length in the relation of 1672.¹² The esteem in which the Savages held the person who, among all the priests, most nearly approaches our Lord, marked the depth of their feelings. When they knew that Monseigneur was coming to la prairie, they made a staging at the water's edge, that he might conveniently land. They had lined the way with branches of trees, and the avenue ended at a throne constructed of sod and verdure. Monseigneur, having taken his place thereon, received the compliments offered him by the captains. The day after pentecost, which was then being celebrated, was a favorable time for bestowing

favorable pour donner la confirmation quil confera a plus de quatre ving sauvages et dans lespace de trois annees il en confirma plus de deux cens. ce sacrement a produit merveilleusement son effect: le demon redoubla ses efforts pour ruiner la mifSION sattaquant tant aux particuliers quan public. Le dogique fut attaque le premier par une perte quil fit d'un de ses enfans nomme Alexis lexemple de tous les enfans de cette mifSION il estoit aage de six ans aimé et carefsé de tout le monde d'un naturel riche et porté à la devotion. cette perte ietta ses parens dans une affliction mortelle, ils se consolerent pourtant offrant leur enfant a Dieu.

La pauvreté est non pas un fleau de la mifSION; mais une annexe qui la châtie de temps en temps elle estoit si grande l'année pafse et cette année elle a continué de telle sorte quelle a obligé la mifSION a quitter la terre de la prairie pour en aller chercher une a cinq quarts de lieüe plus haut nommee le sault St Louis ou de St Xavier du tiltre de la mifSION. Nostre Seigneur veut afseurement honnorer sa pauvrete dans celle des Sauvages; car cest une compaigne qui les suit partout ils ne demandent pas aussi d'en estre delivres comme des autres tentations de la vie parcequelle augmente leur merite, quoiqu'il en soit cest la raison qui obligea la mifSION de faire transmigration laquelle se fit il y a neuf ans au mois de juillet, cela ne sest pas fait sans beaucoup de peine, les mifSIONnaires navoient pourtout logement quun mechant logis et pour chapelle une cabane decorce dans laquelle le superieur de la mifSION logeoit dans un coing pratique pour cela; mais Dieu recompensoit et les p.p. et les enfants des graces abondantes quil

confirmation, which he conferred on more than eighty savages; and in the space of three years he confirmed more than two hundred. This sacrament exerted its effect wonderfully. The demon increased his efforts to ruin the mission, attacking both individuals and the public. The dogique was the first one attacked, in the loss of one of his children, named Alexis—a pattern to all the children of that mission. He was six years old, beloved and caressed by all the people, of a generous nature, and given to devotion. This loss threw his parents into a mortal affliction; they consoled themselves, however, by offering their child to God.

Poverty is not a scourge of the mission, but an adjunct which chastens it from time to time. It was so great last year, and has continued in such a way this year, that it obliged the mission to leave the land of la prairie for the purpose of seeking one a league and a quarter higher up, named the sault St. Louis, or that of St. Xavier, from the appellation of the mission. Our Lord assuredly wishes to honor his poverty in that of the Savages; for it is a companion which follows them everywhere. Neither do they ask to be delivered from it, as from the other temptations of life, because it increases their merit. Be this as it may, it is the reason which obliged the mission to change its abode,—which occurred nine years ago, in the month of july. This was not accomplished without a great deal of trouble. The missionaries had no other accommodation than a sorry lodge, and for chapel a cabin of bark, in which the superior of the mission dwelt in a corner arranged for the purpose. But God rewarded both the fathers and the children with the abundant favors

versoit sur les uns et surles autres, on commençâ
lesté a batir une chapelle de soixante pieds qui fut
achevée l'automne d'apres. Cette chapelle fut bénie
avec ceremonie et devient illustre par les grâces
que Dieu a versé sur ceux qui alloint prier Dieu
dedans.

1677

on commençâ a cognoistre que le lieu et les personnes ne contribuoient point a la ferveur des sauvages lesquels estants seuls séparés des françois ne furent pas moins chrestiens et mesme le furent davantage au Sault qu'ils n'avoient été à la prairie. La relation qu'on a fait et qui en parle iusques à 1679 fait voir que les choses se réglèrent dès lors chacun ayant désir de bien faire, les règlements de ce temps là [sont] pour les prières des jours ouvriers et des jours de festes tant celles des grands que des enfants les chants les processions les saluts la pratique des sacrements les mariages les divers états des mariés des veuves et des vierges et tout le reste en quoy la mission s'est réglée comme la plus belle paroisse de France; la loi contre la boisson s'y gardait aufsy comme on le pourra voir dans son traité particulier.

Cette année sera remarquable par un célèbre présent qui fut envoyé de Lorette au Sault, cestoit un collier exhortatif qui addressoit la voix des Loretains à ceux du Sault, pour leur faire prendre la foi tout de bon, pour leur faire batir une chapelle au plus tôt: et il les exhortoit aussi à combattre les différents démons qui coniuroient la ruine de l'une et l'autre mission ce collier fut aufsy tôt attaché à une des poutres de la chapelle qui répond au dessus de l'autel affin

which he poured upon them both. In the summer, they began to build a chapel sixty feet long, which was finished in the following autumn. This chapel was solemnly blessed, and is becoming illustrious through the favors which God has poured upon those who went to pray to God therein.

1677.

It began to be apparent that place and persons did not contribute to the fervor of the savages, who, although alone and separated from the French, were not less Christian—aye, were even more so—at the Sault than they had been at la prairie. The relation which has been composed, which speaks of them as late as 1679, shows that matters adjusted themselves without interference, each one having a desire to comply fully with the regulations for that time as regards prayers for working-days and feast-days, for both adults and children; the hymns, processions, and benedictions; observance of the sacraments; marriages, the different states of marriage, widowhood, and virginity; and everything else,—wherein the mission was ordered like the finest parish of France. The law against liquor was also observed in it, as may be seen in the special account of it.

This year will be remarkable for a celebrated present which was sent from Lorette to the Sault. It was a hortatory collar which conveyed the voice of the Lorette people to those of the Sault, encouraging them to accept the faith in good earnest, and to build a chapel as soon as possible; and it also exhorted them to combat the various demons who conspired for the ruin of both missions. This collar was at once attached to one of the beams of the chapel,

quon le regardast toufiours et qu'on ecoustast cette voix.

Le demon qui navoit pu rien gaigner sur lesprit des sauvages en les attaquant ouvertement usa de pernitieuses intrigues pour la faire succomber Monsieur le comte de frontenak sollicite pour des esprits envenimes prit resolution d'empescher de bastir une chapelle et ny reufsit pas. il se resolut de empescher qu'on agrandist les champs des sauvages, et il empescha en effect quon ne leur donnast dela terre audefsus du sault, il usa sovent de menaces demprisonnement et autres en un mot il eust voulu quil ny eust pas eu de mifion. Les iroquois firent ausfy tout ce quils purent pour affamer le village du Sault y pafsan en troupe apres leur chafse et apres avoir mangé bien du bled en emportoint beaucoup pour leur provision ce qui faisoit voir que la terre en produisoit beaucoup. mais le nombre des pafsans qui alloit par esté a trois ou quatre cents personnes laissoit le village depourveu l hyver et au temps des semances: le succes qu'on se promettoit de tout cela ne fut pas tel quon l'eust souhaitté car nous voyons en effect que le village a beaucoup augmenté: la pauvreté et la famine nestant qu'une épreuve qui rend une partie des sauvages plus menages, et le christianisme du sault independant de tous ces differens evenemens: la ferveur quils ont eu dans leur disette a gaigné et attiré icy plusieurs personnes de leurs parens.

1678.

Les forces de l'enfer estant ainsi dechaisnées contre la mifion Dieu inspira a plusieurs de nos

which is above the top of the altar, so that the people might always bhold it and hear that voice.

The demon, who had been able to gain nothing over the minds of the savages by attacking them openly, used pernicious intrigues to make them yield. Monsieur the count de frontenak, urged by certain malignant natures, resolved to prevent the building of a chapel, but did not succeed therein. He resolved to prevent an extension of the savages' fields, and actually prevented any land from being given to them above the sault. He often used threats of imprisonment, and other menaces; in a word, he would have been glad if there had been no mission. The iroquois also did all that they could to starve out the village of the Sault, going thither in a troop after their hunt; and, after having eaten much corn, they carried off a great deal for their provision — which showed that the soil there yielded much. But the number of transient dwellers, who in summer amounted to three or four hundred persons, left the village destitute in winter and at planting time. The result which was expected from all that was not such as was desired; for we actually see that the village has greatly increased,—poverty and famine being only a trial which renders a part of the savages more economical, and the christianity of the sault independent of all these various events. The fervor which they showed in their dearth has won and drawn hither many persons among their kinsmen.

1678.

The forces of hell being thus unchained against the mission, God inspired several of our new christians

nouveaux chrestiens daller faire une guerre ouverte aux vices dans leur propre pais a l'exemple du jeune skandegorthaksen lequel il ya trois ans fut aux anies expres pour tirer de l'ivrognerie son camarade; celuy qu'on appelle le grand Anie leur ayant rompu la digue que les entiens opposoient a l'establissement qui se faisoit au Sault. mais ie puis dire que le plus celebre voyage fut celuy dela poudre chaude capitaine des onneiouts qui demeurent au Sault et de ses deux camarades; ce capitaine baptisé depuis peu voulant aller a onneist pafsa par les aniés ou estant arrivé tous les entiens le furent saluer. Ce nouveau fidelle ne leur dit d'autres nouvelles que celles dela foy. ce qui surprit fort l'afsemblee qui le laissa discourir les entiens se retirerent plusieurs du village resterent pourtant et entendirent ce que cet homme avoit a dire, et apres tout ayant presché partout cnon chemin, il ne receut que des iniures; il ne laissa pas d'en ebranler plusieurs; parce quil a une cloquence naturelle fort agreable; cest principalement depuis ce temps la qu'on a vu descendre plusieurs personnes expres pour rester au sault, ces nouveaux apostres ont si bien reufsy quon peut voir par les papiers des baptesmes le nombre des personnes quils ont gaigné a Dieu avant qu'aucun sauvage eust pris ainsy la liberté de prescher levangile, on baptisoit au Sault pour le plus dissep personnes paran; mais depuis que les sauvages sont alles eux mesmes au pais pour convertir les autres on compte par an les baptesmes a soixantaines qui sont les baptesmes d'adultes mais le plus grand effect qua produit cette prædication est denous avoir acquit un thresor que nous gardons

to go to make open war upon vice in their own country, after the example of the young skandegorthaksen, who three years before had gone to the anies expressly to rescue his comrade from drunkenness; for the one whom they call "the great Anie"¹⁸ had broken down for them the dike which the elders were opposing to the establishment which was being formed at the Sault. But I may say that the most celebrated journey was that of la poudre chaude ["hot powder"], captain of the onneiouts who live at the Sault, and of his two comrades. This captain, recently baptized, wishing to go to onneiout, passed through the aniés. When he arrived there, all the elders went to greet him. This new convert told them no other tidings than those of the faith. This greatly surprised the assembly, which allowed him to speak. The elders withdrew; many people of the village remained, however, and heard what this man had to say. And after all, having preached everywhere on his way, he received nothing but insults. He nevertheless stirred up many people, because he has a very agreeable natural eloquence. It has been chiefly since that time that many persons have been seen to come down expressly to remain at the sault. These new apostles have succeeded so well that one may see, by the records of baptisms, the number of persons whom they have gained to God. Before any savage had thus taken the liberty to preach the gospel, they used to baptize at the Sault seventeen persons, at most, in a year; but since the savages themselves go to their country to convert the others, the baptisms are yearly reckoned by sixties—and these are baptisms of adults. But the greatest effect which this preaching has produced

cherement dans nostre eglise scavoir le corps d'une vertucuse fille qui est morte icy en odcur de saincteté comme nous dirons. Cet année durant lesté trois de nos sauvages que nous venons denommer lembiquerent dans leur canot. Sa vie est escripte afsez amplement tout le bruit que lenfer faisoit par la bouche des enticns qui declamoint perpetuellement dans leurs conseils contre la mifson du Sault, et tout le bruit que levangile faisoit parla bouche des prædicateurs je veux dire de nos sauvages chrestiens produisioit dans lesprit de ceux qui ecoutoint ainsy parler depart et dautres le desir de voir eux mesmes ce qu'on faisoit au Sault et layant veu ils commençoient a s'y plaire ainsy Dieu semoit en eux les graces desa vocation; quelques uns s'arrestoient d'abord d'autres retournoient ensuite et l'enfer perdoit toutes les années ses entiennes conquestes.

Les puissances de l'enfer poufserent la rage plus loing; elles entreprirent de sapper la mifson dans ses foudemens; elle ne fut etablie que pour vaincre la boifson: elle ne s'est soutenue que par la destruction de la boifson; elle ne continüe qu'en combattant la boifson: plusieurs françois appuyes de l'autorité de monsieur de frontenak entreprirent de tenir cabaret a la prairie qui est l'entienne demcure des sauvages qui est a present une paroifse a cinq quarts de lietie du sault: quatre ou cinq particuliers estant echauffez pour le cabaret, une cinquantaine de paroissiens firent une requête; la reuete ayant esté mal recue de M^r de frontenak les requerants condamnés a l'amande on appelle de M^r de frontenak a M^r. de frontenak mesme lequel avoit deffendu par son ordonnance de quatre

is to have acquired for us a treasure which we keep preciously in our church—the body of a virtuous maiden, who died here in the odor of sanctity, as we shall tell. This year, during the summer, three of our savages, whom we have just mentioned, put it on board their canoe.¹⁴ Her life is very fully described. All the noise which hell made by the mouths of the elders,—who perpetually declaimed in their councils against the mission of the Sault,—and all the noise which the gospel made by the mouths of the preachers,—namely, of our christian savages,—produced in those who thus heard utterances on both sides the desire to see for themselves what was being done at the Sault; and having seen it, they began to take pleasure therin. Thus God was sowing in them the graces of his calling. Some at once settled down, others afterward returned, and hell was every year losing its former conquests.

The powers of hell pushed their madness farther—they undertook to undermine the mission in its foundations. It was established only for the sake of overcoming intemperance; it has maintained itself only through the destruction of that vice; it has continued only by fighting liquor. Several frenchmen, supported by the authority of monsieur de frontenak, undertook to keep a tavern at la prairie, the former abode of the savages,—now a parish a league and a quarter from the sault. Four or five private persons being eager for the tavern, about fifty parishioners sent in a petition. The petition having been ill received by Monsieur de frontenak, and the petitioners condemned to a fine, they appealed from Monsieur de frontenak to Monsieur de frontenak himself,—who had forbidden, by his ordinance of

ans revolus les cabarets et la boisson quon vouloit traitter aux sauvages. cet appeal donna au demon une partie de cequ'il demandoit parcequ'il fut permis dc tenir cabaret a la prairie; mais en faict il fut dessendu de traitter dela boisson aux Sauvages du Sault cequi a tousiours continué iusques a quil y ait eu des troupes; il sest donné de temps en temps plusieurs batailles et plusieurs assaults contre la boisson et les chefs de la mission ont tousiours seconde les missionnaires et ont tenu le bon party: cette contradiction a fait dire a des personnes bien eclairées que les tentations que les nouveaux chrestiens de lamerique souffrent correspondoint aux persecutions dela primitive Eglise: nostre eglise a eu en cela ses martyrs et ses renegats avec quelque proportion commeon le verra dans lecrit de livrognerie confondüe.

L impurete n'est pas si pernitiveuse parcequ'oste la boisson de chez les iroquois on oste mille peches dimpureté dont ils navoient point connaissance avant l'establissement des boissons: ils gardent entre eux les degrés d'affinité entre parents il ne se fait pas de mal chez eux, ou sil s'en fait les delinquants sont en abomination; on a mesme vu des filles garder virginité pour le moins elles nestoint ny mariées ny tachées du vice de la chair et une est morte sans avoir voulu se marier et on tenoit quelle navoit iamais fait mal et est morte en cet etat sans baptesme quoiqu'il en soit il y a dumoins chez les iroquois comparés aux brutalités de la chair qui regnent chez les outawaks et autres sauvages. ce monstre pourtant appuyé de lexces des boissons a tout perdu au pais des iroquois dans ces dernicrs temps et a taché de tout perdre

four years ago, taverns and the liquor which these men desired to barter with the savages. This appeal gave the demon a part of what he asked, because permission was granted to keep a tavern at la prairie; but, in fact, trade in liquor with the Savages of the Sault was forbidden,—which regulation has always continued, until troops were there. Several battles have occurred, from time to time, and various assaults against drink; and the chiefs of the mission have always aided the missionaries and have taken the good side. This conflicting state of affairs has caused very enlightened persons to say that the temptations which the new christians of america suffered corresponded to the persecutions of the primitive Church. Our church has in that respect had its martyrs and its renegades, in some proportion, as will be seen in the pamphlet entitled "drunkenness confounded."

Impurity is not so pernicious, because, when drink is removed from among the iroquois, one removes a thousand sins of impurity of which they had no knowledge before the introduction of liquor. They observe among themselves the degrees of affinity between relatives; no wrong-doing occurs between them; or, if any does occur, the delinquents are held in abomination. We have even seen maidens observing virginity,—at least, they were neither married nor tainted with the vice of the flesh; One even died without having desired to marry, and it was held that she had never done wrong, and had died in that state without baptism. However this may be, there is at least among the iroquois nothing comparable to the brutalities of the flesh which prevail among the outawaks and other

dans cette mission par les separations des marys et des feimmes et par l'infirmité de nature qui est plus grande dans la jeunefse sauvage que dans toute autre espeee d hommcis. il na pas reufsy ee monstre et il a este eombattu et vaincu par plusieurs: on a vu des filles refuser genereusement des hardes de l'argent et autres choses de prix qu'on leur offroit pour contentir un mal: on en a vu quelques unes trainees dans des magazins ou on les mettoit a choix resister et menaer de s'ecrier si on ne desistoit on en connoist qui ont resisté des années entieres a des poursuites deshonettes, onenavu donner des coups de point parle nez et couvrir de honte et de sang le visage des demons incarnes qui les venoint tenter, on en a vu qui se sont defigurées en se coupant les cheveux qui est le prinicipal ornement des sauvages; on en a vu rapporter au missionnaire les presens quon leur avoit fait a mauvais dessein; et cest parmy ces contradictions que celles qui avoient peché avant leur baptesme ont purifie leur ame et que celles qui sont nées dans le village on[t] succé la pudeur avec le laiet de leur mere chrestienne. Il y en a desia plusieurs qui ont portes leur virginité dans le cicl qui nestoingt que de treise quatorse quinze ou ving ans plusieurs vivent encore qui ayant souvent refusé de bons partis pour le mariage passent l'aage nubile et donnent a Dieu leur corps et leur ame dans une grande pauvrete et shabillent daumosne. cet esprit a reuny cette annee toutes ces personnes qui sont au nombre de treise, elles ont pour fin la plus haute perfection. elles s'assemblent et une fait une petite exhortation ou bien elles se disent leur fautes;

savages. This monster, however, upheld by excess in drinks, has ruined everything in the country of the iroquois in these recent years, and has endeavored to ruin everything in this mission through separations of husbands and wives, and through the infirmity of nature—which is greater in the savage youth than in any other class of men. This monster did not succeed, and has been combated and vanquished by many. We have known of girls bravely refusing clothes, money, and other things of value, which were offered them if they would consent to do wrong. Some have been seen dragged into warehouses, where they were put to a choice, but resisting and threatening to cry out if the men did not desist. Some are known who have during whole years resisted indecent pursuits. Some have been seen striking blows upon the nose, and covering with shame and blood the faces of the incarnate demons who came to tempt them. Some have been known to disfigure themselves by cutting off their hair, which is the principal ornament of the savage girls; and they have been known to carry back to the missionary the presents which had been offered them with evil designs. It is amid such conflicts that those who had sinned before their baptism have purified their souls, and that those who have been born in the village have suckled modesty with their christian mothers' milk. There are already several who have carried their virginity to heaven, who were but thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or twenty years old. Several are still living who, having often refused good offers in marriage, pass the marriageable age, and give to God their bodies and their souls in great poverty, and clothe themselves by alms. This

elles font comme les dames de la misericorde de france et ont pour office les œuvres de charite du prochain surtout elles ont soing des pauvres et des malades auxquels elles portent du bois en cachette et les soir et sensuyent ausy tost de peur dcstre apperceües elles vont veillcr les malades et leur font l'aumosne d'autres choses qui leur font besoing: elles ont pour moyen la mortification et les loignement des plaisirs dela chair quelles traittent comme l'appas du demon et disent dans leurs excess que les p. p. qui veulent leur faire quitter la ceinture et la discipline sont pleins de misericorde, mais qu'ils ne scavent pas combien ils ont esté chargés depeches avant quon leur eust enseigné a bien vivre, ainsy on les voit tousiours occupées a porter du bois ou faire des colliers a semer piler coudre faire des sacs et autres ouvrages.

La petite verole parcourut nostre village au commencement de l'automne on setonna pourtant apres du peu denterremens quon avoit fait et cette benniction de Dieu fit que les iroquois ne dirent plus que la foy et le baptesme faisoit mourir; au lieu qu'aux iroquois ils meurent a centaines quand la petite verole les prend. La confidence quon inspiroit aux Sauvages dans la maladie produisit son effet non seulement sur les malades qui furent tous gueris et sur les personnes qui ne furent point attaquées du mal, mais mesme on vit que Dieu benit iusques aux terres; une isle prochaine du village avoit esté desertée depuis peu, elle estoit remplie de vers qui mangerent trois fois de suite toute la semance, enfin les sauvages qui avoient semé vinrent prier le pere

spirit has this year united all those persons, who number thirteen; they have for their object the highest state of perfection. They assemble, and one makes a brief exhortation; or else they tell their faults to one another. They act like the daughters of mercy in france, and have for their office works of charity to their neighbors; they especially take care of the poor and the sick, to whom they carry wood in secret and at evening, and immediately vanish for fear of being perceived. They go to watch the sick, and give them as alms other things which they need. To attain their end, they use mortification and are averse to carnal pleasures, which they treat as the bait of the demon; and they say, in their excess, that the fathers who wish to make them give up the cingulum [penitential girdle] and discipline are full of mercy, but that they know not how much these women were laden with sins before they had been taught to live aright. Accordingly, they are always seen occupied in carrying wood, or making collars; in planting, spinning, sewing, and making pouches; and in other labors.

Smallpox went the round of our village at the beginning of autumn. There was, nevertheless, some astonishment, afterward, at the few burials which had taken place; and this blessing of God brought it about that the iroquois no longer said that the faith and baptism occasioned death, for among the iroquois they die by hundreds when smallpox attacks them. The confidence which was inspired in the Savages during the disease produced its effect not only upon the sick, who were all cured, and upon the persons who were not attacked by the malady, but it was even seen that God blessed the

d'y aller pour y ietter de leau beniste. Le missionnaire y fut et voyant la foy de ces pauvres gens qui estoient tous a genoux autour de luy, il fit les prieres de leglise plein de foy et de charité l'automne suivante la recolte fut si abondante dans cette isle qu'on en fut surpris ny ayant point de champ ou il y eust tant de tresses de bled au sault que celuy qui estoit dans l'isle quoique les semances eufsent este plustost faite ailleurs que la et que le bled n'eust pas esté mangé par les vers comme il arriva tout le printemps dans l'isle. Les sauvages y firent les premiers reflexion appres la recolte admirans et remerciant la bonté de Dieu, ils ont fait cette reflexion les années suivantes surtout en 1685 tandis que le prestre benissoit une femme emmafsa en un instant sa pleine main de vers et l'automne la recolte y fut merveilleuse. Le village brulant en 1686 ils remarquèrent qu'aussy tost quon sonna la cloche on surmonta le feu qui avoit surmonté iusques alors toutes les diligence des travailleurs.

1679

La malice des hommes porta cette année les choses si haut qu'on estoit menacé de toutes parts de mauvais incidents qui devoint arriver a la mission tantost on disoit qu'on alloit établir une maison au dessus de ce village pour faire la traite et les décharges de ce qu'on menoit et rapportoit pour le fort de Catarakwi et la france avoit prononcé arrest la defsus, tantost on disoit qu'on alloit mettre en prison a montreal le capitaine de nostre village l'accusant de brouiller les affaires et le voulant faire responsable de ce que les

very lands. An island near the village had been lately cleared; it was full of worms, which ate the whole planting three times in succession. Finally the savages who had planted came to beg the father to go thither to sprinkle holy water thereon. The missionary went and, seeing the faith of these poor people, who were all kneeling about him, said, full of faith and charity, the prayers of the church. In the following autumn the crop was so abundant on that island that people were surprised at it, there being no field at the sault in which there were so many sheaves of corn as in the one which was on the island,—although the plantings had elsewhere been made sooner than there; and although the corn had not been eaten by the worms, as was the case throughout the spring on the island. The savages were the first to reflect thereon after the harvest, admiring and thanking the goodness of God. They have made the same reflection in the following years, especially in 1685; while the priest was blessing, a woman gathered up in an instant her hand full of worms, and in autumn the crop was wonderful. The village burning in 1686, they remarked that as soon as the bell was rung, the fire was overcome,—which had, until then, prevailed against all the efforts of the workmen.

1679.

The malice of men carried things so high this year that we were on all sides menaced with mis-haps which were likely to befall the mission. At one time, it was said that some one was about to establish a house above this village for carrying on trade, and transferring what was brought back and forth for the fort of Catarakwi, and that france had

iroquois infidelles faisoient; tantost on disoit qu'on alloit introduire les boifsons dans le village ce qui estoit certain, parceq'un françois y faisoit desia plusieurs voyages durant l'esté avec espérance d'obtenir la permission de tout ce qu'il voudroit faire se rendant ncessaire aux Sauvages parcequ'il est armurier deson metier. Dans ces perplexités et ces contradictions les pauvres missionnaires affligés n'avoint recours qu'a Dieu qui leur fut favorable disposant toutes choses pour un voyage que le pere fremin fit en france sur la fin de cette année, voyage heureux qui a fait triompher la mifson de tous ses ennemis d'une facon si surprenante quil meriteroit un récit particulier

Il est vray que la mifson croifsoit comme la palme sous le poids des afflictions et que le service de Dieu n'y a iamais esté si exact et Si splendide quil fut alors; il n'y avoit que trois ans que les sauvages estoient séparés, ils faisoient devant, ou plutost ne faisoient qu'afsister a la messe et a vepres qui estoient chantées par les françois, mais a present ils font tout eux mesmes dans leur chapelle ils lavoint desia fait mais leglise estoit trop incommode n'estant q'une chapelle decorce; l'entienne chapelle estantachevée lenterieur de la mifson fut tout autre; ils firent ce qu'ils pûrent pour bien orner la chapelle qui n'estoit qu'achevée, ils avoient donné abondamment dequoy la batir les agnies se signalerent en cette libéralité; cette affection que les sauvages avoient pour cette chapelle leur facilita le moyen d'apprendre les chants de l'eglise comme les hymnes du St Sacrement les hymnes de la Vierge et quelques autres des

pronounced a decree therein. At another time, it was said that they were going to put in prison at montreal the captain of our village, accusing him of complicating affairs and seeking to make him responsible for what the infidel iroquois were doing. Again, it was said that they were about to introduce liquor into the village; this was certain, because a frenchman was already making various trips thither during the summer in the hope of obtaining permission for all that he might wish to do, through rendering himself necessary to the Savages, being a gunsmith by trade. In these perplexities and conflicts, the poor afflicted missionaries had recourse only to God, who was favorable to them. He disposed all things for a journey which father fremin made to france about the end of this year—a successful voyage, which enabled the mission to triumph over all its enemies, in a manner so surprising that it should merit a special account.

It is true that the mission was growing, like the palm, beneath the weight of afflictions; and that the service of God has never been so punctual and So solemn there as it was then. It was only three years since the savages had been separated. They formerly held mass, or rather were merely present at mass and at vespers, which were sung by the french; but now they do everything themselves in their chapel. They had already done so, but the church was too inconvenient, being only a chapel of bark. The old chapel being finished, the interior of the mission was quite different. They did what they could to adorn handsomely the chapel, which was just completed. They had given abundantly wherewith to build it; the agnies distinguished themselves

confesseurs des martyrs l'inviolata le veni creator les psaumes et plus detrente differentes sortes tant pour la messe que pour les vêpres et pour les saluts: sans obmettre les ceremonys des chandelles dela purification des cendres des rameaux du vendredy saint les processions du St sacrement quon vient voir par rareté et celle de la assumption; la foy leur ayant donné beaucoup d'affection pour ces choses la; ils les ont ausy tôt apprises en quoy les feimmes excellent qui chantent fort bien et fort devotement tous ceux qui les entendent prennent plaisir, les enfans qui ont appris a servir la messe et qui semprissent beaucoup pour la servir sont habilez dans toutes ces ceremonys comme de petits clergeons et scavent si bien leur office quil n'y arrive aucun de perdre; on s'estonne tous les iours et avec raisons que des sauvages ayent si tôt appris tout cela: eux qu'on n'entend hurler dans les bois quand ils chantent à leur maniere et qui ont une education si contraire aux facons policées des autres nations.

On n'avoit pas encore veu les Sauvages s'instruire les uns les autres avec un si grand succès comme nous lavons vu icy; les missionnaires commençoient desia a avoir trop de monde a enseigner qui le trouvoient si neufs au commencement quil falloit leur faire faire iusques aux plus petites reverances quon fait entrans ou sortants de leglise avant ou apres avoir pris leau beniste se lever a levangile sagenouiller dans leglise. Dieu suscita cette année plusieurs personnes qui prenoient elles mesmes ce soing et mesme qui faisoient le catéchisme aux enfans et aux nouveaux venus en quoy ils valent bien des missionnaires

in this liberality. This affection which the savages had for that chapel facilitated for them the means for learning the chants of the church — as, the hymns of the Blessed Sacrament, the hymns of the Virgin, and some others of the confessors and of the martyrs, the *inviolata*, the *veni creator*, the psalms, and more than thirty different hymns, alike for mass and for vespers and benedictions. Nor must I omit mention of the ceremonies of the candles at purification, ash wednesday, palm sunday, good friday, and the processions of the Blessed sacrament,—which they come to see through curiosity,—and that of the assumption, faith having given them much affection for those things. They learned them immediately; and in them the women excel, who sing very well and very devoutly. All those who hear them are pleased. The boys, who have learned to serve at mass, and who are very eager to serve, are vested at all these ceremonies as little acolytes, and know their office so well that no one loses his place. People are every day astonished, and with reason, that savages have so soon learned all that—they whom one hears yelling in the woods when they sing in their own fashion, and who have an education so contrary to the civilized manners of other nations.

The Savages had not yet been known to instruct one another with so great success as we have seen here. The missionaries were already beginning to have too many people to teach,—who, it happened, were so new at the start that it was necessary to teach them to perform even the slightest reverences that one observes on entering or leaving the church, and before or after taking holy water; and to rise at the gospel, and kneel in the church. This year,

parceque ayant bien conceu nos mysteres ils leur donnent le tour dans leur langue et avec une onction admirable ce qui fait que les ignorans les ont aussy tôt conçus et en sont touchés quand on scait que les nouveaux venus sont logés dans certaines cabanes. les misionnaires vivent en repos pour linstruction de ceux la car on pase volontiers les nuits entieres a les instruire.

Durant le long voyage que le R. P. fremin fit en france le diable redoubla ses efforts pretendant profiter de laffliction dans laquelle il avoit [laissé] ses bons enfans il partit lautomne de l'annee presante et ausy tôt apres son départ on entendit dire que les iroquois avoient tué le capitaine des loups et que le coup avoit esté fait vers le fort de chambly. on accusa tout ausy tôt les iroquois de la mission du Sault sans faire reflexion que la mesme annee un sauvage chrestien de cette mision nommé Iaque avoit tiré un loup des feux des iroquois le loup estoit des considerables de sa nation et l'iroquois risqua sa vie pour luy le delia lemmena dans une cabane; luy seul se mit a la porte de la cabane le captif estant assis paisiblement dedans, et l'iroquois dit qu'on n'entreroit pas pour prendre le captif quon ne l'eust premierement tué; quil mourroit pour la defense de la paix faite entre les françois et les iroquois que la mort du loup pourroit finir. La calomnie quon iettoit sur la mision du Sault fut bientost dissipée Dieu prenant en main la cause des innocents, celuy quon appelle le grand Anié estant venu expres du lieu de la chasse quil quitta pour aller descouvrir la verité et pour accommoder les affaires en cas quil y eust de

God raised up several persons who themselves assumed this care, and who even taught the catechism to the children and to the new-comers, wherein they do as well as the missionaries,—because, having well understood our mysteries, they give to these the right turn in their own language, and do so with an admirable unction. As a result, the ignorant readily understand them, and are touched by them. When it is known that the new-comers are lodged in certain cabins, the missionaries are free from anxiety as regards the instruction of those people, for whole nights are gladly spent in instructing them.

During the long voyage which the Reverend Father fremin made to france, the devil increased his efforts, intending to profit by the affliction in which the father had now left his good children. He went away in the autumn of the present year; and, immediately after his departure, we heard it said that the iroquois had killed the captain of the loups, and that the blow had been dealt near the fort of chambly. Some forthwith accused the iroquois of the Sault mission, without reflecting that, in the same year, a christian savage of this mission, named Jaque, had delivered a loup from the fires of the iroquois. The loup was among the notables of his nation; and the iroquois risked his life for him, unbound him, and led him away to a cabin. He himself stood at the door of the cabin, the captive being seated quietly within; and this iroquois said that they should not come in to seize the captive unless they first killed him; that he would die for the defense of the peace concluded between the french and the iroquois, which the loup's death might end. The calumny that was cast upon the mission of the

la faute de quelquon du sault, ayant recommandé l'affaire à Dieu et ayant demandé aux françois leurs prières a la grandmesse, il fut sur les lieux; ou il decouvrit la verité et remit la tranquillité dans toutes les habitations.

Cet accident fut suivy dun mal reel et dangreux un françois avoit gaigné lesprit des sauvages s'offrant a racommoder leurs fusils; on luy avoit donne un petit coing dans une cabane ou il avoit attaché un etot. il faisoit un petit magazin et disposa tout pour tenir un iour boutique et traitter de la boisson au milieu du village: il y pafsa un hyver cequi epouvanta fort les deux misionnaires qui restoint a la mision, mais le secours qu'on leur apporta et la deffense que Monsieur Duchesneau fit a cet homme de rester dans le village davantage, chassa le demon de son fort avec telle honte quil ny est pas retourné depuis.

1680.

Dieu qui prend plaisir de mesler la vie des hommes de joye et d afflictions bannit toutes les afflictions cette année de la mision. les assaults quon luy a donné trois ans durant cesserent alors: mais l absence du p. fremin tenoit tousiours les esprits en balance: on fit aussy une grande perte et un grand profit cette annee. la terre perdit et le ciel gagna: la mision donna au paradis un thresor qu'on luy avoit envoyée deux ans devant; scavoir l'ame bienheureuse de *Catherine Tegak8ita qui mourut le 17 avril.* l'estime qu'on en faisoit durant sa vie le secours que plusieurs en ont eu apres sa mort les honneurs qu'on a continué

Sault was soon dissipated, God taking in hand the cause of the innocent. The one who is called "the great Anié" came from the hunting-ground, which he left expressly to go to discover the truth, and to settle matters in case any one of the sault should be to blame. Having commended the affair to God and having requested of the french their prayers at high mass, he went to the places in question, where he discovered the truth and restored tranquillity to all the settlements.

This accident was followed by a real and dangerous evil. A frenchman had won the minds of the savages by offering to repair their guns. They had given him a little corner in a cabin, where he had set up a vise. He was preparing a small store, and arranging everything in order some day to keep a shop and deal in liquor in the midst of the village. He spent one winter there, which greatly alarmed the two missionaries who remained at the mission. But the aid which was brought to them, and Monsieur Duchesneau's prohibition to that man to remain longer in the village, drove the demon from his fort in such shame that he has not since returned.

1680.

God, who takes pleasure in mingling joys and sorrows in the life of man banished all sorrows from the mission this year. The assaults which had been made upon it for three years then ceased; but the absence of father fremin continually kept our minds in suspense. A great loss and a great profit was also incurred this year. The earth lost and heaven gained. The mission gave to paradise a treasure which had been sent to it two years before, to wit,

a luy rendre et plusieurs autres ornementz de sa vie l'on faitte assez cognoistre dans tout ce pais, elle a servy a la mission par ses bons exemples, mais on peut dire quelle luy a servy davantage apres sa mort car son corps inanimé sert icy d'argument de credibilité de la foy pour les sauvages et ses prières soulagent continuellement cette mission, on peut dire quelle entre maintenant en participation de tous les biens qui s'y font qui s'y sont faits depuis sa mort: a l'heure de son deces on luy porta le viatique dans sa cabane: cequi ne se pratiquoit pas encore: on portoit les malades en l'église sur une écorce pour leur donner le viatique pour inspirer aux sauvages le respect qu'on doit au S. Sacrement les sauvages ne s'estimans pas dignes que N. S. prist luy mesme la peine de les aller chercher quelques malades qu'ils fussent.

Le demon qui vit le glorieux succes de cette mission usa d'une autre sorte de batterie et se transfigurant en ange de lumiere il poussa la devotion de quelques personnes qui vouloient imiter Catherine ou faire bonne penitence de leurs pechés il les poussa jusques dans lexces pour rendre sans doute le christianisme odieux des les commencements ou pour faire prendre le change aux filles et aux femmes de cette mission dont la prudence na iamais égalé celle de catherine quelles vouloient imiter, on voyoit des Sauvageuses qui se iettoient sous les glaces en plein hyver unc y fit tremper sa fille qui navoit que six ans pour luy apprendre disoit elle de bonne heure la penitence. la mere s'y tenoit a cose de ses peches pascles elle y tenoit sa fille innocente a cose des

the blessed soul of *Catherine Tegakwita, who died on the 17th of april.* The esteem in which she was held during her life, the help which many have had from her since her death, the honors which they have continued to render her, and various other circumstances which adorned her life—have made her very well known throughout this country. She served the mission by her good example; but we can say that she served it more after her death, for her lifeless body serves here as argument to the savages that the faith is worthy of credence, and her prayers continually aid this mission. We may say that she now enters into participation of all the good which is done in it, and which has been done here since her death. At the hour of her decease, the viaticum was carried to her in her cabin. This was not yet customary; the sick people were carried to church on a litter of bark, when giving them the viaticum, in order to inspire the savages with the respect which is due to the Blessed Sacrament. The savages do not account themselves worthy that Our Lord should himself take the trouble of going to seek them, however sick they may be.

The demon, who saw the glorious success of this mission, used another kind of battery. Transfiguring himself as an angel^{of light}, he urged on the devotion of some persons who wished to imitate Catherine, or to do severe penance for their sins. He drove them even into excess,—in order, no doubt, to render christianity hateful even at the start; or in order to impose upon the girls and women of this mission, whose discretion has never equaled that of catherine, whom they tried to imitate. There were Savage women who threw them-

peches avenir que cet enfant commettoit peut estre estant grande: on voyoit des sauvages et des sauvagesses qui se mettoint toutes en sang a coups de disciplines de fer de verges despines d'orties; qui ieunoient rigoureusement sans manger de toute la iournée et ceque les sauvages mangent lamoitié de lannée n'est pas capable de faire vivre un homme: ces ieuneuses travailloint tout le iour de force l'esté a labourer l'hyver a bucher: ces austérités estoit presque continualles elles mesloint de la cendre dans leur portion de Sagamité elles se mettoient des charbons ardent entre les orteils ou le feu faisoit son trou; elles alloint nues iambes faire une longue procefsion dans les negcs elles se defiguroint toutes se coupant lcs cheveux pour n'estre pas recherchéees en mariage cela et tout le mal quelles pouvoient faire a leur corps quelles appellent leur plus grand ennemy les mettoit si bas quil n'estoit pas possible que des hommes mal nourris peufsent perseverer la plus part de ces choses fe passoient dans les bois ou les sauvages se trouvoient a la chafse ou par enthoufiasmes exces d'indignations contre soy mesme. mais le St' Esprit se mesla bien tost de cette affaire et a eclairci toutes ces personnes et a regle leur conduite sans diminuer leur ferveur.

Sur le milieu de leté nostre chapelle fut menacée du feu du ciel lequel apres plusieurs eclairs effroyables en plein midy et plusieurs grands coups de tonnerres tomba a quelque pas dela grand-porte et tomba sur deux chesnes qu'il ecorcha, un homme qui alloit entrer dans la chapelle vit toutes les pierres qui estoient a terre courir autour de luy sans quil eust receu de mal.

selves under the ice, in the midst of winter. One had her daughter dipped into it, who was only six years old,—for the purpose, she said, of teaching her penance in good season. The mother stood there on account of her past sins; she kept her innocent daughter there on account of her sins to come, which this child would perhaps commit when grown up. Savages, both men and women, covered themselves with blood by disciplinary stripes with iron, with rods, with thorns, with nettles; they fasted rigorously, passing the entire day without eating,—and what the savages eat during half the year is not sufficient to keep a man alive. These fasting women toiled strenuously all day—in summer, working in the fields; in winter, cutting wood. These austérités were almost continual. They mingled ashes in their portion of Sagamité; they put glowing coals between their toes, where the fire burned a hole in the flesh; they went bare-legged to make a long procession in the snows; they all disfigured themselves by cutting off their hair, in order not to be sought in marriage. These things, and all the harm that they could do to the body, which they call their greatest enemy, reduced them so low that it was not possible for ill-fed men to persevere further. Most of these things took place in the woods, where the savages were then hunting, or under enthusiastic excess of indignation against themselves. But the Holy Ghost soon intervened in this matter, enlightening all these persons, and regulated their conduct without diminishing their fervor.

About the middle of the summer, our chapel was threatened with fire from heaven,—which, after several frightful lightnings at broad noonday, and several heavy peals of thunder, struck at a few paces

Quelqu'assurance qu'on eust du bon succes du voyage du R. P. fremin qu'on attendroit de jour en iour, les plus fermes ne laisserent pas de douter le pere n etant pas encore arrive a la mi octobre, alors unc lettre venue de quebek ecrite de la main du p. fremin mesme dissipa le reste des tempestes qui nous avoient tourmentés le temps pafse: La nouvelle vint a propos parceque on accusoit les p. p. de celer leurs pensees cequi faisoit tort a leur prædication dans lesprit des sauvages: on fit bien entendre a ces sauvages que les francois ne leurs ressembloint point et nestoint pas si laches queux qui ne tirent leur forces que du niensonge; et que les robes noires qui navoient aucun interest a leur dire des mensonges contre lesquels ils erient et preschent tous les iours, nestoint point trompeurs; ce qui a augmenté beaucoup la confidence que les Sauvages chrestiens ont aux peres qui les enseignent on fit de grandes actions de graces pour cet heureux retour et la ioye fut d'autant plus grandes que le succes que Dieu donnoit aux neufvaines et aux devotions que les sauvages avoient fait cette annee il estoit plus evident quon ne pensoit plus qu'a iouir des glorieux travaux du pere fremin qui apporta plusieurs meubles de france propres pour orner la chapelle qui ne contribuerent pas peu a la devotion des sauvages qui est grande en deux temps de l'annee surtout a noel et a pâque. l'enfance et la pafson de nostre Seigneur etant lattrait dont Dieu se sert pour les attirer.

1681.

Qui pourroit dire la Joye que chacun avoit de revoir le R. P. fremin dans sa mifion, mais un

from the main door, and fell upon two oaks, which it stripped. A man who was about to enter the chapel saw all the stones that were on the ground roll about him, but he received no hurt.

Whatever confidence was felt in the good result of the Reverend Father fremin's journey—who was expected from day to day—even the firmest persons nevertheless doubted. The father had not yet arrived by the middle of october; but at that time a letter came from quebek, written by the hand of father fremin himself, which dissipated the rest of the storms which had harassed us in time past. The news came opportunely, because the fathers were accused of hiding their opinions, which injured their preaching in the minds of the savages. These savages were indeed given to understand that the french did not resemble them, and were not so base as they, who derive their strength only from lying; and that the black gowns, who had no interest in telling them lies,—against which they inveigh and preach every day,—were not deceivers. This greatly increased the confidence which the christian Savages have in the fathers who teach them. Solemn thanksgivings were rendered for this happy return, and the joy was all the greater because of the success which God gave to the novenas and the devotions which the savages had offered this year. It was now more evident that they no longer thought of anything but enjoying the glorious labors of father fremin, who brought from france various furnishings suitable for adorning the chapel. These contributed not a little to the savages' devotion, which is especially great at two seasons in the year, christmas and easter. The childhood and the passion of our Lord are the attractions which God employs to draw them.

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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. LI

OTTAWAS, LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS

1666-1668

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers
Company, PUBLISHERS, MDCCXCIX

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1666-1668

mr. Bourdon mort.
piece representee.

Journal des Pères Jésuites, janvier à
juin, 1668.

1668. JANUARY

LE 1^{er}. Le P. de Beaulieu a prêché dans
n^{re} Eglise, *nimius in societatis n^{re}
laudibus.*

Le 12. Mons^r. Bourdon est mort, très
Chrestiennement.

FEURIER

Le 7. et 9. Le sage visionnaire est repré-
senté avec grand succès et satisfaction de tout
le monde: elle a agréé la 2^d. fois autant que
la première.

Le 14. Les prédateurs des prières de 40
heures ont été Mons^r. Pommier, Le P. de
Carheil, et le P. Claude Pijart.

Le P. Dablon prêche le carême à la
paroisse, comme il a fait l'Advent.

Le 19. Arrivée du P. Jean Pierron d'Annié
avec François Poisson et deux sauvages et
une femme. Il vient pour informer de tout,
les esprits de ces peuples dans leur disposi-
tion ordinaire, nos Pères se portent bien et
instruisent paisiblement les peuples, ont bap-
tisé un nombre considérable d'enfants quelques
adultes la plus part malades.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, January to
June, 1668.

1668, JANUARY.

THE 1st. Father de Beaulieu preached in
our Church, *nimius in societatis nostræ
laudibus.*

The 12th. Monsieur Bourdon died a very *Monsieur Bourdon,
deceased.*

FEBRUARY.

The 7th and 9th. The play of *Le sage visi-
onnaire* was performed with great success and
to every one's satisfaction. It was as well
received the 2nd time as the first.

The 14th. The preachers during the 40
hours' devotion were Monsieur Pommier,
Father de Carheil, and Father Claude Pijart.

Father Dablon preached during Lent in the
parish church, as he did during Advent.

The 19th. Arrival of Father Jean Pierron
from Annie, with François Poisson, two sav-
ages, and one woman. He came to give in-
formation about everything. The minds of
those people are in their usual disposition.
Our Fathers are in good health, and teach the
people in peace; they have baptized a large
number of children, and some adults, most of
whom were ill.

Play presented.

MARS.

*Profession du P.
pierron.*

Le 5. le P. Iean Pierron fait sa profession a la Messe de 7. heures; il a esté demandé l'aumosne aux communautés et a quelques particuliers des plus acomodez.

*Examen du p. Julien
garnier sur tte.
La thgie a 25. ans—*

Le 13. Le P. Iulien Garnier, qui n'a pas encore 25. ans vient d'estre examiné de toute la Theologie selon la coustume de la Compagnie. les 4. examinateurs ont esté les PP. Lalemant Pijart, dablon et Pierron.

Piece Latine.

Le 21. M^r. Pierson fait representer une petite latine sur la passion de nostre seigneur qui a bien reussy.

*Le P. Gar.
missionnaire.*

Le 22. Le P. garnier va en Mission a la Coste de lauson.

*P. pierron a
Beaupré.*

Le 22. Le P. Iean Pierron va en mission a la coste de Beaupré pour les festes de pasque.

AURIL.

P. Henry nouvel.

le 2. Monsieur Petit arriue de Tadoussac en esta^t. party le vendredy avec des lettres amples et de consolation du P. Henry Nouvel qui a passé l'hyuer en ces quartiers, ou il a eu enuiron 200. ames.

garnemens noyes.

le 11. Charles Boquet arriue d'onnieit avec son hoste, aya^t. laissé une trentaine d'onnieit de leur bande au dessus de Mon-real.

Brevis terræ motus.

4. personnes noyées icy autour depuis pasque vitæ perditæ.

Le 13. La terre a tremblé notablement sur

MARCH.

The 5th. Father Jean Pierron pronounced his final vows at the 7 o'clock Mass. He went to ask alms from the communities, and from some of the private individuals who have the most means.

*Father pierron
pronounces his final
vows.*

*Examination of
father Julien
garnier in the whole
of theology, at 25
years of age.*

Latin play.

The 13th. Father Julien Garnier, who is not yet 25 years of age, has just been examined in the whole of Theology, according to the custom of the Society. The 4 examiners were Fathers Lalemant, Pijart, dablon, and Pierron.

The 21st. Master Pierson had a short latin play performed, on the passion of our Lord; it was successful.

*Father Garnier a
missionary.*

The 22nd. Father garnier went on a Mission to the Coste de lauson.

*Father pierron at
Beaupré.*

The 22nd. Father Jean Pierron went on a mission to the coste de Beaupré, for the easter festivals.

APRIL.

*Father Henry
nouvel.*

The 2nd. Monsieur Petit arrived from Tadoussac, whence he had started on friday, with ample and comforting letters from Father Henry Nouvel, who passed the winter in that quarter, where he had about 200 souls under his care.

The 11th. Charles Boquet arrived from Onnieout with his host, having left about thirty Onnieout of their band above Mon-real.

Scamps drowned.

4 persons have been drowned in this vicinity since easter. *Vitæ perditæ.*

The 13th. The earth trembled perceptibly, *Brevis terræ motus.*

les 8. heures du matin l'espace d'enuiron vn miserere.

mort du sr. giffart.

Le 14. Mons^r. giffart est mort, fort chrestienement, assisté du P. de Carheil tout le temps de sa maladie.

Le 16. Il a esté enterré sur le lieu au pied de la croix de l'Eglise selon qu'il l'auoit désiré nous auons assisté 3. de nos Peres a ses obseques avec Monseig. l'Euesque Mons^r. de Bernieres et Mons^r. de Meseré l'officiant avec les seminaristes, &c.

*Voyage a la prairie
pour Les concessions.*

Le 21. Nous allons nous embarquer pour monter la hault, le P. Dablon, Caron, Charles Panie, et moy pour La Prairie de la Magdel. pour y conclure toutes les affaires et la maniere d'y donner les concessions.

*P. Marquette aux
8ta8ak.*

Le P. Marquette, deux hommes et un petit garçon pour y attendre l'occasion de monter aux 8ta8ak.

Le P. Iulien garnier et Charles Boquet, pour aller secourir le P. Bruyas a onnei8t.

MAY.

le 26. nous voila de retour de nostre voyage de Montréal. Le P. garnier est party des le 17. pour la mission des onnei8t. Tout commence bien a la prairie de la Magdelaine il y a plus de 40. concessions données.

JUIN.

Monseigneur l'Euesque est descendu a Tadoussak, pour donner la confirmation aux

about 8 o'clock in the morning, for about the space of a *miserere*.

The 14th. Monsieur giffart died a most christian death; he was attended throughout his illness by Father de Carheil.

The 16th. He was buried on the spot at the foot of the Church cross, as he had desired. 3 of our Fathers attended his funeral, with Monseigneur the Bishop, Monsieur de Bernieres, and Monsieur de Meseré, who officiated with the seminarists, and others.

The 21st. We are going to embark to go up the river, namely: Father Dablon, Caron, Charles Panie, and myself, to la Prairie de la Magdelaine, there to conclude all affairs, and to decide as to the manner of granting the concessions;

Father Marquette, two men, and a young lad to await an opportunity of going to the Outawak country;

Father Julien garnier and Charles Boquet, to go and assist Father Bruyas at onneiout.

MAY.

The 26th. We have returned from our voyage to Montréal. Father garnier left, on the 17th, for the onneiout mission. Everything commences well at la prairie de la Magdelaine. Over 40 concessions have been granted.

JUNE.

Monseigneur the Bishop went down to Tadoussak to administer confirmation to the savages. The Father wrote me from [blank

*Death of sieur
giffart.*

*Voyage to la
prairie for The
concessions.*

*Father Marquette to
the Outawak.*

sauvages. le P. m'escrit du [blank space in
M.S.] qu'il y a iusques a 400. astmes.
Le 21. Le P. Nicolas &c.

Remarque.

Il manque ici Le reste de L'année 1668.
celle de 1669 Et 1670 jusqu'au mois de no-
vembre. La suite se trouve dans vn In folio
separé, de La même Ecriture que celle cy
dessus; qui est du R. P. fr. Le mercier, Supr
pour La 2^e. fois.

Remark.

The remainder of The year 1668, the whole
of the year 1669, And the year 1670 up to the
month of november, are missing. The con-
tinuation is contained in a separate folio, in
The same Writing as the above, which is that
of the Reverend Father françois Le mercier,
then Superior for The 2nd time.

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IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. LV

LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS, OTTAWAS

1670-1672

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers
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(67)0-1671

CHAPITRE VI.

DE LA RÉSIDENCE DE S. XAVIER DES PRAIZ.

CETTE Résidence est à soixante lieues de Québec, un peu au dessus [40] de la Ville de Montréal, qu'elle a au Nord, dont elle n'est éloignée que de la largeur du fleuve saint Laurent, c'est à dire d'environ une lieue & demie. Elle est située sur une plaine qui est élevée comme une petite montagne, à l'entrée d'une vaste prairie, appelée communément la prairie de la Magdeline, qui est arrosée par divers contours, d'une petite rivière fort agréable, & abondante en toutes sortes de poisssons. Une lieue plus haut est la décharge du Sault Saint Louys, d'où se forme un beau bassin de plus d'une lieue de large, terminé, du côté du Nord, de l'Ile saint Paul: du côté du Sud, il fait comme un demi cercle, le long de ladite prair[ie], dans l'estendue des deux lieues, qui borment cette habitation en descendant vers l'Ile sainte Hélène. On y compte près de soixante habitans. La terre y est des plus fertiles en ce pays, fort propre pour y nourrir quantité de bestiaux, & pour produire quantité de grains.

Cette résidence est pour servir de lieu de repos à nos Missionnaires, tant du [41] pais des Iroquois, que des Algonquins Supérieurs, dits: Outaouiaxs, & pour leur fournir, de là, avec plus de facilité les choses nécessaires pour leur subsistance.

Le grand concours de peuples Sauvages, qui y

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE RESIDENCE OF ST. XAVIER DES PRAIZ.

THIS Residence is sixty leagues from Quebec and lies to the North of it, and from which it is separated only by the width of the saint Lawrence river,—that is, by about a league and a half. It is situated on an elevated plain resembling a small mountain, at the entrance to a vast prairie, commonly called la prairie de la Magdeline, which is watered by the various windings of a little river of great beauty and abounding in all kinds of fish. A league farther up stream, the Falls of Saint Louys pour their waters down, forming a beautiful basin of more than a league in width, bounded on the North by saint Paul's Island, while toward the South it forms a sort of half-circle along the above-mentioned prairie, extending two leagues, and bounding this settlement as you go down toward the Island of sainte Hélene. The number of settlers here is nearly sixty; and the soil is some of the most fertile to be found in this country, being excellently adapted to supply food for many animals, and to produce large quantities of grains.¹

This residence is designed to serve as a resting-place for our Missionaries,—both those of the [41] Iroquois country and those among the Upper Algonquins, called Outaouaks,—and to furnish them more easily the things needful for their maintenance.

The throng of Savages resorting thither from all

abordent de toutes parts, nous oblige d'y tenir, du moins, deux Missionnaires intelligens en toutes ces Langues, afin que les Chrétiens, & les Catecumènes, que nos Pères ont formez sur le païs, y trouvent les mesmes secours pour le Spirituel, & puissent s'entretenir plus aisément dans l'exercice de leur Foy, & s'approcher des Sacremens. Ce qui se pratique avec beaucoup de bénédiction du Ciel, depuis deux ans, que cette résidence commence à être un peu en éstat. Dix-huit ou vingt Familles Chrétiennes s'y font dès habituées, dans l'espérance d'y être suivies de plusieurs autres, attirées par la beauté, & les avantages du lieu, & la commodité d'y recevoir les instructions nécessaires pour leur salut.

[42] Ce que je puis dire des heureux commençemens de cette petite Eglise, suivant les connoissances que j'en ay prises sur le lieu, en passant, au retour de ma Mission des Outaouaks, n'en ayant pas pu encore estre informé dans le détail, par ceux qui la gouvernent; est, qu'après avoir vu & considéré depuis mon arrivée la conduite des Chrétiens Hurons de Notre-Dame de la Foy, je trouve que tout y va dans le même esprit. Les mêmes exercices de dévotion s'y pratiquent, matin & soir. J'y ay remarqué un respect, & une affection admirable pour leurs Pasteurs, & entr'eux une charité, & une union, qui surpassent tout ce qu'on pourroit s'en imaginer, nommément estans tous gens ramassés de païs différents, Hurons, Nation neutre, Iroquois, Andalstogué, peuples de la Nouvelle Suede, &c. & tous, sortis de diverses Nations Iroquoises, ou comme naturels du païs, ou y ayant demeuré comme prisonniers de guerre.

directions compels us to keep there at least two Missionaries, versed in their different Languages, in order that the Christians and Catechumens formed by our Fathers in their several countries may find at this place the same Spiritual succor, and may be enabled more easily to continue the practice of their Faith and to partake of the Sacraments. This end has been attained, with Heaven's generous blessing, during the two years since the initial establishment of the residence. Eighteen or twenty Christian Families have already settled there, in the hope of being followed by many more,—attracted by the beauty and advantages of the site, and by the facilities for receiving the instruction necessary for their salvation.

[42] Concerning the prosperous beginnings of this little Church, from the inquiries that I made on the spot when I was returning from my Mission among the Outaouaks,—although I have not yet been able to gain information in detail from those who direct it,—I can say that, after seeing and reflecting upon the conduct of the Huron Christians of Nostre-Dame de Foy, since my arrival, I find everything to be going on there in the same spirit. The same devotional exercises are observed, morning and evening. I noticed an admirable respect and affection for their Pastors, and among themselves a charity and union exceeding all power of conception, especially in view of the fact that they are all people gathered from different countries,—Hurons, members of the neutral Nation, Iroquois, people from Andastogué, from New Sweden, etc.,—and all coming from different Iroquois Nations, and either natives of that country, or dwellers there as prisoners of war.

Estant convenus ensemble cét Esté [43] dernier, de prendre cette habitation, il se refolurent de créer deux Chefs, l'un pour la police & la guerre, l'autre pour avoir l'œil à l'exercice du Christianisme, & de la Religion; ils recommanderent auparavant bien particulierement l'affaire à Dieu, qu'ils jugerent estre de la dernière importance; ils entendirent la Melle à cette intention; puis s'elant assembléz, ils choisirent tous, d'un commun consentement, les deux, qui en effet ont le plus de merite, soit pour la piété, soit pour la prudence, & le sens commun; auxquels depuis, ils ont obéi en toutes choses tres-exactement; fur tout pour observer inviolablement une Loy, estable par ceux qui y ont allumé le premier feu, & qui s'est toujours gardée soigneusement jusqu'à présent, qui est de n'y point souffrir l'yrrognerie; de forte qu'on n'y reçoit aucun Sauvage de nouveau, qu'il ne protesse solemnellement de ne faire jamais aucun excés en matière de boisson enyvrante: & la chose est si connue, que de dire, [44] je veux m'aller habituer à Saint Xavier des Praiz, c'est tout de mesme que de dire, je ne veux plus jamais m'enyrver.

Fin de la première Partie.

Having reached a common agreement this last Summer [43] to settle there, they decided to elect two Chiefs,—one for policy and war, the other to superintend the observance of Christianity and Religion. At the outset, they were most careful to commend the undertaking to God, deeming such a course of the utmost importance. They heard Mass with this intent; then assembling, all chose by common agreement the two men who were really most meritorious,—whether piety or prudence and common-sense being considered. To them they have since yielded scrupulous obedience in all matters, especially in the inviolable observance of a Law established by those who lighted the first fire there, and ever since strictly obeyed, to the effect that no drunkenness shall be allowed. Consequently no new Savage is received there unless he solemnly promises never to indulge in intoxicating liquors to excess; and the matter is so well known that when any one says, [44] "I have made up my mind to go and settle at Saint Xavier des Praiz," it is as if he said, "I have resolved never to get drunk again."

End of Part first.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
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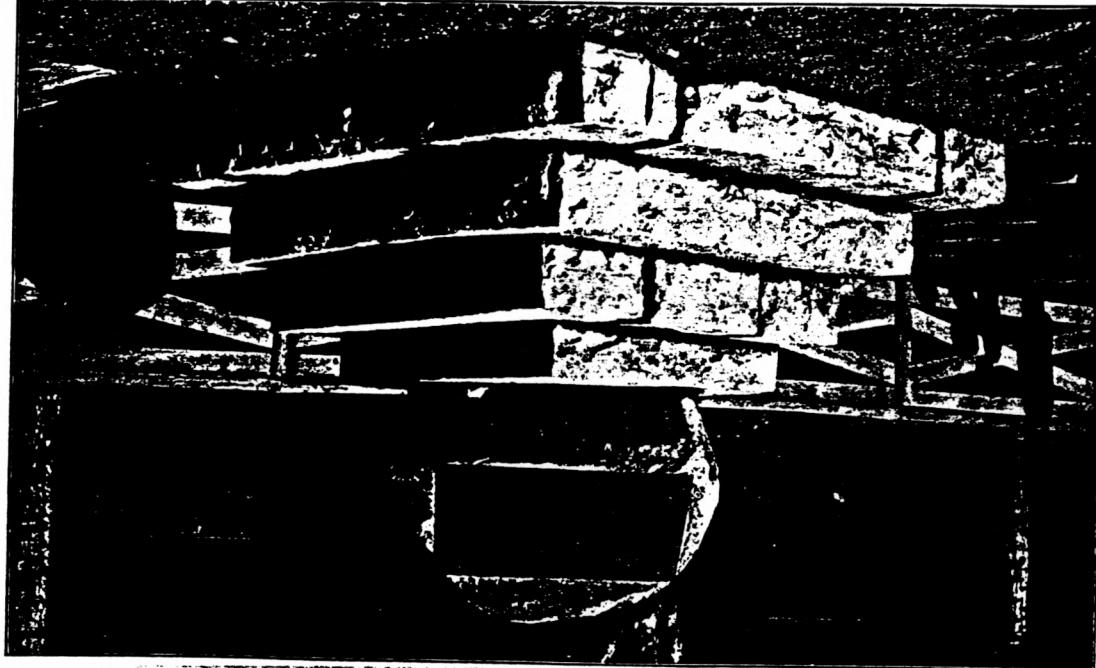
Vol. LVI

LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS, OTTAWAS,
HUDSON BAY: 1671-1672

CLEVELAND: THE HURD & BROTHERS
COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, M.DCCCXCIX

[Near the site of St. Francis Xavier Mission, at De Pere. Erected by the citizens of De Pere, and dedicated by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, September 6, 1899.]

MONUMENT TO CLAUDE ALLOUEZ, S.J.



1671-1672

[53] CHAPITRE II.

DE LA RÉSIDENCE DE SAINT XAVIER DES PREZ.

LE Pere Fremin qui a soin de cette Residence, & de la Colonie compoſée de Hurons & d'Iroquois qui y est attachée, m'en écrit en ces termes, du 14. d'Aouſt de la présente année 1672.

Je reconnois manifestement que le saint Esprit a une providence particulière fur la conduite de cette petite Eglise, & que la fainte Vierge qui y est honrée, & saint François Xavier, qui en est le Patron, y font ressenter par des effets de graces tout extraordinaires, leur pouvoir aupres de la divine Majesté, en faveur de ces pauvres ames, dont la pluspart ayant été élevées autrefois dans l'infidélité, font maintenant profession des plus hautes vertus, qui se pratiquent dans le Christianisme.

Je fus surpris l'an passé, à mon retour du pays des Iroquois, d'y voir tant de devotion & de ferveur, mais je le suis encore [54] plus présentement de voir leur constance dans ces bons sentiments.

Depuis que je suis ici, je n'ay eu aucune connoissance qu'il soit entré dans aucune de leurs cabanes, une seule goutte des boîfons qui causent tant de desordres chez les Sauvages. Ils en ont tous une aversion extrême, quoys que par tout aux environs les Sauvages s'enyrrent tous les jours, avec des exez qui font voir parmy eux, une vraye image de l'enfer, dans la fureur dont ils sont transportez. Ils ont eu

[53] CHAPTER II.

OF THE RESIDENCE OF SAINT XAVIER DES PREZ.

FAITHER Fremin, who has charge of this Residence and of the Colony thereto attached, composed of Hurons and Iroquois, writes me about them, under date of August 14th of the present year, 1672, as follows:

"I recognize clearly that the holy Ghost exercises a special providence over the guidance of this little Church; and that the blessed Virgin, who is honored in it, and saint Francis Xavier, who is its Patron, make their power with the divine Majesty felt there by quite extraordinary manifestations of grace, on behalf of these poor souls,—most of whom, after being reared in infidelity in the past, are now professing the most exalted virtues practiced in Christendom.

"I was surprised, last year, on my return from the country of the Iroquois, to see here so much devotion and fervor; but I am still [54] more so now, to see their constancy in these pious sentiments.

"Since I have been here, there has not come into their cabins, so far as I know, a single drop of the liquor which causes so many disturbances among the Savages. They all have an extreme aversion for it, although everywhere around them the Savages daily become intoxicated, indulging in excesses which render visible among them a veritable picture of hell, with such madness are they carried away. For more

ici l'espace de plus de trois semaines un cabaret tout proche de leurs cabanes, pas un n'a eu la pensée d'y mettre le pied; & ce qui me fait voir encore sensiblement l'effet de la grace, est que j'en compterois bien cinquante ou foixante dans cette petite Eglise, qui estoient autrefois de grands yrrongnes, & qui ont presentement tant d'horreur de ce vice, qu'ils ne peuvent supporter ceux qui y sont sujetts, & qu'ils ne leur parlent dans les rencontres, que pour leur en donner de l'aversion. Ils se servent eux-mesmes des moyens les plus efficaces, qui soient dans le Christianisme, pour obtenir de Dieu [55] la victoire sur leurs passions, & les assujettir à la raison, & à sa sainte Loy. Soit que je les aye ici sous mes yeux, soit que la faison de la chaffe les en éloigne dans les bois pour y chercher leur vie, ils ne manquent jamais à leurs prières matin & soir, tous leurs exercices spirituels y vont à l'ordinaire, ce qui m'est une preuve évidente de leur foy, & de leur vertu. Ils en font une profession si publique, en tout temps & en tout lieu, que tous les Sauvages qui viennent ici, ou pour y demeurer, ou pour y visiter leurs amis, prennent resolution de se faire Chrestiens, ou font semblant de l'estre, sachant bien que sans cela ils n'y seroient pas les bien-venus.

Quand un étranger arrive ici, la premiere chose que font nos Sauvages, c'est de l'instruire, & de le solliciter à demander le Baptême, & j'estime que par leur zèle, par leur pieté, & par leurs bons exemples, ils contribuent beaucoup plus que moy par mes instructions, à la conversion des infideles. Leur affinité à l'Eglise eut extraordinaire: de n'y pas venir prier Dieu, ou de ne pas entendre [56] la Messe

than three weeks the people here have had a dram-shop at their very doors, but not a man has thought of setting foot inside it. Moreover,—a circumstance which makes me see even more clearly the working of grace.—I count in this little Church fully fifty or sixty who were formerly hard drinkers, but who now feel such a horror at that vice that they cannot tolerate those who are addicted to it; and do not speak to those persons when they meet, except for the purpose of inspiring them with an aversion for intemperance. They themselves use the most effective means to be found in the Christian religion for obtaining from God [55] the victory over their passions, and for subjecting them to reason and to his holy Law. Whether I have the people here under my eyes, or the hunting season calls them away to the woods to seek their living, they never miss their prayers, morning or evening, and all their spiritual exercises go on as usual,—which is a manifest proof to me of their faith and virtue. Such public profession thereof do they make at all times and in all places, that all Savages who come here, either to dwell or to visit their friends, resolve to become Christians, or pretend to be such, well knowing that otherwise they would not be welcome.

"Upon the arrival of a stranger, the first thing our Savages do is to instruct him, and urge him to ask for Baptism; and I am of opinion that they, by their zeal, piety, and good example, contribute much more toward the conversion of unbelievers than I do by my teachings. Their assiduity at Church is extraordinary: not to attend and offer one's prayers to God, or not to hear [56] Mass even on a workday, when one is in the Village, passes with them for a

mesme un jour ouvrier, estant dans la Bourgade, cela passe parmy eux pour une grande faute, & il arrive tres-rarement que quelqu'un y manque. Plusieurs entendent deux Messes les Dimanches & les Fêtes, & ne manquent point ny aux Vespres, ny aux Saluts, autre plusieurs visties qu'ils rendent au saint Sacrement pendant la journée. Au reste, toutes ces dévotions publiques n'empêchent pas que tous les soirs avant le coucher, on ne fasse encore les prières à genoux dans chaque cabane.

La dévotion de la sainte Famille, dont nous avons icy une petite assemblée, sert beaucoup à les maintenir dans cette ferveur & dans l'horreur du péché. Une jeune femme étant tombée dans quelque faute, en fut tellement touchée de contrition, que dans la resolution de s'en confesser au plus tôt, elle se retira dans les bois, où elle y fit une rude discipline pour l'expiation de son péché. Une autre ayant trouvé à deux lieux d'icy, un Infidele, qui avoit un mauvais commerce avec une Chrestienne, fit tant par ses remonstrances, qu'elle lui persuada [57] de venir demeurer dans sa cabane; du moins, me disoit-elle, j'empêcheray par ce moyen, quelques pechez de ce miferable. Je laisse plusieurs autres exemples semblables de leur zèle & de leur pieté, mais je ne puis obmettre une illustre preuve, que me donna il n'y a pas long-temps, une de nos Chrestiennes, de sa foy & de sa confiance en la sainte Vierge; elle me vint trouver à l'occasion de son enfant qui estoit malade à l'extremité, & me dit, mon Pere, mon pauvre enfant, est malade au mourir, je n'ay rien espargné pour sa guérison, vous le fçavez; j'y ay employé tous les remedes imaginables; mais inutilement, je ne m'en

serious offense; and it very rarely occurs that any one is remiss in that respect. Many hear two Masses on Sundays and Feast-days, and do not fail to attend both Vespers and Benedictions, besides paying several visits to the blessed Sacrament during the day. All these public devotions, finally, do not prevent their also kneeling, each in his cabin, every evening before retiring, and saying their prayers.

"The devotion of the holy Family, of which we have a little assembly here, is of great service in keeping them in such a state of fervor and in abhorrence of sin. A young woman who had committed some offense was so filled with contrition over it that, resolving to make immediate confession, she went away into the woods and took a severe discipline in expiation of her sin. Another, finding two leagues from here an Infidel who was maintaining improper relations with a Christian woman, so far prevailed by her remonstrances as to persuade the latter [57] to come and live in her cabin. 'At least,' said she to me, 'I shall by this means prevent some of that wretched man's sins.' I omit many other similar instances of their zeal and piety, but I cannot pass over a striking proof, given me not long ago by one of our Christian women, of her faith and her trust in the blessed Virgin. She came in quest of me on the occasion of her child's dangerous illness, and said to me: 'My Father, my poor child is sick unto death; I have, as you know, spared no efforts to effect its cure, employing for the purpose every conceivable remedy, but in vain. I am resolved to use such means no more. Some time ago, I was no less anxious to secure my mother's conversion, as she was then an infidel. I had recourse to the blessed

1672/11/03

TITLES AND DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE

SEIGNIORIAL TENURE,

IN RETURN TO AN ADDRESS

OF THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

1851.



QUEBEC :

PRINTED BY E. R. FRÉCHETTE,
13, MOUNTAIN STREET, LOWER TOWN.

1852.

1672/11/03

veux plus servir; je me suis trouvée autrefois en la même peine, pour la conversion de ma mère, qui estoit infidèle; j'eus recours à la sainte Vierge, je fis dire des Messes pour elle en son honneur, elle m'accorda ce que je lui demandois, & ma mère est maintenant bonne Chrétienne; j'espere de sa bonté, la même grace en faveur de mon enfant; voilà un collier de porcelaine, que je lui présente à cette intention; & vous, [58] mon Pere, vous aurez, s'il vous plaist, la bonté de dire neuf Messes, & la sainte Vierge me rendra mon fils, si elle le veut. La neuve n'étoit pas achevée que l'enfant malade estoit parfaitement guéri. Je souhaitterois que ceux qui me demandoient autrefois, s'il y avoit des Chrétiens parmy les Sauvages, fussent icy; nous sommes eux & moy pour avoir bien de la confusion devant Dieu en l'autre vie, à la veue de tant de pauvres barbares du secours de ses graces.

Virgin, causing Masses to be said in her honor for my mother. She granted me my petition, and my mother is now a good Christian. I hope for the same favor from her goodness on behalf of my child. Here is a porcelain collar which I offer her to that end; and you, [58] my Father, you will have the goodness, if you please, to say nine Masses; and the blessed Virgin will give me back my son, if it be her will! The novena was not yet finished when the sick child was perfectly cured. I wish that those who used to ask me whether there were any Christians among the Savages could be here. We are likely, both they and I, to be covered with confusion before God in the other life, at sight of so many poor barbarians who will be found to have made better use than we of the succor of his grace."

1672/11/03

PIECES ET DOCUMENTS

RELATIFS A LA

TENURE SEIGNEURIALE,

DEMANDÉS PAR UNE ADRESSE

DE

L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE,

1851.



QUEBEC :

IMPRIMERIE DE E. R. FRÉCHETTE,

13, RUE LA MONTAGNE, BASSE-VILLE.

1852.

Lemoync conservera les bois de cbesnes qui se trouveront sur la terre qui se sera réservée pour faire son principal manoir, mesme quil sera la reserve des dits chesnes dans lestendue des concessions particulières faites et à faire à ses tenanciers qui seront propres à la construction des vaisseaux ; pareillement, quil donnera incessamment avis au roy ou à la compagnie royale des Indes-Occidentales des mines, minieres ou mineraux sy gucus se trouvent dans lestendue du dit sief, à la charge de laisser les chemins ou passages nécessaires ; le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté, de laquelle il sera tenu prendre la confirmation des presentes dans un an du jour dicelles.

En tesmoing de quoy nous avons signé ces présentes, à icelles fait apposer le cachet de nos armes, et contresigner par nostre secrétaire.

A Quebec ce troisième novembrc mil-six-cent-soixante-et-douze.

(Signé)

TALON.

Et plus bas, Par mon dit Seigneur,

VARNIER.

LE SIEUR LEMOYNE DE LONGUEUIL.

JEAN TALON, conseiller du roy en ses conseils d'estat et privé, intendant de la justice, police et finances de la Nouvelle-France, Isle de Terre-Neuve, Acadie et autres pays de la France Septentrionnelle.

À tous ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront, salut :

Sçavoir faisons quen vertu du pouvoir à nous donné par Sn Majesté, nous avons accordé, donné et concedé, accordons, donnons et concedons au sieur Lemoyne, sieur de Longueuil lestendue de la terre qui se trouve non concedée sur le sieu St. Laurens, depuis les bornes du sieur de Varennes jusques au dit sieur Lemoyne et Peres Jesuittes, avec les isles, îlets adjacents sur _____ de profondeur, sauf le droit d'autrui ; pour jouir de la dite terre en sief et tous droits de seigneurie et justice, luy, ses hoirs et ayans cause, à la charge de la foy et hommage que le dit sieur Lemoyne, ses hoirs et ayans cause, seront tenu porter au chastenu de St. Louys de Quebec, duquel il relevra aux droits et rentes accoustumez et au desir de la Coutume de la prevosté et vicomté de Paris qui sera bavie à cet esgard par provision et en attendant quil en soit ordonné par Sa Majesté, et que les appellations du juge qui pourra estre estable au dit lieu ressortiront par devant ; à la charge quil continuera de tenir feu et lieu sur la dite seigneurie, et quil habitera dans les contracts quil fera à ses tenanciers quils seront tenus de resider dans la et tenir feu et lieu sur les concessions qui leurs accordera ou a accordée, et qua faute de ce faire, il rentrera de plain droit en possession des dites terres ; que le dit sieur Lemoyne conservera les bois de chesnes qui se trouveront sur la terre qui se sera réservée pour faire son principal manoir, mesme quil sera la reserve des dits chesnes dans lestendue des concessions particulières faites ou à faire à ses tenanciers, qui seront propres à la construction des vaisseaux ; pareillement, quil donnera incessamment avis au roy ou à la com-

Titles and Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure. Quebec: E. R. Frechette, 1852. Pp. 63-64.

In French:

Pièces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale. Quebec: E. R. Frechette, 1852. Pp. 301-302.

pagnie royale des Indes-Occidentales des mines, minieres ou mineraux, sy aucun se trouvent dans lestendue du dit fief, à la charge dy laisser les ehemins ou passages necessaires ; le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté, de laquelle il sera tenu prendre confirmation des presentes dans un an du jour dicelles.

En teamoing de quoy nous avons signé ces presentes, à icelles faict apposer le sceau nos armes, et contresigner par nostre secretaire.

A Quebec ce trois novembre mil-six-cent-soixante-et-douze.

(Signé)

TALON

Et plus bas, Par mon dit Seigneur,

VARNIER

LE SIEUR MARSOLLET.

JEAN TALON, conseiller du roy en ses conseils d'estat et privé, intendant de la justice et finnues de la Nouuelle-France, Isle de Terre-Neuve, Acadie et autre de la Frauee Septentrionnalie.

A tous ecur qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut :

Sçavoir faisons, quen vertu du pourvoir à nous donné par Sa Majesté, accordé, donné et concédé, accordons, donnons et concedons au sieur Marsollet, demye lieue de front sur une lieue et demye de profondeur, à prendre sur Laurens, depuis la rivière aux _____ jusques aux terres non concédées la terre Ste. Foix, pour jouir de la dite terre en fief et seigneurie, luy, ses héritiers et ayants tenus porter au chasteau de St. Louys de Quebec, duquel il relèvera aux redevances aceoustumez, et au desir de la Coutuinc de la prevosté et vicomté de Quebec sera suivie à cet esgard par provision et en nittendant quil en soit ordonué par le Roi à la charge quil continuera de tenir ou faire tenir feu et lieu sur la dite seigneurie stipulera dans les contracts quil sera à ses tenanciers quiz seront tenus de résider et tenir feu et lieu sur les concessions quil leur accordra ou leur aura accordé, de ce faire il rentrera de plain droit en possession des dites terres; que le dit Marsollet conservera les bois de chevnes qui se trouveront sur la terre quil se servira pour faire son principal manoir, mesme quil sera la reserve des dits chevnes des concessions particulières faites et à faire à ses tenanciers qui seront propriétaires des vaisseaux ; pareillement, quil donnera incessamment avis au Roi compagnie royale des Indes-Océentalles des mines, minieres ou mineraux qui se trouvent dans lestendue du dit fief, à la charge de laisser les ehemins ou passages nécessaires ; le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté, de laquelle il sera tenu prendre confirmation des presentes dans un an du jour dicelles.

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The Burrows Brothers.

1672-1674

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OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
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Vol. LVIII

OTTAWAS, LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS

1672-1674

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers
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1610-1791

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Mission des Iroquois de S.-François-Xavier à
la Prairie de la Magdeleine pendant
les années 1673 et 1674.

On met cette Mission au nombre des Missions iroquoises, quoiqu'elle ne soit pas établie dans le pays des Iroquois, mais parce que ce sont eux en grande partie qui l'ont composée. Elle n'est différente des autres Missions que parce que celles-ci sont mêlées de chrétiens et d'infidèles, au lieu qu'elle ne reçoit et ne conserve en son sein que des chrétiens ou que ceux qui ont un véritable dessein de le devenir. Ceux en effet qui sortent de leur pays pour venir s'établir en ce lieu ne font ce changement que pour quitter l'infidélité; et si l'on apercevait qu'ils n'eussent pas cette volonté, on ne les y souffrirait pas.

Cette relation fera voir que les habitants de la Prairie de la Magdeleine travaillent si heureusement à ce dessein, qu'on ne les doit plus considérer comme des Sauvages pleins de fierté et de barbarie, mais comme des hommes parfaitement soumis aux lois, pleins de douceur et d'amour de l'Évangile. Trois choses, depuis la dernière relation, nous ont semblé dignes d'être rapportées: la première regarde ceux qui sont venus augmenter le nombre des chrétiens de la Prairie; la seconde, la ferveur de ceux qui y étaient déjà établis; la troisième est la mort de Catherine Gandakteua, qui a donné les premiers commencements à cette Mission.

Mission to the Iroquois of St. François Xavier,
at la Prairie de la Magdeleine, during
the years 1673 and 1674.

THIS Mission is placed among the number of the Iroquois Missions, although it is not established in the Iroquois country, but because they who compose it are mainly savages therefrom. It differs from the other Missions only because in the latter Christians and infidels are intermingled together; while it receives and retains in its bosom only Christians, or those who really intend to become such. In fact, they who leave their own country to come and settle in this spot effect this change only in order to abandon infidelity; and, if it were found that such was not their intention, they would not be suffered to remain there.

This relation will show that the inhabitants of la Prairie de la Magdeleine work so happily to this end that they should not any longer be looked upon as arrogant and barbarian Savages, but as men perfectly submissive to the laws, full of gentleness and love for the Gospel. Three matters, since the last relation, have seemed to us worthy of being told: the first refers to those who have come to increase the number of the Christians of la Prairie; the second, to the fervor of those who were already settled there; the third is the death of Catherine Gandakteua, which was the beginning of this Mission.

I. DE CEUX QUI SONT VENUS S'ÉTABLIR A LA PRAIRIE DE LA MAGDELEINE.

LE nombre seul des heureux habitants de cette Mission est une marque de la bénédiction que Dieu lui donne. En effet, depuis le peu d'années qu'elle a commencé, ce nombre s'est singulièrement augmenté et s'augmente encore tous les jours. Mais ce qui est plus remarquable encore, ce sont les moyens dont Dieu se sert à l'égard de ces pauvres Sauvages pour les retirer du pays de l'infidélité et du vice, et pour les attirer en ce lieu où la Foi et la vertu sont uniquement estimés.

Voici quelques traits de cette conduite miséricordieuse de la Providence. Un catéchumène de la Prairie allant à la chasse rencontre deux ou trois de ses compatriotes infidèles; il leur fait un simple narré des exercices de piété qu'y pratiquent les chrétiens Iroquois. Ce discours les touche tellement, que non-seulement ils veulent imiter de si beaux exemples, mais qu'ils veulent encore attirer leurs parents au même dessein. Ils retournent en leur pays, ils leur parlent et les persuadent de venir à la Prairie, et ils les emmènent en bon nombre pour y vivre en véritables disciples de l'Évangile. D'autres chrétiens de cette Mission étant allés vers le nord où était le lieu de leur chasse, ont ramené avec eux plus de six familles de ces pays lointains. Mais surtout comme la Prairie de la Magdeleine est un lieu de grand passage, il ne s'y arrête guère de bande de Sauvages que quelques-uns ne se laissent engager à y rester par l'exemple et par le zèle de ceux qui y sont déjà établis. Aussi, depuis quinze mois, on compte plus de cent quatre-vingts nouveaux Sauvages

I. OF THOSE WHO HAVE COME TO SETTLE AT LA PRAIRIE DE LA MAGDELEINE.

THE number of the fortunate residents of this Mission is alone a proof of the blessings that God pours upon it. In fact, during the few years that have elapsed since it was begun, this number has increased considerably, and still increases every day. But what is yet more remarkable is the means that God uses with respect to these poor Savages, to withdraw them from the land of infidelity and vice, and to attract them to this place, where Faith and virtue are alone esteemed.

Here are some instances of this merciful guidance of Providence. A catechumen of la Prairie, while going to hunt, met two or three of his pagan countrymen; and he gave them a simple account of the pious exercises practiced there by the Christian Iroquois. This discourse so touches them that not only do they desire to imitate examples so noble, but they wish also to attract their relatives thither, for the same purpose. They return to their own country; they talk to them and persuade them to come to la Prairie; and they bring them in goodly numbers, to live there as true disciples of the Gospel. Other Christians of this Mission, who had gone toward the north, where their hunting-grounds were, brought back with them more than six families from those distant regions. But, above all, as la Prairie de la Magdeleine is a place where a great many people pass, hardly a band of Savages stops at it without some of their number being induced to remain, through the example and zeal of those who are already settled there. Thus, during fifteen months, over one hundred and eighty new Savages

qui s'y sont fixés et qui y mènent une vie exemplaire. Les missionnaires qui travaillent dans le pays des Iroquois écrivent que beaucoup d'infidèles de ces bourgades, touchés de la même grâce, se disposeront aussi à y venir demeurer. On peut donc dire en toute vérité que cette Mission de Saint-François-Xavier des Prés est comme le produit de celles qui se font au milieu de ces nations barbares, et le fruit des travaux des missionnaires qui s'y trouvent actuellement, et du sang de ceux qui dans le passé y ont été cruellement massacrés.

II. DE LA FERVEUR DES CHRÉTIENS DE LA PRAIRIE DE LA MAGDELEINE.

SANS répéter ce qu'on a dit dans les autres relations de la ferveur des chrétiens de la Prairie de la Magdeleine, il suffit d'ajouter qu'ils se perfectionnent toujours de plus en plus, et que leur vertu est d'autant plus solide qu'elle leur donne plus d'éloignement des vices auxquels les Sauvages sont plus sujets.

L'ivrognerie, qui a tant fait de tort aux autres Missions, n'y a point encore trouvé l'entrée, et ceux qui y étaient extrêmement adonnés dans leur pays en conçoivent tant d'aversion dès le moment même où ils ont embrassé la Foi, qu'ils résistent avec une constance incroyable à l'inclination prodigieuse qui y porte tous les Sauvages. Ce fut un miracle surprenant de la grâce de voir plus de cent Iroquois qui, peu d'années auparavant s'adonnaient à la boisson jusqu'à des excès étranges, se trouvant l'hiver dernier environnés d'ivrognes, et des Français qui, pour les engager plus puissamment à boire, leur

have settled there and lead an exemplary life. The missionaries who labor in the country of the Iroquois write that many of the infidels of those villages, touched by the same grace, are also preparing to come and live at la Prairie. It may therefore be said, in all truth, that this Mission of Saint François Xavier des Prés is, as it were, the product of those that exist among those barbarous nations, and the fruit of the labors of the missionaries now there, and of the blood of those who were formerly so cruelly massacred in that country.

II. OF THE FERVOR OF THE CHRISTIANS OF LA PRAIRIE DE LA MAGDELEINE.

WITHOUT repeating what has been said in other relations of the fervor of the Christians of la Prairie de la Magdeleine, it suffices to add that they continue to improve more and more; and that their virtue is all the more solid, since it removes them farther from the vices to which the Savages are most addicted.

Drunkenness, which has wrought such havoc in the other Missions, has not yet found entrance here; and those who were greatly addicted to it in their own country conceive such an aversion to it from the very moment when they embrace the Faith, that they resist with incredible constancy the prodigious inclination that impels all Savages to it. It was a surprising miracle of grace to see over a hundred Iroquois—who, a few years previously, were addicted to liquor to the extent of committing great excesses; and who found themselves last winter surrounded by drunkards, and by the French, who, in order more readily to induce them to drink, offered them

offraient de l'eau-de-vie en échange de leurs pellettes, demeurer cependant fermes et inflexibles à toutes ces attaques pendant quatre ou cinq mois, bien qu'ils fussent éloignés pour lors des missionnaires. Trois seulement se laissèrent vaincre aux importunités des François; mais à leur retour, les anciens tâchèrent de leur faire réparer cette faute en leur conseillant d'offrir un présent à l'Église. On n'en serait pas demeuré là, mais on les aurait chassés s'ils n'eussent été mariés à trois des meilleures chrétiennes de la bourgade.

L'impureté est aussi en grande horreur parmi eux. Une femme avait donné rendez-vous à un homme qui, comme elle, était nouvellement arrivé et infidèle; le P. Frémion qui dirige cette Mission en étant averti, empêcha que l'entrevue eût lieu; mais les bons chrétiens du bourg, et en particulier les parents de cette femme, ne s'en tinrent pas là; ils lui signifièrent qu'elle s'en retourna d'où elle était venue, ce qui fut exécuté dès le lendemain. Une chrétienne bien différente de cette infidèle avait reçu un vêtement de la part d'un homme sans penser qu'il songeât à rien de mal; mais dès qu'elle put s'apercevoir de son mauvais dessein, elle apporta aussitôt le vêtement au P. Frémion et le prie de le donner à un pauvre: «Je n'ai garde, dit-elle, de le porter, puisque je ne peux le regarder sans horreur. A Dieu ne plaise que je veuille jamais l'offenser!»

brandy in exchange for their furs—remain, nevertheless, firm and inflexible against all these attacks for four or five months, although they were then far from their missionaries. Three only allowed themselves to be overcome by the importunities of the French; but, on their return, the elders endeavored to make them atone for this sin by advising them to make a present to the Church. Matters would not have remained there, and they would have been expelled, had they not been married to three of the best Christian women of the village.

They also have a great horror of impurity. A woman had made a clandestine appointment with a man who, like her, was a recent arrival and a pagan. Father Fremin, the director of this Mission, heard of it, and prevented the interview from taking place; but the good Christians of the village, and especially the relatives of the woman, were not content with this; they notified her that she was to return whence she had come, and this was carried out on the very next day. A Christian woman, very different from that pagan one, had received a garment from a man, without imagining that his intentions were evil; but, as soon as she perceived his iniquitous design, she at once brought the garment to Father Fremin, and begged him to give it to some poor person. "I shall certainly not wear it," she said, "for I cannot look at it without horror. God forbid that I should ever willingly offend him."

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TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. LVIII
OTTAWAS, LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS

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Relation de ce qui s'est passé aux Missions
iroquoises pendant les années 1673 et 1674.

CHAPITRE I.

DE LA MISSION D'AGNIÉ.

LES Agniéronnons, qui, entre tous les Iroquois, avaient fait une guerre plus cruelle aux Français, ont été aussi, parmi ces nations sauvages, ceux qui ont embrassé le Christianisme en plus grand nombre et avec le plus de ferveur. Outre que leurs bourgades ont singulièrement diminué, par le départ des leurs qui se sont rendus à la Prairie de la Magdeleine ou à Notre-Dame de Foye pour y vivre en véritables chrétiens; plusieurs de ceux qui sont restés en leur pays ou se préparent au baptême, ou, l'ayant déjà reçu, en remplissent parfaitement toutes les obligations. Le P. Bruyas, qui a soin de cette Mission, a été obligé de demander du secours: car, nous écrit-il, si les choses continuent d'aller comme elles vont depuis quelque temps, il ne pourra plus suffire lui seul à confirmer les nouveaux chrétiens, à perfectionner les anciens, à instruire les catéchumènes, et à faire les autres fonctions du missionnaire.

La conversion et le baptême d'un des anciens et des plus considérables de cette nation, nommé Assendasé, a beaucoup contribué à lui donner ces occupations. Cet homme, âgé d'environ soixante-cinq ans, a été toujours fort estimé dans son pays, à cause de

Relation of what occurred in the Iroquois Missions during the years 1673 and 1674.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE AGNIÉ MISSION.

THE Agniéronnons, who, among all the Iroquois, have most cruelly waged war against the French, have also been those who, among these savage nations, have embraced the Christian religion in greatest numbers, and with the most fervor. Besides the fact that their villages have dwindled away to an extraordinary degree through the departure of their people,—who have gone to la Prairie de la Magdeleine or to Notre Dame de Foye, to live there as true Christians,—many of those who have remained in their own country are either preparing for baptism, or, having already received it, thoroughly fulfill all the obligations that it entails. Father Bruyas, who has charge of this Mission, has been compelled to ask for assistance; for he writes us that, if things continue as they have for some time, he alone will not suffice for confirming these new Christians in the faith, for perfecting the older ones, for instructing the catechumens, and for performing the other duties that devolve upon a missionary.

The conversion and baptism of one of the elders, one of the most notable men of that nation, named Assendasé, has greatly contributed to furnish him

son esprit et de son expérience dans les affaires. Outre qu'il est le chef d'une des principales familles, sa fierté et son esprit fourbe et dissimulé rendaient sa conversion très-difficile. L'intérêt le retenait dans l'infidélité, aussi bien que le respect humain, parce qu'il retirait un profit considérable de l'exercice des superstitions, et que, d'un autre côté, s'il venait à y renoncer dans un âge si avancé, il ne pouvait éviter les railleries qui sont insupportables aux Sauvages. Combattu par tous ces motifs, il résistait depuis deux ans à la grâce, qui le pressait incessamment de demander le baptême. Mais enfin le discours que M. le comte de Frontenac adressa à Montréal aux députés des cinq nations iroquoises, pour les exhorter à embrasser la Foi, le toucha si puissamment, qu'il se résolut, pour obéir à l'inspiration divine, de passer par-dessus toutes les considérations humaines. En effet, aussitôt qu'il fut de retour en son pays, il demanda instamment au P. Bruyas d'être instruit et baptisé; il montra tant de ferveur et renonça si généreusement et d'une manière si publique à toutes les superstitions du pays, que, quoique le même Père eût résolu de l'éprouver assez longtemps, il fut comme obligé d'abréger le temps de l'épreuve et de lui accorder assez promptement sa demande. Le lendemain de son baptême, Assendasé fit un festin public, où il déclara à tous les conviés qu'il avait renoncé aux songes et aux autres coutumes superstitieuses; il protesta qu'il ne se trouverait plus aux assemblées où il avait coutume de présider lorsqu'il s'agissait des songes. Il a accompli cette promesse avec tant d'exactitude, aussi bien que tous les exercices du Christianisme, qu'il

all these occupations. This man, aged about sixty-five years, has always been greatly esteemed in his country, on account of his intelligence and his experience in affairs. In addition to the fact that he is the head of one of the leading families, his arrogance and his treacherous and dissembling character rendered his conversion very difficult. Interest as well as human respect retained him in infidelity, because he derived considerable profit from the practice of superstitions; while, on the other hand, if he renounced them at so advanced an age, he could not avoid mockery, which Savages cannot bear. Assailed by all these motives, he resisted for two years the influence of grace, which constantly impelled him to ask for baptism. But, in the end, the discourse addressed by Monsieur the count de Frontenac at Montreal to the deputies of the five Iroquois nations, to induce them to embrace the Faith, had so powerful an effect upon him that he resolved to overcome all human considerations in order to obey divine inspiration. In fact, as soon as he returned to his country, he earnestly requested Father Bruyas to instruct and baptize him; he manifested such fervor, and renounced all the superstitions of the country in so noble and so public a manner that, although the same Father had resolved to subject him to a rather prolonged trial, he was compelled to shorten the time of his probation, and to grant his request in a comparatively short time. On the day following his baptism, Assendasé gave a public feast, at which he declared to all the guests that he had renounced dreams and the other superstitious customs; and he asserted that he would never again be present at the meetings over which he was accustomed to preside

est l'exemple de tous les chrétiens. Animé d'une sainte jalouse, il s'est proposé d'égaler et même de surpasser Garakontié en fidélité, et d'accréditer, par son exemple, la Prière à Agnié, comme cet excellent chrétien l'a fait à Onnontagué. Dans la ferveur de sa conversion, il emploie les paroles énergiques pour exprimer son attachement inviolable à la Foi. «J'ai fait, dit-il, une éternelle fraternité avec celui qui m'a baptisé; si les Français recommencent la guerre et viennent pour nous tuer, je ne quitterai point pour cela l'affection que j'ai pour lui, et je saurai toujours bien distinguer celui qui nous ôtera la vie du corps d'avec celui qui m'a rendu celle de l'âme, et qui continuera toujours de me la conserver tant que je lui obéirai.» Le P. Bruyas assure que, de tous les chrétiens, il n'en a point de plus obéissant et de plus docile qu'Assendasé, et qu'il est obligé d'admirer tous les jours de plus en plus la force et l'efficacité de la grâce dans ce Sauvage.

La conversion de cet ancien a eu un grand éclat et a fait beaucoup d'impression sur l'esprit des autres, en sorte que le P. Bruyas se voit sollicité tous les jours de baptiser des enfants et même des adultes; mais il a cru ne devoir accorder cette grâce qu'à un très-petit nombre. Il y a sujet d'espérer que cette bonne volonté s'étendra à tous, du moins à la plupart des Sauvages d'Agnié, et que, comme le démon se servait particulièrement des anciens pour maintenir les superstitions, Dieu se servira de ceux-là mêmes pour les renverser et pour établir la religion. Ce qui donnerait encore plus de fondement à cette espérance, c'est la crainte que le démon lui-même semble en concevoir, et qu'il témoigne assez par les nouveaux

when dreams were discussed. He has so faithfully kept this promise, and practiced all the Christian exercises, that he is the model for all the Christians. Animated by holy emulation, he proposes to equal, if not surpass, Garakontié in fidelity; and by his example to bring Prayer into credit at Agnié, as that excellent Christian has done at Onnontagué. In the fervor of his conversion, he makes use of energetic words to express his inviolable attachment to the Faith. "I have," he says, "entered into an everlasting brotherhood with him who has baptized me. If the French declare war once more, and come to kill us, I will not, on that account, relinquish the affection I feel for him; and I shall always know how to distinguish him who shall deprive us of the life of our bodies from him who has given me that of the soul, and who will always continue to preserve it for me so long as I obey him." Father Bruyas asserts that, among all the Christians, he has none more obedient or more docile than Assendasé; and that he is every day compelled more and more to admire the power and efficacy of grace in this Savage.

The conversion of this elder has caused a great stir, and has produced a deep impression on the minds of the others, so that Father Bruyas finds himself solicited daily to baptize children and even adults; but he has deemed advisable to grant this favor to a very small number only. There is reason to hope that this willingness will extend to all, at least to the majority of the Savages of Agnié; and that, as the devil formerly made use of the elders in maintaining superstitions, God will also make use of them in overturning the same, and in establishing

efforts qu'il fait incessamment pour arrêter les progrès de la Foi. Le Père, depuis quelque temps, reçoit tous les jours de nouvelles insultes de ceux qui ne veulent pas se convertir, et un ancien lui a reproché publiquement qu'il ruinait leur pays, parce qu'il y ruinait les songes et les superstitions, et il l'a menacé en même temps que, s'il ne sortait du bourg où il était alors, il le ferait chasser de tout le pays. Mais un missionnaire ne se met guère en peine de ces sortes de menaces; au contraire, elles sont sa consolation, parce qu'elles rendent ses travaux plus semblables à ceux de Jésus-Christ, qui furent toujours accompagnés de semblables contradictions.

religion. A still better reason for this hope lies in the fear that the devil himself seems to have of such a result,—a fear which he sufficiently manifests by the fresh efforts that he constantly makes to stay the progress of the Faith. For some time, the Father has daily received new insults from those who will not be converted, and an elder reproached him publicly with destroying their country, because he destroyed dreams and superstitions; and, at the same time, he threatened that, if the Father did not leave the village where he then was, he would have him expelled from the entire country. But a missionary pays little heed to threats of this kind; on the contrary, they are his consolation, because they make his labors resemble still more those of Jesus Christ, which were ever accompanied by similar oppositions.

mage que le dit sieur de Repentigny ses hoirs et ayans causes seront tenus de porter au chateau de St. Louis de Quebec duquel il relevera, aux droits et redevances accountumés suivant la Coutume de la prevosté et vicomté de Paris qui sera suivie à cet egard et par provision et en attendant quil en soit autrement ordonné par Sa Majesté à la charge quil continuera de tenir ou faire tenir feu et lieu sur la dite seigneurie et quil stipuera dans les contrats quil fera a ses tenanciers quils seront tenus de resider dans l'an et tenir feu et lieu sur les concessions quil leur accorde ou aura accordé et qu'a faulte de ce faire il reatrera de plain droit en possession des dites terres, que le dit sieur de Repentigny conservera les bois de chesnes qui se trouveront sur la dite terre qui se sera reservé pour son priacipal manoir même quil fera la ineme reserve des dits chesnes dans l'estendue des dites concessions particulières faittes et a faire qui seront propres pour la construction des vaisseaux ; pareillement quil doanera avis au roy ou a la compagnie des Indes Occidentales des mines, minières ou minéraux si aucun se trouvent—A la charge de laisser les chemins et passages nécessaires le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté de laquelle il sera tenu de prendre confirmation dans un an du jour d'icelles.

En temoin de quoy nous avons signé ces presentes à icelles fait apposer le cachet de nos armes et fait contresigner par notre secrétaire.

A Quebec le troisiesme novembre mil six cent soixante et douze.

(Signé)

TALON,

Avec paraph.

Et plus bas, Par Monseigneur,

VARNIER,

Avec paraph.

September 29, 1673

LE SIEUR LE MOINE DE LONGUEUIL, ECR.

LOUIS DE BUADE FRONTENAC, &c., salut :

L'affection que le sieur Lemoine escuyer sieur de Longueuil a toujours témoigné pour le service du roy depuis quil est en ce pays et la promptitude avec laquelle il a toujours executé les ordres qui lui ont été donnés par les gouverneurs qui nous ont précédés soit dans les guerres où il s'est signalé en plusieurs occasions soit en diverses négociations et traité de paix quil a fait aveo eux par leur commandement nous obligeant à chercher les moyens de reconnoître les services quil a rendus et a l'engager à continuer à l'avenir le même zèle quil a toujours fait parroître pour le service de Sa Majesté, et dont il nous a donné des preuves dans le voyage que nous avons fait au lac Ontario où nous nous sommes serré de son ministère pour proposer à toutes les nations Iroquoises, que nous avions fait assembler, les choses que nous avons cru nécessaires pour maintenir la paix le commerce et les sujets de Sa Majesté et empêcher quelles ne prissent des mesures avec les nations voisines qui dans les suites eussent pu rompre l'une et l'autre sur la demande quil nous a fait de vouloir lui confirmer le don d'une concession de deux lieues de terre de front à commencer dix arpens au dessous de la Rivière du Loup en montant dans le lac St. Louis du côté du sud et de profondeur trois

Titles and Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure. Quebec:

E. R. Frechette, 1852. Pp. 393-394.

In French:

Pieces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale. Quebec: E. R. Frechette, 1852. Pp. 355-356.

lieux, ensemble l'Isle St. Bernard qui est à l'embouchure de la dite rivière, que M. de Courcelle cy devant gouverneur de ce pays luy avoit promise eo consideratio du grand nombre d'enfant dont il est chargé et des services qu'il avoit tiré du dit sieur Lemoine dans le voyage quil avoit fait aux Iroquois ; Nous, en vertu du pouvoir à nous dooce par Sa Majesté et croyant ne pouvoir mieux accomplit ses intentioos qu'en secoddant et favorisant les desscins des personnoes qui veulent travailler a de nouveaux établissemens et par ce moyen à l'augmentation des desfricemens des terres, avons soubs son ion plaisir donné, concedé et accordé, doooons, eooeedoos et accordons par ces presentes au dit sieur Lemoine escuyer sieur de Loogueil deux lieues de terre de front a commencer dix arpens au dessous de la Rivière du Loup en montant dans le lac St. Louis du eosté du sud et de profondem trois lieues ensemble l'Isle St. Bernard qui est a l'embouebure de la dite rivière ; pour joir de la dite terre en fief, seigneurie et justice luy ses boirs ou nyans cause à la charge de la foy et hommage que le dit Sr. Lemoine ses dits boirs ou nyans cause seront tenus de porter au chateau St. Louis de Quebec duquel il relevera nux droits et redevances oecoutumés au desir de la Coutume de la prèrosté et ricomté de Paris qui sera suivi a cet egard par provision en atteodant quil en soit ordoné par Sa Majesté et que les appellatioos du juge qui pourra estre establi au dit lieu resortiront par devant le lieuteoant georal des Trois Rivieres à la charge quil eontinuera de tenir et faire tenir feu et lieu par ses teoanciers sur les concessions quil leur accordera ou leur nura accordé, et qu'a faute de ce faire il rentrera en possession des dites terres ; que le dit sieur Lemoine conservera les bois de chesnes qui se trouveront sur la terre quil se sera reservé pour faire son principal maooir même qu'il sera la reserve des dits chesnes dans l'estendue des concessions particuliers faites a ses tenanciers qui seront propres a la costruction des rnisseries, quil donoera avis au rny ou a la compagnie des Indes Occidentales de mines mioieres ou mineraux sy aveuos si trouvent qu'il laissera les chemins et passages necessaire le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté de laquelle il sera tenu de prendre confirmation des presentes dans un an du jour d'ieelles.

En témoin de quoy nous avons signé ees presentes n icelle fait apposer le sceau de nos armes et fait eontresigner par lun de nos secrétaires.

Donné a Quebec le vingt neuvième septembre mil six cent soixante et treize.

(Signé) FRONTENAC.

Et plus bas. Par Mooseigneur,

LECHASSEUR.

Avec paraphe

A JEAN BOURDON.

LA COMPAGNIE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE,

A tous presens et advenir, salut :

Nostre plus grand desir estant destablir une boone et fort colonie en la Nouvelle France nous nous sommes servy de ceux qui pouvoient nous ayder en cette louable entreprise et

Titles and Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure. Quebec:
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In French:

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C^l'onsigneure

61. Orant que de vous rendre conçte
comme l'ay suis oblige, de tout ce qui
s'est passé en ce pays, depuis mes
dernières dépêches, vous voudrez
Bien que je commence celle ci
par de très humbles renseignemens
de toutes les bontez, que vous avez
pour moy, et dont je ressens les
efforts non seulement par la grâce
que vous me faites de favoriser
au présent de mes affaires,
dans un temps ou un autre que
vous, seroit accablé des extrêmes
défences qu'il courroit de faire, pour
la conservation de l'Etat, et des glo-
riantes conquêtes de sa ch'ette,
mais encoré par les assistances
que vous avez bien voulu donner à
ma femme dans ses affaires do-
mestiques.

N^e may C^l'onsigneure qui a voulu
me demander la continuation,
et a voulut protestter que vous ne
deauriez jamais répandue vos
fairent, sur personne qui en conter-
verait filie parfaite reconnois-
sance que moy n^e une filie vis-
tant désir de vous en donner des

par une fine variété.

Telles sont les tables que je vous envoierai l'année passée du recensement ne sont pas véritables, ce n'est pas manque d'avoir recommandé à celui qui les a faites, d'en affirmer une grande exactitude, et par celle qu'on aura cette année on pourra connaître si la faute vient de sa part, ou si lors que l'on a fait des recensements les années précédentes on n'aurait point affecté d'audience le nombre des habitants pour faire valoir davantage le prys.

Comme j'ay reçus vos ordres fort tard et que j'ay renvoyé tout de nouveau faire le recensement, qui estoit dès lors commencé, je ne saay si l'on pourra être achevé avant le départ des vaillants, et si je pourrai vous l'envoyer cette année, mais de moins d'autre vous la prochaine dans toute l'exactitude qu'il se pourra, car je ne chercherai point à vous rien déguiser; osut tribunes à l'habitation de la Prairie de la Cigadelaine appartenante aux Pères jésuites une augmentation considérable d'Iroquois qui sont venus habiter depuis l'année dernière, et qui sont résolus d'y faire un séjour fixe et arrêté.

fait faire des varques, et des gabions aussi.

S'ils peuvent s'apprêter à la fraiche comme je les y exhorté tout les jours, le Puis et les habitans l'accorderont.

Il y en a quelques uns qui commenceront ce printemps, et si la pluie se fait cette année en France, et qu'on en puisse faire venir quelques matériaux dont on manque ici, cela facilitera extrêmement cette entreprise.

Maldre tous les risques de la guerre, le Dr. Savine ne laisse pas d'envoyer aux îles un des trois vaisseaux qui sont ici, chargé de toutes les denrées qui y sont de meilleure débit, et je crois qu'on commence à doubler ici ce commerce que leur fraiche depuis que j'y suis.

Il est à propos, je crois que je puisse cette lettre qui vous doit encourager, il y a des fois longtemps, et que j'y ajoute seulement les protestations que je vous fait dans les juges au dernier souper de ma vie.

Monseigneur

Votre très humble, très obéit-

sant et très oblige serviteur

Frontenac

de Québec le 18 novembre 1674

J'oublierai c'est si longueur de vous mander
 que estoit arrivé cette, nasse un grand
 desordre a l'habitation qui ont été
 résistés dans le lac Supérieur, ou il
 furent assommés dix au
 douze et adoucissés qui apparemment
 n'est rien fait tout venant apportea leurs
 captifs, que chercher le batailleur, ils
 forcèrent la maison des R.P. nonob-
 tant qu'un de leur frere, en eut tiré
 deux d'un coup de canon, allait ce que
 n'eust fait de facheux, cest qu'ils abra-
 tirent les armes du Roy, que M^r Galt
 n'avoit eu pas à faire, il y a trois ou
 quatre ans, dont j'ai témoigné beaucoup
 de ressentiment a quelqu'un des
 traversiers venus et être en traité a
 Montréal, et les ay obligé a me laisser
 un otage, jusqu'à ce que les cap-
 tives viennent m'en faire excuse,
 et reparer ce qu'ils ont fait aux
 R.P. P.P. ce qu'ils m'ont promis
 de faire l'année prochain.

Le P. Supérieur des jésuites ayant
 ma demande déjouté peu de jours
 me augmentations de terre d'envoyer
 une bœuf et denrée de fruit pour
 ajouter a leur habitation de la
 Prairie de la Magdelaine, qui en
 a pris de trois, et qui est une des plus
 belles de tout le pays, Il alligne pour
 pretexer qu'il n'y ont pas assez de bœufs

à si pour les Sauvages qui viennent
les habiter, mais pour leur véritable
raisons est, le croit que ne veulent pas
autour de vobis qui les éloignent des gîtes;
et quantant une quantité immensurable
de terras en ce fait celle là ac-
commoderait mieux de vous révi-
tants charges de faroule, et d'autant
des fa grandz qui me les demandent,
je les ai remis à cet effet que je mon-
terais à Montréal afin d'avoir le
temps de recevoir vos ordres la-dessus
et de vous en tenir avisé en cas
qu'ils s'adressassent à vous pour
cela, ou à l'^ere de la Compagnie.

La nécessité qui a eu dé-
molition comme au vu l'heureux
de vous l'écrire au Commandant
à Montréal pour y tenir la main
à l'exécution des ordres de sa Majesté
contre les coureurs de bois, qui ont eu
le succès que vous apprendrez ma
aussi obligé de lui faire donner
la moitié des apisointers qui
restaient à priser à ch. Perrot de
l'année dernière, afin que cela
aydât à l'y faire subfitter, le
P^r Bazire retient ceux de cette année
en attendant ce qu'il vous fera
d'un ordonnance.

Je ne puis affouigner que je
ne vous recommande le P^r de la Salle

et commandeur qui frappe en grand, et qui est un homme d'esprit et d'intelligence, et le fils capable que je considère ici, pour toutes les entreprises et diverses sortes qu'on voudra l'en confier, n'ayant une connaissance très particulière de l'estat de ce pays; ainsi qu'il vous paraîtra si vous avez adreable de lui donner quelques moments d'audience).

Avé donne et j'avois formé le dessein d'une autre vaine au espagnole a entreprise sur l'avis qui me fut donné, qu'il y avait deux vaisseaux espagnols en P. scotia Anticosti, et un autre à l'ile percée dont la moitié de l'Equipage estoit espagnol, et qu'ils soupernoient être tantfables-forts, je m'avois servy pour cela du Petit vaisseau le St Jean revenant de l'Acadie, où il avoit mené l'armée fablée off de Chambly, que je fis repartir aussi tôt, au lieu de le débarquer et je renforçé son équipage de douze de nos gardes et de dix soldats, sauf ceux de St Malo et étant arrivés les premiers, et j'hes tôt que le St de Saurel que j'y envoyay, l'aprirent un de ces deux vaisseaux d'Anticosti du fort de 300 tonneaux, et pour celui de l'ile percée, le St de Saurel craignit de faire faute, de s'en saisir.

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Sur ce qui avait un joli port signé
depuis la déclaration de sa cause,
mais que n'estoit point scellé, ce qui
peut estre le rendoit de bonne prise,
Tout me seras choueigneur d'ouvrir
de me mandez s'il vaut p'rett ce que
j'avois a faire de pareille chose arri-
vait une autre fois.

Le temps de la Commission de
M. de Varenne exigeant pour le
gouvernement des trois rivieres, Il
me prie choueigneur de vous en
demander la continuationz ce que
je fait d'autant plus volontiers, que
je croy qu'il s'appritera bientôt de
son emploz.

Fuzetiac.

A Quebec ce 14 et Novembre 1674

Lake St. Louis, on the south side thereof, by three leagues in depth, together with the Isle St. Bernard, situate at the mouth of the said river, which Monsieur de Courcelle, heretofore governor of this country, had promised him in consideration of the great number of children with which he is burthened, and of the services which the said Sieur Lemoine had rendered him during the journey which he made to the country of the Iroquois;

We, in virtue of the power entrusted to us by His Majesty, and judging that we could not better carry his intentions into effect than by aiding and favoring the designs of such persons as are desirous of making settlements, and thereby extending the cleared lands, have, under his pleasure, given, granted and conceded, and by these presents do give, grant and concede unto the said Sieur Lemoine, Esquire, Sieur de Longueuil, two leagues of land in front, to commence at ten arpents below the River du Loup, ascending towards Lake St. Louis, on the south side thereof, by three leagues in depth, together with the Island of St. Bernard, which is at the mouth of the said river; to have and to hold the said tract of land in fief, seigniory and jurisdiction, unto him, his heirs and assigns, subject to the condition of paying fealty and homage (*foi et hommage*) which the said Sieur Lemoine, his heirs and assigns, shall be held to do at the Castle of St. Louis in Quebec, of which he shall hold, under the customary rights and dues, agreeably to the custom of the provostship and viscountcy of Paris which shall be followed in this respect provisionally and until otherwise ordained by His Majesty, and that the appeals from the decisions of the judge who may be established at the said place shall lie before the lieutenant general of Three Rivers; on condition also that he shall continue to keep and cause to be kept house and home (*feu et lieu*) by his tenants on the concessions which he may grant or have granted them, and that in default of their so doing he shall re-enter into the possession of the said lands; that the said Sieur Lemoine shall preserve the oak timber fit for the building of vessels, which may be found on the land which he shall have set aside for his principal manor house, and that he shall stipulate the preservation of such oak timber within the extent of the private concessions made to his tenants; that he shall give notice to the King or to the Royal West India Company of the mines, ores and minerals, if any he found therein; and that he shall leave the necessary roadways and passages; the whole under the pleasure of His Majesty by whom he shall be held to have these presents confirmed within one year from this date.

In testimony whereof we have signed these presents, and caused our seal at arms to be affixed thereto, and the same to be countersigned by one of our secretaries.

Given at Quebec, the twenty-ninth day of September, one thousand six hundred and seventy-three.

Signed, FRONTENAC.

And further down,

By command of His Lordship,

LECHASSEUR.

With a flourish.

Titles and Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure. Quebec:

E. R. Frechette, 1852. Pp. 393-394.

In French:

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1673/09/29

PIECES ET DOCUMENTS

RELATIFS A LA

TENURE SEIGNEURIALE,

DEMANDÉS PAR UNE ADRESSE

DE

L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE,

1851.



QUEBEC :

IMPRIMERIE DE E. R. FRÉCHETTE,
13, RUE LA MONTAGNE, BASSE-VILLE.

1852.

mago que le dit sieur de Repentigny ses hoirs et ayans causes seront tenus de porter au chatenu de St. Louis de Quebec duquel il relevera, aux droits et redevances nccoutumés suivant la Coutume de la prevosté et vicomté de Paris qui sera suivie à cet egard et par provision et en attendant quil en soit nutrement ordonné par Sa Msjesté à la charge quil continuera de tenir ou faire tenir feu et lieu sur la dite seigneurie et quil stipulera dans les contrats quil fera a ses tenanciers quils seront tenus de resider dans l'nn et tenir sen et lieu sur les concessions quil leur accorde ou aura accordé et qu'a faute de ce faire il rentrera de plain droit en possession des dites terres, que le dit sieur de Repentigny conservera les bois de chesnes qui se trouveront sur la dite terre qui se sera réservé pour son principal msnoir même quil fera la inemc réserve des dits chesnes dans lestendue des dites concessions particulières faittes et à faire qui seront propres pour la construction des vaisseaux ; pareillement quil donnera avis au roy ou à la compagnie des Indes Occidentales des mines, minières ou minéraux si aucun se trouvent—A la charge de laisser les chemins et passsge nécessaires le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté de laquelle il sera tenu de prendre confirmation dans un nn du jour d'icelles.

En temoin de quoy nous avons signé ces presentes à icelles fait apposer le cachet de nos armes et fait contresigner par notre secrétaire.

A Quebec le troisiesme novembre mil six cent soixante et douze.

(Signé)

TALON,

Avec paraph.

Et plus bas, Par Monseigneur,

VARNIER,

Avec paraph.

September 29, 1673

LE SIEUR LE MOINE DE LONGUEUIL, ECR.

LOUIS DE BUADE FRONTENAC, &c., salut :

Lafection que le sieur Lemoine escuyer sieur de Longueuil n toujours temogné pour le service du roy depuis quil est en ce pays et la promptitude avec laquelle il a toujours executé les ordres qui lui ont été donnés par les gouverneurs qui nous ont précédés soit dans les guerres où il s'est signalé en plusieurs occasions soit en diverses negotiations et traité de paix quil n fait aveo eux par leur commandement nous obligeant à chercher les moyens de reconnoitre les services quil a rendus et n l'engager n continuer a l'avenir le même zèle quil a toujours fait parroître pour le service de Sa Majesté, et dont il nous a donné des preuves dans le voyage que nous avons fait au lac Ontario où nous nous sommes serré de son ministère pour proposer a toutes les nations Iroquoises, que nous avions fait assembler, les choses que nous avons cru neessaires pour maintenir la paix le commerce et les sujets de Sa Majesté et empêcher quelles ne prisent des mesures avec les nations voisines qui dans les suites eusent pu rompre lune et l'autre sur la demande quil nous a fait de vouloir lui confirmer le don d'une concession de deux lieues de terre de front a commencer dix arpens au dessous de la Rivière du Loup en montant dans le lac St. Louis du costé du sud et de profondeur trois

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lieues, ensemble l'Isle St. Bernard qui est à l'embouchure de la dite rivière, que M. de Courcelle cy devant gouverneur de ce pais luy avoit promise en consideratio du grand nombre d'enfant dont il est chargé et des services qu'il avoit tiré du dit sieur Lemoine dans le voyage qu'il avoit fait aux Iroquois ; Nous, en vertu du pouvoir à nous donne par Sa Majesté et croyant ne pouvoir mieux accomplir ses intentions qu'en secondant et favorisant les dessins des personnes qui veulent travailler à de nouveaux établissements et par ce moyen à l'augmentation des défrichemens des terres, avons souhaité son bon plaisir donné, concedé et accordé, donnons, concedons et accordons par ces présentes au dit sieur Lemoine escuyer sieur de Longueuil deux lieues de terre de front à commencer dix arpens au dessous de la Rivière du Loup en montant dans le lac St. Louis du côté du sud et de profondement trois lieues ensemble l'Isle St. Bernard qui est à l'embouchure de la dite rivière ; pour joindre de la dite terre en fief, seigneurie et justice luy ses bois ou ayans cause à la charge de la foy et bommage que le dit Sr. Lemoine ses dits bois ou ayans cause seront tenus de porter au chateau St. Louis de Québec duquel il relevraux droits et redérances accoutumées et au desir de la Coutume de la prévoste et vicomté de Paris qui sera suivie à cet égard par provision en attendant qu'il en soit ordonné par Sa Majesté et que les appellations du jugement qui pourra estre étably au dit lieu resortiront par devant le lieutenant général des Trois Rivieres à la charge qu'il continuera de tenir et faire tenir feu et lieu par ses tenanciers sur les concessions qu'il leur accordera ou leur aura accordé, et qu'à faute de ce faire il rentrera en possession des dites terres ; que le dit sieur Lemoine conservera les bois de chênes qui se trouveront sur la terre qu'il se sera réservé pour faire son principal manoir même qu'il fera la réserve des dits chênes dans l'estendue des concessions particuliers faites à ses tenanciers qui seront propres à la construction des vaisseaux, qu'il donnera avis au Roi ou à la compagnie des Indes Occidentales de mines minières ou minéraux sy aucun si trouvent qu'il laissera les chemins et passages nécessaire le tout sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté de laquelle il sera tenu de prendre confirmation des présentes dans un an du jour d'icelles.

En témoignage de ce que nous avons signé ces présentes à icelle fait apposer le sceau de nos armes et fait contresigner par l'un de nos secrétaires.

Donné à Québec le vingt neuvième septembre mil six cent soixante et treize.

(Signé) FRONTENAC.

Et plus bas. Par Monseigneur,

LECLASSEUR,

Avec paraphe

A JEAN BOURDON.

LA COMPAGNIE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE,

A tous présents et à venir, salut :

Nostre plus grand désir étant d'établir une bonne et forte colonie en la Nouvelle France, nous nous sommes servis de ceux qui pouvoient nous aider en cette lourde entreprise et nous

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Ch^rond^eigneure

61. Orant que de vous rendre conçue
comme l'y suis oblige, de tout ce qui
s'est passé en ce pays, depuis mes
dernières dépeches, vous voudrez
bien que je commence celle ci
par de très humbles renseignements
de toutes les bontés que vous avez
pour moi, et dont je ressens les
effets non seulement par la grâce
que vous me faites de procurer
au professeur de mes affaires,
dans un temps ou un autre que
vous, seriez accablé des extrêmes
défences qu'il courrit de faire, pour
la conservation de l'Etat, et des glo-
riantes conquêtes de sa ch^eette,
mais encore par les assistances
que vous avez bien voulu donner à
ma femme dans ses affaires do-
mestiques.

J'ay ch^rond^eigneure qui a voulu
me demander la continuation,
et a usé protestez que vous ne
deaviez jamais reçue vos
gaveurs, sur personne qui en conser-
verait une filie parfaite reconnaiss-
tance que moy, nif une plus vio-
lent désir de vous en donner des

par une fine variété.

Telles tables que je vous envoierai l'an
née prochaine du recensement ne sont
pas véritables, ce n'est pas manque
d'avoir recommandé à celui qui les
a faites, d'en affirmer une grande
exactitude, et par celle qu'on aura
cette année on pourra connaître
si la faute vient de sa part, ou si
lors que lors a fait les recensements
les années précédentes on n'aurait
point affecté d'audience le
nombre des habitans pour faire
valoir davantage le pays.

Comme j'ay reçus vos ordres fort
tard et que j'ay renvoyé tout de
nouveau faire le recensement,
qui étoit des fois commencé, je ne
peux tel pourra estre achevé avant
le départ des vaisseaux, et si je
pourrai vous l'envoyer cette année,
mais de moins claires vous la pro-
chaine dans toute l'exactitude qu'il
se pourra; car je ne chercheray point
à vous rien déguiser; vous trouve-
rez à l'habitation de la Prairie
de la Côte de laine appartenante
aux Pères jésuites une augmenta-
tion considérable d'Indiens,
qui sont venus habiter depuis
l'année dernière, et qui sont résolus
d'y faire un séjour fixe et arrêté.

fait faire des sargues, et des castors.
S'ils peuvent s'apprivoiser à la pêche
comme je les y exhorté tout le fourt, le
Pâis et les habitans l'accueilleront.
Il y en a quelques qui commenceront
ce printemps, et si la pêche se fait cette
année en France, et qu'on en fuisse
faire venir quelques matériaux, il n'y
aura pas de manque ici, cela facilitera ex-
tremement cette entreprise.

Maldre tout les risques de la
guerre le Sr. Savine ne laisse pas
d'envoyer aux îles un petit vais-
seau qui soit ici chargé de toutes
les denrées qui y sont de meilleure
debit, et je crois qu'en conséquence
à courtter ici ce commerce que je
leur pêche depuis que j'y suis.

Il est à propos, je crois que je finisse
cette lettre qui vous doit étonner, il y
a de la longtemps, et que j'y ajoute
seulement les protestations que je
vous fait cette fois jusqu'au dernier
soupir de ma vie.

Montignac

Votre très humble, très obéi-
sant et très oblige serviteur
Frontenac

de Québec le 29 Novembre 1674

J'oubliais d'abord que de vous mander
 que le R. P. G. a été arrivé cette, rabat un grand
 débardeur à l'habitation qui ont les P.
 résistés dans ce lac supérieure, ou il
 établissent absolement des au-
 dous et adoucissez qui apparemment
 n'étaient pas tout venus apportea leurs
 cartons; que chercher le Cathédrale; ils
 forcèrent la maison des R. P. nonob-
 tant qu'un de leur frère, en eut tiré
 deux d'un coup de canon, allait ce qu'il
 y eut plus de facheux. Cet qu'ils abba-
 tierent les armes du Roy, que M. Talon
 n'avait envoyé planter, il y a trois ou
 quatre ans, dont j'ai témoigné beaucoup
 de ressentiment à quelqu'un des
 débardeurs venus et est entré en traité à
 Montréal, et les ay obligé à me laisser
 un otage, jusqu'à ce que les capi-
 taines viennent m'en faire excuse,
 et reparer ce qu'ils ont fait aux
 R. P. P. ce qu'ils m'ont promis
 de faire cette prochain.

Le P. supérieur des jésuites ayant
 ma demande depuis peu de jours
 une assignation de terre d'au moins
 une lieue et demie de front pour
 assister à leur habitation de la
 Prairie de la Magdelaine, qui est
 à pied de trois, et qui est une des plus
 belles de tout le pays, il allégué pour
 prétexte qu'il n'y ont pas assez de bois.

à si l'our est sauvead que venirent -
de habitude, mais comme leur véritable
raisons est, je crois qu'ils ne veulent point
autour de voilier qui est éloigné de jires;
et qu'il n'y a une quantité insoustra-
bile de lourds en ce j'aurai celle la ac-
-commoderont mieux de vous rabi-
-tant chargés de familles, et d'enfants
des ja grande qui me les demandent,
je les ai renies a cet esté que je mon-
-terais à Montréal afin d'avoir le
temps de recevoir vos ordres la-dessus
et de vous en tenir avisé en cas
qu'ils s'adressassent à vous pour
cela, ou à l'^{ordre} de la Compagnie.

La nécessité qu'il y a de ces
malheur connies au en l'oursur
de vous l'écrire au Commandant
à Montréal pour y tenir la main
à l'exécution des ordres de sa classe
contre les courroux de Bois, qui ont eu
le succès que vous apprendrez; ma
aussi oblige de lui faire donner
la moitié des appointemens qui
restoient a priser a ch^r Ferrot de
l'année dernière, afin que cela
aydatt à luy faire subsister, le
Dr^r Daigre retient ceux de cette année
en attendant ce qu'il vous plaira
d'en ordonner.

Je ne puis enseigner que je
ne vous recommande le Dr^r de la Salle

Personne qui frappe en paix, et qui est un homme d'esprit et d'intelligence, et le plus capable que je connaisse ici, pour toutes les entreprises et de son exercice qu'on voudra l'employer, ayant une connaissance très grande de l'état de ce pays; ainsi qu'il vous paraîtra si vous avez adreable des luy donner quelques renseignement d'ailleurs.

On donne n'auroit formé le dessein d'une de deux vaisseaux espagnols à entreprise sur l'aid qui ne fut donné, qu'il avoit deux vaisseaux espagnols en P. solo a Anticosti, et un autre a l'ile percée dont la moitié de l'Equipage estoit espagnol, et qu'on soupçonnait étre sans passe-forts, je m'avois servy pour cela du Petit vaisseau le St Jean revenant de l'Acadie, où il avoit mené l'année passée l' St de Chambly, que je fis reprendre au St. l' St, au lieu de le débarquer et je renforcé donc l'équipage de douze de nos gardes et de dix soldats, offris ceux de St. Malo et étais arrivé les premiers, et j'eus tant que le St. de Laurel que j'y envoyai, l'st prirent un de ces deux vaisseaux d'Anticosti du fort de 300 tonneaux, et pour celui de l'ile percée, le St. de Laurel craignit de faire faute, de s'en saisir

par ce qui avoit un joli port digne
depuis la déclaration de sa paix,
mais que n'estoit point scellé, ce qui
peut estre le rendoit de bonne frise,
Tout me feriez chouette que l'heureux
de me mandez sil vous plait ce que
j'aurais a faire se jardille chose arriv-
ait une autre fois.

Le temps de la Commission de
M. de Varenne exigeant pour le
gouvernement des trois rivieres, Il
me prie Monseigneur de vous en
demander la continuation ce que
je fais d'autant plus volontiers que
je crois quil s'acquitera bien de
son emploie.

Fugteriac.

A Quebec ce 14 ete (septembre) 1674