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Volume 18, Number 4 Winter 2018

# CONNECTICUT

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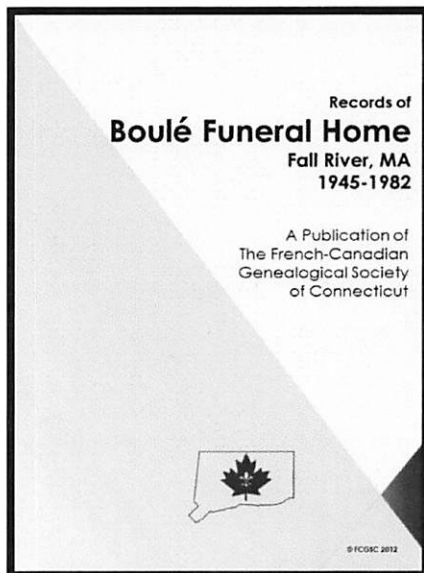
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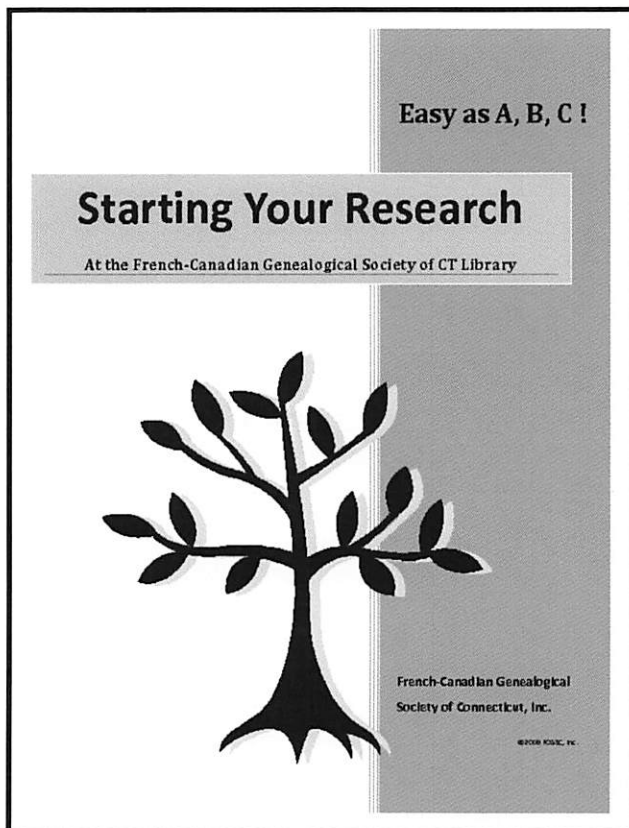
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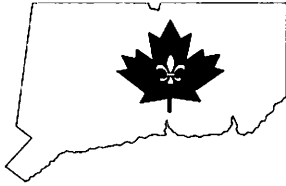
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# CONNECTICUT MAPLE LEAF

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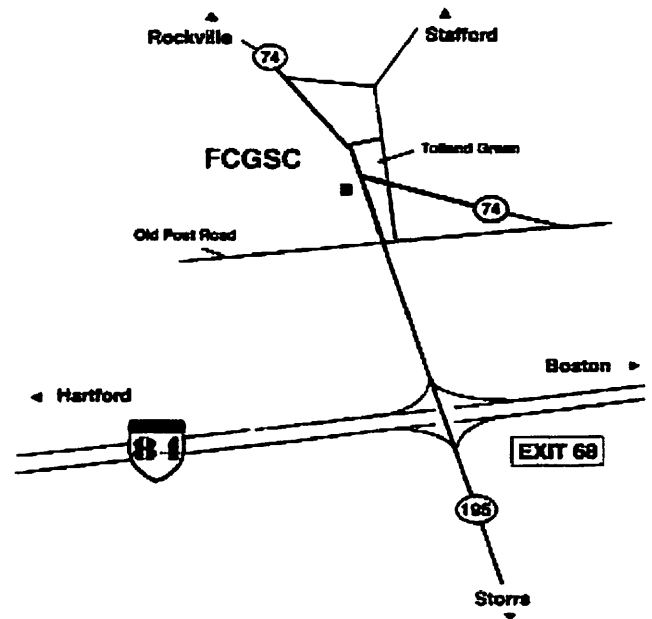
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- Length should be dictated by the topic and its scope. Very long articles may have to be published in two or more parts.

### Deadlines for submission of materials

- Winter issue: October 1
- Summer issue: April 1

## Editor's Niche

Maryanne LeGrow, #696

Dear Cousins,

'Tis the season of brightly wrapped packages, when some lucky relative may find a family tree under their Christmas tree. Grandma and Cousin Joe, who might never think of digging in a dusty archive, will still be delighted to read what a diligent researcher has found out about their lineage. And that's fine for those who have only a mild interest in the subject.

Unfortunately, we're in an age of pre-fab genealogy. Many people with a serious interest in their family's history are willing to settle for a dry, plastic-wrapped product. Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus, but you won't find him online, either literally or figuratively. If I had a snowball for every person who has said "It shouldn't be too hard to research my family line because it's all on Ancestry," I could probably build my own glacier. Some people appear to think there's an online virtual vending machine into which you can drop your money, upload a few details about the family, and get back a tidy and complete family tree. But that wonderful web site hasn't been invented, and why would you want it to be?

Downloading information from the web can be a start. But it's important to check facts, find source documents, and verify, verify, verify. Failing to go beyond what you find on line or in a book means you may never see something important that other researchers have overlooked. Where's the fun in a cellophane-wrapped family history that someone else has prepared? How can you be sure it's accurate? Would you really want to miss out on the thrill of the hunt, the excitement of finding a missing marriage license, the adrenaline rush from finally discovering an elusive piece of data that makes the whole picture come into focus?

Of course, if all you want is a nicely framed tree to hang in the den, then go for it. But bare-bones structures with only birth / marriage / death dates and



locations don't say much about who those persons were or how their lived experiences may have shaped our own lives. It's questioning and delving more deeply into the records and learning more about the historical background of our ancestors' times that makes them come alive to us.

In our last issue, we said "If you could ask your great-grandmother or grandfather one question, what would it be?" Member Roger Langevin responded "My maternal great-grandparents were Francois Denis Leger (b. abt 1870, St-Anthony, Wellington, N.B.) and Sara Leblanc (b. abt 1872, Ste-Marie de Kent, N.B., daughter of Maxime J. Leblanc [b. abt 1845, St. Louis, Kent, N.B.]), who were married at Ste-Marie de Kent. My Leger lineage goes back to Jacques [II] Leger (b. 1695, Port Royal). My one question would be: How did my great-grandparents (and ancestors) get to New Brunswick from Port-Royal, Acadia?"

Even if Roger never finds his answer (though we hope he soon will), this is the kind of great question that leads to other questions, to deeper exploration and a wider understanding of the times and conditions of our ancestors' lives. And isn't that what the quest is all about?

Widen your own understanding with the articles in this issue: Melissa Ann Roberge describes the establishment of her Roberge family in Canada, and Anne Midgeley looks at French Canadian immigration to the US through the medium of the family of her great-grandmother, Marie Iantha Paradis. Julianne Mangin's review of *A Distinct Alien Race*, by David Vermette, continues the tale of immigration and assimilation of French Canadians in New England. The second part of Pascal Poirier's story of Acadian refugees' painful trek from captivity in Boston back to their homeland in Canada provides historical context while it tugs at your heartstrings. We hope you will enjoy them all and have a wonderful new year.

*Maryanne*

Queries, articles or letters to the editor may be sent by e-mail to: [info@fcgsc.org](mailto:info@fcgsc.org)

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<b>January</b>	<b>Sunday, June 17</b>	<b>Fathers' Day</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>Wednesday, July 4</b>	<b>Independence Day Observance</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>Saturday, Sept. 1 to Monday, Sept. 3</b>	<b>Labor Day Observance</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>Saturday, April 20 Sunday, April 21 Saturday, April 27</b>	<b>Easter Observance Easter Observance Membership Mtg. <u>closed 1-3 pm</u></b>
<b>May</b>	<b>Sunday, May 12 Saturday, May 25 to Sunday, May 26 Monday, May 27</b>	<b>Mother's Day Memorial Day Observance Memorial Day Observance Memorial Day Observance</b>
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<b>August</b>	<b>Saturday, August 31</b>	<b>Labor Day Observance</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>Sunday, September 1 Monday, September 2 TBD</b>	<b>Labor Day Observance Labor Day Observance Volunteer Appreciation Day Picnic</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>Saturday, October 20</b>	<b>Membership Mtg. <u>closed 1-3 PM</u></b>
<b>November</b>	<b>Wednesday, November 27 Thursday, November 30</b>	<b>Thanksgiving Observance Thanksgiving Observance</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>Sunday, December 1 Wednesday, December 25 Saturday, December 28 Sunday, December 29 Monday, December 30</b>	<b>Thanksgiving Observance Christmas Holiday Observance Christmas Holiday Observance Christmas Holiday Observance Winter Break</b>
<b>January 2020</b>	<b>Wednesday, January 1</b>	<b>New Year's Day Observance</b>

## Marie Paradis and the French-Canadian Connection: Québec's Impact on the United States

Anne Midgley  
American Public University System

From the time that the first Europeans set foot on North American soil, immigration has fashioned the social and cultural fiber of what is now the United States. While the British heritage of the original thirteen American colonies shaped much of eighteenth-century American culture, colonial America was already a melting pot. On the eve of the American War of Independence, the population of the American colonies numbered about 2.8 million people. Those of English descent represented the largest sub-group; however, peoples of many other racial and ethnic groups resided in the colonies, including almost half a million African-Americans, many of whom were enslaved. The Scots-Irish, Germans, Irish, Swiss, French, Dutch, and Scots comprised some of the larger non-English populations. Ongoing immigration drove population growth during the course of much of the eighteenth century. At the turn of the century, the colonies contained approximately 262,000 people—on the eve of the Revolution, that number had increased more than tenfold. By the time of the 1840 census, the population had grown to seventeen million. Immigration continued unabated and growing tensions of nativism<sup>1</sup> influenced the US Census Bureau to begin capturing the nativity of the American populace. The 1850 census introduced a question regarding birthplace, asking each individual to identify the state, territory, or country of birth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1976), 246. According to Potter, nativist parties emerged in the 1830s but none developed into a national force until the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, founded in 1849, gained power and became known as the "Know Nothing" party.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 32-36; "Table I – Population of the United States Decennially from 1790 to 1850, Comparative Table of Population," *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, Public

The 1870 US census recorded an aggregate population of 38,115,641. In cold, emotionless language, the census estimated the effect of the recent Civil War on the nation's population count and arrived at an estimate that the United States had suffered "a direct loss to the male population of not less than 850,000."<sup>3</sup> The census also calculated an indirect loss to the nation's population, as nearly 1.5 million men were at war and "withdrawn from domestic life." The census estimated a population loss due to the disruption in the flow of immigrants. In the four years preceding the war, immigration grew the population by almost 650,000. However, the four years following the war saw immigration soar to almost 1.2 million new arrivals. During the four war years though, the United States welcomed only 553,605 new arrivals; a likely loss of over 350,000 potential new Americans occurred due to the war.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the calamity of war, by the 1870 census foreign-born residents represented 14.4 percent of the United States population. Immigration re-

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Printer, 1853), ix, xii; "Table VI—Colonial Population in 1701" and "Table IX—Population in 1775," *Abstract of the Census Legislation of the United States, From 1790 to 1850 Inclusive, The Seventh Census of the United States*; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850 to 2000* (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 2006), 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Report of the Superintendent of the Ninth Census," *Ninth Census—Volume I. The 1870 census estimated that 304,000 Union soldiers died during the war and that Union medical staff discharged 285,000 soldiers due to war-related injuries and disabilities. Of those discharged with disabilities, the census estimated that fully one third subsequently died of their wounds or from disease. As the census further estimated that a large number of men returned to civilian life carrying diseases or shattered constitutions from war, it concluded that 500,000 "will surely be a moderate estimate for the direct losses among the Union armies." It estimated that losses on the Confederate side totaled 350,000 men.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

mained high through the rest of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth century, with the percentage of foreign-born dropping to the single digits during the 1940 census and staying relatively low until it saw a sharp increase in the 2000 census. The count of foreign-born residents surged in the 2010 census, reaching almost thirteen percent. The population influx in recent years has been largely of Hispanic origin; the 2010 census reflects over thirty-nine million foreign-born residents with over fifty-three percent from Latin America and the Caribbean. Mexico alone accounted for almost thirty percent of the foreign-born population.<sup>5</sup>

With the current heated immigration debate in the United States, it is worthwhile to turn to the nineteenth century and study the effects of immigration upon the United States, the immigrant population, and the immigrants' country of origin. Numerous studies, such as Alison Clark Efford's *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* and Susannah Ural Bruce's *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861-1865* have examined the German and Irish immigration surges of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, a great deal of scholarship exists on the impact of the Italian and Eastern European immigration waves of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. "Eastern European Immigrants in the United States," by Paula E. Hyman provides a lengthy bibliography of both primary and secondary sources.<sup>7</sup> There are far fewer studies on French-Canadian immigration to

the United States. Yet a significant influx of French-speakers from Québec in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries provided Canada's southern neighbour with a people already closely tied to the nation—a people who brought their own language and culture to America and provided a substantial boost to Roman Catholicism in the United States. In many ways, the French Canadian immigrant of the nineteenth century was similar to the Hispanic immigrant of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, unlike immigrants from the Old World and from the Spanish New World, the influx of Canadians to the United States brought a people who had been closely tied to the origin and development of America, and who for over one hundred and fifty years prior to America's independence from Great Britain, had been considered an archenemy of the English colonists.

#### New France

Unlike the vast majority of immigrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, the author's great grandmother, Marie Iantha Paradis, was a child of the New World. While the 1870 census reported over 5.5 million foreign-born residents, the vast majority — 4.9 million — hailed from Europe. Less than nine percent emigrated from Canada.<sup>8</sup> Before examining the causes and effects of the French-Canadian immigration to the United States, however, it is important to consider the variety of ways in which the founding of Canada related to that of the United States. Rather than relying solely on famed French explorers and settlers, this paper will also provide examples of Paradis's own ancestors to illustrate the establishment and settlement of New France.

Both England and France were latecomers to Europe's rush to discover and exploit the New World. Locked in a struggle for control of France

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., "The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2010," American Community Survey Reports, United States Census Bureau, May 2012, accessed 2FEB2017, <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2012/acs/acs-19.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Susannah Ural Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Paula E. Hyman, "Eastern European Immigrants in the United States," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, March 1, 2009, accessed 28FEB2017, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/easterneuropean-immigrants-in-united-states>.

<sup>8</sup> "Table 4: Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population, With Geographic Detail Shown in Decennial Census Publications of 1930 or Earlier: 1850 to 1930 and 1960 to 1990," US Bureau of the Census, Internet Release date March 9, 1999, accessed 5FEB2017, [www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html](http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html).



during the Hundred Years' War from 1337 until 1453, the two countries exhausted their manpower and resources. During the fifteenth century, Spain and Portugal, ably assisted by some Italian mariners, launched the initial European explorations of North and South America. These two powers relied upon newly improved ships, sailing technology, and weaponry that enabled them to circumnavigate the globe and overwhelm the native populations that attempted to oppose them. According to historian Alan Taylor, "By 1550, Spain dominated the lands and peoples around the Caribbean and deep into both North and South America."<sup>9</sup> Spanish successes spurred competing European powers to claim their own share of the riches, often by attempting to plunder Spanish treasure ships on their return route to Europe. By the late sixteenth century, visions of New World wealth and hope of finding trade routes to the Orient impelled England and France to seek their own colonies. In their race to explore and exploit the Americas, both countries carried with them a lasting hatred for the other, born from the fury of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>10</sup>

France pursued exploration of North America through a series of expeditions, beginning with the French-sponsored Verrazano voyage of 1524. Regular forays of French fishermen to the Grand Banks brought sufficient harvests to supply the needs of Catholic France. Jacques Cartier led several expeditions to what is now Canada, including a voyage that explored the St. Lawrence River as far inland as the rapids by Hochelaga—a site now known as Montreal. An unfortunate series of false starts and missteps, including the Cartier voyages, provided the French with knowledge of the local peoples, their environment and its geography, but little else. However, the underpinnings of European exploration and conquest of the Americas changed by the efforts of Francis I of France; through his negotiations with the papacy, Euro-

peans came to regard "discovery, conquest, and settlement" as the grounds for sovereignty in the New World.<sup>11</sup> This set the stage for a new wave of European colonization.



Fig. 1. Marie Paradis, c. 1885-1890. Photo property of author.

By the early years of the seventeenth century, both England and France launched colonial efforts that came to shape the future of both the United States and Canada. The English settlements at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620 followed a distinctly different path than that launched by the French along the shores of the St. Lawrence River. The Anglo-American colonies developed rapidly, in comparison to the French, as the English came to settle and exploit the land, rather than to trade.

<sup>9</sup> Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 28, 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 92; W. J. Eccles, *The French in North America: 1500-1783*, Rev. ed. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998), 1; Robert Smith, e-mail message to the author, February 3, 2017, containing notes for draft article on The Hundred Years' War.

<sup>11</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America*, 8. In *The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760*, W. J. Eccles attributes these four motives to European explorers: an avid desire for recognition, an insatiable curiosity, a highly developed competitive nature, and a marked intolerance of religious beliefs that differed from one's own. See p. 1-2.

Historian W. J. Eccles, professor of history at the University of Toronto, and specialist on the French era in Canada, characterized the English frontiersman as “a potential settler, the enemy and destroyer of the frontier forestland and its denizens.”<sup>12</sup>

The French, in particular Samuel de Champlain, by contrast, sought to establish alliances with the native peoples to exchange European goods for food and furs to supply the European markets. Champlain, often referred to by historians as the Father of New France, was an extraordinary figure. Soldier, cartographer, navigator, diplomat, humanist, administrator, and governor – for more than thirty years, Champlain was the pivotal figure in the founding of New France, beginning with his establishment of Québec in 1608. A veteran of the French civil wars of religion that tore France apart between 1562 and 1598, Champlain, like his friend and mentor, France’s Henry IV, came to appreciate the value of peace. During one of Champlain’s first missions to the New World, he acted as a spy in Spanish America for the French king. He observed first-hand the cruelty perpetuated by the Spanish on the native population. That experience influenced him to approach the tribes in the north in a dramatically different manner.<sup>13</sup> According to Fischer,

Champlain’s special pattern of relating with the Indians made the history of New France fundamentally different than those of New Spain, New England, New Netherland, and Virginia. The Spanish conquistadors sought to subjugate the Indians. The English pushed the Indians away, built a big “pale” in Virginia, and forbade

Indians from crossing it unless they presented a special passport. Only the French established a consistent policy of peaceful cohabitation, and something of its spirit persists in North America to this day.<sup>14</sup>



Figure 2. “Carte géographique de la nouvelle France faitte par le Sieur de Champlain,” Map of New France, c. 1613, by Samuel de Champlain. At [www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3b13875/](http://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3b13875/)

For the French, it was imperative to establish and maintain good relations with the Native Americans. As Alan Taylor noted in *American Colonies*, the French and Indians became bound to each other in a “mutuality of dependency.”<sup>15</sup> The natives began to rely on European goods, which in the short term improved their quality of life, but their craving for those goods soon forfeited for them their previous independent way of life. The French, few in number, relied upon their native allies, the Algonquin nations and the Huron, to provide them access to valuable furs. However, their allies also expected the French to assist them against their enemies—the Iroquois League. This war-like people was particularly aggressive and brutal; their reputation for cruelty far exceeded that of the Montagnais, Algonquian, and Huron. Unfortunately for the French, providing military aid to their native allies won them the enmity of the Iroquois.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America*, 5.

<sup>13</sup> David Hackett Fischer, “Champlain among the Mohawk, 1609,” *American Heritage* 59, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 42-49, accessed 3FEB2017, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=37021866&site=ehost-live&scope=site>. David Hackett Fischer’s *Champlain’s Dream* is the seminal work on the role that Champlain played in the founding of New France; “Champlain among the Mohawk” is an excerpt from that much larger work. In “Champlain among the Mohawk,” Fischer estimates that more than two million French people died during the wars of religion from 1562-1598. Clearly, the French had reason to strive for peace and a respite from cruelty and inhumanity.

<sup>14</sup> Fischer, “Champlain among the Mohawk,” p. unknown.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor, *American Colonies*, 92.

<sup>16</sup> Both Eccles and Fischer provide extensive details on the after-effects of the French military assistance to the

Champlain used many tactics to forge close ties with the allied native nations, investing a great deal of time and energy to learn the people, their customs, their languages, and their land, which he frequently mapped. Additionally, Champlain sent a number of young French men to live with the Indians. Among them was Olivier La Tardif, or Letardif, Marie Paradis's sixth great grandfather, whom Champlain sent to live with the Algonquin. La Tardif was born in 1604 and had been with Champlain in Québec from as early as 1621. La Tardif began his career in Québec as a clerk for the Company de Caën. Champlain was proud of the linguistic talents of his protégé, and wrote that La Tardif had become as "skilled in the languages of the Montagnais and Algonquin as those of the Huron."<sup>17</sup> Champlain and Jesuit father Le Jeune recognized La Tardif for his integrity and character. La Tardif developed a close relationship with many natives. Living among them and becoming fluent in their languages and customs, La Tardif gained their trust and esteem. He supported Indian missions and encouraged many to convert to Catholicism, personally acting as a godfather to the converts. La Tardif brought three Indian children into his home and raised them, further evidence of his devotion to his adopted people.<sup>18</sup>

Unluckily, for the small, struggling French colony, by 1625 England and France were again at war. England unleashed privateers to attack and raid the French colonies. Jarvis Kirke, one such ambitious privateer, sailed for the St. Lawrence in March 1628 and captured the French supply ships and settlers who had been en route to the colony. Without supplies from France, the small settlement in Québec was hard pressed. Champlain sent many of the men to winter with the Indian allies. The few

who remained "were reduced to grubbing for roots and the charity of the Indians to avert starvation."<sup>19</sup>

By the spring of 1629, France had regained its territory along the St. Lawrence via the terms of the Treaty of St.-Germain-en-Laye. However, there was little left of the French settlements. What the English had not stolen, they had destroyed. The French rebuilt. La Tardif returned to Québec in 1633. He rose in prominence in the colony, eventually becoming a member of the *Compagnie de Beaupré* as its "general and special procurator."<sup>20</sup> In May 1637, La Tardif, together with Jean Nicollet received a large tract of land on the outskirts of Québec, called Belleborne. His holdings expanded in April 1646 to include one-eighth of the seignury of Beaupré. La Tardif eventually became the seigneurial judge of Beaupré. La Tardif married twice and had four children from his two marriages. He died at Château-Richer in January 1665.<sup>21</sup>

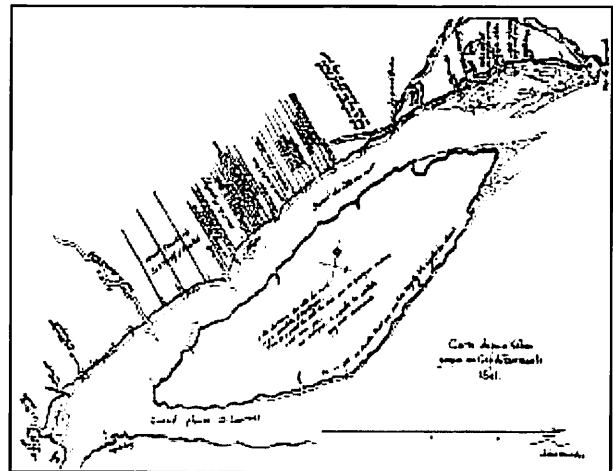


Figure 3. Map of Québec, c. 1641. The land holdings of Olivier La Tardif and Jean Nicollet appear in the left.

French native allies. The Iroquois utterly destroyed the Huron peoples in retaliation and continued to attack French outposts and settlements until the French-Iroquois treaty of 1701.

<sup>17</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain's Dream* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 502.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 34.

<sup>20</sup> Marcel Trudel, "LeTardif, Olivier," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 1, University of Toronto/ Université Laval, 2003–, accessed 24FEB2017, [www.biographi.ca/en/bio/letardif\\_olivier\\_1E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/letardif_olivier_1E.html).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Peopling of New France

Champlain's sponsor, Henry IV, died in 1610. His assassination threw France into turmoil and elevated his wife, Marie de Medici, to power as regent for her son, Louis XIII. Louis came into power in 1616.<sup>22</sup> One of his first acts was to force his mother, and her Italian advisors whom Louis hated, from power. Her French advisor, Armand-Jean du Plessis Richelieu, accompanied the queen regent into exile; however, he did not remain far from the seat of power for long. Richelieu exercised his vast diplomatic skills to effect reconciliation between the queen regent and her son. He soon rose to become the new king's most trusted advisor. From 1621 until his death in 1642, the man who became Cardinal Richelieu exercised immense influence over France and its colonies.<sup>23</sup>

In 1627, Richelieu organized a new vehicle to increase the population of the French colonies in North America—the Company of New France. By the terms of its charter, the Company's purpose was to attract hundreds of colonists each year. To further that goal, it granted large tracts of land—seigneuries—to prominent individuals who committed to bring settlers to the New World.

One of the first men to obtain such a grant was Robert Giffard. Several of Marie Paradis's ancestors accompanied Giffard to Québec, including Marin Boucher and his wife, Perrine Mallet as well as Zacharie Cloutier, a master carpenter, and his wife Xainte Dupont. Another ancestor, Paradis' sixth great grandfather Jean Guyon Du Buisson, a master mason, accompanied Giffard.<sup>24</sup> Records



Figure 4. Cardinal de Richelieu, by Philippe de Champaigne, c. 1633-40. At [www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/philippe-de-champaigne-cardinal-de-richelieu](http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/philippe-de-champaigne-cardinal-de-richelieu)

indicate that Giffard provided Zacharie Cloutier and Jean Guyon Du Buisson grants of land at Beauport. Apparently, all was not well between the two neighbors, as conflicts arose between Cloutier, Guyon, and their seigneur, Giffard. Cloutier sold his property in 1670 to relocate to Château-Richer, where he had already received a grant of land from Governor Jean de Lauson on 15 July 1652. Reflecting the small size of the settlement, Champlain's will notes a grant to Marin, stating, "I give to Marin, mason, living near the house of the Recollet Fathers, the last suit I had made from material that I got at the store."<sup>25</sup> Guyon Du Buisson appears as a witness to the marriage of Robert Drouin and Anne

<sup>22</sup> Fischer, *Champlain's Dream*, 283, 347.

<sup>23</sup> David A. Bell, "Poker Lessons from Richelieu: A Portrait of a Statesman as Gambler," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 2 (March/April 2012): 156-160.

<sup>24</sup> Honorius Provost, "Guyon Du Buisson, Jean (d. 663)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 25, 2017, [www.biographi.ca/en/bio/guyon\\_du\\_buisson\\_jean\\_1663\\_1E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/guyon_du_buisson_jean_1663_1E.html); Honorius Provost, "Cloutier, Zacharie," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed 25FEB2017, [www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cloutier\\_zacharie](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cloutier_zacharie)

[\\_1E.html](#); Jane Goodrich, "Marin Boucher 1587-1671," *History of an American Family*, accessed 25FEB2017, [www.branches-ntwigs.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=110464&tree=allfam](http://www.branches-ntwigs.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=110464&tree=allfam).

<sup>25</sup> Goodrich, "Marin Boucher 1587-1671."

Cloutier, sixth great grandparents to Marie Paradis. Their marriage contract is the oldest preserved in the original in Canada.<sup>26</sup> The early settlers to New France were exceptionally fruitful and the population doubled every twenty-five years. It seems that in New France, as in New England, “the only biblical commandment that these Christians consistently obeyed was to increase and multiply.”<sup>27</sup>

Despite Richelieu’s best efforts to attract colonists—and the colonists’ best efforts to procreate—New France grew much slower than the English colonies to the south. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the population of New France was approximately twenty-five hundred, however, at 1660, the combined population of the English colonies of North America stood at over seventy-five thousand.<sup>28</sup> Changes in Europe significantly affected the future of New France, for by 1663, “France was at peace and in a dominant position in Europe.”<sup>29</sup> Louis XIV’s minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, an extraordinary diplomat responsible for not only France’s internal affairs but also for New France, aimed to “strengthen the French economy . . . [by utilizing the overseas colonies] to provide France with raw materials . . . and a market for French manufactured goods.”<sup>30</sup> These goals required that New France’s population expand, that the colonies become secure and capable of providing for their basic sustenance. To that end, Colbert set about to reorganize the structure of the colony.

Colbert revoked the charter of the Company of New France, and in its place established a crown corporation—Canada became a royal province.

To enhance the security of the colony, Colbert sent companies of troops, including “the Carignan

Salières regiment [of] nearly eleven hundred men under veteran officers.”<sup>31</sup> These troops quickly became proficient at guerrilla warfare and held their own against the Mohawk. The French campaigns against the Mohawk and Onondaga branches of the Iroquois caused the Five Nations to “agree to end their hostilities with the French and their Algonquian allies.”<sup>32</sup> With the Iroquois threat removed from the scene, Colbert was able to focus on expanding the colony’s population. The new governor general, Daniel de Remy, Sieur de Courcelle, encouraged the men of the Carignan Salières regiment to remain in New France.



Figure 5. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, by Claude LeFebvre, c. 1666. At [www.wga.hu/html\\_m/l/lefebvre/colbert.html](http://www.wga.hu/html_m/l/lefebvre/colbert.html)

Colbert arrived at a unique solution to address the shortage of marriageable women in New France. He established a program to entice orphaned girls of good character to immigrate to the New World. The generous terms included a substantial dowry to young women willing to cross the Atlantic to marry one of New France’s many eligible males. Known as the *filles du Roi*, hundreds of girls made

<sup>26</sup> Honorius Provost, “Drouin, Robert,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed 25FEB2017, [www.biographi.ca/en/bio/drouin\\_robert\\_1E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/drouin_robert_1E.html).

<sup>27</sup> Fischer, *Champlain’s Dream*, 467.

<sup>28</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 85; “Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics,” US Department of the Census, accessed 24FEB2017, [www.census.gov/history/pdf/colonialpops.pdf](http://www.census.gov/history/pdf/colonialpops.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 60.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

the daunting trip. The Ursuline and Hospital nuns cared for the girls until they found husbands, though typically the girls married soon after arriving in the colony. Marie Paradis's fifth great grandmother, Perrette Hallier, was a *filie du Roi*. She, like many of these girls, married a soldier of the Carignan Salières regiment, in her case, Antoine Bordeleau Laforest. Records indicate that,

[T]he thirty-five year old Antoine Bordeleau appeared at the home of the notary Pierre Duquet to sign his marriage contract with the eighteen-year old Perrette Hallier. The terms of the agreement conformed to the coutume de Paris. The bride brought to the marriage some personal property valued at 350 livres, not counting the gift of 50 livres from the king, given to all the young women under his protection. Antoine offered Perrette a prefixed dowry of 300 livres. Besides Anne Gasnier, chaperone of the king's daughters, and the seigneur Bourdon Dombourg, François Noël, habitant of the Ile d'Orléans, and the travel companions of Perrette Hallier, Nicole Legrand, Marie-Clair Lahogue and Marie Petit, signed the document. The marriage banns were published at the church of Notre-Dame de Québec. On Tuesday, 15 October 1669, Antoine Bordeleau dit Laforest, led his fiancée Perrette Hallier to the foot of the altar of the Virgin to receive the nuptial blessing. Witnesses present were Jean-François Bourdon, René Hubert, who had arrived here as a soldier about 1667 . . . Françoise de Lacroix, and Léonard Faucher dit Saint-Maurice.<sup>33</sup>

Life among the young couples of the colony was not always peaceful. Court records indicate that Perrette was involved in a fight with another woman and that "the matter was so serious that the civil lieutenant of Québec ordered an arrest issued . . . against Agathe Merlin . . . to the benefit of Perrette Hallier wife of Antoine Bordelot."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Thomas J. Laforest, *Our French-Canadian Ancestors* Vol. 25 (Palm Harbor, FL: LISI Press, 1994), accessed 25FEB2017, //www.acpo.on.ca/claude/nos-anct-a.htm.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

The waves of French immigrants to the New World slowed by 1672. However, during the time of Colbert's intense focus on populating the colony, approximately six thousand men and women made the crossing. From this point forward, the colony grew through procreation, not immigration.<sup>35</sup> However, over the next seventy years, the population of New France grew to only fifty-five thousand colonists, while the English colonies to the south expanded to a population of close to 1.25 million. The French loss to the Anglo-Americans during the French and Indian War seemed preordained, though the French and their allies defeated the English at every turn during the early years of the war. It was not until the great British minister, William Pitt, took the helm and commanded Britain's war effort that the inevitable occurred.<sup>36</sup>

### Conquest and British North America

Following its victory in the Seven Years' War, the challenge of how to incorporate Francophone Quebec into the British Empire faced George III and his ministers. Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester, was among a small minority who successfully argued that the newest British acquisition – Canada – and its majority French Canadian Roman Catholic population be accommodated by allowing their "language, religion, and legal and political institutions" to continue under British rule.<sup>37</sup> Carleton,

<sup>35</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 69-70.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 157-184. For a detailed analysis of the Seven Years' War, see Fred Anderson's *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*.

<sup>37</sup> Gary Caldwell, "How an Anglo-Irish aristocrat saved Quebec—and why no one knows about it," review of *The Imperial Challenge: Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution*, by Philip Lawson, *Inroads* 21 (Summer 2007): 184-187, accessed 29APR2012, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/218327139/13663C2437672A66E2F/6?accountid=8289>. Historians' interpretations of the Quebec Act often tie to their argument regarding the impetus for the American War of Independence. Since the majority of Anglo-Americans were both fiercely anti-French and anti-Catholic, historians' bias arises in the manner in which even the most reputable historians describe the Quebec

together with several other key British leaders—the majority of whom were Anglo-Irish or Scottish—overcame the British desire to wipe out the culture of their newest subjects. While Canada’s population was quite small compared to the American mainland colonies, Carleton’s stance for the rights of the French Canadian majority against the small English Canadian minority made an impression and helped garner him the support he needed to resist the American invasion when it occurred in 1775.

Despite multiple attempts to both cajole and force their neighbors to the north to join the American rebellion, the Canadians remained loyal to the British Crown. In a rather surprising turn of events, the American rebellion succeeded in large measure due to the efforts of France to wreak its vengeance on Britain.<sup>38</sup> According to Eccles, however, as

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Act and its impact on the American colonists. Frequently, British and American historians refer to the Quebec Act as one that continued a “feudal” society. This interpretation is found in Merrill Jensen’s *The Founding of a Nation*, in Piers Mackesy’s *The War for America 1775-1783*, and Fred Anderson’s *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. Anderson describes the royal governor, James Murray, acting in August 1764 “like a frog-eating tyrant,” since he permitted lower courts to continue to use French law codes, which must have pleased the overwhelming majority French-speaking population while alienating English residents. In *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. II, P. J. Marshall terms the Quebec Act as a triumph of Catholic absolutism over Protestant liberty and of French tyranny over English rights. It is highly unlikely that French historians interpret the Act in the same manner.

<sup>38</sup> In America, the effect of French aid was enormous. In 1777, a year before the alliance, France had already provided massive support in the form of “200 brass cannon, 300 fusils, 100 tons of powder, 3,000 tents, and heavy stores of bullets, mortars, and cannon balls, together with necessary articles of clothing for 30,000 men,” according to historian Don Higginbotham in *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*. The formal alliance between the Americans and France added the French fleet and French troops to the mix. The entry of France into the war against Britain forced the British to fight a world war to protect both the home islands and far-flung British

soon as America gained its independence, “the Americans displayed a singular lack of gratitude to the French. . . . [W]hen the [Treaty of Alliance] was put to the test in 1793, the Americans, without a qualm abrogated it.”<sup>39</sup>

The War of 1812 reintroduced the American desire to add Canada to its boundaries. Henry Clay harangued his fellow citizens that “The conquest of Canada is in your power” and Thomas Jefferson stated, “[T]he acquisition of Canada . . . will be a mere matter of marching.”<sup>40</sup> While the end of the war brought little change to either the United States or Great Britain, it did establish that the borders of the United States would not expand to include the Canadian north.

### Exodus

Over the ensuing half century, events in both the United States and Canada triggered a mass departure of Canadians to the United States. According to Claude Bélanger of the Department of History at Marianopolis College, “[B]etween 1840 and 1930 roughly 900,000 French Canadians left Canada to [immigrate] to the United States.”<sup>41</sup> Historian Bruno Ramirez estimates that by the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian émigrés to the United States—both French and English speaking—equalled over twenty percent of the population of Canada.<sup>42</sup> He

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holdings, while attempting to regain the American colonies.

<sup>39</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America*, 265.

<sup>40</sup> Henry Clay and Thomas Jefferson quoted by Jon Wells in “Our War: A civil war. A forgotten war. The 200th anniversary of the War of 1812 is being commemorated. Should it be celebrated?” *The Spectator*, Hamilton, Ontario, 24MAR2012, accessed 25FEB2017, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/939042070/3415FBFC2A164C8APQ/2?accountid=8289>.

<sup>41</sup> Claude Bélanger, “French Canadian Emigration to the United States, 1840-1930,” *Québec History*, revised 23 AUG2000, accessed 25FEB2017, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/leaving.htm>

<sup>42</sup> Bruno Ramirez, “Emigration from Canada to the United States in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” *OAH Magazine of History* (October 2009), accessed 25FEB 2017, [www.dentonisd.org/cms/lib/TX21000245/Centricity/Domain/535/emigration%20from%20canada%20to%20the%20US.pdf](http://www.dentonisd.org/cms/lib/TX21000245/Centricity/Domain/535/emigration%20from%20canada%20to%20the%20US.pdf).

further noted that so many Canadians immigrated to America that “angry politicians and community leaders used the term ‘exodus’ to denounce what they say as a quasi-apocalyptic loss of population.”<sup>43</sup> Since the continued enmity of American Protestants greeted the arrival of the Catholic and French speaking population from Québec with fear and suspicion, the factors impelling the French-Canadians to depart Québec were significant enough to outweigh the cultural ostracism that awaited the initial immigrants upon their arrival in America.<sup>44</sup>

In his analysis of the dynamics that influenced French Canadians to emigrate from Québec, Bélanger noted an “interplay of push and pull factors;”<sup>45</sup> he attributed the poor economic situation in Québec combined with the expanding economy of the United States as the primary factors that precipitated the exodus. He noted that,

Québec’s agriculture underwent tremendous strains during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In part, these difficulties were demographic. Indeed, throughout the century, Québec experienced very rapid population growth. However, by the 1830s and 1840s, Québec’s most fertile farm land had been systematically occupied, leaving mostly peripheral regions open to agricultural colonisation, and thousands of landless farmers searching either for affordable, accessible and fertile land, or gainful employment. Between 1784 and 1844, Québec’s population increased by about 400 percent, while its total area of agricultural acreage rose only by 275 percent, creating an important deficit of available farmland. While not as dramatic, this trend continued between 1851 and 1901. Since Québec was largely a rural society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, agricultural problems were truly national problems.<sup>46</sup>

The economic and demographic turmoil noted by Bélanger caught Marie Paradis’s parents, Celestin Paradis and his wife Marie Adele Bertrand Paradis in its trap. Though the Paradis, a founding family, had resided on the Ile D’Orleans near Montreal since the mid-seventeenth century and farmed on the island for over two hundred years, Celestin Paradis and his family were asked to move from the island—it could no longer support the number of families who wished to reside there and work its farms.<sup>47</sup> By 1870, Paradis and his family, including his three young children, had moved to Detroit, Michigan where he found work as a ship’s carpenter. They lived in the Tenth Ward, a short distance

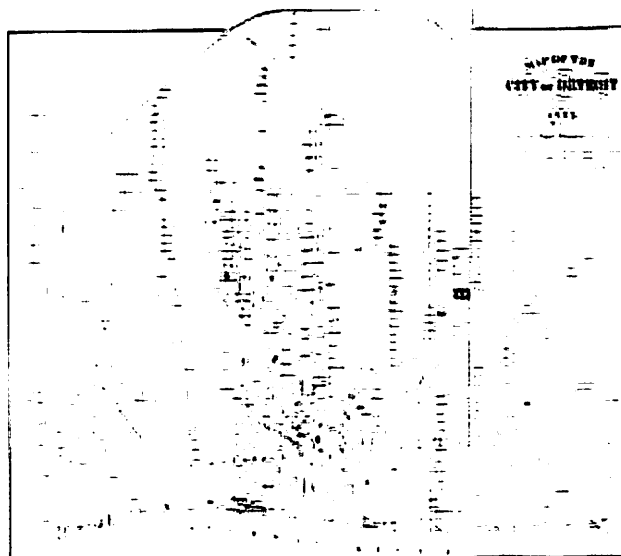


Figure 6. Gray’s Atlas, City of Detroit map, by Eugene Robinson, City Surveyor, c. 1873. Ward 10 is located in the lower right corner of the map, bordering the Detroit River. Accessed at <http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps740033-22421.html>

from the Detroit River. At that time, Detroit’s population was less than eighty thousand people, of whom forty-five percent were foreign born.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> See William J. Phalen, “But they did not build this house: The attitude of Evangelical Protestantism towards immigration to the United States, 1800-1924,” (doctoral dissertation, The State University of New Jersey, 2010) for an excellent analysis of evangelical attitudes toward immigrants.

<sup>45</sup> Bélanger, “French Canadian Emigration.”

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Family oral history as described by author’s mother, Jean Leithauser, 15FEB2017.

<sup>48</sup> 1870 United States Federal Census for Coclestin Paradis (Celestin Paradis), Tenth Ward City of Detroit, Ancestry, accessed 26FEB2017, [interactive.ancestry.com/7163/4273772\\_00328/27566210?backurl=http://perso.n.ancestry.com/tree/925443/person/-2020761884/facts](http://interactive.ancestry.com/7163/4273772_00328/27566210?backurl=http://perso.n.ancestry.com/tree/925443/person/-2020761884/facts); “Nativity of the Population for the 50 Largest Urban Places:1870-1990, US Census, accessed



During the next decade, Felix Paradis—also a ship’s carpenter—and his family joined his younger brother Celestin in Detroit.

While a number of Canadians immigrated to Michigan, many French Canadians migrated to New England and Northern New York. Bélanger attributed the choice of New England to two key factors: financial cost and cultural impact. He noted that the initial migration of one member of a family would soon attract other relatives. This created a support system, which minimized the immigrants’ sense of dislocation. Bélanger noted that “Little Canadas” arose in many New England towns, where life was “predominately French and Catholic.”<sup>49</sup> He described these French ghettos, where,

[a]round their local church and school, life appeared much the same as it was in some parts of Québec. In these “Little Canadas,” Franco-Americans could often speak French to their priest, grocer, or doctor. This was especially the case as the number of French priests, most of them sent from Québec, rose substantially as time passed. Father Hamon, in his 1891 study, had found that 175 French-speaking priests ministered to the French parishes of New England.<sup>50</sup>

The family of Celestin Paradis lived in a mixed ethnic working-class neighbourhood during their early years in Detroit. Though many of their closest neighbors were Canadian, the neighbourhood was not exclusively so. Other nearby neighbors hailed from England, France, Bavaria, Ireland, Scotland, as well as other American states, including New York, Vermont, Wisconsin, Ohio, and New Jersey. The occupations of the local men included, among other things, house carpenter, cooper, cigar maker, sailor, caulker, blacksmith, bank clerk, saloonkeeper, shoemaker, ship carpenter, and railroad engineer. Detroit’s Tenth Ward

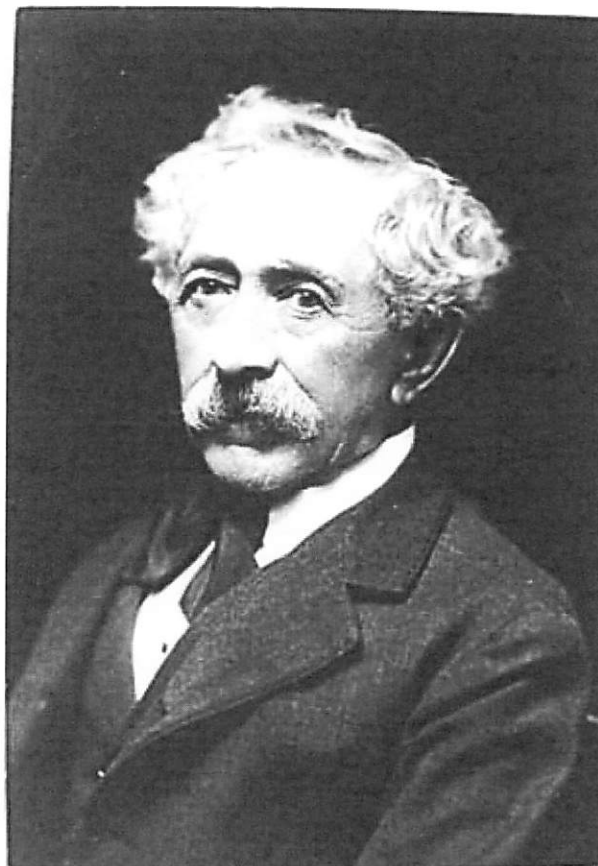


Figure 7. Celestin Paradis (1833-1905), c. 1900. Photo property of author.

was a melting pot in 1870, unlike the French-Canadian ghettos described by Bélanger in New England.<sup>51</sup>

Once settled in their new home, the French-Canadians would often paint glowing pictures of life in America for their relatives back in Québec. Amusingly, Belanger related that,

In visits home, the emigrant often spent lavish sums of money to impress his family and neighbours and to prove to them that he had become successful. In many rural parishes, the gleam of a gilded pocket watch, a store bought suit or dress and a few American trinkets clashed with the relative material poverty of the local inhabitants. Indeed, the expressions “*l’oncle des États*” [uncle

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26FEB2017, [www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab19.html](http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab19.html).

<sup>49</sup> Bélanger, “French Canadian Emigration.”

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>51</sup> 1870 United States Federal Census for Coclestin Paradice (Celestin Paradis), Tenth Ward City of Detroit.

from the States] or "*la tante des États*" [aunt from the States] developed in Québec to describe any relative that was rich, whether that relative was from the United States or not! The emigrant often became the symbol of success, stimulating others to follow his path to industrial New England.<sup>52</sup>

This phenomenon was displayed in a visit that émigré Marie Paradis Sullivan paid to Montreal years after she had married a second-generation Irish-American, John Emmet Sullivan. Accompanied by her daughter and son-in-law, she toured the land of her birth. Their visit was such an event that their picture appeared on the front page of the Montreal paper, *La Press*; a tribute that likely occurred because a Bertrand cousin was the editor of the paper at that time.

Like many other new arrivals to the United States, the French-Canadian émigrés sought to blend into their new home. As Bélanger noted, "French is no longer a functional language in New England."<sup>53</sup> He also claimed that the close ties that once existed between Québec and the French communities in New England are no longer evident. While the French-Canadian immigration may not have established French as a living language in America, it has had an effect upon the lives of the communities that eventually embraced the émigrés: the Roman Catholic faith has remained strong in many of those areas. Today, Catholicism is the largest denomination in Massachusetts, at over forty-six percent of the population, in Rhode Island at over forty-four percent of the population, in Connecticut with almost thirty-six percent of the population, in Vermont, at over twenty-five percent of the population, and in New Hampshire with twenty-four percent of the population. Likewise, Catholicism is the largest denomination in Maine, though the proportion is low at fourteen percent.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Bélanger, "French Canadian Emigration."

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> "Religion in Vermont," 26FEB2017, [www.adherents.com/loc/loc\\_vermont.html](http://www.adherents.com/loc/loc_vermont.html); Religion, "Maine State," accessed 26FEB2017, [www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/maine](http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/maine); "Religion," New Hampshire State, accessed 26FEB 2017, [www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/new\\_hamp](http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/new_hamp)



Figure 7. Left to right: Adele Sullivan Drolshagen, Leo Drolshagen, and Marie Paradis Sullivan, c. 1920s. Taken for return visit to Montreal. Photo property of author.

In "The Three Pillars of Survival," Bélanger terms, "*Notre foi, notre langue, nos institutions* (our faith, our language, our institutions) . . . [as] the three pillars of survival of French Canadians."<sup>55</sup> Like the descendants of many French-Canadians, most of Marie Paradis Sullivan's descendants are not fluent in French but remain Roman Catholic. As Bélanger observed, in Québec, the opposite is true. The French language has remained strong but the Catholic faith has faded with the secularism prevalent in Canada. It is unfortunate that much of the French-Canadian heritage has faded in America; however, in the opinion of this author, the pillar of faith is perhaps the best legacy.

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## About the Author

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Anne has been active in a number of American Military University (AMU) and American Public University (APU) student organizations, including the Saber and Scroll Historical Society, the Historical Studies Honor Society, Ratio Christi, Pi Gamma Mu, Golden Key, and the group that she founded in 2017, the AMU & APU Newman Center, Catholic Campus Ministry. She has served as an editor for the Saber and Scroll Journal since its inception and previously served two terms as the Editor-In-Chief of the Journal.

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*Michigan's Habitant Heritage*, Vol.39, No. 4, October 2018:

- Conway, Kathryn, FCHSM. "Matthias Farnsworth III, a.k.a. Claude Mathias Fanef, an English Captive Carried to New France and the Progenitor of All Phaneufs: Part 1, Life before New France."
- Muhn, Judy Nimer, FCHSM. "Are you Metis or metis or First Nation or French Canadian or ???."

*Je Me Souviens* (A Publication of the American-French Genealogical Society)

- Buteau, George H. "Descendants of Pierre Buteau." Vol. 20, No. 1, Spring 1997
- Vilmur, Paul. "Michel Gamelin: Surgeon and Fur Trader, (Sieur de LaFontaine)." Volume 31, No.2, Fall 2008:

*Nos Source* (Bulletin de la Societe de genealogie de Lanaudiere)

- "Le premier Talussier dit Lasalle a s'installer dans la region de Lanaudiere," Volume 38, No. 2, June 2018
- "A la recherche d'un ancetre des Talussier dit Lasalle: Alsace 2017." Volume 38, Number 3, September 2018

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## Roberge Origins

Melissa Ann Roberge

### The Beginning of the Discovery

Several years ago, we found an article stating that three brothers traveled from France to Québec and were the origins of the entire Roberge family in North America. And there was a rock engraved with the name “Roberge” on the island, Île d’Orléans, near Québec City. We knew little of the Roberge origins except for vague references to an Indian princess, horse thieves, and Canada.

We set out from Québec City on a foggy, rainy day in August and crossed a bridge to explore Île d’Orléans. A stop in a tiny museum gained us some sweaters but they didn’t know about a “Roberge rock.” After several drives around the island, we found “The Rock” in the front of a neat white house. We knocked on the door. Madame Roberge invited us in to sign a visitor’s book. She offered a book about the Roberge family origins and descendants.



The Roberge Stone

In 1979, a three hundred year ancestral reunion of 4,200 descendants was held on her property. A family crest was developed for this occasion and Radio-Canada filmed the event. In 1980, she and her husband, George, traveled to Saint-Germain-le-Vasson, Normandy, France, the birthplace of the three Roberge brothers who sailed to Québec

in the 1600s. The mayor and townspeople welcomed them with a ceremony. They attached a commemoration plaque in the mayor’s office and signed their names in a book to mix the signatures of those in the village with the Roberge family of Canada. The name Roberge has ceased to exist in that town except for a single tombstone.

### What Does the Name Mean?

In old French, “roberge” signified “warship,” according to the *Larousse Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*, indicating that those who began to use the name were those attached to life at sea, warriors and adventurers. The Roberge name began initially from Normandy, France. The Normans (North-Men, Noremen) came from the Scandinavian countries, mainly Norway and Denmark.

About the year 800, the Norsemen, in their Viking warships, landed at the entrance of the major rivers of present-day France and Germany. After a series of wars and treaties, Charles III surrendered the land to the Norseman, Rollon, in 911. The invasions ceased within France, but the taste of far expeditions remained with the Normans, who established principalities in southern Italy and Sicily in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and conquered England in 1066 under the Norman, William the Conqueror. It is not surprising that people of Normandy went in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to settle New France.<sup>56</sup>

Jacques Roberge was a merchant in the town of Saint-Germain-le-Vasson, a small village near Caen, in Normandy, France. Although it is unknown what goods Jacques sold, he was not far from important markets in France where men traded merchandise worldwide. Jacques married

<sup>56</sup> Although the names Canada and New France were sometimes used interchangeably, New France represented a portion of North American territory including the St. Lawrence colonies, Hudson’s Bay, Acadia, Newfoundland, and Louisiana.

Andrée le Marchand; they had a child, Denis Roberge. After Andrée passed away from an unknown cause, Jacques married Claudine Buret. This marriage produced two sons, both named Pierre Roberge<sup>57</sup>. The eldest had the nickname Sieur de la Croix; the youngest was known as Sieur de la Pierre. To avoid confusion, they will be referred to as Pierre Lacroix and Pierre Lapierre.

In the years of the mid-1600s, Louis XIII and his chief minister Richelieu, and afterward, Louis XIV and his minister of finance, Colbert, ruled France. Although increased trade and colonial holdings were emphasized, continuous wars led to higher taxes. Rebellions against these taxes were suppressed. Communities were crowded, and available land was scarce. The economy, although spreading outward to new lands, was suffering within France itself.

Soldiers sent on missions to New France returned with stories of great hunting and fishing. The writings of the Catholic missionaries, who went to convert the indigenous people, influenced the religious. The troubles in France (poverty, lack of work, social problems) and the lure of New France (propaganda and adventure) are the fundamental reasons that motivated many French people to leave their country of origin.

Meanwhile, in France, Denis Roberge was a servant and student at the house of Jean de Bernières, a noted ascetic who devoted himself to spiritual leadership and charity. Le Seigneur de Bernières operated a religious retreat in Caen called the Hermitage, where influential men would visit. One French priest, trained by the Jesuits, François de Laval, stayed at the Hermitage for three years. He was described as a “priest of great piety, prudent and of unusually great competence in business matters, [who had set] fine examples of virtue.” Monsieur de Laval would become the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Québec. (Pope Francis,

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<sup>57</sup> It was not uncommon to have siblings with the same name. Roman Catholic families would name children after the saint whose day fell nearest to their birth/baptism or a favorite saint. The child would then be given a nickname (a *dit* name).

in 2014, declared him a saint.) The association of Denis with Le Seigneur Bernières and Le Seigneur de Laval was fortunate for the three young brothers.

### Onward to New France

The training of the younger Pierre brothers is unknown; however, Denis and his half-brothers received recommendations as servants from Le Seigneur Bernières to work for Le Seigneur Laval in New France. The abbot, Bertrand de la Tour, wrote in his book *The Memoir of the Life of Monseigneur de Laval, First Bishop of Québec*, “Monsieur Morel left France in 1661 with Denis Roberge, student of Monsieur de Bernières, who, filled with the spirit of his master, went with zeal to Canada to devote himself to Monsieur de Laval and serve him until his death.” Monsieur Thomas Morel was a priest and writer at the Beaupré Seminary. He officiated both on the Beaupré coast and on the Île d’Orléans.

The Roberge brothers and Monsieur Morel left Normandy en route to La Rochelle, the grand port, for the New World. The crossing to New France took one to three months depending on the time of year and the weather. Unfortunately, there is no original passenger list found for Denis and his half-brothers.

In August of 1661, Denis and his half-brothers arrived in Québec. Denis was 32 years old, Pierre Lacroix was 24, and Pierre Lapierre was just 13. Denis was committed to devoting his life as a servant to Le Seigneur de Laval. The half-brothers set to work as indentured servants on the *Seigneurie de Beaupré*, a vast forest and farm of about 400,000 acres, located north of Québec city. Monseigneur de Laval had purchased the land to fund the Seminary of Québec. The seminary’s mission was to expand the Catholic Church in New France and to train its future leaders.

To promote the development and settlement in the new world, France developed the seigniorial or manor system. The seigneurs (wealthy landowners) needed a large number of people skilled in woodworking, building, textiles, and shipping. Whole families were wanted to work their land. (Perhaps this is why the three brothers were



recruited to the Seigneurie de Beauré.) Most Frenchmen who traveled to New France became *les engagés* (indentured servants); they agreed to work for three years in exchange for the price of the passage, food, and lodging. The indentured servant would receive 75 *livres* (Canadian pounds) a year. After that period, he could become independent; he could buy land with savings, farm it, build a house, raise a family, or return to France. He only needed to work hard.

The *habitants* (farmers) of New France rose early, working from sunrise to sundown in every season of the year. They would plow, plant, and harvest in spring and summer. In fall, they would saw and cut wood, repair wagons and tools, and replace the floor of the house with earth and straw. In winter, they would make furniture and small tools inside, school the family, and celebrate weddings, which could last for days.

Marie de L'Incarnation<sup>58</sup> an Ursuline missionary who arrived in Québec in 1639, describes the life in Québec. “. . . *this country is rich . . . vegetables and other sorts of grains grow in abundance: the land is wheat land. The more we find forest, the more fertile and abundant [the soil] is . . . Nevertheless, this abundance does not prevent there from being a good number of poor people here; and the reason is that when a family takes over a homestead, it takes them two or three years before they have enough to eat, without even mentioning clothes, furniture, and the infinite number of little things needed to maintain a home.*”

### Women in Québec

Alas, women were scarce in Québec. In a 1661 census, the number of men surpassed the women two to one. France, hoping to establish and populate the new land, made several plans to send young women to New France. Between 1634 and 1662, French religious groups such as the Ursulines sent 262 *filles à marier*, “marriageable girls,” to New France for marriage and family. These women would live in their religious communities until their wedding, not long after their

arrival. Usually, they were daughters of peasants who sought a better life. Later, the French government chose and financed women to go to New France. Between 1662 and 1673, the French government sent 852 *filles du roi*, “king’s daughters,” to New France. They picked healthy females, accustomed to hard work and trained to become housekeepers. In addition to their passage, the women received a dowry of clothing, sewing materials, and coins from the King’s treasury. When the women arrived, there were as many as 30 marriages at a time. Some were already contracted to marry a particular man; others would “interview” the suitors. The suitors would need to have some reputable standing in the community, property, and a house.

### Housing

The houses were similar to those in Normandy, with steeper roofs to accommodate the heavy Canadian snow. The one-story rectangle of about 25 feet by 18 feet had windows on the front and back. Solid shutters kept the heat in and the cold out. Inside, the fireplace sat at one end and the bed at the other. The open-hearth held cauldrons, pots, pans, molds, grills, utensil hooks, shovels and pails. A wooden partition may have divided the room; it would not reach the ceiling or touch the floor to keep air circulating within the house. The “furnished bed” had layers of materials; straw covered in ticking fabric, a mattress, a feather top, sheets and blankets of wool, pillows, bolsters, a quilt and a canopy of about six feet. The children’s beds were simpler and placed at the side of the master bed. Other furniture included wooden chairs with straw seating, table, chests, a spinning wheel, and weaving loom. The *habitants* had to make their yarn and thread and weave their fabric.

### Clothing

Fabric, homemade or woven by local weavers, was made from wool, flax, or hemp. Sheep were difficult to raise as the forest carnivores were numerous. Linen (from flax) and hemp were more abundant but not as warm; they needed to be lined with leather or fur. The *habitants*, who made up the majority of the population, wore woven wool shirts, britches with wool stockings, belts, rustic

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<sup>58</sup> In 2014, Pope Francis declared Sainthood for Marie de L'Incarnation

boots and knitted caps. In winter, they layered coats, hats or hoods, vests, and shoulder coverings. The females wore petticoats, shifts or skirts, wool stockings, bodices, bonnets, aprons and shawls. Ever frugal, they recycled old clothes into quilts and headgear. The bourgeoisie, middle class of merchants and traders, made up only a small part of the rugged New France. They wore finer fabrics and used more decorations such as feathers, buttons, lace, embroidery, fans and parasols.

### Food and Drink

Food sources were different from those in France. Wild animals, birds, and fish were plentiful. Smoked and salted eel was the most common fish. The *habitants* ate bread daily. On cleared land, they grew wheat, oats, barley, peas, beans, and asparagus. Cucumber was a source of hydration for the farmers who worked away from water sources. Corn, adopted from the indigenous people, was roasted, mixed with meat, put in soups, and ground into flour for pancakes. Wild fruits were eaten fresh or preserved in jams.

There were three, sometimes four, meals per day. Breakfast was light, consisting of a little bread (maybe dipped in *eau de vie*). Some women would take coffee. Meals at noon and four o'clock were working breaks for the farmers and oxen. A typical evening meal was soup with bread, then meat or poultry, then a salad, then dessert with milk and sugar. A meal could also be pancakes dipped in a bowl of creamy milk (maple syrup was not popular until the English influence). Sometimes milk was poured into an earthenware bowl in the middle of the table and bread was dipped and served as soup. A traditional dish was a *tourtière*, a meat pie, made with bacon, eel, poultry or game and cooked in the family skillet. Smoking or salting meat made it useful for farmers who took their food into the fields.

Drinks were similar to those in France. They made "poor man's champagne", beer, *cervoise* (barley beer), cider, and *bouillon*. "One has in this country," writes Pierre Boucher in 1664, "à drink that one calls bouillon, that is commonly drunk in every house." It is a paste of wheat or corn, fermented, soaked in water, and aged in barrels.

### Denis Roberge (1629-1709)

At the age of 32, Denis Roberge was in the service of Monseigneur de Laval who later asked him to handle the affairs of Seigneur François Berthelot, secretary to the king of France. Monseigneur de Laval and Seigneur Berthelot both owned land in New France; however Berthelot was never present in New France. Denis received 300 Canadian pounds per year for this. In 1666, this income allowed him to buy a tract of three adjoining *arpents* (about 190 linear feet each) on the St-Lawrence River, from the shore to the middle of the Île d'Orléans (Lot no. 14 of St-Pierre). Since he was working for Monseigneur de Laval, Denis had another person farm it. According to the census of 1667, Denis Roberge lived on the farm of the seminary in the Seigneurie de Beaupré with his brothers who were servants also. He courted and married Geneviève, daughter of the prominent notary Claude Auber, clerk in the provost of the same Seigneurie. Geneviève was 19 years old and educated. The marriage vows were signed at Chateau-Richer, on the third of July 1667, in the presence of parents, and friend, and dignitaries.

From this union, they raised eleven children, seven boys and four girls. Denis lived in the bishop's residence in Québec City. Soon, his lodging became too small for his family. On the 14<sup>th</sup> April 1676, he bought a home near the Jesuit Priests. He was doing well financially and was able to hire an employee for 160 *livres tournois* (Canadian pounds) to work during the year. In 1678, he bought Lot no. 13 on the Île d'Orléans. According to the census of November 1681, Denis, Geneviève, and five children lived in Uptown Québec. He had a servant named Marie, a gun, and a cow. He rented out his property on the island with three-year contracts.

In 1691, Denis was elected to the important post of *marguillier* (churchwarden) of the Basilica-Cathedral Notre-Dame de Québec. In 1695, he started a business and joined with Simon Maureau "to trade and neotiate bakeries." Wheat and bread were a necessity of life at that time.

Although he had eleven children, several passed away at a young age. The eldest daughter, Geneviève, died when she was thirteen years old.

His eldest son, François, may have died young also but records are unclear. Marie Anne married François Guyon; she died in Montréal in 1703. Angélique, at 19, entered the Ursulines and took the name of Mère Angélique de Ste-Marie. Marie Madeleine married Charles Perthius on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1697. In June 1702, his oldest two, Denis and Claude, enlisted for five years as ship captains for the *Compagnie de la Colonie*; their whereabouts afterward are unknown. The other sons, except for Jacques, died young. It seems that no male line perpetuated the name Roberge. Perhaps Marie Madeleine preserved the line under the name Perthius and Marie Ann under the name Guyon.

As time passed and the pioneers aged, Monseigneur de Laval became burdened with physical disabilities. He died the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1708 at the age of 85. Denis survived him a little more than a year. The 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1709, at age 80 years old, Denis Roberge was buried in the crypt of the Basilica of Notre-Dame de Québec. His son Jacques joined him there the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1731 at 43 years of age; his wife Geneviève, the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 1732 at 83 years old; and his daughter Madeleine Perthius passed away on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1741, at 60 years old.

Children of Denis Roberge and Geneviève Auber:

Geneviève (1661-1681)  
Marie Anne (1671-1703)  
François (1674- unknown)  
Angélique (1677-1750)  
Denis (1680 – unknown)  
Marie Madeleine (1681-1741)  
Claude (1683-unknown)  
Jean Baptiste Louis (1687-1687, 15 days)  
Pierre (1688-1702)  
Jacques (1689-1732)  
Joseph François (1691-1695)

### **Pierre Lacroix (1637-1710)**

In 1664, Pierre Lacroix, three years after his indentured contract, bought a tract of land on the Île d'Orléans. He did not settle there immediately but continued to work and live on the Seigneurie de Beaupré. In August and September of 1668, records show that he signed several contracts of wood supplies to the Intendant Talon; he lived in

the house of Louis Poulin on the "small cape." After a series of real estate transactions in 1670, he settled on the island in the parish of St-Paul.

On 22 October 1671, Pierre Lacroix, 34, married Antoinette Beurenom (Bagot) of Coutances, Normandy, daughter of Guillaume de Beurenom and Françoise Le Poupet. They married in the parish of Sainte-Famille on the Île d'Orléans (St-Paul became St-Laurent in 1691). After ten years of working on their property, they had a gun, six horned animals, and ten *arpents* (about 1,900 feet wide from the water to the center of the island). Unfortunately, Antoinette died in 1683 leaving no children.

One year later, Pierre Lacroix, age 47, married Marie Lefrançois, age 25, daughter of Charles Lefrançois and Marie Trio(t). Marie Trio(t) had traveled to Québec as a "marriageable girl." Therefore, Marie Lefrançois was the daughter of a "marriageable girl." The marriage contract of Pierre Lacroix and Marie Lefrançois recorded this extract:

*In the year 1684, the tenth day of April, after the engagement and publication of the banns of marriage made by three consecutive celebrations, between Pierre Roberge, widower of the late Antoinette Bagot, of the parish of Saint-Paul, aged forty-seven years, party of the first part; and Marie Lefrançois daughter of Charles Lefrançois and Marie Trio his wife of this parish, age twenty-five, party of the second part; having not found any reason to forbid the marriage, Pastor of this parish, having received their mutual consent of marriage and having given them the nuptial benediction according to the form of our mother St Eglise Romaine in the presence of Charles Lefrançois, Denis Roberge and Félix Auber who have signed with the said Roberge, the wife declared she did not know how to sign this document. G. Gauthier, priest."*

In 1685, Monseigneur de Laval reported that there were 384 individuals on the island divided into 51 families. The convent, *la Congrégation*, provided education for the children of the island.

This couple had seven children and lived on the island until their deaths. Pierre Lacroix died on the

17<sup>th</sup> of June 1710 at the age of 73, leaving Lot no. 23 to his eldest son, Pierre; he left Lot no. 27 to his second son, Joseph. He is buried along with his first wife, Antoinette, and his second wife, Marie, in St-Laurent Cemetery on the Île d'Orléans. Church records recorded this event: *"In the year 1710, the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, Pierre Roberge, of this parish, died at age seventy-three after having received the Saint Viatique and Extreme Unction. His body has been buried in the cemetery of this parish with the customary ceremonies. In witness whereof I have signed. F. Poncelet, priest."*

Children of Pierre Lacroix and Marie Lefrançois

Pierre (1685-1760)  
 Joseph (1686-17530)  
 Marie Anne (1688-unknown)  
 Eléanore (unknown-1734)  
 Jean Baptiste (1691-1741)  
 Louise Hyacinthe (1694-unknown)  
 Geneviève (1696-unknown)

**Pierre Lapierre (1648-1725)**

The youngest Roberge brother, Pierre Lapierre, at eighteen was a cloth weaver on the farm of the Seminary of La Seigneurie de Beaupré. It is likely that he was apprenticed there for three years, as was his brother, Pierre Lacroix. At the age of 21, he purchased Lot no. 8 on the Île d'Orléans. Soon afterward he bought the adjoining Lot no. 9. At the age of thirty-one, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 1679 at Ste-Famille, Île d'Orléans, he married Françoise Loignon, daughter of Pierre Loignon and Françoise Roussin. According to the census of 1681, Pierre Lapierre was living on his island farm with his wife and one son. He had a gun, six horned animals and fifteen *arpents* (about 2,900 feet wide from the water to the center of the island). From this marriage, thirteen children were born.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1725, at the age of 77, Pierre Lapierre passed away and was buried in the parish of St-Pierre on the island. He ceded Lot no. 9 to his fourth son, Charles, ancestor of the present owner of the Roberge property on the Île d'Orléans.

Children of Pierre Lapierre and Françoise Loignon

Pierre (1681-1694)  
 Jean-Baptiste (1683-1709)  
 Anne (1686-1686, one month)  
 Marie-Anne (1687-unknown)  
 Joseph (1690-unknown)  
 Charles (1692-1777)  
 Geneviève (1695-1742)  
 Pierre (1697-1778)  
 Françoise (1700-1703)  
 Ignace (1702-1703, two months)  
 Élizabeth (1704-1760)  
 Ambroise (1706-unknown)  
 Thècle (1709-unknown)

**Roberge Lineage**

Jacques Roberge (ca.1610 – after 1648)  
 m. St-Germain le Vasson, France  
 Andrée Le Marchand (ca. 1610- bef. 1637  
 ↓  
 Pierre Roberge dit Lacroix (1637-1710)  
 m<sup>1</sup> 22 OCT 1671 Ste-Famille, île d'Orléans  
 Antoinette Beurenom dite Bagot (1649-1683)  
 – no issue  
 m<sup>2</sup> 10 APR 1684, Château-Richer  
 Marie Lefrançois (1659-1722)  
 ↓  
 Joseph Roberge (1686-1753)  
 m. 26 NOV 1715 St-Pierre, île d'Orléans  
 Marie Madeleine Lemelin (1695- after 1737)  
 ↓  
 François Roberge (1731-1809)  
 m. 19 OCT 1770 St-Sulpice  
 Marie Cécile Laurence (1745-1816)  
 ↓  
 François Roberge (1773-1825)  
 m. 3 OCT 1796 St-Mathieu-de-Beloil  
 Marie Angélique Dandonneau (1773-1823)  
 ↓  
 Augustin Roberge (1810-1887)  
 m. 28 JAN 1839 Ste-Martine, Châteauguay  
 Céleste Baillargeon  
 ↓  
 Elzear Roberge (1841-1925)  
 m. 28 DEC 1879, Chicopee, Massachusetts  
 Melvina Rivet/Rivais/Rivest (1850-1922)  
 ↓

Arthur Elzer Roberge (1883-1950)  
m. 17 OCT 1901 Waterbury, Connecticut  
Anna King/Roy (1885- bef. 1915)

Laurence Eler Roberge (1916-2000)  
m. 31 JAN 1942 Waterbury, Connecticut  
Mary Elizabeth Killian

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For Ken, *the* reason for the journey.

Gratitude for those who have contributed to this project: Ken, Danielle, Rich Roberge, and Alain, whose translations are better than mine.

Thanks to the French-Canadian Genealogical Society of Connecticut for finding the missing link.

And Antoinette.

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#### New Members

John & Catherine Evans, #2462  
Grace Mason, #2463  
Don LaCasse, #2464  
Philip Chasse, #2465

Eric Carson, #2466  
Elizabeth Willard, #2467  
Ceallaigh Reddy, #2468  
Michel Beliveau, #2469

FRENCH CANADIANS IN NEW ENGLAND

## A DISTINCT ALIEN RACE: BOOK REVIEW

by Julianne Mangin,

[juliannemangin.com/2018/08/28/a-distinct-alien-race-book-review/](http://juliannemangin.com/2018/08/28/a-distinct-alien-race-book-review/). Reproduced with permission of author.

The following is a review of *A Distinct Alien Race: The Untold Story of Franco-Americans: Industrialization, Immigration, Religious Strife*, by David Vermette. Baraka Books, 2018

In writing about the migration of French-Canadians to New England, Vermette has chosen an excellent example of how a feared ethnicity once labeled “Other” became assimilated citizens of the United States. One of the reasons this story is compelling is that it happened so long ago; another is that it is so similar to what is happening now at our southern border. Because it is the story of an underclass, it has been ignored in American history books and courses which tend to lionize the rich and powerful — that is, men who became rich and powerful on the backs of this underclass.

Between 1840 and 1930, 900,000 French-Canadians crossed the border between Canada and the U.S. Most of them settled in the New England states and toiled long hours for little pay in textile mills. Mill owners paid little attention to the lack of safety in the workplace or sanitation in the company-owned housing. Vermette recounts almost too vividly the horrific conditions of the tenements of Brunswick, Maine, where mill workers lived. In 1886, typhoid fever and diphtheria were rampant and mill owners were apathetic to their plight. I recommend readers avoid perusing this chapter while trying to eat.

French-Canadians were viewed with suspicion by their Anglo-American neighbors because they hoped to maintain their language, religion, and culture by keeping to themselves in enclaves known as “Little Canadas.” Conspiracy theories by Anglo-American Protestants stirred up fears that as Catholics, these immigrants were in New England to do the Pope’s bidding or that they were part of a scheme to annex New England into Québec.

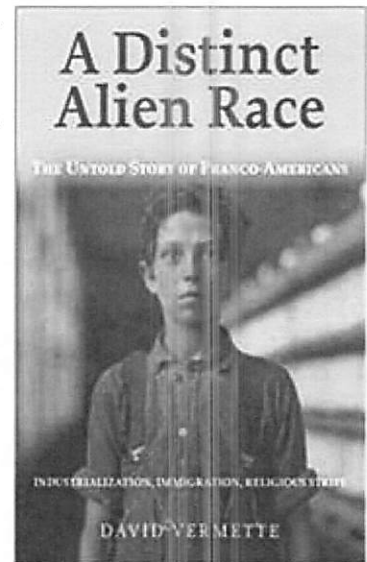
Vermette also exposes the role of the Ku Klux Klan in the New England states, where they sought to intimidate Catholics in general and French-

Canadians in particular. He reports on a little-known incident in which the KKK burned down a French Catholic school in Massachusetts. It is just one example of the bigotry these immigrants endured in their new country.

This is all the more surprising now that people of French-Canadian descent are considered “white,” and their culture somewhat diluted by assimilation. The story of French-Canadians in New England has faded so much into the background of whiteness that many of their own descendants are unaware of their heritage. Vermette’s book makes the case that the role of French-Canadians should be given more attention in the history of New England, not to mention the United States.

All of Vermette’s assertions about what happened to the French-Canadians are backed up by exhaustive research. In our current climate, with unsubstantiated conspiracy theories whirling around us and outside forces scheming to mislead the American public, Vermette’s academic rigor is more than just refreshing. It is a reminder of our moral responsibility to think—and listen and learn and show empathy—before we cast aspersions on an entire ethnic group.

When we, as American citizens, forget who our ancestors were, where they came from, and the trials they endured while trying to make a life for themselves in the United States, we diminish whatever greatness we imagine this country has.



## The Acadians Deported to Boston in 1755 - Part 2 By Monsieur the Senator Pascal Poirier

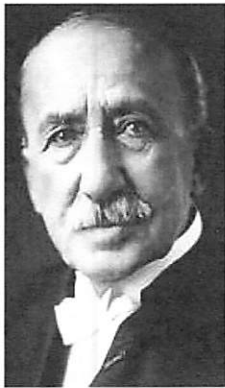
Translated by Maryanne LeGrow from a paper read to the Royal Society of Canada in 1908. *Des Memoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, Third Series, Volume 2, Meeting of May, 1908. pp.125-180. Ottawa, 1909.

### Second Part: Captivity; deliverance.

*Men whose lives glided on like rivers that water the woodlands;  
Darkened by shadows of earth, but reflecting an image of heaven.*

LONGFELLOW — *Evangeline*

[Editor's Note: Pascal Poirier (1852-1933), lawyer, historian and statesman, was the first person of Acadian descent appointed a Senator in the Canadian Parliament. Poirier was a descendant of Acadian settlers: his great-grandfather, Joseph Poirier (1728-1809), is said to have been among those Acadians who hid in the woods to



escape capture and deportation. Poirier's published work includes *Glossaire acadien* (5 v., 1977); *Les Acadiens de Philadelphie* (1875); *Le père Lefebvre et l'Acadie* (1898); *Le parler franco-acadien et ses origines* (1928); and *L'Origine des Acadiens* (1874). Of his works, none better reflects the diligent research of the trained historian in Canadian and United States arch-ives, combined with the bone-deep pain of the Acadian

descendant, as much as his *Des Acadiens déportés à Boston, en 1755* (1909). This stirring account describes events in the expulsion of Acadians transported to the city of Boston, Massachusetts, and consigned to the tender mercies of its inhabitants. His story brings the experience of the Acadians to life for us. Truly, as Poirier writes, "They were a people of pain." We reprint this story in two parts, concluding in this issue with Part II: Captivity and Deliverance.]

We see everywhere injustices and persecutions come to an end, like any other human thing. [But] not when the Acadians are suffering.

In Rome, under Nero, under Diocletian, when a Nazarite was apprehended, he was delivered to the beasts of the amphitheater or to the ax of the licitor, and all was said: it was the end.

It would have been better for the Acadians to live under Nero than under Lawrence; in any case, the fate of prisoners under a Roman proconsul would have been little different from what it was in the New England colonies during their captivity.

We hated each other less, we wanted less harm between pagans and Christians, eighteen hundred years ago, on the one hand, than between Christians and Christians alike, between Protestants and Catholics, on both sides, under the good old regime of the "very Christian" French kings and the English "defenders of the faith."

In Boston, where the laws defended religious murder, against what was practiced, until recently, in most of the kingdoms of Europe, the attempt was made to keep the Acadian prisoners as long as possible, because there were benefits to be obtained from their barely paid work and sharing their children. It was a vein that Providence gave the Puritans to exploit, six days of the week, as a reward for their observance of Sunday. So they never allowed the Acadians to take lands, to practice trades, to found any establishment, or even to fish for their personal benefit.

Slaves in Rome could acquire a nest egg, redeem their freedom, become enfranchised; in Boston, the Acadians owned their instruments and work tools and their household effects, but could not aspire to become citizens. The Romans sold the children of enslaved prisoners; the Bostonians distributed them freely among themselves.

There was also the difference that the Romans only took prisoners in time of war, while the

Acadians had been citizens and were deported in peacetime. An ambush like that to which Lawrence had recourse in 1755, to seize a free people, subjects of a rival power, would have repelled Roman pride. The army would have protested to protect its military honor; the judiciary would have intervened in the name of justice and the law of nations; the senate would have left them free to leave and, if necessary, would have ordered them to go.

There was this other difference, in favor of the pagans, that Roman law (Cod III, Tit XXXVIII, § II) ordered in all cases of selling and sharing a property, the integrity of the family was respected and that slaves who were husband and wife, father and mother, brother and sister, were not separated; [while] in a multitude of cases, the sacred bonds of the family were inhumanly broken in Acadia.

Precipitated by the inevitability of events in an abnormal situation in which the King of France did not care, or from which the King could not remove them, and where the British government, in agreement with that of the New England plantations, did not want to let them leave, the prisoners of Massachusetts saw their captivity drag on. New Sisyphes, whatever they did to regain their freedom, the rock still fell on them.

Louisbourg, the impregnable fortress, had fallen a second time in 1758, bringing with it Cape Breton, St. John's Island, and New Brunswick. These were so many new fields open to the persecution suffered by those Acadians who had escaped, three years earlier, from Lawrence and his minions, passing from Nova Scotia to French territory.

After the fall of Louisbourg, there was a second assault of deportation more cruel, more deadly, more implacable than the first, and less justifiable, because this time the French subjects who were stripped of their goods, who were removed from their homes and exiled, had been found living regularly in French territory, or in territory in dispute, and with the exception of a few had never, during their stay in Nova Scotia nor since, taken up arms against England.

The Treaty of Paris (1763), which four years after the taking of Québec left to the Most Christian King, of all of New France in America only two islets: Saint Pierre and Miquelon. Everything else had [been] yielded to the victorious arms of Great Britain. Pending the proclamation of the peace treaty between the two Crowns, Murray, the English governor of Québec, allowed the Canadians to return to their fields without being molested.

At the same time, throughout the whole of North America and to England, the Acadians continued to be beyond the pale of humane treatment. Those of Boston were always placed within the limits assigned to them in 1756; those of England and Halifax were kept in the prisons of the State, where they perished, decimated by sorrow, misery, and diseases; and those of Canada were excluded from the guarantees and immunities reserved in the treaties for the benefit of other men.

Article 39 of the capitulation of Montreal, submitted for the signature of Amherst, states that no French resident in Canada, or within its frontiers, will be deported to England or the English colonies. The English General wrote on the margin: "Granted, except with regard to the Acadians."

Vaudreuil proposed, in article 55, that "militia officers, militiamen and Acadians who are prisoners at New England be returned to their lands." – "Granted, to the reserve of the Acadians."

There was no corner of land or stone in North America where these unfortunate people could rest their heads.

In Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces, neither the cessation of hostilities between France and England, nor the fact that they were reduced to the last misery and the absolute impossibility of harming the English government and settlers in any way, gave the poor Acadians any respite.

Lawrence died on October 19, 1760, in the prime of life, like Nero; but he had been replaced by Belcher, doyen of his Council and chief justice of the province, the very one who, on July 28, 1755, had pronounced against the Acadians the unjust



sentence of death. They had only changed hangman; the persecution remained the same, so intense, so implacable.

Belcher had been, from the beginning, the intimate counselor, the accomplice of Lawrence. Together they had sought, together they had found a plausible pretext, almost a good reason, to deport the Acadians: their refusal to modify the oath taken by them to the British crown in 1726 and in 1730, which exempted them from bearing arms against the French and the Indians, and to take one without any restriction<sup>59</sup>.

Apart from the plausible pretext, the almost good reason, there was the motive: to seize their property.

"Another reason for them to evacuate Acadia is that, on leaving, they will give us the supplies and leave us a large amount of land ready for cultivation," wrote Lawrence himself, on October 18, 1755, to the Lords of Commerce, with a great air of candor and innocence.

In flocks, what did the Acadians of Nova Scotia possess? 50,000 head of cattle, Haliburton said 60,000, not counting sheep, horses, pigs, poultry, etc., all things fit for the supplies of the Halifax garrison, the supplies of the army, the naval police station, and likely, therefore, to be converted into fine sterling louis.

With the Acadians deported to the extremities of the world, it became necessary not to allow their property to perish, to dispose of it, on the contrary, in the shortest possible time, and to find occupiers for their lands and meadows.

The disposition of the real estate was not without inconvenience, because of the legal necessity to register at the Halifax Registry the names of the new owners - the Grantees - and the fulfillment of other formalities necessary to constitute a perfect property title. Lawrence contented himself with

some of the cattle and horses, of which there is reason to believe that he shared the gains with Belcher and the most intimate of his accomplices, reserving lands and meadows for the other members of his council and some influential or dangerous friends. The latter, participating in his spoliations, would thereby be obliged to become defenders [of Lawrence].

The most difficult thing was to hide the act from everyone's eyes, to cover it and to make it disappear. Thanks to the Seven Years' War that was ended in America, but still ongoing in Europe, Lawrence succeeded for a long time, without too much harm. He was all-powerful in Halifax and influential in London. But there was unsatisfied greed among the discontented in his entourage. The alarm was given by someone who denounced it to the Lords of Commerce, accusing him of embezzlement to the detriment of the State. The Court was preparing to call him to account, as, a few years later, the Minister of the King of France did to the Intendant Bigot and his accomplices, when death suddenly snatched him from human justice. Perhaps he had managed to exculpate himself, because it does not seem that he left much property in Halifax. Hatred, even more than greed, seems to have gnawed the depths of his soul. History owes him this much justice.

For the despoilers, whoever they were, peace was more to be feared than war. Peace could bring back to Nova Scotia the Acadians deported to the plantations of New England and elsewhere; and these, the friendship restored between the two crowns, would have had the right to claim their real estate and to be given account of their movable property. French diplomacy supported their just claims, and the spoliators [would have been] lost.

It was therefore more important than ever to purge the country of Acadians, to the last; to keep them as far away as possible, but, above all, to prevent their return. That's what Belcher applied with as much relentlessness – it was hardly possible to bring more – as Lawrence had. Henceforth slander alone, always good to exploit against them, was no longer enough; it was important to support it

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<sup>59</sup> "...et d'en prendre un qui fût sans restriction aucune." Meaning here is unclear. Possibly that the Acadians had refused to take an oath without the stated restrictions.

by facts, and to persuade the English authorities and the governors of the colonies that it was really dangerous for the kingdom to leave even one [Frenchman] in Acadia. It was not hate, now, as for Laurence, who [claimed they were] thieves, it was fear, more cruel than hatred.

One fact that was evident from the latest events was that there were dissatisfied people in the House, and apparently among the members of the Council, since there had been denunciation to the Lords of Commerce, with compromising details to support [the claims]. It was therefore [important], first of all, to buy the silence of whistleblowers. To this end, at some time in 1764, the Councilors authorized themselves to grant [and] share among themselves a large part of the best lands abandoned by the Acadians, that had been kept until then in reserve. They each acquired twenty thousand acres, which was perhaps not extreme for people able to exercise their greed at will. Belcher and his influential friends were not forgotten. Lord Egmond received, for his part, a hundred thousand acres of land and forests, and a certain Alexander McNutt, for him and his associates, one million six hundred thousand. All these beneficiaries, concealers or accomplices would, when necessary, kindly cover up a multitude of iniquities.

Meanwhile, General Amherst had asked the governor of Nova Scotia to put an end to the deportation of the Acadians.

Sure of each of the members of his Council, Belcher on February 20, 1761, made them pass in response to the general's message, an order declaring "that they were unanimously of the opinion that no order of the King, nor any law of the province was to allow the Acadian-French to remain in Nova Scotia." In closing, they prayed the governor to send this decree to whomever it might concern.

On four different occasions Belcher had resolutions passed by his Council asking General Amherst for permission to deport what was left of Acadians in the provinces, and four times he received a refusal.

Weary of war, and desperate to win, he turned to England. The Lords of Commerce, to which he first addressed his indictments and slanderous facts, declared that their feeling was "that it is neither necessary nor political to expel what remains of Acadians, since, if they were treated with reasonable methods, they could all become useful members of society and serve the interests of the colony." However, they recused themselves and referred the governor to the Secretary of State.

With the Secretary of State, Lord Egremont, Belcher had no more success. It was in vain that he republished the old, improbable and now worn history, that "the Acadians are only waiting for the right moment to raise the Indians, and, aided by the French, to destroy the English settlements;" Lord Egremont answered him with a final refusal. Distraught by the specter evoked by the presence of Acadians remaining in the country, and determined to end at all costs, Belcher resolved to attempt the dangerous blow that had succeeded with Lawrence in 1755: to act as urgently, without the authorization of the higher authorities, and to plead the *fait accompli*.

To this end, on July 8, 1763, he presented to the Chambers an address that said "that the Acadians will always try, as long as they are in Nova Scotia, to resume, by all possible means possession of their lands, that they are capable of all mischief; confined as they are, in the barracks of Halifax, they remain a heavy burden to the English, etc." The conclusion of the address is "that they must be deported out of the province."

On July 23, Belcher caused a new address [to be made], coming to complain to the Council of the insolence of the Acadians – see the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb; of the danger they cause to the province, and of the spirit of betrayal which they maintain among the savages. The Council replied at once, as was understood, by recommending "to deport to Boston what was left of Acadians in the province, and to leave them in charge of Governor Bernard, until His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst decides their fate."

He was given the same opinion, in response to the same request, by his Council, on the 26th of the same month. It's a crude comedy; it is Nero consulting his histrions on the necessity of setting fire to Rome. The last indictment he presents to himself seems entirely written in his hand. These are the "insolences," the "dangers," the "incentives" that we have already seen, seasoned [by] new grievances: the insecurity of Nova Scotia while an Acadian remains in Halifax; the inconvenience of feeding and keeping in prison so many implacable enemies; the danger that they will devastate the province with arms and ammunition, which they mysteriously hide in secret places; the depressing effect produced in the souls of His Majesty's subjects upon the imminence of so many calamities, the great uneasiness and distress to the minds of His Majesty's subjects, etc. "For all these reasons, the Council is of the opinion that because of this imminent danger it is absolutely necessary to deport these Acadians from the province"; especially if Halifax was attacked, "they might well take the opportunity to set the city on fire and join the enemy." There is not a moment to lose; it is necessary in the interest of the public safety, for the governor to seize them as soon as possible, and to deport them to Boston, the nearest English port to Nova Scotia.

But when they arrive in Boston, will they be set free or kept prisoners? Belcher, who was still trembling that his victims may return, consulted his Council again on this important point, and the dismal comedy begins again. Having unearthed all correspondence exchanged between Belcher, Amherst, and the Colonial Office in London since the beginning of the year 1761, that is, since the arrival of Belcher to the Government of Nova Scotia, the serene assembly "unanimously agreed that the said Acadians, upon their arrival at Boston, should be kept prisoners until General Amherst disposed of them at his pleasure."

This opinion, dictated in advance to the Council, was scarcely formulated, when Belcher, now feeling sufficiently covered, advanced the five transports that he had ready and ordered the landing of all the Acadians whom he found under his hand, about fifteen hundred, to carry them to Boston.

At the same time he wrote to Lord Egremont and the Lords of Commerce, in England, and General Amherst, in New York, the most cowardly libellous letters on behalf of those whom he banished from their country. At General Amherst he recommended "to separate them from one another as much as they could, so that they would be unable to harm and return to Acadia." If, however, it was thought desirable to direct some of them to Upper Canada, where General Murray consented to receive them, he saw no harm in doing so, "provided they were dispersed in the midst of a much larger population, which would keep them in fear."

The Massachusetts legislature refused Captain Brooks, commander of the convoy, to let them land. Neither the solicitations of Hancock, representative of the Government of Nova Scotia at Boston, nor Governor Bernard's message recommending that they be received temporarily, nor a letter of the same content from General Amherst, could make them change their resolution. They did not even consent to them being supplied with provisions other than for cash. The Acadians did not have any, and Hancock did not wish to advance it, nor to engage the credit of his government.

After three long weeks of waiting, all the provisions being exhausted except for what was needed for the crews, the five vessels returned to sea.

What would become of all these unhappy people, these men driven to despair, these women broken by privations and pain, these children?

There was always the option to do what Boscowan had done, in agreement with Lawrence in 1758, of those on Île Saint-Jean: to leave them on the open sea on ships ready to sink. Who, from Halifax or Boston, could hear the groans of those who perished in the midst of the ocean, in the throes of thirst and hunger? Who would see them slowly sink beneath the waves and disappear?

The Acadian tradition is silent about the monstrous disasters, coldly prepared by Belcher, and, before him, by Lawrence, and handed over, most often, for execution to Admiral Boscowan, be-

cause none of the victims survived to tell the story. The Acadians of the islands Saint-Pierre and Miquelon alone still speak of the "pontons" English as a memory of hell. All traces, all mention of these hecatombs have disappeared from the public archives. A letter from the Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Dr. Brook, dated 1791, mentions about thirteen hundred Acadians as having perished in the American crossing to Europe; but that does not awaken any suspicion of the horrible truth. No more, besides, than the statistics which count the vessels at the beginning, and one does not find the number on arrival.

But, as the English say, murder will out. The following drama, narrated by Captain Piles, master of the ship Achilles, with the clear intention of showing a Catholic missionary in a less than glorious posture, is one of those revealing accidents frequent enough to the hearing of criminal causes, which bring to light the hidden crimes and, although belatedly, discover the culprits.

The story, in any case, bears all the characteristics of veracity. Here it is in its integrity.

Captain Nichols, he said, master of a transport from Yarmouth, was requisitioned by the government of Nova Scotia to carry about three hundred French Neutrals with their families from the Isle Saint-Jean. Before setting sail, he drew the attention of the government agent to the bad state of his vessel, which was in absolutely no condition to go to France at that season of the year.

"Despite his protests, he was forced to take the proscribed on board and set sail.

"Arriving a hundred leagues from the Isles of Scilly, the ship was taking on so much water that, despite all the efforts of the crew, it became impossible to prevent it from sinking."

Seeing that they were all going to perish, Captain Nichols summoned the missionary and told him that there was one way, only one, to save the lives of a small number of them, among whom would be the missionary himself. It was only a matter of giving the French consent to abandon the lifeboats they had on board to the crew.

The exhausted crew was, at that time, at the mercy of the Acadian refugees on the bridge. The latter, who had undoubtedly, during the voyage, suffered the usual outrages and ill-treatment, now held in their hands the fate of their mortal enemies.

Continuing his narrative, Nichols tells us that "the priest harangued the French on the bridge for half an hour and gave them absolution." Then, from a common feeling, they agreed to leave the captain, the crew and the priest to save themselves in the boats, and [the Acadians] to perish, all together, in the abandoned ship.

"Only one of the French went down into the lifeboat, but hearing his wife say to him, "Are you going to let your wife and your children perish without you?" he was touched with remorse, and went back to the ship to share the fate of the others."

While the boats were moving away with the crew, the missionary, the food and the remaining drinking water, the ship sank under the very eyes of the fugitives. These, having run the greatest dangers, reached the shores of England safely.

The name of the missionary featured here is, we believe, Biscarat. Captain Piles tells us that "the reason given by the priest to his people for abandoning them was the hope he had of saving the souls of these heretics and bringing them back to God with him."

Biscarat perished in some way, in England, without having seen France again.

This was a captain whose hand was forced, and who was not complicit with the authorities. When there was collusion, things went on more militarily; and the thirteen hundred shipwrecks of which Brook Watson speaks did not have the opportunity to voluntarily make an act equaling in simplicity what the Roman martyrology shows us more sublimely great.

The Treaty of Paris was signed on February 10, 1763, which confirmed England in her American possessions and restored universal peace. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, St.

John's Island, and unlimited Canada had become definitively English Provinces, and the Catholic subjects of the Most Christian King of France had been ceded to the Protestant King of England.

For the French Canadians nothing was changed, except the sovereign power. They remained in their country and their country remained to them. England opened [Canada] to the settlers of the whole world. From all over the world, yes, except Acadians.

To these, the pioneers of the Gospel and colonization in New France of America, it was forbidden to enter the new colonial empire. The door of their own country, Acadia, was open to everyone except them. They always remained outside humanity. The law of nations was always denied to them. There was nothing against them, and their judges still condemned them. They were Abel, and carried the mark of Cain throughout the whole universe.

The peace signed, those [Acadians] of Massachusetts asked to pass into France. They were prevented from doing so; to settle in New Brunswick they were refused permission; to retire to the West Indies, they were forbidden; to return to Canada and Nova Scotia, they were not given the means.

In France it was King Louis XV himself who, during negotiations preceding the signing of the Treaty of Paris, had learned from the Duke of Nivernois, his ambassador to King George, that the prisons of England were full of Acadians, and a large number were also detained in the "Plantations" of New England of America. [Louis] claimed them as his "faithful subjects," and said that he would send his ships to search for them.

Those of Liverpool – there were also a large number of internees in Southampton, Penryn and Bristol – were the first to learn the happy news. They thought to die of joy when they heard of deliverance. "After a while," we are told by M. de la Rochette who was charged to transmit to them the royal message, "tears succeeded the first cheers. Several seemed entirely out of themselves; they clapped their hands; lifted them to heaven; beat against the walls and kept sobbing. No one could

describe all the transports to which these honest people abounded. They spent the night blessing the king and congratulating themselves on the happiness they were going to enjoy." The King promised to deliver all Acadians detained prisoners anywhere. Those of England thought of their American brethren, and found a means at the beginning of the following summer, when the treaty had been definitely signed, to send them the great news.

At the same time they advised them to inform the Duke of Aix of the number of those who would return to France, and the various places of their detention, so that the king might send them to his ships.

This message was first communicated to the Acadians of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven and Boston. The latter sent it to those of Nova Scotia. Finally, it was inevitable, it came to the knowledge of the English authorities.

As peace was then signed between the two crowns, and it was said that the king of France claimed the Acadians as his "very faithful subjects," there was nothing in all this but normal wording: it pointed to no act or intention of betrayal: the procedure was correct.

At the news that the King of France was going to send for them on his ships, the prisoners of Massachusetts had entered into delirium with a joy similar to that which we saw bursting among those of Liverpool. Without caring about passports, they went out, mad with joy, from their accursed pens and assembled, men, women and children, all free, in Boston and the other maritime towns, waiting for the ships of France.

The ships did not arrive, neither did any news, nor any message of the "beloved king", Louis XV.

In justice to him, it must be said that the whole affair had been conducted by the Duke de Nivernois, his ambassador plenipotentiary at London, during the preliminaries of the peace of Paris; that his Majesty probably had no personal knowledge of it, absorbed as he was in fact by high duties of State and by the care to be given to his last mis-

tress, gloriously reigning. Besides, even if he wanted to send for "his faithful followers" he would have been prevented from doing so. To Montague Wilmot, Belcher's successor to the Government of Nova Scotia, which this rumor had alarmed extraordinarily, Lord Halifax wrote on November 26, 1763, in the name of the King of England, that energetic representations had just been made at the Court of the King of France about the clandestine enterprises of the Duke of Nivernois; that the London cabinet would take the means to have them aborted, and that, for its part, the government of Nova Scotia should not lose sight of those who conducted these dark negotiations and prevent any Acadian from sneaking out of the colony.

The Boston authorities, as alarmed as those in Halifax, deputed Jasper Mauduit to Lord Grenville in London to make representations to him. The noble Lord sent word to them not to be afraid, "that none of this could be done, being contrary to the laws which governed navigation, that the King of France was forbidden to send any vessel to the English colonies."

They none the less demanded to see the list of those who wished to pass into France. On August 24, 1763, there were eleven hundred and nineteen, belonging to one hundred and seventy-eight families. It was probably all of Massachusetts' [Acadians] who were able to go to sea.

Soon new complications arose. Since the King of France claimed the Acadians by designating them as "his subjects," they had for eight years been prisoners of war in Boston. Buisness is buisness. The account payable, based on all kinds of receipts, was drawn up: it amounted to the sum of nine thousand five hundred and sixty-three sterling louis, nine schillings, and ten pence. Why not pay for this honest money first into the provincial treasury? We would then see about letting the prisoners go, if there were any.

We find this again: If they leave, we will lose the benefit of their services.

Third, it was suddenly discovered that they "were likely to become useful English subjects."

Several other equally good reasons were found for keeping them. In any case, it was necessary, before making a final decision, to refer the case to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in London, and nothing would be done before having an answer from the mother country and especially not before being reimbursed.

Louis XV did not pay the ransom demanded. There was scarcely any money left in his royal coffers to offer the high and powerful Damoiselle Du Barry a gift worthy of His Most-Christian Majesty, and to furnish the grandees of his kingdom with the means of supporting, in an Oriental luxury, the dignity of the throne and the altar.

These "faithful subjects" who suffered persecution in the prisons of the New World, for France and Religion, what were they after all in the eyes of the King, his courtiers and their mistresses? People of the common people, commoners, scoundrels, as there were twenty millions in France.

The end result was that the Massachusetts Acadians could not leave, and they were forcibly returned to the cities that served as prisons.

They had seen the land of promise and had thought of dying of happiness; and now hell was closing in on them.

This ransom of nine thousand five hundred and sixty-three sterling louis, nearly a quarter of a million francs, the value of one million francs today, suddenly demanded for the purchase of subjects, British, if such was the quality of the Acadians, French, if they were still after the performance of their oath of fidelity, and after an act of the Legislature declared them competent to enlist on the fleet of King George, deserves, apart from the angelic figure it projects here, to be examined for a moment. It is something like

examining the accounts that Pharaoh would have presented to Moses for food, lodging and Hebrew prisons, when they wanted to withdraw from Egypt, after the construction of the Great Pyramid.

How were these nine thousand five hundred and sixty-three sterling louis arrived at? Lawrence had repaid to the province what it had cost him to ar-

rest those Acadians who had returned from Virginia; at least he had promised to ask his Halifax Council to do it, and he was almighty at home.

For its part, the Boston government was still negotiating with the Board of Trade of London to get compensation for all advances made to the Acadians, since their first arrival in 1755. These authorities went back to February 7, 1756, the day when the Chambers passed a resolution to governor Shirley, saying, "We are aware that the Government of Massachusetts has not contributed to the cost of recruiting soldiers sent to Nova Scotia from among us. but we must point out to Your Excellency that all the French Neutrals who have been handed over to us have arrived here deprived of everything, and since their deportation was made for the safety of Nova Scotia, it is to England to bear the costs."

At this point, they had Jasper Mauduit in London, who continued to press their claims, that the Royal Treasury had not repaid them completely, and that the money required from the King of France was beside the point.

I had the curiosity, quite legitimate for a chronicler, to look through the accounts and bills that were presented to the Massachusetts Government by the selectmen, the commissioners of the poor, and the various municipalities. They seemed exaggerated. Rents were expensive, and drugs were sold at great prices.

Here, among the pile, is the memoir of what Jean Mius d'Entremont was said to have cost John Low, Jr., of the city of Gloucester, for his maintenance and that of his family from June to September, 1756.

June 7, 1756. Owed:  
Louis. Schilling. Pence.

For 81 pounds of the best pork	5	8	6
" 28 pounds of bread	0	2	10
" 11 pounds of veal	0	17	3
" 20 1/2 pounds do pork	3	1	6
" 1/2 bushel of peas	1	10	0
" 1 bushel corn-wheat (maize)	1	5	0

" 31 pounds of pork	4	13	0
" 1 bushel of corn-wheat	1	17	6
" 42 pounds of pork	7	7	0
" 1 gallon of molasses	0	18	9
" 1 bushel of corn-wheat	1	5	0
" 37 pounds of cod	1	13	9
" 14 pounds of pork ...	2	9	0
" 1 bushel of corn-wheat	1	5	0
" 35 pounds of pork	5	5	0
" 4 pounds of sugar	1	0	0
" 1/2 bushel of peas	1	2	6
" 1 gallon of molasses	1	8	9
" having hosted him three days, he and his family	3	15	0
Etc., etc			

Total £ 84 3 7

Reduced to legal price £ 11 5 51/2  
(Signed) John Low, Jr.

September 22, 1756.

None of these accounts are verified, I mean accompanied by the vouchers, ordinary receipts provided in such a case, and that the English, businessmen, call vouchers. All invoices are roughly in the same form.

At these prices, the widow Thibodeau, who was granted twelve sous a week for her support and that of her five children, had nothing to live on in abundance.

About the same time, 1763, a man named Jacques Robin, a Protestant from Jersey, established in London, offered to the Acadians of Boston and Acadia to settle them on lands which the King of England consented to yield to him along the Miramichi River, where they could indulge agriculture and fishing. He guaranteed them the free exercise of their religion; a Catholic missionary approved by the authorities of the Roman Church, and all the provisions and other necessities they would need. This Jacques Robin was, it seems, the ancestor of the Robins whose fishing establishments we now see on Île Madame and Baie-des-Chaleurs. The idea of this plan of colonization seems to have been furnished to him by Father Manach, a

former missionary in Acadia, who, for the health of the Pretender, and, according to Governor Wilmot, sedition among the Indians, had been apprehended and taken prisoner in England. The same reasons for keeping the Acadians of Massachusetts still held good: the need to pre-pay the ransom of nine thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds sterling, and the importance of "not losing the benefit of their services." In addition to these two major reasons, the protests of the governor of Nova Scotia, which were sent to London and Boston at the same time, against the plan to allow the Acadians to settle so near their old country, where they would not fail, as soon as they arrived, to enter into secret communication with France; to hatch black plots against the British empire; to rouse the savages; "to monopolize the trade; "In short, to make the whole colony run the greatest danger.

This time, again, they did not leave.

Their situation, as a result of all these events, had not improved, judging by the following message of Fra Bernard to the Governor of Massachusetts, communicated to the House of Representatives, January 18, 1764.

The smallpox was raging in Boston, and the Acadians, although they had not been infected, had been sequestered, and no one provided for their subsistence. They perished with cold and hunger.

"The case of this people," said the message, "is truly lamentable. None of them have yet caught the smallpox, and they have only their daily job to live. If they can not get work in the city, they will starve; if they go, they will take the disease. As they are crammed into very small dwellings and deprived of what is necessary, they must find some means of not perishing miserably. I ended up speaking of this with the selectmen, who, in turn, consulted the commissioners of the poor. Both claim that they can not do anything to help them. I find myself, therefore, in the necessity of addressing you to save the lives of these people. Give them something to eat, and I'll put the barracks of the castle at their disposal. When they have had enough time to show that they have not been infected with the disease, they can then be

admitted to other cities and find work there, which they would not be able to do now."

The House of Representatives and the Council consented that the governor should intern them in the barracks and voted to "subsist" them until the fifteenth of the following month, that is, three weeks.

But as a number of those in the seaside towns had taken advantage of recent events to flee to St. Pierre and Miquelon and Canada, on fishing boats and other sailboats, the government had forbidden by royal proclamation any captain, master or master of a vessel to take any Acadian on board. It brought into force a law passed seven years before, and which the treaty of peace had, for almost a year in France and England, made fall into disuse.

This proclamation fell badly for the poor prisoners, as we will see.

In the summer of the same year, namely June 26, 1764, nine years after the Great Upheaval, five years after the taking of Québec and one year after the Treaty of Paris, the Count d'Estaing, lieutenant-general and governor for the King of France in the West Indies, announced by proclamation to the Acadians of New England that those men, women, and children, who were desirous of retiring on the island of Santo Domingo, should give notice to John Hanson, a merchant in New York; that he would provide all that they would need, provisions, food and price of passage, to get there, and that they would be well treated by the French government, which would give them land and subsistence during the first month.

The Acadians clung to this new plank of salvation, as do those who drown, to a wreck. Sixty-six fathers of families, representing four hundred and six persons, signed, for themselves and their brothers, a petition to the governor and to the Boston Chambers, which they presented on December 1, 1764, requesting a general passport for all of them who would like to go to the French West Indies.

Some of them said that their prayers would be granted, and determined to become free men



again, many of them left, as they had once done, the towns and villages where they had been so long imprisoned, and went immediately to Boston. waiting for the hour to go to sea. In order to procure for themselves and their families the necessities of life, they sold the little they possessed, some movable objects, and their working tools.

The first act of the municipal authorities of Boston was to intern them in a sugar warehouse, on the point of Moulin-à-Vent, where they were kept in sight, without being allowed to send any communication to John Hanson.

Not receiving an answer to the first petition they had addressed to the governor, the prisoners handed him, on January 1st, 1765, a second, in which I note the following passages, touching in their simplicity.

"We wish you," they begin by saying, "a happy new year, with all kinds of prosperity, and also that you grant us a passport for the French colonies, where we wish very much to go.

Your Excellency is aware of the offer made to us. It's been nine years that we live here waiting to be returned to our compatriots, and your silence seems to want to close the door which is open to us. We had always believed that in times of peace, in all countries of the world, the door of prisons opened to prisoners. Permit us to find our detention here strange.

"We are told that we enjoy the freedom to practice our religion, which seems to us contrary to the facts, because by holding us here in spite of ourselves, you make it impossible for us to exercise it. It is a very difficult situation, making it impossible for us to do anything to improve our condition.

"Excellency, if you do not soon have compassion on us, we will all perish from cold and hunger.

"Since (one month) when we presented our first request, we have received ninety-four pounds of mutton, two loads of wood, two bushels of peas,

five bushels of potatoes and turnips, for the seventy-two mouths we are here... This is very hard, sir.

"Please be kind to us for the time remaining here.

Signed: Jean Trahant, Costin Thibodot, Jean Hébaire, Charles Landry, Alexia Braux. "

This time again, permission to leave was refused. The Governor Fra Bernard, in a message to the Council, gives the reasons for his refusal: "It is that he always considered the Acadians as English subjects," and that he can not let them go without the authorization of the Minister.

They are in turn English subjects, or French subjects, according to the chances of exploiting them better: French to be ransomed as prisoners of war; English to be enlisted by force on the fleet of the king.

The Chambers, however, once again appointed a committee to inquire into their exact situation, and put a final end to their eternal complaints.

On their situation, the report was that many of the poor Acadians were very sick, and that the others were getting worse by the day, which was due, they suspected ("as we apprehend") to the fact that they had been too long a time without taking food. "Those who can do it work well, but the hard times are such that they can not find enough work to live on, let alone support their families."

In order to remedy their ills, and especially the troubles of the government, the committee proposes that the selectmen of the different towns where they were originally distributed should take them over and arrange with them "as best they can"; but that they should not be allowed to leave the province, any more than others to return to it. This recommencement of persecution seemed odious to the governor; for Bernard, like Pilate when he scourged Jesus because he found no harm in him, sought in his own way to save them.

If he had decided against their departure for the West Indies, it was because he considered that this trip would be fatal to them, as it had been to those of Philadelphia who had been sent the previous

year to Cap-Français. It was to save them that he did so, as his following message in the House explains: "Their case," he said, "is truly worthy of pity." If they go to Hispaniola, they run to meet a certain death. Few will escape the effects of the deadly climate of this island, and it is more for reasons of humanity than political consideration that I oppose the rest of them undertaking this fatal journey. It is not so much to make English subjects of them as to prevent them from perishing, that I do so with them."

He ends his message by asking the Council to give them some piece of land in the province to settle there and lose the desire to emigrate to the French West Indies, where death awaits them. To establish them is, according to him, to settle the whole difficulty.

This message is dated January 24th.

A committee was once again appointed to inquire into the facts.

In his report we see him pronouncing against the idea of offering the Acadians land to settle there, although there was plenty of it, waiting only for settlers. However, he admits that "in the state in which the detainees are, they are in immediate danger of perishing, if they are not rescued," and ends by recommending that they be allocated food for two months, until spring.

The House of Representatives, to whom this report was submitted, subscribed in part. As the Acadians literally died of hunger and were absolutely unable to get food, no longer having tools or anything, they had the largesse to vote rations for four days! Its generosity did not stop there. Having decreed that they would once again be confined to their former limits, it did, at the expense of the province, bury the dead and transport by car, to the door of their prison, those who could no longer walk! Even though they had come out of their jails without the passport required by law, being in a vein of magnanimity, it did not have them put to the block, and did not condemn them, as they were liable to, to be whipped publicly, men and women. women, boys

and girls, bust bare to the waist. They were purely and simply reconstituted prisoners.

And so in the year of grace 1765, English subjects were treated in Boston in full peace. . . or French, when it was not Acadians.

From that day the situation of these unfortunate people was even more lamentable than before. Until then, it was purgatory with the final hope of heaven; henceforth it was hell, the hell of Dante, shut up on them, and sealed.

Would they all perish, more than twelve hundred they had been in Massachusetts? To die of hunger and cold, under the blows, these deeply Christian fathers and mothers would have consoled themselves; for, after all, it was only giving up a mortal and miserable life. But to live and die without the help of the consoling sacraments of the Church; to see their children, those in whom they delighted, brought up in a religion whose members were so inhuman, to become in their turn Puritans, this thought was intolerable to them. However, Governor Fra Bernard was still looking for ways to save them, though he did not present any.

Twelve months passed, during which we no longer hear about the prisoners of Massachusetts, now forgotten in the whole universe. Even Thomas Hutchinson, the charitable and just man, their friend, whom we know, can do nothing for them in the short space of time when he fulfills the duties of lieutenant governor. For its part, the Legislature no longer takes the trouble to reply, when they address it for some urgent necessity.

Occasionally, however, they heard news from time to time; and they found a way to communicate with each other and to consult one another. Thus, in the beginning of 1766, they learned that Governor Murray had, by Royal Proclamation the previous year, opened Canada to English immigrants, and to all English colonists who wished to settle there. One hundred acres of land would be granted to the heads, and fifty to each child, of any family who would apply for it, free of charge for

the first two years, and then for an annual fee of two shillings.

Said the proclamation: "Those who want to settle in the lower part of the province, as on the Bay of Gaspé, Bay des Chaleurs and adjoining places, will (in addition) have the advantage of fishing."

The prisoners decided to make a supreme effort on this side.

As a result, eight of them, Jean Trahan, Alexandre Breau, Rene Landry, Isaac Gourdeaux, Augustin Leblanc, Isidore Gourdeaux, Jean Hébert and Joseph Manzerol, handed on February 8, 1766, a petition to the governor, praying, on behalf Acadians in Boston, to have them and their families in Canada transported by sea, with provisions for a year, because they were without resources. They begged him at the same time to write to Governor Murray asking him to receive them and give them lands.

Governor Bernard communicated this petition to the Chambers, accompanying it with a message in which he said: "I have always since I have been governor of this province, had a lot of compassion for this people. As you all know, these are the hard ones, the necessities of war rather than any fault attributable to them, who wrested them from a situation in which they lived in comfort, even in abundance, to plunge them into poverty and serfdom, from which they had no way out. On several occasions I have sought to improve their lot and make them useful subjects of Great Britain; but I have failed every time.

"Here you have the opportunity to see, without much cost, that they are no longer dependent on the province or themselves, and become, on the contrary, a source of wealth and strength for the Empire, in America. It is quite certain that if they had land, without which no farmer could live, they would get by, so I hope they can enjoy that they will be able to take advantage of Governor Murray's offer; give them the means, and you will do an act of public utility, at the same time as a righteousness."

In reply, the House of Representatives, on the recommendation of the whole court, ordered that the Acadians who had come to Boston to present the petition should immediately return to the towns and villages which had been assigned to them, and if they refused, that their food was to be cut off.

They had the choice to return to their chains, or to die in Boston, of hunger.

It was too much. The governor and the council refused to ratify this last infamy. They were nauseated.

There followed a deadlock between the House of Representatives and the Council. In the end, it was the House that yielded, and on February 20, 1766, it authorized the lieutenant-governor "to write to Murray to inform him that the Acadians were ready to go to Canada, if he consented to receive them."

Twenty sterling louis were voted to send the message by two Acadians, the lieutenant-governor apparently not caring to entrust to Bostonians this delicate mission.

Here is Governor Murray's response, as reported by one of the two envoys:

"Sir, I received your letter of February 25 about the Acadians in your province a little while ago, and I think it is in the interest of the British Empire in general and the Canada in particular, that this people will be established here on the same footing as Her Majesty's New Canadian Subjects, so I do not hesitate to receive them, but as they once refused to take the oath of allegiance and of apostasy (abjuration) and as by their request addressed to me they seem to expect to be kept at the expense of the government until they can be self-sufficient, I think it is necessary to give you my answer to their petition, begging you to pass it on to them, so that no one can plead ignorance. This is to prevent resentment and reproach from both sides. "

This answer shows how close it was that Murray refused them entry to Canada. Someone had obviously disserved them. This one, let's say it without

hesitation, was Wilmot, a worthy successor to Lawrence and Belcher. This trio of governors had passed through deadly trances upon learning, a few years earlier, that Murray was willing to let the deportees of Nova Scotia settle on the shores of the Gaspé Peninsula. To distract him, they had written to him, one after another, to hang the Acadians. To establish them in the depths of Upper Canada is acceptable; but in the gulf, within reach of their old settlements, never! Their cries had sounded all the way to England. "I am of the opinion," wrote Wilmot to the Lord of Halifax, "that the establishment of a colony of Acadians, either in the Maritime Provinces or along the St. Lawrence River, would expose the country to the most unfortunate consequences. They are French fanatics, irreducible papists.... Let them be dispersed rather in small groups, and preferably to any other place in the French West Indies."

Murray, and this was the essential, opened the doors of Canada to them; there was under the sun a piece of land where they would be allowed to live and die as free men. But they were warned that no assistance would be given them. How, with this perspective, can one take the long journey, without resources, devoid of everything and exhausted by years of hardship and suffering? They threw themselves at the feet of the governor and the members of the Council, and implored them to have at least compassion for the widows laden with children, the old men, the sick; to procure for them all the means of passing into Canada, and, rendered there, to give them something to subsist for some time, otherwise they would leave only to die of hunger.

Driven by despair: "You have always been ready," they added, "to help us, and we have only you, gentlemen, to whom to turn to get us out of the abyss of misery into which we have been thrown." As to the allegiance, that which had been repeatedly proposed to them in Acadie, since there was not there, as formerly at Port-Royal, the Mines, Beaubassin and Pigiguit, casuists to make them to hear that there was no salvation for their soul if they voluntarily consented to become the subjects of a heretical prince, and to threaten them with

excommunication, they declared in advance that all [were] ready to take [the oath].

This happened in Boston on June 2, 1766, eleven years after their deportation from Acadia.

No help was given to them; on the contrary, the House passed a special resolution forbidding them to make no advance: "to prevent the Neutrals being supplied any further". It was another way to prevent them from leaving. It was to be more inhuman than the Egyptians had been for the Hebrews; for when they came out of the captivity of Egypt, they were able to borrow from the Gentiles clothing and other necessities.

What to do in these conditions? Messengers were sent to all the places where there were prisoners, to take the advice of each one and to act in concert.

The feeling was unanimous to go to Canada, to go at any cost, to get out of hell. But the old men, the infirm, the sick, could not undertake the journey. Were they left behind?

There were ships in the Boston harbor bound for Halifax and Québec, which could very well take them on board.

There were also schooners and unoccupied fishermen's barges that the Acadians offered to maneuver themselves and bring back, if they wanted to lend some of them. They received everywhere only refusals.

Jean Labordore, whom we know to have seen, to the sacrifice of his goods and to the peril of his life, to save a ship and an English crew at Mirliguêche (Lunenburg), before the Great Upheaval, recalled a second time this service and begs the governor to provide him with the means to take passage, he and his eight children, on a ship that must leave the following Saturday, July 20, for Québec, His prayer was rejected.

Some go on foot, through the woods, to Québec, some solicit help from their Canadian brothers, Edouard Benoit, among others, whose wife is sick,

and one of his two children blind. They come back desperate.

All that it is humanly possible to do, these unfortunate people tried in order to get a passage in Canada. Only a few were able to do this.

All that remained was the alternative to wait together, in captivity, for death too slow to come; or, for those who were strong and healthy, to go on foot, without resources, without arms, without tents, without food, through four hundred miles of forest, with the prospect of dying of hunger, either on the route or at the destination.

Those who would undertake the journey came from the most miserable. They would die free, at least, those: it was better, they said, than to live and die slaves together.

The picture of the scenes which then passed in the hundred and twenty five towns and municipalities where the prisoners had hitherto been kept, scenes of heroism, generosity, tears, Christian resignation, despair, can scarcely be conceived, much less described.

There were a little more than eight hundred ready to leave. They left fit men in every locality, and especially women, to take care of the infirm and to piously shut their eyes; and the others, death in their souls, returned, a sad procession, into the dark forest.

The caravan took to Montreal, where they had resolved to go, the road to Lake Champlain. Their tracks could be traced by the wooden crosses they left behind on pits that were painfully dug; which made Longfellow say: *On the stones of the tombs their story is written.*

Those who arrived in Canada settled south of Montreal, in the counties of Saint-Jean and Laprairie, the greatest number in a place they piously named Acadia:

. . . *Et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos*<sup>60</sup>.

---

<sup>60</sup> . . . as he died he remembered Argos, the home of his youth (Virgil).

They did not all go to Canada. A group of about two hundred, haunted by the nostalgia of their beloved Acadia, driven by the madness of the return, took, on the off chance, the road to Nova Scotia, without knowing how they would be received on their arrival and without stopping at this thought.

Although the authorities of England had, two years before, notified Governor Wilmot that he had to allow the Acadians to settle in Nova Scotia in the same way as the other colonists, that is to say by giving to the King the oath of ordinary allegiance, the law passed during the summer of 1759 by the Conference, his Council and the House of Assembly, declaring null and void any action taken in the courts for the recovery of real property formerly possessed by the French was none the less in force in 1766; and also another, of the spring of the same year, which decreed imprisonment and banishment for Catholic priests (papist priests) apprehended in the the province of Nova Scotia, and sentenced to a fine of fifty pounds sterling, or to the pillory, any person who would give them asylum.

Whether or not they were aware of these laws passed in contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht, nothing had shaken their unshakable resolution. Acadia was farther from Boston than Canada; to arrive there it was the same forest to cross, but still more tangled; the same difficulties to overcome, but larger, because of the rivers to cross; the same dangers to face, but increased by the neighborhood of men. They left anyway.

The adventures of their odyssey are not recorded in the Halifax Archives, nor in the minutes of the Boston Legislature.

In order to give only strictly historical and documented facts, I leave the tale to Rameau de Saint-Père, one of the most conscientious authors who have written on Acadia. He holds the following facts from the very mouth of "these children's sons of pain," as he calls them.

"It was," he says, "in the spring of 1766, when the heroic caravan, whose footsteps we will follow, was made on foot, and almost without supplies.

The Acadian pilgrims confronted the perils and fatigue of a return to the land, and up the shores of the Bay of Fundy as far as the Isthmus of Shediac, through a hundred and eighty leagues of uninhabited forests and mountains: pregnant women were part of that miserable convoy, who gave birth on the way. We have known some of these sons of pain, and it is from their mouths that we hold the story that their fathers, born during this painful journey, had transmitted to them.

"We will never know how much these unfortunate people suffered, abandoned and forgotten by all, by making their way in the desert.

"In the wild paths winding through the interminable forests, this long line of emigrants laboriously walked. They were small troops of women and children dragging the thin baggage of their misery, while the men scattered here and there hunting, fishing and even [gathering] wild roots, some resources to feed them. There were small children, barely walking, who were led by the hand, the older children carried them from time to time, many of these unfortunate mothers held an infant in their arms, and the cries of these poor children broke by their plaintive echoes, the silence of dark and gloomy woods.

"How many died on the way: children, women and even men? How many expired, overwhelmed by lassitude, suffering hunger or thirst, sitting and forgotten forever in a lost path, without a priest, without consolation, without friends?

As the sad caravan advanced, it was indeed those were lost whose weak forces refused to carry them farther. All did not succumb, however, and so there spread out along the road some groups, which remained as nuclei of colonies to come. Thus, on the banks of the St. John River, several families settled on the ruins of the establishments occupied by the French in this district, in Jemsek and Ecoupag, around Frederickton.

"When the column of the proscribed, thisned by the fatigues of the journey, reached the banks of the Pecoudiak, it was four months that they had been en route.

"After the first moment of joy at finding relatives and friends, they had a great heartache and were told that in the Land of Mines and Port Eoyal, all the homes had been burned, the lands confiscated and distributed to their persecutors. This great and painful journey they had just made was useless: there was no longer any patrimony or patriotism for them.

"One hundred and twenty of them settled among the Acadians they had just found, and the rest, about sixty or so, went on their way again, men, women, and children." They turned the bottom of the old French bay, which became Fundy Bay, and successively visited Beaubassin, Pigiguide, Les Mines, but Beaubassin was called Amherst, Cobequid was called Truro, Pigiguide was Windsor, and the Mines with Grand Pre were named Crown.

"They frightened the children who watched the lamentable caravan pass by, they disturbed the women and men as a threat from the tomb, they were angry with them, and the wretches dragged themselves from village to village, exhausted by fatigue and a despair that was increasing at each stage. The last one was in Port-Koyal, now Annapolis-Royal, where they were even worse received than elsewhere."

To get rid of these specters, the English authorities of Annapolis directed them to the unoccupied banks of the Bay Sainte-Marie, where today live and prosper their proud descendants.

Will they not finally find rest, those unfortunate fugitives of Boston, those pale pilgrims of death? Is there any bitterness at the bottom of the cup that they have not yet drunk? Have not they reached the last station of the painful way, from which we can see the distant parts of the sky?

No, not yet.

The disabled and sick who had been abandoned in Boston, because they could not follow the caravan in this exodus, had not yet breathed the last sigh that the War of Independence of the English Colonies of America against the mother country burst forth.

A certain number of Anglo-Americans, rather than engaging in a fratricidal war, abandoned their country and their property to retire to Canada and the Maritime Provinces, remaining faithful to England. It was necessary to recognize such a beautiful patriotic gesture – the very gesture of the Acadians vis-à-vis France – and to properly establish newcomers. But where? All the lands of the deported Acadians and their so rich meadows were distributed among themselves and their friends. Standing land was not a reward worthy of the Loyalists, as those partisans of England fleeing the colonies in revolt against the metropolis were called.

The government of Nova Scotia gave them, among other princely pieces, settlements founded in Jemsek and Ecoupag, on the Saint John River, in 1766, by the detachment of Acadians whom we saw moving so painfully to through the endless forests of Massachusetts, Maine and New Brunswick.

The new establishment was beginning to prosper. Its inhabitants were dispossessed and hunted, just as formerly those of Grand Pré and Port Royal.

All this looks like fiction; a distant mirage; a vision of tears and blood, appeared in a dream in the night, rather than a severely historical story.

An incarnation of evil so inconceivable can not be the effect of chance alone, nor of the mere malice of a few men. The will of God, mysterious and adorable, is there manifest. God has visibly turned away from our fathers. Was it punishment? Was it atonement?

We, the heirs of their ruin, believe that they were men filled with religious faith and fear of God, peaceful, sober, chaste, charitable, just; it seems to us that, by the simplicity and purity of their lives, they approach the first Christians; in our eyes their sufferings equal in duration, and often in intensity, those of the martyrs. Their courage seems to us as great and their faith the same. But we are their descendants, and our judgment may not be impartial.

They had, no doubt, no bad intentions, but in the end they had been badly informed and badly advised in their quarrel with the governors of Nova Scotia. They had been misled about the doctrine of things to be done to God, and those to which the citizen has the inalienable right, even the duty, in some cases, to render to Caesar. They had been deceived, first of all, over their rights; they had then deceived themselves about their duty of the present time, by not arming themselves with independence, and by not taking upon themselves to give to the king of England, heretic or no, to whom the King of France, who was very Christian and very dissolute, had delivered them, in good and bad fashion, the oath of allegiance which every prince, and every regular government has the incontestable right to exact from his subjects.

If the Acadians of 1755 had followed their own political councils, their descendants, French and Catholic until the last, would today form the vast majority of the population of the Maritime Provinces, as Canadians are in the province of Québec.

They have long been resting in the woods, at the bottom of the sea, in the Protestant cemeteries of England and the United States, in Canada, and some in the blessed land of Acadia.

Lawrence, too, is dead, and Belcher, and Wilmot, and Boscowan. They rest with one another for eternity, a longer journey to make than from Boston to Port-Royal and Laprairie, through the woods.



## Material Contributions, May 2018 thru October 31, 2018

### Germaine Hoffman #333

Thank you sincerely for making our collection extremely valuable with your treasures. You enable others by adding possible a missing repertoires, or other material contributions which may add missing pieces to our complex genealogy puzzle.

We acknowledge receipt of the following item which have been donated to the French-Canadian Genealogical Society of CT., Inc. and in doing so we also must make note to all who donate said items that in the event that any item donated has a "sister/brother" already in our collection we may replace the newer book and then offer the extra for sale.

Dr. Elizabeth Blood, Salem State University

- Gatineau, Felix. *History of the Franco-Americans of Southbridge, Massachusetts*, translated by Dr. Elizabeth Blood. Franklin, MA: Via Appia Press, 2018.

Paul Giguere #413

- French-Canadian Genealogical Society of Connecticut, Inc. *Connecticut Maple Leaf*, (Newsletter), Volume 18, No. 3, Summer 2018.
- Laforest, Thomas. *Our French Canadian Ancestors*. Volumes 1,2,3, IV,V,VI,VII. Palm Harbor, Florida : LISI Press, c. 1983-

Gene Martin

- *Martin, Gene. Reflections on the life of Luger & Carmen Martin.*

Anne Marie Skarbek #35

- Boudreault, Arthur L. *My Family's History, Ancestors of Albert St. Pierre.*
- *Descendants of Raymond Bertrand Raymond* (12 generation printout)

Barbara Starr #1334

- *New Hartford, CT, Pictures(2)*
- *The Work of Two Centuries, New Hartford's Economic Life*, Pamphlet
- *Plante/Roy family, Pictures (6)* relating to

- *Interweavings Sisters of St. Joseph of Chambery Province Celebrates Jubilees* Pamphlet, (pg 6. Reference to Sister Laura Hudon daughter of Charles and Elmere Philomena Plante Hudon.)
- *Nos Ancetres* Publications - Volume 9 and 21
- Cerny, John, and Arlene Eakle. *Ancestry's Guide to Research: Case Studies in American Genealogy*. Salt Lake City, UT: Ancestry Inc., 1985.
- Colby, Charles W. *Canadian Types of the Old Regime 1608-1698*. New York: Henry Hold & Co., 1908.
- *250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration – Saint Charles de Bellechasse, 1749-1999*
- *Connecticut Maple Leaf (CML), Publications:*  
Volume 11, No 1, Summer 2003,  
Volume 13, No 2, Winter 2007-2008,  
Volume 13, No. 3, Summer 2008  
Volume 14, No. 3, Summer 2010  
Volume 14, No. 4, Winter 2010-2011  
Volume 15, No. 1, Summer 2011  
Volume 15, No. 2, Winter 2011-2012  
Volume 15, No. 3, Summer 2012  
Volume 15, No. 4, Winter 2012  
Volume 16, No. 1, Summer 2013  
Volume 16, No. 2, Winter 2013-2014  
Volume 16, No. 3, Summer 2014

Deena Clavette Williams #1856

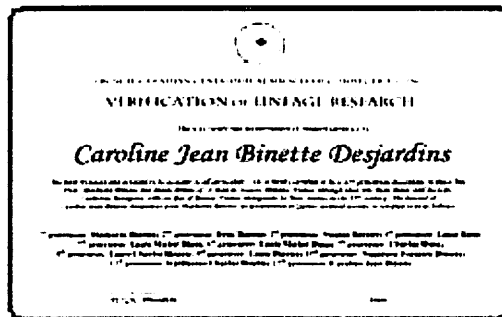
- *Families of Gilbert Clavette, The, Clavette, Bellefleur, Rossignol and Plourde*
- Marquis, William H. Jr., comp. *Descendants of Charles LaMarquis, The.*
- Dufresne, Francoise Michaud. *Les Michaud Poitevin au Canada.*
- *Michaud Family Picture Book 2003, reunion de la Famille Michaud*
- Cote-Dube, Linda. *Martin 2002: L'histoire Anvienne du Nom de Famille Distingue*



## Fille du Roi? Fille à Marier? Carignan Soldier?

It's great to have significant historical individuals in your ancestry, but aren't all of our ancestors important? Now you can get an official certification for any direct line verifying that your research is correct.

# LINEAGE VERIFICATION CERTIFICATE



- The Certificate will verify results of a single line research submitted by an applicant
- Offer is open to anyone who wants to have proof that their research has been vetted and verified
- The FCGSC will verify the applicant's research but will not perform original lineage research as part of the certification. (Payment for original research by the FCGSC is separate from this process and does not include a Verification Certificate.)
  - Applicant must submit marriage dates and places for each couple in direct line. Birth and death dates are requested but not required. Copies of the actual documents need not be submitted. Where marriage date and place are not known, applicant must provide alternate documentation or describe in detail his/her reason(s) for including said persons in their direct line.
  - FCGSC reserves the right to reject lineages that are found to be incorrect or unproven, and to decline to issue verification for such research. Where an error has been found, the Research Department will explain the problem and if possible suggest a correction at that point in the lineage only, but will not complete the lineage.
  - On approval of the applicant's lineage research, FCGSC will issue:
    - a. An **official certificate** stating "*This is to certify that documentation of research submitted by [name of applicant] has been reviewed and is found to be accurate in all particulars. He/she is hereby certified to be a \_\_\_th generation descendant in direct line from [names and place(s) of origin of original emigrant ancestor(s), with brief significant facts, e.g, carpenter, Captain of Militia, Fille du Roi, member of Carignan Regiment, etc.] The descent of [name of applicant] from [name of ancestor], as documented in Québec archival records, is certified to be as follows:*" with the direct line ancestors following.
    - b. A **document listing each couple in the direct lineage**, with names of their parents if available; their birth and death dates; and the date and place of the couple's marriage.
- **Members:** \$25 first lineage certificate; \$15 second certificate same lineage (may substitute name of a sibling of original starting person). **Non-members:** \$30 first lineage certificate; \$15 second certificate same lineage (may substitute sibling of original starting person). See form on following page.



**French-Canadian Genealogical Society of Connecticut, Inc.**

P.O. Box 928, Tolland, CT 06084-0928

860.872.2597 info@fcgsc.org

**LINEAGE VERIFICATION REQUEST FORM**

Please type or print clearly. Provide Birth/Marriage/Death/Parents/names of spouse's parents for each person in your **direct line**. Begin with the **most recent** generation and work back in time to your earliest ancestor. Fill in as much information as you can. If actual dates are not available, please indicate an approximate date or date range.

MOST RECENT GENERATION

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Born at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Died at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Who married (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Born at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Died at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Marriage date \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_

Parents of (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Parents of (2) \_\_\_\_\_

NEXT GENERATION

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Born at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Died at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Who married (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Born at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Died at \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Marriage date \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_

Parents of (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Parents of (2) \_\_\_\_\_

Next Generation, Etc.- Please continue as above for each generation in your lineage

CLASSIC FRENCH COOKING

## Galettes Sweet and Savory

Most people tend to think of a galette as a sweet confection, a dessert. And while that is the most common form to be found here in the States, it is certainly not the only type of galette that our ancestors in Canada and France enjoyed. A galette is a flat, round tart crust with a fruit, vegetable or meat filling. A circle of pastry is rolled out, filling added to within a couple of inches of the edge, then the pastry edge is folded over the filling, making a free-form round with an open center and a crisp crust. And that's it! Easier than pie! Here are two galette recipes that are perfect to brighten up a cold winter's day.

### **Galette de Pommes de Terre et d'Oignons Sans Croûte (No-Crust Potato and Onion Galette)**

#### INGREDIENTS

- 5 T. unsalted butter
- 1/4 t. celery seed
- 1/4 t. thyme
- 1/2 t. salt
- 1/2 t. pepper
- 2 T clear bacon fat, melted
- 8-10 medium size starchy potatoes (Russet, Idaho or Yukon Gold are good).
- 1 small sweet onion (Vidalia onions work well)

#### PREPARATION

- Preheat to 425°
- Line baking sheet with parchment, brush with butter. Place 8- or 9-inch springform ring on paper
- Scrub unpeeled potatoes and slice very thinly (about 1/8 inch)
- Peel and slice onions very thinly
- Slightly crush celery seed and thyme together with mortar and pestle (or put in plastic sandwich bag and crush with rolling pin). Add salt and pepper, mix, and place in large bowl.
- Add bacon fat, 2 T. melted butter. Add potatoes; gently toss to coat.
- Arrange 1/4 potatoes in a layer inside springform ring, overlapping slightly.
- Toss onion rings with 1 T. melted butter. Arrange 1/3 of onion over potatoes.
- Layer 1/4 of potatoes, 1/3 of onions twice more, finishing with last 1/4 of potatoes.
- Press very gently to firm all layers, then carefully remove springform ring.
- Bake about 40-50 minutes, until potatoes are tender. Brush with remaining melted butter.
- Bake another 5-10 minutes, until edges of potatoes are browned and top is crisp.
- Loosen galette from paper with thin spatula. Carefully lift and slide onto serving dish.

### **Galette aux Pommes et aux Canneberges (Apple and Cranberry Galette)**

#### INGREDIENTS

- Pastry for single crust pie
- 6 large tart apples (like Granny Smith)
- 1/2 t. cinnamon
- 1/2 c. sugar
- 1 t. cornstarch
- 1/2 c. fresh cranberries
- 1 T. cold unsalted butter
- 1 T. unsalted butter, melted

#### PREPARATION

- Preheat to 400°
- Peel and core apples. Slice 1/4 inch thick.
- Wash cranberries. Chop coarsely (or slice in half)
- Line large baking sheet with parchment, brush lightly with melted butter, reserving remaining butter.
- Roll pastry dough into a 12-14 inch circle. Combine cinnamon, sugar, and cornstarch in large bowl. Add apple slices and toss to coat
- Transfer pastry circle to baking sheet.
- Arrange apple slices in overlapping circles on pastry, leaving 2 inches of space at edge.
- Scatter chopped cranberries over apples.
- Sprinkle with any remaining sugar/cinnamon.
- Dot filling with small pieces of the cold butter.
- Fold edges of pastry over filling; pinch edges to keep crust in place around center opening.
- Brush crust with remaining melted butter.
- Bake about 40 minutes, until apples are cooked and crust is golden brown.

Note: This recipe is European-style, very lightly sweetened. You may prefer to add a tablespoon of sugar to suit American tastes, or sprinkle lightly with powdered sugar when cool.

## *Family – a Link to the Past & A Bridge to the Future*

15th New England Regional Genealogical Conference

*Family a Link to the Past &*



*a Bridge to the Future*

**3-6 April 2019**

**Manchester, New Hampshire**

Featuring Blaine Bettinger, Dr. Thomas Jones, Cyndi Ingle, and over 70 other genealogical experts and 100 informative lectures, workshops, the Ancestors Road Show, exhibits, popular Special Interest Groups, and much, much more.

### **Featured Speakers**



#### **Blaine Bettinger**

Blaine Bettinger, Ph.D., J.D., has been a genealogist for nearly 30 years and has specialized in DNA evidence since his first DNA test in 2003. He is the author of the long-running blog *The Genetic Genealogist*, and frequently gives presentations and webinars to educate others about the use of DNA to explore their ancestry.

#### **Dr. Thomas Jones, PhD**

Tom is an award-winning writer, board-certified genealogist, editor of the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, recipient of honors from genealogical organizations, and author of the textbooks *Mastering Genealogical Proof* and *Mastering Genealogical Documentation*. Using his nearly lifelong career in education as a springboard, he enjoys teaching at weeklong genealogy institutes, weekend seminars, and local, national, and international genealogy conferences.



#### **Cyndi Ingle**



Cyndi Ingle is the owner and webmaster of *Cyndi's List of Genealogy Sites on the Internet*, [www.CyndisList.com](http://www.CyndisList.com), a categorized index to over 336,000 online resources. Cyndi, a genealogist for more than 37 years, is the recipient of the 2016 National Genealogical Society President's Citation and Britain's Society of Genealogists 2018 Prince Michael of Kent Award. She is a past-member of the National Genealogical Society's board of directors. Cyndi is the author of a best-selling book for genealogical research on the Internet titled, *Netting Your Ancestors*, a printed version of her web site, *Cyndi's List*, and *Planting Your Family Tree Online: How To Create Your Own Family History Web Site*.

**Registration begins mid-November, 2018**

**More information at [www.NERGC.org](http://www.NERGC.org)**

**[www.facebook.com/NERGC](http://www.facebook.com/NERGC)**

# FCGSC UPDATES

**Meet us at the  
2019 New England Regional Genealogical Conference  
3-6 April 2019  
Manchester, New Hampshire**

Our Society will be participating in the 15<sup>th</sup> Annual New England Regional Genealogical Conference this spring (see the ad on previous page). The conference theme is “Family – A Link to the Past & A Bridge to the Future,” and one of the featured speakers will be Cyndi Ingle of the Cyndi’s List genealogy web site. Also featured will be Blaine Bettinger, Dr. Thomas Jones, with more than 70 other genealogical experts, 100 informative lectures, workshops, the Ancestors Road Show, exhibits, and Special Interest Groups. FCGSC volunteers will be staffing various volunteer positions throughout the conference, as well as sponsoring a presentation by one of our own members, Ron Blanchette. If you are planning to attend and can give an hour of your time to volunteer, please call (860-872-2597), email (info@fcgsc.org), or drop by the Library to let us know. Many hands are needed to carry out our assigned responsibilities.

Join us in Manchester, New Hampshire on April 3-6, 2019 for a great conference experience. While you’re there, drop by our table at the conference, and introduce yourself to our volunteers. We’re always excited to meet a fellow FCGSC member.

## **Surnames of Interest**

Because of technical difficulties, the “Surnames of Interest” Feature does not appear in this issue. However, you can access that information in the “Members Only” page on our web site at [www.fcgsc.org](http://www.fcgsc.org) by signing in with the email address that we have on file for you and creating a password.

Our Members Only web site pages have lots to offer. There are free downloadable genealogy charts and forms; access to scanned copies of all issues of the *Connecticut Maple Leaf* back to 1983, PLUS an Author/Title/Subject index as well; back issues of the *Maple Leaflet* newsletter; and more. Access is free to all current FCGSC members.

## **Books for Sale**

Our listing of excess and duplicate library materials will now appear in the *Maple Leaflet* newsletter, published in September and March. You can also find the Books For Sale listing on our web site ([www.fcgsc.org](http://www.fcgsc.org)), along with FCGSC sweatshirts, tote bags, hats and other logo items.

## **FCGSC Online Forum**

Got a genealogy question? Want to reach a wider community of researchers? Our free, open Forum is up and running, just waiting for your genealogical query. Access it at <http://fcgs-test-forum.freeforums.net/>.

## **2019 Scholarship**

Watch the *Maple Leaflet* newsletter and FCGSC web site for details about our new scholarship program for children and grandchildren of current members (see page .181, this issue).



# French-Canadian Genealogical Society of Connecticut, Inc.

## Membership/Renewal Application



Telephone: 860-872-2597 Email: info@fcg.sc.org Web: www.fcgsc.org

Location: Old County Courthouse  
53 Tolland Green  
Tolland, CT

Mail To: FCGSC  
P. O. Box 928  
Tolland, CT 06084-0928

Hours: Sat. 9-4 Sun. 1-4 Mon. 1-5 Wed. 1-5

Please type or print

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_

State/Province: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

### Please circle:

Publish my email on web Surnames listing **Yes No**

Publish my address in CML Surnames listing **Yes No**

I wish to volunteer to assist with special projects **Yes No**

Occupation (optional): \_\_\_\_\_

I would prefer to receive the *Maple Leaflet* Newsletter by \_\_\_\_\_ email  paper   
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### Membership Options (All amounts are per year, U.S. currency)

- Sustaining - \$150
- Patron - \$100
- Individual - \$30
- Family - \$30 plus \$10.00 for each additional member residing in same household
- I am enclosing a donation of \_\_\_\_\_ to the Society in support of its general goals
- I wish to become a benefactor and meet personal financial planning goals through tax saving instruments such as charitable annuities, bequests, trusts, and/or memorial tributes. Please contact me.
- Full-time Student - \$10.00 (Proof of student status may be required)
- Affiliate membership - \$30.00 (Organizations only)
- Exchange/reciprocal - no fee (Organizations only)

### Surnames of Interest

Please list surnames you are researching. If you indicated "yes", above, these will be published with your address in the *CML* so that members with similar interests can share their findings. If you indicated "yes" to the publication of your email address, your surname interests will also be published in the Members Only section of our web page.

Surnames: \_\_\_\_\_

I agree to abide by the rules and regulations governing use of the library. I understand that the library is for the mutual benefit of all members.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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# FCGSC Merchandise



FCGSC items make great gifts. Tote bag is sturdy canvas with sewn on contrasting handles. Adjustable size ball cap and knit winter hat have logo embroidered in white and red.



Short sleeved 100% cotton polo and T-shirt and heavy-weight poly/cotton sweatshirt are embroidered with Society name and logo in red and white.

Logo items - SALE		
Hat (Winter): Dark blue knit, red & white Society logo	\$ 10.00 <b>was \$16</b>	S/H \$7.00 per item: contact FCGSC for special rates multiple items to same address.
Hat: Dark blue cotton prewashed-look baseball cap with Society logo embroidered in white and red. One size, adjustable.	\$12.00 <b>was \$16</b>	
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Tote bag: Dark blue and red heavyweight canvas bag with embroidered Society logo	\$10.00 <b>was \$19</b>	
Sweatshirt: Dark blue 50% cotton / 50% polyester sweatshirt with embroidered logo. S, M, L, XL	\$15.00 <b>was \$25</b>	
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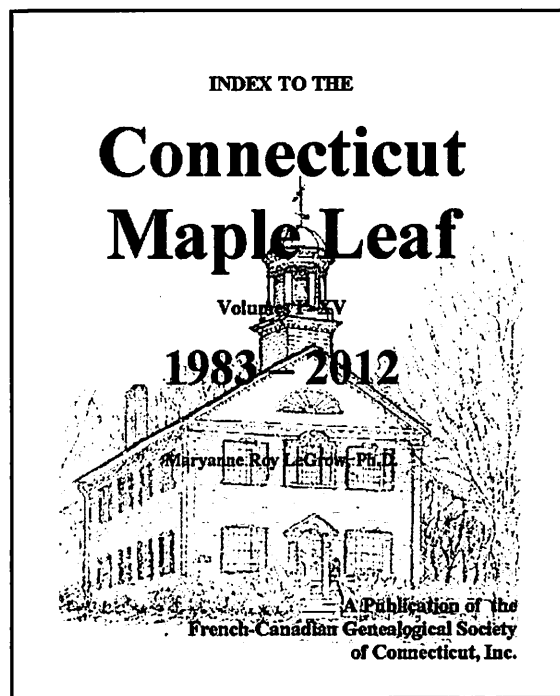
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