

Quince Jam and Moose Muffles: Food in New France

Teaching resources developed by
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Quince Jam and Moose Muffles: Food in New France is a resource that introduces students to evidence for the history of food, colonization, and religion in New France.

It is built around a set of primary sources that are not otherwise easily available for students: letters by Marie de l'Incarnation, one of the nuns at the Ursuline convent; sections from a book by Pierre Boucher, governor of Trois-Rivières, about the foodways of New France; an account of expenditures at the Ursuline convent to show what foods the nuns were purchasing; and lists of donations to the convent to show what foods the nuns were receiving as gifts. Where possible, we have provided these primary sources in several formats with different levels of editorial intervention so that teachers can choose whichever is best suited for their classes: photographs of the original archival documents, exact transcriptions, transcriptions rendered into modern French, and translations into English.

To help students understand how to interpret these sources, this package also includes brief introductory essays to provide historical context on the early colonial history of the Saint Lawrence Valley and on the Ursuline convent in Québec, a short article on food and colonization at the Ursuline convent, biographical sketches of the primary sources' authors, and marginal notes to explain unfamiliar terms.

Instructors may find some or all of these sources useful for teaching about Canadian history, early modern North America, colonization, food history, the history of women, the history of education, and the history of religion. A simple plan to get you started might look like this:

1. Start with Document 1 to refresh your memory about the historical background of New France. Next, read Marie de l'Incarnation's letter to her son (Document 2), the excerpt from Pierre Boucher's *True and Natural History* (Document 3), and Marie de l'Incarnation's letter to the Superior of the Ursulines of Tours (Document 4). What do Marie de l'Incarnation's letters and Pierre Boucher's book reveal about the food in New France? What cultural associations do the authors make with specific foods?
2. Read Document 5 to refresh your memory about the Ursuline convent in Québec. Next, read the account of the expenditures from the convent for 22 October to 1 May 1674 (Document 6). What does this account tell us about the foods consumed at the Ursuline convent? What might it leave out?
3. Read the record of alms received from October 1686 to 1687 (Document 7). What new information is presented here about foods consumed at the Ursuline convent? How might you account for differences between the information presented here, and what was offered in the other sources?
4. Read the record of donations in 1654 (Document 8). What information is presented here about foods consumed at the convent?
5. Does the article "Food, Foodways, and Francisation in Seventeenth-Century Québec" change your ideas about how to interpret the primary sources?
6. What does the food at the Ursuline convent tell us about missionaries and colonization? Consider questions of daily life, colonialism, assimilation, conversion, and resistance.
7. Were you surprised by anything in these sources? If so, where might you go to find out more?

Document 1

The early colonial history of the Saint Lawrence Valley

When Jacques Cartier first explored the Saint Lawrence Valley in 1534, he was primarily looking for precious metals and a passage to Asia. While he did not find the gold he was seeking, the land he saw was rich in wild game, birds, and fish. On this occasion, he also came into contact with a group of Saint Lawrence Iroquoians while travelling around the Gaspé peninsula. This particular group lived for part of the year in a fortified village at Stadacona (at the site of present day Québec City) and combined the practices of hunting, fishing, and gathering with the cultivation of corn, squash, beans, and sunflowers.

Early French attempts at colonization did not prove successful. The colonial population of Charlesbourg Royal, a fortified settlement established 14 km from Stadacona, was nearly defeated by the rigours of winter, conflicts with neighbours, and the ravages of scurvy. In 1543, the nascent colony was dissolved and its remaining French settlers were repatriated.

It was not until the early seventeenth century that French colonists were able to establish a permanent settlement in the Saint Lawrence valley. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain founded the 'Habitation de Québec' at the site of Stadacona. Once again, the colonists were ill-prepared for the extreme conditions of their new home; twenty of its twenty-eight inhabitants died of hunger and disease that first winter. With assistance from Indigenous allies, Québec survived as a colonial settlement and became a successful trading post. The young colony began attracting a very small number of settlers, including merchants eager to profit from the fur trade and missionaries seeking to convert the Indigenous inhabitants of Canada, but very few families. The colonists brought with them a variety of plant and animal species, including many of the grains, vegetables, fruits, and domestic animals they were accustomed to eating in mainland France. They established farms on plots of land along the banks of the Saint Lawrence river.

Despite the early promises of this "new France", the colony struggled to attract settlers. Many were discouraged by what they had heard about the difficulties and perils of colonial life. In 1666, only 3,215 French settlers lived in the entire colony of New France according to a royal census carried out that year.* Faced with the slow and disappointing growth of the colony, in 1663 Louis XIV and his Secretary of State for the Navy, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, put into place an ambitious program of colonial development through direct investment and state-subsidized immigration to New France. Their policies were largely successful and, by 1750, the colonial population had grown exponentially to roughly 75,000.

* More statistics on the population of New France can be found on the Statics Canada website: <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4064812-eng.htm>.

Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter to her son, 25th of June 1660 [extract]

In translation to English

they = the
Iroquois

[...] Some say that they will return in the autumn or in the spring of next year; this is why we are fortifying our settlements in Québec, and outside of the city the Governor has worked hard to create gathering places or villages which are closed, where each person is obliged to build a house for his family, and to contribute to building communal barns in order to secure the harvest, and if not, he [the Governor] shall set the houses of those who won't obey on fire. It is a wise policy and necessary for the time, otherwise individuals put themselves at risk of dying along with their families. In this way there will be nine or ten well-populated gathering places, capable of defending themselves. What is to be feared then is famine, for if the enemy comes in the autumn, he shall destroy the harvest; if he comes in the spring, he shall prevent the planting of seeds.

Because of this fear of famine, a ship which has only been here since the 13th of this month, will have to travel to France to collect flours, so that we will have some in reserve if necessary, for they store well for several years if they are properly prepared, and when the country shall be well stocked, we will not be so fearful of this scourge. This ship will make two voyages this year, which is an exceptional thing, for no matter how diligent he is, he will not be able to return until October, and will be obliged to go back practically without stopping.
[...]

Author biography

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter to her son, 25th of June 1660 [extract]

In translation to modern French

ils = the
Iroquois



[...] On tient pour certains qu'ils reviendront à l'Automne ou au Printemps de l'année prochaine ; c'est pourquoi on se fortifie dans Québec, et en dehors de la ville Monsieur le Gouverneur a fortement travaillé à faire des réduits ou villages fermés, où il oblige chacun à bâtir une maison pour sa famille, et à contribuer à construire des granges communes pour assurer les moissons, faute de quoi il fera mettre le feu dans les maisons de ceux qui ne voudront pas obéir. C'est un sage politique et nécessaire pour le temps, autrement les particuliers se mettent en danger de périr avec leurs familles. De la sorte il se trouvera neuf ou dix réduits bien peuplés, et capables de se défendre. Ce qui est à craindre, c'est la famine, car si l'ennemi vient à l'Automne, il ravagera les moissons ; s'il vient au Printemps, il empêchera les semences.

Cette crainte de la famine fait faire un effort au vaisseau qui n'est ici que depuis le 13 de ce mois pour aller en France chercher des farines, afin d'en avoir en réserve pour le temps de la nécessité, car elles se gardent ici plusieurs années quand elles sont bien préparées, et quand le pays en sera fourni on ne craindra pas tant ce fléau. Ce vaisseau fera deux voyages cette année qui est une chose bien extraordinaire, car quelque diligence qu'il fasse, il ne peut être ici de retour qu'en Octobre, et il sera obligé de s'en retourner quasi sans s'arrêter.

[...]

Author biography

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Marie de l'Incarnation,
Letter to her son, 25th
of June 1660 [extract]

In transcription

ils = the
Iroquois

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r = s

c'est = c'est
se = se
Monfieur =
Monsieur

voyages

Cette crainte de la famine fait faire un effort au vaisseau qui n'est ici que du 13 de ce mois pour aller en France querir des farines, afin d'en avoir en reserve pour le temps de la neceffité, car elles se gardent ici plusieurs années quand elles sont bien préparées, & quand le païs en fera fourni on ne craindra pas tant ce fleau. Ce vaisseau fera deux voyages cette année qui est une chose bien extraordinaire, car quelque diligence qu'il fasse, il ne peut être ici de retour qu'en Octobre, & il fera obligé de s'en retourner quasi sans s'arrêter.

querir = to
fetch, to go
get and
bring back

[...]

Author biography

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter to her son, 25th of June 1660 [extract]

In original published form

Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672). *Lettres de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, divisées en deux parties*. Paris : Louis Billaine, 1681. Contributeur : Claude Martin (1619-1696).

Original book available for consultation or for download on Gallica (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

For access, go to the Gallica site (gallica.bnf.fr) and search the exact title of Marie de l'Incarnation's book. Select the page number you want to see.

You can also follow the links below:

Lettres de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, divisées en deux parties.

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1105381/f11.image>

Lettre à son fils, le 25 juin 1660 starts on page 545:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1105381/f555.image>

Excerpt begins on page 555 and continues on page 556:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1105381/f565.image>

Author biography

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

In translation to English

**Pierre Boucher, Chapter VIII
"Names of Wheats and other grains
brought over from Europe, which
grow in this Land" [extract] in *True
and natural history of the ways and
productions in the land of New
France, commonly called Canada***

islands
in the
Carribean
Sea

During my trip in France, I have met a number of people who asked me if wheat grew in New France, and if we ate bread. This is why I am obliged to write this chapter, in order to correct those who believe that in this Land here we live on roots alone, as is done on the Islands of Saint Christopher. They shall therefore come to know that wheat grows very well here [in Canada]; and we make bread here which is as lovely and as white as in France. Rye grows here even more than we could want: every sort of barely and pea grow very well and we do not encounter wormy peas, full of insects, as is the case in France; lentils, vetch, oats, and millet all grow perfectly well; large beans grow as well; but some years the plants are eaten by large flies when they are in flower. Buckwheat also grows; but it is sometimes caught by the frost before it has ripened. Hemp and linen grow higher and more beautiful than in France.

Indian
Wheat
= corn or
maize

The Natives cultivate grains which they had before we came to this Land, which are large millet or Indian Wheat, beans, pumpkins of a different variety from those in France; they are smaller and not as hollow; they have a firmer flesh and are less watery, and are very tasty. [...] This is what the Natives cultivate.

All sorts of turnips and radishes, beets, carrots, parsnip, salsify, and other roots grow perfectly well and quite large. Every sort of cabbage grows to perfection, except cauliflower which I have not yet seen.

Regarding garden plants, sorrel, artichokes of all sorts, asparagus, spinach, lettuce of all kinds, chervil, parsley, endive, salad burnet, onions, leeks, garlic, chives, hyssop, borage, bugloss, and generally every kind of plant that grows in the gardens of France; melons, cucumbers, watermelons and calabash grow very well. [...]

Author biography

Pierre Boucher (1622-1717) was born in France but lived most of his life in New France. He worked as an interpreter and a militia captain before becoming governor of Trois-Rivières during two separate mandates. In 1661, he travelled as an ambassador to the court of Louis XIV in order to defend and promote the colonial project in New France. Encouraged by the Crown, Pierre Boucher wrote his *True and natural history...* (*Histoire véritable et naturelle...*) of New France in 1664.

In translation to modern French

Pierre Boucher, Chapter VIII
"Names of Wheats and other grains brought over from Europe, which grow in this Land" [extract] in *True and natural history of the ways and productions in the land of New France, commonly called Canada*

islands in the Caribbean Sea

Dans mon voyage de France, je rencontrais quantité de personnes qui me demandaient si le blé poussait en la Nouvelle-France, et si l'on y mangeait du pain. C'est ce qui m'a obligé à faire ce chapitre, pour désabuser ceux qui croient que l'on ne vit dans ce pays-ci que de racines, comme on fait aux Îles Saint Christophe. Ils sauront donc que le blé froment y pousse très bien ; et on y fait du pain aussi beau et aussi blanc qu'en France. Les seigles y poussent plus que l'on ne veut : toute sorte d'orges & de pois y croissent fort beaux, et l'on ne voit point de ces pois véreux pleins d'insectes, comme on en voit en France ; les lentilles, la vesce, l'avoine, et mil, y poussent parfaitement bien ; les grosses fèves y poussent bien aussi ; mail il y a certaines années qu'il y a de grosses mouches qui les mangent quand elles sont en fleur. Le blé sarrasin y vient aussi ; mais il arrive quelques fois que la gelée le surprend avant qu'il soit mûr. Le chanvre et le lin y poussent plus beaux & plus hauts qu'en France.

vinssions = the imperfect subjunctive (a literary tense) of the verb 'venir'

Les grains que cultivent les Sauvages, et qu'ils avaient avant que nous vinssions dans le pays, ce sont le gros mil ou blé d'Inde, fayot ou haricots, citrouilles d'une autre espèce que celles de France ; elles sont plus petites, et ne sont pas si creuses ; ont la chair plus ferme & moins aqueuse, et de très bon goût. [...] Voilà en quoi consiste la culture des Sauvages.

blé d'Inde = corn or maize

Toutes sortes de navets & radis, betteraves, carottes, panais, salsifis, et autres racines, poussent parfaitement et bien grosses. Toute sorte de choux y viennent aussi en leur perfection, à la réserve des choux à fleurs que je n'y ai point encore vus.

Pour des herbes, l'oseilles, artichauts de toutes sortes, asperges, épinards, laitues de toutes sortes, cerfeuil, persil, endives, pimprenelle, oignons, poireaux, l'ail, les civettes, hysopes, bourrache, buglosse, et généralement toutes sortes d'herbes qui poussent dans les jardins de France ; les melons, les concombres, les melons d'eau et calebasses y poussent très-bien. [...]

Author biography

Pierre Boucher (1622-1717) was born in France but lived most of his life in New France. He worked as an interpreter and a militia captain before becoming governor of Trois-Rivières during two separate mandates. In 1661, he travelled as an ambassador to the court of Louis XIV in order to defend and promote the colonial project in New France. Encouraged by the Crown, Pierre Boucher wrote his *True and natural history...* (*Histoire véritable et naturelle...*) of New France in 1664.

Pierre Boucher, Chapter VIII
"Names of Wheats and other grains brought over from Europe, which grow in this Land" [extract] in *True and natural history of the ways and productions in the land of New France, commonly called Canada*

In transcription

u = v
Nouvelle = Nouvelle

islands in the Carribean Sea

cosson = an insect that attacks wheat crops

vinssions = the imperfect subjunctive (a literary tense) of the verb 'venir'

Dans mon voyage de France, ie rencontray quantité de perfonnes qui me demandoient fi le bled venoit en la Nouvelle-France, & fi l'on y mangeoit du pain. C'est ce qui m'a obligé à faire ce Chapitre, pour defabufer ceux qui croient que l'on ne vit dans ce Pays-icy que de racines, comme on fait aux Ifles Saint Chriftophle. Ils fçauront donc que le bled froment y vient tres-bien ; & on y fait du pain auffi beau et auffi blanc qu'en France. Les feigles y viennent plus que l'on ne veut : toute forte d'orges & de pois y croiffent fort beaux, & l'on ne void point de ces pois verveux plains de coffon, comme on en void en France ; les lentilles, la voiffe, l'auoine, & mil, y viennent parfaitement bien ; les groffes febves y viennent bien auffi ; mail il y a de certaines années qu'il y a de groffes mouches qui les mangent, quand elles font en fleur. Le bled Sarazin y vient auffi ; mail il arriue quelquesfois que la gelée le furprend auant qu'il foit meur. Le chanvre & le lin y viennent plus beaux & plus hauts qu'en France.

Les grains que cultiuent les Sauuages, & qu'ils auoient auant que nous vinffions dans le Pays, ce font gros Mil ou Bled d'Inde, Faizoles ou Arricots, Citroüilles d'une autre efpece que celles de France ; elles font plus petites, & ne font pas fi creufes ; ont la chair plus ferme & moins aqueufe, & de tres-bon gouft. [...] Voila en quoy confifte la culture des Sauuages.

Toutes fortes de Naueaux & Rabioles, Bettes-raues, Carottes, Panais, Cercifis, & autres racines, viennent parfaitement, & bien groffes. Toute forte de Choux y viennent auffi en leur perfection, à la referue des Choux à fleur que ie n'y ay point encor veu.

Pour des herbes, Lozeilles, Cardes de toutes façons, Alperges, Elpinars, Laittuës de toute forte, Cerfüeil, Percil, Cicorée, Pimprenelle, Oignons, Porreaux, l'Ail, les Ciues, Hyfopes, Bouroche, Buglofe, & generalement toutes fortes d'herbes qui croiffent dans les jardins de France ; les Melons, les Cocombres, les Melons d'eau & Callebaces y viennent tres-bien. [...]

i = j
ie = je
f = s
fi = si

Blé d'Inde = corn or maize

Author biography

Pierre Boucher (1622-1717) was born in France but lived most of his life in New France. He worked as an interpreter and a militia captain before becoming governor of Trois-Rivières during two separate mandates. In 1661, he travelled as an ambassador to the court of Louis XIV in order to defend and promote the colonial project in New France. Encouraged by the Crown, Pierre Boucher wrote his *True and natural history...* (*Histoire véritable et naturelle...*) of New France in 1664.

**Pierre Boucher, Chapter VIII
"Names of Wheats and other grains
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In original published form

Pierre Boucher (1622-1717). *Histoire véritable et naturelle des mœurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France, vulgairement dite le Canada*. Paris : Florentin Lambert, 1664.

Original book available for consultation or download on Gallica (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

For access, go to the Gallica site (gallica.bnf.fr) and search the exact title of Pierre Boucher's book. Select the page number you want to see.

You can also follow the links below:

Histoire véritable et naturelle des mœurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France, vulgairement dite le Canada:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1094892/f20.item.r=Histoire%20v%C3%A9ritable%20et%20naturelle%20des%20m%C5%93urs%20et%20productions%20du%20pays%20de%20la%20Nouvelle-France>

Chapter 8 « Noms des Bleds & autres grains apportés d'Europe, qui croissent en ce Pays » starts on page 81:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1094892/f100.item.r=Histoire%20v%C3%A9ritable%20et%20naturelle%20des%20m%C5%93urs%20et%20productions%20du%20pays%20de%20la%20Nouvelle-France>

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Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter to the Superior of the Ursulines of Tours, 1st of September 1670
[extract]

In translation to English

[...] All the winters are very cold in this country, but the last one was extraordinarily so, due as much to its rigour as to its length, and we had not yet experienced a winter that was so rude. All of our water conduits froze and our springs stopped flowing, which gave us not a little bit of exercise. In the beginning we melted snow in order to have water for ourselves and for our animals; but we needed such a great quantity that we couldn't keep up with the demand. We had to therefore decide to send our cattle to the river and they were almost killed because of the mountain which is very steep and slippery. There was still ice in our garden in June: our trees and grafted trees which bore exquisite fruits all died. All the country has suffered the same losses, in particular the Hospitaller mothers who had an orchard as beautiful as any that one could find in France. The trees that bear wild fruits did not die; in this way, by depriving us of delicacies, and leaving us only with what is necessary, God wishes us to remain in our poverty, and to give up the pleasures which we had come to expect. We have become accustomed to this during the thirty-one years that we have been in this country, so that we have had time to forget the pleasures and the delights of old France.

 Hospitaller mothers = Augustinian nuns who ran the hospital in Québec**Author biography**

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

**Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter to
the Superior of the Ursulines of
Tours, 1st of September 1670
[extract]**

In translation to modern French

[...] Tous les hivers sont fort froids en ce pays, mais le dernier l'a été extraordinairement, tant pour sa rigueur que pour sa longueur, et nous n'en avons point encore expérimenté un plus rude. Tous nos conduits d'eaux ont gelé, et nos sources ont tari, ce qui ne nous a pas donné peu d'exercice. Au commencement nous faisions fondre la neige pour avoir de l'eau, tant pour nous que pour nos bestiaux ; mais il en fallait une si grande quantité que nous n'y pouvions suffire. Il nous a donc fallu résoudre d'en envoyer chercher au fleuve avec nos bœufs qui en ont été presque ruinés à cause de la montagne qui est fort droite et glissante. Il y avait encore de la glace dans notre jardin au mois de Juin : nos arbres et nos entes qui étaient de fruits exquis en sont morts. Tout le pays a fait la même perte, et particulièrement les Mères hospitalières qui avaient un verger des plus beaux qu'on pourrait voir en France. Les arbres qui portent des fruits sauvages ne sont pas morts ; ainsi Dieu nous privant des délicatesses, et nous laissant le nécessaire, veut que nous demeurions dans notre mortification, et que nous nous passions des douceurs que nous attendions à l'avenir. Nous y sommes accoutumées depuis trente-et-un an que nous sommes en ce pays, en sorte que nous avons eu le loisir d'oublier les douceurs et les délices de l'ancienne France.

Mères
hospitalières
= Augustinian
nuns who ran
the hospital
in Québec

Author biography

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

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[extract]**

In transcription

[...] Tous les hivers font fort froids en ce païs, mais le dernier l'a été extraordinairement, tant pour la rigueur que pour la longueur, & nous n'en avons point encore expérimenté un plus rude. Tous nos conduits d'eaux ont gelé, & nos fources ont tari, ce qui ne nous a pas donné peu d'exercice. Au commencement nous faisions fondre la neige pour avoir de l'eau, tant pour nous que pour nos bestiaux ; mais il en falloit une si grande quantité que nous n'y pouvions suffire. Il nous a donc fallu refondre d'en envoyer querir au fleuve avec nos bœufs qui en ont été presque ruinez à cause de la montagne qui est fort droite & glissante. Il y avoit encore de la glace dans notre jardin au mois de Juin : nos arbres & nos entes qui étoient de fruits exquis en sont morts. Tout le païs a fait le même perte, & particulièrement les Meres hospitalières qui avoient un verger des plus beaux qu'on pourroit voir en France. Les arbres qui portent des fruits sauvages ne sont pas morts ; ainsi Dieu nous privant des délicatesses, & nous laissant le nécessaire, veut que nous demeurions dans notre mortification, & que nous nous passions des douceurs que nous attendions à l'avenir. Nous y sommes accoutumées depuis trente & un an que nous sommes en ce païs, en sorte que nous avons eu le loisir d'oublier les douceurs & les délices de l'ancienne France.

◀ Meres hospitalières = Augustinian nuns who ran the hospital in Québec

Author biography

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter to the Superior of the Ursulines of Tours, 1st of September 1670 [extract]

In original published form

Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672). *Lettres de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, divisées en deux parties*. Paris : Louis Billaine, 1681.
Contributeur : Claude Martin (1619-1696).

Original book available for consultation or for download on Gallica (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

For access, go to the Gallica site (gallica.bnf.fr) and search the exact title of Marie de l'Incarnation's book. Select the page number you want to see.

You can also follow the links below:

Lettres de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, divisées en deux parties.
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1105381/f11.image>

Lettre à la supérieure des Ursulines de Tours, de Québec le 1 Septembre 1670 begins on page 279. Excerpt begins on the same page:
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1105381/f289.image>

Author biography

Marie Guyart, called 'Marie de l'Incarnation' (1599-1672), was born in Tours, France. In 1639, she arrived in New France with a small group of nuns and Madame de La Peltrie, a wealthy benefactor. Together, they established the Ursuline monastery and convent in Québec, a religious institution for the education of Indigenous girls in New France. A prolific letter writer, some of Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence was published and circulated throughout France during her lifetime. After her death, her son published a collection of her writings.

Document 5

The Ursuline Convent in Québec

The Ursuline convent in Quebec was an important site for the implementation of French colonial policy in New France. One of the basic goals of this policy in the seventeenth century was the assimilation of Indigenous peoples. Colonial powers hoped that Indigenous individuals would assimilate in two main ways: by converting to the Catholic faith, and by adopting French cultural norms. This transformative process was known as *francisation* or ‘frenchification’.

When Europeans first encountered North American Indigenous nations, they judged their societies to be lacking in social, political, and cultural features. In 1634, the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune wrote that these groups had “no true religion nor knowledge of the virtues, neither public authority nor government, neither Kingdom nor Republic, nor sciences”. Partly because of what was perceived as the absence of cultural and political structures, colonists were confident that they would easily be able to establish French authority among the Indigenous population. Believing also in the superiority of French culture, colonists thought that once Indigenous peoples had been exposed to a French way of living, they would naturally want to adopt it for themselves.

The Ursuline convent in Québec was founded in 1639 by a group of Ursuline nuns, including Marie de l’Incarnation, with an initial purpose of instructing Indigenous girls. In keeping with the goals of *francisation*, students received education about the Catholic faith and were taught some basic skills considered appropriate for young girls in French society. The number of Indigenous students enrolled at the convent varied over the course of its history. While they made up the majority of the student body in the early years of the institution, their numbers dwindled toward the end of the century. Students came from various Indigenous nations, including Algonquin, Innu (Montagnais), Wendat (Huron), Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), and Abenaki.

Indigenous students at the Ursuline convent learned to speak, read, and sometimes write in French, but they were encouraged to maintain their mother tongues as well. They were taught basic counting and calculating skills and learned to do domestic tasks like sewing. They were groomed according to French esthetic standards and dressed in linen and woolen fabrics imported from continental France. What did the girls at the Ursuline convent eat? How were their diets shaped by the objectives of *francisation*?

In translation to English

Account of the expenditures
of this community
from the 22nd of October
1673 to the 1st of May 1674

► *livre* and *sol* = monetary units
20 *sols* = 1 *livre (tournois)*

H (or #) is a shorthand symbol for *lt (livre tournois)* and also for the pound

A daily ration of bread cost approximately 4 *sols*.

	First in liquids were consumed four casks of wine worth all together the sum of one hundred and ninety-eight livres ten sols	198# 10S
► eau-de-vie = a strong alcohol, like brandy	2 Casks of eau-de-vie worth together the sum of one hundred and eighty <i>livres</i>	180#
	5 Barrels and a half of lard for the sum of two hundred and sixty-five <i>livres</i>	265#
	2 Barrels and a half of salmon for the sum of seventy-five <i>livres</i>	75#
	13 Pots of walnut oil for the sum of twenty-six <i>livres</i> four <i>sols</i>	26# 4
► 17th century pound = 489.5 g vs. today's pound = 453.5 g	48 Pounds of olive oil for the sum of thirty-six <i>livres</i> two <i>sols</i>	36# 2
	49 Pounds of tallow candles for the sum of thirty-six <i>livres</i> fifteen <i>sols</i>	36# 15
	25 Pots of fish oil for the sum of twenty-five <i>livres</i>	25#
	450 Pounds of butter for the sum of two hundred and seventy-five <i>livres</i>	275#
	60 Pounds of pork fat for the sum of thirty <i>livres</i>	30#
	466 Pounds of beef from our land for the sum of two hundred and ninety-one <i>livres</i> ten <i>sols</i>	291# 10S
	142 Pounds of beef from the butcher for the sum of thirty-five <i>livres</i> ten <i>sols</i>	35# 10S
	4 Veal from our land for the sum of thirty-four <i>livres</i>	34#
	7 Suckling pigs for the sum of fourteen <i>livres</i>	14#
► Moose muffle = the nose and upper lip of the animal.	Plus some trout for ten <i>livres</i>	10#
► Moose muffles and tongues were considered a delicacy in Indigenous food traditions. They were prized for their delicate flavour and rich texture.	For 9 wild water birds, 4 quarters of veal, 2 moose muffles and 2 moose tongues for the sum of twenty <i>livres</i>	20#
	286 Pounds of moose at various prices for the sum of thirty-seven <i>livres</i>	37#
	178 Dozen eggs at various prices for the sum of sixty-two <i>livres</i>	62#

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 27v, 28r, 28v [excerpt]

The *État de comptes* is a manuscript containing the financial accounts of the Ursuline convent from 1672 to 1750, including a record of income, expenses, and inventory.

Account of the expenditures
of this community
from the 22nd of October
1673 to the 1st of May 1674

In translation to English

This entry probably contains a scribal error and should in fact be for only five thousand eels.

minot = unit of measure for capacity, whose value varied by region

Indian wheat = corn or maize

33 Pounds of rice and 12 pounds of almonds for the sum of fifteen <i>livres</i>	15#
230 Pounds of plums for the sum of fifty-four <i>livres</i>	54#
30 Pounds of grapes for the sum of nine <i>livres</i>	9#
In spices for approximately twelve <i>livres</i>	12#
5000 Thousand eels for the sum of one hundred and fifty <i>livres</i>	150#
Consumed in soap for the washing the laundry of the community	
16 pounds of soap for the sum of eleven <i>livres</i>	11#
In the sacristy, in lengths of fabric for the sum of ninety-six <i>livres</i>	96#
300 <i>minots</i> of wheat at fifty <i>sols</i> per <i>minot</i> and 40 <i>minots</i> for planting at three <i>livres</i> for a total sum of eight hundred and seventy <i>livres</i>	870#
100 <i>minots</i> of peas, consumed both as food and for planting and feeding the swine for the sum of two hundred and thirteen <i>livres</i> ten <i>sols</i>	213# 10S
In oats for the horses were consumed 10 <i>minots</i> for the sum of fifteen <i>livres</i>	15 #
Consumed for the poultry 30 <i>minots</i> of barely, 2 <i>minots</i> of small wheat and 8 <i>minots</i> of Indian wheat for the sum of eighty-two <i>livres</i>	82#
Consumed 10 <i>minots</i> of salt for the sum of thirty <i>livres</i>	30#
[...]	
Spent at the infirmary on sugar, honey and drugs for the pharmacy the sum of one hundred and forty-eight <i>livres</i>	148#

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 27v, 28r, 28v [excerpt]
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Account of the expenditures
of this community
from the 22nd of October
1673 to the 1st of May 1674

In translation to modern French

livre and sol = monetary units
20 sols = 1 livre (tournois)

H (or #) is a shorthand symbol for *lt* (livre tournois) and also for the pound

A daily ration of bread cost approximately 4 sols.

eau-de-vie = a
strong alcohol,
like brandy

17th century
pound = 489.5 g
vs. today's
pound = 453.5 g

Mufle d'original
(moose muffle)
= the nose and
upper lip of the
animal.

Moose muffles
and tongues
were
considered a
delicacy in
Indigenous food
traditions. They
were prized for
their delicate
flavour and rich
texture.

Premièrement en liqueurs ont été consommées quatre barriques de vin	
qui valent ensemble la somme de cent nonante huit livres dix sols	198# 10S
2 Barriques eau-de-vie valant ensemble la somme de cent	
quatre-vingt livres	180#
5 Barils et demi de lard c'est pour la somme de deux-cent-	
soixante-et-cinq livres	265#
2 Barils et demi de saumon fait la somme de septante-cinq livres	75#
13 Pots d'huile de noix fait la somme de vingt-six livres quatre sols	26# 4
48 Livres d'huile d'olive fait la somme de trente-six livres deux sols	36# 2
49 Livres de chandelle fait la somme de trente-six livres quinze sols	36# 15
25 Pots d'huile de poisson fait vingt-cinq livres	25#
450 Livres de beure fait la somme de deux cens septante-cinq livres	275#
60 Livres de graisse de porc fait la somme de trente livres	30#
466 Livres de bœuf de notre cru fait la somme de deux cents	
nonante-et-une livres dix sols	291# 10S
142 Livres de bœuf du boucher fait la somme de trente-cinq	
livres dix sols	35# 10S
4 Veaux de notre cru fait la somme de trente-quatre livres	34#
7 Cochons de lait fait la somme de quatorze livres	14#
Plus en truite pour dix livres	10#
Pour 9 oiseaux d'eau, 4 quartiers de veau, 2 mufles et 2 langues	
d'original la somme de vingt livres	20#
286 Livres d'original a divers pris fait la somme de trente-sept livres	37#
178 Douzaine d'œufs à divers prix font la somme de soixante-deux livres	62#

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 27v, 28r, 28v [excerpt]
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Account of the expenditures
of this community
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In translation to modern French

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probably
contains a
scribal error and
should in fact
be for only five
thousand eels.

aune = a unit of
measure for
length

minot = a unit
of measure for
capacity whose
value varied by
region

blé d'inde =
corn or maize

33 Livres de riz et 12 livres d'amandes fait la somme de quinze livres	15#
230 Livres de prunes fait la somme de cinquante-quatre livres	54#
30 Livres de raisins c'est pour la somme de neuf livres	9#
En Épices environ pour douze livres	12#
5000 Milliers d'anguilles c'est pour la somme de cent-cinquante livres	150#
Consommé en savon pour les lessives de la communauté 16 livres	
de savon c'est pour la somme d'onze livres	11#
A la sacristie en aunes d'étoffe et toile pour la somme de nonante-six livres	96#
Dépensé 300 minots de blé a cinquante sols le minot et 40 minots pour les semences a trois livres fait en tout la somme de huit cents septante livres	870#
Consommé 100 minots de poix tant pour la dépense de la bouche que pour les semences et engrais des pourceaux la somme de deux-cent-treize livres dix sols	213# 10S
En avoine pour les chevaux consommé 10 minots c'est pour la somme de quinze livres	15 #
Consommé pour les volailles 30 minots d'orge 2 minots de petit blé	
8 minots de blé dinde fait la somme de quatre-vingt-deux livres	82#
Consomme 10 minots de Sel c'est pour la somme de trente livres	30#
[...]	
Dépensé à l'infirmierie en sucre miel et drogues de la pharmacie la somme de cent quarante-huit livres	
148#	

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 27v, 28r, 28v [excerpt]
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In transcription

livre and sol = monetary units
20 sols = 1 livre (tournois)

H (or #) is a shorthand symbol for *lt* (livre tournois) and also for the pound

A daily ration of bread cost approximately 4 sols.

Premierement en liqueurs ont esté consommées quatre bariques de vin

qui vallent ensemble la somme de cent nonante huit livres dix sols 198# 10S

eau-de-vie = a
strong alcohol,
like brandy

2 Bariques eau de vie vallant ensemble la somme de cent quatre vingt
liures cy 180#

u = v
liure = livre

5 Barils et demie de lard cest pour la some de deux cens soixante
et cinq liure cy 265#

2 Barils et demy de saumon faict la some de septante cinq liure cy 75#

13 pots dhuisle de noix faict la some de vingt six liures quatre sols cy 26# 4

17th century
pound = 489.5 g
vs. today's
pound = 453.5 g

48 # dhuisle dolif faict la somme de trente six liures deux sols cy 36# 2

49 # de chandelle faict la some de trente six liures quense sols cy 36# 15

25 pots dhuisle de poisson faict vingt cinq liures 25#

450 # de beure faict la somme de deux cens septante cinq liures cy 275#

60 # de gresse de porc faict la some de trente liures cy 30#

nre = shorthand
for notre

466 # de bœuf de nre cru faict la some de deux cens nonante
et vne liures dix sols cy 291# 10S

142 # de bœuf du boucher faict la some de trente cinq liures dix sols cy 35# 10S

4 Veaux de nre creu faict la some de trente quatre liures cy 34#

7 Cochons de laict faict la somme de quatorse liures cy 14#

plus en truite pour dix livres cy 10#

oye = wild water
fowl

Pour neuf oyes quatre quartiers de veau deux mufles et deux langues

Mufle d'orignac
(moose muffle) =
the nose and
upper lip of the
animal.

dorignac la somme de vingt liures cy 20#

286 # dorignac a diuers pris faict la somme de trente sept liures cy 37#

178 Dnes doeufs a diuers prix font la somme de soixante et deux liures cy 62#

Moose muffles and tongues were
considered a delicacy in Indigenous
food traditions. They were prized for
their delicate flavour and rich
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Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750,
1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 27v, 28r, 28v [excerpt]
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Account of the expenditures
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1673 to the 1st of May 1674

In transcription

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"les lesciues de
la Comtté" = les
lessives de la
communauté

aune = a unit of
measure for
length

minot = a unit
of measure for
capacity whose
value varied by
region

M = minot

bled dinde =
corn or maize

33 # de ris et douse liures damandes fait la some de quinse liures cy	15#
230 # de prunes fait la somme de cinquante quatres liures cy	54#
30 # de raisins cest pour la some de neuf liures cy	9#
En Espice environ pour douse liures cy	
12#	
5000 Milliers danguille cest pour la somme de cens cinquante liures cy	150#
Consommé en sauon pour les lesciues de la Comtté 16# de sauon	
cest pour la some donse liures cy	11#
A la sacristie en aune estofe et toille pour la somme de nonante	
six liures cy	96#
Depensé 300 Minots de bled a cinquante sols le Minot et quarante	
Minots pour les semences a 3# fait en tout la somme de	
huict cens septante liures cy	870#
Consommé cent M de poix tant pour la despence de la bouche que	
pour les semences et engres des pourceaux la somme de deux	
cens treise liures dix sols cy	213# 10S
En auoine pour les chevaux consommé dix minots cest pour la	
somme de quinse livres	15 #
Consommé pour les volaille 30 M dorge 2 M de petit bled 8 M de	
bled dinde fait la somme de quatre vingt deux livres cy	82#
Consomme 10 M de Sel cest pour la somme de trente liure cy	30#
[...]	
Despencé a l infirmerie en sucre miel et drogues de la pharmacie la some de cent	
quarante huict liures cy	148#

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 27v, 28r, 28v [excerpt]
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Document 6

Account of the expenditures
of this community
from the 22nd of October
1673 to the 1st of May 1674

In manuscript form (digital copy)

livre and sol = monetary units
20 sols = 1 livre (tournois)

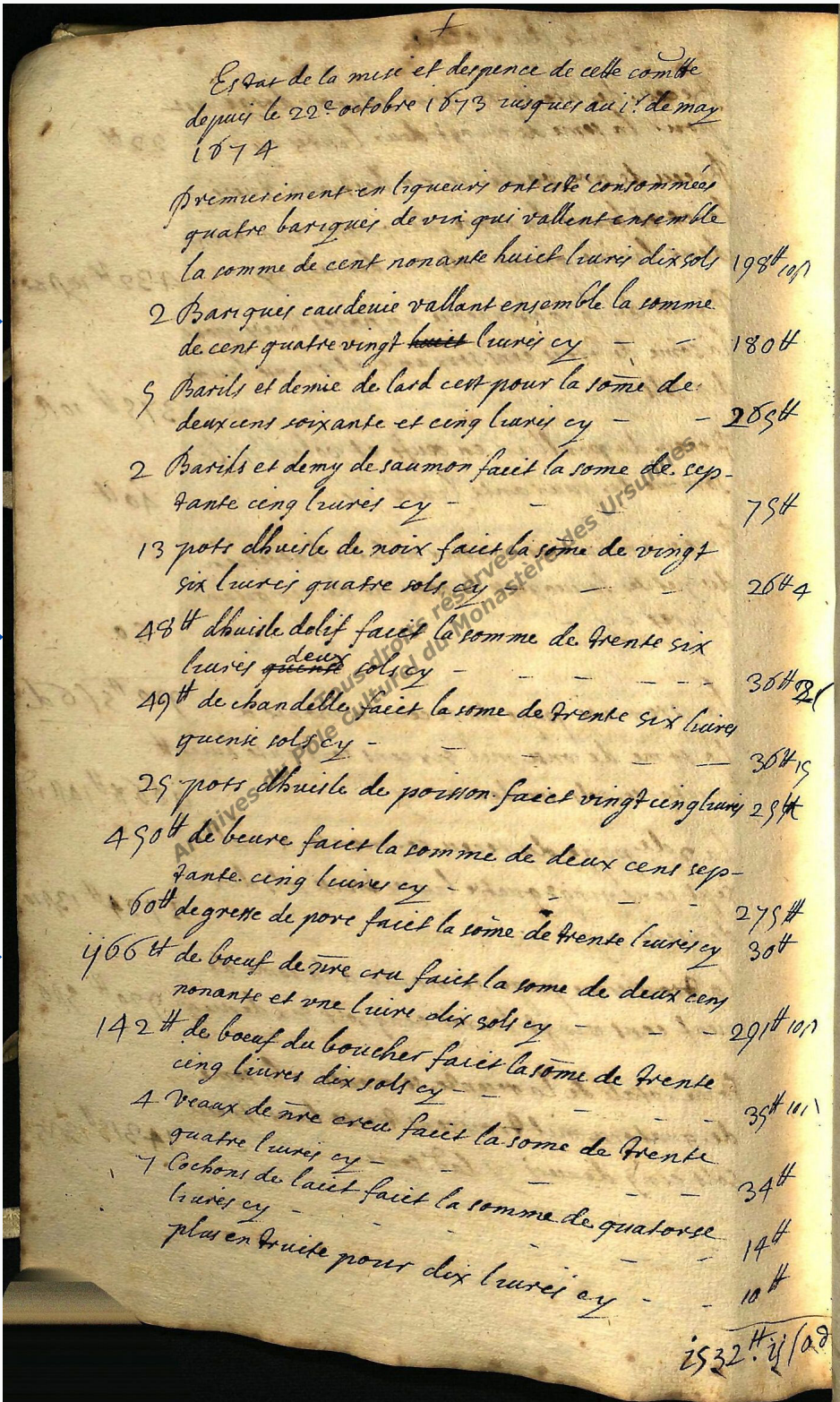
H (or #) is a shorthand symbol
for lt (livre tournois) and
also for the pound

A daily ration of bread
cost approximately 4 sols.

eau de vie = a strong
alcohol, like brandy

17th century pound =
489.5 g vs.
today's pound = 453.5 g

nre = shorthand for notre



Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, p. 27v
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Document 6

Account of the expenditures
of this community
from the 22nd of October
1673 to the 1st of May 1674

In manuscript form (digital copy)

oye = wild water fowl

mufle d'ornag
(moose muffle) = the
nose and upper lip of
the animal.

Moose muffles and
tongues were
considered a delicacy
in Indigenous food
traditions. They were
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flavour and rich
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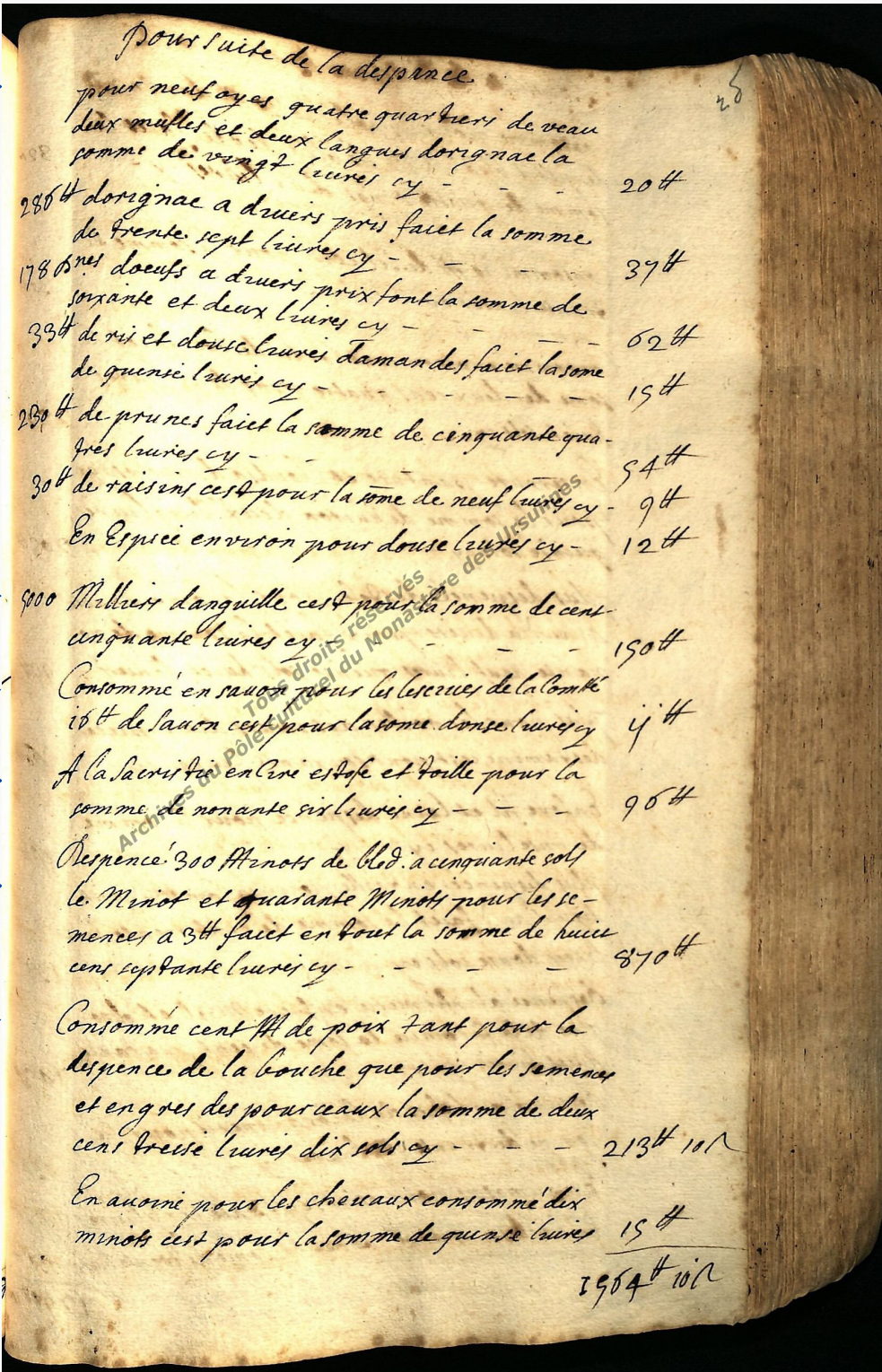
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"les lescives de la
Comté" = les lessives
de la communauté

aune = a unit of
measure for length

minot = a unit of
measure for
capacity whose value
varied by region

M = minot



Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, p.28r
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Document 6

Account of the expenditures
of this community
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1673 to the 1st of May 1674

In manuscript form (digital copy)

bled dinde = corn or maize

Non food items (rope,
fabric, nails, etc.)

Poursuite de la despenche
Consumme pour les volaille 30 M dor de 2 M
de petit bled: 3 M de bled dinde fait la 924
somme de quatre vingt deux livres cy -
Consumme 10 M de sel cest pour la somme de
trente livres cy - 304
Consumme environ cent cordes de bois fait la
somme de deux cens quatre vingt deux livres
huit sols cy - 2824 85
En serrure panture et clous a deuxi usage
pour la somme de naron deux cens
quinze sols cy - 2054 15
plus despenche des sole pour la Communante
41 an. a deuxi prix fait la somme de no-
nante neuf livres quinze sols huit denier - 994 198
plus pour les vaillies des sœurs deux pieces
des tamine cest pour soixante livres cy - 604
En soye fil et laine despenche pour la somme
de vne livres cy - 144
plus despenche en voile pour la Comte cent
dixsept an. fait la somme de cent trente huit
livres douze sols cy - 1384 12
despenche a l'infirmerie en sucre miel et dro-
gues de la pharmacie la somme de cent quarante
huit livres cy - 1484
despenche en lofee de la Cordonnerie pour la
somme de trente six livres cy - 364
En aumosne pour cent septante cinq livres 1754
En hardes a pierre moret la somme de trente livre 304
12984 107 8

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, État de comptes 1672-1750, 1E,3,3,1,2, p. 28v
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Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire

In translation to English

12v. Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire ["after the Fire" written in a different hand]

[...]

From the Reverend Jesuit Fathers in money 1000 francs

Plus they gave us the following things...

A jug of olive oil and one for burning...

They fed our servants during 8 days and provided them with wine and eau-de-vie during three weeks...

They wintered 10 of our animals

They gave us 3 containers of barley and some bran for our poultry

They gave us some cabbages, roots, apples, 2 large pots of jam and did a thousand other good turns for us, helping us like true fathers and friends.

The men of the seminary... some wheat, they will also appear in the list that follows

[...]

13r.

[...]

The Reverend Mothers Hospitaller of Quebec fed 20 nuns from our community during 3 weeks and in addition they gave us the following things in donations with the greatest liberality and charity

[...] a barrel of lard, a quart of vinegar, 2 jars of olive oil

A barrel of rice, 20 pounds of plums, as many grapes, 3 or 400 pounds of apples...

Monsieur de Saint Denis gave us 15 minots of oats and wintered 4 of our animals

Monsieur de Champigny our Intendant 100 francs and 2 Casks of wine

[...]

13v.

[...]

Mr. Boutier a large copper pot, a cast iron pot, a cooking spoon and some wheat, and so he will be recorded in the list of wheat that follows

Mademoiselle Grandville 30 salmons, some serving ware and dishes

[...]

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire

In translation to English

14r.

Monsieur Dombourg... a half cask of plums

12 minots of salt

[...]

Madame Bouteville 50 livres

Plus, she gave us a barrel of olive oil... some leeks and onions... 2 pots of jam... a nice quarter of beef

[...]

Monsieur Dauteuil 30 salmons and a pot of jam

Mr. Joliet 50 handfuls of cod and several pots of oil for burning

[...]

14v.

[...]

Mademoiselle Lespinay 60 pounds of wheat, some suet for candles, some jams...

Madame Landion gave us... 6 pots of jam

Mademoiselle de la Tesserie 20 livres and 4 capons

Mademoiselle de Vitré a jar of oil for burning, ten or twelve handfuls of cod

[...]

Mademoiselle de la Chenaye 20 salmons, 6 large cods, and 10 pounds of rice

Jean Larche 15 pounds of cod

Monsieur Luross 5 handfuls of cod

[...]

15r.

[...]

Madame Montreuil 2 pounds of turnips

Madame Desnoyés a minot of carrots

Mademoiselle Marsson 2 minots of carrots

Jacque Dion a minot of turnips

[...]

Madame Pinguie some chops and some blood sausage

[...]

Mademoiselle de Tully... a half hundred cabbages, eleven minots of oats

[...]

Monsieur du Monis 6 pounds of honey

[...]

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire

In translation to English

15v.

Monsieur de Saint Romain some wheat, and so he will be listed hereafter in the list of wheat

Madame Babie 6 minots of green peas

[...]

Mademoiselle de Lobiniere a hundred cabbages

[...]

Louis Doré some pumpkins

[...]

16r. « List of the wheat which was given to us as donations following our fire »

The men of the seminary 20 minots of wheat

Mademoiselle de Lespinay 20 minots - -

From Monsieur du Pont 20 minots - -

By Madame de Varennes 15 minots - -

From Monsieur Landron et Jean Joli eleven minots - -

From Monsieur de Saint Romain 10 minots - -

By Monsieur Boutier five minots - -

Monsieur Picart five minots - -

Mr Lafontaine Lestagras 6 minots - -

From the parish of the Gardian Angel 4 minots of which 4 minots is from Lespine

From Baclos 2 minots

From L'Île d'Orléans fifteen minots

From the côte-de-Beaupré 8 minots

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire

In translation to modern French

12v. Les aumônes reçues sur le pays depuis la fin d'octobre en 1686 jusques en 1687 depuis le Brulement [« depuis le Brulement » written in a different hand]

[...]

Des Révérends pères Jésuites en argent 1 000 francs

Plus ils nous ont donné ce qui suit...

Une cruche d'huile d'olive et une à bruler...

Ils ont nourri pendant 8 Jours nos domestiques et les ont fournis pendant 3 semaines de vin et d'eau-de-vie...

Ils nous ont hiverné 10 de nos bêtes

Nous ont donné 3 vaisseaux de d'orge et du son pour nos volailles

Nous ont donné des choux, des racines, des pommes, 2 grands pots de confiture et nous ont fait mille autres biens nous assistant en véritables pères et amis.

Les messieurs du séminaire... du blé aussi qu'ils se verront dans la liste ci-après

[...]

13r.

[...]

Les Révérendes Mères hospitalières de Québec ont nourri pendant 3 semaines 20 Religieuses de notre Communauté de plus elles nous ont donné par aumône ce qui suit avec grande libéralité et charité

[...] un baril de lard un quart de vinaigre 2 jarres d'huile d'olive

Un baril de ris, 20 livres de prunes, autant de raisins, 3 ou 400 livres de pommes...

Monsieur de Saint Denis nous a donné 15 minots d'avoine et nous a hiverné 4 de nos bêtes

Monsieur de Champigny notre Intendant 100 francs et 2

Barriques de vin

[...]

13v.

[...]

Mr Boutier une chaudière, une marmite de fonte, cuillère à pot et du blé ainsi qu'il sera marqué dans la liste du blé mise ci-après

Mademoiselle Grandville 30 saumons quelques plats et assiettes

[...]

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

**Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire**

In translation to modern French

14r.

Monsieur Dombourg... une demie barrique de prune

12 minots de Sel...

[...]

Madame Bouteville 50 livres

Plus elle a donné un baril d'huile d'olive... des poireaux et oignons...

2 pots de confiture... un bon cartier de bœuf

[...]

Monsieur Dauteuil 30 saumons et un pot de confiture

Mr Joliet 50 poignées de morue et quelques pots d'huile à bruler

[...]

14v.

[...]

Mademoiselle Lespinay 60 livres de blé, du suif pour chandelle, des confitures...

Madame Landion a donné... 6 pots de confiture

Mademoiselle de la Tesserie 20 livres en argent et 4 chapons

Mademoiselle de Vitré un jarre d'huile à bruler, 10 ou 12 poignées de morue

[...]

Mlle de la Chenaye 20 saumons 6 grandes morues et 10 livres de ris

Jean Larche 15 livres de morue

Mr Luross 5 poignées de morue

[...]

15r.

[...]

Mme Montreuil 2 livres de navet

Mme Desnoyès un minot de carotte

Mlle Marsson 2 minots de carotte

Jacque Dion un minot de navet

[...]

Mme Pinguie de côtelettes et du Boudin

[...]

Mlle du Tully [...] un demi cent de choux, 11 minots d'avoine

[...]

Monsieur du Monis 6 livres de miel

[...]

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire

In translation to modern French

15v.

Monsieur de Saint Romain du blé ainsi qu'il sera mis ci-après dans la liste du blé...

Madame Babie 6 minots de poix vers...

[...]

Mselle de Lobiniere 100 de choux

[...]

Louis Doré des citrouilles

[...]

16r. « Liste du blé qui nous a été donné par aumône en suite de notre incendie »

Les Messieurs du Séminaire 20 minots du blé

Mademoiselle de Lespinay 20 minots - -

De Monsieur du Pont 20 minots - -

Par Madame de Varennes 15 minots - -

De Monsieur Landron et Jean Joli 11 minots - -

De Monsieur de Saint Romain 10 minots - -

Par Monsieur Boutier 5 minots - -

Monsieur Picart 5 minots - -

Mr Lafontaine Lestagras 6 minots - -

De la Paroisse de l'Ange gardien 4 minots dont un est de Lespine

De Baclos 2 minots

De L'île d'Orléans 15 minots

De la côte-de-Beaupré 8 minots

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

In transcription

12v. Les aumosnes receüe sur le pays depuis la fin doctobre en 1686 iusques en 1687 depuis le Brulement [« depuis le Brulement » written in a different hand]
[...]
Des Rds peres Jesuite en argent mil francs
Plus il nous ont donne ce qui suit...
vne cruche duisle dolive et vne a brusler...
ils ont noury pendant 8 Jours nos domestique et les ont fourny pendant trois semaine de vin et deau de vie...
Il nous ont hiverné 10 de nos bestes
nous ont donné 3 brassins de drague et du son pour nos volailles
nous ont donné des choux des racines des pomme deux gds pots de confiture et nous ont fait mille autres biens nous assistant en veritables peres et amis.
Les messieurs du seminaire... du bled aussy quil se verra dans la liste cy apres
[...]
13r.
[...]
Les Rdes meres hospitalieres de Quebec ont noury pendans trois semaines 20 Religieuse de nre Communauté de plus elles nous ont donné par aumosne ce qui suit avec gde liberalité et charite
[...] un baril de lard vn cart de vinaigre 2 jares dhuisle dolef
un baril de ris 20# de prunes autant de raisins 3 ou 400# de pommes...
Mr de St Denis nous a donné 15 minots davoine et nous a hiverné 4 de nos bestes
Monsr de Champigny nre Intendant cent francs et 2
Bariques de vin cy
[...]
13v.
[...]
Mr Boutier une chaudiere vne marmite de fonte ceuiller a pot et du bled ainsi quil sera marque en laliste du bled mise cy apres
Mademoiselle Grandville 30 saumons quelques plats et assiette
[...]

v = u
vne = une

brassins
= vaisseaux
(vessels or
containers)

drague
= orge
(barley)

gds or gde =
shorthand for
grand(e)(s)

= pound(s)
bestes =
bêtes
(animals)

nre =
shorthand
for notre

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]
The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

In transcription

M = *minot*

14r.

Monsieur Dombourg... vne demye barique de prune

12 M de Sel...

[...]

Madame Bouteville 50#

Plus elle a donné un baril dhuisle dolef... des poireaux et oignons...

2 pots de confiture... un bon cartier de boeuf

[...]

Monsieur Dauteuil trente saumons et un pot de confiture

Mr Joliet 50 poignée de mourüe et quelque pots dhuile a brusler

[...]

14v.

[...]

Mselle Lespinay 60# du bled du suif por chandelle des confitures...

Madame Landion a donne... 6 pots de confiture

Mselle de la tesserie 20# en argent et 4 chapons

Mselle de vitré un jare dhuisle a bruler dix ou douse poignée de mourüe

[...]

Mlle de la Chenaye 20 saumons 6 gdes morüe et 10# de ris

Jean larche 15# en mourüe

Mr Luross 5 poignée de mourüe

[...]

15r.

[...]

Mme Montreuil 2# de naveaux

Mme desnoyés un minot de Carote

Mlle marsson 2M de carotte

Jacque Dion un M de naveaux

[...]

Mme Pingue de cotelettes et du Boudin

[...]

Mlle du Tully [...] un demy cent de choux unse minots davoine

[...]

Mr du monis 6# de miel

[...]

boudin = a type
of sausage
made either
with pork
blood and pork
fat (*boudin
noir*) or with
milk and white
poultry meat
(*boudin blanc*)

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land, from the end of October 1686 to 1687 after the Fire

In transcription

15v.

Mr de St Romain du bled ainssy quil sera mis cy apres dans la liste du bled...

Madame Babie 6M de poix vers...

[...]

Mselle de Lobiniere un cent de Choux

[...]

Louis doré des Citrouilles

[...]

16r. « Liste du bled qui nous a esté donné par aumosne en suite de nre incendie »

Les Messieurs du Seminaire 20 M du bled

Mademoiselle de Lespinay 20 M - -

De Monsr du pont 20 M - -

Par Madame de varennes 15 M - -

De Monsr Landron et Jean Joli onse minots - -

De Monsr de St Romain 10 M - -

Par Mr Boutier cinq M - -

Monsr Picart cinq M - -

Mr Lafontaine Lestagras 6 M - -

De la paroisse de Lange gardien 4 M dont un est de Lespine

De Baclos 2 Minots

De Lisle dorleans quinse M

De la cotte de beau pré 8 M

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r [excerpt]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

In manuscript form (digital copy)

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

NB: "depuis le
Brulement" is
written in a
different hand

Rds =
shorthand for
Reverend

Dne =
shorthand for
douzaine
(dozen)

brassins =
vaisseaux
(vessels or
containers)

drague
= orge
(barley)

gds or gde =
shorthand for
grand(e)(s)

par les moines de Dieppe une serviette ouaree de la foille
et autre petites Commoditez
Les aumones recieus sur le pays depuis la fin d'octobre
en 1686 iusques en 1687 depuis le Brulement
De monseigneur Jean Baptiste de la Croix Euesque de
Quebec Trois mil francs - - - 3000
Des Rds peres Iesuits en argent mil francs - - - 1000
plus il nous ont donne ce qui suit de la foille pour faire 9 Dne
de mouchoiers vne Dne de serviette
vne cruche d'urle doline et vne a brusler
2 Dne de Ciulleurs et autant de fourchette
ils ont noury pendant 8 iours nos domestique et les ont
fourny pendane trois semaine de vin et de au douie
nous ontourny 2 de leurs frere et donne pendant 8 iours
quils ont travaillie pour nous
il nous ont huerne 10 de nos bestes
nous ont donne 3 brassins de drague et du son pour nos volailles
nous ont donne des choux des racines des pommes deux gds
pots de Confiture et nous ont fait mille autres biens nous amis
tant en veritable peres et amis
Les messeurs du seminaire nous ont donne les messes gratis pen
dant trois ans nous ont remis les deimes ausy durant trois ans
ont agreee que leur donnee madame Trouar nous ayent Blanchy
tout nre menu linge environ en un an de plus ils nous ont donne
du bled centry quil se verra dans la liste. y apres
M^r et M^{me} la marquise de Benhamill

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 12v [detail]
The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

In manuscript form (digital copy)

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

nre = shorthand
for notre

= pound(s)
3 ou 400# de
pommes

une marmite de
fonte

484
Les R^{des} meres hospitalieres de Quebec ont noury pendant
trois semaines 20 Religieuses de nre Communauté. de plus elle
nous ont donné par aumône ce qui suit avec g^{de} liberalité
et charité
4 matelas et deux traversin de plume 28 escuelle et 28
plats 12 tasse 12 pots de nuit le tout destain plus
deux g^{ds} pots a boire aussy destain
2 pieces destablierie noire et de la serge pour une Robe
un baril de lard un cart de vinaigre 2 barres dhuile d'olive
un baril de ris 20 lb de prunes autant de raisins 30400^{ll}
de pommes 12 cruches de gres et 5 tasse de fayance -
2 chaudiere et 20 lb de chandelle le tout estimé la somme de.
M^r. de St Denis nous a donné 15 menottes d'auoine et nous a
heuerne 4 de nos bestes.
Mons^r. de Champigny nre Intendant cent francs et 2
Barriques de vin cy - - - - - 209 -

M^r. Boucher une chaudiere une marmite de fonte et une
Ceuiller a pot et du bled aeny qu'il sera marque en l'aire
du bled mis cy apres.
Made moiselle Grandville 30 saumons quelques plats
et amette

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 13r [detail]
and 13v [detail]

The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

In manuscript form (digital copy)

au = aune, a unit
for measuring
length,
particularly of
fabric
M = minot

587 Monsieur Sombourg vne piece de molton de 22 au
vne piece de toile herbee de 42 au 12 paire de bas foulee
12th de fil vn baril de saon vne demye barrique de prune
12 # de sel 14 haches 5 plats et 20^{nes} pariettes destain
deux petites salieres aussy destain 12 Cousteaux de table
vne escuelle Couuerte destain 2 nouveaux destamens
2 escriptoires vne fontaine de Cuivre
M^r. Soulard - - - - - 8th
M^r. Desrochers - - - - - 8th
M^{me} Pinget - - - - - 10th
Madame Bousviller - - - - - 50th
plus elle a donne vn baril dhuile d'olive 4 chandeliers
de fer blanc de la chandelle des poiriaux et oignons
vn tableir de serge d'au male 2 paire de bas foulee 10 peigne
3 chemise 5 mouchoirs vne escuelle destain Couuerte
2000 despingles du fil 2 p de liseaux 2 pots de Confiture
2 Cousteaux 2 lanternes 2 chandeliers de fer blanc vn
bon Carter de boeuf
Madame Guquet a donne ce qui suit vne Couverture
3 au serge d'au male 2000 despingle 2 p de bas de laine
vn voile destamine 2 peignes des ciseaux des gans et
3 au et demy de padon du fil noir
Madame Aniot vne escuelle vne alette vn cousteau
vne Cuillere et vne fourchette destain
Madame de La Durantais 10 au de toile
M^{me} Desneaux vne camisole trois lardoures et des ciseaux
M^r. Dauleuil trente saumon et vn pot de Confiture
M^r. Tolier 50 poignee de mourue et quel que pots d'huile
a bruler

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 14r [detail]
The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Document 7

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

In manuscript form (digital copy)

M^{lle} Lespinay 80th de bled du suif por. chandelle
des Confitures et un Tablier a sa fille de La Conception
Madame Landron a donne de la Chandelle et 6 pots de
Confiture
M^{lle} de la Fesserie 20th en argent et 4 Chapons -
M^{lle} de vitre un pare chaise a bruler dix ou douze
poignée de mourie
M^{lle} de villeray environ 10th de Chandelle et quelque
journée de son harnois
Bainville une marmite de fonte et finie 8th et une
journée de ses chevauz
Jean marchand 3 journées de son travail
Choret 4 jours de son travail et de son homme
Robert 2 jours de son travail
Junio 2 journées de son travail -
Michel 2 jours de son travail
Joseph Gaste bois menuisier un cartron de madriers et
2 journées de son travail
Lermelin 4 journées de son travail
Gaueron une journée et demie
M^{re} Bernard Gontie 2 journées et son beau frere
une
M^{lle} de la Chenaye 20 saumons 8 gdes mourie et 10th de ris
Jean larche 15th en mourie
M^r huros 9 poignée de mourie

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 14v [detail]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

In manuscript form (digital copy)

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

naveaux =
navets or similar
root vegetable

i = j
quelques iours =
quelques jours

boudin = a type
of sausage made
either with pork
blood and pork
fat (boudin
noir) or with milk
and white
poultry meat
(boudin blanc)

unse minots =
onze minots

M^{me} de Montreuil 2 M^{de} de naveaux
M^{me} des noyes un menot de carotte
M^{lle} marion 2 M^{de} de carotte
Jacques Rion un M^{de} de naveaux
La pierre soldat quelques iours de son travail et 2 paniers
M^{me} Baudouin 3 Cruches de terre
M^{lle} Comporté 12 Bouteaux
M^{me} pingue de Cotelette et du boudin
M^r Mars cent sols
M^{re} Gouveau font un ~~travail~~ ce. qu'il fera de travail pour
no^s depuis le 20 octobre jusqu'au p^r de Janvier et cent sols
que l'on d'uy devoit du passe qu'il a donnee
M^{re} Chale une baratte les peres aussy une baratte
La Dame paree 2 Chaloupes de pierre
El va en une journée et demie de travail
Quelques marchands dont on ne sait pas le nom une piece
et demie de soie de melles
Goulet 4 iours de son travail
Mademoiselle du Tilly 12 Mouchouers de poche un plat et une
escuelle un demy cent de choux une menote d'avoine
M^{me} Fivierge 2 p de boudin d'homme
M^r du monis 8 M^{de} de Miel

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 15r [detail]

The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Document 7

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

In manuscript form (digital copy)

M^r. de s^t Romain du bled ainsi qu'il sera mis cy apres
dans la liste du bled et vn tablier de serge d'au male a
ma s^r. de s^t Jean sa cousine
Madame Babi 5 M de poix vers et 2 aul de serge
de Caen grise
Madame Lenar vn tablier de serge d'au male et quel
ques cens de Clond a Coucuris
M^selle Glandelette vne piece de taminee quelque chemise
M^selle de Lobiniere vn cens de Choux
M^selle du mesme quelque chemise et menus linge et deux
paire de bas
Louis dore' des Citrouilles
M^r. changeon des francs -
Le R^d pere Bouyas 33th -
Le R^d pere Grausier cinquante livres argent de France.
M^{me} Marnage 10th
M^{me} Picart Calotte 10th
Meiron Boulanger 4th
Les deux filles de m^r. mars vne escuelle vne tasse et
vn pot de nuit des faen
M^r. de Becancourt Robineau cent francs

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 15v [detail]

The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Document 7

In manuscript form (digital copy)

Alms received from this land,
from the end of October 1686
to 1687 after the Fire

Liste du bled qui nous a esté donné par aumosne en suite de nre incendie

<i>Les Messieurs du Seminaire</i>	<i>20 AA</i>	<i>20 AA</i>
<i>Mademoiselle de L'epinay</i>	<i>20 AA</i>	<i>20 AA</i>
<i>de Mons^r du pont</i>	<i>20 AA</i>	<i>20 AA</i>
<i>par Madame de varennes</i>	<i>15 AA</i>	<i>15 AA</i>
<i>De Mons^r Landron et Jean Joli vnt le menant</i>		<i>4 AA</i>
<i>De mons^r de St Romain</i>	<i>10 AA</i>	<i>10 AA</i>
<i>par M^r Thoutier</i>	<i>cinq AA</i>	<i>5 AA</i>
<i>Mons^r Picart</i>	<i>cinq AA</i>	<i>5 AA</i>
<i>M^r Lafontaine Lesfayes</i>	<i>6 AA</i>	<i>6 AA</i>
<i>De la paronne de Lange gardien</i>	<i>4 AA</i>	<i>4 AA</i>
<i>de Leprie</i>		<i>2 AA</i>
<i>de Bados</i>	<i>2 AA</i>	<i>2 AA</i>
<i>De Lisle d'orleans</i>	<i>quente AA</i>	<i>15 AA</i>
<i>De la Ctte de beau pre</i>	<i>8 AA</i>	<i>8 AA</i>

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 16r [detail]

The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

1654

[...]

Tours is a city in France



From the mothers of Tours, three *boisseaux* of cooked fruit, several loaves of candles, books and other small items



boisseau = a unit of measure for capacity

The term "seminarians" refers to the Indigenous girls who boarded at the school.



From the mothers of Paris, one *boisseau* of *Cotignac*, a pot of apricot marmalade, several containers of candied fruit paste, several devotional books, loaves of candle and other small items for the seminarians



cotignac = a jam made with the juice of quince fruit

From the Carmelites, especially the Mother Poncet, 90 aunes of linen and 20 aunes of red serge to clothe the seminarians...
[...]



aune = a unit of measure for length
serge = a high-quality wollen fabric

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 5v [extract]

The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

	1654	
	[...]	
Tours is a city in France	▶ Par les mères de Tours, trois boisseaux de fruits cuits, quelques pains de bougie, livres et autres petits accommodements	◀ <i>boisseau</i> = a unit of measure for capacity
	Par nos mères de Paris un boisseau de Cotignac, un pot de marmelade d'abricots, quelques boites Confitures sèches, plusieurs livres de dévotion, pains de bougie et autres petits accommodements	◀ <i>cotignac</i> = a jam made with the juice of quince fruit <i>confiture sèche</i> = candied fruit paste
The term "séminaristes" refers to the Indigenous girls who boarded at the school.	▶ pour les séminaristes.	
	par les Carmélites, surtout par la Mère Poncet, 90 aunes de toile et 20 aunes de serge rouge pour vêtir les séminaristes...	◀ <i>aune</i> = a unit of measure for length <i>serge</i> = a high-quality wollen fabric
	[...]	

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 5v [extract]
The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

1654

[...]

Tours is a city
in France
u = v
liures = livres

par les meres de tours trois boisseaux de fruicts cuits quelques
pains de bougie liures et autres petis accommodemens

boisseau = a unit
of measure for
capacity

par nos meres de paris vn boisseau de Cotignac vn pot de
mamelade dabricots quelques boettes Confitures seiches plusieurs
liures de deuotion pains de bougie et autres petis accommodemens
pour les seminaristes

The term
"séminaristes"
refers to the
Indigenous girls
who boarded at
the school.

cotignac = a jam
made with the
juice of quince
fruit
confiture sèche =
candied fruit
paste

par les Carmelites sur tout par la Mere poncet 90 au de toile et
20 au de serge rouge pour vestir les seminaristes...
[...]

au = shorthand
for *aune*, a unit of
measure for
length
serge = a high-
quality wollen
fabric

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 5v [extract]
The *Dons* manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

In manuscript form (digital copy)

Donations, 1654

Tours is a city in France

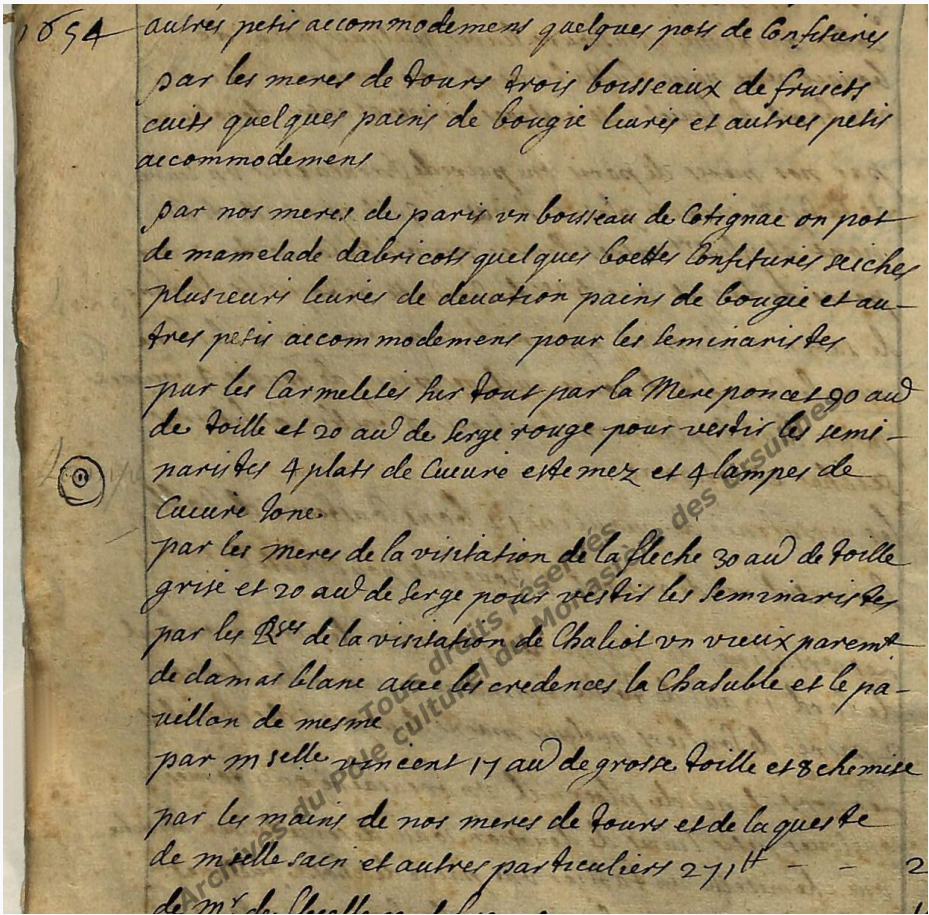
u = v

liures = livres

cotignac = a jam made with the juice of quince fruit
confiture sèche = candied fruit paste

au = shorthand for aune, a unit of measure for length
serge = a high-quality wollen fabric

NB: The remaining gifts are non-food items



boisseau = a unit of measure for capacity

The term "séminaristes" refers to the Indigenous girls who boarded at the school.

Archives du Pôle culturel du Monastère des Ursulines, Dons, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 5v [detail]

The Dons manuscript records donations and gifts made to the monastery.

Foods, Foodways, and Francisation in Seventeenth-Century Québec

Whitney Hahn and Mairi Cowan

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the relationship between food and power in a colonial context by focusing on foodways at the Ursuline community of Québec in the seventeenth century. In particular, it considers the role played by food in the larger strategy of *francisation*, the policy of assimilation designed by the French Crown with the goals of convincing the Indigenous inhabitants of Canada to convert to Catholicism and adopt French cultural norms. Drawing upon archival sources, this paper explores to what extent the food culture at the convent school continued French practices or adapted to North American traditions, and it argues that attitudes towards food — like attitudes towards *francisation* more broadly — could be negotiated on the ground in response to the realities of daily life in early modern North America.

In the year 1654, the Ursuline nuns at Québec received from their sister community in Paris some quince jam, apricot marmalade, and several containers of candied fruit paste. The gift came with a condition, or at least a direction: the Parisian donors indicated that these foods (along with the books of religious devotion, candles, and other small items in the package) were destined specifically for the Indigenous schoolgirls.¹ As perhaps they knew, the Ursuline convent in Québec was a key site for the implementation of French colonial policy in seventeenth-century New France. One of the main goals of this policy was assimilation of Indigenous peoples, and both Church and Crown perceived the Ursulines as well placed to contribute to French colonial efforts. In particular, they thought this teaching order of nuns could advance *francisation*, or ‘frenchification’, a process that was centred on Indigenous peoples’ religious conversion to Catholicism and adoption of French cultural norms. French colonists had a marked sense of confidence about the superiority of French culture: even though they represented only a tiny proportion of the total population in seventeenth-century North America, they were optimistic that cultural and political domination could be achieved without force (Belmessous 2005, pp. 325, 330). This hope was founded on belief in a linear trajectory of human development, with French civilization at the pinnacle of cultural achievement. According to what they thought of as the ‘natural’ progression of human development, Indigenous peoples exposed to French culture would immediately be drawn to, and would ultimately embrace, French customs (Imbruglia 2014, pp. 29–30; Caulier 2005).

As powerful markers of cultural identity and ideology, food and foodways played an important part in *francisation*. While food was regarded by the French as a useful and persuasive tool for *francisation*, it also reveals to the historian the precarious situation of Québec as a small French settlement whose very survival depended on cooperation with Indigenous neighbours. Food culture at the Ursuline convent school continued French practices, but also adapted to North American traditions. Attitudes towards food — like attitudes towards *francisation* more broadly — were negotiated on the ground in response to the realities of daily life in early modern North America.

Retention of French food practices at the Ursuline convent

Sara Melzer (2013, pp. 96, 104–107) argues that the French colonial strategy was a particular brand of ‘soft colonialism’ based on imitation: the French expected to provide a model of civilization that the Indigenous people would strive to imitate and adopt. The large-scale retention of French food and foodways at the Ursuline convent fits with a desire to maintain and model French culture. By educating Indigenous girls through example, the Ursulines were preparing their charges for potential marriage with French partners, and, especially towards the end of the century, for bringing French culture to their native communities (Belmessous 2005, p. 334).

As the Ursulines’ records show, the French model was dominant at the convent in terms of what types of foods were being produced, purchased, and consumed. Production was based on the growing of grain and the raising of domestic livestock, as was the case in France, and the vast majority of fruits and vegetables consumed at the convent were familiar French crops. Furthermore, large quantities of fish found in convent expenditure and inventory records suggest an adherence to Catholic rules about fasting and food abstinence, which may in turn have contributed to the transmission of deeply held cultural beliefs about food.

Wheat and other millable grains

Millable grain that could be transformed into bread was at the heart of the agricultural system of seventeenth-century France and Europe more generally. Wheat, and to a lesser extent rye and millet, were grown on the best plots of land and constituted a staple of the diet. In this ‘*civilisation du blé*’ (‘civilization of wheat’), bread was both an essential food and a culturally-charged symbol. It was closely linked to Christian doctrine through its connection to the

Eucharistic host, and it was used as a marker of social hierarchy – the lighter and whiter the bread, the higher one's social position (Quillier 2007, pp. 26, 28). Not surprisingly, wheat was one of the most important plant species that French settlers introduced into North America, and some colonists might have felt insecure about how their part of the '*civilisation du blé*' was being perceived across the Atlantic. Pierre Boucher, Governor of Trois-Rivières (a settlement to the west of Québec), devoted an entire chapter of his book on the natural and human history of New France to wheat and other grains. His stated reason for doing so was to disabuse the French of the notion that people in New France lived on nothing but roots; he assured his readers that the bread in Canada was as beautiful and as white as the bread in France (Boucher 1664, pp. 81–82).

According to Louise Dechêne's study of daily life in seventeenth-century Montréal, inhabitants' diets were resolutely European in character and based on bread. Wheat accounted for between 60% and 75% of total crop production depending on the year, followed by rye and barley and then by oats (Dechêne 1974, p. 302). A recent bioarchaeological study comparing population samples from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, Montreal, and Indigenous Great Lakes communities offers congruent results: isotopic analysis reveals close similarities between colonial and European diets, and significant divergence between colonial and Indigenous consumption of native species (Vigeant *et al.* 2017). Likewise, wheat production seems to have been fundamental to the Ursuline convent, amounting to between 65% and 95% of the total value of crop production between 1672 and 1699.²

The Ursuline community not only produced but also consumed wheat in large amounts, either in the form of porridge or else as bread. Wheat and/or wheat flour constituted by far the biggest annual expense in nearly every year for which records are available.³ For example, from May 1674 to May 1675, wheat flour 'for the food of the Community, the children, and the domestic servants' accounted for 30.6% of that year's total expenditure on food and drink. This is proportionally more than what was spent on all types of meat, poultry and fish combined, which represent only 23% of the annual expenses for food.⁴ Ensuring the continuity of wheat supplies was a constant preoccupation for the nuns. In response to concerns that Iroquois invasions would threaten wheat crops in 1660, they stored large amounts of flour imported from France as emergency supplies (ed. Oury 1971, p. 627). The practise of importing flour from France continued throughout the seventeenth century, as shown by appearances of 'flour from France' in the expenditure and inventory records.⁵ The Ursulines devoted large amounts of energy and resources to producing and purchasing wheat flour, a quintessentially French food to feed the entire community: nuns, servants, and students, including Indigenous girls who were living at the school (Trudel 1999, pp. 58–60).

Fruits and Vegetables

Most of the fruits and vegetables produced and consumed by the Ursulines were types common in seventeenth-century France. Among their fruits were plums, grapes, strawberries, raspberries, apples, pears, and figs.⁶ Vegetables were also familiar French crops, with turnip (possibly rutabaga), carrots, beets, and cucumbers being purchased by the convent.⁷ A list of donations to the Ursulines by local farmers after a fire in 1686 confirms the consumption of fruits and vegetables familiar to the French, such as apples, plums, grapes, cabbage, leeks, onions, carrots, turnips, and root vegetables.⁸ Other edible plants included aniseed, rose, and *capillaire*, a type of fern used mainly for medicinal purposes.⁹ Marie de l'Incarnation, the convent's most prolific letter-writer, articulated the similarity between patterns of consumption in France and Canada to her son in 1668 (ed. Oury 1971, p. 833):

The other garden plants and vegetables are like those in France. They are harvested like wheat, in order to be able to use them all winter long and up until the end of May, when the gardens are covered with snow. With regards to trees, we have plum trees, which when well fertilised with manure and cultivated, bear fruit abundantly during three weeks.

This passage is interesting for the parallels it draws between the types of fruit and vegetables cultivated in France and in Québec, and also for what it says about the retention of French foodways in Québec, namely, growing patterns and conservation. In this harsher climate, Ursulines were reproducing French foodways in production and storage: vegetable gardens, like fields, were intensively cultivated during the warmer season, using animal manure as a fertiliser. Grains, fruits, vegetables, and legumes were then harvested, preserved, and stored in order to last throughout the winter months. Such efforts to produce and keep surplus food were a key organisational feature of sedentary societies generally; the distinction between this mode of subsistence and that of non-agricultural societies was significant for the Indigenous people and the French colonists, many of whom believed sedentism to be a key feature of French culture and a necessary precursor to *francisation* (Cowan 2018a; Vincent 2002, pp. 100–102; Vincent and Bacon 2003, pp. 21–25; ed. Campeau 1967, vol. IV, pp. 194, 535–537).

Meat, fish, and other animal products

The Ursuline convent had a typical *basse-court* or poultry yard for fowl that provided meat and eggs. They also raised typically French livestock including pigs (a major source of lard, pork, and suckling pig), milk cows (producing cheese, butter and other milk products as well as veal), beef (for meat and suet), and some sheep.¹⁰

Catholic custom held that healthy adults were expected to abstain from animal flesh, eggs, and butter during Lent and at some other times throughout the liturgical year.

While there was considerable local variation in whether and how early modern Catholics adhered to rules of fasting and abstinence, foodways at the Ursuline convent were no doubt heavily influenced by the restrictions placed upon them by Catholic doctrine. The inventory and expenditure records confirm that large quantities of fish were consumed at the convent, including cod, eel, salmon, sea bass, shad (a North American variety of herring), and trout.¹¹ Fish was purchased either fresh or salted. It is interesting to note that, despite severe salt shortages throughout New France, Indigenous smoking techniques were never adopted at the convent, nor do the Ursulines appear to have purchased smoked fish (Dechêne 1974, p. 102).

Among the cooking fats at the convent were lard, beef and moose suet, butter, and a variety of oils including olive oil and fish oil.¹² Lard and butter seem to have been the most commonly used cooking fats, as was the case in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French cuisine (Rambourg 2009, pp. 77–84). Particularly throughout the 1670s, large quantities of lard were produced, bought, and even shipped from France.¹³ In the early years of the convent, Marie de l'Incarnation remarked upon the importance of lard to the Ursuline diet, saying that 'if in France one were to eat only lard and salted fish as we do here [in Québec], one would be ill' (ed. Oury 1971, p. 110).

As fasting proscriptions extended to cooking fats, olive oil constituted an important substitute for lard and butter in France. Perhaps due to the rarity and high cost of procuring olive oil in New France, however, colonists received special dispensation to consume dairy products (as well as eggs) during Lent from 1660 onward (Desloges 2009, p. 51; Rousseau 1983, pp. 270–273).¹⁴ Yet in spite of the dispensation, olive oil continued to be purchased by the Ursuline convent, appearing frequently in the expenditure records from 1672 to 1699.¹⁵ This trend may suggest either that the Ursulines strove to uphold the highest standard of Lenten observance, or that they were willing to spend money on a high-status food.¹⁶

Considering the importance of education at the Ursuline convent, whose nuns vowed to offer instruction to girls, one can easily imagine that spiritual teachings about dietary abstinence were inextricably linked to the preparation and consumption of food by students, Indigenous as well as French (Choquette 1992, pp. 637–8).¹⁷ In this way, food may have become a vehicle for religious indoctrination and an instrument of colonial power: control over what foods were eaten when imposed religious obedience on Indigenous students, with or without any measure of agency on their part.¹⁸

The power of sweetness: sugar as a tool for francisation

The Ursulines believed that it was important to provide not only for their students' spiritual education and welfare, but also for their material needs as well, and this sense of obligation extended to food (Fahmy-Eid 1983, p. 60). In

spite of their considerable poverty, the convent purchased and imported sugar from abroad along with a whole host of other expensive foods: vinegar; olive oil; spices like pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, and nutmeg; raisins, prunes and other dried fruits from France; rice; and almonds.¹⁹

Sugar as persuasion

Jesuit missionaries reported that Indigenous people were particularly fond of sweet foods (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. II, p. 473; vol. III, pp. 230, 744; vol. IV, pp. 154, 215). Perhaps in response to these accounts, wealthy French donors often sent loaves of sugar and sugary foods like jam and candied fruit paste to the Ursuline convent at Québec.²⁰ These gifts were sometimes specifically destined for the girls at the boarding school, though whether they were meant more particularly for the Indigenous students is not always clear. In one case, a donor stipulated that any surplus rent from the financing of a mass be given in alms to the 'sauvages', which the nuns chose to put towards the making of king cakes (a traditional dessert eaten in the season of Epiphany) for their Indigenous students.²¹

Indigenous students often circumvented the ideals of cloister life, coming and going from the convent as they pleased (Cowan 2018a). The Ursulines must have hoped that providing the children with these little luxuries at a time when anxieties about poverty, hunger, and famine were common would please and delight them, thereby encouraging them to remain at the convent. But there may have been a secondary motive at play, beyond simply seeking to provide contentment: in this colonial context, the preciousness of sugar became a symbol of French cultural superiority, whose sweetness was offered for Indigenous visitors and students to admire and to enjoy, and whose power was put on display to impress benefactors.

Sugar as coercion

The Jesuits were keenly aware of sugar's appeal in the mission field. In 1637, François Joseph le Mercier wrote of its miraculous power to heal Indigenous patients, even in very small quantities (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. III, p. 736). This type of account is not unique in the Jesuit *Relations* and probably helped reassure readers in France: here was tangible proof that European material culture, represented by sugar and sweets, was indeed having the anticipated and much desired transformative effect on native populations (Melzer 2013, pp. 105, 107–109).

Accounts of sugar thus metaphorically served as proof of presumed European cultural superiority, validating the basic tenets of the colonial project. Sugar could also be used in a very pragmatic, if underhanded, way to advance the Jesuit mission of conversion. Le Mercier admitted that it was often the promise of a few raisins or other sweets that enabled him to enter the homes of Indigenous people, particularly the sick who hoped to benefit from the sweet foods' medicinal virtues (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. III,

pp. 732). Writing in 1637, the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune explained how his fellow missionary Pierre Pijart used sugar as a ruse to conduct non-consensual baptisms. Upon gaining entry to the home of a sick child, Father Pijart would offer to administer sugar dissolved in water as a medicinal remedy. This situation – namely the close physical proximity to a child combined with access to water – allowed him to covertly baptise children against the explicit wishes of their families. In one case, he intentionally allowed a few drops of plain water to fall upon the child's brow while pronouncing the sacramental words necessary for baptism (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. III, p. 777). Le Mercier may have been alluding to the use of similar techniques when he confessed 'that some little innocents were baptized in their last moments, in deceit and against the wishes of their relatives, under the pretext of wishing to give them similar sweet things' (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. III, p. 743). Some Indigenous leaders clearly distrusted the Jesuits' use of sweets and encouraged members of their communities to refuse offers of 'French snow', as sugar was sometimes called. It is difficult to know the precise nature of these suspicions, but they seem to have been linked to a perceived correlation between sugar, baptism, sickness, and death (Cowan 2018b; ed. Campeau 1967, vol. III, p. 781).

Adoption of Indigenous North American foods and foodways

The Ursulines were aware of food's utility in advancing the mission of *francisation*, but they also knew that the climate of Canada sometimes favoured different diets from what they had known in France, and that the right food could help foster good relations between the nuns at the convent and their Indigenous neighbours. While the retention of French food culture was an undeniable feature of convent life, the Ursulines also adapted their practices to the environmental, political, and cultural realities of seventeenth-century North America. Some Indigenous foods became regular features of the Ursuline diet, while aspects of North American food culture were adopted into convent custom. As with other aspects of life at the convent, so too with food, a hybrid culture developed within the cloister (Dunn 2012, 112; Davis 1995, 120).

Additive and combinative attitudes towards Indigenous foods

Marie de l'Incarnation was under no illusions that the foodways in New France could be transferred directly from France. To her son in 1644, she wrote that the climate and food supplies were entirely different, and to the Superior at Saint-Denis in 1670, she wrote that they were in a country that did not yet resemble France and would not come close for a long time (ed. Oury 1971, pp. 229, 891). In contrast to the fearful attitudes towards native foods sometimes found in English and Spanish New World colonies as discussed by Eden (2001) and Earle (2010), the Ursuline sources betray no such anxieties regarding the consumption of North American

plants and animals in New France. On the contrary, Marie de l'Incarnation's letters reveal a distinct curiosity and openness towards trying and incorporating new foods. In 1668, Marie de l'Incarnation sent a package of North American pumpkin seeds to her son. In the accompanying letter, she spoke highly of this food, whose indigeneity she made clear, calling it 'pumpkin of the Iroquois'. Describing its deliciousness once roasted, she likened the pumpkin's taste to a variety of French apple (ed. Oury 1971, p. 832). This native variety of pumpkin seems to have been adopted as a regular part of the Ursuline diet, appearing in the expenditure records of 1681–1682 and 1691–1692 as well as in the list of food donations given after the fire of 1686.²² The 1668 letter also sheds light on how the Ursulines incorporated this North American species into their repertoire of French cooking by preparing it according to European cooking techniques and combining it with European ingredients. The pumpkin could be roasted in the oven or on hot coals, in keeping with typical Indigenous cooking practices, but it was also commonly fried or prepared with milk to make soup, in a combinative approach to cooking (ed. Oury 1971, p. 832).

North American turkeys (*poule d'inde* or *dindons*) were eaten at the convent alongside fowl of European origin, such as chickens and capon.²³ Traditionally hunted by Indigenous peoples, the turkeys consumed at the Ursuline convent were domesticated and fed on a diet of *poix*, likely a catch-all term for a variety of legumes (Desloges 2009 p. 14, Dechêne 1974, p. 302).²⁴ Through the domestication of a formerly wild species, this North American bird was added to the Ursuline farmyard and diet, while respecting the French preference for domestic over game meats.

Moose was another North American species consumed in New France, prized as much for its skin as for its meat (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. VII, p. 373). This Indigenous food source appears frequently in the Ursuline records, but, unlike turkey, was procured through hunting. Wild game could be sold in public marketplaces as well as directly to individuals, and moose was hunted both by French and Indigenous populations (ed. Thwaites, vol. 45, pp. 193–4).²⁵ Moose meat was purchased by the Ursuline convent every year from 1673 to 1681 and possibly also in subsequent years.²⁶ On two occasions, the records specifically mention the purchase of moose tongues and muffles (the nose of the animal), considered a delicacy in Indigenous food culture (Nation-Knapper 2017).²⁷ The price of moose meat in the accounts varied between 2 *sols* 6 *deniers* and 3 *sols* 3 *deniers* per pound, making it considerably cheaper than beef, whose price during the same years hovered around 5 *sols* per pound.²⁸ The lower price of this wild game probably reflects the continued French preference for domestic meat throughout the colony. The fact that moose was regularly consumed at the Ursuline convent for a period of about eight years, but in quantities varying from year to year, may indicate that this food was adopted out of necessity and used to supplement other sources of meat, such as beef.

It was perhaps also out of necessity that small amounts of maize, or *bled d'inde* (Indian wheat) as it was known, were incorporated into the Ursuline diet. Maize was regularly eaten in the early years of the colony, and some contemporary observers believed its simplicity (as they perceived it) was actually good for the health of European and American populations alike. Writing in 1648, the Jesuit Paul Ragueneau described the Indigenous dish *sagamité*, a stew of boiled cornmeal seasoned with powdered smoked fish, as being more fortifying and health-bestowing than the richness and variety of European foods (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. VII, p. 373). Nevertheless, the popularity of maize among French settlers quickly diminished as European crops became well established; by the eighteenth century, maize consumption was marginal at best among the French in New France (Desloges 2009, p. 62; Audet 2001, p. 103).

At the Ursuline convent, *bled d'inde* is mentioned twelve times in the expenditure records between 1672 and 1699. It must be noted, however, that quantities were very low and, proportionally, maize never made up a large part of annual expenditures.²⁹ For example, a total of 16 *livres* were spent on maize for the year 1694–1695, compared to the 2996 *livres* spent on wheat. As was the case for oats, European farmers cultivated *bled d'inde* both in France and in New France mostly as animal feed in the late seventeenth century. Not surprisingly then, *bled d'inde* is specifically identified as being fodder for animals in half of the Ursuline entries.³⁰ Nevertheless, maize could be added to wheat or other grain mixtures in small quantities when necessary, such as when crops failed or in other cases of economic hardship (Dechêne 1974, p. 302; Quellier 2007, p. 199).

Accommodationist attitudes towards Indigenous foods: the case of sagamité

In contrast to the meagre presence of cornmeal in the Ursuline financial accounts from the second half of the seventeenth century, maize occupies a more central place in other sources that show *sagamité* being served by the Ursulines to attract Indigenous visitors and honour Indigenous codes of hospitality. Such was the Ursulines' desire to cater to Indigenous expectations that they were prepared to break with tradition and introduce feasting to the parlour. Marie de l'Incarnation was perhaps justifying this choice when she admitted in a letter to the Mother Superior at the Ursuline convent in Tours that although it was not the custom in France to offer feasts in the parlour, it would be considered 'a shameful thing', according to aboriginal custom, to send away a visitor without having first presented him with food (ed. Oury 1971, p. 123). This food was prepared with Indigenous preferences in mind. In a letter written in 1640, Marie de l'Incarnation described a typical parlour feast (ed. Oury 1971, p. 113):

It seems to me that when preparing a feast for our Indians, and to feed sumptuously sixty or eighty of

them, we use no more than a bushel of black prunes, four loaves of bread costing six *livres* a piece, four measures of pea or Indian wheat flour, about a dozen sticks of melted suet, two or three pounds of lard, so that the result is quite greasy, for this is the what they like.

Indigenous food in this particular colonial context thus became a means for the colonists to attract those whom they wished to assimilate. Something of the deceitfulness of the means is betrayed by the words of Marie de l'Incarnation herself: 'This is how we win them over to us,' she wrote, 'and thanks to this worldly bait, we draw them toward the grace of Jesus Christ' (ed. Oury 1971, p. 113). It is certainly possible that *sagamité* was served to students within the convent too, particularly during the early years of its establishment. But, based on the very small quantities of maize present in the inventory records from 1672 onwards, it does not seem plausible that the corn-based soup was a regular feature of the nuns' or the students' diet in the last quarter of the century. While serving *sagamité*, an Indigenous dish made primarily with native ingredients, may seem counterintuitive to the idea of promoting a French model of material culture, 'Frenchness', as understood by the Ursulines and by Marie de l'Incarnation herself, was not so narrowly defined in the earlier part of the century (Cowan 2018a; Belmessous 2013, p. 31–6; Havard 2009; Belmessous 2004). Becoming French did mean adopting certain norms, behaviours, and beliefs, but it did not necessarily require the abandonment of aboriginal customs, so long as these were not in conflict with Christian doctrine. Girls at the convent school retained certain elements of their Indigenous identity. For example, traditional dancing was permitted within convent walls and students were encouraged to maintain their native languages in addition to learning French (Cowan 2018a).

Much of the food at the Ursuline convent in seventeenth-century Québec, whether produced locally or shipped across the ocean, would have been familiar to a visitor from France. The reproduction of European foodways in Canada was part of a deliberate effort by the French Crown and Church to create an improved France, a New France, in North America. Whatever the colonising ideals, however, the food culture of France could not be transplanted so easily. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to a nun in Tours in 1670 that all the winters were cold in Canada, but the most recent one especially so. Their trees with exquisite fruits had died, and the orchard of the Augustinian nuns who ran the hospital had been very hard hit. Marie went on to report that some fruit trees survived. The phrase she used to describe the fruits was 'fruits sauvages', which can be translated as 'wild fruits', but which perhaps also implied indigeneity, employing as it does the same adjective ('sauvages') as French settlers used to describe the Indigenous people. Marie provided a theological interpretation of this winter's effects: God,

depriving them of delicacies and leaving them with necessities, wanted them to remain in their mortification and give up the pleasures that they had come to expect. She might have been making a virtue of necessity, but enough time had been spent in New France that she could accept it. 'We have become accustomed to it during the thirty-one years that we have been in this country,' she wrote, 'so that we have had enough time to forget the pleasures and the delights of old France' (ed. Oury 1971, pp. 877–878). This nun, who had come to Canada as a colonist working towards *francisation*, came to believe that God chose to provide them with foods that were *sauvage*.

French colonial strategy may have been founded upon notions of presumed French cultural superiority, but in responding to the challenges of life in New France, attitudes towards food needed to be more flexible than a strict colonial ideology would allow. The gap between metropolitan theory and colonial practice left space for additive and accommodationist behaviours at the Ursuline convent, whose sisters adopted certain North American foods and Indigenous foodways, incorporating them into their diets and habits in culturally-acceptable ways that altered their own foodways in the process.

About the authors

Whitney Hahn holds an Honours Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Toronto and has recently finished a Master's degree in Heritage and Cultural Management from the Université de Savoie Mont Blanc in Chambéry, France, where she currently resides. She has a particular interest in social and religious history, with a special affinity for gastronomy studies.

Mairi Cowan is an Associate Professor, Teaching Stream, and the Program Director for History at the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Toronto. Her teaching and research interests focus on the social and religious history of the late medieval and early modern world, especially Scotland and New France. She is also interested in history education and in outreach by academic historians. Mairi is currently writing a book about the demonology of New France and the spiritual anxieties of early Canada.

Notes

This research is supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1. Québec, Archives des Ursulines de Québec (AUX), *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 5v. French sources of the seventeenth century often call the Indigenous people 'sauvage'. This word derives from the Latin *silvestris*, meaning 'of the forest' or 'wild'. Readers may be more familiar with 'American Indian' or 'Native', but current usage in Canadian English tends to favour 'Indigenous'.

All translations from French, unless otherwise specified, have been provided by the authors of this paper.

2. Québec, Archives des Ursulines de Québec (AUQ), *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 2r, 56v, 86r, 92r, 137r, 143v. These figures do not include what may have been produced in vegetable gardens, for which no empirical data is available.
3. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 4r, 25r, 39r, 48v, 58r, 65r, 73v, 79v, 86v, 92v, 107r, 123v, 126r.
4. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, p. 39r.
5. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 67r, 73v, 79v, 86v, 92v, 94v.
6. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 3r, 25r, 31r, 38r, 41r, 47v, 50v, 57v, 58r, 59r, 64v, 66r, 67r, 72v, 74r, 80r, 81r, 87r, 92v, 94r, 94v, 132r, 134v, 141r.
7. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 57v, 59r, 74r, 80r, 94r, 123v, 126r, 129r, 132r.
8. AUQ, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 12v, 13r, 14r, 15r.
9. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 59r, 66r, 74r, 78r, 81r, 87r, 94r, 137v–139v; *Asplenium trichomanes*, commonly known as maidenhair spleenwort, was used to treat respiratory inflammation as early as the 16th century. According to *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie française* published in 1694, the best *capillaire* came from Montpellier and Canada, and could be consumed in the form of a syrup.
10. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 2v, 3r, 3v, 24v, 37r, 38v, 47r, 48r, 56v, 57v, 58r, 64r, 64v, 65r, 72v, 73v, 79v, 86r, 87r, 92r, 92v, 93v, 94r, 100r, 100v–105v, 107r, 108v–122v, 123v, 126r, 129r, 132r, 134v, 137r, 137v–139v, 141r, 143v.
11. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 3r, 3v, 6r, 18r, 24v, 25r, 38r, 38v, 48r, 50v, 58r, 60r, 65r, 67r, 72v, 74v, 77v, 79v, 86v, 89r, 92v, 100v–105v, 107r, 108v–122v, 123v, 126r, 137v–139v. AUQ, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 13v, 14r, 14v. Beaver was categorized as fish in discussions of religious food restrictions (Rousseau 1983, pp. 270–273).
12. Not all oils were consumed as food. In 1677–1678, 25 pots of walnut oil were purchased as fuel for the church lamps. In 1681–1682, fish oil was used for the same purpose. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 64v, 92v.
13. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, p. 6r; AUQ, *Dons*, IE, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 2v, 3r, 3v, 4v, 5r, 5v.
14. Scarcity and expense of olive oil was used as the basis for similar dispensations in parts of France and elsewhere in Europe. See Jean-Louis Flandrin (1983, p. 380).
15. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E, 3, 3, 1, 2, pp. 3r, 24v, 38r, 47v, 57v, 64v, 72v, 80r, 86v, 92v, 141r, 143v, 137v–139v.
16. For a discussion of how a more discerning taste for olive oil was developing in non-olive producing regions in the seventeenth century, see Flandrin (1983), p. 382.
17. Québec, Archives des Ursulines de Québec (AUQ), *1647 Constitutions rédigées par le R. P. Jérôme Lalemant...*, 1E, 1, 1, 1, 5.237, fol. 159, pp. 1r, 61v–64v.

18. Jesuit missionaries reported instances of Indigenous Christians who were determined to observe fasts, even while on the hunt, sometimes against the advice of the missionaries who urged less severity (ed. Campeau 1967, vol. IV, pp. 300–301, 592; vol. V, pp. 88).
19. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 3r, 3v, 6r, 6v, 18r, 18v, 24v, 25r, 31r, 38r, 41r, 41v, 47v, 50v, 51r, 57v, 60r, 60v, 64v, 67r, 70v, 72v, 74v, 75r, 77r, 80r, 81v, 82r, 86v, 87r, 89r, 92v, 94v, 95r, 100r, 107r, 108v–122v, 123v, 126r, 129r, 132r, 134v, 137v–139v, 141r, 143v.
20. *Dons*, 1E, 3, 4, 6, 1, pp. 2v, 3r, 3v, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6v, 7v.
21. Québec, Archives des Ursulines de Québec (AUQ), *Annales*, 1E, 1, 3, 2.0001, p. 7r.
22. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 94r, 123v; AUQ, *Dons*, 1E, 3, 4, 6, 1, p. 15v.
23. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp.56v, 58r, 64r, 64v, 73v, 86r, 86v, 92r, 92v.
24. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, p. 65r.
25. On the laws regulating the sale of wild game in New France, see Audet (2001, p. 116).
26. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 6r, 18r, 25r, 38v, 41r, 48r, 57v, 60r, 64v, 72v, 74v, 79v, 86v.
27. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 6r, 28r.
28. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 6r, 18r, 25r, 38v, 41r, 48r, 57v, 60r, 64v, 72v, 74v, 79v, 86v.
29. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 4r, 28v, 58r, 65r, 73v, 79v, 87r, 93r, 123v, 129r, 132r, 134v. Years when maize is not mentioned often correspond to periods where the bookkeeping practice was less descriptive, which may in part explain its absence.
30. AUQ, *État de comptes*, 1E,3,3,1,2, pp. 28v, 65r, 73v, 79v, 87r, 93r.

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