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Origin of the French Canadians

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IV.—*Origin of the French Canadians.*

BY B. SULTE.

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On seeing this title many persons may express the opinion jocularly that the origin of the French-Canadian people was France, but we shall see presently that there are other things to be considered in this connection.

What part of France did they come from?

Under what influence?

In what manner did they come?

How long did the period of emigration last?

From whence did they receive their present characteristics?

How did they acquire their present form of language?

Why are not some of the different "patois" spoken in France heard here?

And what about the half-breeds?

We intend to explain the formation of a certain number of French people into settlers on the St. Lawrence during the 17th Century and from which has sprung the whole of the present French Canadian population. Nothing will be said of the tradesmen, the functionaries and the clergy who composed the "French" or floating element of the colony until it disappeared at the conquest.

I. Acadia was peopled by a company of traders between 1636 and 1670 or thereabouts. No one has yet satisfactorily demonstrated where the French of that colony came from, though their dialect would indicate their place of origin to be in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Biscay or the mouth of River Loire. They are distinct from the French Canadians in some particulars and not allied with the settlers of the St. Lawrence. As a matter of fact the two French colonies in question have lived apart from one another as "Acadians" and "Canadians," for more than two centuries and a half now.

Inter-marriages between Acadians and Canadians only commenced after 1755, when some Acadians took refuge in Canada.

Brittany never traded with Canada, except that, from 1535 to 1600, some of the St. Malo navigators used to visit the lower St. Lawrence and barter with the Indians, but there were no European settlers in the whole of that pretended new France. Afterwards the regime of the fur companies, which extended from 1608 to 1632, was adverse to colo-

nization and we know by Champlain's writings that no resident, no "habitant," tilled the soil during that quarter of a century. The men who were employed at Quebec and elsewhere by the companies all belonged to Normandy and, after 1632, twelve or fifteen of them married the daughters of the other Normans recently arrived to settle for good. Brittany remained in the background after, as well as before, 1632. This is confirmed by an examination of the parish registers where about thirty Bretons only can be found during the last period of the 17th Century.

The men of Cartier and Roberval (1535-44) were all Bretons and unaccustomed to residence elsewhere than at home in Brittany. The result was that most of them perished from the effect of cold, bad nourishment, disease, and despair, whilst the present French Canadian would not experience any hardship were he to find himself in the same situation.

When Champlain (1604-30) describes the miseries of life in Acadia and the lower St. Lawrence, he merely states for our information that his men and himself had acquired very little knowledge in that sense above that of previous explorers. They still persisted in depending upon the provisions brought from France—salt pork, beans, flour, mostly affected by the influence of weather, time, etc., and not always abundant enough to cover the period at the end of which a fresh supply would be sent. It was considered good fortune when one or two of the men could handle a gun and shoot some game. As for the art of fishing, nobody seems to have known anything of it, and these people starved in a world of plenty, since they had the rivers, and lakes, and the forests lying all around their miserable camps.

The only superiority of the Champlain men over the crew of Cartier consisted in the building of a house or two, but even at this they showed a rather poor conception of comfort. Chauvin, in 1599, went to Tadoussac and left there sixteen of his followers to winter, without the elementary precautions of providing them with eatables and warm quarters. In the spring of 1600 the place was found empty, and none of the men are mentioned afterwards. The Indians had always been friendly to them, but could not take such inexperienced folks to the woods. The same thing happened to De Monts (1604-5) in Acadia, when nearly all his party died of scorbutic disease and want of food during the rough season. Champlain, who knew these facts recorded from the years of Cartier, did not succeed any better in 1608, when he lost twenty men out of twenty-eight. This was repeated yearly afterwards, but in smaller proportions.

Even as late as 1627 the "winter residents" of Quebec were ignorant of the advantage of cutting trees during the summer in order to prepare dry fuel for the October-April season. It was Pontgravé who advised them to do so, and no doubt they recognized it as a great forethought. They used to pick up whatever the wind would blow down of branches in the forest, and if that material proved insufficient on extremely cold days, then they tried their hands at felling some trees near by and supplying them in blocks to the steward's room. No wonder that the writings of the period in question so often complained of the evil of smoke and the small quantity of heat produced by the burning of such green wood. Stoves being unknown to the *hivernants* in Canada, a caboose supplied the place of that indispensable adjustment, and the men, unoccupied most of the time, slept around it, starved there, got sick and died on the spot, one after another, as a matter of course. Father Biard, evidently ahead of his generation, once made the remark that an iron box (a stove) such as used in Germany was preferable by far to the poisonous system of the caboose. The improvement made by Champlain in his house at Quebec consisted in substituting an ordinary chimney for the open fireplace above alluded to. It is likely that Louis Hebert in 1617, and Guillaume Couillard about 1620, built similar smoke-escapes in their homes; they also had the good sense to fit door and window sashes so as both to close hermetically and open easily when required. These marvels were not to be surpassed for a long while after that.

The equipment provided for the men of Cartier, Roberval, Chauvin, De Monts, and Champlain was not generally suitable in Canada. Slouch felt hats are not equal to fur caps in winter; boots and shoes of European fabrics could not compete with the moccasins; and as for overcoats, it may be said they were not fit for the climate. Gloves, trousers, and underclothes adapted to the exigencies of 30° below zero constituted a puzzle for these people. Snowshoes and mitts were doubtless adopted at an early date from the Indians.

It was currently believed throughout France that Canada was a cold purgatory for civilized people, and would never be settled by Christians.

Building houses was not customary in Quebec until 1632, because the men (all without families) were located for the winter in what was called the fort. As it was not intended to increase the colony, no carpenter was needed for other purposes than to keep the ships in repair.

This awkward situation remained the same during twenty-six years. What was the cause of it? Simply this: the men for Canada were recruited from the working classes (if not of the worst), in the suburbs

of large cities and towns, the very individuals who were the least fit for the trials to be met in a wild country. For instance, a shoemaker is not called upon to find his daily bread and meat by sowing wheat, planting vegetables, or hunting and fishing. These men do not know how to manufacture clothing or to dress themselves appropriately; neither can they prepare beaver or other skins to make a soft and warm garment. Their "coaling" power was also limited, for the wood standing in the forest was to them a foreign product, accustomed as they were to receive their fuel all cut up and dry at the door of their homes. Necessity, it is said, is the mother of invention; but this only applies to people who already live by inventions, such as poor country folks—not the "citizens" who depend upon the shops in their street. Furthermore, those who came to Canada "took no stock" in the future of the country, and they returned to France (when not buried here) in haste, without having had time to learn much. The fur companies did not ask them to become Canadians. They had no reason to turn a new leaf and devise a means of life so completely different from their habits and aspirations.

Now we will close this unfortunate period by saying that about twelve or fifteen of the youngest men, still employed in the neighbourhood of Quebec in 1631, were merged into the subsequent immigration and became equally competent with that new formation *i.e.*, the actual settlers. This little squad, strange to say, was all from Normandy, and every one of them educated far more than ordinary people. This was the only good result of a century of wrong mismanagement in the affairs of Canada.

II. The trade of Canada remained in the hands of the Dieppe and Rouen merchants from 1632 until 1663. It consisted solely of fish and fur, especially the latter. Therefore, any man of these localities who wished to go to Canada to settle there was admitted on the strength of the Hundred Partners who were bound to send in people brought up to farming in order to cultivate the soil of the colony, but who did nothing of the kind except transporting the self-sacrificing emigrants. There is even indication that the transport was not free. The other seaports of France in the west and south-west having no connection with Canada before 1662, five or six families only came from these ports or the surrounding countries.

Coming to this second phase, we have to introduce farmers of Perche, Beauce, Normandy, and Picardy, numbering forty-six, from 1632 to 1640, besides forty from Champagne, Lorraine, Brie, Poitou, etc., during the same nine years. This period gives an average of ten settlers per year only, which may be considered the proportion for twenty years afterwards.

The group of Perche took the lead from 1632 and kept it for ever. They came married, bringing their farm implements, cattle, etc., and in less than two years after their arrival conquered the soil, learned how to face the climate, and made themselves literally at home, where their predecessors had miserably perished by scores during many years.

The little colony at Montreal, which came from Anjou, subsequent to 1640, differed little in character and origin from the others, except that its members had not been brought up to till the soil and there were no women in their company. A number, therefore, married the daughters of the earlier Norman settlers of Quebec. This helped to preserve the uniformity of the language and general habits of the people. Had the company of Rouen and Dieppe merchants continued to control the trade of the colony it is certain that the development of the agricultural population, even slow as it had been from the beginning, would have been altogether on Norman lines. But in 1662 another influence made its presence felt in Canada. A small flow of immigrants, men and women, set in from the country parts around Rochelle and from the province of Poitou. These were, year by year, as they came out, merged into the older colonists, assuming their habits and forms of speech, already very similar to theirs.

Leaving aside the men engaged in the fur trade, and who did not adopt the colony as their home, we find that only 127 actual settlers or heads of families arrived in Canada during the period of 1608-1645.

Nine-tenths of these men have numerous descendants still amongst us. In this respect Canada is far ahead of any colony. The New England States can hardly name twenty families coming from their first stock, that is before 1645, although their immigration was five times at least larger than ours.

There was no special organisation for recruiting in France.

Nearly every one of these 127 men married just before leaving for Canada or soon after his arrival in the colony. They all belonged to that class of people devoted altogether to agriculture, or the cultivation of grains, hay, oats, vegetables, hemp, flax. They understood thoroughly well the work of felling trees and clearing land, because the provinces they came from were of good soil, but not adapted for fruits and vine, nor fit for pasturage on a large scale.

First Mention.	NAME.	Born.	Province.	Where Settled.	Trade.	Married.	Name.	Province.
1608	Nicolas Marsolet.....	1587	Normandie	Quebec	Interpreter	1636	Marie Le Barbier.....	
1613	Guillaume Couillard.....		Bretagne	"	Carpenter	1621	Guillemette Hébert.....	Paris.
1614	Abraham Martin.....	1589		"	Pilot	1613	Marguerite Langlois.....	
1614	Nicolas Pivert.....			"			Marguerite Lesage.....	
1614	Pierre Desportes.....			"			Françoise Langlois.....	
1615	Jacques Hertel.....		Normandie	Three Rivers	Interpreter	1641	Marie Marguerie.....	Normandie.
1617	Louis Hébert.....		Paris.	Quebec	Apothecary	1600	Marie Rollet.....	Paris.
1617	Etienne Jonquest.....		Normandie	"		1617	Anne Hébert.....	"
1618	Adrien Duchesne.....		"	"	Surgeon.		(Name unknown)	
1618	Jean Nicolet.....	1598	"	Three Rivers	Interpreter	1637	Marguerite Couillard.....	Canada.
1620	Olivier Le Tardif.....	1601	"	Quebec	Chief Clerk	1637	Louise Couillard.....	
1623	Jean-Paul Godefroy.....		Paris.	"	Merchant	1646	Madeleine Le Gardeur.....	Normandie.
1626	Jean Godefroy.....	1608	Normandie	Three Rivers	Interpreter	1636	Marie Le Neuf.....	"
1626	François Marguerie.....	1614	"	"	"	1645	Louise Cloutier.....	Perche.
1627	Guillaume Hubou.....		"	Quebec		1629	Marie Rollet.....	Paris.
1627	Robert Giffard.....	1587	Perche.....	"	Surgeon.	1633	Marie Renouard.....	Perche.
1634	Pierre Blondel.....			Three Rivers	Brewer		Marie Alison Gourdin.....	
1634	Jean Bourdon.....	1602	Normandie	Quebec	Engineer	1635	Jacqueline Potel.....	
1634	Noel Langlois.....	1606	"	"	Pilot	1634	Françoise Garnier.....	Normandie.
1634	Guillaume Fournier.....	1619	"	"		1651	Françoise Hébert.....	Canada.
1634	Jean Guyon.....		Perche	"		1634	Madeleine Boulé.....	Perche.
1634	Jean Guyon.....		"	"	Mason	1619	Mathurine Robin.....	"

First Mention	Name.	Born.	Province?	Where Settled.	Trade.	Married.	Name.	Province.
1634	Gaspard Boucher		Perche	Quebec	Carpenter	1619	Nicole Lemaire	Perche.
1634	Marin Boucher	1589	"	"		1632	Perrine Mallet	"
1634	Sébastien Dodier		"	Three Rivers	Carpenter	1644	Marie Bouhomme	"
1634	Zacharie Cloutier	1590	"	Quebec	Carpenter	1615	Xaintes Dupont	Perche.
1634	Pierre de la Porte		Paris.	"		1645	Anne Voyer	Paris.
1634	Jean Juchereau	1582	Beauce	"		1624	Marie Langlois	Beauce.
1634	Guillaume Pepin	1607	Saintonge	Three Rivers		1645	Jeanne Mechin	
1634	Jean Sauvaget		Rochelle.	"	Attorney	1613	Anne Dupuis	Rochelle.
1634	Guillaume Isabel		"	"		1648	Catherine Dodier	Perche.
1635	Robert Drouin	1608	Perche	Quebec		1636	Anne Cloutier	"
1635	Louis-Henri Pinguet	1588	"	"		1625	Louise Boucher	"
1635	Pierre Delaunay	1616	Maine	"	Clerk fur trade	1645	Françoise Pinguet	"
1635	Philippe Amyot		Beauce	"		1627	Anne Corvent	Normandie.
1635	Jean Côté		"	"		1635	Anne Martin	Canada.
1635	François Aubert		"	"		1620	Anne Fauconnier	
1635	Martin Grouvel		"	"	Navigator	1635	Marguerite Aubert	
1636	Jamen Bourguignon		"	"		1636	Claire Morin	Perche.
1636	Robert Caron		"	"		1637	Marie Le Crevet	
1636	Jacques Selle		"	"		1637	Marie Bérard	
1636	Antoine Brassard	1609	Normandie	"	Mason	1637	Françoise Méry	
1636	François Bélanger	1612	"	"		1637	Marie Gagnon	Perche.
1636	Etienne Racine	1607	"	"		1637	Marguerite Martin	

First Mention	Name.	Born.	Province.	Where Settled.	Trade.	Married.	Name.	Province.
1636	René Mézeray	1612	Normandie	Quebec		1641	Hélène Chatel	
1636	Pierre Le Gardeur		"	"		1630	Marie Favery	Normandie.
1636	Charles Le Gardeur	1611	"	"		1648	Geneviève Juchereau	Beauce.
1636	Jacques Le Neuf	1603	"	Three Rivers		1630	Marguerite Le Gardeur	Normandie.
1636	Jean Le Pouterel.....		"	"		1630	Madeleine Le Gardeur	"
1636	Pierre Gadois		Perche	Montreal		1625	Louise Mauger	Perche.
1636	Jacques Maheu		"	Quebec		1639	Anne Convent.....	Normandie.
1636	René Maheu.....		"	"		1648	Marguerite Corriveau	
1636	François Drouet	1616	"	"		1637	Perrine Godin	Anjou.
1635	Julien Mercier	1626	"	"		1654	Marie Poulin	Canada.
1636	Louis Sédillot.....	1609	Picardie	"		1627	Marie Charrier	Picardie.
1636	Charles Sevestre		Paris	"		1627	Maire Pichon	Paris.
1636	Nicolas Pelletier		Beauce	"		1635	Jeanne Roussy.....	Beauce.
1636	Jacques Gourdeau.....	1614	Poitou	"	Notary	1652	Eléonore de Grandmaison	Champagne.
1637	Adrien Dabancourt.....		Picardie	Quebec		1617	Simone d'Orgeville	Picardie.
1637	Jean Jolliet.....		Brie	"	Wheel-wright ..	1639	Marie Dabancourt.....	"
1637	Bertrand Fariard.....	1600	Normandie	Three Rivers		1644	Marie Sédillot	"
1637	Thomas Hayot	1609	Perche.....	Quebec		1633	Jeanne Boucher.....	Perche.
1637	Claude Poulin	1617	"	"	Carpenter	1638	Jeanne Mercier	
1637	Denis Duquet	1605	"	"		1638	Catherine Gautier	Paris.
1638	Pierre Garemand.....		Picardie	"		1630	Madeleine Charlot	Picardie.
1638	Jean Gory		Bretagne.....	Montreal		1639	Isabeau Panie	Normandie.

First Mention.	Name.	Born.	Province.	Where Settled.	Trade.	Married.	Name.	Province.
1638	Guillaume Bigot	1614	Bretagne	Quebec		1638	Marie Panie	Normandie.
1638	Jean Millouer	1616	Maine	"		1642	Barbe Hubou	"
1638	Jean Cochon	1591	Normandie	"		1622	Jeanne Abraham	"
1638	Jacques Panie		"	"		1620	Marie Pousset	"
1638	Marin Terrier Fran- cheville	1619	"	Three Rivers		1647	Jeanne Jollaut	Poitou.
1638	Christophe Crevier		Rochelle.	"	Baker	1636	Jeanne Enard	Normandie.
1639	Jacques Badeau		Perche.	Quebec		1630	Anne Arlounin	Perche.
1639	Jean Poisson		"	Three Rivers		1644	Jacqueline Chambois	Champagne.
1639	Mathurin Gagnon	1608	"	Quebec		1647	Françoise Godeau	Normandie.
1639	Jean Gagnon	1611	"	"		1646	Marguerite Cochon	"
1639	Pierre Gagnon	1615	"	"		1642	Vincente des Varieux	"
1639	Nicolas Bonhomme	1603	Normandie	"		1640	Catherine Goujet	"
1639	Guillaume Grimard	1620	"	"		1648	Suzanne Bugeau	Saintonge.
1639	Paul de Rainville	1619	"	"		1638	Pauline Poette	Normandie.
1639	Pierre Miville	1602	Rochelle.	"	Carpenter	1629	Charlotte Maugis	Rochelle.
1639	Pierre Massé	1616	"	"		1644	Marie Pinel	"
1639	Noel Morin	1616	Brie	"	Wheel-wright	1647	Hélène Desportes	Canada.
1639	Claude Etienne	1610	Lorraine.	"		1640	Hélène Martin	"
1639	Nicolas Macart		Champagne	"		1646	Marguerite Couillard	"
1636	Louis Gagné		"	"		1641	Marie Michel	"
1640	François de Chavigny		Champagne	"		1638	Eléon. de Grandmaison	Champagne.

First Mention	Name.	Born.	Province.	Where Settled.	Trade.	Married.	Name.	Province.
1640	Guillaume Couture.....	1698	Normandie ...	Quebec	Interpreter	1649	Anne Aymard	Poitou.
1640	Pierre Paradis.....	1611	Perche.....	"	Cutler	1641	Barbe Gayon	Perche.
1640	Jacques Boissel.....	1601	Maine	"	Butcher.....	1639	Marie Eripert.....	
1840	César Leger		Saintonge	Montreal	Edge tool maker	1641	Roberte Gadois	Perche.
1641	Antoine Desrosiers	1619	Forez.....	Three Rivers ..	Attorney.....	1647	Anne Le Neuf	Normandie.
1641	Etienne Pepin.....	1615	Sanitonge	"		1645	Marie Boucher	Perche.
1641	Guillaume Pepin	1607	"	"		1645	Jeanne Méchin.....	
1641	Jean Brossier		Maine	Quebec		1642	Marguerite Bance.....	Normandie.
1641	Nicolas Godé.....	1583	Perche.....	Montreal	Carpenter	1625	Françoise Gadois.....	Perche.
1641	Guillaume Bance.....		Normandie	Quebec		1648	Marguerite Bigot.....	Paris.
1641	Antoine Damien	1611	"	Montreal		1641	Marie Joly	
1641	Augustin Hébert		"	"		1646	Adrienne Duvivier.....	
1641	Charles Lemoine.....	1624	"	"	Interpreter	1654	Catherine Primot	Normandie.
1462	Gilbert Barbier	1620	Nivernais	"	Carpenter	1650	Catherine Delavau	
1642	Jacques Delaunay	1606		Quebec		1660	Catherine Besnard	
1643	Massé-Joseph Gravel	1614		"		1644	Marguerite Tavernier	Perche.
1643	Louis d'Ailleboust.....		Champagne	Montreal		1640	Barbe de Boulogne	Paris.
1643	Charles d'Ailleboust.....	1625	"	"		1652	Catherine Le Gardeur	Normandie.
1643	Martin Prevost	1611	Paris.....	Quebec		1644	M.-Olivier (Indian)	Canada.
1643	Léonard Lueault	1626	Limousin	Montreal		1648	Barbe Poisson.....	Perche.
1643	Nicolas Pinel.....		Rochelle.....	Quebec		1625	Madeleine Maranda	Rochelle.
1643	Elie Tavernier		Perche.....	"		1626	Marguerite Gagnon	Perche.

First Mention	Name.	Born.	Province.	Where Settled.	Trade.	Married.	Name.	Province.
1643	Jean Leblanc	1620	Normandie	Quebec .....	.....	1643	Madel-Euph. Nicolet	Normandie.
1644	Claude Larchevêque .....	.....	" .....	" .....	.....	1645	Marie Simon	Poitou.
1644	Gilles Bacon .....	.....	" .....	" .....	.....	1647	Marie Tavernier	Perche.
1644	Médard Chouart	1625	Brie	Three Rivers	Explorer	1647	Hélène Martin	Canada.
1644	René Robineau	1626	Paris .....	" .....	.....	1652	Anne Le Neuf	Normandie.
1644	Eustache Lambert .....	.....	.....	Quebec	Merchant	1656	Marie Laurence .....	.....
1645	Toussaint Toupin	1616	.....	Quebec	Navigator	1645	Marguerite Boucher	Perche.
1645	Mathieu Charest .....	.....	.....	" .....	.....	1647	Sébastienne Veillon .....	.....
1645	Gabriel de Celles	1626	.....	Montreal .....	.....	1652	Barbe Poisson	Perche.
1645	Jacques Archambault	1605	Aunis	Montreal .....	.....	1620	Françoise Toureau	Aunis.
1645	Etienne Vien .....	.....	" .....	Three Rivers	Baker	1638	Marie Denot	Aunis.
1645	Urbain Boudry	1618	Anjou	"	Edge tool maker	1647	Madeleine Boucher	Perche.
1645	Pierre Lefebvre	1616	Normandie .....	" .....	.....	1630	Jeanne Annois	Normandie.
1645	Etienne Seigneuret	1620	" .....	" .....	.....	1647	Madeleine Bonassis	Rocheille.
1645	Jean Veron .....	.....	" .....	" .....	.....	1646	Marguerite Hayet	Paris.
1645	Jacques Aubuchon	1623	" .....	" .....	.....	1647	Mathurine Poisson	Perche.
1645	Jean Aubuchon	1653	"	Montreal .....	.....	1654	Marguerite Scélliot	Canada.
1645	Etienne de Lessard	1623	Perche	Quebec .....	.....	1652	Marguerite Sevestre	Paris.

The typical Percherons knew the way to clear the forest, because their country was covered (especially in those days) with trees. They produced all sorts of grain, poultry, cattle, pigs, etc., and so they did in Canada from the outset. Every woman had a trade of her own—the men also. Take Beauport, near Quebec, as an example: the first ten or twelve agricultural families located there were composed of a stonemason, a carpenter, a tiler, slater or thatcher, a blacksmith (often called armourer), a miller, a shoemaker, a ropemaker, a leather-dresser, and two or three weavers. Before the clothes brought from France were worn out the 'Canadian' manufacture supplied the little colony with fresh woollen stuff of various fabrics from serge and camlet to much thicker cloths, as well as linen made of their culture of flax. It soon became a saying that the 'habitant' (so named by contrast with the roving fur-trader) needs no help from France, except in the line of iron and steel tools and firelocks. From head to feet they could provide for themselves; their table was well supplied, their houses comfortable; in fact they lived in luxury. The culinary art had many adepts amongst them, and this has been transmitted through generations.

The hygienic aspect of the situation must have been well understood by those early settlers, because not even the children were affected by the influence of the new climate and habits of life. Scorbatic diseases disappeared from 1632—that is to say, never prevailed amongst actual settlers or habitants, but continued to follow the men sent to the advanced posts for a winter or two in the pursuit of the fur trade.

Boots and shoes brought from France soon became known as *bottes et souliers françois*, to be used indoors on special occasions only. *Bottes et souliers sauvages* served all other purposes at every season. The long overcoat, or *capot*, made of coarse woollen cloth with a nap on one side a stuff called *bure* in French, is a remarkable instance of their ingenuity. This coat has a hood attached to the collar and dropping behind: it is buttoned up and down, double-breast, and made tight around the body by a wide and long woollen sash of bright colours, altogether an immense improvement over the 'caban' or dreadnought-coat of the mariners, well known in England and France.

Their mode of colonisation also differed from that which might have been expected, considering that in France the country people are centralised in villages somewhat away from the fields they cultivate. The first attempt made in Canada to lay out farms (1632) consisted in having them in a row facing the river and distant from one another about four arpents. Each lot of land measured forty arpents deep, making one hundred and sixty square arpents for a farm. This system was adopted by the whole of the colony as it gradually got settled—not

withstanding the authorities, who were in favour of the formation of villages in preference to what they styled a 'dispersed order.' The advantage of such an arrangement is to bring the house a few steps from the river ; to permit easy access to the public road situate between the house and the river ; to keep social intercourse as close as possible by the vicinity of neighbours engaged in the same occupation. In a case where twenty inhabitants so covered eighty to one hundred arpents on a line following the water's edge, they did nothing else but open a street, and so they could visit each other with facility at all times. Four feet deep of snow in the winter was beaten down within two hours by the passage of forty or fifty horses and men. This of course was at first done on snowshoes until horses were introduced (1670), and then this arrangement worked to perfection. That was the time that the French carriole—on wheels—was dismounted, put on runners, and became the comfortable family vehicle so popular in Canada East during the snowy season.

III. When the business of the Hundred Partners collapsed about 1662, Paris and Rochelle came in for a certain share of interest as they were the creditors of the expiring company, and soon we notice immigrants arriving from the neighbouring country places of those two cities, even as early as 1660.

The settlers (1633-1663) came as a rule individually or in little groups of three or four families related to each other, as many immigrants from various countries do at the present day.

From an examination of family and other archives extending now over thirty years of labour we make the following deductions:

Perche, Normandy, Beauce, Picardy and Anjou (they are here in their order of merit) contributed about 200 families from 1632 to 1663, the period of the Hundred Partners' regime. By natural growth these reached the figure of 2,200 souls in 1663.

In 1662-63 there came about 100 men from Perche and 150 from Poitou, Rochelle and Gascony, with a small number of women. This opens a new phase in the history of our immigration by introducing Poitou and Rochelle amongst the people of the northern and western provinces of France already counting two generations in the two districts of Quebec and Three Rivers.

In 1632 there were twenty-nine men in the colony, who were either married or who married soon after, and became heads of families. These are the roots of the Canadian tree. A few Frenchmen engaged in the fur trade formed a distinct group outside of the scope of this paper.

In 1640 the 'habitants' numbered 375, distributed as follows :

Married men, 64; married women (three born in Canada), 64; widower, 1; widows, 4; unmarried men, 35; boys (30 born in Canada),

58 ; girls (24 born in Canada), 48 ; nuns, 6 ; Jesuits, 29 ; other Frenchmen, 66 ; total, 375.

According to my calculations the habitants did not exceed 600 in 1650, besides 40 Jesuits, 40 Jesuits' servants and 25 other Frenchmen.

The population in 1653 appears to have been distributed as follows : Quebec and surroundings, 400 ; Three Rivers, 175 ; Montreal, 100. Total, 675.

We must add the usual contingent of French traders, which was very small at that time on account of the war of the Iroquois.

It is mentioned in letters dated from Canada, 1661-63, that the entire population did not exceed 2,500 souls. This embraces the rather large immigrations of 1661-63, which mark a new departure in the whole affairs of the colony.

The reader is referred to the statement covering the period of 1608-1645, with regard to the origin of the 127 men who first settled here. We shall now show the origin of 475 more during 1646-1666. These men came from France, either married, or unmarried, and founded families in the new country.

North-west of France.—Bretagne, 20 ; Maine 22 , Normandie, 136 ; Picardie, 10 ; Ile-de-France, 25 ; Touraine, 8 ; Anjou, 18 ; total, 239.

South-west of France.—Poitou, 60 ; Rochelle, 138 ; Bordeaux, 14 ; total, 212.

East of France.—Champagne, 6 ; Nivernais, 2 ; Berry, 3 ; Dauphiné, 4 ; Auvergne, 5 ; Lyonnais, 4 ; total, 24.

During the same period, 1646-1666, I find 100 marriages without any mention of the origin of the contracting parties ; but we may safely infer, from the synopsis just given, that they must be added to the 475 whose origin is known, and distributed according to the relative proportions of these statistics.

Therefore from 1608 to 1666 we have examined 700 men who came from France with their wives, or married after settling in the colony.

Until about 1645 the greater number of them came from north of the River Loire ; after that the south-western provinces gradually balanced the emigration from the north—

1646-1666. North of Loire, 231 ; south of Loire, 220.

Immigrants from Touraine, Poitou, Rochelle, Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois, Bordeaux, found their way to Canada after 1650, so that the Normandy influence was absolute until about 1660, when Poitou and Rochelle came in for a large share.

The first official census was taken in 1666, and considered imperfect at that time. It gives 3,215 souls for all of New France.



The census (nominal) of 1667 says 3,918 souls. These last figures represent the 700 heads of families above mentioned. The following statement is a *résumé* of that valuable document :—

Families, 668 ; males, 2,406 ; females, 1,512 ; married (625), 1,250 ; widowers, 20 ; widows, 26 ; boys, 1,162 ; girls, 860.

Ages of the People.

Years.	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	No.
0-1	223	5-6	122	11-15	241	51-60	156
1-2	186	6-7	100	16-20	250	61-70	78
2-3	154	7-8	104	21-30	925	71-80	9
3-4	143	8-9	84	31-40	582	81-90	9
4-5	148	9-10	103	41-50	281	Not given	20

Ages in Relation to Conjugal Condition.

Years.	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	No.
0-10	0	21-30	403	51-60	96	81-90	4
11-15	2	31-40	409	61-70	49	91-100	
16-20	66	41-50	215	71-80	6		

The number of arpents under cultivation was 11,448, with cattle 3,107, and sheep 85. No horses yet in the colony. All the sheep were run on at River St. Charles, near Quebec.

The land under cultivation shows an average of seventeen arpents per family. The census of 1681 has the same small proportion.

IV. After 1665, the city of Paris, or rather the small territory encircling it, contributed a good share. The whole of the south and east of France had no connection with Canada at any time. Normandy, Perche, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Guienne and Gascony—on a straight line from north to south—furnished the bulk of the families now composing the French Canadian people.

Anyone who will peruse the numerous works containing letters and documents relative to the years 1632-70 in this colony may obtain more information on this subject.

In addition I may mention inventories (existing in original) of household effects, which afford a fair idea of the contents of the early

residences, such as furniture and utensils, from 1640 to 1670. The kitchen had a special fireplace where the cooking was done. Two or three chimneys (brick or stone) heated the main part of the house. Wooden floors everywhere, smooth, clean, covered with rug-carpets. Sleeping rooms upstairs. Double doors and windows for the winter. A large and well-lighted cellar, with a compartment for ice to be used during the summer months. The four walls of the building were made of thick lumber placed flat one over the other in a horizontal position. No chairs, but forms for two, four, or six persons. No wine, but cider and beer sometimes, also guildive, a second-class brandy, and rum. The population came altogether from that part of France where cider and beer were most in use; they immediately started a brewery and a plantation of apples on arriving in Canada. Guildive and rum came from France. Flannel, serge, heavy cloth, linens of various descriptions, all home-made, and of which the farmer's wife felt proud, were stored in cupboards or closets.

The evident superiority of the men who came immediately after 1631 over those who had previously tried to reside here is the object I wish to impress upon the mind of the reader. The manner in which they practised agriculture, their habits, customs, dresses, all things belonging to them, were afterwards adopted by all the new-comers. Such is the evidence very clearly shown by our archives.

V. From 1667 till 1672, a committee was active in Paris, Rouen, Rochelle and Quebec to recruit men, women and young girls for Canada. This committee succeeded in effecting the immigration into Canada of about 4,000 souls. Half of the girls were from country places in Normandy, and the other half were well educated persons who did not go into the rural districts, but married in Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal.

Since these people were brought to Canada by the organized efforts of a committee, we might expect to find some detailed record of their arrival and origin, but as yet no such information is known to exist. We are merely told by contemporary writers of that period how many arrived at such and such a date, and the port of embarkation,—that is all. Happily the church registers, notarial deeds, papers of the courts of justice, and several classes of public documents show abundantly the places of origin of those who actually established their families here.

VI. In 1673 the King stopped all emigration, and this was the end of the French attempts to colonize Canada. The settlers of course remained as they were, and in 1681, the whole population amounted only to 9,700 souls. Double this figure every thirty years and we have the present French population of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario and of the groups established now in the United States.

VII. The bulk of the men who came during 1633-1673, were from rural districts, and took land immediately on their arrival here. It is noticeable that a large number of them had, besides, a trade of their own, such as carpenter, cooper, blacksmith, so that a small community of twenty families possessed among themselves all the requirements of that kind that could be useful.

No land was given to those who did not show qualification for agricultural pursuits, and they were placed for three years in the hands of an old farmer before the title of any property was assigned to them.

A few, discharged soldiers from the Carignan Regiment, in 1670, swelled the number, and as these, together with many of the men from Poitou and Rochelle, came out single, they married the daughters of the previously settled Normans. This accounts for the marked absence at the present time throughout the French speaking communities of Canada of any but the Norman accent and forms of speech. All other accents had been overcome by that of the Norman mothers, and while it is true that the number of immigrants coming between 1662 and 1673 far exceeds that of the earlier period, yet those first settlers, through their conservative powers and clannish tenacity, could not be overcome by the influx of numbers, but became, on the contrary, the conquerors, and that, too, in a very short space of time.

After 1674, very few immigrants settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence. There were at most not more than thirty or forty a year, which were absorbed in the same manner into the general population. The wars which prevailed from 1684 to 1713 depleted this annual immigration so that the census of 1681 is taken as the basis for all French Canadian genealogical computation even up to our own time.

The population of France in 1680 did not exceed fifteen million souls.

In 1685 the population of New France was 11,000 souls. From that year until 1713 the colony passed through a succession of wars without a moment of rest: 1st. against the Iroquois; 2nd. the Wisconsin Indians; 3rd. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine; 4th. Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay. When peace was signed in 1713 the Canadians were 19,000.

Then followed thirty years of quietness during which period a certain number of immigrants settled in Lower Canada. At the beginning of hostilities in 1744 the French population (not including the Acadians) amounted to 39,000 souls.

We have had no seven year war, but a sixteen year fighting instead, terminating in 1760 by the capitulation of Montreal.

VIII. In regard to troops disbanded in Canada at various dates, much misunderstanding exists. The real facts are as follows: before

1665 no soldiers, therefore no disbandment; from 1665 to 1673 a few isolated cases; the regiment of Carignan came to Canada in 1665 and left in 1669 with the exception of one company which eventually was disbanded here; from 1673 to 1753 the garrisons of Canada consisted as a rule of about 300 men in all, under an infantry captain, sometimes called the major when no longer young.

Besides that "detachment" as it was styled, an addition of six or seven companies was sent into the colony during the years 1684-1713, on account of the war. From 1754 to 1760 the battalions sent under Dieskau and Montcalm (Seven Years war) do not seem to have left more than 400 men in the country. Consequently, the "military element" had very little to do with the formation of our French population.

IX. The date of the arrival of most of the heads of families will never be ascertained accurately. In order to face that difficulty with chances of success, I have resorted to the following plan: prepare an alphabetical list of all the heads of families, and afterwards, when consulting the old archives and various sources of information, be careful in comparing your list with any date or other indication you may find. In this manner it turns that a man was married in 1664, in Quebec, was a witness before the court in 1658, made a deed in 1672, in which he states that "before leaving Alençon in 1652, to come to Canada"..... The date of "1652" and "Alençon" are the very things I want—therefore I erase "1664" and "1658," previously entered and keep the most remote date, with the name of the locality. This process is slow, not very sure, but still it is the best yet found to reach a fair approximate estimate. Finally I hope to publish that tabular statement in a couple of years from now.

X. We have to deal now with La Hontan, a writer upon whose statements succeeding historians based their assertions as to the questionable character of many of the immigrants that were sent out by the committee (see V.) La Hontan, who came to Canada in 1684, wrote home to his friends describing the country and his experiences. These letters got collected and afterwards were published in book form. In some of these communications he describes the marrying scenes of newly arrived girl immigrants, and other spicy traits which never took place in Canada, and as it is that kind of matter that takes the eye and remains longer in the mind, this odd letter is the one most quoted. Now La Hontan in many of his writings describes with accuracy what occurred under his own eyes and must be believed, but this particular letter is so untruthful that there is little doubt that it was never written by La Hontan, especially as many of the incidents therein referred to indicate the scenes as having occurred in the West Indies and at a time, we know, quite distinct from that of the immigration alluded to in paragraph V. Let us

remember also that the facts in question happened nearly fifteen years before La Hontan's arrival in the country, and that he places them about 1653. The statements are all wrong.

The statements, too, from other sources, that Canada was peopled by discharged prisoners is quite untrue, for the Supreme Council of Canada exercised the greatest care in the selection of settlers, and the whole details of this case are found noted in the deliberations and correspondence of this council. Such items as—"two needle makers having come out with the last party of immigrants are not desirable settlers," are constantly to be found. A small number of persons of doubtful character are noted in the same archives for the next vessel which will return to France. The utmost precautions were taken in this priest-ridden colony to eject the objectionable immigrants. These are glaring facts not to be disputed.

XI. On the subject of that uniformity of language which is so remarkable amongst the French Canadians, we may observe that it is the best language spoken from Rochelle to Paris and Tours and from there to Rouen. Writers of the 17th Century have expressed the opinion that French Canadians could understand a dramatic play as well as the elite of Paris. No wonder to us since we know that theatricals were common occurrences in Canada and that the *Cid* of Corneille was played in Quebec in 1645; the *Tartuffe* of Molière in 1677, and so on during the two following centuries. The taste for music and the love for songs are characteristics of the French Canadian race. The facility with which they learn foreign languages is well known in America, where they speak Indian, Spanish and English as well as their own tongue.

Was there any patois used by the original settlers? Probably some. A word or an expression styled "patois" in the French language is one that has no place in the authorized dictionary of the race. We have none of that class now. Ancient words, though, are often employed, even by the educated people, but they are only obsolete; they belong to the dictionary of the 17th century and, therefore, rank as correct terms. In fact, they add to the picturesqueness of the language and double the resources of the tongue.

As a rule, the women that came from France could read, and a large number of them knew how to write. That accounts for the schools intended solely for girls which were established so early as 1639, whilst the boys only got theirs a long time afterwards, and not too regularly either. The slang, the patois, must have disappeared under the above influences, coupled with that of the clergy, during the first generation.

Let us say a word about the two main regions of France from where the Canadians came.

In the neighbourhood of the year 500 the Gauls had abandoned Poitou to the Saxons and emigrated to Brittany.

The same thing happened about the year 800 when the Normands conquered Neustria—now Normandie.

Therefore, the Canadians are the offspring of the soldiers of Clovis and Rollo, since they came from Poitou and Normandie.

I would say that the Norman blood has contributed four-tenths ; the Saxon also four-tenths ; and the Gaul two-tenths in the formation of the ancestors of the Canadian stock, but the mixture of the Norman and the Saxon took place in Canada, not before, because there was very little intercourse between the people of the various provinces of France in those days.

The French language—la langue franque—originated amongst the Franks in Poitou and spread across the River Loire to Normandie. No wonder that the first Canadians spoke pure French and not Gaelic, or Basque.

There is a census of France taken in 1860 concerning the tongues spoken by its population :

Flandres-Artois	200,000	Flemish.
Alsace-Lorraine	1,160,000	German.
Savoie	200,000	Italian.
Roussillon	100,000	Catalan.
Gascogne	160,000	Basque.
Brittany	1,070,000	Celt.
Provence-Languedoc	14,000,000	Provençal.
	16,890,000	

The regions where the French language predominates are : Picardy, Normandy, Isle de France, Maine, Anjou, Orléanais, Touraine, Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge—nineteen millions of souls—the very cradle of the Canadian emigrants, as shown on the accompanying map.

XII. There now remains to be considered only the question of the half-breeds, with regard to which there need be little doubt, for the civil as well as the religious authorities were strongly opposed to inter-marriages with the Indians. Then, too, there exists at the present day a complete record of the genealogy of each family, showing clearly that rarely did such a marriage take place. Of course those who removed to the North-West are not taken into account when speaking of mixed marriages, for far from forming part of the Canadian population they were

altogether lost to it. Indian half-breeds of all periods are looked upon as distinct in race from the white population.

In this brief glance at the origin of the French Canadians nothing has been said of Scotch, English and Irish elements which have been in many cases for about a century back absorbed by the original Norman and Poitou stock and become part of the race.

The conclusion which may be arrived at from this argument is that the French Canadian type is Norman, whether its origin be pure Norman, mixed Saxon and Norman, or that the Gascon, Scotch, Irish, and English contributed afterwards each its share in the development of that community.