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PUBLIC HEALTH IN NEW FRANCE AND FRENCH CANADA

Joyce Banachowski

One of the aspects of life which existed in Quebec and New France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that of public health. Deaths were frequent. Life expectancies were about 40 years of age. Cities in particular had high mortality rates. Epidemics were often and disastrous. The city of Quebec in New France was especially a target. Nearly every ship which arrived in New France docked at Quebec first. With it came purple fever, yellow fever, typhus, cholera, smallpox, diphtheria and the flu. Almost immediately the sick from the ships were brought to the hospital. Some were discharged, but others ended their days there. In addition, children's diseases were also a problem. It is estimated that 26 % of all children born never lived through the first year.¹

Local government legislatures attempted to initiate preventive measures. However, public health measures were never properly addressed. The sewers were open, running down the streets, to be flushed by the rainfalls into the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles Rivers. Animals were kept in most neighborhoods, in stables and yards. Water came from rivers, streams, wells,

and springs and were sold by vendors throughout the town. In 1852, the first public water supply was brought by pipes into the town.² In addition, people were living in more crowded conditions and infectious diseases spread more rapidly under these conditions.

On 28 September 1685, Intendant de Meulles wrote to the minister that two royal ships had arrived and caused a great disorder in Canada. They carried a highly contagious disease which already had taken officers, soldiers, engagés and seamen. Many masters of the boats were also dead. He relates how one man, Denis Dion, was also dead leaving a widow with eight or ten children. Two of his children were also suffering from the disease (cholera). He contracted the disease because as *donné*, he followed orders and during the summer had moved the two vessels of the king about 30 *lieues*³ from Quebec. He was asking for the king to give some gratification to this family for his having done a good cause and got credit for getting rid of the sickness from the city by moving the ships.⁴

¹ Laforest, *Life in Quebec*, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lieu = 4 kilometers or 2 ½ miles.

⁴ *Une épidémie au Québec en 1685*, p. 155.

During the winter of 1700-1701, from the Annals of the Ursulines, we learn of a contagious flu which began the end of November 1700 spreading throughout the city. All of their community was hit at the same time and they were unable to help the others. The epidemic lasted a long time and spread into the countryside. One of the first to contract the disease was L'abbé Henri de Bernières, the old priest of the cathedral who had come to New France when he was young with bishop de Laval. The priest also was superior of the Seminary of Quebec. He died 4 December 1700 at

the age of 65 and was buried from the chapel of the Quebec Seminary. Doctor Gervais Beaudoin, who was the doctor of the Ursulines also died from the influenza on 5 December 1700. Another victim of the flu was Louis Rouer de Villaray, first conseiller of the Conseil Souverain. He had come to New France in 1650. He died 6 December 1700 at the age of 71 years. Thimothé Roussel who many years was surgeon at Hôtel Dieu died 11 December 1700. He died at Hôtel Dieu and was buried at the parish which was at the cathedral.⁵

⁵ Roy, Pierre Georges, pp. 547-548.

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The following year, 1702-1703, Quebec suffered from an unusually cold winter when a smallpox epidemic hit them. From Quebec, it spread with incredible speed throughout all of the colony to Montreal, Trois-Rivières, the parishes, and the Indian nations. Sister Juchereau de Saint Ignace who wrote a *Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec*, described some of the conditions. Priests could not keep up with the burial of the dead and assist the dying. They had to bury 15, 16, or 18 at a time in a grave site. At times whole families were lost, one after the other. They died in the hospital and they died throughout the city. From the beginning, they were taken into the Hôtel Dieu. The sisters at Hôtel Dieu were also hit hard. The first to die was Marie-Madeleine Maufils de Saint Louis, age 32 years, on 5 December 1702; on 16 Dec., Sister Marie-Angelique Mony de Sainte-Agnes, age 20; on 17 Dec. Sister Marguerite Cote de Saint-Paul, converse, age 29; a boarder, Marie-Anne Gauvreau de Jésus age 32 on 2 Feb 1703; and Sister Louise de Saint-Gabrielle, age 30 years on 2 June⁶.

The towns along the St. Lawrence were not the only locations where diseases struck. All of the colonies were hit with epidemics at some time or other. Louisbourg was hit repeatedly by smallpox.—1732/33, 1745, 1748/49, 1755/56, and 1758.

Located on the southeastern coast of Ile Royale (Cape Breton.), Louisbourg became one of the busiest ports on the Atlantic. They were located ideally near the cod fishing banks and the shipping

⁶ "L'épidémie de Picote 1702-1703 à Québec," Pp. 152-155.

SCHEDULE of MEETINGS

Meetings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Center, G110, at Mayfair Shopping Center. Enter by the northeast door off the covered parking area. On the right side you will see a door which leads to the elevator and the stairs. Go down one floor. The library is open for use at 6:30 p.m and meetings begin at 7:30 p.m.

10 April 2008: Library will be open for research.

8 May 2008: Round Table Discussion on the most valuable or unusual source or sources you have used

12 June 2008: Formal meeting

10 July 2008: Library will be open for research.

lanes. They had developed a trading system with the English colonies, particularly Boston and New England, the West Indies, Quebec and Acadia. This was good for trade but it also brought them in contact with more contagious epidemics.⁷ During the summer of 1730, a smallpox epidemic had broken out in Boston. More than 500 died as a result. When Louisbourg heard about this news, the Superior Council called a meeting on 8 August and set up a group of resolutions. One of them ordered that New England traders and some Acadian habitants appear before the Council to provide information on the Boston outbreak. As a result, Louisbourg was able to ward off a major smallpox outbreak.⁸

⁷ Burns, George, p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*

However, two years later, 1732, they had their own epidemic. On 9 August 1732, the royal ship, *Le Rubis*, came into port with smallpox on board. There were three hundred men on board—soldiers, sailors, and prisoners (salt smugglers) who were heading to Quebec. A total of 123 of them had to be hospitalized. The ship's captain, L'Entenduère blamed the epidemic on the prisoners. The King's Hospital in Louisbourg had just been completed in 1730, but had not as yet received all of its required medical supplies, tools, instruments and bedclothes. The Brothers of Charity of the Order of St. John of God were unable to care for the 123 smallpox victims. The town officials decided to put the most serious cases in the hospital and the others at a hurriedly constructed treatment center on the north shore of the harbor. Jean Le Grange, surgeon-major of Louisbourg, was appointed by the governor of Louisbourg to oversee the care of the sick.⁹ The financial commissary, Le Normant, asked that the captain of the *Le Rubis* be responsible for providing the hospital with supplies. This included 9,295 pounds of biscuit, 20 quintals of lard, 2 quarts of brandy and 2 bales of blankets. Once the supplies were unloaded the ship continued on to Quebec with needed replacement sailors from local merchant ships.¹⁰

Fifty-nine men were released from the Louisbourg Hospital in late August. They left for Quebec on board the *La Revanche*. Six of them drowned when the ship sank off the coast near Ingonish. Thirty-seven other men left Louisbourg for Quebec on another ship on 4 September. Fourteen smallpox

cases remained. They were ordered to leave the colony by the end of the year. Some stayed and joined the town's garrison.¹¹

The epidemic went far beyond the men who had arrived on the *Rubis*. Three brothers of Charity died by the end of 1732. By mid February 1733, the epidemic had spread throughout the town, and to Isle Royale. Sailors, passengers, residents of the colony, garrisoned soldiers, local Mic Macs and other Indian groups in other parts of Acadia were struck heavily by the epidemic.¹² An emergency cemetery was created outside the walls of Louisbourg on land owned by Jean Martin, a 60 year old victim of the epidemic who had died September 1732. His land was more convenient than transporting the bodies to the cemetery. The epidemic continued for eight months—finally subsiding in April 1733, but an outbreak of pneumonia followed.¹³

Louisbourg was taken by the British in 1745 and occupied by them until 1748. Smallpox was at Louisbourg during the British occupancy. In July 1749, when the French reoccupied Louisbourg the disease reappeared. Charles Desherbiers, governor of the colony, stated that small pox had been on the *L'Intrepid* and the *Jean Elie*, two transport ships.¹⁴

On 2 June 1755, Governor Augustin Boschenry de Drucour reported that smallpox had again struck. By December there were 111 deaths. The disease did not subside until March 1756.¹⁵ A

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

surgeon's bills provide us with a glimpse of the smallpox treatment administered to Pierre Lambert and his daughter, Julienne, residents of Louisbourg. They included bleedings, washings, treatments with "carminatives to relieve excess gas, the ingestion of restorative-simulative agents, drugs to induce sweating" and plasters to create blisters on the skin and for Pierre, six consecutive enemas. These were the accepted forms of medical treatments appearing in medical journals at that time. Both father and daughter died of the disease—Julienne in November 1755 and Pierre in May 1756.¹⁶ No one knows how the disease spread to Louisbourg in 1755. Very probably, it was from Quebec. In 1755, Quebec had suffered the greatest smallpox epidemic known. They referred to 1755 as the year of the Great Smallpox Epidemic.¹⁷

In 1758, the British captured Louisbourg again. The British were suffering from the smallpox when they sieged Louisbourg. Some officers and a few men had received inoculations at Halifax before leaving for Louisbourg. Most

others were not so fortunate. The troops suffered greatly. Most of the Rangers contracted the smallpox. Amherst reported that of 108 New England carpenters, all but 16 had the smallpox, and they were nursing the others.¹⁸

Smallpox vaccinations had been introduced into Boston in 1721. By 1750, inoculations were beginning to be recognized throughout the British colonies. In 1758, inoculations were being used in Halifax.¹⁹

Between 1832 and 1866, Montreal and other Canadian cities had been hit by devastating cholera epidemics. In the spring of 1885, word had arrived that cholera was rampant in Southern Europe. The fear of cholera caused the people of Montreal to make public health their main issue in city elections. There was much concern over spring clean-up. The newspapers heavily criticized the garbage collectors for not doing their job clearing the streets of garbage as the days were getting warmer. The thaw of the winter freeze of plant, animal and human waste brought

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 41.

PICOTTE!

Dr Latimer, Queen's Hôtel, vient d'introduire un remède certain contre la picotte. On est garant de tout danger en portant sur soi son Sachet rose.

Dépôt général chez F. GAUTHIER, No 38 RUE ST-LAURENT.

18 161

rotting and stinking odors. The *Herald* And the *Gazette* newspapers started a campaign to pressure the Health Department to do away with the putrid odors and stench of the city. Winds from nearby swamps and marshlands, dead animals, offal from butcher shops, puddles of stagnant and polluted water, odors from the soapworks, glue factories, tanneries, slaughter houses, and other such industries, animal and human excrement, outhouses, cesspools and sewers were the causes of these putrid odors, a source of poisons. (Smoke from fireplaces and factories was not considered a concern for public health.) Pure air was essential to health. "Wherever there is an offensive odor, there is danger," was stated in a *Herald* editorial. These "vile smells" offensive to the senses, were the cause of typhoid fever, cholera, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever and other malarial diseases. This is what was believed by the Montrealers in 1885.²⁰ The movement was on to clean the city of odors.

Cholera from Europe did not hit Montreal. Instead, a train conductor from Chicago on the Grand Trunk Railroad brought smallpox to Montreal. At first it spread slowly from Hôtel Dieu, Montreal to the French Canadian neighborhoods and soon was rampant in the city.

The population doubled their concern about odors. But smallpox was transmitted by personal contact, bedclothes or possessions of victims. To control smallpox, the western world used "strict quarantine, rigorous disinfection,

²⁰ Bliss, Michael, "Something Terrible: The Odour of Contagion, Montreal, 1885," *The Beaver*, Dec 1991-Jan 1992, p. 10.

" PURITY."

**THE NEW DISINFECTANT PREVENTS
SMALL-POX, DIPHTHERIA, SCAR-
LET FEVER, and all con-
tagious diseases.**

ODORLESS, INSTANTANEOUS, DEODORIZER.

A highly concentrated chemical fluid for Hospital, Surgical, Medical, Domestic and Universal use. An immediate specific for impure air and bad smells.

Checks and prevents animal and vegetable decomposition. It is powerful yet quite harmless in its effects to persons or fabrics. Entirely free from odor, and does not, like other disinfectants, substitute one disagreeable smell for another.

No household should be without it.

It is cheaper than any other disinfectant yet offered.

One bottle, making two gallons of disinfectant, price 50c.

Manufactured by the Egyptian Chemical Co., Boston, Mass.

EMIL POLIWKA & CO.,

394, 396, 398 & 400 St. Paul st., Montreal,

Sole Agents for Canada.

and vaccination." Most Montrealers did not understand how smallpox was spread. Instead they hung on to their beliefs that it was spread by vile or putrid odors. Why were they hesitant to change? Smallpox victims gave off an "unforgettable smell." Earlier generations of health advocates stressed the old belief. French Canadians for the most part disliked the idea of vaccination. Therefore, if purifying the air could be done, there would be no need to risk people with a fearful and painful surgical procedure of inoculation with cowpox or vaccine.²¹

VACCINE !

VACCINE !

Just received, a supply of PURE VACCINE.

R. BIRKS, Dispensing Chemist,

207 McGill street.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

By 15 Aug, there were more than 150 deaths. On the same day, *The Star*, wrote "The stench from St. Jean Baptiste's Streets are 'simply abominable. Filthy, putrid matter has been lying in the gutters at either side of the street, exhaling the most disgusting smells, while the stench from some of the outhouses is almost unbearable.'"²² The hot days of summer were approaching.

In a few days there was a run on disinfectants, deodorizers and aromatics "that disinfected by removing bad smells." Pocket sachets were sold by street vendors. Many believed that tobacco smoke would neutralize the disease carrying odors. Odorless disinfectants were believed to be of no value. It was believed that only good odors drove out the bad.²³

Some educated Montrealers knew of vaccination as a way to prevent smallpox and received the inoculation, but continued to avoid repulsive odors as much as possible as an added precaution.

Because of fear, lack of education, and some anti-vaccinationists, bad smells continued to be blamed for the epidemic. The alderman, Hormidas Jeannotte, whose Ste-Marie ward was severely struck by the disease believed it was caused by odors from the glue and soap factories. Some of the French Canadian newspapers believed it was caused by poor drainage in the French quarters of the city causing sewer gases which spread the smallpox. The French Canadians were the ones who suffered most from this smallpox epidemic. Oddly, the Irish who had also settled in

some of these low areas did not suffer from the epidemic. They had been vaccinated for smallpox. The city surveyor took some of the reporters on a tour of the city, but handed out cigars for them and told them "Keep smoking if you value your lives."²⁴ To the population, the largest culprit of the death carrying vapors was the city smallpox hospital. It was believed that from here, the neighborhoods downwind from the hospital were in the path of danger. Besides, the hospital was not adequate to handle the situation, but protests against building a new hospital in the city were strongly opposed. No one wanted the odors from the hospital to linger in their backyards. The Montreal Health Board decided to occupy buildings on the provincial exhibition grounds and used them as hospitals. Militiamen were used as guards in case people of neighboring villages would attack.²⁵

About 3,200 died of smallpox in Montreal that year and hundreds more died in the suburbs. By the end of the epidemic, the population had either been vaccinated or were carrying its scars of smallpox. The smallpox ended in the winter cold, and the odors left as well!

(The three ads were taken from the article, "Something Terrible: the Odour of Contagion: Montreal 1885," in *The Beaver*, Dec 1991-Jan 1992, pp. 8 & 10.)

SOURCES!

SOURCES! SOURCES!

What is the most **valuable**, most **useful**, most **interesting**, or most **unusual** genealogy **source** you have used? Bring it to the May meeting and share it!

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

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EARLY PHYSICIANS IN NEW FRANCE

Joyce Banachowski

Fishing and trading ships of France usually had their own surgeons on board ship. It is probable that a number of surgeons were in New France between 1534 -1604. However, we do not know definitely who they were. Deschamps of Honfleur, a surgeon, and Maître Estienne, a surgeon-apothecary, were practicing medicine at St. Croix with Champlain in 1606.

Louis Hebert, surgeon-apothecary, was one of the first surgeons at Port Royal. Later he is found in Quebec and is recognized as the first settler there.

Doctor Bonnerme who came from France with Champlain in 1608, when Quebec was founded, was the first physician to come to Quebec. He was

part of a plot to assassinate Champlain. Some of his crew members plotted to take the fort and take Champlain prisoner and turn him over to the Basques or Spaniards who were at Tadoussac. They also considered putting him to death with poison, by blowing him up with powder, or by giving a false alarm and killing him as soon as he came out of his quarters. They approached Bonnerme for the poison and he in turn informed Champlain of the plot. Four conspirators accused Bonnerme and La Taille. The surgeon was taken with the ring leader, Jean Duval, on board a ship in the river opposite Quebec. Dr. Hebert, the apothecary, was on board the ship. Champlain acted as judge and examiner in the presence of the captain, mate, surgeon and others. Bonnerme and La Taille were proven innocent and released. Jean Duval was hanged at Quebec. Bonnerme died of scurvy a year later.

In 1610 when Champlain was wounded by the Iroquois, he was cared for by Boyer, a surgeon from Rouen.

In 1629, when David Kirke took Quebec, he had with him, a surgeon, Adrien Duchesne, a Huguenot, from Dieppe. When Champlain surrendered, Adrien Duchesne was left at the fort during the English control. A doctor, André Daniel, one of the Hundred Associates, was sent to London to negotiate the return of Canada and Acadia to France. In 1632, control returned to France. In 1635, Adrien Duchesne received a grant of land from the king. He later transferred it to Abraham Martin. Duchesne's medical practice extended from Quebec to Trois-Rivières.

In 1627, Robert Giffard of Montagne au Perche, and surgeon to the Company of Associates who were interested in the fur trade, came to New France. He returned to France. A year later, when returning from France to Canada, he was taken prisoner by the English in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. The English had intercepted the Company of a Hundred Associates' fleet of ships and had taken the crew as prisoners. Four more ships were then taken by the English at the Island of St. Pierre. These were filled with cod, but were without crews who had left out of fear of being caught by the English. The English loaded their ships with the cod and to make room, they left as many Frenchmen as they could at St. Pierre. Giffard was among those left on the island. The Basques on St. Pierre gave the Frenchmen a small boat, and some biscuits and ordered them to leave within an hour or die. They left and two days later were at the "Isles of Plaisance" where there were

some ships preparing to sail to France, and they were taken aboard. Giffard received the seigneurie of Beauport because of his services to the Company of a Hundred Associates. He returned to New France. In 1634 he returned to Beauport with a contingent of settlers, and practiced as a surgeon.

Simon Baron, a Jesuit *donné*, was at Chibou, Cape Breton Island in 1631, where he learned surgery. Between 1634-1637 he was in the Huron country with the Jesuits. In 1637, 1658, and 1664, he is in Trois Rivières. In the 1637 smallpox epidemic he was recognized for his skill in using the lancet.

René Goupil of Angers, France, was the first missionary physician in New France. He had a little knowledge of surgery and was a help to the Jesuits. He and Father Jogues were prisoners of the Mohawk's near Schenectady, New York. Goupil suffered long tortures. When he made the sign of the cross on a child, he was killed by the parents.

One of the best known barber surgeons of New France was Jean Madry. Madry started his practice in 1653. While in France, he received letters of surgeon with authority to establish in all Canada the 'Authority of Surgery'. He received this commission from Francois Barrois, Premier Surgeon Ordinary to the King and Provost to the Royal College of St. Corne at the University of Paris. Later he became mayor of Quebec. He was succeeded by Gervais Beaudoin for a year until he died in 1700 and then by Jourdain Lajus until 1709.

Intendant Hocquart chose Lajus as Surgeon-Major for the troop detachment which went to Acadia until the end of

the campaign when the Acadians were expelled. He brought word of the expulsion back to Quebec.

Louis Maheu was the first French-Canadian to practice medicine in New France. He was born 12 December 1650 in Quebec.

Dr. Michel Sarrazin was born in 1659 in Nuits. In 1686, he was made Surgeon-Major of the troops. In 1693, the sisters chose him as physician of l'Hôpital Général of Quebec. He returned to France in 1694 to study. Three years later he was returning to Canada when there was an outbreak of typhus on board the Gironde. Sarrazin tended to the sick especially to the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de St. Villier, who was seriously ill.

Between 1698-1730, Sarrazin wrote a number of papers which he sent to the Academy of Sciences. Among them were papers on the anatomy of the beaver; studies on the American rat or muskrat, the lynx; observations and notes on the moose, deer, seal, porcupine, and the maple tree; and the curative properties of the pitcher plant for treatment of smallpox. He was assigned to study the natural history of Canada. He treated Galssonnière for pleurisy.

He was known to perform serious surgeries. This was unusual for that period of time. The best French surgeons were trained under Ambroise Paré. They studied anatomy in detail and were skilled in the use of surgical instruments. Surgery at that time generally consisted of wound treatment, amputations, reduction of dislocations and bone-setting. Sarrazin was well known for the

removal of tumors. He performed breast cancer surgery on Sister Marie Barbier de l'Assomption of the Congregation of Notre Dame and the following year on Sister Elizabeth Cheroir of Saint Ann.

Sarrazin received little payment for his services from his patients. He lived on a yearly allowance from the king. In 1699 he received 300 livres a year. In 1701, it went up to 600 livres. He was so in need that he threatened to leave the colony. He was made a member of the Superior Council, for which he received an added amount of money. He died in 1734 in Quebec after contracting typhus from a patient newly arrived aboard one of the ships. He left his surgical books to another physician, Jean-Baptiste Maublant, Sieur de Saint-Amands.

On 21 April 1716, a surgeon, Charles Prieur, signed a notarial engagement record before the notary, Rivet. Charles Prieur of Quebec agreed to be hired to Sieur Louis Prat, captain of the ship, Normand, bound for the Cape Breton fisheries, as both a surgeon and a fisherman on board the Normand. Prieur agreed to do not only surgical duties but "to work at fishing to the best of his ability and after the fishing to continue to any destination that may be decided upon." His pay was to be 25 livres a month. In 1653, a physician of Montreal, Pierre Piron, had also been listed as being a surgeon and a fisherman.

Jean Francois Gaultier /Gautier /Gauthier, born in 1708 or 1711 was named King's physician in Canada in 1741. He had studied law in 1740 and was studying in the hospitals of Paris in 1742. In 1743, he requested to be named to a vacancy on the Superior Council.

He was not made a member of the Council until 1744 and sat on it in 1745. Gaultier had other scientific interests besides medicine. In 1745, he was sent four thermometers and an astronomical pendulum for marking the seconds with a telescope so that Gaultier could make "useful observations". He was also interested in botany and discovered the wintergreen plant. He was asked by Galissonnière to make a list of plants and trees of North America, to gather grains and roots, to collect mineral samples from various areas and to note the uses of plants and minerals by the Indians.

Louis Goudeau was the first Montreal surgeon. The earliest notarial record on which his name appears was 4 January 1648.

Jean Pouppé delivered the first children of Europeans in Montreal. In 1649, the Company of One Hundred Associates decided that the surgeon of the Hôtel Dieu, Montreal would provide free services to the French and the Indians.

Etienne Bouchard was hired to practice medicine in Montreal for five years. He stayed more than twenty years. In 1654, he made a contract with some important inhabitants of Montreal to treat each of them and their families for 100 sous a year. Some diseases were exempted. In 1660, Bouchard hired Nicolas Colson as an assistant. Colson was to receive 150 livres and room and board.

Louis Chartier, physician of Montreal loaned money to Dollard des Ormeaux when he was organizing his expedition against the Iroquois. Chartier died in July 1660 by drowning while swimming.

Abbé Gabriel Souart arrived in Montreal in 1657 as the first Sulpician *cure*. He had studied medicine and was authorized by the pope to care for the sick if necessary.

René Sauvageau, Sieur de Maisonneuve and surgeon to the company of M. Dugue de Boisbant went in partnership with Jean Rouxcel in 1667 at Pointe-aux-Trembles. "Their partnership included their furniture, victuals, merchandise, skins, fruits of the earth, surgical instruments, drugs and the product of their labour and industry."

On 13 July 1681, Antoine Forestier and Martinet de Fonblanche were appointed surgeons of Hôtel Dieu, Montreal. They agreed to serve the hospital, and care for the sick, to visit the sick during the seven hours of the morning and other hours when necessary, one to replace the other in case of absence. The drugs would be provided by the hospital. In return they were to receive 75 livres each.

In 1677, Michel de Sirsse dit Saint-Michel was hired to practice medicine. In the same year he purchased a farm of 40 arpents from Jean Raynaud dit Planchard for 1125 livres. He also agreed to pay 30 livres pin-money to Dame Raynaud and to provide three years of surgical service for barbering and bleeding to his wife and children at their home at Pointe-aux-Trembles.

Jean Jallot practiced medicine at Pointe-aux-Trembles in the years 1680-1690. He died July 1690, with twelve others, in a battle against the Iroquois in defending Montreal.

On 9 March 1699, the surgeon, René Gauchet of Montreal made a complaint against M. d'Ailleboust des Musseaux. He accused d'Ailleboust of maltreating him "with blows of the fists and the feet, and also struck him with a piece of wood," and attempted to draw his sword against him. The incident happened at 6:00 the night before.

In 1699, the surgeon, André Rapin, was surgeon to the Carillon regiment.

Timothy Sulliva /Sullivan / Silvin / Silvain was practicing medicine in Montreal 1724-1749. In January 1720, he married Mme d'Youville, widow of Christopher Dufrost de Lajemmerais. Her parents were René Gauthier de Varenne, Governor of Trois-Rivières and Marie-Ursule Boucher, granddaughter of Pierre Boucher, and sister of Pierre Gauthier de la Vérendrye. She was the mother of the founder of the Grey Nuns. In order to practice medicine, her husband had to receive permission. Sullivan's petition was submitted by Governor de Vaudreuil. In March 1724, Timothée Sylvain of Ireland received permission to practice medicine in Montreal under the orders of Sir Sarrazin, King's physician at Quebec

A Montreal physician, Jean LaCoste, was charged with forgery and given a death sentence. He appealed to the Superior Council. They commuted his sentence. Instead, he was "ordered to be stripped naked, conducted through the streets of Ville-Marie, lashed at different street corners, branded on the face, and deported to France to work on the King's ships for life."

At the Quebec siege of the French and Indian War. Surgeon-Major André Arnoux of Rochfort took care of the French troops. His brother, Joseph, an apothecary, dressed the wounds of Montcalm as a result of that same battle. Philippe Badelard, surgeon, was at the battle of the Plains of Abraham. There he was taken prisoner by Fraser, a Scotch Highlander. After the peace, Badelard practiced in Quebec and Fraser opened a school. The two became good friends. On 17 Feb 1802, Badelard died leaving 12,000 livres to the Hôpital Général at Quebec.

Military Surgeons Who Came to New France in 1755

In 1755, six battalions of troops came to New France to defend the colony against the English. Two of them, Artois and Bourgogne went to I'île Royale.

On 20 March 1755, the minister, le Marquis de Paulmy assigned a number of surgeons, surgeon aides and training surgeons to serve these battalions.

Sieur Polemond: surgeon-major: drowned 18 July 1755 at the Little DuChesne River after he arrived when he was enroute between Quebec and Montreal. He was replaced by Sieur Arnoux, surgeon. He had been a surgeon of the marines at Toulon and Rochefort.

Sieur Ricard, aide-major: was a marine surgeon at Toulon. He never disembarked because of illness and returned to France.

Massé, aide-major: was attached to the Béarn battalion.

Guerin de La Tour, aide-major: was sent to l'île Royale with the Artois and Bourgogne battalions and was attached especially to the Artois battalion.

Sieur Blin, aide-major: was originally assigned to l'île Royale to be attached to the Bourgogne battalion, but when he arrived in Canada, he was ordered to the Guienne battalion at Niagara. Blin married a Canadian and established himself in Canada.

Sieur Conil, aide-surgeon: was to embark on the ship, the Aquilon, to l'île Royale. Instead he embarked on the Alcide, was taken prisoner by the English and remained a prisoner of war in England.

Sieur Berthemet, aide-major: was to go with the surgeon –major to follow le Baron de Dieskau and 18 remaining companies of la Reine and Languedoc.

Sieur Du Verger, apprentice-surgeon: was appointed to an aide major and did well and was with the surgeon-major at the dressing station.

Sieur Boizard, apprentice surgeon: was intelligent and was the protégé of Marshal de Noailles. He was courageous.

Sieur Delpach, surgeon-major: was of the Reine Regiment and was with the battalion at l'île Royale. He was a passenger on the Alcide and was a prisoner of war of the English.

In 1756, three other surgeons arrived — Sieurs Emery, Henri and de Bonne, all aide majors and Posse, an apprentice surgeon.

(Information for the above article was extracted from Roy, Pierre-Georges, "Les Chirurgiens Militaires Envoyes au Canada en 1755, in Bulletin des Recherches de Historique, Vol. 50, #5, May 1944, Levis, pp. 136-138.)

FCGW By-Laws Review

Pat Ustine

According to the By-Laws of FCGW Article XIV Section E, "By-Laws shall be reviewed and published at least every 5 years." The last review was January 2003 and was revised June, 2003. The By-Laws are sent to all new members and are also on the FCGW website, www.fcgw.org

If you do not have the By-Laws or access to a computer for them, please let me know.

Please take the time to review the By-Laws and if you have any corrections or additions, you can send them to me at FCGW address or e-mail me at ustinecfpm@hotmail.com . If there are any corrections or additions they will be presented to the board of directors and then on to the members. Please notify me by June 1, 2008.

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

Firestorm at Peshtigo by William Lutz, donated by Patricia Geyh.

Donations by Joyce Banachowski:
La Famille Perthuis by Pierre-Georges Roy

Mariages de Contrecoeur 1668-1966, Irene Jette, compiler

Les Mariages de L'Ange-Gardien (1664-1964) (Comte de Montmorency) Pontbriand, editor

Mariages de St-Pierre-de-Sorel (1675-1865), Antonio Mongeau, compiler

St. Louis Parish, Fond du Lac, WI

Project Status Report

Progress is being made in the quest to publish an index of the Births, Marriages, Deaths and Confirmations of the parish of St. Louis of Fond du Lac, WI. Members of the FCGW as well as friends and relatives of members are involved in this project.

The following chart gives you an idea of the status of the work.

Need for donations for the project is great. People in several states are helping with the project. Needless to say, mailing and copying costs are high. Printing and publishing costs will come next. Any amount will help the FCGW with this most worthy project.

A big plus for you – the FCGW is a 503c3 tax-exempt organization.

Your donation is tax deductible!

Write your check to FCGW. Designate St. Louis Project on the memo line. Send your donation to FCGW, PO Box 414, Hales Corners, WI 53130-0414.

THANK YOU!

Kateri T. Dupuis and Steve McKay – Co – chairpersons of the St. Louis project

Checklist

EVENT	YEAR	EXTRACTION 1	EXTRACTION 2	COMPARISON	TYPIST
Vol 1 Baptisms	1850-1860	Don Cayen - COMPLETE	Jo Christon - in progress		
Vol 1 Marriages	1850-1865	Don Cayen - COMPLETE	Barb Glassel - in progress		
Vol 1 Confirmations	1857	Joyce Banachowski - in progress with Don & Teri	Don Cayen - COMPLETE		
Vol 1 Deaths	1851-1852 & 1860-1873	Don Cayen - COMPLETE	Pat Ustine & Sue White - in progress		
Vol 2 Baptisms	1853-1881	A- Don Cayen - COMPLETE B- Sue Horton - in progress	A- XXX B- Don Cayen - in progress		
Vol 3 Baptisms	1881-1905	Sue White - COMPLETE	Pat Ustine - COMPLETE	Teri Dupuis - COMPLETE	Judy Vezzetti - COMPLETE
Vol 4 Baptisms	1904-1920	Bart Jacques - COMPLETE	Audrey Cayo- COMPLETE	Sue Holton - COMPLETE	Cindy Koshmann - COMPLETE
Vol 5 Marriages	1865-1905	Audrey Cayo - in progress	XXX		
Vol 5 Burials	1897 - 1920	Don Cayen - COMPLETE	Ray Lusty - COMPLETE	Maxine Plasa - COMPLETE	Ruth Paulsen - in progress
Vol 5 Burials	1873-1896	Don Cayen - COMPLETE	Teri Dupuis - COMPLETE	Sue Holton - COMPLETE	Susan Myers- COMPLETE
Vol 5 Confirmations	1882-1920	Barb Glassel - COMPLETE	Teri Dupuis - COMPLETE	Don Cayen - COMPLETE	Steve McKay - COMPLETE
Vol 6 Marriages	1904-1920	Teri Dupuis - COMPLETE	Joyce Banachowski - COMPLETE	Maxine Plasa - COMPLETE	Steve McKay - COMPLETE
FDL St. Louis History		Joyce Banachowski - COMPLETE			

Steve McKay will merge all of the records after they are typed into Excel files.

NEWS NOTES

From *Everton's Genealogical Helper*, Jan/Feb 2008: New fees for acquiring documents from the National Archives have been published as of 17 Aug 2007.

1. Passenger Arrival lists – NATF Form 81 --\$25.00
2. Federal Census Requests – NATF Form 82 --\$25.00
3. Eastern Cherokee applications to the Court of Claims – NATF Form 83 -- \$25.00
4. Land entry records – NATF Form 84 --\$40.00
5. Full pension file more than 75 years old (Civil War and after), up to and including 100 pages – NATF Form 85-- \$75.00
6. Full pension file (pre-Civil War) – NATF Form 85 -- \$50.00
7. Pension documents packet (selected records) –NATF Form 85 -- \$25.00
8. Bounty land warrant application files – NATF Form 85 -- \$25.00
9. Military service files more than 75 years old – NATF Form 86 -- \$25.00

From *Columns*, Wisconsin Historical Society, Vol. 29 #21, March/April 2008: The Historical Society's division of Historic Preservation-Public History has had on line, 129,000 images of historic buildings, structures and objects in Wisconsin since 1996. In 2006, an additional 14,000 photos of buildings in Dane County were scanned. Additional photos from fifteen other counties — Adams, Barron, Burnett, Dane, Florence, Forest, Jackson, Langlade, Menominee, Pepin, Polk, Price, Sawyer, Taylor, Washburn and Waushara — have also been scanned for a total of 20, 484 new photos. Efforts are being made to raise

money to digitize the remaining thousands of photos from the collection. See it at

www.wisconsinhistory.org/ahi

From the Newsletter of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, March-April 2008: Universal Studios will be filming a bank robbery scene for their John Dillinger movie, "Public Enemy," at the Milwaukee County Historical Society in Milwaukee. The building of the County Historical Society was formerly a bank and provides huge vaults with 22 ton circular doors, marble vestibules and stair cases and scagliola columns, typical of the period being filmed. During the filming, the Historical Society will be relocating to 22nd and Clybourn.

After the filming, the Historical Society will continue its major reconstruction and restoration project which is scheduled between June 2008 and January 2009. From approximately 1 June 2008 to the end of the year, The Research Library and Administrative Offices will be located at the former headquarters of H.H. West Office Supplies at the 22nd and Clybourn site and will be available to researchers. During this time, it would be advisable to use the Historical Society's website or call to confirm open hours or temporary closings.

From *Mower Genealogy News*, Austin, MN., Winter, 2008: If you are looking for Canadian border crossings between 1895 and 1956, you might want to try Ancestry. They have millions of names. Some of the information you may find are birth dates and places, family members who are traveling together and previous residences.

From the *Fond du Lac Genealogical Society Newsletter*, Vol. 29, No. 4, February 2008: Originally from *Pinery Pedigree*, Nov-Dec 2007: Maiden names can often be found as witnesses on old deeds. On most old deeds, you will find signatures of two to four witnesses in the lower left-hand corner of the deed. The first one is always from the husband's side of the family. The second is always from the wife's side. It was to protect her one-third dower by law.

Prior to and in the 1880's, it was tradition that when a daughter married, as part of her dowry, her father either cover the loan or carried the note for his new son-in-law. If the wife's name is not known, but the husband's name is known, find out to whom they made their first payment. About 80 % of the time, it will be to her father.

From *Le Réveil Acadien*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Feb 2008: Some registres of the Grand Pre area are located in Baton Rouge, Louisiana at the Archives of the Diocese of Baton Rouge in the Catholic Life Building at 1800 South Acadian Thwy. The registres had been taken by the deported Acadians and they ended up in Louisiana. An article by Helen Morin Maxson explains how she found (in Baton Rouge) the baptism of an ancestor from the Registres of St. Charles Aux Mines in Acadia 1707-1748.

From *Fond du Lac County Genealogical Society Newsletter*, Vol. 29, No. 4, February 2008: The Archives of the Wisconsin Board of Commissioners of Public Lands have "hand-drawn maps and leather bound journals which describe what was here when the state was wilderness." There are field books of the early surveyors who walked the

area which was then the Northwest Territory. They described everything they saw. You can find out what the land you are on was like at that time. There also are about 1,600 hand-drawn maps. They are imaged and available on CDs by county. See website: <http://libtext.library.wisc.edu/SurveyNotes/SurveyInfo.html>

From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Jan 2008: There is a translation by Jean Dodenhoff of an interesting article by Gérard Malchelosse from *Les Cahiers des Dix*, Vol. 9, 1944. It is titled: Faux sauniers, prisonniers et fils de famille en Nouvelle-France aux XVIII siècle (Salt Smugglers, Prisoners and Sons of Gentlemen in New France in the 18th Century)

There is another article by Diane Wolford Sheppard titled, "A Tribute to Jean Baptiste Dumouchel—*Patriote* of 1837. If you had anyone who participated in the 1837-1838 Rebellion, you will find this interesting.

From *Everton's Genealogical Helper*, March /April 2008: A series of newspaper clippings, preserved in scrapbooks at the Wisconsin Historical Society during the late 19th and early 20th centuries can be found on a free site. www.wisconsinhistory.org/wlhba/

COMING UP

11-12 April 2008: Wisconsin State Genealogical Society 2008 Gene-A-Rama, "Picture Your Ancestors," at Plaza Hotel & Suites Conference Center, Eau Claire, Wisconsin; hosted by the Genealogical Society of Eau Claire. Speakers will be Maureen Taylor, the

Photo Detective; Don Litzer, of the Allen County Public Library; Lori Bessler and Rick Pifer, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, a speaker from the Minnesota Historical Society and Nancy Emmert and George Findlen, presenting genealogical skill building workshops, For info: www.wsgs.org

14 – 17 May 2008: National Genealogical Society Conference in the States, "Show Me the Nation's Records," Kansas City, Missouri. For information:

conference@ngsgenealogy.org or www.ngsgenealogy.org or write to: National Genealogical Society
3108 Columbia Pike, Suite 300
Arlington, Virginia 22204-4304

30 May – June 1, 2008: Conference 2008 at Fanshawe College, London, Ontario presented by Ontario Genealogical Society; The new world of research will be the focus of this conference. Presentations will include photo analysis, DNA, Writing a family history, Online Communities, Computer genealogy programs, Digital books and newspapers, Google, Emigration and Immigration, Ethnic research online and Free & pay-per-view online research. There will be more than 70 vendors. For more information:

www.ogs.on.ca/conference or write: OGS Conference '08
611 Wonderland Rd. N.
Suite 271
London, ON N6H 5N7 Canada

23-27 June 2008: International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences at The Convention Center in Quebec City. It will be sponsored by the Fédération québécois des sociétés de généalogie. Presentations on genealogy and heraldry

will be offered simultaneously in English and French. For information: www.genealogie.org/club/sqg/congres_2008/welcome.htm

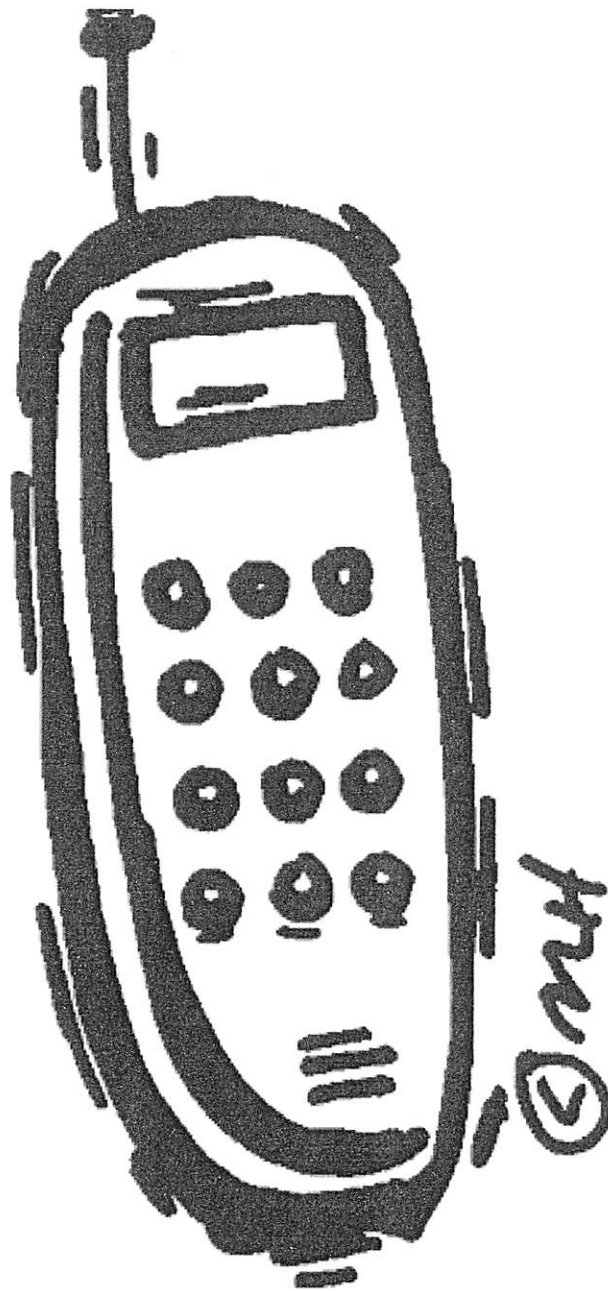
3-6 September 2008: Federation of Genealogical Societies Conference; "Footprints of Family History," Pennsylvania Convention Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There will be a wide variety of topics covered on land, military and railroad records, technology, DNA, oral history, immigration, court records, research depositories, and various ethnic and religious groups. There will be 3 Irish genealogists from Ireland making presentations on a number of Irish research topics. For information: www.fgsconference.org/blog/index.php or write to:

Federation of Genealogical Societies
P.O. Box 200940
Austin, TX 78720-0940
Or phone 1-888-FGS-1500

11 Oct 2008: WSGS Fall Seminar at Holiday Inn Express and Janesville Conference Center, Janesville, WI. Craig R. Scott will be the featured speaker. His specialty is records of the National Archives, especially military records.

13-16 May 2009: 2009 NGS Conference-in-the- States will be held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Among the proposed topics are military records of the French and Indian War, the Revolution and the Civil War.

2-5 September 2009: 2009 FGS Conference, "Passages Through Time," will be held at the Little Rock Statehouse Convention Center, Little Rock Arkansas.



FCGW Fund Raiser

Recycle Cell Phones

The FCGW is collecting old cell phones. They will be sent to Pace Butler Corporation who will reimburse us for the phones that we collect. We can make from \$1.00 - \$50.00 per phone.

What: Old cell phones - any make

When: Bring them to an FCGW meeting, the second Thursday of every month, or mail them in.

Where: Mayfair Meeting Room G-110

Time: 6:30 - 9:00 PM

Other: This is an easy way to help the FCGW raise money.

SAVE YOUR USED INK CARTRIDGES

They can be sent in for cash for FCGW
Recycle Inkjets — Reduce Pollution — Raise Funds

\$ Our organization receives up to \$4.00 \$
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Cartridges do not decompose for 1,000 years

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The French Canadian / Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin

ITEMS FOR SALE

Back Issues of Quarterly, \$3.00 each plus \$2.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the Quarterly, (Juneau), \$4.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the Quarterly, (Rebellion Losses), \$5.00; plus \$2.00 postage and handling

Surname Lists, \$3.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling

We Remember \$8.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling

All name Quarterly Index for Vols 1-10, \$5.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

All name Quarterly Index for Vols 11-17, \$5.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

Packet of 39 genealogy forms, \$4.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

Loiselle Search—One marriage from Loiselle Index, \$2.00 plus S.A.S.E

T-Shirts: M,L,XL \$15.00; XXL \$17.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling



French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin

Quarterly

Volume 22 No. 4

Summer 2008

1744 MUTINY AT LOUISBOURG

Joyce Banachowski

On a Sunday morning, 27 December 1744, the Swiss and French soldiers of the garrison at the French fortified city of Louisbourg mutinied. What led up to this event? Why did it happen? How did it affect the colony?

Before the Mutiny

Originally the isle was called Cape Breton. In 1713, when it became a French colony it was called Isle Royale. It was settled by about 250 men, women and children. In 1734 its military and civilian population was 683. By 1686, its population was over 2000. In 1744 it was believed to be between 2500-3000. This did not include the hundreds of sailors and fishermen who came in temporarily during shipping season.¹

In 1719, Louisbourg was established as the French administrative center and fortifications were begun for the protection of Louisbourg. The French viewed the location of Louisbourg as of major importance because 1) it was located at the center of the cod fishing; it had been used as fishing grounds since

the sixteenth century by the Basques, Portugese, French and other European countries. 2) It would develop into the trade and trans-shipment center of both transatlantic and intercolonial trade, and 3) it was a strategic base in the new world between New France along the St. Lawrence and the English colonies in North America. Louisbourg was known as the "Guardian of the Gulf of St. Lawrence".² The colony of Isle Royal included the Island of Saint- Jean (now Prince Edward Island) as well as Isle Royale.

The spring of 1744 was like any other spring. Everyone was eagerly awaiting the arrival of ships from France to bring the long awaited supplies especially of food. By April many of the poor were already relying on the shellfish they could find for food. There was no sign of the usual coming of the Basque fishermen. The warehouses were down to nothing. There would soon be protests. In the outlying areas signs of starvation were beginning to show. Finally on 3 May the first ship was sighted. It brought the news that France and England were again at war.³ (Wars

¹ Johnston, A.J.B., *The Summer of 1744: a Portrait of Life in 18th Century Louisbourg*, pp. 1-12.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

had been going on between England and France with short periods of peace in between from 1689 to 1713.) Along with the announcement that war had been declared 18 March 1744, were letters to encourage privateering and blank commissions which authorized privateering. Shipment of food was promised. In the meantime, Bigot received permission to go to New England for food supplies. Du Quesnel was encouraged to carry the war into the colonies and to encourage the Indians to create problems for the English. By 9 May there was not enough food to last

a month. Officials were considering sending the population back to France or to another country. Others were plotting to force the government to disperse the military supplies. A few ships arrived to prevent the population from dying of hunger. In September some supplies arrived from Quebec which helped enough to prevent the population from leaving the colony.⁴

In the meantime, Du Quesnel recognized they had one privateer which was

⁴ McLennon, J.S. *Louisbourg From Its Foundation to Its Fall 1713-1758*, pp. 109-110.

FRENCH CANADIAN / ACADIAN GENEALOGISTS OF WISCONSIN

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Our objectives are to foster and encourage interest and research in French Canadian and Acadian genealogy, heritage and culture.

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already at sea and a second which was owned by Dolabaratz who was to be sent on an expedition to take the English outpost, Canso, but without the additional provisions, arms, artillery and troops which had been requested. On 23 May the war expedition left under the command of Francois du Pont Du Vivier who was brought up in Louisbourg. The force was made up of 22 officers, 80 French, 37 Swiss soldiers, and 218 sailors who were from the crew of the Caribou, a man-of-war built at Quebec. They left on Dolabaratz's privateer schooner, the Succès and fourteen fishing boats.⁵ On the same day, 23 May, a ship from Glasgow arrived in Boston with the first news of the war.

The military authorities of England were as slow as those of France. Canso was not defensible. (On 19 July 1744, the order was first issued to Fort Annapolis to defend and build a fort of sod-work at Canso for its defense.) But, in May, Canso was manned by 120 men under Captain Patrick Heron. They had a single man-of-war sloop in the harbor under the command of Lieutenant George Ryall. It was there to protect the fisheries and to prevent trade with Isle Royale. For protection, Canso had a timber blockhouse built by the fishermen and inhabitants. The soldiers lived in huts in need of repairs. The only repairs which had been done were when the officers paid for them out of their own pockets. When the French arrived on 24 May, there was little resistance; the garrison and inhabitants surrendered to the French.⁶ Lieutenant George Ryall held out in the sloop a short while, but surrendered after the death of one man and the wounding of three or four others.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Meetings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Center, G110, at Mayfair Shopping Center. Enter at the northeast door off the covered parking area. On the right side you will see a door which leads to the elevator and the stairs. Go down one floor. The library is open for use at 6:30 p.m. and meetings begin at 7:30 p.m.

10 July 2008: Library will be open for research

14 August 2008: Finger Food Meeting; With entertainment by Michelet Innocent

11 September 2008: Round Table Discussion: "My Most Interesting Ancestor"

9 October 2008: George Findlen: "How To Use Whole Family Research to Identify the Parents of Someone Where Baptism and Marriage Records Have Not Survived"

The terms of the surrender were that they were to remain prisoners of war for a year. Their property was to be taken to Louisbourg on Bradstreet's schooner. Efforts were to be made to send the women and children to Boston or Annapolis. The same terms were given the crew on the guard sloop. The buildings at Canso harbour were burned by the French when they left. Governor Shirley in Boston asked to have Heron sent back, but Heron refused and said he would stay with his men.⁷

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

French officials were well pleased with the outcome at Canso. However, now there were about one hundred English prisoners who had to be housed and fed in Louisbourg for the next year. There were too many to be put in a military prison. Some could be put on board small boats in the harbor. Du Quesnel and Bigot decided to rent buildings in town and use them as prisons. The May arrival of ships with provisions from France, the capturing of foodstuffs from Canso and the opening of shipping lanes to Acadia had eased the food situation, but there was no over abundance of food, and the memory of food shortages and the fear of starvation was there especially with an additional burden of having 100 English prisoners for the next year. As a result, Bigot put the daily ration for prisoners at a pound of bread, four ounces of cod and four ounces of pork. However, the officers could arrange for better meals. A Boston newspaper reported they could get ragoo (ragoût)⁸ and soup for about seven pounds a week.⁹

After the taking of Canso, the next objective was to encourage privateering by Louisbourg ships, to attack the shipping lanes of the English and to take Annapolis. News of the surrender of Canso did not arrive in Boston until about the 10th of June. From late May to mid June, there were a number of unarmed boats, especially fishing boats, which were easy prey for the French privateers. One of the most successful French privateers was Francois Bauchet de Saint-Martin. After each capture, Saint-Martin would put some of his armed men on board to make sure the

ship and its goods would be taken to Louisbourg.¹⁰

By mid June the French privateers realized the English vessels would be armed and more difficult to take. The French decided to go further south, a greater distance from Louisbourg and close to the shipping lanes of Boston. However, some of the French privateers stayed to protect the fishing and commercial interests of Isle Royale. The Succès which was rented from the merchant, Jean-Baptiste Lannelongue, for 1400 livres a month, was commissioned as the coast guard of Isle Royale and was outfitted with firewood, swivel guns, medical supplies, and hardtack, wine, cheese and meat for the sailors. This cost the king's treasury more than 32,000 livres. The end of June saw the French still being successful.¹¹

Each success of the French brought with it an increase of British prisoners, more housing and food to care for them and faster depletion of French food supplies. By the end of June there were more than 200 prisoners in Louisbourg. By then there were three buildings now used as prisons—Pérelle's storehouse, the home of the widow of Joseph Lartigue, and Jean-Baptiste Lannelongue's building. Some of the townspeople profited during these first few months of the war. Bread, cod, meat, salt pork, spruce beer, wood, straw, and other supplies were purchased from local people. The total cost for goods and services for the prisoners reached over 16,000 livres.¹²

Before the end of June, both Du Quesnel and Bigot were suggesting to Governor

⁸ Ragout—a stew

⁹ Johnston, *Summer of 1744*p. 30..

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

¹² Johnston, *Summer of 1744*p. 41.

Shirley of Boston of the possibility of a prisoner exchange taking place before the year was up as had been stated in the surrender agreement at Canso. John Bradstreet an officer who had been captured at Canso, was chosen as the emissary to go to Boston. Although he was English, he was well known to the people of Louisbourg. He was born and baptized at Annapolis Royale; his father was a British officer; his mother, Agathe de Saint Etienne de la Tour, was French. He had done business and had friends and relatives in Louisbourg. Bradstreet did not leave for Boston until July arriving there on 17 July.¹³

The war was causing more and more of a drain on provisions for the town, and fewer and fewer ships were coming into Louisbourg. In July, two ships flying a flag of truce left Louisbourg for Boston. One carried five male prisoners, wives and children of soldiers captured at Canso; the other, the Ranger, owned by John Bradstreet, carried fourteen lame or incurable soldiers from Canso, the family of the Canso commander and Bradstreet carrying the letter to Governor Shirley and a barrel of white wine as a gift. The first ship arrived the 15th and Bradstreet arrived the 17th July. Shirley delayed his response to the French until 6 August. Shirley said he would exchange French prisoners for only able-bodied British soldiers. He would accept the sick and injured, women and children, but he would not return French prisoners for them. Bradstreet had difficulty getting men to sail back to Louisbourg. He had thought that Shirley would send some French prisoners in return for the English who were returned to Boston. Shirley returned only three French prisoners. In

late August Shirley's response arrived in Louisbourg along with a cask of English beer and three turkeys.¹⁴

In July, the French continued to have some successes in taking New England and British ships with their privateers — but less than half as many as they had taken in June. In July, New England began to use their privateers in retaliation to the French of Louisbourg. More and more New England privateers were out looking for French ships. In late July, eight Louisbourg fishing boats were captured by the English off the coast of Newfoundland.¹⁵

Already in May at the fall of Canso, New England began to consider the possibility of a French attack against Annapolis Royale. On 23 June, the first reinforcements of seventy men was approved. On 12 July, The Prince of Orange and another transport ship sailed to Annapolis Royale from Boston. This was the same day Annapolis Royal came under attack by a few French and about 300 Micmacs. The English artillery and musket fire held the Micmacs back. On 16 July the two ships from Boston arrived. The Micmacs saw the British flags, but thought the ships were French reinforcements who were flying the English flag as a trick, and they rushed to the shoreline to greet them. Later that day, the French and Micmac siege was abandoned and they retreated to Minas.¹⁶

Du Quesnel was not about to give up on the plan of taking Annapolis Royale. On 29 July, the first part of their plan was initiated. Five ships sailed from Louisbourg to Isle St. Jean and then to

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 98.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

Chigneto. Captain Francois Du Pont Vivier who was on the Succès was in charge of the expedition. On board were regular troops from Isle Royale, who would go from the Chigneto isthmus overland to Annapolis Royale, picking up Acadian volunteers as they went. On 2 August, the five ships were at Toulouse.¹⁷ Here, Duvivier hoped to convince the Micmacs to support the French. Gifts and bread were given to the Indians who were to go directly to the mainland where they would meet. On 3 August, Duvivier sailed from Toulouse but was delayed by strong winds. He continued the next day, and arrived at Port La Joye on 6 August. Here at Isle St. Jean he left his ship with the St. Jean commandant. In exchange, he received an additional five officers, eleven cadets, one sergeant and thirty-seven soldiers. Leaving on 8 August, they arrived at Baie Verte, Acadia. They immediately set out overland to Beaubassin. Duvivier received a warm reception at Beaubassin and later at Minas. He expected a number of volunteers for his expedition. He was disappointed to see only a few Acadian volunteers. The only real help he received were seventy Malecite warriors from the St. John River area in New Brunswick. On 30 August, the seventy Malecites, about fifty French soldiers, some Micmacs and a few Acadians left Minas toward Annapolis Royale. With so few men, Duvivier realized he had to depend on the ships —the Caribou and the Ardent — which were to support the expedition. The Caribou was at Louisbourg when Duvivier left and the Ardent was to have arrived soon. However when the Ardent arrived, it was in desperate need of repairs and wouldn't be able to sail for Nova Scotia

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

for at least three weeks, about the 5th or 6th of September.¹⁸

Meantime, in Louisbourg, on 16 July, the Philibert, the next day, the Argonaute arrived in Louisbourg harbor. On the 22nd five more merchant ships and on the 24th two more huge merchant ships belonging to the *Compagnie des Indes*¹⁹ arrived from the Far East on their way to France. Towards the end of May, when all these ships reached Ascension Island in the Atlantic, they were told to go to Louisbourg because of the war. The crew from these ships were about 700. Upon arrival in Louisbourg, many of the crew were sick and had to be hospitalized. Two-thirds (84 of 120) of the crew of the last ship to arrive were hospitalized. The ships carried rich cargoes of tea, porcelain, coffee and other goods bound for France.²⁰

During August, twelve *Compagnie des Indes* and king's warships were still in the harbor of Louisbourg. They had a total of about 2600 men. They came to Louisbourg to get supplies before going on to France. The intention for them was probably not to stay long. They were waiting for enemy ships to leave Isle Royale and return to their home ports. However, they stayed until the 30th of November. This four month stay had a major impact on the supplies and provisions of Louisbourg. In addition, there were between 300 and 400 prisoners. About 3000 sailors and seasonal fisherman from smaller merchant and fishing ships were in the harbor of Louisbourg.²¹ The English

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

¹⁹ *Compagnie des Indes*- this company held a monopoly of France's trade with the Far East.

²⁰ Johnston, *Summer of 1744*.... Pp. 53-54.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

warships and privateers were cruising the coast. In an account written by Duchambon and Bigot on 4 November, was information that four French ships heading to Louisbourg with large amounts of flour, hardtack, wine and brandy were taken by the enemy.²²

During August, the British privateers and warships had become quite successful off the coast of Isle Royale. It was clear the British were taking ships in the shipping lanes. Mid August into September, coastal trade into Louisbourg was stopped. Fishing boats and supply ships from France were taken. The English were setting up a blockade of Louisbourg. Du Quesnel decided not to send the warships, the Caribou and the Ardent to attack Annapolis Royale as had been planned. Instead, they were kept to protect Louisbourg and the ships harbored there. However, le Renon had already been sent to inform Duvivier that the ships would be arriving at Annapolis Royale on 8 September.²³

Duvivier, believing he was to receive help by sea, prepared his troops of 280 men and marched them toward the British fort and set up a camp about a mile away. He attempted to deceive the British by placing his men in the outer ranks and left the inner ranks empty. Duvivier then attacked the fort at 9:00 the night of 9 September until 4:00 in the morning. He repeated these attacks two nights later. Duvivier was hoping to harass the English until his sea support arrived. For a while the plan worked. The British believed there were six hundred or more French troops. On 23 September, Duvivier resumed his attacks again, but this time the British

treated them as annoyances during the night. On 26 September, the sails of two ships appeared in the harbor. They were not the two Duvivier hoped for. Instead they were a brigantine and a sloop from Boston bringing reinforcements to Annapolis Royale. Duvivier continued his night attacks until 2 October when word from Louisbourg arrived informing him no ships were sent and Duvivier was to return to Louisbourg and from there to go to France to resume the war in the spring of 1745.²⁴ By the end of August, the only hope for Louisbourg, were that the warships and privateers would regain the control of the war at sea.

Du Quesnel returned all of those who were taken as prisoners of war on 1 September on the condition that they would not bear arms against France for one year from 1 September when they were released. The prisoners signed the agreement which was then forwarded to Governor Shirley in Boston. Shirley wanted them to disregard the agreement they signed, but Heron and the prisoners said they felt bound to stay with their agreement. A number of correspondences passed between Du Quesnel and Shirley regarding this matter, but they were cordial to one another to the point of exchanging gifts.²⁵

The prisoners left Louisbourg on three ships —Bradstreet's schooner Ranger, Michel Daccarrette's schooner, Magdelaine, and Michel Rodrigue's sloop, Société —the later half of September and arrived in Boson on the 2nd of October, They carried 340 men, women and children. Although the French told the English that the

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 100.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

²⁵ McLennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

Compagnie des Indes ships would be leaving for France shortly, the English already had learned they would not leave until November. As soon as the English prisoners arrived in Boston, they advised Governor Shirley of the rich *Compagnie* ships leaving in November. Shirley immediately informed London of their leaving in November so that they could be taken in route. In the exchange Dolabartz and eighty men from the *Cantabre* were returned to Louisbourg. In the fall of 1744, an unknown number of English prisoners had also been sent to Plaisance in exchange for French prisoners.²⁶

At the end of September, the population of Louisbourg knew the first year of the war would be over because of the coming cold weather, but it again would resume in spring. Others hoped for an unlikely peace. Again they would be without contact with overseas ports for four to six months. They also had to tend to business matters. The next to the last day of September, the feast of St. Michel, was traditionally the closing of the summer fishing season. Actually, the fishing stopped the middle of the month and the last two weeks were to settle accounts from the summer season. The results were that the year, 1744, were the worst year in their history. The total value of their fishing industry had dropped nearly half a million livres from the year before due to the war. If the coastal fishing areas could not be protected from privateers and warships in the future, the colony could not last. To succeed, more warships would have to be sent by France in the spring for protection.²⁷

²⁶ Johnston, *The Summer of 1744*...., pp. 78-79.
²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

The Mutiny

On 27 December 1744, mutiny broke out in Louisbourg. Most all of the soldiers revolted against their officers, threatening to kill them. They went on to ransack the town. With such a complete open rebellion, the officials gave in to their demands. As a result no one was hurt and the mutiny did not last long.

At the time of the mutiny, there were nine companies of *troupes de la marine* or *companies franches de la marine* at Isle Royale. One of the companies was a special artillery company. There also were 150 men of the Swiss Karrer regiment. There were a total of 600-650 men, with most of them, 525 -575, in Louisbourg itself. The remaining 75 or so were in the isolated out posts. Each company was commanded by a captain who was responsible to the *état-major* — the town major and his assistants and the commanding officer who usually was the governor of the colony.²⁸

The Swiss Karrer regiment was under the command of a *capitaine-lieutenant* “who was referred to as the Swiss commandant” who in turn was responsible to his colonel in France, Colonel Karrer. But he also was under the control of the *état major* while in Louisbourg. Colonel Karrer received 16 livres per month for each man. This was used by him to maintain his regiment — recruiting, equipping and paying his men and officers. This was sent directly to Karrer’s agent at Louisbourg. The French provided rations for the Swiss which were the same as those provided for the *French Troupes de la Marine*. The Swiss and the French troops actually

²⁸ Greer, Allen, “Mutiny at Louisbourg, December 1744,” *Aspects of Louisbourg*, p. 71.

paid for their rations because these were deducted from their wages.²⁹ The Swiss, however, had the privileges in judicial, discipline and military matters which were to be handled by Swiss officers. French military and civilian officials were annoyed by this. Swiss officers felt their rights were in jeopardy when disputes arose. However there is no indication of any conflict between the Swiss and French soldiers themselves. The Swiss were also to be treated for illness or wounds in the hospitals without charge.³⁰

The first effect of the war in 1744 was a shortage of supplies and food. Louisbourg needed goods from France, but merchants were afraid of ships being captured and goods being confiscated, and the usual food products from Canada did not come. Their harvests were poor in 1744. At the same time, hundreds of British prisoners had to be fed that summer and fall. The soldiers, however, were fed but with reduced rations; the needy civilians were fed instead. The soldiers also suffered from poor quality food. Their bread was made with rotten flour mixed with good flour. Toward the end of 1744, Francois Bigot ordered that government provisions be sold to the public and the soldiers to receive inferior provisions. About a week before Christmas, 1744, the soldiers received their fourth nightly issue of vegetables — dried peas and beans which were the basis for their evening meal of soup. They were rotten and inedible. Some of the men became ill as a result. Others did not eat it and had only bread. The men knew that good vegetables were being sold from the government

warehouse while they had wages deducted for their food and were given inedible foods. A group of Swiss went to the storehouse to exchange what they were given for good vegetables, and complaints were made to their officers. One of whom was Gabriel Schönherr, commanding officer of the Karrer detachment. Yet, nothing was done.³¹

About 22 or 23 December, a petition was drawn up to be given to the garrison commanding officer, Louis Dupont Duchambon. Abraham Dupâquier was primarily responsible for the writing of the petition. Both French and Swiss soldiers took part. They decided not to hand it to Duchambon because they had written such complaints before which were given to officers and officials and they were ignored. Instead, they decided they would have a peaceful assembly and present it then, so that authorities would have to look at it. Later Renard testified that there was no discussion about assembling the men at the time of the writing of the petition. The decision to assemble was decided on the night before it occurred, December 26. Later that night, the 26th of December, the three leaders, Laurent Soly, Joseph Renard and Abraham Dupâquier, went to the Swiss Barracks and then the French barracks asking the men to join them.³²

7 o'clock, the next morning, 27 December, the Swiss began to form in the courtyard behind the barracks. Although the assembly was unauthorized, they followed military procedures and discipline. The sergeants were not there because they were living in houses in town. A corporal, Du Croix, who did not know about the plan,

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Greer, Allen, *The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745*, pp. 16-17.

³¹ Greer, *Aspects at Louisbourg*, pp. 72-73.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

ordered the drummers, to beat out the signal for assembly, and went into the barracks to order the men there, to fall in. Some grabbed their arms and others did so as well. Some felt this would show the seriousness of their actions.³³

Ensign Rasser, a Swiss 2nd officer, was the first to face the assembly of Swiss. He asked what it was about, and he was handed the petition. The most serious, along with the complaint about rotten vegetables, was another about the work for the king's service and private individuals which soldiers had to do without wages. After coming off duty, they had to clean barracks, work in the government storehouses, clean latrines for individuals, and fetch wood without receiving pay for this additional labor. Another, was asking for compensation for work they had done on the Canso expedition and pillage which they had been promised and had never received. Governor Du Quesnel had promised 80 Frenchmen and 37 Swiss they would have a share of the booty if they volunteered for the mission to Canso. When they returned to Louisbourg, the ships' officers and sailors and the garrison officers took everything which was taken at Canso, and the soldiers got nothing. Governor Du Quesnel, who had made the offer died on 9 October, and nothing was done when the soldiers petitioned for their shares in November.³⁴

Rasser went immediately to his superior, Schönherr. Schönherr sent Rasser to the town Major, La Perelle, to order him to replace the bad vegetables immediately. As Rasser was leaving the house, it was

too late, the French drummers were sounding the alarm. The French were slow in reacting, but they were more serious and they turned a protest into a revolt. French and Swiss hurried to the courtyard ready for battle, with bayonets attached and marched through the streets of town. Officers who appeared in the streets were threatened to have their heads blown off.³⁵

The officers agreed to accept all of the mutineers demands. Governor Duchambon went to the citadel and surrendered to their demands as well. The promises to take care of the grievances controlled the violence, although the soldiers were still uneasy. The list of demands from the French which were given to Duchambon and Bigot were different than the grievances of the Swiss. One was for an increase in the issue of firewood, and the return of five cords of wood that had been confiscated. Before Christmas, because there was no wood, a group of soldiers went out and cut their own. On the way back, they were met by some officers who claimed they owned the land from where the wood was cut. They confiscated the wood and totally destroyed the sledge they had used to haul it. Fuel supplies were always inadequate. The garrison continually ordered a half cord per man which was less than half which was needed. A second was the immediate dispensing of rations that some of the men missed because they were sent on the Canso expedition. (Deductions from their wages had been made.) A third complaint was for reimbursement for uniforms and clothing which had been deducted from their wages for one hundred Frenchman who had arrived in

³³ Greer, Allen, *Aspects of Louisbourg, 1720-1745*, p. 74.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

1741. In 1744, they still had not received their uniforms.³⁶

A group went to Bigot to make arrangements for the reimbursements. Bigot bragged how he had stalled the discussions. In the end, 3000 livres were issued, about 6 livres for each man — enough for three or four bottles of wine for each man. After 27 December, there were no further confrontations, but there was uneasiness. The soldiers again recognized the authority of their officers who however, hesitated to oppose the soldiers.³⁷

The mutinous defiance of authority lasted about two hours. Most historians agree the whole thing was completely over before the end of the year. Everyone was probably quite tense for awhile. The men had no intention of taking control of the fort, government or military. They were interested in being treated fairly and justly, and in being compensated for their material losses — food, clothing, wages, firewood — which were owed to them, of which they were cheated by their officers. They did not ask for more. They wanted monetary compensation for what was owed them. Nothing indicates they wanted control or power. Greer indicates, they wanted to be treated with respect.³⁸

11 May 1745, New England resumed the war with another attack on Louisbourg. Duchambon asked that everything be forgotten and that the garrison unite with the officers and townspeople to fight the enemy. At first the men asked for a

guarantee that no one would be punished for the mutiny. The governor agreed and he and Bigot promised a complete pardon in the name of the king. In the fifty day siege which followed, no one attempted to evade his military duties. However, when they were asked to repair the damaged fortifications, they would work only for double pay and with immediate cash payment. Twenty to thirty men died before the surrender of Louisbourg at the end of June. One of them was Laurent Soly, one of the leaders of the mutiny. After the surrender, the garrison returned to France and arrived at Rochefort in August 1745.³⁹

In 1749, when Isle Royale was returned to the French, a troop garrison returned to Louisbourg. However, the garrison for the most part did not have any of the former members who had been in the siege or the mutiny. Most of them had died or deserted before the new garrison was established. None of the Karrer regiment ever returned to Louisbourg. Duchambon and Bigot had convinced the Minister of Marine, Maurepas, that the Swiss were primarily responsible for the mutiny.⁴⁰

Maurepas blamed the 1745 fall of Louisbourg on the mutiny. He felt the New Englanders decided to attack because of the mutiny. (Actually, the New Englanders did not know anything about the mutiny. They did know about the food shortages in spring and summer of 1744, and that may have played a part in their plans for the siege, but it was not because of the mutiny.) Nonetheless, Maurepas blamed the 1745 spring attack of Louisbourg on the mutineers and

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

³⁸ Greer, *Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745*, p. 57.

³⁹ Greer, *Aspects of Louisbourg.*, 81-82.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

insisted on severe punishments. In August, 1745, he told the governor of Rochefort, Barrailh, to make inquiries about the mutiny. He said he would take disciplinary action against the officers who treated their men unfairly.

However, there is no evidence of any officer having been punished. Court martials of the French mutineers were delayed because of the promises made for pardons by Duchambon and Bigot. Maurepas insisted examples had to be made of the men, and said the king could not be held to the promise made because he did not know about it at the time. No accounts of the court-martial trials exist, but it is known that eight French men were condemned. Five of them were hanged January 1746; one died in prison; two were sentenced to lifetime terms as galley slaves.⁴¹

The court-martials of the Swiss mutineers could only be tried by their own officers. Their trials were held November 1745. A number of accused were released. Five were condemned to death penalties. One died in prison; Abraham Dupâquier escaped. Joseph Renard and Corporal Du Croix were hanged on the 7th of December, and their bodies were left on the gallows at Rochefort the entire day. Christophe Jout was decapitated after appearing at his court martial.⁴² Christophe Jout, a Swiss sergeant, had testified that Soly and Renard had talked to him the day before Christmas of plans for a peaceful assembly. (The Judge considered this evidence of premeditation of the plot. However it wasn't until the night of

26 December that the French and Swiss soldiers of the barracks were asked to join them.)⁴³

Causes of the Mutiny

Most historians blame the economic exploitation of the soldiers by their officers and the miserable living conditions under which the soldiers lived as to the causes of the 1744 mutiny at Louisbourg.⁴⁴

The historian, Allen Greer, contends that the life of the soldier at Louisbourg was not luxurious, but was not as bad as his counterpart in France or other armies. "Misery and hardship were the common features of the life of all soldiers in the 18th century — and of a great many civilians as well." The men at Louisbourg were not as crowded, stuffy or disease ridden. The mortality rate in Louisbourg was 19.6 per thousand compared to 80 per thousand in France. They also were more comfortable in 1744 than they had been in earlier years in Louisbourg.⁴⁵

Exploitation of soldiers by their officers was worse at Isle Royale than at other military garrisons and became worse after the death of Governor Du Quesnel in October 1744. The soldiers at Isle Royale theoretically were paid 9 livres a month. Most of this was used to cover the cost of food, clothing and such necessities as needles and combs. Only about 1.5 livres per man per month were transferred to Louisbourg's military treasury. At Louisbourg, there were annual deductions like 3 livres per

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴² Greer, Allen *Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745*, p. 50.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 42-43.

⁴⁴ Greer, Allen, *Aspects of Louisbourg*, p. 84.

⁴⁵ Greer, Allen, *Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745*, p. 53.

year per man to support the surgeon's assistant. This left little for the soldier to survive on.⁴⁶

However, there were ways the soldiers of Louisbourg, both French and Swiss, could earn extra money. Those who did guard duty in the summer received 27 – 30 livres a season. Some were hired to build houses, doing odd jobs or practice their craft for private citizens. The largest employer was the private contractor building the fortifications at Louisbourg. Much of the work was moving earth for the ramparts and ditches for which the soldier worked as a day laborer. The workers negotiated with the contractors for wages. Sometimes there were disagreements between the two. In these cases the governor could intervene to settle the dispute. He usually decided in favor of the soldier because he was interested in keeping morale high and keep the men working on the fortifications rather than leaving for private buildings. The problem which arose, however, was receiving the pay which was negotiated. Contractors often did not have the cash to pay the soldier his wage. Instead he issued notes which could only be redeemed at a discount or in goods. The soldiers were to be paid their wages every two weeks. If he did receive his pay in cash, he usually went to the local tavern.⁴⁷

Soldiers were not permitted to buy from merchants on credit. Early in the colony's existence, a system was developed which gave the company captain a monopoly on sales of goods to his men. His men could purchase such items as shoes, stockings, tobacco, liquor, and extra food, but at inflated

prices, and frequently took the 30 sols per month which remained from their military pay. Between 1730-1735, the officers had gained control over the wages of their men. By 1744, the captains were making more profits from their soldier-workers. The captains were not required to keep close account records or make reports as to the worker's wages he was holding.⁴⁸

In addition in the 1730's and 1740's, each captain had his own canteen where he sold wine and liquor on credit to his men. The minister of the Marine knew of the captain's exploitation of his men, but he was unable to do anything about it, and the captains continued to take the wages of his men as he chose. This system was more prevalent in Louisbourg than at other garrisons.⁴⁹

Although the inedible food, shortage of wood, the lack of uniforms and wages and the ignoring of promises made were the immediate complaints that led to the mutiny, the historian, Allen Greer, contends that one cannot fully understand the 1744 Mutiny at Louisbourg without considering the colony's system of recruitment and the division between soldiers and officers. The colony's system of recruitment emphasized a division between officers and soldiers which was the major factor which encouraged solidarity through common hostility toward the officers.

Between 1720 and 1745, more than a thousand men were recruited from France to come to Louisbourg to fill in for the deaths, desertions and discharges which had occurred. Generally, French

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39 and Greer, Allen. *Aspects of Louisbourg*, p. 98-99.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

troops were recruited by Company captains who were responsible for maintaining the company's strength. Many of them would return to the same area each year, where they would be known. Many times a seigneurie would provide a steady supply of replacements. Recruits would agree to serve a certain officer. A kind of bond was established between his officer and the recruit.⁵⁰

The men who came to Louisbourg did not enlist in a particular regiment with a particular officer. Recruitment for Louisbourg was done impersonally by professional recruiters, *racoleurs*, who were merely interested in the money they could get for each recruit. Occasionally they were officers on leave in France who were not interested in filling vacancies in their companies, but were primarily interested in making some money for themselves. The young men could negotiate for their enlistment bounty and for the length of service, six years being the minimum. Many of the young recruits were tricked or forced into signing their mark. Agents, *Embaucheurs*, were hired to find men and get them to sign up. Most of the recruits were from cities, especially Paris.⁵¹

Requirements for recruits were no one under the age of 16; each soldier was to be 5 *pieds* 1 *pouce* in height; all were to be physically fit and able to do hard labor. Recruitment standards were not enforced. Recruits for the colonies were often under age. In 1726, the majority of 40 recruits were 15 to 16. The attitude was that the younger a recruit, the more years of service they would provide. The height requirement was not strictly

enforced. Of 21 recruits coming, four were under the minimum height. If they were 4 *pieds* in height, they would probably be rejected. The only requirement which was somewhat enforced was the latter. Many of the recruits were sons of tradesmen. Many did have trades which they practiced in the colony.⁵²

In the 18th century, most of the men were hired for six years, *engagements limités*. The Swiss at Louisbourg joined under these terms. Most of the French at Louisbourg signed *engagements perpetuels*. They served until the king said they were to be discharged, soldiers until the king saw fit to release them.⁵³

A soldier was never sure of ever returning home. The soldiers having come from France stuck together and developed a dislike toward the officers who were for the most part born to merchants and officers in Louisbourg who never had a part in recruiting their own men. Many had never been to France.⁵⁴

Why did they join? Some joined to escape petty criminal charges; some had difficulties in France they were trying to escape; Some joined for adventure; some were in need of security and were assured of having food and clothing. Some thought of a possible military career. Recruitment was often involuntary. Some were recruited due to *Lettres de cachet*, where men were a nuisance to their families who had writs issued to send them to the colony as a soldier. Others were taken from prisons, or were army deserters whose lives were

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 29, 31.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵⁴ Greer, Allen, *Aspects of Louisbourg*, p. 87.

spared if they volunteered to go to the colonies.⁵⁵

The primary means of soldiers leaving the Garrison at Isle Royale were by death, desertion or discharge. The death rate at Isle Royale was lower due to climate, and fewer epidemics and food shortages than in France. Deaths at Louisbourg were 20 per thousand compared to over 80 per thousand in France, 34 if wartime years were excluded.⁵⁶

Desertion was common in the French army. Many deserted from where they were recruited on their way to the port of Rochefort, but they would pick up new recruits to fill in. Once they arrived at Louisbourg, desertions declined. From Isle Royale, where would you go, into wilderness 250 miles to Beaubassin in Nova Scotia. Most of these would be caught. Most of the desertions at Isle Royale would be at the outposts like Port Toulouse, Isle St. Jean.⁵⁷

Every year, the governor was encouraged to discharge only those men who would remain in the colony and become useful settlers or those who were an expense to the government because they cost more than they were worth. These were the invalids and disabled — deaf or partially blind, epileptic, crippled, suffered from hernias, or seriously ill — many who had been hurt working on the fortifications. These invalids received free treatment at the Louisbourg hospital until they died or were discharged and returned to France.

Most of the discharges given were to men who were disabled.⁵⁸

Discharges with *conges de grace*, were those which were obtained by families petitioning the minister and paying 150 livres to the Marine treasury to offset part of the cost of replacing a soldier. These sums could only come from a family in France who still had contact with him, and not from a soldier stationed in the colony. Men with 6 year enlistments were not necessarily sent home when their terms expired. If too many men had terms which expired any year, the governor could keep half of them for another year. Some volunteered because they received a 10 *livre* bounty. Some had to stay because they were in debt to their captain.⁵⁹

A *conge d'ancienneté*, was a discharge given to old soldiers who had served about 40 years. These were given to those who had served the longest period of time. Some years none of these kinds of discharges were given because of more deaths, desertions or other kinds of discharges. Many of those who qualified did not receive their discharges until they were past forty years of service. Most of the discharges occurred at the end of August after the year's supply of new recruits had arrived. Some of them could hope for a pension of 6 livres a month, 8 for corporals and 12 for sergeants, if they served an extended period and had certificates from a surgeon to prove he was disabled in the line of duty.⁶⁰

At Louisbourg, there were some divisions. Non-commissioned officers

⁵⁵ Greer, Allen, *Soldiers of Isle Royale 1720-1745*, p.28.

⁵⁶ Greer, Allen, *Aspects of Louisbourg*, p. 89.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵⁸ Greer, Allen, *Soldiers of Isle Royale*, p. 32.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

received higher wages; the elite artillery were better paid and did not work on fortifications; Although there was a division of the French and the Swiss, the latter having special privileges, traditions, uniforms, drum signals, religion, and language, the only ones to object on the part of both the French and the Swiss, were the officers. Military life in Louisbourg encouraged cooperation and group spirit among the soldiers. Almost all were housed in one large barrack. In France soldiers were usually housed with civilians. A group of 15-20 men called a *Chambrée*, shared a common room, where they slept, cooked in one pot, spent leisure time together—

drinking, talking and relaxing. It was easy to discuss their feelings, complaints, conspiracies, and plans. They had a sense of community. Even outside the barracks, they were in constant contact—at guard duty, drills, and working on the fortifications. Some worked together for civilians.⁶¹ There was no indication that they did not get along. “*They shared a common awareness of their distinct identity as soldiers that ... helps to explain the solidarity they manifested during the mutiny.*”⁶²

⁶¹ Greer, Allen, *Aspects of Louisbourg*, pp. 92-93.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

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SOLDIERS REVOLT AT ILE ROYALE, 1750

Information for the following article was extracted from Greer, Allen, “Another Soldiers’ Revolt in Ile Royale, June 1750,” *Aspects of Louisbourg*, The Louisbourg Institute, 1995, pp. 110-114.

On 23 June 1750 soldiers revolted against their officers at the outpost of

Port Toulouse. Just as in Louisbourg in 1744, the soldiers were upset over the poor quality of their rations. During an argument over the food, a corporal struck a soldier. The men appeared in battle formation. Captain Duhaget, commander at Port Toulouse, and the corporal ran for their weapons. The men fired at them and they were both wounded. Fearing punishment, twenty-

three of the men took boats and set out for the English settlements in Acadia. On the way, one of the boats exploded killing four or five of the soldiers. The rest either surrendered or were captured. A mass court martial was held for them September 1750. Six were convicted of mutiny and shot. A number of others were sentenced to slavery on ship galleys. Some of those involved in this revolt were:

Jacques Gaultier dit Bonnefoy
Etienne Pradeau dit Francoeur
Pierre Coudreau dit Nantois
Charles Quartier dit Mayence
Robert Soubise dit Laplacee
Joseph Bonnet dit Jolibois
Pierre Bonnaubanc dit Acajou
Pierre Cousin dit Fleury
Hilaire Pepin dit Desmarest
Guillaume Jambert dit Cahors
Jerome Sauvage dit Malpec

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

Donations:

Le Languedac des cé Venues à la Mer by Jacques Durand, donated by Marge Keshena

Visages de La France by Jean-Jacques Delpal, donated by Marge Keshena.

Guide to Quebec Catholic Parishes and Published Parish Marriage Records by Jeanne Sauve White, donated by Joyce Banachowski.

Les Seigneuried de Beaupré et de L'Ile D'Orleans dans leurs débuts by Raymond Garipey, donated by Joyce Banachowski.

NÉCROLOGIQUE

We are sorry to say that three long time members of FCGW have passed away.

ROBERT GALARNEAU

b. 27 January 1928
d. 11 March 2007

ADRIEN DUPUIS

b. 6 October 1919
d. 28 February 2008

DAWN SNOW

b. 14 March 1926
d. 25 May 2008

Our condolences to their family and friends. They will be sadly missed.

FCGW Elections for Officers

Send your nominations to Kateri (Teri) Dupuis kdupuis@wi.rr.com or call 414.443.9429

Positions to be filled:

PRESIDENT - 2 year term beginning 1 January 2009 through 31 December 2010

VICE-PRESIDENT - remainder of 2008 through 31 December 2009

DELEGATE-AT-LARGE - 2 year term beginning 1 January 2009 through 31 December 2010

Elections will take place this fall. Ballots will be sent with the fall *Quarterly*.

LOCALITY RESEARCH

Joyce Banachowski

We all are anxious to find where our ancestors lived. Once we have located the village, town, or city we locate it on a map and file it with the rest of our papers. Locating it should be our first step to doing a locality research. We should do more than locating it on a political map. Just as we are the product of our time, our place and our environment, so too were our ancestors. We should learn about the geography and history of the place where he/she lived. Was it mountainous or flat? What kind of industries were in the area? Were there rivers, roadways, canals, or railroads? Were there wars, natural disasters, political, religious, social and economic changes? Was our ancestor directly involved? Did he/she suffer or gain as a result of the event? We need to learn something about the time and place where our ancestors lived so that we can learn more about our ancestors, themselves. Hopefully, it will give us answers to questions concerning why our ancestors did what they did. Did the course of history affect his/her job? Did it cause him/her to move elsewhere? Did he lose or gain land? How did it affect his/her life? Was it worse or better? Learning about the history and geography can lead to other sources.

Once you have your locality on a political map, continue to seek out a variety of maps — closeups, city, county, township, topographical, regional, pictorial, plat, canal, highway, railroad, and fire maps. One thing you need to remember is to beware of name changes. What once was Huntsville, Minnesota is now East Grand Forks, Minnesota. Geographical Dictionaries can help to identify research localities. Gazeteers are especially helpful if an ancestor migrated in the 19th or 20th century. Two good computer locations for map

collections are the UWM –American Geographical Society Digital Map Collection at <http://www.uwm.edu/Libraries/digilib/maps/index.html> and The Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/index.html>

As you gather information, the use of timelines can be helpful to beginners and advanced genealogists as well. It helps to organize materials in a coherent way, and including data records of your own families within the timeline, aid in keeping track of problem cases. A timeline is easy to update and to incorporate new information. It can verify which records have already been used. It also helps to spot inconsistencies. Be sure to document the date and location of the information.

There are a number of other sources which can be used to help you gather information on your locality and provide insights into the history of your family.

Commemorative books can be helpful. Beware, although they contain individual families, they may not be accurate.

Local Histories can be about a county, town, city, or region. These are generally secondary sources. Many are hesitant to use Local Histories because “my family isn’t in there.” However, they explain local institutions, organizations, churches, schools, roads, zoning, taxation, trade, commerce, population, occupations and neighborhoods. All of which affected your ancestor. By using local histories, you can tap into a rich vein of historical data by analyzing county and town notes and bibliographies, manuscript listings, public record listings, newspapers, published and unpublished works and interviews. This can be the door opener to a myriad of other documents, publications and sources. Local Histories are generally found at libraries and historical societies. A call or letter to a library near where your ancestor lived may turn up a local history.

Newspapers are an excellent source of local information. Everyone knows the value of finding information about your ancestor in birth, marriage, obituary and gossip columns, in biographical sketches, membership lists, tax rolls and jury rolls, in bankruptcy announcements and in auction ads. But have you thought of reading the whole thing — the ads, letters to the editor, personal columns, local, state and national news, sports and weather — to get a feel for the community? You learn about the community — its economy, employment, agriculture, cost of living, tensions between people, attitudes, education, volunteerism, values, crime and morality, food ways and health ways, amusements and entertainments, material culture, social rank, politics and government, and military and war. You will also notice what is missing in the national and international news. You will get a feel for what your ancestors thought and talked about and what was important to them in their daily lives.

To start, find out what newspapers were published in your particular town for the period of time when your ancestor lived there. If there was no newspaper in your town, check in the surrounding towns. Once you know what paper was published, call the local library and speak to the reference librarian. Find out if the paper is on microfilm. Does it have an index? You can also see if the newspaper is available at the Wisconsin Historical

Society. They have a large collection of newspapers on microfilm. Once, you have access to your newspaper and begin to look at it, get acquainted with its format and content. If you gather information or articles, be sure to note the edition, volume, and the page. If the newspaper is small, proceed page by page through the entire publication. If the newspaper is a large daily, narrow your search to specific dates. In older papers, headlines are often misleading, and it is best to carefully skim or read everything. Don't neglect ethnic, religious, political, foreign language and professional newspapers. Unexpected things may be found there.

Visuals can provide information and add interest. Paintings or drawings could show family traits, styles, daily routines and provide insight into different eras. For example, the artist, Millet, and his paintings of the Gleaners and the Angelus portray daily life and religious traditions which were carried on in France and brought with our ancestors to Quebec. Photos tell the story of where we came from and the people who make us what we are. They preserve a bit of our own history. Today, they can be easily reproduced by copier or scanner. Aerial photos may be of interest to some, to capture a family home or farm. Postcards were started in the 19th century and were produced in the United States, Europe and the rest of the world. In the United States, postcards of some of the smallest towns were created in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Some of those towns don't exist any longer or buildings have been torn down. There are postcards portraying almost everything —maps, old drawings, streets, bridges, occupations, daily routines, costumes, reproductions, businesses, harbor entrances, ships, old buildings etc. The Wisconsin Historical Society has an Images file at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/whi/results.asp> In Europe, you may find postcards of old churches, buildings dating to the 13th -18 centuries, fortifications, costumes, farm & industrial scenes, furniture, craftsmen, paintings and personalities. You can often find postcards kept by the family. If they were received and kept they might provide some information or clues as to your ancestor's life. You can still find old postcards at rummage and garage sales, antique stores, post card shows, dealers and in collections.

Museums and libraries are also a good location to find information about a locality. State or national libraries or historical societies attempt to collect all published materials for states in which they are located. There are also private libraries, DAR and Newberry, academic libraries at colleges and universities, and the Library of Congress on the World Cat Database, a catalog to several thousand library collections. Small town libraries and museums often end up being a repository for special, unique or few of a kind publications for the area they serve. Talk to the librarian. She/He is a community leader. Newspapers and committees for celebrations rely on her/him not because she/he always has the information but because she/he knows who does have it. She/He knows the local historian! When using any of these, ASK what collections or materials they have, anything pertaining to the town or area. While you are there don't skip; the obvious possibilities, directories, genealogical publications, local histories, newspapers, and commemorative books. You may also find some surprises— vertical file, history of churches, photo collections, ledgers, account books, obituary collections, tax rolls, newspaper clipping collections, yearbooks, scrapbooks, memorial/celebration books, old timer recollections or memories — all first hand accounts of life and events. When you

are there, make a bibliography of what they have, particularly the local information, for when you return. There are also a number of specialized libraries /museums which specialize in a particular time, event, person, or topic — Fort William, Old World Wisconsin, Ste-Marie Among the Hurons. Before going to any museum or library, call or write for hours when they are open; also ask about the hours of the town hall or court house. These might come in handy. Check if they have a copy machine.

The Census will help you locate your ancestor at a specific place at a specific time. But look at the community, those who were living around him. How does your ancestor fit in? Look at the total statistics especially in small towns. Sometimes, some individual or group has already done it for you.

Do not ignore demographic studies. They can provide information about your ancestor without naming him. Some have been done on farms, food consumption, occupations, trades, population, births, marriages, and deaths. If you are fortunate to find one already completed for your town, state or region, plug your ancestor into it. Does he fit the rule or is he the exception? If not, do your own demographic study, especially for a small town. Use the census as a basis. Statistics may be accumulated for you. If not, start with a summary of a census.

In conclusion, I don't mean to imply that you can use all of these suggestions for every ancestor. You have to be selective, decide what you want to know about your ancestor and chose the best route for you. Just don't close your eyes and minds to all the possibilities. Look beyond that one ancestor. Look at everything around him/her.

COMING UP

23-27 June 2008: International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences at the Convention Center, Quebec City. It will be sponsored by the Fédération québécois des sociétés de généalogie. Presentations on genealogy and heraldry will be offered simultaneously in English and French. For information: www.genealogie.org/club/sgq/congres_2008/welome.htm

28 June 2008: Traditions and Transformation: Celebrating Ojibwe Art and Lifeways. Demonstration and customs of northern Wis. Ojibwe: 10a.m.- 5 p.m Madeleine Island Museum

15-16 August 2008: "Midwestern Roots 2008," sponsored by he Indiana

Historical Society, Indianapolis Marriott East, 7202 E. 21st St., Indianapolis, Indiana. Speakers will include Richard Eastman, Roberta J. Estes, Alan January, Susan Kaufman, Charles F. Kerchner, David Lifferth, James Madion, Nancy Massey, Stephen Morse, Christine Rose, Bob Sander, Beau Sharbough, Megan Smolenyak, Betty Warren and Curt Witcher. For information www.indianahistory.org/midwesternroots/

3-6 September 2008: Federation of Genealogical Societies Conference: "Footprints of Family History," Pennsylvania Convention Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There will be a wide variety of topics covered on land, military and railroad records, technology, DNA, oral history,

immigration, court records, research depositories, and various ethnic and religious groups. There will be 3 Irish genealogists from Ireland making presentations on a number of Irish research topics, For information: www.fgsconference.org/blog/index.php or write to:

Federation of Genealogical Societies
P.O Box 200940
Austin, TX 78720-0940
Or phone 1-888-FGS-1500

27-28 September 2008: "Feast of the Harvest Moon" Reenactment of the 1700's at Fort Ouiatenon Historic Park near West Lafayette, Indiana. 9 a.m – 5 p.m Saturday; 9 a.m. - 4 p.m. Sunday

11 October 2008: WSGS Fall Seminar at Holiday Inn Express and Janesville Conference Center, Janesville, WI. Craig R. Scott will be the featured speaker. His specialty is records of the National Archives, especially military records. For information: www.wsgs.org

3-4 April, 2009: Wisconsin State Genealogical Society will sponsor their Gene-A-Rama at Madison Marriott West, 1313 John Q. Hammons Dr., Middleton WI. Christine Rose will be the featured speaker. For information: <http://wsgs.org>

18 April 2009: MCGS Biennial Genealogical Workshop at Serb Hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma Ave., Milwaukee, WI

13-16 May 2009: 2009 NGS Conference-in-the-States will be held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Among the proposed topics are military Records of the French and Indian War, the Revolution, and the Civil War.

2-5 September 2009: 2009 FGS Conference, "Passage Through Time," will be held at the Little Rock Statehouse Convention Center, Little Rock, Arkansas.

NEWS NOTES

From Everton's Genealogical Helper, March/April 2008: Google announced they will be digitally scanning books from the collections of Harvard, Stanford, the University of Michigan, the University of Oxford and the New York Public Library.

Genealogy Today has already posted data from early U.S. Navy Pension Fund Reports for 1822, 1830 and 1851. In the future they will be adding 1807, 1811, 1817, and 1821. The Navy Pension Fund was for disabled navy personnel or families of deceased servicemen.

Michigan's Habitant Heritage, Vol. 29, #2, April 2008 has an article on the salt smugglers and a second article on those who were confirmed at Notre-Dame de Quebec on 1 May 1666.

Gems of Genealogy, Vol. 34, #1, Apr/June 2008: has several articles pertaining to the maritime trade on the Great Lakes—occupations, list of schooners, a newspaper article on the Cuyahoga and online sources.

From the Newsletter, Chippewa County Genealogical Society, Vol. 28, # 2, April-June 2008: Each census year is assigned an official date. Enumerators were to ask their questions as of that date irregardless on which date they acquired the information. It is not known how accurately the enumerators followed their instructions. This would affect information in later censuses when ages

of children were given in years and months.

Official Census Dates for the U.S.
(Federal Census)

1780-1820: First Monday in August
1790: 2 August
1800: 4 August
1810: 6 August
1820: 7 August
1830-1880: 1 June for all years
1890: First Monday in June (2 June)
1900: 1 June
1910: 15 April
1920: 1 January
1930: 1 April

Official Census Dates for Canada
(Federal Census)

1825: Lower Canada (Quebec); from 20 June to 20 September
1831: Lower Canada (Quebec); from 1 June to October
1842: Canada West (Ontario) to be completed by 1 February
1851: 12 January 1852 (Delays were the cause of late enumeration)
1861: 14 January
1871: 2 April
1881: 4 April
1891: 6 April
1901: 31 March
1911: 1 June

From the same above source:
Canadian National Archives Lower
Canada Land Petitions and other
databases from the Canadian Genealogy
Centre:

<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/archivianet/lower-canada/index-e.html>

This database can help you locate
ancestors who lived in Lower Canada
(Quebec) between 1764 and 1841. When

England took control of New France in 1763, the land distribution system changed from seigneuries to parts of a township. Due to the change, settlers submitted land petitions to the governor. This database indexes their petitions for grants or leases of land. There are more than 95,000 references to individuals. Search it by surname and given name. You may have to use other variations in spelling or by surname only. Matches will show a **year, volume and page number** of the original record and a **microfilm number**. You can request microfilm copies from the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec by using this information.

From *Family Chronicle*, June 2008: there is an interesting article by Janice Nickerson titled "Fur Trade Records: An Untapped Resource." It provides a listing of the types of fur trade records located at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, the McGill University Library, the Library and Archives of Canada, the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, the Archives of Ontario, the New York Historical Society, the Missouri State Archives, the Missouri Historical Society and the Minnesota Historical Society.

From *Mémoires*, Vol. 59 # 1, Spring 2008: There is an article about Pierre Charron and his wife, Catherine Pillard, and a second article on Charles Garnier / Grenier.

From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage*, Vol. 29 #2, April 2008: There is an article concerning the DNA of the descendants of Catherine Pillard. Through DNA testing it has been proven that Catherine was not born in France but was of Indian origin.

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The French Canadian / Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin

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Back Issues of Quarterly, \$3.00 each plus \$2.00 postage and handling

Special Issue of the Quarterly, (Juneau), \$4.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling

Special Issue of the Quarterly, (Rebellion Losses), \$5.00; plus \$2.00 postage and handling

Surname Lists, \$3.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling

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All name Quarterly Index for Vols 1-10, \$5.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

All name Quarterly Index for Vols 11-17, \$5.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

Packet of 39 genealogy forms, \$4.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

Loiselle Search—One marriage from Loiselle Index, \$2.00 plus S.A.S.E

T-Shirts: M,L,XL \$15.00; XXL \$17.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling



QW 1st

French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin

Quarterly

Volume 22 No. 4

Summer 2007

SEE YOU AT THE

25th
Anniversary
OF THE
FCGW

5:30 SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 DINNER

23 JUNE 2007

Klemmer's Banquet & Conference Center
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10401 West Oklahoma Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53227

CORDONNIERS / SAVETIERS AND SABOTIERS SHOEMAKERS / COBBLERS AND WOODEN SHOE AND CLOG MAKERS

By Joyce Banachowski

The first shoes were made simply. You placed your foot on a tough piece of leather and traced the outline. The outline was increased about a half inch or so, and then cut out. This was the sole. A second, piece of softer material or leather was cut for the upper. The upper was then sewed to the sole.

In time changes were made. Making shoes did not remain a simple

process. The *cordonnier* provided shoes, high boots, low boots, slippers, styles for men, styles for women, children's shoes, military boots and shoes, riding boots, dress up shoes, working shoes, high heels, low heels, no heels. The shoe could be a complicated thing to make. The shoemaker became a familiar artisan of the community, village or settlement, not only for making shoes but for repairs as well.

FRENCH CANADIAN / ACADIAN GENEALOGISTS OF WISCONSIN

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Our objectives are to foster and encourage
interest and research in French Canadian and
Acadian genealogy, heritage and culture.

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The colonial shoemaker had a number of hand tools. He had hammers, knives, a heavy needle, awls for punching holes, heavy nails, thread, and a wooden last to shape the shoe. A tub of water was used to soften the leather, which the shoemaker pounded and sewed. A strap around his foot and the shoe held it firmly so that he had complete use of his hands.¹ Nails were used only in the heel. Sometimes, wooden pegs were used. The rest of the shoe was sewn together through holes which were made by various sizes of awls. A variety number of knives were used to cut and shape the leather. The leather might also be glazed and burnished with special irons. The pieces of leather in the heel were trimmed with a heel shave. Seat or fudge wheels were used to score the leather. The leather was then moulded to the sole with a waist iron.²

The shoemaker had to be able to make a variety of shoes and boots for men, women and children. Boots were more complicated because additional measurements and patterns had to be made — the height of the boot and circumferences of the ankle and leg in various places, six measurements in all and at least five different patterns for the uppers of the boot — toe cap, vamp or front, two lacing panels, and the heel or quarters.³ A curved needle had to be used to stitch the uppers into the insole.

¹ Guillet, Edwin, *Pioneer Arts and Crafts*, p. 16.

² Seymour, John, *The Forgotten Crafts: A Practical Guide to Traditional Skills*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

MEETING SCHEDULE

Meetings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Room, G110, at Mayfair Shopping Center. Enter at the Northeast Mall door off the covered parking lot. About half way down on the right, you will see a door leading to the elevator and the stairs. Go down one floor. Doors open at 6:30 p.m. for library use and meetings begin at 7:30 p.m.

14 June 2007: Show and Tell; the library will be open for research

12 July 2007: The library will be open for research

9 August 2007; business meeting; finger foods; the library will be open for research

13 September 2007: Speaker to be announced

11 October 2007: The library will be open for research

Then a strip of leather was joined to the insole and uppers were then stitched to the sole from the outside of the boot. The cobbler could not get his hand inside the boot to sew. Stitches inside the boot would cause irritations. The cost of making a pair of boots included a pair of trees of exact size and shape as the boot, which were put inside your boots when you took them off. This prevented wrinkling. These wrinkles were what caused dampness and acids which caused the leather to rot.⁴

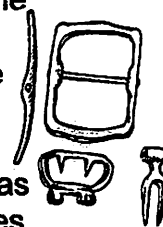
⁴ *Ibid.*

At first the shoemaker traveled from farm to farm, stopping at individual homes to make a year's supply of shoes for the family. (The Americans called them "cat whippers".) The leather and thread were often provided by the family. As settlements developed, they lived in villages and towns. Then a *corroyeur*, currier, might also be available, and he would provide from his own shop, the leather which he would have brushed, scraped, and rolled, making it soft and pliable not only for the shoemaker who cut and stitched it but for the saddler and harness maker as well.⁵

The shoemaker's shop was usually small, because he needed little space for his bench, tools, and a tub of water for soaking sole leather. He did most of his work hunched over, seated on his bench. He usually had a large window in his shop because he did need light.⁶ A good shoemaker could produce two pairs of shoes in a twelve hour day. All shoes were produced on a straight wood last. The last was carved of wood and made in common sizes from measurements taken of the foot.⁷ The lasts were whittled by the shoemaker. If the foot changed shape, he could build up tight places with leather glued onto the last.⁸ In the nineteenth century heavy metal lasts were used.

For shoes which had buckles, the shoemaker did not provide the

buckle, nor did he attach them to the shoe. He would punch holes in the straps for them, but they were attached by the owner. The shoe buckle had two sets of tongues. One of the sets was to hold it on to the outside strap. The other was to tighten the inside strap. Buckles were sold by local merchants. During the colonial period, shoes had to be much longer than the foot. At that time, the leather was brought straight out to meet the tip of the toe. Shoemakers did not know about "cramping" the leather over the toe.⁹



In New France, there was a large variety of footwear used by men and women. Some were made in the colonies. Others were imported from France. Men as well as women liked to show off the newest styles and decorations which were currently available in the cities of France.

The climate of Canada greatly influenced the shoemaker's trade in New France. Wooden shoes or wooden clogs were practical in the rain soaked mud. The severely cold winters made the use of moccasins more practical for the settlers of New France.

Wooden shoes and wooden soled clogs with plain leather uppers were very common in France, Acadia and New France. These were generally left at the door and unlike moccasins, were never worn inside. Pegs, often times were used instead of thread because thread rotted so quickly in the lowlands and mud of the settlements.¹⁰

⁵ Guillet, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶ Tunis, Edwin, *Colonial Craftsmen: And the Beginnings of American Industry*, p. 105.

⁷ *Craftsmen of Colonial America*, p. 15.

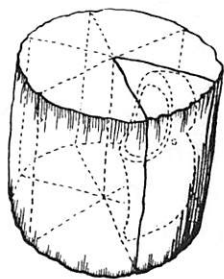
⁸ Tunis, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Guillet, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Wooden shoes and clogs were made out of one piece of wood. There were several styles of clogs. Many had wooden soles and leather uppers. The wooden shoe and clogs were familiar to many of the settlers. They had been in use in the fields of the Netherlands, Belgium and France. They were used by settlers of New France and Acadia and were quite popular. They were worn outdoors in the muddy, wet fields and were ideal where floors were of stone, hard, cold and damp. The wooden shoes were not only used by farmers, but by fishermen, butchers, tanners, iron forgers and other artisans. However, they were not worn inside the homes of New France.¹¹

The *sabotier*, wooden shoe and clog maker, would go into the woods and cut from a tree —willow, alder, birch, elm, cherry, maple or beech. Alder was the preferred wood.¹² The *sabotier* would cut trunks up to two feet in diameter. It would be used immediately when it was still green and easy to work. A cross-cut saw was used to cut pieces of wood to one of four desired lengths. Then a beetle (heavy wooden mallet), and a wedge would split them into sole blocks.



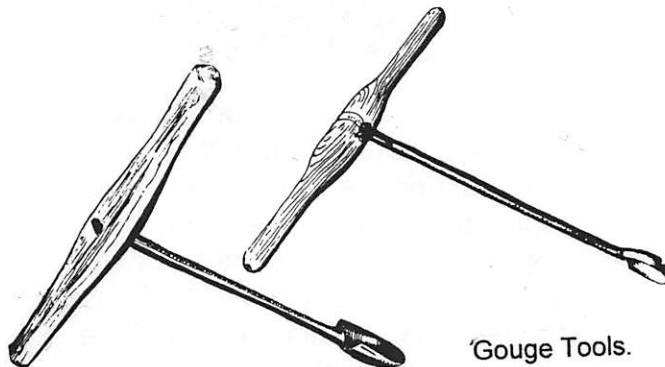
¹¹ Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹² *Ibid.*

Then an ax and finally a stock knife, about thirty inches long, or bench knife helped shape it into a rough size and oblong shape of the finished sole. This was called "breaking up".

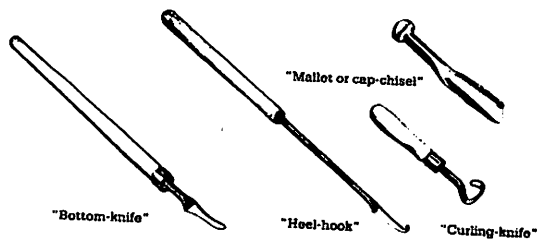


He used a bench knife to help shape the shoe or clog soles. For wooden shoes, he used a tool to drill out the interior wood. A hollowing knife (similar to a stock knife) was used to scoop out the instep. A gripping or shaping knife was used to cut out a narrow groove around the side of the sole where the leather upper would later be fitted.¹³



Then the *sabotier* would finish the inside using a bottom knife, a heel hook and a beveled knife. These knives were sharp on both sides and were needed to smooth the inside of the shoe. Fine carving using a variety of knives —pole knife, peeler, and border knife — completed the wooden shoe.

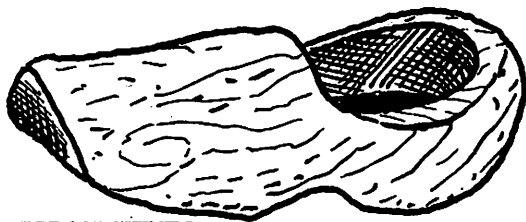
¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.



After the wooden shoes and clogs were shapeden, a pair would be tied together. and they would be piled in the shade in conical piles using the rough-cut soles like bricks, allowing space, so each sole would get good circulation of air through the entire stack.



This was the seasoning process and might take up to nine months, depending on the wood used. (Nine months for alder because it was a sappy wood.)¹⁴ They would be hand finished with spirally shaped chisels. The bent shape of the bottom of the sole would be cut with a bench knife. The step of the heel would be sawn with a hand saw and finished with a drawknife. Wooden shoes and clogs came in four sizes — Men's, Women's, Children's and Middle's¹⁵.



¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

The French army wore the wooden shoe, the *sabot*, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century for their standard fatigue issue. In the mid nineteenth century, the leather shoe became standard fatigue issue for the French army.¹⁶



In making clogs, the leather uppers would be attached to the shapeden wooden sole. The uppers might be one to three pieces of leather. Clogs for women or children often had one piece fastened with a button or clasp fastener. During the French regime, a village clog maker would probably have patterns for most of his customer's feet. The uppers were fitted over a last, pulled into position with lasting pincers and tacked to the last. The burnishing iron would be rubbed over the leather to help to permanently shape it. Then the uppers were removed from the last and attached to the clog with tacks or nails.¹⁷ Women usually wore clogs.

The *sabotiers* produced wooden shoes in large quantities. Between 1678 and 1713, Charles Letarte worked in the Quebec area providing merchants with wooden shoes and clogs. In 1689, Jacques Séguin contracted with a Montreal merchant to make 1200 pairs of wooden shoes in various sizes and of good wood. At least 100 pairs were to be

¹⁶ Moyars Johnson, Mary, Forbes, Judy and Delaney, Kathy, *Historic Colonial French Dress*, p. 26.

¹⁷ Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

delivered each month. In 1691, another Montreal merchant hired Jean Robin dit Lapointe of Longueuil to make wooden shoes at a cost of 36 livres per a hundred pair (7 sols a pair). They were to be made of elm or cherry wood. The merchant sold them for 15 -20 sols a pair. All of Robin's production was to go for a three year period of time to this merchant only. In 1697, this merchant died and he had 108 pairs valued at 36 livres per hundred in stock in small and large sizes. A merchant in Trois Rivières in 1741 had 82 pairs of large and 62 pairs of small and medium in stock.¹⁸

Wooden shoes and clogs were sent to settlers in the interior. However, because they were not trade items for the Indians, they do not appear on inventory lists. So the number sent to interior outposts and settlements is not known.

A *chausson*, foot liner, was a low slipper like covering which was worn over the stocking. It did not extend over the top of the foot to the ankle. This provided padding and warmth when wearing wooden shoes. These were made of linen, cotton, wool or soft leather. The commandant of Louisbourg owned 17 pairs of shoe liners in 1744 — 11 pairs valued at .69 livres a pair were of knitted heavy linen thread and 6 pairs valued at 1.16 livres per pair. In 1745, a French woman at Detroit ordered a number of shoe liners at a value of 6 livres.¹⁹

¹⁸ Kent, Timothy J., *Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit*, Vol. 2, p. 614.-615

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

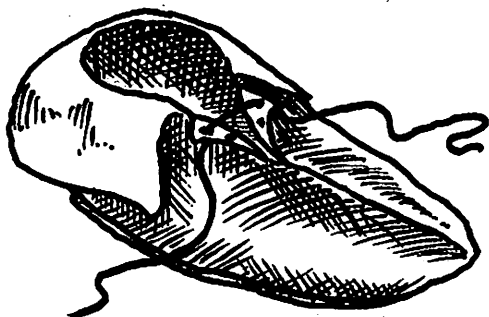
Moccasins were among the first items adopted by both men and women of New France. The moccasin was more practical for the terrain and the climate of Canada and were comfortable, more versatile and obtainable.²⁰ Shoes from France arrived by ship in summer and early fall. Moccasins could be had by trade and barter or gift anytime, or they could be made by the wearer within a few hours. The Amerindians had used a variety of hides of various hoofed animals —deer, moose, elk, caribou, cattle — as well as other animals — bear, groundhogs and beaver and an occasional seal. The moccasin was made with no heel and fit tight. They also made moccasins with dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside. These were warm in winter and durable in dry weather. Meriwether Lewis noted while on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, that Shoshone Indians of the plains made their moccasins similarly but with buffalo skins.²¹

Amerindian women were the producers of moccasins. To tan the hides, the women would scrape off the hair, put them in water with bark and then rub them with ashes and animal brains. They scraped the hides with whatever was available for making scrapping tools. They were known to have used shells, fleshing scrappers, pieces of metal, sharp stones, elk antlers, moose bone, and parts of a discarded rifle barrel. The process would eliminate impurities from the skin and would

²⁰ Johnson, Cathy, *Walk Softly...Moccasins in the Context of the Primary Documents*, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

make them soft and supple. Young maize, Indian corn, which was beaten to a pulp would work as well as brains. Then the hides would be cured with smoke by placing them over a stick frame in a hole, over a slow fire.²² Cowhides were tanned with lime water or by leaving it soak for at least a month in a mixture with willow and oak bark. The leather would absorb the color of the bark. Willow would produce red, and oak would produce brown. Sometimes the two barks would be combined. The cowhide leather was used to make moccasins.²³



Moccasins were called *souliers savages*, native shoes. Moccasins were the common working or laboring class footwear among the French colonists. This was true in the Louisiana Territory as well as in New France and in towns as well as rural areas, and especially with those who lived close to Amerindians.²⁴ For winter, the French of New France adopted Indian footwear. Moose hide was used as stockings and shoes to cover their legs and feet. A rabbit skin or a piece of old blanket was first wrapped around the foot for warmth. Marie de la Incarnation commented that "the

French never wear any others in winter since one cannot go out except with snowshoes under the feet —to walk on snow one cannot use French shoes."²⁵ For winter, the moccasins went to mid leg or just below the knee. Woodland types of moccasin, the pucker toe (*soulier a plis*) or the center seam style, with seams down the middle were most common, but styles worn by other Amerindians of Canada and the Great Lakes region were worn by Indians and Frenchmen alike. Sometimes these moccasins were trimmed with beads and quills. Some were lined with wool.²⁶ Some sewed a strip of hide to the top of the cuff which might go as high as the midcalf.²⁷ The French came in contact with the Winnebago tribe and also wore their style. The fringed western styles were not worn by the French Canadians. These were found west of the Mississippi. and were adopted by the mountain men.²⁸

Some of the moccasins made of cow or ox hide were probably made by French craftsmen. In 1667 in Montreal, a pair of native shoes made by a local Frenchman was noted. In 1698, at a home in Montreal, thirteen pairs of ox hide shoes were cut out but not finished. In 1688, the merchant, Mouchère, had 135 pairs of oxhide native shoes as well as 8 pairs of French shoes. He also had 15 sides of cowhide for making French shoes,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 23, and Germain, Georges-Hébert, *Adventurers in the New World*, p. 120.

²³ Germain, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

²⁴ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁵ Folkes, Patrick and Penny, *Cassocks, Doublets and Deerskins*, p. 19.

²⁶ Moyars, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁷ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 606.

²⁸ Moyars, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

100 pieces for heels, 69 calf hides, and 100 pounds of thread for making shoes.²⁹

Many times, individuals owned both native shoes and French shoes to use for different occasions. Fur trade personal — traders, voyageurs, prominent residents at interior posts and settlements wore both. In 1669, a trader died owning 3 pairs of native shoes and 1 pair of French shoes. They also carried hides with them to replace moccasins.³⁰ Yet, some of the fur trade personal wore leather shoes. Jolliet had two pairs with him.³¹

Militia and regular troops owned both for different occasions. Their native shoes for fatigue wear were often made by the men themselves. Hides were often provided by the government for them to make their own.³² In 1706, Cadillac sent a peace delegation which included one officer and four soldiers. They received four deer hides for making shoes for the soldiers at 2.5 livres per hide. In 1715, Louvigny's military campaign against the Fox, had twelve elk hides valued at 18 livres. In 1757, Bougainville indicated that standard issue included two pairs of deerhide moccasins. At Fort Pontchartrian, priests and lay employees used moccasins. The priest paid four livres for a deer hide to make moccasins for his employees.³³

Throughout the entire French regime, leather shoes were standard issue for soldiers. In 1665, 2,946 pairs of shoes and 2,880 laces were provided to the Carignan Salieres Regiment. Each year, regular soldiers were issued two pairs of shoes. By 1750, two additional leather soles were to be put on for protection from the cold, but many only had one thick sole.³⁴

On a number of occasions, French officials and military officers gave shoes to the native population as gifts. It was common to see Amerindians in mission settlements along the St. Lawrence wearing French shoes. In Kahnawake, some were wearing silk stockings and French shoes with buckles.³⁵

There were some drawbacks to the moccasins. They wore out quickly especially when heavier leathers were unavailable. Eastern soft soled moccasins were not good for those going into the far west. A pair of deerskin moccasins might last only a day depending on the terrain and the method of tanning the skin. Sharp rocks and thorns were especially a problem. Dry, rocky soil and thorns wore thin soles out quickly. The moccasin was not much protection from the cold unless fur was on the inside; layers of wool liners, dry leaves or anything else acted as a cushion from the cold.³⁶

Another adaption for out doors was called a "shoepack." Men wore a coarser moccasin. These were made

²⁹ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 611.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 609.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 611.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 612.

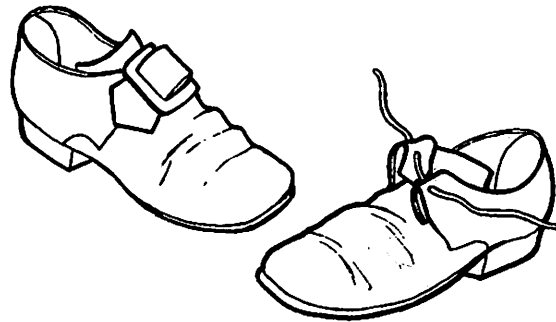
³⁶ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

like the moccasin with a single piece of leather, a center seam moccasin, with a seam in the back. However, a heavier sole with several layers of leather were added. In Illinois country, the shoepack was made like a center seam moccasin, but with a single piece of leather with a tongue piece about two inches wide and circular at the end on the top of the foot. A sole was often times added.³⁷

During the first half of the seventeenth centuries, craftsmen and peasants of New France wore shoes which were called *batts*. These leather shoes had rounded toes until 1635.³⁸ After 1635, they were usually square until the 1720's when they were semi square or round or had a rounded point.³⁹

About 1600, they also had slightly raised soles and heels which were made of leather or wood. By the end of the seventeenth century, some men had tall stylish heels. However, the height in heels went lower for men during the eighteenth century. The nobility were allowed to wear shoes which had the sides of the soles and the heels colored red. This was a privilege to them alone.⁴⁰ As the shoe developed, the sides were extended and rounded, and were tied with ribbons, cords or straps over a rounded tongue; openings were left at the side front on both sides of the tongue and upper foot.⁴¹ They had a vertical seam at the back of the heel. During the first seventy

years of the seventeenth century, a strap of cord or leather was tied in a large bow in front of the ankle. This helped to hold the shoe on. The last thirty years of this same century, a single metal buckle came into use by some. Until 1680, these buckles were oval and small. After 1680, they were much larger, square or rectangular with rounded corners. Long squared or rounded leather tongues above the buckle or bow also became popular. However, after 1720, the long tongues lost their popularity.⁴²



The leather used was usually untanned cow hide. Other hard leathers used were sheep, goat, deer, cat, and ox. Ox was the strongest. *Batts* were known to have been orangey beige or dark brown leather.⁴³ They found that the hides of large marine animals were tough and were ideal for making harnesses and straps and soles for boots and shoes.⁴⁴

Men who wore town clothes usually wore leather shoes. Military issue shoes and some local French shoes were worn with town clothes. The military issue shoe and local French shoes were made on straight lasts.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

³⁸ Folkes, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁹ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Folkes, *op/ cit.*, p. 45.

⁴² Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

⁴³ Folkes, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Germain, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

There were no lefts and no rights. Every day they alternated their shoes wearing them on opposite feet so they would wear evenly. Most of these leather shoes were fastened with buckles. The military issue were brass buckles. Besides brass, the general population used bronze, pewter, steel, iron, silver and gold and alloys of copper and zinc, forming tombac or isimilor (imitation gold). Some decorated them with gems or artificial stones.⁴⁵

Buckles which were sent to the interior were usually bronze, steel, iron or imitation gold. In 1735, Jacques LeBer, Montreal outfitter, sent 6 dozen steel (2.75 livres per dozen), 2 dozen iron (2.75 livres per dozen) and 1 dozen tombac buckles (6.5 livres per dozen) for men and 1 1/3 dozen iron (1 livre per dozen), 2 1/3 dozen tombac buckles (3.25 livres per dozen) for women. Women's buckles were smaller than men's. In the spring of 1736, the trader, Marin, on the Great Lakes received 2 dozen buckles for men at a cost of 9 livres a dozen. In 1752, he received a dozen imitation gold for men at 7 livres a dozen and a dozen of the same for women at 3 livres a dozen. Records show buckles were sent to the Sioux post, Fort Michilmackinac, and Fort Ponchartrain.⁴⁶

Men's leather shoes were described as being square toed. Many were imported from France. French shoes were either imported from France or were produced by cobblers in the St. Lawrence valley. French shoe

meant they were of the **European style** as opposed to *souliers sauvages* or native shoes (moccasins). The term, moccasin, was not used in inventories.⁴⁷

During the first half of the seventeenth century, *bottes*, tall leather boots were popular for fashionable men for both indoors and outdoors. They also had spurs with star shaped rowels until about 1660. Working class men and military wore boots throughout the French regime.

During the seventeenth century the upper portion of most boots was wide and loose. In the eighteenth century it became fitted. Many times the top of the boot whether wide or fitted was turned down making the height of the boot from mid calf to the knee. In addition to the *bottes*, some men in New France had *bottines*, lightweight boots. It was a shoe with a leg portion. Both types of boots had a good size heel. The tall heeled boots however, were not generally used in the interior.⁴⁸ Shoes were often worn in the interior generally by soldiers and priests.

Women's shoes like that of men were mostly wooden shoes or clogs rather than leather. The thick wood sole raised them above the puddles. They also wore the wooden clogs and the plain or embossed upper of leather was popular. A soft leather slipper similar to a ballet slipper was worn over the sock inside the wooden shoe by both men and women. Women in town had more

⁴⁵ Moyars, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁴⁶ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 612-613.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 601.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

opportunity to also have leather or fabric shoes.⁴⁹ Women's shoes until 1660, were similar to those of the men. After 1660, the toe tapered to a long narrow point. Women's heels were medium tall and slender and remained that way throughout the eighteenth century while men's heels were getting lower. Women's shoes were described as being with wooden heels or low and with square buckles.⁵⁰

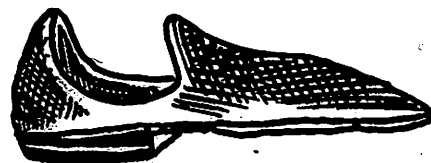


In addition to leather shoes, both men and women had shoes made of fabric—woolen fabrics, brocades, satins, silks, damask, and linens, some embroidered. Most of the women of New France, however had only a single pair of wooden shoes and / or a simple center seam Canadian style moccasin.

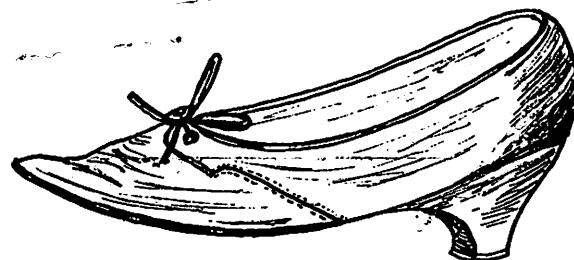
Besides the standard shoe, with a heel and thick or double sole, the French also had a pump shoe, *escarpin*, a lighter shoe for indoors. It had no heel, a single layer sole and was used primarily for dancing. It was used by both men and women. It usually had a soft upper made of leather, velvet or satin and usually did not have any ties or buckles.⁵¹ In 1702, Father Graves requested three pairs of pumps for the priests at the Illinois mission. He requested

them to have a double sole, probably because of the cold. In 1724, the outfitter, Monière, sent nine pairs of pumps at 5 livres each to the Green Bay post.⁵²

For indoor use for both men and women, they also had *pantoufles*, a kind of slipper used for comfort. They had hardly any side panels covering the heel. In 1701, Cadillac sent a pair of slippers at the cost of 2.44 livres to Detroit.⁵³



The eighteenth century also saw leather shoes made of a variety of kinds and thicknesses of leather. Some leathers wore well, but many did not and rotted quickly. Fabrics also were popular — velvet, satin, brocades or silk. These were more for dress and among wealthier families.⁵⁴ Heels were made of wood and covered with a piece of thin leather or cloth. Some shoes were slip ons. Some were tied on with string or a ribbon. The Italian heel, a small slender heel, was also popular.



⁴⁹ Moyars, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 613.

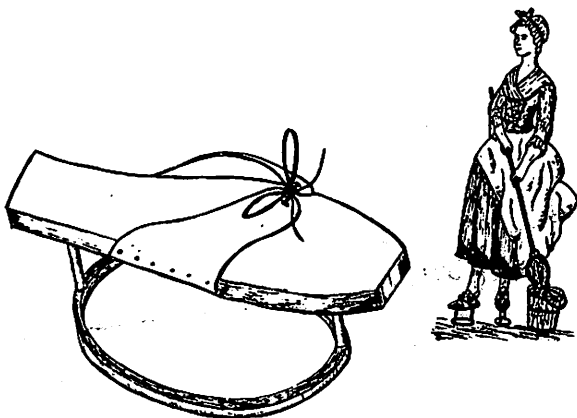
⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 614.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Spring, Ted, *Sketch Book 56, Vol. 5: The Women of the French War Era*, p. 18.

Buckles of brass, iron, silver and sometimes gold were also popular. Women's shoes were black, tan, brown and other colors. For working indoors, women might wear a leather slipper style with a single sole and a low heel. Good buckle shoes were kept for non-work wearing.⁵⁵ Shoes were an expensive item and most women had only one pair. Poor French girls might spend much time being barefoot so as not to wear out her shoes. Several merchants sold women's shoes in the eighteenth century — low and high heeled, with ties or buckles and slippers or mules which were used indoors, sometimes for work.⁵⁶

In the late eighteenth century, ladies pattens were popular. These were a kind of wooden clog attached to extensions on iron rings. The leather upper in two parts was attached to a wooden sole, and the two leather parts were tied together. They were for those who went through muddy streets or other wet locations.⁵⁷



⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁶ Riley, Mara, *Whatever Shall I Wear? A Guide to Assembling a Woman's in 18th Century Wardrobe*, p.31.

⁵⁷ Klinger, Rolbert L., *Distaff Sketch Book*, p. 22.

Children often were barefoot. If they wore shoes, they were generally beef shoes (*souliers de boeuf*) of ox hide or clogs. Buckled shoes were neither warm nor practical. Although it is known that some merchants carried them and some parents did buy them. It was also not uncommon for parents who hired out their children to work as a servant or as an apprentice, to include the master furnishing a pair of French shoes and a set of clothing each year as part of the agreement.⁵⁸ Leather shoes for children were usually made about two sizes larger than their feet. The feet of the child would be wrapped in wool until they grew into their shoes. Shoes were too costly to be replaced often.⁵⁹

Tanners were located in the settlements along the St. Lawrence, but they seem to have been scarce at interior posts and settlements. There does not seem to be any evidence that tanning or the presence of a tanner was located at Michilmackinac. No soaking pits have been found in the excavations. Most tanning for Michilmackinac was most probably done at Detroit at least during the British period. 7,700 pounds of dressed leather were sent from Detroit in 1767. In 1769, two "carraboo" skins were sent from Michilmackinac to Detroit to be dressed and sewn into breeches for William Maxwell. In 1775, the firm of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, who did a great deal of business with the traders at Michilmackinac, had set up accounts with a saddler, a

⁵⁸ Grouse, Suzamme amd André; *Costume in New France From 1740 to 1760*, p. 50.

⁵⁹ *Craftmen...*, p. 15.

shoemaker, a tanner and a leather dresser in Detroit.⁶⁰

However, they very likely made repairs on their own shoes. In John Askin's inventory for 1776 are listed — 2 calf skins for uppers, and in his 1778 inventory are listed — 21 ½ lbs of sole leather.⁶¹

At Fort Ligonier, a military fort in Pennsylvania, were found evidences of repair of both leather shoes and moccasins. At Fort Ligonier, more than 10,000 fragments of European style leather shoes were found in an old stream bed where they had been thrown between September and December of 1758 by the British army.⁶²

Leather shoes have been found at a number of other French sites. At Ste-Marie-Among the Hurons (1639-1649), two soles were found, one with two rows of wooden pegs, rather than nails. At Michilmackinac, a brass plate to fit over a heel has been found.⁶³

There were a variety of styles and types of footwear available to our ancestors. However, because of their circumstances, most could not afford most of what was available. When their financial circumstances allowed it, they indulged themselves with a few different types of footwear, even in the wilderness. The shoemakers and wooden shoe and clog makers furnished a variety

of footwear to individuals and to merchants who sold them in their shops along with imported items.

Drawings for this article are from the following sources:

*Spring, Ted, *"The Women of the French War Era" 1750-1769*, Sketch Book 56 Vol. V (buckle parts p. 98 and all sketches of shoe foot wear found on pp.100, 102, 106, 107)

*Seymour, John, *The Forgotten Crafts: A Practical Guide to Traditional Skills* (drawings of stock & gripping knife p. 99 and circulation pile p. 100.

**Wooden Shoes of Holland* (drawings on p. 99 and knife tools p. 100..

*Copeland, Peter, *Early American Tools* (coloring book) located on p. 104.

VOCABULARY

Cordwainer: the term used to indicate the boot and shoemaker in the English colonies

Cobbler: in the English colonies the person who repaired shoes. Later the cobbler became the shoemaker as well as the repairman and the term, cordwainer, became obsolete.

Cordonnier: the boot and shoemaker in the French colonies

Savetier: the shoe repairman in the French colonies

Bottier: the man who specialized in making boots of various kinds

Our English word, *sabotage*, comes from the French word, *sabot*, wooden shoe. In the late nineteenth century, French workers used their *sabots* to damage machinery when they would protest against industry.

⁶⁰ Moramd, Lynn, *Craft Industries of Fort Michilmackinac*, p. 67.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶³ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 613..

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CORDONNIERS /SAVETIERS AND SABOTIERS IN NEW FRANCE DURING THE FRENCH REGIME

The following list was extracted from (1) Jette, René, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec*; (2) Létourneau, Hubert and Labrègue, Lucille, "Introduction de Pièces Détachées de la Prévôté de Québec," in *Rapport de Province de Québec (RAPQ)*, v. 49, 1971. (3) White, Stephen, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, (4) Sulte, Benjamin, "1681 Census in *Histoire des Canadiens Français 1608-1880*.

(Source number 2 is an index of cases the Prévôté (court in Quebec) heard in which those named were identified as cordonniers. The number of the source is in the last column. "Master" in the miscellaneous column indicates he was named master of his trade. The dates in the miscellaneous column are the dates of their appearance before the Prévôté of Quebec with an indication about the case.

CORDONNIERS, SAVETIERS				
Name	Location	Spouse	Miscellaneous	Source
Achapt, Charles	Quebec	Leboesme, Jeanne	Master; hired at La Rochelle 4 Nov 1656	1
Aubert, Jacques		Rabellaud, Anne	Son of Alexandre & Dupirrey, Rachel; died June-Sept 1663 traveling to New Foundland	3
Bail, Pierre		Jacquet / Jacyboulle, Jeanne	From Bordeaux, Guyenne	1
Balan, Etienne	Montreal	Brassard, Marie-Madeleine	Son of Pierre & Renée Biret	1
Barbureau dit Sansoucy, Pierre	Quebec	Massard, Marie-Francoise	From l'Il de Re; 4 Dec 1726—requested of Jacques Deguise dit Flamant, mason. 35 livres for shoemaking work and for laundering	1,2
Bare, Michel		Gayer, Cunégonde	Son of Jacques & Élisabeth Jetté	1
Bariteau dit Lamarche, Francois-Julien	Montreal	Becquet dit Saint-Sauveur, Louise	Son of Julien & Marie Diel	1
Batreau / Batereau dit Saint-Amand, Jacques	Quebec Reapentigny Charlesbourg	Voisin, Charlotte	Of St. Didier, Poitou	1
Berriau, Joseph	Quebec		15 March 1727—request payment of 6 livres for a pair of shoes he made for the wife of Jacques Deguise dit Flamant	2
Blavot dit Lafontaine, Michel	Quebec	Delugré, Élisabeth	From Normandy	1
Bluteau dit L'Arabelle, Louis	Quebec	Charland, Geneviève	Son of Jacques & Claire-Francoise Paré	1

Bossu dit Lyonnais, Jean.	Neuville	Prou, Élisabeth	Master; son of Claude & Jeanne Surret	1
Boucher dit Saint-Martin, Georges	Contrecoeur	Gerorget, Geneviève	Master	1
Bours / Bourque dit Lachapelle, Jean-Baptiste	Montreal	Becquet dit Saint-Sauveur, Angélique	Son of Antoine & Marie-Anne Vandandaigue	1
Boyer, Jean-Baptiste	Beaupré	Bonnier, Marie-Madeleine	Lived at Beaupré	1
Brassard dit Descheneaux, Pierre	Quebec Montreal	Lalande, Marie-Anne	Son of Louis & Simone Maufay	1
Cadet, Julien	Quebec	1. Lesot, Marie-Anne; 2. Greslon, Angélique	Of St. Barthélemi, Aunis	1
Cardinal, Pierre	Montreal	Foucher, Marie-Geneviève	Son of Pierre & Marie-Anne Thullier	1
Cardinal, Francois Charland.	Montreal Quebec	Lainé, Francoise	Brother of previous	1
			June 1749 & Oct 1751—dispute with Francois Mounier over goods sold	2
Chartrand / Chastane, Thomas	Montreal	Matou, Jeanne		4
Chaussé, Jean Baptiste	Quebec		5 Dec 1731-court ordered Jean Sanson to pay Chaussé 40 livres for a farm debt dating from 23 Aug 1730	2
Christin dit Saint-Amour, Isaac	Montreal, Riviere des Prairies	Chartrand, Suzanne	From Poitou	1
Christin, Paul		Bachand, Madeleine	Son of previous	1
Cibardin, Francois		Guitre, Louise	Killed by the English at the Battle of Laprairie, 8 Nov 1691	1
Condé dit Poitevin, Jean	Beaupre	Chauveau, Marie	Son of Étienne & Thomasse Ancelin	1,4
Coton, Michel	Quebec	Gagnon, Francoise	Also a silver / gold smith	1
Courois dit Lacroix, Pierre		Varin, Marie	Son of Pierre & Jeanne Quenal; of St-Vincent de Carville-la-Folletière, Normandy	1
Cousseau dit Laviolette, Pierre	Quebec	Bissonnet, Marie	Of St-Nicolas, Aunis; son of Pierre & Anne Bourradier	1
Coutant dit Lafranchise, Jacques	Montreal Quebec	Pichard, Marie-Louise	Soldier of the company of Gannes	1
Couturier dit	Sorel	1.Tarragon,	Arrived 15 Aug 1665	1,4

Labonté, Gilles		Anne-Élisabeth; 2. Moral, Jeanne	with Sorel Co. of Carignan Regiment	
Cretel, Pierre	Quebec in 1666		1681- on seigneurie Vincelot; hired by Louis Couillard	1
Croteau / Crosteau, Vincent	Cote St-Michel	Godequin, Jeanne	Son of André & Marguerite Meteyé; of St-Martin-de-Renelle, Normandy	1
Darcy / Darsi, Pierre	Montreal	Jetté, Geneviève	Master; corporal of Beaujeu Company	1
Davenne, Gabriel	Quebec	Lis, Marie- Thérèse	Son of Charles & Marie DeNoyon	1
Davenne, Charles	Montreal	Brazeau, Marie	Master; son of above	1
Decareau / Decaraux, Joseph	Quebec		22 Sep 1744—charge for rent against Hurteau and his wife	2
Demers, Joseph	Montreal	Viger, Marie- Joseph	Master; son of André & Anne Jetté	1
Demoliers, Joachim	Quebec		24 Dec 1731— Demoliers requested payment for shoes from Valcour, a mason; 17 July 1732—Joachim requested of another shoemaker, Francois Levitré, 6 livres for work he had done	2
Depois dit Parisien, Pierre	Quebec		May 17736— payment of a bill by J. Ferment to Depois	2
Déry, Nicolas		Bertrand, Élisabeth	Master; married in France abt 1656; he was at Charlesbourg in 1681	1
Desèvre dit Pottevin, Denis	Quebec	1. Vanier, Marie- Anne; 2. Paquet, Angélique	Son of Denis & Marie Gerbière; 18 Nov 1698—default with Guillaume Pagé over an amount of wood transported.	1,2
Desèvre / Desève dit Poitevin, Jean- Baptiste	Montreal	Haguenier, Catherine	Master; son of Denis & Marie-Anne Vanier, above	1
Desèvre dit Poitevin, Joseph-Denis	Montreal	Chaussé, Marie- Catherine	Master; brother of above	1
Desmares, Charles	Montreal Ile Ste Thérèse	Lauzon, Marie	Son of Charles & Marie Hachar; Of Mélamare, Normandy	1,4
Destroismaisons dit Picard, Philippe	Chateau Richer Quebec 1681 at Bellechasse	Crosnier, Martine	Son of Adrien & Antoinette Leroux; of Picardie	1,4
Didier dit Parisien,		Bruneau, Marie-	Master; son of	1

Simon		Charlotte	Francois, a master <i>cordonnier</i> , & Francoise Fournier; from Champagne	
Douault dit Saint- Jean, Jean-Francois	Boucherville Varenes	Martel, Marguerite	Master; from Saintonge; son of Francois & Catherine Durant	1
Douillard dit Laprise, Charles	Montreal	Demers, Élisabeth	Master; son of René & Louise Forestier	1
Dubeau, Toussaint	Quebec (lower town)	1. Damy, Marguerite; 2. Joussetot, Anne	Master	1,4
Dubeau, Pierre	Ile d'Orleans	Allaire, Marie- Madeleine	Also a laborer; 1 st child of above; lived on Ile d'Orleans	1
Dubois, Pierre	Montreal	Haguenier, Anne-Barbe	Son of Francois & Marie Guilbault	1
Dubreuil, Jean- Etienne	Quebec	1. Legardeur, Marguerite; 2 Chevalier, Marie-Anne; 3. Routhier, Jeanne.	Also a beadle or verger; royal notary in 1707; fiscal procureur of seigneurie of Notre- Dame-des-Anges; 1st huissier to Sovereign Counsel in Aug 1725	1
Dumareil dit LaFranchise, Blaise	Quebec	1. Doré, Marie- Madeleine; 2. Lesot, Marie- Anne	Son of Toussaint & Catherine Chevreil; from Sennelly, Orléanais	1
Dumouchel dit Laroche, Bernard	Montreal	1. Juin. Jeanne; 2. Saulnier, Francoise	Master; son of Pierre & Marie Lebre	1
Dumouchel, Paul	Montreal	1. Dugas, Marie; 2. Tessier, Marie-Louise	Master; son of above by 1 st wife	1
Dumouchel, Bernard	Montreal	Tessier, Marie- Anne	Master; brother of above	1
Dupuyau dit Le Marquis, Jean	Quebec	Gosselin, Marie- Charlotte	Son of André & Catherine Basque; of St-Martin-d'Arberoue, Gascogne	1
Édeline, Charles	Boucherville	Braconnier, Jeanne	Also a beadle or verger in 1711; of St- Jacques-de-la- Boucherie, Ile de France	1
Enard / Esnard, Simon	Batiscan	Loubier, Marie	Also a master shoe repairman; b. at Rivedoux, Ste-Marie parish, Ile de Re;	1
Félippé, Philippé	Plaisance	Rabellaud, Anne	Acadian	3
Ferron dit Sanssez / Sancerre, Jean	Montreal	1. Poutré, Marie; 2. Patenaude, Élisabeth;	Corporal of Louvigny company; 6 Apr 1716 – hired to go to west	1

Forest, Pierre	Quebec	Davaux, Marie-Francoise	31 May 1725—Forest, acting in the name of the inheritors of deceased Henri Davaux, requests of René Letarte of Pte-aux-Trembles to pay 500 livres for 14 years of rent for land of Henri Devaux with interest	2
Fortin dit Plermel, Francois	Montreal in 1681	Soumillard / Sommeillard, Louise	Son of Marc & Francoise Derues; from St-Nicolas de Ploermel, Brittany	1,4
Foulon dit Dumont, Nicolas	Quebec	Boyer, Barbe	Master; son of Jacques & Geneviève LeRoy; from Brucourt, Normandy	1
Fourneau dit Brindamour, Jean	Montreal	1. Price, Marie-Élisabeth; 2. Lat, Marie	Master; son of Jacques & Marguerite Gevillac; from St-Michel, Limousin; soldier in the Beaucourt Company	1
Fournier, Jean	Quebec	Roger, Jeanne	Master; of St-Sauveur, Aunis	1
Frèrot, Pierre	Linctôt or Bécancour		1681 census, he was 46	1,4
Gauthier dit Larose, René	Île de Orleans	Labastille dit Martin, Renée / Antoinette-Renée	Of Buvier-sur-Dive, Poitou	1
Gauthier, Jacques	Boucherville	Tourneroché, Marie	Son of Élie & Marguerite Mottié	1
Gelineau dit Lachapelle, Francois		Ménard, Marie-Marguerite	Of St-Paul, commune de Clion, Saintonge	1
Gendron, Michel	1666-in Quebec			1
Germain, Robert	Quebec; Neuville seigneurie	Coignard, Marie	Son of Julein & Julienne Bevais; of St-Sauveur de Lonlay-L'Abbaye, Maine	1,4
Gignard, Laurent	Chateau Richer & L'Ange Gardien Beaupré	1. Sorin / Soret, Élisabeth; 2. Morin, Marie	Master; of La Rochelle	1,4
Girard, Jean Baptiste	Quebec	Aumier, Madeleine	Son of Joachim Girard & Chalou Jeanne; June 1735—to settle division of goods after the death of his mother; Oct 1727—request to evict Jacques Jannot	2

			dit Beaufort and his wife	
Girard, Joachim	Quebec	Lefebvre, Louise-Catherine	Brother of above; Son of Joachim & Jeanne Chalut; 16 March 1724; assigned guardian to children of Gabriel Lefèvre; 9 Dec 1735—requests payment of 21 livres 3 sols from Guillaume Deguise	1,2
Girard, Jean-Baptiste	Quebec	Aumier, Marie-Madeleine	Son of Joachim & Jeanne Chalut	1
Gonthier, Bernard	Beaupre	1. Paquet, Marguerite; 2. Forgues, Marie-Francoise	Also a carpentry joiner; son of Jean & Lay, Marie; of St-Séverin, Ile de France	1
Gossain / Gaussin dit Sint-Germain, Jean	Louiseville	Banliac, Marie-Jeanne	Son of Jean & Angounelle, Jacquette; From St-Germain, Guyenne	1
Greenhill, Joseph	Montreal	Paillé, Marie-Louise	From Worcester, England	1
Grou, / Groust, Jean	Pte-aux-Trembles, Montreal	Goguet, Maraie-Anne	A Huguenot; his father and grandfather were also shoemakers; he was killed by the Iroquois in 1690	1,4
Guerin, Sylvain	Montreal	Brazeau, Marie	Master; of Amboise, Touraine	1
Guerin, Joseph		Goguet, Marie-Francoise	Son of Beaujean, Antoine & Brazeau, Marie	1
Guevremont, Jean	Champlain	1. Carpentier, Marie-Madeleine; 2. Dellisle, Geneviève	Master; son of Jean (also a master shoemaker) & Langlois, Madeleine; of St. Remi, Normandy; also an anspressade of Cabanac company	1
Herd, Benjamin		Roberts, Elisabeth	From New England	1
Huyet / Huguet dit Poncelot & Champagne, Etienne	L'Ange Gardien	Forestier, Barbe	Master; son of Etienne & Somé, Marguerite; from Charleville, Champagne	1
Journet dit Guespin, Jean	Quebec (Upper town)	Laurence, Geneviève	Son of Jacques & Norry, Étienne	1,4
Joyal / Joyel dit	Yamaska	Gignard,	Son of Jean and	1

Perrot, Antoine	Louiseville	Thérèse	Manière / Margiene, Jeanne; from St-Pierre Quercy	
LaBorde, Martin de		Duhart, Catherine	Also a fisherman at Petit-Dégrad; habitant of Bidart	3
Lachambre, Francois	Quebec		6 Nov 1724—request of Pierre Chauvin to pay debt 4 livres 7 sols; 2 Sep 1727—dispute with Olivier Santier	2
LaFargue, Joannis (Jean) de		Ozelewt, Marie-Anne (Marianne)	Master; son of Raymond & Debrun, Marie; from the city of S-Jean-de-Luz; also a fisherman	3
Laforest, Pierre	Quebec	Daveau, Francoise	Son of Francoois & Laurent, Jeanne; from bourg de Marsillac-Lanville, Saintonge	1
Laforme, Sieur	Quebec		6 Aug 1736—charge against Laforme by Thomas Huguet, tanner at Beauport; 29 July 1750—request for payment for a bill from Guillaume Leroux	2
Lasague dit LeBasque, Jean	Montreal	Jousset, Louise	Soldier of Lorimier company	1
Laurent dit Lortie & Coquot, Jean	Quebec Beauport	Choret, Marie-Louise	Son of Jean & Chardon, Marie-Madeleine	1
La Vie, Jacques de			Master; godfather to Jeanne Aubert	3
Leber dit Yvon, Gabriel	Montreal	Bouteiller, Marie-Angélique	Master; son of Pierre & Massard, Anne	1
Lechambre, Francois	Quebec			2
Lecoq dit St-Onge, Jean	Quebec		Aug & Oct 1724—See Raymond Pare	2
Leger dit Lajeunesse, Pierre	Montreal & Quebec	Forestier, Anne-Marguerite	Master; soldier of Leveilliers company; son of Pierre & Perreau, Louise	1
Legrand, Pierre	Montreal	Mignerion, Marie-Anne	In 1666, he was a hired hand of Pierre Biron; son of Etienne & Regnard / Vigart, Marie	1
Legrand, Jean-Francois	Montreal		Son of above; died at a young age of 18.	1
Legrand, Pierre	Quebec		28 June 1695—he	2

			had to pay Marie Pinet 12 livres he owed	
Lencles / L'Encllus dit Lapierre, Pierre	Quebec	Chandonnet, Charlotte	Master; son of Maratin & Hovart, Marie; from St-Brice, Flanders, Belgium; Pierre charged J. B Guay, a joiner, with poor work	1,2
Levitré, Francois	Beauport		See Demoliers; 3 Aug 1728—he had to pay Marguerite Giard, widow of Thomas Lefebvre 25 livres for a bill	2
Lord / Loar	Quebec		26 Apr 1747—he is to pay 13 livres to the tanner, Gauvreau	2
Lortie, Jean	Beauport		20 Jiuly 1734—a charge against Lortie by Mother l'Enfant Jesus, trustee of the poor at Hôtel Dieu	2
Louer	Quebec		Requests payment for work from sieur Fleury de Lagorgendière	2
Magdelaine dit Ladouceur, Vivien	Montreal Lachine Fief Verdun	Godin, Marie	Son of Jean & Parisis, Élisabeth	1,4
Mallet, Jean-Baptiste	Montreal Lachine	Milot, Marie-Barbe	Master; son of René & Lécuyer, Marie	1
Marchand, Pierre	Quebec	Lefebvre, Claire-Francoise	Son of Jean & Hayot, Marie; Feb & March 1727—received a house after payment	1,2,3
Martin dit Montpellier, Antoine	Quebec	Sevestre, Denise	Soldier; son of Jean & Costé, Isabelle; from St-Xiste, Languedoc	1
Massy / Massie, Joseph	Montreal	Bardet, Hélène	Master; son of Jacques & Hédouin, Marie-Madeleine	1
Maurice dit LaFantaisie, Claude	Montreal	Dumouchel, Madeleine	Master; son of Jean & Dodelande, Anne; from St-Ouen de Betteville, Normandy	1
Maurice dit LaFantaisie, Charles	Montreal	Cardinal, Catherine	Master; son of above	1
Maurice dit LaFantaisie, Joseph	Montreal	Chevalier, Marie-Angélique	Master; brother of above	1
Menard dit St-Onge, Pierre	St. Ours	Deshayes, Marguerite	Also a seigneurial notary; hired at La Rochelle 11 April	1,4

			1656	
Ménard dit Saint-Onge, Louis	Montreal	1. Handgrave, Geneviève; 2. Gournay, Marie-Anne; 3. Demers, Marie-Ursule	Soldier of Montigny company; of St-Pierre, Saintonge; son of Jean & Moullize, Marthe	1
Michelon, Adrien	Quebec	Laurence, Geneviève	At 1667 census, he was at Charlesbourg	1
Michelon, Jacques	Quebec	Larchevêque, Marie	Also a beadle or verger; son of above	1
Moison, Nicolas	Montreal (fief Verdun)	Vallée, Jeanne	Soldier of Carignan regiment, company La Freydière	1,4
Morand dit La Grandeur, Antoine		Poutré, Marie-Madeleine	Soldier of Rompré company; son of Antoine & Lacroix, Hélène	1
Morand, Jean	Quebec	Dasyva, Marie-Élisabeth	Also a carrier by cart; son of Jacques & Audet, Jacquette; 1 Feb 1713-he was requested to pay 7 livres 10 sols to Guillaume Hébert dit LeComte	1,2
Moreau, Edme	Montreal	Forestier, Francoise	Master; son of Jacques (also a shoemaker) & Germain, Marguerite; from St-Césaire. Champagne	1
Morron, Pierre			In 1721, was in Plaisance	3
Noreau, Mathurin		Marchet, Marie-Josèphe	Son of Pierre & Patureau, Marie; from St-Georges-des-Coreaux, Saintonge	1
Paquet, Pierre	Quebec	Charland, Marie	Son of Pierre & Caillé, Marie	1,3
Paré, Raymond	Quebec		16 Aug & 2 Oct 1724—Paré charged Lecoq, another shoemaker, of bad treatment, and LeCoq denied it	2
Paris, Francois	Quebec (lower town)	Rabouin, Marie	Son of Pierre & Roussel, Cardine; from Normandy	1,4
Paris dit LaMadeleine, Gilles	Quebec	Charpentier, Marie-Louise	Son of Jean & Crevier, Francoise; from commune de Neublans, Franche-Comte; Sep 1714—request of Étienne	1,2

			Charest to pay 323 livres agreed for healing	
Paris, Pierre	Quebec	Tellier, Marie - Jeanne	8 Nov 1731- J.B. Brassard had an order to be paid 12 livres by Paris for his mother's funeral expenses; Nov 1732, court ordered Paris to sell a lot and house	2
Paroissien, Michel	Montreal, Lachenaie		From Anjou; hired at La Rochelle 24 March 1656; 8 May 1690, living at Lachenaie	1
Payan dit Saint-Onge, Jacques	Quebec	1. Morin, Louise; 2. Sédilot, Marguerite	Son of Francois & Cantin, Madeleine; from St-Colombe, Saintonge; 25 Apr 1729—request that Charles Normand refrain from insults of his wife	1,2
Pélisson, dit Lafleurr, Francois	Quebec	Charpentier, Marie-Louise	Son of Pierre & Charpentier, Francoise; from S. Jean, Poitou	1
Picard, Pierre	Montreal		Of St-Remi, Rouen	1,4
Pichon, Jacques	Quebec		Hired by Louis Lefebvre	1
Piquet, Joseph	Quebec		11 March 1727—he had to make restitution for worn clothes taken	2
Plouf, / Blouf Jean	Vercheres	Guilleboeuf, / Quilleboeuf Marie-Madeleine	Also a shoe repairman; son of Antoine & Demaists, Geneviève	1,2,4
Poitevin, Francois	Beauport, Charlrsbourg	Morel, Francoise; 2. Lhomme, Marie-Madeleine	Son of Jean & Guillodeau, Madeleine	1
Poitiers, Jean			Died at Hotel Dieu, Quebec	1
Poudret / Poutré, André	Montreal Sorel	Ravel /Burel, Jeanne		4
Prudhomme dit St-Pierre, Pierre	Quebec	Coulombe, Catherine	Son of Francois & Baudy, Marie-Anne; from Courçon, Aunis; 25 Jan & 6 June 1730—called in because of violation of a law	1,2
Puymegea, Francois	Quebec		May 1758—Sentence rendered between	2

			Puymegea and Francois Daine	
Rampillion, René	Quebec		Master; from Poitou	1
Rancourt, Charles	Quebec		5 March 1745— charge against sieur Rainville, mason	2
Rapin, Jean- Baptiste	Batiscan, Lachine, LaPerade	Janson, Catherine	Also a singer; son of André & Jarry, Clémence	1
Rêaume, Hyacinthe	Montreal	Lacelles / Laselle, Agathe	Master; son of Robert & Brunet, Élisabeth	1
Renaud, Vincent		Martin, Marie	Master; son of Jean (also a master shoemaker) & Gaufreneau, Madeleine; also a carrier in 1631, a merchant & a tavern keeper at Rochefort in 1672; d. in Rochefort	1
Riday / Ridé dit Beauceron, Jean	Montreal	Duboc, Louise- Catherine	Master; son of Jean & Philippeau, Anne; from St-Jean-des- Murgers, Perche	1
Rivière / Larivière René	Montreal	Diel, Marie- Francoise	Master; son of Pierre & Laraire, Catherine	1
Robert dit Lafontaine Louis	Boucherville	Bourgery, Marie	Son of André & Bonin, Catherine; from Ste-Marguerite, La Rochelle	1,4
Robides, Gabriel				1
Roche, Pierre	Ile d'Orleans (Ste-Famille)	1. Lanfillé, Marie; 2. Blais, Élisabeth	Son of Léonard & de Catcal, Guilleune	1
Roger dit Labrie, Louis	Montreal , Riviere-des- Prairies	Benoit, Marie- Anne	Master; son of Toussaint & Roy, Geneviève	1
Roquan / Rocan dit Laville, Pierre	Pte-aux- Trembles, Montreal	1. Aigron, Mariae-Louise; 2. Dufault, Marie- Francoise	Son of Jacques & Baudart, Marie; from St-Martin, Ile de Re; Also a beadle and verger in 1726	1
Rose, Noel	Quebec	Montminy / Monmainier, Marie	Son of Nicolas & Tardif, Jeanne; from St-Etienne-du-Mont, Ile de France	1
Rousseau, Louis	Quebec		Jan & March 1724— appeared regarding sentence of J.B. Couillard	2
Roussel dit Sansoucy, Guillaume	Lachine	Filiatrault, Nicole	Soldier of La Grois company; living at Montreal in 1697	1
Rube / Rure, Claude	Laprairie		1681 census, he was	1,4

			50 years old	
Sanscartier, Francois			Soldier of the Levillier company; died at Hôtel Dieu, Montreal in 1710 at age 50	1
Sigouin, Jean	Quebec	Billot, Lucrèce	Son of Jacques & LeBer, Jeanne; died in Charlesbourg 23 Dec 1726 at age 96	1
Spénard / Spennert André	Quebec	Arnaud, Marie-Charlotte-Thérèse	Master; son of Léonard & Fizenay, Madeleine; from Germany	1
Spénard, Jean	Quebec	1. Morel, Marie-Gabrielle; 2. Parent, Marie-Jeanne	Son of above; 4 & 9 Oct 1724—request for payment for shoemaking work for the amount of 12 livres from André Deleigne, lieutenant of the Prévôté; 10 Apr & 30 July 1731—two charges against Jean by Henri Hiché	1,2
Taboureau, Martin	Repentigny			4
Taylor, Guillaume-Francois	Montreal		Son of Édouard & Rebecca; From Nitchiwanack, New England; taken prisoner of war at Exeter in 1704; bap. 25 May 1706	1
Tranquille, Francois	Quebec		Nov 1753 & March 1754—bills to be paid by L'Epee	2
Turet, Jacques	Quebec (lower city)		1681—38 yrs. old	4
Viger, Jacques	Montreal	1. Brodeur, Marguerite; 2. Riday, Marie-Louise	Son of Jacques & César, Marie	1
Willet / Houlet, Jean	Quebec	Larchevêque, Louise-Catherine	From the comte & province of Oxford, England; son of Jean & Foxgill. Elisabeth	1
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SABOTIERS / SABOTTIERS				
Banliac, dit; Lamontagne, Francois	Trois Rivières	1. Doyon, Marie-Madeleine; 2. Pelletier, Marie-Angélique	Son of Jean & Petit, Francoise; from Chantrezac, Angoumois	1
Barbeau / Barbault, Francois	Charlesbourg Batiscau Petite Auvergne	Hédouin, Marguerite	Son of Jacques & Cornuelle, Jeanne; of Ste-Radegonde, Poitou	1,4

Barbeau / Barbault Jacques	Quebec Beaupré	Garnier, Jeanne	Son of Jacques & Trouvé, Marie	1,4
Baribeau, Francois	Batiscan	Moreau, Perrine	Married in France	1
Bechard, René	Ile d'Orleans	Vaillancourt, Marie-Anne	Master; son of Pierre & Gallet, Anne; from Les Cars, Limousin	1
Chamaillard, Vincent	Montreal in 1681 (fief Verdun)	Renusson, Catherine	Son of Jean & Renar, Francoise; from Remeneuil, commue of Usseau, Poitou; soldier of regiment Carignan, Lafreydière	1,4
Éthier, Léonard	Montreal, Lachenaie Ile Jesus	Godillon, Élisabeth	Son of Étienne & Sabelle, Marguerite; of Manot, Angoumois	1,4
Frenet / Fernet, Michel	Beaupre Neuville	Lavoie, Marie-Olive	Son of Michel & Juneau, Christine; from Ste-Marguerite des Baux-de-Breteuil, Normandy	1
Guertin, Louis	Montreal	Camus / Lecamlus, Élisabeth	Son of Louis & Leduc, Georgette / Georgine; hired in LaFleche 24 Apr 1653; arrived in Montreal 16 Nov 1653	1
Letartre Charles	L'Ange Gardien Beaupré	Maheu, Marie	Son of René & Goulet, Louise;	1,4
Séguin, Jacques	Montreal	Badel, Marie	Son of Jean & Dupuis, Marguerite; of St-Martin de Peyrat-de-Bellac, Marche	1

THE ST. LOUIS PROJECT

By Donald Caen

The French-Canadian / Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin (FCGW) is a genealogical society that is headquartered in Milwaukee. As its name states, members of the society are especially interested in French-Canadian and Acadian genealogy.

In early 2005, FCGW undertook the project of printing repertoires of the baptisms, marriages and burials of St. Louis Catholic parish in Fond du Lac from its beginning to 1920. St. Louis was chosen for two primary reasons. First, the parish had a French-Canadian ethnic heritage. Second, the parish records are readily available. The original records (up to 1920) are contained in six volumes.

They are stored in the archives of the Milwaukee Archdiocese. The records up to 1920 have been filmed by the Latter Day Saints.

The initial step for the project was to obtain permission from the Milwaukee Archdiocese to use the records. Tim Cary, the archivist of the Archdiocese welcomed the project. He purchased a copy of the Latter Day Saints film for FCGW to use. He also gave the society permission to use the actual records in the archives if necessary. Another early step was to design easy-to-use forms for recording extracted data in a consistent manner.

Volunteers began to work on the project in 2005. Each record is extracted independently by two persons. A third person compares the two extractions. If necessary, the three individuals consult together to decide on the most likely name and/or date. The three step extraction and comparison process is necessary for several reasons: poor handwriting and creative spelling by the priests, ink blots on the pages, ink bleed-through from the opposite side of a page, torn pages, and poor microfilm quality. While very time consuming and tedious, accuracy requires a careful study of each record. After reaching a consensus on the contents of a record, the information is put into a computer database. That, too, is a time-consuming task. The present goal for completing the repertoires is 2010.

The information contained in the records varies widely. Some lucky genealogists will find the home parish in Canada from which the St. Louis parishioner immigrated. Other researchers will not even find the names of the parents of a baptized child.

The project is huge. Considering just baptisms as an example, 247 adults and children were baptized in the year 1863. I have not counted the number of baptisms in other years, but if 1863 is representative of other years, then there were over 2,000 baptisms in each decade. When one considers that most baptisms contain seven items of data (five names and two dates), it immediately becomes apparent that the amount of data to be extracted, compared, and entered into a database is very large.

It is interesting to note that the predominant nationality in the early years was Irish. That is understandable when one considers that for several years St. Louis was the only Catholic parish in the Fond du Lac area, and many of the early settlers came from New England and New York.

The cover page of baptism records of the St. Louis parish indicate it included the outlying areas of Eden, Byron and Eldorado in addition to the city of Fond du Lac. The records only rarely specify the place of residence of the person being baptized.

The first baptism on record is shown below, along with the extracted information set forth on the form used to record the extraction. A sample of more difficult handwriting is also given.

Augustus 1853

1
 14th Mariam Lawler natare 14th Julie [illegible]
 Lawler Josephi et Marie Burns Baptizata
 Joannes McGraw et Elisabeth Bauman
 Sponsi
 Rev. L. Daub

Baptisms AUGUST 1853

Page # 1 Entry # 1ST

Baptism Date:	14 AUG. 1853	Birth Date:	14 JULY 1853?
Child's Name:	MARIAM LAWLER		
Father's Name:	JOSEPH LAWLER		
Mother's Name:	MARIE BURNS		
Witnesses:	JOANNES MCGRAW		
	ELISABETH BAUMAN		

Volunteers to assist with this very large but very interesting project are most welcome. Just call 921-5517, and we will put you to work.

COMING UP

23 June FCGW 25th Anniversary
 Dinner at Klemmers on Oklahoma
 Ave.

14 July 2007, Whitewater,
 Wisconsin: The German interest
 Group of Wisconsin is holding a

workshop—"Expand Your German
 Research." Larry Jensen will be the
 speaker. For more info
[www.rootsweb.com/~wigig/workshop
 _page1-general_info.html](http://www.rootsweb.com/~wigig/workshop_page1-general_info.html)

14-15 July 2007: World War I
 Encampment at Old World
 Wisconsin, 10 a.m. – 5 p.m.. Life in a

WWI Camp—meal preparation, equipment inspections, medical examinations, weapons instruction. For more information call 262-594-2922

28-29 July 2007, Folle Avoine Fur Trade Rendezvous, Burnett County: Over 600 will take part. This fur trade site is open to visitors from Memorial Day throughout the summer. Take a living history tour of this 1802-1894 fur trade site.

15-18 August 2007, Fort Wayne, Indiana: The Federation of Genealogical Societies Annual Conference. For brochure: FGS, PO Box 200940, Austin TX 78720-0940 www.fgs.org/2007conf/FGS-2007.htm or call (512) 336-2731

27 Oct 2007: Wisconsin State Genealogical Society Fall 2007 Seminar: at Stoney Creek Inn, Wausau, WI. The featured speaker will be J. Mark Lowe, genealogist and lecturer from middle Tennessee.

NEWSNOTES

The National Archives recommends that no removable self-stick notes be used on any paper that has permanent value. The adhesive remains on papers to which the notes were attached even when they are removed immediately. The remaining adhesive causes important records to stick together. Also, as the chemicals in the adhesive break down over time, they can deteriorate the paper and make printing illegible. The adhesive can also lift photocopied images after two weeks, and some of the colors of the notes run when wet.

From the Columns, May/June 2007: The Wisconsin Historical Society now has military newspapers and newsletters on microfilm from American bases around the world from World War II to Iraq. This collection makes up more than 300 reels of microfilm.

Queries are published free to members of FCGW. Be concise, but provide as much pertinent information as possible.

ITEMS FOR SALE

Back Issues of Quarterly, \$3.00 each plus \$2.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the Quarterly, (Juneau), \$4.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the Quarterly, (Rebellion Losses), \$5.00; plus \$2.00 postage and handling

Surname Lists, \$3.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling

We Remember \$8.00 plus \$2.00 postage and handling
All name Quarterly Index for Vols 1-10, \$5.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling
All name Quarterly Index for Vols 11-17, \$5.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

Packet of 39 genealogy forms, \$4.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling
Loiselle Search—One marriage from Loiselle Index, \$2.00 plus S.A.S.E
T-Shirts: M,L,XL \$15.00; XXL \$17.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

FCGW RECYCLING INK CARTRIDGES



Recycle Inkjet _ Reduce Pollution _ Raise Funds

What to do:

1. Most of us have inkjet printers at home or work. Next time when you have an empty cartridge, don't throw it away.
2. Just put it in a Ziploc bag or the original cartridge box and bring it to **AN FCGW MEETING** and place in the special recycle box near the library.

OR

Send a note to FCGW, PO BOX 414, HALES CORNERS, WI 53130-0414, and we will send you some postage-free envelopes to send your empties directly to the recycler. FCGW will get the credit.

Benefit to the FCGW: The FCGW will be paid up to \$4.00 for each cartridge with a print head.

Benefits to our community:

- Reduce pollution. Cartridges do not decompose for 1,000 years.
- Save energy. Empty ones can be remanufactured and reused.
- No buying, no selling, no burden to anyone.

Which cartridges:

- Cartridges with a print head are qualified for payment. That includes most of **Hewlett Packard, Lexmark, Compaq, Canon, Dell, Brother, and Apple.**
- Cartridges without a print head do not qualify for payment. That includes all **Epson.**
- If you cannot tell the difference, bring it in anyways.

If everybody helps. We can make a difference.

- You can also get empties from friends, neighbors, and small businesses.
- On average, a person uses 2 cartridges a year.
- The potential is huge.