

The St Lawrence Settlements

Jacques Cartier, the European explorer of much of the Gulf of St Lawrence in 1534 and of the St Lawrence River in 1535, was sent by Francis I, king of France, 'to discover certain islands and lands where it is said that a great quantity of gold and other precious things are to be found.' Equally enticing was the prospect of a direct sea-route to China (pls 20, 33). Native tales of gold in the Kingdom of Saguenay drew Cartier back in 1541 with five ships and a large number of colonists. Within two years Cartier and his successors in the colonization venture withdrew from the St Lawrence valley, discouraged by repeated Indian attacks, the rigours of winter in a northern continental climate, and the failure to gain any additional information about the Kingdom of Saguenay or a sea route to Asia. Forty years later, when the French returned, their motives were different. By this time the fur trade was separating from the cod fishery and moving westward towards the great river and the natives who could bring out the furs of the continental interior. French fur traders reached the Island of Montréal in the early 1580s and began to trade each summer at Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River (pl 33). In 1600 Chauvin de Tonnetuit built a post there and some of his men overwintered. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain established a post at Québec, an easily fortified site farther up the St Lawrence River at the head of navigation for large ships. This time the French were on the St Lawrence to stay, although for years Champlain's *habitation* was simply an outpost of the fur trade.

The French establishment on the St Lawrence River, one of the principal entrances (along with Hudson Bay, the Hudson-Mohawk River system, and the Mississippi River) to the continental interior, was some 1500 km from the open Atlantic. Closely bounding the St Lawrence River to the north lay the Canadian Shield, a rocky upland of acid soils and lingering winters, unsuited for agriculture. To the south, a little farther from the St Lawrence River and less daunting, lay the Appalachian Highlands. Between was a narrow valley covered by a dense forest of conifers and deciduous trees and near the northern climatic limit for the cereal crops of northwestern Europe (pl 46). When Champlain arrived, the St Lawrence valley was uninhabited, although after the dispersion of the St Lawrence Iroquoians in about 1580 Algonquian-speaking Montagnais bands from the Canadian Shield and Iroquoian-speaking Mohawk from southeast of Lake Ontario fished and hunted there in summer (pl 33). Champlain had slipped into a contested, unsettled no-man's-land.

Champlain was soon involved with natives, principally Algonquian-speaking peoples from the Ottawa valley and Iroquoian-speaking Huron from Georgian Bay on Lake Huron. They insisted on an alliance and Champlain's participation in raids against their enemies, the Mohawk and other Iroquois tribes living south and southwest of Lake Ontario. These developments, which would eventually involve almost all the peoples of the continental interior and Britain and France in a protracted struggle for the control of North America, are described by pls 33–44. Pls 45–56 consider the settlements along the lower St Lawrence River, the heart of the vast, vaguely delimited colony approached through the Gulf of St Lawrence and known during the French regime as New France or Canada.

For 26 years Québec was the only French settlement on the St Lawrence. Trois-Rivières at the mouth of the Saint-Maurice River was not founded until 1634, and Montréal, at the head of navigation for small ships and boats on the St Lawrence and near the abandoned St Lawrence Iroquoian village of Hochelaga, not until 1642. During these years Canada was held by the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, a proprietary company created out of rival trading

interests by Cardinal Richelieu in 1627 and, in return for its trading monopoly, required to colonize. Before 1660 the company and some of the seigneurs it had created did bring several thousand settlers to Canada, a considerable achievement in the face of the English capture of the company's first shiploads of colonists in 1628, the English occupation of Québec in 1629, and, soon after France regained Canada in 1632, the beginning of the Iroquois wars. Although most of these immigrants returned to France, agricultural settlement began to spread along the river, first near Québec, then near Trois-Rivières and Montréal. In 1663, when the French crown revoked the charter of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés and assumed the administration of Canada, some 2 500 people of French background lived along the lower St Lawrence, 500 of them at Québec. Thereafter the population grew more rapidly. During the first decade of royal government the crown sent regular contingents of settlers, including about 1 000 women, and encouraged soldiers to settle in Canada. Later, female immigration virtually stopped, male immigration was reduced to a trickle, and the population grew largely through natural increases (pl 45). With an annual birth rate near 55 per 1 000 and a death rate that averaged about 30 per 1 000 the population doubled in less than 30 years (pl 46). Québec and Montréal grew into small towns. Settlement spread along the river. By the end of the French regime some 70 000 people of European origin lived in the St Lawrence valley. The banks of the river were occupied from a few miles above Montréal to well downriver below Québec.

At the same time the lower St Lawrence was being settled by native peoples (pl 47). Montagnais groups from the Canadian Shield, their beaver supplies exhausted, settled near Québec in 1638. Ottawa-valley Algonquins, under Iroquois attack in the 1640s, settled near Montréal and Trois-Rivières. Refugees from Huronia reached Québec in 1650 and 1651. Abenaki from New England, defeated in King Philip's War, moved north into the St Lawrence valley in the late 1670s, by which time some Mohawk and Oneida, following the treaty of peace between the French and Iroquois in 1667, had settled near Montréal to be better placed for the fur trade. Other native groups arrived later. Almost all these people lived somewhat apart from the French settlements in missions directed by Jesuit or Sulpician priests. Over the years the numbers at these missions tended to decline as native people were decimated by European diseases and by the wars in which they participated as French allies. At the end of the French regime only 3 000–4 000 natives lived along the lower St Lawrence.

As time went on, the great majority of the people in the towns and countryside of early Canada were descendants of immigrants from France. Few immigrants had come in families. Most of them were single, young, and had been sent as soldiers or indentured servants or, in the case of the women recruited by the crown in the 1660s and early 1670s, as potential brides. From a French perspective Canada was remote and unappealing; even the crown soon lost interest in colonization. From the founding of Québec to its capture by the British in 1759 fewer than 10 000 immigrants from France settled and left descendants along the lower St Lawrence (pl 45). Many others, mostly indentured servants, soldiers, or sailors, came and left.

These emigrants from France had left an age-old, densely populated, overwhelmingly rural country of more than 20 million people. Agriculture employed far more French people than any other activity; land remained the principal source of wealth and status. A large population pressed against known, finite resources, raising the value of land, depressing the value of labour. The rural poor scrounged for food and fuel in forest, marsh, moor, hedgerow,

or field after harvest. Title to land was tenaciously defended, carefully inherited, craved because land could provide economic security and social position. Like the rest of western Europe, France was still intensely regional. Many people did not speak French, and many French regional dialects were barely comprehensible to other French speakers. Local cultures no more than a day's walk apart were often very different; people from outside the local region were strangers, not to be trusted. Yet everywhere French society was sharply stratified, the social gradations steep, nuanced, and understood. Different peasant occupations carried different social meanings. In most villages a few peasants held large farms, while many others did not have enough land to support their families, and others were landless. Status affected a peasant's seat in church, his position in a parade on a saint's day. Above the peasantry were the intricate hierarchies of the church, the older nobility (*noblesse d'épée* or *de sang*), and the newer nobility associated with public office (*noblesse de robe*). Apart from and somewhat disparaged by these élites, but growing in wealth and power, were the merchants. The countryside was dotted with estates and châteaux, but the towns, where little more than 10% of the population of France lived, were the focal points of commerce, civil and clerical administration, and the military. Because of the concentration of disposable income, the towns drew labourers and a wide range of artisans.

When emigrants made the two- or three-month crossing of the Atlantic to Canada, this old, known, densely populated France was suddenly far behind them. They had come to a forested, New World valley. Land was abundant, but labour was scarce and expensive. The climate was unsuitable for plantation crops, but the crops of northwestern France could be grown. At one end of the valley canoe routes led to the continental interior and the fur trade; at the other end shipping led to France or, nearer at hand, to fishing stations in the Gulf of St Lawrence. Local markets were small and external markets thousands of kilometres away. For years only fish and furs could be exported profitably. Yet some members of all the main French social classes came to this isolated pocket of the New World. Merchants, drawn by the fur trade, created the first settlements, and were always active in the colony. Missionaries came and many of the formal institutions of the church were soon established. The Compagnie des Cent-Associés granted many of its seigneuries to people of noble birth, and intendants continued to do so after Canada became a crown colony in 1663 (pl 51). At that time some institutions and officials of a French province were put in place. Most of the soldiers demobilized along the lower St Lawrence had been recruited among the poorer of the French peasantry, as had most indentured servants. All in all, the 9 000–10 000 French immigrants who settled in Canada during the French regime were a fairly representative cross-section of French society, minus the *grande noblesse*.

The Towns

Merchants engaged in the fur trade built permanent trading posts along the St Lawrence River to facilitate contacts with native traders, protect monopoly privileges, store trade goods, and reduce the costs of trans-Atlantic shipping. For the crown, which chartered the trading companies and encouraged permanent settlement, such posts consolidated French territorial claims. For the religious orders that became involved with Canada permanent settlements served as bases for missionary operations. To the commercial activities that created Québec and Trois-Rivières administrative and military functions were soon added. Founded as a mission, Montréal became a centre of trade. Over the years these tiny settlements grew as their commercial, administrative, and military functions expanded.

Québec, a deep-sea port, was the Canadian point of contact with North Atlantic trade. It required only two or three ships a year to supply its needs during the proprietary period before 1663, and about 10 a year during the 1720s and 1730s. In the last two, war-torn decades of the French regime shipping increased immeasurably (pl 48). Furs and hides were carried to La Rochelle in one or two ships each year. In the eighteenth century exports of foodstuffs

to fishing stations in the Gulf of St Lawrence, Louisbourg, or the West Indies required more but smaller ships; and the import trade from France, in which Québec's merchants were increasingly active, drew many ships that would leave Québec in ballast to look for cargoes at Louisbourg (fish) or in the West Indies (sugar, molasses, rum). Several small private shipyards built ships in the town. In 1663 Québec became the capital of a royal colony, receiving a new governor, an intendant, their staffs, and a small garrison. Fortifications were improved; eventually the upper town was enclosed by a massive stone wall with over 200 cannon and mortars. Québec was the seat of colonial administration and a bulwark, in the struggle against the British, of the French defence of Canada. Several religious orders – Jesuits, Récollets, Ursulines, and Hospitalières – established their Canadian headquarters there. Tradesmen, labourers, and small merchants were drawn by the port trade, by the requirements for goods and services of civil and clerical administrations and the military, and, from 1739, by employment in royal shipyards equipped to make large warships. By 1744 almost 5 000 people lived in Québec (pl 51).

Montréal was the point of transshipment from small ships or river boats to canoes that could be portaged around the rapids of the upper St Lawrence and the Ottawa Rivers. In the late 1650s, after the collapse of Huronia, merchants began to outfit canoe brigades for the interior (pl 37), although native traders continued to come to Montréal each year until 1681, when the crown finally legalized French trade in the interior. Montréal's merchant community dealt in furs, French goods shipped upriver from Québec, and, eventually, grain from farms on the Montréal plain. The Sulpicians (seigneurs of the Island of Montréal), the Récollets, and the Jesuits maintained establishments there. The town was a seat of regional administration and of a large garrison. Montréal was enclosed by a wooden palisade in 1688 for protection against the Iroquois, and by stone bastions and walls in the 18th century. In the 1740s it was about half as populous as Québec. Trois-Rivières, which drew furs from the relatively restricted Saint-Maurice valley and had little good agricultural land nearby, commanded much less trade than either Québec or Montréal. Not an important military site, it housed small civil and clerical administrations and a small garrison, and was little more than a village of some 800 inhabitants at the end of the French regime.

The physical growth of Québec and Montréal during the French regime is described on pl 49. Well before the end of the 17th century land use in Québec was sharply differentiated, with a congested lower town, on a narrow strip of land between cliff and river, dominated by the commercial activities of a port, and a much more spacious upper town dominated by royal and clerical officials and the garrison. The large institutional buildings of the upper town were handsome French baroque structures; much of the land around them was laid out in garden plots arranged geometrically and walled. In the lower town, where land was scarce, buildings were contiguous along a street and, by the 18th century, many were three storeys high. Streetscapes were dominated by spare, symmetrical stone facades, large, well-proportioned, shuttered windows, steeply-pitched roofs, narrow dormers, and massive chimneys – as in the towns of northwestern France. Outside the wall to the north in the mid-18th-century suburb of Saint-Roch houses were much smaller, detached, and usually of timber-frame or log construction. Labourers and artisans, many of whom worked in the royal shipyard nearby, lived there. Overall, 18th-century visitors were impressed by Québec, often likening it to a French provincial capital. Land use in Montréal was much less differentiated, although commerce dominated the riverbank, and institutional buildings were set back towards the town's interior wall. People of different social and economic positions were scattered through a small, walled, approximately rectangular space in which, even at the end of the French regime, much of the land was cultivated.

These first Canadian towns, Québec especially, were remarkably comprehensive transplantations of French urban life. They performed the same general functions as French towns, housed much the same social classes, and looked like small towns from northwestern France – minus the medieval buildings. Their populations

were sharply stratified by occupation and income, and by fine social distinctions. They were centres of authority and power where government officials, military officers, the most important clerics, and the most prosperous merchants lived; where instructions arrived from France; where laws were made and judgments passed; and where offenders were gaoled, tried, pardoned, or punished. Occupationally they were diverse, as were French towns, far more diverse than any other populations in early Canada. Some 40% of heads of households were artisans representing all the basic trades associated with a port, construction, and the provision of common consumer goods. Ordinary boots and shoes were made in Québec and Montréal whereas fancy shoes were usually imported. Steel and copperware came from France, and a major new enterprise, such as the royal shipyards, would require skills that had to be imported. However, there were silversmiths, wigmakers, cabinetmakers, stocking makers, and tailors and seamstresses making fashionable clothing for gentlemen and ladies. The variety of craftsmanship was greater in Québec than Montréal, but apprenticeship was carefully regulated in both towns. The Canadian urban population was of unusually diverse origin, a reflection of the many parts of France from which immigrants had come to Canada. The range between the very rich and the very poor was not as great as in most French towns because available land in the countryside provided an outlet for the poor, and recent settlement and a limited economy had not yet allowed great landed or commercial fortunes to emerge. Overall the towns in the St Lawrence valley closely reflected those in northwestern France, from whence they had sprung.

The Countryside

Land along the lower St Lawrence was conceded in seigneuries within which all rural settlement took place. The Compagnie des Cent-Associés made its first seigneurial grants near Québec in 1634. Over the next 30 years the company granted several dozen seigneuries, some to people of noble birth, others to religious orders or merchants, a few to very ordinary people, usually with the hopeful clause in the seigneurial title that settlers brought to Canada by the seigneur would be credited to the company's charter obligation to colonize. After the crown assumed the administration of Canada in 1663, Jean Talon and the intendants who succeeded him made many new seigneurial grants, filling in the areas between the company's earlier concessions, conceding seigneuries along tributaries of the St Lawrence where agriculture was feasible, and granting extensions (*augmentations*) to some seigneuries (pl 51). The seigneurs thus created could grant sub-seigneuries (*arrière-fiefs*) within their seigneuries, or grant small concessions to people who were expected to live on them. The holders of such concessions would pay annual rents, and also pay for services (such as milling) provided by the seigneur. They would make a token payment, the *cens*, to indicate that their land could not be sub-granted. Notaries in Canada called such lots '*concessions*' or '*habitations*', and the people who lived on them were known as *habitants*. The habitants' rights were considerable. As long as they paid the seigneurial charges, their tenures were secure; their land could be inherited, deeded, or sold, but not detached from the seigneurial obligations specified in the title deed.

The first farm lots conceded in Canada were long, narrow trapezoids fronting on the river. Although other surveys were attempted, the long lot, with a common but never standardized ratio of width to length of about 1:10 and an area of some 60–120 arpents (1 arpent = $\frac{5}{6}$ of an acre or about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a hectare), became the characteristic concession in Canada (pl 52). Farm lots of this shape were frequently conceded along colonization roads in medieval Europe, and were well known in Normandy, source of many of the earliest immigrants to Canada. Along the St Lawrence the shape suited new settlements of farmers who lived on their own land. Long lots were easily and cheaply surveyed, gave all farmers frontage on the river or, eventually, a public road, and allowed them to live on their own farms yet close to neighbours. Further, because survey lines were approximately at right angles to

ecological boundaries that tended to run parallel to the river, long lots gave most farmers access to several soil and vegetation types. The disadvantage of the shape for some farm activities was balanced by its advantages for ploughing. A group of long-lot farms was known as a *côte* (pl 52).

The work of establishing a farm was sometimes assisted by indentured servants recently arrived from France, or by locally available wage labourers, but labour usually came almost entirely from the farm family, the basic unit of rural settlement. A young man arriving penniless from France could not move directly onto his own concession. The cost of simple tools, a few animals, seed, and provisions for at least a year and a half before a farm lot could begin to provide for its occupants was prohibitive. He would work for some years, perhaps to pay off his contract of indenture; eventually he would have a little money and a concession of land, enough to start a farm and marry. Quite possibly the attempt to farm would fail, defeated by sickness, accident, or work that was too unfamiliar and too hard. Sometimes the family would move after a few years, selling a lot that clearing had given some value, and starting again somewhere else. At best two arpents could be cleared and planted each year, then less as farm work demanded more time. For the children of established farmers the process was a little easier. They had grown up with the work involved, and if a father had acquired additional concessions near the family farm for his sons, as was often done, a young man could live at home while starting a new farm. In either case the work was unremitting; a farm of 30–40 cleared arpents was the product of a lifetime of clearing, working the land, and building.

The establishment of a farm along the lower St Lawrence embodied the transplantation of a European sentiment of the family and French peasant techniques to a forested valley near the climatic margin for agriculture. Eventually the fur trade did not require more white labour (pl 41), and the towns offered little new work. As the population grew, people turned to agriculture to live, in a setting where land was available, the local market for farm products was small, and the export market was non-existent until the 18th century. Canadian prices for agricultural products were not linked to French prices. They declined sharply in the latter half of the 17th century, stabilized in the first third of the 18th century, and then turned upward (pl 53) as local markets expanded and Canadian wheat and flour, peas, and meat began to find markets in the Gulf of St Lawrence, at Louisbourg, and in the French Antilles (pl 48).

In these circumstances farming developed primarily in response to the needs of farm families. A farm was an unspecialized, mixed operation that provided as much as possible for domestic consumption, and some surplus for sale. Its basic components were a kitchen garden, in which a wide variety of vegetables, tobacco, and perhaps a few fruit trees were grown; ploughed fields, which were planted primarily in wheat but also in legumes (a field crop in Canada), barley, and oats (usually in a two-course rotation, that is, crops one year followed by fallow the next); some meadow and pasture; and, depending on the age of the farm, more or less forest. Pigs, sturdy animals that could fend for themselves most of the year, were kept for meat. Cattle were kept for meat and milk, and oxen as draft animals. Sheep were raised for their wool. By the 18th century there were horses on most farms, used for hauling. Every farm had poultry. Such were the elements of almost all established farms from one end of the colony to the other. Wheat and some fruits did better towards Montréal, where the growing season was longer than near Québec, but the census of 1739, the most comprehensive survey of agriculture in Canada before the 19th century, reveals little market specialization (pl 53). Larger farms produced more of the same things than smaller ones. With 20 arpents cleared there was hardly a surplus for sale; with 40 cleared there usually was: some wheat, a cow or two, perhaps a pig or some piglets, perhaps a few tubs of butter. No farm family could be, or wanted to be, self-sufficient. There were rents and tithes to pay; religious, notarial, and medical services to buy; perhaps livestock to buy or land to purchase for a son; perhaps a pension to pay to elderly parents in return for the use of their farm, or

payments to siblings for their part of an inheritance. Some manufactured goods had to be purchased: iron tools, some kitchenware, some items of clothing, and, if it could be afforded, an iron stove made in the ironworks near Trois-Rivières. Most of these payments were made in kind.

Serving the rural population were a few artisans, sometimes part-time farmers themselves, who were scattered along the côtes. A water- or wind-powered gristmill was needed for every 40 or 50 families. Sawmills, cutting for the local market, were almost as common. Blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, harness makers, and masons (near Québec and Montréal) provided services that were beyond the capacity of most households. Pedlars and merchants visited the countryside, selling goods from the towns, buying wheat and other farm produce. In the 18th century most of the older parishes had resident merchants. Despite government plans for them, the village was not a form of rural settlement in the 17th century, and only slowly emerged in the 18th. The residential open-field village of northern France was not reproduced in Canada as people settled on their own land, bypassing most of the collective practices of open-field agriculture and a daily walk to their fields. As long as the rural population density was low and the market economy was weak, there was no need for a market village or a rural service centre. Towards the end of the French regime such villages were appearing near Montréal (pl 53). Even then the overwhelming majority of rural families lived on their own farms, overlooking the river or on a road, their nearest neighbours some 100–200 m away. Visitors travelling along the St Lawrence River likened Canadian rural settlement to a continuous, straggling village.

Habitant society was much less stratified than the French peasantry. In a weak commercial economy there were no really wealthy habitants, no counterparts of the few peasants who often rented most of the land of a French village. As long as new farmland was available, there were few landless families or beggars in the Canadian countryside. Farms of equivalent age were usually fairly similar; recently established farms were small, older farms were larger. Once established, the Canadian farm provided the basics; enough to eat, rough clothing, shelter, fuel in winter, some surplus for sale. As long as there was opportunity to establish such farms, ordinary Canadian habitants were better off than their French peasant counterparts. On average they married younger, had more children, and lived longer. The Canadian farm served its essential purpose.

Seigneurs, priests, merchants, and the militia were also part of rural life. Many seigneurs were absentee landlords who lived in the towns, depended on royal appointments or on the fur trade, and paid little attention to their sparsely settled seigneuries, knowing they would collect the rents sooner or later. Yet some of them did live on their seigneuries, and a few were active colonizers. The seigneurial domain, land that seigneurs set aside for their own use, was usually the size of several concessions, and the dominal farm was the largest farm in most seigneuries. Sometimes the seigneur and his family worked this farm themselves; more commonly it was worked by tenants, sharecroppers, or hired hands. The seigneurial manor, small by European standards, was usually considerably larger than the habitant house. When a seigneurie had 40 or 50 families it was profitable, and by the 1730s a good many seigneuries had at least this many families. Although seigneurial charges for land were only a few bushels of wheat per farm per year, there were also charges for milling (a seigneurial monopoly), a seigneurial tax on land sales (the *lods et ventes*, $\frac{1}{12}$ of the sale price), and seigneurial reserves of timber and fishing sites. Such charges and reserves were a considerable burden to people who depended largely on subsistence farming. Habitants paid reluctantly, prevaricating as they could. The parish was quite separate from the seigneurie, and was usually founded soon after the settlement of a given côte began. Eventually a church would be built and a parish priest, or curé, maintained in residence. Inevitably the curé was a major figure in local society, the parish an important rural institution, and the tithe, $\frac{1}{26}$ of the grain harvest, another charge to be

paid. Merchants from the towns also were active in the countryside, particularly from the 1720s when the colony began to export flour, beef, pork, and dried peas to Louisbourg and the French islands in the Antilles (pl 48). The merchants bartered and extended credit; many habitants were in debt to them. There were no royal taxes, but habitants were required to perform road work and, in wartime, to serve in the militia. In these ways traditional sources of power in rural France penetrated the relatively undifferentiated Canadian countryside.

Most immigrants to Canada were young and single; eventually they would marry someone who, in all probability, had come – or whose people had come – from another part of France, and would settle along a côte whose inhabitants could be traced to different regions of France. In these circumstances no particular French regional culture could be reproduced along the lower St Lawrence. Common peasant assumptions – for example, about the importance of land, the primacy of the family, and the need for frugality – were transferred. For the rest an unconscious selection of remembered ways reinforced common immigrant memories or memories that were particularly relevant to the demands of settlement along the lower St Lawrence. Languages other than French, and many dialects of French, quickly disappeared. The wooden habitant house was not associated with any of the major regions from which emigrants came to Canada. Rather it drew on building techniques that had been common in early medieval Europe when the forest was at hand, had largely lapsed when it was cleared, and had re-emerged, never entirely forgotten, when migration suddenly returned some French people to the forest (pl 56). In effect, some memories were reinforced by migration and resettlement and others were lost. A few introductions from the Indians aside, habitant life in Canada was French in most details, but was not of any particular French composition. A distinctive Canadian culture was emerging. Because agriculture developed within broadly similar environmental and economic constraints from one end of the lower St Lawrence to the other, and because part of the habitant population was remixed, generation after generation, as young adults moved from areas where all agricultural land was occupied to others where it was still available (commonly they moved westward, towards the Montréal plain), the emerging rural culture of early Canada was expansive and probably fairly uniform.

Towards Montréal, in the parishes where young men were recruited for the canoe brigades (pl 41), the fur trade considerably penetrated the rural culture, as did the fishery below Québec where the St Lawrence River began to open into the Gulf (pl 54).

At the end of the French regime about 60 000 people, some 85% of the Canadian population, lived in the countryside of the lower St Lawrence. Almost all of these people were farmers on their own long-lot farms. Settlement lined the St Lawrence, several concessions deep in some places, for hundreds of kilometres, and extended up the few tributaries of the lower St Lawrence where there was arable land (pl 46 shows the pattern in 1739). Near Québec land for agricultural expansion was no longer available. Everywhere the forest has been pushed back, replaced by tended countryside. Parish churches dotted the lines of settlement, more conspicuous than the grist and sawmills. Here and there a manor stood out from the houses around it, a reflection of a seigneur's growing revenue as a seigneurial population rose. The predominant building in the countryside was the small habitant house, usually built of squared logs dovetailed at the corners and mortised to vertical posts around windows, chimney, and doors; usually whitewashed to preserve the logs; usually roofed with thatch (which could last for 50 years) or cedar planks. The ground floor of these houses was divided into two or three small rooms with an attic above (pls 55, 56). Averaging about 8 m long by 6 m wide, such houses and the farms surrounding them were the setting of rural family life as it developed in the remarkable circumstances of the lower St Lawrence valley in the 17th and 18th centuries. There, as forest gave way to farmland, there was opportunity to establish family farms, local communities, and a vibrant, distinctive peasant culture.

Changes, 1760–1800

During the massive British assault on Québec in the summer of 1759 British cannon at Pointe de Lévis, firing across the river, reduced most of Québec to rubble, while British soldiers burned farms along the river (pl 43). When Québec fell in September, the French defence of North America rested on Montréal where, a year later, surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, the remainder of the French army in North America surrendered. In 1763 the Treaty of Paris confirmed the British conquest of Canada (pl 42).

With the conquest civil and military power passed to the victors, and many of the Canadian élite returned to France. The new governor and his staff, the new officers and their men, were British. The church remained, although its political position was fragile. Canadian merchants found it difficult to compete with British merchants who were supported by the new government and connected to suppliers and agents in London, now the focus of Canadian external trade. As the fur trade resumed after the conquest, it was increasingly controlled by British merchants based in Québec, as were the former Canadian fisheries in the Gulf of St Lawrence (pl 54). Many seigneuries passed into British hands, some confiscated by the military governor, some purchased at bargain prices from seigneurs who had returned to France, some acquired by the marriage of a merchant or an army officer to the daughter of a seigneurial family, her father perhaps killed in the war.

The towns were dominated by the new, British élite. In Québec the army took over much of the upper town, repairing and expanding the fortifications and deflecting urban growth to a new suburb, Saint-Jean, outside the wall. The British colonial officials and military officers who governed the colony lived in the upper town, close to the citadel that was built in the 1780s on Cap-aux-Diamants. The suburbs remained Canadian, as did much of the lower town, although most of the importers, wholesalers, and small traders who operated there were British. English had become the language of authority, and British civic architecture began to appear. In many basic ways, however, the towns had not changed. They were still administrative, commercial, and military centres served by a wide variety of artisans. They were not growing rapidly: in 1800 the civil population of Québec was barely 8 000, of Montréal perhaps 6 000. At the end of the century no more ships were calling each year at Québec than in the 1750s. Agricultural products were a larger percentage of total exports than during the French regime, finding markets for a time in the British Isles and in southern Europe (pl 48), but British merchants had not been notably more successful than their predecessors in diversifying Canadian exports.

In 1800 some 7% of the population of Lower Canada was urban, half the percentage 40 years before. The rural population had grown to almost 200 000. Of these perhaps 15 000–20 000 were English-speakers, most of whom came from New England or New York. Some arrived before the American Revolution, some later as Loyalists in 1783–4, a few at the end of the century as land-seekers. They settled principally along the Richelieu River, the route by which most had come, near the towns (particularly Montréal) where they tended to buy well-established farms, or in the townships newly laid out between the seigneurial lands of the St Lawrence valley and the American border. There, at the end of the century, the northern edge of the American settlement frontier began to spill into British North America (pl 68). Most of the expansion of rural settlement was not associated with these English-speaking newcomers. Canadian birth and death rates remained approximately at pre-conquest levels, and Acadian refugees at the end of the French regime added to the rural, Canadian stock, as did people who moved away from the towns, now dominated by the British. The countryside loomed larger in Canadian life. By 1800 some 180 000 French-speaking people, almost 95% of the total in Lower Canada, lived there.

As the rural population grew, settlement expanded rapidly inland, away from the river, occupying all arable land in many seigneuries, and spreading rapidly across the Montréal plain,

the last large reservoir of unconceded farmland in the lower St Lawrence valley. As land became scarce, its value rose. In some areas family land was held as tenaciously as in France, and there was no agricultural niche for outsiders unless it were created by marriage. Seigneurial revenues increased as the population rose, and the local market economy expanded. The export economy may have slightly exceeded the level, per capita, of the 1730s and early 1740s, the best years for agricultural exports during the French regime. Villages became more common, small service centres for farmers nearby. Artisans, small merchants, and professionals, as well as the curé and a few farm families, usually lived there (pl 53). Seigneurial manors became a little larger, and the architecture of some of them began to reflect the origins of a new group of seigneurs. Here and there a few habitant farms were much larger and more specialized than the rest. Overall, the agricultural economy remained unspecialized, still oriented much more to the immediate needs of farm families than to the market. The domestic economy and the distinctive rural society that had evolved along the lower St Lawrence when farmland was widely available and agricultural prices were low were still viable, still expanding, still supporting a people within the St Lawrence valley. The day was not far off, however, when all the arable lowland would be occupied. Then the young would not be able to establish new farms, at least not in the St Lawrence lowlands, and many new decisions would face a people who had lived for generations with a distinctive, but limited, and, in the end, temporary opportunity.

THE FRENCH ORIGINS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION, 1608-1759

Authors: Hubert Charbonneau, Normand Robert

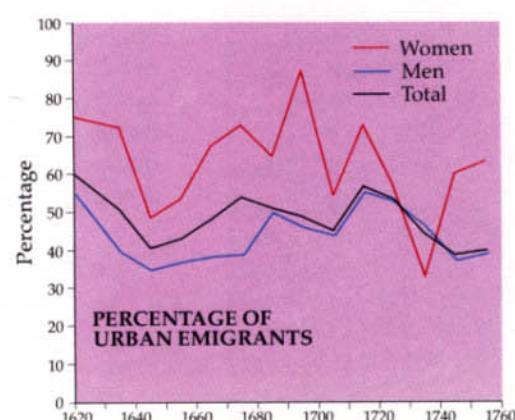
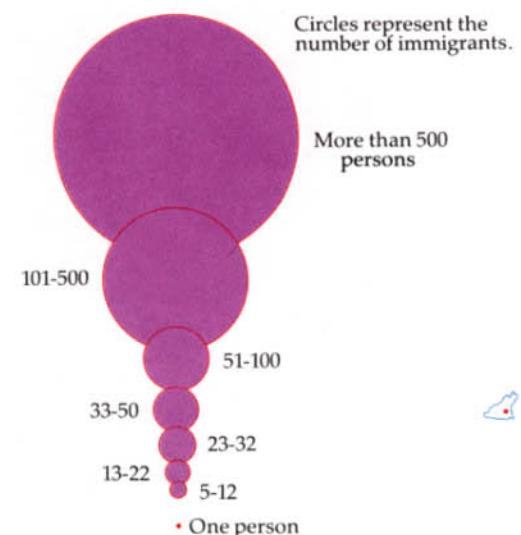
Of some 9 000 Europeans who settled in the St Lawrence valley before 1760, only about 350 were not French. Marriage certificates usually indicate the parish of origin of couples married in Canada. Other sources—marriage contracts, confirmation lists, indenture contracts, and death certificates—provide additional information, so that in the great majority of cases the origin of an immigrant, whether married in Canada or not, can be established.

Four times as many men as women and nearly as many urban as rural people emigrated to Canada, about half of them in the 17th century. Two periods of heavy immigration, almost a hundred years apart, can be identified. The first, under Jean Talon's administration, coincided with the arrival in Canada of the 'Filles du roi' and the Carignan regiment, the second with the arrival of troops during the Seven Years' War. These two waves of immigration contributed 40% of male immigrants and the majority of female immigrants. In the 17th century women accounted for a third of all immigrants. However, after 1673 their number dropped to an average of three per year, a level maintained until the end of the French regime. Nearly all immigrants were single: one man in twenty and one woman in five were married or widowed. Couples married in France accounted for only 250 families.

Over all, the rate of emigration from the towns was nearly five times as high as from the countryside. One woman in three came from Rouen, La Rochelle, or Paris. Paris alone contributed 10% of all immigrants, and one woman in five. Indeed, two-thirds of the female immigrants were of urban origin.

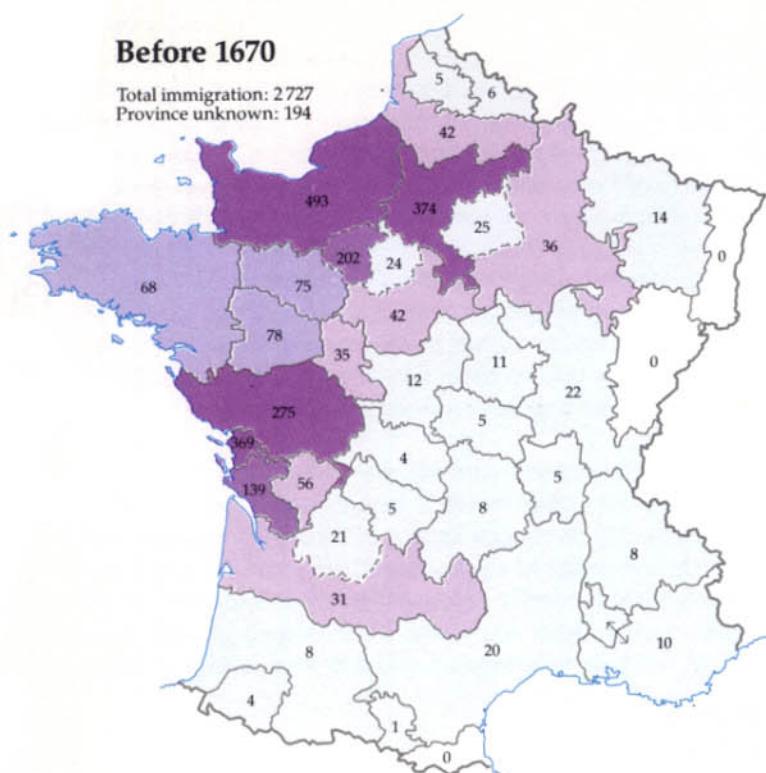
IMMIGRANTS BY SEX AND DECADE, 1608-1759

Period	Men	Women	Total
Before 1630	15	6	21
1630-1639	88	51	139
1640-1649	141	86	227
1650-1659	403	239	642
1660-1669	1075	623	1698
1670-1679	429	369	798
1680-1689	486	56	542
1690-1699	490	32	522
1700-1709	283	24	307
1710-1719	293	18	311
1720-1729	420	14	434
1730-1739	483	16	499
1740-1749	576	16	592
1750-1759	1699	52	1751
Unknown	27	17	44
TOTAL	6908	1619	8527



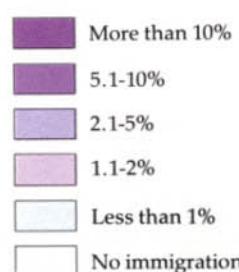
Before 1670

Total immigration: 2727
Province unknown: 194

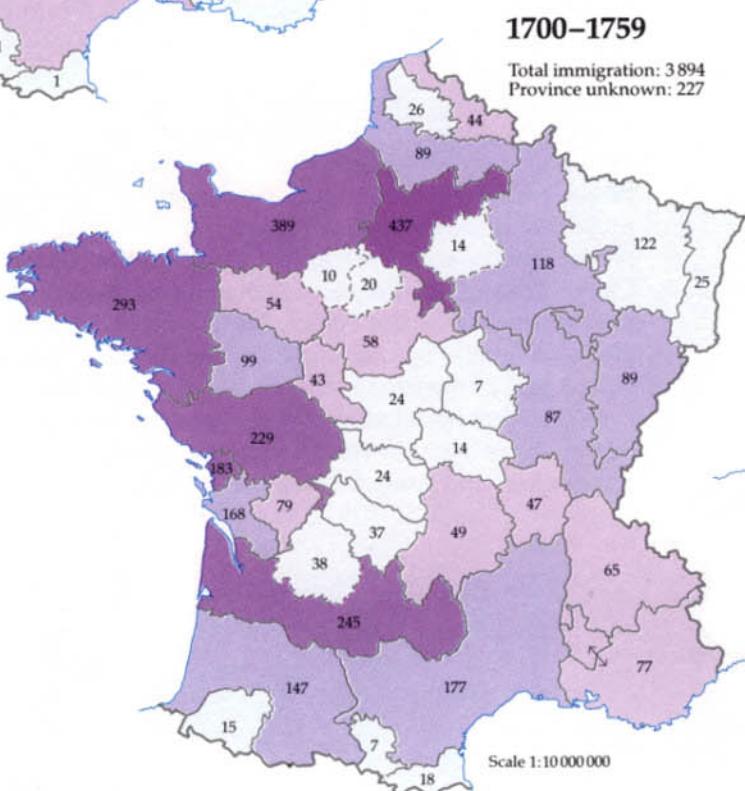


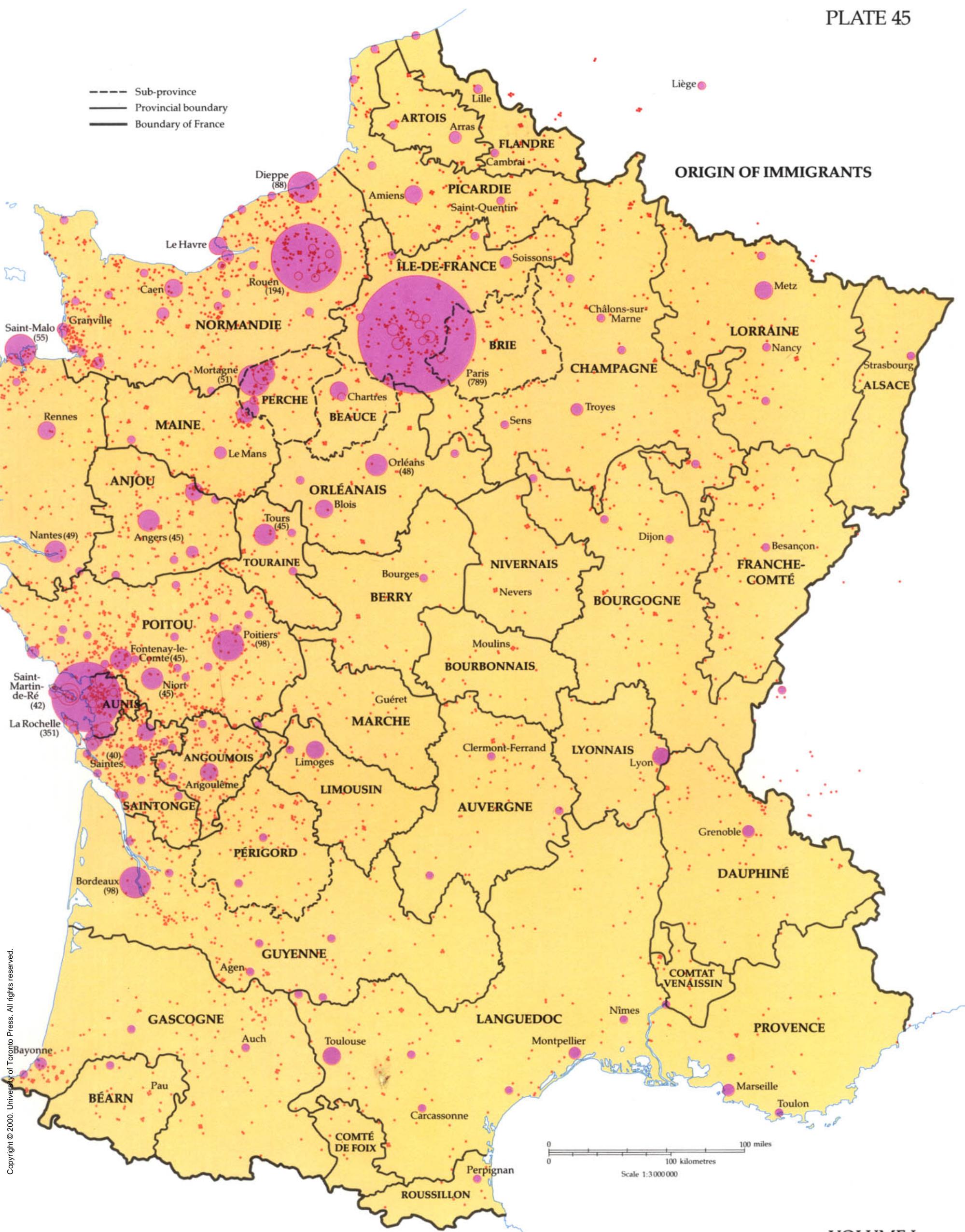
Settlers came from all the provinces of France, but about three-quarters were from west of a line between Bordeaux and Soissons. Besides Paris, the main regions of emigration lay in the hinterlands of the major ports of embarkation: La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Rouen, Dieppe, Saint-Malo, Granville. The foremost provinces were Normandy and Île-de-France, followed by Poitou, Aunis, Brittany, and Saintonge. Prior to 1670 Normandy ranked first, but it was later superseded by the Île-de-France. Along with Poitou-Charentes, these three areas contributed two-thirds of all the 17th century immigrants. After 1700 the Midi also contributed immigrants; soldiers from the southwest and east tended to succeed the indentured servants of the central west and northwest.

IMMIGRATION BY PROVINCE OF ORIGIN



The numbers show immigrants from each province.





RESETTLING THE ST LAWRENCE VALLEY

Authors: Hubert Charbonneau; R. Cole Harris (Population distribution)

After the dispersal of the St Lawrence Iroquoians most of the St Lawrence valley was virtually uninhabited. French fur traders came each summer to Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River, but Iroquois raiders blocked the St Lawrence River. European trade goods, carried by Montagnais and Algonquins, reached the Great Lakes by a roundabout, northern route (pl 33).

Early in the 17th century the French established permanent settlements at Québec (1608), Trois-Rivières (1634), and Montréal (1642). Initially they were tiny outposts of European-Indian trade, but as the population increased, farming became the common way of life. Settlements spread along the St Lawrence River, a progression marked by the establishment of parishes. By 1739 (date of the last general census taken during the French regime) the land along the banks of the St Lawrence was occupied for almost 500 km. To the north lay the fringe of the Canadian Shield and to the south the Appalachian Highlands. The St Lawrence valley was bounded agricultural space close to the climatic limit for cereal crops.

After the early years when men far outnumbered women and the period of rapid immigration during the 1660s and early 1670s the population grew largely from natural increase at an average annual rate of 2.5%. Immigration raised the marriage rate before 1675 and the end of immigration depressed this rate until, by the late 1680s, a generation of Canadian-born had reached marriage age. The marriage rate remained relatively constant thereafter. In the early years low birth rates reflected the shortage of women, and in the 1680s the declining rate of marriage. The death rate fluctuated sharply, its peaks caused by major epidemics. Overall, the death rate in the 18th century was approximately 30 per 1 000 and the birth rate almost 55 per 1 000. Without immigration such a population would double in just under thirty years. By 1760 the 9 000 French settlers over the previous 150 years (pl 45) had become a population of more than 70 000 people. If this rate of natural increase continued through the last decades of the 18th century, then in 1800 some 190 000 people of French descent lived along the lower St Lawrence. At this date there were also some 25 000 to 30 000 people of British background in Lower Canada, making a total population of about 220 000.

POPULATION

Population distribution in 1739:
one dot represents 50 people.

- Parishes
- △ Indian missions

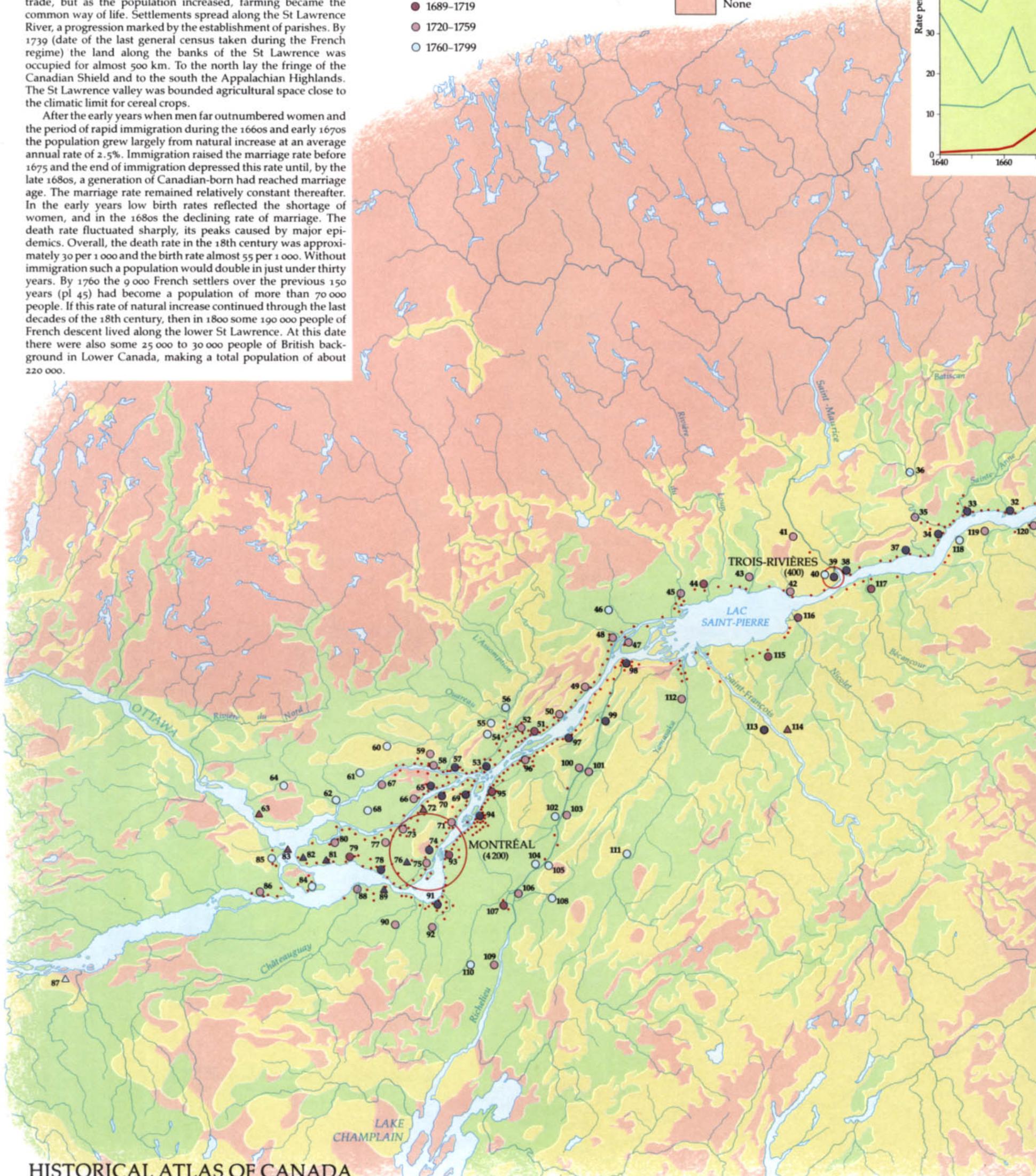
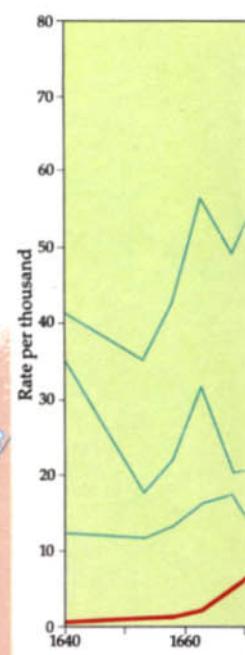
Registers opened

- Before 1689
- 1689–1719
- 1720–1759
- 1760–1799

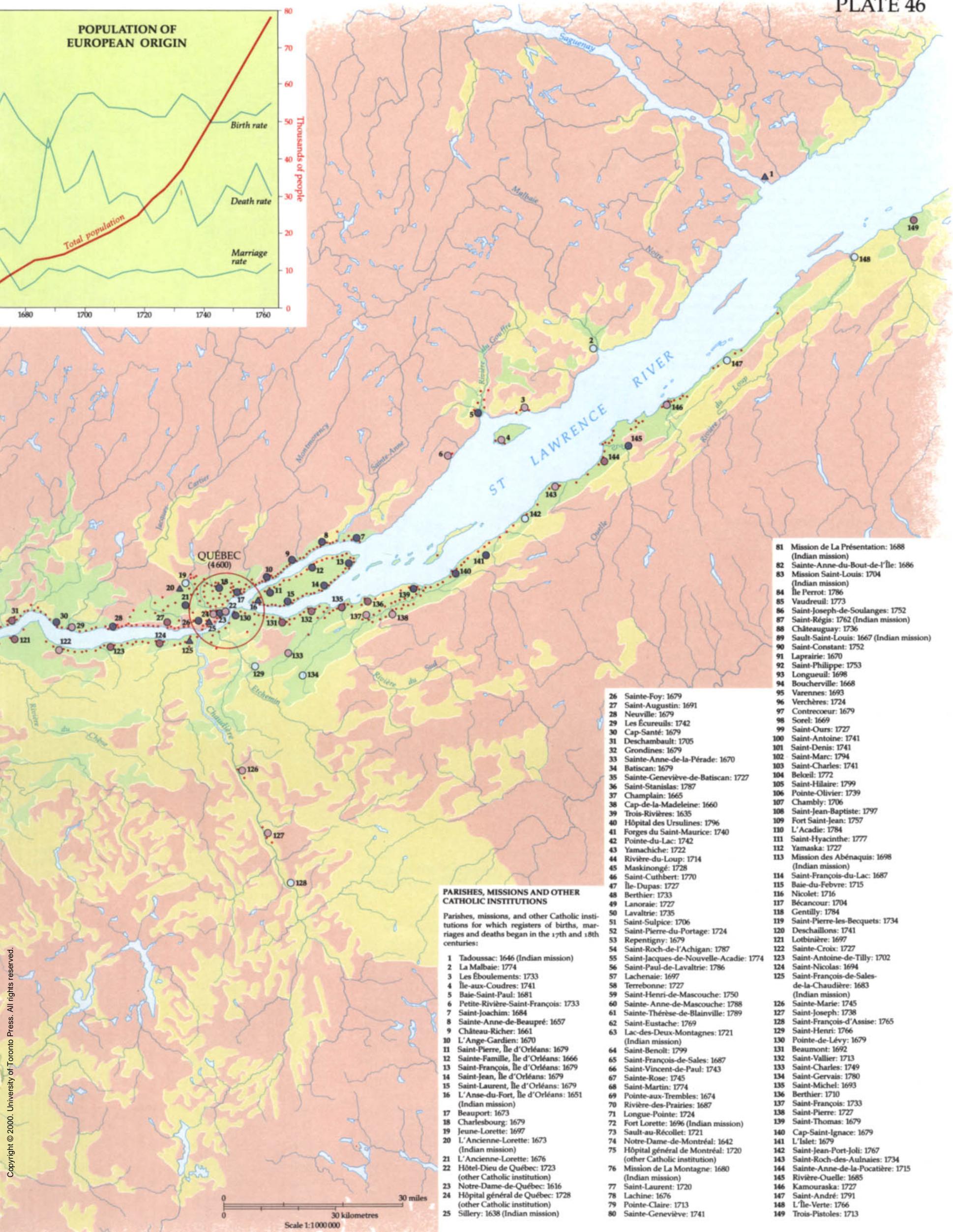
AGRICULTURAL CAPABILITY

(for the mixed agriculture practised by northwestern Europeans)

- | |
|----------------|
| Fair or better |
| Very limited |
| None |



HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA



NATIVE RESETTLEMENT, 1635–1800

Author: B.G. Trigger

After the dispersal of the St Lawrence Iroquoians (pl 33) French settlements in the no-man's-land between the Montagnais and Algonquin to the north and Iroquois to the south attracted various native groups to settle along the St Lawrence River. Fur traders and government officials welcomed this settlement for economic, political, and military reasons. As French officials required at least nominal adherence to Christianity, most Indian settlements were organized as Jesuit or Sulpician missions. This policy met with varying degrees of covert resistance; much native culture was preserved despite periodic efforts to make Indians 'live like Frenchmen.'

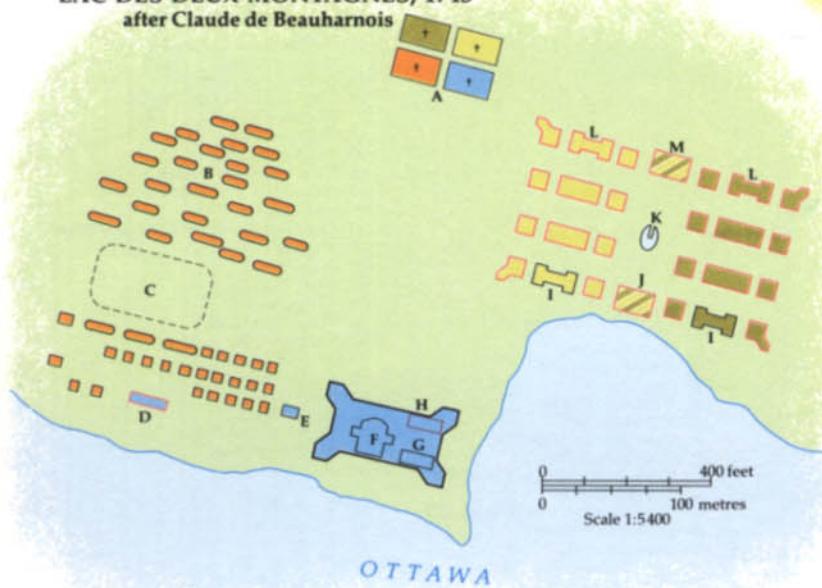
It is impossible to trace the movement and settlement history of all native groups in the St Lawrence valley during almost 200 years of major dislocation and shifting ethnic identity. This plate summarizes the available data.

A Jesuit residential mission for Montagnais groups that had exhausted local supplies of beaver and lacked access to northern trade routes was established at Sillery in 1638; it was, *de facto*, the first reserve in Canada. In 1650 and 1651, following their defeat by the Iroquois, 600 Huron Christians came as refugees to Québec, where their descendants still live. As Algonquins from the Ottawa valley came under increasing Iroquois attack in the 1640s, they, too, sought protection near the French settlements. One group lived near Trois-Rivières until 1830. The Algonquin and Nipissing in the Montréal area were drawn together at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes after 1721, but they continued to hunt in their former Ottawa valley territories.



LAC-DES-DEUX-MONTAGNES, 1743

after Claude de Beauharnois



French

Algonquin

Nipissing

Iroquois (and Huron)

Shared lodge

European structure

Longhouse

To be built

Cemetery

Lodges of the poor

Lacrosse field

Royal lodge

House of the Sœurs

Church

Missionaries' house

Stable

Lodge for village chiefs

Council house

Cistern

Lodge for war chiefs

Lodge for organizing war parties

Garden

Officers

Yard

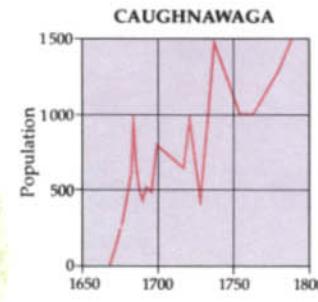
Poultry yard

Guard house

Shed

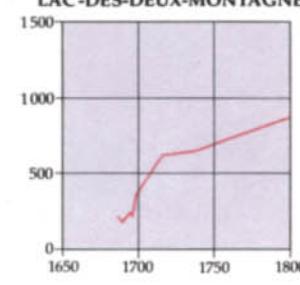
Trading room

NATIVE POPULATION TRENDS, 1630–1800

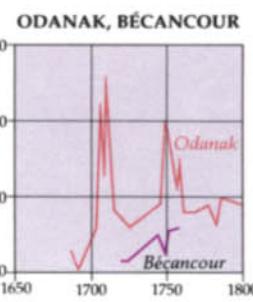
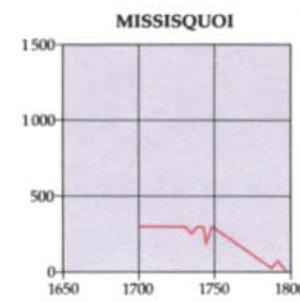
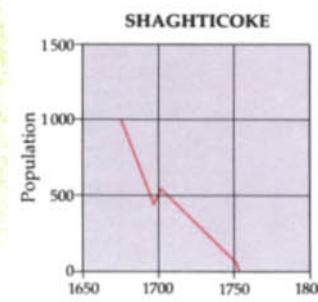


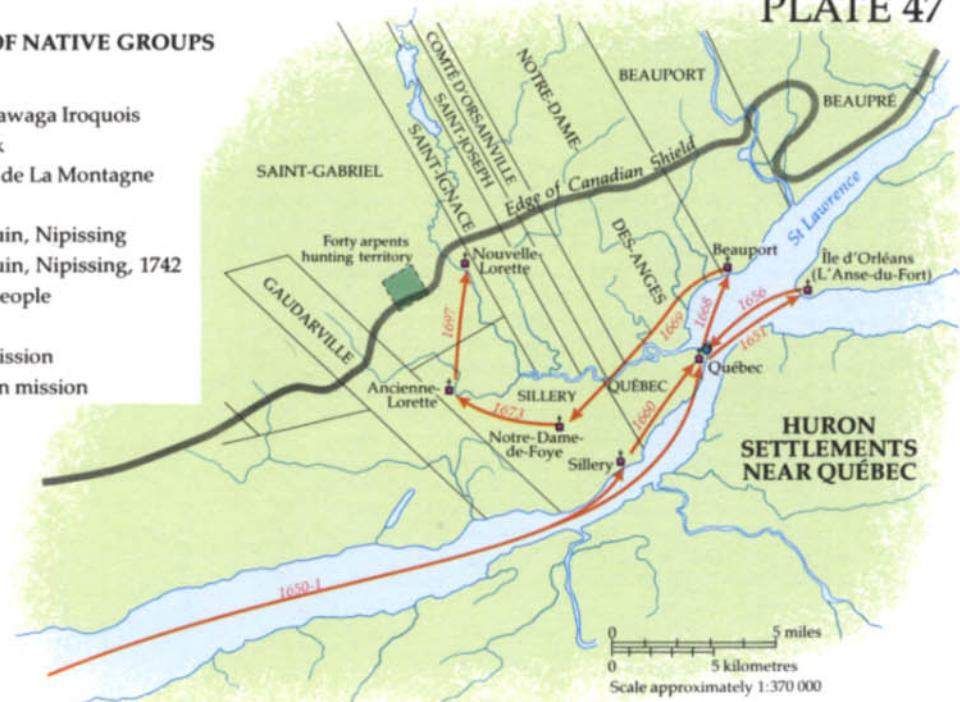
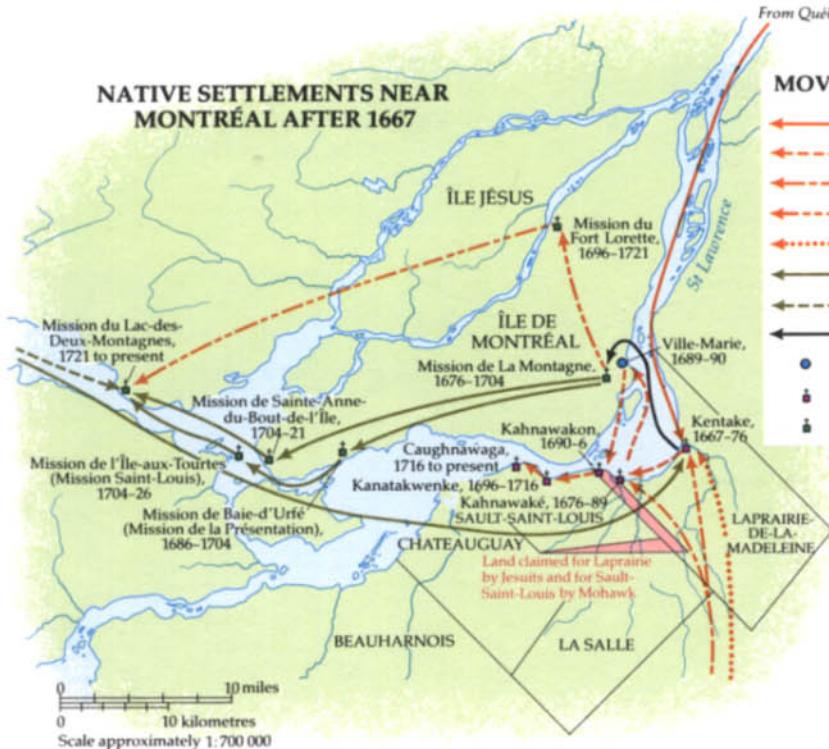
These data vary considerably in quality and are sometimes contradictory. Overall, total native population declined. Indians were repeatedly decimated by European diseases and by wars, in which they participated, between French and English and later between English and Americans.

MISSION DE LA MONTAGNE,
LAC-DES-DEUX-MONTAGNES



SILLERY, LORETTE





MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF NATIVE PEOPLE, 1635–1800

Movement of people, 1635–1702

- Prior to King Philip's War, 1675
- Until the War of the League of Augsburg, 1689
- Until the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702

Movement of people, 1703–1800

- Until the Seven Years' War
- During the Seven Years' War, 1755–63
- During the British Occupation, 1763–1800

European settlement

- French (blue dot)
- British (orange dot)

Ethnic identity of tribes*

- (Ir) Iroquois
- (Ae) Eastern Abenaki
- (Aw) Western Abenaki
- (SAI) Southern New England Algonquians
- (NAI) Northern Algonquians

Resettlement communities*

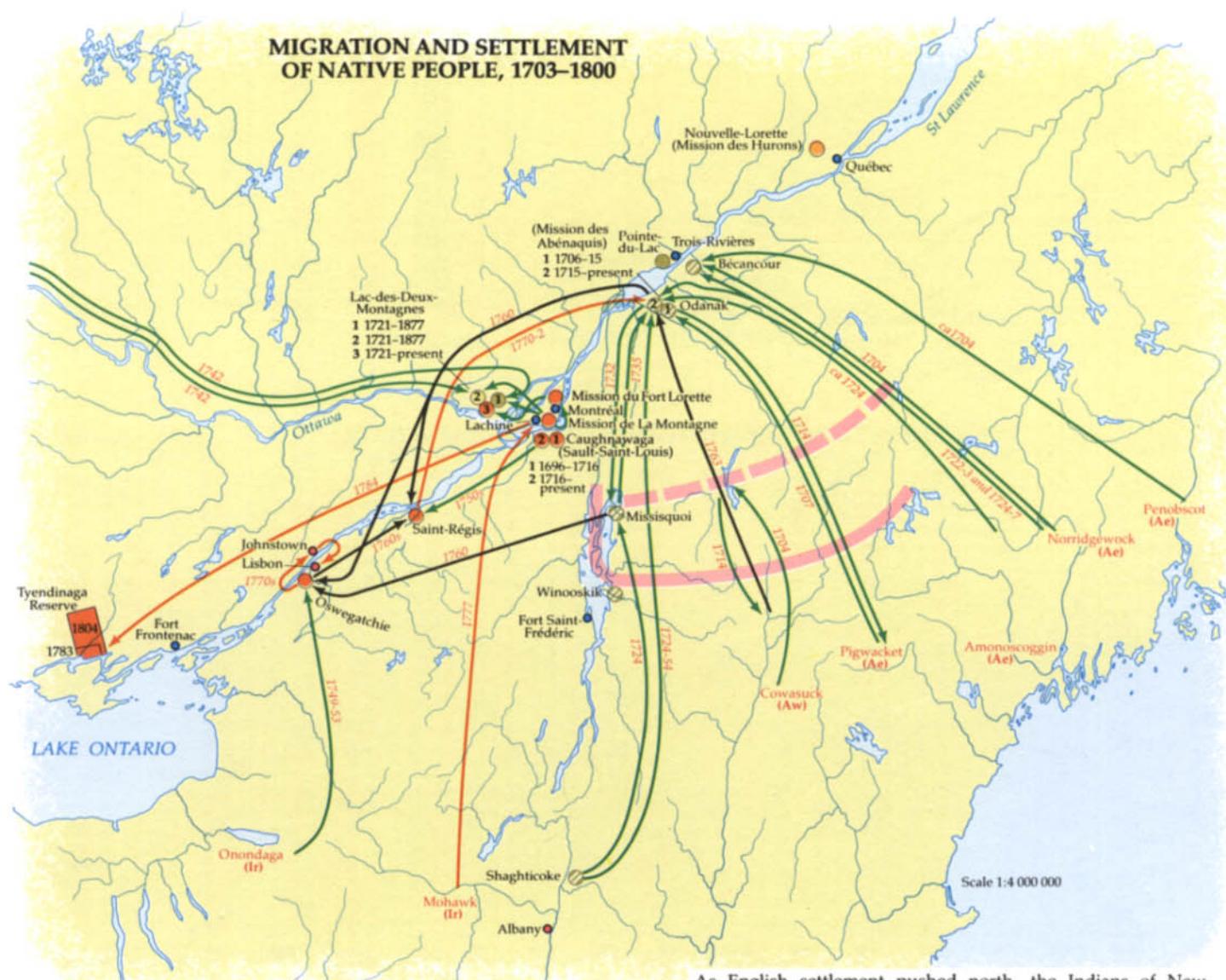
- Huron
- Mohawk
- Nipissing
- Montagnais, Algonquin
- New England Algonquian
- Mohawk Indian reserve

Hunting limits

- Southern limit of Western Abenaki hunting parties of 1763
- Southern limit of Western Abenaki hunting parties after 1800

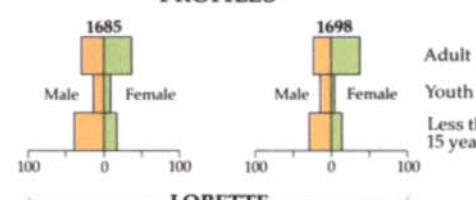
*The ethnic identity is derived from the predominant group in the settlement.

After they made peace with the French in 1667, Iroquois (mainly Mohawk) began to settle along the St Lawrence, in so doing realizing their long-standing ambition to ally themselves and trade with both the French and the Dutch (later the English). Their settlement south of the St Lawrence became modern Caughnawaga (Kahnawaké); the other, on Montréal Island, later moved to Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes. In the 18th century these native groups, like others living near French settlements, were heavily involved in illicit trading between New France and Albany. In the mid-18th century some Mohawk from Caughnawaga established a new settlement at Saint-Régis, while other Iroquois (mainly Onondaga) joined another mission settlement at Oswegatchie, well located for trade on the St Lawrence River. Loyalist Mohawk from Fort Hunter were the final groups to move north. They lived near Lachine from 1777 to 1784 when they moved to the Tyendinaga Reserve on the Bay of Quinte.

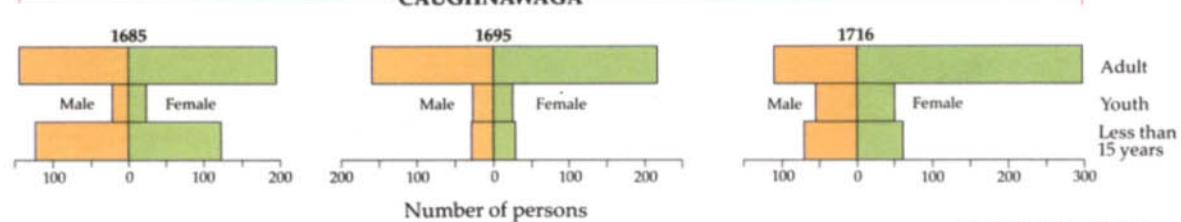


As English settlement pushed north, the Indians of New England allied themselves with the French. In wartime they sought refuge around Québec, Bécancour, and along the Saint-François River; in peacetime they attempted to re-establish themselves in what remained of their tribal lands. By 1800 American settlement had reached the Canadian border, and Odanak emerged as the main centre for the Abenaki and other New England peoples who had retreated to Canada. During the 18th century the Abenaki and Algonquin recognized all land south of the St Lawrence as Abenaki hunting territory.

NATIVE AGE AND SEX PROFILES



CAUGHNAWAGA



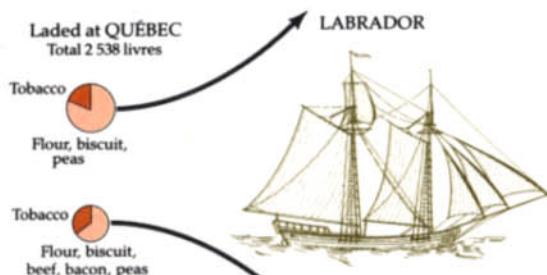
CANADIAN NORTH ATLANTIC TRADE

Authors: Thomas Wien, James Pritchard

Two export trades, united by a common demand for European goods, dominated Canadian commerce in the later 17th and 18th centuries. Although it required few ships, the fur trade was the colony's *grand commerce*, accounting for almost all exports in the 17th century and for some 60% towards the end of the 18th century. A very different trade, involving more and usually smaller ships, dealt in products of the St Lawrence valley: chiefly wheat, timber, and fish. At various times there were markets for these goods at fishing stations in the Gulf of St Lawrence, at Louisbourg, on the slave plantations in the French and British West Indies, in neighbouring British colonies, and in southern Europe. But Québec, icebound for part of the year and remote, was not an ideal Atlantic port. Its exports apart from furs were usually available at more advantageous locations. Canada's commerce remained relatively small, accounting for less than 10% of the value of French colonial trade in the 1730s and for less than 5% of British trade with North America in the 1770s.

Schooner: LA MARIE-JOSEPH

Captain: Jean Herigouen
36 tons
Voyage 1736



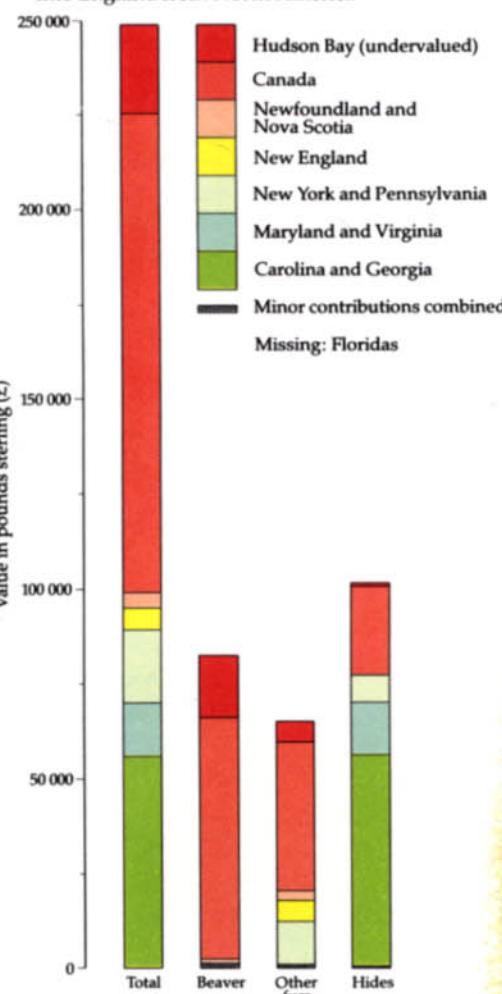
Schooner: LA MARIE-FRANÇOISE

Captain: Charles Le Cour
25 tons
Voyage 1736

Developed in Holland, the schooner, with a 5- or 6-man crew, was a speedy, economical, and widely used coastal cargo carrier and fishing boat.

NORTH AMERICAN FUR EXPORTS, 1772

Origin and value of furs and hides imported into England from North America

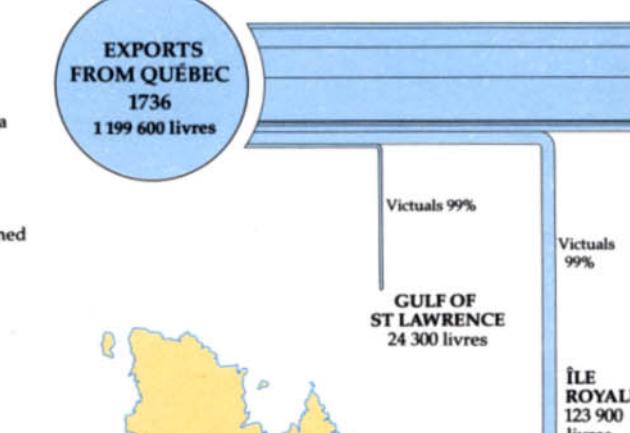


EXPORTS FROM QUÉBEC

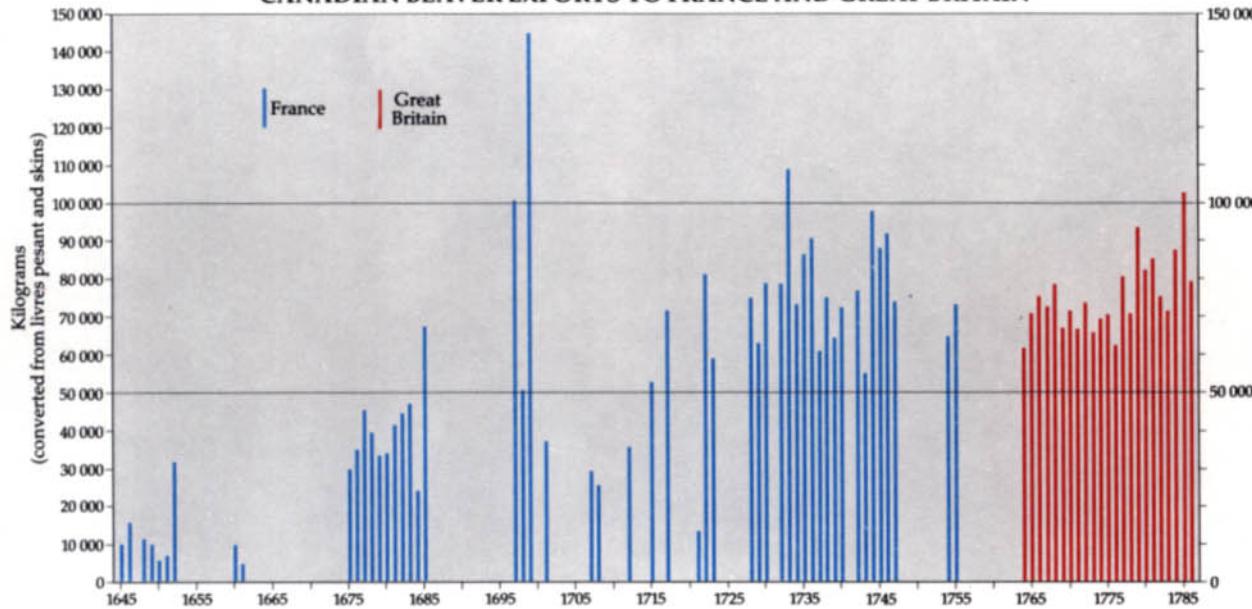
1736 AND 1771

EXPORTS FROM QUÉBEC 1736

1 199 600 livres

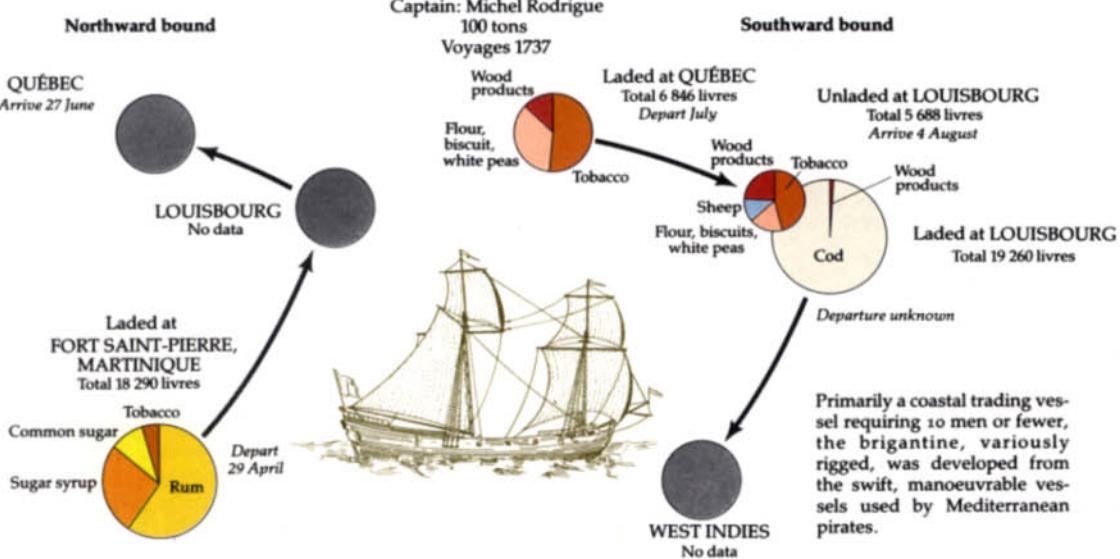


CANADIAN BEAVER EXPORTS TO FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN



Brigantine: LA REVANCHE

Captain: Michel Rodrigue
100 tons
Voyages 1737



Southward bound

Laded at QUÉBEC

Total 6 846 livres

Depart July

Unloaded at LOUISBOURG

Total 5 688 livres

Arrive 4 August

Laded at LOUISBOURG

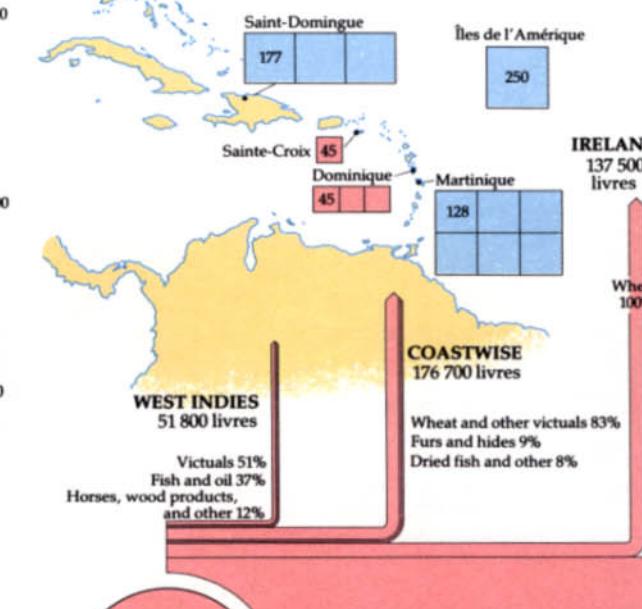
Total 19 260 livres

Departure unknown

Primarily a coastal trading vessel requiring 10 men or fewer, the brigantine, variously rigged, was developed from the swift, manoeuvrable vessels used by Mediterranean pirates.

EXPORTS FROM QUÉBEC 1771

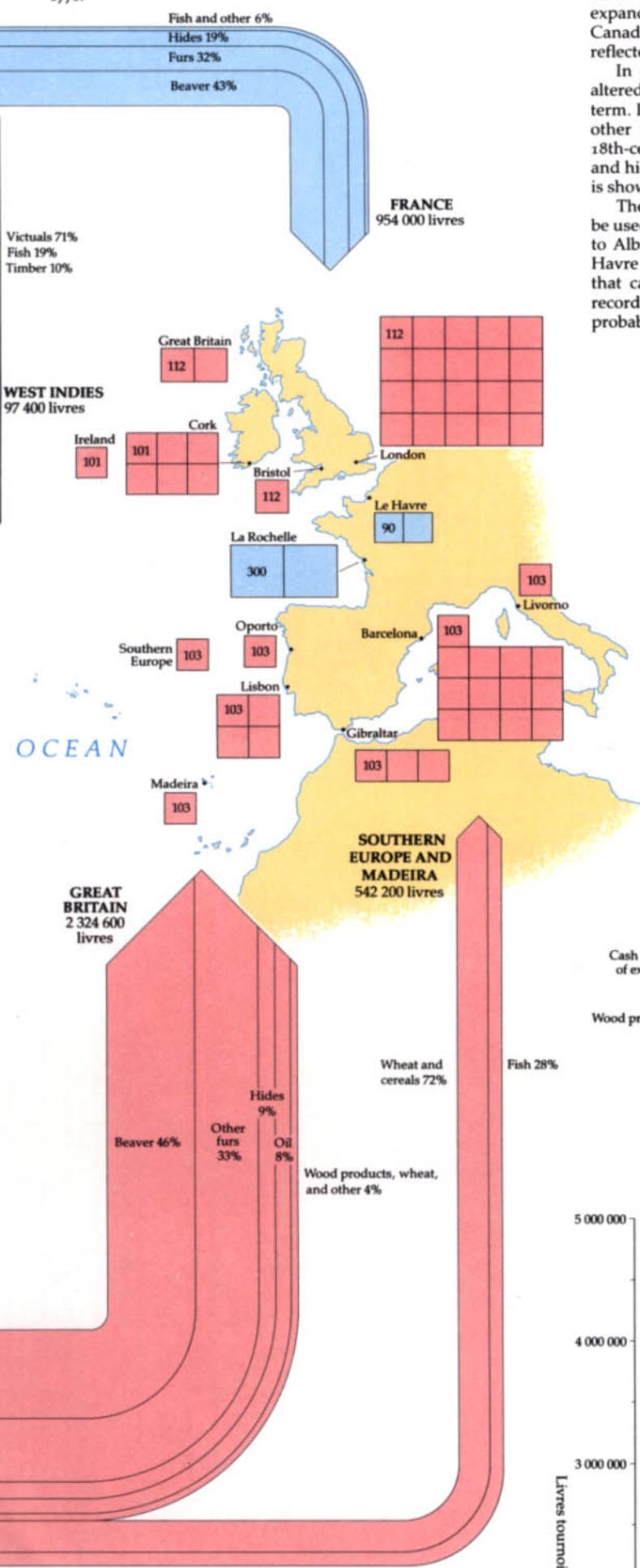
3 232 800 livres



Canadian export trade in the 18th century was varied in detail, but stable in general pattern. The volume of manufactured goods imported into Canada was greater than the volume of furs exported. In the latter years of the French régime (e.g., 1736) metropolitan outfitters often took any available Canadian produce, or even sailed in ballast, to the West Indies, perhaps stopping at Louisbourg in search of additional lading, before returning to France with sugar. Usually operating at a smaller scale, colonial merchants supplied foodstuffs and lumber to the Gulf, Louisbourg, and the slave colonies. Later (e.g., 1771) Canadian grain and flour were increasingly marketed in southern Europe, but many vessels returned lightly loaded to Britain.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA

The width of the flow arrows is proportional to the value of trade goods at an approximate scale of one mm to 50 000 livres. The values represented here include only trade goods and not bills of exchange. Beaver were undervalued in 1736 as were other furs and hides in 1771.



The block graphs above show the number and average tonnage of vessels departing Québec in 1736 and 1771. Each square represents one vessel.



Average tonnage per vessel

In 1736 some vessels of the Île Royale block continued to the West Indies; vessels arriving in La Rochelle averaged nearer 200 tons in other years. London often received fewer vessels than in 1771.

The number of ships sailing to Québec increased in the mid-1660s when the crown assumed direct control of Canada, and again in the 1680s and 1690s when the colony was at war with the English colonies and the Iroquois. The growth of shipping after 1740, and particularly after 1755, also reflected French military support. British shipping to Québec in the 1760s fell well below the French wartime level, then grew in the 1770s in response to expanding trade and the American Revolution. The perennial Canadian problem of establishing an export other than furs is reflected in the decline of trade in the 1780s.

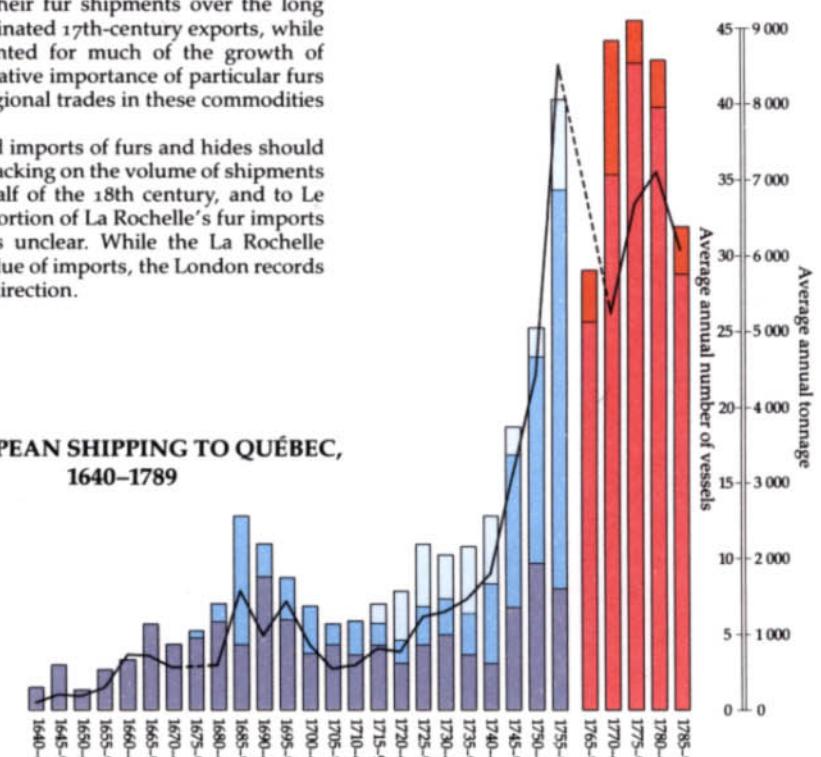
In response to changes in European demand, merchants altered the composition of their fur shipments over the long term. In general, beaver dominated 17th-century exports, while other furs and hides accounted for much of the growth of 18th-century exports. The relative importance of particular furs and hides and of different regional trades in these commodities is shown for 1772.

The graphs of exports and imports of furs and hides should be used cautiously. Data are lacking on the volume of shipments to Albany during the first half of the 18th century, and to Le Havre in the 1730s. The proportion of La Rochelle's fur imports that came from Louisiana is unclear. While the La Rochelle records underestimate the value of imports, the London records probably err in the opposite direction.

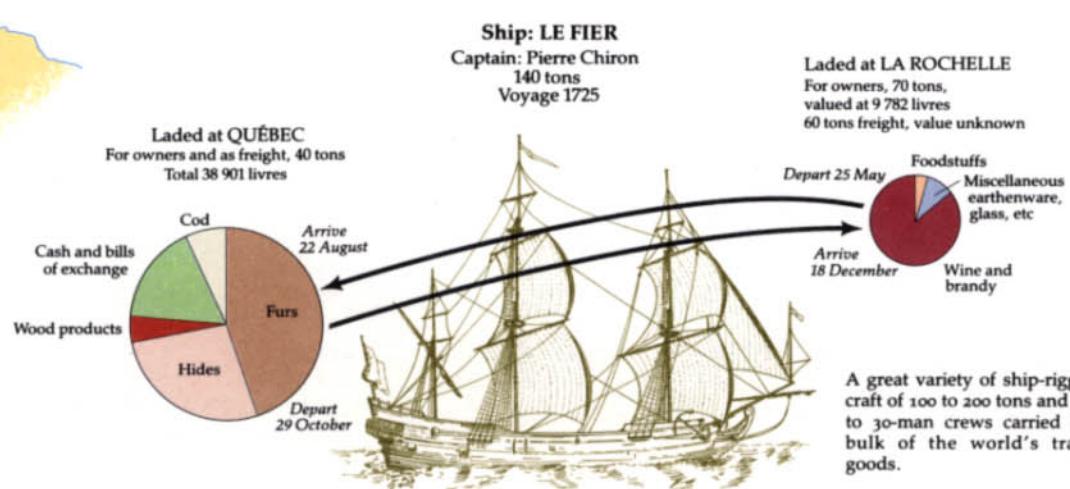
Average annual number of vessels sailing from

- Other French ports
- Bordeaux
- La Rochelle

Average annual tonnage



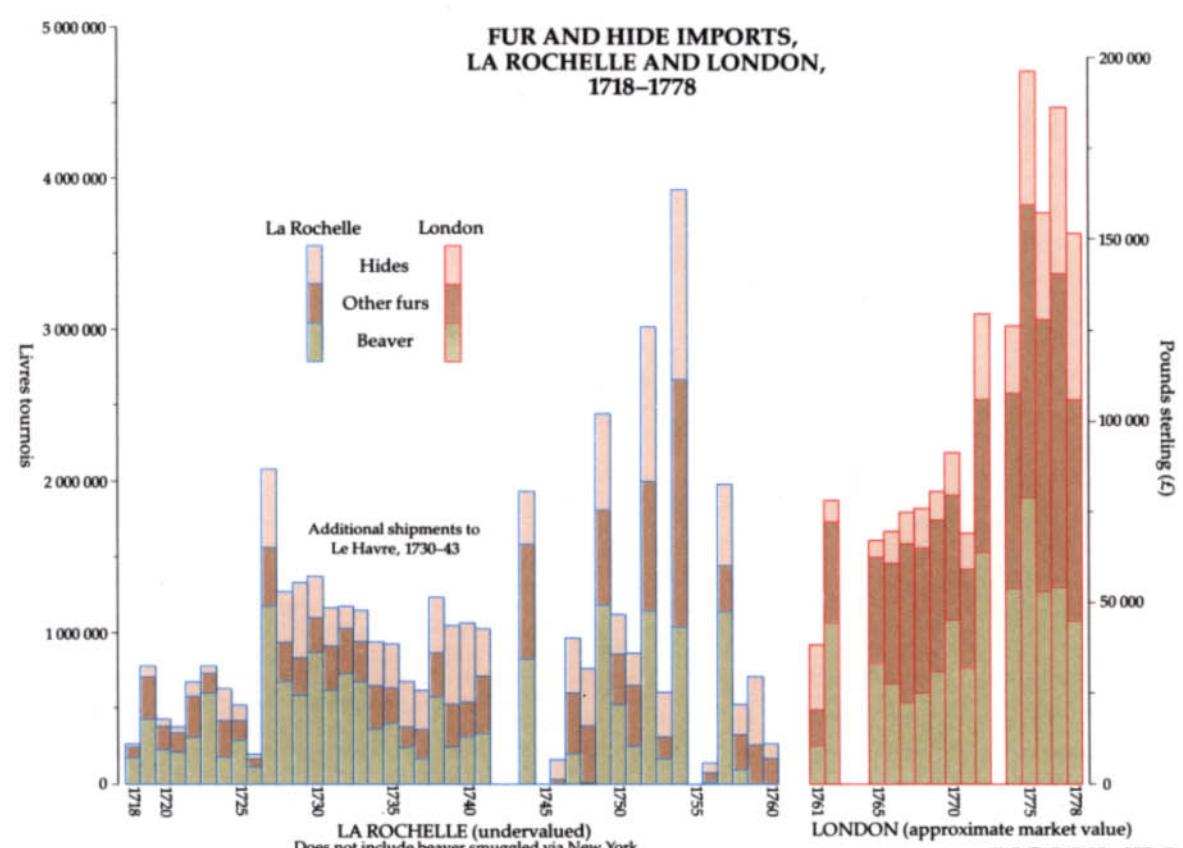
EUROPEAN SHIPPING TO QUÉBEC, 1640-1789



Laded at LA ROCHELLE
For owners, 70 tons,
valued at 9 782 livres
60 tons freight, value unknown

Depart 25 May
Foodstuffs
Miscellaneous earthenware,
glass, etc
Wine and brandy

A great variety of ship-rigged
craft of 100 to 200 tons and 20-
to 30-man crews carried the
bulk of the world's trade
goods.



FUR AND HIDE IMPORTS, LA ROCHELLE AND LONDON, 1718-1778

VOLUME I

THE TOWNS

Authors: Marc Lafrance, André Charbonneau

Québec (1608) and Trois-Rivières (1634) began as trading posts, and Montréal (1642) as a religious mission. For years they were tiny European outposts on the banks of the St Lawrence River; eventually local authorities drew up town plans, organized the distribution of lots, and oversaw the development of small towns.

These earliest Canadian towns were commercial, military, and administrative centres. The European dichotomy between upper and lower town emerged very early, with the ecclesiastical *cité* and fortifications on higher ground and the commercial centre along the river. Gardens and orchards gave the upper towns a somewhat rural appearance, whereas the lower towns were densely built up urban areas. As the towns grew, official interest in ordered, symmetrical development was challenged by the spontaneous creation of suburbs.

Merchants and their families, colonial officials, men and women of the church, soldiers, artisans and tradespeople, domestic servants and day labourers all lived in the towns and, especially in Québec, there was also a considerable migratory population associated with the port. In 1757 Montcalm considered Québec the equal of any French town, excluding the first ten.

MONTRÉAL, 1685

After Jacques-René Brisay de Denonville



MONTRÉAL, 1717

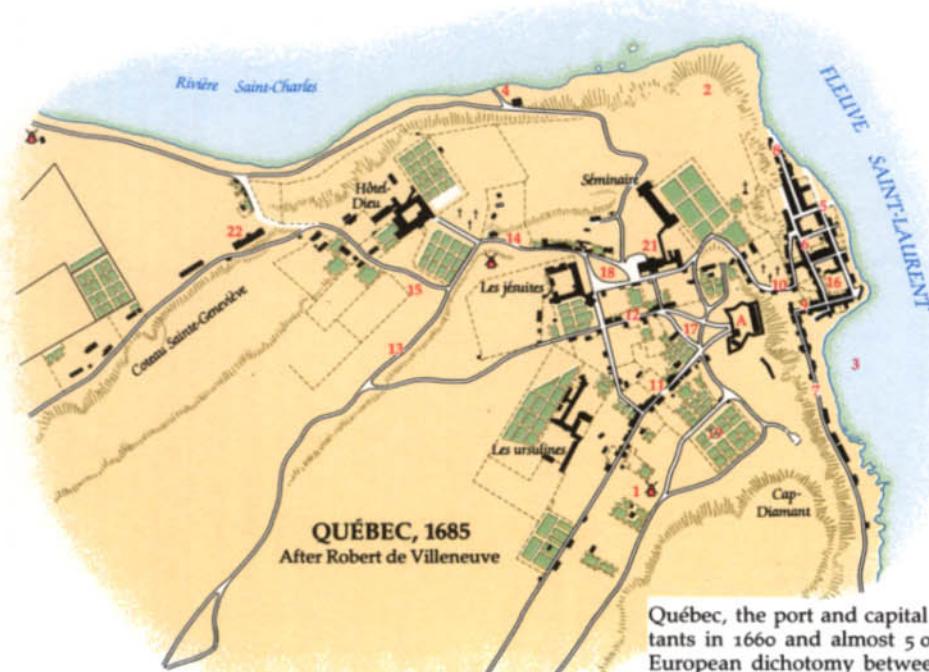
After Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry



Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, USA



View of Québec, from Cartes Marines 105 (Ayer MS Map 110)



QUÉBEC, 1685

After Robert de Villeneuve

Québec, the port and capital of Canada, had some 500 inhabitants in 1660 and almost 5 000 by 1744 (pl 50). The common European dichotomy between an administrative and military upper town and a commercial lower town emerged there very early. Bounded by river and cliff, the lower town was congested by the end of the 17th century. The upper town, more open and with its streets converging on the Château Saint-Louis, was separated from the countryside by a succession of walls, on the last of which construction began in 1745. At this time Québec's population was growing rapidly; a substantial suburb, Saint-Roch, developed beyond the walls.



Québec maps: scale approximately 1:15 000

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA



Montréal maps:
scale approximately 1:12 000

Founded as a mission, Montréal rapidly became and long remained a centre of the fur trade. By the end of the 17th century a town had developed on a narrow band of low land along the river, its approximate grid plan created by the Sulpicians, seigneurs of the Island of Montréal. A refuge for the surrounding population during the Iroquois wars, Montréal was walled and bastioned in 1688, and so remained throughout the French regime, despite important changes to its fortifications during the 18th century.



View of Montréal, from Cartes Marines 105 (Ayer MS Map 110)

MONTRÉAL, 1752 After Louis Franquet

After Louis Franquet



- 1 Mont Carmel
- 2 Rue du Sault-au-Matelot
- 3 Havre du Cul-de-Sac
- 4 La Canoterie
- 5 Rue Saint-Pierre
- 6 Rue Notre-Dame
- 7 Rue Champlain (De Meulles)
- 8 Rue du Sault-au-Matelot
- 9 Rue Sous-le-Fort
- 10 Côte de la Montagne
- 11 Rue Saint-Louis
- 12 Rue Sainte-Anne
- 13 Rue Saint-Jean
- 14 Rue de la Fabrique
- 15 Rue des Pauvres
- 16 Place du Marché (Place Royale, 1686)
- 17 Place d'Armes
- 18 Place de l'Église
- 19 Governor's garden
- 20 Pointe-à-Carcy

- 21 Église Notre-Dame
- 22 Intendant's palace
- 23 Grève du Palais
- 24 Rue Sainte-Famille
- 25 Palais épiscopal
- 26 The Récollets
- 27 Chapelle Saint-Roch (Ermitage des Récollets)
- 28 Église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires
- 29 Faubourg Saint-Louis
- 30 Rue Saint-Vallier
- 31 Rue Saint-Roch
- 32 Rue Saint-Charles
- 33 Chantier du Cul-de-Sac

Fortifications:

Fort and Château Saint-Louis, 1620-94

Royal Battery, 1691

Redoute Saint-Nicholas, 1691

Cavalier du Moulin, 1693

Redoute du Cap-Diamant, 1693

Ramparts constructed in 1693

Earthworks constructed in 1697 and 1709

Wall constructed in 1702 and 1709

Battery of the Clergy, 1694-1711

Redoute Royale, 1712

Redoute Dauphine, 1720

Demi-bastion du Cap, 1720

Wall constructed in 1745

Nouvelles casernes, 1749

QUÉBEC, 1742
After Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry

FLEUVE SAINT-LAURENT

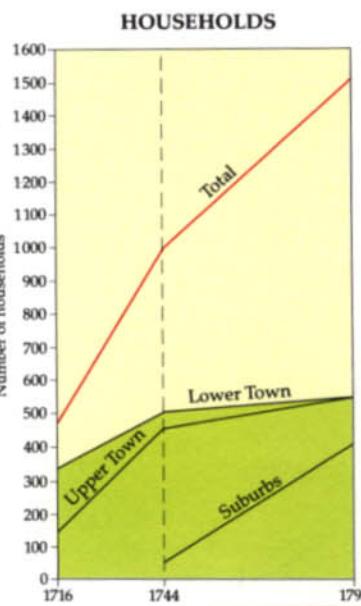
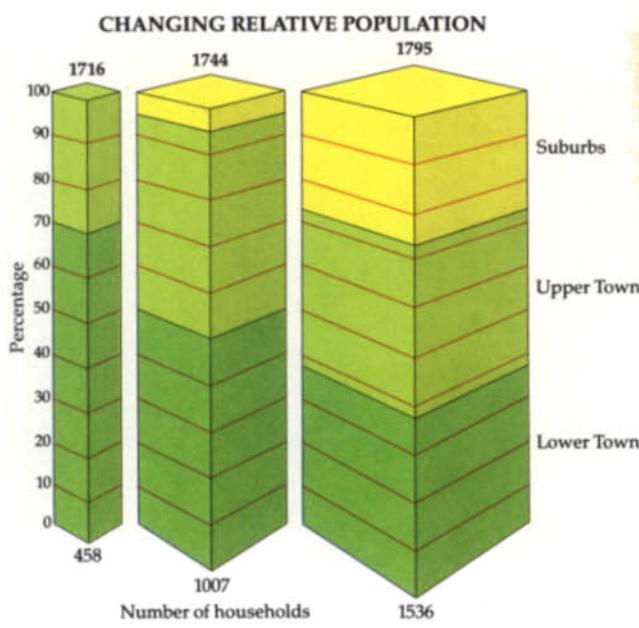
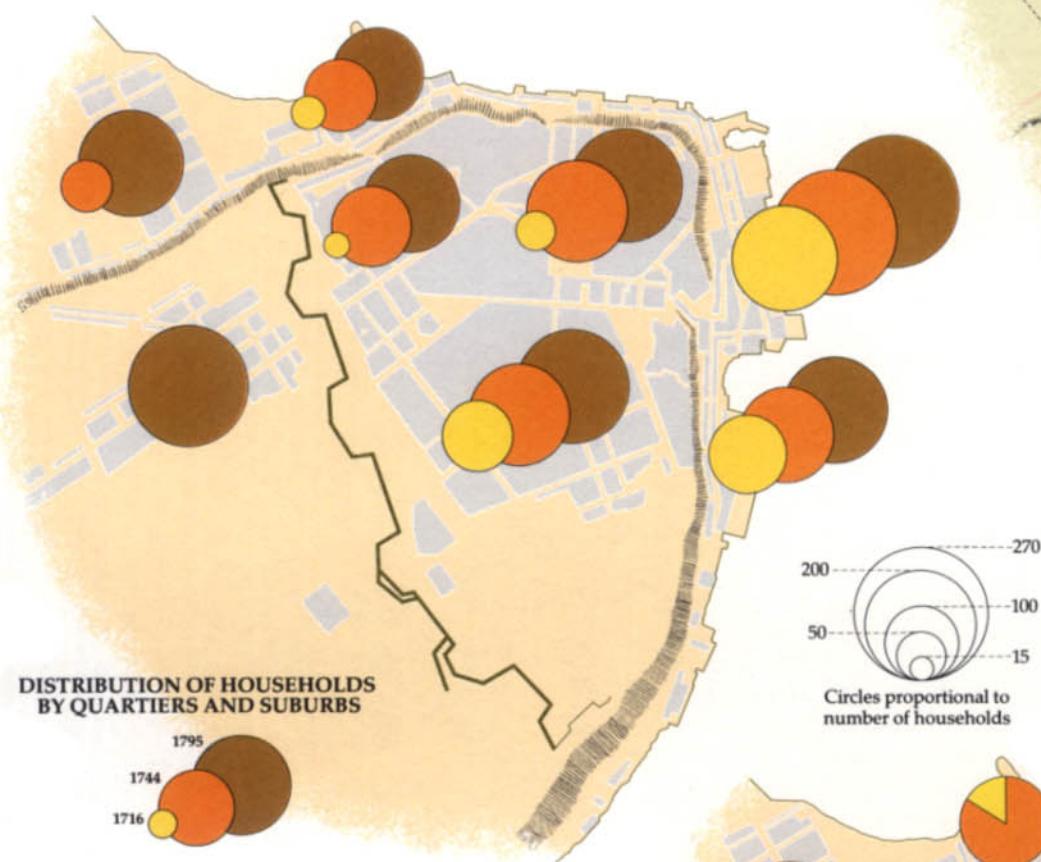
THE TOWN OF QUÉBEC, 18th CENTURY

Author: Louise Dechêne

The small maps and graphs on this plate are based on three censuses of the parish of Notre-Dame-de-Québec. To standardize the data only the number of households and the occupations of heads of households are used for the analysis of three *quartiers* in the Lower Town, three in the Upper Town, and the two suburbs.

The Lower Town, where Québec began, and its extension along Champlain Road accounted for 64% of households in 1716; only 20% were in the Quartier Saint-Louis, around the governor's mansion and the parish church. Thereafter, the relative importance of the Lower Town declined despite development near the Intendant's Palace and the shipyards. Two new *quartiers*, created from land belonging to the Séminaire de Québec and the Hôtel-Dieu (hospital), absorbed nearly all population growth before the conquest. Later, the suburbs performed this function as religious and, above all, military landholding blocked domestic construction within the walls.

The graph showing the number of households is an accurate reflection of the urban population which, with an average of 4.7 individuals per household, was 2 265 in 1716, 4 750 in 1744, and 7 160 in 1795. An annual growth rate of 2.8% between 1716 and 1744 probably continued to 1795, but slowed considerably after the conquest despite the arrival of immigrants from Britain and elsewhere. These newcomers and their descendants, one-quarter of the heads of households in 1795, were concentrated in Quartier Saint-Louis and Quartier Saint-Jean, near the administrative functions which they monopolized.



QUÉBEC, 1799
After William Hall, Plan of Québec

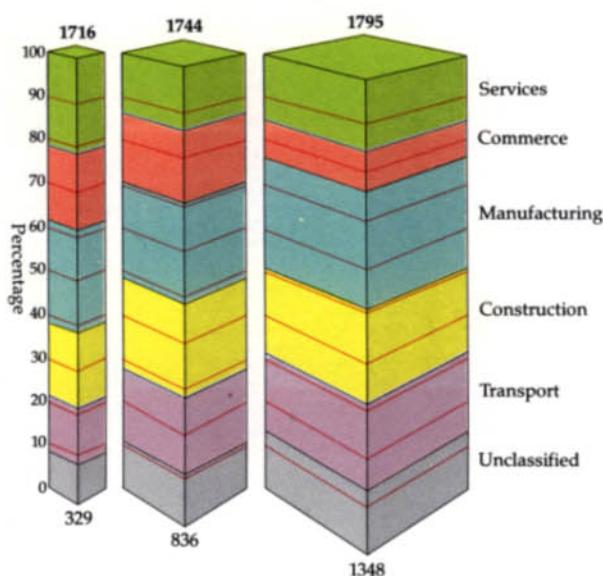




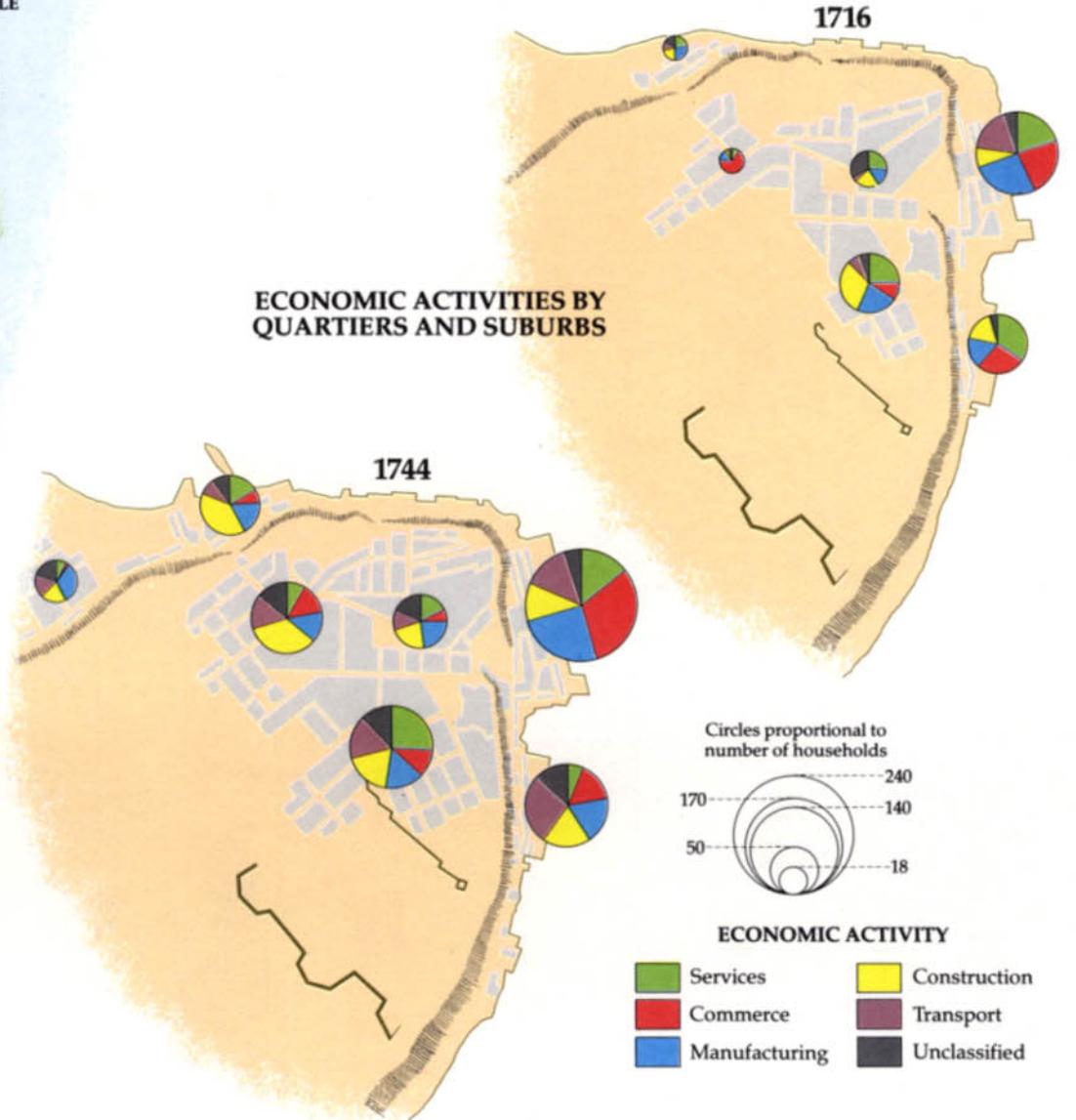
During the second half of the century Québec underwent considerable physical upheaval. The siege in 1759 had left the town in ruins and levelled the suburb of Saint-Roch. They were rapidly rebuilt, but Québec suffered again in 1775 when the suburb of Saint-Jean was demolished to prevent American soldiers from approaching the walls. It, too, was soon rebuilt. New quays were constructed along the waterfront. Above all, after 1760 Québec was shaped by its increasingly military character.

By appropriating some 40% of the land within the walls the British army reduced the residential and commercial area, contributed to crowding, and accelerated the expansion of the suburbs. The ramparts were repaired, extended, and reinforced. The Jesuit College, the Intendant's Palace, and several other buildings were transformed into barracks and military stores. A temporary citadel, completed in 1783, dominated Cape Diamond. By the end of the century military personnel were about one-fifth of the civil population.

CHANGE IN RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC SECTORS

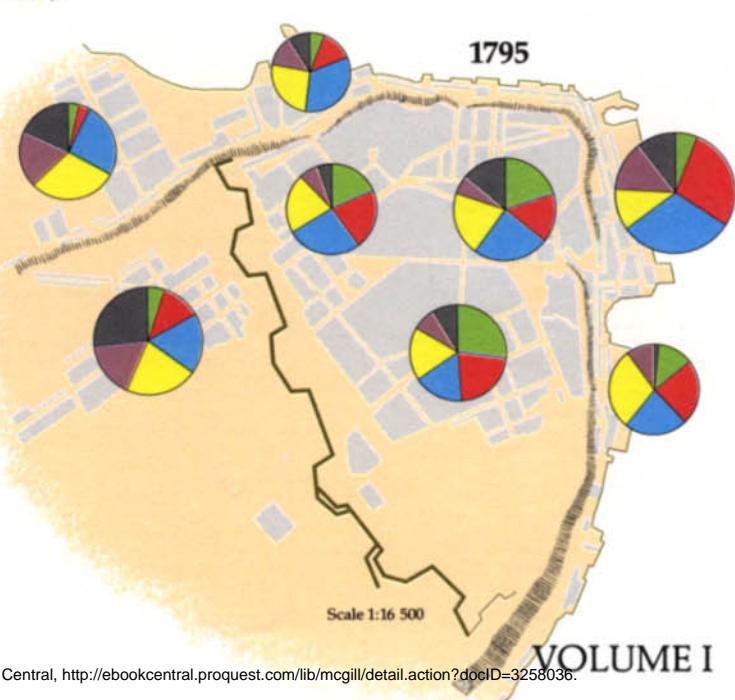


ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY QUARTIERS AND SUBURBS



Three maps and a graph (above right) illustrate the evolving structure of the urban economy as revealed by the occupations of heads of households, which are classified in six economic sectors. For Québec as a whole variations in the relative importance of the sectors are partly due to gaps in the census data for 1716 and 1744. For example, the apparent increase of day labourers (unclassified sector) reflects the fact that day labourers were better enumerated in 1795. The increase in services, usually tied to administration, became increasingly the norm for the period. The relative importance of the commercial sector, and of the transportation sector (carters and seamen), did not vary. Artisans, working in the manufacturing and construction sectors, were a large part of the work force (40-45%). There was little occupational segregation. Importers and artisans mixed in the Lower Town. There was a preponderance of individuals in service occupations in the Upper Town, although shopkeepers were settling there at the end of the century and labourers and tradesmen were being displaced to the suburbs. Seamen and shipbuilders were concentrated along the river, near their work.

Sluggish population growth and economic stability: these were the dominant traits of this small colonial capital in the 18th century.



THE SEIGNEURIES

Author: Louise Dechêne

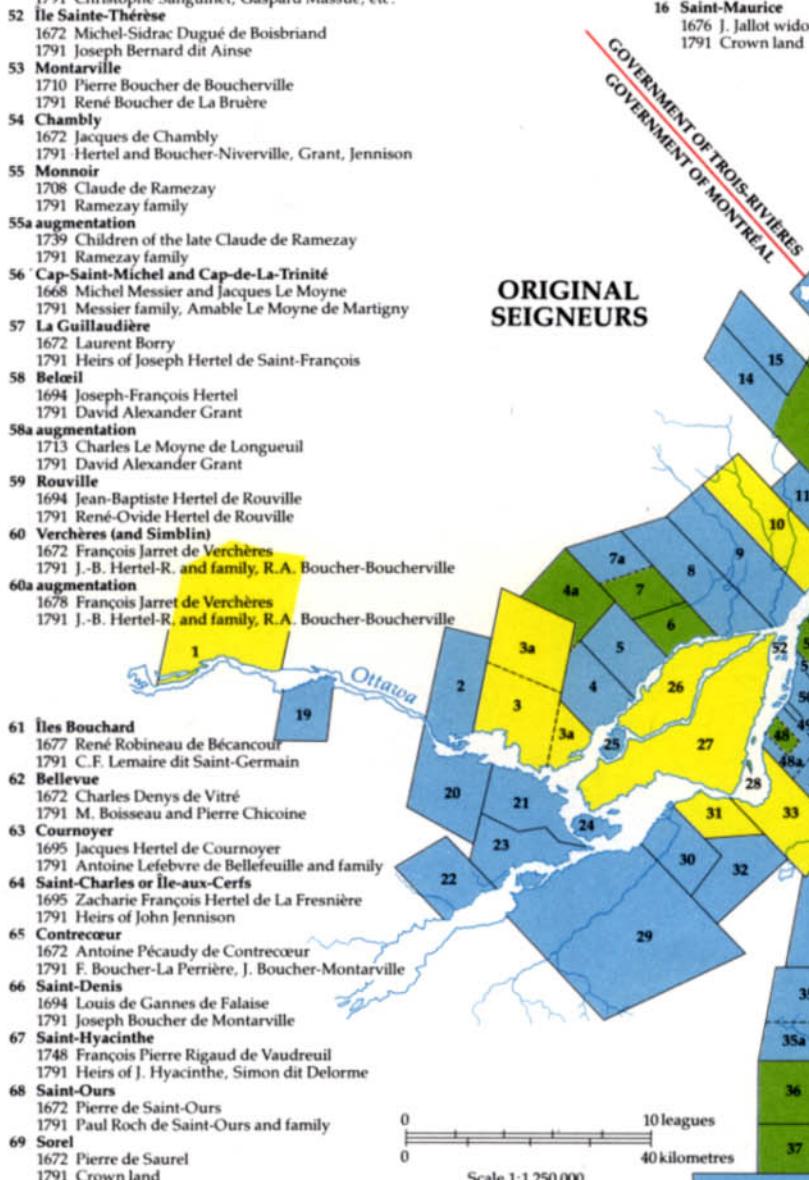
GOVERNMENT OF MONTRÉAL

- 1 **Petite-Nation**
1674 François de Laval
1791 Seminary of Québec
- 2 **Argenteuil**
1680 Charles J. d'Ailleboust des Muceaux
1791 Pierre Louis Panet
- 3 **Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes**
1717 Seminary of Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
1791 Seminary of Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
- 3a **augmentation**
1733 Seminary of Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
1791 Seminary of Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
- 4 **Mille-îles or Du-Chêne**
1683 Michel-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriand
1791 Eustache Louis Lambert Dumont
- 4a **augmentation**
1752 Eustache Lambert Dumont
1791 Eustache Louis Lambert Dumont
- 5 **Blainville (part of Mille-îles)**
1683 Michel-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriand
1791 Heirs of J.-B. Céloron de Blainville
- 6 **Terrebonne**
1673 André Daulier Des Landes
1791 Jacob Jordan
- 7 **Des Plaines**
1731 Louis Lepage
1791 Jacob Jordan
- 7a **augmentation**
1753 Louis de La Corne de Chaptres
1791 Jacob Jordan
- 8 **Lachenaie (part of Repentigny)**
1647 Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny
1791 Gabriel Christie
- 9 **L'Assomption or Repentigny**
1647 Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny
1791 P.R. de Saint-Ours, Christie, M. Martel, etc.
- 10 **Saint-Sulpice**
1640 La Société Notre-Dame de Montréal
1791 Seminary of Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
- 11 **Lavaltrie**
1672 Séraphin Margane de Lavaltrie
1791 Pierre-Paul Margane de Lavaltrie
- 11a **augmentation**
1734 Pierre Margane de Lavaltrie
1791 Pierre-Paul Margane de Lavaltrie
- 12 **Laonarie**
1688 Heirs of Charles Sevestre
1791 James Cuthbert
- 12a **augmentation**
1739 Jean-Baptiste Neveu
1791 James Cuthbert
- 13 **D'autrē**
1637 Jean Bourdon
1791 James Cuthbert
- 13a **augmentation**
1647 Jean Bourdon
1791 James Cuthbert
- 14 **D'Ailleboust**
1736 Jean d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil
1791 Heirs of Joseph and Louis Gauthier
- 15 **De Ramezay**
1736 Geneviève de Ramezay
1791 Heirs of Joseph and Louis Gauthier
- 16 **Antay or Dorvilliers**
1672 Philippe Gaultier de Comporté
1791 J. Janton dit Dauphiné
- 17 **Berthier**
1672 Hugues Randin
1791 James Cuthbert
- 17a **augmentation**
1674 Alexandre Berthier
1791 James Cuthbert
- 17b **augmentation**
1732 Pierre de Lestage
1791 James Cuthbert
- 18 **Chicot and Île Dupas**
1672 Pierre Dupas
1791 François Hénault and Brisset family
- 19 **Pointe-l'Orignal**
1674 François Provost
1791 J. Dominique Le Moigne de Longueuil
- 20 **Rigaud**
1732 P. and F.P. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil
1791 M.E.G. Alain Chartier de Lotbinière
- 21 **Vaudreuil**
1702 Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil
1791 M.E.G. Alain Chartier de Lotbinière
- 22 **Nouvelle-Longueuil**
1734 Joseph Le Moigne de Longueuil
1791 J.D. Emmanuel Le Moigne de Longueuil
- 23 **Soulages**
1702 Pierre Jacques de Joybert de Soulages
1791 J.D. Emmanuel Le Moigne de Longueuil
- 24 **Île Perrot**
1672 François-Marie Perrot
1791 Thomas Dennis
- 25 **Île Bizard**
1678 Jacques Bizard
1791 Pierre Fortier
- 26 **Île Jésus**
1636 The Jesuits
1791 Seminary of Québec
- 27 **Île de Montréal**
1640-59 La Société Notre-Dame de Montréal
1791 Seminary of Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
- 28 **Île Saint-Paul**
1664 Jacques Leber, Claude Robutel, Jean Tessier
1791 The Congregation of Notre-Dame
- 29 **Beauharnois or Villechauve**
1729 Charles and Claude de Beauharnois
1791 Michel Chartier de Lotbinière
- 30 **Châteauguay**
1673 Charles Le Moigne de Longueuil
1791 L'Hôpital général de Montréal
- 31 **Sault-Saint-Louis**
1680 The Iroquois/The Jesuits
1791 Crown land (Jesuit Estates)
- 32 **La Salle**
1750 Jean-Baptiste Leber de Senneville
1791 Estate of Simon Sanguinet
- 33 **Laprairie-de-la-Madeleine**
1647 The Jesuits
1791 Crown land (Jesuit Estates)
- 34 **De Léry**
1733 Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry
1791 Gabriel Christie
- 35 **Lacolle or Beaujeu**
1743 Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu
1791 Gabriel Christie
- 35a **augmentation**
1752 Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu
1791 In American territory
- 36 **Bedout**
1752 Jean Antoine Bedout
1791 In American territory
- 37 **Estèbe**
1744 Guillaume Estèbe
1791 In American territory

GOVERNMENT OF TROIS-RIVIÈRES

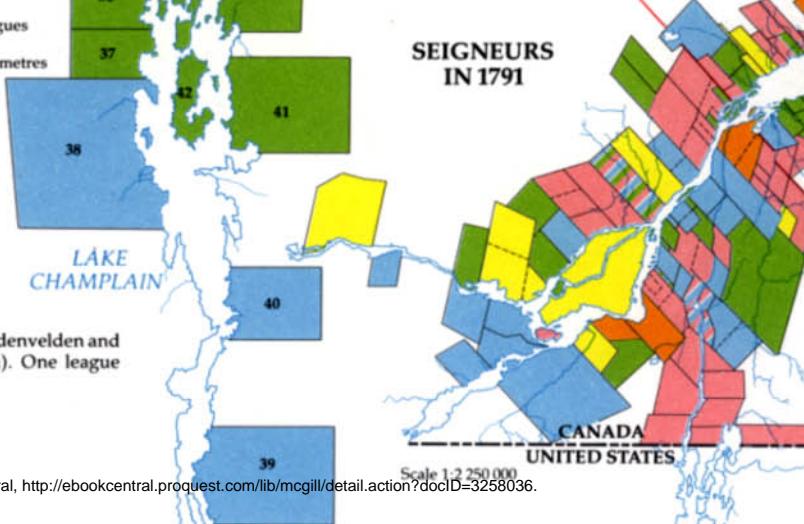
- 1 **Maskinongé**
1672 P. Noël and J.B. Le Gardeur
1791 J. Cuthbert, P. Baril Duchesny family, L. Bélier
- 2 **Du Sable**
1739 Louis Adrien Dandonneau Du Sablé
1791 James Cuthbert
- 3 **Carufel**
1705 Jean Sicard de Carufel
1791 Pierre Baril Duchesny and family
- 4 **Lac Maskinongé or de Lanaudière**
1750 C.F.-Xavier Tarieu de Lanaudière
1791 Charles Louis Tarieu de Lanaudière
- 5 **Saint-Jean**
1701 The Ursulines de Trois-Rivières
1791 The Ursulines de Trois-Rivières
- 5a **augmentation**
1727 The Ursulines de Trois-Rivières
1791 The Ursulines de Trois-Rivières
- 6 **Rivière-du-Loup**
1683 Jean Lechasseur
1791 The Ursulines de Trois-Rivières
- 7 **Grandpré**
1695 Louis Boucher de Grandpré
1791 Heirs of Conrad Gugy
- 8 **Grosbois or Machiche**
1653 Pierre Boucher
1791 Heirs of Conrad Gugy and the Lesieur family
- 9 **Dumontier**
1708 François Dumontier
1791 Heirs of Conrad Gugy and the Lesieur family
- 10 **Gastineau**
1672 Pierre Boucher de Boucherville
1791 Thomas Coffin, J.-M. Godefroy de Tonnancour
- 10a **augmentation**
1750 M.-Josephé Gastineau Duplessis
1791 Alexander Davidson and John Lee
- 11 **Tonnancour or Pointe-du-Lac**
1670 Louis Godefroy de Normanville
1791 Thomas Coffin
- 11a **augmentation**
1734 René Godefroy de Tonnancour
1791 Thomas Coffin
- 12 **Tonnancour or Pointe-du-Lac**
1656 Jean Sauvaget and Étienne Seigneuré
1791 Thomas Coffin
- 13 **Vieuxpont**
1649 Michel Leneuf Du Hérisson
1791 J. Godefroy de Normanville
- 14 **Sainte-Marguerite**
1691 Jacques Dubois
1791 J.-Claude Boucher de Niverville
- 15 **Fiefs in the town of Trois-Rivières and suburbs**
- 16 **Saint-Maurice**
1676 J. Jallot widow of Maurice Poolin
1791 Crown land
- 16a **augmentation (Saint-Étienne)**
1737 La compagnie des Forges
1791 Crown land
- 17 **Cap-de-la-Madeleine**
1636 Jacques de La Ferté, abbé de La Madeleine
1791 Crown land (Jesuit Estates)
- 18 **Champlain**
1664 Étienne Pézard de La Touche
1791 Joseph Drapeau
- 18a **augmentation**
1697 Madeleine Mullois, widow of E. Pézard
1791 Joseph Drapeau
- 19 **Batiscan**
1636 Jacques de La Ferté, abbé de La Madeleine
1791 Crown land (Jesuit Estates)
- 20 **Sainte-Marie**
1672 Jean Lemoine
1791 Augustin Jobin dit Boisvert
- 20a **augmentation**
1711 M.-Madeleine de Chavigny, widow of Lemoine
1791 Augustin Jobin dit Boisvert
- 21 **Sainte-Anne (de La Pérade)**
1672 T. Tarieu de Lanouguère and E. de Suève
1791 C. Tarieu-Lanaudière, P.F. Choré-Dorvilliers
- 21a **augmentation**
1700 Pierre Thomas Tarieu de La Pérade
1791 Charles Tarieu de Lanauadière
- 22 **Yamaska**
1683 Michel Leneuf de La Vallière
1791 Heirs of L.-J. Godefroy de Tonnancour
- 23 **Saint-François**
1662 Pierre Boucher
1791 Joseph Crevier and family
- 23a **augmentation**
1678 Jean Crevier
1791 Crevier family and the Abenaki Indians
- 24 **Lussodiére**
1683 Dominique La Motte de Lucière
1791 J.-Marie Delorme, wife of D. Debartzch
- 25 **Pierreville**
1683 Laurent Philippe
1791 F.J. Lemaitre Duame, the Abenaki Indians
- 26 **Deguire or Rivière-David**
1751 Joseph Deguire
1791 Jonathan Eckhart

ORIGINAL SEIGNEURS



Based on a map by William Vondenvelden and Louis Charland (London, 1803). One league equals 4 km or 2.5 miles.

SEIGNEURS IN 1791





Over the years seigneuries changed hands through sale or inheritance and were often subdivided. The list of seigneurs in 1791 reflects such changes, and the map above shows the relative progress made to that date by the bourgeoisie, whether of French or British origin, at the expense of descendants of the nobility. Although the crown had confiscated the Jesuit seigneuries, the church's holdings, consolidated by several acquisitions, remained important.

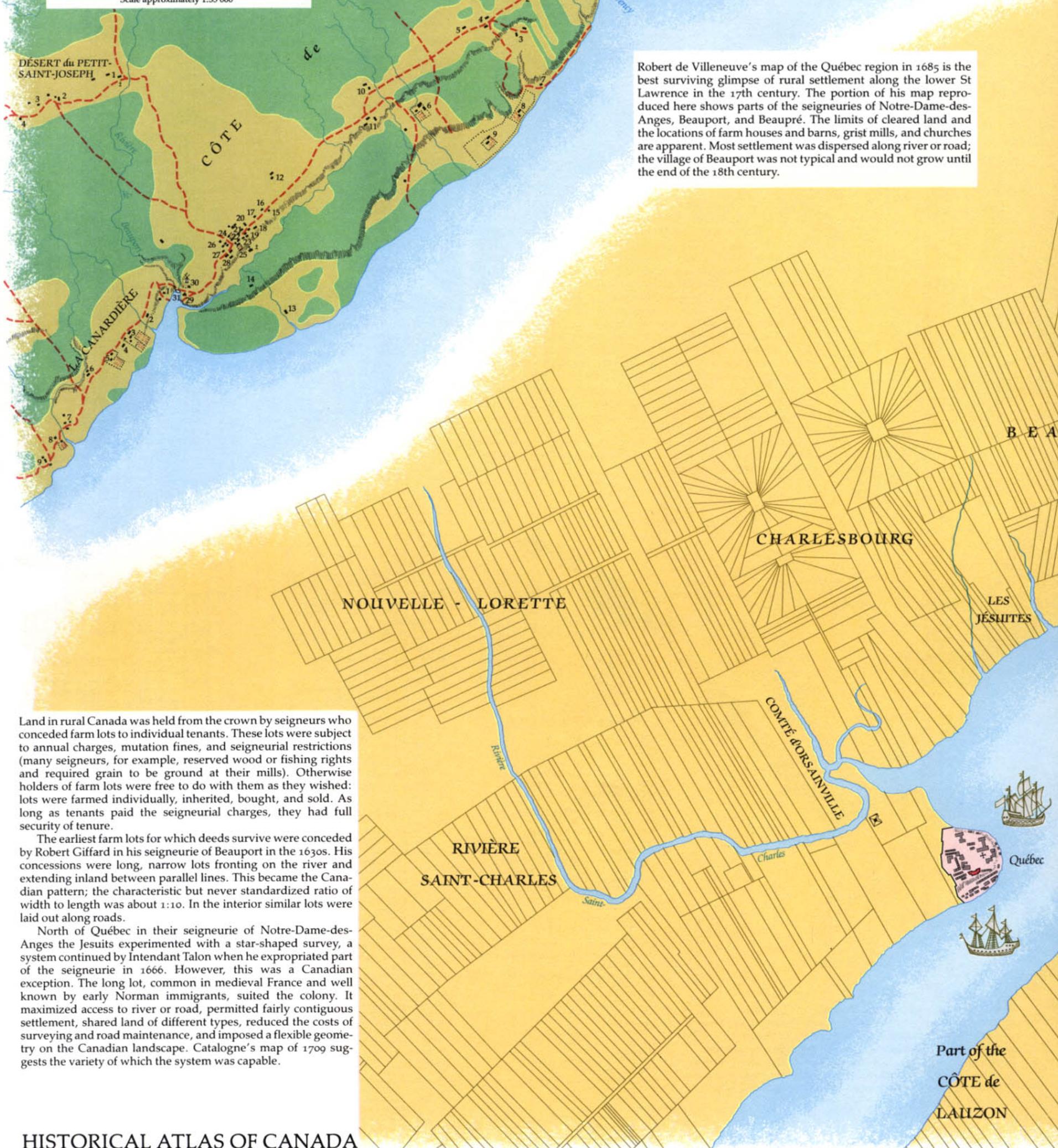
THE COUNTRYSIDE

Author: R. Cole Harris

ST LAWRENCE SHORE NEAR QUÉBEC, 1685

after Robert de Villeneuve

- House or barn
 - ▲ Church
 - Cemetery
 - ✖ Windmill
 - Watermill
 - Escarpment
 - Woodland
 - Cleared land
 - Cultivated garden
 - Path or cart track
- 0 1 000 metres 5 000 feet
Scale approximately 1:35 000



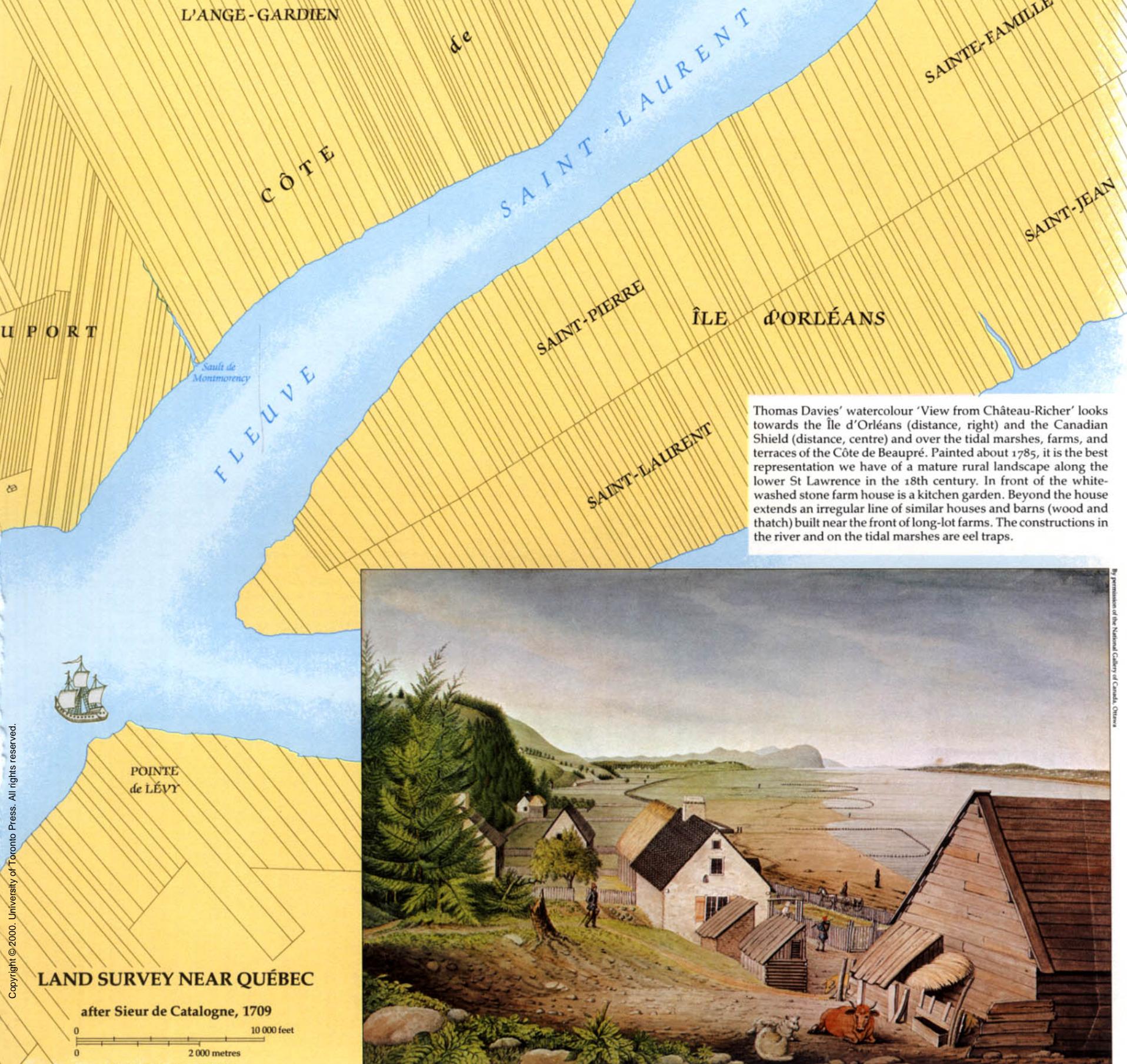
Robert de Villeneuve's map of the Québec region in 1685 is the best surviving glimpse of rural settlement along the lower St Lawrence in the 17th century. The portion of his map reproduced here shows parts of the seigneuries of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Beauport, and Beaupré. The limits of cleared land and the locations of farm houses and barns, grist mills, and churches are apparent. Most settlement was dispersed along river or road; the village of Beauport was not typical and would not grow until the end of the 18th century.

Land in rural Canada was held from the crown by seigneurs who conceded farm lots to individual tenants. These lots were subject to annual charges, mutation fines, and seigneurial restrictions (many seigneurs, for example, reserved wood or fishing rights and required grain to be ground at their mills). Otherwise holders of farm lots were free to do with them as they wished: lots were farmed individually, inherited, bought, and sold. As long as tenants paid the seigneurial charges, they had full security of tenure.

The earliest farm lots for which deeds survive were conceded by Robert Giffard in his seigneurie of Beauport in the 1630s. His concessions were long, narrow lots fronting on the river and extending inland between parallel lines. This became the Canadian pattern; the characteristic but never standardized ratio of width to length was about 1:10. In the interior similar lots were laid out along roads.

North of Québec in their seigneurie of Notre-Dame-des-Anges the Jesuits experimented with a star-shaped survey, a system continued by Intendant Talon when he expropriated part of the seigneurie in 1666. However, this was a Canadian exception. The long lot, common in medieval France and well known by early Norman immigrants, suited the colony. It maximized access to river or road, permitted fairly contiguous settlement, shared land of different types, reduced the costs of surveying and road maintenance, and imposed a flexible geometry on the Canadian landscape. Catalogne's map of 1709 suggests the variety of which the system was capable.

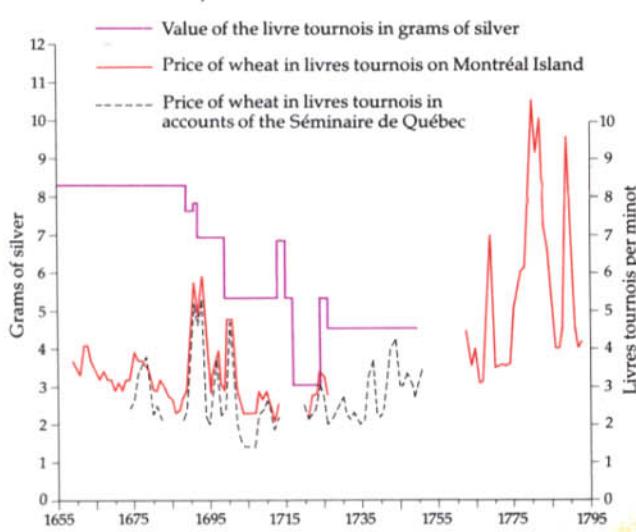
CÔTE de L'ANGE-GARDIEN	
1 René Letarte	28 Pierro Maheu, dit Deshazauds
2 Charles Letarte	29 Sieur de la Chenaye
3 Mathurin Huot	30 barn of Sieur de la Chenaye
4 Guillaume Hébert, dit Lecomte	31 barn of Siméon Touchet
5 Joseph Dion, dit Dubuisson	32 Siméon Touchet
6 Louis Boucher	33 Laurent Gignard
7 Pierre Boivin	34 barns of the Hossan heirs
8 Charles Grenier	35 barn of Pierre Boivin
9 Siméon Touchet	36 house of widow Quentin
10 Le Sieur de La Chenaye	37 old barn of Joseph Dubuisson
CÔTE de BEAUPORT	
11 Jean Trudel	29 Sieur de Beauport, Seigneur
12 Jacques Vézina	1 Raphaël Giroux
13 René Brisson	2 Charles Courville
14 barn of Jacques Maret (or Mavet), dit Lépine	30 his windmill
15 barn of widow Carsy	31 his watermill
16 Guillaume Pajé	LA CANARDIÈRE
17 Charles Grenier	1 Pierre Parent, father
18 François Vézina	2 Jacques Parent, son
19 Louis Careau, dit Lafranchise	3 The Jesuit fathers
20 barns of Sieur Grignou	4 Pierre Parent, son
21 barn of Charles Grenier	5 widow Mathieu Choret
22 dwellings of Jacques Maret	6 Michel Huppé
23 René Brisson	7 Sieur de la Duvante
24 François Vézina	8 widow Paul Chalifou
25 Sieur Testu, dit Dutilly	9 Sieur de Vitray, Councillor



THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

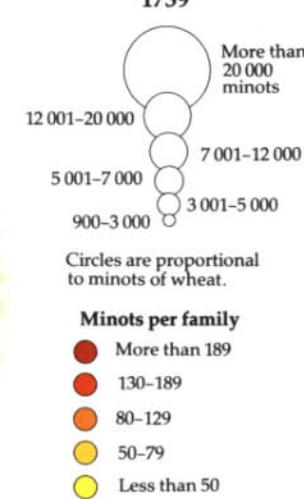
Author: R.Cole Harris

PRICE OF WHEAT, 1660–1795

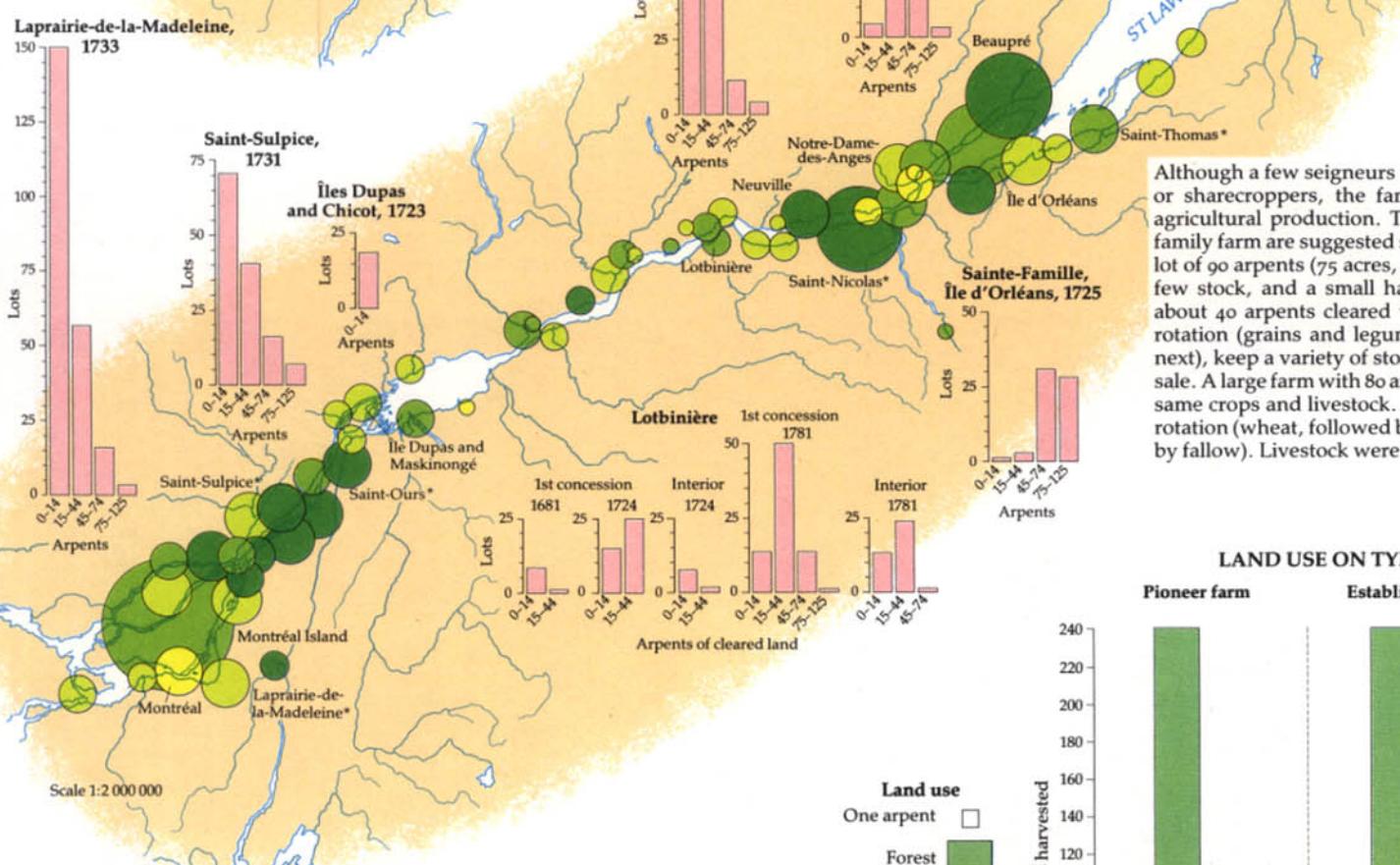
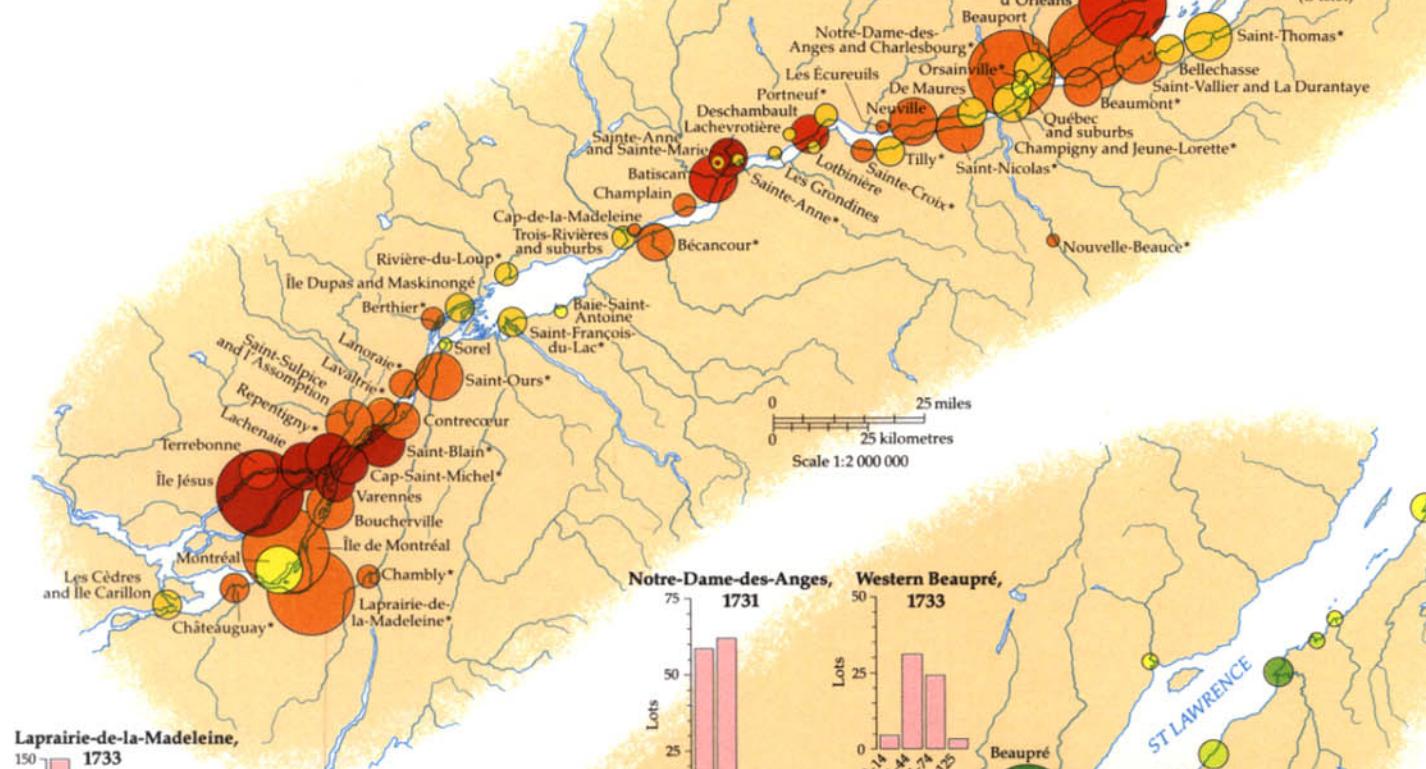


The mixed crop-livestock farming of northwestern Europe could be practised in the St Lawrence valley. Farm lots were readily available (pl 52) to immigrants and their offspring (pls 45 and 46), although markets were remote. There were no Canadian agricultural exports in the 17th century, and in the 18th century they developed fitfully (pl 48). In these circumstances agricultural prices, unlike those in France, declined precipitously in the latter half of the 17th century (especially considering the declining real value of the livre tournois), tended to stabilize between 1700 and 1735, and to increase thereafter.

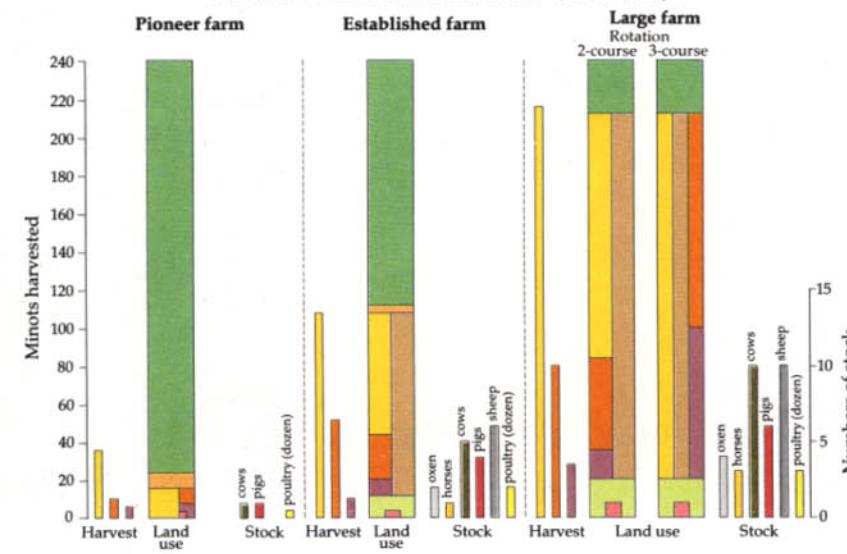
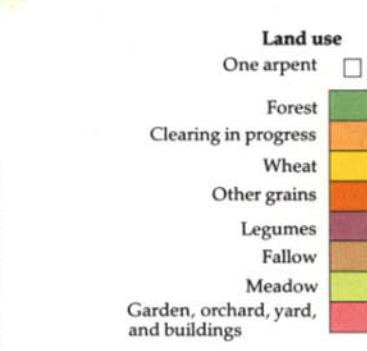
WHEAT PRODUCTION, 1739



*Includes production for one or more other settlements in the vicinity.

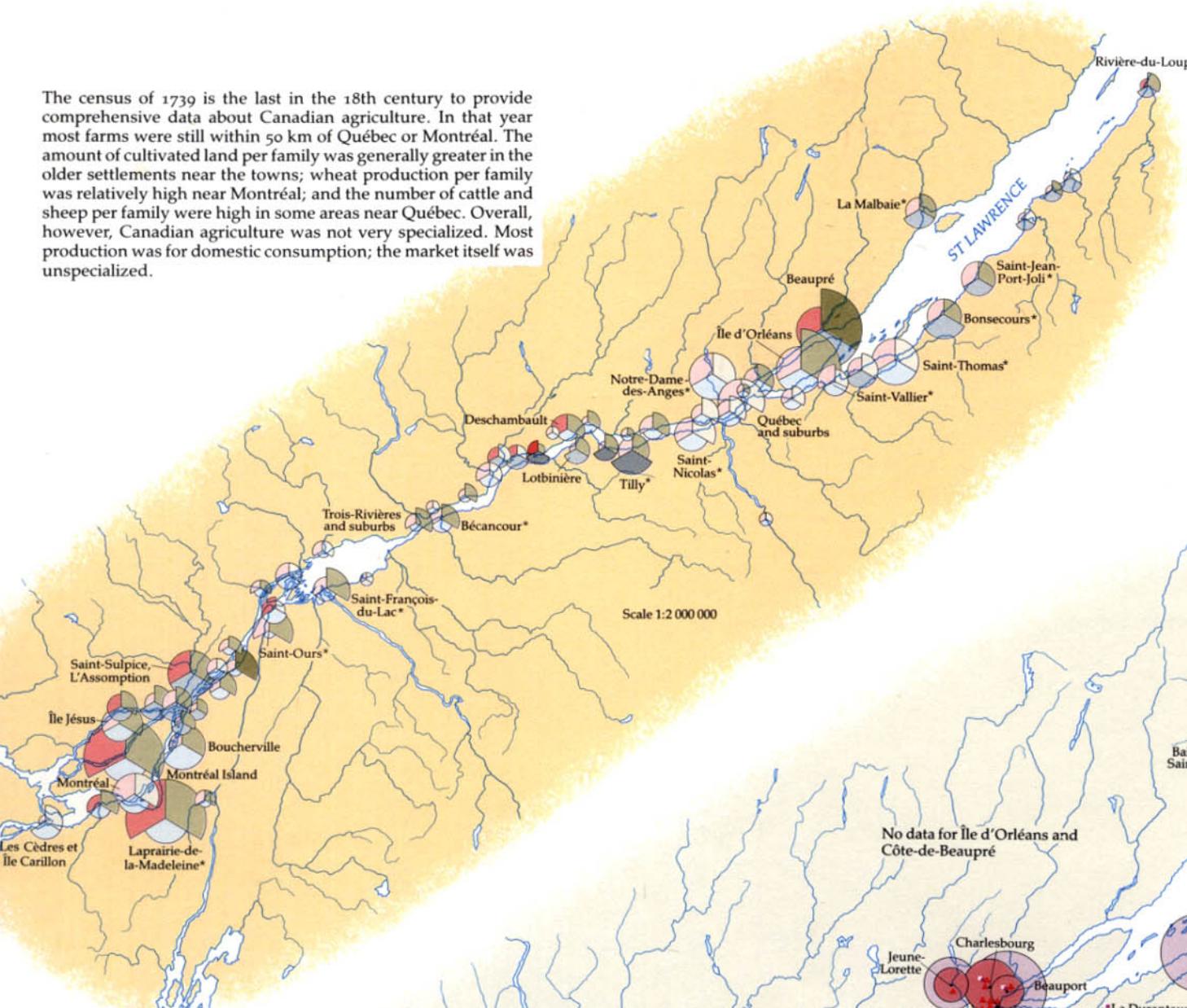


The bar graphs on the map above show the amount of cleared land per farm in particular places and times. Much of the variation reflects the length of settlement: in 1725 all the land on the Île d'Orléans had been settled for years whereas on Îles Dupas and Chicot settlement was just beginning. In Lotbinière clearings on farms in the 1st concession (along the river) were larger than on more recently conceded land in the interior, although in 1781, after more than 100 years of settlement, there were still almost no large farms anywhere in Lotbinière.

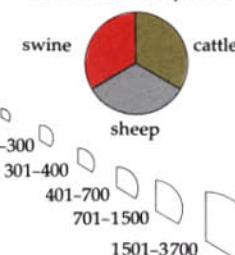


HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA

The census of 1739 is the last in the 18th century to provide comprehensive data about Canadian agriculture. In that year most farms were still within 50 km of Québec or Montréal. The amount of cultivated land per family was generally greater in the older settlements near the towns; wheat production per family was relatively high near Montréal; and the number of cattle and sheep per family were high in some areas near Québec. Overall, however, Canadian agriculture was not very specialized. Most production was for domestic consumption; the market itself was unspecialized.

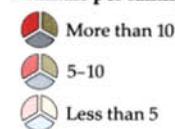


LIVESTOCK, 1739

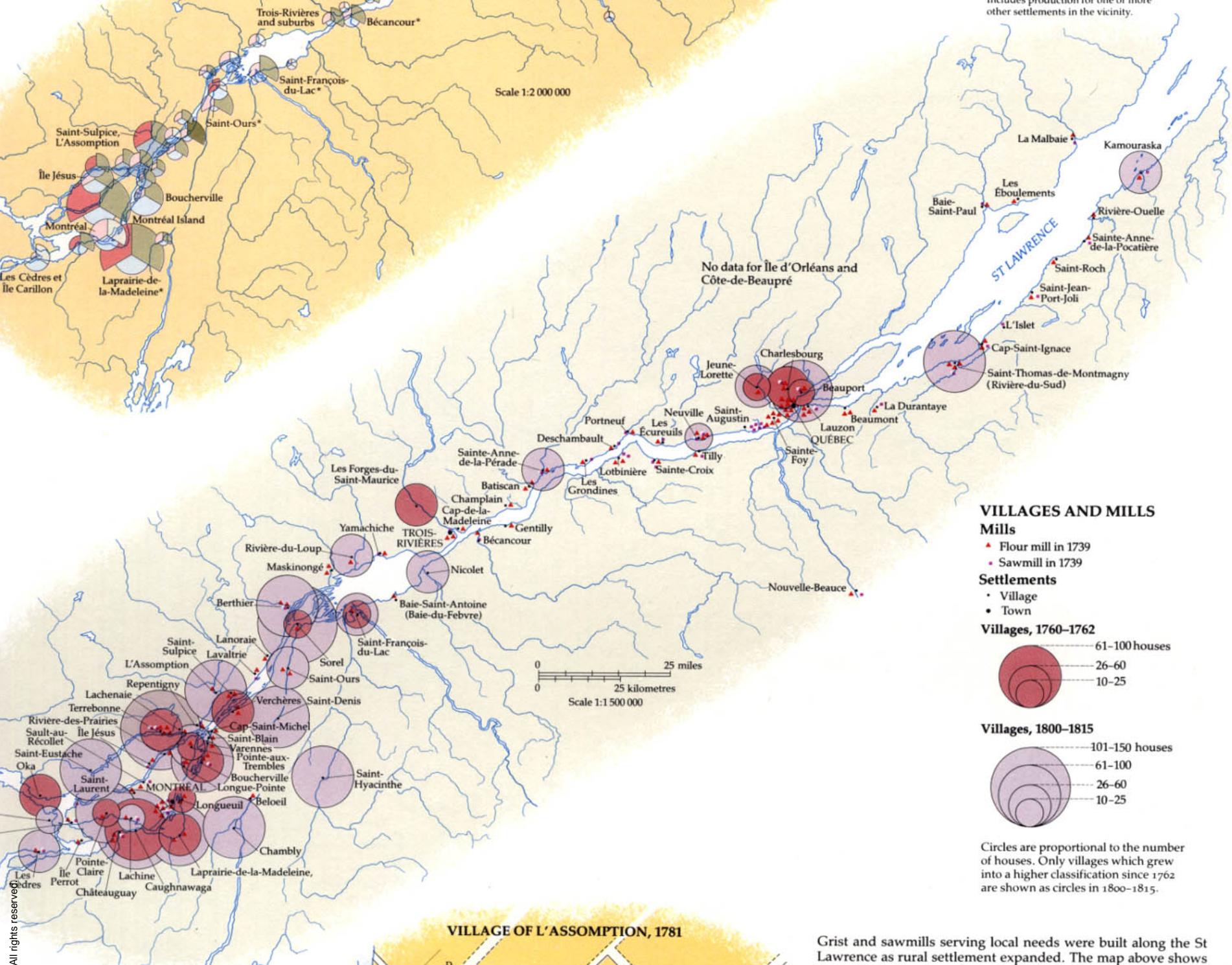


Segments are proportional to number of animals.

Animals per family



*Includes production for one or more other settlements in the vicinity.



VILLAGES AND MILLS

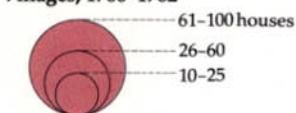
Mills

- ▲ Flour mill in 1739
- Sawmill in 1739

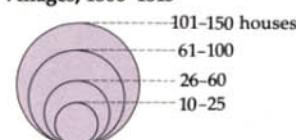
Settlements

- Village
- Town

Villages, 1760-1762



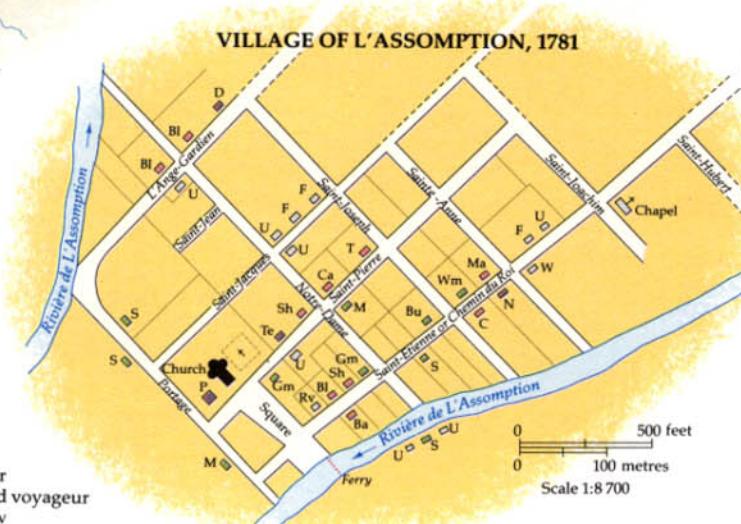
Villages, 1800-1815



Circles are proportional to the number of houses. Only villages which grew into a higher classification since 1762 are shown as circles in 1800-1815.

Grist and sawmills serving local needs were built along the St. Lawrence as rural settlement expanded. The map above shows their distribution in 1739.

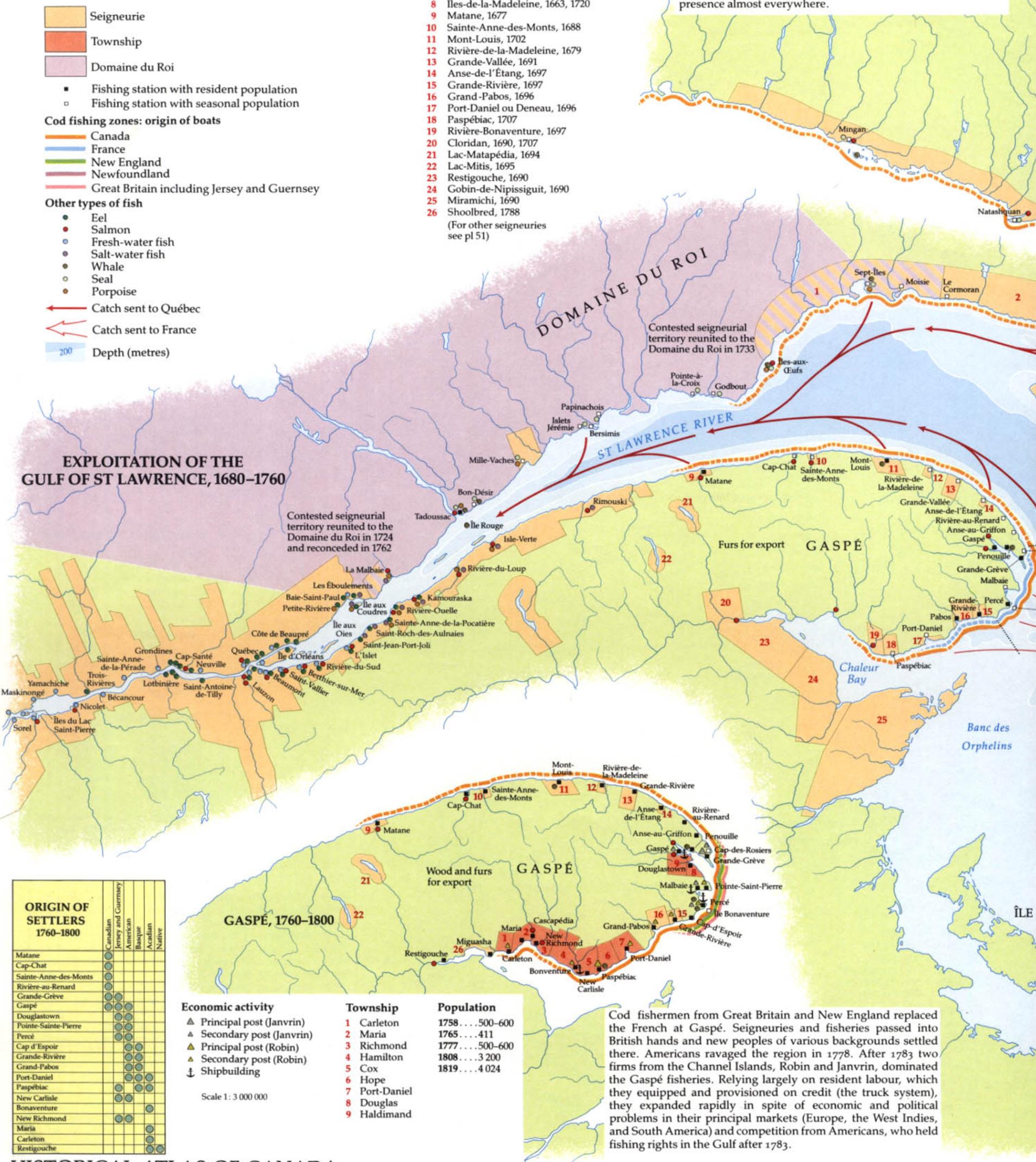
Because farmers lived on their own land and because the commercial rural economy was weak, villages appeared slowly in the Canadian countryside. Apart from the Indian missions (pl. 47) there were hardly any villages in the 17th century (although there were many plans for them), but villages became more common in the 18th century as the commercial economy expanded. The map above shows villages at two periods for which there are comprehensive data: just after the conquest and at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1760 many of the villages in Canada were tiny and hardly differentiated from the surrounding countryside. The largest were laid out in small grids of streets and contained 40-50 buildings. By the end of the 18th century such villages had become much more common. The village of L'Assomption, which had five houses in 1760, was a considerable centre in 1781, a rural focus of commerce, craftsmanship, and services.



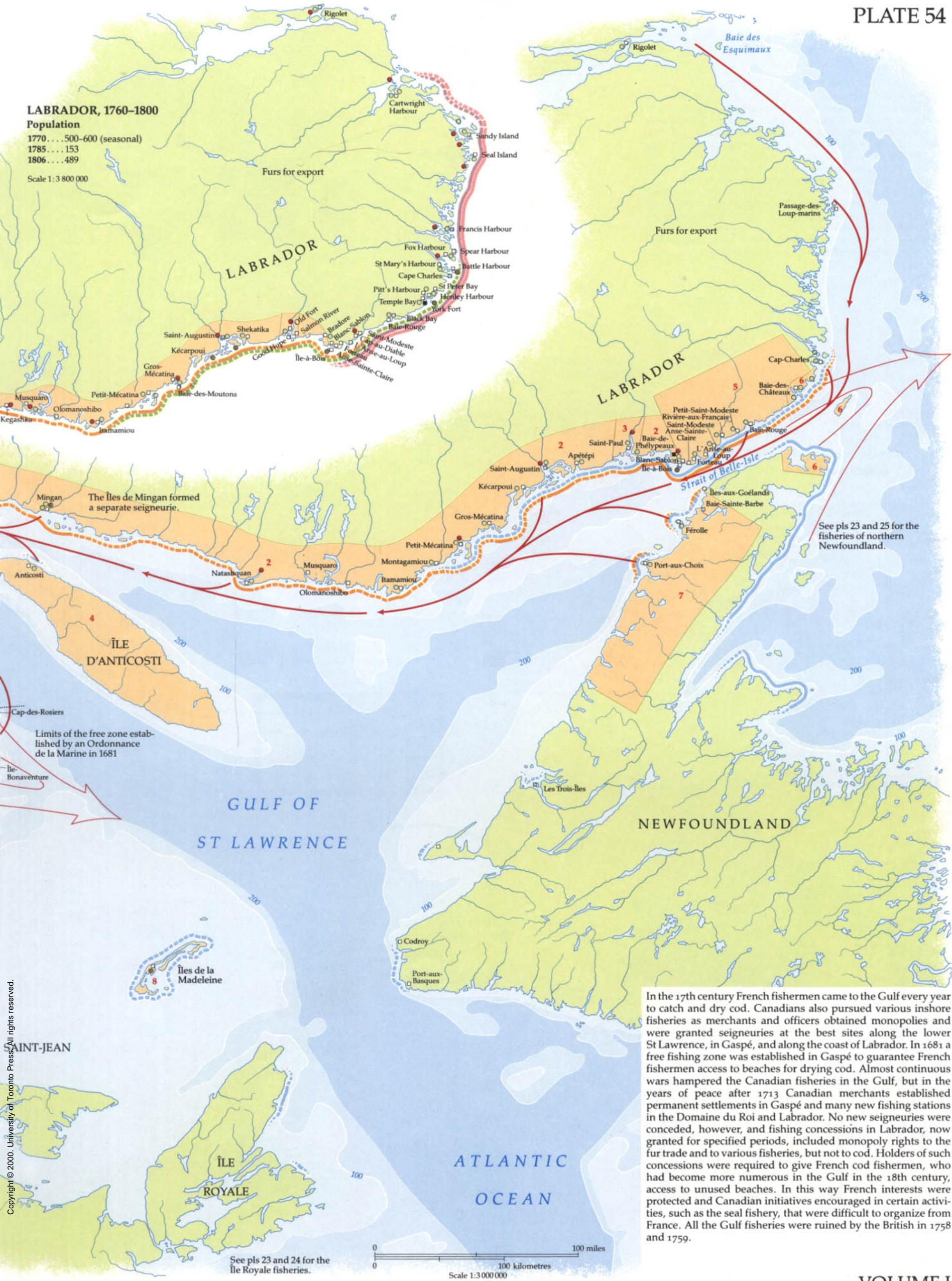
EXPLOITATION OF THE GULF OF ST LAWRENCE

Author: Mario Lalancette

From the 16th century most European settlement in the Gulf of St Lawrence was dominated by the cod fishery. An analysis of Canadian fisheries in the Gulf in the 17th and 18th centuries reveals their importance in the early Canadian economy and the intensity of competition between metropolitan and colonial interests. Competition focused on a stable resource and on well-known fishing and curing sites in a region disrupted by war until the end of the 18th century.



The Labrador shore was administered from Newfoundland after 1763; its French and Canadian fisheries were replaced by others from Britain, Newfoundland, and New England. British merchants in Québec, acquiring Canadian fishing properties, managed to avoid expropriation. In 1774 Labrador was reattached to Québec. Its fisheries, devastated by the Americans in 1778, quickly resumed after 1783. The Labrador seigneuries were exploited from Québec by British merchants using French Canadian labour. Merchants from Newfoundland and Britain operated along the Strait of Belle-Isle and the Atlantic coast of Labrador. Whalers and cod fishermen from New England were a presence almost everywhere.

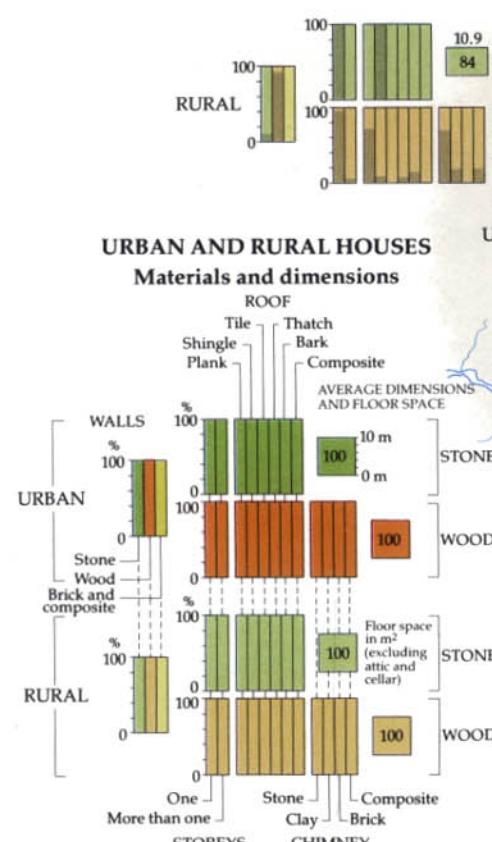


THE HOUSE, 1660–1800

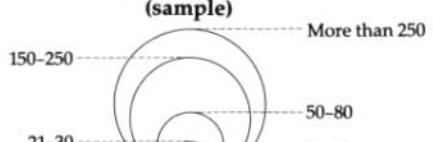
Author: Georges-Pierre Léonidoff

Before 1800 the common rural house along the lower St Lawrence was a one-storey wooden building roofed with thatch, planks, or shingles and built by its first occupants. Techniques of construction differed (pl 56), but the average dimensions of these small houses, usually of two rooms, changed relatively little through the years. Stone houses, characteristically larger than the wooden houses, first became common in Québec, then in Montréal, and then in the countryside near these towns.

The graphs on this plate show the frequency with which various materials were used for the construction of walls, roofs, and chimneys. Average ground-floor dimensions of houses are also indicated. The circles on the maps show the distribution of stone houses, and the illustrations provide some examples of them. The endnotes explain how the data were derived.



DISTRIBUTION OF STONE HOUSES (sample)



Rural Urban
Settled area

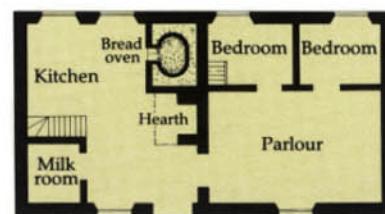
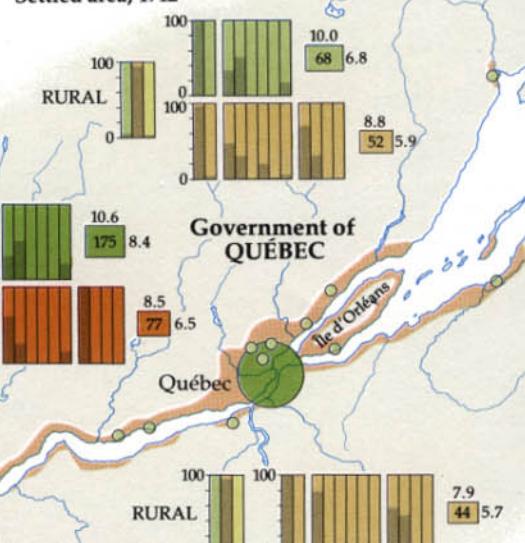
RURAL

URBAN

Government of QUÉBEC
Québec
Trois-Rivières
Government of TROIS-RIVIÈRES

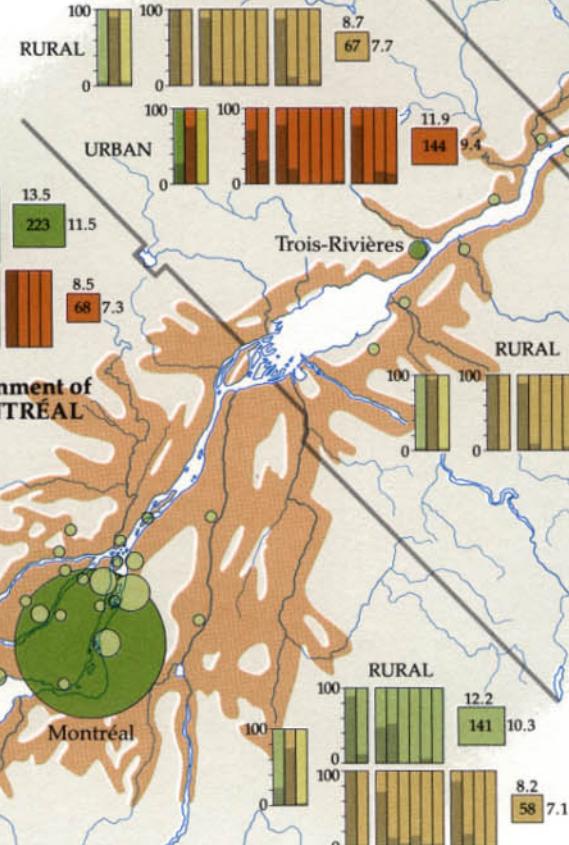
1660–1726

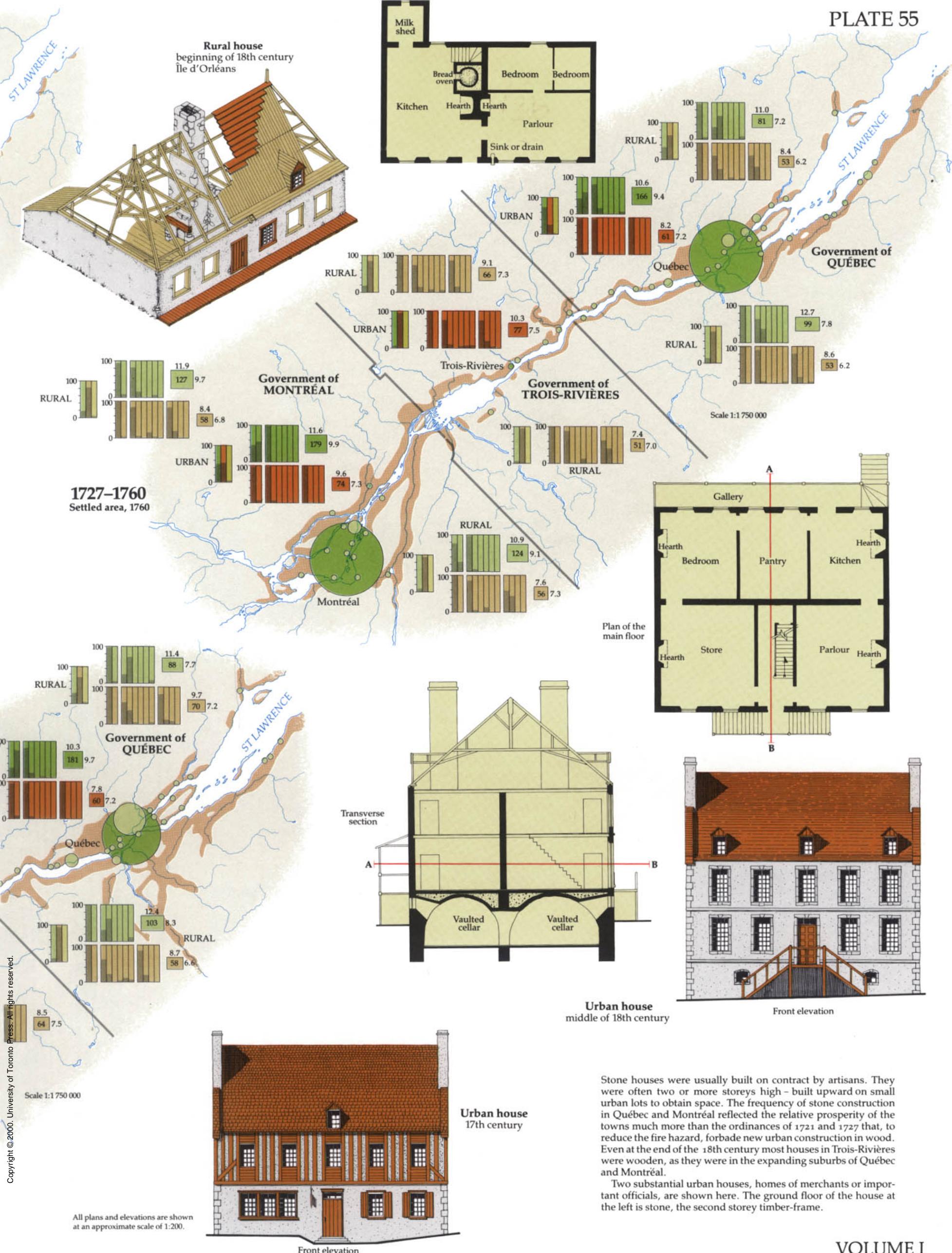
Settled area, 1712



Government of TROIS-RIVIÈRES

Settled area, 1815





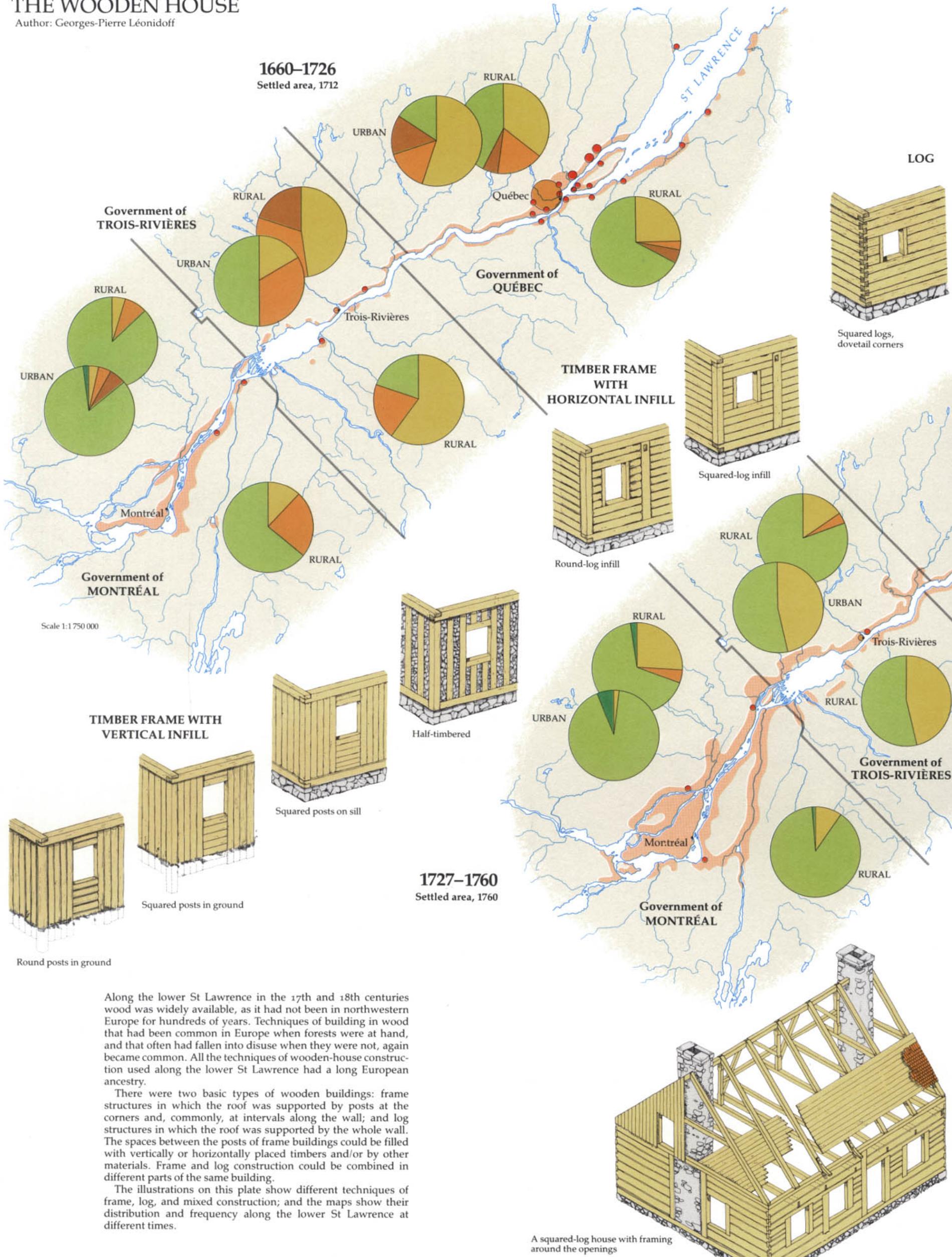
Stone houses were usually built on contract by artisans. They were often two or more storeys high - built upward on small urban lots to obtain space. The frequency of stone construction in Québec and Montréal reflected the relative prosperity of the towns much more than the ordinances of 1721 and 1727 that, to reduce the fire hazard, forbade new urban construction in wood. Even at the end of the 18th century most houses in Trois-Rivières were wooden, as they were in the expanding suburbs of Québec and Montréal.

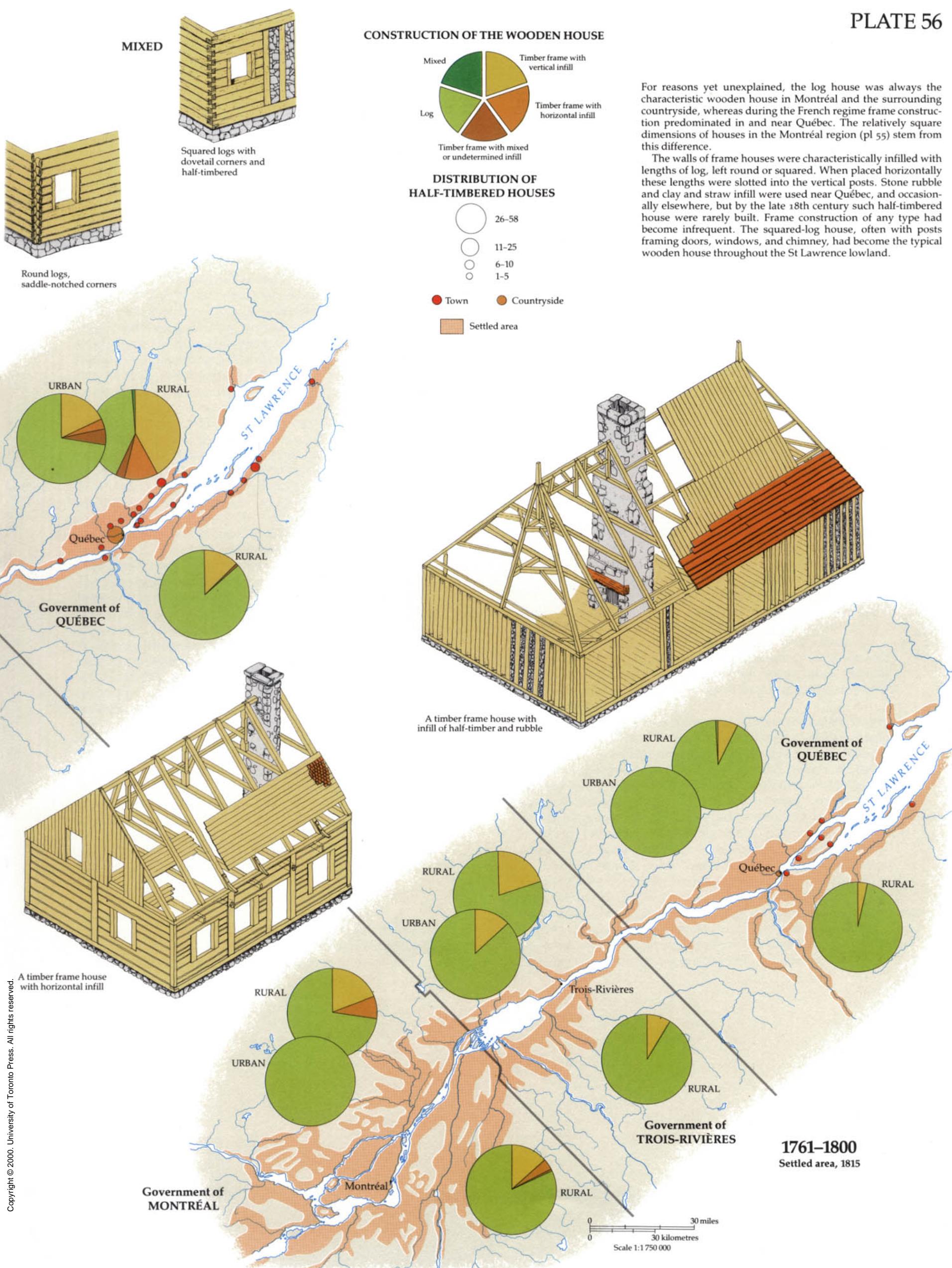
and Montreal.

Two substantial urban houses, homes of merchants or important officials, are shown here. The ground floor of the house at the left is stone, the second storey timber-frame.

THE WOODEN HOUSE

Author: Georges-Pierre Léonidoff





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