
*The Christie Seigneuries:
Estate Management and Settlement
in the Upper Richelieu Valley, 1760–1854*

Following the fall of New France, Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel Christie acquired five seigneuries in the Upper Richelieu River Valley (in what is now Quebec). These properties remained in the Christie family until after the commutation of seigneurial tenure in 1854. Grounded in a database compiled from deeds of concession and other documents, this case-study examines the administrative practices of successive seigneurs and their impact on the settlement of the area, the development of the local economy, and the capitalist exploitation of the resources of the seigneuries.

The management of the Christie seigneuries differed significantly under successive owners, but these changes related more to the personality of the seigneur and his family circumstances and to changing economic conditions than to the judicial rights of the seigneur. Nevertheless seigneurial property rights were used to control access to land, to timber, to mill sites, and to other resources. Because of the increasing importance of these resources and their exploitation, the seigneur or his agent and, later, local entrepreneurs were able to have a significant impact on the social and economic development of the whole area. Despite the differences between seigneurial tenure and freehold tenure, Noël argues that during the century she examines economic development in areas of seigneurial tenure – which is usually cited as one of the distinguishing characteristics of Quebec's history – was not so very different from that elsewhere in British North America. It enabled the entrepreneurially minded seigneurs who owned the Christie seigneuries to monopolize and control scarce resources.

Noël also analyses what is known of those who settled on the Christie seigneuries – the censitaires – and the relations between seigneur and censitaire. She believes that that relationship was not feudal but paternalistic, operating in much the same way as paternalism operated under other forms of land tenure.

This study of the seigneurial system during the last century before the commutation act of 1854 – one of the few to examine a seigneury run by an English emigrant and his descendants – provides a picture of the seigneurial system in the wider context of the development of rural society and the exploitation of local resources in pre-industrial Canada.

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Upper Richelieu Valley,
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FRANÇOISE NOËL

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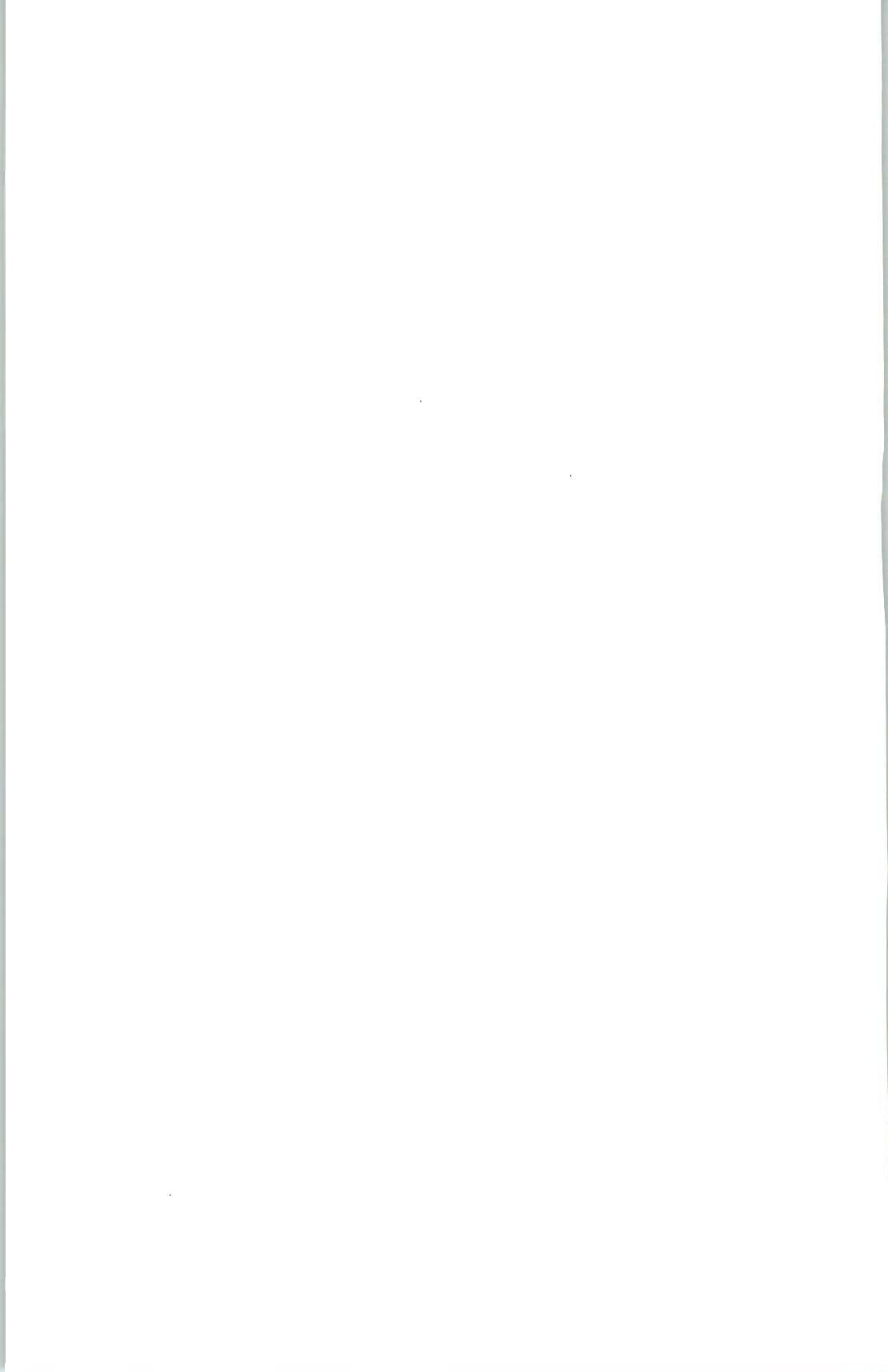
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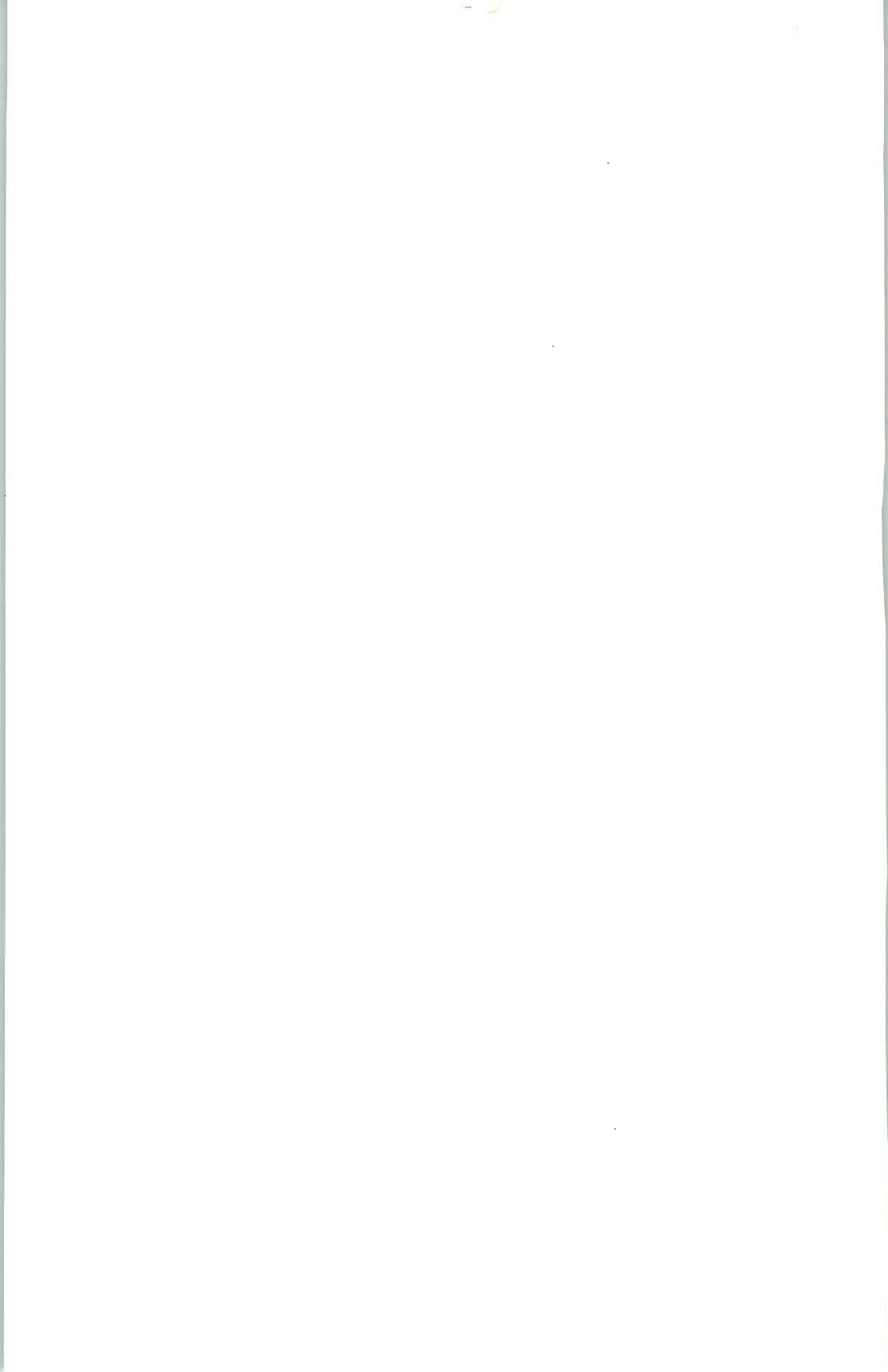
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Illustration 1: Springfield, Christieville. The manor house built by William Plenderleath Christie in Christieville (Iberville) is still standing today. It is sometimes referred to locally as Hazen Manor, although Hazen's manor house was destroyed at the time of the American War for Independence and Hazen himself never returned to the area after that war. Photograph by the author.



Illustration 2: Gabriel Christie (1722–1799)
Musée du Château Ramezay, with permission.



Illustration 3: Sarah Stevenson Christie (?1735–1803)
Musée du Château Ramezay, with permission.

GABRIEL CHRISTIE, Feuver, Major-Général des Armées du Roi, demeurant à Montréal, dans la Province de Quebec l'Amérique Septentrionale; donne pouvoir à *Monsieur Parouteau* demeurant à *Mt Noctus* de se retirer sur une portion de Terre, site dans ma Seigneurie de *Moungy au Mt Noctus* contenant *Quatre arpents* Arpens de Terre de front, sur ~~une~~ *profondeur qui se trouve depuis le Rivier Noctus jusqu'à la ligne de Jonction, borné au Nord par le No 2 & au Sud au No 4. aura en superficie 88 arpents 25 perches* *C'est à dire moitié de l'Est & du Sud, comme est avant par le No 2 & le No 4*

de la défricher, y bâtir, cultiver & demeurer sur le lieu, ouvrir un chemin pour la communication avec ses voisins sur la devanture de ladite Terre, sans aucun autre droit; de ne couper ni faire couper aucune sorte de Bois, ni d'aucune espèce, soit pour vente ou autrement; mais seulement de prendre ce ~~qui~~ ^{qui} ~~pour~~ ^{pour} ~~avoir~~ ^{avoir} besoin pour son propre usage, sans néanmoins enfreindre sur les Droits Seigneuriaux, suivis & observés en Canada; & faute par *ladite Monsieur Parouteau* de tenir feu lieu, & ouvrir un chemin comme il est dit ci-dessus, de cultiver & maintenir en bon état ladite Terre, durant l'espace de ~~deux~~ ^{deux} années, à commencer du ~~jour de la date de ces présentes~~ ^{jour de la date de ces présentes}, il sera loisible audit Major-Général Christie, ses Hoirs & Ayans Cause, de reprendre, concéder & bailler ladite Terre à qui bon lui semblera; cependant sera tenu *ladite Monsieur Parouteau* de payer les arréages de Cens & Rentes lors dûs & échus, dommages faits sur icelle pendant le tems qu'il en aura joui, s'il en est requis: si après l'échéance dudit terme, le Major-Général Christie juge à propos, ayant lui seul le pouvoir de juger si les conditions sont remplies, il promet *ladite Monsieur Parouteau* de lui donner un Titre de Concession de ladite Terre suivant la Loi du Canada, avec promesse que les Cens & Rentes n'excéderont point Sept Sols Tournois par arpent en superficie; & au cas de Corvée ne sera pas plus que cent cinq Sols Tournois par chacun an pour cent douze arpens en superficie, ou en proportion post plus ou moins; & comme les intentions ne vont qu'à concéder à ceux qui voudront réellement s'établir sur ledit lieu, en conséquence *ladite Monsieur Parouteau* présent Preneur, ne pourra transporter ces Présentes, sans le consentement dudit Major-Général Christie, ses Hoirs & Ayans Cause. A tout de ce qu'est dit ci-dessus, *ladite Monsieur Parouteau* a consenti & s'y oblige: en foi de quoi les Parties ont signé double de ces Présentes. Fait à *Charlottetown* ce *vingt-sept* *Juillet* *1791*

Monsieur Parouteau
Monsieur Christie

la première année c'est-à-dire le 1^{er} Mars 1792

Illustration 4: Location Ticket. Fearful of speculators, Gabriel Christie often gave early settlers a location ticket rather than a deed of concession, expecting them to fulfil certain minimal settlement duties before acquiring a deed. NAC, MG8 F99.9, 15.

Before the underwritten Public Notaries,

duly admitted and sworn as such, for the Province of Lower-Canada, in the British North America, residing at _____ in the County of _____ in the District of Montreal, and in the Province aforesaid.

Personally Appeared, Edme Henry, Esquire, residing at the Village of Laprairie, in the said District of Montreal, Attorney for N. C. Burton, General in His Majesty's Service, residing in London, in that part of the United Kingdom, called England, Seigneur and Proprietor of the Seignories of Lacole, Delery, Noyan, Subrevois, Blesry, Repentigny and their respective dependencies, as well as of all the Rivers and Waters comprised in the said Seignories, on the one part,

And _____ residing in the village of _____ on the other part.

Which parties, declared to have covenanted and agreed in the manner following, that is to say; that the said Edme Henry, Esquire for and in consideration of the cens or quit-rent, and the irredeemable and perpetual Seigniorial ground rent; as also for and under the Conditions, reserves, restrictions and privileges herein after stipulated in favor, and for the use and behoof of the said Seigneur, his heirs, and assigns; to be kept, done and performed by him the said _____

his heirs and assigns, for ever, by the said Edme Henry, Esquire, hath granted and confirmed; and by these presents, doth grant, convey and confirm unto the said _____ hereto present and accepting grantee, pursuant and under the following conditions, reserves and restrictions, for himself, his heirs and assigns, for ever, all that piece or parcel of land, situated in _____ being to the number _____

_____ in the sixth range of seignories of the said seignory, containing four arpents in front by twenty six arpents and two perches in depth, side being one hundred and four arpents and eighty perches in superficies, bounded to the north front by the number seven, in the seventh range to the east, in fifth by the number seven, in the fifth range of seignories of the said seignory, to the south, on one side by the number eight and to the west on the other side by the number eight. Baring in the presence and view of Mr. Edme Henry, Notary, dated in the month of November 1820.

With the reserve, however, of _____ the Seigniorial rights of the said Seigneur, his heirs and assigns, to have all the timber, that can be found on the above granted lot of ground _____

Whereof the said grantee is well acquainted, and is contented and satisfied; having viewed and visited the same,

The said tract of land moving in, and depending of the justice and Centre of the said Seignory of _____ and towards its domain charged by these presents of _____ current money of this Province, and of ground-rent, for every arpent in superficies, and _____ like money of Cens, or quit-rent, for every arpent in front, by the whole depth of the said lot of land. All which said Seigniorial ground rents and cens amounting together to a sum of _____ shall be paid yearly and perpetually to the said Seigneur, his heirs and assigns. And the first payment thereof, to be made on St. Martin's day, the eleventh of the month of November next; and so to be continued every year, on the same day, by the said grantee, his heirs and assigns for ever. Nevertheless, the said Seigneur, his heirs and assigns, shall be at liberty to alter the day of payment, but only on the same conditions.

Illustration 5: Deed of Concession 1820. Most of the deeds granted by Edme Henry were like this one. It was only in this period that an English translation of the deed of concession was prepared. This particular grant is unusual in that the timber on the lot is reserved to a third party. NAC, MG8 F99.9, 25, 20798.



Illustration 6: Grande Ligne, Delery. Although the concessions along the Grande Ligne in Delery were the same size as other standard lots, 4 by 28 arpents, they were often granted in half-lots and in this modern aerial photograph appear similar to other areas of French-Canadian settlement which were actually granted as long narrow lots. Quebec, Ministère de l'Énergie et des Ressources, Q79855-98, 1:20,000.



Illustration 7: Odeltown, Lacolle. The lots granted to English settlers along Odeltown Road were the same size as those along Grande Ligne in Delery, but this modern aerial photograph shows that the landscape which emerged was quite different. Quebec, Ministère de l'Énergie et des Ressources, Q79858-25, 1:20,000.



Illustration 8: Henryville, Noyan. In this aerial photograph one can still see the diagonal lines of the Watson Survey done for Colonel Campbell in 1794. Quebec, Ministère de l'Énergie et des Ressources, Q79103-82, 1:15,000.

AVIS!

Vu qu'un nomme

W. A. CAMERON

a fait afficher des *Placards* dans les différentes seigneuries cidevant appartenantes au feu

Wm. Plenderleath Christie, Ecuier

dans lesquels il notifie les censitaires de ne point payer a aucune personne des droits Seigneuriaux qu'on peut demander en vertu du Testament du dit W. P. Christie, et comme ces offiches peuvent tendre a empêcher quelques uns des censitaires de payer leurs Rentes, et vu l'interet que jai pour le bien etre des censitaires de ces seigneuries comme ayant eu affaire avec eux audessus de 25 ans, je l'ai jugé apropos de prendre connaissance des dits placards, pour donner mon AVIS aux Censitaires de ne point écouter ce qui est dit dans les dits placards, mais de continuer a payer aux propriétaires actuellement en possession des seigneuries.

W. M'GINNIS.

Christieville. Mars 3, 1861.

Illustration 9: Avis! This notice is one of several which William McGinnis had posted in various parts of the seigneuries in response to one by W.A. Cameron who was contesting the will and succession of W.P. Christie. NAC, MC8 F99.2, 1.

The Christie Seigneuries

Introduction

This case-study of the Christie seigneuries begins in 1760 with the Conquest of New France and extends to the end of the seigneurial period in 1854. It examines in detail the acquisition of seigneurial lands by a British army officer, Gabriel Christie, and traces his management practices and those of his successors.

Gabriel Christie was an officer in the 48th Regiment when he came to North America during the Seven Years' War. He was a career officer and remained in the army until his death in 1799. His activities as a seigneur and entrepreneur in Canada were always secondary to his military duties, but with the exception of a long absence during the American War for Independence, he was able to see to the management of his estate personally. His major purpose in investing in seigneurial lands seems to have been to increase his wealth by taking advantage of good investment opportunities and to provide a stable form of income for his heirs. He used to full advantage both his direct property rights (ownership of domain lands) and his juridical rights as a seigneur over the property conceded to his censitaires. The Christie seigneuries were located in the upper part of the valley of the Richelieu River and were not settled at the time of the conquest. Gabriel Christie was therefore in a position to determine the contractual rights to be included in the deeds of concession of these seigneuries. Because he planned to exploit the timber resources of the area, he retained a seigneurial monopoly over the right to use hydraulic power, to build mills of any sort, and to cut oak and pine timber. He built sawmills and drew settlers to the area when it was still an isolated frontier. When settlers first began to look for land in this area after the American War for Independence, Christie responded by having his seigneuries surveyed in order to control the movement of settlers onto his land and to protect his

timber reserves. He also increased the seigneurial rents (*cens et rentes*) imposed. Nevertheless, both English-speaking settlers of American origin and French-speaking Canadians from neighbouring seigneuries sought and received deeds of concession in his seigneuries, and the first permanent settlements soon emerged.

The second Christie seigneur, Napier Christie Burton, inherited the seigneuries from his father in 1799. He planned to manage them himself and came to Canada in 1800, but family matters and the Napoleonic Wars disrupted his plans. He returned to England and in 1815 named a land agent who would see to the management of his estate until his death in 1835. Because the estate was entailed he could not sell the seigneuries, but he did not invest in any new mills or in the domain properties.

The agent Burton appointed was Edme Henry, the son of a French army surgeon, who was a notary and a militia officer. During his administration, rents were raised once again and a supplementary payment to the agent was usually necessary to acquire the concession of land with good timber. This period offers an excellent first-hand look at just how the land business operated in the seigneuries. A network of client notaries, surveyors, and sawyers emerged around Henry who dispensed land and managed the business associated with the granting of land and milling rights. The survey of the seigneuries was completed and the remaining land was granted in a short period of time. Many of the *censitaires* sought grants for settlement and agriculture, but others held land in the seigneuries only because of the potential profit to be made in the timber trade. Henry favoured the latter group when he "sold" ungranted land, and as a result much of the land in the seigneuries became unavailable for settlement. The reserve on pine and oak timber was no longer enforced or included in new deeds of concession, however, and settlers could now benefit from the timber on their own lots by selling it to timber merchants, by bringing it to one of the local sawmills, or by turning it into potash. Short-term employment with timber merchants to cut or haul trees on other lots was also available to some of the settlers throughout the period studied. This did not result in a system of agro-forestry,¹ as it did in more isolated areas, but served merely to supplement the cash income of the agricultural population.

The period of Henry's administration was marked by social tension, although open opposition to his practices was muted by the need to stay in his good graces. The *censitaires* objected to Henry's "sales" of land and to the high rents, and eventually they petitioned the government to control these practices. As the agent of an ab-

sentee seigneur and a man who seemed to be exploiting seigneurialism for his personal profit, Henry was not likely to command the loyalty of the censitaires. In the face of growing economic difficulties the usual mutual accommodation between seigneur/agent and censitaire began to wear thin. This situation would be exacerbated in the late 1830s and early 1840s by the attempts of Burton's heirs to collect the accumulated arrears in seigneurial rents.

In 1835 the seigneuries were inherited by William Plenderleath Christie by virtue of Gabriel Christie's will and the entail on the estate. This succession would be contested in the courts until 1874, but his inheritance and therefore his succession were confirmed at that time. Although W.P. Christie directed the management of his seigneuries, he hired a full-time land agent, William McGinnis, his nephew by marriage, to see to the routine duties.

Christie and McGinnis took over the administration of the seigneuries at a particularly difficult moment. The Rebellions broke out shortly afterwards, and many of the Canadian censitaires in the seigneuries of Delery and Bleury were implicated in them. The English-speaking censitaires generally supported the government forces. Christie was openly hostile to those censitaires who participated in the Rebellions and forced them off their lands wherever possible. In response to the continued efforts of Burton's heirs to collect arrears, he also forced the sale of many lots in order to clear the title of these constraining arrears which were sometimes greater than the value of the land. Systematic collection practices were instituted, and careful accounts kept of the *cens et rentes* and *lods et ventes* (land transfer charges) for each seignury. All the surveys necessary for the creation of an accurate *papier terrier* or estate roll and plans of the seigneuries were completed, and the small area of ungranted land remaining was granted. Slowly, the revenue collected annually began to increase although seigneurial arrears never ceased to be a problem. W.P. Christie also invested in the domains of his seigneuries and was involved in a major land drainage project. He encouraged investment in larger and more permanent mills by selling or donating several of the more important mill sites in the seigneuries.

W.P. Christie had no children and left each of the seigneuries to a different heir or heirs. From the time of his death in 1845 to the end of seigneurial tenure in 1854, the seigneuries belonged, once more, to absentee owners, and their administration was increasingly depersonalized. The more professional estate management practices introduced by William McGinnis had prepared the way for this type of succession, as had the separation of almost all the domains and

mill sites from the seigneuries. Christie's heirs collected the revenue owed them as seigneurial dues through their agents, William McGinnis and Henry Hoyle, but they had no personal contact with the seigneuries whatsoever. Under these conditions, absenteeism caused few problems. The prominent role in the local economy that had once been played by the seigneur now fell to the agent, but, in fact, the influence of McGinnis and Hoyle arose not so much from their position as agents as from their importance as mill owners.

The problems created by inheritance touch all lay seigneuries. This study shows that each change of ownership had a direct impact on management practices. The seignury was a personal estate as well as a form of land tenure, and the individual circumstances of the seigneur and the seigneurial family could play an important role in the way these were managed.

The view offered in this study is largely from the top, partly because much of the documentation available was produced by the seigneurs in the administration of their seigneuries. However, the position of the censitaires and their relationship to the seigneur is also analysed, mainly through an examination of their petitions against seigneurial tenure, census data, and the records of suits for non-payment of arrears. Population growth, agricultural production, and the development of an infrastructure are examined in order to assess the economic progress of the region and to obtain an overview of the emerging social structure.

There is no agreement among historians as to a proper conceptual framework in which to examine the development of Lower Canada, particularly within the seigneurial area, in the first half of the nineteenth century. In their study, Dépatie, Lalancette, and Dessureault characterize the nature of a seignury on the basis of the origin of seigneurial revenue, which may or may not be feudal, but they point out that the nature of a seignury should not be confused with a social formation.² In his study of Montreal, Brian Young also describes the seignury as feudal in character, but he places the transformation of this feudal institution within the transition to industrial capitalism in the early nineteenth century. Although seigneurialism was not incompatible with commercial capitalism or even with industrial production, the greatest opposition to its practice in Montreal came from "industrial producers and large capitalist landowners." By 1840 the seigneurs of Montreal, the Sulpicians, were forced to accept any "legitimate request" for the commutation of a censitaire's land into freehold tenure.³

Allan Greer's *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant* defines the rural society of the Lower Richelieu Valley as "feudal."⁴ Although he documents

“the intrusion of capital” into the Lower Richelieu, he concludes that “there were few signs by the early nineteenth century of any developments in the direction of a genuinely capitalist order, that is, to ‘a society producing commodities for exchange in the market, whose principal classes were capital-owning entrepreneurs and property-less wage-earners’.”⁵ Nonetheless he documents the substantial investments made by the seigneurs in mills, and in his discussion of artisan production, he refers to several different types of mills, a brewery, a distillery, a brick kiln, a pottery at Saint-Denis whose wares were sold throughout Lower Canada, and shipbuilding at Sorel.⁶ He describes the “semi-proletarianization” of the “peasantry” of Sorel by recruiters for the Northwest Company, and he suggests this is “a case of a capitalist enterprise making profitable use of labour from a pre-capitalist social formation in such a way as to prevent rather than to encourage the development of its productive forces.”⁷ In Saint-Denis, where the wheat trade was important, over half the heads of household no longer held land by 1831: 14 per cent were tenant farmers and 24 per cent were rural householders. However, because this group of day labourers does not seem “to have played a central role in the agriculture of St Denis,” Greer maintains that the peasant class was relatively homogeneous and exhibited no great disparities in wealth.⁸ These examples suggest that the author’s interpretive framework, which applies essentially to the agricultural population, forces him to dismiss the many changes which were evidently occurring as inconsequential. Such a perspective would also suggest that an industrial capitalist society emerges rather suddenly and fully formed. The utility of such a framework for the analysis of other areas of Lower Canada therefore seems limited.

Two other studies offer a more rounded characterization of Lower Canadian society, but they disagree about what constitutes a capitalist society. Gérald Bernier and Daniel Salée⁹ argue that before 1846 the colonial economy was dominated by merchant capital but that those in this social class were not capitalists because they did not invest in production but in circulation. They extorted a surplus from independent producers largely through their control of land and their domination of the judicial and political structures.¹⁰ These social relations of production, which were therefore not capitalist, existed both in areas under seigneurial tenure and in the townships. David Schulze,¹¹ looking at essentially the same phenomenon, disagrees. He considers the industrial production in the seigneuries based on seigneurial privilege to be capitalist; investment in industry by merchants is one of the routes to industrialization discussed by Marx. Rural industries emerged both throughout the seigneurial

area and under freehold tenure where property rights were often constrained by the same types of conditions and privileges as those under seigneurial tenure.

The difficulty with these various approaches is that by focusing so exclusively on the mode of production they attempt to differentiate between areas of seigneurial and freehold tenure. The complexity of the colonial situation after the Conquest necessitates a more global approach that can incorporate both. Because some of the same elements of the economic and social structure exist under both feudalism and capitalism, and given the complexity of the colonial situation after the Conquest, a more global approach is required. Jean-Marie Fecteau's recent study of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in the Lower Canadian context provides such a framework by looking at the mode of regulation rather than the mode of production.¹² The periodization which emerges from his study of the regulation of poverty and crime could also apply to the seigneurie, which would be viewed as one of the many decentralized institutions of control under the feudal mode of regulation. Although this mode of regulation was challenged, according to Fecteau, in the decade from 1810 to 1820, that challenge remained essentially at the level of discourse prior to 1840. It was only after 1840 that a total restructuring took place which allowed new institutions to develop and old ones, if maintained, to be reinserted into the emerging capitalist mode of regulation. The advantage of this framework over those which look more specifically at mode of production is that it can encompass the seigneur, the large freehold proprietor, and the great merchant who all acted as patrons and exercised their paternalistic control over commodity producers or waged workers in their domain *and* who were all displaced by the rise of industrial capitalism. This approach allows one to study Lower Canadian society without an artificial distinction between the areas of freehold and the areas of seigneurial tenure or between the French and the English institutions which co-existed in this society.

The social relations between seigneur and censitaire in my study fit Fecteau's periodization as well. It was in the 1820s that the legitimacy of seigneurialism was seriously challenged, but it was not until the 1840s that the personal relations based on patronage and clientage were replaced by a depersonalized creditor-debtor relationship whose development was facilitated by the decentralization of the judicial apparatus that accompanied the emergence of a capitalist mode of regulation. By using a detailed case-study of the Christie seigneuries to examine the historical process by which the relationship between seigneur and censitaire was established and constantly

renegotiated in response to changing economic conditions, to the situation, personality, and needs of the incumbent seigneur, and to the relative power of the censitaires, this study tries to recreate the way in which the seigneurie as an institution was experienced by the people it affected and to place the seigneur and the censitaire in this historical process. Although I would describe this society as pre-industrial rather than feudal, the fact that the seigneurie and the relations between seigneur and censitaire were transformed and reintegrated into a capitalist logic in the period after 1840 is indisputable.

There are several reasons why the Christie seigneuries are particularly suited to a study of this question. First of all, these seigneuries, if not unique, are nonetheless different from the older seigneuries along the St Lawrence which were settled at a much slower pace and primarily during the French régime. Because the settlement of the Christie seigneuries is concentrated in the period from 1780 to 1850, comparisons with the settlement of the Eastern Townships or Upper Canada are not out of order. Second, it is only by studying seigneuries settled at least in part in the nineteenth century that one can examine more closely the questions of land speculation by seigneurs and rising seigneurial rents. To determine whether or to what extent the Christie seigneurs contributed to "la crise du régime seigneurial,"¹³ their land-granting practices had to be examined consistently over time and in sufficient detail to identify any favouritism or any systematic discrimination which might have been at work. The deed of concession, the instrument through which the seigneur granted land, was therefore the key document for the purposes of this study.

The analysis of notarial records in a series has become a common practice, but at the time of the creation of the Upper Richelieu Valley Database (URV database) a decade ago, few methodological guidelines existed. The first step was to organize the information found in the deed into variables. This was done by studying sample deeds from every period and including a maximum number of variables, even though the information might not be equally available in all periods. The range of answers one might get for any particular variable, 'residence' for example, was also unknown. The solution was to use code numbers so that the full range of answers could be obtained and examined before any reclassifications were done. It was on the basis of the preliminary analysis of this data and supporting qualitative sources that the administrative periods which underlie this study were determined. And, as we have seen, these are not concurrent with changes of ownership per se.

With its 929 observations and over 100 variables, the URV database is the equivalent of a seigneur's daily correspondence. From it we can extrapolate – I went to Lacolle Mill with Jean-Baptiste Grisé today and signed deeds of concession for ten of the inhabitants – just as clearly as if Gabriel Christie had kept a journal himself. We can also tell, in most cases, who those censitaires were, what their occupations were, if they could sign their names, whether or not they were already resident in the seigneurie (and for how long), where the land they were granted was located, who had surveyed it and when, the size of their grants, the *cens et rentes* they were to pay, and all of the clauses involving seigneurial rights which applied to their land. The variables most salient to this study are presented in Appendix 1, but the URV database as a whole, which is more fully described in my doctoral thesis, informs this book throughout.¹⁴

The very possibility of creating a database such as this one from deeds of concession, and especially the organization of the data on the basis of land parcels which can be accurately located on the cadastral maps of the seigneuries (rather than on the basis of individuals), is in itself a reflection of the application of English land-granting practices in the seigneurial context by Gabriel Christie. Without his policy of survey before settlement and of using lot numbers to identify each parcel granted, this organization of the data would not have been possible. The advantage over a nominative series is that it allows one to observe the land-granting process spatially as well as temporally, as figure 2 and figure 5 in Appendix 1 exemplify. Given the significance of geographical boundaries such as the Richelieu River within the study area, the size of the area, and the two major population movements into it, the spacial dimension is crucial to an understanding of the history of these seigneuries.

The landscape created through the settlement process in the Christie seigneuries was a function of both the seigneurs' policies and the censitaires' practices; of both culture and geography. That landscape has survived the ravages of time in silent testimony to the historical process studied here.

*The Aftermath of
the Conquest:
Gabriel Christie,
1763–1777*

ACQUISITION OF AN ESTATE

When Britain decided to send forces to North America in response to the fighting that had broken out on the Ohio frontier, the 48th Regiment was among those assigned to the commander in charge, General Edward Braddock. The regiment arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1755 and prepared to march into the interior. Later that summer Great Britain suffered one of its most inglorious defeats when Braddock's army was routed at Monongahela by a handful of French and Indian troops. One of officers in the 48th Regiment was Captain Gabriel Christie, a thirty-three-year-old Scot who had been born in Stirling in 1722, the son of James Christie, a merchant involved in the colonial tobacco trade out of Baltimore, and Katherine Napier, the daughter of a prominent local family.¹

Having been assigned to assist the quartermaster general, Christie had remained at Fort Cumberland and was not present at the battle in which Braddock lost his life. He carried out his duties to the satisfaction of his superiors, and in 1757 he was formally named to the position of assistant deputy quartermaster general.² Although war with France was officially declared in 1756, the North American front was relatively quiet for the first two years of the Seven Years' War. Placed in command of the garrison at Albany, a frontier city on the Hudson River in New York, Christie probably had ample opportunity to socialize with the manorial élite, and it was around this time that he married Sarah Stevenson, a native of Albany.³

Christie was at the siege of Louisbourg but wintered in England in 1758. In 1759 he was promoted to major and to deputy quartermaster general assigned to General Thomas Gage. His duties took him to both England and Boston and eventually down the Richelieu

River towards Montreal as the British executed their three-pronged attack on that city in 1760.⁴ In the aftermath of the capitulation of Montreal, military governors were placed in the three major cities of the conquered colony: Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal. The 48th Regiment was assigned to Trois-Rivières, but in 1762 Christie was promoted and reassigned. As lieutenant-colonel (army rank) and deputy quartermaster general for all the British forces in North America, he was stationed in Montreal where his friend Ralph Burton, brigadier of the Northern District, was also located. In the following years both Christie and Burton would clash repeatedly with General James Murray, the first civil governor of the new British colony.⁵ Christie was one of a faction of Scots associated with Lady Sarah Lennox, a distant Napier relative, and a protégé of Lord George Germain. Although these ties, as well as those to lesser patrons such as Jeffery Amherst and Sir Frederick Haldimand, were essential to his success, there were also times when these connections could make relations with others more difficult because the animosities and political fortunes of the great patrons tended to have echoes among the ranks of their lesser patrons. The conflict with Murray, given the animosity between him and Burton, may have been such a case; a later conflict with Guy Carleton definitively was.⁶

It was during this time in Montreal that Gabriel Christie began to acquire seigneurial properties. Most of them were in the valley of the Richelieu River which linked the Lake Champlain–Hudson River corridor to the St Lawrence at Sorel between Montreal and Trois-Rivières. Christie's acquisition of property in the colony was not an unusual case. As a member of a new colonial élite in the process of establishing its hegemony over the economic life of the colony, his activities should be seen as a small part of that larger social process. Although historians have focused more on the Scottish merchants involved in the fur trade and their rise to dominance over the French-Canadian bourgeoisie,⁷ the consequences of the Conquest on the acquisition of land also deserve attention. Here, as elsewhere in the post-Conquest economy, the Scot was ubiquitous.⁸

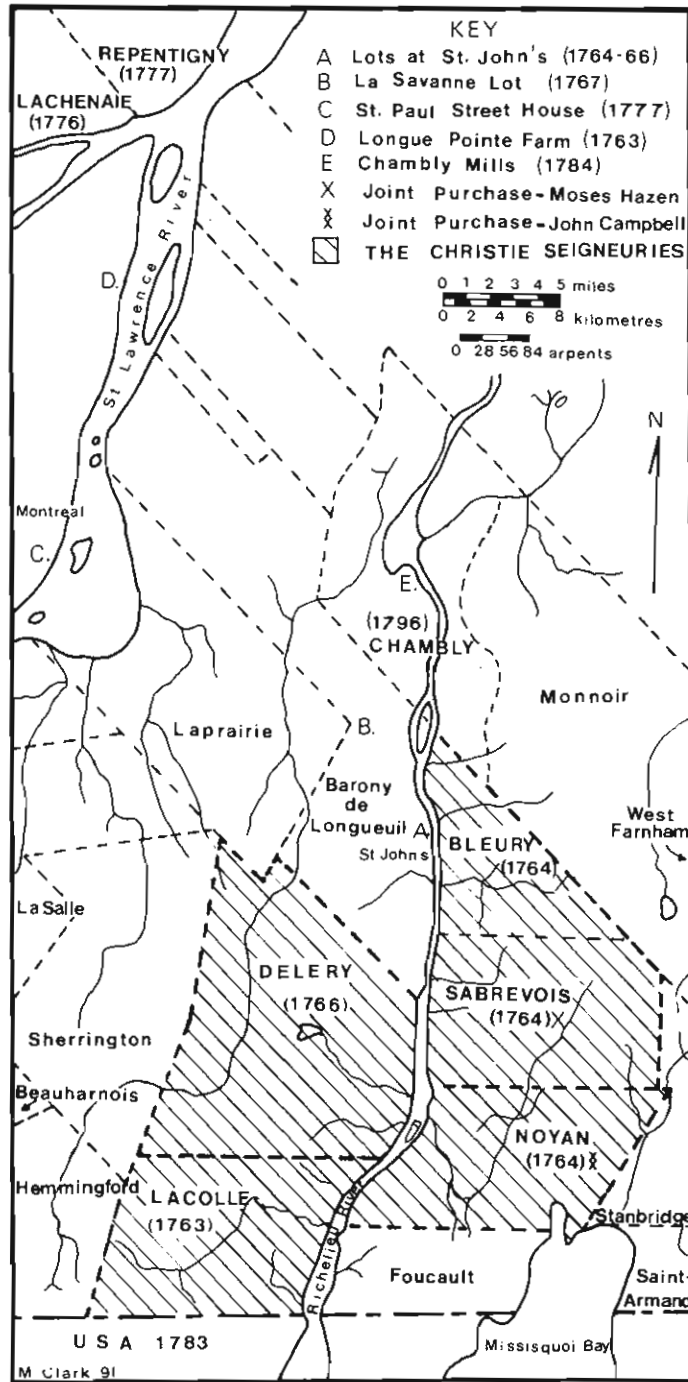
In New France land had not been granted directly to its farmers and settlers but in large tracts (seigneuries) to proprietors, usually members of the nobility, as an acknowledgment of their prestige and social status. Because most of these seigneurs were military officers who had fought in the Seven Years' War, they did not feel particularly secure under the new régime. To be sure, the capitulation of Montreal had included a guarantee that the Canadians would not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their property, but it was not certain that this would apply to the military proprietors of

land in the strategic Lake Champlain-Richelieu River corridor who had done little to meet the requirement of their grant to settle on and to have their land settled ("tenir feu et lieu"). Should the conquering monarch decide to dispossess them, this failure could easily serve as a pretext. To many, it seemed wiser not to leave matters to chance, but to sell their properties in the time allotted by the peace treaty and return to France.

The result was predictable. In 1764 and 1765, the market was glutted with bargain-priced seigneuries and these were snapped up by those on the spot with money to invest. This was the beginning of an important transfer of seigneurial property from the hands of the French nobility to that of the bourgeoisie, both French and British, a process which was well under way by 1791.⁹ Whether they were merchants, army officers, or administrators, the interest of these new seigneurs in their properties extended beyond the status attached to ownership. Seigneurial property included or could include the exclusive right to build mills, to use water power, and even to sell timber. It was the acquisition of these rights which attracted the buyers. The transfer of seigneurial properties which occurred in the years after the Conquest was, therefore, of more than passing importance for the economic development of the colony.

By 1766 Christie had become one of the greatest land proprietors in Canada – at least in terms of area – if one includes the seigneuries in which he then had a half-share and would later acquire in full (see Map 1). Because he had chosen his properties for their timber resources rather than the rents they would produce, most had not been very expensive. Unsettled seigneuries on which no grants had yet been made gave the new proprietor control of the terms of those grants from the beginning. Christie seemed well aware of this; his deeds of concession reserved to the seigneur (himself) the right to all the oak and pine on any land granted, the right to construct any type of mill, the right to use the water power of the streams, and the right to erect any buildings along the shores of its rivers and streams. Such a monopoly, legally entrenched in the deeds of concession, was a great advantage to an entrepreneur interested in the timber trade and sawmilling. This was clearly the attraction of the unsettled seigneuries on both sides of the Richelieu River. Not only was good oak and pine plentiful, but the Richelieu was a major transportation route and the rapids between St John's (Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu) and Chambly did not interfere with the passage of logs or small boats.

The first seignery that Christie acquired in this area was purchased in 1763 from the widow and daughters of a French officer,



Map 1 The Christie Seigneuries and Other Properties Acquired by Gabriel Christie, 1763-99.

Daniel de Beaujeu, who had been killed during the war. Commonly referred to as de Beaujeu and later as Lacolle, it combined the earlier grants known as Lacolle and Chazy and extended along the Richelieu for six leagues (29.5 kilometres), well into New York.¹⁰ In 1766, Christie acquired the adjacent seigneurie of Delery (De Léry) to the north, when Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry momentarily thought of joining the exodus of the French élite to France. He soon changed his mind but the sale of his seigneurie had already been completed.¹¹ Described as two leagues (9.8 kilometres) of frontage by three leagues (14.7 kilometres) in depth, this seigneurie was actually considerably larger (68,884 arpents or 23,550 hectares) because it was the first of the seigneuries along the Richelieu to abut those whose frontage was on the St Lawrence. Much of its interior was marshy, and in 1766 it was still unsettled.

Christie also wanted to acquire a seigneurie to the west of Delery, LaSalle, but it was not for sale. In 1764, however, he acquired a mortgage which existed on this property and, later, two other obligations owed by its owner, René Cartier, a Montreal merchant. He then sued for payment and the seigneurie was seized. If all had gone well, he would have walked away the new owner, but the auction was somehow stopped with the aid of François Simonnet, a notary. It is interesting to note that this failure came at the hand of a Canadian merchant who, unlike the military élite, had no intention of returning to France and that a superior knowledge of French law seems to have been the decisive factor in stopping the purchase. After this unsuccessful attempt to acquire LaSalle, Christie continued to hold Cartier's obligations until 1774.¹² Christie was absent from the colony, when the seigneurie was eventually sold in 1775, and again in 1782, so that it is not known if he had lost interest in this property or had merely missed the opportunity to acquire it. That his goal was to expand his timber monopoly over as large an area as possible is clearly evident, however.

In 1760 there were four unsettled seigneuries on the east bank of the Richelieu whose topography and resources were similar to those on the west. Foucault, the southernmost which jutted into Lake Champlain on the west side of the arm of Missisquoi Bay, was acquired by General Murray and later sold to Henry Caldwell. The other three, Noyan, Sabrevois, and Bleury, were acquired in 1764 by Christie in partnership with fellow military officers: Noyan with John Campbell, and Bleury and Sabrevois with Moses Hazen, an officer of American origin.¹³ Noyan and Sabrevois were both two leagues by three (9.8 by 14.7 kilometres) but Bleury, although granted as three leagues (14.7 kilometres) square, was triangular in shape, reduced by half by the boundaries of Chambly and Monnoir

which had been granted earlier. Noyan provided access to Lake Champlain by way of Missisquoi Bay and its main river, South River (Rivière du Sud), was navigable for the first six miles by bateau and canoe, but its low-lying lands were poorly drained and covered with marsh and cedar swamp.¹⁴ Noyan had been settled before the Conquest, but its farms were abandoned during the war. They were reunited to the domain of the seigneurie on 2 April 1764 by order of Christie's friend, Ralph Burton (now lieutenant-governor of Montreal), just before the purchase.¹⁵ The timber on this seigneurie was further protected by a French royal ordinance which prohibited the cutting or removal of any timber from this seigneurie, on penalty of seizure and a fine.

Christie and Moses Hazen also jointly acquired several farms in the barony of Longueuil, one at La Savanne and, their greatest coup in terms of investment properties, several at the ruined fort of St John's. They also shared a long-term lease to the domain of the barony of Longueuil. These holdings were acquired through good timing and useful contacts. The concessions, sales, and lease by which they were obtained¹⁶ were arranged by the agent for the Longueuil heirs before the Baronne de Longueuil married William Grant, another Scot who invested heavily in seigneurial land. It is highly unlikely that these properties would have been alienated once Grant had taken over the administration of the barony. Christie's farms would eventually produce a healthy revenue when these properties were subdivided into lots for the town of St John's and sold for secured annuities (*rentes constitués*). Grant's heirs, however, could only continue to collect the *cens et rentes* at the rate set for farmland.¹⁷ When Moses Hazen's farms were later sold, these seigneurs used their *droit de retrait* to repossess two of them, but Christie's would never be sold and hence remained closed to repossession.

As well as this block of properties on the Richelieu, Christie also bought two seigneuries to the north of Montreal Island. Lachenaie, acquired in 1766 for £1,819,¹⁸ was his most expensive acquisition because it already had two developed domains, one at the village of Lachenaie, the other at Mascouche Rapids. The improvements consisted of a windmill, a sawmill, the machinery for a water-driven gristmill, a stone house, and various other buildings which together accounted for over one-quarter of the purchase price or £486. Extending inland for six leagues (29.4 kilometres) from the river, this seigneurie still had much good timber close to its mills. A ferry monopoly (*droit de bac*) was also included in the seigneurial rights purchased. Then, in 1777 Christie acquired the seigneurie of Repentigny, adjacent to Lachenaie.¹⁹ Christie was about to leave the

colony to participate in the American War for Independence at the time. This seigneurie included no domains, but it was fairly well settled, and this purchase may have been his way of securing an annual income for his family during his absence. The only seigneurie purchased by Christie outside the Montreal area was Islet du Portage, bought in 1764 and sold the following year.

Two other purchases were essentially for Christie's personal use: a farm at Longue Pointe on Montreal Island, which although rented, provided his family with supplies, and a stone house on Saint-Paul Street in Montreal which he had previously rented as his residence.²⁰

Christie reaped the benefits of being among the first of the British to arrive in the colony after the Conquest. These early years were a time of great uncertainty about the future of the colony, and properties were sold at that time which might not have been available at any other time. It is evident that all but one of these seigneuries were purchased on the basis of their long-term potential or for their timber resources rather than for their immediate revenue-producing capacities. His assessment of their value may have been a product of familiarity with the army's need for timber while assistant to the quartermaster general. As late as 1789, a fellow officer would still describe Christie's properties in the Upper Richelieu Valley as "some useless lands in an obscure part of the province about which no other reasonable man would ever have spent a farthing."²¹ These opportunities would have been useless, however, without the resources to make his purchases. The extent of Christie's wealth at the time of his purchases is not known, but his army pay would not have supported such investments. Family money gained in the tobacco trade was probably the source of his funds. Christie also increased his purchasing power by joining with two of his fellow officers in joint purchases even though he disliked having to depend on others. This suggests that his resources were taxed to the limit by his acquisitions.

PROBLEMS OF ESTATE MANAGEMENT

A military career could create opportunities for officers, as their investments in Canadian seigneuries show, but it also necessitated moves about the world which could prove detrimental to personal business interests. Christie faced this problem frequently. Although stationed in Montreal from 1762 to 1777, he was nonetheless absent from the colony from 1766 to 1768 and during all of 1772, part of 1773 and 1774, and all of 1775. In 1777 he was transferred to Antigua, and he would not return to Montreal before 1784.

Having little control over his absences, Christie tried a variety of methods for the management of his business affairs, none of which he seemed to find very satisfactory. He lacked a trustworthy individual who could have acted in his stead while he was away. Studies of Scottish firms operating in the colonies at this time have shown the extent to which these were based upon partnerships between kinsmen, sons and nephews often being placed in the colonies as agents to act for the parent firm. Probably it was in the hope of finding such a person among his kin that Christie settled his niece Margaret, and her millwright husband, James Bell, at St John's around 1772. Bell acted as overseer there until after the war, but did not prove entirely satisfactory.²² Between 1760 and 1777, then, the management of his estates proceeded as well as it could under Christie's occasional direct supervision and under the direction of agents and partners who seldom measured up to his expectations. This may be why Christie resorted to leasing some of his properties from time to time.

When Christie left for England in 1766, Moses Hazen was left in charge of their joint properties. His management was to be based on an agreement signed with Christie whereby £3,333 were to be spent on specified improvements. Hazen took his role of seigneur quite seriously and actively worked to establish settlers in Bleury, but he also spent more money than had been anticipated even though he did not have the funds for his half of the expenditures. Christie's irritation over this matter finally led him to insist that Hazen mortgage his half of the properties to pay his share of the monies expended, which had reached the rather substantial sum of £800.²³

This experiment with joint ownership had evidently proved unsatisfactory, and in 1770 Christie and Hazen had their property divided by a board of arbitrators chosen by the Court of Common Pleas in Montreal. Christie's share thereafter consisted of the triangular northern tip of Bleury known as Mille Roches, all of Sabrevois, a half-interest in the leased domain at St John's²⁴ which he placed under the charge of James Bell, and half of the farms at St John's. Hazen kept the remainder of Bleury, where most of his efforts at settlement had been concentrated, and the farm at La Savanne. Further development was interrupted by the American War for Independence, in which both Christie and Hazen played an active role, but on opposite sides. Hazen's defection would later provide Christie with the opportunity to acquire all of his properties.

At Lacolle, Christie's first agent proved a disappointment. Christie had rebuilt the sawmill there²⁵ and was involved in the sale of timber. During his absence his agent, David Alves, failed to get some logs

down to Quebec from Sorel when asked to do so, thereby causing Christie a great inconvenience. He wrote in frustration to Hazen: "I cannot Imagine the Cold weather was any sufficient Excuse, I don't know how I'll get off the scrape of that Freight. There is no depend[en]ce on any body I think."²⁶ Soon afterward Christie's direct administration of Lacolle Mill ended, and he resorted instead to a lease.

Christie's 1766 agreement with Benjamin Davis and Thomas Lancy for the lease of Lacolle Mill might more accurately be described as an employment contract.²⁷ These sawyers were to be responsible for hiring their own assistants and labourers and were paid by the piece, but the mill and all of its equipment remained Christie's property, and the trees which would be cut also belonged to the seigneur. Although the sawyers were responsible for maintaining and repairing the mill, they were advanced the spare parts likely to be required as well as a good horse. They were to cut and draw the timber to the mill at their own expense and transport the boards and planks in rafts, every spring and autumn, to any part of the Richelieu River between Lacolle and Sorel, receiving a fixed price for planks and boards. Christie, however, could also purchase other types of wood at customary prices.

The sawyers were to conduct the mill according to rules set down by Christie. They could cut timber anywhere in the seigneurie, but only for the mill and its dependencies, or for Christie. The lumber was to be cared for properly. All boards and planks had to be placed in piles regularly as they came out of the mill or as they were transported to another place "in a good neat careful way." Slabs were not to be destroyed but could be used to enclose their land if required. Lacolle was on the frontier and no local provisions were available. The sawyers were therefore given permission to graze four horses and four cows on any part of the seigneurie which was not enclosed and to cut hay for them, and they were free to choose a farm of three arpents frontage on which to establish themselves. To help them get started, they were advanced two cows. A domain farm was therefore an adjunct to the mill site in this period.

Because the settlement of the Richelieu Valley extended only to St John's, the mill would also require its own source of labour. If the workers were not also settlers, they would need accommodation. A four-room house which Gabriel Christie had built at the mill served that purpose. When several runaway tenants from an estate in New York arrived at the mill in 1766, this must have appeared providential. The mill needed labourers; they needed cash to pay off their debts and get a new start.²⁸ Christie gave them permission to settle

in the seignury in the form of a joint deed of concession which promised to give each of them a separate deed at a later time. By its terms they had to bring the oak and pine cleared from their farm to the seigneurial mill where they would be paid for the value of their labour only. Although this arrangement may have suited these new arrivals for a time, there is no record that they remained long enough to acquire separate deeds.

The terms and conditions of the second lease for Lacolle Mill in 1772 were much the same as those of the first except that the two lessees, Joseph Lafontaine and Benjamin Labonté, were allowed somewhat more initiative in the marketing of their product.²⁹ The mill farm now consisted of 120 arpents and the sawyers were expected to cultivate it as much as time permitted. A second mill site having been established below the first, they were expected to take care not to damage the lower mill. A cutting area for the exclusive use of each mill had been designated; trespass would not be tolerated. The lease was for a flat fee of £62.10 (\$250) per year for the mill privilege and buildings, but the lessees were also required to provide Christie with lumber for his own use and for his property at Lake Champlain at specified rates. Furthermore, Christie could ask for lumber to be delivered to any location, and he would be allowed to purchase it for 5 shillings below the going price for 1000 feet. As before, Gabriel Christie ensured that the lessees could begin working immediately by advancing them provisions. His capital resources clearly facilitated the establishment of this enterprise on an unsettled frontier.

To supply Lacolle Mill and a new establishment on Lake Champlain³⁰ with provisions Christie looked to his more settled properties near Montreal, which might be expected to have a surplus for sale. If the farm at Longue Point could not supply his needs, he turned to Ambroise Magnan, the merchant who had leased Lachenaie from him, and asked him to purchase what was needed from the habitants there. This did not always mean he could get what he sought at a good price, however, and he sometimes felt that the habitants took advantage of his "need." Christie's attempt to purchase a horse for Lacolle Mill gives us insight into this process. He wrote to Magnan saying that he was looking for a horse to make a pair and that someone had been waiting a week to take them to Lacolle, where they were needed. He would pay cash which meant it should cost less. He did not insist on a matched pair, but the horse had to be big and strong and the price reasonable. When Magnan sent him what he considered to be a skinny horse with awful curves in its

right hind leg, at least ten years old, and "not worth 100 francs," he was rather upset. Sending it back, he said he would try to find one in Montreal.³¹ If this was an attempt to dupe him, he was not taken in.

The Christie-Magnan correspondence offers other examples of the complementary interrelationships of Gabriel Christie's properties and of the way in which all of the people connected to him became a pool of human resources which could be drawn on. For example, when Magnan was setting up the mill at Mascouche Rapids he drew upon James Bell's expertise to set up the sifter (*bluteau*). Christie found samples of the various screens available and sent them to Magnan. He also made available four large oak timbers suitable for the construction of the mill which he had set aside earlier. Christie was also involved in finding a suitable bull for Magnan's livestock and allowed Magnan to take certain extra trees from his garden at Longue Pointe. Magnan, in turn, was asked to find the best seed wheat possible to sow at Lake Champlain. Other examples of such interchanges would quite likely be found if more of Christie's letters had survived. These exchanges are of importance because they touch upon the important question of the role of the seigneur as an agent of diffusion for new ideas and technologies. Christie was obviously acting in this way in the area of livestock and crop improvements and milling technology³² through his immediate patron-client relationships, although the extent to which these new techniques filtered down to the level of the habitants is unknown.

SEIGNEUR AND CENSITAIRE

When Christie began exploiting the timber resources of Lacolle, he had no censitaires to contend with and those who arrived thereafter had to accept his monopoly rights. Christie wanted the same kind of timber reserves and milling monopoly at Lachenaie, but there he was constrained by the land grants made by the previous owner. As one might expect, his desires with respect to the use of timber reserves did not coincide with those of his censitaires. It is therefore not surprising that the relationship between the new seigneur and his censitaires was marked by incidents of conflict in this period of readjustment after the Conquest.

In 1770 Christie leased the seigneurie of Lachenaie and its mills (except the windmill and the ferry crossing) to Ambroise Magnan. In doing so, however, he reserved certain of his rights to ensure that the lessee would follow his policy on certain matters. Indeed,

the detailed instructions found in his correspondence with Magnan are more along the lines of letters to an agent than to a lessee. Unfortunately, only Christie's side of the correspondence has survived and the first-hand knowledge of events and the descriptions which Magnan's replies would have provided are missing. The reactions of the censitaires to Christie's attempts to strengthen his position must therefore be assessed through the filter of his bias. Despite its obvious limitations, this correspondence offers an important window on the relations between seigneur and censitaires in the period immediately after the Conquest.

Because some of the land in Lachenaie had been granted without the kind of monopoly rights on timber Christie wanted, he determined to solve the problem by repossessing these lands. His right of re-entry (*droit de retrait*) could be used to do so, but only in the event of a sale. He went about pursuing his goal systematically by compiling a list of all the properties he wanted withdrawn and reserving his right to approve all deeds of sale in the seigneurie so that these could be acquired whenever they were sold.³³ To facilitate this task he had his notary prepare an estate roll (*papier terrier*) for the seigneurie.

Although it may have been Christie's use of the *droit de retrait* which caused resentment, the more strictly material aspect of this conflict should not be discounted. At issue was the seigneur's monopoly control over timber in his seigneuries. The censitaires resisted his claims in their own way – by poaching. Near the sawmill at Mascouche Rapids, a timber reserve (*pinrière*) was established as a domain property and zealously guarded against unauthorized cutting. Magnan was being asked for land in this area, but was under strict instructions not to grant any of this land:

Pour à l'Egard des Habitants qui vous ont demandé des Terres au Sud de la Rivière St Jean Baptiste, c'est le Domaine qui a été Reservé lequel Je nai jamais proposé de concéder un seul arpent non plus que M Repentigny, en outre c'est la que la Piniere du moulin à sci est. Ils ont certainement assé de choix sils veulent des Terres tant sur la Rivière St Pierre ou La Plaine, Ruisseau des Anges que celle de Lachigant aussi bien que les Terres enclavés entre les Rivières pour lesquelles tous les procès verbeaux sont fait pour que vous puissier concéder quand, & à qui il vous plaira, ayant Reservé le Domaine comme surdit, et à une certaine Distance du Rapide.³⁴

To ensure this policy was followed required constant watchfulness and the presence of people Christie could trust in the seigneuries when he could not be there himself. He himself was always alert to

the possibility that his rights were being infringed, as this letter to Magnan shows:

En chemin faisant après que je vous ai quitte j'ai vu 7 à 8 traines chargés de Piquets de cèdre pour des clotures etc. L'on ma informé que c'était Jacques Cottineau qui les avait acheté d'un nommé Pierre Beauchamp à la cabanne ronde, Je ne savais pas qu'ils eussent des cèdres de ce côté là, probablement ils l'auront coupé sur mon Domaine pour le vendre lorsque l'occasion s'en présenteroit –, il vaut la peine de s'en informer ou de dire à Saint Louis de tenter de le découvrir.³⁵

Not only his concern for infringements, but also Christie's familiarity with the inhabitants of his seignury and its geography are evident. His response was to take the further precaution of withdrawing certain lots near the domain from the usual granting procedure, having the yearly rents charged to his own account, while he looked for someone to settle there who would look out for the seigneur's interests. In this way Magnan's position would not be undermined for refusing to grant them.³⁶ Christie also made it clear to Magnan that his patronage would be forthcoming when needed, especially if he found him careful "de prevenir le monde de couper où voler mes bois."³⁷

The unauthorized cutting of timber was not of course an unusual problem in this period although it is more often associated with the frontier areas and squatters. In the context of the seigneuries it seems more akin to poaching, with the censitaires having no compunction about this activity as long as they thought they would not be caught or that the consequences would not be too severe if they were. This activity flies in the face of the view of the censitaires as a conservative peasantry indifferent to the market. The whole point of cutting on the domain rather than on one's own land was obviously to obtain marketable timber without cost. This activity fits much better with the other image of the habitants as a group whose insubordinate independence aroused the disapproval of European visitors who expected a more docile "peasantry." Christie does not appear to have had such expectations. From the start his constant concern for imposing and maintaining control clearly demonstrates a belief that seigneurial rights had to be constantly defended against encroachments, even though they were entrenched in legal contracts.

Contraventions occurred when the rights of the seigneur and the interests of the censitaires conflicted, not because the censitaires were unfamiliar with the seigneur's rights. All of the censitaires would have known that they were required to have their grain ground only

at the seigneurial mill (*moulin banal*). This monopoly (*banalité*) protected seigneurial mills which were farther away than a neighbouring one or which did not produce as good a quality of flour – which was often the cause of complaint by censitaires and usually the reason they went to another mill. But protection from competition was at the heart of seigneurialism, and transgressors could be made to pay a fine and the amount of the milling fee which they would have paid to the seigneur's miller. When censitaires from Lachenaie took their wheat to a mill in the neighbouring seigneurie of Terrebonne,³⁸ Christie wanted to Magnan to make an example of a few by taking legal action against them. Magnan misunderstood him and acted against all of them, but his attempt to collect his fines led to open conflict. Although Christie hotly declared that "tous les jargons des habitands de la Chenaye touchant leurs droits & proscription n'est qu'une folie des plus grandes," he later decided that some kind of accommodation should be made, providing that they confessed their fault and promised to act properly in future.³⁹ Doubtless it was confrontations such as these which led Christie to believe that the censitaires should be allowed as little leeway as possible, lest they become more impertinent than they already were. Two years later, when Magnan informed him that one of his practices regarding deeds of sale was not legal, for example, he replied: "Je m'en desiste sans peine mais je souhaite seulement de ne rien laisser passer de ce que le seigneur a droit vu que cela ne fait que donner aux habitands une mauvaise coutume & les rends plus impertinents & moin pret à obliger."⁴⁰

It was over the question of building roads that Christie and his censitaires had the most violent disagreement. Some had had the "insolence" to claim that the seigneur was also liable for road duty and wanted to bring a suit against him. Christie tried to convince them of the folly of this action,⁴¹ but it seems some of them went ahead anyway. In a later tirade to Magnan against these "mutinous villains," Christie proceeded to make his own view very clear. Seigneurs were exempt from road work on the domain; they might make a voluntary contribution out of the goodness of their hearts ("par leur bonté"), but it was not required. The censitaires should therefore take care not to annoy the seigneur who might then withhold his aid. But in his case: "vu que je méprise de tel villains & que je les obligerai toujours à faire Leur devoir, en même tems je ne manquerai pas au mien tout étant volontairement vu quil ny a point d'obligation sur le seigneur. Informer-les de mes sentiments & obliger les de faire le Chemin, tant le haut de Mascouche que la Plaine."⁴²

Christie's attitude towards the enforcement of seigneurial rights has been cited by Hilda Neatby as an example of the "arbitrary and exacting" behaviour of some of the seigneurs of this period: "Colonel Christie, for example, having been persuaded that the custom of Paris was in full force, endeavoured to apply it with surprising precision. His habitants of La Chenaye, he conceded, need not all come to bake bread in his oven; they could contract out by paying a fee."⁴³ Exacting, perhaps, but there is no indication in Christie's correspondence that he was trying to re-impose an obligation which had clearly fallen into disuse. More likely this tactic was designed to force the censitaires to exchange their existing deeds of concession for new ones which would reserve timber and milling rights to the seigneur and perhaps increase the rents. A case where a censitaire had lost his copy of an old deed is suggestive. It is replaced, but in the new deed a day of corvée has been substituted for the banal oven. In effect this was similar to a rent increase, because the clause used by Christie provided the option of a cash payment to replace the corvée, at the seigneur's request. Unlike early deeds which provided for payment in kind, Christie preferred rents payable in cash only.⁴⁴ Although there was some resistance to Christie imposing higher rents for the land which was reunited to the domain, there was no question of him changing the policy; and in his opinion, simply having cancelled the outstanding arrears in such cases was generous enough.⁴⁵

Not all of the issues which arose in Lachenaie were economic ones. Christie also wanted to maintain his honorific rights, but here he ran into the intransigence of the local curé. He expected Magnan, as the lessee of the seigneurie, to be able to occupy the seigneurial pew in the parish church. The question was finally settled, but his view of the local priest remained unrepentantly negative:

*Il a été un peu plus incommode que la Necessité ne le Demandoit & a montré peu de cette humilité & Charité qui devoit en tout tems distinguer les Prêtres Chrétiens d'avec le reste des hommes. Mais le pauvre homme est avaricieux et vieux, & malgré qu'il prie devant Sa Congregation pour le Royaume des Cieux Il a L'esprit & le Coeur attaché sur les bonnes choses de ce monde, & même non par raport aux pauvres ou content du bled à quatre francs le minot le désireroit toujours à Six ... En un mot, si j'avais envie de me faire Catholique un tel Prêtre Sans Benevolence, Sans Charité & sans Sentiment m'en empêcheroit.*⁴⁶

His personal opinions notwithstanding, Christie recognized that he needed the co-operation of the clergy on questions such as the lo-

cation of the churches in the seigneurie. If a new church was built at Mascouche, for example, he expected Magnan to use his influence to have it located "sur le coteau." As an incentive, he would provide the land for the church.

Having invested a considerable sum in Lachenaie, Christie expected to use his seigneurial rights to produce the best possible return on that investment. Even though he found leasing a suitable alternative to the appointment of an overseer, there were some areas over which he would not relinquish control. The lessee had to agree to inform him of any possible infringements of seigneurial rights and to oppose these in every way possible. When such infringements related to *cens et rentes*, *lods et ventes*, road duty, the seigneurial mill monopoly, or the unauthorized cutting of timber, the agreement provided that the lessee would pay the court costs for these suits. Suits for the usurpation of title, such as conflicts with neighbouring seigneurs, would be paid by the seigneur.⁴⁷ The emphasis which Christie placed on the use of the judicial system in support of seigneurial rights underlines that it was the law, not social convention or mutual agreement, which was the foundation of a seigneur's power.

Christie's actions as a seigneur suggest that he took a rather dim view of the insubordination, as he saw it, of his censitaires and that he would deal with them harshly under such circumstances. He could also be benevolent, however, and this side of his personality emerged when he acted as a patron looking out for the interests of his clients. Patronage or a patron-client relationship was the predominant form of social relationship in the eighteenth century and continued well into the nineteenth.⁴⁸ Although Christie would act primarily for members of his own family and for associates such as Magnan and his clerk of many years, Louis Genevay,⁴⁹ his censitaires were also his clients. When he used his influence to get the opinion of a Montreal doctor for the son of a local habitant suffering from a rare disease, he was exercising his patronage.⁵⁰ This form of social relationship has been called paternalism, and, as Bryan Palmer points out, "it included kindness and affection of superiors toward subordinates, as well as cruelty, harshness, and gross insensitivity." Its significance, however, "lay in undermining the collectivity of the oppressed by linking them to their 'social superiors'."⁵¹ The relationship between seigneur and censitaires was essentially a paternalistic one, but whether or not it would be tempered by benevolence depended on the individual seigneur. In the case of Christie, obedience and deference were the necessary preconditions of his benevolence, and he found those qualities sadly lacking among the censitaires of Lachenaie.

CONCLUSION

Gabriel Christie was an active participant in a process of transition which historians refer to as the Conquest. As an army officer he was active during Pontiac's uprising of 1763 and heavily implicated in the conflicts between the merchant and the military factions of Montreal at the time. As a seigneur he participated in the restructuring of Canadian society, an activity which was of much greater significance in the long term. One aspect of that restructuring was the sale of numerous seigneuries to the newly arrived British élite. As the first of the British to arrive, the military officers and government officials had an advantage, and they were able to acquire choice properties and monopolize the resources associated with them. For those who arrived later, liberal ideology provided a ready-made platform from which to attack the privileges and monopoly rights of the seigneurial class. The first concerted effort to dismantle seigneurial tenure did not come at the time of the Conquest, however, but after the American War for Independence, when the arrival of independent yeoman farmers added weight to the arguments of merchants and government officials such as William Smith who wanted to eliminate all vestiges of a "feudal" past.

*Uncertainty and
Consolidation,
1777-1799*

PERSONAL AND
FAMILY MATTERS

At the onset of the American Revolution, Gabriel Christie was in Antigua sorting out the regimental accounts. He then went to England to recruit for the 60th Regiment. While there, he lobbied for an appointment as quartermaster general in North America, a position for which he was well qualified. If obtained, it would have allowed him to promote his personal business interests while seeing to his military duties. He obtained the coveted appointment from Lord Germain only to be disappointed when he arrived in Canada. The governor and commander-in-chief, Guy Carleton, had already appointed his brother, Thomas Carleton, to the position, and Christie was unable to have this decision reversed.

Because the 60th was largely a colonial regiment, it had been thought best to remove it from North America during the Revolutionary War and it had been stationed in the West Indies. Christie was ordered to rejoin his regiment there in the spring of 1777. Under the circumstances, he could not anticipate how long he would be away. After finding new lessees for Lachenaie and for one of the mills at Lacolle, placing his property at St John's in the hands of James Bell, and providing a power of attorney for his wife to act for him, he left the colony.¹ There is little evidence of the way in which his estate was managed during his absence. The mills at Lacolle were appropriated by the army, who later paid compensation to Christie for the timber cut.² A caretaker administration was in place.

The war was not without its rewards for Christie, however, because as a senior officer, he received a large share of the war prizes that were taken by his regiment while in Antigua. His financial situation

should therefore have been better when he returned to Montreal.³ He was promoted in 1781 to the rank of major-general, but at the end of the war when the army retrenched, he had to join the swelling ranks of those competing for the available jobs. When he returned to London in the spring of 1783, he was looking for a staff appointment in Canada. The replacement of his friend, Frederick Haldimand, by Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, as governor of the colony made this more difficult. However, the following spring Christie was appointed colonel commandant of the second battalion of the 60th, largely through Haldimand's efforts,⁴ and it was in this capacity that he returned to Montreal in 1784.

At this juncture Christie would have liked to liquidate his estates in Canada and return to England, but a recession had set in after the war and he despaired of being able to sell his property "on any reasonable terms."⁵ He seems therefore to have decided to stay in Canada and make the best of the situation. He made several trips to England in the following years, sometimes accompanied by various members of his family. Having daughters of a marriageable age, one of his preoccupations at the time must have been to make suitable matches for them. In the end, however, both would marry in Canada: Katherine to an officer in the 60th Regiment, John Robertson, and Sarah to the rector of Christ Church in Montreal, the Reverend James Tunstall.⁶

During Christie's eight-year absence from his family he had taken a mistress, with whom he had three sons: Gabriel, George, and William. Rachel Plenderleath's background is not known, nor are the circumstances under which these children were raised. However, Katherine and Sarah Christie refer to them as their brothers and these half-siblings were tutored together. It is therefore possible that they were in Christie's custody and brought up with their half-sisters in Montreal. Rachel married by 1789. Such a family situation was not uncommon for the period, especially among military officers and the gentry; the stricter morals of the middle class would not impose themselves on the upper echelons of society until later in the nineteenth century. Recognition of natural sons and provision for them, especially among career army officers, was common. These three sons as well as another natural son, James Christie, were provided with legacies in Christie's will, and when they were old enough, they all obtained commissions in the 60th.⁷

Christie's eldest legitimate son, Napier, had served in North America under Cornwallis during the Revolutionary War, and in 1782 was made a captain in the Guards, a prestigious appointment. His future was further secured when he married Mary Burton, the

daughter of the late Ralph Burton and the heiress to Hall Bank, Beverly, and Hotham Hall in York. At the time of his marriage Napier Christie took the additional name and arms of Burton, and was subsequently known as Napier Christie Burton.⁸ (For a genealogical table of Gabriel Christie's family, see page 87.)

SEIGNEURIAL TENURE IN QUESTION

Upon his return to Canada, Gabriel Christie became involved in the debate on the future of seigneurial tenure. With the Loyalist migration northward, a vocal lobby group under the leadership of the new chief justice of Quebec, William Smith, and supported by Lord Dorchester, argued in favour of its abolition. Smith and his supporters were convinced that only a change in tenure would enable Canada to receive a greater share of the population moving westward at the time. Christie did not support this influx of Americans into Canada which Smith was encouraging. In his view: "if not check'd this country will soon be entirely American or what's worse Poison'd with their principles of opposition to all Government." He was also opposed to the introduction of an assembly, "which if granted must end in the Ruin of this Country." In Christie's opinion, "it would have been more to the advantage of Government to have settled a large Pension upon him [Smith] (if he ever deserved reward) than to have given him a place of such consequence here."⁹ With the appointment of Lord Dorchester as governor, however, Christie's political influence had been drastically reduced and despite the support of other prominent officers including General Hope and General Haldimand, it was not possible to forestall Smith completely. In the end this issue was resolved through a compromise imposed by the Colonial Office.

The Canada Act of 1791 established the new constitution for the colony, now divided into Upper and Lower Canada. Chief Justice Smith was forced to drop a bill for the voluntary conversion of seigneurial tenure, but seigneurial tenure was made optional for new grants of land in Lower Canada and was abandoned in Upper Canada. The governors were instructed to grant land to actual settlers in two-hundred-acre lots rather than to speculators in large blocks. Smith and the land committee used this policy to justify refusing further grants in seigneurial tenure; yet in the new townships they permitted the introduction of the leader and associate system which had already proved extremely vulnerable to speculation in the United States.¹⁰ For Lower Canada these changes marked the beginning of dual institutions and the concentration of American

and other English-speaking settlers in these townships. It did not prevent land speculation or the accumulation of large areas of land. But in the townships, Smith and others who succeeded him could dispense land as part of their patronage. Initially at least this tended to favour their settlement by Americans. The abolition of seigneurial land tenure which Smith sought would have to wait until 1854, however.

For Christie these changes meant that he would not be able to acquire the “seigneurie” he wanted to the west of Lacolle and Delery.¹¹ On his petition the Committee of the whole Council reported:

That the portion ungranted, according to the Petitioner's Diagram, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, & by its quality admitting of close settlement, the safety & defense of the Province, render it a measure of obvious policy, to cover these lands as speedily as possible, with faithful husbandmen interested by their property, in the defense of that frontier ...

That for the better effectuating of such intention, these lands ought to be parcelled out & granted away, in *small* farms, to create as numerous a population as the soil can subsist ...

That in this view, tho' neither personal merits of the petitioner nor his claim to a compensation for losses ... bear upon the question in reference; which, on the ground of making such a disposition of the Crown's Wastes, as is most conducive to the common utility, repels ... the application of Major General Christie, for a large grant to one individual ...

[The committee recommends the government grant] to no individual more than a farm of two hundred acres, ... to select such, as shall from their principles & habits, be least likely to coalesce with the subjects of the neighbouring states – and to this end the committee recommend an immediate survey to be made of the Lands to be so granted ...¹²

Christie was able to have his petition referred to the Lords of Trade in Britain, but the land in question was surveyed into the township of Hemmingford before their decision was made.¹³ Without patrons at Quebec there was little Christie could do. Having failed to expand the land under his control, he began the consolidation of his existing estate in the Upper Richelieu Valley by buying out his partners there and acquiring an important mill site on Chambly Basin, a wide spot in the Richelieu River.

CONSOLIDATING THE ESTATE

During the American Revolution, Moses Hazen, seigneur of Bleury, and Christie's former partner, had decided to join the American side.¹⁴ As an officer in the American army, he had recruited soldiers

from among his censitaires, had spent much of his personal fortune on the war effort, and had guaranteed loans for the American government. Unable to collect these loans at the close of the war, Hazen faced financial difficulties. Furthermore, the British army denied him re-entry into Canada so that he could not reclaim his lands there. His predicament was Christie's opportunity; almost immediately after his return to the colony, he sued Hazen for the repayment of his outstanding mortgage with interest. Hazen countered this with the claim that Christie owed him £1,114. To collect he had asked the state of New York to attach Christie's property in that state, which included the seigneurie of Chazy. Christie protested that his property was worth fifteen times the amount claimed by Hazen and that by falsely claiming that Christie owed him £20,000 New York currency, Hazen was preventing him from reclaiming his property.

Having verified that the attachment had occurred, the Court of Common Pleas awarded Christie the amount of his mortgage and interest, a total of £1,919 and costs.¹⁵ Unable to repay this debt, Hazen delayed the sheriff's sale by appealing his case and attempted to settle with Christie, who would not hear of it.¹⁶ Not surprisingly, an appeal to King and Council met with no more sympathy. As one of Hazen's friends pointed out: "Probably the utmost exertion on your part would not have varied the issue as the character of the parties and not their cause was probably the subject of contemplation and the criterion of decision."¹⁷ When Hazen's lands were finally sold in 1790, Christie bought them all. He paid £400 for the remainder of the seigneurie of Bleury and £1,190 for Hazen's lots in Longueuil (including La Savanne). As creditor, he was paid £1,398 of this amount by the court; the remainder went to pay seigneurial arrears and court costs.¹⁸

Two of the lots in St John's purchased by Christie were repossessed by David Alexander Grant, seigneur of Longueuil, by virtue of his *droit de retrait*.¹⁹ But to acquire these prize lots, Grant had to pay £685, or fifty-five times the amount Christie and Hazen had paid in 1764 (£12.10.0). This provides an idea of the rise in value of the properties acquired by Christie after the Conquest and of the significance of the timing of his purchases.

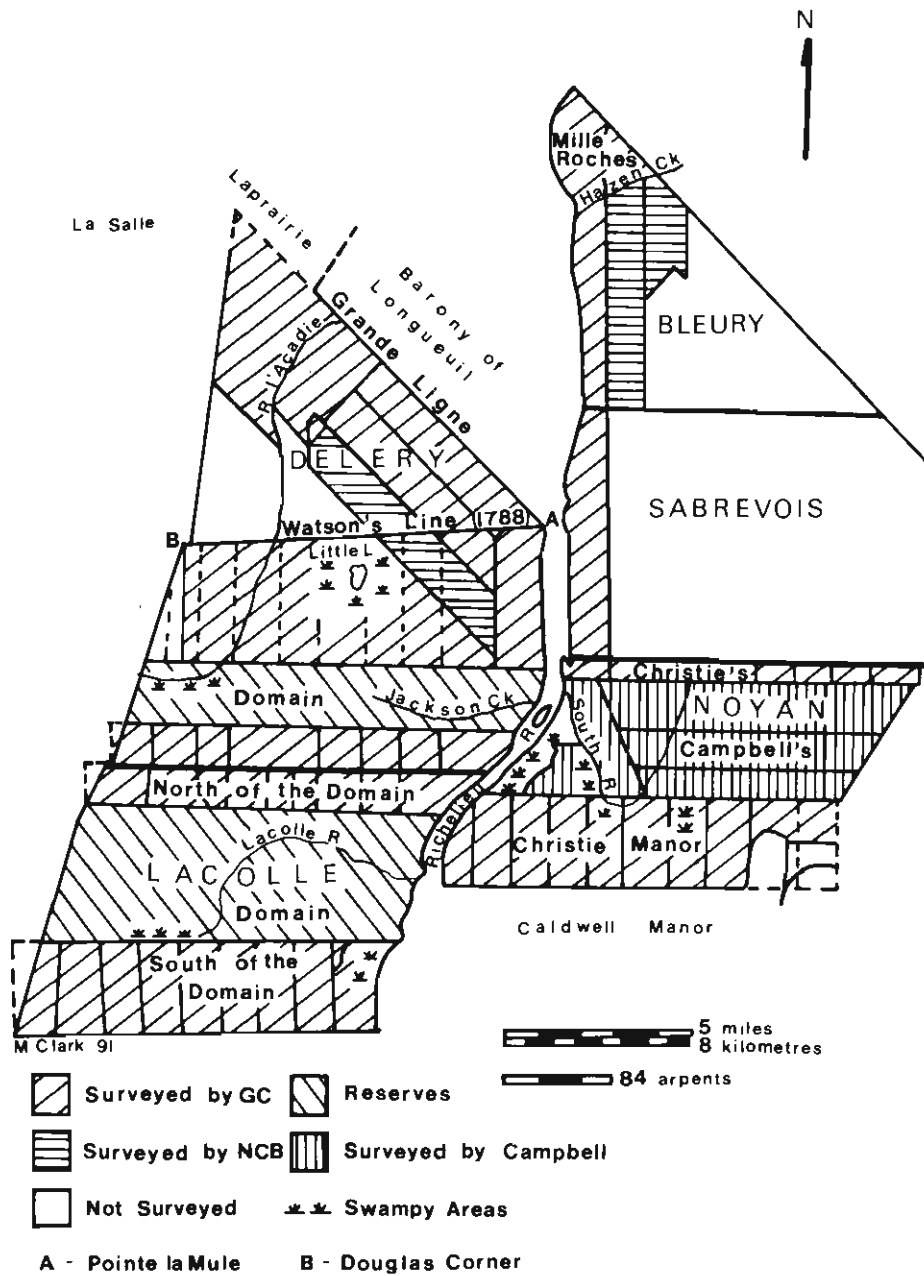
As early as 1772, Christie and John Campbell had decided to divide the seigneurie of Noyan into two equal shares rather than to continue their joint ownership, but the war intervened and it was 1785 before that seigneurie was surveyed in preparation for this division.²⁰ When this survey found a shortage of approximately one kilometre in frontage between the existing boundary of Noyan and that of Fou-

cault (Caldwell Manor), the division was further delayed. Proceedings were instituted against Henry Caldwell. He failed to appear, and a new survey was conducted based on the court's ruling. But after it had been completed, Caldwell appealed the decision which was dismissed on a point of procedure. Christie found this extremely frustrating. He would have to pay for a useless survey and the issue was still not resolved.²¹ Chief Justice Smith came in for some of the blame when Christie wrote to Haldimand 12 December 1789: "The Civil Branch are at such varrience that not any sentence given by the Court of Common Pleas but the Cheif Judge *Reverses* in his Court of Appeals, or returns it to the Common Pleas to begin again on some frivolous pretence of *Error*."²²

Arbitration finally established the boundary with Foucault but because only Christie's share of Noyan was affected (see Map 2), he also had to resort to a suit against Campbell to have him assume a share of the loss.²³ That issue was finally resolved only after Campbell's death in 1795, when his heirs agreed to a re-survey of the seigneurie. This was conducted by Jesse Pennoyer in 1795–6 and the line of division between the two shares was moved north about 400 metres to make them of equal size.²⁴ Shortly thereafter Campbell's heirs sold their share of Noyan to Christie, and these survey lines remained only as a feature of the landscape.²⁵

These boundary disputes are not an indication that Christie was exceptionally litigious but were inherent in the system for granting land. The title of each seigneurie was granted without survey, the rule being that the earliest grant took precedence over any subsequent ones. It was expensive to settle boundaries in this way and many seigneurs did not bother. Because the grants along the Richelieu were all more recent than those along the St Lawrence, however, it was in Christie's interest not to delay the establishment of his seigneuries' boundaries.

The problem was particularly urgent in Delery where by the 1780s the seigneurs of Longueuil and Laprairie were granting land along L'Acadie River (Petite Rivière de Montréal) without knowing where their seigneuries ended. Christie may have suspected that some of this land was actually within the boundary of Delery. In any event, a survey of Delery and Lacolle was also necessary to accommodate the settlers looking for land in the area. Although it was not the usual practice in the seigneurial context, Christie had these seigneuries surveyed and subdivided into lots of a standard size²⁶ before making any land grants. This was designed to help prevent squatting, a problem common to most frontier areas that was of great concern to Christie because it threatened his forest reserves.



Map 2 Early Surveys, 1783-1815.

Christie chose the deputy provincial surveyor, Simon Zelotes Watson, to conduct most of his early surveys.²⁷ The survey of Delery was one of his most important jobs for Christie and took over two years. The surveyor's first job was to examine the titles of the seigneuries involved and to determine the legal position of the boundary. The adjacent seigneuries of Longueuil and Laprairie having been granted with defined areas, the excess of land behind them was to be shared with the seigneurie of LaSalle, which was assumed to lie behind Delery at the time. In 1788 Christie came to an agreement with its new owner, Simon Sanguinet, as to how their joint boundary should run and the balance of land behind Longueuil and Laprairie divided between them. Once this rear boundary line was drawn, it was possible to subdivide the seigneurie of Delery.

Lacolle, which shared a boundary with Delery to the south, was also surveyed at this time. Its rear boundary was not specifically determined, but the subdivision of the seigneurie into nine ranges of 28 arpents effectively matched the title depth of three leagues.²⁸ This method of block survey did not compensate for the irregular front on the Richelieu, however, and occasionally the area surveyed extended beyond the three-league limit of these seigneuries. When the township of Hemmingford was surveyed behind Lacolle, it encroached onto Lacolle as surveyed. In a petition to the governor,²⁹ Christie tried to have this situation rectified, but according to a report by Samuel Gale in 1798, the documents of the Surveyor General's Department showed no clash in the boundaries. He concluded: "if the clashing does actually exist, it must, I apprehend, be owing to some error in which the *field work*, and the *returns* made thereof, do not correspond with each other: and the probability would be, that the error must have originated in the survey of *the River* in front of General Christie's seigneurie."³⁰ The issue was allowed to remain unsettled for over thirty years.

In both Lacolle and Delery, the lots surveyed were numbered consecutively. Each concession was named, usually with the number of the range as well as its name. The southernmost block in Lacolle, for example, consisted of the first through the ninth concessions "South of the Domain" and the lots were numbered from 1 to 135. Title documents used this numbering system to identify each lot specifically which prevented the kind of confusion that arose from the description of properties surveyed according to a metes and bound type of survey. The importance of this numbering system cannot be overemphasized. One of the major complaints against the seigneurial system in the nineteenth century was the difficulty in tracing land transactions, even after the introduction of registry

offices, because the common practice was to describe land parcels by giving the neighbours on three or four sides.³¹ By establishing a consistent numbering system which was used in the deeds of concession and was therefore part of the legal description of all land parcels, Gabriel Christie was creating the necessary preconditions for treating land as a commercial commodity. The alienation of unsettled land would be facilitated by these practices. The seigneurial *papier terrier* in Lower Canada is usually considered to be a simple revenue cadastre – sufficient for the seigneur to calculate the dues. The transition to a legal cadastre was not made until mid-century and required government intervention on a large scale.³² In the Christie seigneuries, however, the concept of a legal cadastre was introduced with the first surveys, and in this respect they bore a certain resemblance to the surveys of townships being done at this time. Because survey before land granting was the usual British colonial practice, this is a clear example of Christie's British origin having a direct bearing on the administration of his seigneuries.

Christie's holdings in the Upper Richelieu Valley were considerably reduced after the War for American Independence. His New York property had been confiscated, his house at St John's had been burned by the retreating American army, and his lease of the domain at St John's was not renewed. A new acquisition in the Richelieu Valley helped to offset these losses. In 1784 Christie bought a long-term lease on a domain property known as Chambly Mills where a new mill and mill dam had been constructed in 1782 by James Glenie, one of the Royal Engineers working in the area. Christie acquired Glenie's lease from Sieur Boucher de Niverville for £4,000.³³ Perhaps it was to pay for this lease that he sold the seignury of Lachenaie the following year to Jacob Jordan, seigneur of Terrebonne, for £6,993.³⁴ Powered by the rapids just south of Chambly Basin, Chambly Mills could be operated year round, an important consideration for a commercial mill. In 1796, Christie acquired the mill domain outright for a further £2,000.³⁵ No longer subject to seigneurial control, he then added a second flour mill to the first. Solidly built, these mills would remain important industrial sites well into the nineteenth century. With these additions, Chambly Mills became the most important part of Christie's estate and the focal point for the administration of his other properties. They also allowed him to share in the growing profits to be made in the flour trade of the late eighteenth century.

Across the road from Chambly Mills, Christie built a large Georgian manor house, a reflection and a projection of the status he had achieved as a landowner and seigneur. Although it is better remem-

bered as Yule Manor, John Robertson referred to it in his correspondence as "Chambly Castle."³⁶ Christie evidently planned to move to Chambly when it was completed, but the pleasure he would undoubtedly have felt at occupying a seigneurial manor was denied him. While attending to business matters at Lacolle early in January of 1799, he was taken seriously ill with gout and had to be carried back to Montreal in a bed made on an "American sleigh."³⁷ He died there 20 January 1799 at the age of seventy-nine.

AN ENTAILED ESTATE

General Gabriel Christie was buried with the military honours due his rank. His funeral was attended by "the greatest concourse of people ever thus assembled." This was probably the first military funeral of this magnitude in Montreal and its citizens were out in large numbers to see it. Certainly it would have been an impressive sight. "All the Officers in the Garrison and Military Departments, had Crapes, Sword Knots and Gloves. - Those of the 60th likewise wore Scarfs - The 60th Band, Drummers and Fifers had also Crapes, Sword Knots, and Gloves - The Instruments trimmed, and all the Drums muffled." The troops of the garrison led the procession as it left the church followed by the band of the 60th Regiment, the Royal Artillery with two field pieces, the staff of the garrison, the ministers and the doctors, and, finally, just in front of the pallbearers with "the corpse" came "the General's Charger, led by his Groom in mourning." The mourners followed: the Rev. Mr Tunstall, Capt Gordon, Capt Robertson, Cornelius Cuyler Esq, Col Cuyler, Capt Genevay, Mr John Gray, Col Gray, Hon John Lees, James Dunlop Esq, Richard Dobie Esq, Mr Yule, Mr Martin, Mr Lalanne, Mr Hall, and four servants. This was Christie's last public appearance and no expense was spared to make it a fitting display of his status.³⁸

Christie's estate in Canada at the time of his death was substantial. Although his inventory did not evaluate his real property, its value was estimated to be £55,000.³⁹ The accumulation of this vast estate was the work of a lifetime and Christie evidently did not want to see it dispersed. Most of his real property was left to a single heir, his son Napier Christie Burton, but an entail in favour of Christie's natural sons, named in succession as substitute heirs, would come into effect if Napier died without legitimate male issue. Only the seignury and mills at Chambly were exempt from the entail; they were to be sold to pay for the legacies, totalling £12,550 sterling, made to his widow and daughters and a few others.⁴⁰ Burton would also inherit his father's regiment.

Christie's widow, Sarah Stevenson Christie, and his daughters, Katherine and Sarah, were apparently disappointed in their expectations when the terms of Christie's will were disclosed. Katherine's husband, John Robertson, believed that a new will would be found which would leave his wife and her sister the house in Montreal and its contents and a further £2,000 Sterling. Each was already receiving the income from £1,000 (with reversion of the capital to their children). The will made in 1789 left them each £2,500 and the revenue from a further £2,500 Sterling after their mother's death. By Robertson's calculation this meant a revenue of £175 annually before her death, and of £300 Sterling afterwards, which in his view was not a just proportion of the estate.⁴¹ But daughters seldom received more than a marriage settlement in this period, and some, like Napier's daughter, Mary Christie Burton, did not even receive that.

No other will was found, and Sarah Stevenson Christie, as the Canadian executrix, took charge of the estate on a temporary basis.⁴² When Napier Christie Burton arrived in Montreal in 1800 after making arrangements with the military authorities for a new commission which would transfer him to Canada, his mother handed the estate over to him. Shortly thereafter, he signed an agreement with her and his sisters in which Sarah Stevenson Christie renounced her claim to dower rights or *tiers*, reserved her right to the house, garden, and dependencies in Montreal during her lifetime, and accepted the payment of her £500 Sterling legacy in cash. She, together with her daughters, also agreed that the capital sum of their respective legacies could remain affected and mortgaged on the Christie estate, with the interest of 6 per cent to be paid annually by the receiver or administrator of the property.⁴³ This meant that Chambly and Chambly Mills did not have to sold.

When Napier Christie Burton inherited his father's estate he was forty-two, a major-general in the 3rd Foot Guards, and the father of two sons and two daughters. Because of his wife's inheritance, his family was "in affluent circumstances."⁴⁴ Nevertheless he had arranged for his appointment on staff in North America and received permission to reside in Montreal. In the spring of 1801, having barely settled into his administrative duties as seigneur and officer, he received word that his wife had died. With some effort, he was able to obtain a leave of absence to return to England and see to his private affairs.⁴⁵ Samuel Potts⁴⁶ was left in charge during his absence. After extending his leave once, Burton finally decided not to return to North America and resigned his staff appointment. Instead he accepted command of the 3rd Regiment of Guards.⁴⁷ Potts continued as Burton's agent and overseer at Chambly and Lacolle, where

matters seem to have proceeded much as they had before Burton's succession until the outbreak of the War of 1812.

In conjunction with the Laprairie notary, Edme Henry, Potts had a power of attorney allowing him to collect the debts owing to Christie's estate and a number of suits were instituted in order to do so. Burton had made no arrangements to pay the estate's debts and Christie's legacies, however, so that by 1815 the estate's major creditors finally resorted to suits to obtain payment.⁴⁸ Burton allowed Chambly to be sold to meet these obligations. A private agreement was made with Samuel Hatt, formerly of Dundas, Upper Canada, to buy the mills and the seigneurie, but to clear the title, a sheriff's sale was also allowed to proceed. The sale apparently did not bring in a sufficient amount to pay all of these obligations. By agreement, the capital sum of £10,000 Sterling required for the legacy to Christie's daughters remained in the hands of Samuel Hatt who agreed to pay them the annual interest.⁴⁹

The entailed portion of the Christie estate consisted of the five seigneuries in the Upper Richelieu Valley, the seigneurie of Repentigny, and the farms held at St John's. Without the entail which prevented him from selling these properties, it seems unlikely that Burton would have retained them. As it was, they remained in his possession until his death in 1835, but after 1815, when Burton appointed Edme Henry as his agent, he seems to have had little if anything to do with their administration. The first years of Burton's administration therefore appear as a continuation of Christie's and are treated along with it in Chapter 3. Edme Henry's administration is treated separately in Chapter 4.

*The Upper
Richelieu Valley,
1783-1814*

LAND GRANTS AND SETTLEMENT

The use of the Richelieu River as a military route inhibited settlement along its shores during the French régime, and at the end of the Seven Years' War continuous settlement extended only as far south as Chambly. Isolated settlers who had ventured further upstream had abandoned their farms during that conflict. Settlement resumed slowly when peace returned only to be disrupted again by the American War for Independence. The permanent settlement of the Christie seigneuries in the Upper Richelieu Valley did not get under way, therefore, until after 1783.

Geography was also a factor in the late settlement of the area. As part of the Montreal plain its soils were fertile, but in many parts of the seigneuries poor drainage was a problem. The rich black soils of today's Napierville were then undrained marshes, inimical to settlement and even to survey, as Simon Watson's report on the interior of Delery indicates. Cedar swamps covered much of the interior of Noyan, and the land along the Richelieu was generally low lying and subject to annual flooding. As one moved closer to Lake Champlain, the soil was fertile, but rocky outcrops were common.¹ Nonetheless, Christie's seigneuries were much more accessible to settlers than the new townships being surveyed behind the seigneuries or along the Upper St Lawrence, especially for American emigrants arriving from the south. Many of these new arrivals settled in Lacolle and Noyan. The gradual southward movement of settlement along L'Acadie River had already reached into Delery by 1760, and other settlers continued to arrive from the adjacent seigneuries to the north. Although Christie did not initiate the flow of settlers into his seigneuries, he would try to channel it and prevent it from working against

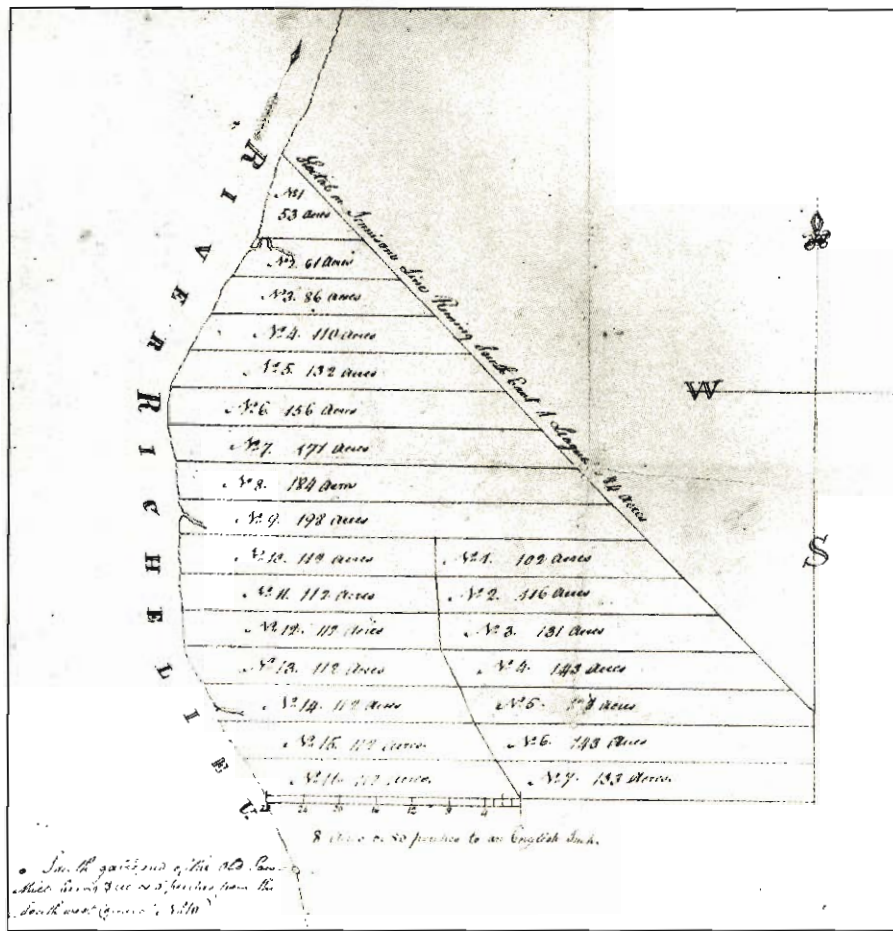
his interests. Survey before settlement was the cornerstone of his policy of control as it had been earlier in Lachenaie. This allowed him to locate and reserve for himself good stands of marketable timber and any potential mill sites.

Watson's survey of Delery in the late 1780s had divided this seigneurie into two parts. A triangular section north of a line drawn from Pointe la Mule to Douglas Corner was surveyed for settlement along the Grande Ligne with Longueuil and L'Acadie River (see Map 2). In the remaining rectangular section, two blocks of lots were set aside for settlement but the marshy area around Little Lake was inaccessible and not actually surveyed. The survey, however, gave the seigneur an accurate idea of both the location and the area of these flooded lands. Where Jackson Creek ran into the Richelieu, a block the depth of the seigneurie was reserved as a seigneurial domain.

Two blocks of lots for settlement were surveyed in Lacolle but the entire middle section of the seigneurie including most of the drainage basin of the Lacolle River, a total frontage of 96 arpents was reserved as domain. Although some of this land was marshy and unsuitable for settlement, it also included the mill sites on the Lacolle River and their surrounding pine reserves.

Christie's first surveys in Bleury were made before his acquisition of Hazen's share of the seigneurie and were therefore limited to its northernmost tip, Mille Roches. A plan by Jean-Baptiste Gris  in 1785 (Map 3) established the boundary between the two owners and divided the area into lots. Although this plan was precise enough to allow the granting of land by lot number, it was based on the most minimal field survey. Only the mouths of the creeks, for example, were shown in the plan.² The more detailed field survey completed in 1788 by Simon Z. Watson showed the actual course of the creeks and the actual area of the lots. These differ by one or two arpents from the areas on Gris 's plan.³ This procedure, which seems to have been followed for the other seigneuries as well, allowed land to be granted ("without guarantee of measure") according to the numbered lots which were planned before a detailed survey was completed.

The first ranges of Bleury and Sabrevois were surveyed after Christie purchased the remainder of Bleury from Hazen. In 1800, Napier Christie Burton had the second and third ranges surveyed by Joseph Whitman, but the interior of these seigneuries remained unsurveyed until Henry's administration. This reflects the greater demand for land on the west side of the Richelieu before bridges were built across the river.



Map 3 Plan of Mille Roches by Jean-Baptiste Grisé, 1785.

This early survey of Mille Roches was detailed enough to allow the granting of lots of land defined by their lot numbers but without a guarantee of measurement. A later survey provided that information.

Source: NAC, MG8 E99.9, 1, 9462.

The survey of Noyan was complicated by the division of that seigneurie between Christie and Colonel Campbell, Christie's share being a narrow block north of South River and a second block adjacent to Caldwell Manor. Essentially, both of Christie's sections were planned as nine ranges of standard lots but adjustments had to be made to accommodate the sinuosity of the Richelieu and the incursion of Missisquoi Bay into the 9th range. The surveyor, Jesse Penoyer, simply tipped it on edge and divided it into north-south lots even though this meant that it extended beyond the three-league depth of the seigneurie. At the time the area behind Noyan was unsurveyed crown land. The first boundary between Stanbridge township and Noyan cut through this range and would be readjusted later. Deeds of concession to early settlers were readjusted after the field survey to correspond to the land they actually occupied.⁴

Campbell's section of Noyan was surveyed by Watson. Although visually this survey appears to be a radical departure from the Christie surveys, actually it was a variation on the theme of 112-arpent lots. Starting from a baseline running parallel to the general flow of South River and approximately 28 arpents distant from it, he divided the remainder of the seigneurie into three ranges of diagonal lots four arpents apart. The result was a 112-arpent lot of unusual dimensions.⁵ In the third range these diagonal lots remain etched into the landscape as far as Henryville but in the interior of the seigneurie they were later replaced by new surveys (see Illustration 8). The concessions along the Richelieu and South Rivers were irregular in shape.

The early surveys of the Christie seigneuries generally conformed to a common plan, one which was specifically designed for the subdivision of a three-league depth of land into east-west lots. This made them less responsive to local changes in topography and drainage and for that reason some of these early surveys were later replaced. But they had served their purpose, fixing the boundaries of the seigneuries into the landscape and providing geographical information which the seigneur could use to set aside domains reserved from settlement. In both these and the new surveys, the granting of land was facilitated by the systematic numbering of the lots.

With the influx of settlers into the Upper Richelieu Valley after 1783, Christie became concerned that his lands would be taken up by fraudulent settlers who would strip it of its timber and move on. To protect himself against such behaviour, he began issuing "location tickets" rather than deeds of concession to potential settlers (see Illustration 4). After one or two years a bona fide settler could receive his deed of concession at the rate of rent specified in the location

ticket. Those who had not met the requirements of settlement could be refused a deed, a much simpler process than repossessing abandoned property.

Christie used standardized printed forms for his deeds of concession (Appendix 1). The terms of these deeds were similar to those used earlier and at Lachenaie and were probably established by Antoine Foucher, the notary on whom Christie depended for legal opinions regarding seigneurial matters.⁶ These can be divided into three categories: standard clauses which reiterate the terms of settlement required as part of the *Coutume de Paris*, the actual monetary payments which the censitaires were expected to make, and additional conditions or reserves made by virtue of the contract itself. The most visible and immediate concern of settlers was probably the amount of the seigneurial rent charged, the *cens et rentes*. At first Christie charged £1.4.8 for a farm of 112 arpents but he soon increased this to £1.12.10. Almost all of his grants also specified that the censitaires had to work on the seigneur's estate for one day with a team of horses or oxen and a cart or for three days without. Known as the *corvée*, this particular duty was much disliked by the Canadian censitaires and was included in deeds of concession only during this early period. The seigneur could ask for the cash equivalent of that labour, set at five shillings, so that effectively the *corvée* became another monetary charge. The new printed forms prepared for Napier Christie Burton eliminated the *corvée* completely from the deeds of concession, but the *cens et rentes* were increased substantially instead. The two rates which were used almost exclusively for the grants made by Burton in 1801 and through to 1815 were £2.2.2 and £2.2.6 for a standard lot.⁷

Of 105 grants made by Christie between 1785 and 1799, 86 were for one or more standard lots of 112 arpents and the average size of his grants was 110 arpents. In contrast, the average size of Burton's grants was 98 arpents, but this masks the fact that in Delery and Bleury it was only 95 and 96 arpents respectively, whereas in Lacolle and Noyan it remained much the same at 111 and 114 arpents respectively. (See Appendix 1, tables 15 and 16.) Because the latter area was settled almost exclusively by English-speaking censitaires whereas many Canadiens were among the grantees in Bleury and Delery, the explanation for this difference may lie in the different settlement practices of these two groups. The Canadians were less likely to mind the long narrow lot produced by splitting a lot in half horizontally and in other areas of the province were used to getting grants of 30, 60, or 90 arpents. The 56- arpent half-lot was therefore not unusually small by comparison. They may also have been less

willing to obtain a large grant of land if it could not be used immediately, because this meant the accumulation of rents on non-productive land which they could ill afford to pay. Family customs might also be a factor in the disparity in grant size: in Lacolle, land for their sons was often obtained by the father, whereas the Canadians' practice was for the father to accept a grant made out in the name of his son, who would then have to ratify the conditions of the grant when he reached the age of majority. Despite the inadequacy of these explanations, it is important to note that the grants under Burton were not of a uniform size and that this seems to be the product of more than either simple discrimination or geographical location.

In Gabriel Christie's deeds of concession, all the oak and pine in the seigneuries, the mill sites, and water power generally were reserved for the seigneur, creating a virtual monopoly over the exploitation of timber resources and of water-powered industry. The reserve of oak and pine essentially meant that he would pay his censitaires only for the value of their labour when they brought these logs to the mill and that he could cut these anywhere in the seigneurie. Cutting timber on the seigneurial domain was strictly forbidden. The reserve of all mill sites, of the right to control water flow, and of the right to build mills together effectively created a contractual mill monopoly which gave the seigneur the legal right even to demolish competing establishments if necessary. This is not to be confused with the customary *banalité* under which grain consumed in a seigneurie was to be ground in the seigneur's mill. Rather this was a right to use the water power of the seigneuries for any type of industrial development whatever. The seigneur could also repossess any mill sites inadvertently granted to a censitaire by paying compensation for the land appropriated, if it was improved, and reducing the *cens et rentes* accordingly. The clause giving the seigneur the right to control the flow of water was also important. The diversion of water necessary to create an adequate head of water could reduce the flow of water elsewhere, and without it the seigneur might have been embroiled in law suits over water rights. As it was, the number of possible mill sites was limited by the available water supply, but all of that could be monopolized by the seigneur.

Two other reserves included in most of the Christie deeds of concession were the monopoly over the establishment of ferry crossings and the right to licence liquor establishments. The first became irrelevant once all of the land along the Richelieu was granted and the second monopoly was taken over by the government. Neither were included in the deeds granted by Napier Christie Burton.⁸

Studied as a series, the deeds of concession also allow the collation of information as to where, when, and by whom these grants were made. In the absence of correspondence and other records, these data provide a way to recreate – at least in part – the management practices of the seigneur. Because it illustrates the exercise of patronage, the seigneur's choice of a notary or notaries is particularly significant. For the notary, preparing the deeds of concession for a newly surveyed area was a lucrative source of income because much of the work was routine and could be done by clerks. The forms were printed and the description of the lot which was taken from the survey warrant could be copied onto the form in advance. An examination of the deeds of concession for the Christie seigneuries indicates that in the choice of notaries, proximity to the residence of the seigneur or agent was more important than proximity to the seigneuries. Changes from one administration to next suggest that personal preference was also a factor. (See Appendix 1, table 18 and figure 4.)

Gabriel Christie lived in Montreal and travelled to the Upper Richelieu Valley seigneuries only infrequently. Nonetheless, 63 of the 105 deeds he signed after 1785 were notarized at Lacolle Mill or at Odelltown. He was accompanied by Jean-Baptiste Grisé, Peter Lukin Sr, or Edme Henry on these trips, but the witness notary may simply have signed the deeds in advance when filling in the survey information. Several notaries signed deeds for Christie only in Montreal, the most important being Jean-Guillaume Delisle. Almost all of the deeds signed by Napier Burton, in contrast, were notarized by Edme Henry and witnessed by his clerk, F.-M. Pétrimoulx. They were signed at Chambly Manor, many of them on the same day. As it had been more than a year since deeds had been signed, many of the deeds were probably for censitaires who already occupied the lots in question by virtue of a survey warrant or permission to settle. Only 14 deeds were signed by Samuel Potts after Burton's return to England. (See Appendix 1, tables 19 and 20.)

While data from the deeds of concession for the Christie seigneuries can provide information about the general pattern of settlement, they do not provide a precise measure of either settlement or population growth because settlement can occur without land grants, through squatting or the purchase of land already granted, for example. Nor does a land grant always imply settlement. Moreover, the data drawn from the deeds of concession account for only about half of the 215,000 arpents (749 square kilometres) of farm land granted in the seigneuries. The information is well distributed in time, though somewhat less so in space, and thus can be considered representative of the overall pattern of land granting but less precise

with regard to settlement trends. (See Appendix 1, figure 2.) Keeping these reservations in mind, one can nonetheless make some general statements about early settlement on the basis of these deeds of concession, particularly when these patterns are corroborated by other sources.

The two most prominent characteristics of the settlement pattern in this period were the segregation of the population by language, and the greater concentration of the population on the west side of the Richelieu River. These were already evident in a list of inhabitants prepared by Christie in 1791.⁹ Based on heads of household or censitaires, the list indicates that there were 21 inhabitants in Delery and 35 in Lacolle while Bleury and Noyan had only 18 inhabitants each and Sabrevois had 3. These figures contrast sharply with those for Repentigny, also owned by Christie, which had 90 inhabitants at the time. Even these numbers are high, however, because there are duplications on the list. In Lacolle, for example, four individuals of the Odell family account for seven of the inhabitants enumerated.

The concentration of settlement on the west side of the Richelieu indicated in this nominal list is confirmed by the number of early deeds of concession for these seigneuries. Of deeds granted by Christie, 65 were for Lacolle, 20 for Delery, 15 for Noyan, and only 4 for Sabrevois and Bleury. Even after the large number of grants made by Napier Burton, the pattern remained the same and was noted by John Lambert in 1808 as he travelled through this area. The positive influence of the military road which ran from Laprairie (where ferries crossed to Montreal) to St John's and south to New York as well as the barrier to population movement represented by the Richelieu River help explain this phenomenon. But to Lambert, the area along the road was still "a dreary and uncomfortable wilderness" with only a few straggling log huts.¹⁰

The clustering of the population according to ethnic origin was very evident in 1791. In Lacolle, Noyan, and Sabrevois the settlers all have anglophone names, and most are known to have been Loyalists. In Delery and Bleury, almost all have French names and are of Canadian origin. Thus we can see that there were two distinct population movements: one a natural progression of settlement on the part of Canadian farmers into the nearest adjoining concessions; the other, an influx of Loyalists and other Americans, looking for a congenial place to settle and choosing land just north of the border. Once established, this pattern would tend to be reinforced by chain migration and a preference for settling among those of the same language group. This is clear from an examination of the overall distribution of the censitaires by language, inferred from their names

(Appendix 1, figure 5). Unfortunately, when the deeds were signed, the notaries indicated the actual residence of the censitaire rather than the place of origin, which means that the migration patterns of the settlers cannot be reconstructed, particularly in the case of the anglophones who were already residing in the seigneurie in question. It is only by comparing their names with those in Loyalist petitions for nearby townships and from various local histories, that we know that many of the early English settlers in Lacolle and Noyan were Loyalists. In Delery, in these early grants, all but a few of the censitaires came from L'Acadie, the neighbouring parish.

The settlement of these seigneuries was interrupted by the War of 1812. This time, however, settlers did not abandon their farms. They were more numerous and more established in 1812 than they had been during previous conflicts, and most of the serious fighting took place in Upper rather than Lower Canada. The adjacent region in the United States actually continued its trade with Lower Canada and when the British commander, George Prevost, launched his attack in this area in 1814, he was unwilling to attack the settlers on the east side of Lake Champlain who had provided supplies for the army.¹¹ Much of the damage to property was the result of the actions of the British army, and the settlers were able to claim compensation from the government for their losses. From these claims, it is evident that many individual farms were well established, with fenced fields and orchards, and that settlement had made considerable progress since 1791.¹² In general, however, the region remained isolated and was still a frontier.

This isolation is confirmed by Bouchette's 1815 *Topographical Description of Lower Canada*.¹³ A new road ran through the back of Delery and Lacolle, but it was in very bad condition. There were still no villages as such. Odelltown and Burtonville, although marked on the maps of the period and referred to in various war claims, simply indicated the greater concentration of farms along the major road to Montreal. The east side of the river remained even more desolate than the west. The Upper Richelieu Valley was therefore still in a position to accept settlers when population increase from natural growth and the resumption of immigration increased the pressure on available land resources. But after 1815, the timber trade, now largely in the hands of local merchants with British connections and supported by colonial preferences, also increased in importance. The stage was set for a conflict between settlers looking for land and those looking to exploit the timber resources of the area.

The settlement of the Upper Richelieu Valley by farmers of American and Loyalist origin deserves comment. William Smith argued that Americans would avoid Canada if seigneurial tenure were main-

tained. This argument was overstated for political reasons, but it may be that Christie's estate management practices helped to counter the prejudices of potential settlers against this form of tenure. His policy of surveying a large tract of land and opening it to settlement at one time meant that they could expect to establish a new settlement of their own rather than having to settle among the Canadians. The availability of more land nearby for the next generation was also a critical concern to farmers.¹⁴ The Upper Richelieu was also well located relative to the transportation network and to friends and kin left behind in New England, an important consideration. Prospective settlers may also have been reassured by a seigneur who was a British officer.

Some of these settlers had reason to be grateful to Christie, even if the nature of his relationship to them was essentially paternalistic. His land grants were an adequate size, and larger if sons were to be accommodated. Joseph Odell, a Loyalist with many sons, was able to get a location ticket for 1,036 arpents of land in Lacolle.¹⁵ Darby Callaghan received a loan of £250 from Christie to help him get established. But more important, the monopolies established under seigneurial tenure may not have been as important in the context of the frontier economy which was emerging in the Upper Richelieu between 1784 and 1815 as they would be later. Christie's mills promoted development and drew artisans whose services were essential to farmers to the area. His reserves would have been largely irrelevant to these early censitaires because at the time none of them would have been in a position to compete with Christie in the construction of mills. If they had, they likely would have settled elsewhere, but as research on early rural Upper Canada has shown, the monopoly of available mill sites by large proprietors was not restricted to seigneurial areas.¹⁶ Even such restrictions as the one prohibiting the export of logs would have had little impact on farmers with no ties to outside markets. Without saying that these early settlers preferred seigneurial tenure to freehold, one must nonetheless conclude, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that they were reasonably satisfied with the conditions they found in the Christie seigneuries at the time. Paternalism was not yet being called into question.

SEIGNEURIAL RESERVES AND DOMAINS

In the 1780s, the importance of the wheat trade grew, and agricultural production was increasingly linked to the market economy. Several commercial flour mills were built to meet the demands of

this trade. Gabriel Christie became a participant in the trade when he acquired Chambly Mills. This domain became the central focus of his entrepreneurial activities, as his plan to move to Chambly indicates. It was probably because of this shift in focus that the farm at Longue Pointe was sold in 1792,¹⁷ and the house at St John's does not appear to have been rebuilt after the War for Independence. Based on the inventory of Christie's property in 1799, Lacolle was the only other active domain at this time.

At Chambly, Christie had added a large new flour mill to the existing one; it was just at the point of completion when he died in 1799. The storekeepers' account books, which have survived for Chambly Mills between 1800 and 1804,¹⁸ indicate that each of Christie's domains maintained its own identity and accounts but that they traded with one another for certain goods. Thus, Lacolle provided hay for the animals at Chambly, when there was a shortage there, and so on. Without more of the mills' account books or correspondence for this period, however, it is difficult to discuss the role of these mills in the wheat trade.

At Lacolle, the inventory of 1799 indicates that the domain had seen more active times. A cooper's shop and a blacksmith shop were in ruins and the sawmill had fallen into disrepair. Only the gristmill was new. Built in 1788, it held three pairs of stones, one riddle and two bolters.¹⁹ But improvements were planned and in 1799 materials had already been purchased to repair the sawmill. Burton obviously also saw the continued improvement of this domain to be worthwhile, for in 1801 he had bridges built across the river for all of the roads leading from Odelltown to the mill.²⁰

The farm which was part of the domain at Lacolle had fifty arpents of cleared land in fields and prairie. Livestock and poultry were kept on the farm to provide some of the food for the millers and the draught animals required for hauling and farm work. In 1799 Joseph Whitman, a surveyor, was in charge of the domain and Christie's interests generally at Lacolle, but the mill was under the exclusive control of its miller, William Lamoureux. Whitman received £70 per year for his services, the miller, £75. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not Burton maintained them in these positions.

The War of 1812 and the presence of the army on this frontier once again interrupted these operations. Timber was one of the commodities it needed and, as before, the army did not always observe the niceties of property rights before cutting. The buildings on the seigneurial domains were also appropriated for army use. At Chambly Mills, which was located near Fort Chambly, two storage sheds were taken over to serve as extra barracks, one housing 296

men, the other 376. During their occupation, the men did some damage to the property, pulling out and burning the pickets which formed a palisade and fence around the property.²¹ As the most substantial stone building in its area, Lacolle Mill was fortified and served as an outpost for Île aux Noix. A dwelling house just across the river was converted into a blockhouse. As Samuel Potts would complain on Burton's behalf after the war: "ces biens sont devenues la proie publique, et à en juger par la manière libre et absolue dont en s'en empare et dispose, il sembleroit que cette déclaration de guerre auroit, quant à lui, entièrement aboli et anéanti tous ses droits de propriété sur ces biens."²² The flour mill had been stopped from operating, and several men employed for wages were forced to remain inactive. A raid on Lacolle Mill by the American forces on 30 March 1813 was particularly destructive, as Captain Freeman's report of estimated damages (£531) would later show. The solid oak bridge across the Lacolle River was ordered to be burnt, a barn was nearly destroyed, and the milk house, bake house, and smithy were burned. The nearby meadows and the ditches near the house were damaged when the army threw up a bush works around the house. The army also chopped 255 cords of wood, cut 100 acres of timber, and destroyed 400 trees by taking their bark for huts.²³ Given the extensive damage, Potts at first refused to meet with Captain Davis to receive possession of the property but the claim was eventually settled for £237.10.00.²⁴

CONCLUSION

The period from 1783 to 1815 was very significant for the history and development of the Christie seigneuries in the Upper Richelieu Valley. Although this remained a frontier area, isolated and subject to the depredations of war, it was in this period that the institutional and geographical framework of future development was set. The most important aspects of seigneurial tenure in the area – the monopoly of timber and milling – were established by Gabriel Christie and continued by his successors. The best locations for mill sites and domains were reserved, and a general plan for the survey of the censive and the practice of surveying before settlement were established.

As an entrepreneur willing to invest in mills in an area too isolated to have attracted much interest from others, Christie promoted its economic development. His decision to survey the seigneuries before settlement helped to draw settlers into the area. Although these activities were undertaken in response to larger forces such as the

influx of Loyalist settlers after the American Revolution, they nonetheless helped to shape the particular character of this region and the ways in which it would be affected by these larger trends. In consequence the Upper Richelieu Valley was one of the few seigneurial areas to be settled by a significant anglophone population.

The Napoleonic wars had major repercussions in the British North American colonies. Napoleon's blockade to prevent continental Europe trading with Britain jeopardized the latter's traditional trade with the Baltic for naval stores and stimulated the search for alternative sources of timber. The vast forests of British North America were a logical alternative source of supply, but because of the high cost of transporting this bulky commodity, tariff protection was offered to merchants to induce them to pursue this trade after 1795. In 1810 an increase in the tariffs on imports from non-colonial sources and the continental blockade combined to produce an increase in the market price of timber in North America. Exports became more varied, including deals (of sawn lumber), potash, and ships, rather than just square timber and masts. Although the Ottawa Valley and New Brunswick would emerge as the most significant areas of production, the Upper Richelieu Valley also felt the long-term effects of these changes. Under these new economic conditions, the seigneurial monopolies established by Gabriel Christie and Napier Christie Burton would take on a greater significance and the legitimacy of seigneurialism would be challenged. The management practices of Edme Henry who took over the administration of the seigneuries in 1815 would also be a major factor in their impact.

Growing Tensions,
1815-1835

Edme Henry was the son of a French army surgeon who had served in New France during the Seven Years' War. He served his apprenticeship as a notary under Simon Sanguinet and received his commission in 1783. He began his practice in Montreal, but after an interruption caused by family matters, he established himself in Laprairie. Henry saw action in the War of 1812 as a militia officer. In 1810 he had been elected to the House of Assembly as representative for Huntingdon but, because of the war, did not actually attend the assembly. The widower of Eunice Parker, he married Marie-Clothilde Girardin, the widow of a wealthy Laprairie merchant (Jean-Baptiste Raymond) in 1828, which not only improved his financial situation, but also provided him with important connections.¹

Henry's personal business interests seem to have been served by the economic development of the wider region south of Montreal, including the Eastern Townships, rather than just the more limited area of the Christie seigneuries. He was also the government's agent for the seigneurie of Laprairie, and it was here that he became a major landholder, possibly by taking advantage of the seigneurial *droit de retrait*. He had also received property in the Eastern Townships for his service during the War of 1812.² As his financial situation improved he invested in other projects such as the steamboat, *Edme Henry*, a mill site in Stanbridge, and, in 1837, a private bank.³

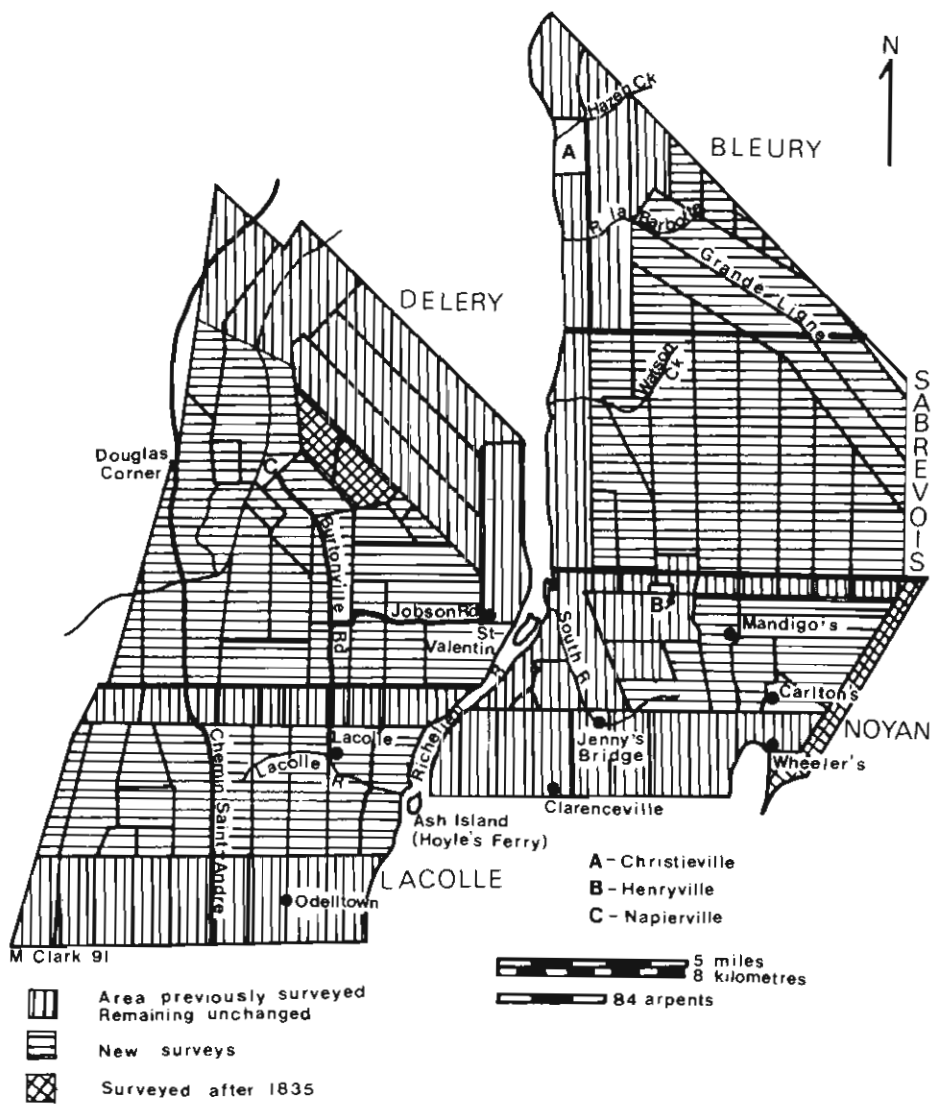
At the time of his appointment as land agent for Napier Christie Burton in 1815, Henry had already acted for both Gabriel Christie and Burton in the capacity of notary, as well as for Burton in the collection of debts due the Christie estate. For the next twenty years, he held all of the power and privileges of seigneur in Burton's seigneuries. Unfortunately, the nature of his arrangement with Burton is not known. It would be of considerable interest to know whether

or not Henry received a salary or a commission on the revenue generated by the seigneuries, and whether or not he was allowed to reinvest revenue in the seigneuries rather than to remit it to Burton. Burton was wealthy in his own right and could probably have afforded to forgo this revenue, but he did not have any of his own capital invested in the seigneuries. Henry's actions do not appear to have been circumscribed in any way by instructions from Burton, but without correspondence to serve as evidence one way or the other, his policies can only be reconstructed by assessing his actual practices.

Many of the practices which distinguish Henry's administration are related to the changing economic climate, which increased the importance of the timber industry, and to the absence of any seigneurial investment in the domains. Unlike the previous period of direct seigneurial control over the exploitation of resources, Henry's administration is characterized by the decentralization of seigneurial rights over timber and milling. New deeds no longer reserved oak and pine for the seigneur, and this clause was no longer enforced in previously granted areas. The rapid granting of the remaining land in the seigneuries meant that timber merchants could acquire the white pine suitable for sale as square timber on their own land or on that of others. The establishment of mills remained a seigneurial monopoly, but interested parties were allowed to lease the seigneur's water privileges. A petty bourgeoisie emerged which took advantage of the opportunities provided by these changes. The development of the Upper Richelieu Valley might therefore appear to escape seigneurial control in this period. In fact this was far from true. The petty bourgeoisie remained dependent on the good will of the seigneurial agent in obtaining the land grants and mill leases which were crucial to their exploitation of the area's resources.

SURVEYS AND LAND GRANTS

Much of the interior of the seigneuries remained unsurveyed when Henry began his administration as land agent. In general, he built on the existing surveys, but in some areas where drainage was a problem and had not been taken into account in the original survey, he initiated new surveys which did. Survey before settlement, however, remained the rule. Watson's survey plan of Noyan which called for diagonal lots the entire width of the seigneurie was abandoned in the interior and the new surveys in Noyan were integrated with those in Sabrevois and Bleury (see Map 4).



Map 4 New Surveys, 1815-35.

An examination of the survey pattern in this area indicates that when these concessions were surveyed by Seth Warner, Stephen Westover, and Alexander Stephenson,⁴ they did not establish the boundaries between Bleury and Sabrevois and between Sabrevois and Noyan, but treated them as one unit (see Map 6, page 140). From the southern part of Bleury to the northern section of Noyan the concessions were surveyed as standard lots (4 x 28 arpents), some irregularities in depth arising because of the running of the lines. Most were double ranges, thus reducing the need for road construction. In the central part of Noyan, the surveys were oriented by the desired road pattern which joined the local taverns (Mandigo's, Carlton's, and Wheeler's) and followed the heights of land to avoid marshes. A major characteristic of the survey landscape in this area was the diagonal "Grande Ligne" surveyed from the rear of the second concession in Bleury to the rear of Sabrevois. Surveyed as a double range, this was in effect a colonization road similar to those laid out in Upper Canadian townships. Settlement and the construction of the front road would link the township of Stanbridge to the Richelieu River near Christieville, opposite St John's, well before the interior of Sabrevois was completely settled. The owners of sawmills in the area would benefit from the better access to their mills while the interior of Sabrevois, an area of good timber, remained largely untouched by settlement. Merchants at Christieville who acted as agents for Eastern Townships lumber would also have benefited.⁵ The evidence is circumstantial, but it appears that Henry was using his powers as agent to favour Eastern Townships interests.

Although the survey record is sketchy for Delery and Lacolle, we know that some new surveys (which superseded those by Christie) were conducted by Joseph Whitman in 1817 and 1820 in Delery and between 1826 and 1828 in Lacolle. John Wingate conducted surveys on the Domain and North of the Domain in Lacolle and in the rear of Delery in 1820 and 1821.⁶ As in the other seigneuries, these new surveys were more closely oriented to the existing road network and took the poor drainage of the seigneuries more into account than the systematic early surveys had done.

Edme Henry made 511 land grants in the Christie seigneuries, mostly before 1825, which almost doubled the area granted. The deeds for these grants represented a significant amount of notarial work which was Henry's to distribute. Because he could not notarize deeds to which he was a party (as agent), Henry seems to have gone into partnership with Louis Barbeau, his nephew and first notarial clerk, to turn the situation to his advantage.⁷ Both men had sufficient

work to be able to take on apprentices, and most of the notaries who passed through a clerkship under Henry or Barbeau seem to have maintained their connection with them for some time. Pierre Lanctôt and Roger Dandurand both served their apprenticeship under Henry and later signed deeds for him. Along with Barbeau, they signed as witnesses for one another which suggests that they were in partnership with Henry or had some form of arrangement with him regarding the work created by his duties as agent. This gave Henry the advantage of dealing with subscribing notaries whom he had trained to keep good clear registers of numbered acts. Lanctôt later moved to L'Acadie where he was sub-agent for Henry. There, his deeds were always witnessed by Louis Decoigne, evidently a junior notary. The volume of work which passed through their hands was sufficient to allow them to take on clerks as well. Barbeau trained both L.-A. Moreau, who would also work for Henry later, and Médard Hébert who became Henry's son-in-law. Other local notaries who apprenticed under them include Jean-Baptiste Varin who served under both Lanctôt and Barbeau and Pierre-Paul Demaray who started his clerkship under Lanctôt in L'Acadie.⁸ That Henry and his colleagues were able to take on clerks is a reflection of the volume of their work, much of which came from the seigneurial accounts controlled by Henry. (See Appendix 1, table 18 and figure 4.)

Although some of the grants made by Henry were to settlers, the rapidity of the granting of the land favoured speculation, defined here simply as acquiring undeveloped land and holding it in its natural state in order to make a profit from it at later date. It was not the acquisition of land to exploit its timber which constituted speculation, therefore, so much as the frequent delay in exploitation which was associated with such grants. The process of settlement and of timber exploitation were not mutually antagonistic,⁹ but speculation was decried here, as elsewhere, because it retarded the development of roads and other amenities that come with intensive settlement. Henry was immune to complaints of this nature. His major concern seems to have been to allocate lands to his own greatest advantage.

Land grants were made both to Canadian habitants from the neighbouring areas, especially the adjacent parish of Ste-Marguerite-de-Blairfindie (L'Acadie), and to English-speaking settlers, who were mostly of American origin.¹⁰ The first group usually signed their deeds in the office of Henry's sub-agent in L'Acadie, Pierre Lanctôt. Henry also made tours of the seigneuries stopping at Odelltown,

Henryville, and Christieville and staying at local inns.¹¹ Most of the English-speaking censitaires signed their deeds at one of these locations.

The average size of the grants made by Henry was 118 arpents, but this has little significance since the actual areas ranged from 25 to 963 arpents. Nor does this take into account the fact that a small number of individuals received more than one grant. Forty-three censitaires received a cumulative area greater than 240 arpents from Henry. Of these Nicolas Martin, Constant Cartier, and Basile Giroux each received more than 1,000 arpents. Joseph Piedalu received the entire Sixth Concession River la Barbotte in Bleury, and at a rent of only £1.15.4 per 112 arpents, much less than the usual £2.2.6. Reuben Randall, who had leased a mill in Lacolle, received several parcels nearby; Robert Hoyle, timber merchant and farmer, received Ash Island where he would cut a canal for a ferry crossing; an American merchant, Horace Wells, received 994 arpents in Sabrevois;¹² Patrick McKeemond, timber merchant, received 929 arpents. The pattern is clear: those who received large land grants were members of the local bourgeoisie, usually timber merchants. This is not necessarily a sign of Henry's generosity or favouritism. More likely, it reflects his practice of "selling" ungranted timber lands to those able and willing to pay for them, which meant that they were more likely to be taken up by merchants than by farmers. Moreover, most of these lands were located on the previously reserved domains and Henry granted these at a higher rate of *cens et rentes* than lands in other concessions,¹³ yet another reason why their purchasers were more likely to be merchants. Such practices caused much resentment.

SEIGNEUR AND CENSITAIRE

The relationship between seigneur and censitaire deteriorated during Henry's administration. His management practices were seen as abusive by the censitaires who resented the high rents¹⁴ and the many different ways that Henry used the system to his advantage and to their detriment. This resentment was expressed through petitions to the Legislative Assembly for changes. It responded by forming a committee to inquire into the matter. As long as Henry was still agent, however, there was a limit on the extent to which this resentment of the censitaires could be safely expressed. Staying on his good side was important if one wanted to obtain land or mill privileges. There were clear limits on the extent to which censitaires could or would challenge the paternalistic institutions which controlled their economic destinies.

Even Robert Hoyle, the member for L'Acadie, who supported measures in the Assembly to bring about a change in the seigneurial system, added a caution when he wrote to his wife Eliza asking her to discuss this with the individuals most likely to be called before the committee: "let it be rather *confidential* for I should regret, to provoke or offend Mr Henry the agent, unnecessarily, by saying much publicly. – I am doing all I can, in a very quiet way for my friends."¹⁵ In fact, the Assembly did not have the necessary political power to reform seigneurial tenure, and these petitions are of interest primarily as an indication of the concerns of the inhabitants.

One of the seigneurial privileges which Henry used to his advantage was the *droit de retrait*, or right of re-entry. Tradition has it that the censitaires invariably tried to cheat their seigneur of his full share of the *lods et ventes* by declaring a lesser amount than the actual price of the sale. If the seigneur suspected such fraud he could apply his *droit de retrait* and acquire the property at the declared value. The threat of such action was usually enough to have the full price declared. According to hearsay evidence, Henry was on the lookout for such frauds and used them to advantage:

Mr Henry and other agents, find out many secrets of sales and real prices of farms sold from the wives and relatives of tenants, and in that way detect frauds of nominal prices given to the agent ... [Henry] always keeps the proposal of sales the 40 days, to try and discover any frauds; or should he find another purchaser, who will give a consideration and a higher rent, he has time to receive and pay the money to the seller, without advancing his own capital; or if he wishes to purchase it himself, he can do it.¹⁶

What was by far Henry's greatest crime in the eyes of the censitaires, however, was undoubtedly his practice of "selling" un-conceded land. Strictly speaking, this was illegal, because it went counter to the French king's regulations on seigneurial tenure, known as the Edicts of Marly. These should have been respected by virtue of the Quebec Act of 1774 which re-established French laws regarding land tenure in their entirety. Unlike Christie, who reserved good pine lands for his own use, Henry was willing to grant these, as long as he received some consideration for doing so. There were various ways in which this could be done. One was to claim that the land had already been granted in the past and that arrears in *cens et rentes* had to be paid to acquire it. Another was to have the censitaire sign a obligation "for value received." Documenting such practices is difficult, of course, because there is rarely a paper trail.¹⁷ The censitaires did, however, record their resentment of such prac-

tices. In the 1843 enquiry on seigneurial tenure, one witness stated: "I am informed by a person who had the means of knowing that E. Henry Esq. agent for N.C. Burton frequently made a demand and received money under pretenses of arrears of rent due previous to the occupation of the land by the person wishing to obtain the same – Samuel Miller, and Silas White of Sabrevois paid twenty-five pounds each for lots on which they settled."¹⁸

If these practices upset those who tried to get lots but could not because they could not afford to pay the price Henry was asking, others were willing to go along with him. Standing timber had become valuable, and merchants, if not farmers, were willing to pay to obtain the land on which it stood. This economic fact undermined any attempt to prevent such practices. Beneath this seigneur-censitaire conflict was that between those who saw land in terms of its use value and those who saw it in terms of its market value. Henry was decidedly among the latter.

The censitaires' resentment of Henry's practices came out most clearly after the death of Napier Christie Burton in 1835, when the executors attempted to collect the arrears in *cens et rentes* and *lods et ventes* that had been allowed to accumulate under Henry. While he was agent, Henry apparently did not keep accurate records of the *cens et rentes* paid by the censitaires. Instead, rents and other payments were simply acquitted on a small slip of paper which could easily be lost. This placed the onus on the censitaire to keep his own records or at least to hang on to these receipts, not the easiest task especially for the many who were illiterate. If they lost any of their receipts, they would be expected to pay again. This became particularly evident when Henry resorted to a procedure known as declaration and acknowledgment to collect the arrears due Burton's estate. The new seigneur's right to such a declaration at each succession was one of the terms of all the deeds of concession granted in the seigneuries, but the estate's position was less clear. When they were asked to exhibit their title, including all of their receipts for rents paid, and to acknowledge their debt for the arrears owing since their last receipt, many of the censitaires refused. The document they were asked to sign also stipulated that the debt would bear 6 per cent interest until paid. Some obligations ran as high as £50 or £60. The Patriote leader, Dr Cyrille-Hector-Octave Côté, of Napierville protested to the Standing Committee on Land and Seigneurial Rights in 1836 that this would be the ruin of the people.¹⁹ Henry's attempt to collect these arrears coincided with the growing radicalization of the *patriote* movement and undoubtedly contributed to the mobilization of some of these censitaires in support of the Rebellions.

Dr Côté received their commendation when he called for the abolition of seigneurial tenure.

The turmoil of the Rebellions worked against the Burton executors for the next two years. When the smoke cleared, however, there was increased pressure on the censitaires to pay. Those who had continued to refuse to exhibit their title or to pay were sued. In the case of Louis Dumas, the executors claimed that he had been bound to exhibit his title within twenty days of acquiring the lot, but had failed to do so then and since. He was therefore liable for a fine of four shillings and four pence. Furthermore, not having paid *cens et rentes* for twenty-nine years, he owed the executors £30.16.3 in arrears.²⁰ Dumas was far from alone in his predicament.

In response to this renewed assault, the censitaires of Delery and Lacolle decided to join forces to challenge the validity of the executors' actions in the courts. On 27 July 1840, sixty-one men and one woman appeared before the notary Jean-Baptiste Bornais to bind themselves in mutual obligation to pursue this cause. They stated that the arrears demanded would ruin them. Furthermore, they claimed that the land in the seigneurie of Delery had been conceded at too high a rate of *cens et rentes* if traditional practices were followed. They agreed to help financially those who were sued until a final judgment was reached by a superior court in Canada or in England. Daniel McCallum, Antoine Girard, François-Xavier Aubin, Michel Lamoureux, Joseph Boudreault, and Magloire Lemelin were named as treasurers to ensure that everyone paid their share of the cost. Daniel Stott was appointed their representative and given power of attorney to appoint a lawyer or lawyers to act for them and to engage in all of the research and other means necessary to their action.²¹ The case which went to trial was that of Hamilton et al *vs.* Lamoureux.²² The plaintiff argued that Burton had never had the right to demand the high rents he did because they were greater than was usual in the seigneurie of Delery. As he was no longer seigneur, it was argued, he did not have the right to demand an exhibition of title. It took several years for the case to go through the court system during which time it was difficult for the executors to force the censitaires to pay. They could still hope for a victory.

Frustrated by these delays and unfamiliar with seigneurial tenure and the collection procedures available to them, the English executors of Burton's will were persuaded by Henry to sell their rights and arrears to a third party. A private agreement was signed with Henry's grandson, Alfred Pinsoneault, on 27 December 1839,²³ and for the sum of £2,221 he obtained title to these arrears. A Montreal lawyer, Pinsoneault had the judicial system and time on his side,

unlike Henry who died in 1841. The sale was made at a high discount and in arranging this sale to his grandson, Henry assured that the gains to be made in the collecting of these debts would favour his own family rather than Burton's heiress. From beginning to end, therefore, he had seen to his own interests in his administration of Burton's estate. Popular belief at the time held that Pinsoneault had acquired these rights for virtually nothing, adding to the resentment at having to pay these arrears. This transaction became just one more example of Henry's perfidy: "Another trick was this: Mr Henry sent his grand-son, Alfred Pinsoneault, to England, for the purpose of imposing upon the heirs of the late General Christie [Burton], giving them to understand that the arrears of their seigneuries were worth very little, inasmuch as the greater part of the *Censitaires* were unable to pay them, so that they sold them to him, or rather gave them, so to say, for he gave almost nothing for these arrears."²⁴

In 1846, the judges came out firmly in favour of the executors and condemned Lamoureaux to pay twenty-four years of *cens et rentes* and *corvée*. Defeated in the field, the *censitaires* would not find victory in the courts. With the end of uncertainty as to his rights and with economic conditions improving, Pinsoneault intensified his efforts to collect. A parchment copy of his agreement with the executors was deposited in the records of notary I.J. Gibb of Montreal where sceptics could satisfy themselves as to the authenticity of his rights. A second acknowledgment and obligation, in Pinsoneault's favour, was exacted from the *censitaires* and like the first, the amount declared to be owing was to bear interest at 6 per cent. The notary L.-A. Moreau acted as the depositor of these acknowledgments, some 850 of them, signed between 1847 and 1850. Even without tabulating the details of these obligations, it is evident that the *censitaires* who owed arrears in 1835 were numerous.²⁵ It would take years before these obligations would be cleared away and during that time many properties would be sold.

Arrears in rent, however, were common in all periods and in many other seigneuries. It therefore seems unlikely that the accumulation of debt was in itself entirely to blame for the poor relations between the seigneur and the *censitaires* during Henry's administration. But the drive to collect large sums in arrears came after twenty years during which many of the *censitaires* had accumulated other grievances against Henry, and in economically difficult times. In the final analysis, Henry was only the agent of an unknown and absentee seigneur to whom the *censitaires* had no ties and bore no loyalties. That he should benefit from this position at their expense, particularly in ways that the *censitaires* considered an abuse of the system

and not entirely within his right, irritated them perhaps even more than if Henry had been seigneur himself. His administration had not displayed the more benevolent characteristics of paternalism which had helped to allay resentments under Gabriel Christie's régime. As an officer used to command,²⁶ a patron who gave employment to many and who invested in the development of the region, Christie would have been in a position to command respect and loyalty despite occasional brushes with his censitaires. Henry's situation was quite different. His social status was not much higher than that of the censitaires, and Burton was draining seigneurial revenues from the area not investing in its development. With no basis on which to command the censitaires' loyalty, Henry ruled through fear and intimidation instead. This does not mean that the paternalist structure had been dismantled but that its ability to mitigate conflict was reduced, especially since "feudal" institutions generally were being challenged as the years went by.

MILL PRIVILEGES AND THE RISE OF A PETTY BOURGEOISIE

During Henry's administration of the Christie seigneuries rural industries multiplied and villages began to emerge. Seigneurial power remained in place, but control was relaxed and a decentralization of that power occurred. Those who obtained grist- and sawmill leases acquired a share of that power, the monopoly rights of the seigneur. Mills had been leased earlier on, but not as systematically as under Henry, which seems to reflect Burton's lack of interest in personally operating the mills over which he had a monopoly.

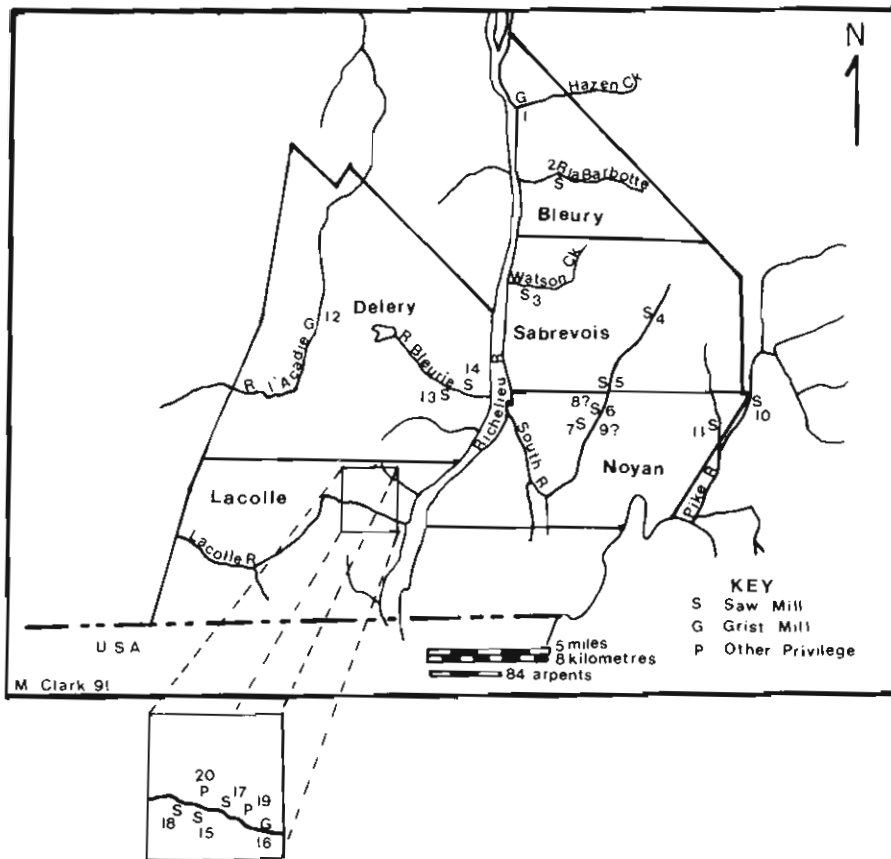
As a rule, a mill lease ran for a nine-year term. The annual rent varied from as low as £6.5.0 for a sawmill privilege when the mill was to be constructed by the lessee to as high as £200 for a gristmill privilege. Generally, sawmill leases were for £25 to £50 per year. At the end of the lease the privilege and all the improvements on it reverted to the seigneur. The lessee was liable for all damages which might occur as a result of flooding caused by the mill dam and for repairs. When more than one mill site was granted on the same stream, the agreement would also protect the rights of the other lessees. The privilege at Warner's Upper Mill, for example, did not include the right to change the natural course of water upstream, as another privilege was granted above that.²⁷ The terms of these leases were fairly uniform, but the seigneur's allocation of a lease was arbitrary, subject to patronage.²⁸ Once a lease was obtained, however, milling activities could be lucrative and this decentralization

of seigniorial power assisted the emergence of a local petty bourgeoisie.

The sawmills of this period were not expensive structures,²⁹ and a sawyer could anticipate a profit even within the nine-year period of a normal lease. At least nine mill seats were established in the seigneuries before 1834 (Map 5) and eight sawmills were operating in 1831 according to the census. Unfortunately it has not been possible to reconstruct a complete record of the mill leases granted by Henry. The only existing mills when Henry began his agency were at Lacolle. Watson's Mill in Sabrevois and Warner's Upper Mill in Henryville were probably developed by those surveyors but these leases have not been found. By 1829, both had been leased to Richard Bower of Sabrevois.³⁰ Another of Henry's associates to receive permission to build was Louis Barbeau, but there is no record of his having built a mill on the Bleurie River lot conceded to him in 1828.³¹ In 1830, Bronson Meigs of Swanton, Vermont, received permission to build a new mill on River la Barbotte in Bleury, paying only £6.5.0 per year during the nine-year term of his lease.³² A list of arrears owing in 1835 for mills indicates that a number of others held leases at various times, but that they must have abandoned them before their termination.³³

Gristmills, being more expensive, were less numerous. That at Lacolle was the earliest established in the Christie seigneuries, but there is no record of its lease during Henry's administration. A new gristmill was built on the domain at Napierville. In 1829 it and a double sawmill were leased for £200 per year.³⁴ In 1834 the mills at Napierville were leased to James Fife Jr for £76 per year, not including the rent of a house on the premises which he also occupied.³⁵ In 1833, a lease was granted to Richard and William McGinnis to build a gristmill at Christieville. With the exception of the latter, who becomes agent in 1835, little is known about these lessees.

Two of the mill privileges on Lacolle River were private mills owned by an individual rather than leased, but the exact nature of their acquisition from the seigneur is not known. One was owned by Nehemiah Hotchkiss, a Laprairie merchant who may have had business dealings with Henry. He himself would never move to Lacolle but his sons would. In August of 1822 he leased his sawmill to Reuben Randall of Champlain, New York, who was to put the mill and mill dam in good repair and deliver them as such at the end of two years.³⁶ Randall agreed to pay £62.10.0 for the lease, to be paid through the construction of a house for the miller on a lot south of the mill. Hotchkiss specified only that it should be 20 feet by 14 feet, have good tight floors and roof, and a comfortable chimney. Al-



Key

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Hazen Creek | 11 Pike River Lower Falls |
| 2 River la Barbotte | 12 Napierville |
| 3 Watson's Mill | 13 River Bleurie, Lot 13 |
| 4 Sabrevois - 5th | 14 Saint-Valentin, Lot 8 |
| 5 Warner's Upper Mill | 15 Lacolle - Upper Mill |
| 6 Warner's Lower Mill | 16 Lacolle - Lower Mill |
| 7 Henryville | 17 MacCallum Mill |
| 8 Henryville Steam Sawmill | 18 Odell Mill |
| 9 Henryville Wind Gristmill | 19 Lacolle - Lot 6 |
| 10 Pike River Upper Falls | 20 Vanvliet Water Privilege |

Map 5 Mill Sites and Reserves.
Source: Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries."

though Randall did not settle in Lacolle either, he was granted several lots of land, a total of 896 arpents, close to the sawmill around this time.³⁷ One finds no trace of him in the seigneuries later. No doubt he used the timber on these lands to supply the mill and once it was gone, sold the lots or, more likely, allowed them to revert to the seigneur for unpaid seigneurial dues.³⁸ This case history makes it clear that the exploitation of timber by absentee proprietors received Henry's approbation. He could not have been unaware of Randall's purpose in obtaining this land because the lease between Hotchkiss and Randall was notarized by his associate, Pierre Gamelin of Laprairie.

The second private mill site at Lacolle had been granted to the Loyalist settler, Joseph Odell, before the War of 1812. His inventory after death indicates that in 1824 the mill was equipped with two saws and valued at £90.³⁹ It was inherited by his son, William J. Odell. Like many of the others who operated sawmills in the seigneuries, Odell's primary occupation was farming. At the time of his death in 1824 his farm was described as being in a high state of cultivation and included orchards of plum and cherry trees as well as fields and pasture. As well, he operated a store, a blacksmith shop, and a potashery on his property on Odelltown Road. He also owned a lot on the Lacolle River, part of which he later subdivided into village lots. He and his sons after him were respected members of the community, holding various local positions of authority including commissions in the militia.⁴⁰ Odell's inventory indicates that in 1824 his estate was valued at £8,592, a large proportion of which consisted of outstanding debts (43 per cent or £3,650) and real property (41 per cent or £3,539). The remaining 16 per cent or £1,403 consisted of movables. If the items are divided according to their use, however, his mercantile interests accounted for 53 per cent of the total value, the farm and personal estate for 41 per cent, and his industrial assets for only 6 per cent.⁴¹ Odell may not be typical, but one suspects that he was, and that many of the entrepreneurs who obtained mill leases were involved in other activities as well.

Because Henry did not impose a monopoly on the cutting of timber or the sale of logs (as Christie had), the timber trade was another area of activity open to the local bourgeoisie. One of the timber merchants known to have been active in the seigneuries at this time was Patrick McKeemond. He and his son of the same name were Irish immigrants who settled in Bleury. Together they were conceded 1,130 arpents of land, mostly in the concession, Northeast Side of Grande Ligne (Map 6).⁴² Although the senior McKeemond established himself as a farmer, his son became a timber merchant,

contracting to buy pine logs in 1829.⁴³ He may have intended to market these himself, but an agreement signed a few days later to supply William Parker of Quebec City with 1,000 toises of white pine logs turned him into a local agent for Parker instead. Parker also agreed not to contract for any more timber from the seigneurie of Bleury without McKeemond's consent. How well their enterprises flourished is not known, but the McKeemonds remained in the seigneuries at least until 1837–8 when they were active in the Rebellions.⁴⁴

Robert Hoyle, an English immigrant who had been a timber merchant and miller in New York before deciding to move to Lacolle, was involved in a number of business activities in Lacolle and area, including the timber trade and sawmilling.⁴⁵ Having realized £1,000 on the sale of his New York property, he had some capital with which to establish himself. He acquired a number of land parcels in Lacolle and Delery and arranged for the cutting and hauling of white pine from his own lands as well as from those of others as a number of contracts signed in 1827 indicate. In one of these, his subcontractor agreed to accept part of his payment in supplies for his men taken from Hoyle's store and was given the "right to take store pay or other property on account of said sum during the time that he shall work at said contract as for the payment of his men or other things he shall want." Hoyle was therefore multiplying the benefits from his activities as a timber merchant by operating a store as well in accordance with the well-known principles that govern truck pay.⁴⁶

Hoyle was the representative for L'Acadie in the House of Assembly at this time and had to direct his enterprises through written instructions during part of the year, but this does not seem to have diminished his activities which, as his letters show, were very diversified. Eliza Nye Hoyle, his wife, was left in command and to supervise the work of her stepson, Henry. Robert's brother, Henry, had his power of attorney in the event that her tacit authority was insufficient for her to act for her husband. Having been conceded Ash Island, he had a canal cut through it in order to run a ferry across the Richelieu at this location. In 1832 he was building a sawmill and hoped to start operating in the spring of 1833. In the meantime, he wrote to his wife stressing that his own men "cannot get & draw too much wood, or too many rails & pickets" and "Henry must make it known that I will cut good green or sound pine logs on shares, or *buy them*, the inhabitants need not fear, I will saw or buy all the good pine logs they can get in."⁴⁷ His emphasis suggests that there was a certain reluctance on the part of the habitants to cut logs on spec-

ulation and that they had to be assured a market before they would invest their energy in that direction. In 1834 he leased this mill (located on Beaver Creek in Delery) to Alexis Boudriau dit Labonté for ten years, accepting payment for it in pine boards: 11,000 feet in the first five years and 12,000 feet in the next five.⁴⁸

Hoyle also kept a close watch on the price of farm produce and would often give instructions to buy up hay, oats, or wheat if he thought they would become expensive in the winter. In 1834, one of his men was involved in the making of bricks. The care of his livestock, particularly his horses, also received considerable attention in his letters. In 1835 he obtained the right to a mill and water privilege on the Magog River, expecting to make a large sum of money if his speculation materialized, but it does not seem to have done so. Although Hoyle would have considered himself a farmer, his activities were so diverse that this does not seem an adequate description. He exemplifies the entrepreneurship of the more successful class of farmers. It is clear that he consciously sought to involve himself in the market economy and was willing to risk some of his assets in an attempt to obtain windfall profits.

A sense of his family's life style can also be gained from Hoyle's letters. They were not dependent on the family's labour but hired a servant for the house and several farm labourers. Despite the cost, the education of their children was a high priority. Hoyle's daughters were expected to learn the piano and to practise as much as they could. Presumably, then, they had a piano in their home. When her own schooling was finished, one daughter, Marguerite, opened a school in Lacolle. The clothing they wore was not extravagant. His wife Eliza made most of the women's clothes, but his son's clothing, and a few special items for the women, were purchased. His son was expected, however, to take good care of the expensive suit he had been given. Entertainment and leisure for the family consisted primarily of visiting or going driving. Later, while in Stanstead, Hoyle comments on the fact that riding has become popular for women. When relatives were far away, however, visiting could be expensive, and they did not always have the funds to travel when they wished. His own health and that of his family's was also one of his major concerns, especially when those around him were struck by illness, a common occurrence.

The theme which is perhaps the most pervasive in Hoyle's correspondence, however, is his need for cash. He had many business dealings and many people owed him money, but collecting was always difficult which meant that he did not always have the cash he needed at his disposal. This was particularly true when he was at

Quebec as a member of the Assembly and faced the extra expenses of room and board and travel. To have a secure cash income he therefore petitioned for the position of collector of customs at Stanstead when it became available in 1834. The post was to pay about £100 per year from the fees collected. He obtained the appointment, but it proved to be a disappointment because the customs laws were changed. Throughout the early 1840s, however, Hoyle did not feel secure enough to quit this post even though it meant being separated from his family for long periods of time. During this period of economic hard times many people talked of moving west and a few actually did, but cash continued to be scarce and it was difficult to sell farms in Lower Canada for enough money to make the move worthwhile. Hoyle watched the sheriff's sales to be sure that if his creditors sold their property, he could collect his outstanding debts. Even though Robert Hoyle continued to have a cash flow problem, he, like his brother Henry and his brothers-in-law, Freeman and Bartlett Nye, was becoming one of the largest land proprietors in the seigneurie of Lacolle.⁴⁹

Hoyle's correspondence helps us to understand the special problems and frustrations of the growing petty bourgeoisie in this region during the 1830s and 1840s. They were certainly better off than many of their neighbours and their life style was far from impoverished. But their economic security remained fragile. They could see the opportunities and the money to be made as well as the wealthier merchants could, but they usually could not raise the money or, rather, they could not afford to risk their money in large-scale speculations. Their gains and their losses were therefore less spectacular. It was this group which was most vocal in expressing its discontent with the existing system, not the poor or the landless. Having settled in an area and tied their economic well-being to that of the region, this petty bourgeoisie had the most to gain by displacing the economic hold of outsiders, whether seigneurs or merchant capitalists. In the Upper Richelieu Valley where many maintained their ties to friends, relatives, and business associates in the United States, and where much of the trade was north-south, their politics did not correspond to those of the metropolitan merchants and bureaucrats in power. Although some, like Hoyle, refused to participate in the Rebellions, others, like the McKeemonds, did. Loyalty to the British crown and other non-economic considerations entered into that particular choice, but there is little question that, overall, even those who benefited from the decentralization of seigneurial power during Edme Henry's administration would have liked to see that power ended.

POPULATION GROWTH AND
THE EMERGENCE OF VILLAGES

Immigration to both Upper and Lower Canada after 1815 provided one stimulus to the economy. Another was the trade in timber, potash, and wheat. These were the major staple items which could be used to pay for imported goods. As rural inhabitants became more integrated into the market economy, an increasing number of small merchants and storekeepers established themselves in the countryside. Along with the establishment of mills, the opening of schools and churches, and the growth of a non-agricultural rural population, this development led to the emergence of new village centres. The process was perhaps most noticeable in Upper Canada, but as Serge Courville has recently demonstrated, it was also very evident in the development of Lower Canada in this period. Many of the new villages to emerge in Lower Canada were located in the District of Montreal. The greatest growth in the number of villages occurred between 1815 and 1831.⁵⁰

The Upper Richelieu Valley shared in this population growth and economic change. Three villages were established as a result of direct promotion by the seigneur and two arose from individual initiative, while the growth of others was more haphazard in nature. The emergence of villages was evidence of the growing diversification of the rural economy, particularly in the areas of early settlement. In 1831 the population of the five Christie seigneuries had reached 13,412 (Appendix 11, table 23). Delery had 5,422 inhabitants, more than twice as many as Noyan (2,429), Bleury (2,283), and Lacolle (2,154) and over four times the population of Sabrevois (1,124).

The three villages established by Edme Henry in 1815 were Napierville, Christieville, and Henryville (see Map 4, page 55). The first two were established on an existing domain where considerable land was available. Henryville was located on land which had already been surveyed for farm lots but which was reacquired for the purpose of establishing the village; it was therefore smaller. Village lot sizes varied. In Christieville, the norm was 72 by 108 feet, the equivalent of one-quarter of an arpent. In Napierville, half-arpent lots were usual and in Henryville four-arpent lots. Each village was located near a mill site and on a major road. It is likely that villages would have emerged in these locations without seigneurial involvement, but by controlling the survey of the village and granting village lots directly to censitaires, the seigneur could collect a higher *cens et rentes* than that for farm lots and establish other conditions for settlement. A special form was created for village deeds of concession which was

simpler than those for farm lots but included special clauses relating to village settlement. A house was to be built and occupied within a year, fences had to be built between neighbours, and the streets had to be levelled and maintained so as to be passable at all times. If these conditions were not met, the seigneur reserved the right to re-enter into possession of the lot as though the grant had not been made, "attendu que l'intention est dans la vue d'augmenter le village."⁵¹

The average rate of rent collected from farmland overall in the Christie seigneuries was 4.74 pence per arpent. In contrast, village rents averaged 85 pence per arpent. There was evidently an advantage to the seigneur, therefore, in establishing villages on the domain rather than allowing them to emerge elsewhere. The actual rates within the villages varied, with Henryville having the lowest, at 60 pence per arpent. In Christieville the censitaires might pay as high as 450 pence per arpent while in Napierville the highest rate was 240 pence per arpent. Because only a small proportion of the village deeds have been located, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the pattern of rates over time or the reasons for such variation. From the *Cadastres abrégés*, however, one can see that the deeds found are consistent with those granted overall. By the end of the seigneurial régime, the revenue from these villages was as follows: £31 in Henryville, £99 in Napierville, and £208 in Christieville.⁵² Henry's decision to establish these villages on the domain, therefore, was not without consequence.

The village of Napierville was adjacent to the mill site on L'Acadie River and located on the major road through this well-populated area. To its initial advantages, Napierville soon added others: it was chosen as the centre of the new parish of Saint-Cyprien, established in Delery in 1823; it became the county electoral seat in 1831; and, in 1832, it acquired the first post office in the study area west of the Richelieu. It therefore developed rapidly.

The choice of Napierville as a parish centre was important to its continued growth, but its selection was not accomplished without difficulty. One of the promoters of the new parish was Nicolas Martin who had been granted a large area of land on Burtonville road just outside the village. Shortly thereafter, he and other local Catholics began to lobby to have a new parish established with Napierville as its centre. A levy for repairs to the church at Saint-Luc had stimulated their effort. The population along L'Acadie River and Grande Ligne (Delery) were not interested in contributing to this project, but to be exempt from the levy they had to belong to a different parish. Following their request for separation, the bishop sent Father

Table 1
The Occupational Structure of Napierville in 1831

Occupation Head of HH	Households		Population		Mean Household Size
	No.	%	No.	%	
Labour	73	54	388	54	5.31
Artisan	36	26	193	27	5.36
Commerce	11	8	61	8	5.54
Profession	3	2	7	1	2.33
Service	3	2	13	2	4.33
Farmer	2	1	15	2	7.50
No data	1	1	9	1	9.00
Other	7	5	32	4	4.57
<i>Total</i>	136	100	718*	100	5.27

Source: NAC, Mss Census of 1831, mf C-721.

*The census actually lists the population at 730, but there is an error in addition. The owner of a 22-arpent lot has also been excluded because that area falls within the range of farm-size lots.

Boucher from Laprairie to examine the situation and to choose a church site. Although his report refers to the village of "Burtonville," the village described is clearly Napierville. Boucher found it to be quite suitable because of its central location and because construction materials were readily available.⁵³ Moreover, Edme Henry was willing to donate the land required from the domain. Although some of the potential parishioners disagreed with this choice and were able to delay the proceedings, the church for the new parish of Saint-Cyprien would be located in Napierville.⁵⁴ It was served from the parish of Sainte-Marguerite-de-Blairfindie (L'Acadie) until 1831 when a resident priest was named.⁵⁵ Whether or not the bishop's decision was influenced by the seigneurial agent's wishes in this matter is not known, but they must have been a consideration.

As Napierville grew, it attracted more of a non-agricultural population. Three Burtonville merchants, Loop Odell, James I. Newton, and Charles Ames were granted lots there in 1822 and 1823. Between 1823 and 1833 lots were also granted to a surgeon, a blacksmith, a carpenter, an innkeeper, a bailiff, and to two other merchants.⁵⁶ The village's growth is confirmed by the census of 1831 which indicates the population had reached 718, making the village approximately the same size as the largest villages to the north of Montreal: L'Assomption (888), Terrebonne (870), and Saint-Eustache (832).⁵⁷ There were eight merchants in the village in

1831,⁵⁸ which suggests that they drew customers from a much larger area than the immediate parish, perhaps extending into the more recently settled adjacent townships. More than half of the heads of household were labourers, but artisans were also numerous (table 1). They included carpenters (13), blacksmiths (4), shoemakers (5), masons (4), millers (2), and a cooper, tinsmith, carter, baker, tailor (*tailleur*), tanner, and seamstress. Napierville was also the first village in the area to have its own notary: Jean-Baptiste Lukin established his practice there in 1825. Two doctors, a school-teacher, a bailiff, and a priest also served the population in 1831. With such a large non-agricultural population, Napierville clearly played an important role in the regional economy.

Although Christieville was also established in 1815, it was 1827 before a toll bridge linked it to St John's, the local port of entry and a growing market town. Development in the adjacent Eastern Townships and the construction of roads linking them to St John's stimulated the settlement of the seigneuries on the east side of the Richelieu River and with it the growth of Christieville. Although Christieville was not identified separately from the rural area around it in the 1831 census, it was about the same size as Napierville.⁵⁹ After the initial survey of lots by Stephen Westover in 1819, no further lots were surveyed until after 1835 even though some squatters had begun to fence off lots in the seigneurial reserve. Henry's lack of concern over this situation suggests a certain loss of interest in its development.⁶⁰ Its progress may also have been hampered by proximity of St John's and the lack of mills. (The mills there were not developed until after 1833.⁶¹) When the new parish of Saint-Athanase was created in 1823, however, Christieville was chosen as its centre and the church was built on land donated by Henry.⁶²

Although Henryville was the smallest of the three villages, it seems to have been the most dynamic at this time. It consisted of 20 lots on each side of the road from Pike River to Île aux Noix, subdivided from an area originally surveyed as farm lots.⁶³ Four of the forty lots were taken up by Warner's Mill and its pond. Warner also held one other village lot as did the surveyor, Stephen Westover. Wells and Look, who also received an adjacent farm lot in 1817, operated a large inn at Henryville in the 1820s. Lots were reserved for a French church, an English church, and a school. At first, the only church at Henryville was a Catholic chapel, served from Christieville, but in 1833 the parish of Saint-Georges-de-Henryville was established and a resident priest appointed.⁶⁴ The older Church of England parish had originally chosen Clarenceville as the site for its

church, but in 1835 it built one at Henryville as well, which was served by the Reverend Townsend of Clarenceville.⁶⁵ The first post office in the region opened in 1827 in Henryville.

By 1835 Henryville had become the most important village in the vicinity, with three stores, four taverns, a saddler and harness maker, a wheelwright, millwright, and joiner, a tanner, and a blacksmith.⁶⁶ Like Napierville, therefore, it had attracted local artisans. Its growth was probably at the expense of Clarenceville, the oldest village in the area,⁶⁷ which had had a church since 1820 but did not get a post office until 1832 and whose later growth was minimal.

Two of the villages in the seigneuries developed as a result of the promotion of private individuals who took advantage of owning land in locations suitable for villages divide it into lots which were then sold. One such promoter was Dame Marie-Flavie Raymond, the daughter of Marie-Clothilde Girardin, Edme Henry's second wife. She was responsible for the subdivision and sale of lots in a village located in the northwest corner of Delery, Saint-Jacques-le-Mineur. It was not very large, consisting of 36 arpents divided into 63 lots. At least two-thirds of this area was sold as village lots from the property of Marie-Flavie Raymond between 1823 and 1827.⁶⁸ Rather than receive the full price of the sale, the capital value of each lot was transformed into a secured annuity ("constitution de rentes"), a common method of obtaining revenue rather than capital from land. The 6-per-cent interest charged on these lots was paid as a rent which ranged from 15 to 35 shillings per year, and from 7 shillings 6 pence to 60 shillings per arpent. For the owner this represented an annual revenue of £21 per year. Villagers also had the option of paying off the capital amount, but this was discouraged; payments on capital had to be at least one-third of the sale price. The only other requirement in the deed of sale was that the purchaser fence the lot and build a house within two years. The buyers were mostly from Laprairie and Saint-Philippe, probably because the road network connected Saint-Jacques to these two areas much earlier than it did to the remainder of Delery. The occupations of the buyers suggest this was a crossroads village with a store and a few artisans. It did not become a parish centre until 1840.

The village of Lacolle emerged as a result of Joseph Odell's initiative. In 1823 he had the land adjacent to his mill site surveyed into 36 village lots by Joseph Whitman.⁶⁹ Located where the road from Burtonville to Odelltown crossed the Lacolle River and in proximity to several mill sites, Lacolle grew quickly. By 1832, the village had a post office and a church.⁷⁰

In contrast to these villages, Burtonville never became a true village and the name fell into disuse. Odelltown, which in 1815 was "a number of houses, situated on each side of the road that runs along the ridge from the state of New York,"⁷¹ persisted but remained small. A resident Methodist missionary arrived in 1823 and construction of a stone church began the same year.⁷² A historic landmark today because of a battle during the Rebellions, the Odelltown church was the public place at which notices were given and public sales conducted. Roswell Canfield's Inn was also located in "Odelltown," as was Joseph Odell's store and blacksmith shop. Although not a true village, Odelltown was a well-known place in this period.

Although these were the only villages which emerged in the western seigneuries at this time, a second parish, Saint-Valentin, was created in the territory of Lacolle and Delery. It was established in response to the demands of the Irish Catholic settlers in the area of Île aux Noix who, led by Thomas R. Jobson, insisted on having their own parish.⁷³ As the barrack master at Île aux Noix, Jobson used his influence to convince Edward Billet, an innkeeper, and William McGowen, a farmer, to donate land near Watson's Point for a church. Pierre Gamelin, who made up the deed of gift, also handled the paperwork necessary to obtain the bishop's approval for the new parish.⁷⁴ Their plans reached fruition in 1832. In this case, parish centre and village were not synonymous.

CONCLUSION

Between 1815 and 1835 the Upper Richelieu Valley began to lose its frontier appearance as villages and rural industries emerged and schools and churches were built. The 1831 census reported 42 schools, 23 taverns, 14 stores which sold liquor, and 8 mills in the Christie seigneuries. Not surprisingly, this development was concentrated in the areas of early settlement. By 1831, the population of the seigneuries had reached 13,412; about one-third of these people were Protestants (3,742), the remainder Roman Catholics (9,670) (Appendix II, table 24). Natural increase, continued French-Canadian and American in-migration, and the arrival of British immigrants, mostly Irish, contributed to this growth and to the diversity of the population, but the Eastern Townships and Upper Canada attracted many more people. Avoiding seigneurial tenure may have been one of the reasons settlers preferred other locations, but it is also quite likely that speculation made it difficult to obtain land in the Upper Richelieu Valley at this time. Thirty-seven per cent of the

Christie seigneuries (91,113 arpents) remained in wild lands in 1831. Marshlands can account for approximately 39,000 arpents (43 per cent) of this at most.⁷⁵ Because almost all of the land in the seigneuries had already been granted, the remainder must have been in the hands of censitaires who held onto it for their sons to farm, or to sell, or to exploit the timber.

Edme Henry's management practices certainly played a role in creating this situation. He had made the land and the mill sites of the Christie seigneuries available to the highest bidder, and for the time being, this practice favoured timber traders over settlers. The petty bourgeoisie which benefited from Henry's practices nonetheless resented the constraints imposed by the seigneurial privileges in which they shared. At the same time, the rapid growth of the agricultural population increased the demand for farm land and intensified resentment against speculators. When Henry's administration came to an end in 1835, the attempt to collect all of the arrears in rent owing to Napier Christie Burton's estate coincided with a general downturn in the economy and mounting political tension to produce a volatile mixture which would ignite in 1837. For the fourth time in less than a century the Richelieu Valley became the scene of open conflict.

A Troubled Inheritance

WILLIAM PLENDERLEATH
CHRISTIE, SEIGNEUR

The death of Napier Christie Burton without male issue in London on 2 January 1835 led to rival claims to the succession of the Christie estate which would not be finally resolved until a Privy Council decision in 1874. The first and most important claimant to the succession was Christie's only surviving natural son, William Plenderleath. He was successful in gaining possession of the seigneuries by virtue of his father's will, the entail therein still being in effect, and remained undisturbed in that possession during his lifetime. It was not until after his death that the other claimants came forward to attempt to gain possession of the estate in preference to his heirs. In accordance with the will of his father, his first step in claiming the seigneuries was to apply to the College of Arms for the right to take the name and arms of Christie. After some delay, he finally received those arms, and on 7 November 1835, his fealty and homage for the Christie seigneuries was accepted by the crown.

Although fifty-five years old when he inherited the seigneuries, W.P. Christie would nonetheless have a considerable impact on the seigneuries in his ten years as seigneur. He did not manage the seigneuries personally, but through his land agent and nephew, William McGinnis, whose administration will be examined in the next chapter. Some aspects of his administration can only be understood, however, in the context of W.P. Christie's strong Evangelicalism, Tory leanings, and family situation. It is therefore useful to look at these briefly.

Little is known of William Plenderleath's early years, but Robert Black suggests that an Evangelical tutor to him and his sisters named

McAlpine was likely "the source of his religious convictions." His experiences in Madeira and Italy, where he served as a young officer in his father's regiment, the 60th, confirmed his already negative views of Roman Catholicism. After moving to Montreal, around 1817, he began trying to counter the influence of the Catholic Church in Lower Canada, first among the native people, when he worked as an official of the Indian Department, and later among French Canadians. Evangelicalism in general, and socially disruptive missionary projects in particular, faced strong opposition from the hierarchy of the Church of England, however, and Christie and his circle,¹ which consisted primarily of half-pay officers and merchants, received no support when they tried to place French-speaking Protestant ministers and schoolmasters in Lower Canada. The Church of England bishops of Quebec, Charles Stewart and his successor, George Mountain, preferred not to interfere with the religious faith of the French-Canadian majority and did not condone open attempts to convert them to Protestantism.

It was largely as a result of W.P. Christie's wealth and influence, particularly after he inherited the Christie seigneuries in 1835, that the Church of England Evangelicals were able to accomplish as much as they did. As Robert Black states: "Christie's wealth, connections, influence and sustained Evangelical conviction are strings which are to be found attached to many of the players involved in the missionary crusade among the French-Canadians in this period."² To Christie, the seigneuries were not just a source of wealth, but also an opportunity to put his convictions into practice, an area in which he could act with little outside interference. Informed by his strong religious faith, he wanted to bring its benefits (both material and spiritual) to others.

Within his seigneuries, Christie's most ambitious project in support of the Church of England during his lifetime was undoubtedly the building of Trinity Church at Christieville. This church was built by Christie on land which was taken from the domain and granted to the bishop of Montreal. The clergyman's salary was provided from an endowment of 900 acres of land in Ascot township. The bishop was also to provide £50 a year, according to an agreement relating to the Trinity Church built by Christie in Montreal.³ In Christieville, the vacant space near the church, lying between the churchyard and Hazen Creek, was also set aside as a special reserve in William P. Christie's will: "It is my will that the said vacant space shall be always kept as an Ornamental Ground under the direction of the Clergyman of said Church, but not to be considered as Church Property. The road from Manor Street - shall always be kept open to the Church, and no Buildings shall ever be erected on any part of the

said vacant space, or Area."⁴ The property was actually granted to the bishop before Christie's death.

At Napierville, an area of 100 arpents was granted to the Church of England as a glebe and church lot in 1843.⁵ This land was located to the northwest of Burtonville Street and to the east of Water Street on what was later called Pointe à Trotier. It paid an honorary *cens* of three pence but otherwise was held "in full and entire possession as of right," but in trust and only if it was used by the Church of England for the purposes intended – particularly for divine worship in a consecrated church or chapel. The school and churchyard in Henryville were also special gifts by Christie and excluded from the general bequest of his seigneurie. Although an exchange of properties was required to grant the Reverend Mr Townsend the lot he wanted, lot 29 in Henryville, it was obtained and conceded to the church. This lot was already subject to the seigneurial dues by virtue of its deed of concession, but these were not to be collected as long as the lot was used by the Church of England in a building consecrated as a church.⁶ While it was normal practice for a seigneur to grant land for churches in his seigneuries at favourable terms, W.P. Christie's gifts were unusually generous, particularly when Church of England adherents were such a small proportion of the local population.

In a more general way, William Plenderleath Christie favoured the settlement of his seigneuries by Protestants, whether anglophone or francophone. It was his hope that they would be a positive influence on the habitants. He made every effort to get bilingual Evangelical schoolteachers for the area and actively supported the missionaries who came to Lower Canada/Canada East with the intention of establishing missions to the French Canadians, particularly Louis Roussy and Henriette Odin Feller. It is no coincidence that their mission was established on Grande Ligne in the seigneurie of Delery. Shortly after his arrival in 1835, Roussy taught school at L'Acadie, his salary paid by Christie, but he abandoned this post because of the concerted opposition of the local priest. Feller faced similar opposition in Montreal. Discouraged, they accepted the invitation of the Evangelicals at St John's to establish themselves there. After an inauspicious start, their non-denominational mission and school made some progress and moved to Grande Ligne, where they continued to receive the tacit support of Christie, and very probably financial support as well.⁷ Small numbers of Swiss Protestants were ceded land in the general vicinity of the mission.

The Rebellions of 1837–8 confirmed Christie in his view of the habitants as "poor subjects" and in need of reform. His response was to bring suits against known participants in the uprisings and

to provide encouragement for the settlement of his seigneuries by anglophones and Protestants. He himself served, unpaid, as military secretary during the insurrection. He was also called upon to sit on the special council convened by Lord Durham, which replaced the suspended legislature in its aftermath.

Christie's support of missionary activity continued unabated throughout the remainder of his life. Because of his negotiations with the bishop regarding the future of his two Trinity churches in Montreal and Christieville, however, he had to minimize his direct participation in the French Canadian Missionary Society which was founded in 1839, and he declined their offer to become its first president.⁸ The Evangelicals would discover, however, that Bishop Mountain was opposed not only to co-operation with other denominations but to any attempt to proselytize among the French Canadians; a Church of England French-Canadian Missionary Society did not receive his support either, and quietly folded. Christie's missionary efforts in the Upper Richelieu Valley stood alone.

It was Christie's widow who would finally establish a Church of England mission to the French Canadians. The Sabrevois Mission was an experimental bilingual parish which did not actively seek out French Canadians but accepted them if they took the first step. It was established partly as the result of Charles Roy's espousal of Anglicanism in 1846. An early settler in Sabrevois, Roy arrived at his decision "independently and without pressure" after years of reading a Bible given him as a boy. His conversion had particular impact because of his sober industrious habits and his high social standing (he was a first cousin of George-Étienne Cartier). By fortuitous coincidence, Swiss Pastor Daniel Gavin of Grande Ligne volunteered to be ordained in the Church of England and operate a bilingual mission for Amelia Bowman Christie. The early converts to Protestantism in this area seem to have become the "model" censitaires that Christie sought to encourage and to have been rewarded by McGinnis; they obtained contracts to supply him with stone, for example.⁹ The mission continued for some time, but Evangelicalism was a declining force in Canada East, and it was an anomaly in the society of the province.

The Evangelicals united capitalist ideology with religious passion. Christie believed that Protestantism with its stress on individualism would be a positive influence on his censitaires and would help them to improve their agriculture as well as their religious life. He wanted to transform the Upper Richelieu from a militarily insecure region open to radical ideas to one of loyal subjects practising improved farming techniques. It could then serve as a model to the rest of

Lower Canada. He believed the key to achieving this goal was the spread of Protestantism.¹⁰ These aims may not have been very realistic ones, but they are crucial to understanding estate management practices and the relationship between seigneur and censitaires during William Plenderleath Christie's administration.

One of Christie's chief disappointments was the fact that he had no children despite two marriages. The first was to Elizabeth McGinnis, whose brother Alexander had business interests in Bristol and Dominica and whose brother John was a merchant at L'Acadie. Although Elizabeth died in 1832,¹¹ he maintained his association with the family, acting as the executor to John's will,¹² for example, and naming his nephew, William McGinnis, as his land agent in 1835. Having no children from his first marriage, he married again shortly after inheriting the Christie seigneuries, probably in the hope of producing an heir. Although his second wife, Amelia Martha Bowman, was much younger than himself they did not have children either. She did, however, share in his Evangelicalism and would do everything she could to further his projects after his death.

In 1843, Christie and his wife left their new manor house at Christieville (see Illustration 1) to visit old friends in England and to seek a cure for the paralysis which was affecting one of his arms. Although he tried various remedies, including galvanism which was the latest rage at the time, Christie never regained his health. He died at a health resort in Blackwood, Ireland, on 4 May 1845. Active to the end, he was in the midst of plans for his manor house and anticipating a return to Christieville at the time.¹³

In his last few years Christie had given considerable thought to his succession, as is evident from his detailed will and codicils. Not having any children, although not having completely given up the hope of one when he prepared his will, Christie had to find other heirs. He might, of course, have left everything to his wife, but to do so without conditions would have been unusual in this period. Instead, Christie divided his estate, leaving one major seignury to his wife and making her a residuary legatee, but leaving the others to other Christie relatives. Most of the seigneuries were inherited by a single individual: Bleury by his widow, Amelia Bowman Christie; Sabrevois by Catherine Gordon Cleather; Noyan, by Mary Christie Burton; and Repentigny, by David Gordon's eldest son.¹⁴ The others were inherited by several individuals with the stipulation that the seignury itself remained indivisible: Delery was jointly inherited by Katherine Christie Robertson, her daughters Amelia and Mary, and by Mary Elizabeth Tunstall; Lacolle was inherited by Gabriel and James M. Tunstall and Gabriel 'the Younger' Tunstall.

Who were these heirs and why did William Plenderleath Christie choose them? With the exception of his widow, all were direct descendants of Gabriel Christie or related to him. As to why W.P. Christie chose them over other potential heirs, however, we have little to go on but speculation. Some of these choices suggest that, despite his illegitimate status, William Plenderleath had been closely associated with some of his Christie relatives. (That status, it will be recalled, posed fewer problems at the time of his birth than it did at the time of his death, by which time Victorian attitudes had come to dominate.) It may also have been from compassion for some of these relatives, particularly the women, who had been bypassed in previous successions.

This is the most likely reason in the case of Mary Christie Burton who was the younger of Napier Christie Burton's two daughters. As such, she did not stand to inherit any of the Burton wealth, which had devolved upon the eldest daughter, Sarah, when Burton's son Robert died without issue in 1822.¹⁵ At the time of W.P. Christie's death, Mary was married to a Reverend Mr Hamer who was evidently not very wealthy. Although in some of her later letters she often seemed resentful that her other relatives had so much more money than she did, at the time she claimed: "I only wish what will keep me above poverty & in the rank of life I have been brought up in, so that I owe no one – & have a little to give the poor."¹⁶ Her "Uncle Capt'n Plenderleath Christie," as she refers to him in a letter to enquire about his bequest to her, may have been sympathetic to her case. He may also have had a particular affinity for her because of their shared religious sentiments. Her letters indicate that she was a sincere Christian and that she was involved in charity work. Her relationship with the Tunstalls and Robertsons had evidently deteriorated because they were of a different mind on such matters: "When they resided in this country I was young, & no doubt thoughtless & worldly – But I saw my folly."¹⁷ As early as 1845 she was asking William McGinnis to make sure that he did not communicate any of her affairs to the Robertsons. By 1847 they had virtually ended all contact with her, in part because she refused to dismiss McGinnis, abusing her and making the accusation that "religious people all hang together."¹⁸ Her relations with Amelia Bowman Christie, however, remained good.¹⁹

William Plenderleath Christie seems to have been quite close to his two half-sisters, Katherine and Sarah, and this may partly explain the decision to leave the seigneuries of Lacolle and Delery to them, or in the case of Sarah, who predeceased him, to their children and grandchildren. Their children, however, had been openly resentful

of his privileged position as heir – at their expense. They did not find it acceptable that an illegitimate son should have inherited in preference to his legitimate sisters. Although William McGinnis initially acted as their agent in Delery, difficulties arose between them almost immediately and in 1846 he resigned.²⁰ The Tunstalls, for their part, hesitated even to accept the legacy because it would prevent them from contesting the will.²¹ Christie had anticipated this eventuality, and a clause in his will stated: "If any person ... mentioned in this my last Will ... shall set up or make any opposition to [it] ... or to any part thereof, ... such person ... shall forfeit all his, her or their right and interest under this my said last Will and Testament."²² When the Tunstalls finally did accept the will, they immediately leased Lacolle to Henry Hoyle and never had McGinnis as their agent. As a result, the Christie seigneuries were under different administrations after 1845 for the first time since Gabriel Christie had purchased them.

The legacies to the Gordons suggest that a strong attachment existed between William Plenderleath Christie and their father, Lt.-Gen. Gabriel Gordon. Gordon was Gabriel Christie's nephew and also an officer in the 60th Regiment. In 1793 he was one of the witnesses at the wedding of Katherine Christie Robertson in Montreal.²³ He had been stationed in the West Indies during the early years of William's career which may well have given him the opportunity to befriend his young relative, in much the same way that Gabriel Christie's officers helped his nephew, James.²⁴ The role of regimental officers as surrogate parents has, unfortunately, not been much analysed.

The disposition of W.P. Christie's personal estate need not concern us unduly. Suffice it to say that his widow was the recipient of the largest share, £4,200 having been guaranteed her by their marriage contract.²⁵ Important legacies were made to various members of the McGinnis family, but by and large this was the division of funds which had been held in trust by Christie for the heirs of Mary McGinnis Massey. Amelia Bowman Christie's sisters and Amelia Robertson received small legacies. Bishop George Jehosaphat Mountain received the glebe and school at Napierville and formal possession of the 600 acres of land in Ascot township for the Church of England.

The division of the Christie seigneuries could have created a number of problems and disputes among heirs if the seigneuries had been in the same state as at the time of Napier Burton's succession. One of the legacies of W.P. Christie's administration, however, was that the boundaries between the seigneuries were clearly established, and separate records and plans existed for each one. This may have

Table 2
W.P. Christie's Cash Legacies to be Paid from Arrears in Rents

<i>A. Charities</i>	
The English Hospital, Montreal – £50	
The Benevolent Society, Montreal – £25	
 <i>B. Family and Friends £50 Each in Order of Payment</i>	
Katherine Christie Robertson	Octavia Bowman
Mary Robertson	Mr & Mrs Murray
Amelia Robertson	Mrs Kelly late of the 24th Reg.
Mary E. Tunstall	Richard McGinnis Esq. of L'Acadie
Children of James Tunstall	William McGinnis Esq. of Christievillie
Gabriel Tunstall, Sr	Charles Bowman Esq. of N.S.
Gabriel Tunstall, Jr	William Bowman Esq. of N.S.
Miss Hall of Montreal	Jeffery Hale Esq. of Quebec
Mrs Forbes of Sabrevois	Revd. Thomas Sims, Winchester
Miss C. Christie of Wolwich	Beaumont Byers, son of Rev. S. Byer
Mary Burton Christie	T. Durbin Brice, near Bristol
Jane Montgomerie	Mary & Elizabeth Gray. das. of
Mary E. Wakefield	John Gray, Lower Crescent,
Sarah McGinnis	Clifton Eng.
Eliza McGinnis	G.W.P. Atkinson
Colborne McGinnis	Rev. William Dawes
Caroline Bowman Shortt	Martha Bowman King
 <i>C. Missionary Societies</i>	
The residue to be divided equally	
London Society for promoting	Protestant Association
Christianity among Jews	Pastoral Aid Society
Church Missionary Society	London Female Mission
Prayer-Book and Homily Society	Newfoundland & British North
Reformation Society	America Society
The Lords Day Society	Colonial Church Society

Source: NAC, MG 8 F99.2, I, 26–58, Will of W.P. Christie, 13 June 1845.

been done as part of the general professionalization of the management of the seigneuries, in anticipation of the commutation of seigneurial tenure, or in anticipation of this division. In any event, it greatly simplified the process of inheritance and administration. While many of W.P. Christie's heirs would also be absentee landlords, the impact would not be as evident as under Napier Christie Burton. There was very little ungranted land left in the seigneuries. The domains had been reduced to an absolute minimum and, in any event, were devised separately from the seigneuries, except for those in Sabrevois and Noyan. The mill site at Christievillie was given to William and Richard McGinnis who had had the lease of it from

1833 and the two mills at Saint-Valentin in Delery were given to William and John McGinnis, respectively. The remaining domains and the mill sites in Bleury, Delery, and Lacolle went to Amelia Bowman Christie and hence were administered by William McGinnis until such time as she disposed of them. The absence of an entrepreneurial seigneur would therefore be of little consequence.

Another aspect of W.P. Christie's will which minimized its impact on the seigneuries, and on the censitaires in particular, was his decision not to leave the arrears in rent to the new seigneurs, but as a fund to provide cash gifts to charities, friends and relatives, and missionary societies (see table 2). These were to be paid in sequence as the funds were available. The English hospital in Montreal topped the list and would receive £50; the Benevolent Society of Montreal would receive £25. Next came thirty-two bequests of £50 each to friends and relatives. After these legacies had been paid the balance was to be divided equally among ten missionary societies. In this way the pressure to collect arrears in rent was somewhat minimized.

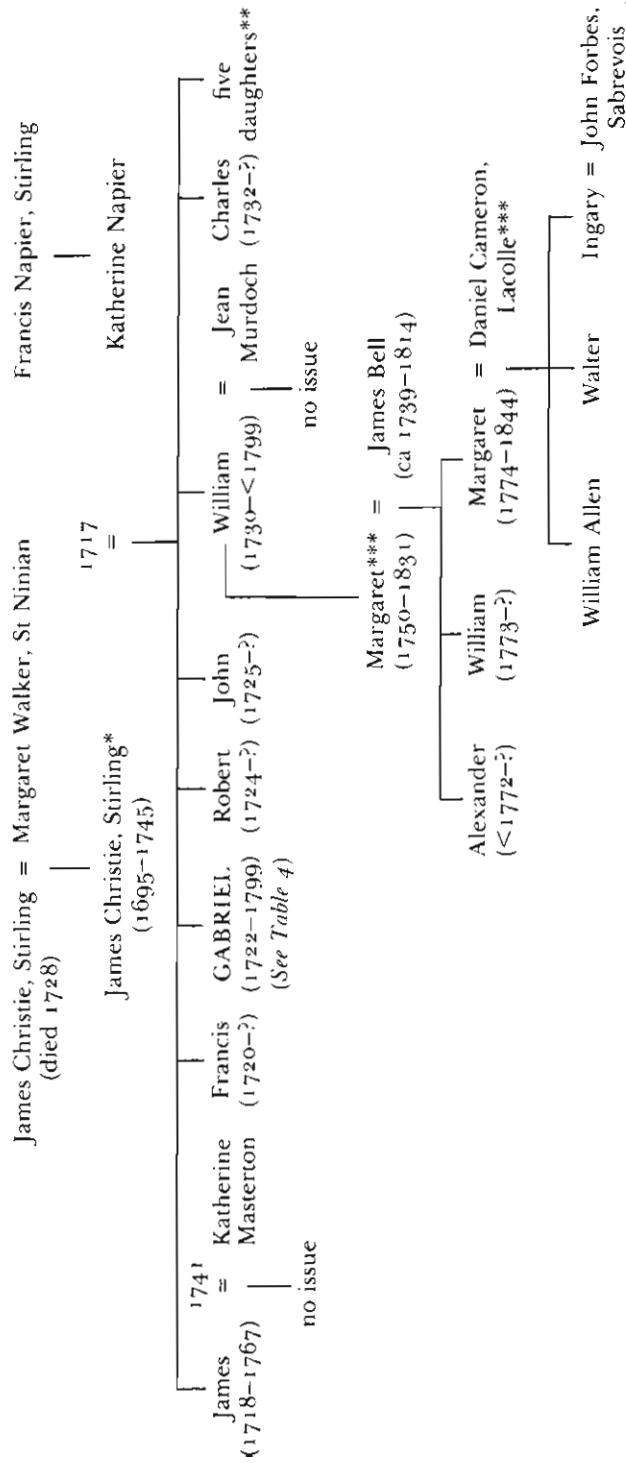
The provisions of William Plenderleath Christie's will appear to have been well thought out and the terms of it extremely fair. Although it is generous to several missionary societies, this was not at the expense of family members.²⁶ It was not the kind of will that ordinarily would be contested. But this was not an ordinary situation, because it was his right to inherit the Christie seigneuries in the first place that was disputed. After his death, various would-be claimants surfaced to investigate the possibility of challenging his acquisition of the Christie estate.

CHALLENGES TO CHRISTIE'S SUCCESSION

The challenge to W.P. Christie's succession, and thus to his heirs' peaceful enjoyment of their inheritance, came from two quarters. On the one hand were the descendants of William Christie, Gabriel Christie's brother, who hoped to claim the seigneuries by virtue of Gabriel Christie's will, and the fact that William Christie had been named the ultimate devisee in that instrument. On the other hand, there were those who claimed to inherit by virtue of Napier Christie Burton's will, but for their claim to be valid, W.P. Christie had to be found incapable of inheriting by virtue of his illegitimacy, or to use the precise legal term, his status as an "adulterine bastard."

The first claimants to surface were the descendants of Margaret Bell, the daughter of William Christie (see table 3). Shortly after 1845 her daughter's husband, Daniel Cameron, argued that he

Table 3
Gabriel Christie's Family of Origin



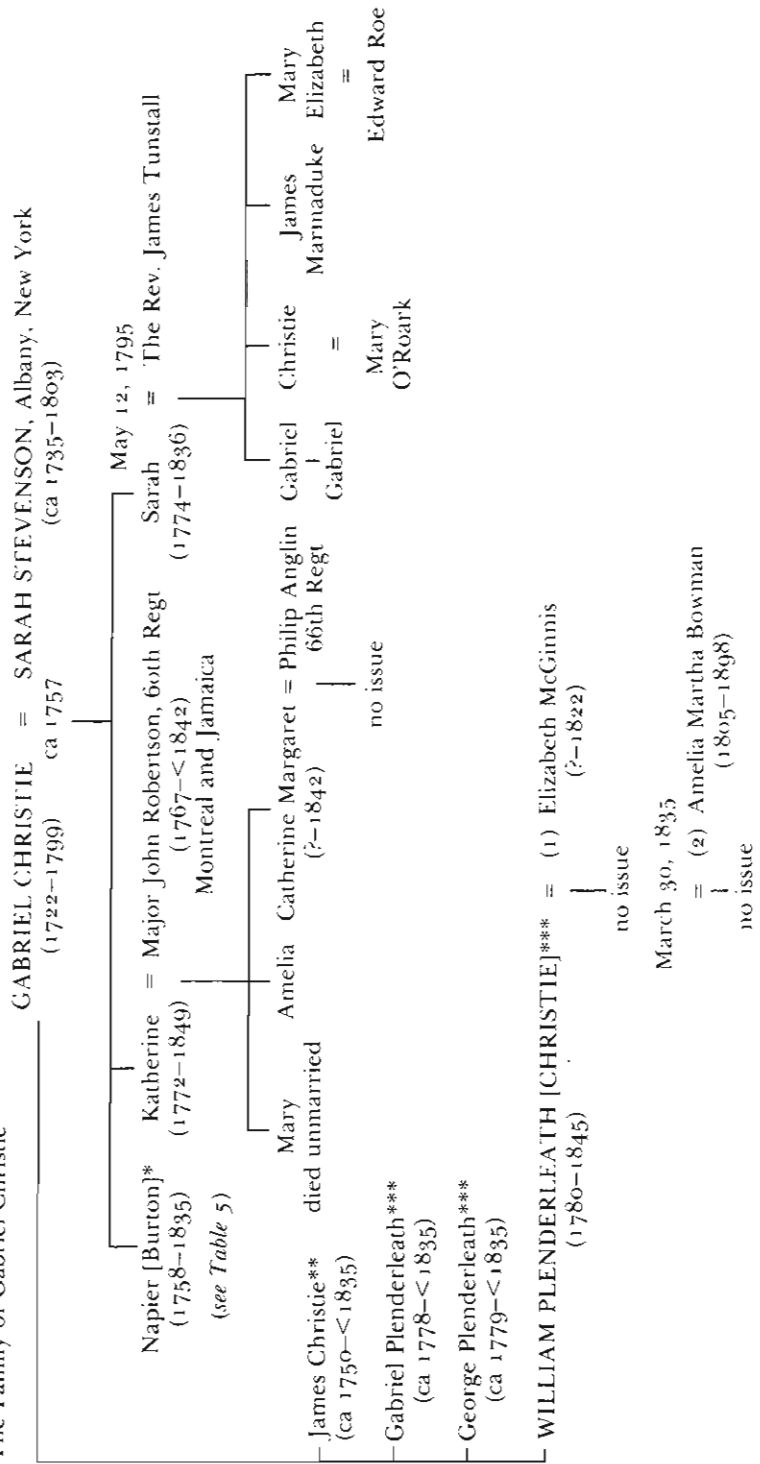
Source: Noel, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries."

* Merchant of Stirling, Glasgow, and Baltimore. He has nine siblings; one of them, William, has a daughter, Marian (Galloway), who is named in Gabriel Christie's will.

** One daughter marries a Gordon whose grandchildren are named in W.P. Christie's will.

*** In a declaration in 1864 (NAC, Mc8 899.2, 433-443), Cameron affirms that Margaret Christie was the legitimate daughter of William Christie by his marriage to Margaret [Maxwell?], but this was disputed by Mary Christie Burton.

Table 4
The Family of Gabriel Christie



Source: Noel, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries."

* Assumes the name and arms of Burton upon his marriage.

** He is recognized in Gabriel Christie's will simply as James Christie.

*** The children of Rachel Plenderleath. As heir, William takes the name Christie in 1835.

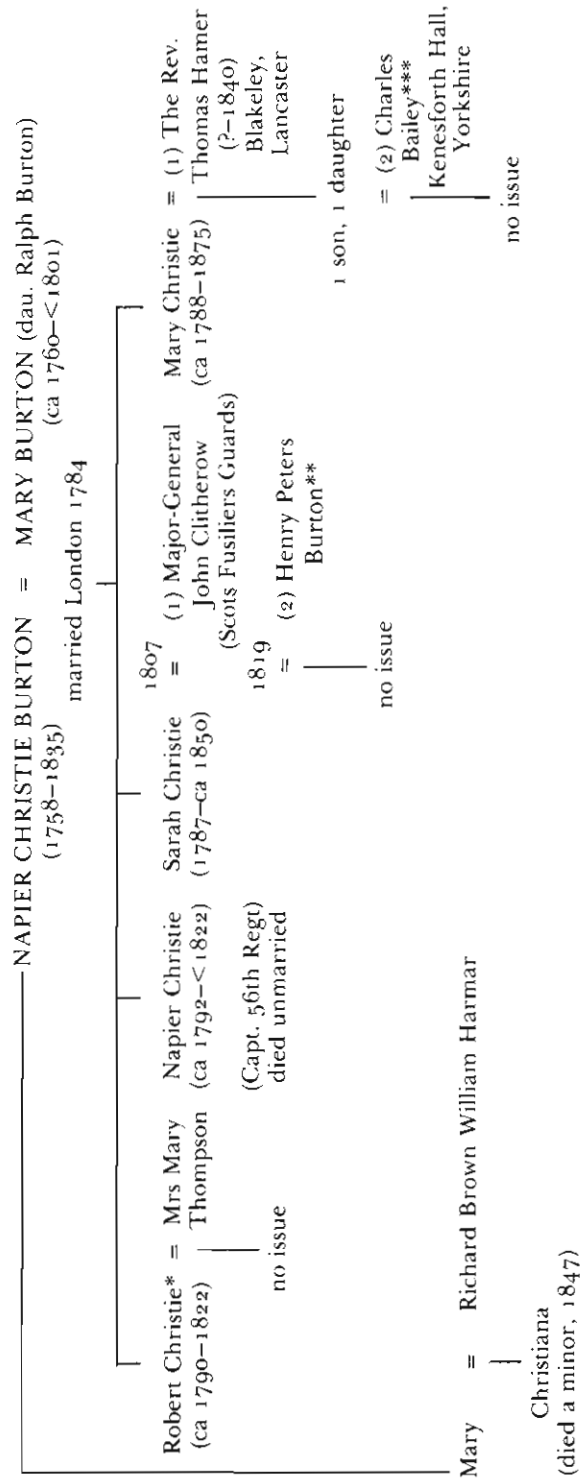
WILLIAM PLENDERLEATH [CHRISTIE]*** = (1) Elizabeth McGinnis
(1780-1845) (?-1822)
no issue
March 30, 1835
= (2) Amelia Martha Bowman
(1805-1898)
no issue

should succeed to the estate as heir to William Christie, the final legatee named in Gabriel Christie's will, but he did not take his case to the courts – probably because he could not afford to. His son, William Allen Cameron, filed a suit to this effect in 1864²⁷ and appealed to the censitaires to stop paying their seigneurial rents to W.P. Christie's heirs. McGinnis countered this appeals by putting up placards in the seignury (see Illustration 9), informing censitaires that such action was not in their best interests.²⁸ The courts would eventually rule that William Christie's claims were extinguished by the fact that he predeceased Gabriel Christie.

The more serious challenge came from Burton's heir. When Napier Christie Burton died in London on 2 January 1835, he was estranged from his family and had specifically excluded them from both his death-bed and, through his will, his funeral. He was survived by three daughters, two of them legitimate, Sarah and Mary, and one not, also called Mary (see table 5). For reasons which remain obscure, he left his entire estate to his granddaughter, Christiana Harmar, the daughter of his natural daughter Mary. The son of a good friend, Henry Styring King, was named as a substitute heir in the event of her death before reaching the age of majority.²⁹ Burton's will was written as though the entail on the estate left to him by his father did not exist. At the time, a suit attempting to prevent his only surviving half-brother, William Plenderleath, from inheriting was still before the courts. Upon his death the case was dropped, being beyond the power of his executors.

Thus, the situation remained until 1847 when Christiana Harmar died while still a minor and Henry John Styring King, the substitute heir, inherited Burton's estate and became a claimant to the Christie seigneuries. The legal basis of his claim was the same as Burton's: William Plenderleath Christie should not have inherited the seigneuries in the first place, being what was known in English law as "an adulterine bastard." King instituted court cases to this effect in 1864. These passed through the lower courts and were appealed to the Superior Court in Quebec and finally to the Privy Council in England. This was a legal battle of great importance, for its outcome would have a significant impact on many lives. All of the parties concerned took it very seriously indeed. Amelia Bowman Christie did not spare her fortune when it came to paying legal fees, and the correspondence between McGinnis and the lawyers working on the case is voluminous. The Canadian government was also interested in the outcome and, as long as the case was pending, refused to pay the seigneurs the compensation due under the 1854 commutation of seigneurial tenure.³⁰ King must also have spent a great deal of money on this effort to gain the Christie seigneuries.

Table 5
The Family of Napier Christie Burton



Source: Noel, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries."

* Of Hotham Hall, MP for Beverly. He had been adopted by his uncle.

** He takes the name Burton when his wife becomes heir to the Burton estate upon the death of Robert.

*** They are estranged and separated (against his will) around 1850.

W.P. Christie's heirs, of course, had the most to lose. For over twenty years they faced the possibility that they might be dispossessed. For those with other sources of income, such as Amelia Bowman Christie, this was perhaps not too frightening a possibility, but for Mary Christie Burton, it was a nightmare. This inheritance was her only source of income and even before this challenge began, she was resentful of the claims being made on her "tenants" by Alfred Pinsoneault who had acquired the arrears in rent due Burton's estate in 1839. As she pointed out: "I speak feelingly, you may think, but the true case is, I have many years been deprived of my just rights, and now, I am not disposed to prolong my suffering. My late Father made no provision for me, and therefore am chiefly dependent on what may be realized from Noyan. You will therefore see the necessity of not ceding any of my *just claims*, to parties whom I consider have no right to such."³¹

Mary might have become less dependent on this income after her marriage to Charles Bailey in 1852 if he had been, as she thought, a pious man who would help her with her son. Instead, this marriage turned sour when she refused an opportunity to sell Noyan. Her husband was furious, having apparently married her for her money. She fled from him in 1857, burning her letters from McGinnis so that he could not discover the arrangements she had made with him and warning McGinnis not to pay him anything if he tried to claim payments from him or the "tenants."³²

When the court cases challenging W.P. Christie's will began, Mary was understandably upset. The idea that her sole source of income should be taken away from her by a stranger named in her father's will was more than she could bear. His cruelty in treating his own flesh and blood in this manner was beyond her understanding.³³ She even doubted that her father had written his will, believing that King's father, who had been with him constantly near the end of his life, had purposefully kept Burton's family from him and had influenced his will if not actually forged it.³⁴ Were these the paranoid fancies of a disturbed woman? This hardly seems likely, given her lucidity on other subjects. But we are certainly dealing with a woman who was a victim of unfair marriage laws and who also saw herself as the victim of an unfair will. Only the regular arrival of remittances from McGinnis, never as prompt or as large as she hoped for, gave her some measure of independence and security. Luckily for her, they continued to arrive until her death in 1875.

Although Mary Christie Burton was perhaps the most distressed by the challenge to W.P. Christie's succession, Amelia and Mary Robertson, both unmarried and with only a small income from their

mother, were undoubtedly equally concerned. The financial situation of the other heirs is less well known, but if Colonel Cleather's insistence on prompt payments and his diatribes against the accumulation of arrears are any indication of his situation, he was fairly dependent on his wife's income from her seigneurie of Sabrevois.³⁵

It was 21 July 1874 before the Privy Council decision finally upheld the status quo, deciding against not only King but also against any would-be claimants descending from William Christie. Under the laws of Canada, the Privy Council ruled, Gabriel Christie had had the right to leave his estate to whomever he pleased through the instrument of a will. In 1835, when the substitution took place, the incapacity of "adulterine bastards" to inherit had been removed by Canadian legislation and therefore William Plenderleath Christie could inherit the estate. As to the more general charge that the gift had been contrary to the law or "contra bonos mores," their lordships decided: "Nobody surely can suppose that it is a crime in a man to express by his will his wishes as to what should be the devolution of his property after his death, or that it should go in a particular direction, – even ... adulterine bastard, – leaving it open to the law to say whether the wish shall or shall not take effect. There is nothing immoral, nothing wrong, in the expression of such a wish, ... [a]nd, therefore, even if the old incapacity of adulterine bastardy had not been effectually removed by the English Act, it had before the substitution opened been removed by the intervening Canadian legislation." Because William Christie died before his brother Gabriel, his rights were extinguished, which meant that the entail no longer existed and W.P. Christie was absolute proprietor with the right to leave the seigneuries to the heirs of his choice through his will.³⁶

Because Gabriel Christie's will was not reversed and the status quo was maintained, the history of the administration of the Christie seigneuries could have been examined without paying particular attention to this battle for the seigneuries. To do so, however, would be to neglect one of the major dimensions of the history of these seigneuries which also applies in general to all lay seigneuries. Unlike church seigneuries which were held in mortmain, they were subject to division at each succession, to the whims of fate in the matter of the number and gender of probable heirs, and to the desires and strategies of their individual owners in the question of succession. As this case demonstrates, this was a matter of serious concern to the individuals involved. It was also of importance to the censitaires who faced more or less control and more or less decentralization of seigneurial power, depending on the outcome of these decisions. That Christie chose to leave his estate in entail for his male progeny

was of primary importance in the history of these seigneuries; it is the only reason that they remained in the hands of his descendants as long as they did and were undivided until 1845. If William Plenderleath Christie had had a child, their history after 1845 would have been quite different as well. Because none of William Plenderleath Christie's heirs lived in the seigneuries, save Amelia Bowman Christie for a brief time, and had no interest in their properties except as a source of revenue, the relationship between seigneur and censitaires in these seigneuries became depersonalized much sooner than in seigneuries where the seigneur and his family were part of the local élite and played an active social and economic role in the region. The commutation of seigneurial tenure therefore occasioned few changes in the Christie seigneuries – in contrast to the upheavals caused by the successions of 1835 and 1845.

*A Just Stewardship,
1835–1845*

MANAGING THE CENSIVE

Although Napier Christie Burton died in January of 1835, it took some time before William Plenderleath Christie could take official possession of the Christie seigneuries, having to wait for the right to use the name and arms of Christie before doing so. He nonetheless appointed William McGinnis as his agent immediately and began to take de facto possession of the estate. He himself continued to live in Montreal, but McGinnis moved to Christieville where a seigneurial office was established. William McGinnis was the son of John McGinnis, the brother of Elizabeth McGinnis, W.P. Christie's first wife. Born in 1785, he was already fifty years old when he took up his duties as Christie's agent. He was married to Elizabeth Dunn, and together they had nine children. The fifth, who was born at the time of the Rebellions, was named Colborne after the governor, an intimation of McGinnis's political position.¹ He was also Christie's godson although it was the sixth child, Alexander Plenderleath, who was named in his honour.

For the ten years that W.P. Christie was seigneur, William McGinnis would be his right-hand man, entrusted with the care of his property and, more important perhaps, his confidant in matters relating to Christie's missionary plans for the seigneuries, his difficulties with Bishop Mountain over the establishment of Trinity Church in Montreal, and his personal hopes and fears regarding his health. Christie's correspondence with McGinnis never gives the impression that they were social equals, but it does suggest a mutual affection and regard that went beyond their formal employer-employee relationship or even their bonds of kinship. As Christie himself expressed it: "I thank you for your zeal & diligence in col-

lecting & remitting pecuniary supplies, and otherwise bestowing care, & attention about my seigniorial, & other matters; & which I feel to be the more valuable, as I have no one who could or would perform such necessary services for me; & none other, except your Brother, in whom I could confide."²

W.P. Christie took an active interest in his seigneuries and gave fairly explicit directions as to what he wanted done, even though he left routine matters in the hands of McGinnis. The following excerpt from a letter to McGinnis is typical, indicating both the extent to which he was familiar with the details of the administration and his paternalistic attitude towards his censitaires: "Your mention of the mud reminds me that before next spring 1845 some steps should be taken to cover that *slough of Despond* between my House & the new bridge near Mr Forest's. Mr Jones & myself, you know, were to stone that part of the road. Would it not be well to have before that time some stones broken up that lie about the Domain farm, by the Poor whom we must assist in the winter? This should be a joint concern, if he approves it, between that Bridge, and the turnstile leading to Church, which I think, terminates his ground on one side."³

When McGinnis was appointed, Christie instructed him to proceed systematically and to keep a separate record for each seigneurie. He sought more than an estate roll, indicating the lot, the owner, and the rent payable; he also wanted a record of the number of children, the place of birth of the parents, and their religious denomination. To familiarize himself with the existing situation Christie asked for a list of all the villages and schools, naming all the girls and boys attending (and their language) and citing salary of the school-teacher. This reflected his twofold view of the seigneuries. On the one hand, they were a property to be administered carefully to maximize revenue; on the other, they were a missionary field. McGinnis was to see to the regular collection of both *cens et rentes* and *lods et ventes*; Christie firmly believed that the regular payment of these was essential to the seigneur and to the advantage of the "tenants."⁴ After years of dealing with censitaires who did not pay on time, an article in a Bristol paper about English tenants would catch his attention, and he pointed it out to McGinnis as well, adding that it should be read by all the censitaires in Lower Canada: "An English Tenant, who is honored & respected, is one who pays his Landlord, & is yet prosperous. Witness the family, which has occupied the land 200 years, and feels as much interest in the soil as the Landlord. They are *bound together*."⁵ At the time his advice to McGinnis was to "begin as you mean to go on, with one regular fixed

method of taking what is just & right, without addition or discrimination."⁶ McGinnis was to promote the value of the property in his care and to assist in the establishment of schools, in obtaining good settlers for the seigneuries, in the stationing of ministers, and in other Christian labours.⁷ Within these general guidelines, McGinnis was given a relatively free hand.

At first, McGinnis's task was made more difficult by Edme Henry's refusal to give up his agency. Henry continued to act as though he were still agent, claiming that he had not received official notification of Burton's death. In March of 1835, for example, both Henry and McGinnis were present in the seigneuries and looking for a lessee for the mill at Lacolle.⁸ The most vital issue, however, was Henry's failure to turn over the seigneurial papers in his possession. These were a fundamental component of property rights in a seigneurie and essential to its administration. But they were also useful to the heirs of the former seigneur for the collection of arrears in rent, particularly as account books had not been kept, and Henry delayed handing them over as long as possible. It was not until June that he finally turned over these seigneurial documents.⁹

Most of the papers handed over by Henry consisted of bundles (*liasses*) of documents, mostly deeds of concession, separated by seigneurie: 17 for Noyan, 12 for Bleury, 33 for Lacolle, 10 for Sabrevois, and 25 for Delery. There were plans of the six seigneuries and of the villages of Napierville and Christieville, two boxes of various plans, five surveyor's field books, and eight notebooks which listed the dates of the deeds of concession in the different seigneuries, but no estate roll as such. Title documents, sale contracts for the lots at St John's, and old papers relating to various seigneuries made up the remainder of the papers transferred. McGinnis's first step, obviously, was to become familiar with the seigneuries, both the domains and the censive. But even with the help of these documents, this must have been a formidable task.

Not being a notary, McGinnis also had to develop a knowledge of seigneurial documents or have at his disposal a notary he could trust who had experience in seigneurial transactions. He found such a notary in the person of Pierre Gamelin who had trained under Henry and signed many of the land grants during Henry's administration. Gamelin had recently moved to Napierville when McGinnis was appointed land agent but relocated to St John's a few years later. Because the potential number of land grants to be made during McGinnis's administration was small, the number of deeds signed by Gamelin in this period is not an accurate measure of his importance to McGinnis. But because one also finds that almost all of the

major documents required by McGinnis for the seigneurs throughout his tenure were executed by Gamelin, it is clear he had McGinnis's confidence in professional matters. Gamelin's expertise and his familiarity with these particular seigneuries must also have facilitated McGinnis's task in his first few years as agent.

With the experience of his first year as agent behind him, McGinnis wrote to W.P. Christie to ask that he be placed on commission rather than receive a salary. Christie agreed that he should receive 15 per cent of the revenues collected as his fee.¹⁰ His remuneration was therefore more directly proportional to the amount of work he put into collecting seigneurial dues; it would be in his own interest to keep records up to date and to prevent the accumulation of arrears as much as possible.

His first year must also have given him a better idea of the amount of work required to do so. From the beginning, McGinnis kept a careful record of all rents paid, with a separate folio for each censitaire, as well as an account book for each seigneurie, with the *lods et ventes* recorded separately from the *cens et rentes*. Collecting the *lods et ventes* depended on knowing which transactions had taken place and the value of the sale. Because the censitaires did not always volunteer this information, McGinnis began his administration by writing to all the notaries in the area and asking for an extract of all the deeds subject to *lods et ventes* signed for the Christie seigneuries after 2 January 1835.¹¹ Although he was charged a fee for these extracts, his records were immediately brought up to date and he could then maintain them.

McGinnis's association with the Christie seigneuries would continue until his death in 1880. One of his sons took over many of his duties as he got older. In another place or time, McGinnis would undoubtedly have gained the respect if not the loyalty of the censitaires for his professional administration of the seigneuries. But any such possibility was destroyed by the outbreak of the Rebellions; seigneur and agent and many of the censitaires were active participants, but mostly on opposite sides, and the memory of these events would mar their relations for a long time to come.¹²

In 1835 the survey of the seigneuries was essentially complete except for fine details. Gores or irregularly shaped parcels left over between the concessions of regular lots and the boundaries of the seigneuries remained unsurveyed as did large parcels such as domain farms. More village lots were required at Christieville and Napierville. Because McGinnis intended to keep separate records for each seigneurie, it would also be necessary to establish where the bound-

aries between them were. The more difficult matter of establishing the exterior boundaries with adjacent townships also remained. The surveys of W.P. Christie's administration, therefore, were devoted primarily to the tedious tidying up operations necessary to finalize the seigneurial cadastre. These tasks were to be completed before Christie's death in 1845, a particularly important and fortunate event, given that the seigneuries would be divided thereafter.

The surveyor favoured by William McGinnis was Hiram Corey. The varied nature and extent of his work is evident from his account with W.P. Christie (table 6). The only concession surveyed at this time was the East Concession of Noyan, created by the decision on the Noyan-Stanbridge boundary. In Delery, in the rear of the First Concession Northwest of Little River Montreal (L'Acadie River), an unmeasured area remained between the conceded lots and the river. By convention, this area was occupied by the person holding the land next to it. W.P. Christie had these areas surveyed and granted them to the censitaire in question. The gore between the boundary of Noyan and Foucault was handled in a similar way. To establish the boundary between Bleury and Sabrevois, a survey was also required to measure how much of each of the diagonal lots of Grande Ligne which crossed the border fell in each seignury.¹³ By the end of Christie's administration, accurate cadastral plans of each seignury such as the one of Delery prepared by Corey were available.¹⁴ (See Map 6, page 140.)

The construction of the Chambly Canal (completed in 1843) had changed the water level of the Richelieu River, increasing the amount of flooding in the low-lying areas of the Christie seigneuries. Sizeable portions of lots surveyed and granted earlier had thereby become so completely flooded as to be useless. In Lacolle, one observer noted: "... [t]he greatest part of the front of this seignury is so low, that several arpents in depth along nearly the whole front of this seignury serves to void the waters of Lake Champlain during the months of May, June and part of July and the water is several feet in depth, so much so in fact, that canoes and other craft can float."¹⁵

Rents could not be charged on these flooded areas, but to determine the exact area affected and correct the seigneurial *terrier*, new surveys were required in Lacolle and Noyan.¹⁶ The censitaires agreed, in some cases, to resume paying rent if the water level was ever lowered and these flooded lands became available again. In Noyan, where the seigneur was interested in obtaining land along the route of a proposed canal from Missisquoi Bay to South River, he accepted the retrocession of these lands from the censitaires in

Table 6
Account of W.P. Christie with Hiram Corey, Surveyor

		Wm Plenderleath Christie Esq	Dr to Hiram Corey	
1835	June	to Surveying & bounding 20 lots in Christieville		5.00.00
		to Bounding 8 lots at 7/6		3.00.0
		to Bounding 1 lot at 10/		0.10.0
	July	to Bounding 20 lots at 7/6		7.10.0
		to Bounding 6 lots at 5/		1.10.0
	Oct	to Surveying in East Concession Noyan		
		Moses Spears lots		3.15.0
		Luke lot		1.17.6
		Boomhorns lot		1.15.0
		Tilly Blakley lot		1.15.0
		Zacus Blakley lot		1.10.0
		Phelps Smiths lot		3.00.0
		No. 9 East Concession		1.10.0
	Nov	to Surveying 11 lots in Christieville at 7/6		4.02.6
		1 lot at 10/		0.10.0
		22 lots S W St. Johns in B. Longueuil		11.00.0
1836	March	to one day tracing Westover line Noyan		1.00.0
		to two days surveying in Delery		2.00.0
	April	to measuring & surveying two lots in Noyan		2.05.0
		to surveying one lot East concession Noyan		0.17.6
	July	to Bounding 21 lots in Napierville at 7/6		7.17.6
		3 lots in Napierville at 5/		0.15.0
	August	to Cash paid borrowed money// 170.00		42.10.0
	Dec	to surveying 12 lots East concession Noyan at 7/6		10.10.0
1839		to surveying 15 lots in Christieville at 7/6		5.12.6
		to surveying 2 lots in Christieville		0.15.0
1840		to one day tracing North line of 42 in 4 R Sabrevois		1.00.0
	Augt	to measuring a number of lots in NW angle Delery three days		3.00.0
		Paid 2 assistants 10/6 — 2 days		0.10.6
		surveyed about the Little Lake Delery		2.00.0
1841	July	to 2 days worked at Little Lake		2.00.0
	Sept	measured gore south of No. 14 in 3d C Bleurie		0.17.6
	Sept	15th 16th 17th & 18th to four days running lines at Little Lake		4.00.0
		Cash paid assstnts 20/		1.00.0
	Sept	21st 22d 23d & 24th to 4 days tracing West line of Delery and other work		3.00.0
	Oct	13th 14th 15th to 21/2 days of John [Lambuger?]		3.15.0

return for the cancellation of rents. In other areas the waiving of rents on flooded lands was a temporary remission rather than a reunion of the land with the domain.

These surveys were conducted at the request of the censitaires by A.H. Vaughan, Hiram Corey, and Thomas Horan in Noyan and by

Table 6 (cont)

1842	May	12th 14th 16th 17th & 18th to five days surveying at Lakefield Delery	5.00.0
	June	10th & 11th measured some lots south of Douglass in Delery 2 days	2.00.0
	June	to 2 days of Alexandre McGinnis to measuring some lots in rear of No. 9 in Delery Procès verbaux etc	0.10.0 3.00.0
		to one day measuring lots S of Douglass	1.00.0
1843	Feby	14th & 15th Run a line at Lake	1.10.0
	May	26th measured some lots in [Rear?] Concession Delery	2.00.0
1844		to half for Establishing line between Sabrevois & Stanbridge	18.15.0
1845	January	to two days measuring gore lots on Grand line Rear Sabrevois	2.00.0
			<u>148.05.6</u>
1835	July 1st	Cash	0.10.0
	—	Blakeley	1.00.0
	Oct	Spears	0.15.0
	Nov	Cash	3.10.0
	Dec	Cash	3.05.0
1836	Aug	Cash	2.10.0
	Nov 22	Cash	12.10.0
1839	Apr 23	Cash	12.10.0
		Phelps Smith	3.00.0
1840	July		5.00.0
1841	Mar 24		25.00.0
—	—		4.13.4
1843	June 16		12.10.0
—	August 1		3.00.0
	April 12		12.10.0
	50	procès verbal at 5/	12.10.0
	14	do. at 7/6	5.05.0
			<u>119.18.4</u>
			28.07.2
		Cash £10 note—	10.00.0
			<u>18.07.2</u>
		Recd the balance this 28 Augt 1845 (sgn) Hiram Corey	

Source: NAC, MG8 F99.2, 2, 4757.

Vaughan, Duncan MacCallum, and Joseph Whitman in Lacolle.¹⁷ The survey warrants were then taken to the seigneur and the rents adjusted accordingly; often as much as half the title area of a lot was flooded. Near the mouth of South River, for example, lots of 112 arpents contained only about 75 arpents of good land; near

Mud Creek in the Fifth Concession, Watson Survey, of Noyan, one lot of 112 arpents had only 23.8 arpents which were usable; lots 5 and 6 in the First Concession, Watson Survey, consisted of 128 arpents of flooded land and only 87 arpents of high land out of a total of 215 arpents. The Seventh Concession, Watson Survey, of Noyan was described as "a light marsh destitute of timber." In Lacolle, where the rear boundary was still not fixed at this time, Christie investigated the possibility of receiving compensating crown lands for the area of land lost due to flooding but this was not a principle the government would allow.¹⁸

The remission of rents on useless land enhanced the reputation of W.P. Christie with his censitaires. It was policies such as this one which led the inhabitants of Lacolle to address a letter to Christie explaining that their protests against the *lods et ventes* as a burdensome charge and against the high rents they had to pay were not intended to convey that the seigneur was "a cruel and hard task master" because they did not believe he was a hard landlord; quite the contrary, in fact. They also acknowledged that he only asked 4.5 pence per arpent in rent where he could have asked 6.¹⁹

The land grants made by W.P. Christie were not numerous, most of the land in the seigneuries having already been granted by 1835, but the deeds of concessions for the 62 grants made between 1835 and 1845 show no changes in their terms were introduced by W.P. Christie. Rents also remained at the same level as before. The majority of the deeds in this period were signed by Pierre Gamelin and Pierre-Paul Demaray,²⁰ who had known the McGinnis family while studying as a clerk at L'Acadie. This, despite the latter's participation in the Rebellions.

The granting of village lots was more important in this period because Henry had neglected to survey new lots as the population increased. Corey surveyed a minimum of 84 new lots for W.P. Christie in Christieville and Napierville. These were taken up almost immediately: of 57 deeds of concession granted between 1835 and 1845, 46 were granted in 1835 and 1836. Rents varied. Although sixteen of the lots in Christieville were charged only 60 pence per arpent, eight had to pay 450 pence per arpent. In Napierville, where the lot sizes were different, rents of 120 (12 lots) and 240 (15 lots) pence per arpent were most common. The conditions in the deeds of concession for village lots were different from those for farm land, especially in the requirement that a house be built, but there were no changes from the form used by Henry (see *supra* 70-1).

During Henry's administration, arrears of seigneurial *cens et rentes* and *lods et ventes* had been allowed to accumulate. Alfred Pinsoneault who had purchased the rights to them was collecting them through-



Figure 1 *Cens et Rentes Collected in Bleury, Noyan, and Napierville, 1836-45.*
 Source: NAC, M68, F99, 2, 3, 12, 21.

out the period of W.P. Christie's administration and would continue to do so after 1845 as well. This hampered efforts to collect current seigniorial dues. In spite of these difficulties, McGinnis was able to collect an increasing proportion of the *cens et rentes* as time went on (see figure 1). Accurate record-keeping and persistence helped to produce this increase, but the large number of sales which occurred in the seigneuries in the early 1840s was also a factor. A substantial number of these were sheriff's sales, resulting from suits brought against the censitaires by the seigneur.

After the Rebellions, W.P. Christie began suing his censitaires for arrears, singling out for particular attention those who were absentees: 80 such cases were advertised in the *Quebec Gazette* between 1839 and 1848. About half of these proceeded to a sheriff's sale. These suits reflected more than a concern for collecting arrears, as the following letter from McGinnis makes clear: "I have brought a number of suits against the tenants and particularly against absentees. one a/c for Rents only amounting to £73 00d. I have taken care to bring actions against all such as are implicated in the revolts & refugees in the United States. The Executions brot by the Crown agt. the Tenants who are exiled, I will file opposition for what arrears are due in that quarter. All their farms are to be sold in April and no doubt but they will sell very low."²¹ These suits were filed despite the new regulations which required advertising suits against absentees in the *Quebec Gazette* and the *Montreal Gazette* twice before proceeding, which meant, as Christie's lawyer pointed out, that "the expense of advertising will be very heavy."²² Clearly, Christie had no use for bad subjects of the crown and wanted to be rid of them if possible.

Bringing suit against a censitaire at this juncture could also be to W.P. Christie's advantage when that censitaire owed a large amount for arrears due Burton. Because those obligations were subject to 6 per cent interest once acknowledged, the censitaire was likely to try to dispose of that debt before paying current *cens et rentes*. A sheriff's sale would clear the title even when the amount of the sale was not enough to cover both Burton's and Christie's arrears. When the first such case was heard, however, Christie had the unpleasant surprise of finding that the judge had split the proceeds equally between himself and the representatives of Burton's estate. This, he felt, unjustly deprived him of his legitimate revenue, and penalized him for Henry's poor management practices. He brought the question to the courts and obtained a ruling which was more favourable to him. Thereafter the divisions were more equitable, at least in his view.²³

Even if he did not recoup all of his arrears from these proceedings W.P. Christie still stood to gain because the new censitaires were more likely to pay their rents than the old. Moreover, without accumulated arrears, it was easier to sell the land again, in which case the seigneur would collect *lods et ventes*. The seigneur occasionally bought these properties himself and sold them at a profit later, a practice which the censitaires found reprehensible.²⁴ In some cases, Christie also cut timber from the lots acquired before selling them again.²⁵ Christie's censure of speculation, therefore, excluded his own activities.

The number of suits instituted by Christie therefore increased dramatically in this period. Of 160 properties in the Christie seigneuries advertised for sale at auction in the *Quebec Gazette* between 1839 and 1848, 105 were for suits brought by the seigneur for arrears, including the cases against absentees which proceeded to a sheriff's sale. A total area of 14,122 arpents was involved, distributed as follows: Bleury, 1,365 arpents; Sabrevois, 4,240; Noyan, 2,978; Delery, 3,332; and Lacolle, 2,207. Sabrevois, where speculation in timber lands was widespread, was the most affected. In these cases the censitaires probably suffered no loss other than the right to cut timber. But when a property had some improvements and arrears were high, the censitaire stood a very good chance of losing the value of his improvements because of the low price of the sale. Of the properties advertised, 9 had a good house, 103 had ordinary or old houses, 65 had a barn, and 75 had a shed, stable, or other building. Sheriff's sales and interest on arrears, while good management practices on the part of the seigneur, were perceived as injustices by the censitaires. Here as elsewhere, the readjustment of the social and economic balance when cheap land was no longer readily available brought with it increasing social tension.

The large number of sales in the Christie seigneuries during the difficult economic times which followed the Rebellions are only partly accounted for by sheriff's sales. The perusal of local notarial archives quickly makes this evident, and it is confirmed by the figures on revenue from *lods et ventes*. According to figures provided by W.P. Christie, the revenue from these (8.3 per cent of the sale price or equivalent) averaged £4,050 per year for the five seigneuries between 1835 and 1842 (table 7). This compares with £2,088 per year for 1845 to 1854, the ten-year period later used for the purposes of commuting seigneurial tenure.²⁶ A similar picture emerges from the *lods et ventes* account books, although these record only the actual revenue actually collected. That amount increased noticeably in 1839 and even more so in 1840, decreasing slightly thereafter.

Table 7
Annual Revenue from *Lods et Ventés* and *Cens et Rentes*, 1835-42

Seigneurie	Area not Settled (arpents)	No. of Sales	Average Revenue in £	
			Lods	Rentes
Bleury	600	195	1,034	593
Sabrevois	5,000	93	606	702
Noyan	1,000	94	604	667
Delery	2,000	208	1,428	1,257
Lacolle	3,400	65	378	786
<i>Total</i>	12,000	655	4,050	4,005

Source: Province of Canada, *Pièces et documents relatifs à la tenure seigneuriale*, no. 121.

The largest number of sales were in Delery and Bleury, the seigneuries where censitaires were most implicated in the Rebellions. Although participation in the Rebellions may be one reason for the high number of sales in these seigneuries, it could also be that the smaller land parcels which had been granted in these seigneuries were more vulnerable in a period of economic difficulty such as the 1840s. The consolidation of holdings which becomes evident in the 1850s probably began at this time. It is also interesting to note that although Sabrevois had by far the largest area of unsettled land at this time, 5,000 arpents, this did not translate into a greater number of sales. This period of high land mobility may have been beneficial for the long-term economic development of the region in that it released onto the market many of the speculative holdings (which had retarded development) and allowed the consolidation of larger farm properties. But it also appears to be a readjustment shaped by the biases of the new seigneur, an indication that the paternalistic nature of the seigneurie was still very much alive.

MANAGING DOMAIN PROPERTIES

Although revenue from rents and transfer fees represented a substantial sum in this period, William Plenderleath Christie did not neglect his domain properties. No longer restricted by the entail placed on the estate by his father's will as Napier Burton had been, W.P. Christie was free to manage these as personal property, to sell them or to dispose of them in whatever manner he chose. Even before Henry turned over the seigneurial documents, Christie began collecting information from friends and acquaintances as to the state

of the domains in his seigneuries, but the answers he received were too confused to be of much value, as he himself suspected.²⁷ McGinnis was instructed to find out more: he was to record and report on the extent and situation of the domains and unconceded lands in each seignury, distinguishing between farm and village lots, to take note of all natural advantages such as mill sites, quarries, woods, ferries, sites for villages, and spots capable of improvement. On the basis of this information McGinnis was then to improve the value of the estate by "all prudent & legitimate means."²⁸

After investigation McGinnis summarized the situation in the seigneuries for Christie. He reported that the timber trade was still very important, particularly in Sabrevois and Noyan. The roads through these seigneuries were good. One led from Christieville to Henryville, the other ran obliquely through the seignury of Bleury and Sabrevois into the township of Stanbridge. Along these roads, the seigneuries were well settled but elsewhere in Sabrevois, speculation had retarded settlement. There were six sawmills in Sabrevois: two on South River, two on Watson's Creek, and two on River la Barbotte about seven miles from Christieville: "These mills saw a great quantity of planks and boards ... one of the principal commodities for market."²⁹ In Noyan, it was flooding which prevented much of the land from being used for anything other than its timber. Although "great quantities of lumber have been taken from here such as pine and oak," this land was "so low that even in the driest season it is of no value." The village of Henryville had been well laid out "but has been checked in its improvements." Whether cause or effect, the sawmill there was "of little value, as it is partly decayed." He continued: "There is no situation on South River to warrant the erection of a grist mill, but at both falls on Pike River, there is good privileges for grist mills & any other machinery." Robert Jones, who held these privileges, had "already erected a fine sawmill at the Lower Falls & will probably ere long erect other mills. There is two saw mills at the Upper Falls." Lumber, McGinnis noted, was "still a considerable business in consequence of which many fine farms are neglected, and many not cleared the timber being kept by speculators."³⁰

After getting this report from McGinnis, it is perhaps not surprising that Christie would be suspicious of enquiries about the timber in his seigneuries. Writing to McGinnis in 1835, he noted that a Mr Dorwin had been asking about unconceded lands in Noyan and Sabrevois and whether or not there was timber near Kempt Road. Afraid that he wanted to simply cut the timber and then abandon the land, Christie asked McGinnis to be on guard against

such schemes. Dorwin had also proposed building a gristmill in Noyan, but Christie was not sure if he meant it.³¹ Writing to Hiram Corey about the East Concession, which had recently been added to the seigneurie, McGinnis mentioned that he had received an offer from Lewis Taylor to purchase all the timber on the unconceded lands of Noyan, including the East Concession. Although McGinnis had no objection to such a sale, he felt the offer was too general and wanted to know more about the kind of timber in the concession, its estimated value, and when it would be cut, before committing himself. As to conceding the whole concession, he had received orders not to concede more than had been surveyed. The remaining tract would be divided into lots "shortly" and concessions would be "an after consideration."³²

At Lacolle, McGinnis found that Lacolle Mill was in the hands of the tenant's son-in-law and "in pretty good order," but that it had lost its reputation for making good flour and the inhabitants preferred to go to Champlain even when there was enough water to operate it. One objection to this mill was that it did not have a smut machine to clean the wheat. It was rented for £100 per year, but apparently Henry had never received that much for it. Making enquiries on the subject, McGinnis was told that the Canadian farmers were satisfied with the flour ground at Mr Baby's mill, which could grind six to eight bushels an hour with each stone, and that McGinnis should be able to do the same.³³ There was also a "tolerable good" sawmill at Lacolle and 400 arpents of land in the domain. As a temporary measure, the mill was leased to the actual miller, Joseph Blain, for one year.³⁴ After his visit to Lacolle, McGinnis notified the Vanvliets that they had erected buildings on the reserve without a lease or permission, and that if the situation was not rectified he would be "under the disagreeable necessity of taking measures against [them] for trespass."³⁵

At Christieville, wood was being cut on the domain although Henry claimed not to have given permission to do so. McGinnis believed that the person left in charge there, Mr Morley, had "taken great advantage of Mr Henry's easy ways." To rectify this situation, McGinnis resorted to having his notice that such cutting was not allowed cried at the church door. He also found that squatters were beginning to fence a cleared portion of the domain which was used as a common for village lots, all the surveyed lots having already been taken up. By his estimate three-quarters of the villagers were squatters.³⁶ This situation accounts for the high priority given to the survey of new village lots. One of the first effects of McGinnis's takeover, therefore, was to erode the autonomy of the local population,

characteristically extensive under the feudal mode of regulation and especially so under Edme Henry.

When Christie took over the administration of the seigneuries, existing mill leases remained in force until the end of their terms. For sawmills, the nine-year lease system continued much as before, although the individuals holding leases often changed. Almost all of the available sites were already developed. A new sawmill privilege was granted on the Lacolle River in 1836, but that river was becoming overcrowded.³⁷ In Delery the only sawmill in 1835 was at Napierville. In 1843 Christie began the construction of sawmills at Saint-Valentin which were probably located on the Bleurie.³⁸ The Saint-Valentin mills were administered by McGinnis for Christie until his death at which time they were inherited, one by the son of the late John McGinnis, the other, by William McGinnis's oldest son, William Junior. This effectively meant that they would remain under McGinnis's control after 1845 as well.

Although the forest industry retained its importance in the economy of the seigneuries in the 1830s, gristmills and other rural industries, also subject to the seigneurial monopoly of mill sites and water power, were of growing importance. The sale (or donation) of the better mill sites in the seigneuries with no or minimal restrictions as to the number or type of works that could be established thereon facilitated the establishment of major milling complexes or small manufactories in the seigneuries. It also placed these in the hands of individuals of Christie's choice, at least initially. These mill sites were located at Napierville, on the Lacolle River near Lacolle, on Hazen Creek in Christieville, and on Pike River in Noyan. The situation at each of these sites differed somewhat but the result was similar. These domain lands ended up in private hands other than those of the seigneur so that at the time of his death in 1845, these privileges were no longer part of the estate.

The mill sites and privileges at Napierville, Lacolle, and Pike River were sold. At Napierville the domain was already developed and consisted of two sawmills, a gristmill, a large wooden house, a large wooden shed, a carriage house, a large wooden stable, a small wooden dwelling house, and other wooden buildings.³⁹ They had all been leased by Edme Henry who defaulted on his rent. To complicate matters, his widow, Clothilde Girardin (Henry), claimed that the site had been part of her husband's property and disputed William Plenderleath Christie's ownership until 1845.⁴⁰ Upon finally reaching a settlement with her, Christie commented as follows: "So Mad^e Henry has at last given in, when she could hold out no longer - a very complaisant Dame, to admit my opposition to be well

founded! I think it well to dispose of the mill privilege, to a good purchaser, & at a fair price. I suppose that (I mean the mills) is separate from the House, & Out-buildings, & land; or rather they should all go together to make the whole purchase more eligible."⁴¹ No record of such a sale has been found, but in 1857 the lot was valued at £2,000 and was the property of J.G. Laviolette.⁴²

The Lacolle mill site was offered for sale in 1836 and purchased by Merritt and Alonzo Hotchkiss, merchants from Lacolle and La-prairie.⁴³ They were conceded the land which had been mill reserves: two arpents in the northwest corner of lot 21, Second Concession of the Domain South of Lacolle River, and a 429-arpent reserve and farm on both sides of the river where it met the Riche-lieu. They would have to pay seigneurial rents each year at the usual rate of six pence per arpent which, for this area of land, would total £10.16.11. As well, they agreed to pay £1,000 for the existing grist-mill, sawmill, dwelling house, barn, stable, and outhouses, and the privilege "to erect any mill or other machinery that they may deem fit" on either of the lots or attached to the dam which they received permission to build on lot 17 in the Third Concession of the Domain. They were allowed several years to acquit this debt, but after building a dam and a new stone gristmill on their upper reserve they ran into financial difficulties. Given the panic of 1837 and the general economic slump after the Rebellions which made it difficult for anyone to collect the debts due them, this is hardly surprising.⁴⁴ When, by 1841, they were still overdue on their payments, McGinnis became more pressing. Finally, the seigneur sued and re-acquired the mill site and buildings at the sheriff's sale which followed.⁴⁵ The new gristmill on the upper reserve which Christie acquired for £360 was sold to Henry Hoyle for £500.⁴⁶ The brother of Robert Hoyle, Henry Hoyle was a prosperous farmer who would acquire the rights to the seigneurie of Lacolle in 1845.

The Upper and Lower Falls mill sites on Pike River became important domains in Noyan when the boundary with Stanbridge was adjusted so that these two falls and a few small islands in Pike River fell within the seigneurie.⁴⁷ As McGinnis had noted in 1835, these were the only really suitable sites in the seigneurie for the building of a gristmill. Edme Henry had purchased this mill site from Moses Spear in 1820 while it was in Stanbridge and leased it in 1834 to Daniel Meigs, a farmer from Noyan.⁴⁸ The lease remained in force despite the change in the boundary and in administration,⁴⁹ but W.P. Christie wanted a gristmill to be built on this site as well. Because the construction of a dam would flood the adjacent property belonging to Robert Jones, he was offered the lease of it for a nominal

sum. A prominent regional entrepreneur, Jones was interested, but not in a lease. Christie therefore agreed to sell him the property instead. The property was transferred through a deed of concession and sale. Title to the land itself was as in any other censive property and subject to the standard rate of rent of 4.5 pence per arpents. But the seigneur renounced and abandoned his right of redemption, and Jones acquired "the right of building or erecting dams, to build and use grist and other mills and machinery of all sorts and to use the water in propelling all other machineries ... and use on the said premises for ever," for the sum of £1,500, payable in instalments. During the remainder of the Meigs lease, £25 would be deducted from the annual interest due.⁵⁰

When Christie sold the Pike River mill sites to Jones, the latter was already a well-known entrepreneur with business interests at Bedford and with property and a toll bridge at Christieville.⁵¹ He had been involved in the building of Kempt Road and was a director of the Champlain and St Lawrence Railway. He was also, and this may have been a decisive factor, a respected member of the Church of England and sympathetic to Christie's Evangelicalism. It was not the purchase of these mills which established his position, but his position which led to his being approached to acquire them. By selling the Pike River mill sites to Jones, Christie was favouring a member of the Tory élite over the local entrepreneurs of American origin who had been prominent in the seigneuries during Henry's administration. Meigs, who was already leasing this mill site, was not given the opportunity to acquire it. By selling rather than leasing this site, Christie also transferred it into the hands of someone with substantial capital resources.

In 1833 Richard and William McGinnis had obtained a lease from Henry allowing them to build a gristmill at Hazen Creek in Christieville. This was the starting point of McGinnis's enterprises in the seigneuries. A large dike was built to harness the water power of the rapids in the Richelieu to power this mill. The site was therefore similar to the one at Chambly. These brothers had inherited their father's business as a trader at L'Acadie, but it is unlikely that they had the kind of capital it took to finance such an enterprise. The loan for £700 they received from William Plenderleath (Christie) in 1834⁵² was probably used for that purpose. Because they were his nephews (by marriage) and because they anticipated that he would inherit the seigneuries, they were perhaps more willing to make a substantial investment on the basis of a lease than others would have been. They would not be disappointed. The mill site was left to them by Christie in his will, and the outstanding loan for £700 was left to

their aunts, the sisters of his deceased first wife. Even before they inherited the property they added to it. In 1839 a carding machine was installed for them by Otis Warren at a cost of £100. According to the 1842 census, they also had a fulling mill and the gristmill consisted of three pairs of milling stones.⁵³ From this base, they would be able to expand their manufactures and increase their wealth but they owed their initial position as manufacturers at Christieville to W.P. Christie's favour.

SEIGNEURIAL PROJECTS

One of the major impediments to agricultural production in many parts of the Christie seigneuries was poor drainage, and the problem was even greater after the building of Chambly Canal raised the level of the water in the Richelieu River. A large tract in the interior of Delery had never been granted because of flooding and William Plenderleath Christie's most ambitious project was to drain Little Lake in the centre of Delery and reclaim this land.⁵⁴ In 1837 the scheme was found to be practicable and it then proceeded under the direction of McGinnis. Labourers were employed to cut a channel two miles long, eight feet wide, and four feet deep between the Bleurie River and Little Lake. The depth had to be increased in some places, but in the end these efforts were repaid by the successful reclamation of 7,000 to 8,000 arpents of land, of which 5,000 arpents had already been granted and remained as part of the censive. Assuming this land had not been paying rents but did so thereafter, less than £100 annually was added to the seigneur's revenue. This was not a very substantial compensation for his efforts. But there remained the 3,000 arpents which had never been granted. It was through these new lands that the seigneur hoped to profit from his land reclamation scheme. He called this new domain "Lakefield."

The surest way to capitalize on his investment would have been to sell this land. Christie therefore tried to have Lakefield converted into free and common soccage as had been done in Beauharnois to Edward Ellice's great advantage:

I therefore solicit His Excellency's authority to avail myself of the existing Law, so that Lakefield may be held in Free & Common Soccage Tenure, the drainage of which Tract has been wholly effected at my own cost, without any Legislative Aid; and I hesitate not to add, that it is the greatest Agricultural Improvement, which has been made in this Province, since it fell under British Rule.

Considering that my object in changing the tenure of this portion of my Seigniorie is, the introduction of a sound body of British Emigrants, and skillful Farmers; considering also, that for my services as a Military Officer in this, & other Countries, I have never received a Grant of Land, as it is customary on retirement; and that during the late Revolt I tendered my gratuitous assistance and filled the arduous situation of Provincial Military Secretary for this Province, & part of the Upper, and that I declined to accept any remuneration, when it was offered to me by the then Commander of the Forces; considering likewise, that I have already incurred in this important work no inconsiderable expenses, and that a further outlay is requisite to its completion, I do confidently hope His Excellency will kindly allow the Change of Tenure to be effected on the easiest possible terms, so as to compensate in some degree for my laborious undertaking; and at the same time to encourage other Landed Proprietors to make similar attempts for the amelioration of the Country.⁵⁵

Although his claim upon the government may have been legitimate, the manner of compensation did not meet with approval and the attorney general replied that a partial commutation was not possible: the law provided only for the commutation of whole seigneuries.⁵⁶

With this option closed, Christie decided to keep Lakefield as part of his domain rather than the censive. When he first made a will, this entire parcel was bequeathed to Amelia B. Christie with the specific charge that she set up a Waldesian settlement and, if that was not possible, that she form "a Settlement of Loyal and Respectable Members of the Church of England" instead. This particular legacy was not intended to be for her personal use and profit, therefore, but for her to continue the Evangelical work he had started.⁵⁷

Even before the draining of Little Lake in Delery, McGinnis had nurtured the hope of cutting a canal from Missisquoi Bay through to the South River, a project that had first been proposed in the late eighteenth century. He therefore acquired a property on Missisquoi Bay which would be useful for wharfs and much of the marshy land in Noyan along the proposed cut. At the time, however, he had simply told the censitaires that a "common water course" was planned.⁵⁸ Having successfully completed the drainage project in Delery, McGinnis approached Christie about the possibility of undertaking this project. Christie gave his cautious approval: "if you proceed in the same cautious way [as at Lakefield], as I believe you will, I think it will be well to make the attempt." He also thought that McGinnis's suggestion that some of the censitaires who owed rent could be put to work on the project was "a good thought" and

would "improve their circumstances as well as the land, & might facilitate much the opening up of that part of the country where a canal must one day be formed." It was therefore better not to say anything about this when buying up lots in the area, as the value would go up if the canal succeeded.⁵⁹

By mid-summer of 1844, the work was under way and Christie had some advice to offer: "I don't wish you to moisten your boot in the swamp, but to set to work the Canadian Aquaties; particularly those (if willing) who took part in the Little Lake; & put an Inspector over them with an addition to his wages; & make him responsible to you, & report progress ... If your over-seer is ambitious of a high-sounding name, let him be dubbed 'Surveyor General of the Grand Junction Canal, to connect the Waters of Missisquoi Bay, & the River Richelieu.'"⁶⁰ The cut may have helped the drainage problem, but as a canal it was a failure. When the work was finished it did not fill with water, not being at the correct level.⁶¹

When Christie inherited the seigneuries in 1835 there were still substantial domain farms at Napierville, Lacolle Mill, and Christieville even though the vast reserves made by Gabriel Christie had been whittled down by Henry until little remained. Yet in 1854 when seigneurial tenure was commuted there were only 62 arpents of land still remaining as domain land in the five Christie seigneuries taken together. Some of this land had gone to meet the needs of Christie's Evangelical projects: the glebe at Napierville and the land for Trinity Church at Christieville. The farm at Lacolle Mill, as we have seen, was inherited by Amelia Bowman Christie, and later became known as Richelieu Grange. To explain why the domain in Bleury and the site of Christie's seigneurial manor, Springfield, did not remain as domain, however, one must take into account the uncertainty over W.P. Christie's will.

Springfield and the domain farm attached to it should have been left to Amelia Bowman Christie under the terms of their marriage contract. Instead the land was conceded to Amelia's sister, Octavia Bowman, in 1842 and she sold it to Amelia Bowman Christie the next day for £230. This removed it from the domain and it became Amelia's property outright. Because she now owned it as a censitaire, her possession of it could not be challenged and would not be affected if there was a successful challenge to Christie's will.⁶² This explains why these properties do not appear in the *Cadastre abrégé* of Bleury as seigneurial domains even though they were owned by the seigneur. The remaining seigneurial reserves in Bleury totalled only 9 arpents (see table 9, page 119). Despite the contradiction, this

meant that after 1845, as seigneur of Bleury, Amelia Bowman Christie owed herself *cens et rentes*.

POPULATION AND VILLAGE GROWTH

By 1846 the population of the Upper Richelieu Valley had reached 17,620, an increase of about 31 per cent since 1831 (see Appendix 11, table 23). While the region had not reached its maximum population, it had already started losing some of its early settlers, especially the English-speaking ones. As there were few new British immigrants to the region in this period, despite W.P. Christie's hopes, the growth in the English-speaking population actually slowed down. Altogether they accounted for only 23 per cent of the total population. The Rebellions and the economic difficulties of the early 1840s were partly responsible for the out-migration, but so was the lure of the West.

Only one new village emerged in the area in this period: Pike River. Existing villages continued to grow, however. Eleven notaries moved into the area, a sure sign of community development. One established himself in Saint-Valentin and one at Saint-Sébastien, while the others settled in Christieville, Napierville, Saint-Jacques-le-Mineur, and Henryville (see Appendix 11, table 30). Their choice of location reflects the growing maturity of the settlements on the east side of the Richelieu River.

The progress of industry and agriculture in the region is evident from the census statistics for 1846. Direct comparisons with the census data of 1831 are difficult because in 1846 parishes rather than seigneuries were used as units and the two are not structured in exactly the same way. Using rates rather than absolute figures wherever possible and using the data for those parishes which most closely coincide with seigneurial boundaries,⁶³ it is nonetheless possible to examine the state of the population, agricultural production, and certain industries in the seigneuries at the end of William Plenderleath Christie's administration (see Appendix 11, tables 26 and 27).

In 1846 there were 14 sawmills compared with only 8 in 1831, and 3 carding and fulling mills make an appearance for the first time. There were also 13 threshing mills, almost all of them in Delery. Both the total area of land held and the total area of land improved had increased in absolute terms, but the comparable per capita areas remained almost identical: 9 arpents held and 3 arpents improved in 1846 compared with 10 and 3 in 1831.⁶⁴ It would take some time

for the changes brought about by the sales of the 1840s to have an effect on the clearing of land.

Although there was an increase in production in absolute terms because of the population increase, there do not appear to have been major changes in the structure of agricultural production between 1831 and 1846. The most notable change in the major field crops cultivated was a substantial increase in the per capita production of oats: from only 2.6 units⁶⁵ in 1831 to 12.3 units in 1846. There was also an increase in the production of potatoes: from 9.1 to 15.3 units per capita. In contrast, the production of wheat fell from 6.3 units per capita in 1831 to 3 in 1846, but it should be noted that wheat production had rebounded in 1851. The per capita production of livestock was remarkably stable throughout the census years, but there was a slight decrease in the proportion of hogs kept, from 0.56 per capita in 1831 to 0.36 in 1846.

CONCLUSION

What impact did W.P. Christie's active concern for the improvement of his seigneuries and for the evangelization of his censitaires have on the development of the Christie seigneuries between 1835 and 1845? The most visible evidence of Christie's pursuit of the latter goal was the establishment of several new Church of England parishes in his seigneuries despite the church's small following in the region. Indeed, Church of England adherents as a percentage of the total population actually declined after 1831 and by 1846 formed only 8 per cent of the population (see Appendix 11, table 24). Yet churches were opened at Henryville in 1835, at Henrysburg in 1836, at Grande Ligne (Delery) in 1839, at Lacolle in 1842, and at Christietville in 1843 – often with some form of support from Christie. No other Protestant denomination matched this expansion. The Methodists who also made up 8 per cent of the population in 1846 opened a New Connexion chapel in Henrysburg in 1836 and a Wesleyan Methodist one at Clarenceville in 1845. A look at the census data for 1846 shows that 80 per cent of the population was Roman Catholic and 77 per cent were of French-Canadian origin. These figures show that W.P. Christie's efforts to attract Protestant and English settlers had come to naught.

With regard to the promotion of development through investment in domain properties and rural industry, W.P. Christie's administration of his seigneuries was in many ways a return to the more personal and paternalistic practices which had marked Gabriel Christie's era. Although there was a strong religious dimension to W.P.

Christie's paternalism, it nonetheless reflected a true concern for the well-being of his censitaires. He was also more directly involved with the management of the domains, and by investing substantial sums in the seigneuries, he affected their development; the drainage scheme in Delery is the most evident example. But the censitaires did not necessarily appreciate W.P. Christie's form of paternalistic concern. The participation of many of them in the Rebellions reflects their dissatisfaction with the forms of patronage and power that had long dominated the social structure of Lower Canada.

In other ways, however, Christie's administration did anticipate the changes which were coming. In placing the collection of seigneurial revenue on a much more systematic, professional, and depersonalized basis, McGinnis had prepared the way for the divided succession of 1845 and for the commutation of seigneurial tenure in 1854. After the 1840s, seigneurial arrears were no longer allowed to accumulate indefinitely. They were either collected or turned into interest-bearing debts. These collection practices were much more suitable for the post-1854 régime, when the seigneur would no longer have the status of special creditor, than those which had been followed previously. W.P. Christie maintained that the prompt payment of rents was to the advantage of both tenant and proprietor. His model was the English system. This may not have been entirely appreciated by censitaires used to the more casual practices of an agent like Edme Henry, but Christie was undoubtedly right. Such seigneurial debt was non-productive, and it was certainly better for the censitaires if they could avoid paying interest on such a debt.

W.P. Christie's death in 1845 marked the end of personal and direct involvement by the Christie seigneurs in the development of the Upper Richelieu Valley. His heirs would all be absentee landlords; some would never even set foot in their seigneuries. They thought of their inheritance as capital invested in land and looked for no more than an adequate return. They did not seek – and likely would have seen no reason to seek – to maintain any personal link with the land or its development. The disappearance of any direct relationship between seigneur and censitaires, while not a precondition for the transformation of seigneurial tenure into property relations in the context of capitalism, would ease the passage from the one to the other when it came in 1854.

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SEIGNEURS RENTIERS

Once the Christie seigneuries were in the hands of separate groups of heirs after 1845, they were no longer administered as a unit. The seigneuries of Bleury, Sabrevois, and Noyan on the east side of the Richelieu remained under the control of William McGinnis; Lacolle was leased to Henry Hoyle who became its usufructuary seigneur; Delery was managed by McGinnis briefly, then by another agent, and in 1849 was also placed under Hoyle's management. These changes required the division of the seigneurial papers, and the documentation which has survived for the period from W.P. Christie's death to the end of seigneurial tenure in 1854 is not as complete as for the previous one. It is clear, however, that the administration of the seigneuries after 1845 was fundamentally different from that in previous periods.

In the past, seigneurial control over ungranted timber lands and over the building of mills and use of water power had been a source of patronage and power in the frontier economy of the Upper Richelieu Valley. By 1845 hardly any ungranted lands remained and the available mill sites were all occupied. Only a few of them remained under lease; the most important ones were now held outright. The rights of the new seigneurs had not changed, but their ability to influence economic development or to exercise patronage was severely constrained. They were truly "seigneurs-rentiers" rather than "seigneurs-entrepreneurs." With the exception of Amelia Bowman Christie (until 1854), they were absentee owners and had little personal involvement with their seigneuries. To the censitaires they would simply have been a name in whose behalf the agent acted. Because they spent their seigneurial revenue outside the region,

their impact on regional development was, if anything, negative. William McGinnis and Henry Hoyle, however, were increasingly prominent actors in the local economy. The extent to which this was a function of their power as seigneurial administrators rather than as entrepreneurs in their own right is difficult to establish, but in both cases these roles seem to have been complementary.

McGinnis managed the seigneuries which remained under his control in much the same way as he always had. Except for Amelia Bowman Christie, the seigneurs for whom he acted were unfamiliar with the seigneuries and expected only that he collect the revenue due them regularly and not allow arrears to accumulate if at all possible. Because arrears due William Plenderleath Christie were not inherited by the new seigneurs, the censitaires started with a clean slate. That did not necessarily make collections easier; it simply meant that the censitaires faced competing claims for the payment of arrears: from the new seigneur, from McGinnis as executor of William Plenderleath Christie's will, and from Alfred Pinsoneault who was still collecting the arrears due to Burton's estate. Despite regular suits against the censitaires, arrears did accumulate, and actual revenues from the seigneuries were always less than their paper value.

The seigneurs of both Noyan and Sabrevois were initially shocked at how much less they received than they had expected. Mary Christie Burton would write in 1846: "I cannot confess I comprehend why a property worth 700 pounds per annum should average so small a rental as 260 pounds only."¹ Colonel Cleather, who corresponded with McGinnis on behalf of his wife, expected £750 per year in rent alone. The first year she was seigneur, the collection amounted to only £73 which did not even pay McGinnis's salary of £150. The next year McGinnis would receive a commission of 20 per cent instead of a salary. After only three years, McGinnis drew up a summary of revenue collected and owing for the seigneurie (table 8) which showed that half of the *cens et rentes* had been collected but only 29 per cent of the *lods et ventes*. Of a total of 678 censitaires listed in his "abstract," only 129 were not in arrears. Colonel Cleather maintained his pressure on McGinnis to prevent the accumulation of arrears and over time the payment record improved: by 1851 the accumulated arrears of £2,564 represented only 37 per cent of the rents due.²

In Lacolle, where Henry Hoyle had leased the seigneuries from the seigneurs, they received a fixed amount from him, and it was then up to him to collect the seigneurial dues from the censitaires. When his inventory was taken in 1849/50, his son and agent, Tim-

Table 8
Statement of Arrears in Sabrevois, 1848

	<i>Collected</i>	<i>Arrears</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% Collected</i>
<i>Cens et Rentes</i>	£1,118	£1,132	£2,250	50
<i>Lods et Ventes</i>	277	688	965	29
<i>Total</i>	1,395	1,820	3,215	43

Source: NAC, MC8 f99.9, 24, "An Abstract showing ... the rent paid in 1845, 1846, and 1847, and what arrears were due November 11, 1847 still unpaid up to June 12, 1848."

othy Hoyle, reported the following arrears: for the lands on the Domain, £929.11.3; for the lands South of the Domain, £531.13.1; and for the lands North of the Domain, £259.6.11.³ A total of £1,720.11.3 of arrears had accumulated in five years. This figure covers all seigneurial dues including *lods et ventes*, and it is therefore not possible to determine exactly what proportion of the dues were in arrears, but assuming a maximum *cens et rentes* of £849 for Lacolle (table 9) and an average *lods et ventes* of £289 per annum (table 10), the amount due in a five-year period would have been £5,690 and only 30 per cent of the dues were in arrears, which would seem to indicate a good payment record on the part of the censitaires.

The accumulation of arrears in this period was clearly not the result of poor record-keeping or the lack of pressure from the agents. It may reflect the practice of putting off these debts until the time of a sale or inheritance, particularly in the case of the larger sums for *lods et ventes*. It may also reflect the changing nature of the suits against censitaires which in this period more often led to an obligation bearing interest than a sheriff's sale. Unfortunately there is no documentation originating with the censitaires which can provide insight into the way in which they viewed these debts.

By 1845 the potential revenue from *cens et rentes* in all the seigneuries was very close to if not at the maximum which could be expected once all the land was conceded, as it was in 1854. The figures from the Sabrevois abstract show that £750 was owing each year, just short of the £777 per annum indicated as the revenue from the censive in the *Cadastre abrégé* for that seigneurie. Table 9 summarizes the total potential revenue from *cens et rentes* at the end of the seigneurial régime. The variations were primarily a function of the total area of the seigneurie and the number of those paying higher village rents. The average rate of rent paid on farm land in each seigneurie fluctuated only slightly, from a low of 4.26 pence per arpent in Lacolle to a high of 4.55 pence per arpent in Sabrevois,

Table 9
Area of Land and Value of *Cens et Rentes* in the Christie Seigneuries, 1854

	Area in Arpents				Cens et Rentes (£)			
	Village	Farm	Other*	Total	Village	Farm	Other	Total
Bleury	539	23,962	455	24,956	208	449	9	666
Sabrevois	0	40,973	0	40,973	0	777	0	777
Noyan	129	38,909	0	39,038	31	735	0	766
Delery	287	63,810	2,160	66,257	99	1,170	0	1,269
Lacolle	0	47,473	429	47,902	0	841	8	849
<i>Total</i>	955	215,127	3,044	219,126	338	3,972	17	4,327

Source: Calculated from the *Cadastres abrégés* of 1857.

*Includes former reserves, areas paying only a token *cens* (Lakefield), and domains.

Table 10
Average Annual Revenue from *Lods et Ventés* for 1845-54 (£)

Seigneurie	Indemnification			Annual Revenue		
	Farm	Village	Total	Farm	Village	Total
Bleury*	4,517	1,501	6,018	271	90	361
Sabrevois	-	-	7,633	-	-	458
Noyan	-	-	6,348	-	-	381
Delery	9,125	856	9,981	548	51	599
Lacolle	4,484	334	4,818	269	20	289
<i>Total</i>			34,798			2,088

Source: Calculated from the *Cadastres abrégés* of 1857.

*The division into farm and village values is from the list with the seigneurial papers. The total in the manuscript list and that published correspond.

a reflection of the period at which the land had been granted and the extent to which higher "domain" rates had been imposed.

The amount of revenue from *lods et ventes* could not be anticipated exactly, but based on previous years, the seigneurs must have known approximately how much to expect. The actual amount owing for the period from 1845 to 1854 is available for all the seigneuries because this corresponds to the last ten years under seigneurial tenure which were used as an average to calculate how much seigneurs should receive in compensation for the loss of this privilege in 1854 (table 10).⁴ For Bleury the actual information provided for the commissioner indicates that the average revenue of £361 for this period

Table 11
Frequency Distribution of the Value of Sales, Bleury, 1845-54

Value of Sale (£)	No. of Sales	
	Christieville	Bleury (Farm)
10 or less	59	25
11-25	94	50
26-50	58	81
51-75	22	48
76-100	12	47
101-200	8	97
201-300	2	22
301-400	3	1
401-500	-	3
500 or more	2	-
<i>Total</i>	260	374

Source: NAC, M8 F99.9, 6.

represented a total of 634 sales, of which 260 were of village lots and 374 of farms. The frequency distribution of the sale value of these lots and farms is shown in table 11.

For the period from 1845 to 1854, the book value of the five Christie seigneuries in the Upper Richelieu Valley was £6,416 per annum, ranging from £1,868 for the largest, Delery, to £1,027 for the smallest, Bleury. This meant that W.P. Christie's heirs had inherited land equivalent to a capital investment of £106,933.⁵ Although substantial, this amount is only the very basic "feudal" burden imposed on the censitaires each year and does not reflect in any way the revenue from the domains or the value of the monopolies imposed, which over the years had also contributed to the seigneurial purse rather than to those of the censitaires.

THE AGENTS AS ENTREPRENEURS

The willingness of the seigneurs to sue to collect rents may have been a contributing factor in the high number of sales in the seigneuries between 1845 and 1854 but so was emigration as the residents of the Upper Richelieu Valley were lured west, to Ontario and to the American mid-West and California, especially in 1849. As John Pearson found out, those who joined the gold rush were not all winners - "[a]bout California, tell them to stay at home as

Table 12
Area and Location of Farm Land Held by Large Proprietors, 1857

<i>Proprietor</i>	<i>Bleury</i>	<i>Sabrevois</i>	<i>Noyan</i>	<i>Delery</i>	<i>Lacolle</i>	<i>Total</i>
Chapman, A.	0	67	617	0	0	684
Christie, A.B.	517	392	0	0	0	909
Goodnow, E.S.	0	812	24	0	0	836
Hoyle heirs*	0	0	0	0	1,806	1,806
Hoyle, Robert	0	0	0	16	1,264	1,280
McGinnis, R. & W.	0	0	0	672	0	672
McGinnis, Wm.	718	1,136	989	109	0	2,952
Nye, F. & B.	0	0	0	42	6,208	6,250
Pinsonneault, A.	61	112	175	152	168	668
<i>Total</i>	1,296	2,519	1,805	991	9,446	16,057

Source: Calculated from *Cadastrés abrégés* of 1857.

*Includes George Visher, John Vanburen, and Timothy Hoyle.

there is some do well but hundreds don't do well here"⁶ – but the attraction remained. Not all of the properties sold were purchased by settlers, and by 1854 a certain number of large landowners had emerged, all of whom were creditors in the local economy (table 12). With the exception of Chapman and Goodnow who were merchants and Freeman and Bartlett Nye who were traders (but related to Henry Hoyle), all of these individuals were implicated in some way in seigneurial affairs. This suggests that there was a connection between the role of agent or of collector of arrears and the accumulation of property, perhaps because the collection of arrears required an awareness of the transactions going on in the seigneuries.⁷ Looking at the activities of William McGinnis and Henry Hoyle, the two agents for the seigneuries, however, one finds that the accumulation of land was peripheral to their major activities.

William McGinnis inherited the mill site at Christieville jointly with his brother Richard, but he was the one who actually managed its operation as well as other family-owned interests such as the mills at Saint-Valentin. As well as the initial property at Christieville, McGinnis also was conceded a small lot on Hazen Creek by Amelia Bowman Christie in 1846, granted as an ordinary village lot with an additional restriction that no distilleries, breweries, or tanneries could be built on Hazen Creek.⁸ These Christieville properties were to be valued at £1,000 for tax purposes in 1857.⁹ As noted earlier, a carding and a fulling mill had been added to the original gristmill, and in 1844, McGinnis added a sawmill to this complex. In 1851,

the census reported that the gristmill produced an average of £150 per year, but it was generally used only in the summer. The carding and fulling operation had been expanded and was now described as a water-powered "moulin manufacturier de drap étoffe flanelle cardes teinturiers foulons." Listed under the name of Joseph H. Ripley, cloth manufacturer,¹⁰ this establishment produced cloth valued at £2,000 (\$8,000) annually and generally employed eight persons. McGinnis's own dwelling and a potashery valued at £15 were located nearby.¹¹ A valuation of all the mills for insurance purposes in 1865¹² placed the value of the flour mill and machinery at £800, of the carding and fulling operation at £300, and of the two houses occupied by the millers at £50 each. With the help of his legacy from W.P. Christie, therefore, McGinnis was able to build up a very valuable industrial site on the banks of the Richelieu, a group of enterprises which would survive and continue to grow well after seigneurial tenure had been terminated.¹³

The sawmill at Christieville was one of McGinnis's most active concerns in the period 1845-54. His activities there and some of the details of his role in the local economy can be seen through an examination of his Christieville sawmill account book which covers the years from 1845 to 1851.¹⁴ It shows him purchasing logs and directing the cutting of timber in almost every corner of the seigneuries, and even as far away as the neighbouring township of Hemmingford. Labour was hired to cut and draw logs; timber roads were built; land was cleared. Delivery was taken at one of several points: South River, the Saint-Valentin mills, Jobson Creek,¹⁵ and River la Barbotte. If cutting was done on lots belonging to McGinnis or the seigneur, only the labour and hauling was paid. Most of the logs cut on this basis came from the H.B. Wells lots in the Fourth Concession, Sabrevois, the lots which had been sold at a sheriff's sale for arrears in rent and acquired by W.P. Christie.¹⁶ The timber merchant, John Forbes,¹⁷ was also cutting in this area, sometimes in association with someone called Dubuc, and with as many as five men working for him.

The price McGinnis paid when buying logs from others depended on the quality of the timber, but appears to have been fairly standard. Pine generally commanded five shillings per toise, but occasionally as much as seven shillings and six pence. Hemlock was usually purchased at three shillings or at three shillings and six pence. Maple, ash, spruce, and tamarack appear only occasionally in the accounts. The total value of his purchases in the five-year period of his account was £1,056. Of this amount 66 per cent was for transactions of less than £25, and 34 per cent for ones greater than this. The many small

transactions were more important therefore, in both number and value.¹⁸

In the period covered by the sawmill account, 136 individuals sold their labour or their timber to McGinnis. The trade therefore involved a score of small farmers and labourers who received payment in cash or in credit, for as little as one or two logs brought to the mill, or for several days "labour at logs." On 5 March 1844, for example, Alexis Davignon was paid £0.11.10.5 cash for three tamarack logs equal to $2 \frac{3}{8}$ toises, at a rate of five shillings per toise. Many entries were like this one. In some, the amount to be paid was transferred to another ledger. There were a few cases, for example, of a credit against a seigneurial rent instead of a cash payment.

It was not just the small farmers who paid their debts in this way as the case of Silas H. White shows. Between 1845 and 1850, he held the lease on Watson's Mill for which he paid £25 per year and he owed £2.16 per year in seigneurial rents for a total debt of £135.4.0 to the seigneur of Sabrevois for the five-year period. Most of this was paid in April of 1845 with 500 pine logs valued at £125. Further deliveries of pine, lumber taken for the mill, and lumber taken for the church by Amelia Bowman Christie brought his credit with McGinnis up to £235. After deducting the rent, McGinnis still owed him £100. In April 1845 White received £25 of this in cash. Small amounts of cash were subsequently paid out both to himself and to his wife and daughter. Amounts from £3 to £6 were paid in cash to Pierre Tremblay, Etienne Choineau, Louis Tremblay, and Etienne Tougas (probably White's labourers). His accounts for wool carding, cloth dressing, a barrel of pork, and for three dozen mackerel were also paid by McGinnis until, five years later, White received the cash balance in the account: 13 shillings and 9.5 pence.¹⁹ The sawmill was as an important point of exchange in the local economy and running it gave McGinnis much the same role as that of country storekeepers before the advent of banks. This position must also have facilitated his collection of seigneurial dues.

Other phases of the lumber industry also required labour. At the points of delivery, extra labour had to be hired to square and raft the timber or, for some destinations, to haul it instead. Square timber valued at £74.10, for example, was sent to Timothy Hoyle at Champlain, New York, in 1849. Other logs went to the mill for sawing. The lumber might then be sold in the local market or shipped elsewhere. In 1850, a shipment of planks, pine boards, and boards, valued at £120, was taken to Troy, Vermont, by one of McGinnis's employees. Locally, McGinnis, Amelia Bowman Christie, and the Henryville Church were among the mill's best customers. As with

purchases, however, the many small transactions were probably more important than the few large ones. Although the operation of this sawmill was clearly important in the context of the local economy, it is also evident that the scale of operation remained local and did not rival larger industrial concerns such as Barthélémy Joliette's at L'Industrie.²⁰

Although the sawmill account book gives the impression that McGinnis was everywhere at once, in actual fact he probably rarely stepped out of his office in Christieville. Some of the cutting seems to have been done through subcontractors and although McGinnis's account recorded transactions with 136 individuals, he did not necessarily deal with them all personally. The cutting and drawing of timber on the Wells lots, for example, was organized by Joseph Prevost who received payment for himself and the men working under him. Other dealings went through John Forbes and Silas H. White. At the Saint-Valentin and Christieville mills, McGinnis could depend on the sawyers he himself had chosen to act for him.

At Christieville the mill was under the control of its sawyer, John Pearson,²¹ who was authorized to sign notes on McGinnis for the logs delivered there. He evaluated the quality of the logs and priced them accordingly. On at least one occasion he refused to give the price apparently agreed upon in advance, saying the logs were worth less. Pearson did not hold a lease but was paid by the number of boards sawn. In the year between April 1845 and April 1846, this was £88.15 for sawing 29,000 pieces. Between April and November 1846, he was paid £73.16.2.5 for sawing 24,603 pieces.

At the Saint-Valentin mills, Ed Lewis acted as an agent for McGinnis as well as pursuing his own interests as a sawyer and farmer. McGinnis's accounts record the lumber sold at Saint-Valentin, and the balance of lumber left there. It must have been more convenient, at times, for McGinnis to take delivery of logs there and pay Lewis for sawing them than to transport them any farther. Lewis did some of the work for McGinnis, and his farm supplied some of the provisions required for the men and horses working for McGinnis. He also hired outside help, and McGinnis often reimbursed him for money spent on items such as nails, sometimes by paying Lewis's accounts with others. Lewis's work for McGinnis included general tasks (such as shingling a shed, making fences, digging ditches, and chopping wood), drawing logs, and sawing lumber. In 1848 and 1849, however, most of the work was related to the construction of a new house at Saint-Valentin. In July, a carpenter was hired and bricks, iron, and 14 pounds of nails were purchased; 20 days of hauling were required and in October the house was shingled. The clearing and fencing continued into 1850.

As McGinnis's personal wealth grew, he was increasingly in a position to act in his own right rather than for the seigneur in the matter of land purchases. His duties as agent still required that he sue censitaires for arrears and that he follow the sale of properties in the seigneuries to protect the interests of the seigneurs and to collect *lods et ventes*. As before, he often acquired some of properties sold at sheriff's auctions to resell at a later date, but increasingly he made these purchases in his personal capacity rather than for the seigneur and this changing situation is reflected in the size of his holdings in 1857 (see table 12). This speculation in land, however, was only one of many aspects of his involvement in the local economy.

Henry Hoyle was also involved in many areas of that economy. When Hoyle leased the rights to the seigneurie of Lacolle from W.P. Christie's heirs²² in 1845 he was already a prosperous farmer and a manufacturer of some importance, with extensive landholdings and mills in Lacolle and the nearby township of Hinchinbrooke. He had married Sarah Visher Schuyler, a widow with four children, and they in turn had three sons.²³ This gave him a large kinship network on which to draw for help with the management of his affairs, and these links were certainly a factor in his success. His youngest son, Timothy, took over as seigneurial agent when Hoyle, who suffered from palsy, could no longer do it himself. Hoyle's expansion into Hinchinbrooke and Hemmingford was also facilitated, if not motivated, by the presence there of his son-in-law, D.K. Lighthall, who acted as agent for his properties in these townships. Having a large family allowed Hoyle to expand his interests over a wider area, but it also meant providing for them. Although he might at first appear to have owned a considerable amount of land, when one considers that his estate had to be divided among seven children, it no longer seems so large.

The farmstead that Hoyle and his wife occupied had been purchased from his brother, Robert Hoyle, in 1825 and covered an area of 1,098 arpents for which he had paid £1,100.²⁴ The properties he held in Hinchinbrooke near the village of Huntingdon on the Chateauguay River were used to establish two of their children. Steven Henry Schuyler was given a farm of 350 acres there and Agnes Schuyler, the wife of D.K. Lighthall, received an adjacent farm of 250 acres. A nearby property which included Hoyle's gristmill, sawmill, fulling mill, and an oat kiln was sold to William Bowron, Steven Henry Schuyler's father-in-law, for £425 in 1845.²⁵ The gristmill, carding mill, and other associated properties which Hoyle had acquired near the village of Lacolle went to Sarah Ann Schuyler, the wife of Merritt Hotchkiss, but in return she agreed to pay Hoyle £1,375.²⁶ The transfer was made in the form of a gift rather than

a sale, however, and Hoyle specified that she was to receive only the usufruct of this property which would go to her children once she and her husband had died. The donation expressly prohibited the seizure of the property for her debts or those of her husband. Cornelia Schuyler, the wife of Freeman Nye, had received a cash advance on her legacy of £250, probably at the time of her marriage. Hoyle also had £2,500 (\$10,000) invested in Troy, Vermont, which was a bequest to his wife.²⁷ Clearly his economic success predated his power as seigneur; indeed, it is likely that it was his solvency that made him attractive as an agent for the seigneuries. In fact, in 1849, he was also asked to take over the agency of Delery, and both were taken over by his son Timothy after his death later that year.²⁸

Although Hoyle's position as seigneur, and therefore as the creditor of his censitaires, may initially suggest that he took advantage of this to acquire property from impoverished farmers, an examination of some of his land transactions seem to indicate the opposite. He was first involved in numerous transactions in the late 1830s, at which time he appears to have been doing farmers the favour of buying their farms when they needed cash for other purposes. One early example of this is a "sale of betterments" by John Gay on 12 May 1834. Hoyle bought his rights to the improvements on a lot in Lacolle for £25 and gave him two years in which to pay it back with interest. Only if he failed to do so would a more formal sale of the property be required. In 1836 and 1837 when local settlers wanted to leave the area, it was to Henry Hoyle they turned for the cash to do so. When John Smith returned from Rusiah, Ohio, to sell his farm in Delery, he found a buyer in the person of Michael Brady, but Brady could not afford to pay the £37.10.0 sale price in cash. Smith therefore transferred his right to receive payments from Brady along with all his "rights, titles, name, reason, actions, privileges and hypotheques" to Henry Hoyle, in return for the same amount received from Hoyle, not in cash, but in the form of "two horses and a double Waggon new and complete" delivered to him before the transfer. Hoyle in return would receive the payments from Brady, plus interest. Robert Peacock made a similar bargain with Hoyle, selling him his interests in and improvements on a lot in Delery, for which he had only the survey warrant and not the deed of concession, in return for "one span of colts and a double new waggon." And in 1837 Hoyle also purchased the remainder of John Wilson Senior's estate in Lacolle, suggesting that the latter was also leaving the seigneurie at the time.²⁹

Hoyle continued to acquire mortgages in the 1840s, either to secure loans he had made, or when he sold a farm on instalments.

When he sold one and one-half lots in the back of Delery to Abraham Stocks, for example, he gave him eleven years to pay off the purchase price of £137.10.0, plus interest. Only after two instalments had been paid would Stocks acquire the right to cut timber for anything other than improvements and fuel, and only after making all the payments would he acquire title to the property.³⁰ Even though this property had in essence been sold, then, it would still appear officially as the property of Henry Hoyle as long as the last payment had not been made. Securing loans by a special mortgage on a specific property was usual when these were substantial. Seigneurial dues were not usually secured in this way, the seigneur already being a privileged creditor, but when Hoyle made additional loans to censitaires who also owed him arrears, he would secure the total debt with a mortgage.³¹ The shortage of cash in the economy continued to be a factor in some of Hoyle's transactions. When Richard Pearson could not pay Richard Peacock immediately for the farm he had purchased from him, he took care of this obligation by selling the farm to Hoyle who did not insist on immediate payment.³² At the time of Hoyle's death, several of these mortgages were still outstanding, and together represented £1,098 owing the estate, before interest. He also held mortgages totalling £955 in value on land in Huntingdon acquired as a speculative venture.

Despite the diversity of Hoyle's activities, farming remained his foremost pursuit. The inventory after his death gives an idea of the nature of this operation and its size. His own property was farmed by tenant farmers on shares. He also owned a large amount of livestock which was either let out for increase or which he placed to winter on 49 different farms throughout southern Lacolle, Hemmingford, Noyan, and Caldwell Manor. On his own farms, he had 18 cows, 2 bulls, 2 colts, 2 horses, 14 sheep, and 7 calves together valued at £139.10; let out he had 43 cows, 22 heifers, 26 steers, and 123 sheep valued at £310.05.³³ Hoyle had been doing this for some time, and there were some outstanding written debts for livestock to a value of £91. The emphasis on raising sheep evidently complemented his manufacturing interests: Hoyle was in effect "putting out" the sheep required for his manufacturing interests and advancing the capital (in sheep) to stimulate the production of wool in the area. There is no indication of whether or not this was necessary to provide enough wool for the wool factory, as was the case for more specialized products such as flax.³⁴ Perhaps Hoyle's concern was to improve the quality of the wool produced.

As with McGinnis, therefore, Hoyle's activities were diverse and included manufacturing as well as farming and land speculation.

Having decided to remain in the area, unlike many of his neighbours, he could afford to have some of his money invested in secure mortgages, but it was in Hemmingford, rather than in the seigneuries, that he chose to speculate in land. It was Hoyle's son-in-law, Freeman Nye, and his brother and partner, Bartlett Nye, who accumulated large areas of land in Lacolle. Without the seigneurial papers for this period it is impossible to know if this accumulation of land in Lacolle and Delery was facilitated by Hoyle's position as seigneur. Except for land unsuitable for agriculture in the marshy interior of Lacolle, which might have been conceded to them in the 1840s, they would have had to purchase their lots. Perhaps it was because the seigneur had to monitor sheriff's sales closely in order to collect arrears that there was a close correspondence between the area under Hoyle's agency and the area in which the Nyes owned land. If Hoyle or his agent was acting for them in purchasing properties that sold cheaply at sheriff's auctions, they could have acquired a large number of properties in this area more easily than elsewhere. It is likely that Hoyle also collected the arrears due W.P. Christie's estate for McGinnis,³⁵ and this would explain why McGinnis's holdings do not extend into these seigneuries.

The prominence of the Hoyle and the McGinnis families in the Upper Richelieu Valley after 1845 was in part the legacy of seigneurial patronage, but it was not founded on seigneurial power. Having once acquired mill sites and become entrepreneurs and manufacturers in their own right, McGinnis and Hoyle were linked to the censitaires as employers as well as in their capacity as agents. Providing employment and a market for logs and wool, their role was not dissimilar to that of Gabriel Christie in an earlier era. In the context of fully settled seigneuries, however, the monopoly privileges which had been so important to Gabriel Christie were no longer as crucial to a continued accumulation of capital or to a pivotal position in the local economy. The seigneurs no longer shaped the local economy except in their negative role of rentiers who drained revenue from the area. They would continue to do so after 1854 as well. The commutation of seigneurial tenure in 1854 would therefore not involve any substantial reordering of the local economy in the Christie seigneuries. It would simply bring the institutional structure in line with what had already become a reality.

POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Between 1846 and 1851, the population of the Upper Richelieu Valley grew by approximately 24 per cent to 21,786 and then re-

mained stable, increasing by only 9 per cent between 1851 and 1861 when it reached 23,654 (see Appendix 11, table 23) In the last half of the nineteenth century, the population would decline. The English-speaking settlers remained concentrated in the southern seigneuries, but the number of French Canadians in this area increased and the segregation of the two groups was no longer so evident. The most important change was the increase in the amount of land under cultivation. Between 1846 and 1851 the area of land held increased by approximately 10,000 arpents and the area improved by 37,949 arpents. These increases were due to new settlement and to the expansion in the amount of land improved per farm in the areas of early settlement. In Saint-Alexandre, the new parish established in the rear of Bleury and Sabrevois in 1851, only 19 arpents per farm on average were improved. In the older parishes of Lacolle and Saint-Cyprien the averages were 58 and 46 arpents respectively. The area improved per occupant was particularly high in the parishes of Saint-Valentin and Saint-Georges-de-Henryville (101 and 85 arpents, respectively).³⁶

Not surprisingly, agricultural production was much higher in 1851 than in 1846, but this was in absolute rather than in relative terms. Wheat continued to be an important staple crop (except in Lacolle), but other marketable commodities such as oats, hay, and wool were clearly important. The volume of wheat produced in the seigneuries in 1851 had almost tripled since 1846 (from 52,572 units to 146,197), but per capita production was only slightly higher than it had been in 1831. The raising of sheep for wool might be expected to have increased in response to the establishment of two woollen cloth manufactories at Christieville and in Lacolle, but the per capita number of sheep (0.77) was slightly lower than in 1846. Nonetheless, in absolute terms, there was an increase in their number and they were most numerous in Lacolle, a parish that produced very little wheat and in which the activities of Henry Hoyle encouraged the raising of sheep.

Not all of the population growth was due to agriculture. The census of 1851 indicates that one-quarter of all households occupied lots of 10 arpents or less, a measure which can be used as a rough estimate of the non-agricultural population. Almost half of these households were located in Saint-Athanase (43 per cent), the parish which included Christieville. Another 26 per cent were in Saint-Cyprien, the parish that included Napierville, and 16 per cent were in Saint-Valentin (see table 13). With 47 per cent of the total number of households occupying lots of less than ten arpents, Christieville was the most "urbanized" of these parishes. Trade through St John's

Table 13
 Proportion of Households (HH) Living on Land Parcels of Less than 10 Arpents
 in the Upper Richelieu Valley, 1851

Parish	Villages in parish	HH < 10 arpents		Total HH	
		No.	%	Number	% < 10 arpents
Saint-Athanase	Christieville	304	43	647	47
Saint-Alexandre	Saint-Alexandre	16	2	280	6
Saint-Georges-de-Henryville	Henryville				
	Clarenceville	32	5	480	7
	Pike River				
Saint-Cyprien	Saint-Sébastien				
Saint-Valentin	Napierville	186	26	609	31
	Saint-Valentin	115	16	409	28
	Stottsville				
Saint-Bernard	Grande Ligne				
	Lacolle	50	7	420	12
	Odelltown				
<i>Total</i>		703	99	2,845	25

Source: Census of Canada.

Note: The parish of Saint-Jacques-le-Mineur is outside the study area because of census boundaries. Saint-Sébastien and Saint-Alexandre were embryonic villages.

was of growing importance after 1845, and this trans-shipment point was becoming a regional market centre. Christieville benefited from an increasing trade with the Eastern Townships and the growth of St John's whereas Napierville was disadvantaged by its inland location after the opening of the Chambly Canal. As a consequence, the relative importance of the two settlements was reversed. Of seven notaries establishing themselves in the area between 1845 and 1854, for example, only one located in Napierville as compared with four who settled in Christieville. The other two went to Lacolle and Henryville. (See Appendix 11, table 30.)

Incorporated as the town of Iberville in 1854, Christieville had emerged as the most important town in the Christie seigneuries by the end of the period studied. Its relative position within the seigneuries was also reflected by its share (by value) of property used for non-agricultural purposes. As table 14 shows, 47 per cent of the total value was located in Christieville. Napierville and Henryville together accounted for a further 35 per cent. The addition of the value of property in the villages of Saint-Jacques, Lacolle, and Clarenceville and the expansion of Henryville, accounts for 95 per cent

Table 14
Value of Property for Non-Agricultural Purposes in the Christie Seigneuries, 1857

<i>Village or Concession</i>	<i>Value (£)</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>
Christieville	25,923	47
Henryville	3,921	7
Napierville	15,324	28
<i>Total Seigneurial Villages</i>	45,168	82
First Concession, Westover Survey*	1,098	2
Third Concession, Old Survey*	337	
Fourth Concession, New Survey	215	
Ninth Concession, New Survey	140	
Clarenceville	500	1
First Concession Southeast Montreal	76	
First Concession, Northwest Montreal	53	
First Concession, Ligne Diagonale	150	
Second Concession, Second Grande Ligne	97	
Third Concession, Second Grande Ligne	230	
First Concession, River Bleury	20	
Second Concession, Jobson Road	265	
Sixth Concession joining the Fifth	18	
Seventh Concession (Burtonville Road)	8	
First Concession Northwest of Little River Montreal, above Napierville	15	
Eighth Concession	25	
Ninth Concession	25	
Concession, Base Saint-Jacques, West side	105	
Concession, Base Ruisseau des Noyers	60	
Village of Saint-Jacques	1,227	2
Second Concession of the Domain, North of Lacolle River	673	1
Third Concession of the Domain (Lacolle)	5,144	9
<i>Total Concessions</i>	10,481	18
TOTAL CHRISTIE SEIGNFURIES	55,647	100

Source: *Cadastres abrégés* of 1857.

*The lots in these concessions are part of Henryville. Including these values with those in the seigneurial village proper would bring that village's total to £5,356.

of the total. The pockets of non-agricultural property in the countryside had almost disappeared by 1857.

The growth of Christieville was largely the result of its economic functions in the larger economy, but these functions drew others which would reinforce that growth. This was also true, to a lesser extent, of Napierville. After the union of the Canadas in 1841, a

municipal structure was established and the court system was decentralized. Following several more changes, a more stable municipal structure and new county boundaries were established in 1855 which divided local authority between the parish (or township) municipality and a county council. Municipal governments were given responsibility for the establishment of courthouses, jails, and registry offices which were to be located in the chief town of each judicial district. When these boundaries were established, the Christie seigneuries, except for the southern portion of Noyan, fell into the district of Iberville which was composed of the new counties of Napierville, St John's, and Iberville. The county seats were the towns of the same name, and St John's was the district centre. Had Henryville been successful in its bid to be chosen as county centre, the village pattern might well have been reoriented in its favour in subsequent years, but it lost out to Iberville, whose position in the urban network was further strengthened in consequence.

CONCLUSION

The advent of municipal institutions in Canada East was not the sign of a weaker central government but of a stronger one. The 1840s were marked by the growing centralization of political power in the hands of Montreal business interests, acting through politicians such as George-Étienne Cartier who had, through political patronage, built up a powerful base of support in the rural areas.³⁷ With the granting of responsible government in 1848, Tories could no longer use the Legislative Council to block measures they did not like. Not surprisingly this meant that seigneurial tenure again became the subject of debate. Cartier was instrumental in having a plan for its commutation accepted. This was a victory for those who saw seigneurial rights as an impediment to large-scale development projects such as the construction of railways and for urban industrialists who had long clamoured for an end to the *lods et ventes* which taxed their entrepreneurship. The Act for the Abolition of Feudal Rights and Duties in Lower Canada of 1854 made few significant concessions to the censitaires but paid an indemnity to the seigneurs for the loss of their privileges, thus releasing capital which could be invested in industry or railways.

In the Christie seigneuries, the commutation of seigneurial tenure had little immediate impact on the seigneurs because the government withheld payment of the indemnity until the issue of Christie's succession was resolved in 1874. Nor were there many changes in administrative practices because by that time management was al-

ready handled by agents for absentee landlords. In any case, there was little need for seigneurial initiative in fully settled seigneuries with almost no domain properties. The decentralization of the court system had made it less expensive to resort to court action to collect arrears and they were not allowed to accumulate without bearing interest for very long. Under these circumstances the loss of seigneurial privileges did not substantially affect the management of the seigneuries. Already in the last ten years under seigneurial tenure it was the agents rather than the seigneurs who dominated the local economy and even then their influence arose not so much from their role as agents as from their position as regional entrepreneurs.

Conclusion

Seigneurial tenure is often thought of merely as a system of land tenure based on a specific set of mutual obligations between the seigneur and the censitaire. This image is misleading in as much as it does not take into the account the many variations over space and time in the way seigneurial land was exploited and in the nature of the relationship which developed between seigneur and censitaire. These variations emerged in different places and at different times as a result of the particular interests, activities, and personalities of individual seigneurs in response to the specific resources and problems of their seigneuries.

In the century after the Conquest, seigneurial property rights were used to control access to land, timber, mill sites, and other resources. Because these resources were of increasing importance in the colonial economy, the seignury also became more important and the management practices of the seigneur had an impact on the structure of society. The development and settlement of the Christie seigneuries in the Upper Richelieu Valley exemplify these changes. Although the succession from one seigneur to another in the Christie seigneuries has exceptional features because of the nature of the entail which controlled it and because of the legal challenge to William Plenderleath Christie's inheritance, the changes precipitated by succession were a problem for all lay seigneuries. This study has shown how these could have a direct impact on management practices. The seignury was a personal estate as well as a form of land tenure, and the individual circumstances of the seigneur and the seigneurial family could play an important role in the way these properties and privileges were managed.

The study of seigneurial tenure has been clouded by the ideology of nineteenth-century liberalism and the rhetoric used to support

its abolition. In the past the seigneurie has been seen either as a conservative institution which protected the national identity of French Canadians or as a feudal anachronism which stood in the way of progress and industry. This study of the Christie seigneuries in the century after the Conquest offers a different perspective. The seigneurie was one of the more secure forms of investment available in the pre-industrial period.¹ It could therefore play an important role in the strategies of individual families trying to obtain a secure long-term income. It could also provide monopoly control over certain resources and give an entrepreneur interested in the exploitation of these resources the advantages of that monopoly. But these constraints did not in and of themselves prevent the establishment of mills and the rise of rural industries. Although some settlers may have avoided seigneurial lands because of their desire for freehold lands, the available land was eagerly sought out by many others, including some English-speaking censitaires who did not face the same cultural and linguistic barriers in moving to Upper Canada, the Eastern Townships, or the mid-West that French-speaking settlers did. The Christie seigneuries offered certain advantages in the way of location and transportation which may have offset other considerations.

This study has not tried to examine the significance of the seigneurial burden for the farmers of the Upper Richelieu Valley. It was undoubtedly an onerous one, and the source of some protest, but this situation may have arisen as much because of management practices as because of the actual amounts collected. The more significant conflict resulted from the exercise of seigneurial monopoly rights and the discretionary power used in the granting of land. That patronage, rather than the free play of market forces, was at work in the granting of mill privileges is clearly demonstrated by the fact that a change in administration resulted not only in different practices, but in a change in the individuals who received them. It was this paternalism which fuelled the political opposition to seigneurial tenure in the Christie seigneuries and led some, in the absence of a political solution to their grievances, to support the uprisings of 1837-8. Such a challenge to seigneurial authority was made possible because that authority had been eroded during Edme Henry's administration by practices which were seen to lack legitimacy. Also, some members of the rural petty bourgeoisie which emerged in the pre-Rebellion years acted as leaders in that conflict. Ethnic ties worked against class ties to some extent, however; very few if any of the English censitaires participated in the Rebellions, even when they had been politically active in the reform movement.

If Gabriel Christie and other British merchants chose to operate within the structure of seigneurial tenure rather than to fight for its abolition in the post-Conquest era, it was in order to monopolize resources such as the fisheries, timber, and water power. The relevance of seigneurial tenure in the century after the Conquest, therefore, stemmed not so much from its differences from freehold tenure as from its similarities: it could be used by large proprietors to monopolize scarce resources. The interaction between seigneur and censitaire has much which is particular to that institution, but in this period, it can also be viewed merely as one example among others of the interaction between rural economies and the great merchants of the staples trade. Seigneurialism was not so different from the paternalistic control exercised by other large proprietors in what were essentially personal property relations. Although the underlying juridical structure of seigneurial tenure was the essential cornerstone on which the seigneurial edifice stood, the personality of the individual who occupied that position of power could have a significant effect on the way in which that power was experienced. Seigneurialism, like paternalism, could be harsh or benevolent.

The transition to industrial capitalism demanded more impersonal capitalist property relations. That transition was the most advanced in Montreal in the early nineteenth century, and it was there that the struggle against seigneurialism was the most pronounced.² By the 1850s the seigneurs were no longer able to prevent the move toward commutation. To what extent and why this change was resisted in the two hundred or so seigneuries across the province remains to be studied. But in the Christie seigneuries the more impersonal and bureaucratic nature of the relations usually associated with capitalist rather than pre-industrial property relations had already been introduced in anticipation of the impact of W.P. Christie's death. His heirs, as he was aware, would be absentee owners, interested only in receiving an income and not personally involved in the direction and development of their estates. In that context impersonal capitalist property relations were more appropriate than the personal property relations of the seigneurie. Christie himself had tried to get part of his seigneurial lands (Lakefield) commuted into freehold in 1840 and had been refused.

The Christie seigneurs, therefore, demonstrated no attachment to seigneurial tenure *per se*. They were attracted by the benefits and advantages which that form of property might offer. This study has shown that those advantages were much greater in the period of settlement and early economic development than later when all of the land, timber, and mill sites had been permanently alienated.

Personal control was also more important in a period of institutional underdevelopment than in a rural society possessing institutions of social control such as courts, jails, municipal governments, churches, and schools. The first Christie seigneurs were therefore able to leave their mark on both the physical and the social landscape of the Upper Richelieu Valley whereas William Plenderleath Christie's heirs would be marginal figures in its history and development. This difference was not primarily the product of the commutation of seigneurial tenure but of the changes that their predecessors had helped to precipitate in the social and economic milieu of the Upper Richelieu Valley.

APPENDIX I

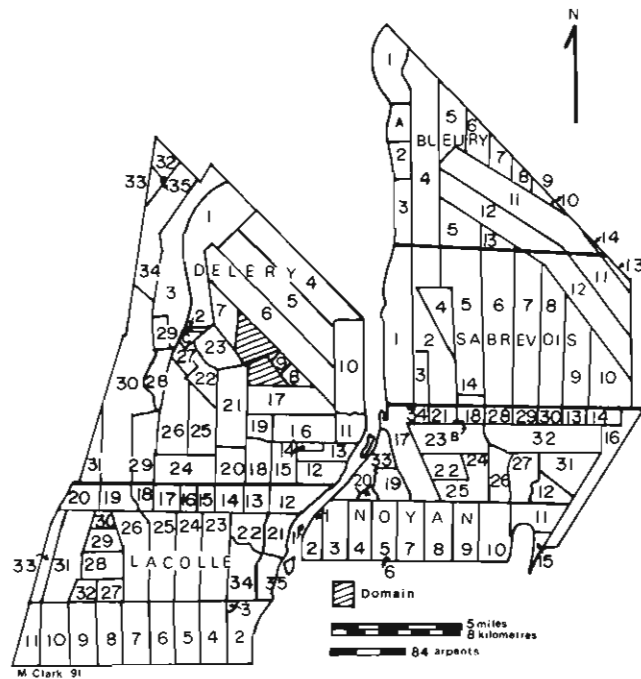
*The Upper Richelieu
Valley Database*

DESCRIPTION

The Upper Richelieu Valley database holds information pertaining to all of the *deeds of concession* located for the five Christie seigneuries. These have been reorganized slightly so as to have each observation in the database equal to one *land parcel*. A land parcel is defined as a contiguous area of land in one concession granted to one or more individuals (the censitaire/s) at the same time. If two contiguous lots were granted to the same censitaire/s at the same time and place, these were considered one land parcel even if two deeds had been made out. Two contiguous lots in adjacent concessions were treated as two separate land parcels, even if only one deed was signed. This allows the data to be retrieved by concession. There are 929 observations in the database. Table 15 shows their distribution as to seignury and administration.

In the Christie seigneuries the term *concession*, rather than range, was used to refer to the units of survey within the seigneuries. These were identified by name and were often numbered in sequence from the front to the back of the seignury. Because of the standard lot of 28 arpents in depth used, there were usually nine ranges of concessions in these seigneuries. Because this pattern is not consistent in areas of new surveys, and different names were sometimes used for the same concession at different times, a consistent naming structure was necessary. With the help of contemporary cadastral maps, the location of each concession identified in the *Cadastrés abrégés* of the seigneuries at the end of the period (1857) was mapped and all references to concessions were standardized to refer to these. This was possible for all but a few of the grants. The location and name of each concession is provided in Map 6.

The area of each land parcel granted is known for all but nine of the observations. This variable has been used to calculate the total area granted by each administration and in each seignury as well as the average size of the grants in each case. The results are shown in table 16. The area granted by each administration in each concession is shown in figure 2.



Map 6 The Christie Seigneuries: An Index Map to the Concessions at 1857

Bleury

A Christieville

- 1 First Concession, Richelieu River (Mille Roches)
- 2 First Concession North of River la Barbotte
- 3 First Concession South of River la Barbotte
- 4 Second Concession River la Barbotte
- 5 Third Concession River la Barbotte
- 6 Fourth Concession River la Barbotte
- 7 Fifth Concession River la Barbotte
- 8 Sixth Concession River la Barbotte
- 9 Seventh Concession River la Barbotte
- 10 Eighth Concession River la Barbotte
- 11 Northeast Side of Grande Ligne
- 12 Southwest Side of Grande Ligne
- 13 Point
- 14 Point at Kempt Road

Sabrevois

- 1 First Concession, Richelieu River
- 2 First Concession, Westover Survey (Second Sabrevois)
- 3 Second Concession, Warner Survey (Second Sabrevois)
- 4 Trapeze
- 5 Second Concession, Westover Survey (Third Sabrevois)
- 6 Fourth Concession
- 7 Fifth Concession
- 8 Sixth Concession

- 9 Seventh Concession
- 10 Eight Concession (Macy Ridge)
- 11 Concession Northeast of Grande Ligne
- 12 Concession Southwest of Grande Ligne
- 13 Point behind the Concession, Northeast of Grande Ligne
- 14 Second Concession, New Survey

Noyan

B Henryville

- 1 First Concession, New Survey
- 2 First Concession, Watson Survey (Christie Manor)
- 3 Second Concession, Watson Survey
- 4 Third Concession, Watson Survey
- 5 Fourth Concession, Watson Survey
- 6 Clarenceville
- 7 Fifth Concession, Watson Survey
- 8 Sixth Concession, Watson Survey
- 9 Seventh Concession, Watson Survey
- 10 Eighth Concession, Watson Survey
- 11 Ninth Concession, Old Survey
- 12 Tenth Concession, Old Survey
- 13 Eleventh Concession
- 14 Twelfth Concession
- 15 Thirteenth Concession
- 16 East Concession
- 17 First Concession East of South River
- 18 First Concession North of South River
- 19 First Concession Southwest of South River
- 20 Point

- 21 First Concession, Westover Survey
- 22 Second Concession, Old Survey
- 23 Third Concession, Old Survey
- 24 Second Concession, New Survey
- 25 Second Concession, Old Survey
- 26 Third Concession, New Survey
- 27 Fourth Concession, New Survey
- 28 Fifth Concession, New Survey
- 29 Sixth Concession, New Survey
- 30 Seventh Concession, New Survey
- 31 Eighth Concession, New Survey
- 32 Ninth Concession, New Survey
- 33 First Concession, Richelieu River
- 34 Second Concession, Warner Survey
- 35 Point near Jenny Island (not shown)
- 36 Jenny Island (not shown)

Delery

- C Napierville
- 1 First Concession Southeast of Little River Montreal (River l'Acadie)
- 2 Domain joining No. 37
- 3 First Concession, Northwest Little River Montreal
- 4 First Concession, Ligne Diagonale (Grande Ligne)
- 5 Second Concession, Second Grande Ligne
- 6 Third Concession, Second Grande Ligne
- 7 Second Concession Southeast Little River Montreal
- 8 Labrèque Concession
- 9 Girardin Point
- 10 First Concession, Pointe La Mule
- 11 First Concession, River Bleury (Bleurie) or Isle-aux-Noix
- 12 First Concession, above Isle-aux-Noix
- 13 First and Second Concession, Richelieu River
- 14 Second Concession, Richelieu River
- 15 Second Concession South of Jobson Road
- 16 Second Concession, Jobson Road
- 17 Second Concession North of Jobson Road
- 18 Third Concession South of Jobson Road
- 19 Four Concession Jobson Road
- 20 Fourth Concession, Burtonville Road
- 21 Fifth Concession, Burtonville Road
- 22 Fifth Concession, West of Burtonville Road
- 23 Fifth Concession, East of Burtonville Road
- 24 Sixth Concession, Burtonville Road
- 25 Sixth Concession joining the Fifth (Burtonville Road)
- 26 Seventh Concession (Burtonville Road)
- 27 First Concession Southeast of Little River Montreal

- 28 First Concession Northwest of Little River Montreal, above Napierville
- 29 Eighth Concession
- 30 Ninth Concession
- 31 Tenth Concession
- 32 Tenth Concession, Base Saint-Jacques, East side
- 33 Concession, Base Saint-Jacques, West side
- 34 Concession, Base Ruisseau des Noyers
- 35 Village of Saint-Jacques

Lacolle

- 1 Hospital Island
- 2 First Concession South of the Domain
- 3 Gore between the First and Second Concession
- 4 Second Concession South of the Domain
- 5 Third Concession South of the Domain
- 6 Fourth Concession South of the Domain
- 7 Fifth Concession South of the Domain
- 8 Sixth Concession South of the Domain
- 9 Seventh Concession South of the Domain
- 10 Eighth Concession South of the Domain
- 11 Ninth Concession South of the Domain
- 12 First Concession North of the Domain
- 13 Second Concession North of the Domain
- 14 Third Concession North of the Domain
- 15 Fourth Concession North of the Domain
- 16 Fifth Concession North of the Domain
- 17 Sixth Concession North of the Domain
- 18 Seventh Concession North of the Domain
- 19 Eighth Concession North of the Domain
- 20 Ninth Concession North of the Domain
- 21 First Concession of the Domain, North of Lacolle River
- 22 Second Concession of the Domain, North of Lacolle River
- 23 Third Concession of the Domain
- 24 Fourth Concession of the Domain
- 25 Fifth Concession of the Domain
- 26 Sixth Concession of the Domain
- 27 Seventh Concession of the Domain, "A"
- 28 Seventh Concession of the Domain, "B"
- 29 Seventh Concession of the Domain, "C"
- 30 Seventh Concession of the Domain, "D"
- 31 Eighth Concession of the Domain
- 32 Eighth Concession of the Domain, "B"
- 33 Ninth Concession of the Domain
- 34 First Concession of the Domain South of Lacolle River
- 35 Second Concession of the Domain South of Lacolle River

Table 15
Number of Land Parcels Granted, by Seigneurie and by Administration

<i>Seigneurie</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Administration</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Bleury	163	GC (1785-99)	105
Sabrevois	85	NCB (1800-14)	234
Noyan	116	EH (1815-34)	511
Delery	339	WM* (1835-54)	79
Lacolle	226		929
<i>Total</i>	929	<i>Total</i>	

*For convenience, the small number of grants made by William McGinnis for WPC and his heirs are grouped together.

Table 16
Frequency, Total Area Granted, and Average Size of Land Grants, by Seigneurie and Administration

	<i>Gabriel Christie</i>			<i>Napier Christie Burton</i>		
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bleury	3	457	152	50	4,804	96
Sabrevois	1	112	112	0	0	0
Noyan	15	1,766	118	9	1,029	114
Delery	20	2,186	109	143	13,638	95
Lacolle	65	7,980	123	28	3,112	111
<i>Total</i>	104	12,501	120	230	22,583	98
	<i>Edme Henry</i>			<i>William McGinnis</i>		
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bleury	91	10,834	119	15	1,349	90
Sabrevois	77	9,995	130	6	422	70
Noyan	81	9,828	121	10	994	99
Delery	145	15,479	107	27	1,544	57
Lacolle	115	14,014	122	19	1,503	79
<i>Total</i>	509	60,150	118	77	5,812	76
	<i>All Administrations</i>					
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Adjusted Average*</i>		
Bleury	159	17,445	110	109		
Sabrevois	84	10,529	125	125		
Noyan	115	13,618	118	118		
Delery	335	32,848	98	103		
Lacolle	227	26,610	117	118		
<i>Total</i>	920	101,050	110	112		

Source: URV database.

Note: Totals in Table 16 are not the same as those in Table 15 because Table 16 used only those observations having a value for area.

*This adjusted average is calculated after excluding from the data the grants of small parcels of land which resulted from survey adjustments. These were usually granted to the censitaire holding the land adjacent to them, there not being enough land left for a new concession of full lots.

Figure 2A-E Total Area of Land Granted in the Christie Seigneuries, by Administration and Concession. Areas less than 112 arpents and a total area of 633 arpents granted after 1845 are not included. Source: CRV database.

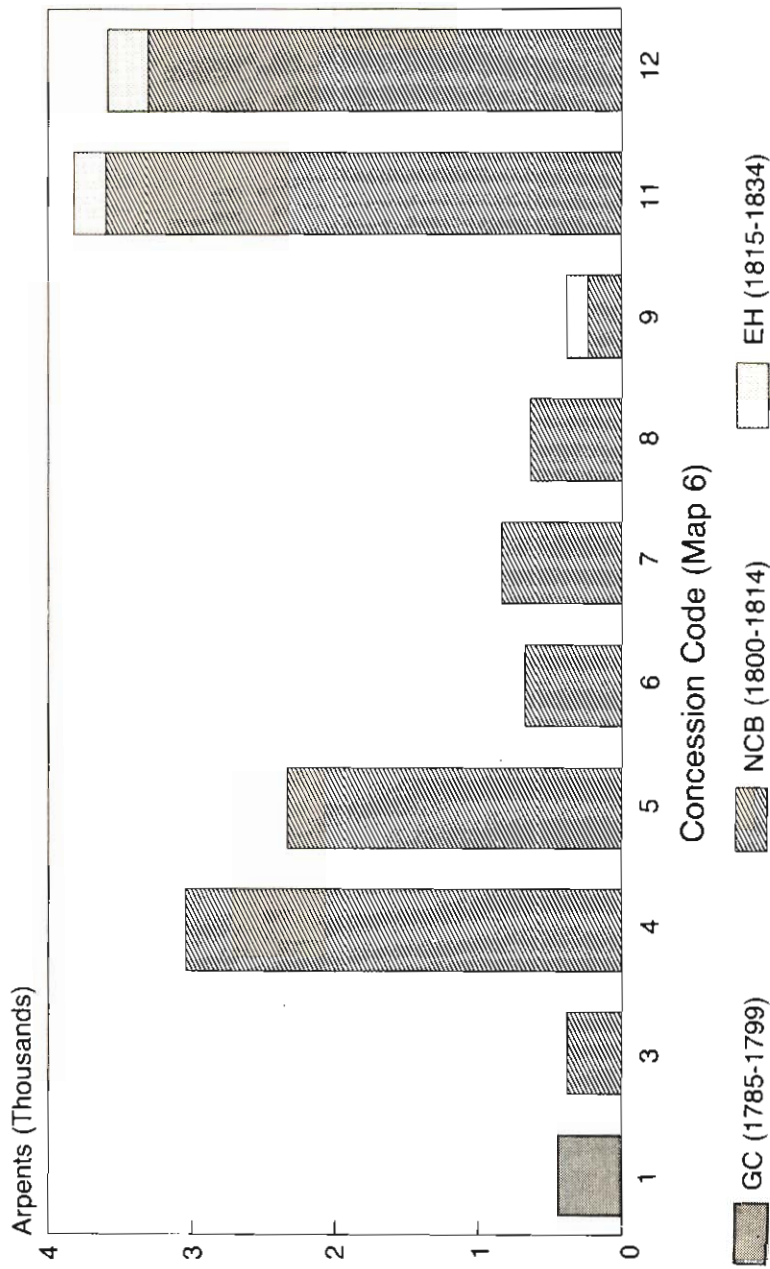


Figure 2A Seigneury of Bleury.

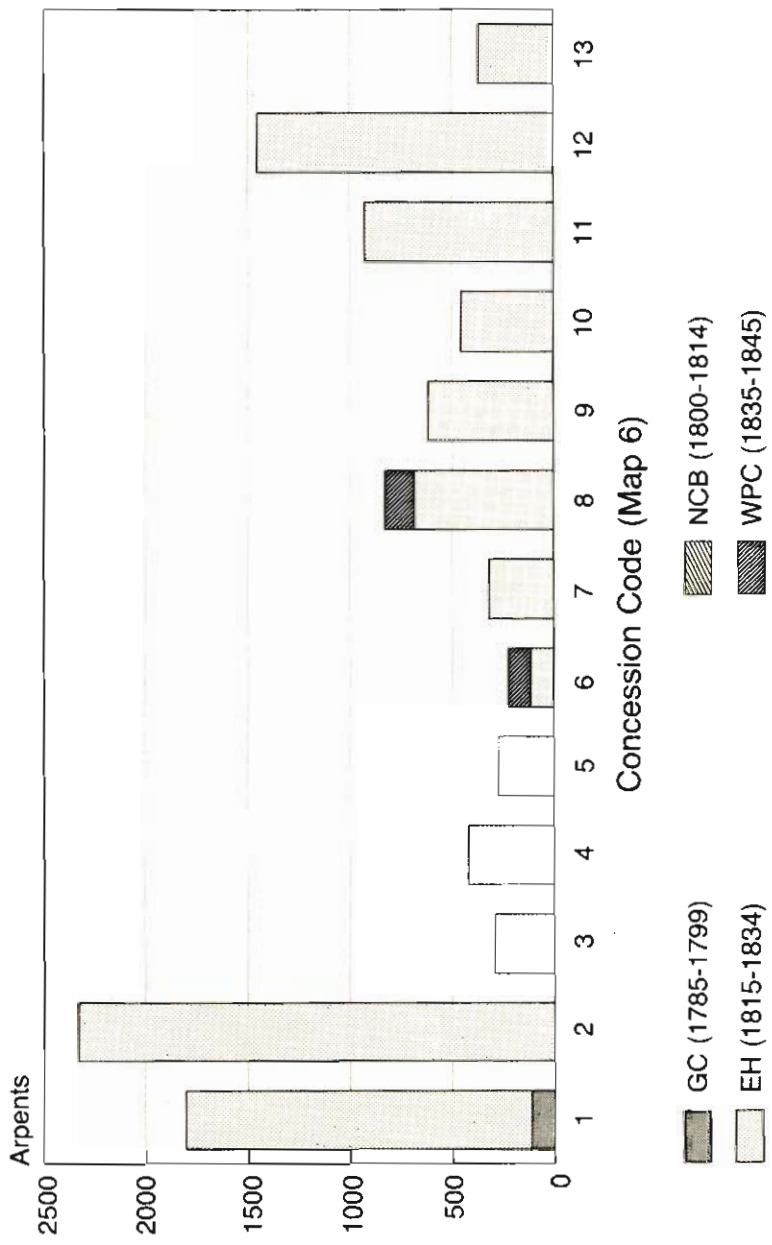


Figure 2B Seigneury of Sabrevois.

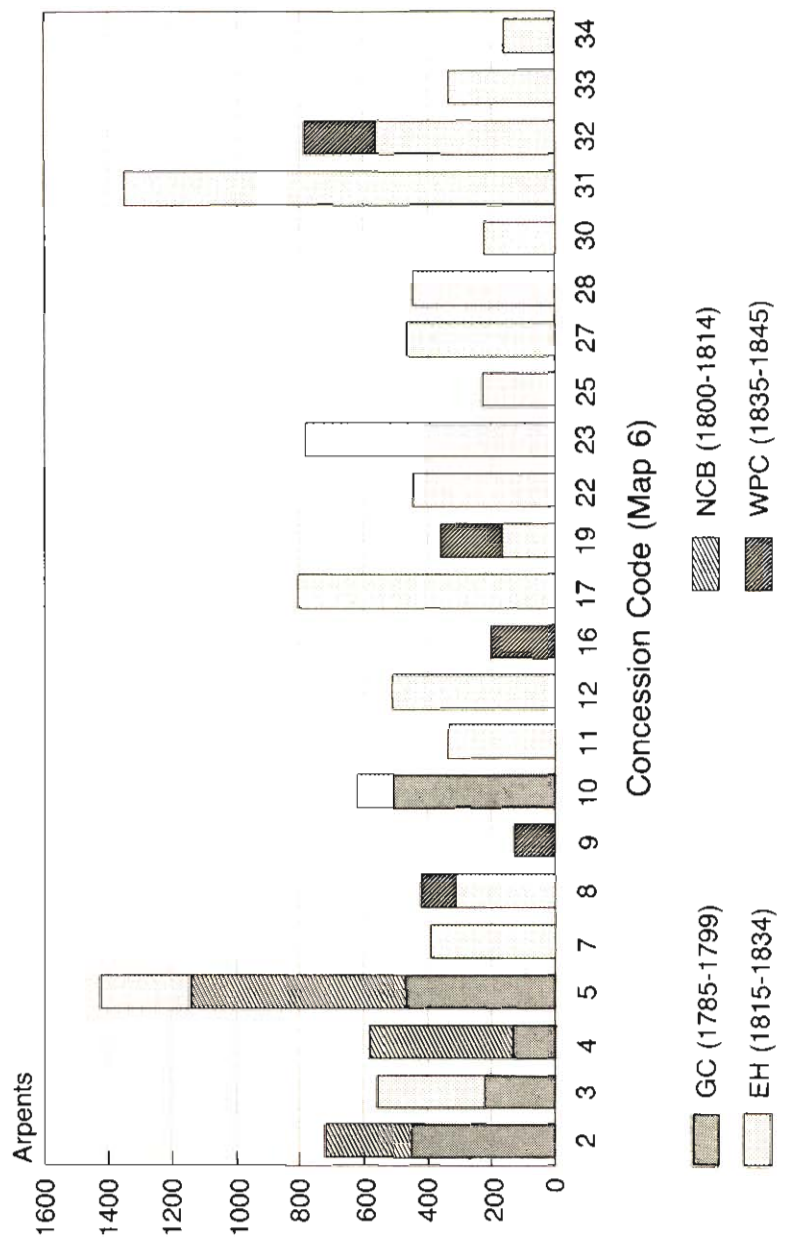


Figure 2c. Seigneurie of Noyan.

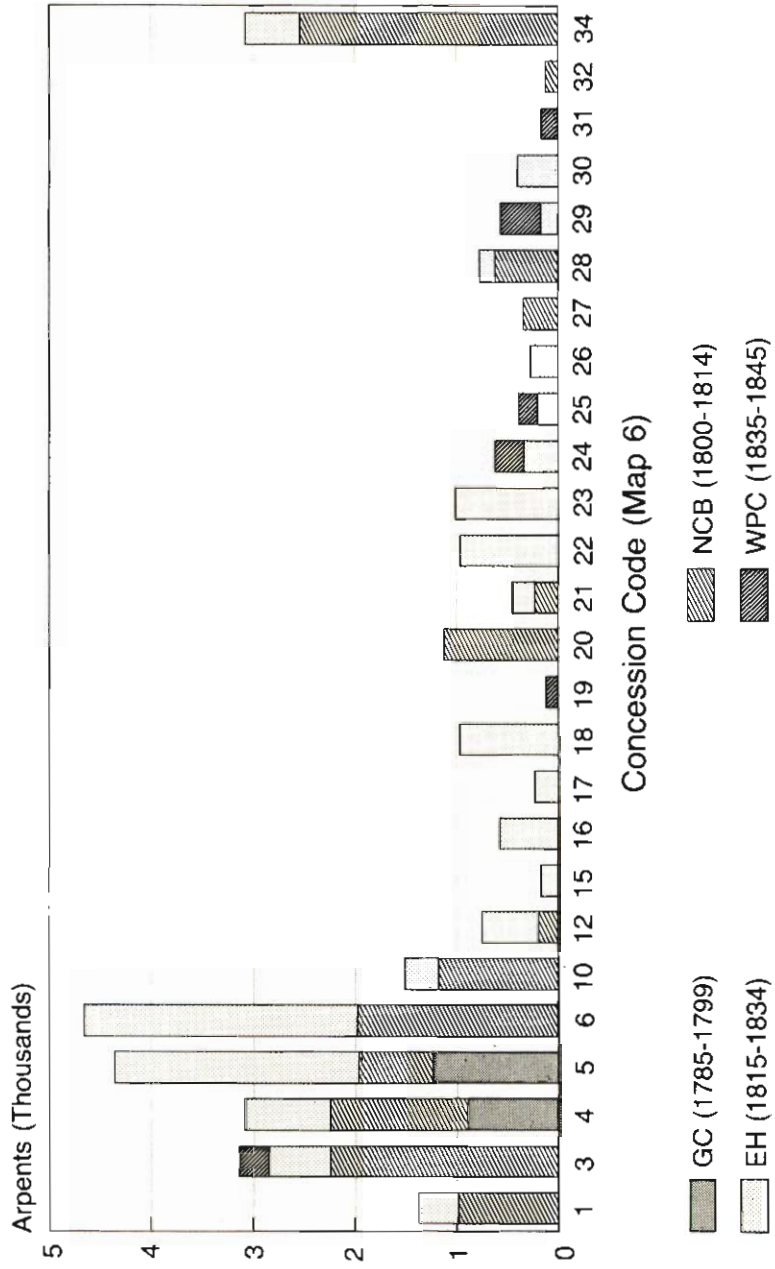


Figure 2D Seigneury of Delery.

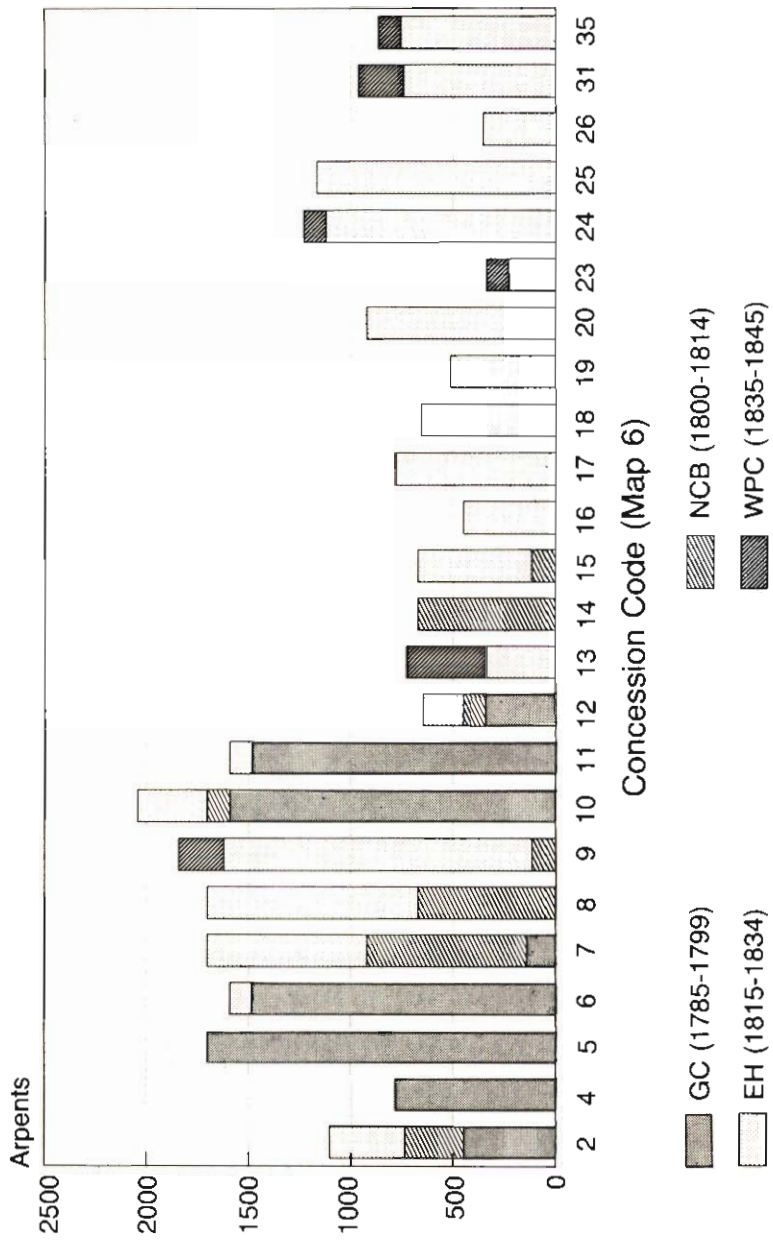


Figure 2E. Seigneurie of Lacolle.

THE TYPE OF DEED

Because the deeds of concession granted by Gabriel Christie and his heirs were standardized and almost always on printed forms, it was possible to classify these deeds into nine *types* of deed of concession, depending on which combination of a possible twenty-six clauses identified was found in them. This classification ignores minor changes in the phrasing of clauses and changes in other information such as the seigneur. The various combinations are indicated in table 17. A five-year distribution of the type of deed of concession used is shown in figure 3. There was more variation under Gabriel Christie than later, but most clauses were specified on all of the deeds of concession.

Table 17
Types of Deeds of Concession

Title Clauses	Type of Deed of Concession									Clause Frequency
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
<i>Feu et Lieu</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	914
Roads	***	***	***	***	***	***	***			475
Clearing, Fences	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	914
Copy	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	914
Exhibition Title	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		/E/	764
Survey								///	///	439
Rent Payment	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	914
Mortmain	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	764
Title – cens	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	914
<i>Priv. Hypothécaire</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	914
Acknowledgment	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	***	914
<i>Retrait Seigneurial</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	914
Corvée			***	***	***					106
Hunting/Fishing	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	914
Liquor Licence	***		***	***	***	***				114
Ferry Crossing				***	***					65
Free Passage	***	***	***	***	***	***	***			475
Building Materials	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	///	***	764
Mines, Ores, etc.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	///	///	914
Oak and Pine	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	///	///	914
Export of Logs	***	***	***	***	***	***	***			474
Banal Mill	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	914
Mill Sites	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	914
Mill Construction	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	///	914
Water Flow			***	***	***	***	***	/F/	/E/	900
Flood Indemnity								///	///	439
<i>Type Total</i>	3	11	5	41	60	5	350	150	289	914

Key: *** Christie clauses; /// Henry clauses; F – French version only; E – English version only.

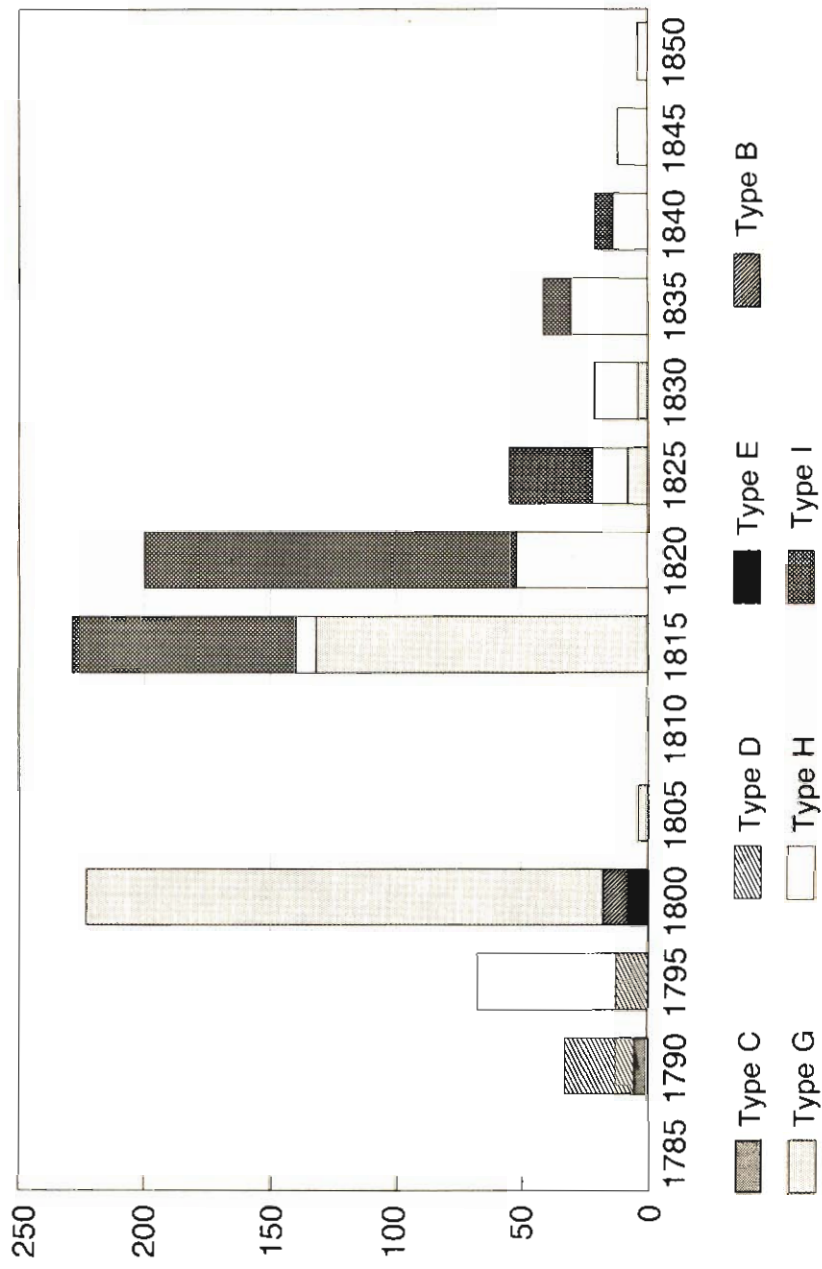


Figure 3 Type of Deed Forms Used, 1785-1854. See Table 17 for clauses included in various types of deeds. Source: URV database.

THE NOTARIES

All of the notaries who signed deeds for the Christie seigneurs are listed in table 18. Normally, two notaries signed each deed. The most important was the *subscribing notary*, who kept the original in his files (*greffe*) and from whom copies would be obtained by interested parties for a small fee. The *witness notary* simply signed as a witness and was usually a junior notary. The number and proportion of deeds signed by each notary in either capacity is also indicated. What is perhaps more interesting, however, is the distribution of subscribing notaries by administration (figure 4) which shows the almost total changeover in the notaries used when an administration changed.

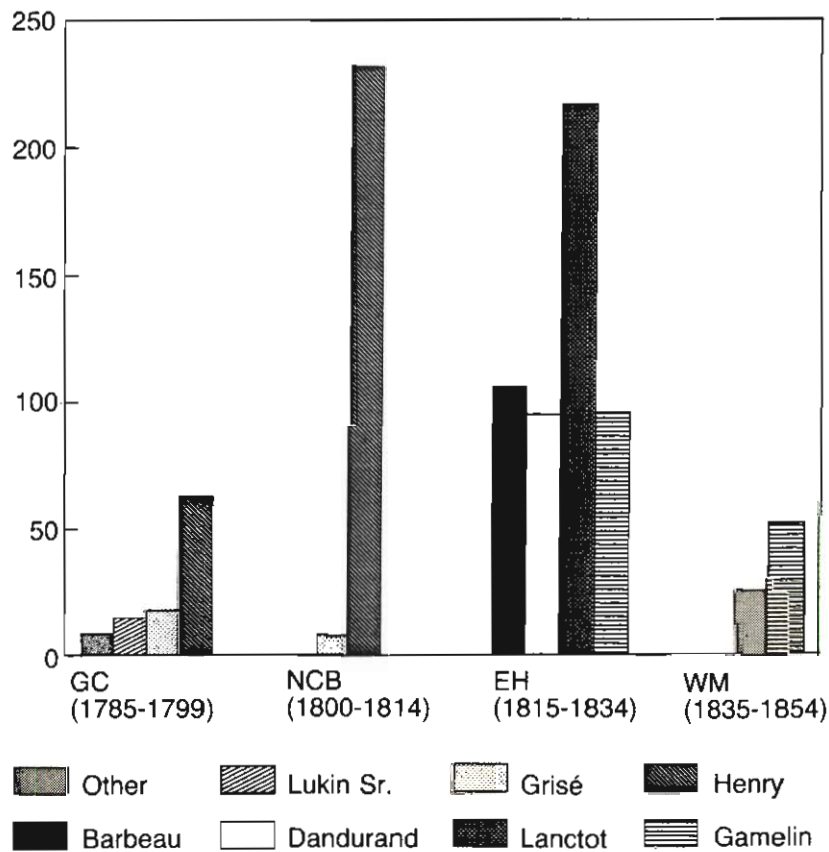


Figure 4 Subscribing Notaries by Administration. Source: URV database.

Table 18
 Notaries Signing Deeds of Concession for the Christie Seigneurs, 1785-1854:
 Residence, Dates of Practice, and Number and Percentage of Deeds Signed

Notary	Residence	Practice	Subscribing		Witness	
			No.	%	No.	%
Archambault, L.	L'Acadie	1820-59	-	-	11	1.2
Aubertin, H.	Christieville	1838-51	3	0.3	20	2.2
Aubertin, J.-H.	Christieville	1852-65	4	0.4	1	0.1
Barbeau, L.	Laprairie	1804-64	96	10.3	162	17.4
Bardy, A.-E.	Montreal	1829-47	2	0.2	-	-
Besse, P.	St John's	1814-54	-	-	3	0.3
Bourassa, I.	Laprairie	1789-1804	-	-	57	6.1
Chaboillez, L.	Montreal	1788-1813	-	-	9	1.0
Clément, E.	Montreal	1836-71	1	0.1	1	0.1
Dandurand, R.-F.	Laprairie	1809-21	85	9.1	49	5.3
Decoigne, L.	L'Acadie	1807-32	-	-	115	12.4
Decoigne, L.-M.	L'Acadie	1827-57	-	-	3	0.3
Delisle, A.	Montreal	1827-58	-	-	1	0.1
Delisle, J.-G.	Montreal	1787-1819	10	1.1	1	0.1
Demaray, P.-P.	St John's	1824-54	12	1.3	4	0.4
Dugas, L.	Henryville	1833-49	6	0.6	-	-
Dupuy, J.-B.	Sainte-Cécile	1825-65	-	-	29	3.1
Foucher, A.	Montreal	1746-1800	4	0.4	-	-
Gamelin, P.	Laprairie	1815-34	142	15.3	15	1.6
Griffin, H.	Montreal	1812-47	-	-	3	0.3
Grisé, J.-B.	Chambly	1785-96	18	1.9	-	-
Hamel, F.-F.-X.	Christieville	1845-67	3	0.3	5	0.5
Hébert, M.	Laprairie	1831-47	-	-	4	0.4
Henry, E.	Laprairie	1783-1831	290	31.2	-	-
Huot, C.	Montreal	1808-58	-	-	20	2.2
Jobson, T.R.	St-Sébastien	1843-75	-	-	4	0.4
Lalanne, L.	Frelighsburg	1799-1845	-	-	2	0.2
Lancôt, P.	Laprairie & L'Acadie	1809-50	227	24.4	120	12.9
Laperle, F.	St-Jacques-le-Mineur	1837-63	-	-	1	0.1
LeGuay, F.	Montreal	1770-89	-	-	3	0.3
Lesage, F.	Chambly Basin	1840-86	-	-	1	0.1
Lukin, P., Sr	Montreal	1790-1814	15	1.6	-	-
Moreau, L.-A.	St-Philippe	1829-66	3	0.3	1	0.1
Pétrimoulx, F.-M.	Laprairie	1793-1847	-	-	233	25.1
Varin, J.-B.	Laprairie	1833-68	-	-	1	0.1

Source: URV database; Chambre des Notaires du Québec, *Notaires décédés*.

Note: Percentages are of the total number of deeds in the database, 929, but do not total 100 because of a small number of deeds with no data for this variable (8 for subscribing notaries and 15 for witness notaries). Also, 35 deeds were witnessed by two individuals on the spot rather than by a witness notary.

THE PLACE OF SIGNING

Because the seigneur did not have a manor in the seigneuries before 1844, most of the deeds were signed outside the seigneuries or at a temporary base used by the seigneur while travelling to the seigneuries. This information has been retained as two separate variables: the *place* signed, and the *location* of the signing, or "signed at" and "signed in." The places where deeds were signed are listed in table 19 and are as indicated in the deed. The location of signing varied so much, however, that this information was reclassified, giving the results shown in table 20.

Table 19
Place of Signing of Deeds of Concession

<i>Signed at</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
Chambly	210	23
Christieville	36	4
Henryville	61	7
L'Acadie	149	16
Lacolle	13	1
Lacolle Mill	89	10
Laprairie	190	20
Montreal	21	2
Napierville	24	3
No Data	14	2
Noyan	17	2
Odelltown	87	9
Saint-Mathias	2	0
St John's	16	2
<i>All Locations</i>	929	100*

Source: URV database.

*Total does not add due to rounding.

Table 20
Location of Signing of Deeds of Concession

<i>Signed in</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
Seigneur's		
Manor	281	30
Lacolle Mill	27	3
Agent's		
House	2	0.2
Office	32	3
Notary's Office	343	37
Innkeepers		
Canfield	71	8
Morley	32	3
Oliver	15	2
Warner	28	3
Wells & Look	10	1
Other [†]	50	5
Censitaires	3	0.3
No data	35	4
<i>Total</i>	929	100*

Source: URV database.

*Total does not add due to rounding.

[†]Only the most prominent inns have been mentioned by name. There were many other inns where deeds were signed only occasionally. Only a small number of deeds were signed in locations which were not identified as inns, or where another occupation was given.

THE CENSITAIRES

Because the database is organized according to land parcel and some individuals received more than one, frequencies generated from the data which might normally be assumed to indicate the number of individuals involved do not eliminate these duplications. Information as to the residence, occupation, literacy, and language of the censitaires receiving the grants should therefore be viewed accordingly. The *residence* given is that at the time of signing and is therefore not synonymous with place of origin. In many cases, this was too general to be very useful, but some indication of the neighbouring parishes which contributed settlers to the study area can be derived from this variable, as shown in table 21. Although *occupation* is given in the deeds, this variable was missing in 331 cases. We assume that farmers predominated in that group, as they did in that on which we have data (table 22). The *language* of the censitaire was derived from the name. In all, the distribution is as follows: French names – 463; English names –

Table 21
Residence of Censitaires

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
Bleury	62	7
Caldwell Manor	3	0
Chambly	25	3
Delery	63	7
England	1	0
L'Acadie	258	28
Lacolle	205	22
Laprairie	7	1
Lower Canada	17	2
Montreal	33	4
No data	36	4
Noyan	90	10
Sabrevois	31	3
Saint-Luc	42	5
Saint-Mathias	20	2
Saint-Philippe	16	2
St John's	11	1
United States	9	1
<i>Total</i>	929	100*

Source: URV database.

*Total does not add due to rounding.

443; unclassified – 23. The total area granted to French and English censitaires by concession is shown in figure 5. Literacy is perhaps too strong a term to use with reference to our third variable: the censitaires' *ability to sign*, but the great disparity between English- and French-speaking censitaires is unequivocal. Of the 888 censitaires for whom this information is available (37 deeds having been signed by a third party and no data being available for 4), 44 per cent (391) could sign but only 10 per cent of these were French (40). In contrast, 88 per cent of the English censitaires could. Of the 497 who could not sign, 81 per cent (407) were French compared with only 14 per cent who were English. (Of the 23 censitaires who were not classified as to language, 5 signed and 18 did not.) In as much as the ability to sign was an indication of literacy, it seems safe to conclude that the majority of English censitaires entering the seigneuries were literate whereas very few of the French censitaires were. This would probably be even more evident if all duplication of individuals was eliminated.

Table 22
Occupations of Censitaires

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Total</i>
No data			331
Farmers			503
Artisans			29
	Blacksmith	2	
	Master Blacksmith	1	
	Butcher	2	
	Carpenter (menuisier)	4	
	Engraver	1	
	Gardener	1	
	Joiner	1	
	Mason	4	
	Master Mason	1	
	Miller	1	
	Master Miller	2	
	Millwright	1	
	Saddler	1	
	Ship's Carpenter	1	
	Shoemaker	2	
	Tailor	1	
	Tanner & Currier	1	
	Watchmaker	1	
	Wheelwright	1	
Commerce			12
	Merchants	12	
Labour			9
	Labourer	8	
	Servant	1	
Other			20
Professions			5
	Doctor	1	
	Notary	1	
	Surveyor	3	
Services			8
	Customs Clerk	1	
	Innkeeper	6	
	Schoolteacher	1	
Status/rank			12
	"Capitaine de Milice"	7	
	"Ecuyer"	4	
	Gentleman	1	
<i>Total</i>			929

Source: URV database.

Figure 5A-E Total Area of Land Granted to English and French Censitaires, as Derived from the Name of the Signer, by Concession. Areas less than 60 arpents not included. Source: URV database.

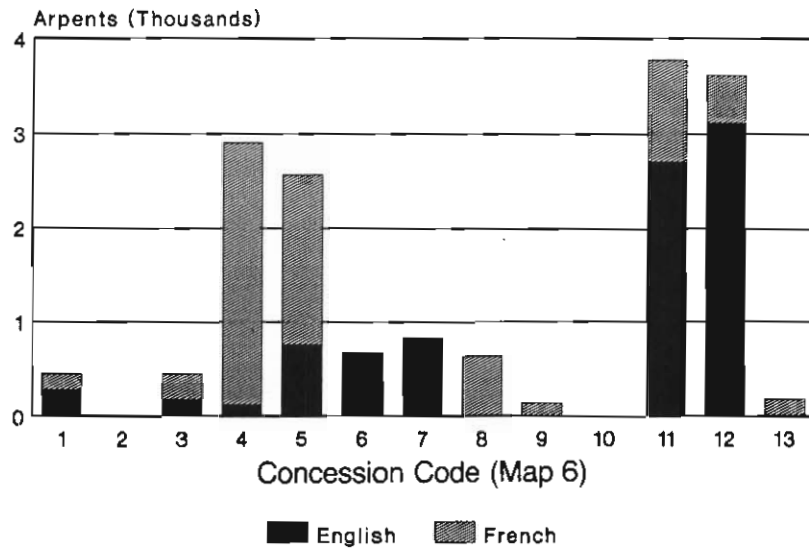


Figure 5A Seignury of Bleury

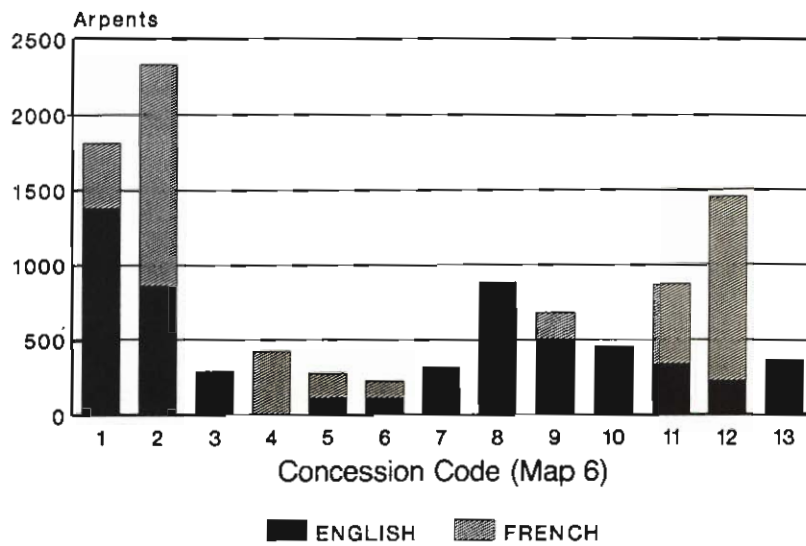


Figure 5B Seignury of Sabrevois

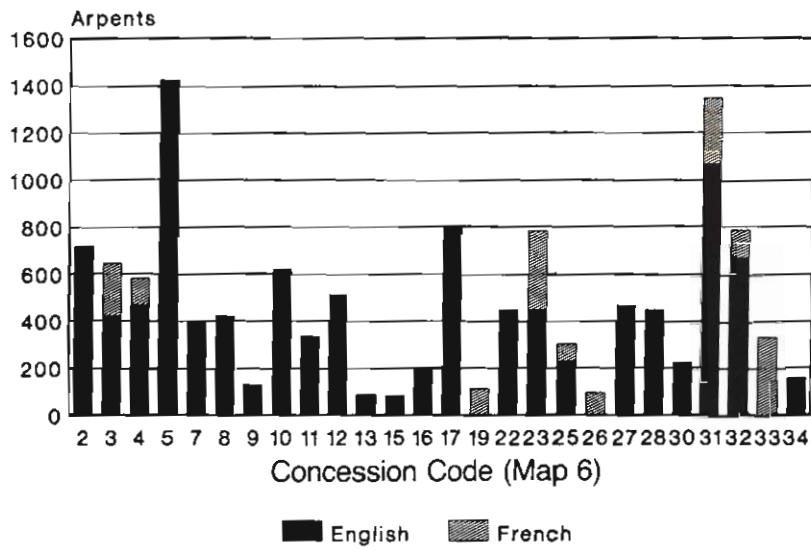


Figure 5c Seigneurie of Noyan

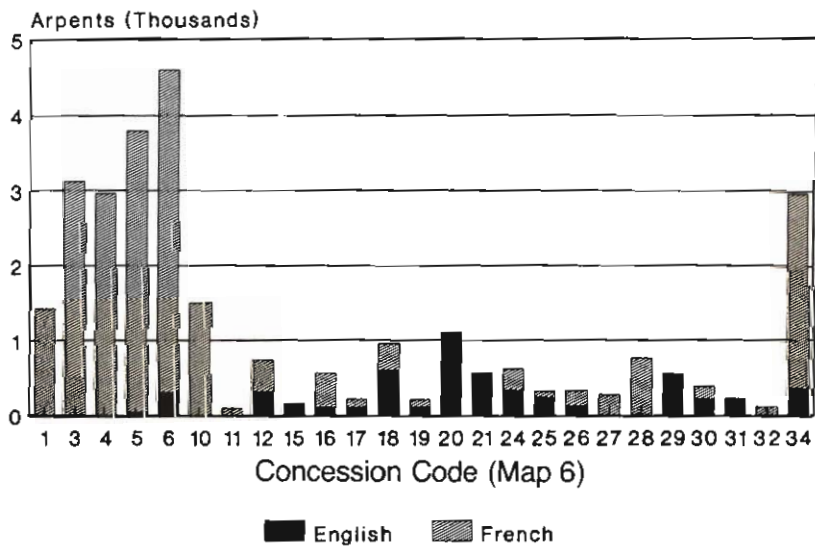


Figure 5d Seigneurie of Delery

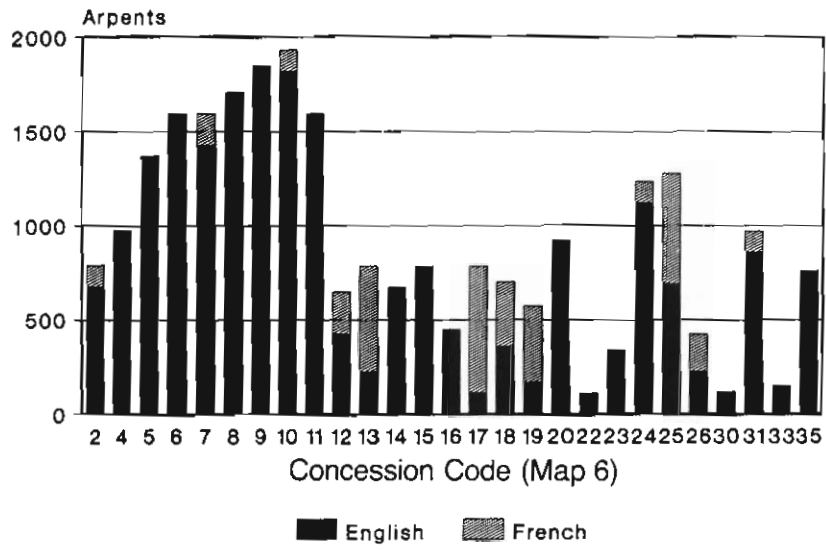


Figure 5E Seigneurie of Lacolle

APPENDIX II

Tables

Table 23
Population Growth in the Christie Seigneuries, 1825-61

<i>Census Division</i>	<i>1825</i>	<i>1831</i>	<i>1846</i>	<i>1851</i>	<i>1861</i>
Bleury	1,402	2,283	-	-	-
Christieville	-	-	-	1,294	1,590
St-Athanase	-	-	4,605	2,682	2,602
St-Alexandre	-	-	-	2,203	2,890
Sabrevois	550	1,124	-	-	-
St-Georges-de-Henryville	-	-	3,622	4,577	5,389
Noyan	1,839	2,429	-	-	-
Delery	4,248	5,422	-	-	-
St-Cyprien	-	-	3,825	4,495	4,579
St-Valentin	-	-	2,340	3,052	2,915
Lacolle	1,857	2,154	-	-	-
St-Bernard	-	-	3,228	3,483	3,689
<i>Total</i>	9,896	13,412	17,620	21,786	23,654

Source: Census of Canada.

Table 24
Population by Religion in the Upper Richelieu Valley, 1831, 1846, 1851, 1861

<i>Census Division</i>	<i>CofE</i>	<i>CofS</i>	<i>Pres</i>	<i>Meth</i>	<i>Bapt</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>RC</i>	<i>Total</i>
1831								
Bleury	89	24	1	7	0	3	2,159	2,283
Christieville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Athanase	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Alexandre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sabrevois	114	78	1	41	0	7	883	1,124
St-Georges-de-Henryville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Noyan	842	176	130	249	0	56	976	2,429
Delery	275	4	185	43	3	10	4,902	5,422
St-Cyprien	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Valentin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lacolle	556	0	120	696	32	0	750	2,154
St-Bernard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	1,876	282	437	1,036	35	76	9,670	13,412
1846								
Bleury	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christieville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Athanase	328	38	0	29	1	5	4,204	4,605
St-Alexandre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sabrevois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Georges-de-Henryville	328	108	151	263	4	9	2,759	3,622
Noyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Cyprien	104	10	20	113	1	10	3,567	3,825
St-Valentin	42	0	4	83	3	77	2,131	2,340
Lacolle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Bernard	652	11	96	916	28	23	1,502	3,228
<i>Total</i>	1,454	167	271	1,404	37	124	14,163	17,620
1851								
Bleury	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christieville	111	0	18	6	13	3	1,143	1,294
St-Athanase	185	0	29	2	0	0	2,466	2,682
St-Alexandre	57	0	39	42	1	0	2,064	2,203
Sabrevois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Georges-de-Henryville	386	0	244	187	56	21	3,683	4,577
Noyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Cyprien	0	0	0	0	0	373	4,122	4,495
St-Valentin	0	0	0	0	0	262	2,790	3,052
Lacolle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Bernard	0	0	0	0	0	1,597	1,886	3,483
<i>Total</i>	739	0	330	237	70	2,256	18,154	21,786

Table 24 (cont)

<i>Census Division</i>	<i>CofE</i>	<i>CofS</i>	<i>Pres</i>	<i>Meth</i>	<i>Bapt</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>RC</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1861</i>								
Bleury	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christieville	74	7	18	35	4	12	1,440	1,590
St-Athanase	61	40	47	11	28	0	2,415	2,602
St-Alexandre	15	0	19	9	0	0	2,847	2,890
Sabrevois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Georges-de- Henryville	345	5	130	124	54	36	4,695	5,389
Noyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Cyprien	67	4	8	38	19	1	4,442	4,579
St-Valentin	68	0	15	132	33	0	2,667	2,915
Lacolle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St-Bernard	536	0	66	673	8	118	2,288	3,689
<i>Total</i>	1,166	56	303	1,022	146	167	20,794	23,654

Source: Census of Canada.

Note: Methodists have been grouped together. In 1851, the Protestant denominations are not distinguished for Saint-Cyprien, Saint-Valentin, and Lacolle, but grouped together under the rubric Protestants. These have been included under 'other' for that year. That category, however, usually refers to the small number of Congregationalists found in the study area, and a few Unitarians and Adventists who appear for the first time in 1851. The Adventists were an offshoot of the Millerite Movement which swept through this region in 1844.

Table 25
Population by Origin in the Upper Richelieu Valley, 1846, 1851

<i>Census Division</i>	<i>Fr Cdn</i>	<i>Eng Cdn</i>	<i>US</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Scot.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
1846								
Bleury								
St-Athanase	4,066	291	40	34	155	17	2	4,605
Sabrevois								
St-Georges-de-Henryville	2,400	800	130	19	221	50	2	3,622
Noyan								
Delery								
St-Cyprien	3,464	218	16	63	52	7	5	3,825
St-Valentin	2,191	97	4	19	17	7	5	2,340
Lacolle	1,359	1,177	107	366	180	38	1	3,228
<i>Total</i>	13,480	2,583	297	501	625	119	15	17,620
	77%	15%	2%	3%	4%	1%		
1851								
Bleury								
Christieville	1,207	0	15	24	23	10		1,279
St-Athanase	2,549	0	40	6	107	6		2,708
St-Alexandre	2,052	95	12	1	29	11		2,200
Sabrevois								
St-Georges-de-Henryville	3,504	712	71	45	196	48		4,576
Noyan								
Delery								
St-Cyprien	4,005	288	48	92	50	8		4,491
St-Valentin	2,761	196	27	32	27	6		3,049
Lacolle	1,723	1,035	188	287	203	41		3,477
<i>Total</i>	17,801	2,326	401	487	635	130		21,780
	82%	11%	2%	2%	3%	1%		

Source: Census of Canada.

Table 26
Select Data from the Census of 1831

	<i>Bleury</i>	<i>Sabrevois</i>	<i>Noyan</i>	<i>Delery</i>	<i>Lacolle</i>	<i>Total</i>
Population	2,284	1,125	2,428	5,437	2,150	13,424
Inhabited Houses	389	395	205	928	378	2,295
Proprietors	313	174	281	695	292	1,755
Non-Proprietors	76	31	113	242	86	548
Families in Agriculture	224	173	296	555	301	1,549
Families in Commerce	4	0	6	12	6	28
Area Held (arpents)	13,005	16,645	29,295	37,290	31,778	128,013
Area Improved (arpents)	4,747	[5,826]*	9,332	15,707	10,387	45,999
Minots [†]						
Wheat	13,966	4,030	10,988	47,420	8,032	84,436
Peas	1,578	783	2,409	4,259	3,805	12,834
Oats	6,034	2,460	5,950	13,926	6,634	35,004
Barley	928	86	340	1,675	682	3,711
Rye	132	374	4,078	418	1,357	6,359
Corn	125	1,016	6,558	2,298	7,567	17,564
Potatoes	127	11,210	24,251	51,887	35,216	122,691
Buckwheat	2	65	487	631	3,409	4,594
Cattle	978	652	1,994	3,595	2,243	9,462
Horses	439	188	544	1,335	783	3,289
Sheep	1,143	561	2,707	3,970	3,214	11,595
Hogs	1,186	681	841	3,126	1,750	7,584
Elementary Schools	5	5	13	10	9	42
Male Students	131	127	323	280	174	1,035
Female Students	128	127	336	231	163	985
Taverns	6	2	6	7	2	23
Stores with Liquor	4	0	6	3	1	14
Gristmill	0	0	0	1	1	2
Sawmills	0	2	2	1	3	8
Fulling Mills	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carding Mills	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trip Hammers	0	0	1	0	0	1
Pot. Pearl Ash	0	0	2	5	2	9

Source: Census of Canada, 1831.

*The figure in the census is 24,353, greater than the area held, obviously an error. The figure used here is based on a ratio of improved/held of 0.35, the average for Noyan and Bleury.

[†]1 minot = 1.05 bushels or 38.2 litres.

Table 27
Select Data from the Census of 1846

	St-Athanasie	St-Georges-de-Henryville	St-Cyprien	St-Valentin	Lacolle	Total
Population	4,605	3,622	3,818	2,340	3,227	17,612
Inhabited Houses	763	557	626	378	546	2,870
Proprietors	615	504	487	269	386	2,261
Non-Proprietors	206	111	140	109	160	726
Families in Commerce	9	5	6	3	6	29
Farm Servants—Male	13	13	39	8	30	103
Servants—Male	10	8	11	8	10	47
Servants—Female	27	27	36	14	27	131
Arpents Held	31,460	[40,955]*	28,550	16,762	39,857	157,564
Arpents Improved	11,926	[12,391]	13,225	7,264	16,219	61,025
Bushels [†]						
Wheat	11,364	22,399	6,172	5,419	7,218	52,572
Barley	5,160	7,937	13,031	4,563	5,324	36,015
Rye	9	1,544	100	330	428	2,411
Oats	35,592	78,074	44,903	23,586	35,003	217,158
Peas	6,948	12,473	6,178	3,899	4,407	33,905
Corn	373	1,842	480	200	1,454	4,349
Buckwheat	4,546	5,057	6,155	4,825	7,821	28,404
Potatoes	48,357	94,623	45,115	28,039	53,362	269,496
Cattle	2,377	2,385	3,052	1,491	3,078	12,383
Horses	1,074	785	1,083	625	943	4,510
Sheep	3,524	3,122	3,274	1,679	3,189	14,788
Hogs	1,586	1,273	1,492	963	1,112	6,426
Cloth (yds)	5,843	4,392	6,938	3,399	5,740	26,312
Linen (yds)	4,070	2,069	5,099	2,739	622	14,599

Flannel (yds)	4,361	4,764	3,048	1,793	2,945	16,911
Wool (lbs)	7,383	20,907	8,961	4,523	11,748	53,522
Colleges et al	0	0	0	1	0	1
Elementary Schools	6	9	6	5	10	36
Male Students	85	230	115	123	152	705
Female Students	73	176	94	47	120	510
Taverns	4	5	6	1	5	21
Stores with Liquor	3	4	4	2	3	16
Gristmills	1	0	1	0	1	3
Sawmills	5	4	2	2	1	14
Fulling Mills	2	0	0	0	1	3
Carding Mills	2	0	0	0	1	3
Threshing Mills	0	0	10	1	2	13
Iron Works	1	0	0	0	0	1
Trip Hammers	0	0	0	0	1	1
Breweries	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tanneries	3	4	2	2	2	13
Pot, Pearl Ash	1	0	3	0	3	7

Source: Census of Canada, 1846.

*We have reversed the figures and assumed an error of 10 in 123,916, an impossible figure here.

†Although bushels is the unit given, it is possible that the amounts were in minots as in 1831.

Table 28
Select Data from the Census of 1851

	<i>Christieville</i>	<i>St-Athanase</i>	<i>St-Alexandre</i>	<i>St-Georges-de-Henryville</i>	<i>St-Cyprien</i>	<i>St-Valentin</i>	<i>Lacolle</i>	<i>Total</i>
Population	1,294	2,682	2,203	4,577	4,495	3,052	3,483	21,786
Inhabited Houses	292	400	356	551	652	425	583	3,199
Families	262	441	377	754	750	464	618	3,666
Occupants								
<10 arpents	230	74	16	32	186	115	50	703
10-50 arpents	7	100	74	83	109	66	96	535
50-200 arpents	12	222	187	354	294	224	253	1,546
>200 arpents	1	1	3	11	20	4	21	61
Total >10 arpents	20	323	264	448	423	294	370	2,142
Arpents								
Held	1,790	21,635	16,040	36,350	34,462	20,595	36,933	167,805
Cultivated	761	13,086	5,068	17,797	19,786	13,154	21,613	91,265
Crops	571	10,040	4,019	13,577	13,432	9,581	14,738	65,958
Pasture	98	3,003	1,009	4,146	6,085	3,366	6,848	24,555
Wild	1,029	8,549	10,972	18,553	14,676	7,441	15,320	76,540
Wheat	176	3,161	1,365	4,395	3,775	2,920	1,733	17,525
Barley	10	64	5	88	242	60	104	573
Rye	4	0	1	63	0	0	0	68
Peas	58	820	345	1,175	1,017	838	436	4,689
Oats	154	2,067	933	2,428	3,451	2,053	2,298	13,384
Buckwheat	24	125	36	180	381	206	376	1,328
Indian Corn	8	38	34	162	117	82	173	614
Potatoes	7	127	159	277	324	159	353	1,406
Turnips	0	2	1	12	12	40	29	96

Field	441	6,404	2,879	8,780	9,319	6,358	5,502	39,683
Other*	130	3,636	1,140	4,797	4,113	3,223	9,236	26,275
% Field	77	64	72	65	69	66	37	60
Hay Bundles	15,410	347,970	124,395	640,849	554,330	368,690	672,450	2,724,094
Bushels†								
Potatoes	559	3,927	4,230	15,450	14,530	4,752	15,529	58,977
Oats	2,472	29,628	11,753	49,300	65,818	39,528	38,969	237,468
Wheat	1,351	18,592	11,220	40,304	30,028	25,040	19,662	146,197
Barley	97	752	59	1,592	3,703	766	1,489	8,458
Peas	419	6,178	2,460	8,927	6,977	6,375	4,992	36,328
Corn	280	500	498	2,627	2,221	1,435	38,969	46,530
Milk Cows	123	1,122	605	1,363	1,382	964	1,505	7,064
Other Cattle	38	587	432	1,580	1,291	764	1,715	6,407
Horses	167	835	474	1,267	1,358	1,002	1,155	6,258
Sheep	171	2,300	1,064	3,061	2,689	2,017	5,391	16,693
Pigs	128	1,030	680	1,501	1,681	1,362	995	7,377
Butter (lbs)	2,105	16,979	4,957	41,667	45,761	15,285	122,281	249,035
Cheese (lbs)	200	200	237	2,976	1,480	0	7,460	12,553
Wool (lbs)	417	5,597	2,246	8,483	7,290	5,314	7,460	36,807
Cloth (yds)	261	3,562	1,363	3,389	6,262	2,516	1,414	18,767
Linen (yds)	126	1,273	630	1,834	5,104	2,922	77	11,966
Flannel (yds)	155	1,645	1,211	4,679	2,777	2,147	809	13,423

Source: Census of Canada, 1851.

*This figure is calculated by subtracting the total field crop area (Field) from the area in crops (Crops). Most of this remaining area was devoted to hay. Other crops for which no area is given include beans, flax, and hemp.

†Although bushels is the unit given, it is possible the amounts were in minots, as in 1831.

Table 29
Date of the Opening of a Post Office in the Villages of the Christie Seigneuries,
to 1854

<i>Village</i>	<i>First Concession</i>	<i>Post Office</i>
Lacolle	1785	1832
Clarenceville	1785	1832
Saint-Valentin	1788	1851
Grande Ligne	1788	1853
Stottsville	1801	1852
Christieville	1815	1851
Napierville	1815	1832
Henryville	1815	1827
Saint-Jacques-le-Mineur	1820	1851
Pike River	1835	1841

Source: Post offices are from Campbell, *Canada Post Offices*.

Table 30
Notaries Establishing a Practice in the Upper Richelieu Valley, 1825-54

Napierville	Jean-Baptiste Lukin	1825
	Pierre-T. Decoigne	1837-8
	Ephrem Bouchard	1840
	Antoine MÉRIZZI	1845
	Pierre Benoit	1846
Christieville	F.-M. Pétrimoulx	n.d.
	Henri Aubertin	1838
	F.-F.-X. Hamel	1845
	A.-N. Mathon	1847-8
	Henri Tyler	1850-2
	Jacques-H. Aubertin	1852
Henryville	Didace Tassé	1852
	Basile Larocque	1832-45
	Léon Dugas	1833-49
	E.-R. Demers	1838
	Valfroy Vincelette	1844
Saint-Valentin	Clément Vincelette	1853
	Jean-Baptiste Bornais	1834
St-Jacques-le-Mineur	Romain-J.-B. Garand	1844
	François-B. Laperle	1837
Saint-Sébastien	Moyse Héroux	1840
	Thomas R. Jobson	1843

Source: Chambre des Notaires du Québec, *Notaires décédés*, 1979.

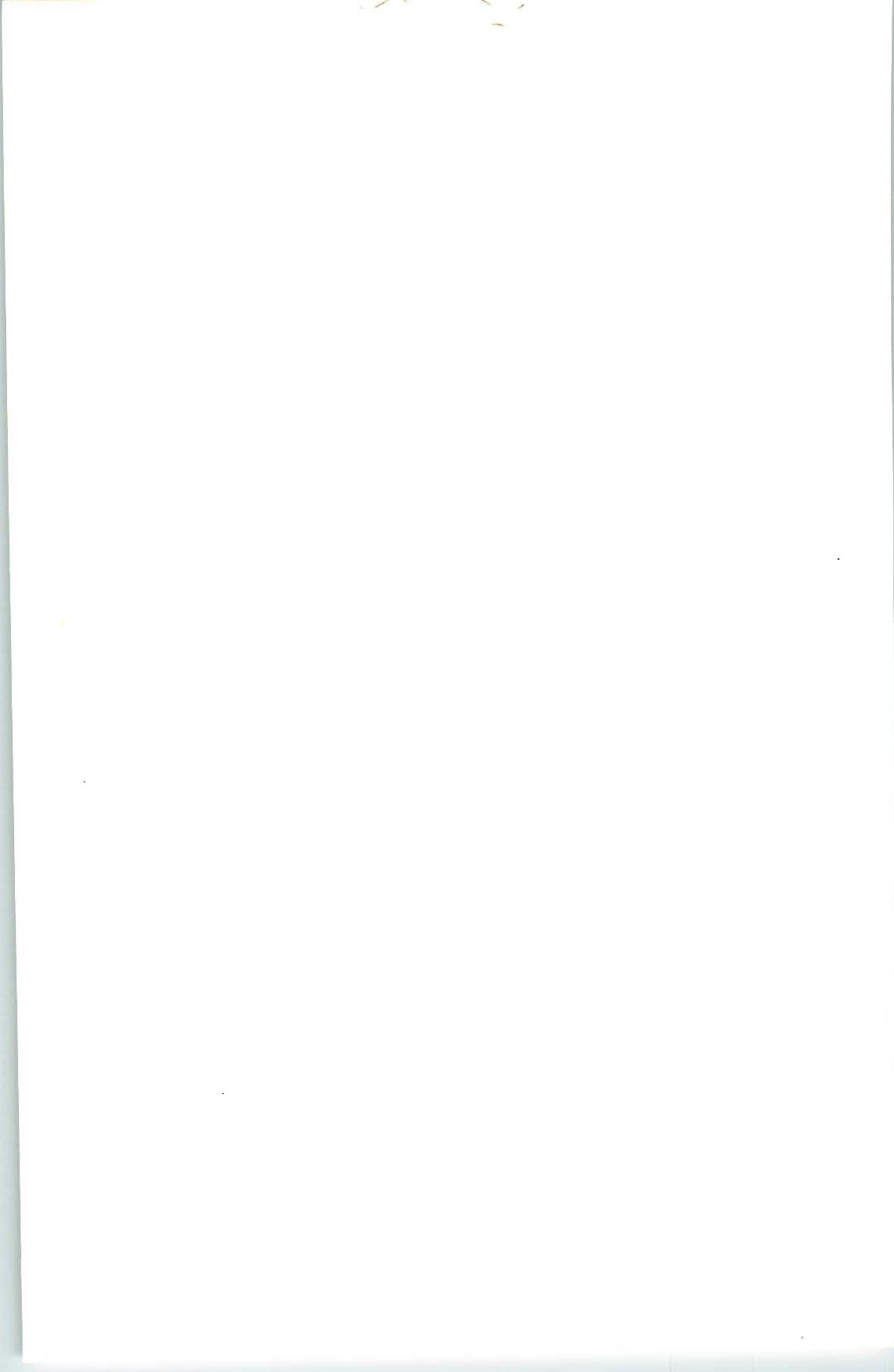
Note: Iberville has been included under Christieville. Saint-Cyprien under Napierville, and Saint-Georges-de-Henryville as Henryville. Although it is possible in the last two cases that notaries established themselves elsewhere in the parish, it is unlikely.

Table 31
Places of Worship Established in the Christie Seigneuries and St John's, 1785–1854

<i>Year</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Location</i>
1817	Church of England	St John's
1820	Church of England	Clarenceville
1823	Methodist	Odelltown
1823	Roman Catholic	Saint-Athanase
1823	Roman Catholic	Saint-Cyprien
1828	Roman Catholic	Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste
1830	Roman Catholic	Saint-Valentin
1832	Church of England	Odelltown
1833	Roman Catholic	Saint-Georges-de-Henryville
1835	Church of England	Henryville
1835	Methodist	St John's
1836	Church of England	Henrysburg
1839	Church of England	Grande Ligne
1840	Roman Catholic	Saint-Jacques-le-Mineur
1841	New Connexion Methodist	Henrysburg
1842	Church of England	Lacolle
1843	Church of England	Christieville
1843	Roman Catholic	Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle
1845	Methodist	Clarenceville
1846	Roman Catholic	Notre-Dame-des-Anges-de-Stanbridge
1847	Roman Catholic	Saint-Blaise
1848	Church of England	Sabrevois
1851	Roman Catholic	Saint-Alexandre
1855	Church of England	Noyan

Source: Magnan, *Dictionnaire*; Kelly, "Historical Records of the Church of England"; Cornish, *Cyclopedia*; Labelle, *Monographie d'Iberville*.

Note: The date provided for the Catholic parishes is based on the opening of registers. The churches established in St John's are indicated because these were unlikely to be duplicated in Christieville. We have no information on the Presbyterian church in Henryville indicated in the census, or the Baptist churches indicated in Lacolle.



Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

ANQM	Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal
ANQQ	Archives Nationales du Québec à Québec
AUM	Archives de l'Université de Montréal
BL	British Library
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i>
EH	Edme Henry
GC	Gabriel Christie
HH	Henry Hoyle
JLAC	<i>Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Canada</i>
MCB	Mary Christie Burton
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NCB	Napier Christie Burton
URV	Upper Richelieu Valley database
WM	William McGinnis
WPC	William Plenderleath Christie

INTRODUCTION

- ¹ This system was first defined by Normand Séguin in *La conquête du sol*. For an example of it in a seigneurial context, see Claude Baribeau, *La seigneurie de la Petite Nation*, chap. 3. See also J.I. Little, *Nationalism, Capitalism, and Colonization in Nineteenth-Century Quebec*. The system seems to arise because of the poor quality of the soil and because of the isolation (which means limited access to markets) rather than from involvement in the timber trade as such.
- ² Dépatie, Lalancette, and Dessureault, *Contributions à l'étude du régime seigneurial canadien*, 4, 84, 135, 152, 226.

- 3 Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*, xii-xiv.
- 4 This society is feudal because it consists of a "predominantly agrarian economy with self-sufficient peasant households as the primary productive unit, the ascendancy of a lay and clerical aristocracy, an overt and political system of redistribution which forced the peasantry to turn over some of its produce to the aristocracy and, finally, an ambiguous conception of land ownership that helped to legitimate this appropriation." Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant*, xi-xii.
- 5 *Ibid.*, xiii. His definition applies to the industrial capitalist mode of production. A definition which pertains to the commercial era and which could confute Greer's conclusion is used by Allan Kulikoff, in "The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America," 123. He defines capitalism as follows: "A capitalist economy is a commercial economy, where profits are divided between the original producers (petty capitalists, artisans, wage laborers) and a class of capitalists who own and control the means of productions."
- 6 *Ibid.*, 196-8.
- 7 *Ibid.*, chap. 7, and 192.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 218, 226-7.
- 9 Bernier and Salée, "Appropriation foncière et bourgeoisie marchande," 163-94.
- 10 This is further demonstrated in Bernier, "Landownership and Access to Political Power," 87-97.
- 11 Schulze, "Rural Manufacture in Lower Canada: Understanding Seigneurial Privilege and the Transition in the Countryside," 134-67.
- 12 Jean-Marie Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*.
- 13 Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire économique et sociale*, 351-7. On rising seigneurial rents, see also Serge Courville, "Rente déclarée payée sur la censive de 90 arpents au recensement nominatif de 1831."
- 14 The question of the timing and amount of increases in seigneurial rents in the Christie seigneuries is also discussed in detail in Noël, "La gestion des seigneuries de Gabriel Christie." The evidence shows that increases were instituted before any land shortages occurred in the area and can therefore not be imputed to a reaction to an increase in the demand for land.

CHAPTER ONE

- 1 "Christie of Durie," *Burke's Landed Gentry*; Devine, *The Tobacco Lords*, 179; and Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 9-14.
- 2 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 16.
- 3 On the manorial élite of colonial New York, see David Maldwyn Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1946), and Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in*

- Colonial New York Manorial Society, 1664–1775*. Other officers who married into this élite at the time include Thomas Gage (*DCB*, IV, 330) and Peter Warren (Gwyn, *The Enterprising Admiral*).
- 4 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 17–18.
 - 5 Murray felt that others had been promoted above him and resented this. This was also a period of intense hostility between the merchants and the military in Montreal.
 - 6 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 34–9.
 - 7 Igartua, "A Change in Climate: The Conquest and the Marchands of Montreal," 115–34.
 - 8 Macmillan, "The 'New Men' in Action," 44–103. There are several indications that Christie exhibited the same clannish tendency as the fur traders to associate with other Scots and to promote their interests.
 - 9 Dechêne, "The Seigneuries."
 - 10 Chazy is the seigneuery referred to as Livaudière by R.C. Harris, but this grant (11 April 1733) was withdrawn (*DCB*, IV, 654). It was re-granted on 1 November 1752 and sold to Daniel de Beaujeu on 2 May 1754. His heirs sold to G. Christie, according to French law, on 20 July 1763 (*NAC*, MG8 F99.9, 16, Agreement to Purchase); a second deed, executed on 28 October 1766, was registered at Quebec and New York (*NAC*, RG1 L3L, 59, 30119, 30076). Christie believed the grant only extended one league into New York, but the final frontage was only two leagues so that the eventual loss following the Revolutionary War was also two leagues. New York State Library, Albany, New York Colonial Manuscripts, Land Papers, 20, 179, Memorial, 30 May 1766 (photocopy).
 - 11 *NAC*, RG1 L3L, 59, 30171, Sale of De Léry [Delery], 16 April 1766; *DCB*, IV, 146.
 - 12 ANQM, CN1–308 (Panet), Transport, 8 Sept. 1764 and 27 Oct. 1774; *Quebec Gazette*, 29 Sept. 1766; *DCB*, IV, 709.
 - 13 *NAC*, MG8 F99.9, 23, 2, Sale, 2 Aug. 1764 (Panet).
 - 14 Bouchette, *A Topographical Description of Lower Canada*, 189.
 - 15 *NAC*, MG8 F99.9, 21, 18124, Instructions, Feb. 1785; 18090, Sale, 27 March 1764; Réunion, 16 Feb. 1765.
 - 16 See Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 125, for a list of these properties and the details of their purchase.
 - 17 *NAC*, RG4 B52, 3, Grant Minutes of Evidence, 20 July 1842. The town lots were sold for £5 per half-arpent whereas the seigneur received only five bushels of wheat and £1 annually for the entire farm.
 - 18 *NAC*, RG1 L3L, 154, 75320–34, on mf C-2552, Sale, 8 April 1766.
 - 19 ANQM, CN1–158 (Foucher), Sale (Repentigny), 14 June 1777.
 - 20 ANQM, CN1–308 (Panet), no. 4667, Sale (Saint-Paul Street), 4 April 1777, and nos. 1832 and 1833 Sale (Longue Pointe), 26 April 1763; "Le recensement des gouvernements de Montréal et des Trois-

- Rivières," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province du Québec* (1936-7): 1-121.
- 21 BL, Add. Mss 21737, pt 1, NAC, MG21 B.77, 216-19, Freeman to Hal-dimand, 31 July 1789.
 - 22 Castonguay, "James Bell," 63-4. Bell continued to work for Christie until at least 1794. According to Mary Christie Burton, Bell eventually lost his position because of excessive drinking, but Gabriel Christie continued to provide his family with a house and an allowance: NAC, MG8 F99.1, 2, 2260, Mary Christie Burton to William McGinnis, 8 Dec. n.y.
 - 23 State University of New York, Plattsburgh, Feinberg Library, Kent-Delord Collection, 66.7e, 8/1/21, cc to Hazen. n.d. [1767] (photo-copy).
 - 24 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 25, 20582, Division, 15 Nov. 1770.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, 16, Agreement, Dame de Beaujeu and cc, 20 July 1763.
 - 26 State University of New York, Plattsburgh, Feinberg Library, Kent-Delord Collection, 66.7e, 8/1/21, cc to Hazen, n.d. [1767] (photo-copy).
 - 27 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 14852, Lease, 18 Nov. 1766.
 - 28 "Gilliland Journal," in Watson, *Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley*, 134.
 - 29 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 14858, Lease, Upper Mills, River Lacolle, 24 March 1772.
 - 30 AUM, Baby Collection, cc to Magnan, 12 May 1772.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, 7 Jan. 1772.
 - 32 Noël, "Chambly Mills, 1784-1815," 102-16.
 - 33 ANQM, CN1-308 (Panet), no. 3874, Lease, cc to Magnan, 24 Oct. 1770.
 - 34 AUM, Baby Collection, cc to Magnan, 23 March 1771, and 7 July 1772.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, 27 March 1774.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, 27 March 1774.
 - 37 *Ibid.*, 21 Nov. 1771.
 - 38 This mill may have been superior to that at Lachenaie. It was purchased by Jacob Jordan in 1784 and was described as the second most productive in Canada by 1788.
 - 39 AUM, Baby Collection, cc to Magnan, 7 July, 3 Aug., and 7 Aug. 1772.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, 27 March 1774.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, 5 Sept. 1771.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, 7 July 1772.
 - 43 Neatby, *Quebec: The Revolutionary Age*, 60.
 - 44 AUM, Baby Collection, cc to Magnan, 12 May 1772. There is no evidence to explain this preference. Not being directly involved in the

wheat trade, Christie may have preferred not to receive payment in kind which would require him to find an outlet for it. In this way transforming a cash crop to cash became the censitaires' responsibility rather than his.

- 45 Ibid., 7 Aug. 1772.
- 46 Ibid., 7 April 1772.
- 47 ANQM, CN1-308 (Panet), no. 3874, Lease, CC to Magnan, 24 Oct. 1770, and no. 4282, Lease, CC to Jolly and Caron, 10 Oct. 1774.
- 48 On patronage among merchants in the fur trade see Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, chap. 2. For the significance of patronage in the political culture see Wallot and Paquet, *Patronage et pouvoir dans le Bas-Canada (1794-1812)* and S.R.J. Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers*.
- 49 Genevay was recommended to Governor Haldimand for a job, for example: Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 52.
- 50 AUM, Baby Collection, CC to Magnan, 23 July 1772.
- 51 Palmer, *Working-Class Experience*, 12-20.

CHAPTER TWO

- 1 ANQM, CN1-308 (Panet), no. 3874, Lease, CC to Magnan, 24 Oct. 1770, and no. 4692, Power of Attorney, 5 June 1777. His wife could act in all matters other than the sale of his properties which would require a specific power of attorney.
- 2 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 14865, "List of Pine & Oak Planks Loggs." This document refers to the materials left by the Royal Engineers at Lacolle. Simon Medcalfe reported to the commanding officer of the Engineers: "As it appears a regular acct has been rendered Col. Christie of the timber taken from his Estate, and that all your work people were paid by the foot, and that such a price as plainly indicated no purchase but merely a reward for manual service, I flatter myself we shall have little difficulty in the settlement." BL, Add. Mss 21735, pt 2. NAC, MG21, B.75, pt 2, 30, Medcalfe to Rudyerd, Prattsburg [sic], 18 Jan. 1784.
- 3 Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House, Northamptonshire*, 11: 292, CC to Germain, 3 Feb. 1781. When St Eustatia surrendered, the capture of ships, stores, and money was evaluated at £4 million Sterling. In the Cuba expedition, the commander-in-chief received approximately one-quarter of the prize money. (Butler and Hare, *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corp* [60th], 1: 122.) If Christie had received a like amount, this capture would have made him a millionaire, but even a smaller share of the prize would have considerably improved his finances.

- 4 Public Archives of Canada, *Report* (1889), "Private Diary of Gen. Haldimand," 178 [no date]. Upon the death of General Prevost, which creates a vacancy, Haldimand goes to see Lord Amherst and prays him to remember Christie.
- 5 BL, Add. Mss 21737, pt 1, NAC, MG21, 877-1, CC to Haldimand, 21 March 1788.
- 6 ANQM, Christ Church Parish Register, Montreal, 62, 74. The appointment to Christ Church was one of the most prestigious available in the colonial church and carried a stipend of £300, but Tunstall was demoted to the missionary post of Philipsburg in 1800, making room for the appointment of George Jehosaphat Mountain, the son of Bishop Jacob Mountain, who had wanted the post since 1795 (Millman, "George Jehosaphat Mountain"). John Robertson was the son of Daniel, a colonel in the 84th Regiment who had acquired, by purchase and grant, 13,800 acres of land in the township of Chatham after the Revolutionary War: Macdonald, *Canada: 1763-1841. Immigration and Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations* (London: Longmans, Green, 1939), 49.
- 7 William and Gabriel Plenderleath entered the regiment as ensigns in 1793; a James Christie became a lieutenant in the 60th the following year. There is no way, however, to distinguish between Christie's son James and Christie's nephew, another James. Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle*, 124.
- 8 Scottish Record Society, *Register of Marriages of the City of Edinburgh, 1751-1800*, 138.
- 9 BL, Add. Mss 21737, pt 1, NAC, MG21, B.77, 33, CC to Haldimand, 21 March 1788, and 261-2, 19 Oct. 1789.
- 10 See McGuigan, "La concession des terres," for an explanation of the leader and associate system.
- 11 Christie had petitioned for land here on several occasions, but the current petition was dated 17 September 1787 and was renewed 7 April 1791. Christie hoped that his earlier petition would give him priority over newer applicants. NAC, RG1 L3L, 59, 30073-112 on mf C-2516.
- 12 NAC, RG1 L3L, 59, 30098-100 on mf C-2516, 21 June 1792.
- 13 Public Archives of Canada, *Report* (1891), 18, 20 (Clarke to Dundas, 12 Aug. 1792, and Dundas to Clarke, 3 Oct. 1792). Henry Dundas, the home secretary, informed Lieutenant-Governor Alured Clarke that Christie's petition was referred to the Lords of Trade. But as early as 12 August 1792 a petition was received from John Cooper, formerly with the Engineers at Île aux Noix, asking for land in this area, "understanding that the lands at the back of Colonel Christie's seigniority of La Colle ... are ordered to be laid out into farms of 200

each.” Hugh Finlay, chairman of the land committee, annotated the petition, saying that the survey warrant was issued in July, “to lay out the land in the rear of General Christie’s possessions” and that the petitioner could receive one. (NAC, RG1 L3L, 65, 32268, on mf c-2518.) Clearly, the land committee made no effort to wait for a reply to Christie’s petition and probably even expedited the surveys and grants in that particular location to ensure that Christie would not obtain the land under seigneurial tenure.

- 14 For details on his wartime activities see Everest, *Moses Hazen*.
- 15 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 401–7, Court of Common Pleas, 16 July 1785.
- 16 Hazen asked Benjamin Mooers, his nephew and agent, to approach Glenny or Grant (presumably James Glenie and William Grant) to effect a settlement. Hazen believed Christie was directing the sheriff in this matter. State University of New York, Plattsburgh, Feinberg Library, Bailey Collection, Hazen to Mooers, 13 April 1790 (photocopy).
- 17 New York State Library, Miscellaneous Mss Collection, Hillhouse to Hazen, 18 June 1790 (photocopy).
- 18 NAC, RG4 B17, 8, Sale, 28 Sept. 1790.
- 19 Everest, *Moses Hazen*, 157.
- 20 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 21, 18124, Instructions, Feb. 1785, and 1, 9462, Plan figuratif, 4 June 1785 (Grisé).
- 21 *Ibid.*, 19, 16787, 16807, and 21, 18169.
- 22 BL, Add. Mss 21737, pt 1, NAC, MG21, B.77, 284, GC to Haldimand, 12 Dec. 1789.
- 23 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 21, 18173, Instructions, 8 Sept. 1791, and 18179, Judgement, 31 May 1792.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 21, 18183, Pennoyer, Survey Warrant, 1795–1796. The survey determined the area of the seigneurie to be 40,068 arpents (13,699 hectares) and the loss due to Missisquoi Bay to be 1,482 arpents (506.7 hectares). This area was compensated for in the rear of the seigneurie.
- 25 ANQM, CN1–313 (Papineau), no. 2879, Inventory (GC), 11 Feb. 1799.
- 26 Because of the way the surveys were conducted, most of the lots were 4 by 28 arpents, that is, 112 arpents in area. This is referred to as a standard lot in this study. These dimensions are produced when one square mile is divided into 7 lots. They can therefore be oriented either north-south or east-west. It is interesting to note that although arpents were used, the actual unit was the English one.
- 27 ANQM, CA1–64, P1000/46–952, Watson Field Book, and Plan of Delery, 1788–90.
- 28 The survey is treated at more length in chapter 3. For more detail on this block pattern of survey, see also Noël, “Seigneurial Survey and Land Granting Policies.”

- 29 NAC, RG1 L3L, 59, 30116-8, on C-2516, Petition, 12 March 1798.
- 30 NAC, MC8 F99.9, 14, 15263, Report, 7 Feb. 1798. This official opinion of the way in which the survey should be conducted obviously clashed with that of Christie whose surveys were rectangular rather than in a diagonal conforming to the river. The border of Lacolle-Hemmingford came up again as a dispute between the censitaires and Mrs Mountain and was resolved during W.P. Christie's administration.
- 31 See "Report of the Inspector of Registry Offices for the Districts of Montreal, Three Rivers and Saint-Francis," in *JLAC*, 1846, Appendix B. One of the inspector's findings was that transactions from seigneurial areas described in this way cannot be entered and followed properly.
- 32 According to F.J. Marschner, *Boundaries and Records in the Territory of Early Settlement from Canada to Florida* (Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, 1960), 60, the cadastre, a record of land ownership, was a major reason for surveys being made, but only the well-marked and the well-known could serve the purpose intended: to delineate the areal extent of estate rights and obligations. As a rule, the seigneurial estate rolls (*papiers terriers*) in Quebec were of little value for the registry of titles because they were unaccompanied by surveys. Thus, when the province's first official cadastre was established in 1860 (23 Vic., 54), the parish was the unit of organization used, and for the first time lot numbers were assigned to be used as official designations of property (St-Cyr, "Le cadastre"). Thus, Gabriel Christie's administration introduced the basic framework of the legal cadastre into his seigneuries sixty years before it was introduced in the province as a whole.
- 33 ANQM, CN1-189 (Grisé), no. 2330, Agreement, Boucher de Niverville and Jacques Glenny [James Glenie?], 17 July 1782, and CN1-158 (Foucher), Transport, 2 Oct. 1784. See also Noël, "Chambly Mills, 1784-1815."
- 34 DCB, IV, 402-3; ANQM, CN1-290 (Mézière), 2 Feb. 1785.
- 35 ANQM, CN1-313 (Papineau), Sale of Chambly, 23 Nov. 1796.
- 36 Gauthier, *Les manoirs du Québec*, 76, has an illustration of this manor with later additions. William Yule, later seigneur of Chambly, was Christie's overseer at this time. The house is described in Christie's inventory as a two-storey stone building, 49 by 29 feet.
- 37 AUM, Baby Collection, box 195, Robertson to Berczy, 5 Jan. 1799.
- 38 *Montreal Gazette*, 28 Jan. 1799. The funeral cost £300: *ibid.*, box 195, Robertson to Berczy, 1 Feb. 1799.
- 39 AUM, Baby Collection, box 195, Robertson to Berczy, 1 Feb. 1799.
- 40 Christie also left £2,000 to his son James, £1,500 to each of his other three sons, and a small annuity to their mother, Rachael Plenderleath (Mrs Whealin). His three executors received a total of £550.

- 41 AUM, Baby Collection, box 195, Robertson to Berczy, 1 Feb. 1799. In 1823, Katherine Robertson received £333 from this annuity which was held by Samuel Hatt: ANQM, CN1-187 (Griffin), Acquittance, 31 July 1823. Sarah Christie Tunstall obtained the capital amount of her annuity to divide it among her four children: ANQM, CN1-182 (Grant), 17 Dec. 1832.
- 42 ANQM, CN1-313 (Papineau), no. 2879, Inventory (GC), 11 Feb. 1799.
- 43 ANQQ, Couillard-Després Collection, box 14, Agreement, Sarah Christie et al and NCB, 8 Aug. 1800, copy (Papineau).
- 44 Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, 32.
- 45 NAC, RG8/1, 224, 23, NCB to Lt.-Gen. Peter Hunter, 27 May 1801; 31, NCB to the Duke of York, 30 June 1801; 51, NCB to Major Green, 24 Sept. 1801, in which he thanks Green and admits to a debt of favour.
- 46 Little is known about Samuel Potts. He was a minor military officer and in 1813 was appointed justice of the peace in Chambly (*Quebec Gazette*, 1 April 1813). He no longer acted for Burton after the sale of Chambly (ca 1815).
- 47 NAC, RG8/1, 224, 104, NCB to Hunter, Aug. 1802; *Annual Register*, 1805, 450.
- 48 *Quebec Gazette*, 6 May 1813, 7 Dec. 1815, 2 Jan. 1817, and 3 July 1817. They included William Plenderleath, Christie's natural son, Dame Agathe Dumas, the widow of Louis Genevay, Christie's former clerk, and the heirs of Sieur Boucher de Niverville.
- 49 NAC, RG4 B17, 20 Oct. 1818, and ANQM (Barron), Acte de Dépot, 10 Nov. 1818. The price paid for the mills is not known. The court ordered the sheriff to pay the heirs of Sieur de Niverville the sum of £1054.10.8 from the sale of the seigneurie, but this was less than their debt and interest. Richard and Samuel Hatt, his brother, in partnership, had developed a complex of industries known as Dundas Mills between 1800 and 1816, when Samuel moved to Chambly. That complex included a flour mill, distillery, potashery, general store, two saw-mills, a coopers, a blacksmith shop, several farms, and numerous other buildings. It was, in other words, very similar to that at Chambly. *DCB*, v, 412, "Richard Hatt."

CHAPTER THREE

- 1 Climate and soils are discussed by Blanchard, *L'Ouest du Canada Français*, 63-5, and in Beauregard, "Les étapes de la mise en valeur agricole de la vallée du Richelieu."
- 2 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 1, 9462, Plan figuratif, 4 June 1785 (Grisé).
- 3 *Ibid.*, 1, 9473-4.
- 4 ANQM, J. Pennoyer, "Field Book," 1790.

- 5 NAC, NML, VI/325. This gave the lots a measured front and depth of three arpents, six perches (3.5 arpents) by thirty-one arpents, one perche and two feet in depth, for an area of 112 arpents. ANQM, CN1-269 (Lukin), Concession by Dame Marie Anne Lacorne St Luc, widow of the late John Campbell, to Moor and William Speer, 21 Sept. 1796. These lots were granted in conformity to a bill of survey by Watson, dated October 1794.
- 6 AUM, Baby Collection, "C", box 127, CC to Ambroise Magnan, 7 July 1772.
- 7 The only exceptions to this were the deeds granted to replace those which had been granted by the seigneurs of Laprairie or Longueuil within the territory of Delery. Because these were in compensation for lots given up by the censitaires they were granted at the same rate as the original deed and the rates in these were lower as well as being payable partly in wheat. Because they do not reflect Burton's general policy, they are not discussed in this study.
- 8 A more detailed discussion of the deeds of concession, their clauses, and their distribution over time can be found in Noël, "La gestion des seigneuries de Gabriel Christie."
- 9 NAC, RG1 L3L, 59, on mf C-2516, CC Petition, Montreal, 7 April 1791, 30109-10 and attached documentation, 30111-12 (duplicate of petition dated Montreal, 17 Sept. 1787), 30105 (Bleury), 30119-20 ("Beaujeux"), 30122 ("Isle aux Noix"), 30124-25 (Repentigny), 30127 (Bleury), and in 60, 30171-2 (Delery).
- 10 Lambert, *Travels through Canada*, 10, 513-30.
- 11 Ibid., 16-18, 108, 157.
- 12 NAC, RG8/1, C84-C89, Claims for Losses.
- 13 Bouchette, *A Topographical Description of Lower Canada*.
- 14 Gagan's *Hopeful Travellers*, and other studies have shown the importance of this factor in settlement.
- 15 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 15.1.
- 16 Akenson, in *The Irish in Ontario*, 99-100, 286-91, shows the way in which water power at Gananoque was acquired and monopolized by Joel Stone, one of the earliest settlers in the area, and Sir John Johnson, an absentee proprietor, and their successors. In the Humber Valley (Fisher, *The Merchant-Millers of the Humber Valley*, 59-73), the available mill sites were taken up by several large proprietors who tried to minimize competition by acquiring land on both sides of the river whenever possible.
- 17 ANQM, CN1-189 (Grisé), Sale, CC to Isaac Germain, 18 Oct. 1792. It was sold for £500 plus "£50 pin money."
- 18 NAC, MG8 F14. See also Noël, "Chambly Mills, 1784-1815."
- 19 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 14964-66, Agreement, CC and Philip Williams,

- mason, 16 April 1788; ANQM, CN1-313 (Papineau), no. 2879, Inventory (GC), 11 Feb. 1799.
- 20 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 14968–9, Agreement, 11 Nov. 1801.
- 21 NAC, RG8/1, 388, 144, on mf C-2936, and 87, 109–10, 152, on mf C-2646. Potts refers to “les troupes en cazernées dans les hangards, au proche du moulin à farine du Canton de Chambly” which suggests that the mill itself was not occupied. Burton received £250 after the war as compensation for the occupation of these buildings.
- 22 Ibid., 87, 108, 1 May 1814.
- 23 Ibid., 87, 142–5, on mf C-2626.
- 24 Ibid., 687, 175, on mf C-3231; 87, 152, 25 Feb. 1815. The timber cut was compensated separately.

CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Noël, “Edme Henry,” *DCB*, vii, 394–6. Henry’s parents were married at Longueuil where he was born. For his marriage to Raymond’s widow, see ANQM, CE1 2, marriage register, 9 Oct. 1828, and CN1-134 (Doucet), no. 15737, marriage contract, 8 Oct. 1828. The marriage of one of his wife’s daughters to Joseph Masson, for example, gave Henry personal connections with this important Montreal merchant.
- 2 Henry received 1,000 acres in Kilkenny, 27 July 1825 (NAC, RG1, L3L, 105, 51577–80, no. 1412, on mf C-2533).
- 3 Opened just before the panic of 1837, the bank would not survive this crisis: ANQM, CN4-20, 11 Aug. 1825; Masson, *Joseph Masson*, 202; Howard, “Canadian Banks and Bank Notes: A Record,” 37.
- 4 URV database. The description of the lot on the deed of concession was usually a copy of the survey warrant except that the surveyor is not always named, being common knowledge at the time. When a concession was named after a surveyor, however, it is assumed that he surveyed it, even when this is not mentioned. NAC, MG8 F99.9, 2, 9003, Account, Solomon Bingham with EH, 20 Nov. 1820, is one of the rare accounts for surveying which has been found for this period.
- 5 “En notre région: de Christieville à Iberville d’aujourd’hui,” in Labelle, *Monographie d’Iberville*, 167.
- 6 URV database. See Noël, “Gabriel Christie’s Seigneuries,” table 86, 640–1.
- 7 Barbeau was the son of Louis Boisdoré and Susanne Heber (Hébert), born 26 July 1783, at Laprairie, as indicated in a birth certificate produced with his application for a commission as notary (NAC, RG4 B8, 1, 546–51, on mf H-1410). His marriage contract clearly identifies him as Henry’s nephew. A five-year apprenticeship was necessary be-

- fore a commission as notary could be obtained, during which time the term "clerk notary" was applied to the candidates.
- 8 NAC, RG4 B8, 3, 831-5, and 871-5, on mf H-1410; 8, 2949-59, on mf H-1412; 10, 3528-38, on mf H-1413; 6, 1985-2005, on mf H-1411.
 - 9 As Douglas McCalla has pointed out ("Forest Products," 180), in the St Lawrence area of Upper Canada, the "proximity of forest and farm ... permitted a more complex local economy in many areas, offering numerous choices to those with and without land, and helping local economies to make full use of their land and labour."
 - 10 Because they were already in the seigneurie when signing their deeds of concession, their origin is not given. Ethnic origin was not one of the questions in the 1831 census and in subsequent censuses there is usually no distinction between English and American Canadians. In the manuscript census of 1842 for the parish of Saint-Georges-de-Henryville, however, the column for European origin was crossed out and instead the number of Canadians of American origin was inserted. We therefore know that in 1842 there were 630 Canadians of American origin as well as 211 persons born in the United States out of a population of 4,190, in contrast to only 368 born in the British Isles and 573 Canadians of British origin. NAC, Mss Census of 1842, mf. C-731.
 - 11 The deed of concession always indicated the place where the act was signed and usually named the inn. Henry's most frequent stops were at Roswell Canfield's, Seth Warner's, and William Morley's. See Appendix 1, tables 19 and 20.
 - 12 This information comes from sheriff's sales of these lots at a later date. The deeds of concession have not been found and thus were not included in our data base. NAC, MG8 F99.2, 2, 4720, Memo for Deeds from Sheriff, 1843.
 - 13 On the domain in Lacolle, the rate was 6 pence per arpent compared to 4.5 pence elsewhere.
 - 14 In fact Henry maintained the same rate of *rentes* established under Burton but the *cens* was a few pence higher. The usual rent was therefore £2.2.6 for a standard lot. It was only on the domain that the higher rate of £2.16.6 (6 pence per arpent) applied. As Courville has shown, such higher rates were quite common in the nineteenth century: Courville, "Rente déclarée payée sur la censive de 90 arpents au recensement nominatif de 1831: méthodologie d'une recherche."
 - 15 NAC, MG24 B141, pt 1, no. 11, 20 Dec. 1832.
 - 16 NAC, MG8 F99.8, 1, 8268, WPC, Memoranda concerning the Seigneuries, [1835].
 - 17 An exception is receipt by Henry, dated 21 March 1823, for £33 re-

- ceived on account of £116 due for a lot sold at £33 per arpent of frontage, and found with the deed of concession, dated 10 October 1826 (ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin)).
- 18 *JLAC*, 1843, Appendix F, "Seigneurial Tenure, Report of Commissioners ...," no. 27, question 30, "Answer of G. Rowe, Esquire." (Noyan and Foucault).
 - 19 *Journal of the Legislative Assembly (Lower Canada)*, 1835-6, Appendix E.E.E., Evidence of Cyrille-H.-O. Côté, 5 Jan. 1836.
 - 20 George Burton Hamilton & al. *vs* Louis Dumas, Court of King's Bench, no. 806, 15 July 1840, in ANQM, CN4-8 (Bornais).
 - 21 ANQM, CN4-8 (Bornais), 27 July 1840.
 - 22 *JLAC*, 1843, Appendix F, "Seigneurial Tenure, Report of Commissioners ...," no. 116, Hamilton et al *vs* Lamoureaux.
 - 23 ANQM, CN1-175 (Gibb), no. 8692. Acte de Dépôt, 14 April 1846.
 - 24 *JLAC*, 1843, Appendix F "Seigneurial Tenure, Report of Commissioners ...," no. 29, question 48.
 - 25 ANQM, CN1-299 (Moreau). Because the arrears arising from rents and from *lods et ventes*, respectively, were not identified, a closer study of these obligations would still provide only limited information.
 - 26 The way in which paternalism worked has still received very little attention in the historiography of North America, but in the examples cited by Palmer (*Working-Class Experience*, 12-20) - Mathew Bell at the St Maurice Forges and D.D. Calvin at Garden Island - personality and a commanding physical presence seem to have contributed to their success.
 - 27 ANQM, CN1-299 (Moreau), Lease, 1 Dec. 1834; CN4-20 (Gamelin), Lease, 21 March 1846.
 - 28 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Deed of Concession, EH to Barbeau, 1 Dec. 1828. This site was never developed by Barbeau. Copies of leases to Warner or to Watson have not been located, but they evidently would have been the first to occupy the mill sites which bore their names.
 - 29 McCalla ("Forest Products," 192) suggests that they cost between £100 and £200 to build in Upper Canada at this time.
 - 30 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 25, 20702-8, Lease, 21 April 1829 (Barbeau). Bower's lease, dated 6 February 1828 before J.E. Faribault, is referred to in the subsequent lease of 1 December 1834, before L.-A. Moreau (ANQM, CN1-299).
 - 31 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Concession, 1 Dec. 1828.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, Lease, 2 Feb. 1830.
 - 33 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 2, 7402-19. This list of the obligations due the estate of Napier Christie Burton in 1835 indicates that arrears were due for sawmill leases from the following: J.-B. Alexandre of Delery,

Jacques Bourdeau of Saint-Claude, Edward Braithwaite, Ambroise Commeau, Mathew Jameson of Noyan, J.-B. Laberge of Saint-Mathieu, Pierre Mailloux, and Ignace Paré of Saint-Cyprien. No leases were located to correspond with any of these obligations.

- 34 NAC, MG8 F99.8, 1, 8268-72, WPC, Memoranda concerning the Seigneuries, [1835]. An obligation in 1837 by John Broughton's securities for a mill lease suggests that he was the lessee: ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Mortgage, E.W. Douglass and S. Williams to EH, 18 May 1837.
- 35 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Act of Settlement, EH and James Fife Jr, 18 May 1837. The lease was signed before L.-A. Moreau, 20 Dec. 1834.
- 36 Ibid., Lease, 9 Aug. 1822. The mill leased by Hotchkiss to Randall had to be his or he would not have had the right to negotiate such a lease. Although the mill yard is located on lot 18, owned by Odell, since it is described as west of the road (and east of the river), it cannot be the same one as Odell's.
- 37 Ibid., 20 March 1822, and 13 March 1823; NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 15934-7, 15977-80, 8 Nov. 1823 (Barbeau). He received two lots in the Fourth Concession North of the Domain in 1822 and six adjacent lots in the Fifth and Sixth concessions North of the Domain in 1823.
- 38 The latter is quite likely because almost all of these lands are in the hands of Freeman and Bartlett Nye by 1857.
- 39 NAC, RG8/I, 92, 34, 47, 51 on mf C-2647; ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Inventory, Joseph Odell, 17 April 1824. Because the mill yard was valued at only £2 5s., however, the privilege was probably not transferable. Henry did not object to an agreement which allowed the surplus water to be used by the Vanvliets to run some of their equipment (ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), 8 June 1837), but McGinnis later would.
- 40 It is likely that Loop Odell, the most prominent merchant in Napierville in the 1830s, was related to Joseph Odell, but it has not been possible to establish the relationship.
- 41 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Inventory, Joseph Odell, 17 April 1824.
- 42 URV database. See also Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 558, map 42.
- 43 ANQM, CN4-17 (Demaray), no. 1621, 17 Dec. 1829, and no. 1640, P. McKeemond Jr and W. Parker, 31 Dec. 1829. The document is slightly damaged and the unit is not very legible.
- 44 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 7, WM to C.R. Ogden, attorney general, 4 Jan. 1838; Bernard, *Les rébellions de 1837-1838*, 304. Bernard's list refers to them as Patrick McKeenan, 26 years, and Patrick McKeenan, farmer, 60 years.

- 45 He was the brother of Henry Hoyle who became "seigneur usufructier" of Lacolle in 1845: ANQM, CN4-20 (Camelin), Will of Henry Hoyle, 3 Feb. 1837. Information about Robert Hoyle's background and on some of his activities between 1832 and 1834 can be found in NAC, MG24 B141.
- 46 ANQM, CN4-17 (Demaray), nos. 1062, 1064, and 1065, Agreements, 1 Oct. 1827, and Concession, 3 May 1836. To have timber cut on his own land, Hoyle paid £10 per 1000 feet; for timber cut on someone else's land, he paid £11 5s. per 1000 feet. In the case of one of Hoyle's lots and another owned by Jacques Lebelle, these agreements predate the deeds of concession.
- 47 NAC, MG24 B141, pt 1, Robert Hoyle to Eliza Nye Hoyle, 28 Nov. 1832.
- 48 ANQM, CN4-8 (Bornais), Bail, 2 Oct. 1834. What is not clear is the nature of Hoyle's permission to build. The mill was not on one of the known seigneurial mill sites but on a lot belonging to one François-Xavier Aubin, the location of which is uncertain.
- 49 NAC, Mss Census, 1851, mf C-1121. In 1851 he held 1500 arpents of land, 400 in crops and 400 in pasture. See also chapter 7 on the activities of his brother, Henry Hoyle.
- 50 Courville, "Villages and Agriculture in the Seigneuries of Lower Canada," and "Esquisse du développement villageois au Québec."
- 51 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 185, Appendix III, note 7.
- 52 Ibid., 171-87.
- 53 Archives du Diocèse de Saint-Jean, Québec, 13A/22, Boucher to Bishop Lartigue, 18 May 1822.
- 54 ANQM (Lancôt), Concession, 22 July 1822.
- 55 *Le Canada ecclésiastique: almanach annuaire du clergé canadien*, 191, 911.
- 56 ANQM, CN4-20, *passim*.
- 57 Jean-Claude Robert, "Aperçu sur les structures socio-professionnelles des villages de la région nord de Montréal," 70.
- 58 Loop Odell, R.C. Horr, H. Durocher, J.A. Dufresne, Joseph Lamoureux, Nicolas Bourneau, Alexis Durocher, and Henry Brinkman.
- 59 Courville, "Le marché des 'subsistances'," 200, places it between 500 and 1000.
- 60 NAC, MG8, F99-2, 1, 4345, WM to WPC, 16 March 1835.
- 61 Ibid., 1, 9817-23, Lease, 5 Jan. 1833 (Barbeau).
- 62 In 1827 Henry granted Jean-Olivier Giroux, the priest of Saint-Athanase, lots 28 and 29 on Henry Street outright and with no restrictions for the Catholic church, an area of approximately one-half arpent: ANQM, CN4-17 (Demaray), no. 925, Concession, 23 March 1827.

- 63 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 25, 20614.
- 64 Magnan, *Dictionnaire*, 406.
- 65 The first parish in the Christie seigneuries had been established 28 June 1794. It was the Anglican parish of St George in the territory west of Missisquoi Bay in the seigneuries of Foucault and Noyan. This parish was divided in two and established by letters patent in 1822 as the parishes of St Thomas and St George. Noyan was divided north-south between the two parishes. This parish coexisted with the Catholic parish of Saint-Georges-de-Henryville in the seigneurie of Noyan, but when municipal parishes were established the territory was divided between them, at the northern line of Christie Manor. See *ibid.*, 406, and Kelly, "Historical Records of the Church of England in the Diocese of Quebec," 195, 198, 210, 279, 281.
- 66 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 21, Noyan Book.
- 67 Clarenceville was named in honour of the Duke of Clarence who visited Canada in 1787: Magnan, *Dictionnaire*, 448.
- 68 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), 7–17 April 1824. The area is calculated from the *Cadastré abrégé* of 1857.
- 69 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Inventory, Joseph Odell, 17 April 1824.
- 70 "Lacolle," in Bouchette, *A Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada*.
- 71 Bouchette, *A Topographical Description of Lower Canada*, 176–7, 179.
- 72 *La vallée du Richelieu*, 66. The builders were John Graves (mason) and John Wandley (carpenter).
- 73 Fortin, *Le maire Nelson Mott et l'histoire de Saint-Jean*, 93–5.
- 74 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Deed of Gift, "Wm. McGowen and Edwd. Billet unto Thomas Jobson, Esquire, and others," 18 Feb. 1823. In 1788 Watson's Point consisted of a collection of houses around a mill site on Jackson's Creek.
- 75 Because the population had peaked by 1861, the area of wild lands remaining that year can be used as an approximation of the area which was unsuitable for settlement.

CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 Black, "A Crippled Crusade," 50–4. This circle included Jeffrey Hale, head of the Quebec Auxiliary Bible Society, Captain Thomas Gummersall Anderson, and Lt.-Col. Edward Paston Wilgress, a particularly close associate of Christie.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 3 This arrangement is based on a Deed of Conveyance dated 7 March 1843 (ANQM (Gibb), no. 6361), referred to in the first codicil of W.P. Christie's will. The matter of these two churches and their endowments was of great concern to W.P. Christie, and differences arose

between him and Bishop Mountain on this subject. The issue was resolved satisfactorily before his death. To pursue this question further, one can consult the correspondence of Bishop Mountain in the Montreal Diocesan Archives, the correspondence of WPC (NAC, MG8 F99.1–F99.2), the Couillard-Després Collection (ANQQ, AP-G-52), and the correspondence relating to Trinity Church from 1842 to 1880, in NAC, MG8 F99.9, 7.

- 4 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 1, 26–58, 13 June 1845, Probate of the Last Will of WPC (dated 17 March 1842 with codicils dated 18 April 1843 and 31 March 1845), hereafter will of WPC.
- 5 ANQM, CN4–20 (Gamelin) (or NAC, MG8 F99.9, 11, 13414–20), Deed of Gift, WPC to the Bishop of Montreal, in Trust, 6 April 1843.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Deed of Exchange, 10 July 1843, and Deed of Gift, WPC to the Reverend Micajah Townsend, in Trust, 10 July 1843.
- 7 Black, “A Crippled Crusade,” 84–8.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 198–216.
- 10 Robert Black, private communication with the author.
- 11 ANQM, Christ Church Parish Register, Montreal, 22 Aug. 1832.
- 12 ANQM, CN4–20 (Gamelin), Will of John McGinnis, 29 March 1833.
- 13 ANQQ, AP-G-52, 498–511, letters of WPC to WM.
- 14 Mary Christie Burton is referred to as Mary Hamer until 1846 and Mary Bailey from 1852 to 1870 at which time she reverts to the name Burton. For simplicity, she is referred to here as Mary Christie Burton (MCB). Catherine Gordon Cleather and David Gordon (who appears to have died before 1845) were the descendants of a sister of Gabriel Christie.
- 15 Sarah Burton’s exact situation is not clear. According to information in MCB’s letters, she had not had the resources to contest her father’s will at the time of his death or she would have, but by the time of WPC’s death she was “amply supplied” by the Burton inheritance, which is why she was passed over by W.P. Christie in his will. Yet she was resentful that she did not receive a share of the Christie estate and when Henry Styring King, Napier Burton’s “substitute heir,” first began looking into the possibility of upsetting W.P. Christie’s will, Mary Burton wrote: “This fresh news from M.R-respecting King & Miss H’s death, has again roused up Mrs B[urton]’s wrath against *all* who profit by any part of the Canadian property. I sincerely regret she had not some share left to her, – as she expressed her feelings of injury most warmly.” (NAC, M68 F99.1, 2, 1769, MCB to WM, 24 May 1849, and 1739, MCB to WM, 27 Nov. 1848.)
- 16 *Ibid.*, 2, MCB to WM, 29 Jan. 1850.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 22 July 1845.

- 18 Ibid., 1654-7, 15 Sept. 1845, 1671, 2 Dec. 1846, and 1693, 15 July 1847.
- 19 They had at least one friend in common, Mrs Durbin Brice of Bristol, who is named in W.P. Christie's will (see table 2): *ibid.*, 1651-2, 11 Aug. 1845). Sending McGinnis a sketch of her husband's life written by a fellow minister, Mary Burton adds: "You can let Mrs Christie read it. I would rather you did *not*, give it *at all*, or mention it to the R[obertson]s or T[unstall]s." (*Ibid.*, 29 Sept. 1846).
- 20 *Ibid.*, 1671, MCB to WM, 2 Dec. 1846. Katherine had reason to be grateful to W.P. Christie for having obliged her by buying part of the obligation held by Samuel Hatt in her favour and providing her with the cash when she returned, widowed, from Jamaica, and she may not have been a party to these complaints; she died shortly after in 1849: ANQM, CN1-175 (Gibb), Receipt, 16 Jan. 1841, and Transfer, 3 March 1842. The complaints against McGinnis continued, however, and pressure was applied on Mary Christie Burton to abandon him as well: see especially NAC, MG8 F99.1, 2, 1691, 1 June 1847, and 1693, 15 July 1847.
- 21 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 2, Estate of WPC in Account with W.N. Crawford, N.P., 2 July 1845 to 1 March 1848. In this period, Crawford prepared the papers required of the various heirs. From Amelia Bowman Christie he obtained ratification of the will and a comprehensive power of attorney for McGinnis. Katherine Christie Robertson (and her daughters) signed a ratification and "acceptation of the Gift Legacy & Bequest thereby made." She also signed a power of attorney for McGinnis to administer Delery. Mary Burton and Catherine Gordon Cleather signed similar papers executed in England. James and Gabriel Tunstall delayed signing the required papers, their signature being obtained only through legal proceedings. Gabriel Senior was also required to sign on behalf of Gabriel Junior, a minor. On the reluctance of the Tunstalls to sign, see Mary Burton's correspondence: NAC, MG8 F99.1, 2, 1671 and 1675, MCB to WM, 2 Dec. 1846 and 1 Jan. 1847.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 1, 26-58, Will of WPC, 13 June 1845.
- 23 ANQM, Christ Church Parish Register, Montreal, 62.
- 24 BL, Add. Mss 21730, NAC, MG21, Haldimand Collection, Correspondence, *passim*. On G. Christie's efforts on behalf of his nephew, James, see B.71, 192-5, Antigua, GC to Haldimand, 28 March 1775. Christie begins by describing the nephew and his problem. "I have lately been informed," Christie writes, "a nephew of mine, is lately arrived at New York who was an ensign in the 25th Regt named James Christie, a youth of about 20 years of age, possessed of talents and many qualifications improved by a very liberal education, but this avails little, as

he is void of œconomy, which I have severely felt by being obliged to pay many large sums to save him." He had recently left Minorca without leave, fearful of his creditors. Christie had recently spent £300 Sterling to liquidate his debts, induced to do so by the good reports he had received from his colonel, Lord George Lennox. Then, two friends of Christie's (Colonel Sheen of the 69th and Colonel Fraser of the Royals) helped him out and shipped him to America. Unfortunately for Christie, who had been footing the bills, this had resulted in James being superseded, losing his rank and many years of service. Christie's letter was to try to prevent this.

- 25 ANQM, CN1–134 (Doucet), Marriage Contract, William Plenderleath and Amelia Bowman, 24 March 1835.
- 26 The seigneurie of Noyan, for example, went to a missionary society only after Mary Christie Burton's death.
- 27 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 433–43, Declaration and Writ, 6 Oct. 1864. Cameron affirms in this document that Margaret Christie was the legitimate daughter of William Christie from his marriage to Margaret [Maxwell?], whereas Mary Christie Burton believed that she was his illegitimate daughter. However, this would not be an issue in the court's ruling.
- 28 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 1, 137.
- 29 Ibid., 1, 16–25, Will of NCB, 20–23 December 1835.
- 30 Ibid., pt 1, 3916–30, Minister of Justice to WM, 20 Nov. 1874.
- 31 Ibid., 2, 1659, MCB to WM, 22 Sept. 1845. Legally, of course, Pinso-neault did have the rights he claimed, but one can see her position, which in this case was similar to that of the censitaires.
- 32 Ibid., MCB to WM, 1842, 18 Feb. 1852, 1991, 6 May n.y., and 2154–61, 30 Sept. n.y. In this last letter, she has just fled to her son's, but her husband came to look for her and took everything she had but the clothes on her back. The fact that McGinnis made remittances according to her instructions and in the care of people she could trust is what saved her from being dispossessed by her husband. He was apparently upset at her refusal to sell the seigneurie of Noyan, which would have allowed him to take the money and leave her destitute. It was not until the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 that legacies such as hers were protected from a husband's claims: see Holcombe, *Wives and Property*.
33. Mary would write: "My father was as unjust and cruel to his own children, in the will he made as others have been," and again, "I only know my father ill-used his children & wife & supported his natural children at their expense, and died at enmity with his children, doing them all the injury he could." (Ibid., 2, MCB to WM, 2267–8, 13 Dec. [1861], and 1933, 17 March n.y.).

- 34 Ibid., MCB to WM, 2261, 8 Dec. [1861], and 2671-2, 12 March 1870.
 35 Ibid., 3, Cleather to WM, *passim*.
 36 *Canadian Reports*, Vol. 7, *Appeal Cases*, King vs Tunstall.

CHAPTER SIX

- 1 I am indebted to Robert Black for pointing this out.
 2 ANQQ, AP-G-52, 500, WPC to WM, London, 17 May 1844.
 3 Ibid.
 4 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 2, WPC to WM (draft), 10 March 1835.
 5 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 1, pt 1, WPC to WM, 1 Jan. 1845.
 6 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 1, 558-61, WPC to WM, 1 May 1835.
 7 Ibid., 2, WPC to WM (draft), 10 March 1835.
 8 Ibid., 1, 4343-6, WM to WPC, 16 March 1835.
 9 Ibid., 1, 108. A receipt signed before J.-B. Varin and L.-A. Moreau lists the documents handed over 6 June 1835.
 10 Ibid., 2, 112, Agreement, WPC and WM, Feb. 1836.
 11 NAC, MG8 F99.8, 7823-8257. These extracts are from five notaries: A.C. Bardy, H. Aubertin, L. Archambault, P. Besse, and L. Dugas.
 12 NAC, MG8 F31, Iberville, Deposition, 21 May 1873. When McGinnis tried to run for city office 35 years later, a public assembly was held in Iberville at the request of Alexandre Dufresne, 11 May 1873, at which he reminded them of McGinnis's actions during the Rebellions.
 13 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 25, 206881, Plan of Grande Ligne, H. Corey, 8-9 Jan. 1845.
 14 ANQM, "Copy of a Plan of the Seigneurie of Delery," Hiram Corey, 1843.
 15 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, 15294, "Legal Opinion," Buchanan, 24 Feb. 1845.
 16 All the areas of very bad flooding in Noyan are represented (see map 6): the First Concessions along the Richelieu, the concessions along South River, and the concessions along Mud Creek, especially the Sixth and Seventh. Watson Survey (on Christie Manor) and the Ninth Concession, Old Survey. In Lacolle, the area most affected was in the First Concession South of the Domain. These concessions correspond to the areas shown as marsh on Watson's survey plan of 1794, in Pennoyer's Field Book for Christie Manor, and other contemporary maps.
 17 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 14, and 19, 16925-17038.
 18 Ibid., 14, 15294, "Legal Opinion," Buchanan, 24 Feb. 1845.
 19 Ibid., 14, 15120-1, Inhabitants to WPC, Feb. 1845.
 20 Testimonials of his good character at the time were given by R.B. McGinnis and by John McGinnis (NAC, RG4 B8, 6, on mf H-1411, 1985-2005). Perhaps his struggle for greater lay control in parish af-

- fairs and his opposition to the local parish priest after his return from exile served to preserve him in McGinnis's good graces (*DCB*, viii, 209-10; x, 429).
- 21 *NAC*, MG8 F99.2, 1, 4355-8, WM to WPC, 18 Dec. 1839.
 - 22 *NAC*, MG8 F99.1, pt 2, 4309-10, Robert McCord to WM, 10 March 1840.
 - 23 *NAC*, MG8 F99.2, 1, 420-2, WPC to G.B. Hamilton et al.
 - 24 "The seigniors make also a speculation on the lands which they bring to sheriff's sales, by purchasing these lands and reselling them to others at double the price of the adjudication, on condition that a certain sum be paid down, and the rest remaining at interest until the purchaser is, in his turn sufficiently in debt to cause the land to be again sold in speculation, which is very grievous and painful for these poor people." *JLAC*, 1843, Appendix F, "Seigneurial Tenure, Report of Commissioners ...," no. 29, question 48.
 - 25 One example of this was his purchase of lots 34-39 in the Fourth Concession and lots 55-56 in the Second Concession, Westover Survey, in Sabrevois, which had belonged to H.B. Wells. In 1848, half of the area purchased still belonged to Amelia Bowman Christie but in 1857 she only held two lots. *NAC*, MG8 F99.2, 2, 4720, Memo for Deeds from Sheriff, 1843; "Abstract," 12 June 1848; *Cadastrés abrégés*, 1857.
 - 26 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 424.
 - 27 *NAC*, MG8 F99.8, 1, 8268-72, WPC, Memoranda concerning seigneuries, [1835]. These notes are written in W.P. Christie's hand and are intended for McGinnis's use. He notes at the end: "The foregoing is transcribed, some points of which may be useful, & others incorrect."
 - 28 *NAC*, MG8 F99.2, 1, 104, Instructions (WPC to WM), draft, 10 March 1835.
 - 29 *NAC*, MG8 F99.9, 24, 8258 [memo by WM, ca. 1836].
 - 30 *Ibid.*, 21, Noyan Book.
 - 31 *NAC*, MG8 F99.1, 3, 570-3, WPC to WM, 4 Sept. 1835.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, 7, WM to Hiram Corey, 16 April 1836.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, 1, pt 1, 3732, Thomas Biggar to WM, 27 Nov. 1835.
 - 34 *NAC*, MG8 F99.2, 1, 4343-6; ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Lease, WPC to Blain, 18 June 1835. Blain paid £50 for the use of the sawmill, the gristmill, and the domain farm.
 - 35 *NAC*, MG8 F99.1, 7, 433-6 (Letter Book), [WM] to G. and T. Vanveliet [*sic*], 26 Oct. 1835.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, 7, 433-6, WM to WPC, 16 March 1835.
 - 37 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Lease and Permission to Build, [WPC] to Duncan McCallum, 15 Nov. 1836, and Protest, 21 Nov. 1844. The new dam would back up the water and cause damage to Henry

- Hoyle's water wheel in 1844. Hoyle's requests for action were ignored, however, and his claim for compensation for £200 of damages was dismissed by McGinnis because "in as much as the dam of the sawmill was erected long before the grist mill of Mr Hoyle, was erected, I do not consider myself responsible to make good any damage caused in consequence of said dam." McCallum had fallen into arrears and the mill site was acquired by W.P. Christie for £25 at sheriff's auction. In 1843 McGinnis instructed Thomas Lewis of Lacolle to take possession of the sawmill with all its implements and promised to arrange a lease with him when he was next in Lacolle. *Quebec Gazette*, 18 Nov. 1841, case no. 2250; NAC, MG8 F99.9, 16, 16270, Sale, 26 May 1843 (Boston and Coffin); NAC, MG8 F99.1, 7 (Letter Book), WPC to Lewis, 24 Nov. 1843.
- 38 Lot 8, Second Concession North of Jobson Road (*Quebec Gazette*, 10 March 1842) was reacquired in 1842 when a Montreal gentleman named André Barron was sued for seigneurial arrears. It included a reserve of one arpent on each side of the "creek" which ran through it. The Saint-Valentin mills do not appear in the *Cadastré abrégé* of 1857, but lot 7 was held by William McGinnis and half of lot 8 was held by John McGinnis. It seems likely, therefore, that either W.P. Christie or McGinnis had acquired lot 8 at the time of the sheriff's sale in 1842 and that the mills were simply located on this property rather than treated as a separate reserve. Its water level augmented by Christie's drainage project, River Bleurie was probably more suitable for a mill site at this time than earlier.
- 39 Writ of Fieri Facias, Dame Clothilde Girardin vs Edme Henry, *Quebec Gazette*, 30 Jan. 1840.
- 40 ANQM, CN1-32 (Belle), Entente, 15 Jan. 1845.
- 41 ANQQ, AP-G-52, 511, WPC to WM, 1 March 1845.
- 42 *Cadastré abrégé*, Delery.
- 43 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Concession and Sale, 20 April 1836, Deed of Gift, 4 Oct. 1840, and "Public Notice," *Quebec Gazette*, 14 July 1842. These brothers were the sons of Nehemiah Hotchkiss of Laprairie who owned part of lot 18, Third Concession of the Domain in Lacolle. Merritt Hotchkiss was also related through marriage to Henry Hoyle (see chapter 7).
- 44 The correspondence of Robert Hoyle (NAC, MG24 B141, pt 1) is illuminating on this question.
- 45 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 7 (Letter Book), 25 March, and 29 Oct. 1841; *Quebec Gazette*, 9 June 1842 (Montreal, King's Bench, nos. 1024 and 1038).
- 46 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 16, 16270, Sale, 26 May 1843 (Boston and Coffin), and 16288-91, Sale, WPC to H. Hoyle, 18 July 1843 (Gamelin).
- 47 The Lower Falls consisted of 24 arpents excluding the area below high water; the Upper Falls, of 26 arpents with a further 13 arpents

- of overflow on which no rents were to be paid. Two small islands in the river, 2.36 arpents in size, were included. A small triangle of land, logically part of the mill site but missed in the survey, was included later. ANQM, CN4-16 (Demaray), Sale and Concession, 20 May 1836; CN4-20 (Gamelin), Concession, 28 Feb. 1844.
- 48 Sale, 22 Feb. 1820 (Lalanne), referred to in ANQM, CN1-299 (Moreau), Lease, 4 Sept. 1834.
- 49 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 7 (Letter Book), [WPC] to Messrs Keys, 28 Sept. 1843.
- 50 Ibid., WPC to Jones, 4 Jan. 1836; ANQM, CN4-16 (Demaray), Sale and Concession, WPC to Jones, 20 May 1836.
- 51 In 1825, Jones erected Bedford's first store and in the 1840s, he was selling village lots in Bedford, using a printed form for the sale of lots subdivided from lot 9, 6th range: *Segments of Missisquoi* and the *Missisquoi Historical Society Report* (1981-2), 72; ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin); Concession, L.-A. Moreau, 3 Nov. 1832, cited in "Les belles années scolaires," in Labelle, *Monographie d'Iberville*, 103.
- 52 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Obligation, 6 Dec. 1834.
- 53 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 6, 5915, 5977, Receipts, Otis Warren from WM, 4 July 1839, 26 Oct. 1839; NAC, Mss Census 1842, on mf C-731.
- 54 NAC, RG1 L3L, 60, 30175-7 on mf C-2516, Petition, WPC to Murdock, Civil Secretary, 25 Feb. 1840.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid., 30179-80, Attorney General to Murdock, 1 May 1840. The question was referred to him for a legal opinion. He replies that under the statutes 3 Geo. IV, c. 119 and 6 Geo IV, c. 59, "the commutation of the *droit de quint* must be had for the Seignior, and a surrender and regrant be made of all unconceded parts and parcels of lands comprised within it." Thus, a partial commutation cannot be granted.
- 57 The intention remained but the manner of effecting the grant changed. Lakefield was granted to Octavia Bowman, Amelia's sister, before Christie's death and returned to his wife later. In 1857, Amelia Bowman Christie still held 2,000 arpents of this land, paying only 6 pence in *cens* for the entire area. ANQM, CN4-37 (Vincelette), Concession, 30 March 1843; *Cadastré abrégé*. See also *infra*, note 62.
- 58 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 1, 4355-58, WM to WPC, 18 Dec. 1839.
- 59 ANQQ, AP-C-52, 500, WPC to WM, 17 May 1844.
- 60 Ibid., 504, 31 July 1844.
- 61 Ibid., 507, 16 Sept. 1844.
- 62 NAC, MG8 F99.2, 1, 26-58, 13 June 1845; ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Concession, 1 Nov. 1842 (also NAC, MG8 F99.9, 4, 10785-8), and Sale, Octavia Bowman to Amelia Bowman Christie, 2 Nov. 1842. The concession was made as a standard deed of concession, except that the *cens* was reduced to a token one penny. The total *cens et rentes* was

therefore £2.5.1. The North and South Domain were sold for the sum of £130 and Springfield for £100. The concessions and sales, taking place as they do on succeeding days, were obviously part of the same arrangement. These properties were intended for Amelia Bowman Christie in WPC's will as originally written but he evidently decided the chances of his will being contested were too great to leave matters in this way. This method of transferring ownership to his wife avoided the risk of an upset of his will and was used for other domain properties as well.

- 63 The census divisions used in 1846 are: Christieville and Saint-Alexandre (Bleury); Saint-Georges-de-Henryville (Sabrevois and Noyan); Saint-Cyprien and Saint-Valentin (Delery); and Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle (Lacolle). This leaves out the southernmost part of Noyan which is in St Thomas and St George, but to include these would require also including the seigneurie of Foucault, where areas are measured in acres. A small part of Delery also falls outside these parishes.
- 64 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 154-7, for an explanation of these calculations.
- 65 In most areas grain was measured in minots in this period (1 minot = 38.2 litres). In the published census of 1831 this is the unit indicated for our area but in 1846 and 1851, bushels are indicated. But Marvin McInnis's study of Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle ("Some Pitfalls in the 1851-52 Census of Lower Canada") indicates that that parish reported in minots in 1851. Very likely the 1846 data were also in minots and this would probably extend to the other parishes in the study area.

CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 2, 1654, MCB to WM, 16 Sept. 1846.
- 2 NAC, MG8 F99.1, 3, Cleather to WM, 2 June 1846, 2 Oct. 1846, and 8 Aug. 1851.
- 3 ANQM, CN4-20 (Camelin), no. 282, Inventory of Henry Hoyle, 28 Dec. 1849.
- 4 The commissioners preparing the *Cadastré abrégé* for each seigneurie asked for a complete list of all sales and other transactions bearing *lods et ventes* for the ten-year period before 1854. From this they found the average annual revenue and calculated the indemnity which was the capital value of that revenue using an annual return of 6 per cent.
- 5 This is the amount of capital required to produce the same revenue as the seigneuries, based on an interest rate of 6 per cent.
- 6 NAC, MG8 F99.8, 1, pt 2, Pearson to [Robert] McGinnis.
- 7 There was also a certain concentration of property in the villages in the hands of a few individuals, particularly in Christieville and Na-

pierville where undeveloped lots were numerous. In Christieville, Amelia Bowman Christie and William McGinnis were prominent owners, but village lots were more likely to be accumulated by local merchants and notaries, possibly for speculation. In Christieville, 17 proprietors owned property between them valued at £14,111, or 54 per cent of the total value for the village. In Napierville the merchant Loop Odell owned a total of 22 arpents, but these were valued at only £829 (an average of £19 each) which reflects their undeveloped nature.

- 8 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 4, 10794-7, Concession, 25 Sept. 1846 (H. Aubertin).
- 9 Ibid., 4, 1296.
- 10 Since McGinnis retained ownership of the cloth manufactory, Ripley must have been his employee or his lessee.
- 11 NAC, Mss Census 1851, on mf C-1136. An unoccupied 44-horsepower steam mill is also listed as on the site. See also "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," Appendix 1, table 102, and NAC, MG8 F99.9, 4, 1296.
- 12 NAC, MG8, F99.1, pt 2, 4179-81, William Hobb to WM, 7 Feb. 1865.
- 13 The mill property stayed in the hands of McGinnis until his death in 1880. At that time it consisted of a dike, a flour mill, a carding mill with accessories, a cloth manufactory, a dye works, two houses, a pair of millstones, and a blacksmith shop. His heirs sold the property to the miller at Iberville, Mr Thurnston, for \$6,500. Sale, 23 May 1882 (J.B.H. Beauregard), cited by Labelle, *Monographie d'Iberville*, 27.
- 14 NAC, MG8 F99.9, 4, 7605-7787, Sawmill Account; hereafter Sawmill Account.
- 15 This appears to be a reference to Jackson's Creek.
- 16 On the sale of the Wells lots, see *supra* 191, note 25.
- 17 John Forbes was listed as having two notes to WPC outstanding in 1842 (NAC, MG8 F99.9, 2, 2, 117, WPC, Notes for WM). We assume that he is the same John Forbes who married Ingary Cameron, a member of the Christie family who was left a £50 legacy from the arrears in rent in W.P. Christie's will (see tables 2 and 3).
- 18 Sawmill Account. The purchases recorded can be further broken down as follows: <£5 - 35; £5-£9 - 11; £10-£24 - 20; £25-£49 - 7; £50-£74 - 2; £75+ - 2.
- 19 Ibid., p. 7, 65.
- 20 Robert, "Un seigneur entrepreneur: Barthélémy Joliette et la fondation du village d'Industrie (Joliette) 1822-1850," 388-90.
- 21 The two families would eventually become related. A Charles E. Pearson, later a "manufacturer" of Iberville, and a William John Pearson are the maternal uncles of Plenderleath (son of William) McGinnis's children. NAC, MG8 F99.9, 8, Nomination de tuteurs, 14 Oct. 1880 (D. Tassé).

- 22 ANQM, CN1-102 (Crawford), Deed of Assignment or Lease, Tunstall heirs to Hoyle (HH), 23 Dec. 1846.
- 23 Ibid., CN4-20 (Gamelin), 2 Feb. 1837, and 30 March 1849, Will of HH.
- 24 In 1825 Hoyle purchased 4 lots in the Sixth Concession of the Domain from his brother Robert (nos 1, 2, 3, 4), lots 62, 63, 66, and the easterly half of 61 (90 arpents) in the Fifth Concession South of the Domain, and lots 76 and 77 in the Sixth Concession South of the Domain, with several buildings thereon, for the sum of £1,100, which Robert Hoyle acknowledged having already received. The vendor, Robert Hoyle, reserved the right to overflow the land necessary to use the mills erected to the north of the first-mentioned lots, "which is the reserve." The same day, Henry Hoyle sold to Robert Hoyle lot 8 in the First Concession of the Domain, North of River Lacolle, an area of 105.6 arpents, acquired by deed of concession on 23 March 1824 (Barbeau), for £100 paid through the relinquishment of an assignment made against Daniel Bronson (6 March 1824). ANQM, CN4-16 (Demaray), no. 269, Sale, Robert Hoyle to HH, and no. 268, Sale, HH to Robert Hoyle, 2 May 1825.
- 25 ANQM, CN1-187 (Griffin), no. 21147, 21 Oct. 1845.
- 26 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), Deed of Gift, HH to Sarah Ann Schuyler, 25 Feb. 1847.
- 27 Ibid., Will of HH, 3 Feb. 1837, and no. 282, Inventory of HH, 28 Dec. 1849.
- 28 ANQM, CN1-396 (G. Weekes), 9 Nov. 1849. This power of attorney is for Elizabeth Tunstall Roe only and indicates that it replaces an earlier one given to Henry Hoyle, but since the seigneurie was undivided, it would have been impossible for the heirs to name different agents.
- 29 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), 12 May 1834; Transfer, John Smith to HH, 24 Aug. 1836; Sale of Betterments, Robert Peacock to HH, 8 April 1837; Sale, John Wilson Sr to HH, 10 March 1837. See also 3 May 1837, for a similar transfer by Christopher Stockdale of his right to collect £28.10.0 from Joseph Alexandre, for the sale of his farm.
- 30 Ibid., Agreement, HH and Abraham Stocks, 29 March 1849.
- 31 Ibid., Mortgage, William Orniston and Elizabeth Barker to HH, 15 March 1848; ANQM, CN1-32 (Belle), Obligation and Mortgage, Wm. Graham to HH, 5 May 1848.
- 32 ANQM, CN4-30 (Lukin), Sale, Richard Pearson to HH, 4 Feb. 1848.
- 33 ANQM, CN4-20 (Gamelin), no. 282, Inventory of HH, 28 Dec. 1849. Although the sheep were much more numerous, the cows were much more valuable. Sheep were generally valued at 5 shillings, cows at £3.15, and steers and heifers at £3.

- 34 A series of agreements with farmers in Delery in the 1850s indicates that John H. Whiteside, a merchant from Champlain, New York, who wanted flax to supply his linseed oil factory, was providing farmers with the seed, giving them directions on how to grow the flax, and guaranteeing in advance the price he would pay for their crop. ANQM, CN4-30 (Lukin), April 1852.
- 35 Hoyle, in one of the codicils to his first will, names arbitrators to oversee the disposition of his property in the event of disagreement, because he dislikes law. One of those he names is McGinnis, which suggests that he respects his character and considers him fair. McGinnis's Sawmill Account Book refers to a delivery made to Timothy Hoyle in Lacolle, for shipment to the United States, which suggests that the latter acted for McGinnis when necessary.
- 36 Noël, "Gabriel Christie's Seigneuries," 154-7.
- 37 Young, *George-Étienne Cartier: Montréal Bourgeois*, 53-72.

CONCLUSION

- 1 Dechêne, "La rente du faubourg Saint-Roch," 569-97.
- 2 Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- GC Gabriel Christie
NCB Napier Christie Burton
WPC William Plenderleath Christie

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