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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND CANADA

Joyce Banachowski

Background – Seven Years War and American Revolutionary War

In 1760, General Montcalm was defeated at Quebec by General Wolfe. In February, 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Canada was now an English colony. The British occupied and took control of New France and Acadia from the French, but the population still continued to feel connected to their former king and homeland, France.

French citizens were not allowed to visit Canada. However, French born Canadians could travel to France in peacetime just as other free-born British subjects. A large number of Canadians moved to France after 1763. In fact there was a great deal of traveling back and forth across the Atlantic. This lasted until 1793. The king of France, Louis XV, had allowed these self-exiled Canadians to settle along the banks of the Loire River and formed a "Little Canada". Whenever necessary, those who settled in "Little Canada" returned to Canada to take care of their affairs, and the Canadians who remained in the colony visited France when they chose to. Nuns and priests also kept close contact with France. There was a constant exchange between them and the officials of their orders in France. The weekly newspaper of Quebec and Montreal provided information on what was developing and happening in France.[1] Although it took about three months for information to get to them, Canadians were interested in keeping up on current events and political changes.

Shortly after the fall of Quebec, conflict between England and their American colonies began and in 1776, the American colonies declared their independence. Attempts were made to convince Quebec to join as the fourteenth colony. Some individual French Canadians joined the thirteen colonies in their revolt against England. The Canadians were wanting some independence of France for the same reasons that the Americans were rebelling against the English. However, Quebec never joined the American cause. After the French and Indian War, the Canadians had enough war and were afraid of a new one. In addition, they had become fairly independent under Britain. They were allowed to keep their language, their religion, their currency

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[1] Galarneau, Claude,'The Black Mark Against France," in *Horizon Canada*, pp. 2648-2649.

and their customs.[2] The English did not interfere much in Canada; they were monarchists, not republicans and the church encouraged them to remain loyal to England. Bishop Jean-Olivier Briand, bishop of Quebec from 1766-1794, in one of his sermons on 22 May 1775, warned those who failed in taking an oath of allegiance. In 1775, Arnold and Montgomery, two American officers, invaded Canada and in December1775, attacked Quebec city. The following spring they withdrew because the English fleet appeared and the population was against the Americans. Lafayette, Rochambeau and de Grasse, from France came to help the American cause. In 1781, they had an army of 8,000 men. Lafayette encouraged Washington to attack Canada in the name of France in an effort to get the Canadians to join their cause. Washngton refused. He did not care to make an enemy of the neighboring country. In 1783, when the Treaty of Paris was signed granting independence to the Americans, 5,800 Loyalists and 800 regulars went into Canada to settle on the Upper St. Lawrence. They did not like livng under French civil law or the

2 Tétu, Michel, "Quebec and the French Revolution," in *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, p. 2.

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seigneurial system, and therefore, wanted their own district.[3]

At first, the French Canadians, were very much in favor of the French Revolution. They loved their king, but believed there was far too much corruption. They hoped order to France would be established. The Canadians hoped for a Constitutional monarchy. When the Declaration of the Rights of Man (26 August 1789) and the renunciation by the nobility of its privileges—tax exemptions and feudal rights (4 August 1789) — were passed, the Canadians were elated.[4] They had hopes that the French Revolutionaries would successfully gain rights, maintain their monarchy and take Canada back from the English. Most of the Canadians of Quebec were sympathetic with the French Revolutionaries. Some went so far as to bring the French Revolution to Quebec. Genêt and Méziere were two men who worked together to bring about the Revolution in Quebec.

Genêt and Mézière

Edmond Charles Genêt called "Citizen Genêt "in the United States was the first minister of the Republic of France to the United States. He was interested in bringing the French Revolution to Quebec. France realized war with Great Britain was inevitable. (France declared war on England on 1 February 1793.) Spain saw the French Revolution as a means of weakening France and England in North America. Genêt was to assure Congress that if there were a war between France and England, and if the United States were willing to take

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Meetings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Center, G110, at Mayfair Shopping Mall. 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.

11 November 2010: Joyce Banachowski on Land Laws in the United States. Library will be open for research.

9 December 2010: Library will be open for research and help.

13 January 2011: Library will be open for research and help.

10 February 2011: Pea Soup and Johnny Cake Meeting

Canada and Nova Scotia, a French fleet would be sent with landing forces and commanders who would be willing to combine with the American troops.[5] Together, they would initiate the Revolution in Quebec.

Henri Mézière was to be the official liason of the French fleet to the French Canadian population. He received the commission from Genêt, France's revolutionary ambassador to the United States. On 5 October 1793, Mézière left New York to begin a new North American Revolution and create a

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3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

5 Bumsted, J.M., ed., "Quebec and the French Revolution," *Canadian History Before Confederation*, p. 229.

republican alliance between France and America which would end British monarchs in North America.[6]

Henri Mézière was born 6 December 1772 at Montreal. His father, Pierre, had migrated to Canada in 1753 and was a notary and lawyer at Montreal. After leaving the College of Montreal in 1788, Henri became interested in the philosophical works of Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire and other philosophers who influenced him in accepting their revolutionary views. He said, "I devoured their works, which taught me to know my duties and rights; they ripened in me a hatred of civil and religious despotism."[7] The outbreak of the French revolution strengthened his beliefs.

Henri wrote for the printer, Fleury Mesplet, who published a newspaper which was the center of republicanism in Quebec. After awhile, Henri Mézière felt Mesplet was becoming "uneasy" with him. Mézière realized the government would soon be after him. In May of 1793, Henri Mézière decided to leave Canada. He had decided to leave the country and join the French Revolutionaries to seek the liberty he did not have in Canada. After walking for three weeks, he arrived in Philadelphia, looking for a job with Genêt to get passage money to France.[8]

Genêt and Mézière complemented each other. Mézière wrote a memorandum for Genêt which pointed out the weaknesses of the British in Quebec. They had only 6,000 men to defend Canada's borders. Fortifications were poor and the militia would be no threat. There was dissension between the militia and officers. He felt the 1791 Constitution was given to them only because of the French Revolution. The Assembly had fought to use their French language and if the governor's veto power was not ended, the Canadians would be willing to get rid of their tyrannical British king.[9]

In addition he gave other motives for revolt. Peasants were flogged for not giving way on winter roads with heavily loaded sleighs to English officers taking prostitutes for a ride; There were evictions from homes to allow Haldimand to build a Chateau; offices were given to Englishmen; the English held a monopoly of export and import trade, and they objected to the practice of *corvées*.[10] (The population was required to provide free labor, tools and horses for road building and at times for construction of bridges, highways, and public buildings).

Mézière felt strongly there would be backing for a Revolution. He was sure that Canadian ignorance, prejudices and their clergy were the obstacles to their freedom. However, he said the townspeople had all the philosophical works and they read them, the French Gazettes and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. They sang patriotic songs at the opening of a "Club of Patriots" which had two hundred members in 1792. The Club had defied the government by discussing French affairs which had been forbidden. He was confident the Canadians were

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6 Reynolds, Mark, "Citizen Méziière, *The Beaver*, p. 29.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

8 Bumsted, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

enlightened to their natural rights; they assembled, talked about the news and rejoiced when things were favorable to the French. Canadians loved the French and he was sure the Canadians would not fire against Frenchmen who came to liberate them; Lower Canada, with 60,000 French would easily crush 24,000 Englishmen. He was confident they would be anxious to side with the revolutionists.[11]

In an article from the *Quebec Gazette*, Mesplet stated "The cause of the Revolution has ...definitely succeeded in destroying the structures of the *ancien regime*; present and future problems for France will involve establishing new institutions and meeting the urgent needs that the representatives of the people have given themselves the power to solve."[12] From 1789-1792, the population of Quebec generally agreed with Fleury Mesplet, editor of the *Quebec Gazette.*

When Genêt met Mézière, he decided Mézière would be more useful in North America than sending him to France. The two could work together to eliminate the British from North America. Mézière would plan the operation. In the summer of 1793, Mézière went to Cumberland Head, New York on Lake Champlain with $400 for his mission. He set up in an inn owned by another French Canadian, Jacques Rous, who had been hired as a courier. Rous's first mission was to open communications to bring Canada and the United States closer together in an alliance to free Quebec and defeat the British.[13] Rous was to learn how well provisioned the Canadians were, to distribute patriotic pamphlets, songs and bulletins of the legislative body of the French Revolutionists, and deliver an address to Canadians of Montreal about grievances of the French Canadians, — demanding political offices for Canadians, ending of trade monopoly, schools in every parish, elected priests and the removal of seigneurial rights. He also called for Canadians to arm themselves. Rous returned to Mézière, informing him that the British knew about Mézière's mission and he would be arrested if he crossed into Canada and that his friends were afraid to communicate with him. Mézière attributed it to their ignorance and slavery but he believed they would 'come around' in time. Rous also reported that the British navy ships of Montreal had gone to Halifax leaving the St. Lawrence unprotected. However, Mézière was not yet ready to attack Canada.[14]

Meanwhile a rebellion in Santo Domingo had forced the French fleet who were there, to leave. They went to New York. Genêt saw this as an opportunity to have these ships available. Genêt sent a letter to France, stating his intentions of using these ships to pillage and burn Halifax, retake St. Pierre and Miquelon from the British and to sail up the St. Lawrence freeing the long suffering Canadians and take control. On 5 October 1793, Mézière left New York on board the l'Ecole. The L'Ecole was accompanied by twelve other ships; they were to provide arms and leadership to the Canadians of

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

12 Tétu, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

13 Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

14 *Ibid.*

Lower Canada. However, in mid ocean, the crew convinced Genêt and Mézière to abandon the mission which had no plan or support for an attack on Quebec; it was not a practical idea. At the time, the Canadians were not very likely to give any support. Instead, L'Ecole turned toward France arriving in Brest, France in November 1793.[15]

The British in Canada saw this attempt as a threat and the legislature passed the Alien and Sedition Act plus a second bill which would allow the militia to be called. In 1794, many colonists refused to turn out for the militia. They feared this would be a deportation of men age 18-60 to fight over-seas. This was the beginning of their fear of conscription.[16] The passage of these two bills caused some of the Canadians to ban together.

In May 1794, Governor Dorchester of Quebec called up the militia of 2,000, because of a threat of an American invasion on the Vermont border. At Quebec, the men broke rank and refused to serve or be commanded. Riots developed. There were rumors that farmers would be drafted to fight for the British overseas. At Charlesbourg and Beauport, a mob of 300 men armed themselves with muskets, hunting knives, hayforks and flails. The armed mob patrolled the town to fight British agents who were to enlist them. A group in Montreal also met to resist the militia order. At Côté-des-Neiges near Montreal, a group formed because it was reported they were to be disarmed and men would be forced to be soldiers. By the end of the year, the ringleaders were arrested; the militia act was not enforced and the protests died down.[17]

In early 1794, France's idea of taking Canada had been abandoned. The United States government was angered at Genêt for his disregard for American sovereignty and diplomatic protocal and requested that Genêt be recalled. He was replaced by Fauchet who was ordered to respect American neutrality. Genêt feared he would be put on the guillotine if he returned to France. He pleaded his case and received permission to remain in America. He became a farmer.[18]

Mézière remained in France as a city official in Bordeaux. In 1816, by using family connections, he returned to Canada and took an oath of loyalty to the British king. In 1818 he founded *L'Aberille Canadienne*, a literary and philosophical periodical. [19]

English Fear of Canadian Revolt

Between 1789 and 1792, the population of Quebec was in favor of the French Revolution and its principles. Britain had feared the French Canadians sympathetic to the French Revolution could decide to revolt against the monarchy of Britain. The government wanted to avoid any confrontations or tensions, They wanted to prevent the Revolutionary fervor from reaching Canada. They were willing to give the colony a part in their own legislative process. In1791, the Constitutional Act was passed. Britain decided to divide Canada into two

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15 *Ibid.*,pp. 32-33.

16 Galarneau, *op. cit.*, p. 2662.

17 Wade, Mason, "Quebec and the French Revolution of 1789: The Missions of Henri Mézière," *Canadian Historical Review*, pp. 366-367.

18 Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

19 *Ibid.*

parts—Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec). The English in the west and the French in the east could both be recognized and both could live separately but yet be loyal to England. Each province would have its own elected assembly, appointed legislative council and a lieutenant governor who would be the executive. They could govern according to their individual beliefs.[20]

By the end of 1792, things began to change. The French Revolution had become more violent. Priests and nuns (two were Canadians) in a Carmelite convent were put to death. On 2-3 September 1792, one thousand prisoners, —250 were priests— were executed after a mock trial. One of the Canadian priests who was a victim was André Grasset at Sens, not far from Paris. He was born in Montreal in 1758 and moved to France with his family when he was young. The French Revolution had turned bloody and violent. The French Canadian who had been in favor of liberation, the Rights of Man, and equality of the French Revolution became disgusted. April 1792, the French went to war against Austria and Prussia. On 21 September 1792, the monarchy of France was abolished. Louis XVI was tried that winter. On 21 January 1793, Louis XVI was executed on the guillotine; France declared war on Britain on the 1st of February1793, and in July 1793, the Reign of Terror began. (May 1793, The population of Quebec heard of the death of Louis XVI and in June 1793, they heard that war had been declared between France and England.) By spring of 1793, the vast majority of Canadians felt the revolutionaries were nothing more than murderers.[21]

In 1792, the Bishop of Quebec, Jean-Francois Hubert, opposed what he called "the revolutionary 'disease' to Canada". He warned that the colony was not safe from the "sickness" afflicting Europe. He said, "It is introduced into this country by a large number of wicked books, and along with them a spirit of inquiry and independence which can only have fatal consequences."[22] In November 1793, Bishop Hubert sent a circular to the priests of his diocese. He was concerned about the attitude of the clergy and "habitants" in the threatened invasion by the French fleet from New York. He felt that now the bonds with France had been broken and all their loyalty and obedience belonged to the British king. Falling into the hands of the revolutionaries would be the worst evil.[23]

On 24 April 1793, Lieutenant Governor Clarke proclaimed that the population was at war with the Revolution, but he did not ask them to go to war against France.

On 9 November 1793, Monseignor Denaut had reminded the population of the loyalty they owed to England. He gave six reasons:[24]

1. The surrender of Quebec in 1759 and of Montreal in 1760 and the Peace Treaty of 1763 broke all ties with France.

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20 Têtu, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

21 Galarneau, *op. cit.*, p. 2651.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 2650.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 2652.

24 Têtu, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

2. The oath was given by themselves or their representatives to England.

3. The British government had been "full of humanity, gentleness and beneficence" toward them.

4. They were allowed to keep their faith.

5. The attitude and attachments they had over the last few years with the French now had changed. It had become death or exile of honorable citizens and that the life of their king on the guillotine brought about disgust and indignation throughout Europe. "The most unfortunate occurrence that could happen in Canada would be to welcome these revolutionaries."

6. Due to these circumstances, the government and French of Quebec was interested in keeping the French out of this province. Anyone who was interested in preservation of his freedom, laws, moral standards and religion would be interested.

In 1794, there were 25,000 English and 150,000 Canadians in Lower Canada. The English still feared the Revolution would reach Canada and gain support. The population who were strong royalists were constantly reminded of the deaths of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. They swore an oath to the King of England, but they were still faithful to their French king. They also feared the United States.[25]

After a visit to Canada, Comte Colbert de Maulevrier warned the government that a portion of the population was still somewhat attached to the French and refused to believe in the horrors of the Revolution and the executions of the king and Marïe Antoinette; they believed these to be lies of the English.[26]

The British believed revolutionary French agents were active in Canada causing dissension. They adopted a policy of reminding the population of the horrors of the French Revolution and of being on the alert for spies.

The population was reminded of the massacres of priests and nobles and the ransacking of property. The Canadians remained attached to their seigneurial system. They did not view them like the feudal lords of France. Often, Canadians had been given a piece of land to manage.

The English passed laws to prevent anyone from France to enter Canada by sea, land or the United States.

There was a fear of the French fleet. A French fleet had mutinied in Santo Domingo and headed for the United States. Its purpose actually was to bring the Revolution to North America. England spread stories about the autrocities which the mutineers would commit.[27]

Believing the French had agents in Canada, the British strongly encouraged spying and informing on suspicious activities. As a result, in 1797, David McLane, an American citizen who called himself a wood merchant or a French general, was tricked into going into Quebec by some British Canadians. The latter reported him and he was caught and accused of being a spy. At his trial he was accused of plotting to kill the

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25 Tétu,, *op. cit.* p. 4.

26 Galarneau, *op. cit.*, p. 2652.

27 Tétu, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

king. He was tried, found quilty and hanged. Because he was an American and not a Frenchman, it was acceptable to the population. In reality, he was a simpleton, not a conspirator. The authorities wanted the public to know they 'meant business'.[28]

The English strengthened their hold on the clergy who became stronger counter-revolutionary. In church the "Te Deum" would be sung in celebration of the English victories over Napoleon in 1798, 1802, 1804, and 1812. From 1806-1825, Bishop of Quebec, Joseph-Octave Plessis, spoke against the "monstrous principles of the revolution" and considered Great Britain as defender of French Canada against oppression.

The arrival of French immigrants in Canada, especially priests, helped England. Many of these priests stayed with the French Canadians and did not go to convert Indians as had been done during the *ancien* French regime. The church was pleased. They helped to create the myth that the English conquest of Canada before the French Revolution was an Act of Providence and allowed Canadians to save their souls and escape the French Revolution. The Canadians accepted it and believed they had saved their property. William Smith, a New York loyalist and Chief Justicc of Quebec from 1786 -1793 was the first person to suggest that the British conquest of Canada was providence because the colony did not have to face the horrors and terrors of the French Revolution.[29]

The French Revolution had excited the Canadians by their Declaration of Rights of Man, but it ended up aiding the English who reinforced their power and assisted the church which was a major influence in Quebec in the nineteenth century.

Some Canadians did resist. They felt the English had taken advantage of them. The 1791 law, which they welcomed at first was not what they thought it would be. Protests followed. In May 1794, when the British established a militia to protect the colony, Canadians refused to register. They were afraid of drafting (conscription). In 1796, the English attempted to pass a public works act to force the Canadians to maintain the road in front of their houses. Canadians refused to build a part of the road.[30]

From 1793-1815, authorities in Canada were watching for revolutionaries. In the fall of 1793, authorities were warned of Genêt's orders to stir up Canadians and Americans against the British. The British used the fears of the people to keep them in line. The Canadians were Royalists and highly respected the clergy and nobility. Canadians were constantly being reminded of the royal executions, the massacres of French nobles and the deaths of Canadian priests in Paris in 1792.[31]

Many of the patriotic leaders of the American colonies were followers of the ideals of French philosophers — declarations of rights of man, self - government, independence, equality, liberty, and brotherhood. This philosophical attitude was spreading through Europe as well. Many Canadians fought for the American

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28 Galarneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 2652-2653.

29 *Ibid.* p. 2653.

30 Tétu, *op. cit.* p. 5.

31 Galarneau, op. cit., p. 2651.

cause. Military leaders, Von Steuben and de Kalb, from the German States, Kosciusko and Pulaski from Poland and La Fayette, de Grasse and Rochambeau with the French navy from France had provided leadership and aid to the American Revolution. They retuned to Europe to fight in their respective countries for the same ideals. The French Revolution started in 1789, only a few years after the American Revolution was over. It started in the same year the United States was formed under the Constitution.

The Canadians backed the French Revolution until it began executions of nuns and priests, royalists or any groups who they suspected opposed them, who did not agree with them or who were suspected of any contact with any one in opposition to them.

Yet, the early ideals of the French Revolution were instilled in the Canadians. They had hoped for some kind of Constitutional monarchy. They wanted rights and a bigger part in their government. In 1834, *Le Partti Canadian* (The Canadian Party) received 77 per cent of the vote. This led to Louis-Joseph-Papineau's request of the British governor to allow the Assembly of Lower Canada be a completely responsible government. Instead the governor refused to convene the Assembly. The Canadians responded by organizing assemblies at village, county and provincial levels. The leaders escaped to the United States. Many patriots died. Many were imprisoned. Others were executed. Several villages were sacked and burned. This Rebellion 1837-1838 was not successful, but for many, the idea of liberty continued into the twentieth century.[32]

Refugees to England

When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, there was a real fear that the revolutionary attitude would spread to the monarchies of Europe. Everyone was looking for ways to stop its extension. In France anyone who was in favor of the king or the church was a target for the revolutionaries. Thousands of people who clung to their beliefs or loyalties left France and sought refuge in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, etc. Thousands alone fled to England and the Jersey and Guernsey Islands. Between 1793 and 1802, eight thousand clergy had gone to England. A smaller number had left when the Revolution broke out in 1789. Many more left when their lives were threatened for not accepting the passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in May, 1790 and the execution of the king in January 1793. Priests, nobles and Royalists sought refuge in other countries, primarily in Great Britain. From there, forty-five clergy found refuge in French Canada and a royalist group of refugees helped by the British government found their way to York, Upper Canada.

Some came to the United States as well. Immigration to the United States paralleled that of the Sulpicians from 1791 to 1802. In this same period when forty-five priests went into Canada, twenty-nine priests had arrived in Baltimore. Some of these priests became bishops in the United States — Flaget at Louisville, Cheverus at Boston, Maréchal at Baltimore, Dubois at New

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32 Tétu, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

York and David at Bardstown.[33] Some of these priests arrived in Baltimore and later received permission to go to Canada, some immediately and some years later. Périnault left Saint Malo, France in Fall of 1791 in a small ship chartered by the Sulpicians and arrived in Baltimore where they built a seminary. This is where he finished his studies in theology. In 1794, he was in Quebec. Two other priests destined for Canada arrived in Baltimore in 1792—Jean-Baptiste Chicoineau on 29 March 1792 and François Ciquad on 24 June 1792. In 1797, Mgr de la Marche who provided information and helped arrange for passports, transportation, identification letters etc. for the refugees, wrote to Governor Dorchester about four Sulpicians and a seminarian who were in the United States and were waiting to be allowed into Canada. Only two of them —Antoine Jacques Houdet and Jean-Baptiste Chicoineau were allowed to return to Canada. The others were held by the United States.[34]

On 29 May 1790, the French National Assembly passed "The Civil Constitution of the clergy" to which all clergy —bishops, priests, religious orders etc, were to swear obedience to it. This meant they would denounce the pope and accept schism and heresy. All who refused were sentenced to prison or death. Only four of 135 bishops swore obedience. About 50,000 priests in France refused to take the oath. The executions began in Paris. Some were executed by the axe or guillotine, murdered in the streets, starved or drowned. Churches, convents and monasteries were plundered. Great Britain opened its ports to the fleeing religious and royalist refugees from France.[35]

By the end of August 1792, the monarchy of Louis XVI was ended; he was forced to accept the 1789 Declaration of Rights of Man and was imprisoned. Even though England was a Protestant country with a Protestant king, they welcomed the Catholic and Royalist refugees into their country and assisted them in every way possible. Between 1792-1799, increasing numbers of *emigrés* were pouring into England. Committees were formed. Money and goods was raised by national subscriptions. Refugees were welcomed everywhere. English nobility opened the upper levels of their homes to them. The British government gave them several homes to occupy. On 4 November 1792, King George III opened the Royal Palace at Windsor where they cared for 700 priests. By this time they had over 5000 exiled priests or royalist laymen in the British Isles. Edmund Burke, an Irish orator who befriended the *emigrés* funded a Catholic school for French orphans whose fathers had been executed on the guillotine or who died during the revolutionary wars. The government donated 600 £'s a year to the school. By the end of 1792, two million dollars were collected by subscription to aid the French refugees. Between 1792 and 1802, an additional

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33 Dooner, Brother Alfred, "The Windham or 'Oakridge' Settlements of French Royalists in York County, Upper Canada, 1798, " *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report*, p. 11.

34 Dionne, Narcisse-Eutrope, *op. cit.*,pp. 93-97. The three who were held in the U. S. were MM Jean Gaspard de Saint-Felix, Pierre Bonyer and Louis Cahier de Lavau.

35 Dooner, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

ten million dollars had been collected by subscription for them.[36]

Although England was a Protestant country, they allowed the priests to celebrate mass in London whenever they wished and they were also allowed to build Catholic churches and chapels with money sent to them from France or from the Sulpician fathers of Canada.[37] (This was 35 years before England allowed the Catholic religion)

As the numbers increased and as time went on, it became more and more difficult to feed, clothe and house these refugees. Many of the French nobles were in dire need, but were too proud to accept alms. Chateau related that he was so hungry he would suck pieces of linen warmed in water and chewed grass and paper. He had no sheets and on cold nights he used his coat and chair on his bed to keep warm. Yet, he was too proud to ask for help.[38]

Both religious and nobles had to look for means to make a living. Some taught French or Latin, others became tutors to private families, academies and boarding schools. Some taught math, science or music. Others became merchants, soldiers, shoemakers, hat makers, clerks or workmen in factories or on farms. French nobility women did needlework, hemming, stitching or sewing or were piano teachers or taught in women's colleges.[39]

About 1800, the exiles started a movement to return to France from England.

The Clergy Refugees

Already in 1793, the British government was considering the possibility of sending some of the French refugees to Canada. Bishop Hubert was in need of priests in seminaries and parishes of Quebec and the missions throughout North America. The British government had not permitted French priests to go to Lower Canada. No priests had been ordained in Canada between 1758-1765 because the British government had not permitted the appointment of a Catholic Bishop to Quebec after the death of Bishop de Pontbriand in Montreal in June 1760. On 28 June 1766, Bishop Briand arrived in Quebec. The French population refused to accept English priests and the governor did not allow English priests to preach. There were only 140 priests to serve 150,000 Canadians of Quebec.[40]

In 1796, Major General Robert Prescott came to Canada as governor. He was against allowing French priests to come to Canada for two reasons. Their coming could prevent Canadian priests from being promoted to higher positions and their coming could cause new links to be established between Canada and France.[41]

The rising cost to maintain the refugees changed the attitude of the British government. They now saw the need for clergy in Canada as a solution and were willing to give financial help. The British government decided to send three clergymen—Fathers Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins, Jean-André Raimbault and

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36 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

41 Dionne, Narcisse-Eutrope, *Les Ecclésiastiques et les Royalists au Canada* ... p. 98.

Pierre Gazel to go to Quebec to plan, locate and arrange for a place for other clergy to follow. A layman, Francois Josué de la Corne de St-Luc, of the Royal Order of St. Louis was to accompany them.[42]

During the French Revolution—l'abbé Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins, his brother cadet, l'abbé Louis-Joseph Desplantes Desjardins, and l'abbé Pierre Gazel had received refuge in England in 1792. With the help of Edmund Burke and the bishop of Saint-Pol de Léon the English government approved of their suggestion to emigrate to Canada and also offered help. Accompanying them was a Canadian le chevalier François-Josué de La Corne, captain of the emigrant's ship in England and abbés Gazel, Raimbault, and Desardins. They left from Falmouth on 8 February 1793 to New York, then by land to Montreal and Quebec arriving on 2 March 1793.[43] They were welcomed by the Lieutenant Governor, Major General Alured Clarke, and Bishop Hubert.

Expecting there would be hundreds and possibly thousands of clergy and an equal number of nobles and other royalists with their families and servants, they began immediately to make preparations. Some would be assigned almost immediately in parishes, missions and religious communities. Upon arrival the clergy would be housed at the Jesuit College and houses, at the convents of the Récollets at Quebec, Trois Rivières and Montreal and at the Sulpician Seminary. The Quebec government was giving two entire townships which would be farming colonies where hundreds of priests would be divided into community groups of 20-30 under a superior.[44]

The non-religious refugees would be housed in barracks at Sorel, Yamichiche and other towns in the surrounding area. On 11 May 1793, Abbé Desjardins wrote to John Graves Simcoe, governor of Upper Canada, asking as part of his plan, for French refugees to be allowed to settle in Upper Canada. Simcoe was very willing for the nobility, laymen and clergy of France to establish themselves in Upper Canada. On the 3rd of August, Desjardins, and de la Corne met with Governor Simcoe at his home in Niagara and stayed there three weeks. They decided that a spot on the shores of Burlington Bay was a good spot for the new refugee settlement. On their return to Quebec, Desjardins and de la Corne stopped in York, where the foundations of a new capital were being laid by Simcoe.[45]

The clergy were the first and largest group of refugees from the French Revolution to come to Canada. At the time they came, there were less than150 priests in Canada. However, there were not the large numbers of refugee clergy as had been expected. They arrived between 1792 and1815. Forty-five French priests went to Lower Canada. Forty settled permanently.[46] They were warmly welcomed. The population sympathized with the French priests who had given up their families and country rather than renounce their religion.

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42 Dooner, *op. cit.*, p. 14..

43 "Quelques Prêtres Français En exile Au Canada," *Rapporte de Archives de Province de Quebec,* pp. 41-42.

44 Dooner, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

45 *Ibid,,* p. 15.

46 Tétu, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Most of them were Sulpicians; they settled around Lac St. Pierre near Trois Rivières. The area was called "La Peite France". Some of those who were at "La Petite France" were Raimbault, Le Jamtel Bloutiere, Ciquard, Fournier, Coustin, Orfroy, Joyer and Gilbert. These priests stayed with the Canadians and did not go into the interior to convert the Indians. Most of those who came had good reputations. One was the brother of a minister of Louis XVI.[47]

However, there was one who was not respectable. Father Jacques de La Vaivre became chaplain of the Ursulines at Trois Rivières. He and Mother Sainte-Anne took off together and went to Baltimore. In 1803, he left Mother Sainte-Anne in a community and abandoned her there and he returned to France. She followed him to France. In Paris, he placed her in another community and he joined Napoleon's army.[48]

After his return to France in 1802, abbé Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins collected more than151 Italian, Flemish, Dutch, French and English paintings from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries which had been taken from the monasteries and convents during the French Revolution. He and his younger brother, a Quebec priest, made sure these works of art arrived safely in Lower Canada.[49] They were placed in several churches. This started a new kind of holy art in Canada as well as new subject matter —still lifes, historical subjects and different approaches to landscape—which was new to Quebec painters.[50] Later abbé Desjardins was responsible for bringing other European paintings from 1816 onward to Quebec. Other paintings of this later period were bought by one of the early Canadian painters, Joseph Légaré, in 1817. He then established the first public art gallery in Canada.

Condemned to Deportation

The clergy of France escaped to other countries of Europe, primarily England and from there to Canada, the United States or other island colonies. Many of those who remained were persecuted, imprisoned and /or executed. On 5 September 1797, a new law was officially passed by the New French Republic government. It required all ministers of religion "taking the oath of hatred of royalty and fidelity to the Republic and the Constitution of 1795." Those who took the oath could do their work, and those who did not, were to be arrested and deported.

The Directory had the right to deport by order any priests who should trouble the public. The priests were arrested and deported for such crimes as corrupting the public mind by "royalising" the weak inhabitants of the country, preventing soldiers from rejoining their corps, for offering up prayers for the king and queen, for wearing his vestments and taking part in a procession outside the church, officiating at ceremonies without taking the oath, and a priest was arrested for ringing a bell in public to attract them to sermons.[51] Pope Pius VI

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47 *Ibid.* and Dionne, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

48 Galarneau, *op. cit.*, p. 2649.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 2653.

50 Tétu, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

51 Aulard, François-Alphonse, *The French Revolution: A Political history, 1789-1804, pp. 89, 91-93.*

died at Valance as a prisoner of the French Republic in 1800. Their purpose was to destroy the pope's temporal power and to reduce the number of royalist priests.[52]

The government had already started the deportations. Now they expanded its use to condemn the clergy to deportation. First they were sent to Rochefort, where they were imprisoned or sent on to île de Ré, to the île d'Orléron. or to Cayenne in Guyane (French Guiana).[53] Generally, Rochefort was their port of departure.

The number condemned to deportation by individual government orders were 1,448 in 1798 and 209 in 1799 and 1800 or a total of 1,657 in Old France. In the departments formed from the annexation of Belgium 8,235 were ordered to be deported.[54] Probably not all the priests were deported and it is not known how many were actually arrested. There seems to be no definite number or list of those who were deported and where. Some escaped. Others remained in prison in Rochefort. Others were deported to prisons on Ile de Ré or Ile d'Oléron and some were deported to Cayenne, French Guyane where many died. Not all of the ships destined to Cayenne arrived at their destination. Privateers or naval ships of enemy countries seized ships going to or coming from France.

Those who were arrested for deportation in 1798 were sent first to Rochefort. On 5 August 1798 they were then sent to Ile de Ré and then on 17 Jan to Ile d'Oléron. Those destined to Cayenne, French Guyane were sent later.[55]

We do know there were three convoys to Cayenne in 1798.

1. On 10 March1798, the frigate, La Charente, left Rochefort with 193 deported prisoners, 150 were ecclesiastics. The ship was attacked and dismasted by the English. The exiled prisoners were transferred to the Décode which landed them in Cayenne on 9 May 1798. They were settled at Conanama, an unhealthy spot. Less than two years later, there were thirteen left.[56]

2. On 5 July 1798, the Vaillant set sail with 51 deported prisoners of whom 25 were priests. The ship was seized by the English.[57]

On 7 August, Commander Pellow of the English ship, l'Infatigable, seized the Vaillant, a French corvette, on its way to Cayenne.[58] The commander treated the priests on board with courtesy. The priests were happy for he had saved them from sure death. The criminals were placed on the l'Infatigable and the twenty-five priests were confined to the Valliant which brought them to Plymouth, England. They joined the other *emigrés* already there. England became a second homeland to them.[59]

3. On the 10th of July the same year, the Bayonnaise set sail with 119 prisoners, 108 were priests. At first they were settled at Conanama, but were transferred to Sinnamary on 22 October

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52 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

57 *Ibid.*

58 Dionne, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

1798 where a majority died of illness. Those who did not embark at Rochefort were imprisoned at Rochefort, Ile de Ré, or Ile d'Oléron and underwent great suffering and a large number died.[60]

In 1800, the Dédaigneux was sent to Cayenne to repatriate the surviving clergy who had been deported. Only eighteen had survived. On their return when they neared the coast of Spain, they were spotted by English vessels. On 6 February 1801, Admiral Thomas Pasly wrote to the admiralty, informing them that the French frigate, Dédaigneux, was captured by l'Oiseau and le Sirius after a chase of forty-two hours and a cannonade of two hours, which resulted with the frigate surrendering. They had left Cayenne and were headed to Rochefort. They were captured four miles from Spain's shore. The eighteen priests arrived at Plymouth, England February 1801.[61]

On 6 October 1801, an English frigate, the Résistance, under the command of Captain H. Digley arrived in Quebec from Cayenne. It was accompanied by the French naval ship, l'Elizabeth, which was seized returning to France from Cayenne.

The vessel was carrying a cargo of cotton and wood stain. On board were eleven priests who were surprised to find themselves in a French port, Quebec.[62] A contagious illness had broken out among the crew on board the ship. Authorities would not allow any of the priests to step on shore except Nicolas-Aubin Thorel / Thoret / Thoreil who was quite ill. He was welcomed at the Hôpital-Général; the priest was in a pitiful state as well as his colleagues. The population and clergy could not understand why the remaining ten priests on board who had suffered many weeks of privation of all kinds, from 17 July to 6 October were denied the pleasure to visit Quebec, the bishop, clergy and some principal citizens. The population of Quebec was sympathetic to them and what they had gone through.[63]

Mgr. Plessis personally helped the ten priests in their circumstances, with clothing and linens. The legislature of Lower Canada appropriated 55£-13 shillings -11 pence for the expenses of the French priest, Thoret, prisoner of war, who was brought there 6 October 1801. He died and was buried at Hôpital-Gènèral on 22 January 1802 at the age of 47. He was from d'Ecouis, diocese of Rouen. .[64]

Before departure, two letters were written on board the Résistance, one dated 29 October with four of the priest's signatures and the other dated 30 October with the signatures of the other six priest's. They were sent to Mgr. Plessis. They were thanking the town for the treatment they received from the town and clergy. The Resistance stayed at Quebec past 30 October 1801. They returned to England that fall. Later, the ten priests returned to France.[65]

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60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

65 *Ibid.* pp. 109, 111-113. The ten other priests were: Alexis-Charles-François Ténèbre, Guillaume Porte, Jacques Bruss, René-Felix Chapelle de Jumilhac, François-Thomas Thévenet, Antoine-Pierre Plombat, Jean Ragneau /Ragneau, Marc-Antoine.

These were the same eleven priests who had been condemned to be deported from Rochefort to Cayenne in French Guyane (Guiana) on 5 September 1797. They were detained at the time of embarkation. After living in Guiana until 1801, it was decided these priests were to be repatriated. On their return to France, their ship was captured by an English privateer on 17 July 1801.[66]

Refugees From French West Indies

France had colonies in the West Indies —Martinique, Guadalope, Dominique (Santo Domingo), and Haiti. (Later a revolution broke out in Haiti.) As colonies of France, they were affected by the French Revolution. Unrest was developing by some who saw it as an opportunity to gain rights. Here too, there were French nobles, Royalists and laymen who were anxious to find refuge elsewhere. Some of them chose Canada.

In 1794, General Williamson had given M. le Baron du Roux, captain in an Emigrant Legion at St. Domingo, a passport and a letter of recommendation to go to Canada. Dorchester, Governor of Quebec, received him but had recommended that no other emigrants be sent from the West Indies.[67]

In 1795, the duc de Liancourt who was in Upper Canada applied to Governor Dorchester, for permission to settle in Lower Canada. Dorchester refused because he did not have special permission from the Secretary of State.[68]

On 22 April 1795, Henry Hamilton, Captain General and Commander in chief in and over the Island of Dominica appointed Louis Philibert Gabriel Marquis du Barail as the Commander of a Corp of Loyalists Emigrants from the West Indian Islands who were recently placed under the control of the French Convention. On the 3 May 1795, Hamilton wrote a letter to Governor Dorchester attesting to the services and rank of the Marquis du Barail who wishes to move to Canada because he no longer wants to be "the head of people who had taken upon them to think for themselves."[69]

This group of immigrants arrived in Quebec from Dominique on the *Susan Craigie*, a schooner, on the 10 July 1795. They were in poor condition. A subscription was started for their relief. They did not have their passports, but Dorchester feeling they were known, he lifted the regulations for four months giving them time to apply for regular permission to remain there or go elsewhere.[70]

La Abbé Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins was one of the priests who came to Quebec on 2 March 1793 with L"Abbe Pierre Gazelle and André Raimbault to help establish refugees in Canada. He worked diligently to bring refugees of the French Revolution to Canada.

In 1796, Abbé Desjardins wrote a letter To the governor of Quebec to permit some French Royalist refugees—le Marquis de Barrail, Jean-Jacques F. de Lepine, Georges Rolland, Lewis Mascou and Marie-Louis Beloue, a widow — from Dominique to settle in Quebec.

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66 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

67 "Royalists Français ...., p. 322.

68 *Ibid.*

69 *Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

They had arrived on the Susan Craigie in Quebec the 10 July 1795.[71]

Those who disembarked from the schooner on the 10th of July at Quebec were:

Louis-Philibert-Gabriel, Marquis du Barrail, age 45, born in Paris, was Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Guadaloupe; in 1790, he was an envoy for the Commander; he was head of Royalist volunteers who went with English troops to Martinique; two Negro servants were with him.

Jean-Jacques F. de Lepine / L'Epine born in Falaise, France, age 56, was a longtime at Guadeloupe as a government secretary and August 1791 received commission as the post Master General of Guadaloupe; known as a Royalist and was a refugee of Dominique; he was with a Negro man and a Mulatto woman and her child;

George Rolland, born in Dagen, France, age 20; He was a factor to an English Sugar House; He left France in 1790 because he was a royalist; he lived with du baron Clairfontaine at Guadeloupe and carried weapons for the English commander; 1794—he went with English troops to Dominique until he left for Canada.

Lewis / Louis Mascou, born in Guadaloupe, age 41, was a merchant and planter from St. Christophers, St. Eustalia and Martinique and had a pass from General Vanghan; he was persecuted because he was a royalist; he was in the army at the capture of Fleur-d'Epée by Generals Gray and Gervais; He was in danger and escaped with his wife and mother to St-Eustache.

Marie-Louise Beloue, a widow, born in Guadaloupe, age 27.[72]

Puisaye and the Windham Settlement

In July 1793, Simcoe's response to Desjardins was a willingness to accept French refugees in Upper Canada. He was very much in favor, stating there were locations on Lakes Ontario and Erie and along rivers which would be suitable for settlement. In addition, there already were Loyalist refugees from the American Revolution who would be very understanding and sympathetic to the victims of the French Revolution. After Desjardins and de la Corne's visit with Simcoe, they were impressed with Niagara and the beginning foundations of York, the new capital.

They were excited on the prospect of establishing a French Royalist Colony in Upper Canada. However, just like the clergy refugees, the thousands they expected did not come. Only a few came.

The proponent of a French Royalist colony in Upper Canada, Joseph Geneviève, Comte de Puisaye was dedicated to this goal. He had a fortune and spent a great deal on the proposed colony of *emigrés.* The British government promised to pay the expenses for this undertaking. The government also paid for the crossing of the ocean. Puisaye paid most of the other costs.[73]

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71 Royalists Français à Quebec en 1795, *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* pp. 323-324; 327-329.

72 *Ibid.,* pp. 323-324; 327-329.

73 Dooner, *op. cit,.* pp. 16-17.

Puisaye was born at Mortagne, Perche, France in 1755. He studied at the Paris Sulpician seminary and went into the military. In 1791, he was a colonel. He was against the revolutionists and left France in 1794 when a price was placed on his head. He went to England where he took part in a naval expedition in 1795 against the Jacobins at Quiberon on the French coast. It failed and he was exiled for life. In England, he married Suzanne Smithers. She died before they were to go to Canada.[74]

In England he proposed the establishment of a French military colony in Upper Canada for royalist refugees of the French Revolution. He recruited his friends. Once established the colony would be self supporting and could help defend Canada.

At first, hundreds were interested in joining the colony, but when the time came, only forty-four were ready to leave. They sailed from Portsmouth on a government ship, the Betsey, and arrived in Quebec 7 October 1798. Upon arrival, Puisaye and D'Allégre de St. Trone went overland to Montreal. The rest of the colonists went by boat with all of their possessions. On 18 October, they were in Montreal. A few days later, they left by cart to Lachine where a fleet of fourteen *bateaux* — two for passengers and twelve with furniture and possessions —took them to Upper Canada.[75]

On 29 October 1798, they arrived at Kingston, a town of a hundred brick, stone but mostly wood houses. The government stores supplied them with provisions, wood and candles while they were in Kingston. Because winter was approaching, it was suggested by Russell, who had replaced Simcoe in 1795, that some stay in Kingston and others in Niagara. York was still a village and unable to accommodate them. The harbor had been surveyed by Joseph Bouchette in 1793 and building started by Simcoe the following year.[76]

Lots were set apart by Russell on Yonge St., fifteen miles north of York, for Puisaye and his colonists. Puisaye named his colony, Windham, in honor of his friend who was the Secretary of War.

In preparation for the arrival of many more colonists which were expected to join the colony, the Executive Council of Upper Canada on 27 November 1798, had decided that three townships — Uxbridge, Gwillimbury and a third unnamed would be located north of Whitby for further colonists of Puisaye, and they proposed a town on Lake Ontario and granted Puisaye 5,000 Acres of land for it.[77]

Thirteen of Puisaye's colonists left Kingston and reached York on 25 December 1798. Among them were ten tradesmen to clear the forest and build the houses at Windham. They were Vicomte de Chalus, Captain de Poret and Lieutenant de la Richerie along with the tradesmen —Champagne, Fauchard, Polard, Renoult, Pipet, Furon, Le Bugle, Padioua, Segeant, and Nathaniel Thompson. Puisaye directed the work. The men worked seven days a week. On 14 February 1799, Chalus reported there were eighteen houses with the outsides

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74 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

finished as well as a church, Presbytery and school. In February, Letourneau and Rouin joined the tradesmen; in March, Farcy, St. George, Boiton and Marseuil joined them and in May, the Comte and Vicomtesse de Chalus and servants arrived. In the meantime, Peter Russell had furnished help, farm tools, seed, grain and other necessities.[78]

In June 1799, eighteen volunteer workmen from Quebec — Jean Baptiste Valiere, blacksmith, and his wife and six children; Benjamin Mainville, his wife and six children; Louis Garaux, blacksmith, and Marguerite Robinson joined the colony.[79]

Construction continued to go on at Windham, but the upper class French were not used to hard labor, or shortages of necessities as well as luxuries. They were discouraged. Puisaye had promised them a regiment of 1,000 French *emigrés* soldiers under the command of Puisaye which never occurred.

However, some hung on and settled Windham in spite of living in misery. On 11 October 1799, Lieutenant Governor, Peter Hunter wrote of the *emigrés* in Upper Canada. Five lived in Niagara and twenty were in Windham. In Windham, between forty and fifty acres had been cleared and Russell had granted rations to twenty-one workmen. Some of the workmen and the few soldiers who were there, left Windham and went to Montreal or the Illinois country and became involved in the fur trade.[80]

On 3 June 1802, only thirteen *émigrés* were at Windham. The settlement was now called "Oak Ridge". On 1 October 1806, Lieutenant Gore's letter stated that those who remained were farmers but not doing well because of their poor skills in clearing the land.

Like his colonists, Puisaye had stayed in York and in November, he and his own surveyor, Augustus Jones, went up Yonge St. and had his own land survey. He had not liked his location with high ridges, narrow swamps and areas without water. They finished their survey 4 January 1799. He did not settle in Windham. Instead he bought a farm in Niagara from Robert Isaac Dey Gray for 500 £. His mother-in-law who was his housekeeper, his brother-in-law, William Smithers, and his servant, Marchand, and Comte de Charles and John Thompson moved in with him.[81]

Being quite wealthy, he furnished his home with stylish carpets, mirrors, pictures, clocks, a library with 1,500 books, rugs, furniture, silver plate and the best wines from Europe. He had an orchard with apple, plum, peach, and pear trees. He raised horses, cattle, sheep, turkeys, hens, guinea fowl and built barns, sheds and improvements costing him 5,400 £. He also bought 300 acres of land which had salt wells. During the War of 1812, his heirs sold salt at $10.00 a barrel. He also bought a lot in York where he built a house.[82]

He lived at Niagara four years. On 1 February 1805, he sold his belongings. His home was sold to Quetton St. George and Farcy for a store and Comte de Charles took charge of the Windham settlement. Puisaye took a rowboat to Schenectady and then went on to New

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78 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

York with Mrs. Smithers, D'Allegre and St. George. St. George returned to Niagara with Puisaye's boat. The rest set sail for Europe on 8 July 1802. For the next ten years, Puisaye wrote his memoires and became an English subject. He changed his name to the Marquis de Brecourt. He never returned. On 13 December 1827, he died at Hammersmith, England.[83]

Why did Puisaye's colony at Windham fail? Those who accompanied Puisaye were noblemen and friends of Puisaye who were unaccustomed to hard labor. They had too few tradesmen to do the work. It became necessary to get volunteers from both Upper and Lower Canada. Some of them including their leader returned to England. A few stayed on and struggled. Some moved to nearby towns, others went to towns in Lower Canada; others were attracted by the furs of the west in the Illinois country. Others may have returned to France after Napoleon took control.

It is interesting, that no priests came along with Puisaye. Priests were wanted in Canada. Upper Canada had no objections to their coming.[84]

Vaux's Attempted Settlement

In 1793, the first *emigré* to apply for a grant of land in Canada for a settlement for the refugees was Charles-Grant Vicomte de Vaux. In 1777, during the American Revolution, he sent the ship, Comtesse de Brionne, with supplies he sold to the Americans. The following year his ship was captured but managed to escape. However, this incident convinced him to become a privateer for the American cause instead. He invested in seven privateering ships. At first he was successful in taking English vessels. Eventually, he lost all seven ships. Some of his ships had sunk in American waters, and he was near bankruptcy.[85]

In 1782, he wrote to the American Congress asking for some recompense in the form of unsettled land; On it he would start a colony for himself and others of his friends. He suggested the possibility of two parts, one in Connecticut and the other in Ohio. In return he would pay an annual rent and homage. He received no response. In 1789, the French Revolution broke out giving him another reason to leave, but his plan to come to the United States did not work out. In 1790, Vaux escaped to Scotland leaving his son, Romain, behind. He had family connections in Scotland. From there he went to the Island of Jersey as a refugee. In January 1793, he published a plan for a settlement in Canada in the Jersey *Gazette*.[86]

Vaux had little money, but he had family connections. In March 1794, he was promised a township and surrounding land. He had everything but money to get him and his friends there. He went to Pitt who promised to help him but not until the end of the war. In the meantime he decided to return to soldiering to support himself and family. About the same time the British government was considering the possibility of forming *emigré* regiments in Great Britain. Vaux

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83 *Ibid.*

84 The closest priest was in Windsor, 500 miles away and the missionary, Edmund Burke, who covered the 500 mile area from 1794-1801.

85 Weatherford, John, "The Vicomte de Vaux: Would-Be Canadian," *Ontario History,* p. 50.

86 *Ibid.,* pp. 51-52.

came up with the idea of combining his plan for colonization with formation of a regiment.[87]

At that time, getting an appointment as colonel did not give you a regiment. Vaux had to recruit, assemble, fit out, and train his regiment himself. For officers, he had his friends. Agents in Holland recruited French deserters. When the recruits were ready they waited in Holland while Vaux waited for instructions to land them at Portsmouth.[88] Unexpectedly, the Revolutionaries attacked his regiment in Holland, destroyed them and confiscated all their supplies. In spite of this failure, Vaux tried the military approach a second time, which also failed due to lack of finances.

In February 1798, he decided to improve his proposed settlement plans in Canada, and hoped it would get government support. His new settlement plan would include larger numbers of *emigrés*. For every twenty-five noble emigrants there would be seventy-five who would be workers. His colony would be based on organization and military discipline. Every hundred would compose one company. Four to six of the twenty five nobles and gentlemen in each company would be officers—a captain, lieutenant, a sub lieutenant and 1-3 ensigns— and the rest would be volunteers. Officers would be paid by rank. Volunteers would receive one shilling a day. Each worker would receive 25 acres of land plus an additional 25 acres for his wife and each child. Volunteers, sub-lieutenants and lieutenants would receive 100 acres and company commanders would receive 1,000 acres. They would also receive an additional 25 acres for a wife and each child. About 12,000 acres would be required for each company. The Companies would settle in different parts of the country. The commander of each company would be British. Vaux would be the landlord. After the settlements made a profit, each could pay him a small rent. In 1800, he was still in England writing books.[89]

In 1804, Vaux once again sought land in Upper Canada. The government had made land grants to Comte de Puisaye. It was recommended that Vaux be given a half township near Montreal and a half township near Lord Selkirk's land on the Trench River (Thames River) in Upper Canada. In January 1805, Lord Hobart had recommended that Vaux receive the same treatment as Puisaye had received.[90] On 15 January 1805, Peter Hunter, lieutenant governor of Upper Canada wrote to Camden recommending Vaux receive the same amount of land as Puisaye—1000 acres for him and 50 acres per each member and his family members.[91] This never happened.

Vaux was not wealthy; those who were, kept putting him off with financial backing; the British government gave none of the financial expenses Puisaye received. Puisaye was wealthy and yet received financial backing; he received two townships and rations for two years, the expenses of the expedition and for the cost of crossing the ocean. Vaux's dream of a settlement in Canada was lost because he was poor and financial backers feared taking a chance.

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87 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

91 Dionne, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

Members Of The Settlement of Windham

In 1797, when Puisaye applied to the English government to get land in Upper Canada to form a settlement, there were already thousands of refugees in England. He recruited almost five hundred who signed up to go to Canada when he applied. They included eight marquis, two bishops, one Benedictine monk, two priests, one doctor, six comtes, one baron, many marine officers, seven chevaliers de Saint-Louis, a princess, a countesse, a marqise, and lesser nobles plus engineers, captains and their families.

The government of Great Britain was willing to give financial help for the colonization plan. This would help to reduce the heavy costs of supporting the poor *emigrés* who were in England. All expenses for the first three years was to be advanced by the government. After that, the owners were to pay one-seventh of their crops to the Governor of Canada until the advance was paid off. The land was to be cleared by two military battalions. Two hundred were to be solely military. The rest were to clear land, construct buildings and barracks. There was to be only three to four hundred emigrants the first year.[92]

The plan looked good, but in reality, only forty-four left with Puisaye. Ten were lost in Plymouth, Quebec or Montreal. Four of the lost ten were replaced. There were thirty-eight remaining upon their arrival. Some returned to England a year later.

The information for the following list was extracted from the following three sources.

1. Brymer, Douglas, " French Royalists in Upper Canada,"

2. Dionne, Narcisse-Eutrope, *Les Ecclésiastiques et Les Royalists Français....*

3. Dooner, Alfred, "The Windham or "Oak Ridges" Settlement of French Royalists Refugees in York County, Upper Canada, 1798"
Full citations appear in the bibliography which follows the list.

In the ( ) following the name is additional information about him or her. The number of acres initially given each Royalist is in **bold type**. Later other grants and patents were given for additional land. These also appear in **bold type**.

The two last names are indicated by * . They were not on the list of those who left London, but they do appear on a list of those who abandoned the enterprise.

Royalists Who Went With Count Joseph de Puisaye

Lieutenant General Count de Joseph de Puisaye (lived at Niagara; **850 A.** at Windham, **300 A.** at Niagara + **300 A.** more; in 1834, two land patents of **190 A.** and **262 A.** were given via Rowland Winbourne to the Puisaye estate. It all went to his heirs.) **René Augustine Comte de Chalus**, Major General (lived at Niagara; **650 A;** His total grants were **4,650 A.** He sold his grants and returned to France after living in York or

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92 Carnochan, Janet, "The Count de Puisaye," *Ontario Historical society Papers and Records,"* p. 40.

Winham for 16 years.)
D'Allegre de St. Tronc, Colonel (He came to Canada from San Domingo; settled at Windham; **450 A**)
Jean de Beaupoil, Marquis de Sainte Aulaire, Colonel (had been a confidant of Louis XVI; 1799, he returned to Lower Canada with Coster de Saint-Victor; abandoned the project in 1800 and he returned to England)
Marchioness of Beaupoil (his wife; she and her son were still in Montreal in June1802.)
Hippolite De Beaupoil (their son, abandoned the project)
Gui de Beaupoil, Lieutenant (He had been a page in the court of Marie Antoinette; a cousin of Jean Beaupoil)
Viscount Jean-Louis de Chalus, Colonel (settled at Windham; **350 A.** & **650 A.**; later he received patents for **285 A** in 1806 and **47 A.** in 1807; his total accumulation of land was **5,000 A.**;)
Jean-Baptiste Coster de St. Victor, Colonel (He went to Lower Canada in 1799 with Jean de Beaupoil; abandoned the project in 1800 and returned to England with Jean Beaupoil)
Le Chevalier François De Marseuil, Lieutenant Colonel (settled at Windham, **300 A.**, He received other grants of land amounting to **4,965 A.** He was still in Canada in 1815 and married.)
Laurent Queton /Quetton de St. Georges, Lieutenant Colonel (he changed his name to St. George when he arrived in England because he was on top of the Republican's wanted list. He chose St. George because he arrived in England on the feast of St. George. He settled at Windham with **400 A.** He married a French Canadian, the sister of Judge Valliére de Réal. They had 2 children—Laurent Aurez & Marie. He left the development of his 400 A. to others and went into the fur trade. He opened up two trade stores, at Orilla and Niagara. He went into partnership with Ambroise de Farcy until 1805 when Farcy left Canada. When Farcy left, he hired Augustine Boiton to be in charge of his store in Kingston. 1805-1815, he lived in York. He left Windham in 1815 and returned to France and remarried. They had one son, Henry, born in 1820. His son, Laurent, attended the Jesuit College in Montreal and was a notary in Quebec. Henry went to Toronto in 1847 to claim his father's property which was **26,000 A.** in 1831.)
Augustin Boiton / Bolton de Fourgères, Captain (settled at Windham; by 1807, he was a Lieutenant Colonel; he took up residence in Kingston; he received in all **3,362 A.**; He returned to Europe in 1810.)
Ambrose / Ambroise De Farcy / Farcé du Roseray, Captain (settled at Windham, **350 A.**; he was in partnership with Puisaye in the fur trade and other commercial ventures; he was also in partnership with Quetton until 1805; In 1806, he received patents for three parcels of additional land, of **190 A.**, **95 A.**, and **52 A.**)
De Poret, Captain
Lambert de la Richerie, Lieutenant (settled at Windham)
Ste. Aulaire, Second Lieutenant (abandoned the project)
Champagne (a private; settled at Windham)
Nathaniel Thompson (servant; abandoned the project)
John Thompson (servant to Count de Puisaye; lived at Niagara)
John Ficerel (lost at Montreal; not replaced)
Thomas Jones (lost at Quebec, replaced by Boyer; servant; abandoned the project)

Boyer (a private; replacement for Thomas Jones; settled at Windham)
Joseph or John Donavant (lost at Quebec; not replaced; abandoned the project;)
Abraham or John Berne / Berm (a private; abandoned the project)
Padioux / Padiou or Le Drama (died at Windham)
Michel Fauchard (a private; settled at Windham, **100 A.** In July, 1807, he received a land patent for **95 A.**)
Francis Renoux / Renou / Renoult (a private ; settled at Windham, **150 A.**; in March 1820 he received a land patent for **157 A.**)
Michel Segent / Sejan / Saigeon (a private; settled at Windham; **150 A.**; in March 1820, he received two land patents for **95 A.** and **52 A.**)
Julien Le Bugle (a private; settled at Windham; **100 A.**; March 1808, he received a land patent for **105 A.**)
Auguste (a private; drowned in Quebec)
Polard (a private; settled at Windham)
René Letourneux dit L'angevin (a private; settled at Windham; in May 1807 he received a land patent for **95 A.**)
Françoise / Fanny Letourneux (his wife; settled at Windham)
Langel (a private; settled at Windham, **100 A.**)
Bagot (a private; abandoned the project)
René Fonquet dit Lacouille (lost at Plymouth)
Deybach dit Quiberon (a private; drowned at Quebec)
John Furon (a private; settled at Windham; **100 A.**; in Dec 1806, he received a land patent for an additional **95 A.**)
Brigage
James Marchand (a private; lived at Niagara; **100 A.**; in June 1820, he received a patent for **105 A.**)
William Smithers (servant; abandoned the project)
Madame Marquis de Beaupoil (abandoned the project)
Madame Viscountess De Chalus (settled at Windham)
Mrs. Smithers (housekeeper for Count de Puisaye, lived at Niagara; left with Puisaye)
Mary Donavant (lost in Quebec; replaced by Saly Robinson; abandoned the project; servant;)
Saly Robinson (a servant)
Catherine Donavant (lost in Quebec; replaced by Catherina; abandoned the project; servant;)
Catherina (a servant)
Betsy (a servant; lost in Plymouth; replaced by Barbe; abandoned the project)
***Lambert** (a private; abandoned the project)
***John Fitzgerald** (servant; abandoned the project)

Most of the wealthy returned to England or France, some a number of years after their arrival. Only a few of them sold their land when they left. It is interesting to note that in the nineteenth century, some of their children, descendants, or heirs came to Upper Canada and claimed those lands.

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LIST OF CLERGY WHO CAME TO CANADA

AS REFUGEES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Civil Constitution of the clergy was passed 29 May 1790 by the Revolutionist's National Assembly of France. All priests and other religious were required to swear allegiance and obedience to it. By swearing to it, they gave up the authority of the pope and accepted heresy and schism. All who did not swear to it were removed from their positions, persecuted, went to prison and put to death. The massacre began in Paris. Some were killed outright, others drowned or starved in wrecked, abandoned ships at the bottom of the Garonne and Charente Rivers.

Thousands of priests and other religious and nobility and royalists left France and escaped to other countries of Europe. King George III of England, welcomed the largest number of refugees. About 9,000 priests went to Great Britain plus thousands of nobles and royalist laymen. The king went so far as to allow the priests to say mass and build churches in Protestant England. From England, some of the priests and other refugees asked England to help them, relocate and settle in Canada, or the United States..

In the following list I am concerned with those priests who came to Canada. There is a difference in agreement as to the number of clergy who came to Canada as exiles or *emigrés* of the French Revolution. It varies between 41-45. (Of the two sources I located, Sulte identified 42 and Dionne identified 45. After the Revolution, some remained in Canada. Others returned to France or other countries. Some settled in the United States or islands in the West Indies.

The information for this list was extracted from:

1. Dionne, Narcisse-Eutrope, *Les Eccléstiques et les Royalists Français: Réfugiés au Canada à L'époque de La Révolution —1791-1802,* Quebec, 1905. (digitized by Google)

2. Sulte, Benjamin, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Vol. 3, Series 1, 1885, Section 1, p. 87.

There are some discrepancies from the two sources. In a couple of cases, there are different names. In other cases, there is a contradiction in the information given. I have used a * to indicate the name or information was given in Dionne or ** to indicate the name or information was given in Sulte. Information in the Miscellaneous column was primarily from Dionne.

Name	Canada Arrival	Birth Date & Place	Death Date & Place	Miscellaneous
MM., Jean-Baptiste Alain / Allain	1 June 1791	1738	July 1812	Ordained— 24 Sep 1763; One of the 1st French priests to leave France for refuge from the

				French Revolution in 1789; did missionary work among the Malécites in Acadia; 19 June 1812, he entered Hôpital Général - Quebec where he died a month later.
François Lejamtel de la Blouterie / Bloutiere	1791 Aug 1795 Quebec	10 Nov 1757 near Granville, Normandy	22 May 1835 age 77 yrs. 7 mo.	Ordained--14 June 1783; He gave a sermon against the Constitution Civile du Clergé Upon his arrival in Quebec he was immediately sent as missionary to Cap-Breton & served villages in Nova Scotia. He was in charge of the French missions in the colonies. 1819, he was sent to Bécancourt as their priest.
Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins, V. G.	1793	6 June 1753 at Messas	Oct 1833	He was sent ahead to make arrangements for other clergy and royalist refugees to settle in Canada. He visited Niagara & Quebec. Director and chaplain at Hôtel Dieu; he returned to France in 1802; 18 June 1823, he was named bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, France.
Jean-André Raimbault	1793	1754	11 Sep 1813 at Pointe-Claire	he originally was a priest of the diocese of Bayeux, Normandie; ordained—20 Sep 1783; 1792—he went to England; In Canada he was pastor of Nicolet & Superior of the seminary for almost 40 years.
Pierre Gazel / Gazelle	2 March 1793 Quebec			He was a doctor at Sorbonne & a professor at the college at Navarre. 1 Oct, 1793--he was named chaplain of Hôpital-Général; 4 July 1796 he left Quebec to return to England. 1802—he was traveling through Germany and Switzerland. 1820-he was in Rome but was unable to see the pope but saw the bishop of Chambéry instead.
François Ciquard, P.S.S.	22 May 1783 Montreal 1791 Acadia ** 1793,	Abt 1750 at Vic-le-Comte, Basse-Auvergne	28 Sep 1824 at Montreal age 70	Sulpician at Paris 7 May 1782; 7 March 1783—he left with another Sulpician, Capel, to go to the seminary of Montreal to do mission work with the Indians. Governor Haldimand opposed

	*1794 Quebec			Capel & Ciquard's arrival. Ciquard was sent as a refugee at Malbaie, but he found his way to Montreal through the woods. He was found & was placed under guard on the l'ile of Bic. On 29 Aug, he was permitted to return to England. Sept 1784—he was in Paris & named director of the Sulpician house at Bourges. When the revolution broke out, he decided to return to America in 1791. He went to Fredericton, New Brunswick & then to Quebec. In June 1794 he was living at Madawaska. In 1799, he returned to Montreal. After this he spent some time in Baltimore and Detroit. Later he returned to the missions of the Maritime provinces; 1812—he was living at Memramcook & was priest of the St-François mission. 1815—he went to the Montreal seminary.
*Pierre-Joseph Périnault	Fall 1791 Baltimore *Jan 1794 Quebec	2 July 1771 at Montreal	29 June 1821 in a vault of the church at Sault-au Rècollet	Son of Jacques Périnault dit Lamarche, master mason. Pierre-Joseph was sent to live with one of his uncles at Tours. 17 Aug 1794, he was sent by Mgr Hubert to Longueuil as vicar. 1 Oct 1796, he was named priest of Rivière-des-Prairie; 23 Feb 1806—he was at Sault-au-Récollet; Oct 1815 was in charge of the mission at Cataraconi (Kingston). Due to the humid climate on Lake Ontario, he asked for a change. He was then at St-Esprit & returned to Montreal in his later years.
Candide-Michel Le Saulniers, P.S.S.	1793	26 May 1758 at Courdes-Ausy,	5 Feb 1830 age 72	At age of 17, he entered the University de Caen. 2 years later he went to Paris to study theology. His 1st stop on his exile was on the Ile of Jersey. From there he went to England. 24 June 1793, he arrived at Montreal. A Sulpician
Louis-Joseph Desjardins	26 June 1794	19 Mar 1766 at	31 Aug 1848	Brother of Philippe-Jean-Louis. Ordained 20 Mar 1790; He was

	Quebec	Beaugency;	age 82	jailed at the same time as his brother & 20 other priests. After his release he went to England in exile; 1796-he went to Baie de Chaleurs as a missionary between Ristigouche River and Basin de Gaspé. After the death of Mgr. Denaut, he was made chaplain of Hôtel-Dieu-Quebec in1807-1836. He lived there until his death. He encouraged two artists — Plamadon and Legare—to paint people and life depictions of their ancestors.
Jean-Baptiste-Marie Castanet	26 June 1794 Quebec		26 May 1798 age 36	He maintained the missions in the Maritimes; 1795, he was at Caraquet where the Acadian population was mostly fishermen He served the missions at New Brunswick. He left Caraquet & arrived in Quebec May 1798. He was buried at Hôpital-Général-Quebec.
Jean-Denis Daulé	26 June 1794 Quebec	16 Aug 1766 at Paris	16 Nov 1852 age 86	From St-Eustache parish, Paris; his father, Jean was a farmer in Picardie. He joined the Trappist Monastery of Sept-Fons. He came to believe he would serve the church better & became a secular priest. Upon arrival, he was made priest at Escureuils; 1806—he was made chaplain to the Ursulines of Quebec for 26 years. He retired at Ancien Lorette. He was a chorister, musician and a poet.
François Gabriel Le Courtois	26 June 1794 Quebec.		18 May 1828	Normand of diocese of Coutances; Ordained—21 Sep 1787; he went to England as a refugee, the fall of 1792. 1796—priest at St-Nicolas; He worked as a missionary with the Indians of Saguenay; 1806—he was priest at St-Etienne, Malbaie with a mission at the king's post; he also served the Ile de Orleans; Spring of 1828, he returned to the St. Lawrence.
Philippe / Philibert Nantétz, P.S.S.	1794	Diocese of Lyon	1795	Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; ordained in 1794;

				probably the youngest priest to come; he was at the seminary until Aug. He found the climate of Canada hard on him. He consulted a doctor who recommended he return home. He left in 1795.
Jean-Henri-Auguste Roux, P.S.S.	1794	5 Feb 1760,	7 Apr 1831 age 71	Ordained- 5 June 1784; Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; from the diocese d'Ain, Provence; 1798 he was made Superior of Sulpician Community for over 30 years.
Anthelme Malard, P.S.S.	1794	3 Oct 1758 Belley	23 Nov 1832 age 74	Left England 1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; 1795-he arrived in Montreal & was sent to the mission at Deux-Montagnes. He learned their language quickly.
Antoine-Alexis Molin, P.S.S.	1794	1 May 1757 in Lyon	21 Sep 1811 age 55	Left England 1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; one of the 11 who went to Montreal; was made chaplain of Hôtel-Dieu;
Jean-Baptiste Thavenet, P.S.S.	1794	Abt 1763	1844 at Convent des Ste-Apotres age 81	Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; he was in the seminary of St-Sulpice, Paris. Ordained-11 Apr. 1789; when he arrived in Canada, he was in charge of a Humanities class; after 6 years he was sent to the mission of Deux Montagnes joining Malard; 1815--he accepted a delicate mission & left for Paris in Oct as a representative of a number of communities to get funds to continue operating. In 1827— 1 ½ million *livres* were reclaimed to Canada. He continued on this task until 1844. During this time he stayed in Rome.
François-Joseph Humbert, P.S.S.	1794	23 Nov 1765	3 Feb 1835 age 69	He studied at the Seminary of St-Irénée at Lyon; Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; originally of Chatillon-des-Dombes en Brasse, l'Aix; ordained 26 Mar 1790; worked at an Iroquois mission for 15 years from 1814-1828; he returned to Montreal because of his poor health.

Claude Rivière, P.S.S.	1794	4 May 1766 at Rouanne	10 July 1820 age 54	Sulpician; ordained-29 May 1790 at Lyon; Left England-1 Sep 1794; arrived in Montreal with a group of 11; he was in charge of a mathematics class & later transferred to rhetoric. He was also good in music and literature. He died suddenly of an inflamed intestine.
Antoine Sattin, P.S.S.	1794	Bap. 10 Feb 1767, St-Nizier	23 June 1836 age in his 70's	Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; ordained-19 Mar 1791; at Montreal. He was a parish minister for 21 years. In 1815, he was made chaplain of the poor of the Hôpital-Général. In 1818, he was made spiritual leader of the entire hôpital—the religious, the children, the sick & the old. He did this for 18 years. 1 June 1836, he became paralyzed.
Jean-Louis Melchoir Sauvage, de Chatillonnet P.S.S.	1794	6 Jan 1768 Belley	6 Sep 1841 age 73	Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; Besides theology from the Sulpicians, he also received a degree from the Sorbonne; 1796, he was in charge of the mission of Lac des Deux-Montagnes; 1803, he returned to seminary in Montreal;
François-Marie Robin	1794	1768	1804	Left England-1 Sep 1794; Sulpician; was made vicar of the parish of Notre-Dame, Montreal; later he was at Ile aux Coudres;
MM. Guillaume Garnier des Garets /Desgarets, P.S.S.	1794	11 Nov 1772 at Charlieu	3 Oct 1802 age 30	Left England-1 Sep 1794; a Sulpician; one of 11 who left together; ordained-28 Aug 1796;
** Joseph-Pierre / *Pierre-Joseph Malavergne	28 May 1795 Quebec	1738	5 Apr 1812 age 74	Ordained—28 May 1763; when he was 25, he was confessor of Vistandines of Bordeaux & beneficier of St-Michel of the same city; to escape execution he went to England. He was 57 when he arrived in Quebec & was made procureur of the Jesuit college & confessor to the religious of Hôpital-Général. In 1809 he became ill & moved into the Hôpital-Général where he died & was buried in the chapel's sanctuary.

Jacques Delavaivre / De la Vaivre	1795 Quebec			Ordained- 6 Nov 1791; In 1794, he was in England; 1795-- he was vicar at the parish of Notre Dame; the year later he was envoy to Baie des Chaleurs where he joined Joyer & Louis-Joseph Desjardins. 1801—he was sent to Trois Rivières as chaplain to Ursulines & assisted the priest of the parish. He also served at Cap de la Madeleine. He retired & 15 July1803, he left for France in a hurry.
Claude-Gabriel Courtin / Courtine	28 May 1795 Quebec	1776 chart abt 1765 diocese. De Coutances, Normandie	16 Aug 1832 age 67	Secular priest; Ordained-19 Dec 1789; Upon his arrival, he was made priest at Gentilly , a poor parish, where he was 35 years; Later he was part of the corporation of the college of Nicolet.
Jean Raimbault	1 June 1795 Quebec	1779	16 Feb 1841	He was from the city of Orleans; he left college; 6 Oct 1793, he left Orleans where he rejoined his old friend in arms, Charles-Vincent Fournier, a college friend & of his same regiment; the regiment went to Belgium. Dissatisfied he deserted the regiment & went to England, arriving in London 12 July 1794. He learned English & offered his services to the priests going to Canada; fall of 1794, he entered the seminary of Quebec. 1805—he was priest of Pointe-aux Trembles, Montreal. 1806--he founded a college for the young of the district in Nicolet.
Antoine Houdet, P.S.S.	21 Jan 1796 Quebec	Abt 1765	7 Apr 1826 age 62	Sulpician; ordained 27 Sep 1788; From Angers, he taught rhetoric, Latin grammar & French at the seminary of Montreal
Urbain Orfroy / Orfray /Offroy	21 Jan 1796 Quebec	1766 at Fleche	9 Oct 1846 age 80 yrs 10 mo.	Secular priest; To escape persecution, he went to England & then to Guernsey. He met Houdet on his voyage to America. 21 Jan 1796—he was named priest of Saint-Laurent on Ile de Montreal. Oct 1797, he was named priest of Point-du-

				Lac where he stayed 8 years. Then was transferred to mission of Baie des Chaleurs. 1810, he was at St-François & St-Pierre du Sud & 1812 at Trois Rivières.
Joseph-Jean-Baptiste Saint Marc	8 June 1796		1842 at Mont-de-Marsan	Secular priest; Ordained 1 Nov 1785; 1792, he went to England; he was named chaplain of Ursulines of Trois Rivieres; He was at the parish of Cap de Madeleine 1797-Jan 1801 ; then he returned to Trois Rivières. The community regretted his leaving to return to France on 2 June 1802. He returned to his diocese & was named priest at Mont-de-Marsan.
Antoine Villade	28 June 1796	8 Sep 1768 Blois	1839	Secular priest; Ordained-7 Apr 1792; same year he was exiled & went to England; In fall of 1796, he was sent as priest to Ste-Marie de la Nouvelle-Beauce to replace Joseph Lelievre-Duval a Canadian priest. He served 40 years. He left there in 1837. He help found for 700 £ a convent for the Sisters of the Congregation for their education and religion.
Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Chicoineau, P.S.S.	29 Mar 1792 Baltimore 1796 Montreal		28 Feb 1838 age 75 On this day, after mass, he went to the seminary to assist in giving 11 ½ hours of exams.	Sulpician; In France, he was superior of philosophy of the Saint-Irénée Seminary. 29 Mar 1792-- he disembarked at Baltimore with 2 other Sulpicians (Tessier, & Maréchal). He was originally from city of Orleans; ordained 16 May 1761. In 1793. Pierre-Jean-Louis Desjardins had asked Dorcheter to allow entry into Canada of refugee priests who had gone to the United States. 1796- upon arrival in Montreal, he became 3rd director of Saint-Raphael College founded by J. B Curateau at Longue Point.
Charles-Bonaventure *Jaouen / Jaouhen / Jaouen / ** N. Jahouin,	1796 Montreal		30 Jan 1806 age 60	Sulpician; 1st Breton priest to emigrate to Canada, originally from Morlaix. Ordained 9 Feb 1772; was 50 when he arrived;

P.S.S.				he was a writer; he was known for his Homilies, sermons & instructions to the people.
Jacques-Guillàume Roque, P.S.S.	1796 Beaumont diocese of Rodez	25 Jan 1761	3 May 1840 Montreal age 79	Sulpician; After he studied at St-Sulpice seminary in Paris, he was sent as director of the Seminary in Angers. Ordained-24 Sep1785; The revolutionists sentenced him to prison or death but when he was incarcerated they condemned him to deportation to Spain where he was welcomed by Bishop d'Orense, who regretted his leaving for Canada in 1796, where he was director of the community of l'Hôtel-Dieu, Montreal. 1806-1828—he was director of the college.
René-Pierre Joyer	24 Oct 1796 Quebec	1764	15 Feb 1847 age 83 at l'hospice St-Joseph, Montreal	Secular priest; For 2 years he assisted refuges at Lorette; 1798-1806--was a priest at Caraquet; 1806-1815—he was at St-Sulpice. He then spent a year at Sorel followed by a year at St-André de Kamouraska & 1817-1829 at Pointe-du-Lac. In 1829, he went to Trois Rivières as chaplain of the Ursulines.
Charles-Vincent Fournier	24 Oct 1796 Quebec	24 Jan 1772 Orleans	26 May 1839	Seminarian; his parents were Laurent & Marie-Anne Péguy. He was studying at the Sulpician seminary where he met Jean Raimbault. When the Revolution broke out they joined the military. Charles lived in Germany. Later he went to London for protection. He asked to be an envoy to Canada. On arrival, he went to the Seminary in Montreal. On 23 Aug 1797, he was made a priest & named vicar at Vaudreuil, he then went to Chambly for 1 year; 1800-1810 —he was priest at Longue-Pointe; 1810, he replaced the priest at Baie du Febvre. He was interested in the education of the young & paid their room & board to Nicolet college. At his death, he left $2,500 to the

				seminary at Nicolet.
Pierre-Bernard De Borniol	* 5 June 1798 **1806		24 Apr 1818	Ordained-2 Mar 1765 at Nevers; He was in England before coming to Canada; he replaced Boissonnault at St-Laurent, I'lle d'Orleans for 20 years. He would walk to visit the sick of his parish and was well liked by the children.
Gabriel Champion	July 1798		16 June 1808	He was placed in charge of the Iles de la Madeleine; 1800—at Cap Breton to serve the Acadians; On Sundays after mass he would instruct the adults and children 7-12 yrs. & was missionary to others on the isle.
Pierre Gibert	23 Aug 1798 Quebec	1763	1824	He was from Normandy; ordained 17 May 1788 at age 25; he went to England in fall of 1792; Fall of 1798-1802 he served the parish of Ste-Anne du Bout on I'lle of Montreal. 1802—1804 priest at St-Jean d'Iberville; 1804-priest of St-Michel Yamaska for 20 yrs.
Jacques-Antoine Gaiffe, / Goffe / Goisse, P. S, S.	23 Sep 1798	23 Jan 1763 Poitou	15 July 1800	Sulpician; ordained—6 May 1788; before he left France, he was the vicar at La Jarrie, diocese of La Rochelle; 1792—he went to London & was there 6 years. Lived at the mission of St-Régis to learn the Iroquois language; he became ill & was temporarily assigned as priest of St-Pierre du Portage (L'Assomption) & then returned to Montreal.
* Jean Mandet Sigogne **Joseph – Mandet Sigogne	**1798 *11 June 1799 Halifax	Abt 1760 Touraine	9 Nov 1844 at Baie-Ste-Maris age 85	To escape the guillotine, he went to England; In London he heard Father Jones, an Irish Capuchin living at Halifax. He decided to leave England & go to Halifax; on 30 June 1799, he went to Church Point; he was at Baie Ste-Marie serving 115 Acadian families & 70 at Cap Sable. He was missionary for 5 yrs. He continued working for years building churches, schools, presbyteries, missions and

				obtaining lands for the Acadians returning from their expulsion. He worked with the English, French, Micmacs and Scots serving them as counselor, interpreter, doctor and father. 47 years in Nova Scotia
Jacques-Ladislas De Calonne	*1799 I'lle St-Jean * 21 Oct 1807 Quebec **1806	1742 Douai	16 Oct 1822 Trois Rivieres Age 80	He was from a family which was involved in politics. He chose to go to the Sulpician seminary in Paris; ordained 1 June 1776 at age 34. Because of his family he was a targeted victim and quickly left for England where he edited a paper, *Courrier de Europe,* a journal for the French emigrants, royalists etc. 1799-he attempted to get land on I'ile St-Jean. He learned that in 1767 after the Acadian dispersion, the townships had been divided into 20,000 acres each & were given to the officers of the infantry and marines. 1799-1804—he worked on raising money to help repatriated Acadians. 1804—he returned to England but asked to return to Canada. In 1807, he finally arrived in Quebec; he was made chaplain of Ursulines at Trois Rivières. He worked at Trois Rivières for 15 years..
Antoine-Amable Pichart /Pichard	Aug 1799	Abt 1752	24 Dec 1819 age 67	From Orleanais; ordained— 21 Dec 1782 at age 30; Knowing he would die on the guillotine, he left for England and went on to Canada. The bishop of Quebec sent him to I'ile St-Jean. at Malpéque, Rustico & Baie Fortune. He was with the Acadians for 12 yrs. He had 3 missions—Havre a Boucher, Pomket & Tracadie. His church, St-Pierre at Tracadie not only served his Catholics but also 35 families of Negroes & Protestants whose ministries had left them. 1815—he was priest at Berthier, comte de Montmagny.
Nicolas-Aubin	*1801		*22 Jan	6 Oct 1801--He came

Thorel / Thoreil / Thoret	**1806		1802 Hôpital-Général, Quebec age 47	accidentally with 10 other priests who were retained on a French naval vessel which had been seized & converted to an English corvette. Of the 11, Thorel received permission to go on land in Canada because he was near death. The 10 other priests were taken to England. Later, they returned to France.
*Simon Boussin, P.S.S.	1802	6 Nov 1772	5 Nov 1827 age 55	Sulpician; his parents were Simon & Felicité Lacotté; born in Montrésor diocese of Tours; ordained—25 Feb 1804; died of typhus he contracted while caring for an Irish emigrant family

RECIPES FROM OUR FRENCH CANADIAN FAMILIES

By Pat Ustine

Several years ago the FCGW members put together a booklet of French Canadian recipes. These were recipes passed down through one's family. In addition to the recipe, a brief family story was included. I will be using some recipes from the booklet written by past and present members and any new recipes I receive. Please use the following instructions for sending your recipes.

1. Recipe Title
2. Ingredients—use abbreviations if possible, for example: tsp., tbsp., lb., pt., qt., gal., sm., med., lg.
3. Recipe instructions
4. Brief story to go with the recipe
5. Name sumitted by

Send your recipes to Pat Ustine c/o FCGW address or e-mail address ustinecfpm@hotmail.com

The recipe for this *Quarterly* is from Nelda Rouleau Womack (past member)

CHOMEUR

3 tbsp butter	1cup flour
1 beaten egg	½ tsp baking powder
½ cup white sugar	1 tsp cinnamon
1/3 cup warm milk	½ tsp nutmeg

Sift flour with baking powder, cinnamon and nutmeg: Set aside.
Melt butter. Stir butter into beaten egg. Gradually add sugar and warm milk.

Blend in sifted flour mixture. Stir until smooth.
If too thick, add a few drops of milk. Put batter into 9" square pan.

Sauce:

2 cups brown sugar
1 cup maple syrup
2 tbsp butter

Put these three ingredients in a large saucepan. Bring to a boil. Let boil 1 to 2 minutes. Pour sauce very slowly and carefully over batter in 9" square pan.
Sprinkle with: ½ cup shredded coconut
‘ ½ to ¾ cup pecans

It may look like "slop" but don't be deceived. When baked it is really Delicious!
Bake at 350 degrees about 30 minutes.
Serve warm with sweetened whipped cream on top.

Nelda Rouleau Womack is a direct descendant of Gabriel Rouleau, who settled near Quebec in 1646. He married the governor's maid, Mathurine LaRoux, in 1652 in Quebec city. They established a homestead at Ile d'Orleans in the parish of Ste. Famille.

Seventh generation, Avila Rouleau, was Nelda's grandfather and the first of the family to come to the United States. He settled in Houghton / Hancock, Michigan. There he worked in the lumber business and floated logs down the Wisconsin River to Wisconsin Rapids. Later, he opened a store and prospered as a merchant in Thief River Falls, Minnesota. Nelda grew up in Merrill, Wisconsin. Her family moved to Milwaukee during World War II.

I hope you will try the recipe and enjoy it. **"Bon Appetit!"**

COMING UP

October 23, November 6 or December 18, 2010: Wisconsin Historical Society Library and Archives Saturday class and workshop presented by Lori Bessler, reference librarian and outreach coordinator, will present "Ancestry.com workshop. It runs from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 at the Memorial Library, Room 231. The Fee is $35 for members of WHS or WSGS; $40 for non-members. For information: www.wisconsinhistory.org/libraryarchives/classes

April 15-16 2011: Gene-A-Rama at LaCrosse Center and Radisson Hotel, Lacrosse.

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30 April 2011: Milwaukee County Genealogical Society Workshop

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11-14 May 2011: National Genealogical Society 2011 Family History Conference, "Where the Past is Still Present," Charleston, South Carolina. Hosted by the South Carolina Genealogical Society.

FCGW Interviews PRDH's Dr. Bertrand Desjardins
A Bright Future Ahead for PRDH

By Michelle Wilson

Last month Michelle Wilson of FCGW had the welcome opportunity to interview Dr. Bertrand Desjardins about upcoming developments and the work being done at PRDH, Programme de recherche en démographie historique (PRDH, Research Programme in Historical Demography, www.genealogie.umontreal.ca/en/), the University of Montreal's famed on-line repository for French Canadian genealogy. Dr. Desjardins offered a look behind the scenes and a sneak peek at several exciting developments now underway.

[FCGW] With most of the records having been studied and indexed in books for many years, what is the current focus of the research? What's it really like there behind the scenes?

[Dr. Bertrand Desjardins] Well, as you know, this was all done as University research; the primary goal of PRDH was not genealogy per se, for genealogists, it was just that we, as demographers, wanted to produce demographic data, in a timeframe where no official sources exist for demography, so we had to build it, and to build it, we had to do genealogy.

By bringing together baptisms, marriages and burials, we get age at death, we get fertility schedules, and we have a body of data to train students. And that was why the whole thing was started. At the onset, we were interested in statistical data, so individual cases were not interesting. But we quickly realized that what we were doing was of great interest to the public. Genealogists came to us, hearing that we were processing the baptisms, marriages and burials of French-Canadians from way back. They said, "Hey, that's pretty neat. Would you let us have access to it?" So that's how we developed a sideline, to service genealogy. And there was an interest in it for us, because it produced revenue, and that revenue was used to fund university research.

[FCGW] What is demographic research all about?

[BD] Demographers like to measure fertility, how many children each women have, at what pace, over how many years, why some have more and some have less. And also mortality, life tables, average ages at death. There's interesting information to be obtained from data from the past. If you want to get to the biology of fertility, you can't do it today, because fertility is not in a natural state.

[FCGW] And didn't those women have enormous numbers of children!

[BD] Because they did not interfere. They just had as many children as nature would give them. So it's interesting for us, to see how many children would be born to a woman, if we did not introduce family control. The same thing for mortality: we don't really know what ages were reached in the past; the data we have set up gives precious information for this type of research. It gives us a background for how mortality changed over time. We also look at infant mortality, when was it high, why was it higher in some families that others. There are many things we can do with the data, that's

the scientific background. Since we know what we do is popular, we can provide the data to the people and they can help fund the university research.

[FCGW] A win-win. Are there journals then that you publish in, if genealogists are more interested in the demography?

[BD] Sure, see the links on our sites, many many articles, and many Phd's we have trained. We published an interesting book over the years, The First French Canadians. This is also of interest to genealogists, it covers the King's Daughter's and such.

[FCGW] That may be a page I have not visited...

And it has my picture (laughter)! [Ed. Note: The bibliography appears at www.genealogie.umontreal.ca/en/Bibliographie.htm]

[FCGW] Is there a giant room of servers? Where is it all maintained?

[BD] Because we are a university, yes, we have a large bank of servers, and we also have our own database that is not accessible to the public. We have to do this, because we are constantly working on it. A version of the research data gets periodically updated to the public site.

Dr. Desjardins today

A new version will be coming out in September. The data is going out now to 1799! And we are starting work now on the 19th century as well. Of course there is a lot more work to do in the 19th century than the work we've already done.

"A new version will be coming out in September. We are starting work now on the 19th century."

[FCGW] This is great news; the hyperlinked family sheets are so useful.

[BD] The French-Canadians are very privileged. The stock is from a relatively small number of immigrants, and we have the information necessary to establish all the links. In the states in the 19th century, it can be difficult. But once you get into Quebec it is a paradise.

[FCGW] Any plans to cover Acadia?

[BD] No, and here's why. Historically, the two populations are distinct, with different histories. It isn't useful for us, a Quebec university, to focus on the Acadian population. As you know, Stephen White is working on this population. We cover these persons when they come into Quebec, and a little farther back, but we have our hands full with the French-Canadian population. The University of Moncton did talk with us once about setting up a similar site of their own, but I'm not sure what their plans are.

[FCGW] What are some of your favorite stories from findings in the data?

[BD] We come across interesting life stories. I do some work on mortality; I'm interested in extreme ages. The oldest age ever recorded is 122. We know a French-Canadian reached 118. We are interested in seeing how early the centenarians appear. Have there always been centenarians, and now there's just more, or it's a recent phenomena? This is what we found: there is no French-Canadian centenarian until 1822. That is the pinpoint, of when the first person reached the age of 100 in Quebec. Only 5 persons reached 100 before 1850. And of these 5, two of them were sisters. And another sister did not reach 100, she reached 98. And their father was the 2nd oldest living male, he reached age 99. So it's very fascinating to show that one specific family was so different, it looks to be genetic. That's the sort of story we find from our efforts.

Mort à 98 ans

Famille de Nicolas Lizotte et Marie Madeleine Miville Deschenes

Mariés le 3 mai 1724 à La Pocatière, Québec

Rang	Sexe	Date de naissance	Date de 1er Mariage	Date de décès	Prénom
				98 ans	
1	F	1725-05-02	1742-10-08	1821-12-23	Marie-Josèphe
2	M	1727-02-28	1752-01-17	1756-01-24	Nicolas
				104 ans	
3	M	1730-07-16			s
4	F	1731-07-06	1751-01-11	1835-01-14	Marie-Anne
5	M	1733-02-01	1762-01-07	1809-04-20	Charles-François
6	M	1735-01-23	1762-01-11		Jean-Baptiste
				108 ans	
7	F	1736-12-05	1755-07-30	1794-01-08	erine
8	F	1738-12-25	1773-04-26	1847-03-05	Marie-Rosalie
9	F	1740-10-01	1763-08-16	1805-05-09	Marie-Geneviève
10	M	1743-05-05	1774-02-05	1779-10-03	Basile
11	F	1745-02-25	1768-11-21	1792-03-18	Marie-Louise
12	M	1747-10-03	1772-09-11	1797-03-27	François
13	F	1749-09-02	1775-02-27	1802-11-18	Marie-Euphrosine
14	F	1752-04-14	1779-11-22	1798-09-17	Marie-Charlotte

Fig. 1: Remarkable longevity in the Lizotte family of La Pocatière, Quebec.

[FCGW] I was curious about consanguinity. For instance, in the same town, persons with the same surname, are they likely to be related? Is consanguinity usually noted in the records?

[BD] Well, in Acadia, it's very specific; they have so few surnames and little records to go on. So mentions of consanguinity can provide some help in the work of establishing family relationships. The Catholic Church was very adamant that you had to declare your links, up to the fourth degree, first being siblings, 2nd being first cousins, and so on. But you may not even have been aware of your fourth cousin; many could not trace that far back. So in the work we do, we can establish the true consanguinity. But what is recorded in the documents is pretty good. They did a pretty good job of recording consanguinity. You can trust it in the documents.

[FCGW] Is new information being added from the old period?

[BD] We used systematically all that exists. What is being added is some information coming from France. We are partners with a project that has French genealogist searching the parish records, to try to find the original baptisms of the people that came over. So we add that information when we get it. But it's also available on the Ficher Origine site [www.fichierorigine.com]. This site has the images of the original French records, over 4000 images. The site specifically focuses on information on people who came to Canada, and their families as necessary. If a baptism in France was found, it will be mentioned in our records.

One thing that is being added is a number of notarial records. We don't add them systematically, but we use them to pinpoint death information, or marriage information when the marriage record is missing, or even to help us establish who a person's parents are. We use them but we don't put them on line per se. But you may find a note in the person's records [indicating notarial info was used].

The number of years we have been working, there is not a great deal of new information coming in from the New France period.

[FCGW] How are doubts and disputes decided, when information is not fully available? Is there something like a case file behind the scenes on each person explaining these types of details?

[BD] Well, if you are working on your family, you have a specific number of cases, and if you have some cases to do research on, you would have notes and such. But we are working on thousands and thousands of cases. So it's a screen process. The computer does the easy cases, no ambiguity. Then, we have students do the first pass after the computer's work. After that, we have very good genealogists to work on the next tier, when documents are missing, or mistaken, or the priests have spilled what they had for dinner on top of the record, they work on those difficult cases. Then, at the top of the pyramid, you have me! I'm on top and I get the hard, hard cases. I love working on them. I have my notes everywhere, maybe not as organized as I should, but I try to explain the notes in the records, explaining how we have made the conclusions. And in working with other genealogists, you have to know the person, their work and reputation, that counts as well. But there were many cases I had to settle. Sometimes the priests would write the daughter's name instead of the mother's name, that kind of thing. I have here thousands of sheets, my own notes in my own handwriting; it's not out in public. Were I starting out again, perhaps it would be. But I have been doing this for forty years! I have boxes and boxes of files, with my thoughts on why I did this case that way and so on.

[FCGW] I sure hope those boxes are maintained for posterity! There is a wealth of information inside. It would be of great interest to researchers far into the future.

[BD] What we do do, is we make records available, the files we've generated and the decisions on specific family files. We get questions: "why did you put this child in this family?" and most of the time I answer people, explain why there must be something wrong in a record and explain it, but there are thousands and thousands, so all of that cannot be in the record. It's not always so pleasant, working on these cases, it's satisfying when you can solve them, but you cannot always succeed, sometimes there's just no way for instance to find who the parents of this woman are, and well, that's disappointing, but that's life.

[FCGW] We've all come across those people that just appear to have dropped out of the sky.

[BD] Most of the time, that's mistakes in the record, it's just the priest or whoever, did not do their work well, the records were wrong, lost, we're not going to find her. We do the usual, we look at the godparents, are they related, we do a really thorough job but there's always some pieces, some brick walls, that persist.

[FCGW] Do you pair with any of the genealogical societies in Canada? For instance BMS2000?

[BD] I tried to work something out with BMS2000 www.bms2000.org, to share, but they wanted to go out on their own. So right now, we have partnered with Drouin, you know the Drouin Collection and the Institute Drouin www.institutdrouin.com. There is a person behind that and they own the rights to the images. He is helping to fund our work into the 1800's. Right now we are indexing baptisms and burials. The marriages are already done; they were already done by BMS2000 and other people. I know that Ancestry has them, but their index is not up to our standards, so we can't use their index. So we are going to be putting on line, within a year, a chunk of the 19th century. Starting with 1800 to 1824, then 1825 to 1849, and so on. So we are going to be putting on the first chunk with links to the images and so on.

Development is underway on a version of PRDH that will provide *direct links* to the images

[FCGW] (with much enthusiasm) With direct links to the images?

Yes. With direct links to the images.

[FCGW] Oh my gosh! Wow!

[BD] And when that goes on line, we are going to start indexing 1825 to 1849 and while that indexing is being done we are going to index 1850 to 1900.

[FCGW] That will revolutionize things. Because there is no place right now that has a reputable vetted index and direct links to the images. You know what Ancestry's index is like. Although it has improved...

[BD] I've found information on it; it has helped in some cases.

[FCGW] My strategy has always been do use PRDH, or BMS2000 for the 1800's, then pull the whole book off the shelf at Ancestry or FamilySearch [www.ancestry.com], [www.familysearch.org] or Institute Drouin to find the image of the record. And to page though it, to find the record. And Ancestry's index has gotten better since the Drouin people went after them.

To think that PRDH can provide access to the images, though! It's the whole thing! Persons like me will have much less work to do.

Is it true that there are two sets of records, and that Drouin has one set and Family Search has the other? I'm confused about who has which set.

[BD] Well, records were kept in two sets. This goes back to 1679. It was prescribed, because the church was the primary registrar, that they were prescribed to make two copies of the records, one for the church and one to turn over ever year to the civil authorities, the one we call the Civil Version, or if you look at the Drouin Collection, it was produced by the priest and then turned over to the government. That system existed all through the twentieth century; it was just 20 years ago that we changed that system. When Drouin did the microfilming in the 1940's, it was cheaper to do the civil copy, because several parishes were grouped in one place. You could go to one place and get the records on 25 parishes. So Drouin mainly did the civil copies, but, in cases where the civil copy was missing or misplaced, he went to the churches. So his collection is basically the civil copies with some church copies.

The second version was done by the Church of Latter Day Saints. They used the church copies. It was done in the 1970's. The civil copies then were not available. So we worked with them. We supervised the work, and we went to each individual church and microfilmed each copy.

[FCGW] So you had a hand in that too!

[BD] I actually have the Drouin images, and the copies of the church records. So my collection now is based on both. My image will have a direct link to one image. But you can find the other on the Drouin Collection. And that is handy when one image is faded, not legible, that kind of thing.

[FCGW] So are the software wizards at the University of Montreal working on image enhancement, that sort of thing?

[BD] No, we are not, but the Drouin collection was microfilmed in the 1940's. And Mr. Pepin, who is responsible for the Drouin Collection, when he had the images done [digitized] that was already 10 years ago. So he realizes some of the images are not as crisp as they could be. So he is going back, having some of them re-taken, enhancing, redoing the ones that are not satisfactory. So eventually our collection will be superior to what is available elsewhere. But the LDS copies of the Church records, they are in general very good.

[FCGW] I find them hard to find.

[BD] Yes, you pull the book, go to page 150, you are 8 months too early so you jump 10 pages, that kind of thing. It takes time. So our system will be much better.

[FCGW] This is great news, wow!

[BD] Well, it's great news for somebody born in the sixties. For those of us born in the twenties and thirties, hurry up, we don't have that much time! But we are working on it, we are really going to be putting out a lot in the next 5 years.

[FCGW] Oh, I am so delighted to know that there are future plans; that PRDH is going forward.

In terms of minor features, is there any way to know if a record you have previously looked at has changed?

[BD] No, that has been asked for many times. We do so many different kinds of changes, some are trivial, once we've worked the data into families, say if a name was misread, as demographers, it's not essential and we don't have the personnel to go back to change all these things. We would put them into the right family. Maybe it's dates, maybe it is written uncle of the groom, but it was uncle of the bride, etc. So with so many persons – four million persons – and all their associated data, these changes are drops in the ocean of all the data. Sometimes people write in, they have found an error, so we make the change.

[FCGW] I know. I wrote in myself once, I had found a child born to a family three years after the mother's death. And to my surprise it was changed almost immediately. I hope I was accurate in my research on that death record so as not to orphan the poor child!

[BD] No, have no fear, I make those changes myself and I would never make a change without first consulting the record. So if a person says someone was dead, I would go back and check it. We know there are some mistakes there, but we check them carefully. Because there are persons that write in, they do not always have accurate information.

"the new version in September will have payment on line"

[FCGW] I'm glad to know things are properly vetted.

[BD] Yes, these people that write in make my work easier, especially when they send me the copies of the records. So this is good and I make the changes.

And one last feature I can speak about: with the new version in September we will at last have payment on line. No more having to phone in the payment.

[FCGW] Dr. Desjardins, Thank you so much. It has been such a pleasure speaking with you.

Well, I appreciate very much talking to genealogists. I am going to be retiring this year, so I will have much more time to do genealogy.

NEWS NOTES

From *Family Chronicle*, July / August 2010: There is an article, "Reading French-Canadian Marriage Records" by Richard Crooks. He explains the Drouin Collection of marriage records, and more importantly where to locate and extract information in a marriage record with an explanation of key words in the document. This article should be very useful if you are unable to read French.

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From *History Magazine*, Feb / Mar 2010: There is an article on Laura Secord by Andrew Hind and Maria Silva. During the War of 1812, Laura Secord walked through the wilderness to warn the British of an American plan to attack the British and take Canada.

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From *Family Chronicle*, Sept / Oct 2010: For all who are interested in DNA, you may find the article "Expanding the Concept of Family History Through DNA" by Ugo A. Perego of interest to you.

In the same issue is an article on privateering. If you have an ancestor who was a privateer or an anti-privateer, you might be interested in the sources David A. Norris provides in his article: "Legal Privateers in the Family Tree".

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In *Columns*, Vol. 31 no. 4, July/August 2010: The Wisconsin Historical Society now have more than 50,000 images on their database. Users can search these images by subject, location or creator.

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From *History Magazine*, Oct/Nov 2010: There is an interesting article on Dr. Beaumont and his experiments on a French Canadian voyageur, Alexis St. Martin who was shot in the stomach in the American Fur Company Store at Fort Mackinac in 1822. The wound remained open, and Beaumont decided to perform several experiments concerning the digestive system.

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From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage*, Vol. 31, No. 3, July 2010; Part 3 of "Those Who Were in the Western Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley During the 17th Century" is a Timeline from 1667 to Spring of 1681. There is also the continuation of "Charles Mercier dit Lajoie, Grenadier of the Berry Regiment" by John P. DuLong. They also have a listing of the "People Buried at Ste. Anne de Detroit (1751-1766)"

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QUESTIONS DES LECTEURS

Barbara Haines, 622 Hillrose Drive, Louisville, Kentucky 40243-2188 is seeking the birth and death information on **Joseph Corbeil** and **Pauline Filion**. Joseph and Pauline were married 13 October 1835 at St-Benoît, Deux-Montagnes, Québec. Joseph's parents were Alexis Corbeil and Marie-Louise Chatillon; Pauline's parents were Joseph Filion and Geneviève Labrosse.

Queries are published free to members of FCGW.

TRIVIA

The Eiffel Tower was built at the Paris World Fair in 1889 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution.

PEA SOUP & JOHNNY CAKE

February 10, 2011

Needed: Your genealogy

Borderlines Articles for the *FCGW Quarterly*

Please send us your genealogies for publication in the *FCGW Quarterly*. Borderlines uses a variation of the format established by the New England Historic Genealogical Society Register-#1 being the immigrant ancestor.

References are required for your facts. Numbers in brackets refer to footnotes as identified in your sources. Numbers in parentheses in the left margin indicate the number that will identify that person in the next generation.

The editor accepts any articles of interest to the French Canadian genealogist. Your input is greatly appreciated. Send to PO address or email: kdupuis@wi.rr.com

ITEMS FOR SALE

Present or Back Issues of *Quarterly*, $3.00 each plus $3.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the *Quarterly*, (Rebellion Losses), $5.00; plus $3.00 postage and handling

Surname Lists, $3.00 plus $3.00 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
All name *Quarterly* Index for Vols. 18-23, $7.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling

Packet of 39 genealogy forms, $7.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling

Loiselle Search—One marriage from Loiselle Index, $3.00 plus S.A.S.E

T-Shirts: M, L, XL $12.00; XXL $14.00 plus $4.00 postage and handling

French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin
Quarterly

Volume 25 No. 2 Winter 2010-2011

TONNELIER, COOPER OR BARREL MAKER

Joyce Banachowski

Coopering or barrel making is one of the oldest trades dating back to ancient times. Goods could be shipped, moved and stored in barrels. Barrels were strong with hoops holding the joints together. By being round they were easily moved by men or animals in spite of the heavy weight of the barrel and its contents. A barrel on its side could be easily rolled. It could be tilted on one of its rims and spun along. It could be hoisted from its horizontal position to a vertical position "by rocking it through its longest axis and then heaving it upright."[1]

Coopering was an art which was difficult to learn and required a great deal of experience and skill. To learn to make a good barrel usually took five to seven years training as an apprentice. A good cooper had to be able to make a watertight wooden container, and he also had to be accurate that it contained a specific amount of gallons.

A cooper might work in dry coopering, wet coopering or white coopering. A master cooper was expected to do all three—wet coopering, dry coopering and white coopering. Casks or barrels in wet coopering were more difficult to make. In wet coopering, the casks had to be of better quality. The kind of wood which was used, usually oak, and the way it was cut and prepared were of major importance. They had to have dry tight containers. These casks and barrels of various sizes held water, wines, beer, molasses, maple syrup, cider, salted meat or fish, whale oil, blubber, tar, turpentine, rosin, etc. Sometimes, the inside of these containers would have to have special treatments. Casks for French wines would have to be charred and blistered on the inside. This was necessary for the aging process of the wine.[2]

In dry coopering, casks of lesser quality could be used. Cheaper, soft woods or old staves would be used. Dry casks and barrels were called "slacks". These carried or stored fruit, vegetables, potatoes, threshed grain, seeds, flour, corn meal, rice, tobacco, hardware, tools, gunpowder, etc. In England, the dry cooper was called "a dry bobber".[3]

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1 Seymour, John, *The Forgotten Crafts: A Practical Guide*, p. 87.

2 Kilby, Ken, *Coopers and Coopering*, pp. 21, 30.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

A cooper who did white coopering made straight sided containers — small vats, funnels, butter churns, buckets, wash tubs, pails, vats for liquids and powders, grain measures, sieves, boxes, firkins, piggins, bowls and military drums of good quality. Many of these were made of wide strips of bass or poplar shaved thin and rolled into cylindrical drums and held in shape with tacks.[4] Hoops were formed with the same material and kept the desired shape of the container. The bottoms of boxes were thin, wooden disks tacked into place. Covers were made the same way as the container. The white cooper often made fireplace bellows and thick wooden soles for clogs even though this was not coopering.[5] The white cooper used Memel oak, English oak, beech or chestnut for water, milk, butter and cheese containers. Other woods gave a taste to the contents.[6]

4 *Ibid.* & Tunis, Edwin, *Colonial Craftsmen: and the Beginnings of American Industry*, p. 23.

5 Tunis, p. 23.

6 Kilby, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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Making a Cask

The tightness of a cask was because of its shape. Hoops of various sizes would be driven towards the widest part which would squeeze the slats, called staves tightly together. This could not be done with a cylindrical container. When the timber has been cut to the correct length, width and thickness, it is called a stave. After checking each stave for blemishes or flaws, the cooper held the stave over a block and roughly shaped the stave with an axe. This process was called *listing* the stave. The stave was then backed and hollowed out with long knives on the block or on a horse depending on the length of the stave. The stave was hollowed on the concave side and rounded a bit on the convex side and then tapered at each end. The two long edges were cut on a *chamfer*. It was then joined on a jointer, a long, upturned plane to put the *shot* or angle on the shape of the stave. The stave was pushed down the jointer plane. The cooper examined each jointed edge to see how much *height* (belly) he was putting into the cask. All of the staves had to be perfect in shape so that when the hoops were put on, all the staves would fit tightly with the staves on both sides. If one stave was slightly out of shape, the barrel would leak.[7]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hoops for wet barrels were thin strips which were split out of hickory or chestnut. Hoops for dry barrels did not have to be as strong and were often made of birch or cedar. The cooper would notch these strips on opposite ends and edges, so that he could overlap them and hooked them together

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Metings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Center, G110, at Mayfair Shopping Mall. 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 February 2011: Pea Soup and Johnny Cake Meeting; Library will be open for use.

10 March, 2011: Kateri (Teri) Dupuis will present a slide show on Quebec

14 April, 2011: The library will be open for research.

12 May 2011: Kris Beisser Matthies will speak on Genealogical Records Available at the Green Bay Diocesan Holdings.

and tuck the ends between the hoop and the barrel where the barrel would be squeezed, holding them. The staves for a wet barrel would be about an inch thick. Those for slack or dry barrels could be made from softer and thinner wood. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, riveted iron hoops were used for wet barrels.[8]

When the staves had been completed, they were raised up in a raising – up hoop, which was filled to give the cask the correct gallon capacity. The cooper was able to judge this within a pint. When the staves were firmly in the

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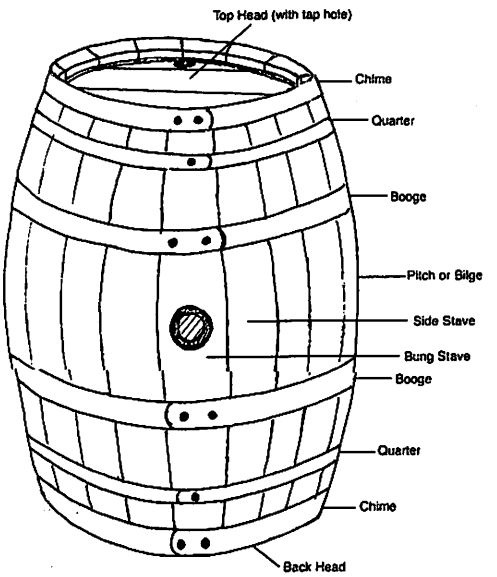
7 *Ibid.*, p. 7-9 and Seymour, pp. 86-87.

8 Tunis, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

raising-up hoop, a truss hoop which was also called the first runner or a gathering hoop was put over the cask and tightened. A hoop would then be driven down on the cask and the truss hoop would be removed. Casks with staves of 1 ¼ to 1 ½ inches thick would have to be put under steam or steeped in boiling water for thirty minutes to soften the wood and make it pliable. However, smaller or *slight* casks were put over a *cresset* of burning shavings until they were warmed sufficiently to bend.[9] The cooper would stand a set of staves on end inside a strong truss hoop which could be adjusted and held in place by pegs in matching holes. The tops of the staves would flare out. The cooper would then tie a windlass around the tops, bending the staves and pulling them evenly together. The first permanent hoop would then be placed on the upper end to hold them together. The rope was then removed and the hoop would be driven downward to tighten the staves against one another. Smaller hoops were placed above the first hoop. The barrel was then turned upside down and the hooping would be completed on the opposite end. After all the hoops were in place, the cooper would trim off the long staves with a hand adze and the ends would be smoothed with a sun plane that was curved sideways. A *howe*l, a special plane cutter, beveled the *chines / chimes* on the inner edges of both ends. Grooves called *croze*[10] would be cut inside the ends of the barrel below the *chines / chimes* to hold in the two ends called *heads*.[11]

The *heads* were made by dowling boards together. Compasses were used to scratch out two circles to the appropriate size and then sawed out. The *heads* were then beveled on both sides. They would then be pushed into their *crozes* by using a mallet. The barrels would be completed after a *bung-hole* or *tap hole* would be made in the top head and a *spy hole* would be made in one side of the barrel. These were bored with an auger and tapered wood plugs were made to close them.[12]



Parts of a Wooden Cask[13]

Wooden casks were made in a variety of sizes from small portable to the Great Tun of Heidelberg. Casks went by several names — barrels, *barrique* (hogsheads), pipes, butts, kilderkins, firkins, pins, puncheons, sherry and tuns

9 Kilby, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11.

10 *Croze*—this was the name of the small saw with an arch shaped blade with only a few coarse teeth. It also was the name of the V-shaped groove it made.

11 Kilby, op. cit., p. 22.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 23

13 *Ibid., p. 8.*

— depending on its size or shape. A barrel was a cask which held 36 gallons. Larger casks were the *hogshead* or *barrique* which held 54 gallons, the *puncheon* which held 72 gallons, the *butt, pipe*, or *sherry* which held 108 gallons, the *tun* which held 225 gallons and a *piece* which held 500-1000 gallons. Smaller casks were the *kilderkin* which held 18 gallons, the *firkin* which held 9 gallons and the *pin* which held 4 ½ gallons.[14] There also was a *bever barrel* which was a 3-4 pint cask with a mouthpiece. It was used for beer of a farmer, worker or sailors's lunch break. The cooper called it a *bottle*.[15]

There were a number of different types of casks — Harness, gang, bombard, leaguer, barricoe, and scuttle butts — depending on their use. A *bombard* was a large water cask used as ballast on a ship. The *scuttle* was a water cask with a large square bung. It was used to refresh gun crews. The *gang* and *leaguer* were water casks. A *harness cask* was used for salted beef carrying between 50 and 100 kilograms. The *barrel, hogshead, kilderkin, pin* and *firkin* were often used as beer casks. A 72 gallon *puncheon* was also used as a beer cask. A *puncheon* of 90 gallons or more was used for rum or whiskey. A *pipe* was usually used for port[16]. A *runlet* was an 18 ½ gallon wine cask. *Barricoes* were oval water casks which were kept under the seats in lifeboats.[17]

Coopers, cooper mates and cooper crews were employed in naval yards and on naval ships. A number of other industries — fish, whaling, gunpowder, nails, beer, wine, liquor and fur — were dependent on the *tonnelier* or barrel maker for shipment and storing of their goods. The *tonnelier* also made other useful round, wooden items like buckets, pails, tankards, wash tubs, funnels, pump cans, butter churns, cable and anchor buoys, coal scuttle, and piggins (small pails with one stave left much longer than the others, shaped to serve as a handle).

Naval Coopering

A ship's cooper worked closely with the provisions and food steward and the supply ships. He opened the provision casks. He was in charge of the spirits, wine, beer and water casks. He was in charge of making and / or repairing kitchen utensils, ship's buckets and other coopered items on board the ship. A naval ship would not sail without casks of various sizes and types. Coopers would keep a stack of staves next to their berths. They hoped that the staves they had would be the same length and bend and the distance between the top and bottom grooves would match the cask they needed to repair. A great deal of labor was saved if they matched.[18] A cooper would also take any cask apart to get staves that he could remake into smaller staves to repair other casks. It was rare to have new wood aboard a ship. Whenever possible emptied casks would be reused. Some casks were cut in half and used as tubs. This was a common practice. It was a way of getting a large steep tub to soak salted meat.[19] In the sixteenth through the

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14 Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

15 Kilby, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

16 Port— a rich, sweet fortified wine from other countries, usually Portugal.

17 Kilby, *op. cit.* pp. 60-61.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

eighteenth centuries, the cooper's most important job was to scour and rinse the gang casks which held drinking water for everyone on board the ship. If the cask was not properly cleaned, the water would become putrid. It was common for a cooper to drill tap holes in the top head to avoid the sediment.[20]

Prior to the nineteenth century, seamen were allowed one gallon of small beer a day. Small beer was often safer to drink than water. Casks were not shaved smooth on the inside. They were seldom well sterilized. If the beer did not have enough alcohol to kill bacteria, it would turn sour. It was usually strong. In times of war, the navy had difficulty getting enough casks on short notice, and purchasing them from other countries was extremely costly. In the nineteenth century, the seaman's allowance was reduced to two quarts of stronger beer. As the purity of water improved, small beer was replaced with grog. A seaman's allowance of grog was ¼ pint of rum diluted with a pint of water. Some sailors collected their grog in a small tankard called a *monkey*, *kid* or *pot*. Others saved it in a *bever barrel*.[21]

A number of different containers were necessary on naval ships. Harness casks held a variety of provisions. They were of a number of sizes holding between 50 and 150 kilograms. They were wider at the bottom than the top. The top head was hinged with a hasp and a staple so that it could be locked to keep provisions safe from rats and thieves. Washing tubs were made in three sizes with staves of ten, nine and eight inches in length, bottom heads of eighteen, sixteen and fifteen inches in diameter and twenty, eighteen and seventeen inches across the open ends respectively. Fire buckets had to be available. Ordinary buckets were made in two sizes. Funnels, 7 ½ inches in length, 13 inches in diameter at the head and 16 ½ inches at the open end were taken on shore for filling *gang casks* with drinking water for the crew. *Barricoes* were water casks that had an oval shape which were kept under the seats in life boats. They had large bung-holes so that a mug could be inserted so that each of the survivors would be given an equal amount. Larger boats carried six 10 gallon *barricoes;* smaller lifeboats, cutters, whalers, 27 foot surf boats and flat bottomed landing crafts carried four 6 gallon *barricoes*.[22]

Casks of "fighting water" for gun crews were on the gun decks of Men-of-War ships. These casks were usually scuttle butts which had a large square cut out at the bung hole. A mug could be inserted there at the bung. Vinegar would be added to the water to discouage men from drinking too much water.[23]

Other items produced by the naval cooper were tankards of various sizes, mess utensils, pump cans which held up to three gallons of water, *lade* buckets for bailing water, bread barges, and two sizes of spittoons — the larger eight inches long, sixteen inches in diameter at the bottom and eighteen inches at the open end and the smaller for those who were more accurate were six inches long, twelve inches at the bottom and fourteen inches at the open end.

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20 *Ibid.,* p. 34.

21 *Ibid.,* p. 32.

22 *Ibid.,* pp. 33-35.

23 *Ibid.,* p. 35.

At the end of the seventeenth century, a naval cooper received about 1 £ 4 shillings a month. To supplement his income, a naval cooper would make small tankards for the crew. By the nineteenth century, a master naval cooper made 2 £ 5 shillings 6 pence a month.[24]

Already in the middle of the sixteenth century, coopers were making anchor buoys for ships to tie to the anchor buoy so that the anchor would not be lost in the event that a ship leaving a port in a hurry or to dislodge an anchor on the sea bed when weighing anchor. In the eighteenth century, two sizes of anchors — puncheon and barrel —were being built of American red oak. Sometimes they had pointed ends that were slid over the *chimes* and fastened with leather which was glued and painted with white lead. An anchor buoy was part of the equipment on the naval ships of France and England. Cable buoys were made to hold cables and ropes away from rocks. Otherwise, the ropes would fray by rubbing on the rocks. Sometimes they used ordinary casks for cable buoys. [25]

Maritime Coopering

Coopers were important for the maritime industry. Many coopers were employed in the naval yards of port cities. They not only built casks of varying sizes, but repaired them; coopers inspected barrels before unloading the casks at their destination port. They used a long handled mallet called a *flogger* to determine if a cask had a leak. They would mark all the casks which needed attention on shore. Coopers would repair leaks as soon as the casks were on the dock. In large ports, a number of cooperages would appear near the docks. Besides repairing casks at the docks, they checked capacities, unheaded and sampled the contents, and they worked with health inspectors, and custom and excise tax officials. They used a variety of dip sticks and measuring rods for this kind of work. Some were used through the bung hole and others through the tap hole. Casks which had the same capacity often varied in shape depending on the cooperage where it was made. Some might have a higher curvature or was of different lengths. It was especially difficult to measure if a cask held less than the full amount. A number of measuring formulas for different contents in wet barrels were created by measuring the heads, the diameter of the belly and the length and applying the appropriate mathematical formula.[26]

As sea-going ships were being built increasingly larger, the relationship of its size was affected by the number and size of the casks they carried. The tonnage of ships was determined by the number of *tuns* it could carry. A *tun* was equal to two *butts* or *pipes* and sometimes weighed more than a ton.[27]

Storing casks aboard a ship followed a procedure. *Can* hooks or *chime* grips held the casks as they were lowered into the hold where they were stacked and secured. A rolling cask of 500 pounds could do a great deal of damage to a ship. They were usually held by chocks and away from decks. All casks were stacked with the bung facing upward. Longer rows were placed at right angles

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24 *Ibid.* p. 37.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

to the direction of the ship. Small casks were put in storage areas called *fagots*. Here they would be stacked belly to end (*bilge and chime*) or end to end (*chime and chime*). Casks on the ground tier were called *sleepers*. Those piled in higher tiers were called *riders*. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the naval manual required that each riding cask had to be supported by four casks in the tier below. The maximum number of tiers of barrels was eight. This prevented the bottom casks from being stove in from the weight. There were six for hogsheads, four for puncheons and three for pipes and butts. In earlier ships, the deck's height controlled the number of tiers.[28]

To avoid damage, casks which were stacked in racks were kept firm with pieces of unused wood. Individual casks would be embedded in loose packing material. One of the dangers with casks carrying spirits was the build up of fumes. A fire could result if a flame or lantern were too near the accumulation of brandy fumes. Coopers carried lanterns when they inspected casks.[29]

From the very beginning, France had shipped long-lasting foodstuffs, beverages, condiments, spices, fabrics and clothing, shoes, tools, kitchen utensils, furniture, building materials, animals, defense equipment and goods and trade items for settlers and Indians in the interior. In time, the settlers did produce some of their own food and artisans provided some of their household items. However, New France and Acadia were primarily supplied by ships from France. Some imports were consumed by those in the colony and some were sent into the interior to support those in the fur trade. Some of the foodstuffs which found their way from France to Fort Ponchartrain (Detroit) between 1701 and 1744 were: wheat, oats, barley, corn, peas (for seed or consumption), white and wheat flour, wheat bran, biscuit, salted pork, beef, and veal, hams, lard, tallow, eggs, salted green beans, local, parmesan, and Gruyère imported cheeses, white and red vinegars, white and brown sugar, loaves and cones of sugar from the islands, dried or salted mushrooms, truffles, salt, grease, lard, olive oil, anchovies, kegs of salted herbs, shelled and unshelled almonds, dried candied fruits, lemons and oranges, coffee, tea, chocolate, ginseng, spices—pepper, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, capers, chives, garlics, and onions, and stronger beverages — brandy from France and Geneva, red wine from Bordeaux, St. Onge, Jurançon and Nantes, white wine from Provence, England, Jurançon and Bordeaux, other wines from Spain, Navarre, Ranciau, Cape of Good Hope, Cyprus, Frontignan and Florence, raspberry and other liqueurs from the islands and beer from England.[30] Upon arrival in New France, the contents of the larger barrels and hogsheads which left France had to be put into smaller kegs and casks for portaging along the canoe routes to the forts and posts in the interior.

Mercantilism and Triangular Trade

Mercantilism was an economic theory which was followed by the colonial powers of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Its intention was to

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

30 Kent, Timothy J., *Ft. Pontchartrain at Detroit*, pp. 102-105.

build strong, wealthy and independent nations which would be economically independent of other nations. To achieve this, they would have to avoid being dependent on the use of foreign ships to carry products of the parent or mother country and its colonies. They needed to develop a merchant fleet of their own as well as an efficient navy especially in times of war. As a result, the nation and its empire of colonies would make the profits of transporting goods; home industries would be protected and stimulated to be self sufficient; their citizens would be employed; it would protect and encourage colonies to provide foodstuffs and raw materials to manufacture goods and it would keep a favorable *balance* of trade to keep metallic currencies in the parent nation. It was believed that the country with the most gold and silver had the most prestige and power because they could then purchase any products they wanted from any place in the world. All the colonial powers followed it. It was often referred to as Colbertism, named after Jean Baptist Colbert, the Finance Minister of Louis XIV of France who viewed colonization as a mercantile venture. Later, it became known as mercantilism and was expanded to include triangular trade.[31]

The mercantile policy was interested in the development and success of the homeland. As colonies were added to the empire, their role was to produce goods not available at home, mostly raw materials and to purchase manufactured goods produced at home. The colonies would provide the need for a large merchant marine; profits would be made by ship owners involved in trade; importers and exporters would become wealthy and there would be opportunities to make investments. The colonies were not to be competitive with each other. The colonies would also benefit by having a variety of goods.[32]

Colonies were to supply raw materials and buy the manufactured goods from the mother country; this system would increase the wealth of the parent country. The more colonies a country had, the more wealth it would have. Under this system, New France was to trade only with other French colonies, and not with English colonies. They had to buy manufactured goods from France although they were more expensive than Dutch goods. New France did not have much manufacturing to compete with France. This trade pattern was called triangular trade.

The European countries who were primarily involved in triangular trade were Portugal, Spain, England, France, Holland and Denmark with their colonies—Brazil, the West Indies, the colonies surrounding the Gulf of Mexico, and the French and English colonies of North America —and the West coast of Africa.

Triangular trade was the system in which a colony could trade only with its homeland and with other colonies of the same country. It became known as triangular trade because it involved three destinations (usually a European power, its colonies and Central or West Africa for slaves). The countries involved had each established triangular trade routes for their own benefit. By the eighteenth

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31 Faulkner, Harold Underwood, *American Economic History,* pp. 107-108.

32 *Ibid.,* p. 108.

century, England had established several triangular trade routes. The three most important goods were sugar, rum and slaves. One route was from England with arms and ammunition to the west coast of Africa for slaves, selling them in the Caribbean and sailing from there back to England with rum, sugar and cocoa. In another route, England sold manufactured goods to the New England and Middle colonies who would then send grain, meat, lumber and fish to southern Europe who would then send wine and fruit to England. In another route, England would send manufactured goods to the New England and Middle colonies in America who then sent fish, grain, lumber and meat to the West Indies, who would then ship coffee, sugar, molasses and fruit back to England. The English colonies were involved in what became known as the middle route. New England distillers made rum from the West Indies sugar and traded the rum for slaves in Africa who were taken back to the American colonies or the West Indies.

One of the triangular routes for France was to send manufactured goods from France to New France. From New France, fish, flour, peas and wood would be sent to the West Indies and the West Indies would send sugar, rum, tobacco and molasses to France. By a second route, France would send manufactured goods to the West Indies and the West Indies would send sugar, rum, tobacco, coffee and molasses to New France and New France would send furs, fish and wood to France. A third route, France would send guns, rum and liquor to western Africa and pick up slaves which were transported to the West Indies to work on the sugar plantations in the Antilles. The West Indies would then send their products back to France.

In January 1716, Letters Patent were issued to assure that the French slave trade would continue throughout the eighteenth century. The trade was open to all Frenchmen who fitted out their ships in the French ports of Rouen, Saint Malo, Nantes, LaRochelle and Bordeaux. The ships from the French West Indies would return to France with molasses, sugar, tobacco, and coffee. In France the sugar would be refined and rum would be produced. France developed a valuable sugar refinery industry. Refined sugar from France was also sold to Southern European countries in exchange for fruits, liquors, dates, olives and olive oil. This led to the development of another triangular route. France would send rum, salt and fishing gear and supplies to the fisheries in Acadia. Salted fish, dried peas from Quebec, corn and flour from New England would be brought to the West Indies and France would receive sugar and other island products.[33]

Slaves from Africa might end up as slaves on coffee plantations of Brazil, sugar plantations of the West Indies, cotton plantations, tobacco or rice farms of English colonies of America or Louisiana, in the gold and silver mines of Mexico, or as domestic slaves in the English colonies of North America or New France.

Rum was easy to produce from sugar and molasses. Thus, molasses was an important commodity from the West Indies and was shipped from there to New England and the Middle Colonies, New France, England and France. If they could not get enough rum, they could

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33 Stein, Robert Louis, *The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century,* pp. 19-20.

process sugar into rum for themselves or to ship it to other locations in their triangular trade routes or to southern Europe where they could get fruits, wines, brandy, olives as well as pepper and other spices, porcelain, ginseng, silk and carpets brought from the far East.

Although it appears that triangular trade was a strict system of trade between the mother country and its colonies excluding other countries and their colonies, this was not true. Mother countries did not necessarily have enough colonies to allow them to have access to all the commodities they desired. New France, Quebec and Acadia developed extensions of triangular trade between themselves and with New England. It was difficult for ships from France to sail directly to Quebec. The coasts of Acadia and the St. Lawrence to Quebec were dangerous to navigate with violent storms and ice blocking their way. To avoid these hazards, ships from France would stop at Louisbourg or Isle Royal and unload their ships, transferring goods on to smaller ships to go on to Quebec. Quebec would then send its goods to France by transporting it to Acadia and transferring it to ships bound for France. Ships leaving Louisbourg were usually bound for Rochefort or LaRochelle. Ships leaving Isle Royale were bound for St. Malo or St. Jean de Luz.[34]

By re-exporting Louisbourg and Isle Royale had French foodstuffs, wine, fishing supplies and clothing and other foreign goods—Irish beef, Chinese porcelain, dried fish, fish oil, lumber and coal. Their trade also merged with the trade of Canada and the West Indies. Canada sent foodstuffs and lumber to Isle Royale which they re-exported to the West Indies who would ship sugar, molasses, rum, coffee, ginger and other tropical goods back to Isle Royal and re-exported to Canada. New England would send timber, coal and horses which were re-exported at Isle Royale. Cod was Isle Royale's major export and their largest import from the West Indies was rum and molasses. Isle Royale's trade with the West Indies was second to France only.[35]

Isle Royale's other trading partners were Acadia and New England. Both areas had livestock and foodstuffs. The Acadian trade was foodstuffs, livestock, furs and some fish in exchange for manufactured goods. New England's exports were the same with the addition of lumber and construction materials in return for French manufactured goods, wine, etc.[36] Port Royale was visited by numerous foreign ships yearly.

On and off, for over a hundred years, England and France were at war with each other. When there was peace between the two countries, British New England, primarily Boston and French Acadia, due to their proximity, had developed trade agreements. What had originally begun as a triangular route between France, the West Indies and Isle Royale was extended to include Louisbourg and its transshipments to Acadia, Quebec and New England. New England would get fish, whale oil, and timber from New France in exchange for English manufactured goods, corn, flour and tools. Quebec would get French manufactured goods which were

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34 Balcom, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

36 *Ibid.*

transferred at Isle Royale to Quebec. Quebec would send furs, timber, dried peas, rum to Acadia to be transferred to go to France and /or the West Indies to feed the slaves and construct buildings.

New England as well as the Acadians and coastal fisheries of New France were involved in the cod fishing industry. New Englanders divided the cod into three classes. The largest and fattest were difficult to cure completely. They were consumed locally. The second class were smaller and easily cured. They were sent to England, and other European countries. The third class were too small for European or American markets. They were sold in the West Indies as food for the slaves usually in exchange for sugar and molasses which went back to New England where it was made into rum.[37]

From its founding, the French colony of Louisiana had traded with the French islands in the Caribbean especially Santo Domingue. Between 1735 and 1763, sixty per cent of ships sailing from Louisiana to the Antilles was to Santo Domingue. Louisiana had provided foodstuffs, primarily meat and vegetables and wood to the islands in return for manufactured goods. France seldom sent ships to Louisiana, they were more interested in the trade with the islands. To a lesser degree, Louisiana also carried on an illegal trade with the Spanish, British and Dutch colonies.[38]

The manufacture of rum was the result of the fishing industry as was the salt industry. Salt vats were built along the shore where sea water was evaporated. Fish, molasses, rum and salt caused the need for the development of numerous cooperages and made coopering one of the most important trades in the colonies.[39]

By the eighteenth century, European nations were involved in triangular trade. Casks had to be produced to accommodate needs and goods shipped for each leg of triangular trade. Coopers primarily on the docks were specializing. Some were dry coopers; they concentrated on casks for tobacco and sugar. The more skillful were wet coopers who were primarily interested in rum casks which were imported in large quantities. Some coopers specialized in containers for groups having specific needs—the slave trade, transporting gunpowder, naval ships, miscellaneous needs, (buoys, diving vessels) and smuggling or specific industries — whaling, fishing or fur trading.

Coopering for the Slave Trade

During the eighteenth century, coopers were also making casks to accommodate the slave trade. They produced *slaves' crews* which were eating containers. Ten slaves ate from a single *slave crew*. Each *crew* held ten quarts. It was seven inches deep, nearly straight sided and ten inches across the bottom head. Two iron hoops were pinned by three wooden pegs. They were made this way so they could not be pulled apart. Coopers also made *pupper tubs* which were fifteen inches high, fourteen inches across with a wooden cover. They held eight to ten gallons. They were used as the slave's latrine. When filled, they were emptied

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37 Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

38 Andraos, Philippe, *Intercontinental Trade Within the French Atlantic World, 1708-1763, pp. 23-25.*

39 Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

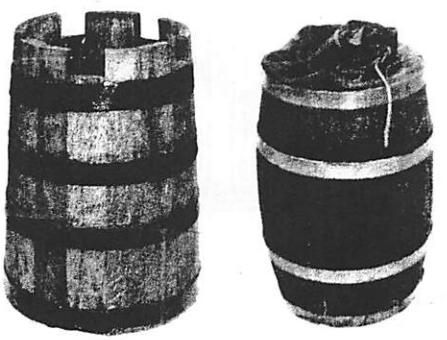
overboard. Casks called *horse buckets* held ten to twelve gallons of water for the slaves. They were larger at the bottom than the top and had a large hole in the middle of the top head. To hoist these buckets out of the hold, a rope was attacked to metal handles on both sides of the bucket. They also produced half powder barrels to hold 100 lead bars. Two hundred gallon *Guinea butts* were produced for the third leg of triangular trade in the West Indies where they were filled with rum. These *Guinea butts* were shipped in *shooks*. After these *butts* were near completion, the *butt* was dismantled. The staves would be bundled with the heading pieces. The heads were not dowelled together. In the West Indies, they would be cut and shaped by using a shearing hatchet. By the end of the eighteenth century, this tool went out of use and disappeared.[40]

Gunpowder Coopering

Most gunpowder manufacturers had their own cooperages. In the fourteenth century, gunpowder was already being produced in Europe. The need for gunpowder was primarily for military and naval use. In times of war, the industry was thriving. This made it difficult to get the best coopers for this kind of coopering. Thick oak was used to make gunpowder barrels and kegs. They were straighter and did not have much bulge. The hoops on gunpowder kegs were not in the middle near the bung-hole. They were at the two ends at the *chimes*. By keeping the hoops away from the bung-hole, a spark which might ignite gunpowder under the hoops, would sputter away from the bung-hole. The heads were the weakest part of the casks. Therefore, the heads were sunken several inches into the barrel or kegs. It was said that more gunpowder could be held on top of the heads than under them. If a cannonball hit a powder keg, it would usually knock it away, but would not cause an explosion. The *budge barrel* was another kind of powder keg. It had copper hoops. Instead of a top head, it had a leather tie up.[41]

A *match tub* was about the same size and shape as a *horse bucket*. It had an open top and five notches cut into the top ends of the staves. It held long matches for firing cannons. A cannon gun crew would lay their match across the top of the tub between two notches. It was ready to touch and fire the cannon. Privateers as well as naval ships used match tubs.[42]

match tub budge barrel



From Kilby, p. 41.

A barrel of gunpowder held 100 pounds. It was called a Number 1. A Number 2 keg held 50 pounds. They were numbered according to the number of a size keg would fit into a 100 pound barrel. A Number 4 held 25 pounds; a Number 18 would hold just over 5 ½

40 Kilby, *op. cit.* pp. 44-45.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

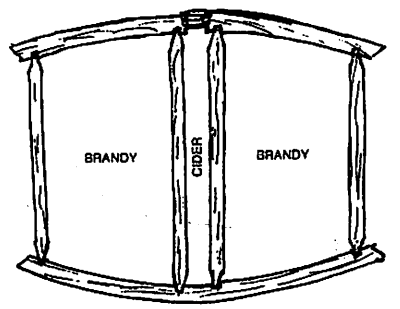
42 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

pounds and the smallest, a Number 30 held 3 pounds 5 ounces of gunpowder.[43]

Coopering in Smuggling

For centuries, individuals have been involved in smuggling one thing or another. In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries this was especially true. Small casks of brandy were easily concealed under clothing especially by pregnant or heavy women. They were seldom searched. Coopers sometimes would put four heads into a cask. When the tax collector came to take a sample through the bung hole, he would find cider and not find the brandy which was hidden at both ends of the cask.[44]

Four Headed Cask (for smuggling)



From Kilby, p. 46.

It was a common practice of smugglers of brandy and other contraband from France who upon arrival close to the shore, would tie casks together and drop them to the bottom of the sea close to the inshore of islands and coasts of New France. At night, the smugglers would go out in small boats to pick up the shipment. They would locate the sunken casks by using a *peep tub*, a bucket shaped tub with handles and a glass head on the bottom. They would look at the sea bottom from beneath the surface.[45]

Some sailors and dock hands were quite successful at taking brandy, wines, ale, spirits, rum etc. from their casks. They would loosen two hoops adjacent to each other. A small hole would be made where each hoop was fitted. They would blow into one hole and catch the liquid flowing out of the other hole. After they had enough, they would plug the holes and knock the hoops back over them to hide the theft. This was called "sucking the monkey".[46] These thefts occurred on the dock from the ports in France, on board the ship in transit and on the docks at the arrival destinations.

The Whale and Fishing Industry

Coopers were important to the whale and fishing industries as early as medieval times. Large numbers of casks were made for the whaling industry. Some were for whale oil which was used for lighting. Others were for blubber which were cut in strips and forced in through the bung hole. This was called "making off".

Already in the thirteenth century, casks of salmon and eels were transported in casks from Aberdeen, Scotland to Europe. Coopers also made shallow casks called oyster bars. The herring industry was not only important off the coast of Scotland but in the North Sea. Large schools of herring came into the North Sea in spring and summer. Coopers spent six months building casks of soft wood for transporting salted herring. "The insides of the *chimes* were sloped so that the head could be

43 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

removed and reinserted easily. The herring coopers used a tool called a flincher for this job." They followed the schools of herring into the North Sea.[47]

Whaling and fishing were the first industries in New France, even before fur trading. They continued to be of importance throughout the French regime and later under the English. Various kinds of cod fishing had different effects on the development on the seacoast. The French green fisheries whose ships were on the offshore banks, seldom came to land unless there was need for fresh water or for repairs due to storm damage. They cleaned and salted fish on board their ships and when they were loaded, they headed back to the ports of France. The migrant dry fisheries were only seasonal. They tried to avoid competition from resident fishermen. The resident fisheries had permanent settlements and homes and concentrated on their industry and did not encourage other industries. They all were interested in catching cod. They caught mackerel and herring as bait for cod. Salt and in some areas, food were not produced locally. Even in areas in the colony where it was possible for production, cheap imports from established areas and the limited size of the market was not considered practical. In these areas, colonial production was primarily ship and boat construction and services of supplying labor and maritime trades as coopers and cordwainers (a person who makes a variety of items with fine soft, fine-grained, highly polished leather — shoes, boots, wallets, purses , gloves etc.)[48]

The value of Isle Royale's fishery was estimated to be over 92 % dried cod. Also of value was cod oil, a by-product of cod. The only competition to cod oil was Magdalen oil which was from the killing of walruses on the Magdalen Islands. This never amounted to 1 % in any year. In France, dried cod was usually valued at 20 *livres* for each *quintel /quintaux*[49] of dried cod. Cod oil varied from 110 to 120 *livres* for each *barrique*. Locally its value was much less. The government in Port Royale usually set the value locally at 9 *livres* per *quintel*. Besides dried cod, other cod by-products were salted eggs, livers, *noues*,[50] sounds (air bladders), tongues and cod liver oil.[51]

There were fourteen harbors where fisheries were established. These were the resident owners. Owners of these fisheries owned or rented a number of properties which they developed in different harbors. In 1726, Bonaventure Le Brun described two fishing properties he had developed. All of them had numerous fish stages for drying the cod. He lived at one, Petite Brador, which included his home, a storehouse for storing drink, fishing equipment and with a storage bin for holding bread. A second storehouse was for storing salt, salting and storing cod when dry. The second was at Niganiche Harbor where

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47 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

48 Balcom, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

49 A *quintaux* was equal to a hundred pounds of cod.

50 *Noues* (sounds) – the air bladder along the backbone which was removed for food. They were fried or cooked in chowders or stews. Later, the air bladders were rendered to make isinglass which was used as a clarifying agent and in some glues. The tongue actually was the throat of the cod. It was considered the most flavorful part of the fish.

51 Balcom, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; 31.

there were two cabins for ten crewmen, a third cabin for the smith, carpenter, cooper and five boys; a home for Le Brun or his representative; two storehouses, one held 400 barrels of salt and the other had a cellar and storage bin; a chicken coop and a sheep shed, and a *pont* (bridge) thirty feet long and five feet wide led to a 24 foot square fish stage. Tesson La Floury's two fishing properties at Côte du Nord and Petite Brador were described much the same.[52] All the other fishing properties were basically much the same.

Inhabitants who owned property in coastal areas used it as an investment renting it out to fisheries. The value of these properties varied according to values placed on individual fishing properties. The properties in established areas and /or were fully developed were worth more.[53]

Storehouses were an important part of all fishing properties. Sometimes, they were attached to the owner's house, whether attached or detached, they were necessary for the required storage space for large numbers of supplies necessary for their fishing industry. The drying process of cod was carefully watched. As the fishing season progressed, the cod would be moved from the flakes to the beaches and carefully piled so that the fish lay skin upwards overlapping each other to prevent moisture penetration. Near the end of the drying process, the piles of fish would usually be covered with sailcloth to protect the cod from moisture. Dried cod were vulnerable to water damage. The climate of Isle Royale, Louisbourg and the fishing areas of the north Atlantic coast obviously would cause such damage. There are many accounts of piles of cod being put in the proprietor's house, cabins and storehouses to protect them from water damage.[54]

In addition, the proprietor had to furnish fishing equipment — lead, lines and hooks so the men could fish, mackeral and herring nets to get bait, replacement gear for shallops and schooners which provided them with bait, nails to repair fish stages and salt to preserve the catches; The shallop crews had to be provided baskets and buckets to hold their daily provisions and compasses for safe navigation in foggy weather, and the shallop had to be regularly supplied and repaired.[55]

The fishery owners were the only ones who could legally provide liquor, clothing, tobacco or other necessities for their fishermen, either by giving it to them or selling it to them. They were not to sell it to them at excessive prices, but this was not necessarily true. The fishery was to provide salt for the fish and food for the fishermen and make liquor, tobacco or other necessities available. Like most other supplies they were shipped in by kegs and barrels prior to the fishing season.[56] The owner was also responsible for furnishing food for his family and the fishing crews, storage bins and large numbers of items for resale to his crews. The most important was liquor, food items and clothing articles. There was not much variety in food items. The foods were generally the basic staples of bread or biscuit, dried

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52 Balcom, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 62-63.

dried peas, butter, salt pork, molasses and rum or brandy — much the same as what was given to soldiers and sailors. All of these items were transported and stored in casks of various sizes. To have some variety, fishermen would supplement their diets, by purchasing eggs, cheese, sardines, hams, brandy and fresh fish and garden foodstuffs if available. In the later part of summer, supply ships from Quebec and New England would carry full bread and vegetables. On 6 May 1742, Duquesnel and Bigot passed a law that restricted the daily ration to be given to each "Compagnon, matelot et engage" to one *livre* of bread, a normal allotment of salt pork, butter and brandy.[57]

The largest expense to the proprietor was salt. Salt was used at the rate of a little more than one *barrique* (hogshead of about 54 gallons) per 10 *quintaux* (1,000 lbs.) of cod. Dry fishing whether by immigrants or residents was the primary fish production of Isle Royale. Green fisheries had little contact with the colony except for repairs or for fresh water. However, as the end of the fishing season neared, even the dry fisheries turn to green fishing because there just was not enough time to complete the drying process. For example, in 1737, Port Royale exports in dried cod brought in 1,389,380 *livres* and their income for green cod was 6,736.5 *livres.* However, dried cod was small in comparison to the by-products of roe, air bladders, livers, tongues and oil.[58] Some years, the cod industry was of more value than the fur industry. It also was of major importance in the triangular trade between France, Isle Royale and the French West Indies.

On board the larger green fishing vessels, the cod were dressed and salted down on board the ship. The fishing voyage lasted several weeks and fish had to be heavily salted to preserve them until they would be landed for the drying process. This heavier salting meant that the cod could not be dried as hard as those caught by the shallops which brought the cod to land for the drying process more quickly. Therefore, the later were more valuable than those caught on the larger vessels further out to sea.[59]

Two (throater and splitter) or three men (throater, header and splitter) were needed to dress the fish. All three worked at a splitting table. Each man stood in a barrel while working. The barrel was protection from the water, and blood and if on board a ship, for stability. First the throater cut the cod's throat horizontally below the gills and then made a second cut from the first cut along the stomach to the anal opening. The header then removed the guts, putting the roe in one container and the livers, etc. in other containers. The header then broke off the cod's head,

The throater is on the right & the splitter on the left, photo from Balcom, p. 36; (originally from *Du Monceau, Traite général des pesches...* Part II, Section1)

57 *Ibid.,* pp. 61-62.

58 *Ibid.,* pp. 29, 31.

59 *Ibid.,* p. 41.

throwing it to the side if someone were to remove the tongues and place them in a third container. The splitter then removed the backbone and ribs so that the fish laid flat. The air bladders would also be removed from the backbone. The cod were washed and salted. After the roe, livers, tongues and air bladders were cleaned and prepared, they were packed separately in smaller casks than the cod for shipment back to France.[60]

The cod industry was very profitable. In 1718, the Isle Royal resident and French migrant fisheries alone produced 156,500 *quintaux* of cod. Each *hogshead* held ten *quintaux* of cod. This meant that 15,650 *hogsheads* were necessary for one season to carry cod back to Europe from this fishery alone. In order to preserve them, 19,575 *bariques* of salt were required. The value of the Isle Royal fisheries for 1718 was 3,130,000 *livres* in cod alone. Cod oil alone was valued at an additional 313,000 *livres*. Between 1718 and 1753, 1731 had the highest production of cod for the Isle Royale fishery—167,540 *quintaux* of cod requiring 20,850 *bariques* of salt for preservation and 16,754 *hogsheads* for transporting the cod to Europe. Its value was 3,350,800 *livres*.[61]

Almost as important as the cod fishing industry was the whaling industry. It was very profitable. Spermaceti, sperm oil, whalebone and ambergris were in demand and costly. At first there was considerable whaling along the North Atlantic coast of North America. When the whales were forced away from the coast, whalers would follow them to other regions. The most skillful whalers were from New England.[62]

Fur Trade

To transport goods into and out of the interior, explorers, voyageurs, outfitters, traders and merchants relied on water routes with birchbark canoes. This series of connected waterways covering thousands of miles provided many difficulties. There were many shallow areas; rapids caused many accidents and loss of goods; numerous portages around rapids, falls and over heights had to be made. Boils and hernias were common complaints by the voyageurs who had to carry the goods and canoes they were transporting on their backs for miles. Wooden boats were not practical. Birchbark canoes were more practical for these waterways. They could carry large loads of cargo without sinking deeply. They were strong and light enough to be portaged; they were easy to handle and were paddled quickly. They each carried up to 3000 pounds. They survived squalls better than wooden boats. They could be repaired enroute and they served as a shelter.[63]

Government sponsored expeditions were usually stocked as much as possible with items that were in the King's storehouses in Quebec and Montreal. These supplies were shipped from the King's storehouse in Rochefort, France or were bought from local producers. Voyaging canoes were paddled by four, six or eight men during the French regime.[64]

Every thing transported was packed in bales, bundles, crates, boxes or kegs.

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60 *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 41.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 50-51.

62 Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

63 Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

The same was true when moving goods within the interior or out of the interior. The canoes carried supplies and goods for more than one trader. To identify the owner of inbound goods and supplies and outbound furs, containers were usually marked on its cover with ink or paint. However, many of these markings would be washed out enroute. Instead, they used the technique used by coopers. A raising knife which had a thin, curved gouge bit at the end of its steel blade was pulled toward the user, leaving cut marks. A standard size was called a *rouanne* and a *rouanette* was a smaller version. It was used by coopers, wine merchants, and others who used kegs regularly so that they could carve initials or identifying marks into them. Casks of powder found at Ft. Michilmackinac were marked PM which had been sent with other merchandise to the fur trader, Pierre Marin. One of these was part of the items included with equipment for the trading storehouse which were brought by the founding brigade of Fort Pontchartrain in 1701.[65]

The French adopted trumplines or portage straps (*collier à porter* or *collier de portage*) from the Indians who made them of leather or woven fabric. The French used them for the fur trade and the military. It was a wide central band which fit over the voyageur's forehead or head, and had two very long straps, sometimes as long as sixteen feet in length. The outer ends were tied to the piece of cargo that was to be carried. Trumplines that were used by the French were usually made of leather or heavy linen canvas. Some of the trumplines were made by settlers of the St. Lawrence Valley. In 1744, records show that a shoemaker, Alexis Charlan, produced 182 trumplines at 6 *sols* each for the local king's storehouse. However, most of the government purchased straps were produced by native women. During the French regime, each voyageur provided his own paddle and trumpline.[66]

A load of two pieces of ninety pounds each was the usual amount a voyageur portaged at a time. One like a pack was tied with the small long ends of the trumpline and the lower piece was made to fit into in the small of the back to rest on the upper big back bone of the hip. The second piece was a bag, barrel or a box that was thrown on and put in a hollow on the back between the shoulder blades. The broad part of the trumpline was put across the brow. The neck was bent at an angle of most resistance by the neck and spinal column. The legs and body were slightly bent, just enough for a spring and off at a bound, short but quick. He traveled at this pace whether he was on rough ground, on hills or level areas at a rate averaging five miles each hour. Seldom did they carry less than 180 pounds. If they did not make this minimum, the rest of the men would make fun of him and disgrace him.[67]

Goods and supplies that were from France and destined for the interior forts and posts usually were packed in casks, barrels or kegs of various sizes. When the ships arrived in Quebec, Montreal, Isle Royale, Louisbourg, etc., the contents of larger casks and barrels had to be transferred to smaller casks and kegs of various sizes, so they could be portaged when the goods were sent into

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65 *Ibid.*, pp. 846-847.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

67 *Ibid.*

the interior. The coopers were responsible for producing the appropriate size and kind of casks and kegs necessary to be best transported by canoe and portaged long distances over all kinds of terrain without damage or loss of goods.

Casks or kegs were never discarded. They would be reused for transporting goods into the interior, back to Quebec or to France. Skins of small animals—mink, weasel and ermine—were often packed in small kegs. Casks which remained at forts and posts were often used for storing supplies or converted to other uses.

Items other than furs and hides were exchanged by a variety of native populations to get French goods. This was of importance to traders who wanted supplies of dried and fresh meats and fish, oil and grease, agricultural products, moccasins, snowshoes, toboggins, canoes and other items which traders needed to live and to do their work.[68]

At times, some Indian groups produced or provided some products which the French wanted. The down of waterfowl was tradeable. Castoreum and musk were extracted from the scent glands of beavers and muskrats. These scents were often used in manufacturing perfumes. Castoreum was also used as a remedy for ear aches, deafness, headaches, gout and aided in restoring memory and curing insanity. A set of beaver glands brought 5 *sols* and a beaver pelt brought 6 *sols*. In the St. Lawrence, others hunted for seals for their skins and seal oil in exchange for beaver, five pots (8.2 English quarts) of oil for one beaver and a large barrel of oil for twenty-two beaver. Captive Indian slaves (*panis*), usually women and children, were traded to the French and other Indian groups.[69] Some of these items were sent by canoe back to the east and were shipped in casks, kegs or crates, or were sent to traders further in the interior where needed supplies and trade items were unavailable.

The cargoes of goods which were transported by canoe were put in a variety of containers for protection and to avoid difficult handling. The containers included cases and chests, cloth or leather bags, bales and wooden kegs. For all the containers used to ship cargo to build Fort Pontchartrain in 1701, the largest number used were wooden casks. There were 226 kegs on the outfitting list—217 kegs at the cost of 30 *sols* each (1.5 *livres*) and 9 kegs costing 33.75 *sols* each (1.7 *livres*). The last nine were probably larger than the standard size. The staves of these casks were mostly bound with bands made from split saplings.[70]

Twenty of the kegs held 1000 pounds of gunpowder; fourteen kegs held a barrel of brandy; two casks held 120 pounds of pitch and one cask or keg held 4500 roofing and planking nails.[71]

One large cooperage barrel containing a cooper's tools and needs was also included as well as one empty *demi-barrique vide*, a half size barrel. It would have been a 23 to 33 gallon size. It had to have been for a specific need, possibly

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68 *Ibid.*, p. 848.

69 *Ibid.*, pp. 848, 850.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

71 *Ibid.* p. 77.

for a blacksmith who would use it for quenching hot iron. If it had been filled with cargo in transport, it would have been impossible to carry on canoe portages. In 1701, four barrels, this size were sent to Ft. Maurepas at Biloxi from France by ship. They contained 1,846 pounds of nails, about 461.5 pounds per barrel. In addition, forty panes of glass were included in the shipment of goods in 1701 to Ft. Pontchartrain. They were probably for the church windows and arrived safely because they were packed in casks. Occasionally, when they had cargoes which were too heavy to be portaged by hand, they attempted to have it sent by ship or animal power.[72]

We do not know what many of these kegs or casks carried in them. However some of the cargo being sent to Ft. Pontchartrain was sent later from Ft. Frontenac on the eastern end of Lake Erie rather than in June when the main brigade left. These cargo items were listed separately on the master roster along with the shipping containers. Of the additional kegs, each of which were standard size, two of the kegs held 120 pounds of canoe pitch, 60 pounds in each cask; 20 others carried 1,000 pounds of gunpowder, 50 pounds per keg; One cask carried 4,500 roofing and planking nails; a *barrique* of brandy was divided among fourteen kegs, with each keg about the size of a five-gallon bucket and weighing 30 to 40 pounds.[73] .

In Cadillac's inventory of 1711 he recorded that a standard size cask of gunpowder weighed, 60 pounds — 53 pounds of gunpowder + 7 pounds of container. A second cask of gunpowder weighng 56 pounds, 49 pounds of it actually being gunpowder and a third cask weighing 8 pounds held 50 pounds of gunpowder. This inventory also had listed 76 pounds of salt in one cask and 16 cooperage casks or kegs of various sizes which would indicate a cooper at the post. Empty kegs were also sent to Ft. Pontchartrain; these were mostly quarter-kegs which had a capacity of 4 pots or 1. 64 gallons. These were believed to have contained whiskey or brandy and used as gifts to Indian allies.[74]

Orders sent in 1715, 1721, 1724, 1731, 1732 and 1758 indicate a variety of goods which were transported by casks and / or kegs to individual traders at Ft. Ponchartrain. Among these items were lead shot, gun balls, gunpowder, black tobacco, white and red vinegar, caulking, brandy, white flour, pitch, roofing nails, planking / flooring nails, small iron nails, funnels, tow / oakum, vermillon, biscuit or hardtack, Spanish wine, prunes, church ornaments, greased pitch, wheat, corn, brown sugar, gum, nutmeg, ginger, dried peas and beans, corn, wine, salted pork, salt, raisins, sugar, olive oil, salted beef, mirrors, plugs, taps and pegs, knives, metal tools, iron wares and other hard goods, and empty barrels and kegs.

In 1738 one cask was sent for the Wea Indians on the Wabash River. It contained 2 dozen butcher knives, 12 dozen clasp knives, 4 dozen table knives, 4 dozen fire steels, 3 pounds vermillon and 4 pounds of small glass beads.[75]

In 1686 in the wreckage of LaSalle's ship. La Belle, a number of cooperage

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72 *Ibid.,* p. 84.

73 *Ibid.,* pp. 82-83.

74 *Ibid.,* pp. 83-84.

75 *Ibid.,* p. 84.

containers were found. Some measured 28 inches long with 22 inch diameter heads. Others ranged from 12 to 37 inches in length. Each container had nine to ten hoops of split willow at each end. Each hoop was about one inch wide and "closed at its overlapping junction by a split rush. No nails were used. They originally held gunpowder, lead shot, pitch and metal tools.[76]

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76 *Ibid.*

Fish, whale by-products, molasses, rum, and salt coupled with the practice of mercantilism commonly followed by the leading powers, made the cooperage industry the busiest in the colonial period. Their importance continued until the nineteenth century when enameled and galvanized buckets, bowls, kitchen utensils and containers became popular. Breweries hired their own coopers to produce and repair casks. Independent coopers, no longer could get those jobs and they gradually disappeared.

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Tonneliers of New France

Below is a listing of *tonneliers* in New France or Acadia during the French regime. They were valuable to the economy of their communities and the colony.

Information for the following chart was extracted from

1. Jettté, René, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec*

2. White, Stephen, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Familles Acadiennes*, 3 Vols,

3. Létourneau, Hubert and Labrècque, Lucille, "Introduction de Pieces Détachées de la Prévoté de Quebec," in *Rapport de Province de Quebec (RAPQ)*. Vol. 49, 1971. (The * indicates the page number in this source.)

I included the third source only because individuals were often identified with their particular trade. This identifies him and places him in a specific place at a specific time. This source goes beyond the time span into the later part of the French regime which are not covered in the first two sources.

Column 1: Name of the *tonnelier*, (names of parents in parentheses)
Column 2: Miscellaneous information
Column 3: Source by number; Jetté—1 White—2 RAPQ--3

Name of Tonnelier (His Parents)	**Additional Miscellaneous Information**	**Source**
Agathe dit Aucoin, Louis-Francois (Louis & Jeanne Ville Dieu)	From Notre-Dame-de-Cogne, Aunis; Also an archer; m. Marie-Jeanne Vergeat (Jean & Jeanne Boissel) at Quebec 2 May 1724.	1
Allard, Pierre (Pierre & Mathurine Verdon)	Of St-Hermine, Poitou; 1m. Anne Lavoie (René & Anne Godin); 22 Nov 1683 at Beaupré; 2m. Marie-Marthe Delugré (Jacques & Marie Taupier) 9 Nov 1699; Beaupré; 3rd m. Marie-Madeleine Pinel (widow of Francois Vandal.) 29 Aug 1700 at Beaupré	1
Barsa dit Lafleu,r André (Etienne & Léonarde Choseau)	From d'Auriat, Limousin; m. Françoise Pilois (Gervais &Hélène Basset) 2 Dec 1669 at Montreal	1
Billet, François	Living a Quebec in 1664	1
Blou / Belou, Jacques	Acadian; one of 1st settlers in Beaubassin; m. Marie Girouard (François & Jeanne Aucoin) about 1669	2
Bonneron dit Dumaine, François - Mathurin (François & Jeanne Turpault)	From St. Nicolas, La Rochelle, Aunis; he was hired at La Rochelle 6 May 1714; m. Marie-Charlotte Saint-Aubin (Adrien & Jeanne-Marguerite Beloy) on 5 Nov 1717 at Longueuil	1
Bossu dit Lyonnaise, or Lyonnais Louis-Joseph (Jean-Baptiste & Élisabeth-Ursule Prou)	m. Marie-Françoise Aide dit Créquy (Jean-Baptiste & Marie-Catherine Delisle) on 26 May 1729 at Quebec	1
Bourget dit Lavallée, Pierre (Pierre & Marie Roux)	From Semssac, Saintonge; m. Marie Jean (Vivien & Élisabeth Rainville) on 11 Jan. 1691 at Lauzon	1
Canaple dit Valtagagne, André	He and his father were masters at the same trade;	1

(André & Marie Hedet)	from St-Jean-en-Grève, Paris. He was an employee of Jean Fournier in 1688. m. Marie Cadieux (Jean & Marie Valade) on 27 July 1688 at Lachine.	
Chalifou, Jean	At Quebec on 17 Mar 1727, in court, this *tonnelier* requested 11 £ 30 sols of the jeweler, J.B Landeron, for defective jewelry.	3 *137
Charland dit Francoeur, Jean (Claude & Jeanne Pelletier)	m. Anne Paré (widow of Jacques Beaudon) 30 Oct 1691 at Ste-Famille, I.O.	1
Charland dit Francoeur, Pierre (Jean & Anne Paré)	b. 26 Sep 1694 at Ste-Famille, I.O. m. Angélique Ardouin (Pierre & Agathe Morin) on 12 June 1719, at Montreal	1
Charles, Claude	Also a laborer; living at Quebec in 1687.	1
Chasle, Claude (Charles & Françoise Peignier)	From Ste-Foy, Orléanais; Lived in lower Quebec; m. Andrée Lépine (Pierre & Andrée Griffon) on Nov 1668 at Quebec.	1
Chauveau, Pierre (Pierre & Réronne)	Also captain of the militia; from Brodeaux, Guyenne	1
Comeau, Pierre	Acadian; b. about 1598; m. Rose Bayon	2
Sr. Cureux St-Germaine	11 Aug 1756, Cureux St-Germain & Augustin Normandeau, both *tonneliers*, were brought before the Quebec court by Pélissier & Perrault.	3 *374
Daniel, Jacques (François & Marie Baudon)	Master at his trade; b. St-Sauveur, La Rochelle; m. Madeleine Barbeau (Jean & Marie DeNoyon) on 18 Jan 1717 at Montreal	1
Daveluy dit Larose Paul (Samuel & Hélène Godefroy)	From Rainneville,Picardie; m. Élisabeth Haguin (widow of Antoine Courtemanche) on 11 Aug 1672 at Montreal	1
Delaurier, M	Master of his trade; on 22 Nov 1730, a bill of Pierre Petit of 40 £ 10 sols was owed to the master *tonnelier*.	3 *172
Demers, André (André & Anne Jetté)	Master at his trade; m. Élisabeth Caron (Claude & Élisabeth Perthuis) on11 Nov 1720 at Montreal	1
Denis, Jean	29 Oct 1754, he was in court regarding a bill of 30 £ that François Delisle paid.	3 *354
Devin, Jean (son)	9 Oct 1724, he & Ignace Lecour, both equal *tonneliers* of Quebec were there to settle a disagreement.	3 *123
Dumaine, François	Also a serrurier ; (See Denis, Jean.); 11 July 1750, he was in court concerning a quittance.	3 *315
Dupéré dit Larivière, Michel (Jacques & Renée Badeau)	1686, he was a soldier a the garrison of Quebec; in 1692, he was a *tonnelier*; 1m. Marie Chretien (Michel & Marie Meunier) on 2 May 1686, Charlesbourg; 2m. Anne Dancosse (Pierre & Marie-Madeleine Bouchard) on 17 Aug 1703, at Quebec	1
Dupéré, Michel (Michel & Marie Chrétien)	m. Marie-Anne Badeau (Jean & Françoise Roy) on 19 Aug 1715 at Quebec; 13 Nov 1724, he was at court at the request of Pierre Roy dit Léveillé.	1, 3 *124
Enoui dit l'annoix, Louis	On 16 Sep1754, he & François Delisle were in	3

	court. He had to pay 417 £ 10 *sols* for lease of a house. 11 & 14 March 1755, he was in court at Quebec.	*354 *358
Filion, Fillion, Joseph (Pierre & Suzanne Lanière)	From St-Jean-du-Perrot, Aunis; m. Marie-Suzanne Lecours (Michel & Louise Ledran) on 3 May 1719 at Quebec; 13 Aug 1727, he took François Depré dit Dumontier to court.	1, 3 *145
Fouel, Antoine	A master at his trade and a domestic of Charles Bazire	1
Fournier, Claude (Etienne & Michelle Gendret / Gendray)	From St-Pierre de Pouilly-en-Auxois, Bourgogne; In 1679, he was a *tonnelier* at the brewery in Quebec; m. Jeanne Renaud (Jacques & Marie Charrier) on 11 Nov 1681 at Charlesbourg.	1
Fournier dit Preefontaine, Antoine (Denis & Catherine Desabreux)	From Beaumont-les-Nonains, Picardie; he came as a soldier of de Troyes company and as a *tonnelier*	1
Gandin, Barthelemi (Louis & Marie François)	From Ste-Marguerite, La Rochelle, Aunis; he was hired at La Rochelle on 5 June 1643 as a *tonnelier* for Guilllaume Couillard.	1
Gouin, Mathurin (Vincent & Charlotte Gauthier)	From Angliers, Poitou; hired at LaRochelle on 10 Apr 1657 with his brother. m. Marie-Madeleine Vien (Étienne & Marie Denot) on 20 Nov 1663 at Trois Rivières	1
Hébert, Antoine	Acadian; he had a brother, Etienne; m. Geneviève Lefranc about 1648	2
Herbert, Guillaume	Master at his trade;	1
Héry dit Duplanty, Jacques (Pierre & Marthe Chapiot	A master *tonnelier* and a merchant; from St-Jean-d'Angély, Saintonge; 1m. Marie-Renée Lamoureux (Pierre & Marguerite Pigarouiche) on 22 Sep 1693 at Montreal; 2m. Jeanne Vanner (Germain & Marie Cartignier) on 4 Feb 1709 at Montreal.	1
Hotesse, Paul (Joseph or Etienne & Marie Pitman)	Was from Kekiken or Dover near Boston, New England; Master at his trade; 1m. Marie Élisabeth Wabert (Michel & Ébrard Calais) on 3 Nov 1710 at Quebec; 2m. Marie-Madeleine Toupin (Jean & Marie-Madeleine Mezeray) on 20 Oct 1721 at Montreal; 3m. Marie-Anne Caron (widow of Jacques Pare) at Montreal on 22 Sep 1728.	1
Jasmin, Francois,	*Tonnelier* of Quebec; 3 & 9 March 1735, he was to pay 50 £ for10 months of rent.	3 *215
Jorian, André (Pierre & Michelle Erdouin)	From St-Alban; he lived in lower Quebec. 1m. Barbe Albert (Guillaume & Élisabeth Halay) on 10 June 1687 at Lauzon; 2m. Marguerite Hamel (Charles & Angélique Levasseur) on 1 Oct 1709 at Ste-Foy.	1
Labranche, Louis	3 Dec 1753, he is to pay the amount due to Joseph Roy of Beaumont	3 *349
Labranche, Michel	15 Jan 1754, his case was continued.	3 *350
Lacasse Pierre	18 Feb 1755: a *tonnelier* of Quebec, he and his	3

	wife, Geneviève Lesieur, are in court concerning payment of rent or lease.	*357
Lacour, Ignace	Tonnelier of Quebec; (See Devin)	3 *123
Lalue /Laleu dit Lamontagne, Léonard (Léonard & ?)	From Bernonville, Marche; m. Marie-Françoise Petit (Nicolas & Marie Pomponelle) on 10 Jan 1689 at Boucherville.	1
Lanoue, Pierre	Acadian; m. Jeanne Gautrot (François & Edmée Lejeune) about 1682; in Aug 1695, he took oath of loyalty to the King of England.	2
Lenoix, Louis	*Tonnelier* of Quebec ; 14 & 17 March 1758, an agreement was made between him and Jean Levasseur.	3 *398
Laviolette, Louis	*Tonnelier* at Quebec. 10 Apr-11 Aug 1742, disagreement concerning property of deceased Jean Devin;	3 *247-248
Lecomte Etienne (Jean & Marie-Madeleine Willis)	Master at his trade; m. Jeanne-Charlotte Couturier (widow of Louis Janson)	1
Lecourt, Ignace	23 July & 2, 6, Aug 1729: he took Joseph Guy to court concerning a piece of land; (This may be the Lacour above ??)	3 *158
Lefebvre, Thomas (Jacques & Anne Auzou)	His father was a master t*onnelier* as well; b. at St-Vincent, Rouen, Normandy; also an interpreter of Abénaki language and a voyageur; m. Geneviève Pelletier (widow of Vincent Verdon) ct. 8 Sep 1669 with Becquet at Sillery; 1702—he was sent as a delegate to Boston by Governor Brouillan of Acadia.	1, 2
Lefebvre, Thomas (Thomas & Geneviève Pelletier)	Master at his trade; 1m. Marie Helène Gonthier (Bernard & Marguerite Paquet) on 7 March 1707 at Quebec; In Dec. 1701 he was a t*onnelier* in Quebec; 2m. Marguerite Girard (Joachim & Jeanne Chalut) on 7 May 1718 at Quebec.	1, 3 *86
Lefebvre, Gabriel (Thomas & Geneviève Pelletier)	Living in lower Quebec; m. Marie-Jeanne Grouard (Jacques & Marie Têtu) on 29 Aug 1712 at Quebec	1
Lemaître dit Jugan	13 March 1755: He was named *tuteur* of François of Lemaître dit Jugon heirs of Louis Jugon & Marie Collet, regarding two houses.	3 *357
Lemieux, Pierre (Pierre & Marie Lugan)	From St-Michel, Rouen, Normandy; hired at La Rochelle on 10 Apr 1643; m. Marie Bénard or Besnard (Denis & Marie Michelet) on 10 Sep 1647 at Quebec;	1
Lemieux, Gabriel	Master at his trade; From Rouen Normandy; 1m. Marguerite Leboeuf (Guillaume & Marguerite Millau) on 3 Sep 1658 at Quebec; 2m. Marthe Beauregard (Jean & Marie Desmarais) on 26 Nov 1671 at Quebec.	1
Lemoine, François (François & Marie Olivier)	m. Marie-Geneviève Boutillet (Pierre & Jacquette Vandandaigue) on 8 May 1730 at Quebec.	1

Lucas dit Saint-Venant, Yves (François & Marguerite Selève)	Master at his trade; from Plouzané, Brittany; 1m. Perrine Lapierre (widow of Honoré Danis) on 19 March 1705 at Lachine; 2m. Marie Blanchard (widow of Mathieu Brunet) about 1713 near Lachine	1
Maddox, Joseph-Daniel (Jean & Anne Widby)	Also a wood joiner; born in England; prisoner of war at St. Jean on 1 Jan 1709; 1m. Marie Jetté (Urbain & Marie-Françoise Chevalier) at Montreal on 6 Feb 1713; 2m. Anne-Louise Lacelle (Jacques & Angélique Gibault) on 3 Nov 1715 at Montreal.	1
Mardor, Jean (Guillaume & Marie Trevet)	From St-Georges or St-George-du-Vièvre, Normandy; domestique of Jacques LeBer; m. Louise Pichard (Jean & Louise Garnier) on 18 Aug 1672 at Montreal.	1
Marsolet, Sieur de Bellechasse, Jean (Nicolas & Marie Barbier)	Also a navigator; lived in lower Quebec as a *tonnelier;* 1m. Marguerite Couture (Guillaume & Anne Émard) in 1680; 2m. Marie-Anne Boduc (Louis & Élisabeth Hubet) on 28 May 1690 at Quebec	1
Motay, Jean (Jean & Marie Vignault)	b. St-Jean-du-Perrot; m. Marie-Anne Hervieux (Isaac & Marie-Anne Pinguet) on 28 Sep 1699 at Quebec.	1
Metayer dit St-Ange / St--Onge, Jean-Bapiste	8 July 1752, he was brought to court by Joseph Hainse, a joiner, for a payment he had not received.	3 *344
Mongeon, Jean	17 Jan 1758, he and Joseph Arcan made a settlement with each other; on 1 March 1759, he was taken to court by Augustin Gilbert, a blacksmith of Quebec	3 *392 *413
Moyé dit Grancé Nicolas	Soldier of the Sorel Company of the Carignan Regiment; he was a *tonnelier* at Sorel.	1
Normandeau, Augustin	*Tonnelier* in Quebec; (See Cureux St-Germain)	3 *374
Paquet, Louis (René & Hélène Lemieux)	Also a ship carpenter; m. Marie-Louise Guillot (Jean & Claire Françoise Tru) on 10 Feb 1716 at Quebec; Nov 1730, h was made *tuteur* and guardian of his pupil, at the request of René Paquet, a mason. Master of his trade 8 March 1752, Paquet requested payment of a lease for his property;	1, 3 *173; * 342
Pelletier é Peltier, François (Pierre & Louise Cardinaux)	From Courçon, Aunis; hired by Louis Sedilot; 1m. Anne Gignard (Laurent & Élisabeth Sorin) at L' Ange Gardien on 7 Feb. 1684; 2m. Marie-Dorothèe Tremblay (Pierre & Anne Achon) on 30 Apr 1703 at L'Ange-Gardien.	1
Perras, dit Lafontaine, Pierre (Pierre & Jeanne Lanier)	Master at his trade; lived most of his life at Laprairie; m. Denise Lemaître or Lemaistre (Denis & Catherine Deharme or Desharnie) at Montreal on 26 Jan 1660.	1
Pineau dit Larigueur, Pierre (Pierre & Angélique Lebreen)	Master of his trade; from St-Junien, Limousin; soldier of the Dumesny Company; 1m. Jeanne	1

	Massard (Nicolas & Anne Bellesoeur) at Lachine on 13 July 1698; 2m. Jeanne Hebert (Michel & Anne Galet) on 20 Feb1700 at Quebec; 3m. Suzanne Cousson (widow of Étienne Poirier) at Quebec on 28 Apr 1701.	
Pineau dit Laperle, Pierre (Pierre & Anne Boyer)	m. ct. 21 May 1708 with Marie-Madeleine Vanasse (widow of Mathieu Courrier); he died at Trois Rivières	1
Pinel, Gilles (Nicolas & Madeleine Maraud)	m. Anne Ledet (widow of Jean Neveu) on 2 Sep 1657 at Quebec.	1
Pinet, Jean (Philippe & Catherine Hébert)	From Port Royal, Acadia; in 1716, he was living in lower Quebec; m. Marie Morin (widow of Jacques Cochu) on 3 Feb 1710 at Quebec	1, 2
Pothier, Charles (Claude & Louise Boisdon)	Master at his trade; m. Marie-Angélique Mallet (René & Marie Lecuyer) at Montreal on 7 Jan 1716.	1
Poupeau, Jacques (Jean & Jeanne Martin)	From Dompierre-sur-Mer, Aunis; he married Marguerite Deschamps in France about 1640; in 1649 they were living in Quebec	1
Prévost, Eustache (Eustache & Marie Élisabeth Guertin)	Master at his trade; 1m. Marie-Catherine Brazeau (Charles & Geneviève Quenneville) at Montreal on 1 Dec 1715; 2m. Marie Sarault (Jean & Catherine Brossard) at Montreal on 17 Feb 1727.	1
Prévost, Jean-Baptiste (Eustache & Marie-Élisabeth Guertin)	1m. Marie-Anne Milange on 29 Sep 1725 at Montreal; 2m Marie-Catherine Jolive dit Lépine (widow of Jean Zacharie).	1
Proulx / Prou, Joseph (Jean & Catherine Pinel)	Master at his trade; m. Françoise Robidas (Jacques & Louise de Guitre) on 6 Nov 1726 at Neuville. 15 June 1742, he was assigned to pay 6 £ 7 sols for the transport of goods.	1, 3 *251
Régreny, Mathurin	From Ile de Re, La Rochelle, Aunis; hired at La Rochelle in 1659; he arrived in Montreal 29 Sep 1659.	1
Robitaille, Philippe (Jean & Martine Cormont)	Master at his trade; from Béalen-Court, Artois; m. Marie-Madeleine Warren (widow of Richard Otheys) on 15 Oct 1693 at Montreal.	1
Rosson, Jean	Died at Quebec 22 June1688 at the age of 35.	1
Roy dit Desjardins, Antoine (Olivier & Catherine Boderge or Bauldard)	Arrived 18 June 1665 as soldier of the Froment Company of the Carignan regiment; he was a *tonnelier* in the 1681 census at Batiscan; m. Marie Major (Jean & Marguerite LePele) at Quebec on 11 Sep 1668; His father was a master *tonnelier* in France.	1
St. Germaine Sieur Cureux,	(see Cureux)	3
Simard, Augustin (Noel & Anne Dodier)	m. Marie-Angélique Barthélemy (Thomas & Geneviève Gariépy) on 20 Apr 1729 at Chateau Richer.	1
Thibierge / Tibierge, Etienne (Hippolyte & Renée Herve)	Also a merchant; in 1716, he was living in lower Quebec; 1m. Jeanne Chasle (Claude & Andrée Lepine) at Quebec on 18 Oct 1688; 2m. Cécile	1

	Cauchois (Jacques & Élisabeth Prudhomme) on 2 Aug 1712 at Quebec.	
Touchet, Simon	13, 14 July & 11 Sep 1752, Simon was called to court as a witness.	3 *345
Varin dit LaPistole, Nicolas (Nicolas & Jeanne Lacroix)	Master at his trade; soldier of the Longueuil Company; from Graincourt, Rouen, Normandy; m. Marie-Anne Ronceray (Jean & Jeanne Servignan) at Boucherville on 29 Oct 1697.	1
Vézina / Voisinat, Jacques	Master at his trade; from Puyravault; m. Marie Boisdon (Jean & Marie Bardin) about 1641in Puyravault, Rochefort, La Rochelle, Aunis, France.	1
Vézina / Voisinat, François (Jacques & Marie Boisdon)	m. Marie Clément (Jean & Madeleine Surget) at L'Ange Gardien on 10 Apr1679.	1
Villeneuve, Mathurin (Mathieu & Jeanne Chausset)	From Ste-Marie, Ile de Re, La Rochelle, Aunis; he was hired at La Rochelle on 31 March 1665. Later he was hired by Simon Denis; m. Marguerite Lemarche (Jean &Catherine Hurault) on 26 Nov 1669 at Quebec.	1
Xaintonge	2 July 1751, he appeared in court.	3 * 335

COMING UP

15-16 April 2011: Gene-A-Rama at LaCrosse Center and Radisson Hotel, LaCrosse.: Honoring Our Ancestors on the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War. Speakers will include: Lance J. Herdegen, historical consultant for the Civil War Museum of the Upper Middle West; Russell Horton, Reference and Outreach Archivist at the Wisconsin Veterans Museum; Don Litzer, Assistant Director & Head of Adult Services at T.B. Scott Free Library in Merrill; Kris Beisser Matthies, a certified Genealogist & Assistant Archivist for the Catholic Diocese of Green Bay; Richard L. Pifer, Director of Reference & Public Services for the Library-Archives Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society; Vickie Schnitzler, family historian & President of the Marshfield Area Genealogy Group. You can get a registration form on their website: wsgs@wsgs.org

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30 April 2011, Milwaukee County Genealogical Society Workshop: Keynote speaker will be Colleen Fitzpatrick, nationally known DNA Forensic Genealogist. James Hansen, Archivist and Genealogical Librarian at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library will speak on "Tribunes and Gazettes—Getting Most From Newspaper Research," and "Tracing Your Immigrant Ancestors Through Naturalization Records and Passenger Lists."

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5-6 June 2011: Reclaiming Our Heritage Days at Clement J. Zablocki VA Medical Center, Milwaukee. Reenactments from military eras in U.S. history—from pre-Revolutionary to the present. There are a number of activities including a Civil War enactment and Swing era dance lessons. Free admission and parking.

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7-10 September 2011: Federation of Genealogical Societies Conference, "Pathways to the Heartland," in Springfield, Illinois to be held at the Prairie Capital Convention Center, at 1 Convention Center Plaza, Springfield, Illinois and the Hilton, Springfield, 700 East Adams Street. It is hosted by the Illinois Genealogical Society. David S. Ferriero is the keynote speaker. Last year he was named the tenth Archivist of the United States. Check their website for additional information.

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24-25 September 2011: "Feast of the Hunter's Moon" at Fort Ouiatenon Historic Park, West Lafayette, Indiana. Thousands take part in this reenactment of the fur trade period.

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15 October 2011: WSGS Fall Seminar at Country Springs Hotel Water Park and Conference Center, Pewaukee, WI, sponsored by Wisconsin State Genealogical Society. The featured speaker will be James Hansen FASG, Genealogical Librarian at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library-Archives.

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9-12 May 2012: NGS Family History Conference: "The Ohio River: Gateway to the Western Frontier" will be held at Cincinnati, Ohio.

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NEWS NOTES

From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Oct. 2020: There is an article titled, "The Founder Effect in Quebec" by Susan Colby. It is an article on French Canadian Disorders brought to New France by early settlers, primarily from Perche. She has listed and described thirty disorders or diseases. In some cases the ancestor family is indicated. I think you will find it quite interesting.

There is also a continuation of the listing of those who were in the Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley during the 17th Century and a continuation of a list of people buried at Ste-Anne de Detroit (1766-1776).

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From *Acadian Genealogy Exchange,* Vol. 39, No. 2, Oct. 2010: There are several articles of interest. The "Attakapas and Opelousas Census of May 4, 1777", the first two generations of the "Guillot Family History," and "The religion of the Micmacs.

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From *Families,* Ontario Genealogical Society, Nov. 2010: There are three interesting articles on the Home Children. One is titled, "Young Immigrants to Canada: the Children's Friend Society" by Marjorie Kohli; the second "The British Child Emigration Scheme to Canada (1870-1957)," by Perry Snow and the third includes excerpts from the diary of Rev. William Bowman, one of the home children written by Glenn Adams.

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Queries are included free in our Quarterly for all members. Send them to our post office box.

RECIPES FROM OUR FRENCH CANADIAN FAMILIES

By Pat Ustine

Several years ago the FCGW members put together a booklet of French Canadian recipes. These were recipes passed down through one's family. In addition, to the recipe, a brief family story was included. I will be using some recipes from the booklet written by past and present members and new recipes I receive. Please use the following instructions for sending your recipes.

1. Recipe title
2. Ingredients—use abbreviations if possible, for example: tsp. lb. pt. qt. gal. sm. med. Lg.
3. Recipe instructions
4. Brief family story to go with the recipe
5. Name submitted by

Send your recipes to Pat Ustine c/o FCGW address or my e-mail address ustinecfpm@hotmail.com

The recipes for this *Quarterly* are from member Teri Dupuis.

PEA SOUP AND JOHNNY CAKE

For over twenty years since February 1990, FCGW has had an annual tradition of Pea Soup and Johnny Cake at our February meeting. We have a variety of pea soups made by members including Johnny cake and other delicious snacks and desserts. This is a meeting we all look forward to.

I have several recipes of pea soup from other members and will include them in a future *Quarterly.*

PEA SOUP

1 pound	dried green peas (whole or split)
1	ham bone
1 large	onion, chopped coarsely
3	carrots
1 stalk	celery with leaves
1 large	bay leaf
3	chicken bouillon cubes

Wash and drain peas. Peel the carrots and dice into ½ inch "pennies".
Put all ingredients in a five quart pot. Cover with water. Boil until peas are soft. This should take about 3 hours. Remove celery and discard. Remove ham bone and clean off any ham scraps, saving for later. Salt and pepper to taste.

Put through a food mill or blender for smoother soup. Add ham scrapes.

This recipe came from my mother, Emelie Archambault Dupuis, who was a lifelong resident of Peshtigo, Wisconsin. She is a descendant of Laurent Archambault (1642-1712) of Montreal and Catherine Marchand (1634-1713) of St. Sulpice, Paris, France.

JOHNNY CAKE

1 cup	cornmeal, yellow
1 cup	flour
¼ cup	sugar
½ tsp	salt
2 tsp	baking powder
½ tsp	baking soda
1	egg
1 cup	buttermilk
¼ cup	shortening or oleo

Put baking soda in buttermilk and stir. Sift ingredients together.
Add egg, buttermilk and shortening to dry ingredients and beat 1 minute.
Put in greased 9 x 9 pan. Bake in 425 degree oven for 20-25 minutes.

This is our family recipe which dates back to when my mother's family arrived in Peshtigo, Wisconsin from Pointe-aux-Trembles, Quebec in the 1870's. Her name was Emelie Archambault Dupuis and she was born on 13 Feb. 1897 in Peshtigo, Wisconsin and died 14 May 1989. She was married to Edmund Bruno Dupuis on 16 May 1917.

I hope you will try the recipes and enjoy the taste. **"BON APPETIT"**

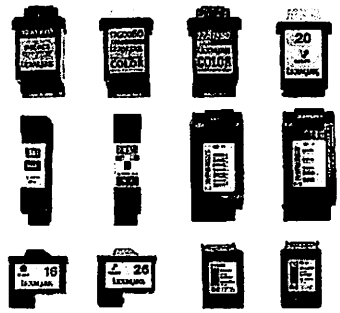
TRIVIA

It took 31 years for Monsieur Jolibois, a cooper from Epernay, France to build an enormous cask which held 35,000 gallons. He went to Hungary and with the help of Walter, a Hungarian cooper, he chose 250 oak trees and had them cut and quartered; he dressed and bent individual staves by the side of Lake Balaton. To work on his cask, Jolibois had to build scaffolding as high as a three storey building. He fitted the staves together; with an adze, he leveled the staves and *chimed* the huge cask. By using a compass, eight feet in radius, he measured and cut the heads and put them in.

Six years after it was completed in 1889, it was hauled by twenty-four white oxen to Paris in time for the Paris Exhibition of 1889.

(Information was extracted from Kilby, p. 52.)

Be on the Look Out!!!



WANTED

EMPTY CARTRIDGES ON THE LOOSE!

If found, please return to:

FCGW

We have been searching far and wide for them.

Your reward will be a warm and fuzzy feeling in your heart for helping the FCGW raise money for the library.

Thank you.

See you at

Pea Soup and Johnny Cake Night

Bring a dish to share

10 February 2011

6:30 Library open

7:30 Brief FCGW meeting

7:45 Let's EAT!!!

9:00 Library closed

ITEMS FOR SALE

Present or Back Issues of *Quarterly,* $3.00 each plus $3.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the *Quarterly,* (Rebellion Losses), $5.00; plus $3.00 postage and handling

Surname Lists, $3.00 plus $3.00 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
All name *Quarterly* Index for Vols. 18-23, $7.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling

Packet of 39 genealogy forms, $7.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling

Loiselle Search—One marriage from Loiselle Index, $3.00 plus S.A.S.E

T-Shirts: M, L, XL $12.00; XXL $14.00 plus $4.00 postage and handling

French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin
Quarterly

Volume 25 No. 3 Spring 2011

JEAN-BAPTISTE TALON, FIRST INTENDANT OF NEW FRANCE

By Joyce Banachowski

After the treaty of 1628, New France had been turned over to the Company of One Hundred Associates. Just as previous companies, the Company of 100 Associates had not met the requirements of populating the colony. Not only was the population small, but they were in constant danger by the Iroquois. The company was not able to provide men to defend the people and the country. The company was run by a few merchants who had a monopoly on the furs, a monopoly on trade, and control of the colonial government by their appointments. Only the company could bring goods to the colony and only they controlled the prices charged. The supplies they brought were insufficient and the prices were high. The merchants were upset and complained but were ignored. The Company of 100 Associates was practically becoming defunct anyway due to withdrawal of most of its members and the remaining members were not able to support the country or send forces or men to populate or defend it. In 1663, Louis XIV, king of France, withdrew the Company's control and put New France under his control.

The new West India Company gave up its monopoly of the fur trade but kept the right to charge a duty of 25% of the beaver skins and 10% of moose skins in New France but they kept the entire trade of Tadoussac which extended from the lower St. Lawrence to Hudson Bay. They also kept complete control of transporting **all** furs in their own ships. This still gave them control of the trade of Canada and prevented the merchants there to have a part in it.[1]

Complaints had been coming from the colony. Pierre Boucher, governor of Trois Rivières, was at the court requesting immediate aid and military assistance against the Iroquois. In New

ERROR IN LAST ISSUE

I apologize for an error I made in the last issue. (Issue 25 No. 2) In the chart on page 76, the wife of Joseph Proulx / Prou should be **Marie-Thérèse Aide (Jean & Marie-Catherine Delisle)** and not Françoise Robidas (Jacques & Louise de Guitre). Please make this correction in your last issue. The date and place of the marriage are correct. I again apologize for this error and inconvenience.

[1] Parkman, Francis, *France and England in North America,* Vol. 1, pp. 1228-1229.

France, the governors of Quebec and Montreal, the bishop, the Jesuits, the Sulpicians and the leading merchants were in conflict over questions of policy. Letters from all groups were asking for immediate strong military forces. Bishop Laval and Father Raguenau went to court asking the king to restore order. There was little hope the colony would prosper or survive.[2] Laval suggested that Augustin de Saffray, Chevalier de Mésy be appointed governor. Louis Robert, Sieur de Fortel, relative of Colbert, was made intendant of New France. (He never went to New France.) Colbert also chose Louis Gaudais, Sieur du Pont, to return to New France with the bishop and the governor and to investigate what conditions were like and return with a full report in the fall. Gaudais' instructions were to gather information on the geography and climate of the colony, the fertility of the soil, the amount of land cleared, descriptions of the towns and settlements, the population and how they were making a living, mineral resources, and how to convert the colonists from

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2 Eccles, W. J., *Canada Under Louis XIV 1663-1701*, pp. 8-9.

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fur trading to farming, mining, fishing, lumbering and ship building. Gaudais also received secret instructions to check into the past conduct of the governor and the opinions of Laval, the Jesuits, and residents had of him and to discretely check on Bishop Laval, the Jesuits and the new governor Mésy as to how well he was performing his duties. On 15 September 1663, the king's ships arrived at Quebec with Bishop Laval, Mésy and Gaudais as well as 159 indentured laborers and settlers. Sixty others had died at sea on the three month voyage.[3]

In April of 1663, the king issued an edict creating the Sovereign Council to settle problems. The Council was to be composed of the governor, Bishop Laval or other senior cleric and five others who would be chosen jointly and an Attorney General. The five persons would be appointed for a year. The Council had the power to hear all civil and criminal cases, in conformity with the king's law, to regulate the dispersements of public money, the fur trade and any other commerce conducted by the inhabitants of the country and merchants of the kingdom. However, the king had the power to reverse, amend or reform any decisions of the Council. They also had the power to establish lower courts at Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières. In addition, a recording clerk was to preserve the debates, edicts and judgments of the Council.[4] The Council was to meet once a week.

On 18 September, the Sovereign Council was established. The Sovereign Council took over where the preceding council of the 100 Associates left off. The colony was declared a royal province of France.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

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 area. 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 the meeting begins at 7:30 p.m.

12 May 2011: Kris Beisser Matthies on the Archives at the Green Bay Diocese Library; Library open for research.

9 June 2011: Michelle Bray Wilson on "Using Programme de recherché en demographie historique (PRDH) On-Line." Library open for research.

14 July 2011: Library open for Research

11 August 2011: Finger Food and Genealogy Chat: Library open for research

8 September 2011: To be Announced: Library open for research.

The interim Years Before Talon 1663-1665

On 28 September 1663, one of the first edicts was issued by the Sovereign Council. It forbid anyone to directly or indirectly trade liquor with the Indians. Punishments were heavy fines or banishment. This had been an area of contention between the clergy and the merchants, traders and civil authorities. Within a year, Laval had founded a

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3 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

4 Nish, Cameron, editor and translator, *The French Regime*, Vol. 1, p. 51.

seminary at Quebec. He was hoping to provide the colony with their own priests. Maintaining parish priests were a problem. To maintain them, tithes were required. Laval set a rate of one—thirteenth of the produce of the land. The habitants objected that it was too high. In 1667, the Sovereign Council reduced it to one-twenty-sixth of the produce of the land to be paid in threshed grain. New land concessions were exempt for five years. The inhabitants interpreted this to mean one-twenty-sixth of the wheat grown instead of one-twenty-sixth of anything and everything produced to be paid in threshed wheat.[5]

Under the control of companies, the costs of administration, official's salaries, pay of garrison soldiers and grants to religious groups had been paid by leasing the monopoly on the purchase of beaver pelts from the habitants for 50,000 *livres*. The holders seldom paid the full amount. Mésy declared their lease null and void. Instead it was put up for auction. After three days of bidding. Aubert de la Chesnaye received a three year term for 46,500 *livres*.[6]

In 1664, a ten per cent tax was removed from all goods coming into the colony except wine, spirits and tobacco. Originally, this was to help pay off the debts of the Communauté des Habitants which had been founded in 1645. The deduction of 25 % of the value of beaver pelts they sold to La Chesnaye[7] and the 10 % on wine, spirit and tobacco import duty were now, the only taxes paid by the inhabitants of New France. This was much lower than their counterparts in France who were buried in taxes. However, the inhabitants of New France paid exorbitant prices for goods imported from France. In an effort to prevent merchants from overcharging prices, Mésy and the Council set the prices at a 65% mark up over the prices paid for goods in France and a 100% mark up on liquor. Ocean freight rates were set at 80 *livres*[8] per ton.[9]

In 1664, the Sovereign Council purchased 1000 bushels of wheat at the price of 5 *livres* per bushel in order to encourage farmers to clear more land and raise more surplus wheat. It was to be stored for the use of regular troops who were to be sent the following year. Wages for indentured laborers were set at 60-90 *livres* a year for a three year term. After this, they could obtain their own land.[10]

Although Mésy represented the king, he had less power and control than Bishop Laval. Mésy was appointed for only a few years and Laval was there permanently. Laval was supported by the Council. Mésy attempted to have some of the members of the Council replaced. Most were member of the Council under the 100 Associates and he felt they were not interested in the country. This was a continuous conflict between Mésy and Laval. When the election of a syndic came up the same conflict continued. In March 1665, Mésy became ill. On the night of May 5-6, he died. He had named Le Neuf La Poterie to succeed him as

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5 Eccles, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

7 This was known as *the quart.*

8 A *livre* was worth about 1.50-2.00 dollars at that time.

9 Eccles, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

deputy, but the Sovereign Council refused to register it.[11]

Mésy's stay as governor of the Royal Colony of the king in New France, was that of a caretaker until Colbert had completed his plan for the colony's development. The conflicts which existed in New France were occurring in other French colonies in the West Indies as well. Colbert realised radical changes had to be made.[12]

In 1664, Louis XIV divided France's commercial world into two monopolies. The Company of the East Indies was to have the East,. The Company of the West Indies (*Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*) was given the control of the west coast of Africa, from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope; South America from the Amazon to the Orinoco River, North America from Florida northward, including Newfoundland and other islands and Canada. The Company was to own the land and have a monopoly on the trade. However, Louis XIV retained the authority to over-ride all their rights. Nobles were allowed to invest in these companies. The companies were also allowed to grant titles of nobility. However, the "established" nobility did not recognize them as equal.[13]

Colbert and Change

Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Intendant of Finance who was to become minister was placed in charge of New France. This included "finance, industry, commerce, arts, letters and science, royal buildings, the navy and the colonies" of New France. Only the king was more powerful than Colbert. Colbert 's goal was to bring order after years of war and internal disorder. He concentrated on making France the leading power of the world by restoring its economic power. His goal was to create a centralized, efficient administration run by ministers with the king's agreement. With New France being cut off from France six to seven months a year, despatches and answers to despatches would not arrive until a year or more later. A certain amount of discretion had to be allowed for the officials in New France. All major matters went to the Minister. He depended on the advice of men around him before making a decision. They had to keep him informed, in detail of the local conditions and what had occurred. These abstracts usually were fifty or more pages. This system worked under Colbert. Louis XIV also sent long despatches to the governor and intendant yearly. These usually repeated in general terms the instructions Minister Colbert had sent. If New France had a good intendant and governor, the people had a good government. If not, someone would inform the Minister who would begin an investigation of the complaints. If there was no change, one or both would be replaced.[14]

The Governor General represented the king and was a noble and a soldier. He could veto any decision made by the intendant, the Souvereign Council and junior officials, but only in extreme situations. And he had to justify his reasons to Colbert. Colbert consistently warned the governors to not interfere in the work of the officers of justice. He

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11 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

13 Wrong, George M., *The Rise and Fall of New France*, p. 366.

14 Eccles, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; 28-29.

was in charge of military affairs and diplomatic relations with the Indian nations and to watch that the other officials were honest and efficient in doing their work and report them to the minister if they did not do so. The governor received 12,000 *livres* a year.[15]

The intendant was the most important person in New France. He was in charge of the civil administration of the colony and its finances, to maintain law and order and to ensure that the population received swift, fair and impartial justice. He was held responsible for the development of the colony's economy. He also had some military responsibilities. "He was responsible for paying, feeding and clothing the troops, keeping them supplied with arms and munitions, arranging their billets" and hospitalization when needed. He allocated materials and labor for work on the fortifications of the colony. He arranged for transportation of men and supplies during a campaign and informed the governor of the cost. The governor decided how to make use of the men and supplies. The governor and the intendant were expected to confer with each other.[16]

He received the same annual wage as the governor plus an additional 12,000 *livres* for expenses. The intendant was accompanied by two archers when he traveled in the colony. He walked at the head of all religious processions and had a place of honor when at the Quebec cathedral and the parish church in Montreal.[17] There was some overlapping of the powers of the governor and the intendant which did cause some conflict between them.

A new administration would have to be established. The question was who would be entrusted with this task. The king recognized that finding someone who had the qualifications, who was willing to risk the long voyage and who had the intelligence, honesty and ability needed to succeed in this task of assessment, recommendation and implementing the New Order was essential.

Talon was named the first intendant of New France. He served in that capacity from 1665-1668 and 1670-1672. Colbert, the French minister of Finance, knew the problems of the colony and as the intendant's superior, he assigned Talon to solve them. It was very possible that a conflict of power would develop. It was avoided by placing all civil matters as the concern of the intendant and all military concerns were those of the governor. Two things of concern to French government officials in the colony were a Superior Council and gaining the support of the Canadians.[18]

On 23 March 1665, the king appointed Talon as the Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance. His functions were to assist at the Council of War which was held by the Governor-General of America and the Governor of Canada, to hear "all complaints made by the people in the country of excesses, injuries and violences, and render them proper and expeditious justice." He was also to take action against the guilty of any crime and to initiate and complete proceedings until a judgment was made; in civil matters he was to be the judge and could

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15 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

18 Nish, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

issue laws in these matters as he thought necessary. When the Governor-General and the governor were absent, he was to preside over the Sovereign Council. Regarding finances, he was to supervise expenditures and distribution of funds to maintain men of war, munitions, reparations, fortifications and loans and contributions. This law was read and published by the Sovereign Council at Quebec on 23 September 1665.[19]

Since 1662, the Company of the West Indies had been given authority to name the governor and other officials. The king was now making those appointments. The colony would now need some administration to provide regulations of funds they would receive, and regulations regarding agriculture and industries which would be developed. Talon with officials of the Council and principal inhabitants of the country were to establish permanent regulations and see to it that they were observed. To be aware of what had been spent since 1663, Talon was given a statement of the amount of money already spent by the present monarchy and how it was used and what debts had been contracted thus far.[20]

King Louis XIV, realized the colony of New France was in need of soldiers, settlers, laborers, stores of food and arms and muntions for defense and maintenance. Without these, the colony would not survive and would be lost to other powers. He decided his help would be given. In 1664, three hundred laborers were sent to New France by the king. In 1665, more settlers and laborers, Tracy as viceroy with four companies of soldiers from the West Indies, a trained regiment of soldiers, the Carignan Salieres, a new governor, David de Remy Sieur de Courcelles and a new intendant of justice, police and finance, Jean Talon, and supplies arrived in Quebec the summer and fall of 1665. Throughout the summer of 1665, Quebec was active with ships disembarking. Tracy, lieutenant-general of all French possessions in America, with his four companies of soldiers, arrived 19 June 1665; Other ships carried passengers—settlers, laborers, tradesmen—and cargoes of food provisions, tools, military ammunition and supplies, provisions for Quebec, women for wives, tradesmen and horses, sheep and cattle. All sent at the expense of the king.[21] On 12 September 1665, two ships, the Jardin de Hollande and the Saint Sebastien. arrived in Quebec. Two days later the Justice arrived. These ships carried eight companies of the Carignan Salières, more nobles guards and valets and other passengers.[22] They had been 117 days at sea; they had been struck by a number of storms. Scurvy as well as other diseases had struck them. Twenty died and 130 had to be hospitalized at the Hôtel-Dieu.[23] By the end of the season there were more than 2000 people. (Over 1000 were soldiers.) Quebec had no more than seventy private homes with about 550 inhabitants. (The population of the entire district of Montreal was 625 and Trois Rivières and its surrounding settlements

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19 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

21 Chapais, Thomas, *The Great Intendant: A Chronicle of Jean Talon in Canada 1665-1672,* pp. 5-6

22 Goulson, Cary F., *Seventeenth Century Canada: Source Studies,* p. 298.

23 Costain, Thomas B., *The White and Gold: The French Regime in Canada,* pp. 255-256.

had 455 people.[24] Inns were filled beyond capacity. Some of the soldiers were at the Château de St.Louis. Tracy and his officers, quards and valets stayed where the court met.[25]

The Grand Plan

In Paris, on 27 March 1665, the king gave Talon instructions to carry out his Grand Plan.[26]

- Talon was to maintain the balance between the civil and the religious (the Bishop and the Jesuits) authorities in a way they would realize the Civil authorities were in charge of the management of the affairs of the colony.
- He was advised that the Jesuits had a great amount of influence and knowledge which he should use to his advantage but not to arouse suspicion of the Jesuits. During Talon's second administration, the king instructed him to use the Récollets and the Sulpicians as a buffer against the Jesuits. At the same time, Colbert wrote to Bishop Laval, an ally of the Jesuits, complimenting him, stating the colony would not have any life if not for his devotion to its welfare.
- He was to peaceably make a smooth transition from Canada being controlled by trading companies to government control. This was to be accomplished by convincing the population to take part in manufacturing and to be exporters, not importers of goods, by engaging in producing products off the land for themselves and to export the surpluses. Wheat had already been grown for consumption and export.[27]
- War with the Iroquois had to be successfully accomplished.
- The settlement of the colony and concentration of the population was to be at Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières.
- Up to this point, the colony was raising a few crops (mainly wheat and peas) and a few animals and gardening were primarily for their own use. Cloth, clothing and shoes were shipped from France. The trading companies were interested in furs, not colonization. The king viewed the establishment of industries and attraction of tradesmen capable of producing the necessities of life were the greatest needs of New France.[28]
- There was a need to establish tithes to maintain the church.
- Shipbuilding yards were to be Established near the forests of Quebec

After receiving his instructions, Talon left Louis XIV and Colbert and on 22 April 1665, he was in La Rochelle to arrange for the embarkation of 400 settlers, laborers, and tradesmen and

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24 Chapais, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

25 Costain, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255. *and* Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1231.

26 Chapais, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

27 Douglas, James, "The Intendant Talon, Commercial Activity and Territorial Expansion," in *Old France in the New World,* pp. 384-385.

28 Nish, *op.. cit..*, p. 53.

supplies; about twelve young women asked to be given passage. They looked healthy and strong and they were taken along. He did not want to refuse any who were willing to go. He reviewed troops of the Carignan Salières and reported to Colbert, the eight companies were seventy men over strength, well equipped and in good spirits. He realized he was short of shipping space; He located a Swedish frigate in Nantes and contracted its Dutch owner to bring whatever freight which would be left behind. He learned all he could about the new country he was assigned . On 24 May 1665, everything was ready and he and Governor Courcelles, the troops and passengers boarded the Saint Sebastien and left that day for Canada.[29]

Expansion and industrial development were foremost in his mind. Very early he realized population growth was necessary to achieve these goals.

Carrying Out the Grand Plan

The two goals of Talon were to make the colonies more valuable to France by developing it economically and to increase territorial expansion throughout North America. Reorganization of the administration of New France was the starting point.

Reorganizing the Administration

In 1663, the king had created the *Conseil Souverain*, (Sovereign Council). Under Mésy, the previous officials were dismissed. Some were reinstated. The first task of Talon upon arrival, was the reorganization of the administration. On 23 September 1665, the new Sovereign Council members were Tracy, Governor

from Chapais, p. 91

Jean-Baptiste Talon

CourcellIe, Intendant Talon, Bishop Laval, Sieur Le Barroys, General Agent of the West Indies Company, and Sieurs de Villeray, de la Ferté, d'Auteuil, de Tilly and Damours, councillors in office previously. Jean Bourdon was the attorney general and J.B. Peuvret was secretary of the Council. Bishop Laval remained on the Council. However, he lost the authority, to appoint with the governor, the other members of the Council. As a result, his influence on the Council lessened and he was in attendance less frequently. Clerical authority was no longer necessary in civil affairs. Talon now took charge. The clergy accepted the change. They realised it did no good to protest. After the formality of readings and registering of credentials and *lettres patent* were completed, the administration was officially inaugurated.[30] At first, the *Conseil Souverain* performed the

29 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

30 Chapais, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

executive and legislative functions as well as judicial. In the eighteenth century, it was renamed the Conseil Supérieur (Superior Council) and was the only judicial court of justice for all of New France.

In 1664, the *Conseil Souverain* had established the *coutume de Paris* (customery law of Paris). No other provincial law systems of France were used. In New France, *coutume de Paris* was used for civil and criminal law. They would also use the *coutume de Paris* system of weights and measure.[31]

The intendant presided over the meetings of the Sovereign Council. When a case came before the Council, the attorney general would make a statement and gave his opinion of the facts in the case. Then each councillor, beginning with the most recent member, would give his views and his verdict. After all were heard, the presiding officer would make a decision according to what he thought was the general or majority opinion. No motions were made or no votes taken. Appeals from the verdicts of the Council could be taken to the *Conseil des Parties* in France. It was expensive, but many did send appeals to Paris. Colbert, in the name of the king, made these decisions. If he felt the appeal was not worth it, it would be returned to the Sovereign Council as it was.[32]

In 1666, Talon presented to Tracy and Governor Courcelles a number of rules or enactments. One set was concerned with administration of justice. He hoped to simplify the system by making it inexpensive, accessible to everyone and speedy. He suggested having judges in each parish or seigneury who would decide at the first level on all civil cases involving 10 *livres* or less. Appeals went to *a lieutenant civil et criminel*, appointed by the West India Company in the jurisdictions of Quebec and Trois Rivières. Sieur Chartier who was appointed earlier by the West Indies Company was confirmed as *lieutenant civil et criminel* on 10 January 1667. He had jurisdiction at the first level of all civil and criminal cases in the Quebec district and appeals in judgments of the parish. In Montreal, the *lieutenant civil et criminel* was appointed by the Sulpicians , who were seigneurs of the island. The Sovereign Council was the last level of appeals. They made decisions on all cases which had been appealed. In 1667, there were seigneurial judges at the seigneuries of Beaupré, Beauport, Notre-Dame-de-Anges and Cap-de-la-Magdeleine, There would be four judges at Quebec. A minimum of three of them would take appeals from the local parish judges.[33]

Talon also hoped to establish a system of settling a case out of court. He called it the *amiable composition*. However, that did not occur until two hundred years later. In 1899, Quebec passed a law which required conciliation or arbitration before proceedings for a lawsuit began.[34]

The Iroquois Problem

Prior to 1663, the Company of 100 Associates was responsible for the defense of the colony. They provided a small troop of soldiers which were not enough to protect the colony. The

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31 Trudel, Marcel, *Introduction to New France,* p. 62.

32 Eccles, *op. cit.,* p. 32.

33 Chapais, *op. cit.,* pp. 62-64.

34 *Ibid.,* p. 64.

population defended themselves or depended on moveable troops being sent to locations under attack, leaving other areas vulnerable. In 1663, Montreal organized a militia. Six years later militias were required throughout the colony.

The first discussions in the *Conseil Souverain* were preparations against the Iroquois. When Tracy and his men had arrived on 30 June 1665, they began plans on the construction sites of three forts on the Richelieu River.[35] A few days before, four companies of the Carignan Salieres arrived. On 23 July, these four companies of Carignan Salieres under command of Sieur de Chambly, were put to work on the construction of the first of the three forts—Fort Sorel (also known as Fort Richelieu), Fort Chambly (also known as Fort St-Louis) and Fort Sainte Thérèse.[36] The rest of the Carignan Salieres arrived in August. By November the other two forts were completed. During the following year, 1666, two more forts were built—St. John a few miles from Fort Ste-Thérèse and Ste. Anne on an island at the head of Lake Champlain.[37] The forts were built along the Richelieu, the main route used by the Iroquois to invade the colony. They were also to be used as advance bases to attack Iroquois villages and discourage the English and Dutch from occupying the area. They also allowed groups of troops to explore the entrance to the Champlain Valley.[38]

While the forts were being built, Talon was organizing the transporting of provisions, ammunition, tools, and supplies to maintain the troops and further the work. He had over fifty boats traveling back and forth between Quebec and the Richelieu. He took care of the incoming soldiers and laborers who had contracted diseases or ailments crossing the ocean making sure they were receiving proper nursing and medical attention. There were 130 seriously ill soldiers who were being cared for by the nuns at Hôtel-Dieu. There were not enough rooms to accommodate the ill. Mattresses were placed in the parish and nearby buildings. The clergy soon discovered a number of the officers and their men were Hugenots. Since the time of Richelieu, Hugenots had been forbidden to settle in the colony. Local officials and clergy feared the Hugenots would side with the English as they had done in the religious wars in France. The clergy scrambled to make conversions. By the end of September, twenty adopted the Catholic faith.[39]

In December 1665, the Onondagas, signed a treaty on behalf of themselves and the Senecas and Oneidas. However, the Oneidas continued to be hostile as well as the Mohawks who conducted raids against French settlements. Courcelle decided to leave immediately to march against the Iroquois villages.

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35 The Richelieu was originally called la *rivière des Iroquois* because it was the most direct route from the Iroquois villages to the French colony.

36 The 1st was constructed at the mouth of the river under Captain de Sorel's direction; the 2nd fifty miles further up the river under Captain de Chambly; and the 3rd about nine miles further up, under Colonel de Salières. The first two were named after the officers in charge. The third was named after the *Sainte* because the fort was completed on the day dedicated to Ste-Thérèse.

37 Chapais, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

38 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

They left on 9 January 1666. Twenty days later they left Fort Saint-Louis without waiting for assistance and scouts. It was a disaster. Men froze; the snow was deep. The soldiers did not know how to use snowshoes. They were lost and found themselves in New Netherlands. As they retreated, not only were they cold, but their supply of provisions never arrived. Soldiers died of exposure, hunger, and exhaustion. In spite of its failure, Courcelles made an impression on the Iroquois, Dutch and English. In March, again three of the five Iroquois nations were willing to sign a treaty. Instead, Tracy demanded all five nations had to agree to it. Instead the Mohawks attacked a hunting party. Four Frenchmen were killed and three were taken prisoners. Sorel marched with 200 Frenchmen and 90 Indians when they came across an Iroquois chief and three warriors escorting their prisoners back to Quebec. On 31 August the French and Iroquois met again to make a peace agreement. Again it was a failure.[40]

Talon, Tracy and Courcelles agreed that a large strike had to be made against the Mohawks or no peace would ever be made. On 14 September, 1300 men— 600 regular soldiers, 600 Canadians and 100 Indians— left Quebec toward the Mohawk villages. Three hundred boats were launched to cross Lake Champlain. On 28 September, they were at Fort Anne. From there Courcelles left first with four hundred men. Tracy with the main body of the army left on 3 October. Captains Chambly and Berthier were to follow four days later with the rear guard. The crossing of lakes was no problem, but the portage between Lake Champlain and Lake Saint-Sacrement was difficult, but the march afterwards was worse— one hundred miles of forest, mountains, steep rocks, overflowing rivers, swamps, no roads, only footpaths with stumps, mud holes and entanglement of trees before they would come across the Iroquois villages. On 15 October they were nearing the Mohawk settlements. After a night's march they came across the first village. It was abandoned and so were the next two villages. At the fourth village, an Algonquin squaw told them there were two other villages. They pushed on. The fifth was undefended. The squaw guided them to the sixth town and fort, Andaraque. It was the most important stronghold of the Mohawks, with a triple palisade, 20 feet high and four bastions. The Iroquois were discouraged when they heard the beating of the drums and the appearance of the large number. They fled. The victory was complete. The next day the French were in the town of wooden houses which were well stocked with provisions, tools and utensils. A large amount of corn was stored. It was said there was enough food to feed the French for ten years. Outside the walls was a huge corn supply ready for harvest. Except for the provisions and grain which the French needed, everything was destroyed by fire—the fields, the provisions, the stored grain, the fort, the houses. Nothing but ashes remained. The French had shown their strength after twenty-five years of raids and attacks by the Iroquois. There now followed eighteen years of peace for New France.[41]

Once peace was established, Tracy left New France on 28 August 1667. By the

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40 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-37.

end of 1667, Tracy was back in France. In 1668, the Carignan-Salières Regiment was withdrawn from New France. After the Iroquois problem had been resolved, Louis XIV told Talon to invite the soldiers of the Carignan Salières and the four infantry companies to stay in the country. A small gratuity would be given to all who stayed and established themselves there. About 400 of its soldiers and officers of the Carignan Salières remained and settled on the land or took up a trade. When the Carignan Regiment returned to France, it was absorbed into the Soissons Regiment. Some of the men stayed in the new regiment. Others joined their officers in joining the Troupes de la Marine. Many of these returned to New France in 1669 as part of the Troupes de la Marine. In 1669, six army captains each with a company of fifty men and twenty-four junior officers of the Troupes de la Marine arrived in Canada. They along with the *Carignan Salières* who remained and the militia were now the defense of the colony.[42]

New Settlements--Colonization

By the end of 1665, Talon had made plans to form new settlements. He took some of the Jesuit lands of the seigneury of Notre-Dame-des –Anges at Charlesbourg. The Jesuits were not happy, but the king had given him authority to do so. His plan was to form three villages next to one another and near Quebec. They were to be called Bourg-Royal, Bourg-la-Reine and Bourg Talon. He ordered that forty houses be constructed and ready for settlers by the following year.[43] The new settlements were to be as close to Quebec as possible. He wanted the villages to be around a central point. This would make it possible for mutual help and defense.

All of those settlements he established at Charlesbourg were given triangular land grants. All the houses were built at the point or head, near each other, in the center. The grant then extended outward, wider at the base. Some of the grants were given to soldiers. He was interested in having some tradesmen in each village. He wanted tradesmen who had skills which would be useful to the population—carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and shoemakers.[44]

Those who moved onto their land received a supply of food and tools necessary for their work. After clearing two acres, they were paid for the clearing and tilling. Each one had to clear and prepare for planting two acres for the following three or four years. These lands would be given to new settlers. They also had to do military service. For each new settler, the king paid the total cost of clearing two acres, building a house, preparing and planting and providing flour until the first crop was harvested on the condition that he would clear and cultivate two more acres within three or four years. As an example, Talon bought land on the St-Charles River and had the land cleared, had a large house, barn and other buildings built, had land cultivated, planted gardens and stocked animals at his own expense.[45]

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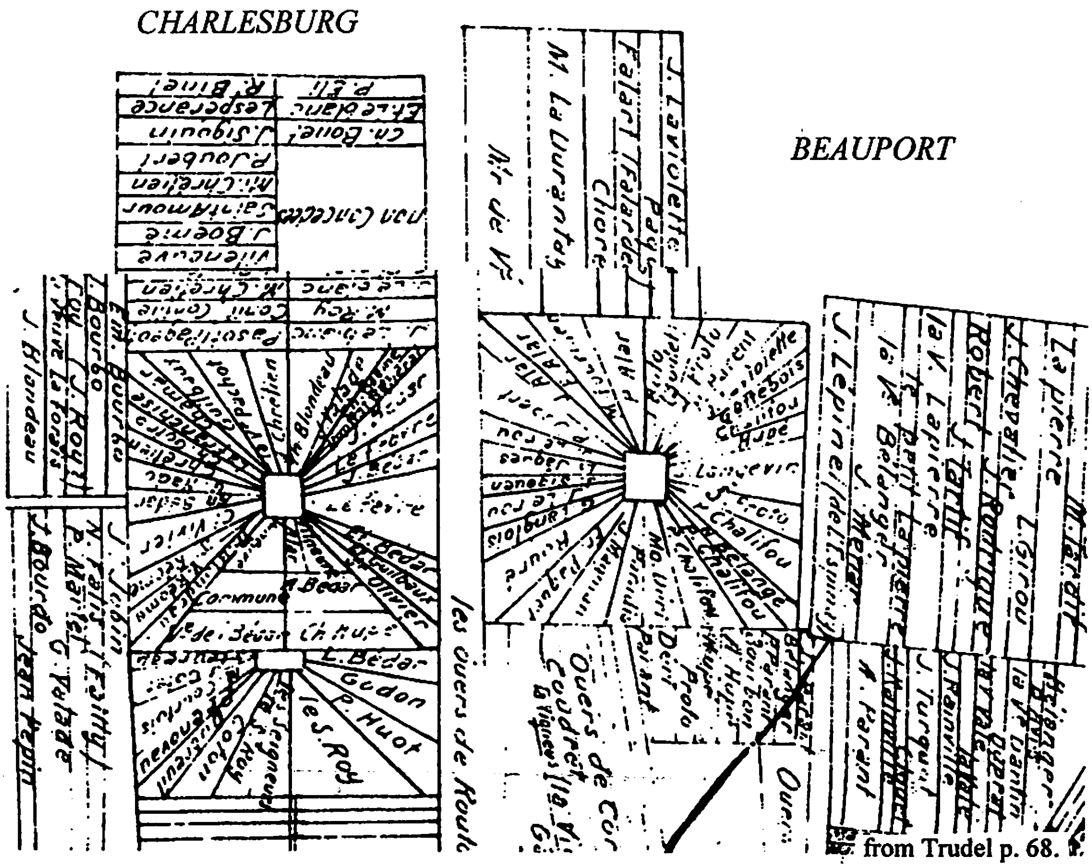
42 Verney, Jack, *The Good Regiment,* pp.119-120.

43 Chapais, *op. cit.,* pp. 22-23.

44 *Ibid.,* p. 46.

45 *Ibid.,* p. 47.

TALON'S SETTLEMENT PLAN



from Trudel p. 68.

He also populated these three villages partly with families newly arrived, partly with soldiers and partly with old settlers to teach the new arrivals. These settlements were to be examples for the rest of the colony. He wanted to keep the population centered around this central point. When a canon was fired at the Chateau de St. Louis, all the defenders would gather at this common place and be prepared to fight.[46]

In exposed parts of the colony, houses were built within villages with a palisade surrounding it. This meant the settler had to walk or paddle some distance to work his farm. Settlers preferred to build the front of their farms on a river. By having narrow farms, neighbors were near one another. These settlements were called *côtes.*[47]

Those who were allowed to choose where to live, put their homes along the waterways, as they had been doing before, with long thin lines of homes on the edges of rivers. The *côtes* were convenient to use the waterways, but they were difficult for the church to control, difficult to defend and difficult to maintain a strong government. When the king learned the settlers were building homes in *côtes*, he ordered that the inhabitants live in villages rather than the *côtes*. However, to abandon the *côtes* and adopt the village style of

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46 Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1269.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 1268.

Talon, would involve revoking land grants, abandoning houses and cleared land and would be extremely difficult to reissue new concessions, difficult to enforce and would be costly, wasteful and cause dissatisfaction and confusion.[48]

When the troops of the Carignan Salieres and the marines were discharged, those who chose to stay, settled on the Richelieu, along the St. Lawrence, between St. Peter and Montreal. Many of these settlements carry the names of the officers of the Carignan regiment —Sorel, Chambly, Saint Ours, Contrecoeur, Varennes, Verchères. Many of these military *seignieurs* were poor as well as their men. They had to clear and cultivate land, build a home, often of logs, a fort, a chapel and a mill for his folllowers. Sorel was better off than the rest and could afford a better seignorial house. The mill was of importance to those who lived on these *seigneuries*, but it was usually the last thing to be built because of the cost of it. It was often built of stone, with loopholes and doubled as a blockhouse for defence. The *seigneur* would build the mill to grind grain for his tenants and they in exchange would leave a fourteenth part in payment. Sometimes, it took years before a mill was built. The settlers would then have to grind their grain the Indian way, by hand. [49]

Under this program, the settlement moved quickly. There was no fear of attacks and raids. During this time, lands of Longue-Pointe, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Lachine and Forts Sorel and Chambly on the Richelieu were cultivated. They had oxen, cows and poultry and lived on their farm production. In 1667, there were 11,448 acres cultivated. In 1668, there were 15,649 acres. They produced 130,978 bushels of wheat. [50]

Increase the population

The program could not work unless the population quickly increased and strengthened the country. The captains of merchant vessels were required to transport colonists between the ages of 18 and 40 years. *Seigneurs* received *seigneuries* under the condition that they settle colonists on them. They were responsible for settlement.

Former officers of the Carignan-Salières settled the Richelieu route of forts. Many of the soldiers who remained in New France followed their officers and settled near them. In 1672, forty-six *seigneuries* were granted by authorities. Up to that time, this was the highest number granted in a year. About 400 of the Carignan Salières decided to remain and settle in New France. Each soldier received 100 *livres* or 50 *livres* and provisions for a year. Each sergeant received 150 *livres* or 100 *livres* and provisions for a year. Offficers received seigneuries along the Richelieu or the St. Lawrence Rivers.[51]

A continuous growth in population would not be successful unless the marriage rate increased. In earlier years, individuals brought women as brides. Continuing the practice already used, the king now sent women as wives for the bachelors at the crown's expense. These girls, mostly orphans, were called the *filles de roi.* It was the king's wishes that

48 *Ibid.,* pp. 1269-1270.

49 *Ibid.,* pp. 1267-1268.

50 Chapais, *op. cit.,* pp. 48-49.

51 *Ibid.,* pp. 58-59.

they marry as quickly as possible. They found husbands and married shortly after their arrival. Between 1665 and 1673, about 900 *filles de roi* came to New France. Dowries were given to the girls who contracted marriage.They received a partial payment of 50 *livres* in household supplies and some provisions at the time of marriage and the rest after the first child was born. Those who married young were rewarded. Young men who married before the age of 20 received 20 *livres* called "the king's gift". Fathers who had not had their sons married by age 20 or their daughters married by age 16 had to pay a penalty or fine each six months until they were married. There also were incentives for those who had large families. Those having ten children received 300 *livres* annually and those who had twelve children received 400 *livres* annually. Boys were encouraged to marry at the age of eighteen or nineteen and girls at fourteen or fifteen.[52] There were some marriage of girls at age twelve and boys at age sixteen. There were a few instances when a marriage contract was made for a girl at the age of eleven, but the marriage could not take place until she was twelve.

Some of the girls who were sent as brides were orphans raised in charitable institutions; priests in France were encouraged to ask for girls in their parishes to volunteer to go to New France to marry and settle; some were from peasant farms who were approved by their priests. Others were from well off families.[53]

The laws of Colbert and Talon affected noblemen and military officers as well. Captain de la Mothe received 1600 *livres.* Between 1665 and 1668, 6,000 *livres* were given by the crown to aid young gentlewomen who lacked a dowry when they married. 6000 *livres* were given to four captains, three lieutenants, five ensigns and a few minor officers to settle and marry in the colony.[54]

Of those men who did not want to marry, Colbert stated to Talon, "Those who may seem to have absolutely renounced marriage should be made to bear additional burdens, and be excluded from all honours; it would be well even to add some mark of infamy." Talon issued an order to forbid unmarried men to hunt with the Indians or go into the woods if they did not marry within fifteen days after the arrival of ships bringing brides to New France. In Montreal, François Lenoir was brought before the court because he was unmarried and had traded with the Indians. He pleaded guilty and he promised that he would be married after the arrival of the ships the next year, and if he didn't marry, he would have to pay 150 *livres* to the church in Montreal and 150 *livres* to the hospital. He was married and did not have to pay.[55]

Colbert's policy also included that the French and Indians should become one people and so marriages between the French and Indians were encouraged. There were few of these who married in the church. However there were a large number of *Coureurs de Bois* and others in the fur trade who married Indian

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52 *Ibid.,* pp. 54-56.

53 *Ibid.,* pp. 57-58.

54 *Ibid.,* pp. 56-57.

55 *Ibid.,* p. 56.

women *a la facon,* according to the Indian custom.

In 1665, the West India Company had brought 429 men and 100 women. Nearly all were married. In 1667, 184 men and 92 women arrived. Mother Marie Incarnation wrote that all 92 women were married to soldiers or laborers. Between 1665 and 1667, 1828 immigrants had been brought at the crown's expense to New France. On 10 November 1670, Talon wrote that of the 150 girls who arrived that year, all but fifteen had married. These fifteen were housed with well known families to wait for the time when the soldiers who spoke for them for wives were established and could support them.[56]

Agriculture

Talon wanted total development of the colony. He wanted the colony to be able to feed itself and eventually, produce a surplus for export. He hoped they would be self sufficient and provide a large supply of raw materials for France and purchase manufactured goods from the mother country and its other colonies. In order to help immigrants settle on the land, he had the best quality cows, horses and sheep brought from France. He tested a variety of grain seeds to find those which would be most productive in the climate of New France.[57]

The problem with agriculture in New France was that those who were encouraged to work the land were not farmers. In fact, Louis Hebert who arrived in 1617 was an apothecary from Paris. He chose to live on uncultivated land. He never ploughed the ground because he never had a plough. (In 1626, the first plough was brought to New France.) Often city dwellers and professionals acted like farmers, but did not have the skills. Of about 10,000 who came to New France to settle on the land, three-fourths had no farming experience. Most were military recruits or tradesmen. As a result, they farmed in a haphazard way; production was small; the good land became exhausted. Some of the choice livestock brought by Talon deteriorated. By the end of the French regime, outsiders criticized the farming methods and the poor livestock. Military men and tradesmen were not trained to be farmers. Talon recognized the problem, but he was in New France too short a time to rectify the problem.[58]

Nothing was done to improve seed or livestock quality. No one was required to fertilize the land. Manure was thrown into the river. There was no rotation of crops. They continuously planted wheat and tobacco on the same land. The agricultural policy of intendants following Talon was to protect what was produced on the land from men and animals. They made regulations preventing owners from allowing their animals to wander over unenclosed ground; Men were not allowed to ride over planted ground while hunting. Settlers were to destroy thistles.; everyone was forbidden to harvest ginseng before mid September. There were attempts to prevent an excessive amount of horse breedings. At times, a grain census was taken, but these were done to prevent famines. Authorities after Talon were not interested in developing an agricultural colony as Talon. France did not need an

56 *Ibid.,* p. 54.

57 Trudel, *op. cit.,* p. 67.

58 *Ibid.,* pp. 203-204.

agricultural colony. They were self sufficient. Farms in Acadia and along the St. Lawrence seldom had a surplus of wheat. If they had a surplus, they attempted to sell it in the West Indies. It was difficult to sell their wheat in the West Indies. The English colonies had a regular trade in the West Indies and New France was 3000 miles from Quebec; New France lacked the number of ships and capital to conduct a regular trade with them and they often ran into sea battles and storms. The only regular outlet for their agricultural products were the local habitants who needed more than they produced and those living in towns. Even here, the town dweller planted kitchen gardens and raised animals to slaughter. After 1750, they did some supplying for the troops. This was rarely, due to poor harvests.[59]

Mother Juchereau wrote to France saying Talon was like a father, seeing what the poor needed and helping the colony to grow. He visited the homes of the inhabitants and encouraged them to see him. He learned what crops they were raising. He taught those who raised wheat to sell it to those who paid the most; he helped those who raised no wheat and offered encouragement to everyone. He gave aid to those who needed it. Horses, cattle, sheep and other domestic animals were sent out and generously distributed. With them, was an order that none of the young animals should be killed until the country was sufficiently stocked.[60] Since its first settlement, only one horse had been sent to New France. It was given by the Company of 100 Associates to de Montmagny, the governor who succeeded Champlain. From 1665 to 1668, 41 mares and stallions and 80 sheep were brought from France. Domestic animals —cattle, sheep, horses, goats, and pigs were sent by the king as well as being imported by some individuals. They reproduced well. By 1668, there were 3,400 head of cattle in New France.[61] Domestic animals were brought continually until 1672. During these seven years (1665-1672) about 80 horses had been brought from France. Twenty years later, there were 400 horses in the colony. In 1698, there were 684. In 1672, Talon informed Colbert, there was no reason to send any more.[62]

Large quantities of other goods were also sent. Some of these items were given as gifts and the rest were bartered for corn to supply the troops. Talon saw that the farmers wasted a great amount of time coming long distances to Quebec to buy necessary things. He told his agents to furnish these inhabitants with the king's goods at their own houses. This was quite upsetting to the merchants of Quebec who complained of losing their trade.[63]

During this period of time, Acadia was returned to New France as a result of the Treaty of Breda in 1667 and was returned to France in 1670 after being under the control of England for fifteen years. In 1690, it was again retaken by the English. In 1697, it went back to France only to be retaken by the English in 1710. From 1654 to 1710, a period of sixty years, France controlled Acadia for thirty-four years. Generally, France had ignored and neglected Acadia.

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59 *Ibid.*, pp. 204-207.

60 Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1253.

61 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

62 Chapais, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

63 Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1253-1254.

Intendants Talon and Demeulle were interested in developing the Acadian population. Under these two intendants, Acadia developed agriculturally. Land on the Bay of Fundy was fertile and cultivated by 1707. Port Royal was prosperous with a population of 600 who owned 3,000 head of livestock. Other centers developed at Minas and Beaubassin, along the St-John River, on the other side of the Bay of Fundy. The Denys family were successful at Miramichi and Restigouche. In 1707, three years before Port Royale was again taken by England, there were about 2,000 who were farming and had about 8,000 head of livestock. This was the most successful period of French rule in Acadia.[64]

One of the items needed in New France was hemp for making coarse cloth. Talon encouraged several acres to be used to produce hemp by monopolizing thread. He provided seed to a number of farmers. In return the farmers were to return an equal amount of seed the next year. To get farmers to produce hemp, he confiscated all of the thread in the shops. No one could get thread except if they had hemp to exchange for it. This policy was very successful. The population was also urged to gather nettles to be used as material for cordage. The Ursulines were supplied with flax and wool in order to teach girls to weave and spin into thread.[65]

The *seigneurs* were required to build a mill to grind the habitant's grain. This was a major expense for the *seigneurs*. If a *seigneur* did not have a mill built, within a reasonable time, the intendant would have it built and force the *seigneur* to pay for its cost. If a *censitaire* offered to build a mill, the intendant would allow him to do so. Wheat was a major part of the population's diet. They averaged two loaves of six to seven pounds for each person each week. Without a mill, it would have to be ground by hand. The fee for grinding wheat was one-fortieth of the flour ground. [66]

Census Taken

In order to oversee the progress of the development of the colony, Talon insisted that a census of the population be taken each year. In the winter of 1666-1667, the first Canadian census was taken under the intendant's supervision. He actually visited some of the habitants himself to take the census. The total population at that time was 3215 in Canada. There were 2034 males and 1181 females, 1019 married people and 528 families. There were 95 elderly people from the ages of 51 to 90. Occupations and professions were given. In New France there were 3 notaries, 5 surgeons, 18 merchants, 4 bailiffs, 3 schoolmasters, 36 carpenters, 27 joiners, 30 tailors, 8 coopers, 5 bakers, 9 millers, and 3 locksmiths Among the male clergy were 1 bishop, 18 priests or were studying in the seminary for priesthood, and 35 Jesuits. There were 19 Ursulines, 23 Hospitalières, and 4 Sisters of the Congregation. The census did not include the king's troops which numbered 1200 men.[67]

The following year, the 1667 census included the names, ages and

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64 Trudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

65 Chapais, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1252.

66 Eccles, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

67 Chapais, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

occupations as in the 1666 census, but they added the total number of *bestiaux* (animals) owned and the number of cleared and cultivated *arpents* of land they worked. In the 1681 census, they were also asked the number of individual kinds of animals owned—horned animals, cows, horses, goats, sheep and hogs —and the number of guns they had in each household.

A census was to be taken and studied each year to watch the progress being made to fulfill Colbert's plan. The progress of the growth of settlements and population was closely watched by the annual census. Talon called for the first census in 1666. Each year the king's minister also studied each census. They watched the increase in the size and number of families, the number of *arpents* cleared and cultivated, the number of guns in each household for defense reasons, and the increase in numbers of domestic animals raised.

Return to France

In 1668, Talon asked to be recalled due to health and other reasons. Courcelle also asked to be recalled.There was a continuous conflict of authority between Governor Courcelle and Talon which could not be avoided. Regretfully, Colbert granted it to them. Governor Courcelle was replaced by Louis de Buade, Count of Palluau and Frontenac. In November 1668, Talon returned to France and was replaced by Claude de Bouyrtone. Two years later, 1670, Talon returned to New France as intendant .

Although Talon had been recalled, he remained Canada's most powerful agent. He met regularly with Colbert and the king discussing means to strengthen the colony. Six companies of soldiers were sent to reinforce the defense. Hundreds of laborers and unmarried girls were sent to be brides. A new stock of domestic animals was sent. Talon was also trying to free New France from the West India Company. By the spring of 1669, nearly everything Talon asked for was granted.

On 3 April 1669, King Louis XIV informed Bouteroue that Talon had been reinstated as intendant. On 10 May, the king signed his new commission; seven days later he received his instructions and on 15 July 1669, Talon sailed from La Rochelle with Captain François Marie Perrot, one of six commanders of the companies sent to New France and Fathers Romauld Papillion, Hilarion Guesin, Cesaire Herveau, and Brother Cosme Graveran of the Franciscan order known as Récollets. Their ship was hit by a series of storms and hurricanes and they were blown off course. They headed for Lisbon, where they were repaired and restocked. After leaving Lisbon, they hit a rocky shoal and were wrecked and were rescued and brought back to France.[68]

In the meantime in New France, Bouteroue sat on the Sovereign Council. They passed a law fixing the price of wheat. Creditors had refused to accept wheat in payment or took it at a low price. The law stated that for three months, the debtors could pay their creditors in wheat at the price of four *livres* per bushel. A new law was passed stopping anyone from going into the woods with liquor to trade. The Indians were to remain sober and the French were forbidden to drink with them. They could leave to go to the woods only after being searched. Traders were allowed

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68 *Ibid.,* pp. 98-103.

brandy but only one pot per man for eight days. Penalties for violations were confiscation and a fine of fifty *livres* for a first offense and corporal punishment for a second offense.[69]

During the summer of 1669, a war between the French and the Iroquois was averted by Courcelles. Once again due to storms, Talon returned to France to spend the winter. Once again they left La Rochelle in the middle of May 1670. After three months of sailing they nearly were wrecked near the end of their trip. On 18 August 1670, they arrived in Quebec.[70]

This time Talon wanted some things in the colony his way. He requested that the clergy who were sent be less troublesome. Colbert agreed. He had the Récollet order re-established in New France. They had been the first in New France, having come in 1615, followed by the Jesuits in 1625. In 1629, Quebec was taken by the Kirke Brothers. In 1632, the colony was returned to France. The Jesuits returned but Cardinal Richelieu did not allow the Récollets to return.

Talon also asked for more extensive powers. He said the king's distance from New France made it necessary to grant more power to the intendant in order to get things accomplished without waiting a year for an answer. He also requested a Canadian nobility be created. This would allow him to create a small group who would be obligated to the king. Colbert rejected this but did approve of *lettres de cachet* be given to Talon. These would allow Talon to send back to France any person who was against the king's service or the good of the country.[71]

Courcelle returned to New France as governor in 1669, prior to Talon's arrival. The conflict between Courclles and Talon continued.

The West India Company

In 1663, the king had cancelled the charter of the Company of 100 Associates and taken back Canada. However, in 1664, he granted it again to a new company, The West India Company. According to the charter, the company owned the land but the government made the decisions. The company controlled the administration of justice, and they did establish courts. However, the intendant was the supreme judge in civil cases and the Sovereign Council was the court of superior jurisdiction. The company had the power to grant land and seigneuries, but the governor and intendant, the king's appointed officers, also issued grants when they felt like it.

Colbert had created the West India Company and he felt this new company he created would do better than the Company of 100 Associates. However, he did open the fur trade to colonists. The company granted free trade for all the people of New France for one year. By its charter, the company was allowed to collect the taxes on the sale of beaver and moose skins. The tax on beaver skins (*la droit du quart*) was 25% and the tax on moose skins was 10% (*la droit du dixième*) which was two *sous* per pound. They also received revenue from the sale of trading privileges at Tadoussac. (*la traite de Tadoussac*).

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69 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

71 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

These three formed the public fund (*le fonds du pays*) from which were paid the expenses "of the governor and public officers, the costs of the garrisons at Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières, the grants to religious communities, and other yearly disbursements." [72]

Talon disagreed with Colbert concerning the West India Company. He felt the company had too many privileges which could lead to lack of responsibility and corruption. The company had the right to collect taxes, but they were to be responsible to pay these expenses. Talon hoped the king would control these funds. He said the taxes were sufficient, but the company agent was not willing to pay the expenses. Colbert insisted they had the right to some of it for their time and expenses.

Now the question was, How much should they be obligated toward expenses of the colony? Talon said the former company paid 48,950 *livres* a year. The company agent insisted it was only 29,200 *livres*. Talon had evidence that in 1660 and 1663, the former company had paid 50,000 *livres*. Colbert decided the amount would be 36,000 *livres* annually. It remained that amount for many years after. *Le fonds du pays* was not the only source of funds to pay the colony's expenses. There was another fund which came from the king. This fund was to pay for "movement and maintenance of the troops, the transportation of new settlers, horses and sheep, construction of forts and purchases and shipment of supplies." In 1665, this amounted to 358,000 *livres*.[73]

On 4 October 1665, Talon wrote to the king complaining about this conflict of control which would prevent him from controlling lands and trade. He learned that the West India Company was only interested in enforcing its commercial monopoly; they would be the only trading company between the colony and the mother country. While Talon was in France, Talon again complained about the monopoly and privileges of the West India Company. This situation had continued for ten years. In 1674, their company charter was revoked.[74]

Industrial Development

Ship Building

Both Colbert and Talon were hoping to develop a successful ship building industry. They believed Canada would be able to produce the materials to build its own ships and to supply the shipyards of France as well. Then it would not be necessary to import ship masts and timber from the Baltic countries. Ships also needed hemp for ropes and caulking, flax for canvas sails, and large amounts of tar. These items could also by produced in the colony. Talon gave hemp and flax seeds to the farmers. However, they were growing only enough for their own needs. He took all the rope in the colony and allowed them to purchase their supplies if they agreed to raise more hemp.[75]

Jean-Baptiste Colbert wanted flutes and war ships for the navy to be built in Canada. Flutes were long, narrow ships with hatches in the stern, allowing ship masts and long lengths of timber to be loaded more easily. In 1669, he ordered

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72 Chapais, *op. cit.,,* pp. 42-43.

73 *Ibid.,* pp. 44-45.

74 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

75 Eccles, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

that two flutes of 300 tons each be constructed in Canada. Within three or four years, he wanted four warships of six to seven hundred tons built in New France. Supplies and skilled carpenters, tar makers, blacksmiths and foundry workers were sent by Colbert de Terron to the colony. In 1672, a 46 gun warship was under construction in Quebec.[76]

Talon introduced ship building into the colony. He informed Colbert that a local merchant was building a fishing vessel for fishing in the Lower St. Lawrence. The following year, six or seven ships were built in Quebec. To motivate the settlers to become interested in shipbuilding, Talon had a ship built to show them how to do it. In 1666, he paid the cost of building a small ship, a barque of 120 tons. They then built a larger one. Three or four years later he repeated this same experiment, but this time it was at the cost of the king rather than himself. It cost 40,000 *livres* and it provided work for 350 men during the summer.[77]

Talon hoped to develop regular trade exchanges with Acadia and the West Indies. One of the plans was to establish a ship building industry near the forests of Quebec. A study of oak trees was made prior to starting a shipbuilding industry. However, most of the sails, rigging and hardware had to be brought from France as well as skilled workmen who required higher wages on short term contracts than what were paid in the shipyards of France. The cost of building a ship in New France was twice as much as in France. At the beginning, Colbert and Talon planned on building large ships of 135 to 360 tons rather than smaller ships. Realizing these would not be economical, smaller ships were constructed instead. These smaller ships were used to start trade between Quebec and the West Indies. However, when two of these ships were lost at sea costing them 36,000 *livres,* they decided to down size again. They continued to build ships in New France, but they were primarily small ones for river traffic and fishing in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Later in the eighteen century, the government again made an effort to establish large scale shipbuilding.[78]

Talon hoped that as a result of the shipbuilding, trade could be developed between Canada, the West Indies and France. New France could provide dried and salted cod, eels, peas, grain, oil, planks, staves and small masts to the West Indies in exchange for sugar which would in turn be sent to France who would send finished goods to New France.[79]

In an attempt to encourage others in the colony, Talon became a partner with a Quebec merchant and shipped cargoes of dried cod, salted salmon, eels, peas, fish oil, barrel staves, planks and small masts to the West Indies islands. The establishment of trade between the West Indies and Canada was beneficial to both. In 1670, three Canadian built ships were sent to the West Indies carrying fish, oil, peas, planks, barley and flour. In 1672, two ships did the same. Intendant Duchesneau who replaced Talon, wrote that at least two vessels, (once, four times in one year) left

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76 *Ibid.*

77 Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1252.

78 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

79 Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1252-1253.

Quebec with Canadian products to the West Indies.[80]

The colony's ship building and overseas trading really suffered a setback when two of Talon's ships were lost at sea at the cost of 36,000 *livres*. Trade between Quebec and the West Indies was difficult. Ships could only sail in the summer months which was the hurricane season in the southern seas. They faced pirates and English privateers in wartime. They faced competition from New England who had the same products as New France. They could produce them cheaper and could ship out all year round. Colbert attempted to have the Compagnie de l'Occident (West India Company) supply the French islands with Negro slaves but they failed. The French island planters had to depend on the English and Dutch to supply them with slaves. This meant the English and Dutch would also supply other goods blocking Canada out. However, a Quebec merchant, la Chesyne continued to send ships to the West Indies.[81]

This situation also brought ruin to the West India Company. They could not compete with the English and Dutch traders. They were unable to get private money. In New France, the merchants, habitants and Talon complained that they overcharged on their goods; they did not provide the correct goods; they demanded payment in furs and they refused credit. Everyone wanted freedom of trade for the colony. In December 1674, the company closed down. The crown opened trade with the colonies to all. As a result, a small group of merchants in the colony handled retail trade and received their supplies from wholesale merchants of La Rochelle. [82]

Fishing

Talon wanted to develop a fishing industry on the St. Lawrence. The development of cod fishing on the St. Lawrence River was successful. However, New France did not take part in the fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Banks of Newfoundland. Basically, the Canadian fishing industry was successful in providing for the needs of Canada and the West Indies but could not compete with the fishermen of Europe who had been long established and were favored in France.[83]

Yet, fishing appeared to be one of the most successful industries in New France. Colbert gave it as much aid as possible. He provided subsidies for the necessary equipment. Canadian cod fishermen paid the same duties as the fishermen of Normandie when they brought their fish into France. The largest handicap for Canadian fishermen was the lack of salt in the colony. Attempts were made to develop salt works, but these failed. They had to depend on France for salt. In addition, France managed most of the fishing enterprise to the advantage of French merchants not merchants of New France.[84]

The French fishermen could catch fish on the banks and sell it for much less than the Canadian fishermen.[85] They

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80 Chapais, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

81 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

82 *Ibid.*

83 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

84 Trudel, pp. 202-203.

85 Eccles, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

also established stationary cod fisheries along the lower St. Lawrence. These were not very profitable. Eel fisheries were also established. Talon made an attempt to establish a fishery of whale and white porpoises for their oil for the soap industry. Some of the local merchants were encouraged to take part in it. They also tried seal hunting. They were valuable for their oil and their fur which was as valuable as beaver. The post at Phélypeaux Bay had an annual value of 10,000 *livres.*[86]

Small Manufacturing Industries

Colbert had hoped that Canada would become self supporting and its trade with France would be kept in balance with the colony providing raw materials to the mother country and purchase manufactured goods they could not produce from the mother country. That is why he encouraged the manufacture of some consumer goods in the colony. He sent master craftsmen of France to teach the colonists their trades. By 1668, shoes and hats were being made, but not beaver hats. These were produced in France for the benefit of France. A tannery was to be built. Colonists were beginning to weave linen. A large number of sheep were shipped to New France with the hope this would lead to wool production. Within a short time, the rural population was able to clothe themselves with home spun wool from their own sheep and linen from flax they produced and had shoes made from local tanned leather. The towns people refused to wear these rough fabrics and demanded the latest styles imported from France.[87]

The success they did achieve would not have been gained if not for Talon. He was the drive behind it all. Talon worked under the Minister à Manufactures. Tradesmen were encouraged to migrate to New France. He also gave his own money for industrial expansion. To encourage the development of industries, he ordered research on every kind of resources. Surveys were done on trees. Men went in search of iron, coal and copper. He encouraged the population to develop local crafts. He tried to organize fixed fisheries. A tar works, a tannery and a brewery were constructed. He believed a country could not develop and prosper unless it had trade.[88]

At the tar works, a barrel of tar was produced and sent to the king as an example of their production. Patoulet, a deputy of Talon, said that one day Canada would be able to produce tar, but at that time it cost much more than Dutch tar. He also said that ships built in Canada cost more than in France. He suggested the construction of naval ships in the colony be stopped until iron could be forged and a Canadian hemp supply was available. Some of the colonists made cloth from the wool of sheep the king had sent from France. He also established a tannery and a factory of hats and of shoes. Sieur Follin was granted a monopoly to produce soap and potash.[89]

Industries such as brickworks, tileworks, tarworks and tanneries appeared and disappeared before they were able to export their goods or even to sufficiently supply the local population. There was

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86 Trudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

87 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

88 Trudel, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

89 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and Parkman *op. cit.*, p. 1252.

always a shortage of finances and capable experienced workmen. Besides, merchants did not have the capital to charter and load their own ships. It was only profitable if their products could be transported free of charge on the king's ships.[90]

Beer had been brewed in the colony for years, but it was for personal use and not brewed commercially. There was a large consumption of wine and brandy among the habitants of New France which cost them about 100,000 *livres* a year. In order to keep the money in the colony, Talon decided to build a brewery. Colbert approved of it and the brewery was built. The poorer colonists were satisfied.[91] Officials in New France believed the lawlessness in the colony was due to the use of wine and brandy. They hoped the production of beer would reduce the amount of wine and spirits imported from France. The brewery would also be a market for the colony's surplus grain and help to maintain grain prices as well as encourage farmers to clear and cultivate land to produce more grain. Colbert backed this idea thoroughly. He gave orders that the edict of the Sovereign Council of Quebec issued limiting annual imports of wine be no more than 8,000 barrels of wine ad 4,000 barrels of brandy be strictly enforced. Colbert had also hoped the limiting of the amount of wine and brandy sent to the colony would allow France to dispose of these two items by selling them to foreign markets.[92]

In 1668, the brewery was built near the St. Charles River. Talon thought this would help grain growers to take a part of their surpluses for a profit and at the same time decrease the importation of wine and brandy which caused trouble and disorder. Three years later, Talon announced the brewery was able to produce 2000 hogshead of beer for exportation to the West Indies and 2000 more for consumption at home. This would require 12,000 bushels of grain annually and would give farmers more cash. In the meantime he was growing hops on his farm and was producing good crops.[93] Breweries existed longer because they had continuous consumption.

Shortly after his arrival in New France, Talon saw how great a shortage there was of consumer goods. He sold a part of the goods he had brought and made a good profit in the process. When Colbert heard about this, he reprimanded Talon saying his job was to make the colony successful and not to make himself richer. Talon ignored him. He had the right to import goods for his own use on the king's ships, free of duty and freight charges. He took advantage of this privilege. In order to store his goods, he had a large warehouse built in Lower Town Quebec and he hired a number of men to handle the business for him. In 1669, in addition to other things, he had ordered from La Rochelle, were 104 barrels of Bourdeaux wine, 96 barrels of Charente wine and 220 barrels of brandy. The merchants complained that the Intendant was putting them out of business by selling his goods cheaper. This was possible because he did not have to pay freight rates or the 10% duty

90 Trudel, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

91 Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1253.

92 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

93 Chapais, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

on wines and brandy. Talon was also active in the fur trade. He made profits here as well. What amount of it he gave to the colony's development is unknown. But there would have been little industrial development without his support and investment.[94]

Mineral Development

Talon was also interested in discovering minerals and development of mines. The West India Company had searched for lead mines in the Gaspé. However, they were unsuccessful. They also searched for iron ore, copper, and silver at Baie St. Paul. Only iron ore was found there. In 1667, Father Allouez returned to Quebec with copper samples he had found on the shores of Lake Huron.[95] Talon sent two engineers to search for coal, lead, iron, copper and other minerals. Copper deposits were found, but Talon realized it was too remote to develop. It was more than seventy years later before these mines were developed.[96]

Talon sent engineers to search for coal in Cape Breton. The samples from there were of a good quality. In 1667, Talon wrote to Colbert that coal had also been discovered toward the bottom of the rock where Quebec was located. It also tested to be of good quality. He said he would send a load of it in their ships to serve as ballast. Talon planned that the coal would be used for their naval construction. Talon said the coal was of such quality that it burned well in the forge. Then, they would not be dependent on English coal. The coal mine opened at Quebec. It was started in the cellar of a resident in Lower Town, Quebec. It extended through the Cape under the Chateau Saint-Louis. As a result they ceased working the mine in fear that the Chateau would collapse. Today, no one ever heard of this mine; however, Talon's letter to Colbert was explicit about it. If it is there it would lie deep beneath Dufferin Terrace and the Château Frontenac.[97]

Early Jesuits set out to convert the Indians to the Catholic faith. But as time went on they became more and more explorers, men of science and politicians. Even though their yearly reports were primarily on missions, baptisms and conversions, they did talk about tides, winds and currents of the Great Lakes and stories of the Indians of large rivers flowing southward and stories of copper mines which the Jesuits were looking for to explore in order to profit the colony. In 1671, Father Dablon indicates that while making their surveys of Lake Superior, they were looking for copper. He reported, they found a great amount of copper on Isle Minong (now Isle Royale) a day's distance from the head of the lake on the south side. The samples were of large size, lying on the shore. He also said there were large copper boulders in the Ontonagan River bed. Talon also sent Louis Joliet who had studied for the priesthood but he instead became an adventurous fur trader, to discover and explore the copper mines of Lake Superior.[98] Due to lack of finances, experienced workmen and remote locations, the French could not afford large scale undertakings but iron works

94 Eccles, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

95 Chapais, *p. cit.*, p. 51.

96 Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 1252.

97 Chapais, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

98 Parkmam, *op. cit.*, pp. 737-738; 747-748.

were attempted. François Poulin de Francheville received the first license for processing iron ore in 1730.[99]

Expansion

Talon attempted to open a road across the country to Acadia. However, it failed. Others who followed him made the same attempt and also failed. Many times he asked Colbert and the king to purchase or seize New York in order to isolate the English and to defeat the Iroquois and thereby, gain control of half the continent.

The first time Hudson Bay is mentioned in the Jesuit Relations is in1660. In 1610, Henry Hudson laid claim to Hudson Bay and its straits for England. Port Nelson was established there in 1612. Through the years, there were several visits to Hudson Bay. In 1667, Fort Charles (later called Fort Rupert) was built on James' Bay. In 1670, a charter for the Hudson Bay Company was granted by King Charles II. Shortly after, two other forts—Fort Hayes and Fort Albany—were built on Hudson Bay by the English. The French claimed Hudson Bay belonged to them because in 1627, the company of 100 Associates received the monopoly charter which extended to the Arctic circle. They also said the Treaty of St-Germain-en Laye in 1633 returned Canada to the French. The French also insisted that Jean Bourdon visited Hudson Bay in 1656. However, there is evidence he never went further than the 55th degree of latitude on his expedition to get furs. There he saw an English ship. Before the coming of Talon, three attempts had been made to take Hudson Bay and had failed and the idea was dropped because it was "impossible".[100]

It was under Talon that Father Albanel was sent on an expedition as far as Hudson Bay. On 6 August 1671, Albanel left with Mssr. De Saint Simon, another Frenchman and some Indians. They reached a point just north of Lake Saint John in September where Indians told them the English had two ships at Hudson Bay. He wrote to Quebec for more authority and decided to stay the winter where they were. On 1 June 1672, he continued to a summit where there was a portage of two *arpents* leading to streams which led into Hudson Bay. After going down Rupert River, he saw an English ship near two empty houses. On 5 July, Albanel was at Hudson Bay. He put up a cross there on 9 July and at the Minahigousat River, he placed another cross on 18 July . Albanel had been the first to go across land to Hudson Bay. [101]

Jean Talon was a strong supporter for westward expansion. Unlike Colbert, Talon believed the fur trade was important to France and should be expanded. He hoped to control the interior and waterways. He wanted to confine the English on a narrow strip along the Atlantic and he wanted a seaport on the gulf of Mexico to keep the Spanish out. He intended the interior of America to be explored by the French. To achieve this he made use of the Jesuits, fur traders, adventurers, interpreters, explorers and military officers. One of the first to go into the interior to explore was La Salle who

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99 Trudel, *op. cit.,* p. 201.

100 Kingford, William, *History of Canada,* Vol. 3, pp. 2-3.

101 *Ibid.,* pp. 3-4.

paid for his first expedition himself, but with the permission and encouragement of Talon. In 1670, Talon "ordered Daumont de Saint-Lusson to search for copper mines on Lake Superior, and at the same time to take formal possession of the whole interior for the king." The entire expedition was to be paid by the beaver trade Saint-Lausson was to conduct along the way. Saint-Lausson left with a small group of men, one of whom was Louis Joliet and Nicolas Perrot as his interpreter.[102]

Perrot was well respected and courageous and a had great influence on various Indian tribes. He spoke many Indian languages and a number of tribes were friendly with him. He was always welcomed by them with a great amount of ceremony—sham battles, lacrosse games, feasting and celebrations. Perrot sent word to the tribes of the North to meet him and the deputy governor at Sault Ste-Marie the following spring. He continued to send the invitation to those around Green Bay and southward. On 5 May 1671, Perrot, chiefs of the Sacs, Winnebagoes and Menomonies arrived for the rendezvous. Saint-Lusson was there with his men. By 4 June 1671, fourteen tribes or their representatives, four Jesuits in their vestments—Claude Dablon, Superior of the Missions of the Lakes, with Gabriel Druilletes, Claude Allouez, and Louis André and a number of French fur traders who were in the vicinity had arrived. With much ceremony, singing and firing of guns, Saint-Lusson officially took possession of all the land, inhabited or uninhabited, extending to the seas north, south and west from there, for King Louis XIV of France.[103]

Talon opened the way for a series of explorations into the interior of North America. He was especially anxious to send men to explore the Mississippi River. He had hoped to send Louis Joliet, but he was recalled to France. Before he left, he suggested to Frontenac, Joliet be sent for the discovery of the Mississippi river. The new governor accepted his advice. Louis Joliet accompanied by Marquette, with five men in two birch bark canoes with a supply of smoked meat and Indian corn explored the Mississippi River. They passed the mouth of the Illinois River. They were satisfied the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. Nearing Spanish territory they decided to return. At the Indian village of Kaskaskia, an Indian volunteered to guide them to the Lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan) where they followed the shoreline to Green Bay. [104] Later, La Salle went on to complete the exploration of the Mississippi to the Gulf. Father Louis Hennepin explored the Upper Mississippi.

Carrying out the Great Plan was an expensive undertaking. During the first years, the French government was investing more than 200,000 *livres* annually in the colony. This was beyond the 36,000 a year for the established costs of administration which included the salaries of officials and grants to the clergy. Colbert had expected that in

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102 Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 754-755.

103 *Ibid.*, pp. 755-757. Some of the other tribes were Miamis, Ottawas, Amikwas, Illinois, Pottawatamis.

104 Ibid., 761-762; 770-772.

time, the colony would be able to provide its own capital for economic development. To initiate new industries, the government was sending subsidies. In 1671, the government gave 40,000 *livres* to help establish ship building and lumber industries, 10,000 *livres* on some iron ore deposits and 600 *livres* to begin the manufacture of tar. Nothing was coming from private individuals. The crown was almost the entire support. Talon had set up a budget of 46,500 *livres* based on the auction of Mésy. The Compagnie de Occident claimed it was too much. Colbert agreed and reduced it to 36,000 *livres*.[105]

From 1665-1672, New France had made a number advancements in economic development under the guidance of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Colbert de Terron and Jean Talon. Over a million *livres* were given by the crown to establish new industries and develop trade and commerce. Emigration alone cost the crown 50,000 *livres* a year. In France and New France, the population lacked men of ability and finances who were willing to take an interest. In France, men who had talent and ambiton were not interested in trade, commerce or industry. For a long period of time, the aristocracy of France was not allowed to be involved in commerce and industry, nor did they want to. In England and the Netherlands, investments were in commerce or industry. The middle class values of thrift and industry were found in England and the Netherlands but not in France. Instead they had contempt for these values. The French invested in government bonds and land, bought a post in the administration and obtained army commissions for their sons so that they could be in contact with feudal nobility. In New France, ability and means lay with retail merchants, fur traders or both or officials. To succeed, New France needed the crowns' direction. Yet, under Colbert, westward expansion was further in twenty years than England and the Netherlands accomplished in a hundred years.

In 1672, when Courcelle and Talon left New France, they could show a great deal had been accomplished. By 1672, knowledge of the geography of the interior of North America was known. France had control far beyond the Great Lakes. The English in New York were afraid of the French expansion. Iroquois attacks and threats had been curbed. Colonists could clear fields and plant crops. Colbert's plans for industrial growth had a good beginning, but to the disappointment of Colbert, the continued interest in the fur trade in New France took precedence over industrial investment. For the inhabtants of New France, the fur trade of the interior was more attractive than opening new industries. The largest achievement was the increase in population. In 1663, they estimated there were 2,500 people. In 1672, the bishop said there about 700 children baptised in that year. In 1673, the population was 6,705. However, many who came found life difficult. By 1672, officials were complaining on the large number of beggars in the towns. By 1678, there were other problems "how to provide for the increasing number of widows and orphans resulting from the marriages in the 1660's and 1670's of young women to men much their senior in years" New institutions had to be founded to care for those who were unable to care for themselves.

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105 Eccles, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

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Alphonsine and Frank - French Canadians in Chicago

By Alice Kegley

Alphonsine Honorine Larivière and Frank Moffet were descendants of French colonists of Quebec dating back to the French Regime. These two French Canadians met at a train station in Chicago in 1881 when Alphonsine and her mother and brothers were traveling to the Black Hills to join the head of the family, Charles Larivière, who had taken a job in Rapid City. Frank, whose real name appears to have been Francis, and Alphonsine kept in touch by mail for the following three years until 1884 when Alphonsine went to Chicago where they took their wedding vows at Notre Dame de Chicago.

One wonders what life was like for a young couple speaking French as a first language living in a large English-speaking city in the middle of the United States. Stories and tidbits of information handed down through the generations provide a glimpse into their lives and the lives of their children, one of whom was my grandmother. My mother often spoke of her grandparents and had several photographs of her grandmother and of the children but only one of her grandfather. As a child, mother recalled them as being a much in love couple who enjoyed music. One photo in her collection shows Alphonsine at the piano and Frank and the couple's many young and adult children at one of their Sunday night parties. Mother went to these when she was a little girl and thought they were lots of fun! Alphonsine played the piano, everyone sang, the adults drank beer, and when the kids got tired they were put to bed. The party always ended with Frank singing "La Marseillaise."

For a few years Frank worked as a silver plater, an actor in local Chicago theaters, a fancy ice skater, and a tight-rope walker. After he and Alphonsine got married, he gave up these part-time jobs and became a "bell-hiker" pushing his cart through the city streets fixing doorbells and other gadgets. After the arrival of a few babies, he realized he had to make more money than what he earned fixing doorbells and gadgets, so he started a house painting business. His finances improved after a few years; however, money remained tight and the family continued to live in small, cold-water flats. During the family's toughest financial times, my grandmother dropped out of the fourth grade to take a job in a hat factory. She remained at that job until she became a bride at age seventeen. Her older brother also dropped out of school at that time, or before, so he could add to the family income. Their younger brothers and sisters were able to complete their grade school educations. After a few years of working alone, two of Frank's sons and a son-in law and eventually two grandsons joined the business. As the business grew, the size of their contracts grew including an annual paint job of Comiskey Park, now known as White Sox Park. Unfortunately, Frank didn't live to see his business prosper to the extent that the younger generations did.

My mother was ten years old when her grandfather, Frank, died. She said she was allowed to see him at the wake held at his apartment the night before the funeral, but she was not allowed to go to the funeral the next day. As it turned out, she was at recess when the funeral procession passed the school, so she saw the stately horses with black plumes bobbing on their heads pulling the hearse to Mount Carmel Cemetery.

Both Frank and Alphonsine have been noted as being fun loving, especially Alphonsine, and in spite of financial worries and family heartaches maintained a happy family. Sadly, two of their eleven children died before age five and one died after Alphonsine became a widow. While celebrating his twenty-first birthday at a swimming party, Ernest made a shallow dive into Diamond Lake and broke his neck and infection set in. With fevers sometimes soaring to 109 degrees, he remained alert enough to ask his brother to park his car in the hospital parking lot so he could get one more look at it. He managed to get to the window for that last look, returned to his bed, and with his family gathered around him sang, "Til We Meet Again," then took his last breath.

The same year that Frank died, 1919, their son Frank became a widower with three little boys. With grandmotherly love, Alphonsine filled the void in her grandsons' lives. For many years she cared for them in their home, always looking after their best interests with wisdom and humor. Her daughter Marie died several years later leaving a young son and daughter. Again, Alphonsine's gift of nurturing saw the children through their sorrow, keeping her own in check so she could comfort them.

During the years following Frank's death, Alphonsine made two trips to Montreal to visit her brothers Frederic and Roméo. While in Montreal, she visited other relatives, enjoying much deserved vacations!

Alphonsine lived her widowed years with some of her children and one year in the country with a granddaughter before entering a nursing home where she died in 1942.

Family members and census records tell us that Alphonsine and Frank Moffet lived all of their married life in the French community near Notre Dame de Chicago. Immigrants from France and French Canada settled in this area and continued speaking French in their homes and reading newspapers printed in French. Of course, these French-speaking immigrants became bilingual and could converse with their English-speaking neighbors and co-workers. As the Moffet children used more and more English, and less and less French, they became less fluent in their parent's native language. The only French word I recall my grandmother using was *jupe* when she presented me with a skirt she had bought for me on a shopping trip to Waukegan.

I didn't personally know my great-grandparents, yet I know them in my mind and heart because of the colorful stories and many pictures handed down to me by my mother and grandmother and other relatives.

French Canadian Ancestry of Alphonsine and Frank

Pierre Clement Larivière immigrated to New France in 1702 and married Marie Catherine Prezot, born in Quebec in 1679. Marie Catherine's parents died at the Lachine Massacre in 1689. Alphonsine was a direct descendent of Pierre and Marie Catherine.

Pierre Maufay (Moffet) immigrated to New France in 1653 and married Marie Duval in 1654. Frank was a direct descendent of Pierre and Marie.

RECIPES FROM OUR FRENCH CANADIAN FAMILIES

By Pat Ustine

Several Years ago the FCGW members put together a booklet of French Canadian recipes. These were recipes passed down through one's family. In addition to the recipe, a brief family story was included. If there is enough interest in French Canadian recipes, this article will continue in future Quarterlies. I will be using some recipes from the booklet written by past and present members and also new recipes I receive. Please use the following instructions when sending your recipe.

1. Recipe Title
2. Ingredients – use abbreviations if possible, for example: tsp. tbsp. lb. pt. qt. sm. lg.
3. Recipe instructions
4. Brief family story to go with the recipe
5. Name submitted by

Send your recipes to Pat Ustine c/o FCGW address
or my e-mail address ustinecfpm@hotmail.com

The recipe for this *Quarterly* is from member, Patricia Keeney Geyh.

MINCE MEAT

3	quarts	very, very lean ground beef or venison
3	quarts	chopped apples
2	lbs.	raisins
1	lb.	currants
4	cups	brown sugar
1	cup	vinegar
1	tbsp.	cloves
1	tbsp.	cinnamon
1-1/2	cups	brandy or wine
1	tbsp.	salt
1	quart	cider

Place the meat in a large pot, cover with water and boil until the meat is thoroughly done.

Drain the meat, saving 3 cups of stock, and then return the meat to the pot. Measure 3 cups of meat stock and place it in the pot along with all the other ingredients. Cook it until done. Mixture should be juicy, but not runny. Place it in jars and follow normal canning procedures.

When making the pie itself, make a double pie crust, line a pie tin with it, fill to heaping with the mince meat and cover with crust. Make ventilation holes in crust with a fork and bake in a 350 degree oven until crust is done.

Mince meat pie use to be a very popular dessert during the holiday season. Perhaps one of the reasons that this dessert has declined in popularity is that cooks no longer seem to make their own mince meat but rely instead on the meatless, non-alcohol varieties found on supermarket shelves. They certainly do not taste the same.

This recipe comes from my grandmother, Marie Elizabeth Douville Martin (born 16 June 1867; died 8 December 1937). Where she got the recipe, no one knows. The mince meat she intended to use within the next month or month and a half would be in a crock and stored in a cool cellar. The rest was canned and stored for use in the indefinite future.

I do not have the recipe for mincemeat from my paternal grandmother, Sorgine Jacobi Mauritsen Kenney. I do know, though, that she used venison in her recipe, so I noted that meat as a substitute for beef in the above.

I hope you will try the recipe and enjoy it. **BON APPETIT!**

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

DONATIOSS:

The following six books were donated by Joseph Dupuis of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Acadian Descendants Vol. X, by Janet Jehn, 1995.

Beginning Franco-American Genealogy, by Dennis M. Boudreau, 1986.

Corrections & Additions to Arsenault's Histoire et Geneaogy des Acadiens, by Janet B., Jehn, 1988.

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Netting Your Ancestors, Genealogical Research on the Internet, by Cindi Howells, 1997.

Your Ancient Canadian Family Ties, by Reginald L. Olivier, 1972.

L'Injure en Nouvelle France, by Robert-Lionel Séguin, donated by Joyce Banachowski.

TRIVIA

Prior to the establishment of the Sovereign Council in 1663, the Governor of Quebec (city) was also the Governor of New France which was Canada, Acadia and Louisiana. He controlled the military and civil affairs of the colony. In addition, Montreal and Trois Rivières each had their own governor for their particular areas. After 1663, the office of intendant was created. The intendant presided over the Sovereign Council and was the administrator of justice, police and finances and the Governor-General (governor) was responsible for the military and diplomatic relations, primarily with the Indians. Trois Rivières and Montreal still had governors but all positions were now by appointment by the king and no longer by the companies who received fur monopolies .

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Solution—keep storage spaces clean and if necessary, exterminate regularly.
*Hands—oil and residue even from freshly washed hands are damaging.
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Solution—mend torn documents sparingly by handling acid-free tape in a nondescript area Avoid placing tape over writing or images. Consider encapsulation.
*Rubber bands, pins and needles, paper clips, grommets, staples—may cut into a document. As rubber bands rot, chemicals can migrate to surrounding documents. Metal fasteners can cause deformation and corrosion.
Solution—a small piece of acid-free paper or folder may be folded over the area to be clipped. Clips manufactured from HDPE plastic are preferred.
*Lamination—lamination used extreme heat to adhere two sheets of inferior plastic to a document. Over time the plastic will rot and begin to chip or peel. The process is virtually irreversible and permanently destroys the document.
Soluton—encapsulation.
*Post-it-Notes—leaves a permanent layer of adhesive that may be undetectable to the human eye. Eventually, this chemical adhesive will permanently stain a document.
Solution—Don't use them. If a note is absolutely necessary, write it on an acid-free slip of paper and attach it with a clip manufactured from HDPE plastic.
*Newspaper—decomposes quickly. The acids in the paper leach into anything they come in contact with and cause permanent stains.
Solution—preserve newspaper clippings that have been arranged and indexed, by photocopying them onto acid-free paper, then placing the copies in acid-free folders and boxes.
*Books and Bookshelves—Unfinished wood shelving should be avoided as wood leeches acids onto anything it comes in contact with.
Solution--Seal (not wax) wooden shelves and if possible, line shelves with polyester film. Shelve books vertically without crowding. Oversized volumes may be stored horizontally. To retrieve a book, push in the two books on either side of the one you want and then pull from the middle of the book. DO NOT pull he book off a shelf from the top or side of the spine. Occasionally lightly dust or vacuum with a soft brush attachment and low suction.

The previous article was taken from the Newsletter of the Chippewa County Genealogical Society, Vol. 31, No. 4, Jan-Mar 2011. It previously had appeared in the Newsletter of Langlade County Genealogical Society, Vol. 15, No. 4, Oct. 2010.

COMING UP

15-16 April 2011: Gene-A-Rama at Lacrosse Center and Radisson Hotel, Lacrosse, WI. They will be Honoring Our Ancestors on the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War.

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30 April 2011: Milwaukee County Genealogical Society Biennial Workshop, 8:15 a.m.- 4:00 p.m.: American Serb Hall, 5101 West Oklahoma Avenue, Milwaukee. Speakers will be Colleen Fitzpatrick, well known in the field of forensic genealogy; She will be presenting several DNA topics. James L Hansen, genealogical reference librarian at the Wisconsin Historical Society. He will speak on "Tracing Your Immigrant Ancestors" and " Tribunes and Gazette—Getting the Most FromNewspaper Research". William J. Forsyth, director of product management at Pro Quest, will present two sessions on the "Library Edition Ancestry.com".

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11-14 May 2011: National Genealogical Society 2011 Family History Conference, "Where the Past is Still Present," Charleston, South Carolina. Hosted by the South Carolina Genealogical Society.

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4-5 June 2011: Heritage Days on the VA Grounds. Re-enactors portraying the military from the colonial period until today. Free admission and free parking. This will be the last year for this event. Don't miss it.

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7-16 Oct 2011: "Grand Réveil Acadien / Great Acadian Awakening," a gathering of Acadians in Louisiana. It is hosted by Louisianians in southern Louisiana. The event will be held in four Acadian regions—New Orleans, Houma, Lake Charles and Lafayette which will host events and celebrations. They are interested in maintaining the culture, customs, traditions and history of the Acadians. The last day celebration will be at Girard Park in Lafayette. For info: http://gra2011.org/en.html

NEWS NOTES

From *History Magazine,* Feb/Mar 2011: Chuck Lyons has an article titled, "Hell on Earth: The Peshtigo Fire." He calls it "the most devastating blaze in America's history." This fire occurred in 1871 on the same day as the Chicago fire. This fire killed at least four times more people than the Chicago fire.

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From *Voyageur,* Vol. 27, No. 2, Winter/Spring 2011: "Early Lumbering on the Northern Frontier: 1827-1847." It covers the lumbering locations on Green Bay along the Menominee, Peshtigo, Oconto, Pensaukee and L. Suamico Rivers.

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From *American-Canadian Genealogist,* Issue 127, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2011: There is an article on Pierre Bélanger and a 2nd article on the DuPont family of Acadia. The later is a translation from *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* Vol. XLVI, Levis, August 1940, No. 8.

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French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin
Quarterly

Volume 25 No. 4 Summer 2011

COUVERTURES et COUVREURS

ROOF COVERINGS AND ROOFERS

By Joyce Banachowski

In 1615, the first religious group, the Récollets, arrived in New France. As soon as they arrived, Champlain had a small chapel built near the habitation. It was described as a bark hut (*cabane d'écorce*). Here they lived and celebrated their first mass on 25 June 1615. It was nothing more than pieces of wood or branches joined one against the other, filling the opening with dirt and covering the top with grass or bark. The roof was formed by bending pliable branches to form an arc shaped vault. This was usually covered with some kind of bark.[1] It was about twelve feet square. When the Jesuits arrived in 1625, they had to do the same. This served as their mission chapel and these would be built by converted Indians in each of their wilderness posts. This was the case until they could get the tools and had the time to cut, finish and shape the wood into beams and planks.[2]

On the other hand, in contrast, the habitation which was built at Ste. Croix in 1604 had a variety of structures. Some had built log huts near a stream on the mainland. The Swiss mercenaries lived in a 1½ storey gable roofed building with two chimneys. The Swiss soldiers lived in barracks and other small buildings. The artisans lived and had their shops in rows of tall and narrow gable roofed townhouses. Pierre du Guay de Monts and other notables lived in houses with steep hipped *(Pavillon)* roofs which were popular in France for castles and palaces; the houses were built of sawn lumber which had been cut in France and brought to Acadia by ship. The storehouses and public building had a constructed gabled form like the lower class homes in France. The magazine was built of fair timber and had a roof covered with shingles. Outside the habitation, the Indian style structure was used. There were carpenters among the French. They cut and hauled trees and probably built houses of *colombage bousillé,* a technique which they were used to doing. A frame was built of closely spaced timbers. The spaces in between were then filled with a mixture of clay, mud, straw, rocks and pebbles which were readily available and which

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1 Gowans, Alan, *Church Architecture in New France*, p. 15.

2 Kalman, Harold, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, p. 24.

were common in Acadia and along the St. Lawrence.[3] They brought from France not only their class differences but their styles of buildings and living. There is no one style. They came from different regions and brought with them what they had from their regions and adapted them to where they were in New France and Acadia.

However, the missionaries and new settlers needing some shelter for the winter and without tools and materials available and time, they adopted the Indian style of shelter. As they acquired tools, they could "shape posts and beams, split planks and shingles, replace bark and brush shelters with the solid buildings of the iron age."[4] When it was possible, those coming to New France built their homes and buildings in the way and style as the areas from where they came. From the missionaries and early settlers, the Indians learned to build timber buildings. They had built the first bark huts and were now building the missionary timber chapels. In the

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3 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

4 Gowans, Alan, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, pp. 3-5.

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Jesuit Relations 1684, is a description of how the Indians at Sault-au-Récollets replaced their hut chapel by a timber chapel. They (Indians) "assembled all the timbers where the building was to be erected. ....When spring came, we began to build the chapel which had been shaped during the winter." (Trees had been cut down,; they were hewn into shape and were notched to be assembled.) .... "The posts and beams are very clumsy and heavy—for it may be imagined that timbers for a building sixty feet long and twenty-five feet wide are not light." [5] Unlike the settlers in the English colonies of North America, the French in New France, did not adopt the log cabin until the eighteenth century on the west frontier. Log cabin construction was probably known earlier. In the 1690's Cadillac wrote that French houses were "built of wood, one log on the other". Like the Port Royal habitation, the population of New France was more interested in using "mortised and tenon[6] beams, pit-sawn boards and bricks imported from France".[7] They attempted to make their buildings and houses replicas of what they had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in France. Their buildings were of different sizes and shapes with steep roofs, most with cedar shingles and chimneys. The architecture they brought with them from France was medieval, but was what they knew in France.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

6 Tenon and mortise: the tenon was a projection shaped at the end of a piece of wood (usually in a rectangular shape) which would be inserted into the mortise, a hollowed cavity in another piece of wood. When inserted, the two pieces would be held together.

7 Gowans, *op. cit., Building ...*, pp. 5-6.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Meetings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Room, G 110, at Mayfair Shopping Center. Enter at the northeast mall door off the covered parking area. About half way down on the right, you will see the door leading to the elevator and the stairs. Go down one floor. Doors open at 6:30 p.m. for library use and the meeting begins at 7:30 p.m.

14 July 2011: Library open for research.

11 August 2011: Finger Food and Genealogy Chat: Library open for research

8 September 2011: To Be Announced: Library will be open for research.

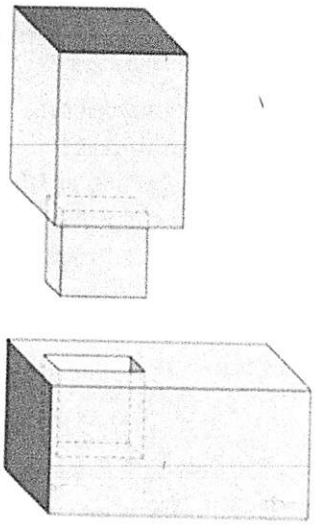
13 October 2011: Ralph Beaudoin TBA; Library will be open for research.

10 November 2011: Joyce Banachowski "1940 Census"; Library will be open for research.

The first homes in New France were cold and drafty. Marie de l'Incarnation, the first Superior of the Ursulines, described the house she lived in when she first arrived in Quebec city in 1639. "It is so poor that we can see the stars through the roof at night, and it is hard to keep a candle lit because of the wind."[8]

In 1647, the Jesuits built a stone parish church which became the cathedral, and in 1648, the first educational institution in Quebec. In 1666, their church was the

8 Noppen, Luc, "Fear of Fire," in *Horizon Canada*, Vol. 1, p. 238.



tenoned and morticed

largest and most impressive in New France. It was in baroque style. The Jesuits brought the baroque style of architecture from France to New France. After 1684, the cathedral was rebuilt.[9]

Roof carpentry was important. Heavy timbers, seven to eight inches square, were used to frame the roofs and were tenoned and morticed at the joints. They were held together by long wooden pins. They also had strong windbracing in the ridge and placed collar beams half-way up. No nails or metal fasteners were used. A carpenter was responsible for covering the building.[10] Most of the house, church and barn roofs in Quebec were framed of twelve inch timber beams which had been squared with an axe and held together by mortise, tenon and wooden pins.[11] Frame construction had been used in southern England and northern France since the seventeenth century. English settlers brought it to the New England colonies and French settlers brought it to New France. This practice continued wherever the French settled in the interior.

In 1641, Marie de la Incarnation, first superior of the Ursulines in Quebec, supervised the building of their first and second convent. In 1641, at the first building, she wrote the building was 92 feet by 28 feet and constructed of stone. Most of the houses except for one or two were built of wood. The *couveurs* (coverings, roofs) of the houses were two layers of planks or shingles laid on one layer of planks.[12] The first burned down in December 1650. In 1651 the second building was started and occupied on 29 May 1652. In 1651, she wrote to France stating the building was already at the wall head and chimneys were being built. Within eight days, the roof trusses would be up. The tradesmen were working for 45-55 *sols* a day. They had been sent from France to work in New France for three years.[13]

In 1663, Pierre Boucher, the first seigneur of Boucherville wrote a book, *True and Genuine Description of New France*. His intention was to attract more settlers to New France and to inform them of what they would face. In it he describes the construction of a farmhouse, and the types of wood and other materials available. He mentions that the American or black larch or tamarac was a harder and heavier wood which was good to build with. He goes on to say that hemlock wood does not rot as soon as the others and was generally for building purposes. He describes the houses. "Some are built entirely of stone

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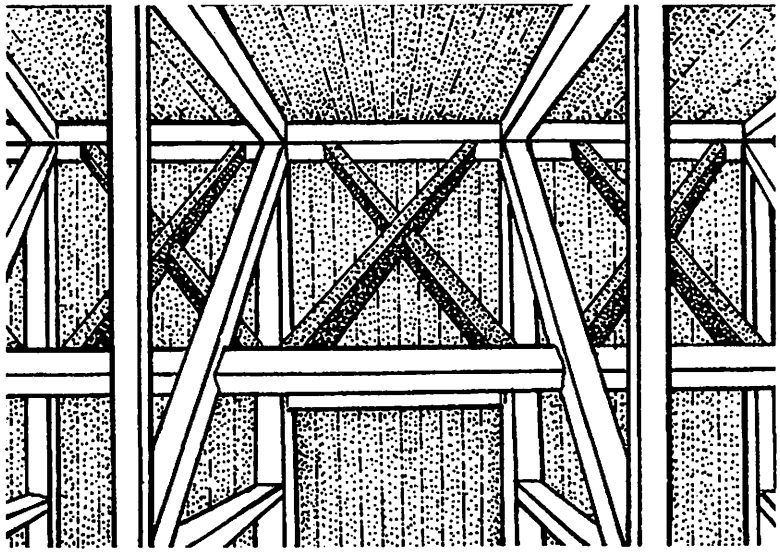
9 Gowans, *op. cit., Building,..., pp. 19-21..*

10 Traquair, Ramsay, *The Old Architecture of Quebec,* p. 60.

11 *Ibid.,* p. 9.

12 *Ibid., p. 10.*

13 *Ibid.,* pp. 10-11.



Looking upward at a Croix de André bracing in a roof frame
from Moogk, p. 35

and covered with boards or planks of pine: others are built of wooden framework or uprights with masonry between: others are built wholly of wood: but all the houses are covered with boards."[14]

From Mère Marie l'Incarnation in 1641 and Pierre Boucher in 1663, we know that once settlers began to arrive in New France, they were constructing homes and buildings of both wood and stone, and from the beginning the larger buildings were built of stone. All were covered with planks and most were shingled.

Once the long wall plates with mortises fit over the tenons on top of the posts and the entire length of the wall was secure, roof trusses which were made on the ground would be lifted by ropes and poles and attached to the plate which was the base for the roof trusses. They were held together by longitudinal braces and purlins.[15] Sometimes, they added diagonal wind braces called *croix de Saint-André* for extra support.[16] After the1727 code, roof trusses had "to be an equilateral triangle based on the width of the house to allow chimney sweeps and firefighters to mount the slope." It was common to have 55 to 60 degree slopes on the roofs in Quebec during the French regime.[17] The roof made up two-thirds the height of the building. This hipped style roof was like the buildings in the cold regions of France in the seventeenth century.[18]

Once the walls and gables were complete, the ceiling and floor joists were in place, and the roof frame was up, the carpenter was paid and the habitant was now responsible for completing the house. Up to this point, no nails were used. It was held together

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

15 Purlins: horizontal timbers supporting the rafters of a roof.

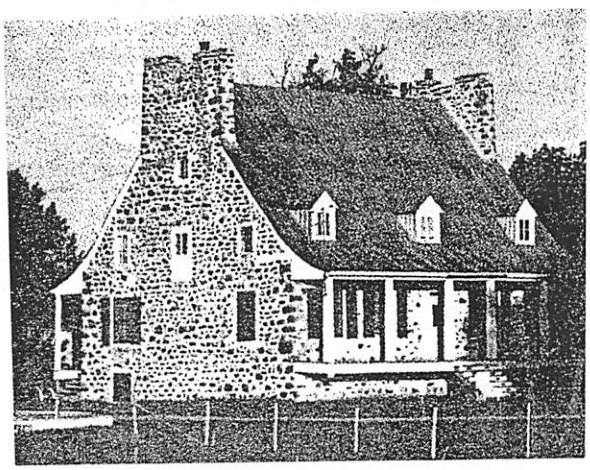
16 Moogk, Peter, N., *Building a House in New France*, p. 35.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

by interlocking joints and wooden pegs. The habitant had to buy boards from the sawyer or with someone's help, he had to cut them himself and nail them to the roof rafters or joists. Other times, the carpenter would put on the plank or board covering and the board roofing. Hand made nails were expensive. Only two nails were used to attach each board to a rafter or joist.[19] Then the roof was put on the board or plank covering.

During the early seventeenth century, roof frames were usually massive constructions of timber. As time went on, a variety of woods were used. The roof frames were made lighter and thinner. The rafter was directly on the wall plate. The end was flush with the outer wall. To prevent water from the building, a triangular piece was attached out from the rafter. After it was shingled, a graceful curve was created. This was known as a bellcast. The bellcast roof flare was a typical characteristic of the architecture of Quebec. It was brought over from northern France. Wherever these Canadians went, this form of building went with them. Some of these still remain at fur trade sites in western Canada.[20]



Beauchemin House, Varennes about 1770; Note the gables and bellcast roof. from Kalman, p. 51

In the eighteenth century, political and social changes in the colony affected the lives of the population and the architecture as well. When New France became a crown colony, a civil governor an administrative class, and officers and men of the French army appeared. The army had engineers who were trained in architectural design which appealed to the new administrative class. Books on classical architecture were now available. Larger buildings were appearing in Quebec. The Jesuit Seminary and the Chateau St. Louis were constructed and the Cathedral was expanded. French classicism now was showing more symmetrical, classical mouldings, often stringcourse moldings[21] and windows in the gable ends.

As the population grew, they found land was more scarce within the walls of the fortified cities of Quebec and Montreal. Buildings were constructed right up to the streets and upward to three and four storeys. People began to live beyond the walls of the city. With a larger population, there was more prosperity and more buildings were constructed of stone. However, in rural areas, wood was still generally used.[22]

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19 *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

20 Maitland, Leslie, Hucker, Jacqueline and Ricketts, Shannon. *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles,* pp. 10-11.

21 A Gothic molding which was a projecting molding on the face of an outer wall, often used around arches, parapets, columns, windows etc. The Norman stringcourses were heavy and massive, full of edges and/or grooves.

22 Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

After the British conquest of Quebec in 1759, the architecture in Quebec did not change very much. The French architects and engineers left to return to France. The construction of buildings returned to the tradesmen of Quebec. They generally went back to the building traditions they knew and were accustomed to building. Until 1790, the British population in Quebec was small and did not have any architects. There was a lack of labor and money for new construction and they generally merely repaired the buildings which had been damaged by the war bombardment. In addition, the British administrators accepted and continued the building codes which had been set during the French regime.[23]

In Atlantic Canada (Nova Scotia and the area now New Brunswick), English speaking settlers arrived in the mid-eighteenth century. They came from England, Ireland, Scotland and New England. They brought with them their skills in building houses, churches, meeting houses and public buildings in wood frames covered with narrow clapboards. Some of the Scots brought masonry techniques and adapted them to local building stones.[24]

Types of Roofs

The typical cottage of Quebec was a one storey rectangular building with low walls. The walls usually were whitewashed stone. They had high pitched roofs with gable verges and a large stone chimney on the ridge. Sometimes the gables were extended in stone above the roof line. Most had stone only to the wall plate level. Above that, the gables would be framed and shingled.[25] The steep roofs were usually a quarter to a third of the elevation of the building. In the seventeenth century, the roofs were usually hip, but later gable roofs took over.[26]

The construction of the roofs in housing in New France in the seventeenth century had not changed much. Heavy timbers, about seven or eight inches square, were used in framing the roof. They were tenoned and morticed at the joints and fastened with long wooden pins. In the ridge, they had strong, longitudinal windbracing. About halfway up, they put in collar beams. Larger roofs had double collars with struts. This was done by carpenters who did not use nails or metal fasteners. These early Quebec cottages had small eaves. Later, they had deeper eaves. They provided shade to the walls and the inhabitants. These eaves continued to be longer and longer. Some of these unsupported eaves extended to four feet. This created a large curving bellcast at the bottom of the roof. This, however, was not good in winter weather. The snow tends to collect at the change of the slope.[27] In Quebec the snow remains for a number of months often to a depth of four or more feet.

As a result, houses were constructed as near the road as possible. The floor was raised three to four feet above the ground with a gallery or platform along the front and the back. By putting this under the wide eaves and adding supports, they created a verandah. Verandahs did not appear in Quebec

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23 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

24 *Ibid.*

25 Traquair, *op. cit.*, Old Architecture, ... p. 55.

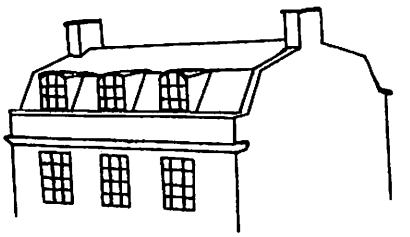
26 Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

27 Traquair, *op. cit.*, Old Architecture....p. 60.

until the nineteenth century. However, verandahs appear on the houses in the Mississippi Valley—Ste-Geneviève, Missouri; Cahokia, Illinois etc.— in the early eighteenth century. These were built by Quebec builders and were like those in Quebec that appear the following century. They probably came from Louisiana, the West Indies or Mexico.[28] Quebec has good verandah climates. It was a shelter from the snow in winter and sun in the summer and was a good gathering place for family and friends of all ages.

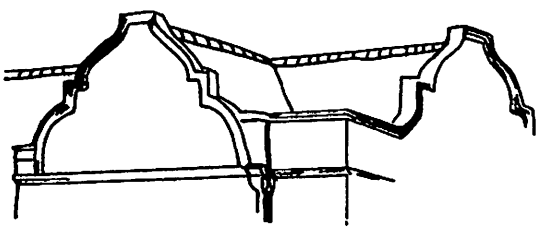
The mansard roof was a roof with two slopes which was common in the late seventeenth century; it had been illegal in 1721. By this law, roofs were to receive a double covering of boards until it was possible to use slate or tile. In Montreal, they were given three years to obey this law.[29] They also had a number of dormer windows to light the attic rooms. The mansard roof had two slopes on all four sides; the lower slope was almost vertical and the upper almost horizontal. The double sloped mansard roof was common. It originated in France in the seventeenth century. It was used in barns in New France in the same century. On Some barns, they used this style along with projecting eaves and large bellcast. The mansard roof for housing did not reappear in Quebec until the nineteenth century and most likely came to them from the United States.[30]

In the eighteenth century, mansard roofs were not allowed because of the large amounts of timber they used. They were too much of a fire hazard.[31]



Mansard roof (from Weitzma, p. 171)

A gable roof has two roof surfaces of the same size. The triangular wall section at the ends of a pitched roof are bounded by two roof slopes and the ridge pole. It has a pitched roof that ends in a gable. The gabled house with small eaves and the pavilion roof type were brought from France. The gabled cottage with minor modifications can be found throughout French Canada.[32]



Curved Gable Roof (from Weitzman, p. 171)

In a hipped roof, all sides slope down to the walls. Steep double hipped roofs were not uncommon. They were found in Baie St. Paul and on the Isle de Orleans. The hip pitch at Baie St-Paul is about 55 degrees, the same as the main roof. In some houses, the pitch is greater. On the Villeneuve house, the hip pitch is steeper than the sides—the hips are at 72 degrees and the sides over 50 degrees—

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28 Ibid., pp. 60, 68.

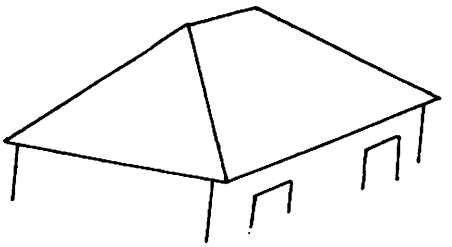
29 Moogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

30 Traquair, *op. cit., Old Architecture, pp. 60-61.*

31 Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

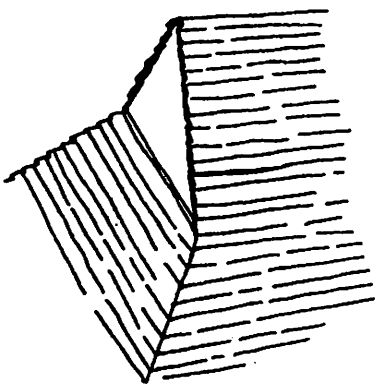
32 Traquair, op. cit., p. 61.

and the pitches at the Paradis house are 73 degrees and 50 degrees.[33]



Hipped roof (from Weitzman, p. 171)

A Gambrel roof has a ridged roof having two slopes on each side, the lower slope having the steeper pitch.



Gambrel Roof (from Weitzman, p. 171)

Roofing Materials

The population of New France used a number of materials for roofing—*écorce* (bark), *chaume* or *paille*, (thatched), *planches* (boards or planks), *bardeau* (shingles), *tuile* (tile), *ardoise* (slate), *tôle* (galvanized sheet iron), and *fer blanc* (tin).

In 1664, Pierre Boucher, Governor of Trois Rivières wrote that houses of stone, wooden framed with masonry in between or of stone were covered with roofs of boards or planks of pine.[34] Generally, planks or boards were one of the first kinds of roofing put on the houses of New France.

Once the planks or boards covered the building, the roof was put on. The roofer then did his part. In France and New France, the roof was one of the most important parts of a building. It kept out the wind, cold, rain and snow. There were a number of roof coverings used. The first roof materials used were board or plank overlapping or wood shingles or a second layer of planks or boards. They were common in New France. Thatch was used later in some areas of New France. However, thatch was not mentioned in early records. .[35]

The most common type of roofing was *planches chevauchées* or overlapping boards laid parallel to the eaves. Many of these were made of pine. A second board was placed on top of plain boards or tongue and groove boards which covered the rafters. This acted as a barrier against blowing snow and the cold.[36] Boards placed on top of one another (*de planches chevauchées les unes sur les autres*) could mean more than one thing depending on whether the boards were parallel to the eaves or the spars. If they were horizontal, parallel to the eaves, the boards would be overlapped like shingles.[37] Others had board roofing running the opposite direction, following the slope. Board

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33 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

34 Boucher, Pierre, *True and Genuine Description of New France, Commonly Called Canada*, p. 72.

35 Traguair, *op. cit., Old Architecture...*p. 13.

36 Moogk, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

37 Richardson, A.J.K., "Early Roofing Materials," in *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, p. 25.

roofing was placed horizontally, vertically or obliquely (diagonally). They also used splined boards for roofing. These were pieces of board joined together. These boards were weaker than regular boards.

Wood shingles *(bardeau)* were the mainstay of the roofer's trade. Roofing contracts indicate unique patterns of wooden shingles in the towns of the St. Lawrence Valley. The roofer would be given a sample shingle and he was expected to cut the shingles to match the sample within four *pouces*[38]. It appears shingles were not of a standard size. In a 1659 contract, the length was set at 16-17 *pouces*. This seems long compared to those used at Louisbourg. There they averaged one *pied* (a foot). The client could decide the size. The roofer and his assistant split the shingles from wooden blocks and then tapered them with a draw knife. One roofer charged for the number of shingles made, not by the area covered. This was because many of them were broken when using them. Contracts indicate two nails had to be used to attach each shingle. Because nails were so expensive, a Quebec roofer in 1683 signed a contract with a tailor to shingle his house to be laid in rows within four *pouces* of the sample with the nails removed from the old shingles. He was to also remove and replace any old roof boards, again using the nails from the old roof covering. For this the roofer was to receive a sum of money, a new suit for himself and a grey cloth hooded coat for his apprentice. Most roofers preferred a set payment rather than by the square *toise*[39] of roof area. Special prices were set for roofing dormers.[40] Most of the shingles were made of cedar in Quebec and pine in Louisbourg. It is often unknown what kind of wood was used in board roofing because the client usually provided the boards so the type of wood was not specified in the work contract.[41]

The notary, F. Simonnet, drew up a contract 7 May 1745, in which lime was to be used as a sealant and preservative on a board and shingle roof on a building near Montreal. The roofer was to use three *barriques*[42] of quicklime. He was to "overspread and coat the roof with milk of lime and whitewash the roof and dormer with several layers of the said milk of lime and to apply it as thickly as possible."[43]

The 1727 building code attempted to do away with wood shingles in the towns and replace them with board or plank roofs. Earlier, the king had given permission to use roofing shingles at Louisbourg. The bark they had been using became illegal. On Isle Royale, roofing shingles were an improvement over the use of bark and it saved trees from the local forests from being destroyed.[44]

In the early eighteenth century the fortress town of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia used wood shingles for civilian and military buildings—official residences, guard houses, powder magazines, barracks and ice houses as well as a large number of private homes.

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38 A *pouce* is equal to a thumb or big toe size; about an inch

39 A *toise* = a fathom or 6 feet

40 Moogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

42 *barriques*—a hogshead or large cask from 62.5 to 140 gallons.

43 Moogk, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

44 *Ibid.*

Records indicate that some shingles were imported from France, Quebec, and New England. Others were made locally.

Cedar shingles are gradually replacing the plank and thatch for the roofs of barns today. This change was brought about due to milling of shingles.[45]

Slate and tile roofs were preferred during the French regime. They offered better protection against fires. However, shingles were preferred when it came to protection from the climate. The French method of laying both slate and shingles had to be adapted to the Canadian climate. French roofing was applied to laths nailed to the rafters. This method appeared in earliest reports of shingle roofs in Louisbourg. Later, planks were under the shingles, some overlapped and others fitted to get a tight joint.[46]

Thatched roofs (*Couveur en chaume* or *paille)* were commonly used in Quebec. Thatch was used on houses, barns, stables and sheds. The straw roofer had to be a skilled worker. Each parish usually had two or three. He was usually needed as a rural worker.

The roof thatcher started at the eaves and worked upward to the ridge. Long poles of birch or red spruce, commonly called *gaulons*, were laid on the rafters at regular intervals. A row of straw about five inches thick, was laid on the *gaulon*. Long stems were held in place by another pole called a *pestle* or *pilon*, which was placed on the thatch, vertical to the *gaulon*. The straw was trapped between two pieces of wood and were joined together by sewing twine. Water was thrown on the greens and straw to give it flexibility. The two rows of thatch were stacked in the manner of shingles, about ten inches thick. Exposed to the weather, the greens and straw were covered with a moss that protected it from rain or snow. It took about one ton of grass to bind together to cover half a roof of a medium sized barn. Three or four men usually took many days to do this work. The stalks of grain and grass that were bound for roofing were cut with a scythe to avoid breaking them or shorten them. The harvest was then carefully tied in bundles, with two bundles attached end to end. The bundles were not circular but oblong, and they were about five feet, with a diameter of three feet. They used about fifty bundles to cover a square measuring 10 feet on each side covering an area of 100 square feet. One of the thatch roofer's tools was the sparrow. It consisted of an assemblage of twigs used to wear straw. The needle was a wooden rod that was used to bind the straw between the *gaulon* and *pilon.* Thatch roofs are still popular in the Yamachiche area. The grass needed, grows in abundance nearby on the shores of Lake St-Pierre.[47]

Often times, a habitant would have a house with a plank or wood shingle roof on his house and a thatched roof on his barn and sheds. An *inventaire* of Jean Poupart of Côte Saint- Lambert was taken on 15 February 1734. It stated that

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45 Seguin, Robert-Lionel, *les granges du Quebec* p. 98.

46 Hoad, Linda, "Wood Shingles in 18th Century Louisbourg," in *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology.* pp. 62-63.

47 Seguin, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

he had an old house of *piece-sur-piece*[48] with a roof of planks and with a chimney of stone with a barn and a stable also built like the house, *piece-sur-piece*, but with roofs of straw. [49]

The churches of New France were the first to use slate roofing. In 1664, Notre Dame-de-l'Immaculate Conception, the parish church of Quebec, had a slate roof. In 1666, a Jesuit church on Place du Marché in Quebec was built. It was in the shape of the Latin cross and had a bell tower at the transept crossing. It also had a French slated hip roof. Other seminaries and convents used the French imported slate. The Jesuit college at Quebec also had a slate roof.[50]

Shortly after the first Ursuline convent was destroyed by fire in 1650, reconstruction began. The second Ursuline convent's roof was both slate and shingles. The Ursuline convent accounts indicate the purchase of slate for roofs between 1672-1686. Robert Pepin received several payments of 2,203 *livres* for slates and shingles. [51] In 1679, Pepin was paid to cover the Ursuline convent. The nuns paid 1,720 *livres* for 38,000 slates and 329 *livres* for slate nails. In 1681, they paid 100 *livres* for lead to cover part of the roof. These slates were imported from France.[52]

In 1687, "36,000 slates, with 300 feet of lead and 60,000 nails" were sent from La Rochelle, France to Montreal for the Sulpician Seminary which was being constructed.[53] The slate needed for religious buildings was costly because it had to be imported.

Slate for roofs of public buildings was imported from France as well. Inadequate slate supplies for public buildings often meant that several different kinds of materials were used on one roof. In 1716, the Intendant's palace had both boards and slate on its roof.[54]

In 1721, M. de Chaussegros de Lery, the king's engineer, wrote to the Marine Conseil in Paris regarding slate. He requested that double the amount of slate be sent to the colony. It was necessary to cover the boarded roofs of the King's buildings especially storehouses in Quebec and Montreal to protect the king's goods. He stated, "Roofs in slate last a long time and the repairs are not as big as for a shingle roof that requires frequent replacements and repairs."[55]

In 1749, Peter Kalm, a traveler throughout New France, wrote that slate roofs had withstood the changes of air and weather without suffering any damage. He recorded that common slate for roofs was imported from France because there was no slate in Canada. In the 1720's, French imported slate had been used on the roofs of the barracks at the King's Bastion in Louisbourg.[56]

It was also necessary to use slate for other government buildings. When a house was on fire, there was no safe guarantee for those having roofs of

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48 piece-sur-piece—These were beams that were placed on top of one another; the ends were slotted into other upright posts placed at intervals of ten *pieds* (feet)

49 Seguin, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

50 Cullen, Mary, *Slate Roofing in Canada*, p.10.

51 Traquair, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

53 Cullen, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.* and Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

planks or shingles. De Lery urged the council to send the slate he had requested. Only a few wealthy could afford a slate (*ardoise*) roof. In 1724, 20,000 slates were purchased for 940 *livres.* [57]

Slate was expensive. Most of it was imported from France. In 1728, Doctor Michel Sarrazin discovered slate beds at Grand Étang on the Gaspé peninsula. Jean-Baptiste de Silly, acting Intendant 1728-1729, had encouraged the development of the slate quarry at Grand Étang. Between 1728 and 1733, attempts were made to open a roofing slate quarry at Grand Éang. The samples that were sent to France were considered to be of good quality.[58]

There were a few buildings in the city of Quebec, primarily the king's storehouses, which used the slate from Grand Étang.[59] De Léry also used the local slate for his home. Intendant Hocquart bought 101,600 slates at the king's expense for roofing the palace and the powder magazines. However, these trials indicated that the Grand Étang slate had poor cleavage and its rough surface proved to be too porous to resist the climate of Canada. The poor quality of the local slate cost more than the superior imported slate. As a result, the Grand Étang was abandoned. There was little slate production in New France. During the 1730's and 1740's, the use of slate roofs gradually declined even for church and public buildings. It is not known whether the decline was due to high costs or inadequate supply.[60]

During the 1730's and 1740's tinplate (*fer blanc*) was imported for trial on the Palace of the Intendant. Tin plate which was fireproof had been used in 1670 by the Ursulines and the Sulpicians. Soldering was tried on a tin plate roof on the Intendant's Palace. It cracked when frozen. Chaussegros de Léry, a proponent of slate took this opportunity to promote the use of slate because it resisted frost. However, whatever was the reason, the officials tried tinplate. It is not known if Léry had any real success in promoting slate during the rest of the French regime. After the English conquest, the French engineers and architects who had promoted the use of slate were either dead or had left the colony. It was almost a century before slate roofing for religious and public buildings reappeared in Quebec.[61]

By the 1790's when the English architects were established in Quebec, tinplate roofing was the most popular fire proof roofing for churches. The tin roofers (*fer-blantiers*) of New France "had developed a method to prevent rusting by laying the squares diagonally and folding the corners over the nails." Between 1799 and 1804, when the Anglican cathedral was built in Quebec, the English workers adopted the same method. In addition, England was the primary supplier of tinplate in North America during that time period. This probably was a major factor in promoting tinplate.

In the seventeenth century, tin plate (tinned iron) had been used for roofing

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57 Traquair, *op. cit., Old Architecture,* p. 14.

58 Cullen, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

59 Abbott, Maude E, "An Early Canadian Biologist—Michel Sarrazin...," p. 607.

60 Cullen *op. cit.,* pp. 10-11.

61 *Ibid.,* p. 11.

in New France. In 1674, the Ursuline convent accounts indicate purchasing twenty-four leaves of tinned iron *(feuilles de fer blanc)*. Their roofs were of tinned tiles laid diagonally. In 1678, tin-plates were also mentioned in the accounts of Notre-Dame de Montreal. Many old buildings of Quebec city were covered with roofs of tin tile. In 1748, the tariff list indicates *ferblanc* was imported in two sizes of barrels, large and small. Canada did not have tin. Tin-plate was always imported. This was the best roofing material for the climate. It was light, durable and fireproof. With time it changed to a bronze color. It was primarily used on most of the churches and public buildings. It was too expensive for farm or ordinary kinds of houses.[62]

The religious and public buildings of the eighteenth century were usually two storey's high, but in the following century, they were built with three storeys or a third storey was added. (The Ursulines added a third storey in 1832, but they kept the outside appearance the same.) In the nineteenth century, the *ferblanc* tile roofing was still used.[63]

The Ferme St. Gabriel was bought from Francois Le Ber in 1668 by Sister Bourgeoys of the Congregation de Notre Dame de Montreal. It was located at St. Charles in Montreal. The wood house burned down in 1694 and was replaced by a stone house in 1698. Later, in the late eighteenth century, the roof was replaced. However, they kept the character and pitch of the old roof. The pitch is at 50 degrees. The eaves project six inches. The main trusses are irregular between five and six feet. The main trusses have collar beams, king posts and windbracing. The roof boarding is placed on the trusses without purlins. It has a slight bellcast and was covered in *ferblanc*.[64]

Tin was primarily used for churches, public buildings and large houses, but not for ordinary houses. When used, the tin plate squares, were laid diagonally. In time, the tin roofs weather to various shades of brown, dull green and gold and appear like the scales on a carp. These roofs are attractive and interesting. It is said that these roofs are made of tin containers which had been used for exports from England. This may be a possible explanation. Tin is not found in commercial amounts in Canada and tin had not been used as roofing material in Europe. [65]

Tin roofing began to be used on commercial and public buildings in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1809, a representative of the Phoenix Fire Insurance Company in Montreal wrote, "in the covering of houses in this country they never employ Tiles or Slates, which are not thought to stand the Climate, as well as Tin or Sheet Iron." [66]

In 1825, the Smith Commission on the Defence of North America wrote, "The roofs of the principal buildings in this country are covered with plank, upon which sheets of Tin or Iron are nailed. We think this an excellent sort of roof, much less liable to be out of order and to require repair, than slate or tiles. We are of opinion that the roofs of all Barracks,

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62 Traquair, *op. cit., Old Architecture...*p. 14.

63 *Ibid.,* pp. 27, 31.

64 Ibid., p. 42.

65 Traquair, Ramsay, "The Cottages and Houses of French Canada, " p, 54.

66 Cullen, p. 11.

Storehouses or Government Buildings in Canada ought to be covered in this way."[67]

However, in Halifax, the military engineers preferred slates 12 by 24 inches for magazines of the Halifax citadel and its house casements as well as maritime public building roofs— the Province House of Halifax, the Admiralty house, the Province House of Charlottetown, and the Government House of St. John's. Over the centuries St. John's and Halifax had single roofed, wood constructed buildings. Numerous fires caused them to change to brick or stone buildings with slate roofs, even for warehouses and stores. Some of the original 1840's Halifax slate roofs are still intact.[68]

The nineteenth century saw the comeback of slate roofs. In the 1850's, Canadians could get slate from closer sources, the New England states rather than European sources. The development of railroads and city growth encouraged trade with the United States especially after 1854 when the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 exempted American slate from duty.[69]

Tôle or galvanized iron sheets were later used for barns and other buildings. These rolled iron sheets were primarily used for barns and covered markets.

Pierre Boucher wrote in 1664, that there was clay for making bricks and tiles *(tuile)* for paving and roofing.[70] In 1685 a tile factory was started by Talon. The population refused to use them because of the cold. Besides, they were not well made. The factory soon closed. They were probably too soft.[71] Some tiles were imported from France to be used for roofing. However, these were very expensive. Generally, tiles were not used much in New France except on churches and important public buildings.

Fire Prevention Laws

In the seventeenth century, wooden shingles were blamed for spreading fires that started in chimneys. Flying sparks settled on roofs. In 1688, the *Conseil Souverain* forbid the use of wooden shingles in towns. In 1689, they allowed oak and walnut shingles to be used on dormers. These laws were generally ignored. Cedar shingles were still being used. Cedar was easy to split and it resisted decay. In 1706, the *Conseil Supérieur* admitted the houses in Lower Town of Quebec were roofed with wood shingles. In 1727, cedar shingles were the primary roofing in the towns. The townspeople did not want the plain board roofs which were used in the countryside and generally, they could not afford tile or slate roofs. They would have to be imported from France. Tiles did not hold up to the moisture and cold frosts of winter. Public and church buildings did have the slate and tin leaf roofs.[72]

On 19 June 1721, in Montreal on the Feast of Corpus Christi, a musketeer who with others,were firing a salute, fired toward the chapel of the Hôtel-Dieu. The roof of the chapel caught on fire. The fire jumped from one wooden

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67 Ibid., pp. 11-12 from the North American Provinces, Commissioners' Report, 9 Sept 1825.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

70 Boucher, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

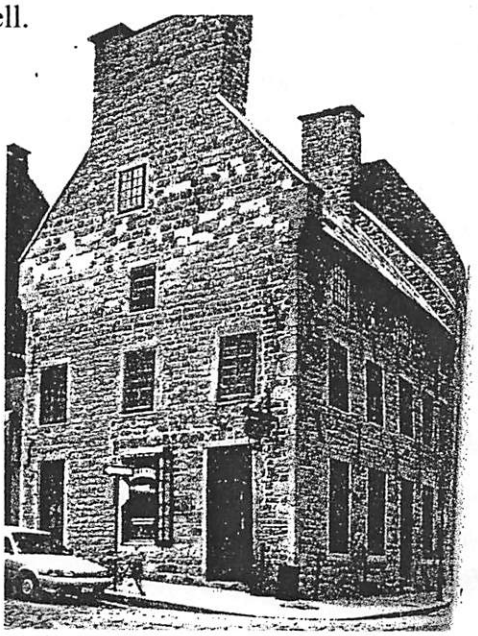
71 Traquair, *op. cit., Old Architecture...*p. 13.

72 Moogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

roof to another. By the time the fire was under control, 138 houses had been partially or completely destroyed. About half had been built with stone but nearly all had cedar shingle roofs. As a result, July 1721, Intendant Michel Bégon ordered that in the future "all houses built in Montreal would be of stone and two storeys high, the ground floor included, with a roof resting on *filières* (purlins) or gutter boards." By adding these boards loosely attached to the rafters, the roof covering could be easily pulled off if a fire occurred. Roofs were to be either tile or slate. However, slate and tile were not easily available and costly. Bégon had to relax his regulations. Instead, roofs were to have a double covering of boards until it was possible to use tiles or slate.[73]

In 1726, fire struck Quebec city. Thomas Dupuy who followed Bégon, issued new regulations. The ban on wooden buildings in cities continued. Cedar shingles had to be replaced by overlapping boards or slate. Houses had to have cellars. The Mansard roofs, which were fashionable in the late seventeenth century, were forbidden because of combustible framing. Heavy frames had to be replaced with lighter materials so they could be torn apart quickly in case of a fire. Chimneys were to be set in firewalls which projected above the roofs.[74] In addition, attic floors were to be overlaid with a layer of flagstones or bricks on a bed of three to four *pouces* of mortar. The population of Montreal were given three years to comply with the law. [75] However, many continued constructing houses as they had done before.

Bégon's law set a precedence for building codes for all the towns in the St. Lawrence Valley. On 7 June 1727, Intendant Claude-Thomas Dupuy issued a new law. It included the ideas of Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery, the king's engineer, as well as previous laws. This law included earlier laws on alignments, projections, chimneys, fire proof attic floors, stone gables above the roof line, mansard roofs and roofing materials. These laws brought about the beginning of new stylistic features — "heavy fire gables with parapet walls and massive chimneys rising above the roofs." The code was intended to be sure house construction in the towns was safe.[76] The new code was required in Quebec, but the new style was eventually accepted in rural areas as well.



The Calvert House, Montreal about1770
Note: Chimneys, and Gable roof with firebreaks as required by law; Photo by Harold Kalman, p. 58.

73 Noppen, Luc, *op. cit.*, 237.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Moogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54.

When wood shingles were made illegal in the towns in the St. Lawrence Valley in the 1720's, many roofers lost their means of making a living. Carpenters had been doing much of the *planches chevauchées* roofing previously and they continued to do it.[77] It was inevitable that changes would be necessary. The roof construction brought from France was not satisfactory in Canada's climate. The latticework used in France to support roofing materials did not protect against the cold winds and powdery snow of winter. The 1727 building code recommended the first layer be made of tongue and groove boards. It was to be sealed by using beveled boards or caulking the joints. The second layer was to be laid in the opposite direction, with boards overlapping each other. As an additional protection against the weather, a seal of *chaux et sable* (plaster) was to be used to plug the space between the wall plate, on which the rafters rested and on the eaves. This roof would protect them from rain and blowing snow.[78]

77 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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ROOFING MATERIALS MENTIONED IN NOTARIAL RECORDS

The following information was extracted from Richardson, A. J. H., "Early Roofing Materials" in *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology.* Vol..2, Nos. 1-2, 1970, pp. 18-25. He translated a number of notarial records and translations of citations he found in Séguin, Robert Lionel, *La Maison en Nouvelle-France*, Bulletin 226 of the Natioanl Museum, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968; the *De Lotbiniere Papers* in the Public Archives of Canada, copied by Mrs. J. B. Barkham and from *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Lansing, 1905, Vol. 34, p. 238. In the source column, I have used "N" to indicate the notarial records he used and "S" to indicate those he used from the Séguin source, "L" to indicate the *De Lotbiniere Papers* in the Public Archives of Canada and "M" to indicate the Michigan Collections. The notarial records used were *contracts* and *inventaires.* Column 1 indicates the date of the record, followed by (the notary's name). The second column indicates the kind of notarial record, followed by information in the record. I have listed the acts chronologically.

Date of Record & Notary	The Agreement	Source
29 January 1640 Piraube	Contract: Martin Grouvel agreed to build a timber frame house for Jehan Bourdon, surveyor of New France, in Quebec; he was also to cover the house with **bark? with fir boards on top** of it. Bourdon was to furnish the bark, boards and nails.	N
28 December 1641 Audouart	Contract: Anne Gasnier, widow of Jean Clement du Vault, seigneur de Monceau, to have a stone house 16 feet by 12 feet to be built for the Jesuits at Sillery. It	N

	was to be an Indian residence. The roof was to be made of **well nailed good boards.**	
16 March 1659 Basser	Inventaire of deceased Jean St. Père, notary of Montreal: It included a 50 foot stone house at Pointe St. Charles which had a roof with **boards and shingles.** Some had not as yet been put on.	N
1 October 1663 Basset	Contract: Etienne Trudeau, timber framer (carpenter) agreed to build for Pierre Caillé dit La Rochelle, a house 24 feet by 16 feet in Montreal. It was to be a horizontal timber (*pièce sur pièce*) structure. The roof was to be made with **clapboards** (*planches chevauchées*), **one overlapping the other,** and he was to supply the needed nails..	N
23 October1679 Anthoine Adhemar	Contract: for carpentry of a house by Sieur de La Rue St. Germain. It was agreed he would "set the rafters of the roof framing of the house and would cover it with **thatch.**"	S
2 March 1682 Pierre Duguet	Contract: A contract was made between Claude Baillif, architect of Quebec and Pierre Gacien, house roofer living in Quebec. Gacien agreed to roof a house that Sieur Baillif was building for Sieur Jean Levard, living in Quebec. Gacien was to put on the boards and cover them with **cedar shingles.** Gacien was to receive 130 *livres* for 37 *toises* of roofing and 3 *livres* each day he worked to place the boards.	N
22 April 1683 Genaple	Contract: Claude Baillif, architect in Quebec, agreed to build a two storey stone house on Sous-le-Fort Street in Lower Town of Quebec for Pierre Niel, *bourgeois* of Quebec. Jean Le Rouge, a master mason says the roof frame would be covered with **vertical boards** (*planches debout*), **tongue and grooved and pierced with an auger.**	N
27 December 1683 Genaple	Contract: A contract was made between Remy du Pile, carpenter, to build a house in Lower Town of Quebec for Noel Pinguet, bourgeois of Quebec. The contractor would also roof the house and the outside stair with **oblique boards** (*planche de traverse*). Pinguet was to furnish all the boards and nails which were needed.	N
16 August 1687 Anthoine Adhemar	Contract: Contract to build a house between Jean Laspron dit Lacharitté and Jean Guy Lavacher dit Laperle. The roof was to have **splined boards, parallel to the spars.**	S
10 April 1692 Bénigne Basset	Inventaire: From the inventaire of Contrecour. The boards of his roof were placed with **one plank over another.**	S
7 April 1693	Inventaire of the property of Joseph Cartier dit	S

Anthione Adhemar	Laronze. the fort and shed inside the fort were covered with **bark.** (The document is from the Judicial Archives in Montreal.)	
3 March 1699 Genaple	Exchange of property: Pierre Menage, carpenter, and François de la Joue, architect, exchange a property on St. Louis Street in Quebec. It includes a two storey house with **a mansard roof covered with shingles.**	N
3 February 1705 Genaple	Contract: Joseph Vandendaique, joiner of the seigneury of Notre Dame de Anges to do for François de la Joue, a contract architect of Quebec, to do the joinery for a small church that Joue has agreed to do for the Jesuits at Sillery. The joiner agreed to **"tongue and groove , place and put in position the boards** of the whole roof of the said church" and also of the arch of the same church. The boards of the arch were to be neatly planed on one side. Joue was to supply and deliver materials to the site of the church.	N
15 April 1708	Contract: In a property sale at Detroit, the agreement was made between Antoine Dupuis and his wife with L. Gatineau for J. B. Duplessis. Dupuis agreed to finish a house of stakes and roof it with **straw.**	M
25 November 1721 Petit	Contract: François Dufaux was to build a stone house for the Ursuline nuns at Trois Rivières. It was to be 50 feet by 19 feet and the roof was to be **of double boards.**	N
12 July 1727	Procès-verbal (report): Virberh (?), storekeepeer of the king at Montreal reported that the mansion of the widow of Governor de Vaudreuil was the most pretentious in Montreal. The roof of the building was **slate** with four large "tin weather vanes in which the arms of Monsieur de Vaudreuil are cut out." **Eight cedar slabs were supported by iron brackets** under part of the roof covering.	L
21 October 1742 Hodiesne	Michel Lalu dit Sanscartier agreed to build a 42 foot long verandah on the back of a house he contracted to build a year earlier on 12 November 1741 for François Neveu, a Montreal merchant. Lalu was to roof the verandah with a **single layer of vertical tongue and groove boards** although it had stated in the 1741 contract stated it was to be with oblique boards.	N
13 December 1742 De La Cerière	Sale: Joseph Fleury de la Gorgeniere, Seigneur of Deschambault sold a three storey house to the Compagnie des Indes. (They held the fur trade monopoly in New France.) The house was on Place Royale in Lower Town of Quebec. The house had a **slate roof** and had been built about 1733.	N

14 July 1748 Comparet	Joseph Quevillon, carpenter in Montreal, made a contract with Pierre Archambault to build a barn 40 feet by 24 feet. The walls were to be of horizontal logs fitted into uprights and the roof was to be **of thatched straw.**	N
17 June 1765 Louet	Contract by Joseph Beriau and Charles Bernard, master joiner, with Acklem Bondfield, merchant of Quebec, for the repair of a shed at Sillery, belonging to John Bondfield, consisting of placing **a clapboarded (*chevauchée*) roof.**	N
30 October 1815 R.G. Belleau	Contract: Joseph Dorion, master joiner of Quebec to do all the woodwork of a 30 foot long house in the St. Louis suburb of Quebec for Francis Cathcart, a day laborer; he was to make and place **a rough board roof laid obliquely**. 'it was to have two gables to be in spruce wood like the roof and the gable was to be tongue and grooved. He was also to build and place four dormers and attach them to the roof and **to lay on the roof another covering in cedar or pine shingles.**	N
3 July 1844 Louis Panet	Contract for **tin plate roofing**: Isaac Dorion, master joiner made a contract with Mrs. Willliam Edward Holmes (Anne Johnston) to build a three storey house in Upper Town, Quebec. The roof was to be "covered with **1 ½ ploughed and tongued boarding** and properly breaking joint and secured to the rafters. The roof was to be covered with the best **I. C. tin of approved brand double-folded and capped,** at least 3 inches the gorge being secured to the spout."	N
10 May 1861 Sitois	Contract: Isidore Larose, joiner, made a contract with Corporation for the city of Quebec to build a toll-house in the Champlain market in Quebec. The roof was to be made and placed in **1 ½ inch tongued and grooved boards**. This was to be **covered in galvanized sheet-iron.**	N
7 April 1863 R. Ouellek	Contract: Louis Napoléon Larochelle, mechanic of St. Anselme, Dorchester County, Canada East (Quebec Province) made a contract agreement to build a flour mill for Edmund Lacroix, merchant of Matane, Rimouski County on the Lower St. Lawrence. He was to put on a **tongue-and-groove board roof and gables**. The roof was to be covered with **shingles with 4 ½ inches uncovered.**	N

ROOFERS IN NEW FRANCE

The following chart lists the roofers who were in New France. The names and information were extracted from the following two sources.

1. Jette, René, *Dictionnnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730,* Les Presses de L'Université de Montreal, Montreal, 1983.

2. Létourneau, Hubert and Labrèque, Lucile, "Inventaire de Pièces Détachées de la Prévôte de Québec (1668-1759)", *Rapport de Archives de Province de la Quebec,* Vol. 49, 1971, pp. 51-413.

The first column indicates his name and parents in (parentheses); the second column provides additional information and the third column indicates the source. The first source is indicated by (1) and the second source by (2)

Name, (Parent's Names)	Miscellaneous Information	Source
Beaudry / Baudry, Toussaint, (Louis & Vincente Godet)	Roofer; from St-Jean de Velluire, Poitou; arrived in Quebec on 25 Apr 1664; m. Barbier, Barbe at Montreal on 24 Nov 1670.	1
Biron, Alexandre,	2 Oct 1695—Biron, roofer of Quebec, summoned Timothée Roussel, a surgeon to pay 25 £ for wood shingles and 16 £ for his labor. (See Dubeau dit St-Godard)	2
Bourbon, Etienne, (Louis & Anne Amnon)	Slate roofer: from St-Ythier de Sully-sur-Loire; m. Mondin, Marie Madeleine at Montreal on 28 Oct 1697.	1
Bouvier, Charles,	On 28 Aug 1732, Bouvier, roofer on St-Jean Street requested the payment of Jean Prat, tailor, to pay 18 £ in silver for repairing a chimney and roof of his house.	2
Dron, Pierre, (Laurent & Catherine Erielle)	Slate roofer: from St-Xandre, Aunis; m. Binet, Anne at Quebec on 25 June 1685	1
Duboc dit Saint-Godard,. Guillaume, (Alexandre & Cretel, Madeleine)	Roofer: From St-Godard, Rouen, Normandie; 1m. Baron, Barbe at Quebec on 23 Apr 1691; 2m. Renaud, Marie-Catherine at Quebec on 2 Oct 1715; 3m. Lépinay, Marie-Madeleine at Beauport on 30 July 1724.	1
Dubeau dit St. Godard, Guillaume	23 Sep 1694—Biron, roofer of Quebec accused Guillaume dit St-Godard, a roofer, as being responsible for bad treatment of the accuser. Charles Normand, also a roofer of Quebec, was called on as a witness.	2
Gadiou dit Saint-Louis, Jean-Baptiste, (Gilles & Delugré, Marie-Anne)	Roofer; m. Duret, Marie-Josephe at Quebec on 25 June 1715.	1
Gatien dit Tourangeau, Pierre, (unknown)	Master slate roofer; roofer and chimney sweep; 1m. Bénard, Marie-Jeanne at Cap-de-la-Madeleine on 24 Jan 1680; 2m. Pinguet, Geneviève at Quebec on 19 Jan 1682; 3m. Gignard, Marie at Quebec on	1

	28 Jan 1704.	
Gatien. Pierre, (Pierre & Bénard, Marie-Jeanne)	Roofer: son of Pierre above; m. Gauthier, Marguerite at Montreal on 26 Jan 1706.	1
Gatien. Francois-Lucien, (Pierre & Plinguet, Geneviève)	Master roofer: half brother of Pierre above; 1m. Leduc, Agathe at Montreal on 1 Sep 1710; 2m. Gadois, Marie-Chrétienne at Montreal on 26 Feb 1729.	1
Gatien dit St. Louis,, Jean-Baptiste,	20 Oct 1723—Léonard Jean dit Tourangeau requested that J. B. Gatien, house roofer, be ordered to pay for damages and interest for insults said to his wife. 17 Dec 1723—Claude Rancour, edge-tool maker of Quebec, summoned J. B Gatien, spouse of Dorothée Juchereau, had returned at his request clay pots, lent to him, damaged, now, to pay interest and costs; 8 March 1731—the court condemned Jean Baptste Gatien , roofer of Quebec, to remit 500 £ to Marie Michelon, wife of Pierre Leurope dit Berry, tailor, as sufficient security.	2
Gendron dit LaRolandière, Guillaume, (Julien & Janigon, Julienne)	Master roofer; from de Blain, Bretagne; arrived in Montreal 16 Nov 1653; m. Loiseau, Anne at Montreal on 21 July 1664.	1
Guérin, Pierre,	12 Oct 1700, The roofer, Pierre Guérin charged Jean Soulard, arquebusier at Quebec, 40 *sols* for two chimney cleanings.	2
Jacquet, François, (unknown)	Slate roofer; he was living in Quebec in May 1671; d. 26 and bur. 27 Sep 1677 at Quebec.	1
Normand, Charles, (Jean & LeLaboureur)	Roofer; 1m. Dionne, Marie at Quebec on 20 Nov 1691; 2m. Jean, Françoise-Monique at Quebec on 13 Mar 1703. (See Dubeau dit St-Godard.)	1, 2
Pellet / Pellot dit Lafleche,	18 June 1742: the master roofer gave a bill for repairing of the house of Sieur Tinon Desroches of Quebec.	2
Pepin, Robert, (Jean & Dumont, Jeanne)	Master slate roofer; from de Grisy, Normandie; m. Créte, Marie at Quebec on 4 Nov 1670.	1
Savage, Gilles (Pierre & Vaumous, Jeanne)	Roofer; from de Vassy, Vire, Bayeux, Normandie; m. Leblanc Marie-Anne at Montreal on 22 Sep 1723.	1
Sire, Andre, (unknown)	journey man & slate roofer; from Fontenay-le-comte, Poitou; He was hired to come to New France at La Rochelle on 6 Apr 1668; m. Charbonneau, Elisabeth at St-François, Isle Jesus before 18 Dec 1679.	1
Tournois, Jean. (Jean & Fougert, Françoise0	Roofer; from Confolens, Limoges, Limousin; m. Benoît, Marguerite at Boucherville on 21 Jan 1686.	1
Voyer, Robert, (Pierre & Crampon, Catherine)	Roofer; m. Trépanier, Marie-Madeleine at Quebec on 26 Apr 1688; d. at Quebec 1711.	1

RECIPES FROM OUR FRENCH CANADIAN FAMILIES

By Pat Ustine

Several years ago the FCGW members put together a booklet of French Canadian recipes. These were recipes passed down through one's family. In addition to the recipe, a brief family story was included. I will be using some recipes from the booklet written by past and present members and any new recipes I receive. Please use the following instructions for sending your recipes.

1. Recipe Title

2. Ingredients—use the following abbreviations if possible. For example: tbsp. tsp. lb. pt. qt. gal. sm. md. lg.

3. Recipe Instructions

4. Brief family story to go with the recipe

5. Name submitted by

Send your recipes to Pat Ustine c/o FCGW address or my e-mail address ustinecfpm@hotmail.com

The recipe for this *Quarterly* is from Nelda Rouleau Womak, (past member)

GINGER CREAM COOKIES

4 cups flour
½ tsp. salt
¾ tsp. each of cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon and sugar
½ cup shortening
1 cup sugar
1 egg
1 cup dark molasses
1 cup hot water
2 tsp. baking soda

Combine flour, salt, and spices. Cream shortening and sugar thoroughly. Add egg and molasses. Beat well. Dissolve soda in hot water and add to creamed mixture alternately with dry ingredients. Mix well after each addition.

Drop by rounded teaspoons on greased baking sheet. Bake at 400 degrees for 7-8 minutes. Frost while warm. Makes 5-6 dozen cookies.

FROSTING

3 cups sifted powdered sugar
2 Tbsps. Melted butter
4-6 Tbsps. Cream

Mix together.

This is an old **Rouleau** family recipe from Ile Orleans, Quebec.

Nelda Rouleau Womack is a direct descendant of Gabriel Rouleau, who settled near Quebec in 1646. He married the Governor's maid, Mathurine LaRoux, in 1652 in Quebec City. They established a homestead at Ile d'Orleans in the parish of Ste. Famille. Seventh generation, Avila Rouleau, was Nelda's grandfather and the first of the family to come to the United States. He settled in Houghton/Hancock, Michigan. There he worked in the lumber business and floated logs down the Wisconsin River to Wisconsin Rapids. Later, he opened a store and prospered as a merchant in Thief River Falls, Minnesota. Nelda grew up in Merrill, Wisconsin. Her family moved to Milwaukee during World War II.

I hope you try this recipe and enjoy it. **"Bon Appetit"**

NEW TREASURER – RUTH PAULSEN

Due to failing health, Joan Nycz has resigned from the treasureship. Ruth Paulsen has volunteered to take the job. The Executive board voted on 17 May 2011 to seat Ruth Paulsen as the treasurer of FCGW.

We thank Joan Nycz for her many years of service to the FCGW. Audits of her books always found them to be in perfect order.

As a member you are always welcome to attend the Executive Board Meetings. The voting members of the board are: President none, Vice-President Kateri (Teri) Dupuis, Recording Secretary, Susan White, Corresponding Secretary Bart Jacques, Treasurer Ruth Paulsen, Director-at-large Jim Gaboury, Director-at-large Pat Ustine and Past-President none.

TRIVIA

Nicolas Perrot was the founder of Trempeleau, Wisconsin. He was a diplomat and managed to keep peace with the Indians. Perrot State Park was named in his memory.

In 1818, Augustin Grignon built two sawmills at what is today Kaukauna, Wisconsin.

From *Sur Les Traces des Pioniers Francaise, Vol. 5,* by Edouard Fecteau, p. 3..

COMING UP

24-25 Sept 2011: Feast of the Hunters' Moon, a recreation of a gathering at Historic Fort Ouiatenon, a fur trading post of the mid 1700s. It is on the Wabash River about 4 miles southwest of West Lafayette, Indiana.

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7-16 Oct 2011: "Grand Réveil Acadien / Great Acadian Awakening," a gathering of Acadians in Louisiana. The event will be held in four Acadian regions—New Orleans, Houma, Lake Charles and Lafayette which will host events and celebrations. They are interested in maintaining their culture, customs, traditions and history of the Acadians. For info: http://gra2011.org/en.html

NEWS NOTES

From *Memoires,* Vol. 61, No. 3, Cahier 265, autumn 2010, ; There are two articles, one the origins of the Blouin family of Quebec and the second on the origins of Nicolas Quentin dit Lafontaine.

*****

From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage,* Vol. 32, No. 1, Jan 2011:There is a continuance of the article, "The Founder Effect in the Family, An mtDNA Mystery" by Susan Colby. This article deals with Leber's Hereditary Optic Atrophy. In her article, Ms. Colby has traced this disorder back to one of the *fille du roi.*

This issue also has an article on the Campaus in the SaginawValley, a continuation of the timeline of those in the Western Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley, and a continuation of burials from Ste. Anne de Detroit (1776-1787)

*****

QUESTIONS DES LECTEURS

Claudia Moll, 323 E. Van Beck Ave., Milwaukee, WI, 53207-4455 is in a quandary concerning two deaths of **Urbain Baudry** (1615-1682). Everyone seems to accept 23 August 1682 as the burial date of Urbain Baudry from Immaculée Conception, Cathédrale l'Assomption, Trois-Rivières, Québec. This record includes his dit name of LAMARCHE, with no other identifying information.

But there is another burial record. The second burial date for **Urbain** is 26 September 1682 (in the same book of the same parish). It includes the name of his wife, Magdelaine BOUCHER and that he is about 70 years old.

His marriage contract indicates Urbain Beaudry dit LA MARCHE signed the contract with Magdelaine BOUCHER.

Are there any researchers who have come across this dilemma? Any help or suggestions on this matter would be welcomed!

*****

Barbara Haines, 622 Hillrose Dr., Louisville, Kentucky 40243-2188 is seeking information on the birth/ baptism and death/ burial of **Joachim Labrosse.** and **Marie-Louise Daoust,** parents of **Joseph Labrosse. Joseph** was born at St. Joachim, Pointe-Claire, Ile-de-Montreal in 1762.

Where Is My Surnames List???

Due to increased costs of printing and mailing, there will be no more printed surnames list. The list will be available online at www.fcgw.org

If you wish a hard copy of the surnames list, please send us a written request with $5.00 for printing, postage and handling.

THANK YOU!!!

Several members have volunteered to take on some of the jobs in the FCGW.

Anita Gamma is taking care of the mail collection from the post office.

Tom Lemoine is now in charge of mailing the *Quarterly*.

Ron Kegley is printing the mailing labels for the *Quarterly*. He will also be emailing the meeting notices.

Michelle Wilson has volunteered to put the surnames list on the FCGW website.

Alan Wilson has volunteered to take the job of webmaster. You probably have noticed some changes already. You will be seeing many more changes in the future.

Responding to the email SOS for a treasurer, Ruth Paulsen volunteered to finish out Joan Nycz's term.

Without these volunteers your organization would be gone.

There are several more duties that need "new blood". Contact Kateri (Teri) Dupuis to volunteer. 414.443.9429 kdupuis@wi.rr.com

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NEEDS YOU

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Vice-President - 2 year term
Corresponding Secretary - 2 year term
Director-at-Large - 2 year term

Call or email Teri by 1 August 2011
414.443.9429
kdupuis@wi.rr.com

JOIN US
At Our Web Site
www.fcgw.org

The French Canadian / Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin

ITEMS FOR SALE

Present or Back Issues of *Quarterly,* $3.00 each plus $3.00 postage and handling
Special Issue of the *Quarterly,* (Rebellion Losses), $5.00; plus $3.00 postage and handling

Surname Lists, $3.00 plus $3.00 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
All name *Quarterly* Index for Vols. 18-23, $7.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling

Packet of 39 genealogy forms, $7.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling

Loiselle Search—One marriage from Loiselle Index, $3.00 plus S.A.S.E

T-Shirts: M, L, XL $12.00; XXL $14.00 plus $4.00 postage and handling