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The following copybook was written by Marie Blanche Denomé while she was attending a Catholic Boarding School in Berthier, Quebec. It was run by the sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Marie Blanche was in attendance there for ten months from the fall of 1891-Spring of 1892. Written over 100 years ago, these thoughts, comments and feelings of a young teen age school girl reveal the beliefs and attitudes of that period. Sister Francele Sherburne and her friend, Joan Meznarich, took on the task of translating the accounts from French. In the following article, the notes and comments of Sister Francele are in bold type and the translations of the accounts of Marie Blanche Denomé are in regular type.

A TRANSLATION OF A 19TH CENTURY COPY BOOK

by Sister Francele Sherburn SSND and Joan Meznarich

Introduction

When Lori Damuth, onetime member of the FCGW, passed on to the next life, I lost a good friend. It was Lori's warm welcome to me, the hesitant newcomer, that developed into a happy association outside of meetings. We shared much, way beyond genealogy lore. After her death, the family gave me a keepsake: a treasured copybook in French written in the last decade of the nineteenth century by Marie Blanche Denomé, a young adolescent relative attending a Catholic boarding school in Berthier, Quebec. Sisters of the Congrégation of Notre Dame staffed the school.

The booklet lay in a boxful of "SAVES", until one day rummaging through my stores, I decided to sit down and read it. It had all the charm of a late nineteenth century schoolgirl: accounts of outings and free days, religion lessons, letters to friends, a farewell to a beloved chaplain, and more. *This must be shared,* I determined.

I enlisted the help of a friend, Joan Meznarich, whose French was far better than mine: she had acquired a master's degree in French at Marquette University, taught French, had traveled in Quebec, had even spent a year at the University of Clermont-Ferrand in France, soaking up more of the language and culture.

The translation of selected passages is Joan's: the organization of this article with its introduction and notes is mine. Be amused and enjoy!

Sister Francele Sherburne, SSND

Marguerite Bourgeois

The young ladies attending the boarding school at Berthier were instructed by the religious sisters of the Congrégation de Notre Dame (CND), a teaching community founded in the late seventeenth century by Marguerite Bourgeois de Troyes, France, a saintly woman recently canonized by Pope John Paul II in 1982.

Convinced that God was calling her to teach young girls in New France, Marguerite gathered a few young women to join her in her mission. She attracted religious minded women who at first taught little Indian girls to read and study the catechism. Her volunteer corps accepted the invitation to train the *Filles du Roi* to become fit wives for men already settled and working in New France. They finally made a major commitment to educate girls in the domestic arts and moral living.

It wasn't long before Marguerite had assembled a cadre of likeminded women who consecrated themselves as religious sisters, and, with King Louis XIV's permission, she formally established the Congrégation de Notre Dame.

The first CND's at Ste. Genevieve, Berthierville were asked to tend elderly female pensioners. By mid-nineteenth century, students and a growing staff of teaching sisters supplanted the aged population. The school, known as *Le couvent du Berthier* morphed into a popular school for boarders and commuters alike.

The copybook selections by the young Marie Blanche records the affection the students had for their teachers, who kept alive in many ways the memory of their sainted Mother Marguerite Bourgeois.

###

Friendly Letter (Lettre de Nouvelles)

My very dear friend,

A few words to describe your new home will give you pleasure.

Listen well:

It is a very beautiful dwelling surrounded by lovely tall trees. In front flows the beautiful river on which we like to admire the boats which move us so easily. On the side there is a pretty orchard. We find good fruit there to enjoy and a pretty terrace is opposite the house. Magnificent flowers fill the air with their perfume and I always find a new pleasure sitting in the shade of the tall trees and breathing the good river air at the same time as the sweet perfume of the flowers. I also like to listen to the pretty singing of the birds that nest in the trees of the terrace or in the neighboring bushes. Doesn't this little description appeal to you? Hurry to get here. I have only one desire which is to see you and embrace you.

Your affectionate friend,

Marie Blanche

Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, October 21, 1891

###

A Friendly Letter (Lettre intime)

My Dear Elisabeth,

I don't know how to describe the boredom displayed on everyone's face in the absence of your dear self. In some way I regard myself as an orphan since your departure, because it seems to me that you were the principal member of our little family.

So come back quickly, dear friend, to bring gaiety back to our little school, because we all truly miss you. Please believe, dear friend, that you will be welcomed with open arms by all your old friends. Come, and you will soon be convinced that they are right, our dear parents and our good teachers, when they say that the time in the convent is the most beautiful time in your life.

Your dear friend,

Marie Blanche

Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, February 24, 1892

###

Letter of Condolences (Lettre de Condoléances)

Dear Friend,

Let me come to offer you some consolation. I know you must be very sad on the loss of your dear sister. I liked her above all the students. She was so good and so friendly to all of her companions, always ready to help them in their difficulties. This charming child is missed a lot in our dear school because she was a model here. We were hoping her illness would not be dangerous and that she would soon come back to enliven our recreations with her lovable qualities.

Now you see dear friend, how dear this companion was to us, and how much we miss her. But we must console ourselves in the hope of one day going to join her in heaven. I hope to visit you soon and have the happiness of talking with you. I wish that I might give you some consolation. In the meantime, receive my sincere and affectionate sympathies, from

Your sorrowing friend

Marie Blanche Denomé

###

The nineteenth century religious doctrine and practice entered in this copybook reveal much of the belief and piety of our great grandmothers, grandmothers, and even mothers. As strange as both may seem to our thinking, they persisted for decades into the twentieth century among devout Catholics. An example is recorded in Marie Blanche's retreat notes: a sermon on hell.

Souvenirs from a Retreat
(Souvenirs de Retraite)

My dear friend,

We have just ended our retreat which was wonderful. It was preached by M. le Chapelain who did all possible to make us happy. You will not be angry if I send you a few words about what struck me the most.

You must do all your actions as if they were the last of your life. How

many young people have awakened in eternity?

What misfortune if we appeared before the terrible tribunal of God in the state of mortal sin. Ah! Then we would hear from the mouth of God Himself this deadly sentence: "Get away from me you damned, go to the eternal fire." At this moment we will regret our sins; but there will be no more time. After death there is not more mercy for the sinner.

Now I will tell you a little about the schedule of the retreat.

First, Holy Mass at 7 o'clock; at 9 o'clock the first sermon; at 11, the second instruction; at 1 the Way of the Cross; at 2 a short conference; at 4 the last instruction followed by a visit to the Blessed Sacrament.

I especially took many notes on the sermon about hell. Perhaps you would like to read them.

Text: "Go away from me, accursed one, go to the eternal fire." According to St. Matthew, chapter 25, verse 41.

The torments of hell are unbearable in their cruelty and eternal in their length.

Imagine that the earth is an immense mass of steel and that a little bird passed its wing every thousand years over this enormous mass until it separates into two parts. Eternity will have only begun.

There are as many differences between the fire of hell and fire on earth as there are between the fire in a furnace and that which we see in pictures.

Suddenly we seem to hear thousands of voices coming up from the abyss asking "What time is it?" And a voice answers "the hour of eternity."

Ah! If you knew what hell is, what precautions would you not take to avoid it?

Hell is a furnace vaster than the largest ocean and more terrible **than** the most terrible abyss. To avoid hell it is necessary to be holy. To be holy it is necessary to say one's morning prayer and evening prayer and to receive Communion frequently and to often visit the Blessed Sacrament.

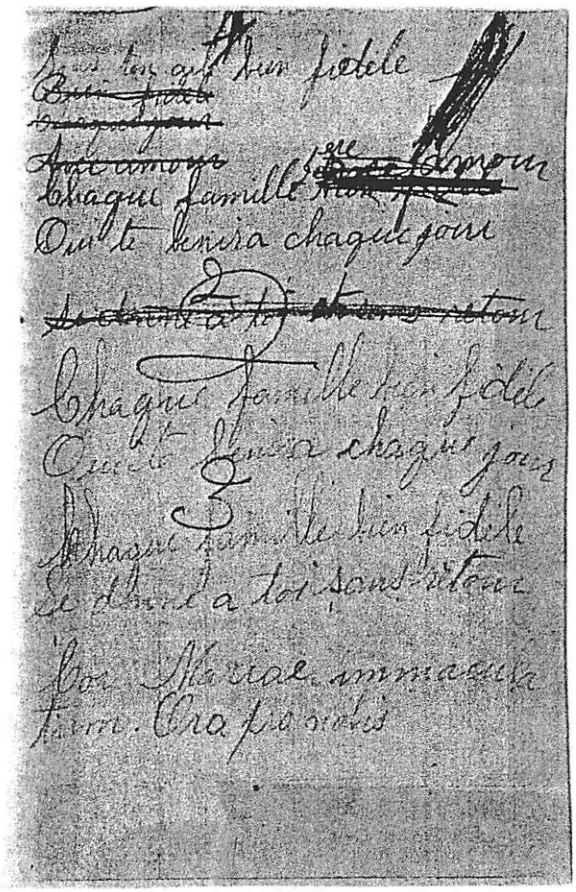
###

Marie Blanche's composition style seems remarkably adult for a girl her age. The organization of her ideas is sound with few lapses. The sentence structure, while not elaborate, is without fault. The vocabulary is formal. Modifiers like *good* and *dear*, however, are overabundant.

Every entry in the copybook, which is written in a carefully rounded French hand, testifies to careful instruction. (A faint copy of her scribbled ideas for an essay [see insert] will show the difference.)

The term "copybook" is no misnomer: only the best of the best made it into the book.

A faint copy of Marie Blanche's scribbled ideas



A Mistake (Une Bévue)

What a strange subject for a composition "My First Mistake." Who could invent such a thing. For five long minutes I have been trying to recall something.

But it is not surprising that I need so much time to find it because in my poor brain I can't remember what I did from one day to another.

Finally after fifteen minutes of reflection I get an idea. I don't know if it is my first mistake, but what is most important is that I do my best and I hope to satisfy my good teacher who does all she can to teach us to like composition, which the students hate. To show us that it is not difficult she devised a little plan which we like. She gives the same subject to only two students and already it seems to me that we dislike it less. "My First Mistake!" I have to begin, but how? In spite of all these methods, I realize that the gift of composition has not been given to me. I will do my best and I hope that God will do the rest. When I began to walk I was naturally flighty like most other children, and one day, I don't know how it happened, I found a beautiful large doll which was destined, I believe, to be my New Year's gift. You can be assured that I didn't leave without touching it. Before I did, I looked around to be sure that maman could not see me. Then I began to examine the doll, undress it, put it to bed, and such, and after some time, unluckily, it fell out of my hands and broke into fifty pieces. Maman came running at the noise and gave me a good scolding because I "put my nose into everything" and gave me three or four little taps, which were not caresses. I began to cry like a lost soul, and my sobs were repeated one after another, and in my impatience I believed there was a child making fun of me and I began to say it was some fool and that word was repeated in the same way. Finally, more irritated than ever, I ran to maman to tell her that somebody was making fun of me.

She laughed at me and told me that it was only an echo. I will remember that armoire for a long time and that very day I promised myself to never touch anything in there again.

Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, April 8, 1892

###

People tell me that I have faults.
(On me dit que j'ai des Defauts)

If they didn't tell me that they would be lying. I have faults, everyone has them. They tell me again and again, in so many ways. If one considered himself first, he would believe himself to be perfect. I have faults, but what consoles me is that everybody has them. The greatest Saints had them. Only one person, and a woman, if you please, was exempt, and she is the queen of heaven. No one would be vexed to not have shortcomings. What is considered a fault at one time is not so at another time. I notice that in recreation no one finds fault with me. But, in class, we know in a thousand ways that we have faults because not a day passes without someone counting them. Let us console ourselves that the faults we fight against will become pearls and lilies that will adorn our crowns in heaven.

###

Many Small Things Make a Greater One
(Bien des Peu un Beaucoup)

Outline — Many bits of snow form a snowflake. Many bricks make a house. Many faults become vices.

Many small bits unite to form something larger. That is true of everyone, especially the greedy, a little bit here, a little bit there and they aspire endlessly to acquire a larger fortune. Many snowflakes falling from the sky make a ball so large that several men could not move it. Many bricks arranged together make the houses which shelter us from the inclement weather of the seasons. Many cents saved can do much good for the poor without harming our fortune. Many raindrops falling from the sky form rivers that water our fields. Many grains of sand form tall mountains. Many frail blades of grass form the vast rolling prairie adorned with flowers. Small faults that go uncorrected in one's youth become so strong that it is impossible to destroy them after having let them take root. Many small trees grow to make great forests and contribute later to make the magnificent chateau of the king as well as the humble cottage of the poor man.

Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, June 13, 1892

###

Marie Blanche writes a charming description of her pet rabbit. One day while the rabbit is in the garden, Marie Blanche hears a strange cry, like that of an infant. Running toward it, she sees her pet gravely wounded. Even to this day she cries to remember that event.

My Little rabbit (Mon Petit Lapin)

He was so beautiful, my little rabbit! He had a cute little pink nose, his ears were like mother-of-pearl, his fur as lustrous as a mirror and his capricious leaps were full of fantasy. Each morning I got up out of my mother's bed and I ran to carry him, into some cabbage plants. He gravely ate the green leaves, all the while looking at me with tenderness. Then, standing up on his hind feet he wiped his little mustaches with marvelous dexterity.

One Sunday mother had gone to town with my older brother and sister. We young children stayed home and we

were playing in the fields, when suddenly I heard a strange cry which resembled the cry of a small child. I ran toward it. It was my little rabbit; my pain was such that I couldn't speak a word. I was suffocating, my legs could no longer hold me. He was very bloody and gravely wounded.

Forgive these tears. The memory still makes me weep.

###

A Holiday (Un Congé)

Outline – What a wonderful occasion, the singing at Mass, the games in the morning, the walks and games in the afternoon, the time from supper to bedtime.

For a long time, we have been waiting eagerly for the magnificent feast day of our devoted Chaplain, the very thought of whom makes us all smile. We didn't let this rare holiday pass unobserved. The rising bell enjoyed a rest because we were all awake when our good Maitresse came to give us the signal to get up. January 12 had a joyous and unaccustomed aspect compared to our ordinary days in our dear solitude. All day was spent in the greatest gaiety, or better said, in the height of happiness. What trouble didn't our good teachers go through to amuse their dear children? But they have so much devotion that no sacrifice is too great to make us happy. There was singing at Mass. I don't need to tell you how much attention and goodwill the students brought in to render it as solemn as possible. We went down to the refectory and we were in such a hurry to play that we hardly ate. We went to the recreation room. All morning long we enjoyed round dances and blindman's bluff; nothing tired us out. We took a beautiful long walk accompanied by our good teachers, who ignored their fatigue to fulfill our wishes. All afternoon we played different kinds of games, such as homonyms, living tableaux, etc., at which we had the honor of having our teacher with us to take part in our childlike amusements. We went to the refectory, and it was the same story as in the morning. From there we went to the recreation room where we continued our games with even more enthusiasm than during the day. Nothing could tire us, so our good Mother Superior agreed to our wishes to prolong the evening festivities until ten o'clock.

This holiday on the occasion of the feast day of M. le Chapelain of the Convent of Berthier will remain engraved in my memory for a long time; it will be one of my most precious memories of the boarding school.

Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, May 20, 1892

###

L'Abbe A. J. Sippré, chaplain and religion instructor for the students, could devise challenging and sometimes outlandish exams. The hair-splitting problems below required applied logic, and probably produced a rash of smiles.

The Eucharistic Fast
(Jeûne Eucharistique)

There is a general communion at the convent but many misfortunes have occurred before mass.

Laura woke up with her hand in the straw mattress and a straw in her mouth.. Has she eaten one, two? She doesn't know.

Aurore inadvertently perfumed her mouth as usual.

Fabiola, when yawning, received into her stomach the visit of a mosquito.

Imelda. While cutting a thread with her teeth, swallowed a piece of it.

Blandine, not wanting to forget the medal that she wants blessed, puts it in her mouth but, poor thing, she swallows it involuntarily.

Blanche, distracted, eats a bread crumb.

Germina, with a lot of blood, swallowed a tooth that she had broken when she bit something she thought was white sugar but which she recognized by the taste as common salt.

Elmaide, who is not an aristocrat, took a good pinch of snuff of which half fell down her throat and then she chewed gum all morning.

Lucrèce, swallowed a violent poison in a strychnine pill.

The girls are uncertain but after reflection they receive communion. Give your opinion of each case.

1. Laura should not have received communion because straw is digestible.

2. Aurore did not break the fast with her perfume because it was not taken as food. If she swallowed some she broke the fast because it was ingested into the stomach from outside.

3. Fabiola could receive communion because the mosquito was not taken as food.

4. Imelda cannot receive communion if the string is cotton because it is digestible.

5. Blandine could receive communion because metal is not digestible.

6. Blanche may not receive communion because bread is a digestible substance.

7. Germina may go to communion because (the tooth) was not ingested into the stomach from outside, but she should not have received communion if she had swallowed some salt.

8. Elmaide could receive communion because this was not food and if she swallowed the juice from the gum she did not do the right thing at all.

9. Lucrèce was able to receive communion if the poison made her so sick that she was in danger of death.

The cases that can prevent receiving communion are three in number:

1. The thing swallowed must have been ingested into the stomach from outside.

2. It was taken as food.

3. It is digestible.

This catechism was given by Mr. L'abbé J. A. Sippé, chaplain of the Convent of Berthier from the month of September 1891 to the month of May 1892.

Marie Blanche Denomé

Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, May 1892

A Departure (Un Départ)

My dear Delia,

Today sadness is mixed with Paschal joys, my dear friend. Before leaving, our good Chaplain wished to give us a last sign of his affection and he came to visit us. Who does not admire his goodness, his charity in each of his actions? With the permission of Mother Superior, he gives us a holiday which you will take, he says, on a beautiful day in the month of Mary and that will give you a reason to think of me. Finally, the last wish he has for us is that he hopes a large number of us will become Sisters of the Comgrégation in order to go join him in his new ministry. He told us that he was going to live with one of his best friends, Monsignor Emard.

As you can see, dear friend, Valleyfield has an attraction for him. But as he told us, with feeling, upon leaving he was gaining and he was also losing. He was gaining because this bishop meant more to him than anyone. He was losing because he thought very highly of the students of the school in Berthier. I am losing, he said, perhaps more than I am gaining.

How can we not remember him after so much love, goodness and devotion. He promises us a second gold medal....What generosity! Certainly this departure is painful for us but we console ourselves with the thought that he will be happy.

Receive, dear friend, the affection of your devoted friend.

Marie Blanche
Congrégation de Notre Dame

Berthier, 2 May 1892

Au Revoir

Good-bye. It is time for us to leave our dear Alma Mater where we have lived so happily these ten months in which blessings showered upon us and during which the most Blessed Virgin was pleased to lavish her graces on us, her privileged children. We must say good-bye to this dear little chapel where we prayed with so much fervor at the feet of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament. Good-bye to our charming classroom where so much zeal was displayed by our good teacher to help us acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to ensure our happiness and success and that of our family. Good-by to the joyful recreation room where I was made happy by the sweet smiles of my companions and even often of a devoted teacher. Finally, good-bye to these good teachers. "Good-bye" is a word which in itself is not sad, but it hurts to leave these good teachers with their motherly hearts because they are a second mother to us boarders who receive their tender care.

Credits

Scott Damuth. Family information.

Marie Blanche Denoumé. Copybook.

Joan Meznarich. Selection and translation of Denoumé copybook entries. Research

Suzanne Rochon, CND, archivist. Foundation of convent school at Berthier (reprint. Marguerite Bourgeois (reprint).

Francele Sherburne, SSND. Selection of copybook entries. Organization of article for *Quarterly*. Introduction, information, and commentary. Research.

A CURSED MARRIAGE BETWEEN PIERRE GADOIS AND MARIE PONTONNIER

By Joyce Banachowski

A merchant, Pierre Gadois, his wife, Louise Mauger /Maugier, and two children, their daughter Roberte, baptized 15 September 1628 and son, Pierre, baptized 17 November 1638, of St. Martin d'Ige, Perche, were recruited by Robert Giffard to settle on his seigneury in Beauport. They arrived in New France in 1636. In about 1647, the family moved to Montreal. In 1648, Maisonneuve granted them the first concession of land in Montreal. As a result, the father, Pierre Gadois, is considered the first habitant of Montreal. His concession was on the land where the first Hôpital Général of Montreal was later built. La rue St-Pierre was named in honor of this immigrant from Perche.[4] According to Marguerite Bourgeoys, Pierre, the son, was the first altar boy in Montreal. (Four more children were born to Pierre Gadois and Louise Mauger in New France and baptized in Quebec: *Francois: baptized 2 December 1636; died before the 1666 census; *Jeanne: baptized 26 June 1638; died after 26 June 1638 at Quebec: *Joseph: baptized 28 September 1639; died October 1639 at Quebec: and *Jean-Baptiste: baptized 2 March 1641; first marriage 19 February 1669 at Montreal to Marguerite Gervaise: second marriage to Marie Baudreau at Montreal 19 January 1693: buried 15 April 1728 at Montreal; an armurier and arquebusier.)[3]

Pierre and Louise's son, Pierre, a master armurier and arquebusier, signed a marriage contract with Marie Pontonnier, daughter of deceased Urbain and Félicité Jamin, with the notary Saint Père on 6 May 1657 at Montreal. [3]

Marie Pontonnier was baptized 22 January 1643 at St-Vincent in Le Lude, La Flèche, diocese of Angers, Anjou. After the death of her father, Marie came to Canada in 1656 at the age of 13. (Imagine crossing the Atlantic on a voyage of a month or more to a colony you knew little about.) Marie Pontonnier was one of the *filles à marier,* a marriageable girl who came to New France to marry, one of the girls who came before the *filles du roi,* the King's Daughters. The ratio of women to men in Quebec at that time was 6 to 14. Women were in demand. Marie had two suitors—René Besnard dit Bourjoly, a corporal of the Montreal Garrison, and Pierre Gadois, an armurier, son of Pierre and Louise Mauger. Marie chose to marry Pierre. [2]

René Besnard / Bénard was upset and swore he would have his revenge by casting a spell over the couple using a knotted cord which would make their marriage childless. (The superstition was that if the person casting the spell secretly knotted a cord three times in the presence of the couple during the marriage ceremony, the couple would be sterile unless the cord was unknotted.)[2]

Pierre was advised to recite the psalm, "*Misere mei Deus*" backwards in Latin during the wedding mass to keep the spell off. This was the custom in France at that time. [2] Prior to her marriage, Marie was under the care of Jeanne

Mance. René Besnard warned Marie that her marriage would be childless. She discussed it with Pierre and the local pastor. With some reluctance, they decided to marry. As an added precaution, Pierre agreed to recite the *Miserere* in Latin three times in reverse during the wedding ceremony. [1]

On 12 August 1657, the day of the marriage at Notre Dame de Montreal, there were a number of dignitaries present. Not only were Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier getting married, but Major Lambert Closse and Élisabeth Moyen were also getting married (*See documents on pp. 13 &14.*) Governor Maisonneuve and three notaries — Bénigne Basset, Charles Lemoyne and Mathurin Langevin— were present as well as René Besnard to celebrate the marriage of his superior officer and to curse the marriage of Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier. The marriages were performed by Father Pijart. [2]

After the first year of marriage. No child was born to Marie and Pierre. The couple were advised to go to Quebec city to receive a second marriage blessing from Bishop Laval. When the second marriage blessing did not work, René Besnard was accused of making Pierre Gadois sterile and was arrested and interrogated. On 2 November 1658, René Besnard was tried in the seigneurial court of Montreal for sorcery. This was the first witchcraft trial in New France. Probably out of fear of being burned alive, René denied witchcraft. [2] Instead he said, that as a remedy, Marie promised she would sleep with him if he would break the spell. Marie also testified and said the opposite; she said that Besnard suggested that if she slept with him, he would remedy the problem. Others testified that Besnard had bragged that he knew how to tie the knot and that he had tied it for Marie's husband. Besnard said they were mistaken in what they heard. He said he was only talking about lacing up a corset. [1,2]

Another *fille à marier,* Françoise Bénard, testified that Besnard told her he knew about the spell and that it would last for seventeen years. He supposedly also told another *fille à marier,* Jeanne Goddard, about the spell. Besnard said he did not recall what that conversation was about. And if it was about witchcraft, it was just to scare Pierre Gadois. The court did not believe Besnard. He was imprisoned and later banished from Montreal. He settled in Trois Rivières. [2]

After a three year waiting period, (This was by canon law), the marriage of Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier was annulled by Bishop Laval on 30 August 1660 "because of permanent impotence caused by an evil spell." [2] (*See document on p. 15.*) The origin of this form of witchcraft went back to the Middle Ages and Thomas Aquinas. He explained that men could have an operation or castration to prevent performing. Otherwise, impotence is the power of the devil to cause this with the permission of God. [1]

Two weeks later, on 13 September 1660, Governor Maisonneuve sentenced Pierre Gadois to pay Marie 100 *livres* in beaver castor on the 29th of September, the Feast of St. Michel and 300 *livres* more on Christmas. This was an indemnity for the time she spent with him. This was based on a provision in their marriage contract that would provide Marie with a rent of 60 *livres* plus an additional 300 *livres* if they did not have children. [1]

On 8 October 1660, Basset, a notary, wrote a marriage contract between Marie Pontonnier and Pierre Martin dit La Rivière, son of Jacques Martin and Simone Closteau, and an interpreter and surgeon, in Montreal. They were married at Notre Dame de Montreal on 3 November 1660. (*See document on p. 16.)* Pierre was born in Ste-Colombe parish, Anjou. On 14 April 1653, he signed a contract at La Flèche to join the Recruit of 1653 to go to Montreal. He received 75 *livres* in advance. Four months after her second marriage, her husband, Pierre Martin dit La Rivière was killed by the Iroquois who ambushed him on 24 March 1661; his decapitated body was found 22 June 1661. He was buried at Montreal six days later. His and Marie's daughter, Marie, was born 9 November 1661. [2]

On 16 October 1661, a marriage contract was signed and on 5 December 1661, at Trois Rivières, Marie Pontonnier married her third husband, Honoré Langlois dit Lachapelle and Croustille, son of Jean Langlois and Jacquette Carpentier, and a hat maker. (*See document on. p. 17.*) Honoré was born in Paris in 1632. Honoré was buried at Pte-aux-Tremble on 12 December 1709. Marie was buried at Pte-aux-Tremble on 7 January 1718. Marie and Honoré had ten children. [2, 3]

On 20 April 1665, Pierre Gadois remarried Jeanne Bénard /Besnard, *a fille du roi,* daughter of deceased Robin and Gabriele Vitaillen of the same parish of Notre Dame de Montreal. Present were Pierre Gadois and Louyse Maugier, Pierre's parents; Louys Prudhomme, brother-in-law; Nicolas Gode and Jacques LeMoyne, cousins germaine and Mssr. Paul de Chomedy. (*See document on p. 18.*) With his second wife, Jeanne, Pierre Gadois had fourteen children.

René Besnard married Marie Grimou Sédilot, widow of Bertrand Fafard dit Laframboise, at Trois Rivières on 2 February 1661. (*See document on p. 19.*) They had six children. He died between 24 October 1685 and 12 June 1689 at Cap de Madeleine. [3]

As a result of the annulment of Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier, Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, the second bishop of Quebec, published in 1703, the *Ritual of the Diocese of Quebec.* Included were prayers for married couples who are prevented by witchcraft or sorcery to bear children. It sometimes happens that God will punish infidelity and licentiousness of men or to exercise their faith and patience. At these times, priests are to comfort and advise them to say prayers, attend confession and communion so that God will be pleased and break the spell. If it continues, the priest will decide whether exorcism and prayers are necessary. Above all, they should submit to God's command. [1] They are never to ask to renounce their first marriage or form another marriage contract. This is an insult to the sacrament of marriage and could only come from Satan. [2]

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1. Boyer, Raymond, *Les Crimes et Les Châtiments au Canada Français de XVIIe Siècle,* Le cercle du Livre de France, Montreal, 1966, pp. 293-295.

2. Gagné, Peter J., *Before the King's Daughters: the Filles à Marier, 1634-1662,* Quintin Publications, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 2002, pp. 257-260.

3. Jette, René, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730,* Les Presses de l'Université de Montreal, Montreal, 1983.

4. Montagne, Mme. Pierre, *Au Perche des Canadiens Français,* imprimerie Bonnefoy, 1991.

Primary sources: (All were located in the Drouin Collection on Ancestry.com)

5. Marriage de Lamberhuy Closse (Joannis Closse and Caelis de la Fosse) and Elisabeth Moyne, (Joannis Moien and Elizabethe Le Bré / Lebret), 12 August 1657, Notre Dame de Montreal.

6. Marriage de Petri Gadois (Petri Gadois and Ludovica Mauger) and Marie Pontonnier (Urbain and Félicité Jamin) 12 August 1657, Notre Dame de Montreal.

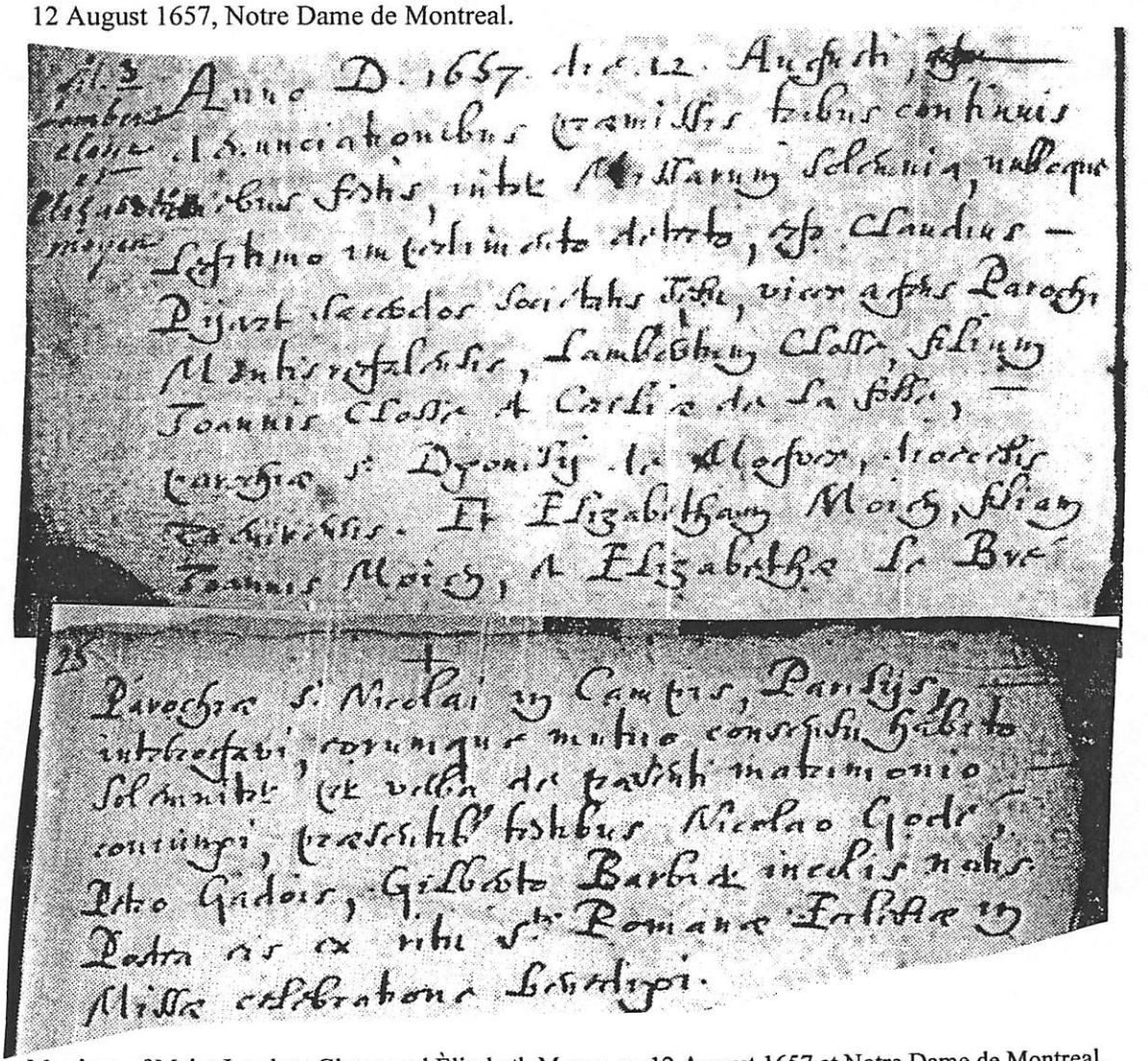
7. Annulment of the marriage of Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier, 30 August1660.

8. Marriage of Pierre Martin and Marie Pontonnier, 3 November 1660, at Notre Dame de Montreal.

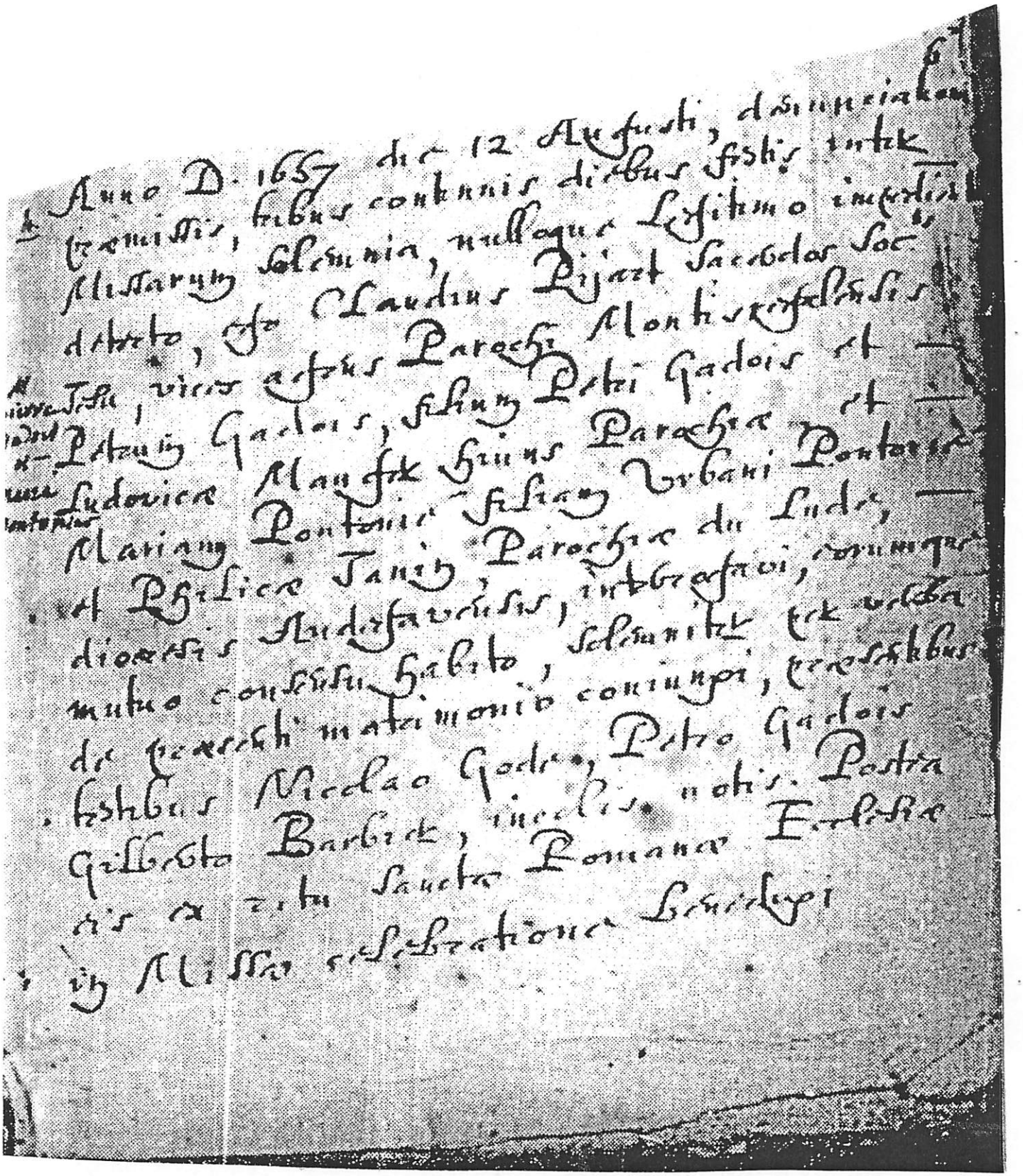
9. Marriage of Honoré Langlois dit Lachapelle and Croustille and Marie Pontonnier, 5 December 1661at Notre Dame de Montreal.

10.. Marriage of Pierre Gadois and Jeanne Besnard, 20 April 1665, Notre Dame de Montreal

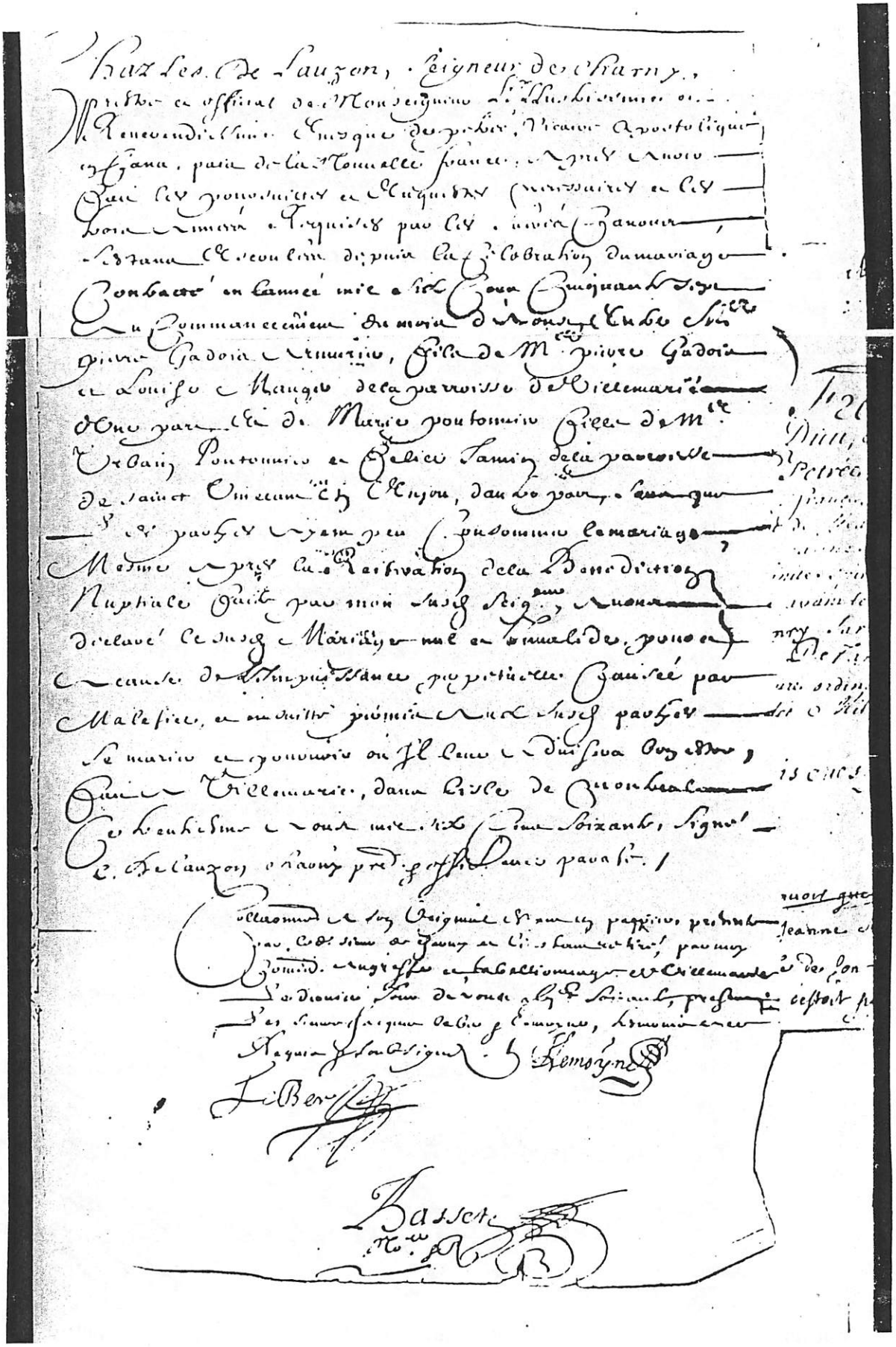
11. Marriage of René Bésnard and Marie Grimou Sédilot, widow of Bernard Fafard, on 2 February, 1661 at Trois Rivières.



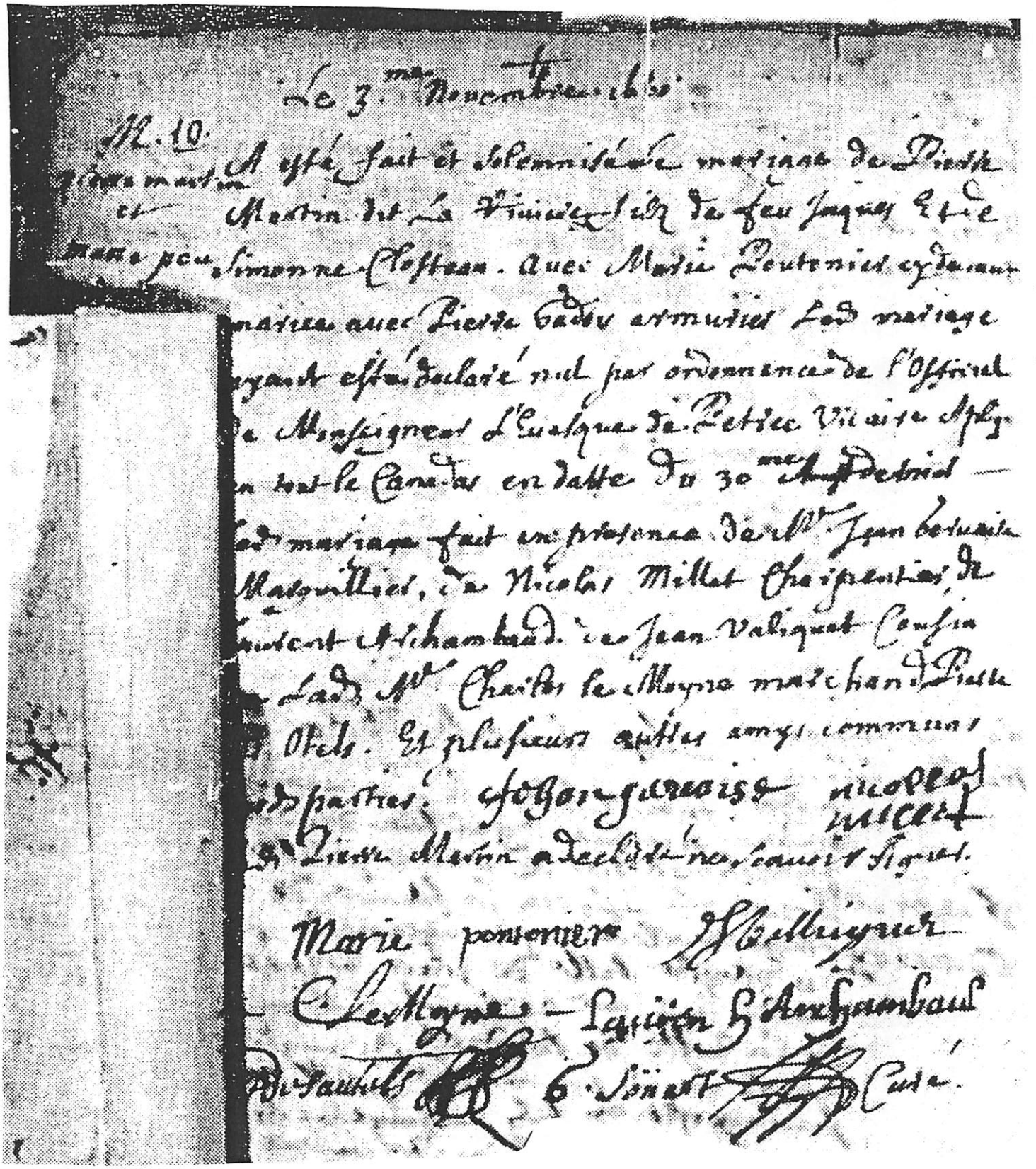
Marriage of Major Lambert Closse and Èlisabeth Moyen on 12 August 1657 at Notre Dame de Montreal.



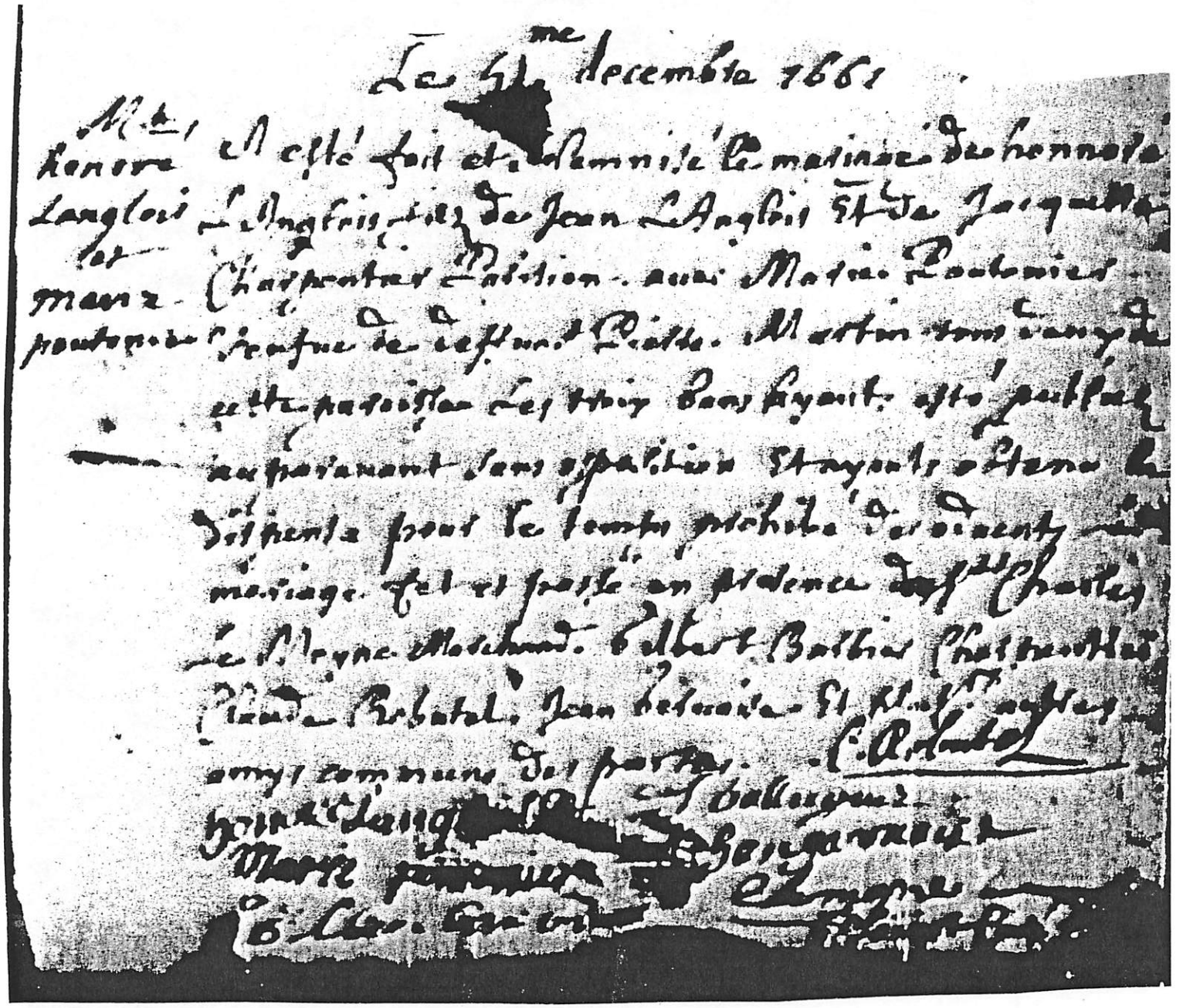
Marriage of Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier, 12 August 1657, Notre Dame de Montreal



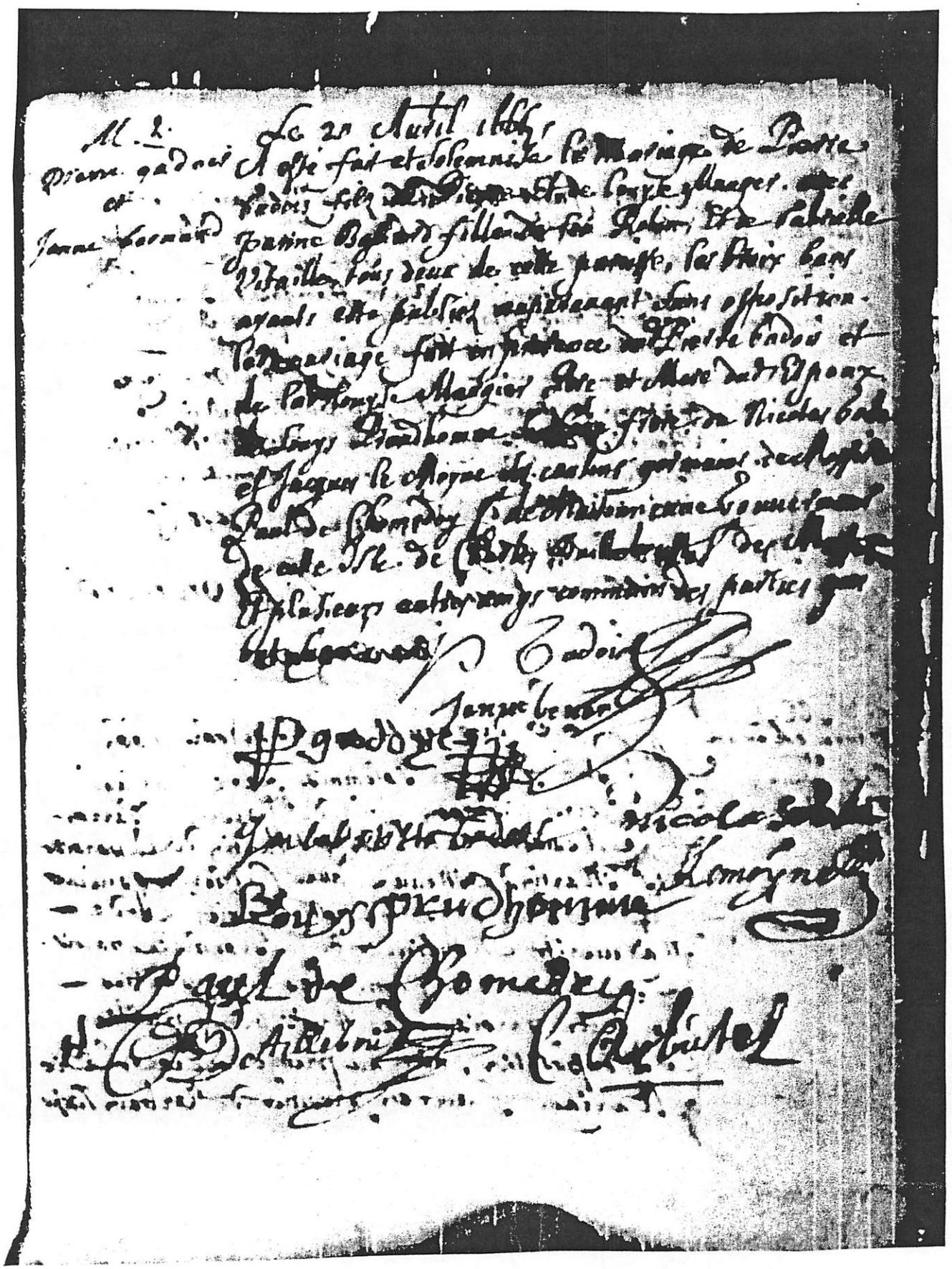
Annulment of the marriage of Pierre Gadois and Marie Pontonnier, 30 August 1660



Marriage of Pierre Martin dit La Rivière and Marie Pontonnier, 3 November 1660, at Notre Dame de Montreal (Note: In this marriage record, there is mention of the official nullification of the previous marriage given on 30 August.)



Marriage of Honoré Langlois dit Lachapelle and Croustille and Marie Pontonniere,
5 December 1661 at Notre Dame de Montreal



Marriage of Pierre Gadois and Jeanne Besnard, 20 April 1665, Notre Dame de Montreal

477

1661

René Besnard et Marie Sédillot

Anno Domini 1661 die 2a Februar. denuntiationibus
praemissis tribus inter
missarum solemnia
in sacello nostro ad
Tria flumina, nulloque
legitimo impedimento
detecto, Ego Claudius
Joannes Allouez Societatis Jesu, sacerdos vices
gerens parochi, interrogavi et mutuo consensu
habito per verba de
praesenti conjunxi in
matrimonium Renatum
Besnard Bonfoli vulgo
dictum, filium Joannis
Besnard et Magdalenae
Brillard, ex parocia
de Villiers Andegavensis
Episcopatus - et Mariam
Sedillot, viduam Bertrandi Fafart hujus paroeciae.
Testes fuere Dnus Lapoterie
Dnus St Quentin, Dnus Godefroy, Fr. Fafard.

Marriage of René Bésnard and Marie Grimou Sédilot, widow of Bernard Fafard, on 2 February 1661 at Trois Riviéres

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. 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

TOURTIÈRE

We have several recipes for **Tourtière (Meat Pie),**[1] so here are two more. Tourtière is one of the more traditional French Canadian dishes.

This recipe is from Merrilyn Trombly (present member).

2 cups mashed potatoes
3 cups soft bread crumbs
2 lbs. ground pork 1
medium onion cut fine
Salt, pepper and sage to taste

Fry onion in ¼ lb. butter or margarine lightly. Add meat, potatoes and crumbs. Stir and add little water so it won't be too thick. Also add seasonings. Cook slow for about 1 hour. Add more water if necessary. Stir often.

Make rich pie crust for 2 crust pie. Fill. Bake at 400 degrees about 30-40 minutes until crust is done.

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[1] Tourtière is the taditional pork pie which was served early Christmas morning after midnight mass. The name tourtière comes from the word, tourte, the name for the pottery casserole in which the tourtière was baked.

This second recipe for **tourtière** is from Sharon Pelon Babby. (past member)

2 lbs. ground beef
1 lb. pork sausage meat
1 large onion (or to taste)
2 tsps. Allspice (Grandma used cloves.)
3 double pie crusts

Cook beef, sausage, onion and spices in a frying pan until meat is cooked thoroughly. Line 3 pie tins with pastry. Add ½ of each mixture to each of 3 pie crusts---cover with top crusts. Bake at 350 degrees for 1 hour or until crust is done to your liking.

This pie is usually baked a day ahead and reheated to serve.

This recipe is that of my mother and grandmother, Eunice Boufford Pelon and Isabelle LaPlante Pelon.

I hope you will try the recipes and enjoy, **"BON APPETIT!"**

FRENCH CANADIAN / ACADIAN GENEALOGISTS OF WISCONSIN
P.O. BOX 414
HALES CORNERS, WI. 53130-0414

ISSN 1057-3488

FCGW Quarterly Indexes

Due to the cost of printing and mailing the FCGW *Quarterly* Indexes, they will now be available on the FCGW website www.fcgw.org in .pdf format for download to members. If you want a hard copy of the All Name Index, vols. 24-25, and the All Article Index vols. 1-25, please send your request and a $10 check to FCGW, PO Box 414, Hales Corners, WI 53130-0414.

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

Donation:

Sacajawea: Guide and Interpreter of Lewis and Clark, by Grace Raymond Hebard; Donated by Ruth Paulsen

COMING UP

12-14 April 2012: OGS Annual Conference, "History and Genealogy: Finding Clues To Ancestral Lives," at the International Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio; sponsored by the Ohio Genealogical Society. There will be over 60 sessions plus workshops.

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27-28 April 2012: 2012 Gene-A-Rama, sponsored by Wisconsin State Genealogical Society; at the Hotel Sierra and Kl Convention Center, 333 Main St., Green Bay, Wisconsin. For further information, check the WSGS website.

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9-12 May 2012; National Genealogical 2012 Convention, "The Ohio River: Gateway to the Western Frontier," at Duke Energy Convention Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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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 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.

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

8 December 2011: Library will be open for research.

12 January 2012: Library will be open for research

9 February 2012: Pea Soup and Johnny Cake meeting; The Library will be open for research.

NEWS NOTES

From *Je Me Souviens,* Vol. 34, No. 1, Spring 2011: If you have ancestors who worked in the textile mills of New England, you will find an article on "Working in the Textile Mills." Another article of interest to those beginning Acadian research called "A General Introduction to Acadian Genealogy" would be of interest.

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From *History Magazine,* Aug/Sept 2011: There is an article on the Hudson Bay Company.

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From *American-Canadian Genealogist,* Issue #129, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2011: There is an article on Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau, son of Sacajawea. Another article is on the Yerba Buena Cemetery which existed from 1850 to 1871 in San Francisco.

*****

From *History Magazine,* Apr/May 2011:There is an interesting article on the French Franc. It traces 6 ½ centuries of the currency of France dating back to the Middle Ages.

*****

Seeking participants for study on family history research

We are two professors – Leighann Neilson and Del Muise -- from Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario who are conducting research on family history. We are not affiliated with any of the commericial genealogy databases or software providers. We are researchers and family historians ourselves, who want to learn more about the surge of interest in family history. In order for our research to accurately capture what's happening in family history in Canada today, we need the participation of as many family historians as possible.

The survey is available online at: www.cusurveycentre.ca/gensurvey and takes about 20 to 30 minutes to complete. If you're interested in learning about the results of the survey, we'll be posting updates on our blog Genealogy in Canada http://genealogyincanada.blogspot.com.

We anticipate sharing the results of our research with museums, archives, and genealogy societies, all of who are trying to meet the needs of family history researchers. Individual family historians will be able to learn more about how others are conducting their research by reading and commenting on the survey results as we report them on our blog.

Canadian Genealogy Survey

Searching for your roots?

•

Writing down your stories for future generations?

•

Preserving precious photos?

We'd like to hear about your experiences.

Carleton University professors Del Muise and Leighann Neilson want your help. Our survey seeks information about how you conduct genealogical research, particularly any changes brought about by the Internet.
The information you provide will remain anonymous – your name will not appear in any reports. Your data will reside in Canada, on a secure server, so it's safe to participate.

Take the survey today at:

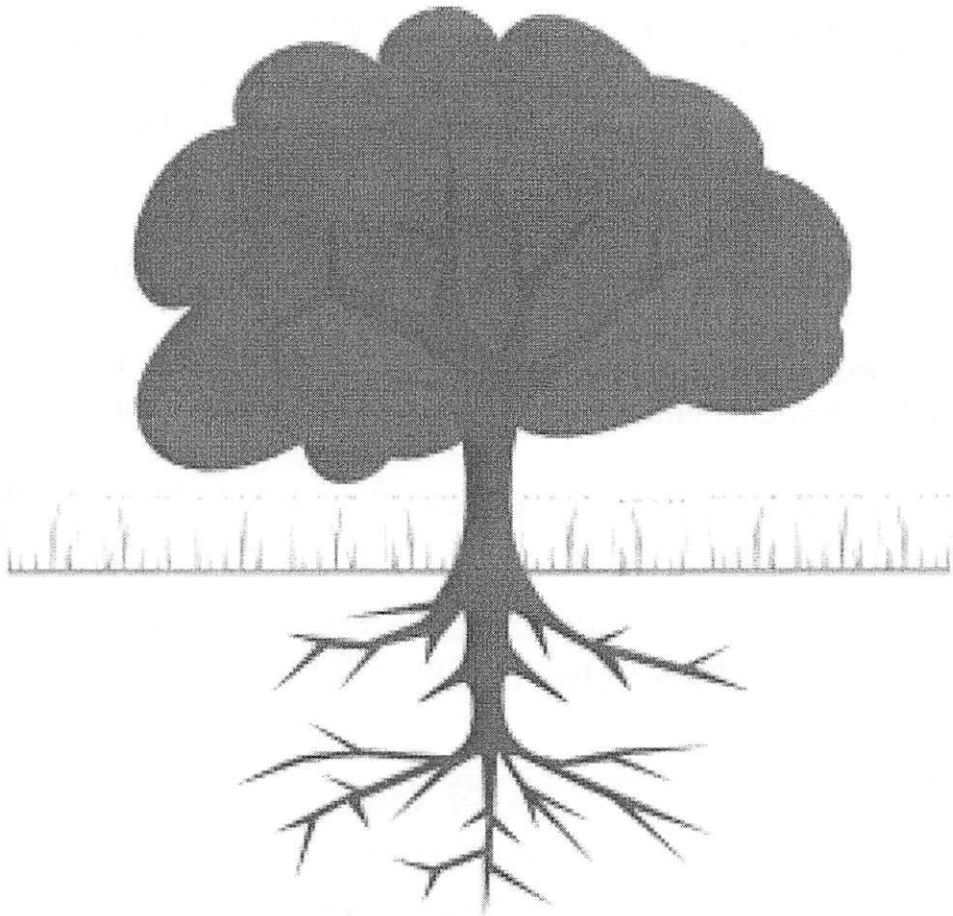
www.cusurveycentre.ca/gensurvey

Follow our progress at:

www.genealogyincanada.blogspot.com

This research has been approved by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board

Carleton
UNIVERSITY
Canada's Capital University



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

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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

French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin
Quarterly

Volume 26 No. 2 WINTER 2012

2012 Brings Changes to FCGW

Who better than a genealogist to understand the cycle of life: Birth and Death, Beginnings and Endings, and many events in between.

So now FCGW is about to undergo a change. The organization cannot continue as it has for the past several years. No one has come forward to accept the nominations for president and vice-president for 2012. An organization cannot function without committed leadership. The finances of the FCGW are in good order, the library is excellent, the Mayfair meeting room is available to us, but we have no one to lead the society.

The FCGW Executive Board has been discussing the dissolution of the organization in great length. The Board has initiated dialogue with the Milwaukee County Historical Society, the Wisconsin Historical Society, and other societies and libraries. Plans are being formulated to ensure that the contents of the library will continue to be accessible to our members and that our assets will be legally and properly dispensed.

The Board will take the vote on dissolution of the FCGW on 1 March 2012. Final decisions will then be made as to dispersing the library and other materials owned by the organization. Until then the FCGW will function as it always has. You will receive more details after 1 March 2012.

RETURN YOUR LIBRARY MATERIALS! If you have any FCGW library materials outstanding, please return them by 8 March 2012. An in depth inventory of the library materials will take place at that time.

FCGW Executive Board

MEETING SCHEDULE

Meetings are held every second Thursday of the month in the Community Room, G110, at Mayfair Shopping Center. Enter at the northeast mall door off the covered parking 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.

8 March 2012: Re-enactors, Dave and Connie Titter, "Life of a Well to Do Family in New York in the 1750's".

12 April 2012: Library will be open for research.

10 May 2012: Comments on the recent *Quarterly* issue on "Merchants"; Joyce Banachowski

14 June 2012: 30th Anniversary Celebration

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MERCHANTS OF NEW FRANCE

By Joyce Banachowski

Already in the beginning of the sixteenth century, trade was being established on the east coast of North America. It was started with fishermen who came on shore to dry codfish. Here they met local Indians who were anxious to trade furs for small items which were of little value to the European fishermen—tools, pieces of metal, canvas, rope and other parts of the ship's gear. These trade items were often taken off their ships and were actually the property of the ship owners. The furs they received in exchange brought a very good price in their home market. It is easy to understand why fishermen were increasingly involved in this trade. The items they traded for furs were cheap or free. They did not have to pay shipping charges on their trade goods that they brought to North America and they were not charged for transporting the furs back to the European markets.[1]

In 1506, the fishermen of Normandy were already trading with the Indians of North America. These ships were operated by captains of the ship-owner, Jean Ango of Dieppe. Jean Ango organized a series of trips between France and the New World. In 1516 Jean Ango died and his son, Jean, took over the business. By 1516, at his death, the father, Jean Ango, owned ten armed ships. He was associated with other ship owners—Herou, Christopher Price, Mathieu Doublet, Bourry, and Morel de Bousselaye / Rousselay. The officers on his ships were Jean Denys of Dieppe, Gamond of Rouen, Thomas Aubert of Dieppe, Peter Crignon, Jean and Raoul Parmentier / Parmantier, Pierre Mauclerc and Jean Masson, brother-in-law of the deceased Jean Ango.[2]

The French first came to the coast of North America for fish. However, the fur trade with the fishermen grew rapidly. During the second half of the sixteenth century, more and more ships were sent from France to take part in only the fur trade. European trade items became larger and more appealing to the Indians. Ships would come to Tadoussac and unload trade goods into smaller *barques* to be sent on to Quebec, Trois-Riviéres, the mouth of the Richelieu or the Lachine Rapids. The demand for better quality furs and greater numbers of furs grew as well. An Indian of the Gaspe told the Jesuit, Father Chrestien Le Clercq, "The beaver does everything to perfection. He makes us kettles, axes, swords, knives and gives us drink and food without the trouble of cultivating the ground."[3] In 1610, merchants began complaining about their losses due to the heavy competition. Many merchants had taken on large quantities of trade merchandise, fitted out a number of ships, expecting to have good business in the fur trade which turned out to be poor because there were so many vessels, all with the same intention. They demanded some kind of monopoly control. The result was monopoly control by companies—one monopoly company after another. The major condition to get a charter for a monopoly company was for the company to send colonists to the colony and to support and defend the population of the colony. The problem was still not resolved. Instead it created new problems—changes in

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1 Kenyon, W.A., *The History of James Bay 1610-1686: A Study in Historical Archaeology,* p. 9.

2 Payette, B. C., *Old French Papers,* pp. 28-29.

3 Kenyon, *op. cit.,* p. 9.

reorganization, changes in control, enforcement of the monopoly privileges, the attitude of the government in France and the companies were more interested in furs than bringing settlers. The English colonies and the Dutch on the Hudson were also competing in the fur trade. There also was competition between the Iroquois and the tribes who were allies of the French. Smuggling became a large problem. Complaints were made that workers broke their contracts and deserted to the fishing boats at Ile Percée and paid for their passage back to France with smuggled furs.[4]

Once the colony of New France grew in population and expanded in area and they were able to produce fish, surplus agricultural goods, lumber and industrial products, and as the number of Canadian merchants grew in number and financial capabilities, New France was capable of exchanging goods with its mother country, France. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the mercantilism theory with triangular trade and the prohibition of trade between New France and English colonies forced New France to trade with France for manufactured goods and other products that the colonists needed or desired. Raw materials would be available to France. France now could receive masts, boards, tar, hemp, wheat and fish from its North American colony rather than foreign countries.[5]

However, there were unavoidable problems which hindered the desirable development of trade between France and New France. Quebec had a good harbor, but it was unusable for an average of six months a year due to the severe winter climate. This meant a ship could make only one round trip a year. Not much profit could be made with one trip. Storage expenses increased. Sometimes, the crossing of the Atlantic took four months. Loading and unloading was usually a few weeks in each harbor. Therefore, a ship would have to leave France by April at the very latest. Delays—"inefficient clerks, slowness in the delivery of merchandise, trouble finding crews and equipment for the ships, financial difficulties, and every kind of commercial _ tangle" were regular. Therefore, ships would not leave France until June or July which would mean additional dangers of storms, winds, fog, ice, shipwrecks, and river dangers of sandbars, rocks and currents or being ice-bound in the entrance or in the St. Lawrence River. In1715, D'Auteuil estimated that since 1690, 3 1/2 million *livres* worth of goods were lost by shipwrecks. Due to lateness in the year, some ships would not leave their French port at all. In times of war, there was danger of capture or destruction. In times of peace, there was danger of pirates. Convoys would sometimes escort the trade ships for protection. It was costly and many times, trade ships were without this protection. With all the hazards and problems, they continued to compete in the trade business because the profits were there. The fur merchants were the most persistent in the trade with New France. They were the force behind the economy of New France.[6] Ships of at least one hundred tons were necessary for a safe Atlantic crossing. Ships of forty to sixty tons could navigate easily along the Atlantic coast. There were a number of

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4 Innis, Harold, *The Fur Trade in Canada,* pp. 34-40.

5 Reid, Allana G., "General Trade Between Quebec and France During the French Regime," in *Canadian Historical Review,* Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 March 1953, p. 18.

6 *Ibid.,* pp. 18-21.

natural harbors along the coast. Land was nearby and supplies were readily available.[7]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, trade agreements were initiated by either French merchants or Canadian merchants. It was necessary that either would have to set up connections on both sides of the Atlantic. These connections were based on family, religion and business interests. Canadian merchants would make agreements with others in several ports in France, other European countries (especially Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Mediterranean ports), the West Indies, Ile Royale and / or Louisbourg and anywhere else they hoped to get goods. Pierre Charly, born to André Charly, a Montreal merchant, and Marie Dumefay went to La Rochelle and married a French girl there in 1707. He went into the Canada trade. Simon Lapointe (Guillaume & Catherine Drouin) was born in Quebec in 1689, went to La Rochelle, and married there in 1722. He died there 15 June 1750, while still active in the Canada trade. Guillaume Pascaud, a master tanner or strap maker, and his wife, Catherine Berthaud of Notre Dame de la Prade near Aubeterre-sur-Dronne, Charente had six children baptised there. In the 1680's they sent their son, Antoine, to New France. He built up an importing-exporting business in Montreal and married Marguerite Bouart on 21 January 1697. They had several children. After the war of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), they moved to La Rochelle where Antoine died 23 January 1717. His widow carried on the trading business with two sons and expanded the business. They brought their uncle and cousin into the business as well. Both sons married into a wealthy Irish family. Trans-Atlantic families were common.[8]

Another group of merchants in France were those who were not established in Canada, but came only for visits. They were from inland manufacturing towns. They would go to French ports or the colonies to find markets for their products. Moufle came from Beauvais, a cloth producing town. Dumas and Rauly came from Montauban, a wool manufacturing town and Texandier and Veyssière were from Limoges, known for its porcelain. The families from this group of manufacturers were usually related, and in time, they formed connections with manufacturers of different towns.[9]

Huguenots

Jean Calvin was born in Noyon, a town northwest of Paris, on 10 July 1509. He studied theology in Paris, but after he received his Doctor of Laws, in 1533, he joined the "Reformed Religion". He questioned theological and political beliefs and practices and from that his religion, Calvinism, evolved. Protestantism grew and spread rapidly throughout France. Calvinists believed in the individual's right to think for himself. This was a threat to both the Monarchy of France and the Catholic Church. Nobility followed it because it gave freedom from the restrictions of the Catholic Church and did not require any payments. Lesser nobles were attracted because it allowed them to build little empires without having to give time or money. Ordinary citizens liked it because they were not

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7 Reid, Allana, "Intercolonial Trade During the French Regime", in *Canadian Historical Review,* Vol. 3, Sept, 1951, p. 236.

8 Bosher, J. F., *Business and Religion in the Age of New France 1600-1760,* pp. 7-8.

9 *Ibid.,* pp. 8-9.

controlled by all the rules the Catholic church required.[10]

Northern Saintonge, Aunis was a part of the province which was cut off and added to the city of LaRochelle as a reward to the citizens for their loyalty to King Charles V (also known as King Charles the Wise) during his wars with England.[11] It was referred to as the "Seven Hundred Mile Square Suburb of LaRochelle". As a result, for over 500 years, the population of Aunis and La Rochelle received commercial and city privileges. Most of the merchants, craftsmen, ship captains and sailors were Protestant. The Protestant Huguenots often ran the businesses of the Catholic nobility and businessmen. France had a prosperous economy. It ended when the Huguenots were killed or left the country.[12] By 1559, they were called Huguenots, and they were about 25% of the population of France.

On 24 August 1572, St. Bartholomew's Day, the gates of Paris were locked and all the Protestants were massacred. After Bartholomew's Day, the Huguenots began to leave the country. At first many went to the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey where the family would live a generation or two and then move elsewhere. They fled to all parts of the world—the Netherlands, Belgium, England, Ireland, Portugal, German duchys, Spain, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, the West Indies, Australia, South Africa snd the colonies of New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina.[13]

They did not leave as a group. They left individually or by families. Sometimes, families were split, one branch going to one country and another branch to a different country. When these refugees went to a new country, they were not interested in keeping their language or their culture. When they arrived in a new country, they would often translate their name into the new language. If persecuted in their new countries, they would recant their religion for land and freedom, but if Protestant religions were permitted, they took back their religion.[14]

England accepted the Huguenot refugees. The Huguenots were weavers, lace makers, cloth makers, porcelain and china makers, and they brought their secrets with them. They developed new industries for England. They were of the highly skilled craftsmen / artisans. They were merchants in all kinds of merchandise. They had a special interest in the fur trade. They had the secret for making beaver hats. At the time of their dispersion, the hat makers fled to England. For the next fifty years, the beaver hat trade was profitable for England. Ironically, the Catholic church of Europe had to purchase their hats from the exiled Huguenots.[15]

Family, religion and business were the basis for partnerships, associations and alliances among merchants interested in trade. Family, religion and business were not broken by distant separations. In fact, the separations were often an advantage giving them contacts in different locations. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

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10 Dupuis, De Lores L., "The Huguenot Emigration," in *Genealogist,* Vol. 8, No. 2, August 1, 1982, p. 18.

11 This was part of the Hundred Years War which was a series of wars which took place from 1337-1453 between the House of Valois and the House of Plantagenet. The Valois claimed the throne of France and the Plantagenet claimed the throne of England and France. The Plantagenet ties were in Anjou and Normandy.

12 Dupuis, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

13 *Ibid.,* pp. 21-24.

14 *Ibid.,* pp. 23-24.

15 Ballard, Carolyn, "Huguenots in New France," in *Huguenot Trails,* Vol. 4, No. 13, 1981, p. 11.

Huguenot merchants, worldwide, tended to join with those of their same religion. This was true of the Canada trade as well. They were usually educated and recognized as good businessmen, industrialists, merchants and had skilled and professional occupations. Their center of trade was La Rochelle, but they traded from Rouen, Bayonne, Bordeaux and other ports as well. There were large Huguenot merchant colonies in Amsterdam, London, Rotterdam and other ports. The Huguenot families tended to be more scattered than most of the trading companies. This was due to the numerous religious wars causing them to escape to different parts of the world.[16] But this also allowed them to get help when they were forced out of one or another place. Besides, being scattered throughout a number of locations proved to be an advantage in the merchant trade business. In the Netherlands, there were a number of Huguenot bankers. In the towns, they were often manufacturers. In the port towns and cities they were involved in shipbuilding. Some were ship captains.

Most Huguenot merchants had family, friends and connections in a large wide circle of trade which included family or friends as partners or agents in merchant trade in France, Spain, England, Portugal, German States, New England, New York, The West Indies, Holland, Savoy, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Acadia, and Quebec. The Huguenot merchants who came to New France were working for themselves or as representatives for well established companies of La Rochelle, Rouen, Montauban, Bordeaux, Calais etc.

In 1627, Huguenots were not allowed to settle in New France. They came anyway. They were permitted to stay for the summer, but were to leave by fall on ships returning to France. Sometimes they were allowed to stay the winter. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, they were not allowed to stay in the colony unless they abjured their religion and converted to the Catholic religion. They were not allowed to assemble to pray, to have ministers, meeting houses, or cemeteries and they could only take part in trade.[17] Many Huguenot merchants or family partners and /or agents would abjure their Protestant religion to avoid persecution, prison, slavery in the galleys, and worse. Many were masquerading as Catholics.[18] Sometimes, sons would be sent to New France as a partner or agent for a father, uncle or other relative and would abjure their Calvinism and marry a girl in New France in the Catholic church and would have all their children baptized in the Catholic faith. About 1740, Huguenot merchants were allowed to live in New France but they were not allowed to bring their wives or marry. In spite of the fact that the political and religious position was that Protestant merchants should be driven out of New France, about twenty-four of them were in New France for various lengths of time during the last twenty years of the French regime.[19]

Between 1720-1750, the government of New France was interested in increasing the population. Officially, they wanted the Protestant merchants out of New France, but they did not enforce restrictions against the

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16 Bosher, J. F. *op. cit., Business and Religion ....* P. 10.

17 Trudel, Marcel, *Introduction to New France,* p. 139.

18 Bosher, J. F., "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," in *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 59, No. 1, January, 1995, p. 90.

19 Bosher, *op. cit., Business and Religion....* P. 11.

Huguenots but they were expected to abjure their religion and became Catholic if they married or stayed in the colony.

In 1741, the bishop of Quebec complained about the Huguenot traders and merchants in Quebec. The governor and intendant sent a list of the representatives of Huguenot companies in Quebec. They reported there were nine merchants representing five French companies and one Quebec company. They were: Simon Paye and his clerk, Petit for the Rauly (father and son) firm of Montauban; Jean-Mathieu Mounier for the firm of Jean and Pierre Veyssière at La Rochelle; the two Thouron brothers for the Boudet firm of La Rochelle; François Havy and Jean Lefebvre for the Dugard Company of Rouen; David Turpin for Le Vieux and Company of Rouen, and François Mounier for the Dezauniers Firm of Quebec. By 1754, the number of merchants in Quebec rose to at least twenty-six merchants representing fourteen companies.[20] After 1754, increasingly more Huguenot merchants arrived and established themselves trading in Quebec. This continued to the end of the French regime. Some of these more prominent were Jean-Elie Dupuy, son of a a Rochefort merchant, who spent his time between there and Quebec. Bernard Courrejolles linked in trade with Dupuy. Marette and François Levêque formed a company trading with Protestant companies in France; Jean-Pierre and Joseph Senilh were brothers of a Montauban family; [21]

Many times the authorities did not know if a merchant was or was not a Protestant. Protestant merchants were usually able to get a Catholic birth certificate to have when they applied to the *amirauté* (Admiralty) for permission to get passage to Quebec or any other colonial port. On 20 March 1755, Antoine Malroux, a Huguenot merchant from Montauban, applied at the *amirauté* of Bordeaux for permission to sail on the La Vierge de Grace as a passenger bound for Quebec. "He was described as being of average height, with black hair but wearing a wig, and *ancien catholique*." Huguenot merchants could abjure their religion and become a Catholic at any time if they chose to marry a Catholic or if they wanted to avoid persecution. Most of them went back to their Protestant faith when they got what they wanted. [22] The *amirauté* officials, Intendant Bigot of Quebec and other officials may have been interested in keeping the colony Catholic, but they were more interested in promoting colonial trade. Bigot was not the only Quebec official who had this view. Joseph Cadet, the Canadian official *munitionnaire*, (supply-merchant), hired two Huguenot merchants, Joseph Aliés from La Rochelle and Pierre Desclaux of Bordeaux, to fit out some of his ships to leave from their ports to Quebec. Cadet's shipping agent at Bayonne was the Huguenot, the widow Courrejolles and son. In 1758, Pierre-François Goossens, a banker and shipping agent sent three of the king's ships from Dunkirk to Quebec. The three captains were ordered to turn their cargoes of food over to a Protestant merchant, Jean-Mathieu Mounier, in Quebec. During the Seven Year's War (French and Indian War), most of the goods sent from the naval port of Rochefort were sent to New France to the Ministry of Marine and Colonies by Charles-Claude de Ruis-Embito who married into one of the most prominent Huguenot families in La Rochelle, the Bonfils.[23] By the end of the French regime,

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20 Bosher, J. F., "French Protestant Families in Canadian Trade 1740-1760," in *Histoire Sociale*, Vol. 7, No. 14, November, 1974, p. 179.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Protestant merchants and their companies were primarily in control of the Canadian trade.

After the English conquest, the Huguenots acted as intermediaries between the English and the French. Protestantism was the official religion, but Quebec could keep its Catholic religion. The Protestant religion was required for government jobs.[24] With the coming of the military regime when the English took control, the Huguenots openly practiced their religion with the English Protestants in the Catholic chapels and churches and took control of the business of the religious communities.[25]

Jewish Merchants

The first Jewish residents in Canada arrived with the British troops during the Seven Years War (French and Indian War). The Jews, like the Protestants who came to New France, had the choice of conversion or deportation. Samuel Jacobs was probably the first Jewish settler in Canada. By January 1758, he was supplying British troops in what is today, New Brunswick. When the British troops invaded, he followed with his schooner, the Betsey. After the war he settled in Canada and became a wealthy merchant. He married a French Canadian and raised his children as Catholics. One of Jacob's trade contacts was Aaron Hart, another Jewish merchant living in Canada. He came to Canada from New York in 1760. He remained Jewish and therefore is officially called the first Jewish settler in Canada. In 1761, he settled in Trois Rivières. He became involved in the fur trade. He hired the best voyageurs to go with his trade canoes into the fur country. Other Jewish who settled in Canada about the same time were Chapman Abraham, Benjamin Lyons, Isaac and Gershom Levy, and Ezekiel and Levy Solomons. They lived in Montreal. Eleazar Levy, Hyam Myers and Elias Salomon lived in Quebec city. They were active in the fur trade in the Great Lakes area. The Jewish settled throughout Lower Canada. Besides Montreal and Quebec, many settled in Trois Rivières, Yamachiche, Sorel, and St. Denis on the Richelieu.[26]

When it came to politics, many Jewish sided with the English Protestants, but there were some exceptions, especially in the 1837-1838 rebellion.

In France there were many Jewish families involved in intercolonial trade. Like the Huguenots they had many connections in Europe. They also were merchants, ship owners, businessmen, industrialists, ship builders, sea captains and bankers. Many of them provided supplies to France and New France during the Seven Years War.

Merchant Associations / Partnerships

A merchant needed partners in main ports but he also needed *correspondants*, agents, in other places he might need to do business. These agents were chosen by their reputation and recommendations of friends and other merchants. A ship's captain usually had a list of ports with agents of his employer in case he faced difficult weather or other problems.[27]

Often times, a merchant's partnership was with members of his family—brothers,

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24 Trudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

26 Vaugeois, Denis, "Aaron's People in *Horizon Canada,* Vol. 9, pp. 2516-2517.

27 Bosher, J. F. , "A Québec Merchant's Trading Circles in France and Canada; Jean-André Lamaletie Before 1763", *Histoire Sociale,* Vol. 10, No. 19, May 1977, p. 25.

brother-in-laws, uncles, nephews or distant cousins— or by marriage. A trading company partnership between two or more members of a family were usually done by *sous seing privé*, a private agreement. Business partnerships often led to marriages between two merchant families. At times, merchants married into families of magistrates, military officers and royal officials. Royal officials liked to have their daughters marry wholesale or shipping merchants. Sometimes unrelated merchants formed partnerships. These partnerships were usually made for a three to six year period and were renewable.[28]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of Canadian and French merchants owned or had partnerships. They would invest in merchant ships for tradė between France and Canada. Sometimes the merchants themselves or representatives of the merchants would send ships with a variety of goods from France to New France where they would sell the goods, then buy other goods and return to France. In 1749, fourteen of these private merchant ships sailed from Bordeaux, eight from La Rochelle and one from Nantes to Quebec. Five years later, of twenty-two ships from Bordeaux, nine were privately owned, and eight from La Rochelle, one from Bayonne and one from Le Havre arrived in Quebec.[29]

Sometimes, Canadian merchants would arrange for shipments of goods for France and hire agents there to buy or sell the merchandise for the Canadian merchants. In return, the agents received a commission. It was also done in reverse, with merchants from France sending goods to merchants in Canada who would buy or sell the cargo at Quebec and arrange for goods for the return trip to France. Sometimes, partnerships of two or three or more were formed as a result. Each would provide a portion of initial capital and receive an equal proportion of profits and losses. Often times, French merchants would do the work for royal officials, bankers etc., who would form partnerships but did not make shipping arrangements. In return, they received a fee or a portion of the profits. Whatever the variety of trading associations, they all made short-term agreements, had direct commercial transactions and made simple financial arrangements.[30]

There also were trading associations between the king and select people. Like the private partnerships, there were a variety of ways it could be accomplished. Each year, the king sent at least one ship, often more, with supplies for the military, hospitals and fur trade. Often times, these ships were not filled to capacity, then the French merchants were allowed to send their own merchandise on the royal ships. Or there were times when the amount of goods exceeded the capacity of the royal ships. The king would then send the goods on merchant ships if space was available. The king would pay a rent for the space or give a favor or concession. Other times, the king would turn freighting of royal merchantmen over to independent reliable traders. This would be less trouble to royal merchants and the treasury received the rent of the ship or a portion of the profits.[31]

There also were more complicated companies and larger associations. In the seventeenth century, these were primarily those in the fur trade. As time went on, the private merchant in a small partnership was taken over by larger associations who

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28 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

29 Reid, *op. cit.*, "General Trade ...." P. 21.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

generally invested money and collected profits without taking part in shipping arrangements. These were joint-stock companies. The largest of these was the Gradis-Bigot-Bréard Asociation. It lasted from 1748-1760. It started out when the Jewish Gradis Company of Bordeaux invested 50% of the money, Intendant Bigot of New France invested 30% and Bréard, Controller of the Marine of Quebec, 20%. It grew to the point that it controlled the trade of Canada. By 1755, Brérard had fourteen ships going to the colonies and by 1758, the Gradis firm was sending 604,500 *livres* of goods to Quebec. They became known as the "Grande Société". They stopped merchant ships in the Gulf and bought up their cargoes. With the help of the intendant, they ignored custom duties and ceiling prices. They cheated the king and the habitants of New France. They helped about twenty merchants in New France to become millionaires in the last years of the French regime in Canada.[32]

In September 1762, the criminal court of Paris, a commission of the Châtelet, began an investigation of business records of men who were arrested and charged with fraudulent practices in Canada. About fifty officials plus others were arrested when they returned from New France after the British conquest. This was known as the *affaire du Canada*. In order to check on the standards for prices between 1749 and 1759, the commission decided to question a number of French merchants who had not been involved in the fraudulent practices. Eight companies were chosen, seven were Protestant and one was Catholic. Five were from La Rochelle, two from Montauban and the Catholic company of Lamaltérie and Latuillière from Bordeaux. The companies chosen had kept stores at Quebec during the 1750's. They had not been government supply agents. They imported and exported on the open market. Those who were not consulted were because they dealt with government supplies; they had powerful friends who protected them from the inquiry, or they were suspected of being involved with those arrested or because their trade had fallen during the Seven Years War. Those chosen from La Rochelle were the Meynardie Brothers, the Thouron Brothers, François Havy, Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld, and Jean-Mathieu Mounier.[33]

Pierre-Claude and Pierre Meynardie the younger were sons of a merchant, Bernard and Marie Frescarode of Bergerac, Dordogne. The older brother was in Quebec from 1750-1755. The younger took over from 1756 to 1759; Bernard Thouron was in Quebec since 1751; François Havy went to Quebec in 1730 and joined Jean Lefebvre in 1732 as agents for the Dugard Company. In 1748 they had business with a number of French firms especially Joseph Aliés. In 1755, Havy returned to France and Lefebvre stayed to clear up the business, but they sent no more shipments. Amyrauld never came to New France. He traded through agents—Jean-André Lamaletie from 1752-1757, Jean-Baptiste Amiot 1757 and 1758, and in 1754-October 1756 in Montreal with Jean Dupuy. He also did business in Louisbourg with Solignac, Dulong and Cabarrus. Jean-Mathieu went to New France in 1736. He worked with other merchants, primarily with three nephews—François, Henri and Jean Mounier. In 1757, Henri and Jean Mounier went into business for themselves. Jean-Mathieu returned to La Rochelle in 1758.[34]

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32 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

33 *Bosher, op. cit., "French Protestant.....*, pp. 181-183.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-191.

In the eighteenth century a merchant of Quebec in an association would probably have hired friends or relatives in France, Canada and possibly in the West Indies. Formal business partners would be in La Rochelle and Bordeaux and other agents in other French and Spanish ports. These would include Saint Malo, Nantes, Bayonne, Rouen, Saint Anders, Bilbao, Cap Français in Santo Domingo and one of the Martinique ports. He would be part of a circle of some royal officials, minor noblemen, land owners, military officers, bankers and other merchants on both sides of the Atlantic.[35]

Trade With France

The merchants of France, whether individually, in partnerships or associations, all had the same problems in trading with New France. There were numerous wars and it was difficult to travel. A variety of merchandise had to be acquired at the lowest prices they could get. It had to be transported from ports on the Bay of Biscay or along the English Channel. Wines and brandy came from Bordeaux; the Loire Valley grew grain; Paris produced most of the manufactured goods; Naval supplies came from Rochefort and Brest. Foreign goods could not be shipped directly to New France. However, their goods could be sent to France and from there to the colonies. The merchants of France had agents or representatives not only in Canada but in foreign countries, especially in Europe. As a result, New France could get salt meat from Ireland, cloth and trade blankets from England, copper from Spain, iron from Sweden, and wines from Portugal and Spain. In addition, a variety of luxury items came from the prize ships which were taken in war or by pirates or privateers. Much of the foreign merchandise left the port of La Rochelle for Quebec. The merchandise sent to New France included vinegar, olives, wine, soap, candles, string, guns, cloth, salt, pipes, window glass, trunks and stockings.[36]

After the merchandise was acquired, other business had to be completed before a ship could leave. Marine insurance was necessary. The Compagnie Générale d'Assuurance of Paris handled most of it. Many ships were small. Pirates were a constant threat. In peacetimes, cost would be at 3 or 4 per cent. In wartime, it rose to 40-60 per cent. Weather was always a threat when crossing the Atlantic. Declarations of freightage had to be given at the Admiralty office. Passports had to be acquired so that goods could legally be unloaded in New France. Ships going to New France from France did not have to pay port dues or export duties. [37]

When ships arrived in Quebec, the captain, owners or their representatives had to complete formalities before the ship could be unloaded. They were given twenty-four hours after arrival to give a complete and detailed declaration of all goods on board the ship to the Bureau du Domaine which was in the Intendant's Palace in Quebec. There, the import duties were assessed. To encourage trade with New France, the French government usually required a colonial import tax on only select items. These usually were wine, brandy, tobacco and dry goods. After 1748, the French treasury was getting low and as a result, a general tax of 3% on all Canadian imports except salt and rope, was imposed. Of course, the prices went up as well. The duties were to be paid before a landing license would be granted. This was difficult

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35 Bosher, *op. cit.*, "A Québec Merchant's Trading....", p. 25.

36 Reid, *op. cit.*, "General Trade....", p. 24.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

to enforce because the local merchants would not have the money until they sold the goods. In addition, time would be lost to unload the ships. Generally, the debts were paid to the king. There were seldom complaints about it. [38] Many times passengers and crewmen had to be hospitalized due to accidents and outbreaks of disease on board ship.

When possible, the imported goods were paid preferably, in exchange for exports. Otherwise, the merchandise was usually paid in bills of exchange (promissory notes). They could be drawn from the Royal Treasury, the fur company or other large businesses in France. When New France was using card money, it had no value outside the colony, and there was very little hard money in the colony.[39]

If the merchandise was brought over on Royal ships or was purchased by the king for the army or Indian trade, it was then taken to the Magasin du Roy, the king's warehouse in Lower Town, Quebec. French and Canadian importers who transported private merchandise had to find their own storage facilities. Private traders and/or merchants purchased all the land they could find along the river's edge and built large stone warehouses. The Jesuits built their own warehouse in Lower Town, Quebec and in Montreal; the Sulpicians also built their own warehouse. The "Grande Société" built their own large warehouse which was known as "La Fripone". The smaller traders or merchants could not afford to build their own warehouses in Quebec. Some of them suggested they get together and build their own warehouse, which all could use when necessary. It never happened. The larger local merchants saw this as an opportunity to rent out any available space they had in their warehouses.[40]

The merchandise usually remained in warehouses in Quebec for a month unless it was owned and imported by Montreal merchants or the Montreal merchants were customers to the merchants in Quebec. While the goods were in Quebec, they could be sold retail to any habitant who wanted to buy. One-tenth of the total amount could be sold wholesale to small merchants and shopkeepers. After a month, the merchandise that was left could be divided, one half being sold wholesale and retail in the city and the district of Quebec. The other half would be put on smaller boats and taken to Montreal and Trois Rivières to be sold. Often the better items would have been sold in Quebec. Prices would also be higher in Montreal and Trois Rivières because of the added transportation cost and their limited supply. Obviously there were complaints but to no avail. No wonder they smuggled goods. [41]

The ships that arrived spent one to four months in Quebec. The length of time they stayed was determined by the lateness of their arrival, if the return exports were available, whether the crew was well enough and when business transactions made by the merchants were completed. By September, most of the ships would have been repaired; exports would have been loaded. Furs were the largest commodity sent to France. Other goods were dried fish, peas, oil, forest products and wheat. In the eighteenth century other products were added—tar, tobacco, biscuit, cheese, salt beef, masts and bricks. The paper work would have been completed and deposited and food supplies were purchased and loaded on the ships for

38 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
41 *Ibid.*

the return voyage to France. During the French regime, there were export taxes only on furs leaving Canada. The exception was after 1748, when France was in financial difficulties.[42]

It was a law that a ship had to return to its original point of sailing. Sometimes there were exceptions to the law. Again, upon arrival in France, detailed declarations of goods brought from New France had to be filed and a 1% duty on the goods brought had to be paid, before the goods could be landed. It usually was sold quickly. Bills of exchange were cashed and profits were divided. Plans were then started for the following year.[43]

Some of the ships which came from France to New France returned directly to France. Others went to the West Indies and then to France. Others, those often owned in Canada, went back and forth between Quebec, Louisbourg and the West Indies.

Intercolonial Trade

As New France produced more surplus products and Quebec merchants had more financial backing and more ships available to them and the Quebec harbor had been improved, Canadian merchants became more interested in developing commercial connections between New France and other French colonies in America.

Trade With the West Indies

The agricultural products and natural resources of French Canada and the French West Indies were not in conflict with each other. The West Indies had sugar, cotton and tobacco. New France had wheat, meat, butter, cheese and lumber. France did not need farm products, but the West Indies were always short of food and they could be a regular customer for Canadian surpluses, especially wheat. The amount of surplus each year was dependent on the size of the harvest and the amount needed for the military.[44]

Trade with New France was beneficial to the West Indies. New France consumed syrups although they were of poor quality, and tafias and molasses were by-products of sugar and they were cheaper. Europeans were not interested in by-products. This and the fact that molasses could be made into rum helped sugar plantations to increase the amount of refining sugar that Europe demanded at a much higher price. In the sixteenth century, distilled rum was produced in the West Indies and Canada. In the seventeenth century, England banned imported French brandy in order to protect their own producers. This meant France lost its English market. In turn, the French government banned distilling anything but wine in both France and New France. This cut out Canada's demand for molasses. The French planters of the West Indies began to trade illegally with the English colonies. In 1725, Boston purchased 3,000 hogsheads of molasses. In 1731, it had increased to 20,000 hogsheads. Although dealing in contraband was illegal, this did not prevent merchants from taking part. Illegal trading was in competition with intercolonial trade because the same goods were involved. Yet, intercolonial trade increased between 1730 and 1754.[45]

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42 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

44 Reid, *op. cit.*, " Intercolonial Trade....", pp. 236-237.

45 Andraos, Philippe, *Intercolonial Trade Within the French Atlantic World, 1708-1763,* pp. 18-19.

In spite of these difficulties, intercolonial trade between Quebec and the West Indies developed in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Quebec's trade was in three areas. They established trade with the northern colonies—Newfoundland and Hudson Bay; with central colonies, Acadia and Louisbourg and with the French West Indies (Martinique, Guadeloupe and Santo Domingo).

However, there were some problems with intercolonial trade. New France could provide food to other French colonies, but these colonies could not provide manufactured goods wanted in Canada. Therefore, New France needed most of its manufactured goods from France. As a result they had to send most of their exports to France.[46]

Trade in the Upper Atlantic

In 1682, merchants in Quebec, under the leadership of Aubert de la Chesnaye, sent a few ships yearly to Hudson Bay to trade for furs. Actually, this trade was not of great value to Quebec. Ships from France sailed directly to Hudson Bay with trade goods directly from France. Therefore, most furs went directly back to France. This trade between Quebec and Hudson Bay did not last long.[47]

Trade between Quebec and Newfoundland was more successful. Newfoundland, Ile St. Jean and Ile Royale had fish and a few furs. Plaisance was the closest port to Quebec. Smaller ships could easily navigate the St. Lawrence. They could make two return trips in one trade season. Newfoundland needed lime, bricks, flour, and hemp from Canada. Quebec could always use fish and surplus salt from Newfoundland to re-export to the West Indies. Many of the ships from Newfoundland waters were often Canadian ships. In 1695-1696, New France supplied wood and lime for the fortifications of Plaisance. During the war of the Spanish Succession, shipping declined in France but the colonial trade grew. From 1706-1713, Quebec was sending food and munitions to Plaisance. Individual Quebec merchants sent ships to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. When goods were ordered for the royal warehouse, bills were paid by the king. Otherwise, sale or barter was carried on with Newfoundland settlers. Most of Newfoundland trade went directly to France. Fish were always in demand in France.[48]

Although Acadia was part of New France, they preferred to trade with New England because of the short distance from Port Royal to New England. It was over seven hundred miles from Port Royal to Quebec merchants. In 1713, things changed. Newfoundland and most of Acadia was ceded to England. Only Cape Breton and Ile Royale remained French.[49] Quebec regularly traded biscuit at Cape Breton Island for fish which they could sell in the West Indies. One *quintal*[50] of biscuit for a *quintal* of fish was considered a fair exchange.[51]

Ile Royal was unable to produce enough agricultural products. They imported most of their food—flour, biscuits, vegetables especially peas, beef, fish—and planks and tobacco from Canada. Louisbourg was also dependent on mainland New France for

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46 Reid, *op, cit.*, "Intercolonial Trade....", p. 237.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 237-239.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

50 A *quintal* was also known as a hundred weight. It was often 112 or 120 pounds.

51 Burton, F.W., "The Wheat Supply of New France," in *Proceedings and Transactions of Canada*, 3rd Series, Vol. XXX, 1936, Section II, p. 144.

lumber and munitions in times of war. Ile Royale provided cod and other fish and salt which were sent to Quebec or sent by Quebec on to the West Indies. Louisbourg also served as a warehouse where Canadian and West Indies tropical products were exchanged. To the merchants of New France this was an important trade area. They only needed forty to sixty ton ships. Larger ships were needed for trade with the West Indies and France. [52]

The Louisbourg fortress was constructed on a natural harbor. In 1714, the Quebec-Louisbourg trade began with sea biscuits and flour. By 1727, there were thirty-two merchants making profits. These were non fur exports for Quebec. In 1732, nineteen freight ships went to Louisbourg and in 1734, twenty-four ships. Between 1732 and 1739, over 121 ships from Quebec went to Louisbourg with cargoes of flour, biscuit, vegetables, tobacco, salt and meat. In 1739, Quebec exported 142,453 *livres* or one-ninth of its colony's exports to Ile Royale.[53]

Illegal trading was conducted between New England and the northern French colonies, especially Ile Royale and Louisbourg. New England was closer than the British Isles. They produced the same types of goods as what was produced in New France. The merchants of New England could also get tropical goods without going to the West Indies. In 1729, Peter Faneuil, a Massachusetts merchant, received rum, sugar, molasses, meat, cotton, wool, cocoa, wine, brandy and silks from Louisbourg. All of this had been sent to Louisbourg from Guadeloupe and La Rochelle. In the mid 1710's, the French engineer working on the Louisbourg fortress, Jacques l'Hermite, said that the cost of building materials from New England were cheaper than from French merchants of Quebec.[54]

Quebec merchants who traded with Louisbourg had a dangerous trip up the St. Lawrence. The lack of a permanent organized Quebec-Louisbourg trade made things increasingly difficult. Each cargo had to be unloaded and sold immediately because there were no storage facilities. If fifteen or more cargoes arrived in Louisbourg at the same time, prices dropped drastically; return cargo was often lost. Quebec merchants often returned to Quebec with small profits.[55]

As a result, in 1739, a company of merchants from Bordeaux, Nantes, St. Malo, Quebec and Louisbourg made a twenty year contract to provide provisions for Ile Royale. All products were to come from Quebec except in years of famine. 1741 through 1743, three crop failures in New France stopped any food export. New England took Louisbourg in 1745. In 1748, Louisbourg was restored to France. Quebec merchants attempted to renew trade; 13,324 *quintals* of flour and 2,300 *quintals* of peas were sent to Louisbourg. In the 1750's, small harvests in Canada and the beginning of the Seven Years War (French and Indian War) ended Quebec's trade with Louisbourg.[56]

In mid seventeenth century, the merchants of La Rochelle gained control of trade with New France. In the beginning of the 18th century, trade declined. La Rochelle was still controlling most of the trade but other ports of France were beginning to outfit and send their ships to New France. In the 1740's trade increased with New France and

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52 Andraos, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27-29.

53 Reid, *op. cit.*, "Intercolonial Trade....", pp. 240-241.

54 Andraos, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

55 Reid, *op. cit.*, "Intercolonial Trade....", p. 241.

56 *Ibid.*, pp. 240-241.

Bordeaux became the leading trade city. However, La Rochelle was still involved with almost all commerce to New France.

Local Montreal Merchants

In Paris, on 29 March 1658, Médéric Bourduceau and his sister, Anne-Françoise, formed a partnership to sell goods they purchased in France to be sold in Montreal. They each had invested 1,000 *livres* in their venture. They were the children of a clerk of the Commissions extraordinaire du Conseil in France. A few months later, Médéric and his wife and Anne-Francoise and her husband, Louis Artus, arrived in Montreal. The two men had already worked in Martinique for a small tobacco exporting company which had been financed by the father of Médéric and Anne-Françoise and Gabriel Souart,[57] a bourgeois of Paris who had later joined the Saint Sulpice seminary. The Bourduceaus' brought with them the four elements which were characteristic of most merchants who migrated to New France. They had a small amount of money. However, they arrived without much if any money. It would have been invested in the goods and transportation to get to New France. They did have some kind of business knowledge and experience. They would have connections with people in cities involved in intercolonial trade, and they would need to have ties to a local person. It did not make much difference if a man came with a few bales of goods or without anything. Having a job as a clerk to a colonial merchant or an agent of a large company was necessary. Experience was helpful. The key to being successful were the connections, the more the better.[58]

Most important French merchants who established offices or agents in New France and most of the immigrant merchants settled in Quebec. Montreal and Trois Rivières were considered outposts in the interior. When goods were shipped to New France, they were unloaded and stored in Quebec and later sent on smaller ships to Montreal and Trois Rivières. The origins of Montreal merchants went back to Cognac, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Paris and Lyons. They had been born to trade families or their fathers were notaries, clerks, bailiffs, tax collectors or bourgeois from those cities. A few others came from large villages in the Seine valley and were sons of rural merchants, innkeepers, and small seigneurial officials. This group of merchants were like a middle class between the lower classes and the upper bourgeoisie. They generally did not own much property. Some came with their families. Others came alone and brought their families over later. Others married in the colony. If this last group failed, some left the colony rather than become a poor peasant.[59] Claude Tardiff was a merchant in Montreal in 1689 and back in Lyon in 1693. At the age of 19, Antoine Galibert signed a contract in 1643 to go to Acadia. On the 2nd of October, 1666, he was in La Rochelle when his wife sold their home in New France. Others went back to similar jobs they had in France prior to coming to Montreal; Bourgine was greffier of Montreal from December 1684 to May 1687, notary of Montreal 1685-1690 and procureur fiscal of the Seigneury of Montreal from January 1688 to May 1690. Antoine Hattanville was a merchant and hussier royal as well.[60]

They also were likely to move to another location. Family or trade relationships seem to cause entire families to relocate. In the

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57 In 1657, Souart was sent to Ville-Marie (Montreal) to organize a seminary there.

58 Dêchêne, Louise, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth Century Montreal,* p. 43.

59 *Ibid.,* p. 44.

60 *Ibid.,* p. 342, Note 168.

seventeenth century, about 100 merchants in Montreal were related to an earlier colonist or to a merchant who arrived about the same time they did. For example, the Testard family of Normandy were related to the Godfroy family of Trois Rivières; the Leber brothers, sisters and cousins were merchants in the fur trade. The Patrons, two veteran officers, and two merchants, uncle and nephews from Lyon arrived in Montreal in 1675. The Arnaud brothers were from Bordeaux. In the 1681 census, of the thirty-five merchants listed, about half came as merchants. The rest were made up of four discharged soldiers, four indentured servants and the rest were officers and gentlemen. These men acquired their experience in New France.[61]

Having local relatives made it easier for a merchant to get credit, to develop a clientele, and to locate shippers. To take part in colonial trade required a good reputation in trade merchant circles or have family connections in the business.

For local merchant shopkeepers, involvement in fur trading was the basic means of increasing profits. They did not make the money that the numerous merchants who were in the colonies who had family members in the trade business or who had connections with merchants or trading companies in New France, other French colonies, France or other trading countries.[62]

In 1650, The Compagnie des Habitants began to issue permits allowing all habitants to go into the interior to get furs. The *marchands forains* were itinerant merchants who acted as a kind of middleman who brought goods into New France and sold them to retailers and the general public at the same price. They would go into rural areas with cheaper goods to make barter transactions. Then they would buy up crops to return to France.[63] The *marchands forains* were not allowed to trade with the Indians. The French shippers and merchants primarily from La Rochelle began to trade with Canada regularly. Those who took part were smaller merchants. They depended on money from La Rochelle and Paris businessmen and bankers who were interested in the Canada trade.

By 1715, contacts had been established, and those who had longer stays in New France had grown into a group who worked together on both sides of the Atlantic. Inventories showed that 50,000 to several hundred thousand *livres* were held in Canada for their partners in La Rochelle.[64] This continued until the 1720's. Later in the eighteenth century, Bordeaux shippers took over the Canada trade from Canadian-La Rochelle merchants. In addition to the La Rochelle-Canada companies, a number of small merchants who received loans, came to New France to take part in trade. When they were unsuccessful, many returned to France. Some of the small merchants to leave were Raymond Amyault, Dupuis, Jean Boudor, Hattanville, Guillaume Boutillers, Jacques Passard, Louis Boucher Bouval, and Jean Arnaud.[65]

Beginning in 1612, New France was controlled by a monopolistic company. The trading companies had their head offices in France. In 1664, the king replaced the Company of 100 Associates by the Compagnie des Indes-Occidentales. The new company was not interested in the

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

62 *Ibid.*

63 Miquelon, Dale, *New France 1701: A Supplement to Europe*, p. 130.

64 Dechêne, *Op. cit..*, pp. 113-116.

65 *Ibid*, p. 368, Notes 116 and 119.

administration of the colony. That was in the hands of the king. Their interest was a general monopoly on the trade and export of furs. In 1717, France opened the trade in furs in the interior of New France to everyone. The following year, a new Compagnie des Indes Occidentales replaced the former one. It existed from 1718-1760.[66]

The new Compagnie des Indes Occidentales paid 115,000 *livres* a year toward the costs of administration of the colony. This included gratuities to the authorities. Two per cent of the value of exported beaver fur went to the governor general, (yearly average of 6,000 *livres*) and ½ of one per cent to the governor of Montreal, (yearly average of 1,500 *livres*).[67]

Merchants in the Fur Trade

A variety of furs were involved in the fur trade.—beaver, otter, marten, fox, mink, raccoon, muskrat, bear, deer, moose, wolf and seal. Beaver was most in demand for the making of hats, muffs and other articles of clothing. There were different grades of quality of beaver. These grades were determined by the quality of the skin and the season when it was killed. Two kinds were acceptable—*castor sec* and *castor gras*. *Castor sec* (dry beaver) was the fur of an animal with only the flesh removed. It was accepted only if it was killed in the winter, not those killed in summer. *Castor gras* (greasy fur) was fur which had been worn by an Indian for two or three years, on the fur side and on the skin side. This removed the long hair and made the fur greasy. In the 17th century, *castor sec* was worth 2 *livres* and *castor gras* 4 *livres* per pound. [68]

In exchange, the native Indians received a variety of goods, traders purchased from suppliers in Montreal. Clothes, blankets, tools, guns, gunpowder and brandy were the most popular. The *couvertes* (blankets) were red, white or blue, edged with black stripes. Only the blackest stripes were accepted in trade.These were produced by the English and the French failed several times in attempts to make imitations. Thus the French had to get these from England. Every successful trader had to have at least 2,000 or 3,000 *livres* worth of them. Brandy was the most desirable trade item. The French forbid the brandy trade. The church made it a sin that could be absolved only by a bishop. But when the French refused it to the Indians, the Indians would leave and go to the English fur trading posts. As a result, in 1716, France allowed "small quantities" of brandy to be traded at Fort Frontenac. At other locations it was forbidden "but tolerated".[69]

It was expensive for a trader to go into the interior on long voyages to get furs. In 1727, a trader leaving for Lake Superior (Chagouamigon) had to borrow 23,500 *livres* for his supplies. The merchants usually charged 40 or 50 per cent interest. Trading in the interior was not exclusive to the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. The government, smaller trading companies, and individuals were all taking part. The King's Posts belonged to France. They leased out the trade. The forts of La Presentation, Frontenac, Toronto, Niagara, Presqu'Ile, Machault and Duquesne were leased out. These forts were along the military route of the upper St. Lawrence. In 1742, the leasing of Forts Frontenac and Niagara brought in 10,400 *livres*. In 1749, for 7,000 *francs*[70] per

66 Trudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

68 Trudel, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

69 *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.

70 Between 1360 and 1641, *francs* were minted and were equal to one *livre tournois*. A *franc* was equal to a *livre* as long as that term was continued.

year, the widow Fournel[71] leased the trade of the King's Posts. It extended from Sept-Îles to Île aux Courdes and included the lowlands of Lake St. John.[72]

In other areas, merchants could receive grants for six, nine or twelve years. In most of the posts, the commander had the rights to trading. However, in Detroit and Michilmackinac, the trading permits were sold. Other than the government controlled areas of Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières, the rest of New France was divided into trading areas. The most western trading area was the "Western Sea". This leased area included the chain of posts from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. A company of Montreal merchants leased and developed it. Fur trade was also carried on within the colony between the colonists who used furs as currency and by trading at the spring fairs. In the eighteenth century, these fairs occurred when Indians brought furs to Montreal. Trading had to be done only at the fair. No trading was allowed to be done by meeting the Indians on the Ottawa River before they arrived at the Montreal fair.[73]

To trade by going to the Indians required a *congé de traite* (trading permit). These permits were limited and given by the government. This requirement was established in 1681, abolished in 1696 and re-estabished in 1716 when they limited the permits to twenty-five. They did not always grant only the limited number. In 1739, eighty-one permits were given. The permits were to be granted to those who were needy. Some were granted to religious groups. They cost 1,000 *livres*. Half of the cost was to go to the State and the other half to be used by the governor to give out in pensions and gratuities. Whoever had a permit would usually resell it to a fur trader.[74]

The governor and the intendant had to sign the permit before the trader could leave for the interior. The permit stated the exact place where the trader could go to trade, the number of canoes and the number of hired men, the amount of brandy taken and the return date. (Brandy could be taken for personal use, eight quarts per person.) Those who went into areas illegally, without permission were outlaws called *coureurs de bois*. If caught they could be fined 1,000 *livres* or were condemned to the galleys.[75]

The head office of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales was in Quebec and they had local offices in Montreal and Trois Rivières. The furs were in 120 pound bales and had to be delivered to these offices with no more than a forty-eight hour delay. The company received five extra pounds for every hundred pounds brought in. This was for wastage. Each skin was stamped to prevent illegal furs from entering France. The company made payments in bills of exchange.[76]

There were different ways in which local merchants were involved in the fur trade. In the sixteenth century, fishing vessels did trading when they went on shore to dry their fish and would exchange the small things they had for furs. Later ships came from France yearly and went up the St. Lawrence to Tadoussac to trade bigger items for the furs. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, habitations were built in Quebec and Acadia. For the winter they were manned with a few French who would keep in contact with the Indians and had an edge

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71 She was the last person to hold this lease during the French regime.

72 Trudel, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

73 *Ibid.*, pp. 195-197.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 197

on getting the finer winter furs. Some merchants bought trade items and went into the woods to do trading themselves. Other merchants would provide canoes and goods and hire traders and voyageurs to go into the interior to get the furs and would be paid when they returned. Or traders or *coureurs de bois* would purchase goods on credit, at high interest rates, from a merchant and pay him in furs when he returned. There also were some merchants or officials who would purchase furs smuggled in from the Dutch colony of New York or English colonies.

In 1739, furs made up 70 % of exports to France, agricultural products were 18 %; fishing products, 9 %; iron from the St-Maurice Forge, 1.3 % and wood to .5 %. The total value of exports for that year were 1,461,675 *livres*.[77]

State Control of Trade Within the Colony

The State closely watched the internal fur trade. There were two groups of merchants—*marchands habitués* (local merchants or shopkeepers) and *marchands forains* (itinerant merchants). The *marchands habitués* lived in the colony. They had a family or property value at 2,000 *livres* or more. They were allowed to carry on retail trade only. The *marchands forains* came to New France only during the summer months and had no ties in the colony. They were to be involved in only wholesale trade. This was to protect the local merchants who were helping to build the colony. However, the *forains* sometimes ran a retail business when wholesaling was not profitable. In the eighteenth century, the *marchands forains* took over the market in spite of the fact that the *marchands habitués* had protested. The local merchants complained about the unequal competition to the Marine Department. Petitions were sent in 1719, 1724, 1727 and 1730. The Marine Department notified the officials of New France, they would not accept any more petitions. The protests were useless.[78]

Montreal inhabitants had petitioned Governor Frontenac to allow only inhabitants be given the right to trade with the Indians, and *marchands forains*, foreign merchants, be excluded because they could get goods and sell them more cheaply than the inhabitants who had to purchase these goods from the same *marchands forains*. On 14 July 1674, a law was passed which stated "anyone who wished to sell goods to the Indians had to own at least 1,000 *livres* worth of property in the colony." In addition, they had to have resided there for at least two years. Montreal merchants were also threatened by the Quebec importers. Later laws increased the property worth to 2,000 *livres*. However, these laws did not stop the *marchands forains* or Quebec importers from trading or outfitting *coureurs de bois*. Many of the *marchands forains* of Montreal—"The Charrons, Hazeurs, Simon Baston, Moyse and Gédéon Petit, Alexandre Petit, (father to Moyse and Gédéon), Simon Mars, Jean Gitton, Charles Aubert and Guillaume Changeon— could afford to purchase the required amount of land where they came each year to have a location at the fur trading fair.[79] On 28 June 1677, Simon Mars had purchased property in Montreal at 2,400 *livres* and Jean Gitton had a house in Montreal for 2,500 *livres*.[80] On 1 February 1683, the Council decided that the small *marchands-forains* only, would not be allowed to trade in Montreal between 1 June and 31 October. As a result they either offered their services to established

77 *Ibid.*

78 Miquelon, *op. cit., New France*....p. 130.

79 Dêchêne, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

80 *Ibid.,.,* p. 369, Note 121.

merchants as *coureurs de bois* or went back to France.[81]

There also were *coureurs de côtes* (speculators). They went into rural areas and would purchase farm products, primarily wheat, and then sell them later with a large profit. These men were severely punished.[82]

State Control of Local Merchants

The government decided where the markets would be as well as the days and hours of the market. In Quebec, there were two markets, one in upper town and the other in lower town. Trading could be done on Tuesdays and Fridays only. Some people would attempt to buy everything from the habitants before the opening time and then sell it themselves for higher prices, although this practice was illegal. Hotel managers and innkeepers were allowed to go to the market, after the common population.[83]

In some areas, the number of stores was restricted. Only authorized bakers were allowed to bake and sell bread. Inspectors checked that they had provided all grades of bread. In 1706 in Quebec, butchers bid for the four butcher stalls which were authorized. Later the number of butcher stalls was cut to two. They sold only beef. The sale of beef was a monopoly and the holder of the monopoly was not allowed to have chickens, butter and other products. Butchers were regulated to the number of animals they could slaughter each week. Butchered meat had to be checked by the Clerk of the market before it could be sold. Butcher shops were closed during the forty days of Lent because no meat was to be eaten during Lent.[84]

The colonists were allowed to use only goods made in France or confiscated enemy goods. These would be marked so that it could be legally sold. Smuggling was common, especially from the English and Dutch colonies. They were close by; the prices were low and communication with France took too long. A number of laws were passed regarding smuggling. If caught there were high fines. In 1741, an investigation looking for English smuggled goods was made in Montreal of convents, churches and private homes. Of 506 homes that were searched, 449 had smuggled English produced goods. Even the religious communities had English smuggled goods.[85]

There were no restrictions on the trade and manufacturing of alcohol. However, there were attempts to limit its overuse, especially brandy. In 1726, Intendant Dupuy made a law stating that storekeepers could only sell alcohol wholesale and a license was required to run a tavern but they were easy to obtain. Other restrictions were drinks could not be served after 10 p.m. On Sundays, alcohol could be served only between 9 and 11 a.m. and 2 to 4 p.m. Soldiers could only have alcohol with their meals. Servants could not have alcohol unless they had written permission from their masters. There were no restrictions on making or selling beer. The Conseil Souverain (Council Sovereign) declared that beer was a "nourishing and healthful drink". The Récollets and Jesuits made beer and Marie-Marguerite Lajemmerais-Youville who took over the Hôpital-Général in Montreal in 1747 from the Charron Brothers, who founded the

81 *Ibid.*, p. 117; 369, Note 123.
82 *Ibid.*,
83 *Ibid.*
84 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
85 *Ibid.*

Hôpital-Général in 1662, made and sold beer.[86]

On the 20th of February 1752, the Council of Halifax passed an act regarding the granting of a bounty for malt beer production. The Council decided it would be a benefit to the colony to have William Steele Esq. to produce a quantity of Malt Beer brewed locally, at a reasonable rate. It was costly importing it daily from other colonies. They thought if they had a sufficient amount, it would stop the practice of drinking liquors. The governor with the consent of the Council decided that the sum of 2 shillings and 6 pence be paid out of the treasury of the province to William Steele Esquire for every barrel of malt beer, brewed by him and sold in the province. It was to be paid to him within a year of this date provided his would not be sold by him for more than 17 shillings and 6 pence per barrel.[87]

During the French regime, government officials would place fixed prices on a variety of locally produced or imported goods sold in the markets as they felt it was necessary. At Fort St. Louis at Quebec, on 8 November 1653, prices were set on porcelain beads. White porcelain beads were worth two *deniers*[88] each and black porcelain beads were set at four *deniers* each for the French. They could not receive more at one time, than the value of eight *livres*. This ordinance was signed by de Lauzon, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, and Monseigneur Durand and proclaimed and posted at several places in Quebec. A copy of this ordinance was proclaimed after mass and posted on the doors of the town and church of Trois Rivières on 23 November 1653.[89]

On 22 April 1665, Gabriel Lemieux and his wife had violated an ordinance which set the price of wine at 20 *sous* a pot. They had sold it at 22 *sous* a pot to Pierre Creteil three or four times. They received a fine of 10 *cens* payable to the king and a warning the penalty would be greater if they continued overpricing. On February 1677, the price of a pot of wine was set at 16 *sols*. The winter of 1687-1688, Montreal could not get liquor or wine of any kind. Persons were allowed to sell and retail at 25 to 30 *sols* a pot of wine, and brandy at 3 *livres* a pot. When May came, ships began to arrive from France. The dealers were still selling at the increased prices. The magistrates of Montreal met on 5 May 1688 and restored the former law that wine would be sold in taverns and elsewhere at 22 *sols* a pot and brandy at 50 *sols* a pot. Violators would be charged a fine of 20 *livres,* payable immediately.[90]

Prices were regulated by the head government officials in the colony. It existed throughout the French regime. They believed it was necessary so that merchants could not speculate and raise prices because of late ship arrivals or other difficulties with the supply system. The intendant would meet with leading merchants and tradesmen to decide prices. In 1664, inhabitants had complained to the Conseil that they and servants were paid in grain at eight *livres* a bushel or peas at six *livres* a bushel. When they attempted to sell their grain or peas, they could not get it at the same value and they lost heavily. On 15 November 1653, Lauzon ordered that in the cases of payment of debts or wages, wheat could not be

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86 *Ibid.*

87 Lanctot, Gustave, "Early Control Prices in Canada," in *Dominion of Canada Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1942,* p. xlvi.

88 12 *deniers* equaled 1 *sou.* 20 *sous* equaled 1 *livre.*

89 Lanctot, Gustave, *op. cit.,* p. xxxvii.

90 *Ibid.,* pp. xl-xliii.

valued at more than six *livres* a bushel, Indian corn at one hundred *sous* and peas at four *livres* a bushel. Servants were not to be paid in peas. " [91]

On 9 July 1664, due to abuses committed by the merchants, both in the sale and retail of merchandise, commissioners were chosen to go to the stores or shops to examine and place a value on cloths, print goods and linens and ticket each item with the price which the merchants must show before selling the item. Each merchant was to keep a Journal or record of all the goods and their prices and whether it was sold for cash or credit. They were also required to keep a second book where daily they were to have the quantity of all their merchandise they had in stock. As they sold goods, they were to record the kind of merchandise, the date sold, the name of the buyer and the price. This book was to be available to the Council when they asked. Merchants also had to give a bill showing the goods purchased and the prices to the buyer. On 30 July 1664 another ordinance was passed. Only goods from France could be sold. It was given to each merchant. Merchants had to post the list of the Rates of the prices in their stores and shops and it was posted in public places. An arbitrary fine would be given to violators. Pedlars were forbidden to sell or have manufactured any overcoats, suits, socks, shirts, hats or other clothes except if they had the invoices to prove they had purchased it when the French ships arrived. They could sell only what was listed on their invoice. Violations carried a fine and confiscation of the goods.[92]

On 19 November 1664, the merchant, Sieur de la Mothe, was charged and found guilty of selling Rousseau some linen or woolen goods above the set rate of prices without giving Rousseau the required bill. La Mothe was fined 100 *livres*. On the 17 December 1664, three other merchants—Charron, La Garenne and Grignon—were sentenced to a 500 *livre* fine each. Two-thirds was to be given to the construction of a church in Lower town, Quebec and the other third to the king's treasury to be paid immediately, and they had to revise their declarations of number and quality of merchandise with their correct rate of prices within a week or they would receive a greater penalty.[93]

The Souverain Council limited the profits of importers to 55% for solid products and 100% on liquid products. However, many merchants increased their percentage anyway. In 1743, white wine was marked up 160 % and red wine 128%. As a result, prices on essential items were regulated individually. Wheat was the most important. Each year the price on wheat was established by the intendant. It was based on the last harvest, and what the habitants' reserves were.[94] By an ordinance of the Souverain Council on 11 May 1676, two meetings — on 15 November an15 April— were to be set up by the Lieutenant General to determine the price of bread. Two councillors were to preside over the gathering of prominent inhabitants of Quebec. The price of bread was regulated and bakers had to mark the weight on each loaf. On 15 February 1677, the price of an eleven ounce white bread was to be sold at 20 *deniers*. Brown bread was to be sold at 2 *sols* when a bushel of wheat was sold at 4 *livres* to 4 *livres* 10 *sols*. There were to be only three bakers in the town to sell retail bread as long as they kept their shops supplied with bread. The bakers were to get their supply of wheat from far away. They

91 *Ibid.*, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

92 *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.

93 *Ibid.*, pp. xxxix-xl.

94 Trudel, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

were forbidden to buy their wheat in Quebec and within six leagues all around them. The penalty for this violation was confiscation and a fine. On 11 February 1686, the Council decided that white bread be sold at 21 *deniers* a pound. A loaf weighing twelve ounces was sold at one copper *sol* which was valued at sixteen *deniers* and a loaf weighing three pounds sold for four copper *sols*. Black bread cost 12 *deniers* a pound. To aid the bakers, the Council forbid the making of hard-tack except for personal use.[95]

Prices for butcher meat were also set. The earlier regulations had not allowed innkeepers or hotelkeepers to purchase meat at the market until after eight o'clock a.m. This was to allow citizens and inhabitants of the town to get their supplies first. On 24 March 1692, additional ordinances were passed. The Council ordered that those who wanted to keep their butcher shops were to declare their intent to do so to the Judge of police, within eight days of the publication of this regulation. They would be required to provide a sufficient supply of meat each week. To prove to the judge that they had a sufficient supply of meat for the public each week, each butcher would have to tell him how many cattle he would kill each week. A pound of meat could be sold at 5 *sols* from Easter until the last of June. From July 1st until Lent, it was to be sold at 4 *sols* per pound. Permission to sell after the 1st of July was given to only those who had started by Easter. These violations carried an arbitrary fine and confiscation. They were forbidden to kill calves until they were at least a month old. Anyone who had animals to sell for meat, whether they were from town or the country had to make it available to the town butchers first at a *sol* less than they would sell it at retail according to the rate above.

95 Lanctot, *op. cit.*, pp. xli-xlii

The inhabitants had to show certificates from their neighbors, that their cattle were not being killed because of disease. The butchers who took their animals for butchering had to pay them in cash otherwise the inhabitant was allowed to sell it at the market on Tuesdays and Saturdays in summer and on Tuesdays and Fridays in fall. Innkeepers and hotel keepers who violated the regulation which forbid them to purchase meat, poultry, fowl, butter, eggs and other things in the market until the clock struck eight o'clock were given an arbitrary fine and their goods was confiscated. Each season, prices for meat were set.[96]

Prices on beverages were according to quality and prices on firewood were decided by length. After each change there were complaints and/or protests. However, these controls were not effective, especially toward the end of the French regime. When the English military regime came in, there was a return to normality. As military governor, James Murray[97] received complaints against some bakers who were selling badly baked black bread at 20 *sous* or more a pound and butchers were also over charging. On 15 January 1760 he issued a proclamation fixing the price of meat and bread. Bakers and butchers who wanted to sell to the public had to get a written permit from the secretary. If they did not, for the first offense, they would receive a fine of 100 *livres* and confiscation. If there was a second violation, corporal punishment. A third of the fine would go to the informer who had proof. Bakers and butchers had to follow the set prices or receive the same punishments. Bakers were to sell flour bread

96 *Ibid.*, p. xliv.

97 James Murray was the military commander of Quebec city after the British conquest. In October 1760, he became military governor of the Quebec district and in 1764, he became governor of Quebec. He allowed the continuance of French civil law.

for 10 *sous* a pound and semi-white for 8 *sous*. Brown bread was set at 6 *sous* and it had to be full weight, well baked and of good quality. Butchers were to sell beef at 10 *sous* a pound and mutton and veal at 12 *sous* a pound.[98]

On 3 September 1764, Murray passed another law concerning standard of weights and measure in Quebec and the size of bread. After 10 October 1764, all weights and measurements in Quebec would be according to the Standard of England. If the price of wheat flour was more expensive or cheaper than 14 *shillings* for 112 pounds, the price of bread would go up or down in proportion. If the price of wheat flour was 14 *shillings* for 112 pounds, a sixpenny loaf of wheat flour would weigh 4 pounds and a sixpenny loaf of brown bread would weigh 6 pounds. The Clerks of the Market had the authority to go to all bake houses or anyone selling bread to seize all loaves underweight. Every baker had to mark each loaf with the first letters of his given and surname. The loaves which were seized would be delivered by overseers to prisoners and the poor of the town where the offense was committed.[99]

Merchant Lifestyles

The merchants who had agents in various locations and were involved in trade with France and / or in intercolonial trade were wealthy and associated within a circle of relatives and friends who were government officials, military officers, nobility and prominent merchants and businessmen.

In New France, trade was a major factor in determining how high in society a merchant would reach. French city bourgeois usually controlled the fur trade and were involved in the colonial towns. Lower town merchants always stocked a variety of goods. There were very few specialty stores, they usually had general stores. Their largest number of customers were fur traders, especially in Montreal. Montreal outfitters usually bought everything from one dealer and in return, the merchant gave him the goods on credit. Interest was high and usually was paid in furs.[100]

The higher they rose in society, the higher their income and vice-versa. Many merchants became outfitters at some time or other. They usually started out with an investment of 8,000 to 10,000 *livres* worth of goods. Some loss out. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a comparison of the estates left by merchants in Montreal indicate those who survived averaged 20,000 to 35,000 *livres* left in their estate. J. B Charly and Pierre Perthuis were each worth between 40,000 and 50,000 *livres* after their debts were paid. J. B. Charly, Pierre Perthuis, Jean Quenet. Jacques Leber, Charles de Couagne, and Pacaud were not only wealthy merchants of Montreal, they were among the prominent men of Montreal.[101]

The amount of wealth determined the life style of the Montreal merchants. The business was at street level and the storeroom in the story above it. The merchants usually had stone houses located near the marketplace. They usually had about six large rooms and a number of smaller ones. The furnishings depended on the amount of wealth. In the beginning the merchants lived like the lower classes. When business went bad, the furniture was usually the first item to go. The wealthier

98 *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

99 *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

100 Miquelon, New France...., p. 132.

101 Duchênê, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

merchants would have cupboards filled with linens, kitchen utensils, pewter, beds, covers and silverware. In the main room, there usually was an iron furnace. The furnace was a status symbol and usually cost about 150 *livres*. Their furniture was usually of pine or cherrywood and produced locally. Most of these homes had a mirror. Some had a tapestry, one or two upholstered armchairs and sometimes a painting. Jacques Leber and Charles de Couagne, among the most prominent and the wealthiest of the Montreal merchants, did not have much more furnishings than others. The additional furnishings were a clock, a pedestal table, wardrobes (valued at 200-300 *livres*) and two armchairs.[102]

About two-thirds of the merchants of Montreal did not have any books. The rest had ten to forty books, mostly of a religious nature. Couagne covered his walls with paper maps of France, Paris and the world. Jean Quenet had seven family portraits; five were of his brothers. About a third had paintings or objects with a religious theme.[103]

Lower town merchants tended to dress richer than they were. Most were individual operations or limited term partnerships. If a merchant borrowed money for goods ordered and a ship was lost at sea or taken by pirates, he could be bankrupt. Many looked for ways to lessen these losses. François Havy and Jean Lefebvre tried to have interests in a number of areas—importing, exporting furs, retail, commercial and industrial businesses. They imported salt, wine and a variety of other goods. Some were sent to Montreal merchants or sold in their Lower town store. They exported furs to France to pay for their imports. They sold grain and lumber to the West Indies by way of Louisbourg. They operated shipyards and sold the vessels they produced to France and they had a sealing station on the coast of Labrador.[104]

These merchants were an industrious group. They seldom retired. Women learned how to manage the business and keep account books while their husbands were away. Boys went to school until 14 years. Then they began their apprenticeships with Canadian or French merchants. They were usually law abiding except for fines for neglecting fur-trade laws. They were church- wardens, involved in public life and donated to and /or worked for charities.[105]

Throughout the French regime, not only did the merchants rely on credit to operate, but the habitants needed credit, short term or long term for their goods. Much of the control of intercolonial trade was held by the Companies in France.

The merchants of Quebec controlled the colony's import and export trade except for the smuggling between Montreal and Albany. All goods coming up the St. Lawrence were deposited at Quebec. The merchants of Quebec were well represented on the Soverein Conseil. The largest merchant intercolonial trade companies had offices or agents there.

In 1760, Montreal surrendered to the British and in 1763, the Treaty of Paris was signed. France no longer had control of Canada. The treaty gave the 70,000 French in Canada eighteen months to decide if they would be British subjects or leave the country and go back to France. Many in the merchant or trade business were holding worthless paper

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102 *Ibid.*, p. 221.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

104 Greer, Allan, *The People of New France*, pp. 47-48.

105 Dechêne, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

and large debts as a result of the British naval blockade that was on them since 1757. The French government was bankrupt. The British competitors took over foreign trade and a large part of their domestic market. They knew they would have a difficult time getting credit from British exporters. British Americans would have this advantage. About 2,000 of the seigneurial class, government officials, church dignitaries, army officers and important business people chose to emigrate to France. Those merchants and those involved in trade who remained, would have a lesser position. The French population was referred to as Canadians or "New Subjects" who would gradually become anglified.[106]

Pedlars in the Late Eighteenth and the First half of the Nineteenth Centuries

In Lower Canada (Quebec), after the English conquest of Canada from France, a new kind of local merchant appeared. He was known as a Pedlar, Hawker or Petty Chapman. Originally, a pedlar meant someone who had a trade and sold the goods of his trade from house to house. In 1795, the Assembly of Lower Canada passed "An Act for Granting to His Majesty Duties on Licenses to Hawkers, Pedlars and Petty Chapmen, and For Regulating their trade." The Act defined a pedlar as a "person going from town to town, or to other men's houses and traveling on foot, or with horse or horses." In the old directories of Quebec, pedlars were also known as a cantinier, petit mercier, packman, coureur de côtes, or marchand de côtes. Pedlars were to go to the district of Quebec, Montreal, Trois Rivières, or Gaspé to get their license. The pedlars had to pay £ 3 to get a license. It was to be renewed each year. This allowed them to sell their goods anywhere in Lower Canada. Most of the pedlars were men. According to licenses which have been located, there were thirty women pedlars. They were called *colporteuse*.[107]

Pedlars needed to be in good health. They carried bales or boxes of goods on their backs and baskets on their arms. Many also were leading pack horses. Some used carts full of merchandise. They went everywhere no matter how remote farms and villages were. They were important to these people. A majority of the pedlars were Canadians. Of the licenses still remaining, 55% of the pedlars lived in Quebec. Other areas that had large numbers of pedlars as residences were the towns of Belchasse, Montmagny and Kamouraska on the south shore and Portneuf and Montmorency on the north shore.[108] Pedlars were issued licenses in Lower Canada well into the nineteenth century.

Regular merchants did not like the pedlars. They felt the pedlars used worthless token items and sympathy to sell their goods and they were not only selling in the rural areas; they were also in the cities and the local regular merchants could not compete with them. The pedlars had lower overhead costs. The pedlars did not have to rent stalls and were welcomed by the towns people. The regular merchants protested and sent petitions to the assembly in 1818, 1820, 1828 and 1834 demanding that there be stricter enforcemernt of the 1795 Act, elimination of them in the cities and reduction of the number of pedlars.[109] These protests were not effective.

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106 Brunet, Michel, "Changing of the Guard," in *Horizon Canada,* pp. 433-435.

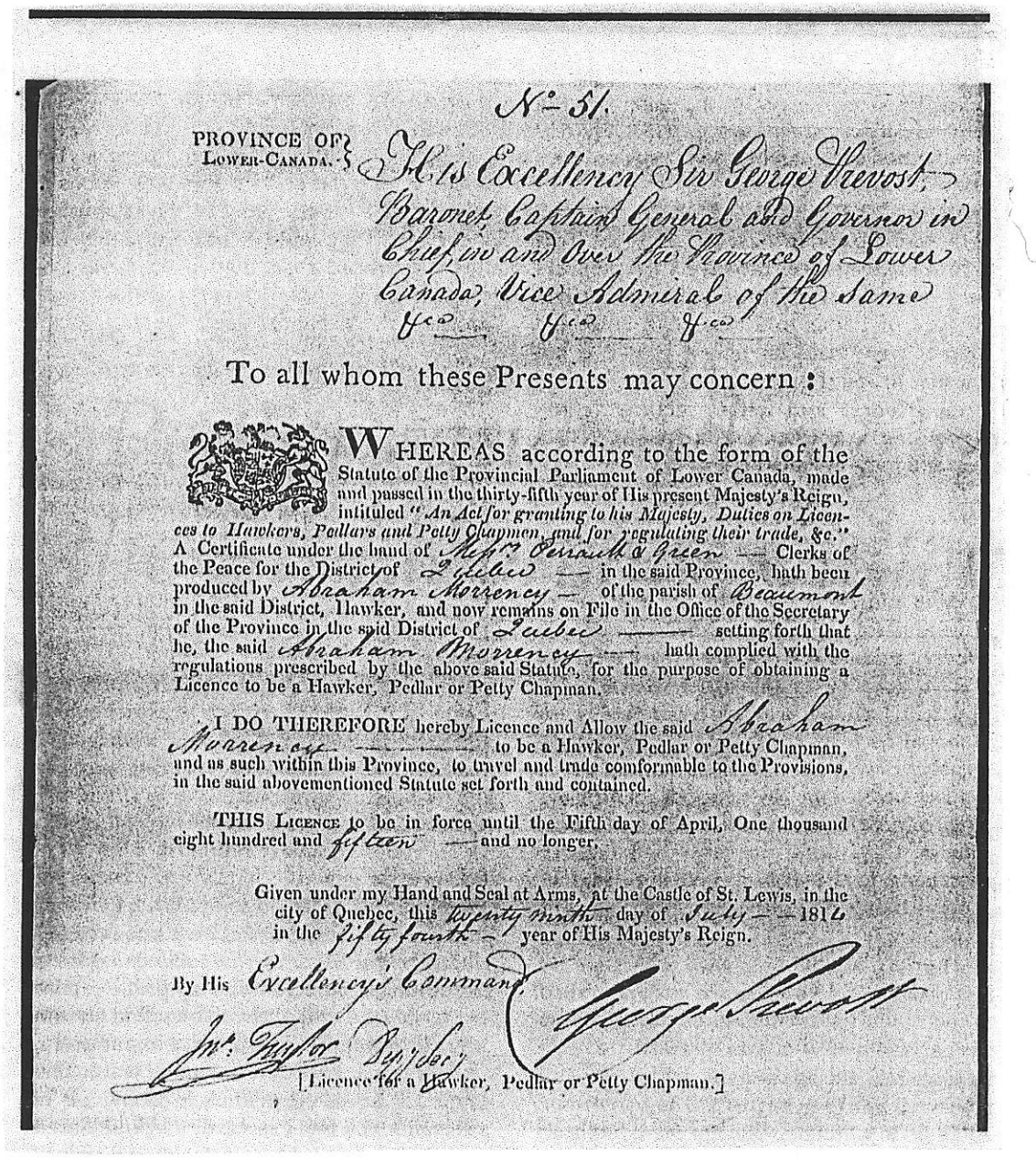
107 Lebel, Marc, "Pedlars and Pedling in the St. Lawrence Valley," in *Archivist,* pp. 2-4.

108 *Ibid.,* p. 3.

109 *Ibid.*

A PEDLAR'S LICENCE

A Pedlar's Licence issued to Abraham Morency on 29 July 1814. It is from "Pedlars and Pedling in the St. Lawrence Valley" in *Archivist*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1924, p. 4.



N° 51.

PROVINCE OF LOWER-CANADA. } His Excellency Sir George Prevost, Baronet, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Lower Canada, Vice Admiral of the same &c.a &c.a &c.a

To all whom these Presents may concern :

WHEREAS according to the form of the Statute of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada, made and passed in the thirty-fifth year of His present Majesty's Reign, intituled "*An Act for granting to his Majesty, Duties on Licences to Hawkers, Pedlars and Petty Chapmen, and for regulating their trade, &c.*" A Certificate under the hand of Messrs Perrault & Green — Clerks of the Peace for the District of Quebec — in the said Province, hath been produced by Abraham Morrency — of the parish of Beaumont in the said District, Hawker, and now remains on File in the Office of the Secretary of the Province in the said District of Quebec — setting forth that he, the said Abraham Morrency — hath complied with the regulations prescribed by the above said Statute, for the purpose of obtaining a Licence to be a Hawker, Pedlar or Petty Chapman.

I DO THEREFORE hereby Licence and Allow the said Abraham Morency — to be a Hawker, Pedlar or Petty Chapman, and as such within this Province, to travel and trade conformable to the Provisions, in the said abovementioned Statute set forth and contained.

THIS LICENCE to be in force until the Fifth day of April, One thousand eight hundred and fifteen — and no longer.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, this twenty ninth day of July — 1814 in the fifty fourth — year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Command

Geo. Prevost

Jn.o Taylor Secy.

[Licence for a Hawker, Pedlar or Petty Chapman.]

TRADE ON THE GREAT LAKES

The first vessel larger than a canoe or a bateaux to be built on the Great Lakes was La Salle's Griffon in 1679. Naval ships were used on the Great Lakes in the French and Indian Wars. After 1815, there were fewer naval ships on the Great Lakes. In the second half of the eighteenth century, ships were used on the Great Lakes to carry persons, provisions, trade goods and later Indian payments to forts and posts. Some of their destinations were: Detroit, Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, Michillmackinac, Green Bay and Fort Erie. This notice is from the *Montreal Gazette,* May 6, 1790

TRANSPORT ON LAKES ERIE AND HURON.

LEITH and SHEPHERD hereby give notice to the Public, that the New Schooner the NANCY launched laſt November, will ply the enſuing ſeaſon between Detroit and Fort Erie, and occaſionally go to Michilimakinac when freight preſents.—That no miſapprehenſion may ariſe reſpecting the mode of aſcertaining the bulkage, it is ſubjoined.—The rate of Freight over Lake Erie, will be fifteen Shillings New York Currency, equal to nine Shillings and four pence half penny Quebec Currency, for a barrel bulk; and two Shillings New York Currency, or one Shilling and three pence Quebec, per cubic or ſolid foot, for goods to be eſtimated by meaſurement.—Freight from Detroit to Michilimakinac at the rate of four Shillings New York Currency, or two Shillings and ſix pence Quebec currency, for a buſhel of Corn; and ſix Shillings New-York, or three Shillings and nine pence Quebec Currency, for a quintal of Flour.—Other goods the ſame as over Lake Erie.—Packs over each Lake, not meaſuring more than five feet, or exceeding 120lbs. in weight, four Shillings New York Currency, or two Shillings and ſix pence Quebec Currency, per pack.

As this Veſſel is conſtructed for faſt ſailing, and will be moſt complete in every reſpect; the ſafety and expedition attending Tranſport in her muſt be obvious.—

SCHEDULE of Packages computable by Barrel Bulk.

	Barrel Bulk.
Puncheons not exceeding 120 Gallons,	3 1/2
Porter Hogſheads,	2
Wine ditto.	2
Caſks and Barrels of 32 or not exceeding 36 Gallons,	1
Soap 3 Boxes of 1 Cwt. each,	1
Candles 5 ditto of 50lbs. each,	1
Shot 3 ditto of 1 Cwt. each,	1
Iron in Bars 3 Cwt.	1
Do. in Sheets,	1
Stoves Single,	1
Do. Double,	2
Gunpowder 2 whole barrels 100lbs. each,	1
Barrels of Pork ordinary ſize, 4 Barrels for	3
Kegs of 8 to 9 Gallon, 4 Kegs,	1
Oil in Jars of 3 1/2 Gallons, 6 Jars,	1
Paint in Rundlets, 8 of 28lbs. each.	1

All other Goods to be meaſured and reduced to Cubic or Solid feet.

LEITH and SHEPHERD.

Detroit, 26th January 1790.

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MERCHANTS WHO WERE IN NEW FRANCE

Local merchants in New France were called *marchands* (retail sellers) or *négociants* (wholesale sellers). In intercolonial trade, large firms were *négociants* unless they had difficulty selling their goods in the colony. Then they sold it retail in their stores. Merchants knew each other and their connections well. They all had a number of acquaintances and carried on correspondences with companies in France. News which arrived in the colony was spread quickly. To be successful, merchants at any level had to have good judgement, knowledge of people, as much as possible, up to date information on market conditions at home and abroad, and good relations with government officials especially during wartime. Intendants often carried on a partnership with merchants in France and /or Quebec. Merchant partners covered up for officials who supplied the government with inflated prices. Intendants were able to make laws that benefited themselves and their partners. Card money was manipulated to their advantage. The intendants — Champigny, François Beauharnois, Jacques Raudot, and Begon were accused of illegal practices.

The following chart includes local shopkeepers and merchants in New France and merchants involved in intercolonial trade or cross-Atlantic trade. It also includes merchants from other countries and France who sent agents or were partners or in some capacity involved in trading in Quebec /Lower Canada, (Louisbourg) Acadia, or (Plaissance) Newfoundland. Some of the partners from France were in New France at some time. Some partners or agents came regularly just for the summer. Others came for a few years while others stayed many years. Others returned to France after they retired. Some were born in New France and lived their entire lives in Canada. Many of the merchants were interested in trading a large variety of goods. Some of the local merchants were active in the fur trade in New France. This was a way to make big profits. Some of the merchants of France were interested in the purchase of furs from Canada and selling them to others in France and other European countries. Some merchants in both New France and France had an interest in the fishing industry of the North Atlantic. All of the following had some interest in the Canada / New France trade.

Information for the following chart was extracted from the following sources.
1. Bosher, J.F., *Men and Ships in the Canada Trade: 1660-1760: A Biographical Dictionary,* Environment Canada, Parks Services, Ottawa, 1992. (This covers anyone in the Canada trade (New France, Acadia, Newfoundland) until 1760.
2. Jette, René, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730,* Le Presses de Université de Montreal, Montreal, 1983. (This covers only New France until 1730.)
3. White, Stephen A., *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Familles Acadiennes,* 2 vols. *& English Supplement,* Centre d'etudes Acadiennes, Université de Moncton, 1999 & 2000.

The first column gives the merchant's name. An (*) before the name indicates, he was a Huguenot; An (**) before his name indicates he was Jewish. Below the name is the location in France and / or New France where their company was located. Column two indicates whether a merchant was in the Retail (R) or Wholesale (W) business and whether this merchant had a **special interest** in the fur or fish trade. (Remember, most of the ships leaving Quebec for France carried some furs.) Column 3 gives miscellaneous information on the merchant and/or his company; In Column 4 (S), the source or sources are indicated by their number or numbers. Ship's names are <u>underlined.</u>

Name Location in New France / France	R /W Fur / Fish	Miscellaneous	S
Accart, Claude Merchant in Paris	W	Before 1648--Family of merchants from Vernon-sur-Seine; linked with the Bouchel, Bouthier & La Maignière families.	1
Accart Thérèse Merchant in La Rochelle	W Fur	1707--she was the agent for twelve years on a lease of the Hudson Bay Company	1.
*Admyrault, Pierre Gabriel	W Fur	1750's—he was in partnership with Jean-André Lamalétie, Jean Dupuy and Jean-Baptiste Amiot, all at Quebec	1
Ailleboust, Sieur d'Argenteuil, Pierre	W Fur	1 Sept 1694—he was a lieutenant; 5 May 1710, he was a captain. He was a fur merchant. He and his three brothers, Jean-Baptiste, Louis and Nicolas (who follow) were fur merchants at Quebec.	2
Ailleboust , Sieur des Musseaux, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	W Fur	He was a merchant of furs and wine. He married Anne Picard, widow of Vital Oriot, at Quebec 19 April 1689.	2
Ailleboust, Sieur de Coulonges, Louis	Fur	He married Félicité Picard, widow of Noel Leblanc, at Quebec 19 Nov 1690.	2
Ailleboust Sieur de Mantet, Nicolas, Merchant at Quebec	Fur	1 Jan 1694—he was a marine guard; in 1 April, he was a captain. He was a fur merchant at Quebec; on 9 June 1696, he married Françoise Denis, widow of Guillaume Bouthier at Quebec.	2
Ailleboust, Hector-Pierre, Merchant at I'le St-Jean	W	On 31 Oct 1726, he married Renée Daccarette of Plaissance at Louisbourg.	2
Ailleboust, Sieur de Coulonges, Louis-Hector	Fur	(Son of Louis and Félicité Picard) a fur merchant; He married Marguerite LeFournier on 22 Oct 1727 at Montreal.	2
Ailleboust, Sieur de Couloine & Mantet, Antoine	Fur	(Brother of Louis-Hector above) a fur merchant; He married Marie-Louise Villefonné at Montreal 25 Jan 1728.	2
Alavoine, Charles, Merchant	R	In 1690, he was living at Neuville; he was captain of the militia in 1721. He was married about 1690 at La Rochelle to Marie-Anne Lefebvre.	2
Aliés, Joseph Merchant in La Rochelle	W Fur	1750's--He traded with La Valette, McCarthy, Pelletreau of St Domique and Pierre Jehanne, François Havy, Jean Lefevre and D. Legrix of Quebec	1
Allain de La Motte, Pierre, Merchant of Acadia		Merchant at Port Royal and at Louisbourg where he lived. 11 Nov 1705, As the king's clerk, he witnessed a deed transferring land at Port Royal to Jean Gauthier.	3
*Allaire, Antoine Merchant in Quebec	W	Early 1660's--In partnership with Paul and Gédéon Bion in New France; also agent for a Paris investor, Claude Gueston, lending money for ships bound for the colonies. In 1671, he had a share in L'Esperance and went on that ship to Quebec that year.	1
*Allaire, Pierre La Rochelle	Fish	He sent ships to Newfoundland fisheries in 1657 and to Acadia and Newfoundland in April 1664.	1
Allemand, Pierre		Merchant in Lower Town, Quebec; he had a concession of the seigneury of Blanc-Sablon with others.	2

Amiot, Charles, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant, the son of Philippe and Anne Convent. He was born at Quebec 26 Aug 1636; he married at Quebec to Geneviève Chavigny on 2 May 1660.	2
Amiot, Sieur de Vincelot, Charles-Joseph	Fur	He was captain of a ship and a fur merchant of Quebec. He married Marie-Gabrielle Philippe du Hautmesny at Montreal on 19 Feb. 1691.	2
Amiot, Jean-Baptiste Merchant at Quebec	W	He was trading with Jean-Baptiste Soumbrun, Louis-François Lamalétie and Pierre Admyrault.	1
Amiot / Amyault, Raymond		Merchant at Montreal; he married Marie-Madeleine Rolland at Montreal on 13 Oct 1698.	2
Andigny, François , Merchant of La Rochelle		He was born on île d'Oléron; he died at Plaisance, Newfoundland 4 Oct 1700 at the home of François Bertrand. An inventory of his estate was made on 4-5 Oct 1700.	3
Aquart, Jean, Merchant in Bordeaux & Quebec		1718—sailed to Louisbourg and Quebec on Le Poly de Quebec. His father, Jean, and brother, Raymond, were merchants in Bordeaux by 1709.	1
Aramy, Thomas, Merchant at La Rochelle and Quebec	W Fur	An ironmonger or hardware merchant; Formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, F. V. Pachot for Canada trade on 13 March 1657. The same year, he sailed with 1500 *livres* in goods to Quebec.	1
Ardouin / Hardouin, François, Merchant at Montreal		He was born in Bordeaux; A bourgeois commission merchant in Montreal where he married 17 Oct 1697 to Marie-Anne Barrois.	2
Arnaud, Bertrand, Merchant in Montreal	Fur	A fur merchant at Montreal. His 1st marriage to Jeanne Pellerin was at Quebec on 26 Nov 1685; his 2nd marriage was at Quebec on 12 Jan 1688 to Louise Zaintes.	2
Arnaud, Jean,Merchant at Montreal	Fur	From St. Michel, Bordeaux; a fur merchant at Montreal; he married Marie Trudeau at Montreal on 27 Nov 1690.	2
Arnaud, Henri		He was from Marseilles. A doctor and merchant.	2
Artus Sieur de Sailly, Louis	W	He arrived from Martinique. In 1660 he was living in Montreal and was on the 1666 & 1667 census in Montreal. He was a wholesale merchant with Médéric Bourduceau.	2
*Arundel, Thomas Merchant of Bordeaux	Fish	1670's-1680's--He invested in Newfoundland fishing and shipping in Canada.	1
Aubert de La Chesnaye, Charles, Merchant at Quebec	W Fur	1655: he arrived in Quebec as an employee of la Compagnie de Rouen; 1666-1674: He was the Agent General of la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales; 1682-1700: a founder and director of the Hudson's Bay Compagnie du Nord; he owned many ships & brought many *engagés* to New France. He was one of the great merchants of his time. He was a bourgeois fur merchant and financier in Lower Town, Quebec.He was buried in the cemetery of the poor of Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec on 20 Sep 1702.	1, 2, 3
*Aubert, Louis-François Fur merchant in Amsterdam	Fur	Early 1700's--He worked as agent of French and Canadian merchants, his uncle Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye and Martin-François Martin de Lino, both of Quebec; he received furs indirectly from La Rochelle and directly from	1, 2

		Quebec.	
Aubin, Sieur de L'Isle, Nicolas-Gabriel	R	He was from St. Sulpice Paris; a merchant and a clerk to the mounted constables.	2
Aubuchon dit Lespérance, Jean,	R	Merchant at Montreal; He died 3 Dec 1685 at Montreal.	2
Aubuchon, Jacques	R	Merchant at Montreal	2
Auger, André		A barrister and a merchant at Quebec; He died 11 Oct 1723 at Hôtel Dieu, Quebec at age 40.	2
*Augier, Daniel, Merchant at Louisbourg		At Louisbourg 1750-1757. He married Hippolyte Jacau there in 1755.	1
Babie, Jacques, Merchant	R	Arrived in 1665 with the Carignan-Salieres. He was confirmed at Quebec in 1666.	2
Babie, Raymond	Fur	(Son of Jacques above) On 2 Sep1715, he hired traders to go west to get furs.	2
Bailly, Toussaint, Merchant at La Chataigneraie; Poitou	W	He sold woolen cloth to Canada merchants who visited La Rochelle in 1679; 6767 *livres* were sent to Joseph Petit and 4700 *livres* to Léonard Pitouin.	1
Balan, François Merchant at Quebec		1734-He sailed to Quebec on the Ruby and qualified as a pilot.	1
*Baour, Pierre, Merchant, of Bordeaux	R	A bourgeois merchant; He sent several ships to Canada. Lacaze, Lannes and Gauthier and Derit in Canada were his agents in Canada.	1
Baraguet, Pierre, Merchant of La Rochelle & Quebec		He was a lieutenant of the militia bourgeois of La Rochelle. He was a merchant in Lower Quebec. He died 30 Jan 1738 at Quebec.	2, 3
Barolet, Claude	R	He arrived in Quebec about 1708; He lived in Lower Quebec; on 25 June 1728, he was also a royal notary.	2
Barranguet, Jacques, Merchant in Quebec		He paid 3800 *livres* for brandy which was to be delivered; it never arrived. On 4 April 1755, he set sail for Quebec on La Nouvelle Victoire. He hired Carrié to handle the missing brandy problem.	1
Barsalou, Gérard, Merchant at Montreal	R	In 1699, he was living in Montreal; He was a merchant and a master tanner. He died at Montreal 9 Aug 1721. His son, Joseph, was also a merchant and a master tanner.	2
Barsalou, Jean, Merchant	R Fur	(Son of Gérard above) He was born 9 Sep 1706 in Montreal; he was a fur merchant and a tanner.	2
*Basset, David Merchant of Newfoundland, Acadia and Boston.		While he was in Boston, 1669-1687, he was trading with Newfoundland and Acadia. From about 1691, he traded English cloth and hardware for Acadian wheat and coal in partnership with his father-in-law, Charles Melanson who was living at Les Mines, Acadia. French authorities imprisoned him a number of times.	1
*Baston, Simon, Merchant of La Rochelle	Fur	He lived in Canada 1657-1664. He imported furs, beaver and moose with Alexandre Petit. On 11 May 1673, he sailed back to Canada and arrived at Percée on 15 July where he either drowned or was murdered.	1
Baudouin, Louis,		Beauharnais and Hocquart recommended him for the	1

Merchant in Quebec		Conseil Superieur.	
Bazil, Louis, Merchant of Quebec	W Fur	Partner of Havy, Lefevre, and Fornelin in the 1700's.	1, 2
Bazire, Charles, Merchant of Quebec	W Fur	Major merchant associated with François Aubert de la Chesnaye. 1664-1674, he was the agent for la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. In 1677, he was the receiver general of goods and property of the king.	1, 2
Beatrix, Jean, Shopkeeper and Merchant at Bordeaux	R	His son, Nicolas, sailed often to Quebec. His son, François, joined his father in trade and son, Jean, was a merchant at Fort St-Pierre in Martinique. In 1757 and 1758, he sailed to Quebec with goods; his ships were seized both times.	1
Beaudoin, Jean, Merchant & bourgeois of Bordeaux		He grew rich in grain trade and shipping; his partners in Bordeaux were Louis Balan and Arnaud Gibert and Jean Liquart in Quebec. In the 1730's and 1740's, he worked for the king.	1
Beauvais, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	8 April 1683, he was hired to go to the West. He was a merchant in Montreal.	2
Bédout, Jean-Antoine, Merchant at Quebec		He sailed from Louisbourg to Quebec in 1735 on La Revanche; he visited Bordeaux in 1748; 1749-1752, he was a merchant at Quebec. 1752, he was councillor on the Conseil Supérieur.	1
Bellette, François, from La Rochelle	R	Master glass maker at La Rochelle; 1690—he shipped goods to friends in Canada on La Vierge	1
Bénac, Pierre, Merchant	Fur	Controller of the king's fur farm in New France. He married Charlotte Bissot at Lauzon on 24 Feb 1686.	2
*Bérard, Joseph, Merchant at Bordeaux		Pierre Revol drew bills of exchange on him on 11 April 1755. One of his sons was seeking a job as a merchant's clerk in Quebec in 1758.	1
Berger, Jean, Merchant	R	He was a soldier, painter and merchant; 1706: he completed an altar front at Ste-Famillle, Ile d'Orleans; 1707: he was banished from New France.	3
Bergeron, Dominique, Merchant at Quebec		Bourgeois; he was buried at Quebec on 9 May 1710 at age 44.	2
*Bergier, Clerbaud, Merchant of La Rochelle in 1667	W Fish	On 13 April 1667, he was part owner with Alexandre Bergier and Moise Guillebaud of 80 ton, Le Clerbault, sailing to Quebec and Acadia. In Jan 1668, he bought a 300 ton, Le Prophète Hélie; In the 1670's, he was living in the West Indies. In 1680's he was a member of a Fish Company in Acadia.	1
*Bernon, Gabriel Merchant of La Rochelle & New England		He set sail for Quebec on 7 March 1682; at the Revocation of Edict of Nantes in 1685, he was ordered back to France and imprisoned at La Rochelle. He escaped to Holland with his family. He went to London; in 1687, he sailed to Boston. There he had enough money to start shipping with the West Indies and Acadia; he also manufactured nails, leather and caulking pitch.	1
*Bernon, Samuel Merchant of La Rochelle		(Brother of Gabriel above.) 1673-1676, he traded with Portugal, Spain, Italy, Brazil and the West Indies. In 1684, he was in Quebec settling accounts with Hilaire Bourgne.	1

		Samuel turned Catholic in 1694;	
Berry, Paul, Merchant at Quebec		5 April 1685, he went to Canada as an Indentured servant. On 2 Dec. 1692, he married Marie Mars, widow of Francois Rivière, merchant of Quebec; he carried on transatlantic trade in association with a number of merchants. Jacques Leclerc managed his affairs from 1699-1709 when Paul Berry died in Quebec.	1, 2
Berthé, Sieur Sieur de La Jobardière, Gabriel, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	He was a cadet of the Carignan Salieres when he arrived in Quebec, 30 June 1665. 1670-1685, he was a fur merchant. He had a concession of land at Bellevue at Montreal that he sold to Pierre Lamoureux in 1683.	2
Berthelot, Charles, Merchant of Quebec		He was from St-Étienne-du-Mont; A bourgeois merchant at Quebec.	2
*Besse de la Barthe, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle		He began as a clerk hired by Étienne Hérault, merchant of La Rochelle; 5 Nov. 1710, he signed a partnership with Pierre Hérault, son of Étienne. They were in trade with Canada, the West Indies, Holland and elsewhere.	1
Bestreau, Josué, Merchant of La Rochelle	Fur	He formed a partnership with Jacques Pichon on 19 Feb. 1657; the same year, they sailed to Quebec with trading goods.	1
*Biaille, Daniel, Merchant at Luçon Poitou	Fur	12 April 1671—he was in Quebec; April 1671 he and his partner, Alexander Petit, hired the Sagesse from Pierre Saige and his partners of Bordeaux for a voyage to Quebec.	1
Bigot, Louis, Official & businessman of Bordeaux	Fur Fish	1654-he was a customs collector in Bordeaux. He acquired a lot of money and invested it in shipping. In 1679, he bought 20% interest in 250 ton, La Reyne Marie. In 1685, it sailed to Quebec. In 1687 he bought 25% of La Fortune. It was sent to Newfoundland. Between 1659-1699, he lent money in about 300 loans to merchants sending ships overseas. In 1688, he lent 800 *livres* at 23% interest to Jean Saige to send Le St Joseph to Quebec, Acadia and Newfoundland and another 1000 *livres* at 30% to send Le Guillaume to the same locations.	1
Billattte, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He was a clothier merchant. He had a large wholesale trade in goods he sent to Canada.	1
Billatte, Pierre Merchant of Bordeaux	Fur Fish	(Son of Pierre above.) He and his brother, François, formed a partnership in 1687-1697. They were involved in large colonial trade in ships and goods to the West Indies, Plaissance and Quebec. Most of it was for the king during the wars from 1688-1713. He also traded in furs and fish and clothed army regiments; he also insured ships for trips to Plaissance and Quebec.	1
Bindaux, Louis, Merchant		He was living at îles St. Pierre; on 1 Oct 1705, a fisherman from Morvan, gave power of attorney to Joseph Lartigue to get from Madeleine Geffroy, a bill for 121 *livres* drawn on her by her husband, Louis Bindaux. He died before 21 May 1708; on the same day, Sébastien de Sourdeval requested reimbursement of money due from the deceased Louis Bindaux.	3

*Bion, Gédéon, Merchant of La Rochelle	Fur	Late 1600's -1703, he was in the family firm of Bion, Briant and Bion (2 brothers & a brother-in-law); Sometimes they bought furs from Canada. He went bankrupt in 1703 and blamed it on a storm in Holland.	1
Biron, Pierre, Merchant of Montreal	R	He was from de Paille, St-Jean d'Angely, Saintonge; he was a soldier, a baker and a merchant in 1718.	2
Biron, Pierre, Merchant of Montreal	Fur	(Son of Pierre above) He married Marie-Catherine Leduc at Montreal on 8 Jan 1710.	2
Bissot, Sieur de LaRivière, François	Fur Fish	He arrived in Quebec in 1639. He was a member of la Compagnie des Habitants in 1645. 1668: He and his associates, the Charet brothers, founded a tannery at Lauzon. 25 Feb 1661, he established sedentary fisheries at Grand Anse and Sept-Iles.	2 ?
Bissot, François, Merchant	Fur	(Son of François above) He also was a navigator. He and his brother, Charles, were in the fur trade. He was coinheriter of the seigneury of Mingan.	2
*Bizet, Jean, Merchant at Bordeaux	R	In the 1750's, he was a small Canada merchant. He died in 1771.	1
*Blanzy, Henry, Merchant at Bordeaux	W	He was in the Canada trade from 1695; he sent cloth to Catignon in Quebec in 1714.	1
Blavoust, Jean, Merchant at La Rochelle		In the 1680's, he was involved in Canada trade and claiming debts.	1
Blavoust, Pierre, Merchant at La Rochelle & Calais		1742-1750, he was a big Canada and West Indies merchant trading with Guillaume Estebe de Voizy, Jean-Étienne Jayat and Nicolas Massot of Quebec.	1
Blondeau, Maurice, Merchant of Montreal	W Fur	A bourgeois merchant; he was an important fur merchant; 31 Aug 1693 to 5 July 1728, he hired traders and voyageurs to go into the west for furs.	2
Boissel, Jacques, Merchant of Quebec	R	He was a meat merchant, and a mason. In 1667, he was 60 years old and living in Quebec. In the 1681 census, he was 80 years and living in Upper Quebec.	2
Boitier dit Bérichon, Nicolas , Merchant		26 July 1717, he sold a half interest in the La Sainte-Anne to Jean Lafitte.	3
Bome, Jean-Nicolas, Merchant at Montreal		He was living at Pte-aux-Trembles; 1m. Marie Chenu; 2m. Marguerite-Geneviève Torillon of La Rochelle	1
*Bonfils, Pierre-Tresahar, Merchant of La Rochelle	W Fish	He held Canada bills at a discount of over 36%; part of a large scattered trading family. He traded for many years in the Canada trade.	1
Bonin / Bonnain de La Chaume, Louis, Merchant		Merchant and habitant of St-Jacques de l'Houmeau, Angoulême.	3
Borie, Jean, Merchant of La		In the 1690's, he had a partnership with Pierre Peire until Peire went to Canada. He was still active in the Canada trade	1

Rochelle		in 1705 when he was settling accounts with Raymond Martel, a Quebec merchant.	
Bouat, Abraham, Merchant in Montreal	R	He was a bourgeois merchant and an innkeeper. In 1670, he was a man-servant to the Abbé Queylus. On 10 March 1670, he married Marguerite Nevelet.	2
Bouat, François-Marie, Merchant of Montreal	R	(Son of Abraham above); 20 April 1709: he was lieutenant of the Provost of the mounted constables; On 27 April 1716, he was lieutenant general of the Prevost of Montreal and the king's adviser.	2
Bouchard, Paul, Shopkeeper of Montreal	R	He was a butcher. He married Louise Leblanc at Montreal on 18 Nov 1687.	2
Bouchard, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	He was a fur merchant. On 29 Jan 1691, he bought des îles Courcelles and the fief de La Presentation (Dorval) on the Island of Montreal. On 1 March 1724, he died at Montreal.	2
Bouchel, Antoine, Merchant at La Rochelle		He married Agnes, the daughter of Claude Accart. Antoine's Canada trade was large, but he was also in trade with Boulonge, Calais, Dieppe, St-Valléry-sur-Somme and other French northern ports.	1
*Boudet, Pierre, Large Merchant at La Rochelle;	W	In 1721, he was hired by Benoit, a merchant at La Rochelle. He married Marie-Anne Dumas, daughter of Moise, a merchant of La Rochelle; 1736-1748, he was a partner in the Canada trade with J. Thouron. 1750-1759, he was with Mounier & J. Grelleau. In 1764, he went broke.	1
Boudor, Pierre, Merchant at Limoges & La Rochelle	W Fur	On 1 May 1686, he signed a contract with François Jallot, a merchant from Danzig, to sell all the skins that came from Canada for him in the next nine months for 3 *livres* 10 *sous* each. Jallot was advanced 200 *livres*. He also sold silks, woolens, cloth and haberdashery.	1
Boudor, Jean, Merchant of Montreal, Trois Rivières and Quebec	W Fur	(Son of Pierre above.) 5 May 1681, his father sent him as an *engagé* to Joseph Petit, a merchant at Trois Rivières; on 27 May 1683, he signed a marriage contract with Marguerite Seigneuret at Quebec. March 1696, he represented his father at Quebec trying to get 12,400 *livres* from Joseph Petit Bruneau, merchant at Trois Rivières. 14 May 1690 to 7 Sep 1703, he hired voyageurs and traders to go into the West for furs.	1, 2
Bourassa dit Laronde, René, Fur Merchant	Fur	16 April 1726-14 June 1729, he hired voyageurs to go into the wildreness for furs.	2
Bourdon Sieur de La Pinaudière & de Domberg / D'Hombourg, Jean-François	W	He was born and baptized 2 Feb 1647 at Quebec. He had been a ship captain and merchant who worked between La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Quebec. He was in command of Le St. François Xavier in which he owned a 1/3 share. In July 1689, he sent the ship under Captain François Pilet, who also owned a 1/3 share to Quebec to take care of the cargo and manage all the business in Quebec. For this trip, he borrowed 2000 *livres* from François Mouchard as a bottomry loan at 38%. He bought a house in La Rochelle in 1689; he was buried at La Rochelle 8 Oct 1689 before the	3, 1

		ship returned.	
Bourgeois, Germain, Merchant		He was a bourgeois merchant. He was born about 1650; He married twice: 1m. to Madeleine Belliveau about 1673 and 2m. to Madeleine Dugas about 1682.	3
Bourgine, Hilaire, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	He was a notary at Montreal. He was a merchant at La Rochelle from about 1687. On 8 May 1691, he signed a partnership with Jean Sebille who settled in Quebec. In May 1694, they hired Pierre-François Fromage to work at Quebec for three years at 120 *livres*.	1
Bourgine, Charles-Polycarpe, Merchant of La Rochelle		(Son of Hilaire above,) He was a prominent Canada merchant. He had many connections with the clergy. On 1 July 1745, he went bankrupt. He died 14 Sep 1756.	1
Bouteville, Lucienn, Bourgeois Merchant		He was living in Quebec on 31 Dec 1679. He was buried at Quebec on 20 June 1707. His son, Michel, was also a merchant.	2
Bouthier, Guillaume, Merchant of Quebec	R	He was from Vernon, Normandie. On 31 Oct 1680, he was living in Quebec. An inventory of his estate was done on 19 July 1694 by Chambalon.	2
Brisson dit Laroche, Sébastien, Merchant		In 1708, he was a merchant; On 20 Oct 1690, he was at the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec. On 26 May 1720, he was hired to go West to get furs.	2
Brousse, Jean-Baptiste, Bourgeois Merchant		1704, he went to Quebec and traded there as an agent of cargoes sent by Pierre Billatte; he married Louise Allemand at Quebec on 8 Sep 1705; he died 6 Sep 1711 leaving 4,600 *livres* in card money. He died 5 Sep 1711 at Quebec.	1, 2
*Brunet, Henry Merchant of La Rochelle & Boston	W Fish Fur	His family had been in the Canada trade earlier; 1670-1671: he worked for Colbert at Bordeaux as director of the Compagnie des Indes and the Compagnie du Nord. 1 July 1672, he sailed to Plaissance where he fished, traded and returned to La Rochelle. The next year, he again went to Newfoundland, explored the coast of Nova Scotia and Maine and returned the same year to La Rochelle. Again he went in 1674 and sent a ship back with a cargo of fish. He then took a small boat to Boston with a load of 600 *livres* worth of cloth and negotiated for other goods. He stayed in Boston for three years and traded with partners in France.	1
Brunet dit La Sablonnière, Jean, Shopkeeper at Montreal	R	Like his father, Jean, he was a butcher. He married Louise Maugue at Montreal on 23 January 1719.	2
Burel, Etienne, Merchant of Plaisance		A long time resident of Plaisance and Louisbourg; he appears on the censuses of Plaisance for1705, 1706,1711, & on the censuses of Louisbourg for 1715, 1716, 1717 & 1719.	3
Busquet, Anne Merchant at La Rochelle		As a widow, she ran the company from 1726 to her death on 17 Feb 1759. Her brother, Antoine Busquet, and her brother-in-law, Jacques Charly, were both merchants in Montreal.	1
Busquet, Jean-Blaise Merchant at La	Moose hides	He was a surgeon first and later a merchant sending ships to Canada in the 1680's. On 9 Apr 1694, he bought the Le Pounder from the Compagnie de Guinée for 14,000 *livres*. It	1

Rochelle		was paid in 750 saleable hairy moose hides and 147 inferior ones supplied by Samuel Bernon and François Pachot at the rate of 16 *livres* 10 *sous* each, making it the sum of 13,992 *livres*.	
Cabarrus, Dominique *jeune*, Merchant at Bordeaux		1749—he was working as a clerk for Doumerg, Lassus & Rozier, managing their shipping insurance. His partners in the Canada and Louisboug trades were his brother, Léon Cabarrus, François Solignac and Fabian Dulong of Louisbourg. He was also partner at one time with Bernard Courrejolles of Quebec.	1
Cabarrus, Étienne, Merchant at Bayonne		(Brother of Dominique above.) On 20 Jan 1758 while he was in the Canada and other colonial trade, he declared bankruptcy owing 59,738 *livres*.	1
Cadet, Joseph-Michel, Shipping merchant for the Crown		1756-1760—shipping merchant and purveyor general to the French forces in Canada.	1
Cadet, Michel, Shopkeeper of Quebec	R	From Notre Dame, Poitou; he was a butcher. On 5 June 1690, at age 23, he was at Hôtel-Dieu Quebec. He was buried at Quebec 26 December 1708.	2
Caen, Emery, Merchant	W	Merchant and Captain of a ship. He was at Quebec in 1621, 1624-1625, 1626, 1627, and 29 March 1632 to 1633.	2
Cahouet, Christophe, Merchant bourgeois		He was a major in the militia. On 27 Dec 1699, Guillaume Blanchard was chartering a ship to Jean Labat and Christophe for 30 *livres* a month. In 1707 and 1710, he was on the census at Port Royal; 1711, he was made major of the militia in Acadia by the English governor and he received a passport from Governor Vetch that allowed him to go with his family in a small ship to Plaisance.	3
*Calvet, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec		He went to Quebec in March 1758 and stayed in Canada or Acadia except for visits to France and England. After the conquest, he held several offices for the British authorities.	1
Campeau, Jacques, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	He was a blacksmith and a fur merchant. He hired voyageurs to go into the interior on 6 June 1727. At some time, he must have gone into the inte rior himself. Two of his children were born at Detroit in 1710 and 1714.	2
Canaham. Nicolas, Merchant		He was a merchant in Quebec in 1716.	2
Cardeneau, Bernard, Merchant of Quebec		He was born 14 Feb 1723 at Gamarde, France. On 22 Nov 1751, he married Marie-Anne Guerin, widow of Nicolas Jacquin dit Philibert at Quebec. He went to Bordeaux and returned to Quebec in 1755.	1
Cardinal, Jacques, Merchant at Montreal	W Fur	He was a fur merchant. From 2 April 1683 to 26 May 1722, he hired voyageurs to go into the west for furs. He went west himself. He died on 17 May 1724 at Detroit.	2
Cardinal, Jacques, Merchant of Montreal	Fur	(Son of Jacques above); a bourgeois merchant; Between 28 July 1704 to 13 Oct 1707, he was hired to go into the wilderness for furs.	2
Caron, Vital, Merchant at Quebec		He was a bourgeois merchant and a navigator. He was living at Sillery on 1 Aug 1676. He died at Quebec 6 March 1730.	2

Carrerot, Pierre, Merchant of Acadia	R Fish	He was a bourgeois merchant, a church warden, a resident fisherman, a storekeeper and a receiver of goods of the Admiralty at Louisbourg. Between 1691 and 1726, he lived at Plaisance, Louisbourg, La Baleine and St-Esprit.	3
Carrié, Jean, A merchant at Bordeaux		He was from a family of major merchants at Bordeaux. 1740's-1750's—He was trading to Canada. He sent goods on the Marquis de Tounry in 1748 and on the Légèr in 1753 and 1754.	1
Caspar, Christian, A merchant at Bordeaux		He was born in Prussia about 1724. He was a clerk to George Sacher and married Sacher's widow, Magdeleine Dupuy in Paris. In 1749 he sailed to Quebec on La Providence. He was connected in trade with Christian Schindler.	1
Castaing, Pierre-Antoine, Merchant at Louisbourg and Bordeaux		17 July 1745—he married Charlotte-Isabelle Chevallier at Louisbourg; 16 Dec 1752 was his second marriage to Olive Le Roy. His brother, Jean and his sister, Rose, were also married at Louisbourg. Other Castaings were in the Canada trade earlier. François was a merchant in Bordeaux.	1
Catignon, Charles, Merchant at Quebec	Fur	He was from St-Nicolas, Orleanis. He was the King's storekeeper at Quebec. He was also director of the Hudson Bay Compagnie du Nord. In 1680, he was named marine guard of the king.	1, 2
Catignon, Jean-Jacques, Merchant of La Rochelle	Fur	(Son of Charles above.) 25 Feb 1714—he signed a marriage contract with Marianne Busquet at La Rochelle. On 22 July 1714, he formed a partnership at Quebec with Paul Guillet, merchant of Quebec. Jean-Jacques held ¾ of it. He planned on sending to Guillet, goods worth 18,000 to 20,000 *livres* worth that year. In return, Guillet was to arrange storage space in Montreal. Guillet was to account yearly.	1
Cauchois dit Duclos, Jacques, Merchant	R	He died at Hôtel-Dieu and was buried 5 Aug 1708 at Montreal.	2
Cavalier, Sieur de LaSalle, René-Robert	Fur	He was born 21 Nov 1643 at St-Herbland, Normandie. He arrived in Canada in 1667. He was a fur merchant and an explorer; 14 April 1684, he was named viceroy of Mississippi.	2
Cercellier, Jean-Baptiste *aîné*, Merchant at Bordeaux		He was in the Louisbourg trade with his brother-in-law, Pierre-Antoine Castaing, in the 1740's and 1750's; he was related to Lustre, the agent for Baron d'Huart Company in Louisbourg.	1
Chamballon, Louis, Merchant at Quebec		1689-1694, he was a merchant in Quebec. January 1692, he was named royal notary by the intendant and by the king on 26 April 1694.	2
Chambret, Joseph, Merchant of Bordeaux		In 1748, he sub-leased Le St. Yves de Tréguier held in Bordeaux, enroute to Quebec.	1
Chancelier, Sébastien		In 1716 in Quebec, he was the captain of a merchantman. He died between 25 May 1717 and 29 July 1719. 23 May 1709: A contract was signed with Martin Boschet and Nicolas Bérichon for service as a pilot on their ships. 29 July 1719,	3

		the widow, Marie Gauthier, rented a house at Louisbourg to M. de Laforest.	
Changeon, Guillaume, Merchant		He was from La Rochelle, Aunis. From 24 Nov 1678 to 19 April 1690, he was at Quebec. He was a bourgeois merchant.	2
Chanjon, Guillaume Merchant of La Rochelle	Fur	He visited New France many times. In 1678, he went to Acadia and Quebec on Le Prince Maurice; he was director of the Hudson Bay Compagnie du Nord.	1
Channazars, Pierre-Simon, Merchant	W	He was from St-Eustache, Paris; he was a tapestry merchant.	2
Charest, Etienne, Merchant of Quebec	R	He was merchant, seigneur and militia captain in Quebec; 22 Oct 1742, he married Catherine Trottier Desauniers.	1
Charet, Étienne,, Merchant at Lauzon	R	(Brother to Etienne above.) A tanner merchant; he purchased the seigneurie of Lauzon from Georges Regnard on 28 March 1714.	2
Charet dit Dufils, Jean-Baptiste	R	A tanner merchant probably at Quebec. He died 8 March 1715 at Quebec.	2
Charly dit Saint-Ange, André, Merchant of Montreal	R	He was a baker. He married Marie Dumesnil / Dumefay on 9 Nov 1654 at Montreal.	2
Charly, Pierre, Merchant of La Rochelle		(Son of André, and above); 11 Aug 1672, he was born at Montreal. On 14 Sep 1694, he hired Jacques Mousseaux dit Laviolette to go to the Ottawas for furs. He married Anne Busquet on 10 May 1707 at St-Jean-du-Perrot de La Rochelle; they signed a marriage contract on 24 May 1707 at La Rochelle. When he died in 12 July 1721, his widow carried on their trade until 1759.	1, 2
Charly, Sieur de Saint-Ange, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	(Brother of Pierre above.) Colonel of the militia for the government of Montreal; a fur merchant; He died the 8 Nov 1728 at Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec and was buried the next day at Quebec.	2
Charly, Jacques, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	(Son of Jean-Baptiste above.) A fur merchant; he and his brother, Louis, financed a number of voyages into the interior for furs.	2
Charly Saint Ange, Louis, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	(Brother of Jacques above.); In 1760, his son, Louis applied to the Admiralty to sail to Rotterdam on the Le Valding with Captain Fop Westerdick, Joseph Dufy Charest, Louis-Alexandre Rousseau, Étienne Trottier Desauniers Beaubien and Pierre Desauniers.	1
Charron dit LaRarre, Claude, Merchant at Quebec	R	In 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec; he died in Quebec in 1687.	2
Chartier, Charles, Merchant of Quebec	R	He purchased the seigneury de Descoudet. He married Louise Lemaître at Quebec on 11 Aug 1694.	2
Chasle, Claude, Merchant of Quebec	R	He married Marie-Marguerite Duroy at Quebec on 2 Dec 1712. He died at Quebec on 2 Oct 1716.	2
Chaumereau dit Lagiroflée, François, Merchant	R	He was from St-Jean-Ligoure, Limousin; He was in charge of the sacristy in Lower Quebec.	2

of Quebec			
Chaviteau, André, A sea captain of La Rochelle	W	He sailed at least 11 ships to Canada from La Rochelle: Ange Blanc 1664; Paon, 1666; Nouvelle France, 1667; Hélene, 1670; Sagesse, 1671; Brêmois, 1673; Mouton Blanc, 1674, 1680, 1681; Grande Ésperance, 1678; and Diligent, 1883.	1
Chenay dit LaGarenne, Bertrand, Merchant of Quebec		He was a merchant in Lower Quebec. In 1667, he was living at Beaupre; in 1681 he was in Lower town Quebec. He bought the fief of Lothainville near Beaupre in 1664; it was sold by his inheriters to Charles Aubert 5 April 1690.	2
Chesne dit La Butte, Pierre, Merchant		He was a merchant and an interpreter. He married Marie-Madeleine Roy at Detroit on 25 May 1728.	2
Chevalier, Jean, Merchant at Plaisance and Louisbourg		Gunsmith and a merchant; He appears on the censuses of Plaisance for 1694, 1698, 1700, 1704, 1705, &1711 and on the censuses for Louisbourg in 1715, 1716, 1717, 1719, 1724, 1726 & 1734. On 17 May 1733, the widow of Jean, Anne Guyon, was ready to go to Canada to "take the waters there in the hope of relieving a discomfort and pain which she had felt a long time."	3
Chevalier, Jean-Baptiste	W Fur	He was a voyageur merchant. From 10 July 1718 to 19 Aug 1730, he hired others to go further into the interior for furs. He spent time at Michillimakinac. The last eight of his thirteen children were baptized there.	2
Chevallier, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant of Quebec		He married Angélique Pelletier; they had two children in Canada; In 1758 his wife died. In 1760, he remarried in La Rochelle to Marie-Anne Vatabe. Her dowry was 4,000 *livres* and his was 40,000 *livres* (25,000 in Canada bills.) Both Catholics and Huguenots attended the marriage.	1
Chorel dit de Saint-Romain , François, Merchant	R	He was from St-Nizier, Lyon; He probably was a merchant at Champlain. He died 5 Jan 1709 at Champlain at the age of 70.	2
Chorel, Sieur de Saint-Romain, René, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	(Son of François above); On 29 July 1730, he was a royal notary; he was a fur merchant. On 14 March 1714, he transferred his rights he inherited from his brother, Edmond, to his brother, François. His brother, Edmond, was also a fur merchant.	2
Claessen, Nicolas, Merchant of Calais		He married Elizabeth Arnaud at La Rochelle in Sept 1645. Their marriage contract was signed by the Canada merchant, Jacques Pepin; he was in the northern and colonial trades.	1
Claparède, Merchant at Louisbourg		In 1753, he signed five *engagés* at Bordeaux to go to Louisbourg.	1
Claverie, Pierre Merchant & King's Storekeeper at Quebec		He sailed to Quebec in 1749 on the L'Espérance. He was related to La Barthe and Drouilhet.	1
Cochereau, Pierre, a Rural merchant	R	He was baptised 9 June 1635 at the village of Renouard, the parish of Aubin, Tourouvre, Perche. In 1667, he was at Ste-Geneviève, Quebec. He was a merchant at the village of	2

		Renouard the 2nd of June 1678. In 1680, he was working in Paris.	
Cochran dit Floridor, Hugues, Merchant at Quebec	R	He was from St-Jean de Hair, Scotland. He abjured his religion at Quebec on 22 Nov1685.	2
Colemieux / Collimieu, Jacques, Merchant at Montreal	R	26 Oct 1665 to 20 Feb 1668, he was living at Montreal.	2
Cosme / Côme dit Saint-Cosme, Pierre, Merchant	Fur	He was from Tournai, Flanders (Belgium). He was a resident at St-Alaric, Bordeaux, Guyenne. He was a voyageur merchant and he hired others to go into the interior from 18 May 1718 to 14 April 1725.	2
Couagne, Charles de Merchant of Montreal		He married Anne Mars (Simon & Anne De Faye) at Quebec 25 Nov 1680. Charles died at Montreal 24 Aug 1706.	1
Cournut / Cornut, Pierre Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He invested in ships and cargoes going to Quebec in the 1670's and 1680's, sometimes with his brother, Raymond who was trading in Plaissance, Newfoundland in 1683. In May 2 1687, he owned ¼ share in La Fortune. André Allenet and Louis Bigot owned ¼ each and Pierre Dubergier and Jean Viaunt each owned 1/8th. The route was then changed from Rotterdam to Newfoundland.	1
Couagne, Charles, Merchant at Montreal	Fur	In 1680, he was master of the hotel of Governor Frontenac; he was living in Quebec in 1678; in 1681, he was in Montreal. He was a fur merchant. He was buried at Montreal in 1706.	2
Couagne, Jacques-Charles, Merchant at Montreal		(Son of Charles above by the 1st wife) He was a bourgeois merchant; he was buried at Montreal 17 Nov 1718.	2
Couagne, René, Merchant in Montreal	W Fur	(Also son of Charles but by the 2nd wife); He was a wholesaler in furs. He also was a land surveyor.	2
Couillard, Sieur L'Espinay, Louis, Merchant at Quebec	Fish	Bourgeois of Quebec and a fish merchant; he received a letter of nobility given to him in March 1668. He died before 24 Sep 1678 at Montmagny when the inventory of his estate was done by the notary, Becquet.	2
Courault, Sieur de L La Coste, Pierre,	R	A Merchant of Montreal; He was from St-André, Angoulême, Angoumois.	2
*Courrejolles, Gabriel, Merchant at Bayonne	W	A relative, Bernard Courrejolls, a banker of Quebec, age 24 came to Canada with Gabriel age 14. They sailed to Quebec in 1753. Gabriel's widow mother ran the trade business in Bayonne. She was the agent for Cadet and his children from 1756-1759. A hat merchant at Bayonne.	1
*Craon, Léonard, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	From 1676, he was a business correspondent of a London merchant, Jacob David ,who dealt in Swedish copper and he imported Dutch sulphur in barrels. In 1685, he signed for 2 ships, Vierge and St. Antoine to go to Canada.	1
Creagh, Richard, Merchant from	W Fur	He was established at La Rochelle from the early 1630's until 1667; His brother, Dominique, was also a merchant at	1

Cork, Ireland		La Rochelle. Other relatives were in trade in La Rochelle and Limerick. All were involved in the Irish trade, but Richard invested in a number of expeditions to Canada. In 1658, he invested with others in Les Armes d'Amsterdam, which went to Canada for a cargo of furs; In 1662, he lent 1984 *livres* to Pierre Gaigneur to send goods on Le Phoenix; In 1663, he lent 4000 *livres* at 24% to Antoine Grignon for goods sent to Canada on La Fluste Royal and L'Aigle D'Or.	
Crespin, Jean, Merchant at Bordeaux		He was a partner of Arnaud Pigneguy about 1695-1716. All of his daughters and his son, married into merchant families	1
Crespin, Jean, Merchant of Quebec	W	(This Jean is brother to the Jean above.) He sailed to Quebec May 1695 from La Rochelle. He traded with his sister's husband, Jean Fournel, merchant of Agen, with his brother in Bordeaux, and with Jung de St. Laurent between 1726-1730. He was a colonel in the militia in 1719 and was on the Conseil Supérieur in 1727.	1, 2
Crevier, Christophe, Sieur de la Melée, Merchant at Trois Rivières		He was born at Rouen, went to La Rochelle with his wife, Jeanne Evrard, and sailed from there to Canada in July 1651 on the Nostre Dame. They took 259 *livres* worth of goods on credit from a La Rochelle merchant, Pierre Gauvaing, at 30%.	1, 2
Crevier, Jean, Merchant	Fur	(Son of Christophe above); he was born at Trois Rivières 3 April 1642; 1681, he was at St-François-du-Lac. He was captured by the Iroquois before Aug 1693; ransomed by the English at Albany a little before 31 Aug 1693; he died shortly after. He was a fur merchant.	2
Cugnet, François-Etienne, Merchant at Quebec	Fur	He arrived in Quebec 1 Oct 1719. He was director and receiver general of the domain of the West in 1719.	2
Cullerier dit Leveillé, René		He was hired at La Rochelle on 8 June 1659; he arrived at Montreal 29 Sep 1659.	2
Cuillerier, Jean, Merchant	Fur	(Son of René above & brother of Jean-Baptiste below); he was a fur merchant.	2
Cuillerier, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	He was a fur merchant of Montreal.	2
Daccarrette, Jean	W Fish	In 1704, he ran a fishing business; he invested in privateers and took part in trading activities. At Plaisance, he and his brother, Michel, were members of a group of influential merchants and fishing investors with connections in the Bayonne area. After 1714, when the Plaisance colony moved to Louisbourg, they became influential in Louisbourg.	3
Daccarrette, Michel	W Fish	(brother of Jean above); 1709, he was a shareholder in a privateer, La Marie; 1712, he was captain of the transport, Le Trompeur; 1714, he and his brothers, Jean and Jacques, established their fishing business; 1721-1722, he and François Baucher dit Saint Martin broke the fishing monopoly held by the Comte de Saint-Pierre on Ile St-Jean;	3

		1720-1740, he sold at least 17 ships of 30-40 tons.	
Dadaupe, Dominique,	R	Merchant at Plaisance.	3
Dagneau, Sieur de Douville, Alexandre, Merchant	Fur	He was an interpreter and a fur merchant. Between 11 Aug 1724 and 29 Aug 1726, he hired voyageurs to go into the interior for furs.	2
Daguilhe / Dagueil, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	Sergeant of la Compagnie de LaForest and a merchant. In 1721, he hired traders to go into the interior for furs.	2
Damours, Sieur de Chaufours, Mathieu, Merchant	R	He arrived in Quebec on 13 Oct 1651; he received a concession on the seigneury de Matane 8 Nov 1672.	2
Damours, Sieur de Clignancourt, René, Merchant	R	(Son of Mathieu above) he was baptized in Quebec 9 Aug 1660; he received a concession of the seigneury de Médoctec in Acadia; he was on the census of St-Jean in 1686, 1693, 1695 & 1698.	2, 3
Darango, François, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	29 May 1701, he had a contract to trade with Canada and Newfoundland; on 29 April 1712, a ship, La Marie Anne, of La Rochelle, owned by François and commanded by his brother, Bernard, was seized by a British ship. Bernard Darango was taking a cargo of brandy, wine, beef, butter and flour to Newfoundland.	1
Darragory Family Merchants in Madrid	R W Whales	A large French family of merchants and sea captains trading in Spain. Nicolas and Jean, brothers, were in a partnership in the 1730's-1740's. 1735-1736, they sent whaling ships in the St. Lawrence River. 1758-1759, a Martin Darragory was fitting out Spanish ships for trade with Canada.	1
Darant, Pierre, Merchant	R	He was buried at Plaisance on 11 Nov 1710.	3
David, Jacques, Merchant of Quebec	R	He was a merchant in Lower Quebec in 1716; he was clerk of the Prevost of Montreal 20 Sep 1718 and a royal notary 8 May 1719.	2
Deblé, Charles	R	He was a royal land surveyor and a merchant. He died at Quebec 15 Nov 1725.	2
Defaye, Paul, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	He was in partnership in the Canada trade with his brother-in-law, Simon Mars. He also traded with his brother, Pierre, merchant at Orleans, Pierre Boudor and others. His son, Jean, was a merchant in Quebec.	1
Defaye, Jacques, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	(Son of Paul above.) He was born in Canada. He was in a private partnership with his father from 11 May 1680--11 May 1683. When it ended, they owned 36,383 *livres* in goods, primarily in Canada in the care of his cousin, Jean Defaye. In 1684, he formed a partnership with Pierre Minvielle and Jean Batailley in leasing a 100 ton ship, Le Joseph, from Francois Saige and was sent to Canada to his cousin there; He formed another partnership in 1688 with Simon Mars, merchant at Quebec, and arranged to send 12,000 *livres* worth of goods to Canada. In 1690, goods sent to Canada were insured for 19,000 *livres*.	1

Degame, Leon, Merchant	R	6 April 1678, he was hired at La Rochelle as a laborer for New France; in 1681, he was a domestic of Pierre Legarde.	2
* De La Croix, Thêodore, Merchant at Saint-Martin-de-Ré		He fitted out ships for Canada between 1739-1743.	1
*Delannes, Pierre, Merchant at Montauban and at Quebec		He was born at Montauban about 1718; in 1749, he traded at Quebec with a clerk, Pierre Fraisse. From 1752, he was associated with Jacques Gauthier. He was a passenger on Le Cézar de Quebec from Bordeaux to Quebec in April 1752.	1
Delaunay, Charles	R	He was a bourgeois merchant and a tanner.	2
Delavaux, Jacques	R	A merchant tanner.	2
Delestre, Sieur de Beaujour, Joseph	R	Bourgeois merchant in Lower Quebec.	2
Delfgaauw, Cornelis A Catholic Merchant of Bordeaux		He was born in Rotterdam 1656 or 1657 and became a naturalized citizen of France in March 1685. He traded with Riga and other northern ports and Canada in 1717. His brother, Armand Léonard, was trading with New France in the 1720's.	1
Delort, Guillaume, A Louisbourg Merchant		A merchant in Newfoundland in the early 1700's; Nov 1706 was the 1st time he was mentioned at Plaisance. He also lived at Louisbourg; Sep 1735, he was a member of the Conseil Supérieur at Ile Royale.	2, 3
Delpech, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux		He traded with G. Estebe and his firm at Quebec 1740-1760.	1
Depé, Pierre, Merchant at Bordeaux		He sent Captain de Ratas on Le St. Pierre to Quebec and the West Indies in 1750. He died in 1754.	1
*Depont Family Leading merchant family of La Rochelle	W	The Canada trade was marginal to this family. They were related to other merchant families—Mouchard, Bernon, Dharriette, Faneuil and Delacroix families. There were many trading members of the Depont family and some of them invested in ships, goods or insurance in Quebec.	1
*Derit, Joseph-Abraham Merchant at Quebec	W	He was born in Quebec; In June 1754 he and his partner, Charles Ranson, were in la Rochelle before he set sail for Quebec. They hired François Mounier to handle Derit's affairs if he should die on the voyage.	1
Descaries, Louis		Bourgeois merchant in Montreal.	2
Descamps, Arnaud-Blaise, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He visited Quebec in 1723. He married Anne Guinlette 22 June 1730. He had partnerships with Charles Perthuis, (1725-1729); Guillaume Estèbe (1733-1737); Simon Lapointe (1727-1738); Pierre Trottier Desauniers and an uncle, Jacques Hurlot at Guadeloupe. In 1725 he sent and received cargoes on the Marguerite and Reine des Anges; In 1732 he had 1/6th % in the Villemarie; in 1733, he had an interest in the St. Charles, St. François and L'Enterprize Forcée; in 1736, 1/8th in the Vierge de Grâce; 1/6th in the St. Joseph; in 1738, ¾ interest in the St. Blaise, the St. Francois of Quebec and the Montreal and Aimble Anne. He died in	1

		May 1739 as a major Canada merchant.	
*Desclaux, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux		He did much Canada shipping for Cadet, the king and himself 1757-1759.	1
Detchevery dit Maisonbasse, Jean, Merchant	R	He was a goldsmith / silversmith at Quebec.	2
Detchverry, Saubat-Michel, Merchant at La Rochelle		He was in Quebec in 1739 and went again in April 1743 on L'Heureux Moin of Rouen.	1
*Dharriete, Family A Family of Merchants at La Rochelle	W R Fish	This family was in La Rochelle from the 16th century into the early 18th century and related to many of the Protestant families. They were ruined after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Etienne was born about 1605. He was a fish merchant; Pierre was a merchant at Mauzé. Nicolas was a retail merchant in drugs and chemicals at La Rochelle.	1
*Dharriette, Étienne, One of largest Merchants of Bordeaux	W Fish Furs	(Son of Nicolas in the family above.) He had ten or more ships and trade relations all over the world. In the 1660's and 1670's his sister, Marguerite, and others invested in his trading ventures, many of them to Canada and the Newfoundland fisheries. He was ruined by the Revocation in 1685. He had a debt of 50,000 *livres*. His creditors gave him a 4 year period to pay his debt. He abjured his religion and became Catholic. In 1681, he and his wife said they wanted to be buried in the reformed religion. About 1690, they moved back to La Rochelle. In 1717, he died there at the age of 82.	1
Douaire, Sieur de Bondy, Augustin	R	Bourgeois merchant at Quebec; he was buried at Quebec 28 Dec 1702.	2
Douaire, Sieur de Bondy, Jacques	Fur	(Brother of Augustin above); he was a fur merchant at Montreal; he died at Montreal 25 March 1703.	2
Doublet, François	W	He was a captain of a privateer merchant ship in 1662. He arrived in Quebec 1664 and left in 1666 or 1667.	2
Douzan, Berard Merchant of Bordeaux		27 Sep 1745, he married Catherine Lachaume who was born in Acadia. In 1742, he owned the 130 ton ship, Le Tonant with Captain Antoine Maubourguet and Jean Claparède of Louisbourg. On 22 Jan 1754, he was bankrupt.	1
Drouard, Robert	R	He was a merchant in lower Quebec in 1716; he was buried in Quebec on 26 Feb 1717.	2
Drouilhet, Gratien, Financier from Bayonne in Paris		1 July 1755, he formed a joint trading company, Société en Commandite, with three officials from Quebec—Claverie, Péan, and Penisseault. He contributed 40,000 *livres* to its capital. They were expecting to make a big profit during war time but Gratien died before the business got started. His attorney notified them. They had a debt of 554,546 *livres* to the intendant of Quebec, François Bigot.	1
Dubois, Jacques	R	Merchant in lower Quebec; he received a concession n the seigneury Ste-Marguerite near Trois Rivières.	2
Dubosc / Duboscq /	W	He married Michelle Mars, daughter of Simon Mars & Anne	1, 2

Dubosq, Raymond, Merchant at Bordeaux & Quebec		De Faye on 1 Oct 1686 at Quebec, her dowry was 2000 *livres*. He visited Bordeaux and returned to Quebec in 1688 with Jean Gitton on Le François Xavier. He died about 1697 leaving stores of cloth and other merchandise at Quebec.	
Dudevoir, Claude	R	Innkeeper and merchant of Montreal; On 11 June 1690, he was living at Quebec.	2
Dudouet Family Merchants of A Rochelle	W	At least four merchants of this family were in the Canada trade. Charles was a merchant at La Rochelle, visiting Quebec in July 1702 selling the cargo of Le Henry; Joseph, a merchant at Bordeaux, was active in the Canada trade in 1716; Henry, merchant at Gond, Saintonge and Étienne, merchant of Bordeaux, were sending cargoes to Quebec in the 1740's.	1
Dugard, Robert Merchant of Rouen	W Fur Fish	In the Canada trade 1729-1745. He had connections throughout France, New France and Europe. One of the most important merchants.	1
*Dumas, Alexandre, Merchant at Quebec		He was born in Montauban. He arrived in Quebec and stayed there. He abjured his religion at Quebec so he could marry Josephte Laroche, widow of a sea captain, Jean Requiem on 6 Oct 1760.	1
*Dumas, Libéral		He was a clerk to his brother, Alexandre, at Quebec from 1752. At age 22, he sailed from Bordeaux to Quebec in 1755. He abjured his religion at Quebec on 17 July 1761 before the priest, Emmanuel Veyssière, in order to marry Marguerite Cureux on 27 Oct 1761.	1
*Dumas, Marc, Merchant of Bordeaux		From 1752-1759, Lannes and Gauthier at Quebec received goods from Daniel Mariette *l'aîne*, Dumas and Rauly, brothers of Montauban with whom they had a partnership.	1
*Dumas de St. Martin, Jean, Merchant of Quebec		He was born in Montauban, He came to Quebec in 1751 and was representing Besse de La Barthe 1751-1752.	1
Dupleix dit Sylvain, Claude, Merchant		He was baptised at Quebec 26 Dec 1682; he was captain of a merchantman. He died between Sep 1722 and June 1723.	3
*Duprat, François, Merchant at La Rochelle	W Fur	He was in the Canada trade with a partnership with Antoine Bouchel. They sent many ships and cargoes to Quebec, Acadia and the West Indies. They owned a habitation in Acadia. Their agents in Canada were Josué Berchaud in 1677, Guillaum Bouthier in 1679; they invested in the Compagnie de la Baye Hudson together with Jean Gitton; In 1689, he was director of the company.	1
*Duprat, Gabriel, Merchant of Quebec		(Brother to François above.) He was born in Quebec 4 June 1656 to Gabriel and Françoise Gaultier. He died at La Rochelle 18 Jan. 1719, age of 67.	1
Dupuy, Jean-Patrice, Merchant in Bordeaux & Montreal	W Fur	He married a relative, Anne Dupuy from St. Domingue. From 1754 to 30 Oct 1756, he was the Montreal agent of his cousin, Jean-André Lamalétie and of Pierre-Gabriel Admyrault. On 20 Oct 1756, he formed a partnership with M.J. H Péan, adjutant at Quebec and J. B Martel, royal shopkeeper at Montreal. It was named Dupuy Fils & Cie. Dupuy directed it and held a 1/3rd share. They shared the	1

		investment capital of 400,000 *livres*. On 14 May 1760, the company re-formed without Martel. It was dissolved on 30 May 1768. He sent many cargoes to Canada. He was denounced to the Châtelet criminal court during *affaire du Canada.*	
Duroy, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec	R	Bourgeois merchant of Quebec and a butcher; in 1688, he was living in lower Quebec; he died 23 Dec 1723 at Quebec.	2
Estèbe, Guillaume, King's storekeeper & merchant at Quebec	W Fur	In 1728, he arrived in Quebec. He married Cécille-Élizabeth Thibièrge. On 7 March 1736, he was put on the Conseil Supérieur. He was a storehouse guard on 14 Nov 1740. He imported French goods. Many French merchants hired him as a commission agent. He owned shares in ships and traded. He was charged with fraud in the *affaire du Canada* and was imprisoned from May 1762 to 20 Jan 1764 in the Bastile. He lived until 10 June 1781.	1
Estier, Jacques, Merchant at Montreal		In May 1696, he borrowed 700 *livres* from François Hurault and Pierre Laurent at La Rochelle to ship goods to Quebec on La Perle, Le Wasp and La Ville Marie.	1
Estournel, André, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	He was related to the Busquet and Pachot merchant families. In the 1720's and possibly earlier he was in the Canada trade. He was often a partner to Catignon.	1
Fafard dit Laframboise, Jean-Baptiste		(Son of Jean or Jean-Baptiste below); A merchant. He married Marie-Charlotte Legardeur de Tilly at Tilly on 23 Oct 1730.	2
Fafard dit Laframboise, Jean or Jean-Baptiste, Merchant at Trois Rivières	Fur	3 Sep 1691, he hired voyageurs to go into the interior for furs; He was buried at Trois Rivières 27 July 1714. He was a fur merchant.	2
Fafard dit Longval Louis, Merchant		(Brother of Jean or Jean-Baptiste above); Bourgeois Merchant; 27 May 1701, he was hired to go for furs in the West. He was buried at Batiscan on 4 Feb 1717.	2
Fafard, Sieur de Longval, Michel		(Son of Louis above); A bourgeois merchant. In 1721, he was captain of the militia. In 1728, he was major of the militia of the Trois-Rivières government.	
Fafard dit Francheville, Alexis, Merchant		(Brother of Michel above.); In 1721, he was an ensign in the militia; He was a bourgeois merchant.	2
Faye, Sieur de Châteauneuf, Jean		A merchant; nephew of Anne who married Simon Mars. In 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec. He was buried at Quebec 19 Aug 1686. He drowned.	2
Faye, Jacques, Merchant at La Rochelle		(Brother of Jean above); In 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec.	2
Feniou, Guillaume Merchant of La Rochelle & Quebec	W	4 Feb 1656, he and his brother-in-law, Léonard Compain, signed a partnership. They agreed to share profits and losses for four years. Guillaume was to work in Quebec for the first two years and Léonard the 2nd two years. It was agreed each was to pay his own passage. They hired Anthoine Lucas as *consultant.* He went to Quebec in 1656 and 1657 after the	1, 2

		death of his father. He then settled in Quebec and bought property there on 13 Sep 1657. He left power of attorney for Compain who had borrowed 600 *livres* on 28 Feb 1657 from Vincent Heron to send goods to Quebec on the Taureau and the Vierge. His father may have been in Quebec in 1647, 1651, 1653 and 1654. His father, Guillaume had been a merchant in La Rochelle also.	
Fillye, Pierre, Agent in La Rochelle & in Canada	W	He was born in Dieppe about 1630; In 1655, he sailed to Canada on Peron's ship, Le Petit François of La Rochelle. 1661—he was an agent in La Rochelle for Rozé, Guénet & Cie of Rouen chartering the Taureau for a voyage to Canada. In April 1664, he sent Le Noir from La Rochelle to Canada for Charles Aubert de La Chesnay. In Dec 1666, he signed as captain of the Saint Jean Baptiste to Canada.	1
Fossecave, Jean, Merchant at La Rochelle about 1680-1720	W Fur	Before June 1682, he sailed as a clerk and 1/8th owner of the Saint Pierre bound for the West Indies. There he quarreled with Arnaud Peré over tobacco in the return cargo. In 1705, he was a commission agent at La Rochelle for Antoine Pascaud of Quebec. In a letter he was asked by Pascaud to sell furs held by Mme La Maigniere for him and to hire an *engagé* as a good currier to work at Montreal for three years as quickly as possible. By 1713 he was a partner in the Fossecave & Capdeville firm of La Rochelle. On 8 Apr 1716, they sent Jacques Richard as their agent to Quebec.	1
Fleury, Sieur de LaGorgendière, Joseph, Merchant at Quebec	Fur	In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec; He was a bourgeois merchant; on 28 May 1702, he hired voyageurs to go into the interior for furs; in 1723, he was an agent of la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales.	2
Fleury dit Desmarais, Jacques, Merchant	R	He was from Fontenay-le-Comte, La Rochelle, Poitou. He married Marie-Josephe Ouimet at St-Jean, Ile d'Orleans on 1 March 1729.	2
Foucault, François, Merchant at Quebec	R	In the 1716 Census he was living in lower Quebec; on 7 Oct 1686, he was living in Quebec. He was a guard of the storehouse.	2
Fournel / Fornel, Jean, Merchant at Quebec	R	On 11 Aug 1694, he was living in Lower Quebec; he died at Quebec 12 Sep 1723.	2
Fournel /Fornel, Jean-Louis Merchant at Quebec		(Son of Jean above) A bourgeois merchant; he married Marie-Anne Barbel at Quebec on 31 Dec 1723.	2
France, André, Merchant in Paris and at Bordeaux	W	He married Marie Archambault at Rouen 24 Feb 1722. Her dowry was 20,000 *livres* in cash and 16,000 *livres* in rents on the Hôtel de Ville in Paris. She died 6 Feb 1724. In 1753, he had ½ interest in the 115 ton Le Saint André 3/8th in the 110 ton La Française, both of Honfleur. When André died 25 Nov 1757, he was ordering and assembling goods to be sent to Canada for David and Abraham Gradis of Bordeaux. They paid him in bills of exchange.	1
France, Guillaume, Merchant of Rouen	W	(Brother to André above.) A partner in Robert Dugard's Compagnie du Canada; he married Elizabeth-Catherine	1

		Besard. They had one son, Guillaume, who succeeded his father in the Dugard Compagnie du Canada as a financier.	
Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste-Louis, Merchant at Quebec	R	He arrived in Quebec in 1671; he was a merchant, a map maker and a hydrogapher in 1674 and named hydrographer of the king in 1687. In 1692, he went to France where he died.	2
Frêchet / Frichet, Etienne	R	Merchant in New France; he married Marie-Anne Lavergne at Quebec on 23 June 1710.	2
Frérot, Sieur de La Chesnaye, Thomas, Merchant	R	He was from Normandie. In 1666, he was at Trois Rivières as a domestic worker for Pierre Boucher. 2 Nov 1670, he was living in Boucherville. In 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec. 21 Nov 1669-1678, he was a seigneury notary at Boucherville and at Cap de-la-Madeleine 1678-1679. In 1679, he was a part time merchant.	2
Freyhoff, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle		He was part owner of 160 ton, Espérance of La Rochelle when it sailed to Quebec in 1671.	1
Fromage, Pierre-François, Merchant at Quebec	R	He was born about 1676 at St-Étienne-en-Forêt. On 8 May 1694, he signed a contract with Hilaire Bourgine to work for him and Jean Sebille in Quebec for 3 years at 120 *livres* and board and lodging. In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec.	1
Frontigny dit Mechin, Pierre	R	He was a butler for Bégon and a merchant in 1720; he was a clerk to the constables of Quebec; he died at Quebec 17 April 1728.	2
Gadois dit Mauger, Jacques , Merchant at Montreal	R	He also was a master silver and gold smith. He married Marie-Madeleine-Jacquette Chorel at Montreal on 21 Sep 1714.	2
Gagnon, Mathurin, Merchant	R Fur	A merchant and a farmer; he was a member of la Communauté des Habitants; he died 20 April 1690 at Château Richer.	2
Gaigneur, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle		Bourgeois merchant; he never came to New France.	2
Gaigneur, Louis, Merchant of La Rochelle		(Son of Jean above) A bourgeois merchant. He never came to New France. He died 20 Nov 1644 at St. Jean-du-Perrot, La Rochelle, Aunis. His son Jean was a merchant at La Rochelle and his daughter, Marie, married a silk cloth merchant. Jean and Marie never came to Canada.	2
Gaigneur, Pierre Merchant at La Rochelle	W Fur	(Son of Louis above) He was a member of the oldest and largest merchant group in the Canada trade in La Rochelle. He was born about 1624. He visited Quebec in 1648, 1657, 1659, 1660, & 1668. He owned a huge fleet of trade ships. 1648-1668, he recruited many *engagés* for Canada. He was director of Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. In 1669-1670, he was first consul of la *juridiction consulaire*. He died at La Rochelle 11 Nov 1692 at age 68. He left more debts than assets.	1
Gaigneur, Louis		(Brother of Pierre above); Louis was a merchant at Quebec in 1651.	2
Gaillard, Guillaume.		He arrived in Quebec as a common domestic of Jean	2

Merchant at Quebec		François Hazeur in 1685. A bourgeois merchant, he was on the Conseil Supérieur 5 May 1710. In 1716, he lived in Upper Quebec. He died at Quebec 12 Nov 1729.	
Gaillard, Sieur de Saint-Laurent, Charles-François, Merchant of Quebec	R	He was a merchant and captain of a ship. He was an early seigneur of the Ile d'Orleans.	2
Galibert, Sieur des Colombiers, Marc-Antoine, Merchant	R	He was hired at La Rochelle 6 April 1643 to go as an *engagé* to Acadia. He was at La Rochelle, when his wife sold their house.	2
Gamelin dit Châteauvieux, Pierre, Merchant	Fur	He was captain of the militia at St-François-du-Lac; his son Pierre, was also a merchant and sent voyageurs for furs between 1 May 1724 and 14 June 1729.	2
Gamelin, Ignace, Merchant	Fur	(Brother of Pierre above); A fur merchant; 25 Aug 1715--he hired voyageurs to go with him into the interior for furs.	2
Gamelin dit Maugras, Jacques-Joseph		(Son of Pierre, 2 above); he was a merchant, a militia officer and a guard of the king's storehouse. 26 Aug 1715 and 3 Sep 1717, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Gannes de Falaise, Charles & Michel		Army officers in Canada who took part in trade with France.	1
Garbusat, Pierre, Merchant of Lyon & La Rochelle	W Fish Fur	On 19 Feb 1658, he first sailed to Canada with Emmanuel Leborgne. He returned to La Rochelle 18 Nov 1662, when he formed a partnership with Simon François of La Rochelle and François Roy of Niort. In the 1670's, he was active in the Newfoundland fishing trade. In the 1680's and 1690's he was a Canada merchant with shares in ships and in the fur trade until August 1695 in partnership with David Jeuillard, Nicolas Raullin, Marguerite Gallois, widow of Michel Girard, and two bankers —Jean-François and Nicolas Chalmelle. This group together bought furs in Canada and French ports and sold them in Lyon, Paris and other cities. Garbusat's agent in Quebec was Pierre Martel.	1
Gareau, Jean, Merchant in Quebec		12 Oct 1673, he was living in Quebec; in 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec; he died 3 Aug 1687 at Quebec.	2
Gareau dit Saint-Onge, Pierre	Fur	Merchant of furs; From 15 May 1724 to 29 May 1727, he was hiring voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Garos / Garros, Jean Merchant of La Rochelle		He was born about 1616 and probably was Basque. He was godfather to Jean Gitton on 2 July 1662. He married Marie Adron. In 1644 and 1653, he sailed to Quebec and was active in the Canada trade.	1
Garos, Jean		(Son of Jean above.) Jean-François sailed to Quebec at age 20. In the 1670's and 1680's he was in the Canada trade. In 1672, he was captain of 100 ton, Le Prince Maurice taking a cargo to the West Indies for Pierre Garbusat. The ship was owned by his widowed mother and Jean Gitton.	1
*Garrisson, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He owned ships and cargoes in the Canada trade in the 1740's and was in partnership with other Huguenots. In the 1730's and 1740's, he was trading with relatives in Amsterdam, Étienne Garrisson & Fils and Jacques Garrison.	1
Gatin, Jean,		Born in Paris in 1674. He married in Quebec to Catherine-	1

Merchant of Quebec		Élisabeth Lambert on 23 Sep 1706. He had a partnership with Jean Jung. They owned Louise which went between Bordeaux and Quebec.	
Gatineau / Gastineau dit Duplessis, Nicolas, Merchant at Cap-de-Madeleine	Fur	A fur merchant; he arrived as a soldier; 1650-1651, he was clerk of the trade at Trois-Rivières; he was a judge Provost and a fur merchant; on 2 Oct 1650, he was living at Trois Rivières. He died at Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec on 10 Aug 1689.	2
Gatineau, Sieur Duplessis & LaMeslée, Louis	Fur	He was a fur merchant. 27 April 1723 to 19 Aug 1730, he was hiring voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Gatineau dit Duplessis, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	(Brother of Louis above); A fur merchant; he inherited the fief of Grosbois-Est at the death of his brother, Nicolas.	2
*Gauthier, Jean-Jacques, Merchants of Quebec and Montauban		He was born at Montauban about 1715; He signed a marriage contract with Claire Dumas on 23 July 1746. Her dowry was 6,000 *livres*.	1
Gazan, François, Merchant of La Rochelle		He married Elizabeh Denaud on 14 June 1754. In the 1750's, he traded with Canada and fitted out some ships. He sailed to Quebec in 1755, leaving his power of attorney to Jean Tourton. In 1758. He owned 25% of the Fille Unique of La Rochelle which was taken as a prize.	1
Geffroy, Madeleine, a St-Malo Merchant		About 1680, she married Louis Bindaux, a habitant of Îles St-Pierre, Newfoundland.	3
*Germé, Sébastien, Merchant of Bourdeaux		He was in the Louisbourg trade with his brother, Noel. Another relative, Michel Germé, was captain who was also a pilot on 1 Jan 1718. They married into the large Bonfils family. They went bankrupt on 10 Jan 1725. He died 31 Oct 1727.	1
Gibert, Bertrand		In the 1730's, he lived in Quebec as a *marchand forain.*	1
Gibert, Arnaud, Merchant of Bordeaux		He was a commission agent for Trottier Desauniers. He insured the Saint Michel of Quebec for 6000 *livres* on the ship and 6000 *livres* on the cargo by a policy concluded on Dec 20, 1740 for a voyage from Quebec to Ile Royale to Bordeaux.	1
Girard, Jacques		Merchant at Quebec he died 26 June 1677 at Quebec age 50.	2
*Giraudeau Family of La Rochelle	W	A large Huguenot family related to other trade families in La Rochelle. Élie, son of Antoine who married Marie Lelarge was in the Canada trade. He died 25 March 1750. In 1757 and 1758, Jean-Pierre-Antoine sent cloth and brandy to Pierre Meynardie and Abraham Derit at Quebec	1
Gitton / Giton, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle	W Fur	He was a major Canada trade merchant. A number of this family were bakers. They were all in the business of providng food supplies on ships. He was very active in the Canada trade with many ships and cargoes. He went to Canada in 1655, 1656, 1658, and 1687. In 1677, he bought furs, including 14 bales of sealskins. Each bale was to contain 1218 skins. They were purchased from de la Salle.	1, 2

		La Salles' bills of exchange on Paris and Rouen merchants were refused and Gittton had to go to court to get payment; he bought a share in the Compagnie de la Baye du Hudson in partnership with Antoine Bouchel and François Duprat. He hired *engagés* for New France; he was living at Quebec from 16 Feb 1659 to 9 Nov 1687; He was confirmed at Quebec 23 March 1664.	
Gitton, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle	W Fur	(Son of Jean above) 1688, he sailed to Quebec and back on St. François Xavier. On 10 Nov 1685, he paid 28,155 *livres* for his father's share in the Compagnie de la Baye du Hudson. On 18 Oct 1699, he and Martin Desgarinières, merchant of Lyon, paid 16,000 *livres* each to Joseph Le Moyne de Sérigny and Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville for an official monopoly to trade with Fort Bourbon on Hudson Bay	1
*Glemet, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec & La Rochelle		20 March 1744, he applied for a passport from the admiralty in Bordeaux to sail to Canada on Ville de Rouen. He traded in Quebec until the British conquest.	1
Gobin, Jean, Merchant	Fur	Bourgeois merchant; in 1681, he was in Lower Quebec. He had a concession of land of the seigneury of Gobin at Baie des Chaleurs on 26 May 1690; he was associated with François Hazeur and Charles Aubert.	2
Godefoy, Sieur de Vieuxpont, Joseph, Merchant at Trois Rivières	Fur	A fur merchant and an interpreter; his uncle, Michel Leneuf, gave him the seigneury, Vieuxpont, on 15 Nov 1667 to improve.	2
Godefroy, Sieur de Saint-Paul & de Tonnerre, Amador	Fur Fish	(Brother of Joseph above); he was an interpreter and a merchant of furs and fish. He had a concession of land on the seigneury de St-Paul at Labrador on 20 March 1706. On 16 Sep 1694, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Godefroy, Sieur de Mauboeuff, Jacques,	Fur	A fur merchant. He went to the Detroit area and took part in trading there himself. On 20 Nov 1730, he was buried at Detroit. Six of his nine children were baptised at Detroit.	2
Godefroy, Sieur de Roquetaillade, Pierre	Fur	Fur merchant; 27 Aug 1727, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Goguet, Denis	W Fur	He was the son of a merchant at La Flotte. In 1731, he went to Quebec. He was an agent for Simon-Pierre Thiollière. In 1734, he went again to Quebec as an agent for the Pascaud Brothers and was there until 1748 when he settled at La Rochelle. There he was an importer of Canadian furs and an agent to Canadian merchants. From 1748-1758, he sent ships and goods to Canada His agent in Canada was Jacques Perrault. In the *affaire du Canada*, he was accused of holding goods and money for wealthy officials and those on trial.	1
Goossens, Pierre-François, Merchant of Bilbao, Spain	W Fish	He represented a Netherlands merchant family in Spain. In Feb 1744, he declared he was Catholic and he became a naturalized French citizen. About 1740, he began to supply timber, hemp, and other items from the Baltic to the French	1

		navy. On 22 July 1750, he formed a partnership with Michel Rodrigue of La Rochelle and Louisbourg for the Newfoundland fishing fleet to supply the navy and the West Indies with codfish.	
Gorse, Pierrel Merchant of Bordeaux		He owned 1/4th (15,000 *livres*) of Aimable Roze and 13/16th of Hirondelle of Bordeaux. In 1730-1731, they were sent to Canada from which Gorsee claimed losses of 22,000 *livres*. In 1741, he was bankrupt.	1
Gosselin, Louis, Merchant of Quebec	R	In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec	2
Goubault, Pierre, Merchant		Bourgeois merchant; he was a substitute procuror of the king at Trois Rivières.	2
Gourdeau, Sieur de La Grossardière, Jacques, Merchant		Bourgeois merchant; he was born at Quebec 7 July 1660; 17 June 1698, he received a grant of a back fief on the Miramichi. He later sold it to Pierre Rey-Gaillard in 1699. He died at Hôtel Dieu, Quebec 11 July 1720.	3, 2
**Gradis, Abraham, Merchant of Bordeaux	W Fur	From 1746, he and his son, David, below, sent many ships to Canada for the Crown. They sent soldiers and supplies for the Crown. In 1757, he alone supplied 2,369,326 *livres* of royal stores to Quebec. In 1758, he sent 14 (8 of his own) ships to Quebec. In 1758, Gradis was claiming 2,700,000 *livres* from the minister in Paris. In 1759, his nephew, Moise was sent to France to collect the debt. On 10 July 1748, Gradis and his father, David, formed the Société du Canada with the Intendant François Bigot and Jacques-Michel Bréard for transatlantic trade. It was dissolved on 16 Feb 1756. Gradis made a profit of 902,305 *livres*. He was protected from investigation or prosecution in the *affaire du Canada*.	1
**Gradis, David, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	Portugese Jewish Merchant; the Crown hired him to send supplies and troops to Canada. In 1746, he had agents in London, Amsterdam, Cadiz, and Marseille.	1
Granié, Louis, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	At his death on 7 July 1755, he left four Canada bills totaling 5955 *livres* drawn by the treasurer of Quebec on the treasury general in Paris. His estate was valued at 158,056 *livres*.	1
Grateloup, Gabriel-André, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	On 7 Feb 1753 he was bankrupt owing Pierre Charbonneau of Quebec 5218 *livres*. He claimed 9435 *livres* from Pierre Trottier Desauniers, 1670 *livres* from François-Emmanuel Moreau of Quebec for 2 bales of silk goods, 620 *livres* from G. Estèbe for goods worth 14,071 *livres* sent to him in partnership with Casamayor of Madrid and 616 *livres* from Desauniers, Beaubien of Quebec.	1
*Grelleau, Jean, Merchant at Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Quebec	W	He was in the Canada trade and he and his father, Jean, had gone to Canada. He abjured his religion at St. Barthélemy, La Rochelle on 18 March 1757 in order to marry Catherine de Chaumejan Sorin. After her death he went back to his Protestant religion and married Elizabeth Manceau in 1759. 1745-1746, he worked at Bordeaux as a clerk for Jean Beaujon. Then he went to La Rochelle to work for Jean	1

		Soumbrun who hired him as his agent in Canada. He built up their trade. In 1760, he invested in shipping foods to Canada from Spain. In March 1760, the Crown paid him 5400 *livres* to take 30 soldiers to Quebec on the Rameau.	
Greysac, Gabriel, Merchant		Bourgeois merchant; in 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec	2
Greyselon, Sieur Du Lhut, Daniel, Merchant	Fur	Fur merchant and explorer in the area of the Great Lakes and westward; 1657, he was an ensign in the Lyonnais Regiment;	2
Greysolon, Sieur de La Tourette, Claude, Mechant	W Fur	(Brother of Daniel above); a fur merchant; Betweeen 6 May 1685 to 3 Feb 1693, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west to get furs. In 1695, he went to France.	2
Grignon, Antoine, Merchant of La Rochelle		He had a habitation in Canada. His son, Auger, lived in Canada as a merchant. He was a specialized Canada merchant, he supplied the Ursulines and others. Between 29 Sep 1654 to 19 Aug 1664, he was living in Quebec. He died in Dec 1675, at La Rochelle.	1, 2
Grignon, Jean, Merchant at La Rochelle		(Son of Antoine above) He married Louise Coté at Quebec on 4 Nov 1663. He was very active in the Canada trade. He paid 22 *livres* for a pew next to Pierre Gaigneur's pew in St. Pierre Chapel, St. Jean-du-Perrot, La Rochelle.	1, 2
Grignon, Jean, Merchant at La Rochelle & Quebec	R	(Son of Jean above) In 1696, he married Marie Jolliet at Quebec. He returned to France in 1698 and died 2 Sep 1702 at La Rochelle.	1, 2
Groc, Antoine, Merchant of Bordeaux		He sent goods to Tourton de Clairefontaine in Quebec and asked François Gazan to collect on it. In 1758, he had a 6000 *livres* share in the Valeur to go to Quebec-St. Domingue-Bordeaux under Captain Martin Larreguy.	1
Guay / Leguay, Alexis, Merchant at Montreal	R	13 May 1702, he was hired as a voyageur. He married Élisabeth Dizy at Champlain on 26 Jan 1698.	2
Guenet, Toussaint Merchant of Rouen		1650-1670, he was active in the Canada trade. In 1669, he and others signed an agreement with the Crown to transport people to Canada. They left Rouen for Quebec with 164 *engagés* including Norman girls and twelve horses on the St. Jean Baptiste.	1
*Guillebaud / Guillebault, Moise, Fur merchant at La Rochelle	Fur	In 1638, he was selling skins, especially roe deer to George Hanner of Bastable, England and in 1640, buying sheepskins and goatskins from Jean Raymond, a clothing merchant of La Rochelle. In Sep 1658, it was reported that he was a prisoner in England when he was captured loading furs for Emmanuel Le Borgne on the Moyse in Acadia.	1
Guillet, Mathurin, Merchant	R	He was a tavern keeper; in 1681, he was a domestic laborer for François Habert. He was buried at Montreal on 1 2 March 1720.	2
Guillet, Paul, Merchant	Fur	(Son of Mathurin above); a fur merchant; 11 April 1727, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Guillimin, Charles, Merchant		He was also a ship owner. On 13 May 1721, he was on the Conseil Supérieur	2
Guillory, Simon,	Fur	On 6 May 1716 to 13 May 1727, he hired traders and	2

Merchant		voyageurs to go west for furs.	
Guy, Pierre, Merchant		He was born 5 May 1701 at St-Eustache, Paris. He probably was a merchant at Montreal.	2
Guyon dit Dufresnay, Jacques, Merchant		Bourgeois merchant; 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec	2
Guyon, François,		(Brother of Jacques above); Merchant and a pirate.	2
Guyon dit Després, Joseph, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; an early seigneur of the fief Du Buisson.	2
Guyon / Dion, Joseph		Captain of a merchantman in Canada; he was born at Quebec on 16 Jan 1674; in 1681, he was living in lower Quebec; 29 July 1695, he and his brother, François, agreed to take Antoine and Jean Forestier, Chavin and Laval to Acadia to work on the ship, Philibusquier. He died 15 Sep 1714.	3
Hamelin, Louis, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; From 15 April 1726 to 18 June 1730, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Hatanville, Antoine,		On 23 April 1680, he was confirmed at Quebec. On 24 March 1692, he was a merchant and a bailiff in the royal court on the seigneury of Montreal.	2
*Havy, François Merchant at Quebec, La Rochelle and Bordeaux	W R Fish Fur	In 1730, he had a cousin, Jean Lefèvre / Lefebvre, who went to Canada with him as a partner. This partnership lasted to 1761. These two were agents of Robert Dugard and partners of Rouen from 1732-1748. Havy was at Quebec in partnership with Lefèvre and Joseph Aliés. Lefèvre, Aliés, and Pierre Massac of Rouen owned the 140 ton L'Aimable Rose. It was captured enroute from Quebec to Gaspé and then La Rochelle on 28 Oct 1755. The ship was carrying planks, fish and seven cases of household items which belonged to Breard, the naval controller in Quebec.	1
Hazeur /Azeur/ Azur, François, Merchant at Quebec	W	He went to Brouage and then to Quebec. This family were transatlantic trade merchants and Catholic clergy who included the Grignon, Gaigneur, Jung, Pachot and Leber families. He traded with his relatives in La Rochelle, Bordeaux and the Marine service at Rochefort. He was a church warden at the Quebec seminary and an officer in the Congregation de la Vierge.	1
Hazeur, Sieur du Petit Marais, Jean-Francois & Hazeur, Sieur Dezonneaux, Léonard		(Brothers of François); both were merchants at Quebec. Jean-François was married to Marie-Anne Drouard at La Rochelle and he was buried at Montreal on 2 Nov 1685. Léonard was married to Marie-Anne Pinguet at Quebec and he was buried at Quebec on 25 Oct 1681.	2
*Heron, Antoine, Merchant & banker at La Rochelle	W Furs Fish	He was agent for the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales and the Compagnie d'Acadie in 1686 and 1688. From 1680-1696, he signed for at least 14 ships to go to Canada. Between 1686-1689, he went to Quebec many times.	1
*Heron, Vincent, Bourgeois at La Rochelle		He lent money to Canada merchants in the form of bottomry loans. 1657-1658—he worked through Pierre Allaire and Michel Levesque. He made loans to François Peron, Léonard Compain, Jacques Lefort, Fabien Marot, Mathurin	1

		Morisset and Pierre Allaire.	
Hervieux, Léonard dit Jean-Baptiste-Léonard		He was a merchant and a master *arquebusier*. In 1713, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Hervieux, Louis-François, Merchant at Montreal	W Fur	(Son of Léonard above); He was born in Montreal. He traded at Montreal with his brother, Jacques, and with the Pascaud brothers. He and his brother, Jacques, were wholesale fur merchants.	1
Héry dit Duplanty, Jacques	R	He was a master barrel maker and a merchant.	2
Houssard, Pierre	R	A merchant; he died 18 Sep 1717 at Quebec.	2
Hubert dit Lacroix, Louis	R	Merchant; He died 17 March 1730 at Laprairie.	2
Hubert dit Lacroix, Jacques	Fur	A fur merchant. He spent time at Detroit himself. Five of his children were baptised there. The other four were baptised at Montreal.	2
Huart, Christophe-Albert-Alberic, At Louisbourg	W Fish	1750-1758, he was the head of a fishing Company out of Louisbourg and Les Sables d'Olonne. From the fall of 1751, he was at Louisbourg for about 17 months.	1
Hucgla, Antoine, Merchant of Bordeaux	W Fish Whale	1660's and 1670's he was active in the fishing trade; in 1671, he was one of seven Bordeaux merchants to get permission of the king to form a company to build a ship, La Ville de Bordeaux, to go to Greenland whale fishing.	1
Hurault, François, Merchant of Quebec & La Rochelle	W R Fur	In 1666, he had an *engagé*, Jacques Sylvestre. In 1667, he was a furrier in Quebec. In 1681, he was living in Upper Quebec. In 1690, he sent a cargo to Canada which was insured for 1500 *livres*. The ship, L'Inclination, was wrecked near Bayonne. He was related to the Mars family.	1, 2
*Hurtin / Huertain Family	W Fish	In the 17th century, this family were mariners at little ports of the Avert Peninsula, Saintonge. In 1672, Captain Jean Hurtin owned 1/16th share in a 130 ton, St. Trinité of Bordeaux for fishing at Newfoundland. In 1667, Jacques Hurtin sailed Clerbault to Acadia and Quebec and the Catherine to Quebec and West Indies in 1682, the Honoré to Quebec in 1683 and 1684. Captain Pierre Hurtin of Avalon, Saintonge took the St. Joseph to Newfoundland fishing grounds in 1670. In 1661, Captain Guillaume Hurtin sailed Marguerite to Acadia and Jean-Baptiste to Quebec in 1662, Phénix to Quebec in1663 and Orange to Acadia in 1670. In 1700, Jacques Hurtin took the St. Jean of La Rochelle to Canada and the West Indies.	1
Janot / Janneau, Étienne, Merchant at Quebec		In 1686 and 1696, he was a merchant in Quebec; he was a royal notary for the seigneuries of La Pocatière, Rivière Ouelle, Kamouraska, Rivière-du-Loup, and Port-Joli. He received this commission 14 June 1709.	2
Janvrin dit Dufresne, Nicolas, Merchant		He was baptized 6 Dec 1654 at Clecy, Caen, Bayeux, Normandie. On 5 Feb 1685, he was living at Quebec.	2
Janvrin dit Dufresne, Jean-		On 16 March 1730, he was a royal surveyor.	2

Baptiste, Merchant			
*Jarnac, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec & La Rochelle		1744, he was living in Quebec; 1750-1752, he had a partnership with Charles Ranson in the Canada trade, in Quebec.	1
Jolliet, Zacharie, Merchant of Quebec	Fur	1681, he was living in Lower Quebec; he was a wheelwright for la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales and also a fur merchant.	2
Jolliet, Sieur de Mingan, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	W Fish	He was also a contractor of fisheries. He was seigneur of Mingnan and d'Anticosti with his brother, Charles.	2
Jourdain, Guillaume		He was a master mason and stone cutter trading at Quebec. He and Francois Lancheteau, merchants at La Rochelle formed a company and agreed to trade between La Rochelle and Quebec for three years with equal sharing of profits and losses. Jourdain was to take goods worth 6000 *livres* to Quebec on the first available ship.	1
Journeau, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	He was a Voyageur merchant. He was from Bretagne.	2
Juchereau, Sieur de Châtelet & Deschâtelets, Noel	W Fur	1622-1625, he was in charge of the forges d'Echaumesnil, canton de moulins-la-Marche; 1628, he was a merchant at La Ventrouze, France. He was a member of the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France in 1627; In 1634, he arrived in Quebec and was named Commis general of la Compagnie des Cent Associates in New France on 15 Jan 1635. In 1641, he was director of shipments from Canada to La Rochelle. Part of 1645, he was procureur general of the community of habitants of New France.	2
Juchereau, Sieur de Maure, Jean	Fur	(Brother of Noel above); He arrived in Quebec in 1634 and was a fur merchant in Quebec. He was a merchant at La Ferté-Vidame; in 1647, he was commis general of the warehouses of New France.	2
Juchereau, Sieur de Saint-Denis, Nicolas, Merchant	Fur	(Son of Jean above); a fur merchant; In 1641, he was living in Quebec. He was captain of the militia of Beauport. In 1692, he received letters of noblesse.	2
Jung, Jean, Merchant at Quebec		A bourgeois merchant; 3 Dec 1692, he was living at Quebec.	2
Jung, Jean, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	(Son of Jean above); He went to Quebec in 1723 on the family's ship, Le St. Laurent, and went into the Canada trade with his uncle, Jung De St. Laurent. He was active in the Canada and Louisiana trade, & owned shares in many ships.	1
Jung, Guillaume, Merchant of Bordeaux	W Fish Furs	He first started by trading in fish, skins and feathers in Bordeaux. Then he was agent for La Rochelle merchants in the Canada trade, managing the Bordeaux business. From1683-1695, he sent at least 27 ships from La Rochelle to Bordeaux to Quebec. During these same years, he began to trade with Canada on his own, by making agreements with Jacques Thomas, Guillaume Bouthier, Paul Berry, François Hazeur and Pierre Plasse.	1
Jung de St. Laurent, Jean	W Fur	(Brother of Guillaume above); he was a sea captain who began trading at Bordeaux and La Rochelle with Guillaume.	1

		In 1692, he went to Quebec with his cousin, Jean Jung. His cousin returned to France. He stayed and bought 2/3rd share in Le St. Louis from Governor Frontenac and worked in partnership with him until Frontenac died in 1698. Until his death on 15 May 1727, he was of major importance in the Canada trade.	
*Kater, François	W Fish	On 13 Jan 1759, he had a partnership with Victor de Kater. They shipped to Newfoundland; In 1766, they were bankrupt.	1
Kirke, Louis	W Fur	With his brothers, David and Thomas, they took Quebec in 1629 for the English. The Kirke's had control of the fur trade in Quebec until it was returned to France in 1632 by the Treaty of St-Germain-en-Laye.	2
La Barthe, Jean-Pierre, Government storekeeper at Montreal	W Fur	From 1 Jan 1757-8 Sep 1760, he was a government storekeeper. He was in a number of trading companies during the Seven Years War. He was arrested on 16 Nov 1761 in the *affaire du Canada* when he returned to France after the British conquest. He was imprisoned in the Bastille until 16 Dec 1763.	1
Lacomberry /Lecombery, Bertrand, Merchant at Quebec	W Fish	Besides being a merchant, he was a valet to Intendant François Bigot. In 1749, he came to Quebec on La Renommée. Later he was trading at Louisbourg and was there in Sep 1755. There he bought a 170-180 ton St. Jean which he sent to Martinique with a cargo of cod. In Nov 1755, he insured it for 22,000 *livres* with David Gradis & Fils.	1
Lacoudray dit Tourangeau, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant at Quebec	R	In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec. He was also an innkeeper.	2
Lagarde, Pierre, Merchant	R	In 1667, he was living at Cap-de-la-Madeleine; he was confirmed 1 May 1664, at Cap-de-la-Madeleine. In 1681, he was at Batiscan.	2
Lagère, Laurent.	R	Merchant at Quebec; he died 3 March 1711 at Quebec.	2
Lalande, Sieur dr Gayon or Gaillon, Pierre	R	Bourgeois merchant living in Lower Quebec.	2
Lalande, Jean,		Merchant at Montreal.	2
Lamarque, Jacques, Merchant		He was born at St-André, Bordeaux, Guyenne; 8 Dec 1662, he was confirmed at Quebec; on 11 Aug 1667 and 1681, he was at Montreal.	2
Lamarque, Antoine, Merchant of Bordeaux	Fish	From 1656 to about 1685, he was involved in the Newfoundland fishing and owned many ships. He was bankrupt in Oct 1685 and imprisoned in Dec.	1
Lamarque, Pierre-Geraud, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	In the 1730's, he sent many ships to Canada and was a major Canada merchant.	1
Lambert, Eustache, Merchant at Quebec		About 1640-1651, he was a *donné* of the Jesuits. He was confirmed at Quebec 10 Aug 1659; he was a merchant in Lower Quebec.	2

Lambert, René-Louis	R	A merchant in Quebec	2
Lamothe dit LeMarquis & Sourdy / Sourdid, Claude, Merchant	R	He was from de Huby-St-Leu, Montreuil-sur-Mer. Artois, Picardie. In 1681, he was at Montreal (Lachine); he was buried at Bellevue 23 Feb 1687.	2
Lamothe / De La Mothe, Jacques, Merchant of La Rochelle, Quebec, & Bordeaux	W	He was the Bordeaux partner of Aubert de La Chesnaye in the Canada trade sending many ships and cargoes from Bordeaux. The last ship he charted to Quebec was the 80 ton L'Aymable in March 1679.	1
Lamoureux dit Rochefort, Jean	W Fish	A habitant fisherman, major of the militia of Plaisance and merchant at Louisbourg; he was in the census of Plaisance in 1698, 1700, 1704, 1705, 1706 & 1711; He was at Louisbourg in 1715, 1716, 1717, 1719 & 1724 censuses. In 1724, he had two *engagés*, 10 fishermen and two chaloupes. In 1734, he was at Havre-St-Pierre and had a ship for trade plus fishing ships.	3
Lamoureux dit Saint-Germain, Pierre, Merchant		In 1681, he was at La Pérade; on 9 Sep 1694, he hired men to go west to get furs. He was a bourgeois merchant.	2
Lamoureux dit Saint-Germain, François, Merchant		He was also an *arquebusier* and seigneur of the fief de Bellevue. He hired voyageurs to go west for furs on 18 April 1727.	2
Lamy, Michel		He was from Ste-Catherine, Liège, Belgium; he was a merchant.	2
Landron, Jean	Fish	July 1703, he sailed to Plaisance as agent for Antoine Pascaud on La Marguerite. He took a cargo of cod from Plaisance to La Rochelle.	1
Landron, Louis, Merchant of La Rochelle & agent at Quebec	W	On 9 Jan 1711, he was in debt with several bills of exchange at Plaisance, Newfoundland. By 1713, he had a growing business as a commission agent at Quebec for Antoine Pascaud.	1
Larcher, Nicolas	Fish	He was the son of a paper merchant of Paris. He traded at Quebec, Louisbourg and New England. He went to France often. Sep. 1758, he was sent from Louisbourg back to La Rochelle on a British ship.	1
Larreguy, Martin, Merchant of St. Jean de Luz		1757—he sailed to Quebec on La Providence with a large quantity of red wine. On 23 July 1757, it was seized as a prize.	1
Lartigue, Joseph, Merchant at Plaisance	Fish	1 Oct 1705: Power of Attorney was given to him by Jean Poinson, a fisherman from Morvan, to recover from Madeleine Geffroy, a merchant of St-Malo. She had a bill for 121 *livres* drawn on her by her husband, Louis Bindaux. In 1723, he was on the Superior Council at Louisbourg. In 1731, he was the Keeper of the seals of Ile Royale	3
Lamalétie, Jean-Andre, Merchant at Bordeaux & Quebec	W	He went to Quebec in April 1741 on La Nouvelle Galère.14 June 1744, he formed a 3 year partnership with Simon Lapointe & it was extended 5 years. In 1752 he was a partner to Admyrault & Rocaut and in 1758 with Jean	1

		Latuilière. They had a very successful trade with Quebec.	
Latour, Sieur de Foucault, Jean, Merchant	Fur	He was from de Mouzens, Languedoc. From 27 May 1701 to 4 July 1704, he went as a voyageur into the west for furs.	2
Latour, Pierre, Merchant	R	He was a master clock maker. In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec.	2
*Laujol, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux		In the 1680's, he was in the Newfoundland and colonial trades. He and his two brothers, Jacob and Jérémie, abjured their religion.	1
Lavaud, François	W	10 Sep 1742, he signed a partnership with Jean Cochon, a merchant of Cap Français, St Domingue. He registered it at Bordeaux in 1745. It lasted until 1747 when Cochon died. In the 1750's, he sent many ships to Quebec. He planned to trade in New Orleans and sent L'Aimble Jeanne with a cargo in March 1752. In 1762, he sent his son, Bernard, there to take care of their firm.	1
Lebé, Jean-Jacques, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant; he was buried at Montreal 14 Aug 1708.	2
Lebeau dit Lajeunesse, Pierre		He was from St-Eustache, Paris. In 1724, he was a soldier of the Duvivier Company. He was a merchant in 1729.	2
Leber /Lebert dit Larose, Jacques, Merchant of Montreal	Fur	He was from Notre-Dame de Pitres, Rouen, Normandie; he was a fur merchant; he was a co-founder de la Compagnie du Nord in 1682. He was buried 25 Nov 1706 at Montreal.	2
Leber Sieur de Senneville, Jacques, Merchant	Fur	(Son of Jacques above.) He was a fur merchant; On 28 May 1712, he was a lieutenant and a captain on 27 April 1716; He inherited the seigneury of I'le St-Paul and the fife of Senneville.	2
Leber, Louis, Sieur de Saint Paul, Merchant at Montreal & La Rochelle	W Fur	(Brother of Jacques above.) He was born at Montreal 24 Oct 1659. He was the agent in La Rochelle for his father, Jacques, merchant at Montreal and for the Le Moyne family in Canada. He owned many shares in ships. He was buried at St-Pierre on 6 Aug 1692.	1, 2
Le Borgne de Bélisle, Emmanuel, Merchant of La Rochelle	W Fish Fur	1645—He and Nicolas Denys dispatched ships to go to Acadia. He was a merchant banker and governor of Acadia 10 Dec 1657-1667; In 1632, he formed a partnership with Geoffroy Dussault. In 1736, he bought Dussault's share for 7456 *livres*. From 1632-1636, he was shipping salt, wine, and Newfoundland cod to Bayonne, Bruges, Bantry Bay, Ireland, Dover, England, Calais and St Valéry-sur-Somme. In 1642, he advanced money to help Charles Meniou sieur d'Aulny, governor of Acadia. On 6 May 1642, he agreed to send 120 ton La Vierge to Port Royal with 13,579 l*ivres* worth of goods as a loan at 12 ½ % and to lend 15,000 *livres* as an advance on the return cargo. In 1644, d'Aulny owed him 52,707 *livres*. In 1657, He was made governor of Acadia. In 1695, he took the oath of allegiance to the King of England at Port Royal.	1, 3
Le Breton, Alain		He sent ships to Canada in the Seven Years War.	1

Merchant of St. Malo			
LeClerc, Jacques, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	He married Marie-Anne Couagne, daughter of Charles, a merchant of Montreal and Anne Mars. He traded in Quebec for most of his life. In 1711, he was director of armaments of the king's ship; 1721-1723, he was *syndic* of the Chamber of Commerce. On 6 May 1751, he was *syndic* of the creditors of Francois Darango who was in bankruptcy. He died at La Rochelle on 18 April 1753.	1, 2
Leclerc, Jacques, Merchant of Quebec	W	(Son of Jacques above.); It is unknown when he first went to Quebec. In May 1638, he was on the La Ville de Quebec from Bordeaux to Quebec. He traded in Quebec for many years. In 1757, he bought a house in Quebec from Michel Martel for 20,000 *livres* to be paid at 1000 *livres* a year. In 1759, it was destroyed by English bombardment.	1
Lecomte, Sieur de Dupré, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; From 8 May 1723 to 17 June 1730, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Leduc, Guillaume		Merchant of Lower Quebec in 1716.	2
Le Duc, Nicolas-Michel, fur Merchant of Rouen	W Fur	He was a magistrate in the Parlement of Paris; he was nominated to be Secretary to the king by two other fur merchants, Nicolas Bertels and Claude Debienne. He would buy Canadian furs. 1743-1745, he received furs from Canada on Dugard's ship Le Centaure. He was one of the richest merchants of Rouen. He died 18 April 1752, leaving 1,200,000 *livres*.	1
Lee, William (Guilllaume). Catholic Merchant of Bordeaux		One of the first of the Lee family of Waterford, Ireland and settled in France. He primarily dealt in Irish butter and salt beef. In 1672, he was part owner of 100 ton Fortuné and sent it to Plaisance with Laurent de Lagrue as supercargo ordered for the governor of Plaisance.	1
Lefebvre, Georges		1737—he was sub-delegate of the intendant of the Gaspé; 17 Dec 1755, he was a captain merchant of a frigate; in 1758 he was captain of a fire-ship. In 1766, he retired.	3
Lefebvre, Pierre, Merchant		He was also an interpreter of the Abenaki; in 1716, he was in Lower Quebec.	2
Lefebvre, Sieur Duchouquet, Louis, Merchant		He was from Bacqueville, Les Andellys, Rouen, Normandie. On 6 April 1715, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
*Lefévre / Lefebvre, Jean	W R Fur	About 1732, he went to Quebec to trade in partnership with his cousin, François Havy. They first were agents of Dugard, then Joseph Alies companies. He left Quebec for France in 1760 and died during the crossing.	1
*Le Gendre, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant at Rouen & Quebec		His merchant father sent him to Quebec in the 1620's. He lived there a number of years trading with relatives at Rouen.	1
Léger dit La Grange, Jean, Merchant	W	He was born in Abjat, Limoges on 19 June 1663; He was also a surgeon in 1691, a privateer and captain of a cargo ship of the king going to Rochefort in 1708. In 1691, he was living in Quebec.	3, 2

Legras, Jean, Merchant in Montreal	R	May 1666, he was confirmed at Montreal; He was a bourgeois merchant, a tanneur and the king's interpreter of the Iroquois languages.	2
Leguay / Legay, Sieur de Jonquay, Jean-Jerôme		He was from St-Pierre-l'Honoré, Rouen, Normandie; he was a merchant, probably at Montreal.	2
Lehoux, Joseph, Merchant		4 Oct 1698, he was living at Quebec; he was a brother-in-law of Simon Mars; he died at Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec on 29 June 1707.	2
Lemaître, Sieur de La Morille, François, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant; he died 13 May 1703 at Montreal.	2
Lemaître dit Auger, Charles	W Fur	(Brother to François above); a bourgeois merchant in 1695; From 4 Aug 1688 to 18 July 1713, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs. In 1711, he was captain of the militia of Louiseville.	2
Lemaître, Sieur de Lalonge, Jean, Merchant		(Brother of Charles above.); A bourgeois merchant; he died at Louiseville and was buried at Trois-Rivières on 14 April 1710.	2
Lemaître dit Lamorille, François		Merchant and royal surveyor.	2
Lemoine / Lemoyne, Sieur de Longueuil, Charles, Merchant	Fur	He arrived in Quebec in 1641; he was a fur merchant; 1646-1648, he was a soldier and interpreter at Trois Rivières; 1651-1654, he was guard of the warehouse at Montreal. He received a concession of land on the seigneury of Chateauguay.	2
Lemoine dit Monière, Jean-Alexis, Merchant	W Fur	He was a fur merchant. From 10 Sep 1710 to 29 July 1730, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
LeMoyne d'Iberville, Pierre		He was Captain of a frigate in 1692, Commandant of Plaisance; in 1696, he led an expedition in Acadia and Newfoundland; in 1699, he received the title of Chevalier de St. Louis and was Captain of a ship in 1702. He named Louisiana and was governor of Louisiana in 1703.	3
Leneuf, Sieur de Lapoterie, Jacques, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; he was co-founder of la Communauté des Habitants in 1645.	2
Lenoir dit Rolland, Gabriel, Merchant	R	A merchant of tanned hides at Montreal.	2
Lepailleur, Charles-René		Merchant of Montreal.	2
Leroux, Hubert	R Fur	He was a master furrier and a furrier merchant.	2
Lesourd, Jacques		A merchant; in 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec.	2
Lestage, Jean		In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec; he was a scribe at the Quebec bureau and a bourgeois merchant; He died on 24 Sep 1728 at Quebec at the age of 60.	2
Lestage, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec	W Fur	He married Marie-Josephe Sayward at Montreal 5 Jan 1712. He was in charge of trade for Antoine Pascaud who returned	1

& Bordeaux		to La Rochelle. On 20 June 1710, he formed a partnership with Pascaud and Jean-François Martin Dulino of Quebec. In 1710, he was on the 230 ton Le Comte de Pontchartrain when it was captured enroute.	
Lesueur, Pierre, Merchant at Montreal	W Fur	He arrived in 1678 as a *donné* of the Jesuits. He was an interpreter and fur merchant. Between 26 June 1685 and 30 April 1704, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Levasseur, Louis		In 1695, he was a scribe in Marseilles. He was the keeper of the storehouse in Montreal in1696; he was in Louisbourg as a scribe in 1716; in 1718, he was the representative for justice in the Admiralty Court on Ile Royale.	3
*Levêque, François, Merchant of Quebec	W Fur	1749, he went to New France as a clerk to his cousin, François Havy, and his partner, Jean Lefebvre. He was involved in the Canada trade with the Guérout family; In 1775, he was on the legislative council at Quebec	1
Liquart / Licard, Jean, Merchant		1716, he was living in Lower Quebec; on 22 March 1713, he was living at Charlesburg.	2
Loiseau dit Châlons, Antoine		He was a merchant and after that a royal notary on 29 July 1730.	2
Lombard, Joseph, Official at Bordeaux		He held numerous official posts which gave him influence over shipping to New France. In 1685, he signed up thirteen *engagés* for Canada.	1
Loyer, Sieur Des Chenevers, Guillaume	R	He was a merchant. He was confirmed at Quebec on 10 Aug 1659; on 26 Nov 1666, he was living at Quebec. On the 1666 census he was 30 years.	2
Loyer, Sieur de La Tour, Jacques, Merchant	R	In the censuses of 1666 and 1667 and 19 Jan 1653, he was living at Quebec. He died at Quebec on 3 July 1669.	2
Lydius, Jean-Henri, Merchant of Montreal		He was born on 9 July 1704 at Orange (Albany, New York). He abjured his religion at Montreal on 10 Feb 1727, three days before his marriage; In 1730, he returned to Albany.	2
Macard, Charles, Merchant	W	A bourgeois merchant; In 1681 and 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec. He was on the Conseil Souverain in 1704; from 1707 to 1712, he was temporary procureur général of the Conseil Souverain.	2
Magnan dit Lesperance, Jean-Antoine, Merchant	Fur	A bourgeois merchant; Between 10 May 1726 to 30 June 1728, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Maheu / Maheust, Jean, Merchant	R	In the 1666 census, he was a merchant at Quebec; in 1673, he was a habitant of Lower Quebec	2
Mahieux / Mayeux, Nicolas, Merchant at Quebec & Beauvais.		On 3 July 1720, he married Françoise Passan at Quebec. In 1726, while he was gone from Quebec, he was represented by Jean Corbière. Nicolas was still in Quebec in the late 1730's.	1
Maillot, Jean, Merchant		Between 4 April and 9 June 1695, he hired traders to go west for furs.	2
Mallet / Malet, Pierre, Merchant		Between 19 Aug 1728 and 12 Aug 1730, he hired traders to go west for furs.	2
*Malroux, Antoine, Merchant at		1749, he went to Quebec as a clerk to Taché; In 1755, he left Bordeaux for Quebec on La Vierge de Grâce. In 1758, he	1

Montauban, La Rochelle, Quebec & Orléans		was asked by Jean-Baptiste Corby of La Rochelle to recover two bales of cloth from La Nouvelle Société which was wrecked near Quebec in 1757.	
Mandret, Pierre, Merchant at Bordeaux about 1715	W Fish	He also was a sea captain. 1715-1719: he sailed yearly to the Newfoundland banks as captain and half owner of Le St. Jean Baptiste d'Auray. In 1722, he took indentured servants to Ile Royale. In 1723, he was half owner of four fishing vessels.	1
Mangeant dit Saint-Germain, François, Merchant		In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec. He also was an owner of ships. 5 Sep 1726, he went before the Council of Nova Scotia to get permission to settle at Beaubassin after he left Quebec for fatally wounding Lestage who insulted and prevoked him. 1726-1737—he was a friend of lieutenant governor Armstrong and did jobs for him when there were discussions with the Acadians.	3, 2
Maranda, Jean-Baptiste	R	A merchant; he married Marie-Marguerite Guilbault at Charlesbourg on 8 Nov 1717.	2
Marceau, Louis		He was a merchant on Ile d'Orleans.	2
Margane, Sieur de Lavaltrie, François, Merchant	W Fish	On 26 May 1720, he obtained a lifetime fish concession at Labrador at the harbor of the St-Augustin River.	2
*Mariette, Etienne, Merchant of Montauban	W	He was in business with his four brothers—Arnaud, David, Jean and Pierre. On 1 Aug 1722, they signed an agreement. They exported woolen cloth to Canada and other foreign ports. In 1759, the firm was bankrupt. On 18 April 1760, he signed an agreement with his creditors; he would keep his house and its contents and live on his wife's dowry worth.	1
Marin, Sieur de Le Malgue / La Margue, Paul, Merchant	Fur	He was a fur merchant. Between 14 Aug 1720 and 29 July 1730, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Marion, dit Lafontaine, Nicolas, Merchant	R	In 1681, he was in Lower Quebec; on 6 Oct 1767, he was living in Quebec. In 1692 and 1698, he was at Hôtel-Dieu Quebec.	2
Mars, Simon, Merchant at La Rochelle, Quebec & Orléans	W	He traded with Canada for many years. He was a bourgeois merchant. His sons, Pierre and Joseph, were merchants at La Rochelle. Another son, Simon-Michel was a pharmaceutical merchant at La Rochelle.	1, 2
Marsal, Antoine	Fish	He worked on commission for Durand Doumerc. On 29 July 1729, he married Marguerite-Geneviève Gerbain, a widow at Quebec. By 1751, he was active in the Canada trade and owned La Château Vert. In July 1750, it sunk near Quebec when it was on its way to Labrador. He died at Quebec 26 Nov 1757.	1
Martel de Magos, Jean		In 1672, he arrived in Quebec and was one of Frontenac's guards. 1683-1710, he was a trader at Port Royal. In 1710, he was a scribe at the king's warehouse in Quebec.	3
Martel, Jean-Baptiste-Grégoire	R W Fur	He was born at Quebec on 25 Sep 1710 at Quebec. He was important at the Forges du Maurice, Quebec. He was made the king's storekeeper in Quebec and later in 1743, in	1

		Montreal as well. On 20 Oct 1756, he was in a partnership with Jean-Patrice Dupuy and Michel-Jean-Hugues Pean. In 1761, he was arrested at Tours in the *affaire du Canada*. He was in the Bastille while they investigated his fortune of over half a million *livres*.	
Martel, Pierre-Michel	Fur	(Brother of Jean-Baptiste above) François Bigot made him director of royal shipbuilding at Quebec in 1754. On 10 Aug 1757, he was made *commissaire de la marine* at Montreal. In 1764, he went to France and was arrested in the *affaire au Canada*. April 1765, he was acquitted. In the 1760's he was in legal ties with Jacques Leclerc, who bought a house from him in Quebec and then backed out of the deal after the house was destroyed by English bombardments.	1
Martel Sieur de Berhouague, Pierre-Gratien		A merchant; He was 25 years in 1687; 10 Sep 1685, he was living at Quebec. He died before 1 Sep 1696 at Labrador.	2
Martel, Raymond, Merchant		(Brother of Pierre-Gratien above); a bourgeois merchant; on 8 Sep 1697, he was at Hôtel-Dieu Quebec at age 25. He died at Lachenaie and was buried at St-François, Isle Jesus.	2
Martel, Étienne-Joseph	R	He was a merchant innkeeper. He died at Montreal 10 April 1729.	2
Martin, Barthélemy, Merchant & banker of Quebec	W Fur	About 1749, he settled at Quebec in a partnership with a relative, Jean-Baptiste-Topez Martin.They traded extensively in the "Grande Société" during the Seven Years War.	1
Martin, Sieur de Lino / Martin Dulino, François-Mathieu, Merchant	Fur	A bourgeois merchant; on 30 May 1699, he was lieutenant general of l'Amirauté de Quebec. He was a member of la Compagnie du Nord and co-director of la Compagnie de la Colonie from 1700-1706.	2
Martin, Sieur de Lino, Jean-François, Merchant		In 1716, he was at Lower Quebec; procureur of the king at the Prevost of Quebec on 27 April 1716 and at the Amirauté on 20 Nov 1717.	2
Masse, Guillaume		He was a bourgeois merchant at Quebec.	2
*Masse, Jacques, Merchant of La Rochelle & Quebec	W	He was an agent on ships taking cargoes to Quebec for Jacques Pepin, François Peron and Thévenin; he and Jean Le Royer signed a partnership for the Canada trade on 3 April 1660. He visited Quebec in 1654, 1655, 1657-1658, and 1658-1659.	1
Massot, Nicolas-Guillaume-Laurent, Merchant of Quebec	W	On 21 June 1742, he came to Quebec as a sailor on Le Canada and was immediately hospitalized at Quebec. In 1748, he married Marie-Françoise Lepellé de Voisy at Quebec. He was a lieutenant but he became a merchant and bought le St. Antoine. In the Seven Years War he had a partnership with Joseph Cadet when he was living at Batiscan.	1
*Maurin, François, Merchant of Quebec	W Fur	1750's: He went to Canada as a clerk to merchants of Montreal. In 1756, Joseph Cadet hired him as clerk at Montreal working with Pean, Penisseault and others of the "Grande Société". They made a fortune. On 25 Nov 1761, he was arrested at Bordeaux in the *affaire du Canada*. He	1

		was placed in the Bastille several months until his fine of 600,000 *livres* was paid.	
Mayeux / Mayeul, Nicolas		Merchant; he was living at Quebec 10 Feb 1720. He was from Picardie.	2
Mercier, Jean-François	R	A blacksmith and a merchant.	2
*Meynardie Brothers, Merchants of Bergérac & Quebec	W	Pierre *le jeune* was the family agent during the Seven Years War. Pierre-Claude, *l'aîné* was in Canada from 1750-1755. The firm sent ships and goods from La Rochelle and Bordeaux to Pierre. Élie was a sea captain and lived a number of years in Quebec. Some of the ships sent to Quebec were La Saintonge, 1756, La Jeanette, 1757, Le Prince de Condé and Le Canadian, 1758.	1
Michel, Jacques, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	He owned ¼ of Le Phelippeaux and ½ Le St. Michel in 1707 and 5/8th of L'Aymable in 1712. All were bound for Quebec. He did much trade with Jean and Raymond Aquart.	1
Migeon, Sieur de Branssat, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant in 1665; in the censuses of 1666, 1667 and on 14 July 1665, he was living at Montreal. Between 13 May 1688 to 8 May 1690, he was hiring traders and voyageurs to go west for furs. He was a clerk of la Compagnie des Indes Occidentals at Montreal in 1666.	2
Mignault, Sieur de La Gerbaudière, Joseph, Merchant		From Ste-Catherine, Orleans; he died after 17 Sep 1678 at La Rochelle.	2
Millet, François		Merchant; He was 20 years old in Lower Quebec in the 1681 census.	2
Milot dit Le Bourguignon, Jean	R	Merchant and an edge tool maker at Montreal. He bought a part of a fief at Lachine on 3 Feb 1669. He died on the 3rd and was buried on 4 Nov 1699 at Montreal at age 80.	2
Milot, Charles		A bourgeois merchant; he was buried 19 April 1727 at Lachine.	2
Milot, Jacques	R	A merchant; he financed a trader and voyageurs to go west for furs on 3 Sep 1726.	2
Minet dit Montigny, Jean	R	He was a dye merchant; he was buried at Quebec on 9 July 1706.	2
Mirambeau, Étienne, Merchant		He was also a scribe. In 1716, he was in Lower Quebec. He was buried at Hôtel-Dieu Quebec on 8 March 1723.	2
*Moore, Edward, Merchant of La Rochelle		April 1669, he owned 1/3 of Le Martel, 120 tons, and leased it to Alexandre Petit for a voyage to Quebec.	1
de Morcoche, Joannis (Jean)	W Fish	In 1710, he was captain of a privateer, La Jeanne Marie at Plaisance. He died in Martinique before 17 April 1723. In the census of 1724, his widow, Marie Dacarette, had two fishing boats, 10 fisherman and an *engagé*. In 1726 and 1734 censuses, she had four fishing boats, a domestic and 20 seamen or fishermen employed.	3
Morin, Henri, Merchant of Quebec		He bought a house from Jean Taché in 1752.	1
Morin, *le jeune*, Jacques, Merchant	R	He had a butcher shop, probably at Lauzon.	3

Morin dit Beauséjour, Jacques	R	A merchant; He had a butcher shop.	2
Morin dit Langevin, Claude, Merchant	W R	A bourgeois merchant; he also was a baker, an innkeeper, and a saloon keeper. In 1715, he was an aide-major of the militia of Plaisance.	3
Morisset, Mathurin, Merchant at Quebec & La Rochelle		In the 1650's and the 1660's, he was in the Canada trade. His business failed in 1664. He was in Quebec several times.	1
Morpain, Louis-Pierre	W	He was Captain of Le Marquis de Beaupré. He was a privateer; he helped to defend Acadia. He sank four enemy ships in less than 2 months and brought nine ships loaded with supplies to Port Royal. In 1707, As Captain of a pirate ship, L'Intrepide, at Santo Domingo, he brought the frigate, La Bonnitte to Port Royal loaded with flour and food. In 1711, he was at Plaisance; he left with a brigantine loaded with munitions to help Anselme d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin against the English at Port Royal. After a three hour battle, Morpain was taken prisoner; 1720—he was captain of a supply ship; on 15 April 1744, he was captain of a fire ship.	3
*Mouchard, Brothers, Merchants of La Rochelle	W Fish	Abraham and Isaac, invested heavily in Newfoundland fishing vessels in the years before and after 1700. In 1693, Isaac had a share in 250 ton, La Fille Bien Aimée, when she sailed to Quebec and Plaisance under Captain Duret.	1
Moufle, Pierre-Antoine, Merchant at Beauvais & Quebec	W	His family primarily dealt with linens. He was in Quebec in 1730, 1732, and 1734. When in Quebec, on 27 Aug 1732, he and Perrault hired a carpenter, Brideau, and three men to take tools to the Île aux Courdres to where the Beauharnais sank in Dec 1730, to remove all the hardware and burn the hulk.	1
*Mounier, François, a Quebec Merchant	W	In the 1750's, he was in a partnership with Jean Grelleau and trading with Boudot and Thouron of La Rochelle. When this partnership ended he made a 5 year partnership with Thomas Lee which ended on 4 Jan 1764. On 13 Aug 1764, Governor Murray made him a member of the new English government council.	1
*Mounier, Jean-Mathieu, Merchant of Quebec & La Rochelle	W	1736-1758, he was at Quebec in partnership with Jean-Baptiste Veyssière of Limoges. In the 1750's, he was joined by 3 nephews, Henri, Jean, and Francois and 2 cousins, Pierre Glemet and François Maurin. During the Seven Years War, he was agent for Beaujon, Goosens & Cie. He returned to La Rochelle after the war with 300,000 *livres*, mostly Canada bills which were useless after the conquest. In 1773, he was bankrupt.	1
Mousnier, Jacques *l'aîne*, Merchant of St-Martin-de-Re & La Rochelle		He was interested in voyages of Petit St. Jean. In April 1644, he arrived in Quebec with Royer de la Dauversière and a number of *engagés*.	1
Musmach, Sieur de Mingot / Mingault, Jean-François	R	A merchant	2

Nadeau dit La Chapelle, Pierre-Henri, Merchant	Fish	He was a habitant merchant and fisherman at Louisbourg. In 1734, he had two fishing ships.	3
Nafrechou, Isaac	R	He was a miller, a tavern keeper and a merchant; he was buried at Montreal 29 Aug 1724 at age 88.	2
Neveu, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; captain of the militia in 1720; Between 2 May 1716 to 10 Sep 1718, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs or financed voyages.	2
Niort, Louis, merchant of Quebec & Poitiers		He was born and married, separated and remarried in Quebec. In 1700, he moved to Poitier and traded with his brother in Quebec. About 1700, he moved to France and became a merchant and habitant at Bersaffax near Poitiers. He traded with his brother in Quebec.	1
Niort, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec		(Brother of Louis above) He traded with his partner, Hilaire Bourgine, who owed him 2148 *livres* in 1714. In Nov 1714, he left for France as a passenger on Saint Jérome. It was wrecked on Sable Island and he drowned.	1
Nolan, Pierre, merchant	R	In 1681, he was a tavern keeper in Lower Quebec. In 1696, he was a merchant.	2
Nolan, Jean		(Son of Pierre above) he was a bourgeois merchant.	2
Nolan Sieur de Lamarque, Charles	W Fur	He was a fur merchant. Between 11 Feb1721 to 8 May 1730, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Normandin dit Sauvage, Pierre		In 1716, he was at Lower Quebec. He was a bourgeois merchant	2
Nouguès, Noel, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He was active in the Canada trade for many years. He and Jacques Richard fitted Le Poly for Quebec in April 1718 and 1719. In 1708, he insured Duc de Berry going to Quebec and the West Indies. It was seized on its return.	1
*Oualle, Thomas, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	In the 1750's, he was in the Canada trade. In 1751, he owned the Achille. In 1752, he sent his own ship, Hercule, carrying 228 barrels of flour and 28 men to Quebec.	1
Outelas / Houtelas / Outlaw, Jean		An English ship captain; 1682-1690, he was at Hudson Bay. In 1690, he was taken prisoner by d'Iberville. He had a concession at the seigneury Outelas in Acadia.	2
Pachot, François Vienny		See Vienny-Pachot, François	
Pagé dit Quercy, Guillaume	R	A merchant and an edge tool maker; in 1681, he was at L'Ange Gardien; In 1716, he was in Lower Quebec.	2
Pagé dit Quercy, Joseph	R	(Son of Guillaume above); A merchant	2
*Pagès, Louis	Fur	He was a banker and merchant. In the 1680's, he was director of the Compagnie du Nord.	1
*Paillet, Nicolas, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	In 1756, he was in partnership with the Meynardiès in the Canada trade. They claimed 20,409 *livres* in Canada bills and went bankrupt at the time of the conquest.	1
Papin, Gilles		A merchant and land surveyor.	2
Paradis, Jean		Merchant and Captain of a ship; he died before 1725.	2
Parent, Louis	R	Merchant of Quebec	2
Paris, Antoine, Merchant	W Fish	He arrived at Plaisance, Newfoundland in 1714; in 1716, he was in Lower Quebec and he was a navigator. He was a	3, 2

		merchant and a habitant fisherman in Acadia; In 1726, he had four fishing boats and employed 25 fishermen.	
Pascaud, Antoine, Merchant at Quebec, Montreal & La Rochelle	W Fur	He came to New France about 1685 and started by managing the business of MMe. Le Moyne. He borrowed 2250 *livres* in the form of a house in Montreal from the Le Moyne family. He became a major merchant in New France, He brought many *engagés* to Quebec. In 1700, he represented the colony in negotiations with the fur farmers in France. In 1709, he and his family moved to La Rochelle. In Jan 1717, when he died, his widow, Marguerite Bouat, carried on the business. When she died in 1751, she left 110,144 *livres* to be divided among her 5 children.	1
Pascaud Brothers, Antoine & Joseph-Marie, Merchants of Bordeaux & La Rochelle	W Fur	(Sons of Antoine above) Prior to 1748, the brothers, Antoine and Joseph-Marie were in the Canada trade together. They had at least 3 ships, 500 ton La Chimène, 500 ton La Déesse and the 350 ton La Sultane. In 1748, the partnership ended and Joseph who was in La Rochelle, traded mainly with Ignace Gamelin, Louis Perault, and Governor Rigaud de Vaudreuil. At his death, they owed him 44,863 *livres*, 44,656 *livres* and 11,632 *livres* respectively.	1
Paumereau, / Pommereau, Jacques-Pierre	R	Merchant; He was from St-Jean de La-Châtaignerie, Fontenay-le-Comte, La Rochellle, Poitou.	2
Pauperet, Claude		A bourgeois merchant; he was living at Quebec on 30 Nov 1697; he died at Hôtel-Dieu Quebec on 3 April 1707.	2
Patron, Jean-Jacques	R	A merchant; he was living in Montreal in 1676 and 1681; he was buried at Montreal on 22 June 1688.	2
Péan, Michel-Jean-Hugues, trader in Quebec	W Fur	He was also a military officer. Before he was married to Angélique Renaud d'Avène Des Méloizes, he went into the fur and supply trades and was quickly involved in the "Grande Société". He was arrested in the *affaire du Canada* and was sentenced to pay 600,000 *livres*.	1
*Pecholier, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	His agent in Quebec was Alexandre Dumas. On 13 June 1753, L'Appollon of Louisbourg stopped at Bordeaux on the way to Quebec. On 11 May 1754, they signed for the Le Marquis Duquesne which stopped at Bordeaux on its way to Quebec. In 1759, André Malroux had authority to collect money owed by Dumas of Quebec.	1
Péclave, dit Desrosiers, Louis-Philibert		A bourgeois merchant; he died before 11 May 1729 at Ile-St-Thomas, Antilles.	2
*Peire Étienne *l'aine,* Merchant of Bordeaux		In the 1730's and 1740's, he was a partner of Henry Goudal and sent ships to Canada. In 1746, they made an agreement with Paul Griffon & Fils, merchants of London, to insure ships and cargoes jointly, each with a third share of profits and losses. In 1747, Le Grand Scipion and Le Ruby left La Rochelle for Quebec. In June 1747 it was reported they were captured. In Dec 1747, they reported that they had no news of four or five ships in a convoy from Louisiana.	1
Peire, Pierre,	W	In the late 1680's he was a commission agent at Quebec for	1

Merchant of Quebec	Fish	François Bourdon. He went into partnership with François Hazeur and Charles Denis de Vitré to fish for porpoise in the St. Lawrence. They had a five year monopoly which was renewed for another 15 years.	
Peiré, Philippe, Merchant		On 19 May 1702, he was living at Quebec; on the 1716 census, he was living at Lower Quebec.	2
*Peirenc de Moras, Abraham	W Fish	He was a surgeon from Vigan. He and his father-in-law, Jean-Marie Fargès, financed a fishing monopoly at Ile Saint Jean granted to Louis-Hyacinthe Castel de Saint Pierre in 1719. The Compagnie de l'île Saint Jean sent a number of ships there until 1724.	1
Pelletier / Peltier dit Gobloteur / Le Gobloteur, Guillaume	R	He was a charcoal merchant at Tourouvre; He arrived in Quebec in 1641. He died 27 Nov 1657 at Quebec.	2
Pelletier,Sieur de La Prade, Michel, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant in New France; on 2 March 1683, he was a *donné* to François Poisson. He was buried on 4 May 1707 at Champlain.	2
*Pepin, Jacques (father)	Fish	He was in the Canada and Newfoundland trade from the 1640's. He recruited *engagés* for St. Kitts in the West Indies. He sailed to New France in 1656 and several other years until he died in 1670 at age 73.	1
Peré, Arnaud, Merchant at La Rochelle	Fur	He traded with his brother, Jean, in Quebec. He sailed to Quebec in 1655, 1656, 1658-1659, 1660, 1662-1663 and 1672. From 5 Jan 1659 to 3 Aug 1665, he was at Quebec.	1, 2
Peré, Jean, Merchant of Quebec	Fur	(Brother of Arnaud above) He was known in New France as an explorer and a fur trader. From 26 Nov 1656 to 14 Oct 1692, he was at Quebec.	1, 2
Peron / Perron, François, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	He never went to New France, but sent ships regularly — Petit François, Aigle Blanc, Taureau, and others. Jean Gitton was hired by him to collect debts at Quebec. He was paid a 2% commission. Jacques Massé worked for him also. In 1662, he employed Michel Disorcies, Antoine Grignon and Daniel Suire, his illegitimate son. He made loans to other merchants. He took a large number of *engagés* to New France in 1658, 1659, 1661 and 1662.	1
Perrault, Louis-François, Merchant at Quebec & Louisiana		He was born at Quebec on 16 Nov 1721. His brother, Jacques *l'aîne* was a merchant at Quebec also. Oct 1763, he went to France and in Jan 1764, he was in London with several other Canadians. On 7 April 1764, he was at La Rochelle leaving on Les Deux Suzanes for Louisiana.	1
Perrault, Sieur de Dérisy / Érisy, Pierre		A merchant; In the 1716 census he was living in Lower Quebec.	2
Perré, Antoine From Louisbourg	W Fish	He was a habitant fisherman; From 1724 -1734, he usually had 4 to 8 fishing boats and had 20 to 30 hired to work on the fisheries. He married Marie-Anne Pons / Ponce, widow of Joseph Lafard, in 1706. She was a habitant merchant in Louisbourg, who took over when her first husband died.	3
Perthuis, Claude,	W	He lived in Quebec before 1698 and after 1716. On 26 April	1

Merchant of Quebec	Fur	1698, for the partnership with his brother, Charles, he bought a 1/8th share in 180 ton, L'Elisabeth for 1075 *livres* from Pierre Mazoné who kept 1/8th share. On 3 July he was released from debtors prison in La Rochelle for owing 1380 *livres* to Dollive, a bourgeois merchant of Paris. Hilaire Bourgine paid his debt and he was to repay Bourgine at Quebec in fur pelts to be given to Captain Gaillard.	
Perthuis, Charles, Merchant	Fur	(Brother and Partner to Claude above.) A bourgeois merchant; he traded with his brother, Claude. On 20 Nov 1693, he was at Quebec; in the 1716 census he was living in Lower Quebec; he died at Quebec 4 March 1722 at age 58.	2
Perthuis, Charles-Denis Merchant at Quebec	W Fur	(Son of Charles above); He was born and married at Quebec. In Oct 1740, he was at Bordeaux to collect money owed to his late wife. In the 1740's, he was a bourgeois in Paris where he died on 30 Nov 1749. He was in the Canada trade with his brothers, Joseph and Ignace who lived in France after the conquest. He also traded with Jean Beaujon and Antoine Pascaud (the son).	1, 2
Perthuis, Joseph	W	(Brother to Charles-Denis above) He was a partner in the Canada trade with his brothers, Charles-Denis and Ignace. He was Conseillor and procureur général of the Conseil Superior in Quebec for 20 years. In Jan 1761, he received a royal pension of 600 *livres* a year. He lived in Paris and Loche, France.	1
Perthuis dit Lalime, Pierre, Merchant		He arrived in Quebec on 17 Aug 1665 as a soldier of a company of the Carignan Salieres. He was a bourgeois merchant; On 13 May 1695, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs. He was buried in Montreal on 16 April 1708 at age 63 years.	2
Perthuis dit La Janvry, Pierre	W Fur	(Son of Pierre above); A fur merchant; From 16 Aug 1718 to 23 July 1726, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Perthuis, Nicolas	R	A bakery merchant	2
Pesseley / Pesselet / Paisseley, Isaac, Merchant at Piney		1 April 1636, he was listed on the roster of the Saint-Jehan; he was from Champagne. On 14 July 1640, he testified at the Inquiry against Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour.	3
Petit, Alexandre, Merchant at La Rochelle	W Fur	Alexandre visited Quebec in 1670, 1673, 1678 and 1680. He formed a partnership with Daniel Biaille who went to Quebec and sent him goods annually between 1666-1671. Furs were sent annually. In 1671, he borrowed 2000 *livres* as a bottomry loan at 22% interest from the Governor, de Courcelle for goods sent to New France on La Sagesse. He borrowed money from Pierre Doublet, Gabriel Stevenot, Paul Bion, Jacques Thomas, Jean Depont, Corneille and Delange. 1672-1673, he was in financial debt. On 6 Sep 1677, he signed a bill of exchange for 300 *livres* to Pierre Radisson. He sent *engagés* to Quebec. He died at Montreal on 27 June 1683, after he abjured his religion.	1
Petit, Henri, Merchant		25 July 1686, he was living at Quebec. He died 20 Nov 1686 at Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec at age 44.	2

Petit dit Bruneau, Joseph, Merchant	R	He was confirmed at Quebec on 15 Aug 1670; In the census of 1681, he was at Trois Rivières. He died between 10 Jan 1718 and 5 July 1724 at Maskinonge.	2
Petit dit Gobin, Pierre, Merchant		On 1 June 1689, he was living at Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec. On 4 Aug 1722, he was a royal notary at Trois-Rivières.	2
Philippe, Sieur du Hautmesny, Jean-Vincent, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; he arrived in Quebec 26 Nov 1665; on 16 March 1671, he was confirmed; he was noblesse. He was from St-Saveur, Bayeux, Normandie.	2
Picard / Lepicard, Jean, Merchant	R	A bourgeois merchant; in 1666, he was at Beaupré and in 1681, he was in Lower Quebec. He was buried on 29 Nov 1700 at Quebec.	2
Picard, Joseph-Jean		Merchant; he died at Quebec 27 and was buried 28 July 1727.	2
Pichot, Abraham	R Fish	He was a master locksmith, a merchant, and a gunsmith. In the census of Plaisance in 1698, the widow of Pichot had a house, a storehouse 2 chaloupes and a beach about 468 feet by 60 feet for drying cod.	3
Picoté, Sieur de Belestre, Pierre, Merchant	Fur	He arrived in Montreal with his sister on 29 Sep 1659. In the 1666 and 1667 census, he was at Montreal. He was a fur merchant. He was buried at Montreal 30 Jan 1679.	2
Pigneguy, Arnauld, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He formed a partnership with Jean Dutrouyo for nine years on 31 March 1702 as cloth merchants. He invested 17,328 *livres* in it. They sent a variety of cargoes to Canada and dealt with insurance. On 3 June 1716, they were bankrupt.	1
Pigneguy, Pierre		He worked as a sailor on trips to New France. He was on La Vierge de Grâce in 1733, 1734, and 1735; on Le Comte de Matignon In 1737; on L'Aimable Anne in 1738 and on Le Ruby in 1739. He qualified as a pilot and was a sea captain.	1
Pigneguy, Jean, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	1715, he was a partner of Jean Crespin; he owned shares in several shipping ventures and sent ships and goods to Canada.	1
Pineau / Pinault, Nicolas, Merchant	Fur	A bourgeois merchant; 1700-1706, he was co-director of la Compagnie de la Colonie. In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec.	2
Pineau, François, Merchant		He was from St-Pierre, Saintes, Saintonge. In the 1716 census he was 28 years and in Lower Quebec. He was also a ship captain and a navigator.	2
Pinguet, Henri	R	He was baptized on 22 Dec 1590 at St-Aubin, de Tourouvre, Mortagne, Perche. He arrived in Quebec 31 May 1634 with Robert Giffard; he was a merchant at Tourouvre. He died 1 Jan 1671 at Quebec.	2
Pinguet, Sieur de Montigny, Pierre	R	A merchant; he was killed by the English at the battle at Laprairie. He was buried 11 Aug 1691 at Montreal.	2
Pinguet, Sieur de Targis, Nicolas, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant; in 1716, he was living in Upper Quebec. He died 9 Jan 1723 at Quebec.	2
Plassan, Pierre, Merchant of Quebec	W	On 14 April 1692, he signed on at Bordeaux with Guillaume Jung as an *engagé* in Quebec at 75 *livres* a year for two years as a barrel maker. By 1696, he was a merchant of Quebec. He was to become a prominent Canada merchant.	1, 2

		On 13 Nov 1703, he formed a partnership with Jean Petit, the naval teasurer's agent in Quebec with a 15,000 *livres* investment. He did the shipping, freighting and traveling side of the business until they dissolved on 20 Oct 1708. By this time, they owned several ships and large stocks of goods in Quebec and in France. He was a bourgeois merchant; he was buried 26 Oct 1716 at Quebec,	
Plessis dit Bélair, Jean-Louis, Merchant	R	He was a merchant of tanned hides. He was from St-Sulpice, Metz, Lorraine. He was 35 in 1713.	2
Poisset, Sieur de La Conche, François, Merchant		In 1681, he was living in Lower Quebec. He was co-seigneur of Blanc-Sablon with Charles Aubert. He was buried at Quebec on 23 Aug 1691 at age 70.	2
Pons / Ponce, Marie-Anne, Merchant		She was born in Picardie about 1680; She was a habitant merchant at Louisbourg. She took over the business when her first husband, Joseph Fafard, died.	3
Porlier, Claude, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant. In the 1681 census, he was living in Lower Quebec. He was buried at Quebec on 31 July 1689.	3, 2
Porlier, Claude-Cyprien	R	A merchant	2
Pothier, Claude, Merchant at Montreal	R	21 Sep 1676, he was living at L'Ancien Lorette; he was a master pastry maker at La Rochelle. He died at Lachine 11 Aug 1728.	2
Pothier dit Laverdure, Jean	R	He was a blacksmith and an edge tool maker; in 1716, he was a merchant.	2
Poudret, Antoine	R	A bakery merchant	2
Poulin / Poulain Sieur de Courval, Jean-Baptiste		A bourgeois merchant; 24 May 1714, he was the king's attorney at Trois-Rivières. He died 15 Feb 1727 at Trois-Rivières.	2
Poulin, Sieur de Saint Maurice, Pierre, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant; he was a royal notary of the government of Trois-Rivières in 1711; he was also a caretaker of the prison.	2
Poulin Sieur de Francheville, Françoi, Merchant	W Fur	A fur merchant; Between 28 May 1722 to 14 May 1727, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Poulin, Sieur de Courval, Louis, Merchant		On 26 April 1728, he was attorney of the king at Trois-Rivières. He was an early seigneur at Nicolet.	2
Pourcin, Louis, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	In 1757, he fitted out the 160 ton, L'Acadie bound for Quebec. It was seized as a prize.	1
*Prou, Gabriel, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	In 1684, he was sent to Canada and the West Indies as a supercargo *commis* on La Sainte Agnesse, owned by Jean Gitton and Antoine Bouchel.	1
Pruhhomme, Louis, Merchant	Fur	He was a fur merchant. He married Marie-Louise Marin de La Massière at Montreal on 19 Nov 1728.	2
Pugnant dit Destouches, Nicoéas	R	He was born in Paris. He was a master baker at Louisbourg. In the censuses of Louisbourg in 1715, 1724, 1726 and 1734, he is listed as a baker of Louisbourg.	3
Puypérou, Sieur de		In 1717, he was a merchant and a royal bailiff at Montreal	2

La Fosse, Antoine, Merchant		and a royal notary on 11 Aug 1725.	
Quenel / Quesnel dit Fontblanche, Jacques / Jacques-François, Merchant of Quebec & Montreal	W Fur	He was born in New France. He was a fur trader, a voyageur merchant, and a militia captain. He was requested to go to France. In 1716, he was living in Lower Quebec. He was a voyageur merchant; On 4 June 1718 he hired men to go west for furs. On 15 May 1766, he moved into a furnished room in Paris where he died. In his room, they found twelve pairs of grey beaver stockings, a beaver hat, a cane with a gold pommel and a Canadian gun.	1
Quenet, Jean, Merchant		He was baptised on 11 April 1647 at St-Godard, Rouen, Normandie. He was a carpenter and a bourgeois merchant. In 1700, he was superintendent of farms of the king.	2
Quenet Jean, Merchant		(Son of Jean above.); he was buried at Montreal on 12 April 1722.	2
Raimbault / Raimbaud Pierre, Merchant	R	In 1696, he was a merchant of cabinets he built. From 9 Jan 1697 to 1727, he was a royal notary; in 1701, he was a land surveyor; From 27 May 1705 to 1727, he was representing the king at the Prévoté of Montreal.	2
Rainville, Charles	R	A master butcher and a barber; he was buried at Montreal 5 Dec 1742, age of 65.	3
Ranjard, Étienne	W Fur	He was in the Canada trade with Charrets and Thomas Duffy Desauniers at Montreal; they sent furs on Le Chouagen in 1758. He had connections with the clergy in Canada and did much business with them. He was in the fur trade and had large stocks of every kind in his storerooms.	1
*Ranson, Charles, Merchant at Quebec.	W	In the early 1750's, he was partner in Quebec with Pierre de Jarnac. In the 1680's, they were selling wine and brandy and in the 1750's he was selling brandy to Jacques Delamin of Dublin.	1
*Rasteau family, Merchants of La Rochelle	W	They sometimes took part in the Canada trade; In 1754, they fitted out Lè Aimable Suzanne to go to Louisbourg. It was seized on its return.	1
*Rauly Faily of Merchants at Montauban & Bordeaux	W	1752-1759, the Huguenot firm of Delannes & Gautier at Quebec were in partnership with them. Pierre Payes, merchant of Quebec was related to them.	1
Réaume, Simon	Fur	A fur merchant. He married Jeanne-Thérèse Catin at Montreal on 19 March 1710.	2
Réaume, Pierre	Fur	He was married at Detroit; his four children were born at Detroit and his wife died there.	2
Renaud, Laurent, Merchant	W Fur	A bourgeois merchant; On 27 July 1701, he was hired to go west. Between 27 July 1703 and 1 July 1717, he was hiring traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Renaud, Vincent	R	He was baptized at Ste-Marguerite, La Rochelle on 20 May 1609; In 1631, he was a carrier / carter and a master shoe maker. From 15 July 1652 to 2 April 1668, he was living at Quebec; In 1672, he was in Rochefort as a merchant tavern keeper.	2
Renoyer, Ambroise		He was a merchant. In the 1715 census, he was a merchant	3, 2

		at Louisbourg. In the 1716 census he was 40 years old and living in lower Quebec. He died at Quebec on 18 Nov 1719 at age 45.	
*Revol, Pierre, Merchant at Quebec		In 1739, he was sent to New France as a salt smuggler. In trade he was associated with the Dumas family. In 1756, he was bankrupt and at Bordeaux. In Feb 1759, he died at Gaspé.	1
Rey-Gaillard, Pierre, Merchant		On 1 May 1692, he was a merchant and in the artillery; on 3 Sep 1693, he was living in Quebec; in 1716, he was living in Upper Quebec. He died at L'Ancienne-Lorette on 19 Jan 1710 at age 74.	2
*Richard, Jacques, Merchant at Quebec & Bordeaux	W	He traded out of Quebec with Noel Nougues of Bordeaux. 1718-1722, they owned Le Polly and fitted it out for Quebec. They exchanged many cargoes.	1
Richard dit Lafond, Michel, Merchant		He was born about 1684; In 1740, Michel Richard dit Lafond owed 1687 *livres* to Guillaume Delort, for which he mortgaged his property.	3
*Richard, Mathurin, Merchant of Quebec & La Rochelle		1695-1718, he was involved in the trade with New France. He owned a share in the 55 ton, La Destinée. In 1697, it was seized as an English prize while trading on the Newfoundland coast. It was taken to St. John's.	1
Richard, Jean-Jacques, Merchant		A bourgeois merchant; he was from Moeze, Rochefort, Saintes, Saintonge. He died at Quebec 14 Oct 1723 at age 32.	2
Ricord, Sr Charles, Merchant		Merchant of Plaisance; On 13 Oct 1706, he acknowledged a debt of 1609 *livres* 5 *sous* to his son Antoine. (below)	3
Ricord, Antoine, Merchant	W	(Son of Charles above.); A bourgeois merchant of the city of Bayonne and he was a captain and owner of his ship, L'Amitié.	3
*Ridder, Jehan de / Jean, Merchant of Bordeaux	W Fish	He traded at Hamburg, Holland, England and the Newfoundland fisheries. He and his sons-in-law invested in Canada trade. On 9 April 1679, his son turned over all his assets and claims in Canada to François Saige. Most of his family emigrated in the 1680's at the Revocationn of the Edict of Nantes.	1
*Risteau family		A Bordeaux family that sent ships to Canada during wartime.	1
Rivard, Julien, Merchant	W Fur	He hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs from 10 May 1721 through 30 May 1730.	2
Riverin, Denis, Merchant	W Fur Fish	He arrived in Quebec the summer of 1675. He was secretary of Intendant Duchesneau from 1675 to 1682 and also a merchant. In 1688, he was director of la Compagnie du Nord and was director of the Compagnie of fish and the country in 1696. From 16 Oct 1700 to 10 June 1706, he was agent of la Compagnie de France.	2
Riverin, Joseph, Merchant	W	(Brother of Denis above); he was from St-Saturnin, Tours, Touraine. He was a merchant, banker and a privateer ship owner. He had a concession on the seigneury of Belle-Isle at Labrador.	2
Riverin Jean-		A bourgeois merchant. He married Marie-Josephe Perthuis	2

Joseph, Merchant		at Quebec on 20 June 1724.	
Riverin, Michel		(Brother of Jean-Joseph above.) A merchant	2
Rivière, François, Merchant	R	He was from St-Nicolas-des-Champs, Paris. On 3 Jan 1686, he was at Quebec; he was buried at Quebec on 2 Oct 1691, age 28.	2
Roberge, Denis, Merchant at Quebec		He was born at Quebec. He was also a sea captain at Quebec in 1729. Eventually he settled at La Rochelle.	1
Robert dit Watson, Joseph, Merchant		He was born about 1680 at Piscatoué, New England. He was baptized at Trois-Rivières between 29 March and 3 May 1697. He was a merchant in 1721.	2
Robutel, Sieur de Saint-André, Claude, Merchant of Montreal		On 16 Nov 1653, he arrived in Montreal. Between 1656 and 1659, he was in France recruiting colonists. He returned to Montreal with his wife 29 Sep 1659. In the 1666, 1667 and the 1681 census he was in Montreal. He was buried 28 Dec 1689 at Montreal.	2
*Rocaute, Pierre, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He traded with wealthy Huguenots and close friends. In 1733, he furnished Robert Dugard with brandy for Canada. On 8 April 1741, he insured La Reine Ester for 7000 *livres* for a voyage from La Rochelle to Quebec to the West Indies. On 22 June 1742, he lent 1200 bottomry at 30% to Martin Larreguy, captain of Le St. Joseph going to Quebec.	1
Rodrigue, Antoine, Merchant at Louisbourg, La Rochelle & Port Louis	W Fish	8 May 1749, he formed a partnership with his brother, Michel who was to work at La Rochelle with a salary of 1000 *livres* a year. He would work at Louisbourg in fishing and trade. They enlarged and took on another brother, Pierre, and Goossens. In 1761, after the conquest the family went to La Rochelle and then moved in 1763 to the island of Miquelon. The following year, he was bringing *engagés* to St. Pierre and Miquelon.	1
Rodrigue, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant at Louisbourg	W	He was also a sea captain. He settled at Louisbourg in 1714 and died there in 1733.	1
Rodrigue, Michel, Merchant at La Rochelle	W Fish	(Son of Jean-Baptiste above); 1735, he was taking a cargo of wine from Bordeaux to Louisbourg on La Revanche. At the British capture of Louisbourg in 1745, he moved to La Rochelle with his family and traded with his family in Louisbourg. After Louisbourg, he went back to the French, he contracted with the crown to build fortifications at Louisbourg. He also hired 28 *engagés* to work for his partners in Louisbourg in 1751. He and his brothers and Goossens signed a partnership in 1750 to form a Newfoundland fishing company. In 1759, he took cargoes and troops to New France for the crown.	1
Rodrigue, Pierre, Merchant of Louisbourg	W	(Brother of Michel above); also a sea captain at Louisbourg. On 28 Nov 1748, when he was captain of the Iphigéne, he left Martinique with coffee, sugar and cotton for Bordeaux; on the voyage he was wounded with a sword and dagger by a sailor who entered his cabin without permission. A court case followed. On Oct 1758, he was captured by an English privateer.	1

Rodrigue dit de Fonds, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant	W Fish	He was Portugese. He was born about 1678. He was a king's pilot at Port Royal in March 1709; a habitant fisherman, a merchant and a church warden at Louisbourg. In Aug 1710, he was at Plaisance. After 1714, he became one of the most important merchants at Ile Royale.	3
Roger, Sr Gabriel-Louis, Merchant at Quebec & La Rochelle	W Fish	A habitant fisherman and land owner. On 1 May 1712, he is mentioned as a merchant of Quebec. On 11 Aug 1721, he is a merchant from La Rochelle.	3
Romain dit Saint-Antoine Le Passager, Antoine	R	26 Feb 1709, he was engaged by Sr. Pierre Hébert, a merchant of Plaisance. Later, Antoine was a tavern keeper in Louisbourg. When he died in1726, his wife ran the tavern.	3
Rose, Nicolas		A merchant	2
*Roullaud, Jacob, Merchant at La Rochelle & later at Bordeaux	W	He traded with Pierre Blanzy in the West Indies and Canada. Paul Berthon collected debts for him in Quebec and he passed them on to Pierre Hymard. He lost a cargo of wine, brandy and cloth on La Seine which was seized on 26 July 1704 on its way to Quebec; he claimed the insurance.	1
Roussel, Timothée, Merchant		A merchant and surgeon; he was from Notre-Dame, Montpellier, Languedoc. In 1667, he was living in Quebec; in 1681, he was in Lower Quebec. He died at Hôtel-Dieu Quebec on 10 Dec 1700 at age 59.	2
Roussel, Joseph-François		(Son of Timothée above) He was a merchant.	2
Roy, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	During 1660's, he and his father, Jacob, did much business with Canada. On 17 April 1665, he gave power of attorney to Jacques Royer in Quebec to collect debts and represent them. He visited Canada in 1644, 1659, 1664 and 1665.	1
*Sacher, Georges, Merchant of Bordeaux	W Fur	He sent goods to Antoine Castaing in Louisbourg in 1743 and 1748; He shipped goods to Quebec on the La Sultane in 1746. Christain Caspar was sent to Canada with cargoes of goods bought from Mariette of Montauban and Zorn of Bordeaux. He died in 1749, leaving furs in storage in Bordeaux, goods for shipment to Canada and assets totaling 44,820 *livres* and debts of 23,569 *livres*.	1
Sage, Philippe, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	He was in Newfoundland and Canada trade in the 1670's &1680's. On 11 June 1687, his partner brother rented Le Saint Philippe to Minvielle Bessan and François Barreyre to go to Quebec and return via Louisbourg. In 1688, he took it again and on the return, it was wrecked on 30 Nov 1688.	1
Sage, Simon, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	(Son of Philippe above); he sent the 100 ton, Sage to Quebec and the West Indies on 24 March 1689 with his brother, Philippe, as captain. Two days later, he sold 1/8th share to Guillaume Jung for 500 *livres*. In Sep 1691, he was still in business.	1
Saige, François, Merchant of Bordeaux	W Fish	In the1660's and 1670's, he was deeply involved in the Newfoundland fishing industry. 1671-1673, he owned all or part of four ships in Newfoundland; In 1672-1673 and 1684-1686, he sent ships to Quebec and Plaisance.	1
Sarrazin, Nicolas,	W	He was a merchant voyageur; He went to the west for furs	2

Merchant	Fur	regularly from 20 April 1724 through 26 June 1729.	
*Schindler, Jean-Chrétien	W Fur	He was a fur buyer at Quebec and Bordeaux. He sailed to Quebec on La Providence in 1749 with goods for George Sacher. On 20 Aug 1754, he was ordered to Quebec to pay Sacher's widow 5674 *livres*.	1
*Schmidt, Luc, Merchant Quebec		In 1753, he abjured his religion to marry Madeleine Trefflet dit Rottot. He died in 1756.	1
Sébille, Jean, Merchant of Quebec	W	He was a bourgeois merchant. He was Hilaire Bourgine's main agent in Quebec. He was an officer in the Congregation de la Vierge in Quebec in 1700. In 1706 when he died he left 1495 *livres* for masses and 1130 *livres* for charity. He was buried at Quebec on 8 Jan 1706.	1, 2
Sebire, Sieurs des Saudrais, Merchants of St. Malo	W	A family of merchants who sent ships and goods to Canada, especially during the Seven Years War.	1
Seichepine, Philippe	Fish	Bourgeois of Paris and a speculator. In 1748, he signed a partnership with Claude Chandelier, Jean-François Sudan and Nicolas Vieillot to build a fishing vessel for the Newfoundland fishery out of Dieppe. 20 April 1760 to 6 Sep 1761, he was in prison in the Bastille and questioned on his connections with a number of frauds.	1
*Senilh, Joseph, Merchant at Quebec	W	He went to Quebec in 1752. He traded with Montauban merchants and his brother. On 13 Aug 1764, he was the only Huguenot to be buried at a Quebec Catholic cemetery.	1
Sere, Jean-Baptiste	R	He was Canada's official baker during the Seven Year's War.	1
Serrreau, Pierre	W Fish	In 1698, he had, at Plaisance, a house, two gardens, a beach about 354 feet by 186 feet for drying cod and four fishing boats.	3
Simiot, Joseph-Laurent, Merchant		On 22 Oct 1724, he was Brother Charon and master of the school and later a merchant.	2
Simon Desherbert de Lapointe, Joseph, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	He was born in Quebec. He shipped goods between La Rochelle and Quebec for about 25 years. La Villlemarie was sent in 1727 and 1728. From 1729 to 6 Dec 1735, La Vierge de Grâce was sent each year until it was wrecked on the French coast in 1735; Then Le Comte de Matignon was sent in 1743. In 1744, a smaller Vierge de Grâce was sent. 1744-1751, L'Andromède; 1748-1752, Le Comte de Chabannes; 1750-1751, Le Renard; and 1751-1752, L'Esperance.	1
Solignac, François, Merchant of Louisbourg & Bordeaux	W	He sailed to Louisbourg on La Ste Claire under Captain Balanqué. In Louisbourg, they signed a partnership with Fabien Dulong and Léon Cabarrus. In 1756, Solignac and Dulong complained that Cabarrus was cheating. They authorized Cyprien Lagoannère or Bacquereisse of Louisbourg, to take over their trade. In May 1756, they asked Courrejolles of Quebec to manage their Quebec business. In the 1760's they were still trying to clear up the partnership.	1
Sorbe, Pierre, Merchant of St. Jean	W Fish	He also was a sea captain. In 1731, he was hired by Pierre Gorsse to work as captain on a ship bound from Bordeaux to	1

de Luz		Quebec. He secretly, arranged for a schooner of his own La Revanche to go along with his own cargo. When he reached Quebec, he bought a brigantine, La Marianne, with his profits. He loaded it for Louisbourg. At Louisbourg, he loaded it with cod for France. Gorsse took him to court and a long court case followed. La Marianne was taken for debt on 8-11 June 1735 and sold with its cargo of sugar and indigo to Jean Lafore for 5100 *livres*.	
Soumbrun, Jean-Baptiste	W	In the early 1750's, he invested in the Canada trade, sending cargoes to his brother in Quebec on a 5% commission. He authorized Jean-Baptiste Amiot to collect money owed from his brother. In 1755, he failed to collect, but in 1757, his creditors gave him a reprieve. He was to pay 2/3rds of his debt. From 1748-1752, he outfitted four ships a year, three in 1755 and two in 1756.	1
Soumande, Jean, Merchant	Furs	A fur merchant; He died at Quebec on 21 May 1716.	2
Soumande, Jean-Pascal		(Son of Jean above.) A merchant	2
Souste, André	W	He was a merchant manufacturer of silk stockings. He was baptised 4 April 1692 at St-Leger, Chambéry, Grenoble Savoie.	2
*Suire, Daniel, Merchant of Quebec	W	In 1658, he came to Quebec; in 1662, he was a domestic of François Peron who sent him to replace Masse as François Peron's agent. In 1664, he was accused of neglecting his job and Antoine Grignon was sent to take charge. On 6 Dec 1663, he abjured his religion to marry Louise Gargottin on 26 Feb 1664.	1
Taché, Jean-Pascal, Merchant of Quebec	W	He arrived in Quebec from La Rochelle on 5 June 1727. He was a partner of Jean-Pierre Lapeyre. Among the ships he owned were L'Enterprize Forcée, L'Emerillon, Le St. Roche, and La Trinité. La Trinité was leased to the crown in a trade with François Bigot on 20 April 1751. It was to carry "victuals and munitions to the St. John River". If they were captured or wrecked, he was to receive 20,000 *livres*. It was wrecked entering Louisbourg's harbor under secret orders of Jonquière. Years later he collected the 20,000 *livres* from the Parlement of Paris. In 1750, he was a militia captain and in 1768, he was made a notary.	1
*Tersmitte, Henry, Merchant at La Rochelle	W Fur	On 9 June 1651, he loaned Bourdon 2000 *livres* to buy a cargo for Canada. On 3 July he lent 2000 *livres* bottomry at 30% to the representatives of the Canadian Compagnie de Habitants so they could send the Le St. Joseph and the La Vierge to Canada. It returned in 1652 with beaver. In 1671, he was director general of la Compagnie du Nord. They chartered ships for Canada. One of these was Le Mouton Blanc which was sent to Aubert de la Chesnaye at Quebec at the rate of 1400 *livres* a month.	1
Tessier, Jean, Merchant		He was from St-Laurent-de-Jourdes, Montmorillon, Poitiers, Poitou. He was 37 in 1724.	2

Testard / Tétard, Sieur de La Forest, Jacques, Merchant	R	He was from St-Vincent, Rouen, Normandie; On 29 April 1655, he was at Trois-Rivières. On 12 Nov 1658, he was a soldier at Montreal. In 1660, he was a merchant. He was buried at Montreal on 22 June 1663 at age 33.	2
*Testas Family, Merchants at Amsterdam Bordeaux, & other locations.	W	A wealthy Huguenot family in most of the ports on the Atlantic. In April 1754 they sent goods to Henry Morin and Louis Dubreuil, merchants of Quebec.	1
Texandier, Pierre *aîne*, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	In 1709, he was a partner with Ferbos. On 4 May 1726, he was bankrupt. His son, Jacques, was a merchant at Quebec in 1721.	1
*Thevenin, Sieur des Glairaux, Paul, Merchant of La Rochelle	W Fur	In 1663-1664, he expected large cargoes of furs on Le Phénix and Le Taureau and had them insured in Amsterdam for 10,000 *livres*. On 26 March 1664, they claimed a rebate because the furs were of poor quality. In 1666, Jacques de Lamothe of Quebec sent them furs on L'Ange Blanc. In 1671, Paul was a director of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales.	1
Thibault, Jacques, Merchant	R	He was 27 years on the 1681 census and at Lower Quebec as a merchant.	2
Thibault, Pierre, Merchant	R	(Brother of Jacques above.) He was 30 years old in the 1681 census and a merchant in Lower Quebec.	2
Thibierge / Tibierge, Hippolyte, Merchant	R	He was a merchant selling his tanned hides. In the census of 1681, he was at Lower Quebec. He died at Ste-Famille Ile d'Orleans on 10 Dec 1700.	2
Thibierge, Étienne, Merchant	R	(Son of Hippolyte above) He was also a barrel maker and a merchant.	2
Thibierge, Hippolyte, Merchant	R	(Brother of Étienne above.) He was buried at Ste-Famille Ile d'Orleans on 7 Jan 1701.	2
Thiersant, Sieur de Genlis, François-Gabriel	Fur	He arrived in Quebec about 1712. He was from St-Martin, Metz, Lorraine. He was a fur merchant at Fort Frontenac. Later he was an ensign in Canada on 2 May 1729.	2
Thiollière, Simon, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	In the 1730's, he had difficulty collecting what was owed to him by Montreal merchants. His agent in Canada was Dumont. Many cargoes had been sent to him. On Dec 1738, he wrote to Thiollière that most of the merchandise was not sold. The following year Dumont again wrote asking them to sell the remaining goods in Quebec cheap. In 1740, he was sent a cargo of fish on La Rose Blanche.	1
*Thouron, Bernard	Fur	In 1744, he was working in the fur trade in Quebec. 31 Oct 1754 to 2 Nov 1758, he was the family's Quebec agent.	1
*Thouron, Jean-Isaac, Merchannt of La Rochelle	W Fur	(Brother to Bernard above); First he formed a partnership with his cousin, Pierre Boudet. They sent the 200 ton Les Deux Cousins, and the 200 ton, Le St. Pierre to Quebec in 1748 and Les Deux Cousins and the 600 ton, La Balance in 1749. He then formed a partnership with his brother, Bernard. They sent the 200 ton, Les Deux Frères in 1752 and Le Chevalier de Beauharnais (Le Beauharnais) in	1

		1755—1757 to Quebec.	
Tinon dit Desroches, François	R	A merchant.	2
Tourton, Jean, Merchant of La Rochelle	W	On 22 March 1752, he went bankrupt and claimed 37,000 *livres* from Guillemin in Quebec and 8300 *livres* from their agent in Paris, 7200 livres from his bankrupt brother in Quebec, 11,390 livres in a 1/8th interest in Le Judith lost at sea and 10,000 livres in a 1/8th interest in Le Montrozier in the Guinea slave trade. He claimed other losses of 58,000 *livres*. In June 1752, he went to Quebec to settle his affairs.	1
Trefflé dit Rotot, Pierre	R	He was a merchant.	2
Trépanier / Trépagny, Claude		He was a soldier; later he was a merchant. He was buried at New Orleans, Louisiana on 20 Nov 1724.	2
Trottier, Sieur Des Ruisseaux, Antoine, Merchant		In 1681, he was at Batiscan. He bought part of the seigneury de l'Ile aux Hérons on 1 July 1698 with his son, Pierre. He died at Batiscan 5 Dec 1706.	2
Trottier, Sieur Desruysseaux, Joseph, Merchant		(Son of Antoine above.) He was hired to go west on 5 Sep 1701. He died before 3 Jan 1718 at Bellevue.	2
Trottier, Sieur Desrivières, Julien, Merchant		(Brother of Joseph above); He hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs from 5 May 1716 to 9 May 1717.	2
Trottier, Sieur Desaulniers, Pierre, Merchant		(Brother of Julien above). He was a bourgeois merchant. He hired voyageurs to go west for furs from 21 May 1718 to 22 May 1720.	2
Trottier Desaulniers, Pierre / Antoine-Pierre, Merchant of Quebec & Bordeaux	W Fish	(Son of Pierre above) He was a bourgeois merchant. He also was a privateer ship owner. In the 1730's and 1740's, he was in a large fishing partnership with François de Brouague. Then he began building ships, He was an important shipping merchant of Quebec. In 1745, he had a contract to fortify Louisbourg. In 1748, he settled permanently at Bordeaux. In 1755, he sent five ships to Quebec, all insured at Nantes—Les Trois Cousins, Le St Victor, L'Amphitrite, L'Espadrillle, and Le Bien Aimé. He died on 3 Oct 1757 at Isle-Saint-Georges, near Bordeaux.	1, 2
Tuffet Family, Merchants	W Fur	A Roman Catholic trading family from La Rochelle; They were in trade with Canada, Cape Breton and Acadia. In 1630, Jean was director of la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France; in 1638, he came to New France. In 1641, his son, André, came to New France. In 1644, André and Louis came to Canada. Each time they came, they brought *engagés* to colonize.	1
Turgis de Saint-Étienne de La Tour, Nicolas dit Claude	Fur	He was a fur trader. About 1613, after the destruction of Port Royale he went into the fur trade business near Pentagouet. Later he built a fort there. About 1626, he was forced to leave by English colonists from Plymouth. He returned to France. In 1628, he was back in Acadia and was taken prisoner and sent to England. In 1629, he came back to Acadia to help Scottish settlers.	3

Turgis de Saint-Étienne, Charles		(Son of Nicolas above.) A merchant, colonizer and governor; After the destruction of Port Royal about 1613, he lived among the Indians with Biencourt. In 1623, he was administrator of the colony. In 1631, he was appointed governor.	3
Turpin, Alexandre; Trader at Montreal	W Fur	1693—he made an ageement with Jean-Baptiste Le Beau, merchant of Nantes, to trade with each other, with equal sharing of profits and losses.	1
Vaillant, Antoine, Merchant		He was from St-Martin, Soissons, Picardie.	2
*Vernhès, Abel, Merchant of Bordeaux	W	In 1732, he bought Neptune for 26,000 *livres*. In the 1740's he carried on a great deal of trade with Canada, on L'Aimable Gracieuse in 1744, La Légère in 1746 and Le St-François in 1748.	1
Veron, Sieur de Grandmesnil, Étienne, Merchant		In 1681, he was at Trois-Rivières. In 1716, he was a merchnt and captain of the militia there. From 1706 to 1720, he was a royal notary at Trois-Rivières. He died at Trois Rivières on 17 May 1721.	2
Veron Sieur de Grandmesnil, Étienne, Merchant at Quebec		(Son of Étienne above.) in 1695, he was a clerk at the king's storehouse at Trois-Rivières; in 1709 he was at Detroit. On the 1716 census he was a merchant living in Lower Quebec.	2
Veyssière, Jean-Baptiste, Merchant of La Rochelle & Shopkeeper of Limoges	W	He had a long partnership with Jean-Mathieu Mounier of Quebec. His letterbook for Canada trade contained 281 pages and started on 23 March 1736. When he died on 29 July 1753, his storerooms were filled with cotton, ginseng and cowhides. His house contained a portrait of himself, two bearskin rugs, over 13,000 *livres* in cash, silverware worth over 2500 *livres*, wine in the cellar and sixty flower pots in the courtyard.	1
Veyssière, Pierre, Merchant of La Rochelle & Limoges	W	(Brother to Jean-Baptiste above); he had a busy trade in New France with Jean-Mathieu Mounier, Blavoust and Taché. At his death, he had over 100,000 *livres* in Canada bills. He retired to Limoges. He died there leaving an estate of 170,588 *livres*. Found in his home were a gold headed cane, a silver hilted sword, nine suits, seventy-five shirts, and forty-nine collars.	1
Vidal, Jean-Baptiste	R	Merchant; origin is unknown.	2
Viennay-Pachot / Pachot, François, Merchant at Quebec & La Rochelle	W Fur	A bourgeois merchant; In the 1681 census he was 46 living in Lower Quebec. He was a partner with Thomas Aramy. Aramy went to Quebec with François's brother. On 7 Jan 1689, he had a concession of the seigneury de Pachot. He was buried at Quebec on 2 Sep 1698 at age 70.	2, 1
Viennay-Pachot / Pachot, François, Merchant at La Rochelle	Fur	(Son of François above.) In 1705, he lost 130,000 *livres* as a result of the Le Pontchartrain being captured. He went bankrupt. He hired traders and voyageurs to go west to get furs on 2-3 Oct 1713.	2, 1
Viger, Jean-Baptiste	R Fur	He was from St-Nizier, Lyon. On 2 April 1684 he was at Quebec as a furrier merchant and a muff maker.	2
Villierme, Merchant		In1688, Le Dragon Volant went to Quebec.1682, he sold his	1

at La Rochelle		1/8th share of Le Caesar Auguste to Jean-Blaise Busquet.	
Vivier, Paul, Merchant at La Rochelle		On 2 May 1749, he told Pierre Soumbrun to take on board his ship, La Charmante Victoire, some bales of goods to Quebec for Jean Taché.	1
Volant, Sieur de Saint-Claude, Claude, Merchant		In the censuses of 1666, 1667, 1681 and on 16 June 1651, he was living at Trois-Rivières.	2
Volant, Sieur de Radisson, Étienne, Merchant		(Son of Claude above.) He was a merchant and a land surveyor in 1697. In 1714, he was a guard at the Montreal storehouse, He was hired to go west on 28 May 1701 and 10 July 1703.	2
Volant, Sieur de Fosseneuve, Jean-François, Merchant	W Fur	(Brother of Étienne above.) A fur merchant. On 10 July 1703, he was hired to go west for furs. From 18 May 1720 to 17 May 1727, he hired voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Volant, Nicolas, Merchant		(Brother of Nicolas above.); a bourgeois merchant. He was buried at Quebec on 26 Jan 1703.	2
Volant, François	W	(Son of Nicolas above.) A wholesale merchant.	2
Voyer, Noel	R	A merchant.	2
*Walrauen, Paul & Arnaud, Merchants of La Rochelle	W Fur	On 21 March 1663, they lent Pierre Gaigneur 2000 *livres* to fit out ships for Quebec. On 3 April 1664, for Abraham Champeron of Amsterdam, they bought 200 skins from Pierre Gaigneur, each to weigh between 10 and 18 *livres* without hair or bristle. Gaigneur agreed to deliver for 25 *sous* each for a total of 1250 *livres* paid in advance at 24% premium to be sent on Ange Blanc. The Dutch captain was allowed to have three tons of cargo space for himself. On 4 April 1665, they bought 18,000 *livres* worth of deer skins at the price of 340 *livres* per thousand from Alexandre Petit.	1
Watrigand, Leopold, Merchant at La Rochelle	W	He occasionally traded with Canada; when he died in 1698, his widow claimed 772 *livres* from Antoine Pascaud and 1005 *livres* from Fromage who were in Canada.	1
Winniett, Sr William (Guillaume), Merchant		1701, he volunteered in the expedition against Port Royal. Later, he was a lieutenant of the regiment of New Hampshire; In 1711, he resigned from the army and became a trade merchant; he was a bourgeois merchant at Port Royal. He was a member of the Conseil of Scotland; April 1741—he drowned in Boston harbor.	3
You, Sieur de La Découverte, Pierre, Merchant	Fur	A fur merchant; In 1677, he was sergeant of the garrison at Fort Frontenac; in 1683, he was an officer in Louisiana; in 1685, he was an ensign in New France; on 29 April 1704, he hired voyageurs to go west to get furs. He was buried at Montreal 28 Aug 1718 at age 60.	2
You, Sieur de La Découverte & d'Youville, François-Madeleine, Merchant	Fur	(Son of Pierre above.) A fur merchant; between 19 May 1727 and 27 June 1729, he hired traders and voyageurs to go west for furs.	2
Zorn, Jean-Jacques, Merchant at Bordeaux & Quebec	W	About 1750, he was trading linens; in 1755, he traded to Quebec, goods coming from the widow of Sacher and J. Pierre Convert from Berne.	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 abreviations if possible, for example: tsp. tbsp. 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 Alice Kegley (present member)

PORC AU LAIT (Pork cooked in milk)

1 ½ - 2 lbs. Pork Roast
1 qt. milk
1 garlic clove, slivered
2 onions, minced
Thyme, sage, savory and laurel to taste (bayleaf probably another word for laurel)
Salt and pepper to taste

Rub meat with salt, pepper and herbs. Insert slivers of garlic into meat at regular intervals. Roast meat on all sides in a pan of medium-high heat. Add onions and stir until onions just begin to brown. Bring milk to a boil in a second pan. Pour hot milk in the first pan over meat and onions. Milk level should reach about ½ inch above meat. Reduce heat and simmer for 1 hour. A brown skin will form. Don't worry about it. After 1 hour of cooking, break this skin and mix thoroughly with drippings. Turn the meat over and let cook for another 30 minutes. At this stage, watch carefully as the sauce starts to reduce. There should be about 1 cup of sauce left in the pan at the end of the cooking time. Test meat for doneness. If sauce is too thin, it may be thickened. Should this be necessary, melt 1 tbsp. of butter and add 1 tbsp. of flour and mix well. Add to this a little amount of the hot cooking liquid and mix well. Return this mixture in the pan and stir to prevent the formation of lumps. Cook for 5 more minutes. Serve with homemade mashed potatoes.

This recipe is from Alice's cousin, Helene Arcouette, of Montreal. Helene said her Grandmother often made this easy and delicious family favorite.

I hope you will try this recipe and enjoy. **"BON APPETIT"**

TRIVIA

A bottomry is an agreement in which a shipowner borrows money to finance a voyage and he puts his ship up for security. Sometimes, they were called bottomry loans.

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Merchants and colonists could not control the weights and measures used by a variety of foreigners who were involved in intercolonial or international trade. French standards of regulation of measurements for New France and Acadia began in 1676.

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The metric system in France was authorized with a series of laws between 1 August 1793 and 7 April 1795.

MONTREAL UNPUBLISHED CENSUS OF 1741

The information for this article was from, Massicotte, E. Z., "Un recensement inédit de Montreal, en 1741," in *Memoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, Section 1 of Series III, Vol. XV, May 1921, pp. 1-61.

On 12 May 1741, Charles de Beauharnois, the governor general, and Gilles Hocquart, the intendant of New France, signed a law which authorized the Compagnie des Indes to investigate the habitants of Quebec, Trois-Rivières and Montreal regarding smuggled contraband which were coming from the English colonies and the Dutch colony of New York.

However, the Montreal investigation is the only one of the three which has survived or was the only one taken.

La Compagnie des Indes was the sole exporter of Canadian beaver and the only importer of produced merchandise into New France. This was by a law in 1719, that gave them the inherited privileges and rights of la Compagnie des Indes Orientals, de la Compagnie de Chine and de la Compagnie l'Occident that were relative to America.

The investigation was to be done in mid-July. For each house they recorded the name of the proprietor of the house, the name of the occupant of the house and the person who received the visiters and then count the number of textiles that were declared and marked. Then the signature if they could sign.The Ohio River, Gateway to the Western Frontier,"

They began the investigation in Montreal on 14 July 1741. They were completed on 24 July. They visited 506 buildings—houses and religious institutions; 57 had nothing to declare; 449 of them had some smuggled goods. They issued a warning if the illegal trafficking continued, the intendant and the Compagnie would have to visit the warehouses and homes of the country and confiscate all illegal smuggled goods and burn it publicly.

This article in the opening citation, includes the information they recorded except the listing of the items individuals possessed illegally. The original document for Montreal is located in the Archives of the Palais of Justice, Montreal. It is in a folio of 225 pages. The article cited, serves as a Montreal census for 1741.

COMING UP

12-13 April 2012: OGS Annual Conference, "History and Genealogy: Finding Clues to Ancestral Lives," at the International Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio; sponsored by the Ohio Genealogical Society. There will be over 60 sessions plus workshops.

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27-28 April 2012: Wisconsin State Genealogical Society Gene-A-Rama: at the Hotel Sierra and KI Convention Center, 333 Main St., Green Bay, Wisconsin. For further information: See WSGS wewbsite.

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9-12 May 2012: NGS Family History Conference: "The Ohio River, Gateway to the Western Frontier," at the Duke Convention Center, 525 Elm Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. The program features military records, ethnic research, migration, methodology and research in the Midwest. The conference hotels are Hyatt Regency Cincinnati, Hilton Cincinnati Netherland Plaza and the Millenium Hotel. For registration or other information: http://conference.ngsgenealogy.org

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29 Aug-1 Sept 2012: FGS Conference will be held at the Birmingham Convention Center, Birmingham, Alabama.

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NEWS NOTES

From *History Magazine*, Feb/Mar 2012: There is an interesting article on Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. This was a Jesuit mission established on the Wye River in Midland, Ontario in 1639.

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In *Family Chronicle*, Nov/Dec 2011: There is an article on Ontario Land Recods which will be of interest to those whose ancestors had claims of land between 1805-1895 in Ontario.

*****

From *Acadian Genealogy Exchange:* Oct 2011, Vol. XL: There is a listing of baptisms at Grand Pre from 1707-1748. There are also two articles on Descendants of Pierre and Etienne Pellerin and another on Descendants of Charles Emmanuel I Duke of Savoy.

*****

From *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française*, Vol. 62, number 3, autumn 2011:There is an extensive article on the ascendance of Nicolas Leblond and another on the Nicolas Peltier family. They are traced back into France. A third article is on the Morel name in Quebec and France.

*****

From *Je Me Souviens,* Vol. 34, No. 2, Autumn 2011: There are several articles that may be of interest. One article examines a marriage contract notarial record. A second is on the Bouldoc / Bolduc family. Another is on the Genus / Genu family.

*****

From *Sent by the King,* Vol. XIV, Issue 2, Fall 2011:There is a list of Soldiers of the Carignan Salières Regiment who married others than Filles du Roi. There is also a list of those soldiers and officers who settled in New France, but never married.

*****

From *American-Canadian Genealogist,* Issue # 30, Vol. 37, No. 4, 2011: There is an article on the Pierre Fontaine dit Bienvenue family from the 17th century into the 19th century. There is an interesting review on *Teton County, Montana A History 1988.* The reviewer, Jeanne Boisvert, names a number of Choteau Canyon people who have names which are the same as those who were in the Red River settlement. She has also listed names of French Canadians who went into Montana 1900-1920 under the Homestead Act. They are Henri Beaupre, George Andrew Boutilier, Joseph Bruneau, Angeline Grant Carrier, Joseph and William James Carrier, Charles Chouquette, Emma La Rance, Baptiste Guardipee, Alfred St. Germaine and Peter/Pierre Trudeau.

THE 1940 CENSUS WILL BE ON INTERNET ON APRIL 2 2012

IT WILL BE FREE UNTIL DECEMBER 31 2012

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The French Canadian / Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin

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French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin
Quarterly

Volume 26 No. 3 Spring 2012

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BEOTHUK / BEOTHUCK,

MK'MAQ/ MI'KMAQ / MIKMAQ/ MIKMAK /MICMAC / SOURIQUOIS

MALICITE / MALISEET / WOLASTOQIYIK /ETCHEMIN / TARRATINES / TARYTINES

The first Native Americans to greet the first Europeans to North America

By Joyce Banachowski

The Beothuk, Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet were the first North American Indians Europeans encountered. It is believed that either the Inuit, the Beothuk who lived in what is today Newfoundland, or the Mi'kmaq who were living in what is today Nova Scotia, Cape Breton or New Brunswick were the natives the Vikings came in contact with in about the year 1000. From their settlements in Greenland, the Vikings explored south and west along the Atlantic coast. In their writings, they met Aboriginal people — probably, Eskimo in the north and Indian further south. In their writings, the Vikings called all native Americans they met, *Skraelings*.[1]

Archaeological remains in L'Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland indicate from remaining sod-walled houses that a Norse settlement was located there about 1000. After watching the Norse for a while, the natives of Newfoundland brought bales of sable and other furs to trade for metal weapons and red cloth. The Norse would not give them weapons. They accepted cloth and milk instead. Later, the relations between the two broke down and the Indians became hostile.[2] The Norse

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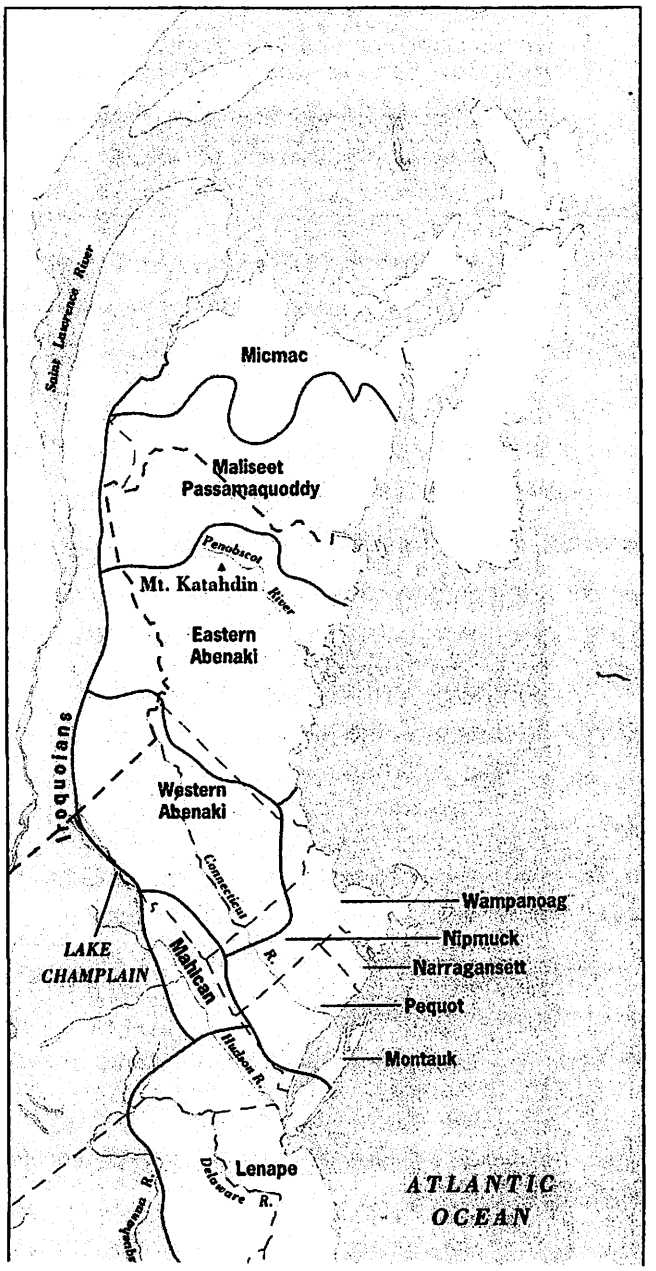
Eastern Algonguian Tribes



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found the native group was continuously hostile defending their territory, and it is believed this is why the Norse abandoned their settlement. For the next five hundred years, there was no attempt at colonization in this area.[3]

In 1497, John Cabot, in exploring the North American coast for England, encountered the Beothuk and / or the Mi'kmaq and he kidnapped three of their warriors and took them back to England.[4] In the 1520's the Portugese had a settlement in Newfoundland in the Cape Breton area. Giovanni de Verrazano met the Beothuk and Mi'kmaq in 1524. The Mi'kmaq were trading with Europeans before Cartier came to North America. About 1540, an agent from Portugal claimed that France was receiving thousands of furs from the New World.[5]

Before Verrazano's coming, Europeans had been catching cod and bartering with the Abenaki, Micmaq and other Algonquin coastal tribes. The Indians wanted metal goods and the only thing they had to trade were furs. The dry fisherman were eager to trade. The cost of their voyage was covered with their

3 McMillan and Yellowhorn , *op. cit.*, p. 53.

4 Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

5 Trigger, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

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cargo of fish. They had no overhead, only profits. As the number of ships increased in dry fishing, permanent shore bases were necessary. Men were left at their fishing stations over winter, to guard the better locations and drying racks and to prepare for the next season to have an advantage on the Lenten market. They tried to be back in France by Tuesday, the day before Lent. Being left alone, they developed good relations with the Indians.[6] Some of these Europeans had also kidnapped Indians and taken them back to Europe. Many of those who were kidnapped and taken to Europe never returned to North America. They usually died of European diseases they contacted there.

In 1534, Jacques Cartier, in his exploration for the French, became friends with the Mi'kmaq. In 1534, when Cartier sailed to Chaleur Bay, the Mi'kmaq loudly called out to the ship waving furs on sticks to show their wanting to trade. Cartier reported that they were so anxious to get knives and other iron goods, they traded the furs they were wearing and returned to their camp naked.[7]

In the summer of 1578, there were more than 400 European fishing boats off the Atlantic coast. In 1581, merchants of Normandy and Britanny organized a fur trade venture in North America. In 1584, Richard Hakluyt, an English geographer, while in Paris saw furs from Canada which were estimated to be worth 15,000 *livres*. In 1603, the Mi'kmaq also became friends of Champlain. They served as middlemen for the French by gathering furs from other tribes. (Between 1607 and 1615, the Mi'kmaq and Abenaki fought to decide who would be middlemen trading European goods from Acadia with the New England tribes.)[8] The Mi'kmaq remained middlemen and were loyal

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

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

10 May 2012: Library is open for Research. Comments on the recent *Quarterly* issue on "Merchants"; Joyce Banachowski

14 June 2012: Silent Auction of Library Books; Last Business Meeting; Memories of FCGW.

12 July 2012: Silent Auction of Equipment and Supplies

14 July 2012: 30th Anniversary Dinner at Chez Jacques.

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6 Eccles, W. J., *The French in North America 1500-1783,* p. 12. Being there were no women with them, it is suggested that the Maliseet on the St. John River were Métis as a result of co-habitation of the St-Malo fishermen and the Abenakis and that the name, Maliseet, was a corruption of the Abenaki word, Malouidit, meaning a man of St-Malo. [From Campeau, Lucien, *Monumenta Novae Francaise, I, La premiers mission d'Acadie (1602-1616),* Quebec, 1867, p. 118.]

7 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

8 Trigger, *Op. cit.,* pp. 138; 140.

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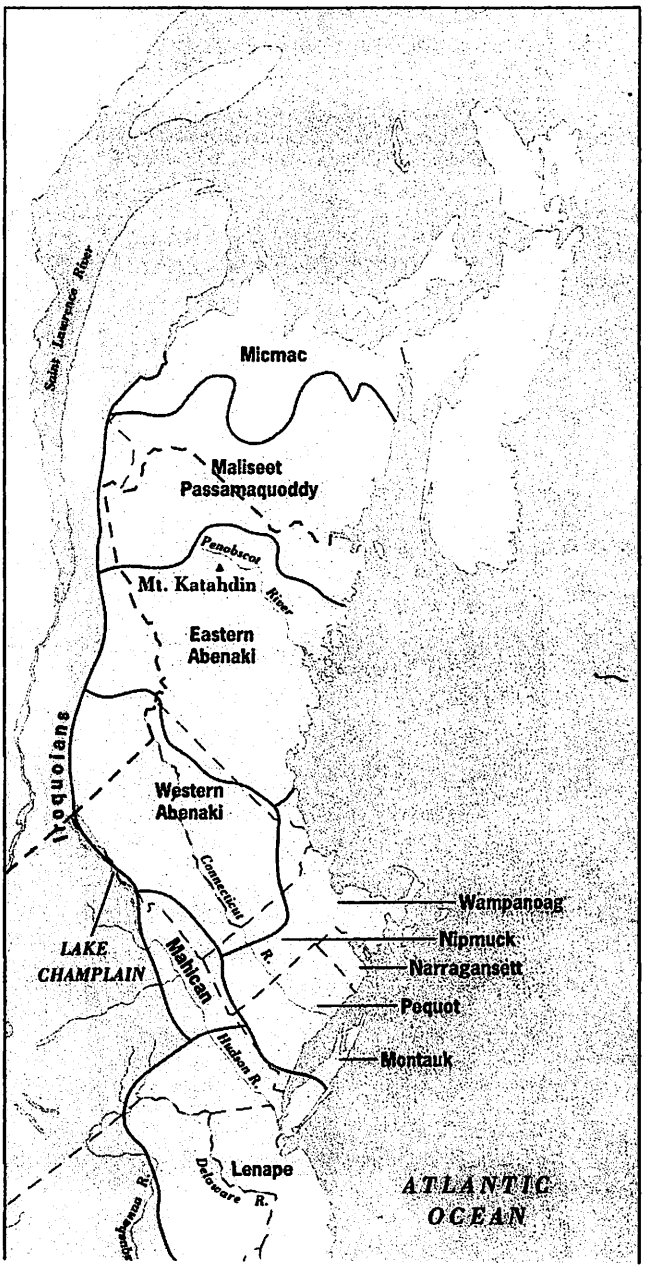

From Editors, *Algonquians of the East Coast* p. 19.

abundance of cedar trees. For the Beothuk of Newfoundland, there was little cedar, but there were a great number of spruce trees. However, the spruce trees were more difficult to use because it had a string type of grain and a large number of knots. The wood fiber would have to be scraped, cleaned and

finished with chippings of flint or other sharp edged stones. Smooth stones or fallen hardwood would be used to rub the wood to finish it. For cedar, fewer tools and less labor were necessary. Cedar was not only preferable for the construction of canoes but for toboggans, plank snowshoes and cradleboards.[9]

Beothuk / Beothuck

The Beothuk occupied Newfoundland between 1650 and 1720. They lived primarily on the coast, collecting shellfish and hunting land and sea animals. They had birch bark covered canoes and went out in the Atlantic to harpoon seals and other mammals and collect eggs from offshore islands. They ate seal, small whales, porpoise, caribou, other mammals, birds, fish, clams and shellfish. During this period they had few European goods but a number of nails were found at their archaeological site. The Beothuk had hammered them out and used them for arrow tips. They also used small chipped stones for arrow tips and bone pendants, cut with designs. These also appeared in their graves.[10]

The Beothuk were not in the Algonquian language family like the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet. They had some word roots in common with the Algonquian language. However, their language had more differences than similarities. As a result, their language is classified as its own, Beothukan. The Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet are in the Algonquian language family. Although these three Indian groups were near each other, it is believed the Beothuk developed their own distinctive language because they lived on an island, Newfoundland.[11]

In the seventeenth century, they were described as being of middle size, bareheaded with long hair. Behind their head was a great lock platted with a feather. They had no beards. They wore a short gown of deer skin with the fur inside that went to the middle of their legs, with sleeves that went to the middle of their arms and a beaver skin around their necks. That was all they wore, except one of them had shoes and mittens. All of them were barelegged and most were barefoot. They all had black eyes, but their hair was of various colors—black, brown and yellow. Their faces were flat and broad. Their faces, bodies and clothes were red from ocher.[12]

The Beothuk lived a life style similar to both the Algonquians and the Eskimos. Like the Mi'kmaq, they lived in birch bark wigwams, cooked in birch bark containers and made birch bark canoes. However, they had a different design in their canoes. The sides curved up at the ends and in the middle. In winter, they stayed in the inland forests hunting for animals. However in summer, they went to the ocean to hunt sea mammals using Eskimo style weapons and methods.[13]

The canoes of the Beothuk were unique. They were different than any canoes of other North American Indians. In 1869, a 32 inch, toy reconstruction of their

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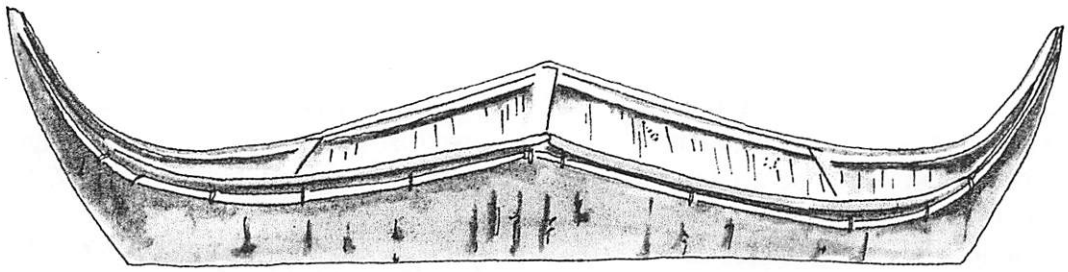
9 Jennings, John, *The Canoe: A Living Tradition*, pp. 48-49.

10 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

11 Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 30,

12 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54 was from Howley, James P., *The Beothuks or Red Indians: The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland*, Coles, Toronto, 1915, p. 17.

13 Waldman, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.



Beothuk birch bark canoe, from Waldman, *Algonquians of the East Coast,* p. 31.

canoe was found in a Beothuk boy's grave along with a wood image of a boy, toy bows and arrows, packages of food, some red ochre and a small paddle. That and early writings have provided information on the life of the Beothuk. Captain Richard Whitbourne had come to Newfoundland with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1580 and returned a number of times. In 1612, John Gay, a member of the Company of Newfoundland Plantation wrote that the Beothuk canoe was about 20 feet long and 4 ½ feet wide in the middle. The ribs were like laths. These were covered with birch bark sewn with roots. The canoes carried four persons. It weighed less than 100 pounds. The middle of the canoe was higher than the ends. In 1633, Joann de Laet said the canoes were not over 20 feet and carried five persons and that they needed ballast to keep them upright. The models indicate the keel[14] was straight along the length of the canoe and turned up sharply at the two ends — the bow and the stern.[15]

The framework of the canoe was made of spruce. The frame was attached to a keel. Then it was covered with birchbark pieces sewn together. The birch trees of Newfoundland would grow to 2 to 2 ½ feet in diameter at the bottom. This could provide a sheet of birch bark 6 to 7 feet wide. The length was determined by how far up, the Indian could climb to cut the upper part. None of the three tribes used long strips of bark. They preferred to use the bark near the ground to above the height of the winter snows. After the birch bark had been lashed or sewn to the gunwales, the gunwales would be forced apart to put in the three thwarts. [16] The three thwarts were about two fingers in width and depth. The spiral stitch was used in sewing at the ends of the gunwales.[17]

The lashings were of split root and / or sinew. To strengthen the structure, pegs were used. The use of pegs were consistently used by the Beothuk. In addition there was a continuous wrapping of the gunwales. The ends of the gunwales were split into a thin sheet or layer to allow them to shape the sharp upward sweep at the bow and stern.[18] In completing the birch bark canoe, sheathing was held in place by temporary ribs. Then the pre-bent ribs

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14 The keel is the main structural part of a boat running from one end to the other, on the bottom of the vessel to which the frame is attached.

15 Adney, Edwin Tappan and Chapelle, Howard, *Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America,* p. 94-95.

16 Thwarts were the seats across a boat, on which the oarsmen sat.

17 The gunwales were the edges on the sides of the canoe.

18 Adney, Edwin Tappan and Chapelle, Howard, *Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America,* pp. 95-97.

would be forced in under the main gunwales. The ribs were bent to the needed shape by using hot water and then either staked out or tied to hold them in the form they needed. The sewing of the bark covering would have been done before the sheathing and ribs were put in place. The birch bark canoes of the Beothuk are believed to be the only canoes to go as much as over sixty miles in open ocean water. They probably crossed from Newfoundland to Labrador. The keel was the most structural characteristic of the Beothuk canoe. The only other canoes that had a keel were the moose hide canoes of the Maliseet.[19]

There were few rivers in their country that were navigable. They lived along coasts and primarily used their canoes for coastal travel and for trips to islands to get food. Their canoes were built in a V form which was good for open waters. The V sections at both ends were suitable for rough water navigation. The Beothuk used rocks and cargoes as ballast for traveling on the ocean. It kept the canoes stable. Rocks would be placed along the keel and covered with moss and skins. Due to the V form and the weight of ballast, the canoe could move over and through a wave-top without much pounding. If a high wave hit, the shape and structure of the canoe had buoyancy and caused the canoe to lift quickly as the wave reached up its sides. The paddle of the Beothuk had a long narrow blade. It probably had a pointed tip and a ridged surface. In coastal voyages, the canoes would be unloaded and brought on shore each night. The canoe served as shelter for the night.[20]

The Beothuk were different than the Mi'kmaq and the Eskimos in other ways. The Beothuk buried their dead in caves and rock shelters. The body was wrapped in birch bark and covered in red ochre. It was left in a wooden box placed on a scaffold or in a crevice in the rocks. The items placed with them were wooden dolls, models of birch bark canoes and bone pendants cut with geometric designs. These might have been sewn on their clothing.[21] Unique carved bone ornaments have been found at these burial sites. They also painted their bodies, hair, clothing and utensils with red ocher, mixed with oil or grease. It was a mineral that was found in the soil. It was probably used for religious reasons, but it also was practical. It provided some protection from the cold and kept insects away. In Beothuk burials, the body and objects buried with it were covered with red ochre. The red color may have had a meaning in ceremonial or religious practices. As the result of this early practice, all Native Americans were called "Redskins."[22]

The Beothuk lived on the coast and fished, collected shellfish and hunted land and sea mammals. The men went out in their birch bark canoes and harpooned seals and small whales. An important source of food was collecting birds' eggs on distant islands. They traveled as far as Funk Island, 65 kilometers away through difficult Atlantic waters. The eggs were hard boiled for later use or they were mixed

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19 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

21 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 53; and Waldman, *op cit.*, p. 31.

with seal or caribou fat and sun-dried. This was a basic part of their diet. Other basic foods were stored. These included dried meat, dried salmon, pieces of seal fat on the skin and long strings of dried lobster tails.[23]

During fall and winter, they stayed in the interior of the island and were dependent a great deal on caribou. They would build long "deer fences" made of cut trees, branches, and posts to force the herds of caribou toward the hunters who waited with spears, bows and arrows. They preserved the meat by freezing it or smoking it for the winter. The Beothuk preferred using birch bark canoes on inland lakes, rivers and the coastal waters. In the winter they traveled into the interior on foot, using snowshoes and pulling heavy loads on sleds.[24]

Their homes were conical in shape with poles covered with birch bark. In winter, they had several layers of bark with dried moss in between the layers, for insulation. Dirt was banked around the bottom to help keep out the cold winds. Around the central fire, were sleeping hollows in the ground. Their homes, which were occupied from spring to fall, were built over shallow pits.[25]

The Beothuk originally were coastal people. By the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Europeans and Mi'kmaq had pushed the Beothuk to Red Indian Lake and Exploits River in central Newfoundland. The last years of the Beothuk's existence were probably very difficult for them. The coastal English and French settlements forced them into the interior. This limited their hunting territory, lessened the amount of game available and cut off their food supply from the coastal waters and islands.[26]

Unlike the rest of Canada, their relations with Europeans were not centered around the fur trade. In Newfoundland, the Europeans were interested in fish and not furs. As a result, the Beothuk did not benefit from European trade goods as the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet. To the Beothuk, the concept of private ownership of property was non-existent and petty theft was allowed in their culture. They had little to offer in trade. Instead, they would regularly steal from the Europeans, especially the French fishermen who would come to the shores to salt and dry their cod. Sometimes they would kill individuals or small groups of Frenchmen.[27]

When the fishermen left in fall, the Beothuk regularly salvaged items left by the Europeans at the vacated fishing stations. When the fishermen returned, they retaliated for the missing items by attacking and killing the Beothuk. In the late seventeenth century and early1700's, French officials gave flintlock guns to the Mi'kmaq and offered a bounty on the scalps of the Beothuk. As a result, the Beothuk were almost extinct. The few who survived hid out among other Indians, primarily the Naskapis, who lived on what is today Labrador.[28]

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23 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

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

27 *Ibid.*, p. 63; Woodcock, George, *A Social History of Canada*, p. 82.

28 Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

In addition, European diseases took their toll on the Indians. Due to the attacks and the diseases, the Beothuk had difficulty having their regular caribou hunts. The Beothuk were pushed more and more to the center of Newfoundland. The Beothuk suffered from tuberculosis and malnutrition.[29] By the mid eighteenth century, there were only a few small groups left. In the early nineteenth century, they were extinct. After the extinction of the Beothuk, the Mi'kmaq were the only Indian group in Newfoundland.

In the final years, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the English trying to develop communication with the Beothuk, took a number of them, prisoners. The most famous were Demaduit (known as Mary March, named after the month she was captured in 1819), and Nancy Shanawdithit / Shawanahdit who was captured in 1823. She is considered the last of the Beothuk. In1829, the last Beothuk, Nancy Shawanahdit, a captive at St. Johns, Newfoundland, died of tuberculosis.[30]

Malecite / Maliseet / Etchemins / Wolastoqiyik / Tarratines / Tarytines / Marachites / Armouchiquois

Algonquian is one of three hundred Indian languages in North America. This language family has a number of different dialects or regional variations. Most of the Algonquian groups lived in the Northeast woodlands and along the Atlantic coast. Others lived on the Great Lakes, on the Prairies and in the Canadian Subarctic. The Indians of Acadia—Algonkin, Micmac and Maliseet were part of the language family of the Eastern Canadian Woodland Algonquins. From the Algonquin language, we have received some of our English words— hickory, hominy, moccasin, moose, papoose, powwow, sachem, squash, squaw, succotash, toboggan, tomahawk, wigwam and woodchuck.[31]

The Maliseet were closely related to the Mi'kmaq. The Maliseet had a culture similar to that of the Mi'kmaq. They were located along the St.Croix River and St. John River in western New Brunswick and extending into Quebec. The name, Maliseet, is the word, the Mi'kmaq used for their neighbors. Maliseet is pronounced Mal-uh-seet. It is from the Mi'kmaq word for "broken talkers". The Maliseet people prefer Wolastoqiyik which comes from their language from the name of the land along the St. John River. Although the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet are in the Algonquian language group, they speak in different dialects. The Maliseet speak a dialect of the same language as the Passamaquoddy who are now in Maine and extend into southwestern New Brunswick around Passamquoddy Bay. The early French explorers called the Malecite / Maliseet living along the St. John River the Etchemin tribe meaning "canoe men" or the Tarratines / Tarytines. Tarratines was the name given by the Pilgrims to the Abenaki who were living along the Penobscot River. Later, the Maliseet were called Tarratines,

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29 *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

30 Waldman, p. 31 and McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8 and Hannay, James, *The History of Acadia From Its Discovery to Its Surrender to England by The Treaty of Paris*, p. 42.

Marachites or Armouchiquois by the French.[32]

It is believed that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a group known as Etchemin or Maliseet invaded the Souriquois or Mi'kmaq in what the French came to call Acadia. As a result, the Mi'kmaq were pushed to the gulf and peninsula of Nova Scotia and the Maliseet occupied the land between the St. John River to the Kennebec. The Maliseet were more warlike than the Mi'kmaq. The Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet were the first North American Indians the French encountered in Acadia.[33]

Although the Maliseet, Passamaquoddy and Mi'kmaq were similar, the Mi'kmaq were more coastal people and the Maliseet were more in the interior where they primarily farmed small plots of corn.[34]

The Maliseet's two main settlements were Kingsclear and Meductek. They fortified their settlements by putting posts in the ground and bound them together with willow twigs and branches. Inside, they built conical shaped wigwams like the Mi'kmaq and an oblong council house which was used for meetings and celebrations.[35] They were located in what is now New Brunswick and the northeast section of Maine. They usually were peaceful, but when threatened, they were good fighters. They were enemies of the Mohawk. They also were allies of the French against the British in the French Colonial wars. This was when the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq became a part of the Abenaki Confederacy. The Maliseet often intermarried with the French who settled with them. During the French regime there also were marriages between the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq.

The Maliseet were less dependent on hunting and fishing as the Mi'kmaq. The Maliseet were more dependent on farming beans, squash and especially corn. Unlike the Mi'kmaq, they preserved and stored food for the winter. They would take the meat from the bones and dry it in smoke. This way it would keep for years. They dried corn by first boiling it on the cob in large kettles until they became hard. It was then shelled from the cob with sharp clam shells, then placed on bark and dried in the sun. When completely dried the kernels were about the size of a pea. These also kept for years. When boiled, they would swell to normal size.[36]

A Maliseet feast was unique. Fish, meat, and /or corn and beans would be boiled together. A number of pots full of food would be prepared. When the food was done, a messenger would go to each wigwam shouting for them to come to the feast. The guest (head of a household) would then ask if he must take a spoon or a knife in his dish. This would indicate if it was meat or a soup. When the guests met at the host's wigwam, two or three young men would serve the food, giving a portion for the guest and for each member of his family. When the guests were finished eating, one of the men would stand at the wigwam door and call out, "Come and

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32 Adney and Chapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 70 and Sylvester, Herbert M., *Indian Wars of New England,* pp. 28-30.

33 Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

34 McMilllan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

35 Sylvester, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

36 Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

fetch." This was the signal to each squaw to go to her husband and get the dish which she would bring back to her wigwam for herself and for her children. Married women and boys under 20, were not allowed to be present when the guests ate. But old widow squaws and captive men were allowed to sit by the wigwam door. After having eaten, the men stayed in the wigwam telling war, hunting and comical stories. When every man had told his story, one would stand and sing a feast song. After everyone had sung his song, the group would break up.[37]

The Maliseet like the Mi'kmaq were experts in hunting and in the building and use of the canoe. Both took part in wars, but the Maliseet were more warlike than the Mi'kmaq. Their biggest ambition was to be a good warrior. Even though they would be extremely cruel to a female captive, they would not insult her and they would always be totally honest.[38]

A sachem was at the head of Maliseet groups. He was in command when they went to war. However, any warrior could initiate the organization of a war party. If a majority opposed him, if he still felt he had enough men to follow him, his followers would go to carry out his purpose. There was no one organized group of fighting men. The Maliseet had six councilors who were chosen by the sachem but they had to be confirmed by the warriors. The sachem held his position for life. When he died, the men of the tribe would elect a new sachem. When a new sachem was chosen, a large celebration would be held and neighboring tribes would be invited. An official messenger called *mé-a-wet* would notify the warriors to meet with the sachem.[39]

Before they were in contact with the French, the Indian tribes of the northeast woodland Indians fought other tribes, usually Mohawk near them or someimes, against each other. When a tribe was about to go to war, they would inform their enemy by sending them a symbol to put them on guard. Later on, a declaration of war was forgotten. For both the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq, it was customary to have a feast of dog meat before going to war. They did a war dance and the older warriors would dance to the drums and announce their feats from previous wars to excite the younger warriors. After their preparations they would leave on their expedition. If they were in friendly territory, they would travel in small groups to be able to hunt along the way. If they were in enemy territory they would be silent, and in single file, often walking in the tracks of the person in front of him. If they knew their enemy were near, they planned ambushes. If they did not encounter any of the enemy enroute, they would go to one of their main villages. They would attack in the darkness. A massacre would follow. Those who would survive were taken to die later by painful means. Sometimes, the captives were treated well and were adopted into the tribe to replace a dead warrior. A Council made the decision if captives were to be tortured to death or adopted as brothers. The Acadian Indian torture was different than other tribes. Four Indians would hold the captive and then drop him on his back. This was

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37 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

39 Sylvester, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

repeated until he was dropped by all of the others. Sometimes he was beaten with whips or shaken with his head downwards. The women would then have their turn. Knives were used to torture the captive. If he became a member of the tribe, he was one of them.[40]

They believed in a number of spirits who controlled humans. They prayed with their faces to the sunrise and would ask the spirits for wisdom and guidance in making decisions, for safety when they were in danger and for help to prevent evil from them.[41]

After a baby was born, the mother would wrap the child in fur and carry it to a high location and face the east to wait for the sunrise. At sunrise, she would take the child from the fur wrap and hold the child up to the sun. She would ask the God of the sun to protect the child, give it good health, strength, and happiness and to appoint a good spirit to be an influence on the child to be good and prosperous. They also believed in *Kinapuik*, a good spirit of medicine men. He was credited with revealing to them, the healing ability of roots of wild herbs and the bark of the trees.[42] Maliseet mothers carried their babies in cradleboards on their backs.

The most important festival to the Maliseet religion was the Green Corn Dance Festival. Celebration would begin with the sachem giving thanks to the Corn Spirit. A fire would be made and the tribe would gather around it. Then a dish of green corn would be placed on the fire. While it was roasting, the war chief would dance around the fire. When the corn was roasted, everyone shared in eating it. Speeches would be made, followed by the Green Corn Dance for a good harvest. They also believed in some form of future life where there were no miseries. When a warrior died, he would be wrapped in birch bark and placed where the sunrise would be upon him the next morning. His bow and arrow would be placed across his knees and a bag of parched corn would be hung around his neck.[43]

The Maliseet were inventive storytellers. This was a way of preserving and passing their customs and beliefs on to future generations and it was a form of entertainment. Story telling was a part of celebrations and gatherings. All the men had turns in telling their stories. They each had their own embellishment to a story. Many stories would be about their hero, *Glooscap*. It is believed they adopted this hero from the Mi'kmaq.[44]

They also liked to tell stories about *Geow-lud-mo-sis-eg*, the little people. They would appear to some people. The little people liked to be mischievous and play tricks on humans, especially at night to frighten them. They would thump on the side of a canoe, throw a stone in still water to disturb a fisherman, tie clothes in knots, or braid a horse's mane or the tails of dogs or other domestic animals. They also were credited as being capable of healing wounds or skin problems. To be healed by them, a person had to ask it of them and give them a gift of tobacco. To stop the tricksters, a small gift of tobacco

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40 Hannay, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

41 Sylvester, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

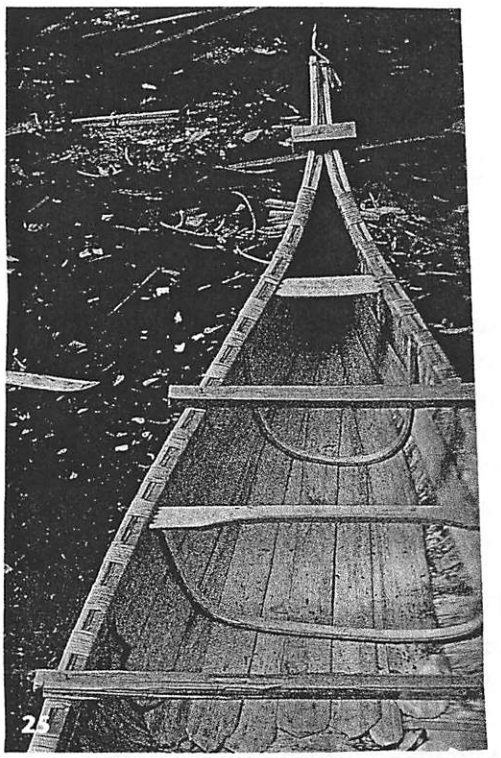
42 *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61; 66.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

would be placed on the ground near where the prank had occurred. The Maliseet believed you would see the little people near water along river banks, marshy areas, near brooks or at lakeshores. Domestic animals like dogs, cows and horses were attracted to them.[45]

The early forms of Maliseet canoes were used on large rivers and along coasts. The Maliseet canoes had rounded low ends, but straight on the top on both ends. The river canoes usually had a flatter bottom and U shaped near the ends. The coastal canoes were more rocker-like in the front and back and V shaped near the ends. They had rather high peaked ends with an overhang in the front and back. This was similar to canoes from the St. John River, the Passamaquoddy, the Penobscot and the upper St Lawrence. By the late nineteenth century, they both built their canoes with rounded ends. Their small woods canoes were patterned after their river canoe and their old war canoes were patterned after their coastal canoes, except for the profile of the ends.[46] In the Maliseet canoes, the lashing and sewing used a combination of spiral and cross stitches on the ends and over and over stitch in the side panels. Sometimes other stitches would be used in the side panels according to individual preferences.[47] Both the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq canoes were constructed by the rib and plank method. However, the shaping and fitting of the planks differed.[48] The Maliseet sheathing of their canoe was laid edge to edge, with the butts overlapping at the ends. As they continued placing the sheathing, they put in temporary ribs to hold it. The Mi'kmaq sheathing was laid edge to edge longitudinal with slightly overlapping butts in the middle and were tapered toward the ends of the canoe.[49]



Mi'kmaq planking with temporary ribs, from Jennings, John, *The Canoe: A Living Tradition*, p.62.

The Maliseet paddles had several forms. The length of the blade was usually 28 to 30 inches and the handle was about 36 inches long. In the past, a Maliseet put his personal mark , *dupskodegun,* on the flat of the top of his paddle near the cross-grip. The mark was etched into the wood and the etched lines would be filled with red or black pigment. Some would cover the entire paddle with

45 Paul, Pat, "Little People: Geow-Lud-Mo-Sis-Eg,," p. 2.

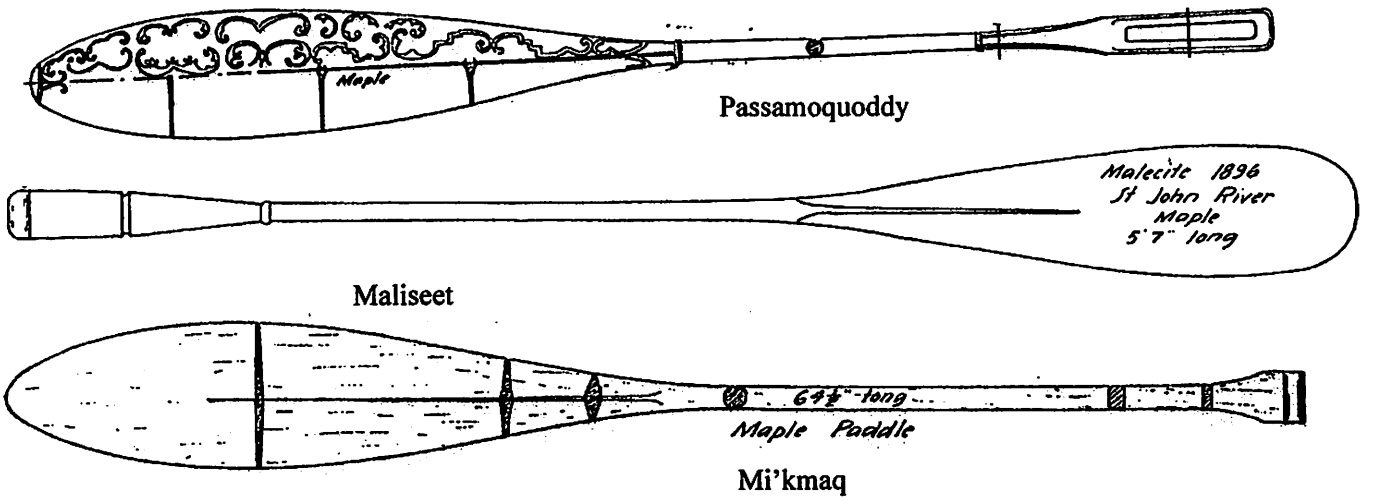
46 Adney and Chapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

48 Jennings, *op. cit., The Canoe....*, p. 52.

49 Adney and Chapelle, *op, cit.*, pp. 51-52; 64.

PADDLES



From Adney and Chapelle, *Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America,* pp. 67; 80-81.

etched lines or designs. The common designs were a vine and leaf pattern, or a combination of small triangles and curved lines. Some would use designs with animals, camps or canoes. The Passamaquoddy used designs they used in their needlework done on linen.[50]

The Maliseet paddles were up to five feet in length. The canoe was built up to twenty-five feet in length. Low ends gave it stability in calm water. Those with high bows and sterns gave protection from waves in choppy water. The natural grain of bark would be placed longitudinal on the canoe. This made it easier to sew the pieces of bark together. The best canoes were made of birch bark over a frame of white cedar. The white cedar was split with hammers and wedges. The frame was covered with large pieces of birch bark laced together with roots and made waterproof with resin from the black spruce. It was light enough to carry and could carry a load of 4,000 pounds. It was adopted immediately by European explorers and traders in the 1600's. The struts were made of white cedar.[51]

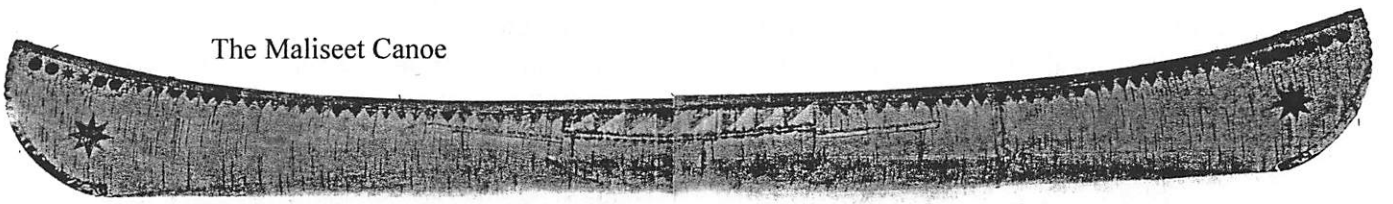
The Maliseet were especially known for their decorating of their bark canoes. They used scraped winter bark decoration along the gunwales. The inner bark was a different color and the design would stand out as though it were painted. These would be in a panel beneath the gunwales, to the end of the canoe. Sometime the whole canoe down to the waterline would be decorated. A personal mark of the canoe owner would be put on the flaps near the ends, the *wulegessis*. This was the outside bark of the tree used to protect the gunwale end lashings. Sometimes the owner's mark was placed in the gunwale decorations. Some would place their mark on each side of the ends below the *wulegessis*.[52]

The symbols used had certain meanings. A zigzag indicated lightning. A number of half circles with the rounded side

50 *Ibid.,* pp. 80; 82.

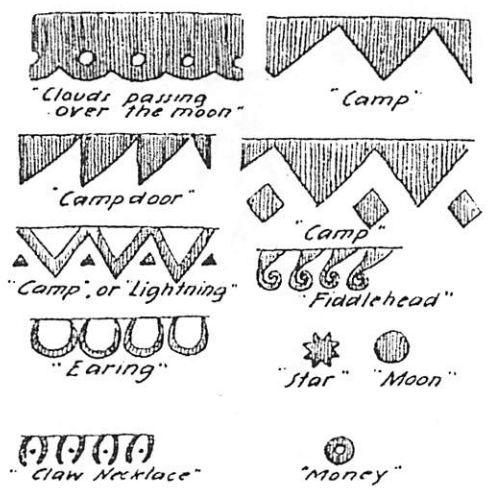
51 Murdoch, David, *Eyewitness North American Indians,* pp. 12-13.

52 Adney and Chapelle, *op. cit.,* p. 82.



From Murdoch, David, *Eyewitness North American Indian,* pp. 12-13.

down, touching one another and with a small circle in each center, under the gunwales, represented clouds passing over the moon. The same series of half circles without a small circle in the center meant the canoe was launched during a new moon; the number of half circles indicated the month of the year. A crooked zigzag line could mean a camp or the crooked stick in a Maliseet game. The circle could mean the sun, moon or month. Right angle triangles in a row along the gunwales meant door cloth or tent opening. A half moon could be a woman's earring or a new moon. A circle with a very small one inside could be a brooch or money.[53] In duplicating a design the Maliseet made a stencil cut



Maliseet Gunwale Decorations from Adney and Chapelle, p. 80.

from birch bark. It is not known when they began this practice, in prehistoric times or influenced by Europeans. In the later period, they decorated only the *wulegessis* and / or the panels on the sides.[54]

The Maliseet had the same practice as the Mi'kmaq in their war canoes, in making them narrower to increase speed. The Maliseet war party was interested in moving rapidly to surprise the enemy, and to escape before the enemy could be organized. The Maliseet had four warriors in each canoe, two to paddle and two to watch and use their weapons. Seldom were bows and arrows used from canoes. Most of the fighting was done on land. On each canoe were the personal marks of each of the four warriors in that canoe, one mark on each side of both ends, under the gunwale. However, the canoe that carried the leader had only his mark on the four locations. After completing a successful raid, on their return home, when they were about a mile from home, they would race. The winning canoe would receive a mark or picture to put on his canoe. These would be a caricature of some animal or something humorous. Today, they have racing competitions and the reward is the same.[55]

53 *Ibid.,* p. 83.

54 *Ibid.,* p. 86.

55 *Ibid.,* p. 71.

When making long trips, the Maliseet like other Indian tribes, used their canoes as shelter for the night. They would crawl under the ends if they were high enough. If the ends were too low, they used forked sticks under the end thwarts to hold it up. Any provisions or cargoes would be under the ends of the canoe. Two men would sleep, each with his head on opposite cargoes sharing one blanket. If there were more than two, they would make a shelter of poles and bark. The Maliseet also made canoes from other materials. If they were hunting, they would make a temporary canoe of spruce bark or elm bark. If bark was not available, they would use moose hide or occasionally built wooden dugouts.[56]

In 1689, John Gyle, an English man who was taken captive by the Maliseet of New Brunswick stated that the Maliseet used moose hide canoes in spring when there still was ice on the rivers. They made their moose skin canoe similar to their birch bark canoes but without a rigid frame. Sometimes, they would use spruce bark instead of birch bark in their canoes. The spruce bark had a sticky surface that never dried. It was a poor substitute for the birch bark. When bark was not available, the Maliseet built canoes covered with moose hide or in rare instances they would build dugout boats. In the nineteenth century, the Passamaquoddy built their porpoise and seal hunting canoes much like the Maliseet coastal canoes in lengths of 18 to 20 feet. These canoes also had a sail like that of a fisherman dory.[57]

In early spring, before the snow was gone, the Maliseet hauled their canoes overland by tying the canoe on two sleds or two toboggans in tandem. This was still being done in the 1890's for early muskrat hunts. They also would protect the outside of their river canoes when they had a number of rapids to go through. The outside sheathing would protect the bark from rocks, snags or floating ice. This practice was also used by the Mi'kmaq and the Ojibway. No one knows if this was an Indian or European invention.[58] In winter, the Maliseet used snowshoes, and long sleds. On land they usually walked and occasionally rode horses.

The Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq had a kicking game they both preferred over lacrosse. They both liked to gamble. They would use pieces of stone, wood and metal as dice. The dice would be thrown in the air and they would catch them in a wood or bark dish. Both the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet wore beaver skin hoods to protect themselves from the cold. They also wore them as disguise when hunting.[59]

Maliseet beaverskin hood, from Waldman, Carl, *Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes*, p. 122.

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56 *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 72: 74-75.

58 The French called it *barre d'abordage*; the Maliseet called it *P's-ta' k'n*; the English called it fitting "canoe shoes". Adney and Chapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

59 Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Although the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq were in the same language group, the two groups were different in their language and their way of life. The Maliseet were more warlike than the Mi'kmaq. They usually joined with the Indians of Maine and Canada against the New England colonists.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Mi'kmaq population was estimated to be about 3500 and the Maliseet about 1000. By this time, a large number had already died due to European epidemic diseases. The French trade in liquor and new food items were a danger to both of these groups. The change in diet (biscuit and dried peas instead of fish and meat) led to poorer health and made them more susceptible to epidemic diseases.[60]

The Maliseet were one of the first Algonquian groups to become Christianized in the 1600's by the French missionaries. Their attachment to their new religion grew stronger over the years.

In the seventeenth century, before a young man would look for a wife, he would have to have "a canoe, a gun and ammunition, a spear, hatchet, a pouch, a mirror, paint, pipe, tobacco and a dice bowl." Then he would be considered a man of great wealth and eligible to be a husband. A young squaw was considered an accomplished woman if she "could make pouches, birch dishes, snowshoes, moccasins, string wampum beads and boil the kettle."[61]

For both the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq, polygamy was allowed. However, some of the sagamores were the only ones who had more than one wife. Every tribe had its own form of courtship and marriage. If a Maliseet man were proposing, he would toss a small stick or wood chip toward the woman he would chose. Without looking at the man, the woman would pick up the stick or chip and look it over as if she were wondering who threw it. If she was accepting the proposal, she would toss it back and smile. If she did not accept, she would make a face and throw it to the side. The suitor would have to look for another girl. The marriage ceremony included a dance and a feast that included the entire village.[62]

In Champlain's Narrative of his 1604 voyage, he saw the Maliseet men on the banks of the St. John River wearing beaver skins. They also used caribou, moose and deer skins and fur and skins of other animals. The men wore breechcloths and leggings. The women wore long dresses with removable sleeves. Both men and women wore moccasins. Sometimes they both wore headbands with a feather at the back or a beaded cap. They used hawk, eagle, crane, turkey or egret feathers. Sometimes they decorated the headband.

When they began to trade with the French, they decorated their moccasins, headbands and sometimes their clothing with glass beads. They also began to adopt the European clothes, blouses and jackets and decorated with beadwork. Some would have decorated hoods with mantles attached. Both men and women had their hair long and loose. The Maliseet usually did not paint their faces. The Mi'kmaq, the Maliseet,

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60 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

61 Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Passamaquoddy and Penobscot women wore the similar kinds of peaked hat. It is believed the peaked hat concept was acquired from the Basque caps that were brought to North America by French seaman about 1600. By the 1800's, European goods had changed the clothing of a number of the Algonquian tribes. Trade cloth was easier to work with than hides, sinews and moose hair. Beads, ribbons, and colored embroidery thread were new items they combined and used with their quillwork. This was true of their clothes, moccasins and personal items.[63]

The Maliseet and the Passamaquoddy were basically the same people. The two tribes split after the colonial wars. The Maliseet were in New Brunswick and the Passamaquoddy were in Maine. They both were friends of the French.[64]

When the Maliseet were no longer able to make a living by hunting and trapping, they began to sell their traditional crafts to the whitemen. The women of the Maliseet sold woven brooms, baskets and bark containers. The men produced splint ash baskets, birch bark canoes and snowshoes. In the nineteenth century the women expanded to make fancy baskets of split ash and sweet hay as well as embroidery with moose hair, glass beads and porcupine quills. The men made utilitarian items—clothes hampers, cradles, and potato baskets.[65] The growth of potato farming in Maine and New Brunswick created a market for Maliseet baskets

A watercolor from about 1840 depicting Maliseet women selling their brooms and baskets. From The Editors, *Algonquians of the East Coast*, p. 138.

and containers. They also started to produce barrels, casks and firkins.

Micmac / Mi'kmaq / Mikmaq ./ Mk'maqs / Mikmak / Souriquois / Sourikois

More information is known about the Mi'kmaq than the Maliseet and Beothuk. The Maliseet and Passamaquoddy were further away from European explorations and settlements. Many of the French writers in the seventeenth century left a great deal of written information on the Mi'makq. When the French first met the Mi'kmaq they called them the Souriquois. By the end of the French regime, they no longer used the term, Souriquois. The Mi'kmaq territory was all of Nova Scotia, eastern New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and by the seventeenth century in the Gaspé peninsula. The Mi'kmaq of the Gaspé have a different dialect than the Mi'kmaq of Acadia. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the

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63 Editors of Time-Life Books, *Algonquians of the East Coast*, p. 147.

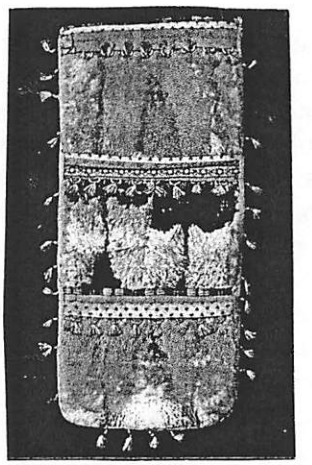
64 Johnson, Michael G. and Hook, Richard, *American Woodland Indians*, p. 5.

65 Editors, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Mi'kmaq pushed the Stradaconans out of their fishing grounds along the Gaspé peninsula. In 1534, about 200 Stradaconans were killed by the Mi'kmaq. Early in their history, they also occupied southern Newfoundland after forcing the Beothuk into the interior of Newfoundland.[66]

Mi'kmaq means "allies". Before the coming of the French settlements, the Mi'kmaq were enemies of other neighboring tribes—The Eskimos and the Beothuk to the north and the Maliseet and Iroquois to the south. The Mi'kmaq and Maliseet were allies with the French and became allies of other Algonquians to the south in the Abenaki Confederacy.[67]

All of the Algonquian tribes smoked tobacco, Most of them grew tobacco. Although they used tobacco, the Mi'kmaq occasionally grow it. However, the Mi'kmaq in present day New Brunswick grow tobacco and only a few other crops. Some of the Mi'kmaq pipes were made of carved stone bowls, often with animal figures and wooden stems, and decorated with beads wrapped around the stem. Some were made of red or green stone and lobster claw. Others were made of stone hollowed on one end into a pan with a quill or a hollow reed stuck into the pan. Quillwork or beadwork might be wrapped around the stem. In the 1800's Mi'kmaq men carried decorated smoking bags to hold a pipe, tobacco and fire starting materials.[68] Tobacco was a trade item which was in demand by the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq. Men, women and some children smoked pipes.



A 3 pocket, Mi'kmaq smoking pouch made of feathers, colored thread and beads. From Editors, *Algonquians of the East Coast,* p. 117.

Canoes

The Mi'kmaq were expert builders and users of the birch bark canoes. They used them for hunting, fishing, traveling and warfare. Usually, the Mi'kmaq canoes were sharp in the ends and paddled rapidly. The hunting canoe was 9 to 14 feet in length. Sometimes they were 15 feet in length. These canoes were light and were called "pack canoes", "woods canoes" or "portage canoes". They had a flat bottom. They were used for navigating in small streams and were for portaging. The ends of their canoes were rounded.

The "big river canoe" was between 15 and 20 feet in length and had a slightly rounded bottom. Both the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq would pole their canoes upriver on inland waterways. These canoes were stable, but they were difficult to portage. For the larger canoes on inland waters which were difficult to portage, the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet used a carryboard with a trumpline to take the

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66 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.,* p. 56 and Trigger, *op. cit.,* p. 147.

67 Waldman, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

68 Editors, *op. cit.,* pp. 116-117; 119.

weight of the canoe.[69] In 1850, Henry David Thoreau described the method used.

The guide "took a cedar shingle of splint eighteen inches long and four to five inches wide, rounded at the end so the corners would not be in the way. He tied it with cedar bark by two holes made midway, near the edge on each side, to the middle cross-bar of the canoe. When the canoe was lifted upon his head bottom up, this shingle, with its rounded end uppermost, distributed the weight over shoulders and head, while a band of cedar bark, tied to the crossbar on each side of the shingle, passed around his breast, and another longer one, outside of the last, round his forehead; also a hand on each rail served to steer the canoe and keep it from rocking. He thus carried it with his shoulders, head, breast, forehead, and both hands, as if the upper part of his body were all one hand to clap and hold it." [70]

The "open water canoe" or "rough water canoe" was from 18 feet to a little over 24 feet. It had a well rounded bottom or in the form of a slightly rounded V. It was for hunting seal, walrus, small whales, sturgeon and porpoise.[71] Both the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet used the tumblehome shape of the hulls. This was the inward slope of the upper sides of the canoe. The tumblehome hull and the long length of the hull provided stability and maneuvering in rough waters. Some of the Mi'kmaq canoes also were built with a rise in the middle in the gunwale line. This also provided more stability when navigating with loads. The Mi'kmaq canoes had continuous lashing across the gunwales to hold the bark securely. The Maliseet lashed the bark to the gunwales at intervals.[72] Some of the open water canoes were fitted to sail. A guard strip would be attached the full length of the canoe about 6 to 7inches below the gunwale on both sides of the canoe. This was to protect the tumblehome sides from damage from the paddles, especially when they steered under sail.[73] By the seventeenth century, the Mi'kmaq were recognized as being quite competent on the open ocean.

The "war canoe" was built in either the "big river" or "open water" form and length, but sharper and with less beam, so it could move faster. The canoes had no inner frame or ribs to shape the ends. Cedar shavings were stuffed into the ends of the canoe to mold the ends properly. All the woodwork was with white cedar except the headboards and the thwarts that were made of maple. The more recent Mi'kmaq canoes had no more than five thwarts. However, old records indicate that canoes 20 to 28 feet in length had seven thwarts. The shape of the thwart varied. The Mi'kmaq carefully chose the paper birch they would use. Only winter bark was taken. The paddles used by the Mi'kmaq were made of maple and had a variety of shapes.[74]

The Mi'kmaq canoes were decorated by scraping the inner rind of the birch bark in a design. In early times, they did not do much decoration. Later, they first began to put it on their "open water canoes". They may have adopted this from the Maliseet. The decorations or designs had no specific meaning. They were for decoration or to identify the

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69 Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

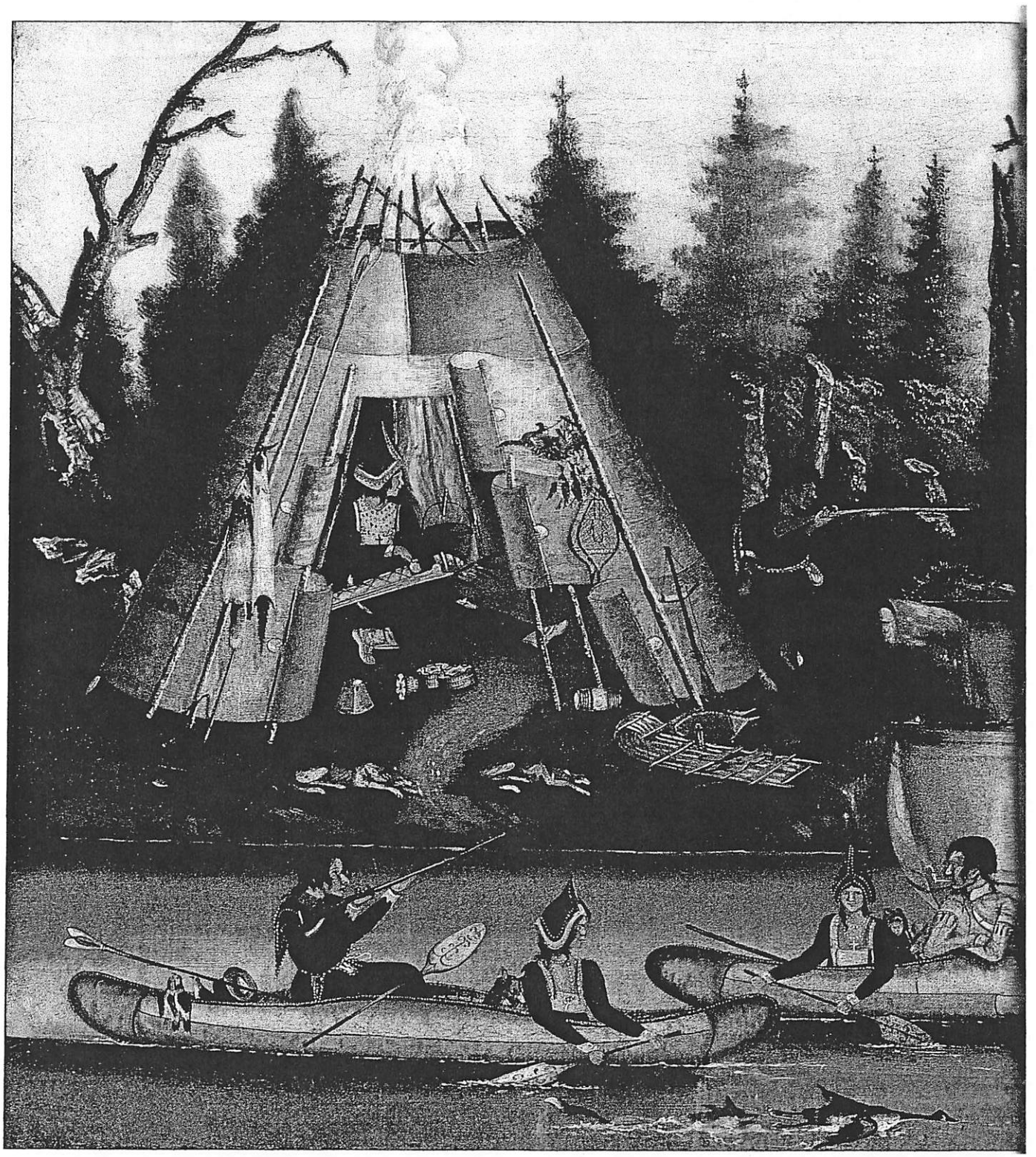
70 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

71 Adney and Chapelle *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61.

72 Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 50; 53.

73 Adney and Chapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61; 63; 67.



A 19th century painting depicting the life of the Mi'kmaq. Please note the rounded ends and the rise in the middle of the canoes. This was typical of the Mi'kmaq canoes. The clothing shows the effect of their trading with the French. From the Editors, *Algonquians of the East Coast,* p. 20.

owner. The decorations were placed on both sides of the canoe at the ends and along the gunwales. This was usually a long narrow panel of decoration. The panel decorations were chosen by the builder as a design. Some of the designs were like the fleur-de-lis, the northern lights, triangles to represent camps and a series of parallel lines that represented some of the quill decorations. At first, they sometimes had stylized representations of moose, salmon, beaver, a cross or a star. Colored quills in the northern lights pattern were used on toy canoes. Later, the canoes were colored with red, yellow, white and black dyes.[75]

In 1633, Nicolas Deny went to the Mi'kmaq country and stayed there until 1688, when he died at the age of 90. In his writings, he mentions the goring of the bark and states that the paddle blades were about six inches wide and the length was about twenty-seven inches. The handle was a little longer than the blade. He mentions that four to six paddlers were in a canoe and that a sail was used. At first it was made of bark, then a well dressed hide of a young moose. Later it was cloth. The use of sails on the canoe was learned from the Europeans. In colonial times, the Mi'kmaq used a simple square sail in their canoes. This changed in the nineteenth century when they replaced it with a dory sail that was used by fishermen.[76] In the later part of the nineteenth century, there was a combining of the methods of construction of Maliseet and Mi'kmaq canoes. The pieces of bark were sewn together and put over the frame and lashed on to the gunwales and ends. They used a spiral stitch or a harness stitch. Then the bark cover was folded over the gunwale tops and clamped by caps in addition to the lashings. Due to their early contact with Europeans, the Mi'kmaq were the first Indians to use nails in the construction of birch bark canoes. Prior to 1850, they used nails and tacks.[77]

The Mi'kmaq used birch bark canoes, dugout canoes and moose hide canoes. The moose hide canoes were constructed when the hunter was a distance from his camp and he needed to transport his kill. The Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia used moose skin canoes to take their furs to market. The dugout or birch bark canoes were sometimes used when they were hunting out in the Atlantic. The dugout was durable in the open seas. The Mi'kmaq preferred ocean going canoes. By the eighteenth century, the Mi'kmaq had metal trade axes. The Mi'kmaq of the Restigouche River in the Gaspé peninsula were shaping dugouts from poplar logs.[78]

The birch bark canoe was of the most importance to the Mi'kmaq and primarily used by them. They were light, swift and graceful. One canoe could carry five or six persons, their dogs, sacks, skins, kettles and other heavy baggage. The birch bark canoe could be used on more than one river or lake by portages, carrying their light canoe overland. They could also be a lean-to against bad weather. The birch bark did not shrink or stretch. The pieces

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75 *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68 and Metallic, Emmanuel, "The Micmac Birchbark Canoe," *Gaspie Sommaire,* pp. 58-59.

76 Adney and Chapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 65; 69.

77 *Ibid, p. 69.*

78 Metallic, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

of bark could be sewn together with spruce roots and could be shaped around the cedar frame. Resin from the spruce tree would be spread on the seams to waterproof them.[79] Mi'kmaq women had the job of gumming the seams of the canoe to make them water tight. They chewed the gum of the fur trees until it was ready to be applied to the seams of the canoe.[80]

Maple was preferred to make the paddles and the braces that extended from side to side and held the gunwales together. They could be made in a number of sizes and styles. A small river canoe was paddled by one or two people. It had a low bow and stern and had little wind resistance. A larger lake canoe was handled by eight to ten people and they could carry a great amount of provisions and goods. They had higher ends and could cut through waves in rough water.[81] In good weather they could travel 34 to 46 miles a day. In 1610, Marc Lescarbot noted that the Mi'kmaq of Port Royal could go from Port Royal to Quebec in ten to twelve days. They went up the rivers and portaged through the forests to a tributary of the St. Lawrence.[82]

In the seventeenth century, the Mi'kmaq adopted the use of sails from the French. They increased the speed of their canoes in coastal traveling. Their ocean canoes were known to have gone to the St. Lawrence, the Anticosti Island, Magdalen Islands, Newfoundland, the New England coast, Niagara Falls, New York city area and as far south as Virginia. The Mi'kmaq also bought longboats from the French so they could travel more safely on the lower St. Lawrence.[83]

In northern New England and northward, the Indian groups preferred birch bark canoes and not the dugout canoes of cedar, elm or cypress which were used by other Algonquian tribes further south. The birch-bark canoes were less durable and easier to capsize but they were lighter, faster and easier to carry on a portage from one body of water to the next.

The Mi'kmaq were nomadic. Unlike the Maliseet, the Mi'kmaq did not plant crops. They moved with the change of seasons in order to find food. The size of groups living in a single area varied with each season.

Spring

In winter they stayed in small family groups scattered over the countryside. When spring arrived, the Mi'kmaq would leave their winter camps that were inland from the coast. They would discuss and decide where on the coast they would spend summer. This would determine their movements in the spring. When the waterways were open, they would put their toboggans and snowshoes into storage until the fall. Birch-bark canoes would then be used. Usually the canoes were built in spring. The birch bark could be peeled from the trees easily and in large pieces. The bark would be loosened as the sap rose with the warmth of the sun. This was used to cover the framework of the canoe. If one piece was not large enough to cover the

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79 Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

80 Bird, Will R., *A century at Chignecto,* p. 25.

81 Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

82 Metallic, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

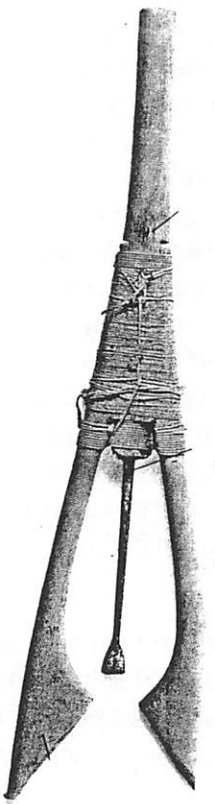
83 *Ibid.* and Trigger, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

frame, the women lashed additional pieces to it with split spruce roots. The men would work on the framework of the canoe. Once the bark was secure, the women sealed the seams with pine or spruce tar mixed with grease. The men would be carving the paddles with crooked knives. When a canoe was completed, it would be taken for a test run. If there were any problems, they would repair them. It was necessary to complete the making of canoes so that they could leave their winter locations and get to new campsites located near water where they could get waterfowl and fish for food.[84] They also made maple sugar and a sweet sticky mixture from the maples that grew in Acadia.[85]

In the spring and summer, the Mi'kmaq fished the streams and rivers with harpoons, hook and line, spears, nets, weirs[86] and traps. They also collected shell fish and lobsters along the ocean and they harpooned seals, walruses, small whales, porpoises, sturgeon, salmon and cod from canoes up to 24 feet in length. During seasonal migrations, waterfowl and eggs were available.[87]

One way of getting fish was to build a fence of poles and brush across a stream. An opening would be left in the fence and a bag net would be attached. As the spawning fish went upstream, they would be stopped by the fence and would be diverted to the opening to the bag net. They would be trapped and lifted out. When they fished for sturgeon or salmon, it was done at night from a canoe that had a torch hanging over the bow. The light attracted the fish. When the fishermen saw them, they would use harpoons or spears to take them. By using this technique, they could get 150 to 200 salmon in one night.[88] They had spears with double edged blades made of moose bone and they had stone points on their arrows.

Mi'kmaq Fishing Spear



The Mi'kmaq spear has a wooden shaft lashed to three barbs by a cord. The center metal barb stabs the fish and the two outer wood barbs prevents the fish from getting away. From Murdoch, *Eyewitness North American Indians*, p. 12

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84 Rogers, Edward S., "Indian Life in Spring," in *The Beaver,* p. 41.

85 Bird, *op. cit.,* pp. 5; 25.

86 Weir—A weir is a fence put in a stream or river to catch or hold fish.

87 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.,* pp. 58-59.

88 Rogers,. "...in Spring" *op. cit.* p. 41 and McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.,* p. 58.

The Mi'kmaq navigated with speed and without much difficulty. During the weeks of spring, they made their way to their summer encampment. Here they would be reunited with their relatives and friends. As the weather warmed, not as much clothing was necessary. They built conical shaped wigwams which were in the same style as their winter lodge. It was easily portable, which was necessary for the extensive travel they would be doing. [89]

Summer

Summer was the easiest for the Mi'kmaq. They could gather in larger groups with family and friends and they could form new alliances. By the end of June, they would have assembled on the shores of a larger lake within the territory of the band. Their summer lodge was covered with bark. The summer lodge was usually larger than the winter wigwam. This allowed for more air circulation. There was an abundant amount of food available. A variety of berries — thimbleberries, raspberries, blackberries, elderberries, shadow berries, cranberries, blueberries and currants were available. Waterfowl were abundant. In the coastal camps, they had a variety of shellfish, lobsters, mussels and clams at low tide. All they needed was a stick for digging and a basket. In addition, flocks of ducks stayed in sheltered bays at night. Two hunters in a canoe would drift out to the resting ducks. They resembled logs floating with the tide and were not noticed by the ducks. The hunters would light their torches and wave them above the canoes. The ducks would be frightened and disoriented. They would rise from the water but would not leave. Instead, they would circle the torches. Some would be singed and fall into the water. Others would be knocked out of the air with sticks. They would retrieve the ducks and have the canoe loaded. They would hunt for porpoises which came into the rivers with guns and weapons.[90]

Sometimes, they would hunt for moose. The hunter would wear the skin of an animal as a disguise when stalking their game. If an animal was killed a distance from camp, the hunter would construct a crude boat from sticks and the hide. He would take the meat, get into his hide boat and float to their camp. Moose and deer were also caught with snares. If there were a great number, some would be preserved for later use.[91] One way of preparing their food was to hang fish from a tree until it began to decay before eating it. A common way of preserving meat and fish for a journey or the winter was to hang it over a fire and let the smoke penetrate it for a long time. Roots, nuts, herbs, stalks and leaves were also available.[92]

If war parties were formed, it was generally at summer time. Plans for an attack had to be approved or vetoed by the medicine man who predicted the results. Each warrior carried a shield of plaited basswood, a club, a knife and a bow and arrow. The warriors would stain their bodies in a dark bluish green to a greenish blue color in the figures of animals and serpents and their scalp locks were decorated in bright colored

89 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

90 Rogers, Edward S., "Indian Life in Summer," in *The Beaver*, p. 20.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

92 Waldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 9; 134.

feathers.[93] Later when they came in contact with Europeans, they used guns they received from trading furs. Before leaving they had a war dance and had a feast of dog meat. If they were successful, the enemy would be killed or taken captive. When a warrior was killed, his opponent would take his head. Scalping started when Europeans paid a bounty for each scalp. The captives would be brought to their camp and kept as slaves.[94]

Little clothing was worn during the warm weather. It was usually only a waist girdle and / or a loincloth. In colder weather, they had a loose robe of furs or hide, long leggings and moccasins. Women wore a similar robe. They usually had a well dressed moose skin which went below their knees. Their clothing was decorated with painting or with dyed porcupine quills.

On special occasions, they wore blanket shaped coats made of beaver skins. They hung from the shoulders and were fastened across the chest with two pieces of tied leather. The part behind the neck was rolled. For decoration, they had fringes running up and down the front. The women wore rings made of shells and wampum. They were experts at taking hair from animal hides and softening the skins. They made their clothing from bear, beaver, otter, fox, and caribou. They used bear claws and dyed porcupine quills for decoration. They also would oil their hair and paint their faces. Chiefs would wear wildcat skins on their arms to indicate their importance as leaders. Boys went naked in summer until they were ten years old. Girls were dressed from infancy.[95]

By the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fur and hides were replaced by trade cloth. The Mi'kmaq would decorate their clothing with glass beads, ribbons, embroidery and dyed quills. In the eighteenth century, women began to wear the pointed cap. They were usually made of dark blue trade cloth; others were red or black cloth. Their preferences were dark blue or black velvet fabric. Some were plain. Others were highly decorated with dyed porcupine quills, glass beads, colored ribbons and / or embroidery.[96]

Fall

Toward the end of summer, storms would begin to hit their summer camps. For the Mi'kmaq, it was time to pack their birch bark canoes and paddle and portage inland. They traveled in small groups of close related families. They spent the fall together on the banks of a stream. Their conical lodges were easy to transport. For the fall camp, they looked for a place which had game. When fall arrived, they would need to prepare for the winter. One of the most important food items were eels which were going downstream to the Atlantic Ocean to spawn. They caught as many as possible and preserved them by smoking them. To flavor them, they hung them on rock-maple sticks when being smoked.[97] These were preserved because eels were not available in winter.

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93 Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

94 Rogers, "....in Summer," *op. cit.*, p. 21 and Bird, p. 25.

95 Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 4; 25-26.

96 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

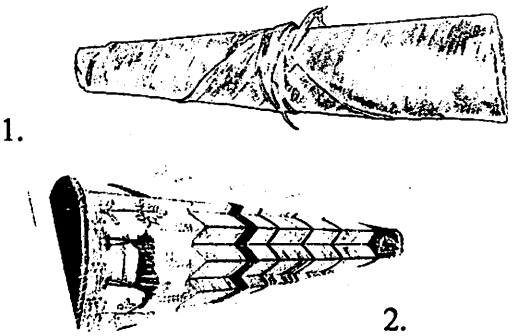
97 Rogers, Edward, "Indian Life in Autumn," in *The Beaver*, p. 55.

Hunting in the interior took less time and was a smaller part of their diet thanfishing. However, hunting was of significant importance. Every man wanted to be a great hunter. After a boy killed a moose, he became a man. He could not marry until after he killed his first moose.

The Mi'kmaq hunted animals with bows and arrows or with snares they set across the animal paths. They also used dogs in the hunt. They would not feed the dogs for two or three days prior to the hunt so that they would be hungry and eager to run down the moose. Sometimes the dogs would be the main dish at a feast. Meat was prepared by roasting or boiling it with red hot stones in large wooden troughs which were carved from fallen trees. Later when they came in contact with the French and /or English, they used copper kettles that were one of their favorite trade items. They were easily carried for their seasonal relocations.[98]

Fall was also the time to hunt for moose. This was the rutting season. The moose were easily attracted to the hunters who used cupped hands or a birch bark horn to imitate the call of the female cow or they would attract the male bull to come within range by pouring water from a birch-bark bowl into the stream as the hunters moved slowly in their canoes. The bull believed it was the sound of a female cow. Calm, dark nights were necessary for this practice of moose hunting.[99]

The moose bones would be pounded into powder and then boiled. The fat was



Mi'kmaq moose horns: 1. plain birch bark and 2. decorated with dyed porcupine quills. From Waldman, p. 134 and The Editors, p. 29.

skimmed. This was called *Cacamo* and was valued as an important food supply when on long marches. It was white in color and hardened to the consistency of wax.[100]

The Mi'maq also took beaver. The hunters built deadfalls[101] in the paths of the animal. They also broke down their dams and clubbed them as they were exposed when the water fell. Snares were used to get deer and bears. A long, light pole with a noose attached at the end was used to catch spruce grouse. The hunter became adept at slipping the noose over the heads of the birds perched in trees.[102]

Winter

For the coming winter, the Mi'kmaq killed as many animals as possible for food and for the hides. The excess meat was dried and the hides were used for thongs to lace snowshoes, to hold toboggan parts together and to make warm clothing. Winter was when old equipment was repaired and new items were made. Generally, the Mi'kmaq did little winter food preservation compared

98 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

99 Rogers, ".... in Autumn," *op. cit.*, p. 55.

100 Bird, *op. cit.*; p. 25.

101 Deadfalls are traps that kill an animal by dropping a heavy weight on it.

102 Rogers, " Autumn," *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

to the Maliseet. The foods they generally preserved for the winter were items not available in winter— eels, roots, berries, and herbs. For most of their meat, they continued to hunt during the winter.[103]

When they left their coastal and fall camps, the Mi'kmaq, traveled upstream on the rivers that went into the interior. The family groups would be dispersed throughout the tribal territory. As each small group arrived, the leader would choose a location for the winter months. The women would then begin to build several conical wigwams for each of the families. They would collect a number of straight poles that were evenly placed in a circle and brought together at the top to form a cone. This was the frame work which was then covered with birch bark. Their wigwams were shaped like tipis with straight poles fastened or interlocked at the top and covered with bark. They then gathered spruce or fir branches to cover the dirt floor except in the center, where an open fire would be made. The fire was kept burning continuously. The smoke was able to escape at the opening at the top.[104] The bark was well fitted and prevented rain and snow from coming into the wigwams. The homes varied in size depending on the size of the family. They would make their wigwam round with one fire but if the family was large they would make it long enough for two fires. The round wigwam held ten to twelve persons. The long wigwam held twice as many. The fire in a round wigwam was in the middle and in the longer wigwams, the fires were at the two ends. The women painted colorful designs on the bark coverings. Fir branches were placed on the floors. Hides were placed on the branches as beds. In the seventeenth century, French accounts state the wigwams were well constructed homes, but there was constant smoke, the smell of fish and animals being prepared, and the danger of getting serious burns from sleeping too near the fire on cold nights.[105]

Winter was the most difficult time, especially the months of February and March. Game animals were difficult to hunt. Most birds had migrated south. Fish did not move about as much and plants were dormant. The Mi'kmaq spent the winter in small family groups scattered throughout the tribal territory. They were usually in a forested area. There were moose, caribou, porcupine, lynx, beaver and rabbit. They also hunted with spears and arrows in winter.[106] The Mi'kmaq considered moose meat the best game they could get. When the snow was deep, the Mi'kmaq wearing snowshoes would run the moose until they killed it. The moose served as a source of food and clothing. Bear was eaten, but not frequently. They were considered sacred and were to be treated with respect when hunted, dressed, cooked and eaten. Sometimes, they would find a hibernating bear. The bear would be speared through the den's opening and dragged out. In January, those Mi'kmaq who stayed near the coast would kill seal for food.[107] They would disguise themselves in animal skins and stalked sleeping seals along the rocky shores. They used clubs or harpoons to kill the seals. Sometimes,

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103 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

104 Rogers, Edward S., "Indian Life in Winter," in *The Beaver*, p. 30.

105 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

106 Rogers "....Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The Mi'kmaq would eat bear grease, alone, as a snack. They would keep it sweet by storing it in animal bladders with sassafras or slippery elm bark.[108]

When an animal was killed, the women would go immediately to the fallen animal and if it was large, they would butcher it where it fell. Then, they would transport the meat and hide back to their wigwam. Smaller animals would be carried by the women back to their camp and dismember it later.[109] The meat was cooked by roasting beside an open fire or stone boiling in large wooden troughs which had been hollowed out by fire. This kind of soup was cooked by dropping red hot stones in the cauldron. When they cooled, other red hot stones would be put in until the meat was cooked.[110] Grease was saved in birch bark boxes or animal bladders. Nothing of a killed animal was wasted. Deer brains were used to soften hides. Tiny mink, raccoons and otter bones were used as sewing needles. Some of these bones had eyelets. Beaver teeth were used on the edge of hand tools. Beaver tails cooked in bear grease were served at feasts.[111]

Beaver were another source of food in winter. In winter, when the beaver's lodge was hidden under the snow, the Mi'kmaq hunter would use trained dogs for locating them. At other times, the medicine man would look into a bowl of water and by concentration, he would know the location of the beaver lodges. After they found the beaver lodge, the men would cut a hole over the entrance of the lodge. Another hole would be cut through the ice of the pond at a distance from the first hole. One or two hunters would stand and watch at the second hole for any beaver that tried to escape. Their weapon was a bow and arrow. The arrow had a harpoon tip. One end of a cord was attached to the harpoon and the other end was held by the hunter. When these two were ready, another went to the first hole where he laid down on the ice. He would reach inside the beaver lodge and drag the beaver out by the tail one at a time. The beaver were then clubbed to death. Eventually some of the remaining beaver would see the second hole in the ice and head for it. When they got there, the other hunters were ready. By hunting this way, all the beavers in that one lodge were taken.[112]

Fish were also available in winter. After choosing his location, the fisherman would cut a hole through the ice and surround it with several poles, the bottom ends embedded in the snow and ice at an angle. Where the poles met at the top, they were tied together. Hides were used to cover the frame. He would sit on a piece of hide and wait and watch for fish. When one appeared, he would attempt to spear it.[113]

For the Mi'kmaq, each moon or month was associated with hunt of one source of food or other. January was for seal hunting. February until mid March was for hunting beaver, otters, moose, bear and caribou. March was for smelt runs. These were followed by other fish which would spawn by coming into certain streams and rivers from the ocean. In April the Canadian geese returned from

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108 Editors, *op. cit.*, pp. 23; 30.

109 Rogers, "....Winter." *op. cit.*, p. 32.

110 Hannay, James, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

111 Editors, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

112 Waldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

113 Rogers, "....Winter," *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

the south. There also were herring, sturgeon and salmon and this was the time to go to the islands for waterfowl eggs. From May to September, there was an abundance of food—cod along the coast and a variety of other fish and shellfish. In mid September they left the ocean, beyond the reach of the tides. They went to the small rivers where the eels spawned. September was for eel catching or moose calling, depending on their location. October and November was time to hunt elk, moose and beaver. December, under the Tomcod Moon, they fished for tomcod, a fish which spawned under the ice. Although the Mi'kmaq hunted for food on the ocean, rivers and forest, about 90 per cent of their diet came from the ocean. [114]

In winter, all northern Algonquians used toboggans. Their toboggans did not have runners. The platform for people and possessions was directly on the snow. The platform was made of smooth planks curved upward at the front. The Mi'kmaq used the toboggan and sleds. They also used snowshoes to travel in deep snow. The oval-shaped frame was usually made of spruce, birch or willow. Rawhide webbing would be strung in between.[115]

The fur trade had a definite effect on all the Algonquian groups. For the Micmacs, who generally spent most of the year near the coast gathering food from the waters, were now spending more time inland, hunting for several months. They hunted for beaver and other small animals for their fur pelts instead of for food. They became dependent on the traders for provisions for the winter. Some years, the amount of food needed to survive was greater than the traders could provide. Starvation resulted. The fur trade also increased the number of tribal wars. The different groups competed in trapping grounds and trading posts that led to warfare. From the beginning of trading, the Abenaki's fought with the Micmacs to control the fur trade. Later, the Abenakis and Algonquians lost the control of the fur trade to the Iroquois. They moved into the Hudson Valley to Lake Champlain controlling the fur trade along waterways. The French encouraged the Abenakis to prevent the Iroquois from moving toward the Great Lakes. The Iroquois were allies of the English and were raiding tribes around the Great Lakes who were providing the best pelts to the French.[116]

Religion

The Mi'kmaq believed there was a supreme being. This creator was the sun. They prayed to him twice a day. There were other less important deities. Some were immortal humans who had supernatural powers. The most important of these was Glooscap, a hero. They believed he changed animals into their present shapes. The landscape features were caused by him. He was credited with teaching humans how to make tools and weapons. Then he left, but he promised them he would return when they needed him. The Mi'kmaq had a number of deities. The lowest deities were supernatural races. Kinap was a person with supernatural powers. Some were giants. Kukwes was a giant cannibal and Jenu were northern ice

114 Editors, *op. cit.*, p. 31; McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

115 Waldman *op. cit.*, p. 10.

116 Editors, *op. cit.*, pp. 96; 100.

giants. There also were little people who lived in the forest, *Wiklatmuj*.[117] Skatekamuc, was a ghostlike spirit who appeared in a dream. This meant impending death. The Mi'kmaq had a spiritual relationship with things in nature. They would see the Great Spirit, Manitou, in all plants, animals, humans, rocks, water, the sun and moon, weather and illness.[118] They were highly superstitious and would regularly make offerings to departed invisible spirits, both good and bad.

The Mi'kmaq believed that everything had a soul and humans had two souls. One was connected to the body and the other to the life of the individual. When a person died, the body soul died and the life soul went to the land of the souls. The souls of the personal items buried with the individuals would go with the life soul to assist him in the after life. The after life was a "place of enjoyment with no hunger and no fatigue". Nicolas Denys[119] had once had a grave opened and he showed the Mi'kmaq that the skins in the grave were rotten and the copper pot was covered with a crust of copper sulfate and a fungicide. They said the pot was dead too and that its soul had gone with the soul of their friend who was now using the items as before.[120]

In 1607, Lescarbot[121] recorded a funeral that was held for a Mi'kmaq chief, Pennoniac, who was killed by the Armouchiquois.[122] The body was brought back to St. Croix. His followers wept and prepared the body and took it to Port Royal where his tribe "howled" over the body for eight days. Then they went to his wigwam and burned it, his dog and all his possessions. This was to prevent his relatives from quarreling over his property. His body was then taken to his parents who kept it until spring. Again they went into crying and sorrowing. Then he was laid in a new grave at Cape Sable with his pipes, knives, axes, otter skins and pots.[123]

To the Mi'kmaq, the canoe was part of their mythical beliefs. When the Sky Above decided to create the Mother Earth, the Creator twins were sent to earth in a huge stone canoe. They anchored it on the water where it turned into Cape Breton Island, the first homeland of the Mi'kmaq. Then Gluskap / Glooskap, one of the Creator twins, had an island covered with trees and rocks, as his canoe. As soon as he leaves on it and unmoors, it, the island

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117 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

118 Editors, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and Waldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 12; 134.

119 Nicolas Denys was an aristocrat who came to Acadia in 1632. He became an explorer, a colonizer, a soldier and a founder of new settlements in Acadia. When he came, the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq had already been trading with the French for a number of years, and had many metal objects, guns, fabrics, beads, ribbons, mirrors etc and were using these trade items and giving up their old ways. Denys wrote journals and letters recording what he saw.

120 Hannay, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 -55.

121 Marc Lescarbot was a French author, poet and lawyer who went on an expedition to Acadia. In 1609, he wrote *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* about his 1606-1607 expedition to Acadia.

122 Armouchiquois was a name given by the Abenaki for the Indians living south of the Saco River in Maine.

123 Hannay, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

magically glides over the surface of the water without any sail, oar or rudder.[124]

When a person died, there was crying and sorrow for three or four days. This was followed by a feast which was held for several days. After the third day of the feast, the women would wrap the body in a sheet of birch bark. He was then put on a scaffold for several months, sometimes a year. Later the body was buried with personal possessions—bows and arrows, moccasins, axes, snow shoes, pots, spears, animal skins, paddles, etc. If he was a warrior, he might be placed in a grave lined with furs with his weapons and eating utensils.[125]

The canoe had a spiritual importance at death. The connection between this world and the spiritual world was by a waterway. In a number of legends, there are references to water rushing through rocks as the gateway between this world and the spiritual world. The canoe was the means of carrying the dead to the spiritual world. The burial grounds were usually on an island. Heron Island in New Brunswick was one of these islands. Minidu was the great rejuvenator and reincarnator. He was not involved or interested in the affairs of humans. He was an island separate from the rest of the world. The soul returned to Minidu, the creator at death. In the same way, the body is symbolically returned and buried on an island. The canoe is the hearse that returns him. In some groups, the canoe served as the coffin.[126]

The Mi'kmaq were very superstitious. If a hunter heard the call of a wild animal, he would stop the hunt because he believed the animal call was an omen of a poor hunt. They would make a sacrifice if they were in danger or in a difficulty. A dog was considered the most valuable sacrifice. If they were crossing a lake and their canoe was in danger because of wind and waves, they would tie the front legs of their dog together and throw it overboard to satisfy the angry Manitou. The spirits of evil and war could only be satisfied by bloody sacrifice.[127]

Medicine

Shamans had the power to intercede in the supernatural. They had power to cure the sick, to predict the future and aid in warfare and hunting. The healing ritual involved dancing and singing around the patient, blowing on the ill part of the body to drive out the illness. Then he would make an incision and suck out the bad blood. Some were so successful, they received gifts for their services and they became full-time curers. The population also feared shamans, because he also had the power to cause illness and injury as well as curing powers.[128]

They also would use medicinal herbs. The Mi'kmaq would make a salve of berries of the spikenard, a member of the ginseng plant to heal wounds.[129]

The Native Indians of North America were vulnerable to the diseases of the Europeans. A number of epidemics hit the Beothuk, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and

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124 Metallic, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

125 Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

126 Metallic, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

127 Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 56.and Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

128 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

129 Editors, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

other tribes as well. Between 1564 and 1570, an unknown epidemic struck the Beothuk in Newfoundland. In 1586 typhus hit the tribes of eastern Canada. In 1610, an unknown epidemic hit all the eastern tribes. In 1617, Mi'kmaq warriors who returned from Maine brought the plague with them. Three-fourths of their population died. In1694, the plague killed about 120 Mi'kmaq. The rest left the village. In 1746-1747, a third of the Mi'kmaq population died of smallpox. The French accused the English of deliberately spreading the disease. In 1800-1801, the Abenaki of Quebec, the Maliseet and the Passamaquoddies suffered a smallpox epidemic.

Wampun

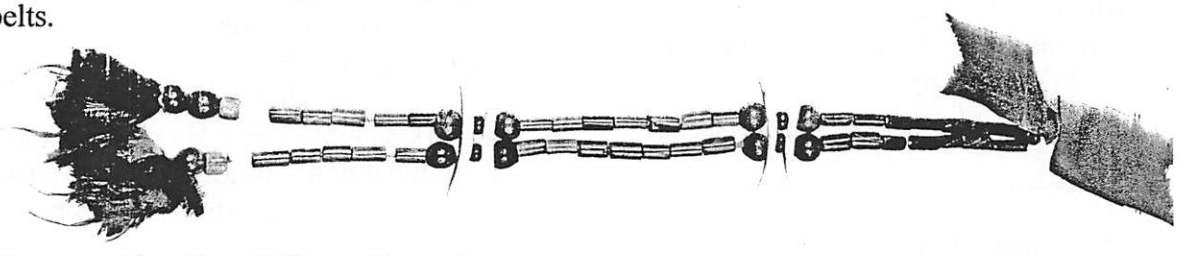
Waumpun belts were used as tribal records and for special events—a peace treaty, a festival or ceremonials. They also were exchanged as gifts or as trade goods. Originally, they were made from seashells, especially of the quahog clam. They would grind the shells into purple and white beads. The beads would then be strung on a belt. After, they came in contact with Europeans, they would use European glass beads to make wampum belts. Mi'kmaq made strings of tubular wampum beads from white and purple shells. Many of the coastal Algonquians made similar wampum from quahogs, whelks and other mollusk shells. Most other tribes made rectangular wampum belts.

Social Life

The Mi'kmaq had large feasts for many occasions. There were feasts for marriages and funeral. A prospective husband was required to live in his future wife's wigwam for two years prior to the marriage. During this time he had to prove he was a good hunter and worker. Feasts were also held for peace and for war, for hunting, for thanks, for farewells and for health. To insure a good hunt, an "eat-all feast" was held. They would force themselves to eat every bit of food available. This was to insure them they would do well in the upcoming hunt. Every feast included lengthy speeches. It was in these speeches that their family traditions and genealogies would be repeated and kept alive. Songs and dances were a tribute to the host. They also took part in playing a favorite gambling game called *waltes*. It was played by tossing bone dice in the air and catching them in a wooden bowl.[130]

Crafts

Prehistorc remains indicate the ancient Mi'kmaq had used pottery for a while. However, they were using birch bark containers before they came in contact with white men. They had changed to using hot stones in birch bark containers to cook. Why did they change? Possibly they never made the pottery themselves or living as nomads it was easier and



Wampum string. From Editors, *Algonquians of the East Coast*, p. 45.

130 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

practical to use materials which were readily available.[131]The Mi'kmaq were dependant on birch bark not only for canoes; it was necessary for their wigwams, and containers—bowls, baskets, boxes, etc. They were masters in its use. It was easily acquired, light, waterproof and rot resistant.

Already in 1600, when French seamen came in contact with the Mi'kmaq, the Mi'kmaq in the coastal villages wore robes, moccasins, necklaces, and armbands decorated with moose hair, dyed porcupine quills, which were embroidered, woven, appliquéd, wrapped and plaited into intricate designs. Other personal possessions —clothing, moccasins, birch bark boxes, containers, moose calls, and tobacco pouches— were decorated with this form of quillwork.[132]

They were masters at quillwork. Porcupine quills would be soaked in water to be softened. They then dyed the porcupine quills with vegetable dyes. They were able to produce intricate patterns on clothing and birch bark containers. They sometimes would add shells and / or embroidery with moose hair. When they began to trade with the French, they combined ribbon, embroidery and beadwork with their quillwork. [133]

French traders provided them with metal tools instead of wood, stone and bone. About 150 years later, after the exploitation of the Indians to poverty, the Mi'kmaq applied their quill working techniques of appliquéing quilled patterns on birch bark to commercially producing objects—small lidded boxes, baskets, razor cases, pin cushions, tea cozies, napkin rings, wall hangings, tabletops, letter racks etc. —to sell to the Europeans.[134]

Example of Mi'kmaq Quillwork. From the Editors, *Algonquians of the East Coast,* p. 105.

Leadership

Unlike most Algonquian groups, the Mi'kmaq tribal leadership did not necessarily pass down in a single family. Ability and personality were considered. Among the Mi'kmaq, the group leader or chief was usually the eldest son of a larger, powerful family. He was called "sagamore" / "saxamaw" / "saqamaw". He held limited power over the group. Individuals had a great deal of independence. He was to provide leadership and advice. He controlled the communal property. He was to dispose of it wisely and generously. He was

131 Woodcock, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

132 Editors, *op. cit.,* p. 105.

133 Waldman, *op, cit.,* pp. 10; 134.

134 Editors, *op. cit.,* p. 105.

responsible for the dogs for the chase in hunting. He was also responsible for the canoes for transportation, provisions and to have reserves for bad weather and for expeditions. For his good service, hunters would offer him a portion of their catch. The young people "flatter him", hunt and serve as a kind of apprentice under him. Everything the young captured or hunted went to the "Sagamore". They were not allowed to keep anything before they married. The married men, gave only a part of what they captured or killed. If they left him to go on a chase or to get supplies, when they returned they met their obligation by giving him skins or similar gifts. Sometimes, he met with other neighboring chiefs in a council; when they met in council, everyone was equal. When he was in his own territory, he had absolute authority. His group would follow his orders as long as they pleased them.[135] Women, children or young men who had not killed their first moose were not allowed to speak in these councils.

The Mi'kmaq divided their territory into seven hunting districts. In 1860, an eighth district was added. Each district had its own "sagamore" (chief). Occasionally, the district chiefs would meet in a Grand Council to get a consensus and elect one of their members as the "Grand Sagamore" (Grand Chief). Although the Mi'kmaq were not politically unified, they gave allegiance to the Grand Chief who was located at the "head district" at Cape Breton Island. The Grand Chief was to call council meetings of the Mi'kmaq "sagamores" to discuss common concerns. The most famous "sagamore" in the seventeenth century was Membertou. He was a political leader, a warrior and a shaman which gave him more power over the Mi'kmaq.[136]

According to Champlain, Membertou was the worst traitorous man of his tribe. However, he was a valuable friend to Champlain. Before becoming the grand chief, he was the District chief of Kespukwitk. In 1609, Lescarbot described Membertou as being at least 100 years old, tall and powerfully built with a white beard while the rest of the tribe had no facial hair.

In 1605, Champlain's guide, Panounias, was killed by Abenaki from the Saco area. They were led by Onemechin and Marchin. Bashabes, the Abenaki "sagamore," sent Panounia's body back to the Mi'kmaq with apologies and hope for peace. A Mi'kmaq, Messamouet, who had been with Champlain on a peace mission in 1606 to the Abenaki took gifts of knives, hatchets and other gifts of value. In return corn and squash were given to Massamouet. He was highly insulted. As a result, Membertou would not accept the apology.[137] Membertou aroused his people to take revenge. In June 1607, a flotilla of canoes and several hundred Mi'kmaq left for what is today, Saco, Maine. In August they returned celebrating the death of 20 of their enemies. They had started the Tarrantine War. The war lasted on and off until 1615, when the Mi'kmaq found Bashabe on the Penobscot River and killed him. The French never took part in this war.

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135 *Ibid.*, p. 44; McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

136 McMillan and Yellowhorn. *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

137 Mahaffie Jr., Charles D., *A Land of Discord Always: Acadia From Its Beginning to the Expulsion of Its People*, p. 37.

Actually, they were trading with both sides. The French were able to keep the loyalty of both tribes and profited as well. [138]

In 1604, Pierre Dugas de Monts, a French merchant, was given monopoly rights in New France by King Henry IV. De Monts established a colony at Ste Croix Island. He was to bring sixty new colonists to the colony each year. In 1605, he moved it to Port Royal. In 1606, he decided to stay in France and he made Jean Biencourt de Poutrincourt governor of Port Royal. Poutrincourt received seigneurial lands and fishing and trading monopoly rights by Henry IV in February 1606. However there was a stipulation. Since 1604, no Indians had been converted. Poutrincourt was ordered to include a Jesuit who would be "more vigorous" in his missionary work. The Jesuit, Pierre Biard, was chosen. Although Poutrincourt was a Catholic, he did not like the Jesuits. He told Biard, a ship was to be waiting for him and he sent Biard to Bordeaux. There was no ship. In 1610, Poutrincourt finally sailed with his son, Biencourt, from Dieppe. Instead of Biard, he took a secular priest, Jesse Fléché, and told him to immediately convert the Indians. A few weeks after their arrival, on 24 June 1610, Membertou and twenty members of his family were baptized by Fleché.[139] Membertou took the name, Henri after Henri IV. His oldest son, Membertousoichis, took the name of Louis after King Louis XIII. His second son, Actodin, took the name, Paul after the pope. In 1611, Fléché bragged that he had converted 140 Indians. In the same year, Fléché returned to France. Biard was in Acadia from 1611 to 1613. It is doubtful that Fléché converted 140 in that short time. The priest and the chief had no common language they could use. The Indians did not view baptism the way the French did. They thought it was a sign of goodwill to their new French friends. They wanted the French to stay and trade and be allies in their wars. Some of the Indians looked at it as a means of preventing the European illnesses.[140]

On 18 September 1611, Membertou died, probably from an epidemic. Membertou's wish was that he be buried with his forefathers. There were two versions of the burial of Membertou. The Jesuits insisted he be buried on consecrated ground as proof he was converted. Father Pierre Biard told the dying chief that it was bad to be buried in the ancestor's burial grounds. Membertou consented to be buried in sacred ground of the French.[141] Poutrincourt had left for France in July, 1611 and put his son, Biencourt in command. The second version was that Biencourt promised Membertou he could be buried with his ancestors as he requested. He suggested to the Jesuit, they could consecrate the Indian burial spot. Instead, Biard had him buried in consecrated ground in Port Royal. In

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138 *Ibid.,,* pp. 312; 33; 37.

139 *Ibid.,* pp. 39-40. Fleché was not the first priest to come to Acadia. A Catholic priest and a Huguenot minister were with Champlain at Port Royal in 1605. However, they served only the French who had come and not the Indians. The two spent most of their time arguing with each other. They both died from scurvy and were buried in the same grave by the crew. The crew hoped they would tolerate each other dead more than they did alive. (Eccles, *op. cit.,* p. 17)

140 *Ibid.,* p. 41.

141 Hannay, *op. cit.,* p. 94.

most decisions, Biencourt's rule was absolute, but this was an ecclesiastical issue.[142]

For the next one or two hundred years, Mi'kmaq and Maliseet conversions were convenient means of getting benefits for themselves, especially if the missionaries lived among them. The missionaries were loyal and dedicated to them, and they in turn were loyal and dedicated to the missionaries and the French. From 1632 to 1755, the French crown provided yearly gifts and feasts to the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet who kept their loyalty to the missionaries and the French.[143]

The French settlers in Acadia felt that the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet gave up little of their Indian ways. In 1690, there were about 1000 Acadians. Most of them were on farms in the Annapolis Valley, Minas Basin or at or near Beaubassin. They were on muddy lands and muddy rivers, areas of which the Mi'kmaq were not interested. The Acadians did not go on Mi'kmaq hunting grounds or clam beds. Indian trails were not near the Acadians. Generally, they seldom had contact with one another. The French realized that ridicule or beating given to an Indian in a squaw-like manner, brought tribal laughter and entertainment. However, the French realized if they threatened the tribe or had armed searches, accusations or arrests, the Mi'kmaq would call a tribal council because they would feel this as serious as treachery and killings. Throughout the French regime, both the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet considered the French as friends.[144]

Throughout this period, the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq were friends with each other and the Abenaki but they were against the English, and Iroquois. Maliseet and Mi'kmaq intermarried and visited one another. As a group they lived apart in their own territory. The two groups were cautious, out of fear when they traveled in western Maine. They were afraid of being caught and sold. Both suffered from raids made by the Iroquois. In Eastern Maine, the Abenaki and the Penobscot had more of the traits of the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq.[145]

When the French came to Acadia in 1603 and Quebec in 1608 and established the first habitation in each location, the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet became allies of the French and partners with them in the fur trade. They remained allies through the colonial wars. They adopted many of the European traits. Metal, guns, alcohol, new foods and cloth were introduced to them. Their contact with the French changed their culture. The need to get furs for trade changed their lives, they were hunting for furs rather than food.[146] In the early seventeenth century, as the fur trade became more important, the Indian groups in eastern Canada began fighting between each other to get larger hunting areas. The Mi'kmaq had been armed with better iron weapons and muskets and were able to extend their territory westward. The French introduction of food affected the health

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142 Mahaffie Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

143 Belliveau, Pierre, "Indians and Some Indian Raids On Massachusetts About 1690-1704," in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, p. 10.

144 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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

146 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

of the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq. They bought corn, dried peas, crackers and sea biscuits from the French. The change in diet weakened their resistance to epidemic diseases.[147] Epidemics continually reduced their numbers. Alcohol was introduced and had a devastating effect on them. As more were converting them to Christianity, they lost faith in their shamans.

The close alliances between the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq with the French involved them in wars against the English. The combination of some Troups de la Marine, militia and friendly Indians using guerilla warfare were effective against the Iroquois in the colonial wars in New England. In the eighteenth century, the French militias with the Abenakis, Maliseet and Mi'kmaq, sometimes led by local missionaries, using the same tactics were successful in Acadia against the English.[148]

In 1690, Governor Phipps of Massachusetts was defeated at Quebec. However, the same year he captured Port Royal, demanded the Acadians take an oath of allegiance to King William, destroyed two fishing stations at LeHeve and Chedaboucton and imprisoned two priests, Abbé Trouvé and Abbé Petit and Governor Manneval in Boston. Abbé Beaudoin who had been a former French army officer, went with a Mi'kmaq raiding party against Wells in 1692 and to Pemaquid in 1696. When Phipps left Port Royal, Jacob Leslor, a pirate from New York, came into Port Royal and burned the Acadian church and hanged two Acadians. He continued on and burned Beaubassin. He continued into the St. John River and confiscated Governor Villebon's supplies. Villebon took advantage of the situation and yelled to the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet and Abenaki allies that the supplies taken were the presents the king of France had sent to them and instead they were now on their way to Boston.[149]

Joseph Robinau de Villebon, governor of Acadia, was born in Quebec on 22 August 1655. He was sent to Port Royal, Acadia by Frontenac and appointed Governor of Acadia in 1690. He held that position until he died on 5 July 1700. He and his brothers were considered experts at Indian management. They knew how to rile up the warriors, knowing the war chant and leading a war dance. They knew what words, tones, gestures, praises and distortions to use. They knew the proper approach, dress and ritual in the Indian Council.[150]

From 1632 to 1755, the French were able to keep the friendship and loyalty of the Maliseet, Abenaki and Mi'kmaq by providing yearly gifts and feasts paid by the French monarchy and by the loyalty of the French missionary priests. Many of the missionaries were present and in some cases, leaders of the raids on English settlements and ships. The gifts were in the form of guns, powder and shot, iron axes and weapons, metal tips for arrows, knives, iron cauldrons, copper kettles, mirrors, glass beads, colored ribbons and threads, tobacco, French clothing, especially woolen clothing, and dark blue, black or red fabrics especially velvet. The Maliseet and Mi'kmaq bought or traded for dried

147 Trigger, *op. cit.*, pp. 204; 217; 238.

148 Woodcock, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

149 Belliveau, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

150 *Ibid.*

corn, dried peas, crackers and sea biscuits. The Mi'kmaq also bought long boats from the French in order to travel more safely on the lower St. Lawrence. In addition the French provided them with medals and military commissions, provided surgeons and gunsmiths for repair of guns, bounties for enemy scalps and the French would take part in their councils, feasts and fighting.[151]

The French encouraged them to fight against the English, making raids on English ships and settlements. In return, the English allied themselves with the Iroquois, especially the Mohawk. After the English had a settlement at Halifax, the governor placed a bounty on Mi'kmaq scalps. From 1690 on, the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet and the Abenaki as allies of the French kept the English out of their hunting grounds and delayed the final conquest of Acadia by the English for at least twenty years. When the English took Cape Breton Island, a large group of Mi'kmaq went to southern and western Newfoundland. This caused the Beothuk to leave southern Newfoundland. After the Beothuk extinction, the Mi'kmaq were the only Indian tribe in Newfoundland.[152]

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed and temporarily brought a halt to the fighting. On the Atlantic, France lost all but Île St. John (Prince Edward Island) and Île Royale (Cape Breton). The French constructed the Louisbourg fortress on Île Royale. From this base the Mi'kmaq continued to fight the English by making raids on ships and settlements of the English. The Mohawk became allies of England. In 1749, England built Halifax to be closer to Louisbourg. The governor of Halifax put a bounty on Mi'kmaq scalps. War continued until Louisbourg fell to the English in 1758 when the Mi'kmaq were forced to make peace with the English.[153]

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were difficult for the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet. More and more English were moving in, especially after the American Revolutionary War. The English moved into the areas where the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq lived. The fur trade declined. Lands for hunting and fishing were gone. There was starvation and deaths from epidemics. Today, the Mi'kmaq live in five eastern provinces of Canada divided into twenty-eight different bands. The largest is at Restigouche. The Maliseet are divided into seven bands, the largest is at Tobique, New Brunswick. Many of the men now work in the lumber industry, fishing or lobster trapping. But these industries are declining. Manufacturing quilled baskets and birch bark containers is a source of income for many of the bands. Because of a lack of jobs, many Mi'kmaq and Maliseet have moved to cities in the northeastern United States, especially in Boston and later into New York city. The Mi'kmaq like the Mohawk have gone into high-steel construction. It is a well paying job. Others are transients or returning to the reserves. The Mi'kmaq population in Boston is larger than many of the Mi'kmaq reserve communities in Canada. Some descendants of the Maliseet and the Mi'kmaq live in northeastern Maine today.

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151 Trigger, *op. cit.*, and Miquelon, Dale, *New France 1701-1704*, p. 119.

152 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63; Eccles, W.J., *op. cit.*, pp. 108; 120.

153 McMillan and Yellowhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

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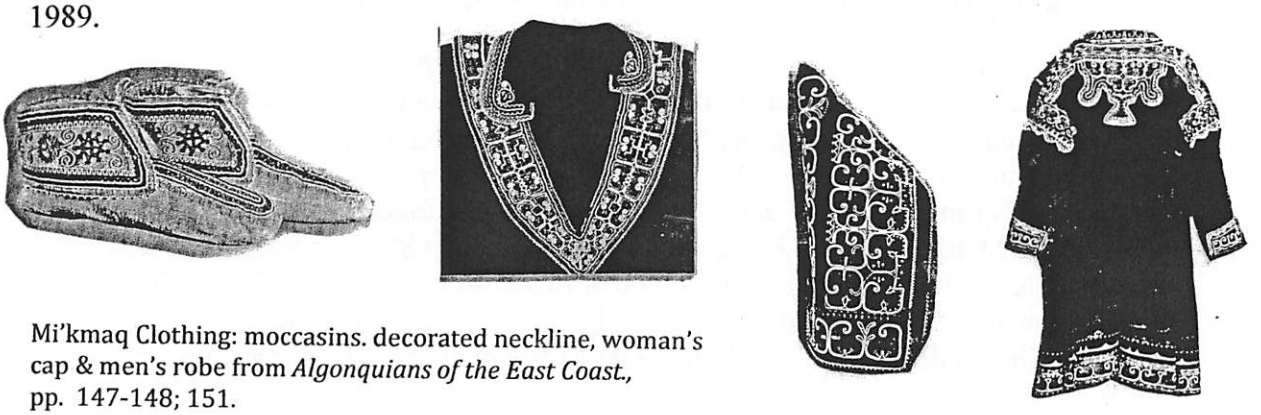

Mi'kmaq Clothing: moccasins. decorated neckline, woman's cap & men's robe from *Algonquians of the East Coast.*, pp. 147-148; 151.

TIMELINE OF

PARTICIPATION OF MI'KMAQ, MALISEET AND ABENAKI

AS ALLIES OF THE FRENCH IN THE COLONIAL WARS

Prior to the coming of the French, the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq made war with some of their surrounding tribes and occasionally, even with each other. If they went to war it was usually for infringement on their territory or an attack against them. The Mohawk were a regular threat to the Maliseet. Already in the sixteenth century, the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet were trading furs with the Europeans especially the French fishermen and whalers. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French established habitations and sent missionaries to Acadia and Quebec. The Mi'kmaq and Maliseet developed friendships with the French and many of them adopted the Catholic religion. More important, they became allies with the French. The French eventually became allies to most of the Algonquian tribes, but their ties to the eastern most tribes were especially close. Even after the intercolonial wars were over, the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet remained loyal to the French. Although they signed treaties recognizing English control and gave their allegiance, they remained loyal to the French until the French control no longer existed.

Even before the intercolonial wars, the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet were allies against the English and their Indian allies. This was especially true in Acadia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton Island and eventually Prince Edward Island and Labrador. English raids and attacks were a threat to the lands of the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet as well as to the Acadians. The French Acadians did not interfere with the lifestyle of these two tribes. In addition, missions were built and the missionaries lived among the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet which sometimes served as places for fur trade and to acquire food, metal objects, blankets and French clothing and fabrics which they quickly accepted for their own use. The French crown also gave annual gifts and feasts to the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq to insure their friendship and loyalty.

In 1607, rivalry in the fur trade led to the Tarratine War between the Mi'kmaq and the Abenaki. It lasted for eight years. In 1615, the Mi'kmaq went south to an Abenaki village in Maine and killed their leader, Onemechin. That ended the war with the Mi'kmaq taking the coast from the Penobscot tribe. After this victory, the Mi'kmaq began attacking the Wampanoag. Prior to the first Intercolonial War, the Mi'kmaq joined their former enemy, the Eastern Abenaki, in their Confederacy, the Wabanaki Confederacy.

The Confederacy was made up of five Algonquian language speaking Indian tribes—Eastern Abenaki, Mi'kmaq, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy and Maliseet. Although they had the name Confederacy, they were not a confederation; they had no head chief or legislative union. They acknowledged their close friendship with one another. When they were on raids or in battle, they did not necessarily all join together to fight. Sometimes, the Abenaki, Maliseet and Mi'kmaq would fight together. Other times, they would fight alone at different locations. Sometimes, one or more of the tribes would not fight at all. Wabanaki means "Dawn Land People" in Algonquian. The first intercolonial war, known as King William's war in North America began in 1689. In Europe, this war was

called The War of the Grand Alliance, the War of the League of Augsburg or the Nine Years War.

I have started the following timeline prior to the beginning of the seventeenth century because there were conflicts between the French, English and Indians prior to the intercolonial wars. Not all of the raids, battles and events are included. I have primarily included those which involved the Maliseet, Abenaki (Wabanaki Confederacy) or Mi'kmaq Indian groups and / or Acadians. Continual raids and sieges eventually led to the expulsion of the Acadians.

For the following timeline, information was extracted from the sources on the previous bibliography and Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. If you are looking for additional information on an event, go to wikipedia.com and search for that event.

In the following timeline, I have in **bold type** the name / names of the intercolonial war in North America, followed by the counterpart name or names of the war or wars in Europe and the treaties that ended these wars. In some way the English and French were involved in all of these. Under the treaty headings, I have included the results as they affected North America, not the situations in Europe. In between the bold entries is a chronological list of events between Acadia and New England and in New France if it was a cause, a result or had an effect on events in Acadia or on the Abenaki but primarily on the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet. In *italics* are the date and names of other wars, confrontations and treaties between New England and Acadia and /or New France in North America during the Intercolonial Wars.

During these wars, control of territories, forts and towns were going back and forth between the French and the English and the names changed back and forth as well. French Acadia becomes English Nova Scotia; Île -Royal becomes Cape Breton Island, Port Royal becomes Annapolis Royal and Fort Beauséjour becomes Fort Cumberland.

1497: England laid claim to the entire eastern seaboard north of the Carolinas. In 1607, they attempted to start a colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine. It failed.

1613: Beothuk Uprising: 30 French fishermen were killed.

October 1613: Admiral Argall from Virginia attacked Port Royal and destroyed the habitation, but the colony remained.

Fall, 1613: The British made their first attempt to force the French from "their territory". A naval expedition from Jamestown was sent to destroy the Mont-deserts mission and Port Royal. The French and Jesuit prisoners were put in a small boat and set adrift to die. They reached the Mi'kmaq who cared for them through the winter. The Mi'kmaq who were taken as prisoners in this raid were sold as slaves.

1628-1629: The Kirk Brothers took control of Quebec from France.

1632: Treaty of St. Germain-en Laye: France regained control of New France and Acadia.

August 1654: Robert Sedgewick of Boston attacked Acadia and destroyed most of the settlements including Port Royal, La Have and the St. John River. He put Guillaume Trahan in charge of an Acadian Council he appointed.

1665-1667: Second Anglo-Dutch War; This war was between England, the Netherlands, France and Denmark-Norway.

1667: Treaty of Breda; It ended the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Acadia was returned to France. England was trying to stop Dutch maritime trade.

1 August 1674: Captain John Rhoade captured and destroyed the Fort Pentagouet and captured Fort Jemseg in Acadia for the Dutch colony, New Amsterdam (New York). He also seized New England ships that were trading with the Wabanaki Confederacy.

1675-1678: King Phillips War / First Indian War; This war was between Indians living in New England and the English and their Indian allies. It was named after the leader of the Indians, Metacomet, known to the English as King Phillip. The war took place in northern New England, primarily in Maine, near the Acadia border. Twelve of the towns in this region were destroyed and many others damaged. King Philip was killed on 12 August 1676, but the war continued until 1678.

April 1678: Treaty of Casco Bay; It ended the war between the eastern Indians and the English settlers of Massachusetts Bay Colony. The treaty stated that each English family that settled on Indian lands had to give one peck of corn annually to the Indians.

1676: French retake Acadia.

1686: The French captured Moose Factory and Fort Ruppert on Hudson Bay from the English.

1686 and 1687: Boston men raided Pentagouet.

1689-1697: King William's War, 1st Intercolonial War in Quebec
1688-1697: War of the Grand Alliance, War of the League of Augsburg, or the Nine Years War in Europe

The Mi'kmaq and the Abenaki made raids in New England during King William's War. Fighting between New England and the Abenaki continued twelve years after the end of King William's War.

1689: The Iroquois allies of the English killed 200 French and took 200 prisoners. The same year, Casco in Abenaki country, was raided by Indians. 23 English were killed and 29 prisoners were taken.

1689: Mi'kmaq, Penobscot and Maliseet attack frontier towns of Maine and New Hampshire; 16 other forts in New England were destroyed.

2-3 August 1689: Siege of Pemaquid; The French, Maliseet and Abenaki attacked Fort Charles at Pemaquid (today, Bristol, Maine). The attack was led by Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin, Father Thury and Chief Moxus. They allowed Lieutenant

Weems who was in command of the fort to return to Boston with his men. On 4 August the Abenaki burned the fort and the nearby settlement of Jamestown. The Maliseet took one prisoner, John Gyles to their main village, Meductic, on the Saint John River.

3 June 1690: Battle of Port Royal; In retaliation for the Siege of Pemaquid, William Phips destroyed Port Royal and took the French Governor as prisoner. He also attacked Chedabucto and other villages. The violence's that occurred here alienated the Acadians against New England.

1692-1693: The fort at Pemaquid was rebuilt by the English and renamed Fort William Henry. The fort was the largest in New England and was built of stone and mortar. The walls were 6 feet thick and 20 feet high with 18 cannon mounted in the gun ports.

1693: Raid on Port Royal by English frigates.

1694: Siege at St. John; Nesmond sailed from Plaisance, Newfoundland to St. John. The siege was unsuccessful.

18 July 1694: Raid on Oyster River (Durham, New Hampshire); Massacre at Oyster River: Oyster River was attacked by Villieu with 250 Abenaki led by their "sagamore," Bomazeen and a number of Maliseet. 104 people were killed and 27 were taken as prisoners. The garrison and half the houses were burned, crops destroyed and livestock killed.

14 July 1696: A naval battle in the Bay of Fundy; English ships were sent from Boston to confiscate supplies taken by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville from Quebec to Acadia. Two French ships, the Envieux and the Profound captured the English 24 gun frigate, the Newport, but the 34 gun English frigate, the Sorlings, escaped.

July 15, 1696, d'Iberville was at Saint John harbor and unloaded the supplies for Acadia. He took on board 50 Mi'kmaq and Pere Simon and they left August 2 for Penobscot where they met Villieu and Montigny with 25 Canadians and Father Thury and St. Castin with 300 Indians waiting for them. On 14 August they set sail for Pemaquid.

14-15 August 1696: Siege of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid; Pemaquid was in Maine near the border of Acadia.The siege was led by Pierre Le Moyne d'Ibervville and Baron de St. Castin. Missionary priests were at this siege. On 14 August, 100 Canadians and 450 warriors in canoes came down on the fort. They surrounded the fort while D'iberville entered the harbor with three ships. Captain Pasco Chubb surrendered the fort to the French. Three English soldiers were killed and the other 92 were escorted back to Boston in exchange for French and Indian prisoners held there. The fort was destroyed.

12 September 1696: Avalon Peninsula Campaign; D'Iberville was sent on the Newfoundland campaign. There were to be assaults on land by D'Iberville and attacks by sea led by Sieur de Brouillan. Frontenac sent D'Iberville on 12 September. Brouillan had gone earlier with a frigate and 8 ships to attack St. John. On 9 September, Brouillan de Monbeton began the siege on Ferryland. He did not take St. John, but he captured fishing boats and took fish.110 people of Ferryland fled to Bay Bulls to fortify themselves there. D'Iberville arrived at Ferryland on 10 November and his troops sacked Ferryland.

13 September 1697: D'Iberville took Fort York in Hudson Bay from the English.

20-29 September 1696: Raid on Chignecto and Beaubassin; Colonel Benjamin Church retaliates for the siege on Pemaquid the same year. Many of the Acadians had left. Buildings were burned down, animals were killed and dikes were destroyed so that it took three years before they could plant crops. They also took Acadians as prisoners.

18-20 October 1696: Seige on Fort Nashwaak (Fredericton, New Brunswick); Church's siege fails. Father Simon-Gérard gets the Maliseet to help the French hold the fort.

September 1697: Treaty of Ryswick; Everything in North America was returned to what it was before. Acadia is returned to the French. England controlled Hudson Bay and France had James Bay. France kept Port Royal and Placentia, but gave up Pemaquid, Maine and part of Acadia.

1701: The British made 2 failed attempts to take the French fort on the Penobscot River.

1702-1713: Queen Anne's War, 2nd Intercolonial War
1701-1714: War of the Spanish Succession in Europe

1703: Two hundred Mi'kmaq and 30 French attack squatter settlements along the Ste. Croix, on the coast of Maine.

February 1704: the Deerfield Massacre; The Abenaki with Canadian militia raid Deerfield, Massachusetts under the command of Jean-Baptiste de Rouville. 56 of the villagers were killed and more than 100 captives were taken back to Canada.

1704: In retaliation for the Deerfield Massacre, The British took two French forts on the Penobscot River and on Passamaquoddy Bay. Major Benjamin Church went on his 5th raid, first at Castine, Maine and then Acadia at Grand Pre, Pisquid and Chignecto.

End of May 1704: Colonel Benjamin Church attacked the French and Indians at Chignecto and Mines. He ordered his men "to dig down the dams, and let the tide in, to destroy all their corn." There also was looting of the settlements.

24 June 1704 – 3 July 1704: Raid on Grand Pre; On his way to Grand Pre, Church raided a Maliseet encampment. The raid was in retaliation for the attack on Deerfield. The first day, Church ordered the town to surrender. The next morning Acadians and Mi'kmaq militia waited in the woods for Church and his men. When fired upon, the raiders went back to the village and spent the day destroying 60 houses, 6 mills, barns and about 70 cattle. Church spent 3 days destroying the town and attempting to destroy the dikes and levees.

July 1704: More retaliation for the raid on Deerfield. The British failed in taking Port Royal. This was followed by breaking seven dikes, and destroying most of the harvest of wheat. The following day he went to Pisiguit and took 45 prisoners, and then raided Beaubassin. The villagers hid in the woods. He burned the houses and barns and killed 100 head of cattle. Church lost 6 men on this expedition. The prisoners were brought to Boston and exchanged in 1705 and 1706 for prisoners taken at the Deerfield raid.

1705: England raided the Mi'kmaq and French settlements along the coast of Acadia (Nova Scotia) and along the Bay of Fundy and on Minas; In retaliation for Indian raids in New England, Church led 550 men to Acadia in 2 gunboats, 14 transports, 36 whaleboats and a shallop. They killed and captured prisoners along the Bay of Fundy. He cut the dikes and pillaged the settlements. When he met resistance, he destroyed 3 villages, pillaged and killed their cattle and burned their houses.

1707: Raid on Grand Pre

17 June 1707: Siege on Port Royal; Colonel March led an attack on Port Royal with men from Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Massachusetts in an 11 day siege that failed.

20 August 1707: 2nd siege of Port Royal; this siege was led by Wainwright and it also failed.

24 September -2 October 1710: Siege on Port Royal; After a long siege, Port Royal was surrendered to General Francis Nicholson. French troops left Port Royal. On 28 October, Nicholson and his troops left Port Royal. Colonel Vetch stayed behind to act as lieutenant governor. He had about 450soldiers. Due to desertion and disease, about 100 were left by June. The British kept control of it for the rest of the war. Port Royal was renamed Annapolis Royal and the fort was renamed Fort Anne.

10 June 1711: Battle of Bloody Creek; The Abenaki successfully ambushed British and New England soldiers. All the British force was captured or killed. The French hoped this battle would weaken the British hold on Annapolis Royal.

1711: Siege on Annapolis Royal; 600 Acadians under Bernard-Anselme d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin and Mi'kmaq and Maliseet warriors laid sierge on Fort Anne. The French had no artillery and they were forced to leave.

1713: Treaty of Utrecht: At this time, England considered New Brunswick as part of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; France kept only Île St-Jean (Prince Edward Island and Île Royale (Cape Breton). Later, on Île Royal, the French built a fortress at Louisbourg.)

13 July 1713: Treaty of Portsmouth; Mi'kmaq, Maliseet and Abenaki signed the treaty at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. However, they still refused to recognize the British in Acadia. Acadia was now called Nova Scotia by the British. The French continued to give annual gifts to the Mi'kmaq to keep their friendship and allegiance. The British could not compete with the gifts. Te British government gave very limited funds for this purpose.

1717: New Englanders began to move northward into Abenaki lands along Maine's coast; The French fought back through their Jesuit missionaries. Father Sebastien Rasles convinced the Abenaki and Mi'kmaq to resist with war.

7 August 1720: 6—75 Mi'kmaq raided Canso, Nova Scotia. They killed 3 men and wounded 4. Twenty-one prisoners were taken by New Englanders and were taken to Annapolis Royal.

1721: The British governor of Acadia had a meeting at Annapolis Royal with the Mi'kmaq. He promised to increase trade and larger annual presents.

January 1722: Governor Shute sent an expedition to capture Father Rale at Norridgewock. He was captured but escaped in the forest. The English found Rale's strongbox containing letters indicating Rale was an agent of the French government.

22 July 1722-1725: Dummer's War / English-Indian War / Rale's War / Father Rasles' War / Three Year's War / Lovewell's War ; On 22 July, Massachusetts Governor Samuel Shute declared war on the Abenaki. New Englanders were settling along the Kennebec River and New England fishermen were in Nova Scotia waters. The war was over the border between Acadia and New England, to break the blockade against Annapolis Royal and retrieve over 86 prisoners from the Indians.

March 1722: Rale at Norridgewock; Westbrook, with 300 men, went to Norridgewock to capture Father Rale. Rale was warned ahead of time and escaped into the forest. 165 Mi'kmaq and Maliseet gathered at Grand Pre to lay siege on Annapolis Royal.

May 1722: 22 Mi'kmaq were taken prisoners at Annapolis Royal (Port Royal) by Lieutenant Governor John Doucett to prevent them from attacking.

July 1722: The Mi'kmaq and Abenaki had a blockade on Annapolis Royal hoping to starve them out. They also captured 18 fishing boats and took prisoners from Yarmouth to Canso and from ships in the Bay of Fundy.

15 July 1722: Father Lauverjat led 500-600 Penobscot and Maliseet in a 12 day siege against Fort George. They burned a sawmill, a large sloop, houses and killed cattle. Five New Englanders were killed and 7 were taken as prisoners. Twenty Indians were killed.

22 July 1722: Mi'kmaq and Abenaki have a blockade of Annapolis Royal: they took 18 fishing boats and also ships and prisoners from the Bay of Fundy and took prisoners from Yarmouth to Canso. One of the ships carrying a year's supply of provisions, was sent from Canso to Annapolis Royal by Governor Phillips. The Maliseet seized another ship and used it to transport 45 warriors up the bay to join 120 Mi'kmaq from Cape Sable and Shubenacadie to attack Annapolis Royal.

July 1722: Battle at Jeddore Harbor (Winnepang); Governor Phillips sent Captains John Elliot and John Robinson, in two sloops with regiments to protect the Canso fishery and to get the New England prisoners. There were 39 Mi'kmaq holding prisoners in seven ships. The naval battle was about 2 hours. Bradsteet led a boarding party with grenades and organized gunfire. Five New Englanders were killed and many injured. As the Mi'kmaq attempted to swim to shore they were fired upon. Thirty-five Mi'kmaq were killed. Fifteen English prisoners were rescued. Nine had been killed earlier. Only five Mi'kmaq bodies were recovered. The New Englanders had decapitated the bodies and placed the heads on spiked poles surrounding the new fort at Canso.

9 March 1723: Westbrook went with 230 men to the Penobscot village and fort on the Penobscot River. The village was vacant. They burned the village with 23 wigwams, a chapel and the fort of 14 feet high walls.

April-December1723: Father Rale and the Wabanaki Confederacy of Acadia made 14 raids along the New England border.

23 July 1723: Raid on Canso; The Mi'kmaq raided the village killing 3 men, 1 woman and 1 child. As a result, the New Englanders built a 12 gun blockhouse to guard the village.

1724: Norridgewock, Maine on the Upper Kennebec River was attacked by an English colonial army. The Jesuit Priest, Father Sebastien Rasles was killed in battle and his body was mutilated by the English.

Spring 1724: Father Rale and the Wabanaki Confederacy made 10 raids on the Maine frontier.

July 1724: Raid on Annapolis Royal by 60 Mi'kmaq and Maliseet. They killed and scalped 2 soldiers, wounded 4 others and burned houses and took prisoners. The British retaliated by killing a Mi'kmaq hostage and burned 3 houses.

The Mi'kmaq retaliated with an attack on the British garrison at Annapolis Royal killing two soldiers and wounding 12.

10-19 December 1724: Raid on Lake Winnipesaukee

9 May 1725: Battle of Pequawket; Final battle of Dummer's War. John Lovewell led the New Englanders and Chief Paugus led the Abenaki. Both leaders were killed.

December 1725: The Abenaki agree to peace with Massachusetts and signed and ratified it at Falmouth in August.

15 December 1725; ratified in 1726: Treaty of Boston; Treaty between the Penobscot, Naridgwack, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and other tribes in the British territories of New England: The tribes agreed to peace and acknowledged British authority. This officially ended the Drummer War. However, the Mi'kmaq continued to resist. If the British stayed in their garrisons, there was no problem, but if they went into Mi'kmaq territory, it was dangerous.

1732: Acadians refuse to take an oath of allegiance to the British.

1744-1748: King George's War, 3rd Intercolonial War (On 3 May 1744, France declared war on Great Britain)
1739-1748: War of Jenkin's Ear between England and Spain and
1740-1748: War of the Austrian Succession in Europe

Mi'kmaq and Maliseet attacked British outposts throughout King George's War.

23 May 1744: Raid on British fishing port at Canso; Francois du Pont Duvivier led this raid on the settlement. After taking loot from the British, Canso was totally burned. The garrison was taken as prisoners to Louisbourg and women and children wre given passage to Boston.

12-16 July 1744: Attack on Annapolis Royal; Father Jean-Louis Le Loutre raised a force of Acadians and 300 Mi'kmaq and Maliseet and arrived at Fort Anne, the main fortification for Annapolis Royal. Two soldiers were killed, but the assault ended when a British ship from Boston arrived with 70 New Englanders and rescued the fort for the British.

9-25 September 1744: Siege on Fort Anne at Annapolis Royal; This siege was led by Pont Duvivier. He waited weeks for French ships to arrive aand reinforce his attack. On 26 September, 2 ships arrived, but they were British ships with troops led by Ranger John Gorrham. A few days later, Gorham attacked a Mi'kmaq encampment. Women and children were killed and their bodies were mutilated. The Mi'kmaq withdrew and on 5 October, Duvivier retreated.

20 October 1744: Massachusetts declared war against the Cape Sable, Nova Scotia and St. John Indians (Mi'kmaq). The Penobscot, Kennebec and Passamaquoddy from Maine joined together against the British.

2-10 May 1745: Siege of Port Toulouse; A New England colonial force aided by a British fleet (90 ships with 4,200 soldiers) captured Port Toulouse on Île Royal. The Acadians who escaped from Toulouse went to Beaubassin and Quebec.

May 1745: Siege of Annapolis Royal; 200 troops under Paul Marin de la Malgue and hundreds of Mi'kmaq and Maliseet attacked Annapolis Royal. French failed again to retake Port Royal and Cape Breton Island. During this siege, the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet took William Pote and some of Gorham's Rangers (Mohawk). On 6 July 1745, Pote was tortured Pote and a Mohawk ranger from Gorham's company as retribution for the killing of their family members in September 1744.

15 June 1745: Battle at Tatamagouche; New England lays siege on Louisbourg. Mi'kmaq in canoes and French convoy of 2 sloops and 2 schooners attempted to reach the fortress, but they were prevented by Captain Daniel Fones. The British there had slaughtered the French and Indians. Louisbourg fell to the English. This did not stop the Mi'kmaq and Abenaki attacks against the British.

1746: France sent an expedition to take Acadia. Due to storms, diseases and death of Duc d'Anville, the commander, it returned to France.

February 1747: Grand Pre Massacre; The French took the British garrison at Grand Pre.

1748: Treaty of Aix-la Chapelle: Neither side was willing to give up control of the Maritimes. No border was established between Nova Scoria and Quebec. Louisbourg was returned to France.

1749: The French begin to re-occupy the St. John Valley in New Brunswick.

June 1749: Colonel Edward Cornwallis as new governor of Nova Scotia with 2,500 settlers arrived in Nova Scotia and founded Halifax, a fortress to offset Louisbourg. This was in Mi'kmaq moose hunting territory and the sawmill the English built at Dartmouth was on one of their important waterways.

1749 -1755: Father Le Loutre's War / the Indian War / the Micmac War or the Anglo-Micmac War

Summer 1749: Settlements at Chebuto and Canso attacked by Father Le Loutrte leading the Mi'kmaq. They captured an army detachment at Canso which later was ransomed from the French commandant at Louisbourg.

1749: Cornwallis offered 10 £ for every Mi'kmaq scalp or prisoner; the Cobb expedition was sent to hunt down and kill Mi'kmaq and he offered 100 £ for the capture of Le Loutre. The Cobb expedition destroyed about everything.

1750: The price of scalps was raised from 10 £ to 50 £. As a result, two ranger companies under Captains William Chapham and Francis Bartelo were organized.

1751; Fighting continued across Chigneto Isthmus of Nova Scotia. In the summer, Cornwallis disbanded all ranger companies. Too many scalps were turned in for payment which appeared to be of European origin. The French continued to give guns to the Chigneto Mi'kmaq led by Le Loutre.

Nov 1752: Peace Treaty of Halifax; British and Mi'kmaq signed a treaty at Halifax. They renewed the peace treaty of 1726. Yearly gifts of blankets, tobacco, powder and shot were to be given the Indians by the English. Each year on the first of October, the Indians were to come and get their gifts and renew their friendship and submissions.

1754-1763: The French and Indian War, 4th Intercolonial War
1756-1763: Seven Year's War

1755: Mi'kmaq raids against isolated settlements and British fishing boats; at the same time, Penobscot raided frontier settlements in Maine.

4-16 June 1755: Battle of Fort Beauséjour; British regulars and New England militia under Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton took Fort Beauséjour by the 16th. Le Loutre and Broussard were defending the fort. Before the surrender, Le Loutre burned the cathedral. The British renamed the fort to Fort Cumberland. Le Loutre was later captured and imprisoned for eight years. Acadians were ordered to sign an oath of allegiance to the British. The Acadians refused.

1755: The capture of Fort Beauséjour on the border between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was followed by the deportation of Acadians.

August 1755; Deportation of Acadians by order of Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia begins. Fort Cumberland was one of four places, where the British imprisoned or temporarily held Acadians during the nine years of expulsion. The other three forts were Fort Edward in Nova Scotia, Fort Frederick in New Brunswick and Fort Charlotte at Georges Island, Halifax.

10 August 1755: Lieutenant-Colonel took 400 Acadian men from Fort Beausejour and held them as prisoners there. He also kept 86 from Fort Lawrence and kept them at the

fort until the transports came to deport them. Their wives and children joined them at departure.

Boishébert, a French officer, Acadians and Mi'kmaq fought deportation from Acadia.

2 September 1755: Battle of Petitcodiac; Boishébert organized the Mi'kmaq and Acadians and defeated the English.

1 October 1755: The prisoners at Fort Lawrence escaped. Joseph Broussard (Beausoleil) was one of them.

13 October 1755: More than 2000 were put on 5 ships for deportation at Grand Pré. At the departure, Winslow burned 276 barns, 255 houses 11 mills in the villages around Grand Pré.

20 October 1755: 920 Acadians of Piziquid were put on 4 ships for deportation. Their village was not destroyed. English Planters came and occupied them.

8 December 1755: 225 Acadians deported on the Pembroke bound for North Carolina. The ship was taken over by the Acadians. On 8_1756, the Acadians sailed up the St. John River where they burned the ship. A group of Maliseet took them to a refuge camp of Charles Deschamps de Boishébert and de Raffetot who were at Beaubears island.

Early spring of 1756: band of Acadians and Mi'kmaq ambushed 9 New England soldiers cutting wood for Fort Cumberland, killed them and mutilated them.

April 1757: Raids on Fort Edward and Fort Cumberland by Acadians and Mi'kmaq.

20 July 1757: The Mi'kmaq captured 2 of Gorham's rangers outside Fort Cumberland.

March 1758: Forty Acadians and Mi'kmaq attacked a schooner, killed its master and 2 sailors.

Winter 1759: Indians ambushed 5 British soldiers near Fort Cumberland. They were scalped and their bodies were mutilated.

1757: British forces took Fort Duquesne

3-9 August 1757: Siege of Fort William Henry; Montcalm led the French and their Indian allies to victory over the English.

1758: Siege of Louisbourg; Louisbourg is lost to the British. From here the English launch their attack against Quebec in 1759.

1759: The English took Forts Quebec and Niagara.

1763: Treaty of Paris; England received Canada; France ceded French Louisiana and the Mississippi River to Spain.

RECIPES FROM OUR FRENCH CANADIAN FAMILIES

By Pat Ustine

Several years ago, the FGW members put together a booklet of French Canadian recipes. These were recipes passed down through one's family.

The Sweet Sour Cabbage and Rutabaga recipes are from Patricia Keeney Geyh, (present member). The Dandelion Spring Salad is from Joyce Banachowski, (present member). The fourth recipe is Sables from Alice Kegley, (present member), a treat that she brought to our February Pea Soup and Johnny Cake Meeting. It was suggested that it be put in the *Quarterly.*

SWEET SOUR CABBAGE

2 Tbs. bacon drippings

½ cup vinegar

sugar, pepper and salt to taste

½ head of cabbage, chopped

Blend together the vinegar, bacon drippings, sugar, salt and pepper. Taste to be sure there is enough sugar, add as needed. Place cabbage in pan and add just enough water so that you can begin to see the water. Add the vinegar mixture.

Cook slowly for 2 hours. To avoid burning, it might be best to put it in the top of a double boiler.

RUTABAGA

Peel Rutabaga and chop in chunks. Boil until very tender. Mash, as one mashes potatoes. Add butter or oleo and salt and pepper.

Root vegetables were frequently used by French Canadians who would store them in root cellars for the winter.

DANDELION SPRING SALAD

1 large bowl of cleaned dandelion greens

6 slices of Canadian bacon, fried and drained

4 Tbsp. vinegar

1 small onion chopped

½ tsp. salt

¼ tsp. pepper

Place greens in refrigerator. Cut bacon in small pieces and fry. Take bacon out and drain on absorbent paper. To the bacon fat in the pan, add vinegar and onion and bring to a boil. Remove from heat and pour dressing over the dandelion greens. Add salt, pepper and bacon bits.

SABLES

½ cup sifted all-purpose flour

½ cup soft butter or margarine

1 cup grated parmesan cheese

1 tsp. salt

dash of pepper

dash of cayenne

1 egg, slightly beaten

1. Preheat oven to 400F
2. In medium bowl, combine flour and butter, using pastry blender or fork
3. Add cheese, salt, pepper and cayenne, mixing with a fork
4. Sprinkle mixture with 2 Tbs. water, using hands, shape into a ball
5. On unfloured board, roll to ¼ inch thickness. Using 2 inch biscuit cutter, cut into rounds.
6. Place on ungreased cookie sheet. Brush with beaten egg.
7. Bake 12 to 15 minutes or until golden brown.
8. Cool on wire rack. Serve warm or cold as appetizer or with soup or salad.

This recipe is from McCall's Cook Book of 1963.

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

TRIVIA

During the Dispersersion of the Acadians, Father Loutre was exiled to New Jersey.

Charlotte Bourassa married Charles Langlade in 1754. He was considered the founder of Green Bay.

In 1795, the trapper, Jacques Vieu established the fur posts at Krwunes, Sheboyen, Mantowon and Milwaukee.

Pierre Durien was one of the guides on the Lewis and Clark expedition.

NEWS NOTES

From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage,* Vol. 33 No. 1, Jan 2012: There is an interesting article by Paul Vilmur titled "What's In a Name: The Villemure *dit* name. There is also an article on the Burials from L'Assomption de la Pointe de Montreal du Detroit 1768- 2 July 1784: Part I.

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From *M.C.G.S. Reporter,* Vol. 43, No. 2, May 2012:There is a listing of Cemeteries in Milwaukee County. The cemeteries are listed within the following original townships: Franklin Township , Granville Township, Greenfield Township, Lake Township, Oak Creek Township, Milwaukee Township-north part (North of Hampton), Milwaukee Township-south (south of Hampton), Oak Creek Township and Wauwatosa Township..

There is also an article by Bob Pechler titled Identification and Dating of Photographic Media.

Burial Listing for Wood National Cemetery is http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/nchp/wood.asp

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From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage,* Vol. 33. No. 2., April 2012: Part 2 of "Burials from L'Assomption-de-la-Pointe-de-Montreal-du-Detroit, 14 July-31 October 1792" is continued. There is also an interesting article titled "Who is Michel Bisaillon who married Madeleine Perrier dite Olivier on 11 Jan 1740 in Laprairie? And Did Pierre Bisaillon Father Children Baptized at Kaskaskia?" A third article: "Timeline of the Achon Family of Chamblon, Charente-Maritime, France 1609-1645" includes copies of the church records.

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From *American-Canadian Genealogist,* Issue 131, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2012:There is a book review by Jeanne Boisvert on the book, *Red Lake County, Minnesota.* The west end of the county was primarily settled by French Canadians and the east end was settled by Scandinavians and French.

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From *Oregon Genealogical Society Journal,* Vol. 50, No. 1, Spring 2012:There is an article: André LaChapelle, Oldest Pioneer in Oregon by Chester Stevenson.

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COMING UP

1-3 June 2012: "Borders & Bridges: 1812-2012", Ontario Genealogical Society Conference to be held at St. Lawrence College, Kingston, Ontario: The topics they will feature are War of 1812 records, World War I and II records, records of Ontario, land and court records of Quebec and DNA software. For more information: www.ogs.on.conference

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29 Aug-1 Sep 2012: FGS Conference will be held at the Birmingham. Convention Center, Birmingham, Alabama.

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20 April 1213: Milwaukee County Biennial Workshop at Serb Hall.

THE TOYSONNIER STORY

By AnnEllen Sass Barr

I placed a query in the French-Canadian / Acadian website because I had searched for Francisque Etienne Toysonnier after the death of his wife, Marie Heline Philion, in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Canada in 1893. Curiosity made me wonder where he had gone from there.

When I received an email from Etienne Allard who lived in Nice, France, I was pleased but guarded about answering. The fact that he stated that Marie Heline's parents were Jean Philion and AnnEllen Philion, nee Russell, established that he knew the family line.

His information was that a child had survived, named Etienne Toysonnier, but the mother died when he child was eight months old. The father then took the child back to Paris to be raised by his paternal grandmother and his father's sister.

As the mother of six children, I am full of questions about how someone took a child from western Canada by a train-trip of about ten days, then on a steamship to France, another eight to ten days. This was before Pampers, bottled formula and jars of baby food. No wonder the maternal grandparents were "cool" to him. He was taking their precious grandchild away forever. No phone calls, no Skype, probably precious few letters.

Not only did he take this child back to Paris but then shortly thereafter, he headed to Madagascar on the east coast of Africa. There he married another woman and they had a daughter together.

Meanwhile the child, Etienne, was raised by his grandmother but then sent to a boarding school where he dearly missed his late mother. When he graduated at age 17 he went to work for a bank.

He later married Marie Henriette Eleonore of Hennery of la Chesnaye but they had no children.

His father, though, married Fanny Remlinger a few years after returning to Paris (28 Dec 1901) and they had a daughter, Germaine, b. 22 Nov 1902, a step-sister to the boy, Etienne.

Germaine married 13 June 1927 in Angers to Ludovic Allard. They had three children, Franck Allard, Jacques Allard and Etienne Allard.

It is Etienne Allard that has been sharing information with me on this family while I have been able to fill in the story of his grandfather's first wife's family, the Pilions.

Breaking-up Is Hard To Do!

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Meeting Schedule

10 May 2012 FCGW General Meeting

6:30 Library open - Peruse the library to determine what to bid for in June. There will be a table of "freebies".
7:30 General Meeting - Joyce Banachowski chairperson
7:45 Speaker - Joyce Banachowski - "Notes on the Merchants *Quarterly*"
9:00 Library closed.

14 June 2012 FCGW LAST General Meeting

6:30 Set-up for silent auction.
7:00 Silent bidding on BOOKS for MEMBERS ONLY!
Minimum bids are listed on bid sheets in the books. If no minimum is listed, the paper backs start at 25¢, and hard cover books start at $1.00. Bring your list with the names of books and category color because the books will be arranged on tables by CATEGORY COLOR.
7:45 General Meeting - Don Cayen chairperson
8:15 Pay and go.
Bring small change and small bills to pay for your books. Checks will be accepted, made out to FCGW. Also bring along boxes and/or bags to carry your books home.
9:00 Doors close.

12 July 2012 Supplies and Equipment Auction

6:30 Set-up for auction. Your helping-hand would be greatly appreciated.
7:30 Silent bidding on SUPPLIES & EQUIPMENT for MEMBERS ONLY!
Minimum bids are 25¢. Some items will have higher minimum bids marked on them.
8:15 Pay and go.
Bring small change and small bills to pay for your books. Also bring along boxes and/or bags to carry your books home.
9:00 Doors close.

14 July 2012 FCGW 30th Anniversary Dinner

(Continued on next page)

FCGW 30th Anniversary

The Last Supper

Mark your calendars!

14 July 2012, Bastille Day

Chez Jacques Restaurant
1022 South 1st Street
Milwaukee, WI 53204

4:30 Meet and Greet

This will be your last chance to meet and greet your fellow FCGW Members before the curtain comes down on the FCGW.

5:30 Dinner

View your choices at
http://chezjacques.com/party-specials.html

More information on reservations will be sent in mid-June.

Breaking-up Is Hard To Do! pt. 2

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What's left???

The remaining books, equipment and supplies will be stored in Kateri Dupuis' basement until someone wants them.

Milwaukee County Historical Society will get the FCGW archives along with the bound set of the *Quarterlies* from the FCGW Library.

The St. Louis books that remain will be donated to libraries by Don Cayen and Kateri Dupuis.

The royalties from the two books published by the FCGW will be turned over to the WI Historical Society Library.

The FCGW Executive Board will make the final decision on the website and St. Louis database before 30 December 2012.

Members attending the FCGW 30th Anniversary Dinner on 14 July 2012 will have their reservations paid by the FCGW.

Sets of bound FCGW *Quarterlies* will be made available to genealogical societies as well as libraries specializing in French Canadian and/or Acadian research. The number of sets will be determined by the amount of money in the treasury after all bills are paid.

The FCGW membership year ends 30 June 2012. The FCGW fiscal year ends 31 December 2012.

The Mayfair Meeting Room is available for the FCGW on the second Thursday of every month until 13 December 2012. Members will be gathering each month helping to clean out materials as well as socialize.

The last *FCGW Quarterly* will be the Summer 2012 issue.

Not only is breaking up hard to do, but there is a lot of work involved. If you can lend a hand, please call Kateri (Teri) Dupuis at 414.443.9429.

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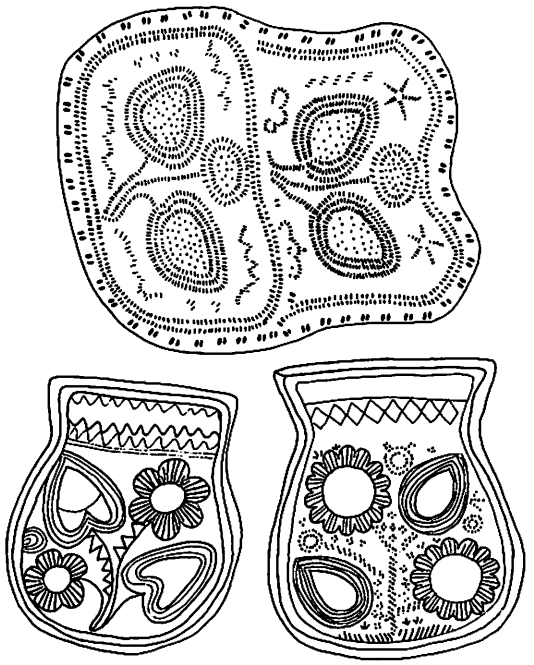
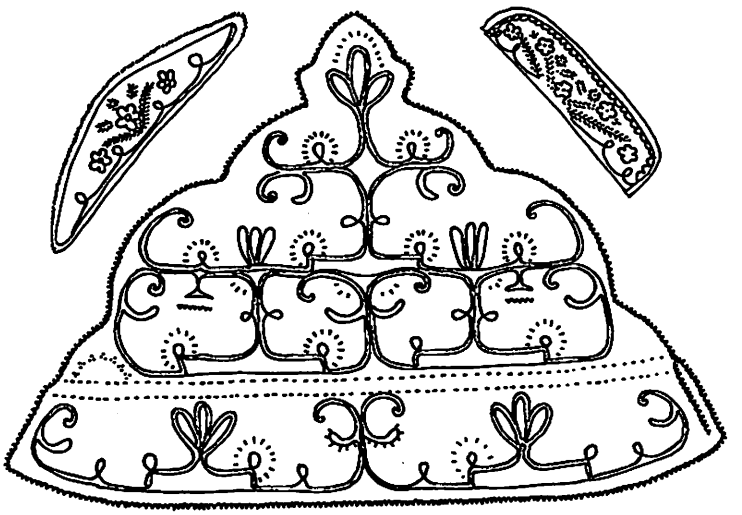


Maliseet Designs



Mi'kmaq Designs

From Orban-Szontagh, Madeleine, *North American Indian Designs, pp. 7; 9.*

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
Special Issue of the *Quarterly,* (Merchants), $7.00; 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

French Canadian/Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin
Quarterly

Volume 26 No. 4 Summer 2012

WHAT'S IN A WORD

By Joyce Banachowski

In this final issue of the Quarterly, instead of choosing one topic to cover, I chose to expand on the meanings of French terms we frequently come across when researching for information on our ancestors. Most of these are words which are given a simplified definition. However, in their everyday use, many had far more meaning and effect on the life, customs, beliefs and practices of our ancestors. My hope is to provide additional information on the lives, expectations and attitudes our ancestors may have had during the French regime in North America.

In 1663, The *Coutume de Paris,* the legal system used in Paris, was ordered to be followed in New France and all French colonies. The *Coutume de Paris* had a tremendous effect on the lives, beliefs, expectations and attitudes of our ancestors. Therefore, I have begun with the *Coutume de Paris*. The *Coutume de Paris* will reappear in many of the following topics.

COUTUME DE PARIS

"When you travel in this kingdom, you can change legal systems as often as you change horses." **.....Voltaire**

During the *ancien regime* in France, there were 65 general *coutumes* (legal systems) and more than 300 local *coutumes*. The distinct difference and local variations and the oral tradition created legal confusion for many years in France. Charles VII decided that the *coutumes* be recorded. As a result, many of the *coutumes* were documented and edited. The *Coutume de Paris* was written in 1510 and revised in 1580. The *Coutumes* of Normandy, Brittany, Anjou and Champagne had already been written prior to the sixteenth century.

The *Coutume de Paris* was the legal system introduced and used in New France and other French colonies around the world during the old French regime. It governed every aspect of their lives from birth to marriage and burial. It was reinforced by the notarial system that documented all aspects of their existence. The millions of notarial records have given us detailed facts of life of our individual ancestors in New France. The major drawback in their use is in the reading and translation of the notary's writing, his unique shorthand or

abbreviations and uncontrollable aging problems of tearing, lost pages, insects, ink smearing etc.

Often times when doing French-Canadian research you see "according to the *Coutume de Paris*" which means "according to the Law of Paris". Prior to the sixteenth century, France had no uniform code of law. They had civil law, customary law, canon law, and royal ordinances. In addition, there were edicts and proclamations from the king. In the colonies, there were local laws and edicts as well as various interpretations and enforcement of laws, edicts, ordinances and church regulations coming from various regions of France.

In France, there were many legal systems. The legal systems were usually divided by geographic lines. In the Dark Ages, a number of Germanic tribes occupied northern France, and in the ancient period, the Romans conquered much of what is today southern France. As a result, German customary law influenced northern France and Roman law influenced the law of southern France.[1] The *Coutume* were laws which were established by usage and which were conserved without being written, but by tradition.

Under the old regime, northern France had over three hundred customary legal systems—*Coutume de Auvergne, Coutume de Cambrai, Coutume de Burgundy, Coutume de Normandie, Coutume de Alsace, Coutume de Anjou, Coutume de Orleans, Coutume de Brittany, Coutume de Hainaut, Coutume de Vexin-le-François, Coutume de Berry, Coutume de Paris, Coutume de Lille*, etc. The *Coutume de Paris* became the primary legal system because that is where the king lived. Each of the legal systems were developed at different times, with different interests and views. Some legal systems had covered only civil laws. Others also covered criminal laws. There was no required uniformity in establishing any of the hundreds of legal systems which were established. Each region, town, and locality decided on its own laws for their particular area.

Most of the *Coutumes* covered only civil law and procedure. However, the *Coutume de Auvergne* also included criminal law and procedure. Unlike the *Coutume de Paris* where both sons and daughters could receive inheritances, the *Coutume de Normandy* excluded girls from inheritance. They were not allowed to pass property onto their family. According to the *Coutume de Normandy*, the oldest son was the only heir and the husband became owner of all property acquired during the marriage, but he still had to provide a dowry of one-third of his assets in case the wife became a widow. The *Coutume de Normandy* was developed in the beginning of the tenth century. It was influenced by Scandinavian law.[2]

Likewise, there were differences in measurements and weights. The *tun* weighed differently in different countries and in different regions in France. In France and New France, a carpenter's *toise* equalled 5.5 feet and a mason's *toise* equalled 6 feet.[3]

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1 Moogk, Peter N., *Building a House in New France*, p. 181.

2 "Custom de Normandy," pp. 1-2.

3 Trudel, Marcel, *Introduction to New France*, p. 221.

There were legal systems in France prior to the *Coutume de Paris*. The Coutume de Hainaut was made in 1200. The legal system of Saint Bauzeil appeared in 1281; *the Coutume de Picaily*, the first half of the fourteenth century and the *Coutume de Reims* in 1481.The *Coutume de Paris* goes back prior to 1540. The *Coutume of Paris* refers to the civil laws that were in the Paris Basin. In 1579-1580, the laws of the *Coutume de Paris* were reformed. The reformed laws included 362 items that were divided into sixteen titles primarily pertaining to *fiefs,* censives, and manorial rights; the community property between husband and wife; donations, guardianships and probate. Although the *Coutume de Paris* was influenced by German customary law, it also had elements of Roman law, canon law and feudal laws. The laws were organized into chapters, parts and titles. Within these were thousands of laws.[4] The *Coutume de Paris* was responsible for the important role of notaries in the lives of the people of New France. They had more power than the notaries of England.

When the earliest settlers came to New France at the end of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, each individual abided by the laws of their particular region—the laws they knew from their homes. These laws affected the lives of New France from their birth to their marriages to their death and all aspects of their lives in between.—thousands of laws, from marriages, head of the household, inheritances, land ownership, weights and measures, rights of individuals, treatment and protection of children, dower rights, pensions, *alimentaire*, *inventaires*, illegitimacy laws, economic protection for widows and children, property rights of women, guardianships , building regulations and seigneurial rights. Can you imagine the confusion when men from numerous regions were abiding by the laws of their particular region and not one common law.

In 1627, the Compagnie des Cent Associates (Company of 100 Associates) suggested that the *Coutume de Paris* be used in New France. In 1663, the monarchy of France took control of New France making it a royal colony. The king ordered that the Conseil Souverain be formed and the *Coutume de Paris* became the Civil law of all of New France, Acadia and extended into the interior of North America into the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi valley, as the French explored, established the fur trade and settled. After the French regime in North America, it continued to be used in the Mississippi and other river valleys, Louisiana and the Caribbean.[5] Some of the laws in the *Coutume de Paris* did not apply to New France. One of these was noble and *bourgeois* forms of guardianship of minors. Under the seigneurial laws, *droit de chasse*, the hunting rights in France were for seigneurs alone and not for peasants and the *droit de fouage*, the hearth tax. These seigneurial laws applied only in France. In 1664, when the French West India Company was formed, the *Coutume de Paris* was required not only in New France and Louisiana, but in all their colonies in the Caribbean — Martinique, Santo Domingo, Guadeloupe — and the Indian Ocean islands — the Seychelles, Réunion and Mauritis. In 1779,

4 Moogk, *Building...*, p. 181.

5 *Ibid.*

Kaskaskia, Illinois was still using the *Coutume de Paris.*[6]

When England took control of Quebec in 1763, they intended on bringing in English law. However, in 1774, the Quebec Act that England passed against the American colonies, gave all territory west of the Appalachians to Quebec and allowed the French in Quebec the right to keep their Catholic religion, their French language, their seigneurial land system and their civil laws in Quebec. However, over the years, modifications were made in Canada. The *Coutume de Paris* continued in spite of the Constitutional Law of 1791 and the Union Act of 1840. In 1854, the seigneurial system was abolished. This applied only to lands granted under the French regime. Lands granted by the British monarchy were free and common *socage*[7] in any property.

The laws of the *Coutume de Paris* were the base of social order. It kept the male patriarchial family structure. The husband had authority over his wife and children and he kept control of property in his name. It was intended to protect the family and property. Marriage contracts were to protect both spouses. It provided seigneurial rights and responsibilities. In marriages, it required a church ceremony, parental consent, and age of majority. Guardianships protected children's property and rights. It also gave notaries an important part in the lives of the population. It also placed and kept nobility, clergy and peasants in an hierarchical social structure.[8] It provided freedom of contracts. It set laws and guidelines regarding building construction—building materials, regulations, payments and fire protection.

More details of *Coutume de Paris* laws are covered by other topics later in this article.

LAWS REGARDING RIGHTS OF MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

According to the *Coutume de Paris*, a woman was considered legally incompetent. She had no power to manage her own inheritance, sign a contract, borrow money, make a will or act as guardian for her children. However, if a voyageur or merchant were to be gone for a long period of time, he needed a power of attorney authorizing his wife to act in his place, to make a will in his name and to dispose of family assets.[9] A married woman could not sell or mortgage her property without the authority and written permission of her husband. If she made a contract without the authorization and consent of her husband, the contract was void.[10]

It was assumed women were irresponsible and were led astray by their spouses. Unauthorized assemblies and public protests were serious offenses in New France. However, in 1757, women protested against the substitution of horse meat for half of their ration of

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6 *Ibid.*

7 Socage—land tenure by a tenant in return for agricultural goods or payment. (This began in Medieval feudalism.)

8 Moogk, *Building....*, pp. 181-183.

9 Germain, Georges-Hébert, "The Voyageur's White Wife, in *Adventurers in the New World: The Saga of the Coureurs des Bois,* p. 74.

10 Moogk, Peter N., *La Nouvelle France: Making of French Canada—A Cultural History,* p. 63.

beef. They argued the French were against eating horse meat because the horse was a friend of man and their religion forbid the killing of a horse. The government threatened to imprison all the women and hang half of those who protested. However, they were sent home unpunished.[11]

The *coutume* enforced family obligations, but did not concern itself with individual rights. All it covered were the rights to food, shelter and protection.

Children could be disinherited only for "just cause"—conviction of a capital crime, heresy, high treason or for injuring or disabling a parent. All of the children except for those of noble birth, were equal heirs, *doit de légitime*.

Under the *Coutume de Paris*, there were strict penalties on those who transferred family property to a non-related person. It protected the property of children of a first marriage when a widow or widower remarried. It protected women's rights by preventing husbands from having the power to alienate the family property.[12]

There also were harsh punishments for mistreatment of children. The government was also concerned with encouraging high birth rates. Financial incentives were given. Voyageurs had their trading privileges withdrawn if they were not willing to take the immigrant women as wives within fifteen days. Reproduction in the colony was of concern to the public. There were harsh punishments for women who concealed their pregnancy. The crown took an interest in the caring of foundlings. They hired nurses with a good salary to care for them. Most foundling girls were raised and trained to be servants.[13]

A parent could not disinherit any of his or her children except for land whose tenure was noble. Property was inherited equally by the children irregardless if they were boys or girls. Another law prevented a second wife from having a larger share in the property of the first marriage than any one of the children of that marriage.[14]

Sometimes, a sum of money, goods or land would be given a child at the time of their marriage with the understanding that this was all or part of their inheritance.

Vocabulary

Droit de légitime-- By this children were legally entitled to divide one half of the parents' estate.[15]

Douaire Coutumier /Customary Dower—the widow was given half of her husband's possessions as they were at the time of the marriage for her lifetime plus other benefits for a decent living.[16]

Dowry—This could be personal effects, a cow, cash or land given to the bride by her parents.

Une subsistence bannêtre—a decent existence based on the rank of her

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

12 Noel, Jan, "Women and the Family Under the Ancien Regime, " in *Re-Thinking Canada: the Promise of Women's History*, p. 33.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

14 Foulché-Delbosc, Isabel, "Women of New France: Trois Rivières," in *Canadian Historical Review*, pp. 140-141.

15 Moogk, *La Nouvelle France...., p. 64.*

16 *Ibid.*

husband. Her rank was determined by the position of her husband.

GUARDIANSHIP

The laws of guardianship in France and New France originated under the ancient Roman law and the *Coutume de Paris.* A general interest to protect the rights of minors appeared in Roman law. This concept was preserved by Gaelic and German judicial traditions. In 1540, they became a part of the *Coutume de Paris.* According to the *Coutume de Paris*, *tutelle* and *curatelle* are the result of one of the following three groups: Testamentary trusteeship, legal trusteeship and dative trusteeship. All three were under the authority of the court.[17]

A testamentary trusteeship was specified in a will by the person who has the right to name the trustee — the father, the paternal grandfather. The legal trusteeship was when there was no testamentary trusteeship. The legal trusteeship was assigned to the closest relative of the minors—father, mother, uncle, oldest brother. If the father was trustee and he remarried, he continued as the trustee. However, if the mother was trustee and she remarried, she lost her trusteeship of her children unless she gets the family council to approve of it prior to her remarriage or she loses it. The dative trusteeship was when a magistrate, often a judge, appointed one if there was no testamentary or legal trusteeship possible. In this case, the appointed trustee would not necessarily be a relative. Many times, a public official was appointed to look after the minors care and /or interest.[18]

Mme Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny, Marie Faver, never remarried when her husband died young. In 1668, she was named guardian to the orphaned children of her daughter, Madeleine and her husband Paul Godefroy. She would not have been allowed, according to *Coutume de Paris*, to be a guardian if she had remarried.[19] As long as the surviving spouse did not marry, the estate was not divided and usually lasted until the youngest child reached the age of majority, 25 years of age.

Sometimes second and third marriages created problems. If an inheritance was so small that a division of property between the widow and children would be difficult to maintain the family, it was then usually given to maintain the new household and allow it to be inherited equally by the children of both marriages. No guardian would be appointed. The second husband would assume responsibility for the welfare of the wife's first family and would care for their property with his own.[20]

The trusteeship lasted until the minors reached 25 years of age. When the British took over, it changed to age 21. Occasionally, the trusteeship could also be ended by emancipation or marriage. However, the minor would still be considered a child until the age of majority. Although he may have had approval to marry, he could not buy or

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17 Brisson, Estelle and Varin, Marie-Éve, "Les tutelles et curatelles: une mine de renseignements," in *Memoires*, p. 137.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

19 Foulché-Delbose, Isabel, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

sell any goods without the trustee's approval.[21]

The *curatelle*, the guardianship, is related to the *tutelle*; he was the guardian of the legal interest of the minor /minors and the proceedings of the trusteeship. The *curatelle* was in charge of the daily personal needs of the minor /minors and also had an interest in the management of the property of the minors. Often times, the *curatelle* and the t*utelle* were two separate persons. However, there were times when the *curatelle* and the *tutellle* were the same person depending on circumstances and their capabilities.[22]

When a parent died, a magistrate or judge would call for a family council who were to chose a *tuteur*, trustee, and a *subrogé-tuteur,* a surrogate trustee. The Council was made up of a minimum of seven persons from the paternal and maternal side of the family. They were to meet in the presence of the judge or magistrate who was to accept and recognize the choice of the *tuteur* and *subrogé-tuteur*. In his minutes, the magistrate included names and ages of the minors, the name of the deceased parent, and the degree of relationship with the relatives making up the council. When the choices were accepted, the *tuteur* and the *subrogé tuteur* took an oath to care and administer the property as though it were their own.[23]

The trustee then has a notary make an *inventaire*, inventory of the deceased—properties, goods, titles, deeds, estate papers and debts. Then an appraisal of everything was made by an appointed expert and the properties were then disposed of at a public auction. However, if a minor was close to age of majority, some of the properties would be reserved for him or her to settle. After the auction, the *tuteur* must invest what was made at the auction as soon as possible or he would have to pay interest to the minors. The *tuteur* was required to give an account of each important transaction, dispersions of estates, investments etc. to the family council or he could be prosecuted. The transactions were then probated by the magistrate or judge. It was illegal for a minor to give a concession to his *tuteur*. Nor could a *tuteur* and his ward marry during the trusteeship. When the minor reached the age of majority, another accounting was required.[24]

A well off widow with land would go before the judge shortly after her husband's death and ask for an inventory of her husband's estate and the appointment of a guardian for her children. The judge would call a meeting of relatives and friends of the deceased husband to chose a *tuteur*, a guardian and a *subrogé-tuteur*, sub-guardian. The widow, if not remarried, was often chosen as the guardian and a friend or relative as sub-guardian. They were both at the *inventaire* and one or two others who were appointed by the family. The furniture, livestock and all possessions were divided equally, half to the widow and half for the children as a group. Real estate was also divided the same. The *Coutume de Paris* did not allow a widow to act as guardian if she remarried. If she had been their guardian and decided to remarry, she would have to have a family council to decide who would be

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21 Brisson, op. cit., p. 138.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

guardian for her children. The guardian was to look after the children's property and give an account when they reached majority, at age 25 years or they could go to the family council if they decided it was necessary.[25]

Minors did have the right to protest the management of their inheritance by a legal guardian. There would then be a court to decide if the guardian would be replaced or not. There were very few of these.[26]

If children usually lived with their mother, she would then be given an allowance out of their estate for their board. This was usually 120 *livres* per child per year. If the children were placed elsewhere, the allotment went to the family who was caring for them.[27]

Many households had children of two or more marriages. This often created complications. Médard Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers, a widower, married Marguerite Hayet, widow of Jean Véron de Grandmesnil, with two sons, both under the age of 3. Groseilliers had a temper and disagreed on the upbringing of the two boys. On 6 March 1654, an appeal was made to a judge who placed the two boys in the care of a guardian who was to receive 120 *livres* a year for each child. In 1667, the two boys were living with their mother and her other three children by her second marriage. Groseilliers was often gone for long periods of time exploring or in the fur trade. In his long absences, she looked after her household and the family business. Perhaps, this was when the boys were returned to her.[28]

The use of *tutelles* and *curatelles* provides a researcher the following information: a list of names and often ages of the couple's children, the family names and first names of the spouses, the name of the legal trustee, the notary's name, information concerning the sale of the family farm, the inventory after death and other documents.[29]

Vocabulary

Curatelle—guardianship, providing care of a minor or minors

Curateur---guardian of the daily needs of a minor or minors

Subrogé-tuteur —In case of illness, absence etc. of a *tuteur*, a substitute or surrogate-guardian would replace him. He was chosen by a member or members of the family council to protect the interest of minor children.

Tutelle—Trusteeship of the property and interests of a minor / minors

Tuteur, Tutelaire—a guardian of property and business interests

LAWS REGARDING MARRIAGE

According to the *Coutume de Paris*, the age of majority was 25 for girls and 30 for men. (Later it was 25.) Those hoping to marry younger had to get the permission of their parents. Actually, few young people attempted to marry without family approval. Widows under the age of 25 who had children would still have to have parental permission to

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25 Foulché-Delbose, Isabel, *Op. Cit.,* pp. 143-144.

26 Moogk, *La Nouvelle France....,* p. 64.

27 Foulché-Delbose, Isabel, *op. cit.,* p. 144.

28 *Ibid.,* p. 149.

29 Brisson...., *op. cit.,* p. 139.

remarry. Many who were at the age of majority sought permission from their parents as a tradition. Sanctions could be severe. In the eighteenth century, a member of the family of Governor Vaudreuil married without permission. The governor banished him and his wife to Cape Breton Island.[30]

Treatment of women under the *Coutume de Paris*, was sometimes contradictory and confusing. Both spouses had obligations to each other. Under the *Coutume de Paris*, married women in New France were considered inferior to their husbands. They were restricted in their rights. The men were the head of the household. Remarried women usually could not be guardians for their own children.[31]

On the other hand, married women and widows were economically protected. The community of property was a part of the marriage contract, putting restrictions on the husband. He was to manage the property and provide support for his wife and family. If her husband died, the wife could continue the community property or renounce it and any debts accrued. This last right, the husband did not have. Certain property —by inheritance or as a gift— brought into the marriage by the wife were protected from poor decisions of the husband. By law, he was to wisely manage her property and not to alienate or transfer the property without the permission of his wife. Married women also received dower rights. She brought a dowry to the marriage. She kept her dowry. When her husband died, she was also allowed the use of half of the community property until her own death.[32]

The English immmigrants did not accept the law of the *Coutume de Paris* regarding marriage of a co-partnership and creating a *communité de biens,* with assests being shared.

Under the *Coutume de Paris*, a man was encouraged to marry a woman who was pregnant by him. Under the *Coutume de Paris*, an illegitimate child was an outcast and could not inherit from his parents unless the father would publicly recognize him or her as his child. A great amount of shame was placed on the mother and her illegitimate child. In New France, the government placed illegitimate children in the care of paid nurses. Nuns were hired to care for abandoned children. Illegitimate girls were servants as soon as they were old enough. Later the British paid the Grey Nuns to care for abandoned children.[33] Illegitimate children had no claim to their parent's estate. The same law prevented a man from providing a mistress or common-law spouse, with more than a living allowance during her lifetime.

When the will was introduced by the English, the strict laws of illegitimacy were not as harsh. By the end of the eighteenth century, men began to leave legacies to their illegitimate children and their mothers.

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30 Dumont, Micheline...., p. 66.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

32 Prentice, Allison, Bourne, Paula, Brandt, Gail Cutbert, Light, Beth, Mitchinson, Wendy and Black Naomi, *Canadian Women: A History*, p. 51.

33 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

Debts for alcoholic drinks which were drunk and gambling debts owed could not be collected by law[34].

As towns grew, there was a larger population of unsettled unmarried males, immigrants, soldiers, sailors, *engagés* and day labourers. When women were away from their families and neighbors, they were more likely to get into illicit affairs. A large number of illegitimate children were the result. This and the servants who were subject to sexual harrassement of the well-to-do were primarily responsible for the number of abandoned illegitimate children. They had little choice. They could kill the child and be accused of infanticide or place the child at the door of a church or religious community.[35]

MARRIAGE CONTRACTS

Nearly everyone had a marriage contract whether they were wealthy or if either party had no possessions. By the *Coutume de Paris*, in the marriage contract, a couple married under a system of *communauté des biens*, community property. After marriage, all moveable goods and property obtained by the spouses became joint property. However, it was administered by only the husband. He could sell it or give it away as long as it was for the good of the community property formed by the husband and wife. The only assets which were legally the wife's property were inheritance or gifts from her parents. However, the husband had access to profits on these assets. He could collect rent from it or sell a harvest from it without his wife's permission or consent.[36]

At the death of her husband, a wife could claim dower rights which was a kind of pension to protect her from poverty. It was the use of immoveable properties belonging to the husband which was not part of the community property. Many couples had no property as a base for dower rights at the time of their marriage. Instead, the couple would then agree on a sum of money which was from the husband's entire estate and would be paid to the wife at the time of his death. A couple could also agree that the survivor would receive a *préciput*—certain items or a fixed portion of the estate before the estate was divided up or if there were no children, they could agree the survivor would keep everything. If an inheritance was expected by either spouse, these would be in the marriage contract and they decided whether this was to be part of the community property. A widow could refuse her part of an estate if it was in debt. This was to help her if her husband had been a poor administrator.[37]

Wills were introduced by the British. Prior to wills, the marriage contract was the only means to control a person's property when he /she died.

The *Coutume de Paris* forbid couples to give gifts to each other unless it was food or small items. It was felt that gift giving would reduce the estate given to the heirs. After 1801, both men and women could make wills. In them they could dispose of their assets, including

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34 Moogk, *La Nouvelle France:*....p. 63.

35 Dumont, *op. ct.*, pp. 81-82.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 69.

37 *Ibid.*

community property. In the nineteenth century, very few women made wills.[38]

Marriage laws of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries denied women of a number of individual rights. Without a husband's authorization, a married woman could not take any legal action or start a business. Husbands had complete control of all family assets. However, the *Coutume de Paris* allowed claims of women and children to come before claims of creditors. It also allowed women and children the right to buy back assets that had been sold outside of the family.[39]

Terms of marriage contracts were enforced. By the *Coutume de Paris,* this was true of all contracts. The courts were in favor of enforcement of terms of all contracts. This sometimes led to conflicts.

The *engagée,* Anne Le Sont of Trois Rivières had previously signed a life contract in November of 1655, with her employer. Soon after her arrival in New France, she married Jean Desmarais. Her employer took her to court for violation of her contract. They decided in her favor after she apologized for her "insulting words" and she had to pay her employer's expenses and court costs.[40]

Judithe Rigeault, another engagée, signed a five year contract to serve Mme. Le Neuf de la Poterie. She married a soldier and also a master tailor before her five year contract had been met. She also was taken to court for her violation of her contract. The two parties had to work out the work and financial obligations of both of them before a settlement could be reached.[41]

Girls in the lower classes, hoped to accumulate enough linen to make a trousseau. In their marriage contracts, their parents would sometimes make a promise on an advance for the girl's inheritance which was to be given when it was available. Sometimes, even wealthy families could not provide dowry promises because of shortage of funds. Nearly all couples went to a notary to sign a marriage contract even though they might not have worldly goods[42].

Terms Used in Marriage Contracts

Acquets—immoveables acquired during the marriage

Biens de Communauté / Community property—it included all moveable goods owned by the husband and wife (furniture and moveable property) and immoveable's, *acquets* acquired during the marriage.[43]

Douaire—customary right of the surviving spouse to the property of the other.

Légitime—guaranteed original inheritance of an heir.

Préciput—certain chattels or a fixed portion of the estate before it was divided up, or if there were no children they could agree that the surviving spouse gets to keep everything. A right given to a spouse or an inheritor to obtain items from the personal

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38 *Ibid.,* pp. 69-70.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Prentice, ...*op. cit.,* p. 46.

41 Ibid.

42 Dumont, *op. cit.,* pp. 67-68.

43 Savoie, Sylvie, "Women's Marital Difficulties:..., " p. 2.

belongings of the deceased in advance of the division among the heirs.[44]

Propres—immoveable property, generally land, inherited by a wife or husband as his or hers. The first colonists in New France had no *propres*. Land granted to them before or after the marriage was considered *acquets* and included in the community property.[45]

Usufruct—it consisted of property for the enjoyment and use of the wife of immoveable property.[46]

Types of Marriages

Marriage à la façon du pays – (according to the custom of the country) These were marriages by voyageurs, *coureurs des bois* and merchants who married Indian women according to their native practice. These marriages lasted as long as the husband stayed in the west. If the husband left and went back to the east, the Indian women and their Métis children went back to her tribe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Indian women and their children who were abandoned at a trading post were the responsibility of the fur companies who ran the fur trade posts.[47] It was common for an Indian girl who married a voyageur or *coureur du bois* to wear a Canadian outfit. Voyageurs were often willing to go in debt to give brooches, earrings, silver jewelry and ribbons to decorate his Indian wife's clothing.[48] Sometimes, a voyageur would take a son back to his St. Lawrence home. The Riel's sent their sons to be educated in Montreal. However, most male children of mixed blood would work for fur trading posts—supplying fish and game, watch horse herds, were canoemen and guides, or carried bales of furs and goods across the longest and most difficult portages.[49]

Marriages à la gaumine—A man and a woman would stand and declare their intent to be married before witnesses in a mass when the host was elevated. The religious and civil authorities were against this marriage practice. In 1718, Monseigneur Saint Vallier issued a pastoral letter threatening to excommunicate men and women who married in this manner. In the same year, Elizabeth Rocbert de la Morandière, 22 and eldest daughter of the king's quartermaster in Montreal married Chevalier Claude Michel Bégon, 29, a career soldier and brother of Intendant Bégon. The Bégon family disapproved because Elizabeth was beneath the class of their son. They nicknamed her the "Iroquoise" and they pressured civil and military authorities to banish them. The marriage lasted for thirty years.[50]

Rehabilitated Marriage—This is when a couple were married and there was a protest that it was not valid. The reason may have been because one of them may not have had the permission from a parent or they married without three bans announced prior to the marriage without a dispensation, eloped, went to another priest or missionary, they married outside their class, or they had a

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44 Dumont, *op. cit.*,....p. 69.

45 Dechêne, Louise, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth Century Montreal,* p. 241.

46 Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 69..

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

48 Germain, ""The Mixed Bloods," p. 77.

49 Germain, "The Metis Wife," pp. 146-147; 149. 149.

50 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

marriage à la gaumine. The offense could be something small or insignificant but was not the custom and was upsetting to some family member or it could be a violation of a church law or practice. After the problem was resolved, the couple would be remarried later, sometimes a year or more later. In the case of Acadians, many of them had rehabilitation marriages after the dispersion when they returned to Canada or found a Catholic church. If there is a rehabilitated marriage, you will find both the original marriage record and the second rehabilitated marriage record. It will state the second as a rehabilitated marriage, but it does not include the reason why it was rehabilitated.

Vocabulary

Benediction of the Nuptial Bed—The blessing of the bed could be done at any time. The Church preferred that it be done after the marriage ceremony and before the feast so that the sanctity of the marriage would not be defiled. After the blessing the priest would instruct the couple on their responsibility. This was followed by prayer. To avoid disrespectful scandalous acts and profanity at the Nuptial Benediction, ladies who were dressed immodestly, whose heads were not covered, whose breasts were exposed or only covered with transparent material, were not allowed to be present. There also was to be no "impiety, jesting or insolence" in the church upon arriving or leaving on the wedding day and the day after the wedding.[51]

Charivari—To our French Canadian ancestors, a *charivari* was a way the community displayed their displeasure or non approval to a marriage. They objected to big differences in their ages; they remarried too soon after the death of a spouse or they married out of their class—not that they had married illegally but that it was distasteful. The *charivari* started with noise and disturbances. Not only noise, but there were off-color songs, jokes, inuendos and each succeeding night it would get worse leading to burnings or hanging in effigy, and vandalism until they were invited in for food and drink or money was offered to pay for drinks and food for everyone plus a donation to the poor of Hôtel Dieu. This practice continued until the twentieth century, but it was not as rowdy. On 3 July 1683, Bishop François of Quebec asked the officials of Quebec to issue an order to stop *charivaris* because these gatherings were getting larger every day and were scandalous and impious making a mockery of the religion and the ceremonies of the church. He forbid both sexes to attend them; parents were forbidden to allow their children from attending or masters and mistresses could not allow their servants to attend. His punishment for breaking his laws was excommunication.[52]

Fiancailles—a promise of marriage made by an engaged couple before a priest.

LEGAL SEPARATIONS

A married woman could "petition" for a legal separation or an "interdict" against an insane, brutal, habitually drunk or an extravagant or wasteful husband who might squander their property or abandonment of a family by absence for long periods of time. The interdict

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 72.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

removed his control over their goods. Along the St. Lawrence, there are 150 surviving separation petitions submitted mostly by women. Eighty per cent asked for legal division of property without physical separation from their spouse. In these cases, this did not stop physical abuse of their spouses. For the most part, court officials felt the husbands authority was necessary for good order.[53]

Male abuse toward women appears to have been accepted and inevitable. Women seldom made complaints against husbands for assault. It was believed that husbands should discipline their wives if she was drunk, stole, lost her temper, or when there was a judicial enquiry into a wife's behavior. It was the husband's responsibility to show that she had been disciplined for her evil ways.[54]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, marriage laws were primarily controlled by canon law of the church and civil law. If the secular court annulled the civil contract, the church continued to view the sacrament of marriage still intact. They would only have a marriage annulled if church laws were disobeyed—bigamy, impotency, marrying close kinship, a non-consumated marriage, or extensive desertions. Many of these were fur traders or *coureurs des bois* who were often gone two or three years. In New France, there are some cases of legal separations of husband and wife. Marguerite Crevier married Jacques Fournier in 1657. She returned to her parent's home in 1660. This marriage was later annulled. Both parties remarried. [55]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women who were married to alcoholic, violent or unconcerned husbands of their families well-being could submit a request for separation. Society was concerned if his behavior was not appreciated by the community, if it violated civil and church laws, and it endangered the lives of the family.[56]

Once a woman was legally allowed to get her rights, she could apply for an application of separation with respect to property alone on the grounds that he was responsible for the squandering of the family's community property, that her dowry was in jeopardy or that her husband was insane. Or she could apply for separation in respect to bed and board which always also included separation with respect to property. The grounds for the later included cruelty and mistreatment, physical abuse and threats or that her husband was insane, showed rages or had attempted to kill her. The separation with respect to bed and board did not get a marriage annulled, but it did allow spouses to stop living together.[57]

Adultery was not accepted as a cause for a separation. Secular law was opposed to a woman who pleaded her spouse's adultery as a cause. The accepted allegations for separation were alcoholism, mistreatment and lacking family responsibility.

An important part of the procedure were the witnesses to the charges made. The

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53 Moogk, *La Nouvelle France....op. cit.*, p. 64.

54 Dumont, *op. cit*, p. 76.

55 Foulché-Delbose, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

56 Savoie, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

law agreed that alcohol disrupted family life. Here are some examples of witness statements. Witnesses would verify that Ledoux was a habitual drunk; another said that Buisson had walked past his house fully dressed and returned without his shoes or clothes. The rumor was that he sold them for drinks. Another said Buisson was so drunk he would beat his wife and children so badly, they had to leave the house. Neighbors witnessed that Marie Boucher was beat so badly she had to leave the house during the night. Etiennette Alton's husband asked for money to buy wine. She refused and he beat her with a stick. A witness heard a husband threaten to cut his wife's neck with an ax. If a man beat his wife at night, and her cries were heard by the neighbors, his violence was considered as serious enough to intervene. The wife of Nicolas received a separation because her husband was lazy; he stopped being a baker and did not work on the farm or bring in wood for heat for two years. Some went into the Ottawa territory for 2 or 3 years at a time. They were not providing economic support to the family.[58]

If a woman received a separation by a judicial decision, she did not get full independence. She was still under the control of her husband by the marital church law." A separated woman could not be made guardian of her property without permission because it is "a man's job". She might be allowed to administer it, but could not dispose of it. What she gained from the separation was that her husband could no longer dispose of her property or the income it brought in.[59]

In 1701, Bishop Saint-Vallier of Quebec wrote, "A Marriage bond cannot be broken, married persons may be separated with living quarters, with respect to bed and property, but only by a judicial decision."[60]

The separation procedure was not common in New France. Separation trials were rare. In most separation trials, women complained about the beatings of physical violence. Married couples could separate by a judicial decision. They could separate with respect to living quarters and with respect to bed and property. Separations could be granted through the royal courts in Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières; the Superieur Conseil in Quebec, the Officialite of Quebec City, and an eccleastical court created by Bishop Laval in 1684 and recognized by the state.[61]

Most of the requests for separation were by women. Most all women asked for the same thing whether separation with respect for property or separation with respect for bed and board. "She asked that 1) her husband return with interest any sums she had brought into the marriage, that the property be seized, that an inventory be made, and that the property be divided. 2) She asked for compensation and a guarantee of payment of all amounts for which she had contracted jointly with him. 3) That her personal belongings be restored to her; 4) That she receive support for

58 *Ibid.*, pp, 5-7.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

60 *Ibid.*

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

herself and her children while waiting for the return of her dower right. In cases of separation with respect to bed and board, she would also ask 5) To be allowed to live apart from her husband during the proceedings to avoid abuse and 6) That her husband not be allowed to visit her."[62]

The request for separation with respect to bed and board were brought from women of all social levels. Women married to tradesmen often argued that mistreatment and drunkenness interfered with the well being of the household. Urban upper and middle classes asked for separations with respect to property only. Women of lower classes asked for separation with respect to bed and board and with respect to property on serious grounds. These included brutalities that endangered their lives. There were very few men who asked for separations from their wives. If they did, the grounds were the same as the wives—alcohol, brutality and interference with the well being of the household. Men's reactions to wives seeking separations were denials of beatings; it was a man's responsibility to punish wives who were not obedient; wives were lying or exaggerating the extent of the beatings and his drunkenness; they denied the facts; they accused witnesses of lying; his wife was not honest; he did not give her permission to proceed to get a separation or he did not understand why his wife wanted a separation.[63]

A woman was denied a separation if there was not enough evidence, that it was found that her relatives were excessively involved in the disagreement; that the woman verbally or physically attacked her husband in the court; that she drank as much or more than her husband or if she did not help her husband manage the family income or she squandered the community property. In one case the witness said, "It is too bad about Demers, he was a decent man and things were going well for him until he married that woman; he has been in financial trouble ever since."[64]

Applications for Separation have also been found in notarial records. In 1740, Marie Aubuchon and her husband made a voluntary separation agreement before a notary and in 1760, Catherine Fremont and her husband made an agreement to separate to property and to bed and board. Theoretically, these were not legal. They had to be confirmed in a court to be valid. However, these separations can be found within notarial records. When these were mutually agreed upon, the couple just separated going their own way. Couples may have avoided going to court because of the cost, doubts about getting the legal separation or because of the stress to go through the separation process.[65] We do know that after a separation, a woman who was the main cause of the separation would be excluded from the Sainte-Famille Confraternity. Some felt that a woman who requested a separation was a woman of "easy virtue" and that she wanted to live in debauchery. Some women moved in with a family member. A woman who was separated could not remarry. According to church law, a separation did not nullify a marriage. It was the wife's job to care

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62 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

64 *Ibid.*, p 10.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

for the family and make sure to bring up her children.[66]

Not much is known about the life of a man or woman after separation. Following is an example of one woman who arranged her affairs in the mid eighteenth century. In 1761, Félicité Audet first appears in records. She was a domestic servant with one child. She married Théophile Allaire in 1761. He was a widower with one surviing child. They lived together for six years and had three children. Théophile died in 1767. The family was left with a 60 *arpent* farm, 33 *arpents* were still in uncleared bush. She had a bed, three chairs, a bureau, and a sideboard. Félicité married again and had three more children. This marriage ended in a separation. In the settlement from her third husband, she kept from the second marriage the 60 *arpents* of land, a bed, a cow and a pig. She was also allotted a half *minot* of grain and one of the children. The only thing known of her later was that she sold her land to buy another farm and a loom, so that she could make a living.[67]

Her interests all her life were probably husbands, children, a bed, chairs, pigs and a loom not the state, church, governor, or the events of Montreal, Quebec and Trois Rivières. However, the legal system, the *Coutume de Paris* had a major effect on her life.

Most of the time, the courts granted separations to keep the social and economic functioning of the family and marriage. The courts granted separations with respect to board and bed and with respect to property in only extreme cases because this broke up the estate and were detrimental to social order. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not acceptable that the laws as set down in the *Coutume de Paris*—a husband's misuse of his wife's dowry, go into debt beyond his means, spending the income coming from his wife's work and selling personal goods or community furniture in order to drink and entertain, and insults and mistreatment of his wife without reason and the risk of her life led his family into poverty. More importantly, "A marriage disturbed by disputes, alcoholism, screaming and brutality threatened the social order and scandalized the community."[68]

PENSION ALIMENTAIRE

As parents grew older, they made plans for their children. These plans included care for the parents' old age. Parents often gave a gift to a child with a stipulation the child was to look after the parents until they died. These agreements stated what had to be supplied. It usually contained a furnished room, winter and summer clothing, tobacco, and their favorite foods. Sometimes, the parents kept animals or a carriage. Some included provision for their getting to church regularly.

Widows who were well off could afford to live with the nuns where they rented rooms and lived. Other wealthy women could become active outside their home. According to the *Coutume de Paris* they were no longer under the control of their husband or fathers and could do what they liked — charity, sewing, taking in boarders, start or continue a business.[69]

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66 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

67 Prentice, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

68 Savoie, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

69 Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

Although the *Coutume de Paris* indicates wives were not a part of the business world, they were actually a part of it. Husbands often legally authorized their wives to take part in business negotiations and represent them in legal disputes when husbands were away. In 1723, Marie-Anne Barbel married Jean-Louis Fornel, a *bourgeois* merchant. Between 1724 and 1741, she had fourteen children. When her husband was alive, she was his authorized representative. In 1745, he died. She decided not to divide and liquidate their medium sized business. She applied and received a permit to trade furs. She invested in real estate. She sued a number of other businesses and she bought a pottery factory. She did not settle the estate of her husband between herself and her children until thirty-six years later. In the meantime she made investments and supported several of her children.[70] A few were involved in the fur trade and others spent their lives in prayer and devotion.

After 1698, when there were about an equal number of males and females, men were able to marry and looked to their children for support in their old age. Parents decided when they wanted to retire and made attempts at setting the terms for their old age. At first there was no set pattern to assure their support. In October,1711, a couple in their sixties in Montreal appealed in the Montreal Royal Court that they wanted their children to make arrangements to keep the farm which the parents could not work any longer and to provide them with 600 *livres* a year as an allowance, *pension viarère.* The law under the *Coutume de Paris* stated all legitimate inheriting children were to contribute to the support of their parents and parents-in-law, in proportion to their entitlement. Rural people were more likely to support, shelter and care for the elderly. Rural areas did not have public charitable institutions like the towns. The towns had hospices and religious groups caring for the poor[71].

By 1720, a system for caring for elderly family members in retirement was evolving. Rural couples or an aging parent would give most of the farm to one son by deed or *gift inter vivos.* In return the child promised lifelong support. In town a craftsman might give his workshop and tools to a son with the same terms. Sometimes another male relative would receive this offer. The other children would receive gifts in the form of goods. A daughter would receive an advance of her inheritance at the time of her wedding. These country dowries were often of livestock, household goods, a piece of land or cash. Sometimes, farmers would receive concessions or buy land to help other sons to establish themselves. These conditional transfers were called *donations*, *démissions*, *cessions* or *actes d'abandon.*[72]

Another way of assuring care in old age was with a life partnership. In July of 1694, Jacques Raté, age 64 and his wife, Anne, 49 of St. Pierre, Ile d'Orleans, invited their 36 year old son, Jean-Baptiste to live with them, work the land, and care for them in sickness and health. When he married, Jean-Baptiste would receive a cow and his family

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70 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

71 Moogk, *La Nouvelle France, ...op. cit., p. 224.*

72 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

would be supported by the family farm. Jean-Baptiste would receive 50 *livres* a year and when his parents died, he would receive a two *arpents* wide portion of the farm. The rest would be divided among the other heirs.[73]

When parents were ready to retire, most parents would choose a son who was newly married. He was not established on his own land and he would be glad to get a cleared, stocked and working farm in exchange for the promise to look after his father and mother. The parents could have a furnished room in the farmhouse and a part of the kitchen garden while deeding the rest of the farm and its buildings to the son who would look after them. About a third of elderly couples wanted to have a separate house. However, single widows or widowers preferred being a part of the caregiver's household. By living within the house, they would have the same food and comforts enjoyed by the family.[74]

By 1730, the elderly were being specific of what they wanted provided by their children who were caring for them. The necessities of life included wheat, pork, beef, salt, firewood, candles, laundry service and medical care when ill. Deeds specified exact amounts of each item and usually included a monetary allowance.[75]

In 1738, a farmer of Longue Pointe and his wife insisted on 28 *minots* of wheat, 16 cords of wood, a milk cow that will not die, a pig at least 18 months old and 8 *minots* of peas in September. The parents kept 6 chickens and asked for 90 *livres* in cash each October plus 40 *livres* of goods they might need. When a parent died, there was to be a funeral according to their estate, a funeral mass and ten high masses for their soul in the following year.[76]

In 1755, the court of Trois Rivières ordered that each of the children and in-laws of the Widow Gélinas give her two and a half *minots* of grain, 20 pounds of pork, 3 bottles of liquor and 4 *livres* in money each year. She asked for liquor, but many others asked for tobacco. Men, women and children smoked in New France. When children did not care for their aged parents, the intendant and the colony's government officials forced the sons and daughters to do so.[77]

To safeguard herself when she was old, a woman often decided to give up her farm or house to a son, daughter, or another person, in return for her subsistence. Many of these agreements were very specific. In 1760, the widow Thibeault, living in the Richelieu Valley, was to be provided with heat, light, clothing and a house room according to the arrangement made by her family. Her annual allotment of food that were to be provided to her included 16 *minots* of flour, a quarter *minot* of salt, and 120 pounds of salt pork. One of the things asked for by another widow, included two pairs of French shoes each year.[78]

WOMEN'S PROPERTY RIGHTS REGARDING INHERITANCE

In their marriage contract, the husband and wife included *communauté de biens.* By the terms of this contract, all fixed

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73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.*

77 *Ibid.*

78 Prentice, *op. cit.*, *p. 52.*

property, *immeubles*, acquired by the husband or wife other than by inheritance or received as a gift in the line of succession, belonged to both in common. If her husband died she received half of it. If the wife had received property as a gift or as inheritance in direct line of succession, it would not be in *communauté*. It was hers until her death. In *communauté de biens*, she would receive half of the land and goods were given to her. The other half would go to her and her husband's children—half going to the eldest son and the other half divided among the other children. However if one of the children went into a religious order, his or her share would be divided among the rest of the children. The widow would hold her share until she died. Then it would go to her children in the same ratio. If she remarried, the children of both marriages would have claim on the land and inheritance.[79]

According to law, a widow automatically received during her lifetime, half of her deceased husband's *douaire coutumier*, personal property. If there were no *propres*, immoveable property, this was replaced by a set amount as stated in the marriage contract to be taken from the marriage community, the *douaire prèfix*.[80]

This amount was determined by their rank in society. It was about 300 *livres* for peasants, 4,000-6,000 *livres* for officers and 1,000-2,000 *livres* for local merchants. People of higher rank included the *préciput*. This was given to the surviving spouse who had the right to get a set amount prior to the division of the estate. Later this was done in all classes. Widows of all classes preferred this to the marriage community especially if there were debts. It was to the widow's advantage to renounce the debts of the community property.[81]

BUILDING LAWS

Rural areas were not affected by official regulations of constructing houses. However, in the towns, rules were more strictly followed. The general population was aware of them and the magistrates enforced the laws of the *Coutume de Paris* as well as their local laws passed to reinforce the laws of the *Coutume de Paris*.[82]

According to the *Coutume de Paris*, the homeowners of Paris had to have "adequate latrines and privies". However, it did not apply in Canada until 1673 when it became part of the police regulations in the town of Quebec by Governor-General Frontenac. It was required of all future and existing houses in order to prevent infection and stench when people were allowed to deposit their waste in the streets. In 1676, the *Conseil Souverain* added, "if the location of the home permits it". Yet, in 1750, "the servants in Quebec were emptying the chamber pots" into the streets of Quebec.[83]

Because these laws were too lenient to builders and home owners, in February 1706, the *Souverain Council* passed a law requiring all owners and tenants to have a privy in their home by spring or

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79 Harris, Richard Colebrook, *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographic Study*, pp. 48-49.

80 Dechêne, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-242.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

82 Moogk, *Building...op. cit.*, p. 44.

83 *Ibid.*, pp. 44; 59.

they would have to pay a fine of 20 *livres* for not complying to the law. In addition, builders could not build any future homes without a latrine. In the summer of 1706, the Council ordered a second inspection of all houses in Quebec. Twenty-three petitioned the Council asking to be exempt from the law. The next problem they had was to get the home owners of Quebec to empty their new latrines when they were full and overflowing.[84] The *Souverain Council* continued to pass regulations and ordinances to reinforce laws in the *Coutume de Paris*.

In 1673, the first building complaint concerning fire prevention came before the *Conseil Souverain*. A notary complained that a nearby toolmaker's forge was endangering his documents and registers. This complaint led to enforcement of the articles in the *Coutume de Paris* regarding fire breaks and local restrictions on forges in the town of Quebec were made. In March 1673, Frontenac ordered public regulations. Forges in private homes were forbidden. The town metalworkers who did not own a forge and chimney built of stone had to move their smithies to Côte de la Montagne Road. It was located between Upper and Lower Town. Ironworkers eventually moved there because they found the updraft at the cliff was of benefit to them. An additional 1673 Regulation required that new buildings being constructed in Lower Town Quebec were to have two stone gables in order to prevent the spread of fire to adjacent houses.[85]

This beginning led to numerous laws by the *Conseil Souverain* regarding chimneys and other safety regulations—Ladders were installed on roofs; chimneys and flues had to be cleaned regularly; standard sizes of chimneys were required; roofing materials were changed and improved and building codes were passed.[86]

A contract for the complete construction, *marché les clefs à la main*, from beginning to a finished home in New France, was rarely made. A single contractor would be foolish to be sure he could provide all the variety of materials and services for a set price. There were too many variables—supply, cost, hiring a work force, and subcontracting. For example, a builder constructing a wall was paid *à la toise*.[87]

The builder was paid a set price for every cubic or fathom of a masonry wall. This was rubble stone masonry. It was measured according to the *Coutume de Paris*. The wall was measured "*tant plein que vide*". It was measured as though it were a solid wall. All openings were measured as though they were part of the solid portion. For dressed stone around the openings, they received a separate set price. It was paid by the *linear pied*[88] or so many *livres* for each door or window. This stonework

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84 *Ibid.*, pp. 44; 59, notes 9 and 10.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-55.

87 A *toise* is a measurement of length equal to 6 feet, 4 and 3/4 inches or 1.95 meters. 6 *pieds* equal 1 *toise*. The cubic *toise* was used to measure masonry and the square *toise* was used in measuring plasterwork, roughcasting and sometimes roofing. The term *toise* was also used in other construction in materials used other than stone.

88 A *pied* was equal to a foot.

was more expensive because it took more labor to cut and dress stone.[89]

For masonry done *à la toise,* a final inspection had to be done. According to Title IX of the *Coutume de Paris*, two experts were to verify the measurement of the work when it was completed. There are not many private *toise* reports in existence. Most of those that have survived are those that were ordered by the courts to settle legal disputes. The following is an example of one of these reports written by Dominique Janson dit La Palme.[90]

> "I, King's Architect, certify that, having measured (–) both gable walls of the house, ... The said gables are as follows: the southerly gable contains 9 *toises*, 5 *pieds*, 6 *pouces* [of masonry] and the northerly one has 12 *toises*, 4 *pieds*, 6 *pouces*, making a total of 22 ¾ ths [cubic] *toises*— In witness of which, I have drawn up this report at Quebec on August 28, 1755."

According to Articles 184 and 185 of the *Coutume de Paris*, when there were disputes in court concerning uncompleted work, defective work, dissatisfied work, failure to live up to an obligation to furnish supplies, disagreements of builder and client over form and method of payment; seeking payment for work; building materials not provided; differences over quality of workmanship, or the work had not been approved, the parties involved could resort to the arbitration system. This procedure was common if one of the parties had not abided by the contract. Each side was to chose one arbitrator who were experts. If the matter was already before the court, the two experts would take their oath of office before the judge. They would inspect the property and write up their report, sign it and deliver it to the court within 24 hours of the inspection. If the expert arbitrators disagreed, a third expert arbitrator would be appointed to decide the vote and a second inspection would be ordered. If the dispute would be between a *bourgeois* and a craftsman, and one of the experts was already a craftsman, the court had to name a *bourgeois* as the third expert. This was done to offset the natural prejudice of craftsmen for one another.[91]

Verbal agreements were probably used to settle disputes when transactions were less than 50 *livres* or in poorer areas like Trois Rivières.

Pot-de vin—In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during the French regime it was the drink which sealed a contract and the reward given once a job was completed.

SEIGNEURIAL SYSTEM

The seigneurial system came out of the Medieval feudal system and was adapted to the settlement of Canada. Large areas of land were given to individuals or groups, primarily religious groups. The idea was that these individuals would grant concessions to tradesmen, military etc. to help develop and settle the land. Robert Giffard, a naval surgeon and apothecary, had been in New France in 1621, 1627 and 1632. He was one of the first to actually do what was expected. He was granted a league of land along

89 Moogk, *Building...op. cit.,* p. 56.

90 *Ibid.,* p. 113.

91 *Ibid.,* pp. 115-117.

the St. Lawrence in New France with families that settled there. The land at Beauport had to be cleared, homes built, and crops planted. Once the seigneur was situated, concessions were made to those who came.

In New France, the legal framework of feudalism remained in the *Coutume de Paris*. Although, New France had the same land tenure system, there were modifications which appeared in New France. As a result, by the end of the French regime, ordinances by the intendants and royal edits applied only in Canada. These were concerning size and shapes of the seigneuries in New France. The size and shape of seigneuries were areas of concern. In 1627, Cardinal Richelieu had granted to the Company of New France, the lands from the Arctic Ocean to Spanish Florida and from the Atlantic Ocean to the western end of Lake Superior. In return the Company was to bring 200—300 men to New France in 1628 and 4,000 more immigrants within the following fifteen years. To establish and accommodate this large number of settlers, the Company would be free to improve and distribute the land in amounts and by the means which they felt would be proper and to give them honors, rights and powers, they deemed necessary and needed. In this process, the creation of these land grants and /or titles were to be confirmed by letter from the king. The size, shape, title of the grant and the choice of grantees were left entirely to the Company. [92] As we know, the Company of New France, like so many other preceding and succeeding companies, were interested in the fur trade monopoly and not in the settlement of New France.

The *habitant* and the seigneur had mutual obligations. If the *habitant* paid his seigneurial dues and fulfilled his obligations, his land was secure. His children could inherit his land and he could deed or sell it. The *Coutume de Paris* required that a *censitaire* leave their land to their children equally. After years, the concessions became narrower and narrower. Some preferred a small strip of cleared land in a familiar area rather than move to a new seigneury where larger grants of wooded land was available. In 1723, one *censitaire* had a strip of land four meters wide and five kilometers deep. In 1745, an ordonnance of the king forbid anyone from building a house, stable or barn on a concession that was less than 1 ½ *arpents* of frontage by 30 *arpents* of depth. The penalty for this was a fine of 100 *livres* and destruction of all the buildings.[93]

The *censitaire's* obligations were to annually pay his rent, *cens et rentes*; this was in grain, capons and or cash. There were *banalities* or charges for services provided by the seigneur. He had to pay milling fee of $1/14^{th}$ of the grain ground, some agreements indicate this charge varied from $1/16^{th}$ to $1/24^{th}$. The *droit de pêche*, was a $1/12^{th}$ portion of the fish and eels he caught in the river. There also was a tax on land sales of about 8 %. Annually, he also had to do road or bridge work or construct a

92 Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.

93 Eccles, W. J., *The French in North America 1500-1783*, p. 39.

building. This was his required *corvée.* He also had to serve in the militia.[94]

Some colonists who had received land left to take part in the fur trade or other reason. The seigneur then had the right to take back the unoccupied lot. He could also repossess uncleared or minimally cleared land where seigneurial dues were not paid. The seigneurs usually left these cases to accumulate and then handed the intendant a list of twenty or thirty names with affidavits from the priest and neighbors stating the owner vacated the land. The intendant would order three public announcements and the owner had three months to come forward, settle his signeurial dues and begin to improve the land.[95]

Once a church was constructed in the parish, an annual tithe of about 4 % had to be paid beside their pew rent. In 1663, the tithe was set at 1/13th, then 1/20th and in 1667 at 1/26th. It was collected as threshed and winnowed grain—wheat, rye, oats, and barley. Sometimes there would be agreements for other products if there was no grain. The individual had to bring it to the priest's home.[96] In Montreal the seigneurs collected the tithes because the parishes were owned primarily by the Seminary. The priests also charged fees, *droits casuels*, for religious services. Funeral costs were in three categories—for children and Indians, 3 *livres* 7 *sols*; for adults, 6-10 *livres*; 20 *livres* for extra pompous display; and 60 *livres* for burial in the church. In 1690, in Montreal, pews were sold. They were auctioned for 37 *livres* each and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the price rose to 90 *livres* and the buyers had to pay an additional 7 *livres* 6 *sols* each year. The *droits casuel,* acquired from funerals, baptisms, marriages, exemptions from fasting, and dispensations from marriage banns were for the priest and not for the maintenance of the church.[97]

Governors, religious orders, doctors, Paris merchants, parish priests, military men, and *habitants* could be seigneurs. By the *Coutume de Paris*, the eldest son inherited the seigneurial manor, the courtyard and half of the remaining seigneuries. The rest of the children divided what remained. If there was no manor on the seigneury the eldest son could claim an additional square *arpent* of land. If there were only two children, the eldest son received the manor, courtyard and 2/3rd of the rest of the estate. If the children were only girls, the land was divided equally. If the seigneur died prior to his wife, the estate was divided between the wife and the children. However, the wife's share was held in *usufruct* and passed on to the children at her death. These rights protected and could be lost only if an individual received something like a donation which would be larger than the inheritance or he renounced his claim or he entered the church.[98]

A seigneur could sell his seigneury but his wife and children could reimbuse the buyer and take over the seigneury themselves. A sale could also be stopped by *légitime* which was an individual's right to half of his original inheritance.

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94 Woodcock, George, *A Social History of Canada,* pp. 208-209 and Dechêne, *op. cit.,* pp. 140-141; 377.

95 Dechêne, *op. cit.,* pp. 141-142.

96 Trudel, *op. cit.,* pp. 247; 249.

97 Dechêne, *op. cit.,* pp. 265-266.

98 Harris, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

Any transaction could be stopped or invalidated for interfering with an inheritance.[99]

A number of landowners did not work their land. They lived in towns. Before 1660, they hired indentured labourers to clear, plant and work their land. As time passed, they leased the land. In 1667, about 20% of rural areas of Montreal were worked by tenant farmers or sharecroppers. In addition, there were a number of peasant holdings temporarily leased by elderly habitants, widowers or *tuteurs,* disposing the land of their minor wards. There also were court ordered rentals as a result of crop seizures. In 1721, the parishes in the suburbs of Montreal had 25% and those located further away had 10-15% which were not farmed by their owners. The word, *Labourer*, came to mean tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Those who worked their own land were *habitants.*[100]

Leases to tenants were common. They had to pay a flat rate of 1/3rd of their grain crop to the land owner, 1/3rd as the tenant's income for himself and 1/3rd covered production cost.[101]

When the tenant and sharecropper worked on the landowners land, they usually came without anything. The landowner provided the animals, tools, housing and housing utensils. He advanced them seed and leased them animals. The seed was repaid in produce of the first two or three years. Two experts assessed the value of the animals at the beginning and the end of the contract. The tenant had to repay the value regardless of what happened in between. Leases were strict. Besides a half share of harvest and animals born during the year, the landlord collected a number of dues at a fixed rate. The land owner received ten pounds of butter a year for each cow leased. For each horse or oxen, he received 15-20 cords of firewood to be carted to his home. This amounted to 30-40 deliveries a year. He might also have to plough on another farm. The owner took one fatted hog for any four he gave or one about to be fatted each year. The charge for getting one chicken was a dozen eggs and a dozen chickens. Fruit from the orchards were split in half. The owner kept the vegetable garden or agreed upon a number of cabbages. All produce had to be delivered at specific times. Half of the sharecropping agreements were overseen by notaries. Some land owners required the delivery of carts of hay or required the leaseholder to feed and water the owner's animals. These were usually horses. In all the leases, the tenant had to agree to occupy the farm and to care for it, making minor repairs on buildings, ditch cleaning and care for all utensils, tools and implements. He was responsible for depreciation or replacement costs. Some land owners allowed tenants to take firewood and wood for repairs as needed. Others set a specific amount. In 1720, the large landowners were still insistent on these types of demand. By the end of the eighteenth century, these terms were eased.[102]

When New France became a royal colony, the *Coutume de Paris* was made the legal system of the colony and a judicial system was also put in place. In

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99 *Ibid.*

100 Dechêne, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

101 *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

1667, the king's *Ordonnance Civile* and in 1670, *La Grande Ordonnance Criminelle* was added to the legal system in the colony. There were three court levels in the colony. The lowest were the seigneurial courts. However, not many seigneurs bothered with the time and /or expense of *haute, moyenne et bass justice*.[103] The seigneurs could judge all offenses except those committed against a royal person or royal property. A seigneur who held court had to have a courtroom, in or near the manor house, a justice, a bailiff, a court clerk, a crier and a jail. Many of the seigneurial cases dealt with debts. A case came to court by a summons. The debtor was then served with a notice of his debt to be paid at his home. If it was not paid, there was a request to seize property by a third party. To avoid lawsuits, the seigneurs often seized the property of his *censitaire*. The seigneur kept the debtor in suspense and demanded that he sign an admission of what he owed to guarantee the amount owed. The two parties, themselves, usually settled how the debt would be paid.[104]

Fines of up to 500 *livres* could be laid in criminal cases. In civil cases, involving more than 30 *livres,* were heard in seigneurial courts. One seigneurial court, at Notre Dame de Anges heard 38 cases in 1755. Those seigneurs who held court also passed laws as the local need arose. *Habitants* who were dissatisfied with a decision could appeal to courts in Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières, the Conseil Superieur in Quebec or the intendant. The habitants could also take their cases directly to the intendant and he or the royal courts would hear the cases.[105]

After the English conquest in 1763, British officials abolished the seigneurial courts.

Some seigneurs may have been interested in land speculation. The *Coutume de Paris* had laws to check land speculation. A tax of 1/5th of the sale price was put on the sale of seigneuries. There were royal agents who collected the *quints*. Purchasing an entire seigneury was not common in New France, about one to three a year. Under another law under the *Coutume de Paris*, a seigneur could sell his seigneury. However, his wife and children could take over the seigneury by reimbursing the purchaser. This was called the *retrait lignager*. Or a transaction could be invalidated if it interfered with an individual's right to half of his original inheritance, the *légitime*. No sale could prevent children from their legitimate inheritance. Seigneurs who were guilty of this would be forced to return portions of seigneuries years after the land had been had purchased.[106]

Seigneur land speculation was not common because it was actually not very profitable. There was always some kind of inheritance tangle. In addition, unsettled seigneuries were worthless. A seigneury had to be settled with some developed *rotures* on it. If there was a manor house, a mill, 50 square *arpents* cleared and 30-40 settled *rotures*, the seigneury might be worth 8000-12000 *livres*. Instead of selling, it could be rented for several hundred *livres* a year

103 Eccles, W. J., *op. cit.*, p. 80.

104 Dechêne, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

105 Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

and the *censitaires* would pay several hundred more *livres* in yearly dues. After a great amount of expense and work, this would be at the point at which the seigneury would be starting to repay for all the expense and work put into it. The forested large tracts of land were considered worthless.[107]

The religious orders controlled more than 1/4th of the seigneurial land in New France and were seigneurs for about 1/3 of the population. They appointed a director to collect all annual dues and the priest would see to it that the *censitaires* met their obligations. Sometimes, the death of lay seigneurs passed on to twenty, thirty or more co-seigneurs. Then, seigneurial control became increasingly more difficult. For example if a mill needed repairs, the seigneurs would be scattered throughout the colony; getting all of their consent and agreement was extremely difficult. The fewer the co-seigneurs, the easier it was. Due to inheritance rights of the family—the wife and children— most of the lay seigneuries were broken up at the death of the seigneur[108]

The seigneurial system continued under the British until 8 December 1854 when tenants could claim ownership to the land. At that time 75% of the population of East Canada (Quebec) were still living on seigneurial land. Under this law the settlers were allowed to purchase their *fiefs*. All 242 seigneurs were compensated for the seigneurial rights they lost and they could keep their personal domain lands and ungranted land. The settlers were to pay the seigneurs for the *fiefs* they purchased.

Those *censitaires* who could not afford to buy their land, continued to pay rent to the old seigneurial families until 1945. Then the government of Quebec decided the money owed to former seigneurs would be paid off by the cities and the settlers would have to deal with the city.[109]

Seigneurial Terms

Arrière-fief—a sub-seigneury within his concession, granted by a seigneur; the holder of an *arrière-fief* was also a seigneur.

Aveu et dénombrement /Aveu et homage—a census of a seigneury; a description of the condition of a seigneury. It was a list of land holdings within a seigneury, including the buildings, cleared land, livestock, and dues which were charged for land holdings. It was required if there was a change in seigneury control or at the intendant's request.[110]

Banality—These were charges for services provided by the seigneur; Only two of these services were brought from France to New France—use of a gristmill and a bake oven.

Banalities or communal use of the gristmill —the *banality* was set at a fourteenth of the grain being ground by either wind or water mills. The *censitaire* had to take only the amount of grain he needed for consumption to the gristmill. The *censitaire* could take his surplus to another mill, or he could sell it to a merchant. However if the banal gristmill did a good flour, he was more

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107 *Ibid.*, pp. 57; 62.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

109 Woodcock, *op. cit.*, p. 209 and Trudel, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

110 Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

likely to take it to the seigneurial mill. The other was for the use of a bake-oven. The problem was that the oven might be miles away and in winter, the dough was frozen before you got there. As a result, the *banality* of a seigneurial oven was discontinued.[111]

Billet de concession—A provisional concession; When a settler proved his serious intention of settling, he received a *contrat de concession*—a contract signed in the presence of a notary.

Cens et rentes—a nominal fee paid yearly, usually on St. Martin's day. The usual rent was a *livre* and a capon for each *arpent of* frontage. The *cens* was paid in cash. In the early years, it was a couple of *deniers*, then 4 *deniers* or a *sol* for each *arpent* of frontage and later 5-6 *sols* for a concession. The *rente* was a larger charge. In the seventeenth century, the *rente* was a money payment plus a capon; in the eighteenth century wheat replaced capons. Then the *rentes* became money and turkeys, grain and capons or in furs. By the end of the French regime, it was cash. On October 6, 1734, Governor Beauharnois and Intendant Hocquart informed the minister that the seigneur was free to charge what he wanted up to 20 *sols* for each twenty square *arpents* plus a capon or the equivalent in wheat.[112]

Censitaire—anyone who could not subgrant his land; he paid a *cens.* (In France, it meant he was a peasant.)

Charges for the Common—Some seigneurs charged according to the number of animals pastured on it. Five *sols* per head was common. Most seigneurs charged a flat rate irregardless of the number of animals a person pastured. This average was 2 *livres* a year. However, there was a wide variation from one seigneury and another. In La Prairie de Magdeleine, the charge was 5 and later 30 *sols*. Notre Dame des Anges charged 15 *livres*; at St. Antoine, it was 3 *livres* payable in wheat or peas; in Berthier it was 5 *livres* and in Boucherville, it was 4 days of *corvée* or 7 *livres*. These *corvées* were also illegal. As a result, it was changed from 1 ½ to 2 *livres*.per day.

Corvée—each *censitaire* who received a concession was to provide two-three days of free labor on roads, bridges, building a church etc for the seigneur. The seigneur also had to take part in this forced labor.

Corvèe as a charge added to the rente.— At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a day of compulsory work was put in a contract as a supplement to their *rente*. In 1708, the seigneur of Bonsecours conceded 200 square *arpents* of land. Each concession was charged 5 *sols*, 5 capons, five *livres,* an ordinary *cens et rente* and one day of *corvée* in March or pay 2 more *livres*. Other seigneurs began to do the same in spite of protests. In 1716, the *censitaires* of La Chevrotière petitioned the intendant. The intendant reported to the minister that this *corvée* was an illegal charge and a violation of the *Coutume de Paris*. All seigneurs were ordered not to put this *corvée* in the contract. However, the intendant ruled that the *censitaires* of Chevrotière still had to do the work supplying their own tools and food or

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111 *Ibid.,* p. 72.

112 Eccles, *op. cit.,* pp. 64-65.

pay the *livres*. He said the contract had been made and they had to abide by it.[113]

Dessoller ny dessaisonner—to rotate crops—Most of the farmers in New France did not do much crop rotation. Those who did usually planted wheat followed by peas and then a year of fallow.[114]

Domain: There were three kinds of domains.; Royal domain—Crown land, owned by the king which had not been subgranted; Seigneurial domain—land belonging to a seigneur which had not been subgranted; the domain—a section of a seigneury which was set aside for the seigneur for his own use. Some built farm buildings, sawmills or fishing stations. Sometimes, he farmed it for himself.

Droit decoupe de bois—this allowed seigneurs to take wood on the land of the *censitaires*.

Droit de mouture—a fourteenth measure of grain the *censitaire* had to pay when he had his grain milled.

Droit de pêche—Censitaires had to pay a cash payment or a fraction of a 1/10th or 1/ 12th of a catch of fish or eels.

Droit de retrait—when a *censitaire* sold land at too low a price; the seigneur then had the right to pay the sale price and keep the land.

Fealty and homage —the oath of fealty or vassalage to the king or seigneur whoever granted the concession; As part of the annual ceremony, the censitaires placed a Maypole, a fir tree that had its branches stripped, in front of the seigneur's home or manor on the 1st of May.

légitime—an individual's right to half his original inheritance

Lodes et ventes—If a *roture* was sold out of the line of succession, the seigneur received 1/12th of the sale price. To avoid paying the *lodes et ventes,* some would fix the sale price lower than it actually was in the deed of sale or they called it an exchange or a gift. To protect themselves from these practises, seigneurs inserted a *retrait roturier* in their contracts. The buyer who paid the *lods* in cash within twenty days of the transaction received a 25% rebate. After 1704, a new fine, *droit d'echange,* was laid on the exchange of all kinds of property.[115]

Le droit de Quint—a fifth of the price on the sales of seigneuries to be paid to the crown.

Redevance de commune—rent on the common land used to pasture anumals

Retrait roturier / Retrait seigneurial-- This was one of the laws which came in the *Coutume de Normandie*. It allowed the seigneur to acquire a *roture* by paying the purchase price to the buyer within 40 days of the sale. There were many complaints that this law should not be allowed after 1664 when the *Coutume de Paris* was declared to be the only legal code in the colonies. However, it was always upheld in all cases during the French regime.[116]

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113 Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 75 and Dechêne, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

116 Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

Roture—a concession of land given to a *censitaire*

Royal Edicts from Marly in 1711—All seigneuries which were still without a domain and some settlers a year after this edict was published, were to be returned to the royal domain. Three years later the king said there would be no granting of new concessions. However, in 1717, he approved a concession to the Sulpicians and in 1729, a concession was given to Governor Beauharnois. In 1732, seigneurial grants were again given regularly.[117]

Tenir ou faire / tenir feu et lieu—A *censitaire* who worked his land had one *roture* or concession. A *censitaire* could not have two concessions unless he had a tenant on one of the *concessions*. These *censitaires* hoped to sell the *roture* to an incoming settler or let it revert to the seigneur if there was no buyer. However, the seigneur could withdraw the *rotures* for non-payment of the dues or that the *censitaire* did not fulfill his obligation to *tenir feu et lieu*. Then the seigneur would apply to the intendant for permission to do so. The intendant would usually order the seigneur to post-pone the take over for a year. If the contract was not followed after a year, the seigneur took possession and he could give it as a concession to someone else.[118]

Terre de la Fabrique—this was a piece of land set aside near a seigneur's manor which was reserved for a church and presbytery.

THE HABITANT

A *habitant* was a permanent resident of New France. Later it came to mean anyone who paid a *cens et rentes* or who operated a small farm. The *habitant* ran his own farm. In France, he would have been called a *censitaire* which meant peasant. In New France, he preferred the term, *habitant*. Sometimes a person had the title of *habitant* and laboureur. This indicates he had a concession of land and is also working another piece of ground as a sharecropper or a tenant farmer. Laboureur — sharecroppers or tenant-farmers — were lower in class than *habitants*.

The *habitant* farms were narrow strips of land running from the river and extending back ten or more times longer than the frontage. Some were more than a mile in depth. Most were usually 100 to 200 yards in depth. A strip farm often contained 50 to 100 acres. There were few roads. The waterway was their main means of transportation. With these narrow farms, the houses would be built along the rivers. Eventually roads would be built along the back of the river lots and a second line of strip farms would develop. The advantages to this system were the closeness to neighbors; they could aid and defend each other. They also had access to the river for transportation and fishing. A farmer often had a variety of soils and grew a variety of crops and a long rectangular field was also easier to plough.[119]

Originally, most of the farms were forested and would take two to three years of clearing before a farm could begin producing some grain and vegetables and several years more before

117 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

118 *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

119 Woodcock, *op. cit.* p. 209.

an orchard could bear fruit and pasture was cleared for cattle grazing. Pigs were raised from the beginning years. [120]

As more land was cleared, the *habitants* began two year rotations of crops. Grains and legumes especially peas, were alternated with fallow years. Then more animals — chickens, oxen for draught, cows for milk and meat, and sheep for wool — were brought in. Some of the *habitants* used the manure for their fields. The wooded areas at the far end provided fuel and timber for construction; Maple syrup and sugar were produced each winter. Some of the *habitants* had craft skills. Some were blacksmiths, harness makers, carpenters, wheel wrights, masons, edge tool makers etc. To make a living they combined their skills with farming.[121]

Almost all *habitants* grew peas, oats and barley. Peas were a staple of their diet and in the eighteenth century, their surplus of peas was sent to the West Indies and sometimes to France. Oats and barley were raised for feed. Wheat was used for flour, but if their was a crop failure of wheat, barley bread was eaten. A few habitants grew rye, but corn and potatoes were not popular among the French. By 1739, most *habitants* were also raising flax. Nearly all farmhouses had a kitchen garden in which they raised onions, cabbage, lettuce, several varieties of beans, carrots, cucumbers, red beets, radishes, horseradish, parsnips, thyme and marjoram. Pumpkins and melons could be raised in the Montreal area. There also was a patch of tobacco in a corner of the garden. The wealthy could afford Virginia tobacco. The *habitants* smoked a coarser leaf which they grew. Most *habitants* had fruit trees. Apple trees were most common and used primarily for cider. Plums were found throughout the colony. Pears were grown near Montreal. A few cherry trees and grape vines were scattered in the colony. Nuts berries, and game were also available.[122]

A few *habitants* could afford wine. Most of the *habitants* drank Canadian beer or cider, a Canadian bouillon which was made from spruce tips which was used in the fur trade.

They raised cattle, sheep and pigs and had them graze on their forested land or on the Commons. In winter, they were fed hay which they raised on fallow land or in pastures. In the 1660's most *habitants* had two to three cows and some had an ox. By the eighteenth century, they had five to six cows and one to two oxen. The wealthy had eighteen to twenty cattle. The cattle were most important. Cattle were used for milk, butter, cheese and meat. Pigs were common throughout the entire colony. By the eighteenth century, most *habitants* had three to four. They were usually put in the forest behind the farm or in the streets at night. Sheep were sent to New France in the 1660's. Twenty years later *habitants* usually had two to three sheep. The *habitant* preferred having cattle instead. Sheep had to be sheltered and fed in the winter and when feed was scarce, they saved what they had for cattle. Almost all *habitants* had

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120 *Ibid.*, p. 210.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 210- 211.

122 Cross, Michel and Kealey, Gregory S., eds., *Economy and Society During the French Regime*, p. 25.

poultry—chickens, turkeys, ducks and geese.[123]

Horses were brought to New France under Talon. Shortly after, they purchased them from New England. The *habitants* liked horses that were fast and at first kept them for pleasure rather than work. As a result of their horse racing, a law was passed which fined a rider 10 *livres* for each pedestrian he knocked down. Churchgoers had to walk their horses when they were within 10 arpents of the church. This was to prevent tangles with the sleighs or carriages. As the number of horses increased and the amount of feed was decreasing the amount for cattle, Jacques Raudot passed a law in 1709 that limited each habitant to two horses and a foal. As horses became work animals, the limitation on the number of horses was removed. Many found the horse was more efficient than the oxen. This led to a new law by Raudot. It forbid habitants to borrow their neighbor's horses for midnight "gallops" so that the horses could rest after their work during the day. However, officials worried there was still too much riding. Actually, the horses were used as draft animals more than for pleasure riding. [124]

All the livestock except pigs were kept indoors between mid-December to late March or early April. A few *habitants* kept hay and livestock in one barn. Most built three separate buildings—a barn where grain was threshed and hay was stored, a stable for cattle, *etable*, and a stable for horses, *écurie*. In New France, the average barn of a *habitant* was 30 feet by 20 feet and cost 300-400 *livres* which was quite expensive in that period.

After the tools they brought from France were broken or lost, the habitant had to make his own. From wood, he made rakes, picks and forks. He had to purchase a saw, axe and blades for his sickle, scythe and hooking bill which was used for harvesting peas. In 1674, a forge was established in Montreal to produce these blades. As more blacksmiths appeared in more communities, access to getting blades was easier. By the 1670's, plows were common. It had an iron cutting edge and a heavy wheel in the front of the plow. It was usually made by a wheelwright. In the eighteenth century a winnowing screen replaced a basket and had to be purchased.[125]

Many of the *habitants* were tradesmen and supplemented their income by doing jobs for neighbors. There were masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, harness makers, clog and shoemakers, etc. Many of the ordinary *habitants* were jack-of-all-trades. Most h*abitants* were woodcutters. Some of the *habitants* were fishermen. They would apply for *rotures* at fishing sites. Between Quebec and Montreal were habitants who fished for salmon, catfish, bar, chad, carp, sturgeon and eels. Below Quebec, they were fishing for herring, cod and porpoise. Most of them built fish traps of reeds or branches in shallow water near the shore. Others fished with lines from canoes or rowboats. In winter they used fish nets stretched under the ice. The fur trade drew the largest number of *habitants*. Because so many left their farms, the forest was cleared more

123 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

125 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

slowly, and the farms, wives and families were neglected. Many laws were passed forbidding *habitants* to leave their farms without permssion. Even a man caught hunting in the woods had broken a law if he didn't have a pass. Fines for a first offense was 1,500-2,000 *livres*. for a second offense, he was put in the stocks or received a whipping and for the third offense, a death penalty was ordered. At least one man was hanged. These punishments had very little effect. The wilderness was vast. All the routes out of the settlements could not be policed. The majority of the *habitants* who left for furs had few if any encounters.[126]

By the end of the French regime, besides the family, about 10-15% of *habitants* hired additional help for the family farm. A few took *engagés* who were bound to service in return for their passage. A very small number owned Negro or Indian slaves. More commonly, the *habitant* would agree to provide food, clothing, and shelter for a young son or daughter of a neighbor in return for several years of service from the child. A girl would stay until she married. A boy would stay until he was old enough to establish his own farm and the *habitant* he lived with usually agreed to give him a cow when he left. Day labourers or hired hands were quite common especially toward the end of the regime. A man could be hired for a year for 150 *livres*.[127]

Habitant families who lived near towns usually sent their daughters out as servants. After the birth of six or seven children, it was necessary to get by. As parents got older, and if the youngest worked outside the family, meant fewer to feed. Parents also hoped they were also increasing her chances of making a good marriage. A girl would be hired before puberty and usually worked until she was married or her contract ended at age of 18, 20 or 25. As a servant girl, she received no wages. She just agreed to work for the master. In return, he was to treat her as one of his children, to raise her Catholic, to provide room and board and to clothe her. At times, the contract would guarantee new clothing and sometimes a small trousseau at the end of her service. *Habitants* usually had little concern for social rank in the marriages of their daughters. They felt, a good trousseau was an advantage over other girls.[128]

LAND CLEARERS

An immigrant to New France had to face the task of clearing the land. All *habitants* had to clear the land when he received his concession. First, trees were cut to build a small log cabin of about 15 by 20 feet. He chose small trees, fifteen to twenty feet long. He would sharpen one end and then stuck it in the ground to make a crude home with no floor or fireplace. He could waterproof it to stand at least one winter. Thatch and bark would be used for the roof and to cover gaps and openings. This usually took him three to four weeks. He would then put his chest and supplies inside and prepare for the winter. He would cut down bigger and better quality trees of the same size to build a better house the next year. He usually chose oak or pine and cut the trunks into eighteen and twenty foot pieces and set them aside.

126 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 29.

128 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 64; 67.

By June, he would go over the deforested area and with an axe pull the tree trunks of less than a foot in diameter out. The larger ones would be girdled. It would take four to five years for those stumps to rot. Dead wood was bundled outside the cabin and kept as firewood or sold it in town. The ground which was covered with brush would then be burned. The land was ready for breaking the soil. In the fall, the ashen topsoil was turned over between the heavy trunks.[129]

During the winter, he would clear a site by chopping trees off at snow level, three to four feet above the ground. The cleared ground was for wheat. A few planted corn, beans and pumpkins like the Indians. After a year, one *arpent* of land would be planted and trees felled on two other *arpents*. He was usually able to clear two *arpents* a year and build a permanent house with beam flooring, board roof and a fireplace. (On 22 May 1667, Talon passed a law requiring two arpents of land had to be cleared and planted each year.) He would hope to buy a heifer, a sow and a few chicks. The first cabin would become a barn and he would move in his new house. Five years later, he would be able to pull up the large stumps with one or two oxen. In ten years, he would have ten *arpents* planted. After thirty years, a lifetime, he would have thirty *arpents* of plowed land, a barn, a pasture and a stable, a road in the front, a family and a pew in the church.[130]

Some clearers hired themselves out to others — seigneurs, religious communities, merchants, administraters and other officials — to get money for supplies. His work would then be postponed for weeks or months. Others tried to combine a trade skill they might have with clearing the land. If they left the clearing work too long, they might make arrangements with neighbors to get the land cleared or it would be appropriated by the seigneur. Some abandoned their land and went into the fur trade.[131]

In Montreal, those who were well off used servants to clear their land or up until 1664, made agreements with clearers. In 1653 and the following years, the governor made an agreement with indentured laborers to clear and plant a number of *arpents* on the *domain* and keep the produce as their wages, as long as they did not receive a similar amount of land from the seigneur, in the same condition for cultivation. Some early settlers made the same kind of agreements. However, their agreements would be for a set period of time without any other kind of compensation.[132]

Definitions

Only a few of the wealthy could hire a laboreur to clear his land. In contracts for laboreurs to clear the land, there were a variety of terms used. There were three categories of land clearers

A *defricheur* was only a clearer of the land.

A *deserter* would clear land and prepare it for plowing.

A *nettoyer* cleared the land and hauled the debris away.

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129 Dechêne, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-163.

130 *Ibid.*, pp. 153.; 380.

131 *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

132 *Ibid.*, pp. 135; 154.

Ploughman—an old term found in old records: hand ploughed, a man pulled the plow

Cultivateur—a farmer who raises crops

Agriculteur—a person who farms the land and raises crops or animals to use as food.

Laboureur—plowman, farm hand

Metayer—small farmer who pays a portion of his produce as rent (sharecropper); do not confuse with *censitaire* who pays rent to a seigneur.

Fermier—raises livestock and other animals and works the land whether he owns it or not, but in Quebec, he is a *colons*.

fermier du roi--he does not raise any animals or crops, but lays and collects taxes for the king or the king's representative. In New France, he was concerned with the fur trade.

Rentier / rentiere— retired person from the land

ENGAGÉMENTS

The simple definition is "a contract to work". When we see an engagement in New France, we deal with several kinds of engagements— all dealing with a contract, all dealing with work, but all different from one another.

1. One is a kind of indenture. It was an engagement made in France to come to New France temporarily to work for an individual or a group, often times a company or religious group for a set amount of money for three to five years, usually three years.

Some dictionaries use indenture as a definition for an engagement. This, however, is not what we understand as an indenture was in the English colonies. In the English colonies the indentures were usually from five to seven years, sometimes longer to pay off the passage of a man or more often a man and his family. Their intentions were to stay in the colony and after their time was up, they could leave and claim free land to farm or carry on a trade etc. He and his family were fed and sheltered during the duration of the indenture.

When an *engagé* was hired in France to come to New France, he was hired for a set amount of *livres* annually during the time of his contract usually three to five years with possible extensions. He usually received an advance with which he might purchase tools, clothes or give to his family before leaving. The *engagé* was required to go wherever and do whatever his master commanded — the absolute property of his owner. An owner could barter, lease or hire out an *engagé* temporarily to someone else. This was usually done if the *engagé* was an artisan or had a needed trade. The *engagé* could not own land; he was not a *habitant*; he could not take part in the fur trade; he could not marry; he could not enter taverns; this was easily violated. He received corporal punishment — pillory, lash or branding — for insubordination or desertion. In 1663, compensation for one day absenteeism would cost him 4 *livres* or twenty days additional on his indenture. For enticement, he had to pay 10-20 *livres* a day to the owner and 100 *livres* for the enticer. Penalties on the *engagés* were harsher than on the servants born in the colony. He had to pay for necessities of his journey and arrival. This included winter clothing and a musket. He had to

pay for his own medicine and laundry. Wine and /or brandy were the common cure and were quite expensive, especially in the late fall, winter and spring when there were no ship arrivals. He had to pay for upkeep and replacement of tools and utensils. Indentures were often extended. Masters decided when contracts expired and these were registered with the Council. Contracts were often extended a few years. Those who returned usually took back shoes and warm clothing. *Engagés* could not return to France without permission.

2. In a Fur trade engagement, a person was hired to go as a voyageur into the wilderness for a season, year or more to a specific position in the canoe and whatever jobs were demanded for a specific amount of wages and possibly some clothing etc. for a specific company or trader and to a specific location and back.

3. A person would sign an engagement to perform a job. He hired himself out for a specific job—a land clearer, building a house, transferring some goods, or performing some service. etc. The engagement would include the description of the job hired for, who supplied the materials, the length of time to complete the work, and the amount and payment for the job.

4. A parent might hire out a child to learn a trade or job. This was a kind of apprenticeship. The length of time or the age to which the child worked was included.The obligation of the person who took on the child who was taught the specific skill would be included. Food, clothing and shelter, health needs and provision for his attendance at church were often part of the agreement. Conditions that were expected at the conclusion of the apprenticeship were also listed. This might include a payment in cash, clothing and /or tools.

5. Sometimes, a child would be hired out by a parent who was poor or by the child himself to get some work. Included in these engagements, were the length of time, the conditions during the duration — food, clothing, shelter, care, education, — and conditions of conclusion — payment in money, clothes, food, goods or tools — would be included. These often involved young children, four, five or six etc. years of age for eight, ten, or twenty years, until they reached the age of majority at age 25.

Engagés vagabonds—When an *engagé* had fulfilled his contract and he did not have enough money to become a *habitant* or there was no ship available for his return to France, he had to find some work to stay alive. He would hire himself out on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. These men were known as *engagés vagabonds*. They were few, but they did exist none-the-less.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN RURAL NEW FRANCE

Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivierès were the three towns in New France. They were considered towns because they were centers for their Catholic religion. They had a cathedral.They were places for refuge for the poor, for the military with a fort and garrison, there was trading in the public squares and they were the center for the government and courts.

Quebec was the oldest having started as a habitation in 1608. The habitation served as a fort for protection, housing

for those who spent the winter and a place for trading and storing the furs before ships arrived from France. Quebec became the major port for intercolonial and international trade with France, Acadia, West Indies and other countries. From here, imported goods would be sent on to Montreal and Trois Rivières.

Trois Rivières was started as a small settlement in 1634. During the French regime, it never developed to the size of Quebec or Montreal. However, it came to be important in the 1730's for the St-Maurice Iron Forges near Trois Rivières. They produced iron stoves, pots and pans and charcoal to supply blacksmiths who made bayonets for the Troupes de Marine, farm tools and iron wheels for the wheelwrights.[133]

From 1636 to 1640, the island of Montreal changed hands from Jacques de Girard, Seigneur de la Chaussée to Sieur Lauzon to the Company of One Hundred Associates. In1640, the company granted La Dauversière and Baron de Fancamp a large part of Montreal Island. They also received a part of the island on the other side of the mountain and land on the north side of the Saint Lawrence. The new seigneurs could build walls or trenches for protection. The compay had the right to build a fort, and La Dauversière and Baron de Fancamp could not grant any land to people who already lived in New France.[134] As a result, the 1653 and 1659 recruits were to bring *engagés* to settle in Montreal. It became the major center for the fur trade.

Rural settlements in New France can be divided into four types: 1.villages and hamlets; 2. isolated farms; 3. line or shoestring, or sometimes called, straggling villages; and 4. *côtes*.

A village was a compact settlement with no more than 500 people and they would have several kinds of tradesmen and commercial and service functions. The difference between a village and a hamlet was its size. A hamlet would be much smaller, with a population below 100 and you would have fewer commercial and services available. There were six villages by the end of the French regime—Charlesbourg, La Prairie de la Magdeleine, Terrebonne, Boucherville, Pointe aux Trembles and Verchères. Five were near Montreal. Four were located near Montreal on the south shore except Pointe aux Trembles which was on the island a few miles northeast of Montreal. Terrebonne was on the mainland to the north. Each village was the center of a parish with a church, the place of residence for the seigneur in a lay seigneury and a place for repairs or purchase goods or services of tradesmen. There were four hamlets in New France in 1760—Saint Joachim in Beaupré, Longueuil in the seigneury of Longueuil; Chambly on the Richelieu River and Pointe Claire on the south shore of Montreal. There were other areas which were designated to be villages or hamlets, but they did not develop during the French regime.[135]

A farmstead was more isolated with more than a quarter mile from his nearest neighbor. They were situated in this way when they were the first in a new area because the land in other

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133 Woodcock, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

134 Prevost, Robert, *Montréal: A History*, pp. 34-35.

135 Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177; 182

locations available was not good for cultivation.

The line, shoestring or straggling vllage was a long line with farms closely spaced farmhouses, with each house on an individual farm. Many of the settlers located themselves in the line or shoestring pattern of settlement. The straggling, shoestring or line village began at and finished at a stretch of unproductive land, a number of under developed rotures or a tributary of the St. Lawrence. Sometimes, the church, the mill and the manor were all located on the seigneur's domain although they might be separated a distance from one another. Churches were usually in the center, grain mills on a stream and spaced 40-50 families apart. The part-time farmers who had trades were scattered along the lines. There were a limited number of kinds of craftmen in these villages. Therefore, they might have to go to another shoestring village to have something made or repaired.[136]

A *côte* was usually a line of settlement along the St. Lawrence, a tributary or a road, except in Montreal where the *côtes* were in the interior on the hillsides. They were usually created irregular in size and shape. They were separate communities set apart by breaks in the line of settlements. Often there were a number of *côtes* in one seigneury. At the end of the French regime, there were five in Notre Dame des Anges and at least three in Longueuil. They were short and isolated and the inhabitants thought of it as a community. They did not have the services found in villages, but they did have capenters, masons or other trades that did nor require a special building. As more *censives* were created, more *côtes* were along roads between ranges. In 1731, there were eleven *côtes* using the parish of Notre Dame de Montreal. In the rest of the seigneury there were seven rural parishes, four in the northwest including at least ten *côtes* and three in the southwest, each with five-six *côtes*. Each was given a saint's name but the people kept a number of local names—Lachine and Pointe Claire.[137]

Definitions

ban—a proclamation or law affecting the city

banlieue—an area extending about 1 *lieue* (2.5 miles) from the city and subject to the laws, *bans*, affecting the city.

Cité—a city, originally it was a fortified center from which they developed with a church, convent and /or a monastery, older wealthier homes, a public square and market place and housing for shopkeepers and merchants.

Côte—means side, coast, place or hillside; it was a line of settlement along a river, road or as in Montreal on a hillside.

enceinte—defensive walls or ramparts; these were walls for protection and set boundaries of the city. In Quebec, many attempts were made to build walls. There were plans, but the Iroquois wars interfered and always postponed their construction. Louisbourg was a walled, fortified city in Acadia.

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136 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

137 *Ibid.*, p. 186 and Dechêne, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-146.

faubourg—extensions of the city beyond the walls and usually at gates or access roads.

quartier—In Montreal, *quartier* was used earlier and later *côte* replaced it.

MILITARY

Capitaine de malice—Captain of he militia—Shortly after the establishment of royal government in New France in 1663, a new office was established, Captain of the militia. In each district a captain was appointed by the governor-general to command the local militia and in charge of regular drills and musters of the militia. They usually met Sunday afternoon for practice. There was no pay and no uniforms. Each *habitant* received a gun at the cost price and could pay in thirty to forty payments. He could use it for hunting. Ammunition used at drill was furnished otherwise, he had to pay for his own.

The Captains of the militia were well respected by the community or they would not obey them. There was no form of salary or payment, but he had considerable prestige. They were chosen from the *habitants* and were the most respected men in their communities. They received communion immediately after the local seigneur and sat right behind the grandees in front of everyone else. He also had the right to carry a sword which was only for the military and nobility. The Captain of the militia was far more important than the seigneur. He often could read and write.

The *Captain de malice* also had important civil functions. He was the local agent of the intendant, communicating orders to the habitants. All laws, proclamations etc., were to be read and posted by him and he was to see to their enforcement. He ordered *corvées* on the bridges and roads. He saw to it that everyone did his expected *corvée* obligation, even the seigneur had to obey. He rounded up the crews for road repairs. He was the link between the highest officials and the population. He obeyed the orders of the governor and the intendant and was answerable to them. He levied fines and kept order locally. He acted as mediator between the civil authorities and the church. He took censuses of the inhabitants. He was arbitrator for trespassing and boundary disputes. He reported all cases of accidents, the conditions of roads, and grievances of the people to the governor. He was the agent for the government in cases in the courts. Practically speaking, he was responsible for everything to do with civil administration. He housed and entertained officials. He helped to enforce laws. He helped to arrest criminals. A flag staff placed in front of his door indicated his authority and dignity.

The system worked so well, that when the British took over, they continued it. Then, he also acted as coroner. After 1760, there no longer were drills, but the captain of the militia remained because of his other functions and his recognized usefulness. The Militia Act of 1868 abolished the militia on paper and thereby so went the Captain of the militia.

Capitaine de la côte—he had the same function as the militia captain for farms and côtes along the coast of the St. Lawrence, tributaries or roads; Sometimes one capitain had five or six of these groups (not enough to make up a parish) but there was a squad to oversee each one of them.

Petite guerre— During the first few years, the Iroquois had the advantage in New France. They attacked and raided farms along the St. Lawrence, killing settlers. The *habitants* would go to stockades with their cattle to defend themselves and they went to their fields with armed bands of men for protecton. The *Troupes de Marine* were of little help. They garrisoned the forts and were a labor force. Most of the fighting was done by their militias in small groups and were led by regular Canadian officers. Within two years, they learned and were using the Indian style of warfare — swift raids and ambush with no quarter given. The Canadian war parties waited for Iroquois at river crossings, invaded their hunting grounds, laid waste to the New York frontier, inflicted losses on the Iroquois and allied themselves with other Indian nations who were enemies of the Iroquois who were harrassed by them to the extent that it was difficult for them to hunt and fish. *La petite guerre* was guerilla warfare in which deception and ambush were common. The French of New France learned it from the Indians and used it in the Indian wars and against the British in the French and Indian War and against Braddock before the American Revolution.

The Thin Red Line—The thin red line was invented in Canada during the Seven Years War, also called the French and Indian War. It was the first time this British battle formation was used. It was used in North America at the Battle of Quebec. It later became the British army's standard of fighting all over the world. In the 1850's it was victorious over the Russian army in the Crimean War. Newspaper reports of victories gave the battle formation the name —the thin red line.

Lines were about 70 meters apart. Wolfe ordered the front line to fire. The British troops were fresh and close together. Shots were deadly. The front line knelt to reload and Wolfe ordered the second line to fire. The second line knelt to reload and the third line fired. Then the first line stood and fired again. Every 20 seconds, one of the British lines fired. The French were cut to pieces.

Wolfe and Montcalm were killed in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in this war. Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French governor, surrendered to General Jeffrey Amherst, the new British commander and Quebec came under British control.

At the surrender, Vaudreuil negotiated with the British. The provincial troops of France were to be returned to France in British ships. French officials with their families and baggage were also taken to France, but they had to leave all official papers behind. The French in Canada were allowed to keep their religion and their private property was to be respected and their merchants were allowed to continue in trade just as the British. The Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763. Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Britain were ceded to the British. France kept New Orleans and thr territory west of the Mississippi River.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

As laws varied under a number of legal systems, so did the system of weights and measurements vary from region to region and also within a region. The *coutume* of law of each region, county or town set the system of weights and measure. The system of weights and measures was especially confusing because of so many standards. For example two grains of *orge* (barley) made one *ligne* (line). The calculations

in different regions were based on the *pied-de-roi* (the king's foot), the highest tide or the height of a white horse's belly. In addition, the measurements had vague definitions. A *tiercon* was 1/3rd of a larger measurement. Measurements varied from province to province. A *tun* at Bordeaux of about 420 *pots*, was larger than a *tun* of about 280 *pots* in Orleans. In one province, an *ell* of silk was different than an *ell* of wool. In some places a *velte* was three *pots* and in others it was four *pots*.[138]

They varied because the weights and measures were established within their own legal system and thus there was no consistency from region to region and from where goods originated.

When intercolonial trade was involved, departing and entry ports had to contend with the various countries having their own variants in weight and measurement system complicating trade and business.

In New France it was especially confusing and difficult in intercolonial trade. Not only did they have to contend with weights and measurements of various regions within France but with various countries as well. This problem continued into the nineteenth century. Great Britain used the Imperial System in 1824, but it was not used in Canada until 1873. Still standards varied. A hundred weight could weigh 100, 112 or 120 pounds. A unit of measure had a variety of names. 16.5 feet or 3.5 yards was called a rod, a pole, a *perch* or a *verge*.[139] Many contracts mention the *misérable*. This was a small amount of brandy guaranteed to hired men at their break time. It was a nip or two and was equal to ¼ of a *roquille*, about half an ounce. In New France, some articles were sold *à la poignée* (by the handful). Sometimes, articles would be sold *au cent* (by the hundred). Cod was sold by the hundred, but the quantity sold was not a 100 but 132 codfish. They also developed the term, *quarteron* to indicate the quantity of 33 codfish. Other terms had measurements unique to the item. A *ballot* (bale) of beaver fur weighed 120 *livres* A cord of wood was eight *pieds* long and *4 pieds* high.[140]

In New France, there were attempts to use the measurements and weights of Paris. Frequent checks were made. Yet in 1733, some millers were using stones instead of standarized iron weights. In 1758, Nova Scotia followed four regulations which the governor had issued in 1750 and 1752. In 1764, Quebec accepted the Standard of the Exchequer of England. Yet, there were still variances in Canada. Below are the weights and measurements in New France under the *Coutume de Paris*.[141]

Linear Measurements

2 grains of *orge*, (barley) = 1 *ligne* (line)
12 *lignes* = 1 *pouce* (inch)
an aune (ell) = 3 *pieds* 8 *pouces*
12 *pouces* = 1 *pied-de-roi* (foot)
a *pied* = 12.789 English inches
5 *pieds* (feet) = 1 *brasse* (span)
6 *pieds* = 1 *toise* (fathom)
3 *toises* = 1 *perche* (perch)
a *perche* = 18 *pieds*
a *royale perche et forestière* = 22 *pieds*
a *perche moyenne* = 20 *pieds*
10 *perches* = 1 *arpent* (in length)

138 Trudel. *Op. cit.*, p. 221.

139 Kennedy, Patricia, "The measures of trade," in *The Archivist*, p. 5.

140 Trudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 221-223.

84 *arpents* = 1 *lieu* (league in length)
an *arpent* = 180 *pieds* (Custom of Paris)
an *arpent* = 191.8 or 192 English feet
a *lieue légale* (official league) = 2.42 English miles
a *lieue commune* (common league) = 2.76 English miles
a *lieue marine* (nautical league) = 3.45 English miles

Area Measurements

144 *pouces carrés* (square inches) = 1 *pied carré* (square foot)
36 *pieds carrés* = 1 *toise carrée* (square *toise*)
9 *toises carrés* = 1 *perche carrée* (square *perch*)
100 *perches carrées* = 1 *arpent*
7,056 arpents carrées = 1 lieue carrées (square league)

Solid measurements

2 *litrons* = 1 *quart*
4 *quarts* = 1 *boisseau* (bushel)
3 *boisseaux* = 1 *minot*
4 *minots* = 1 *setier*
12 *setiers* = 1 *muid*
1 ½ *muid* = 1 *pipe*

Weight Measurements

16 *onces* (ounces) = 1 *livre* (pound)
100 l*ivres* = 1 *quintal* (hundredweight)
2,000 *livres* = 1 nautical ton

Liquid Measurements

2 *roquilles* = 1 *demiard*
a *poinçoin* (puncheon) = 93 *pots*
2 *demiards* = 1 *chopine* (pint)
2 *chopines* = 1 *pinte* (quart)
a *quart* = about 80 *pots*
a *poinçon* (puncheon) = about 93 *pots*
2 *pintes* = 1 *pot* (half gallon)
a *barrique* (hogshead) = 110, 120 or 180 *pots*
4 *pots* = 1 *velte* (2 gallons)
a *muid* (hogshead) = 140 *pots*
an *ancre* = about 32 *pots*
a *pipe* = 210 *pots*
a *baril* (keg) = about 35-40 *pots*
a t*onne* = about 46 *pots*
a *quart* = about 80 *pots*

The prevous measurements and weights were extracted from Trudel, Marcel, *Introduction to New France,* pp. 221-223.

A thank you to Louis Quesnel for his translation of the article, "Les Tutelles et curatelles une mine de renseignements," by Brisson, Estelle & Varin, Marie-Ève in *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française.* pp. 137-139.

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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 passed down through one's family. For the last issue of the FCGW *Quarterly,* I thought it would be of interest to use an assortment of home remedies for various aliments.

The Herbs for Health, Cure for the Common Cold and Bread Soup are from Germaine Landry Natrop (present member). The Rouleau Family Cough Syrup is from Nelda Rouleau Womack (past member). Grandma Gagne's Spring Tonic is from Pat Sarasin Ustine (present member).

HERBS FOR HEALTH

In the fall of the year, my grandmother would gather herbs from the area and tie them in little bundles (seeds, leaves and stalks). She would hang the bundles upside down on nails on her bedroom walls. When they were dry, she would crush them and store them in jars. When we children would have some sort of ailment, my grandmother would decide which would be given to us in the form of tea. The herbs I remember were chamomile, wormwood and catnip. For a lower respiratory ailment, we were given a tea made of ginger, sugar and water.

CURE FOR THE COMMON COLD

My grandmother always had a container of skunk oil on hand for colds. She would render the fat from skunks trapped by my uncle. The skunk oil was rubbed on our foreheads, necks, backs and chest and also behind our ears and on the soles of our feet. By the way, this oil had no odor.

BREAD SOUP

Break up a slice of homemade bread and brown it in about a tablespoon of butter. Add about one cup of water and simmer for 3 or 4 minutes. Season with salt and pepper. We were given this when we weren't feeling well. A variation of this, served in some of the

families, involves toasting the bread and buttering it. Place it in the bottom of an individual soup bowl and cover with warmed milk that had been seasoned with salt and pepper. This pleasant tasting dish was also served to those not feeling well.

ROULEAU FAMILY COUGH SYRUP

All you need are several strong onions, sugar and a stoneware bowl.

Chop enough strongly flavored onions in a deep old fashioned stoneware bowl. Generously sprinkle sugar over the onions. Cover the bowl. Set in a warm place (the warming oven of a wood stove is the best place.) Heat draws out the juices of the onion. In the morning drain off the juice and give a spoonful or two to the sick family member.

You will be surprised how effectively this cough syrup relieves congestion. The sweetness from the sugar makes it palatable and the aroma of the pungent onions help to open the sinus passages. The Rouleau family has been using this home made elixir since Nelda was a child in Merrill, Wisconsin. She says, "We never fussed, we were always ready to take a second spoonful."

GRANDMA GAGNE'S SPRING TONIC

This home remedy was written by my Aunt Rena Gagne Poupore. "Every spring my mother use to make a spring tonic. She'd have one of the older boys go and peel some bark from a poplar tree and she'd boil this a long time, then strain it and put it in a water pail, set this on the end of the kitchen table with a ladle spoon and a cup. Ma would say, 'drink this, the sooner you finish it the better' and that was it; so us kids, we drank some of it on and off during the day. Sometimes the boys would make a bet and say 'I'll beat you drinking a whole cup of it.' It tasted very bitter and hard to drink. This was to get rid of worms and a body builder."

Living in a rural area with limited access to a doctor, our ancestors used what grew on the land to treat family ailments. The remedies used were probably passed down to them for generations. In our own families we may recall various home remedies to treat certain ailments. Treasure those memories and pass them on; they are part of the history of our French Canadian families.

TRIVIA

Of a total of 353 baptisms, Jeanne Mance was godmother 73 times. It was common in New France, to have one noble and one commoner as godparents— A noble godfather and a commoner godmother and more frequently, there were commoner godfathers and noble godmothers.

Those who were classified as being *habitants* were not always those who worked a land concessions. This was especially true in the Montreal area. Some tradesmen in the town who had not yet received land, were identified as *habitants*. On 4 November 1662, Montreal passed an ordinance stating that soldiers and servants who had cleared at least 4 *arpents* of land were declared *habitants*. In Montreal, anyone who settled there for good was designated as a *habitant*.

TIMELINE OF FCGW By Pat Ustine

This timeline chronicles some of the special events of FCGW taken from past *Quarterlies*. In the fall of 1981, a geneanology workshop was held at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Hales Corners, Wisconsin. A presentation of French Canadian research was conducted by Laurie Becker and Pat Geyh with help from Marie St. Louis. From the presentation, many of those present felt overwhelmed with the information available and wanted to know more. A show of hands indicated to Pat Geyh that there were enough people interested to warrant organizing a group that would meet on a regular basis. A future meeting was set for **February 9, 1982** and as they say the rest is history.

For the first several years we met at the LDS Library once a month. As we got organized we called ourselves French Canadian Genealogists of Wisconsin; we also voted in officers, formed by-laws and committees.

July 1986 — Participate in Bastille Days, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. We participated in this 4 day event for 12 years through 1998.

February 1987 — 5 Year Anniversary. First *Quarterly* of FCGW, editor Pat Geyh. Meetings are now held at the Great Midwest Savings and Loan building, Greenfield, Wisconsin.

June 1989 — Trip to Quebec —17 members spent 10 days in Quebec, sightseeing in Montreal, Trois Rivières, Quebec City and side trips to ancestral places, researching at archives, river cruises, churches, music and food. A great time was had by all.

February 1990 — Name changed to French Canadian /Acadian Genealogists of Wisconsin.

February 1991 — First Pea Soup & Johnny Cake meeting. This tradition was every February and continued for 21 years to February 2012.

May 1991 — FCGW published **Recipes from the Kitchens of Our Grandmeres**, the family recipes submitted by members.

May 1992 — 10 Year Anniversary at Klemmers Banquet and Conference Center, Greenfield, Wisconsin.

November 1994 — FCGW completes Loiselle Marriage Index at the Family History Center in Hales Corners. The 174 microfilms are on permanent loan.

May 1995 — Joyce Banachowski is now editor of the FCGW *Quarterly*.

April 1997 — FCGW new meeting place, Mayfair Shopping Center Community Room, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin.

Summer 1998 — Supplement to Loiselle Marriage Index was now completed at the Family History Center. The 51 microfilms are on permanent loan.

Winter 2000 — FCGW has a website **FCGW.org** and is now on internet.

May 2002 — FCGW participated in the National Genealogical Society Conference held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

September 2002 — 20th anniversary at Klemmers Banquet and Convention Center, Greenfield, Wisconsin.

December 2002 — Publication of ***French Canadian Sources-A Guide for Genealogists*** This project took 6 years. Authors: Patricia Keeney Geyh, Joyce Soltis Banachowski, Linda K. Boyea, Patricia Sarasin Ustine, Marilyn Holt Bourbonais, Beverly Polenske LaBelle, Francele Sherburne SSND, Karen Vincent Humiston.

June 2007 — 25 Year anniversary at Klemmers Banquet and Convention Center, Greenfield, Wisconsin

Spring 2010 — Publication of ***St. Louis Catholic Church, Fond du Lac, WI, Repertoire Of Baptisms, Marriages & Burials 1850-1920*** compiled by Kateri (Teri) Dupuis, Don Cayen and the French Canadian Genealogists of Wisconsin. This project took 5 years.

Summer 2012 — Last issue of FCGW *Quarterly.* 30th Anniversary of FCGW at Chez Jacques Restaurant, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The FCGW past presidents were Pat Geyh, Gene Connerton, Germaine Natrop, Tom Glassel and Teri Dupuis. Our membership grew throughout Wisconsin, various states and Canada. Once we started the *Quarterly*, we soon had exchanges with other genealogical societies. We had displays at various conferences such as Milwaukee County Genealogical Society workshops, Wisconsin State Genealogical Society Gene-A-Rama held at various areas of Wisconsin, also University of Wisconsin Green Bay and Lake County, Illinois Genealogy Conference.

Research trips were made to libraries in Wisconsin such as the State Historical Library at Madison, Brown County Library in Green Bay, Milwaukee Central Library, Marquette University and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Golda Meir Library.

In time our FCGW library grew through donated books and purchases. We acquired valuable French Canadian sources like Jette, Drouin, Tanguay and Acadian sources. These are books that members once travelled to libraries to use. Barbara and Tom Glassel were in charge of the library the first few years and ever since managed by Linda Boyea.

Our monthly meetings varied with interesting speakers, re-enactors, and library research. We have always been interested in sharing our knowledge and helping others to appreciate the history of our ancestors in France, Canada, the United States and Wisconsin.

Throughout the 30 years, friendships with members (cousins) were made and sadly over these years several members are now deceased. Besides enjoying the rewards of researching our FCGW ancestors, many good times and memories were made over the 30 years of FCGW.

COMING UP

22-23 September 2012: Feast of the Hunter's Moon at Fort Ouiatenon four miles southwest of West Lafayette, Indiana: Re-enactors portray a fur trading post of the mid 1700's. It is held every year in late September or early October. Further information is found on the internet.

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17-21, 2013, "Woven in History" The Fabric of New England," The New England Regional Genealogical Conference at Manchester, New Hampshire: it will be held at the Radisson Hotel and Expo Center in Manchester. There will be 60 lectures presented in 2 ½ days. Some of the topics to be covered are new research methods and strategies, ethnic genealogy, proving the truth of folklore, use of directories, maps, atlases and gazeteers, general genealogical skills and techniques, family history and writing and information available in New England repositories.

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20 April, 2013: Milwaukee County Genealogical Society's 18th Biennial Workshop at American Serb Hall in Milwaukee. More information later.

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8-11 May 2013: "Building New Bridges" the National Genealogical Society 2013 Family History Conference will be at the LVH-Las Vegas Hotel and Casino. It is adjacent to the Las Vegas Convention Center. Attendee registration begins 1 December 2012. Check the NGS web site for information updates on the conference.

21-24 August 2013: "Journeys Through Generations," is the theme of the Federation of Genealogical Societies Conference which will take place in Fort Wayne, Indiana. It is hosted by the Allen County Public Library and the Allen County Genealogical Society. The Hilton is attached to the Grand Wayne Center by an enclosed walkway on the second floor. For other details, see www.fgs.org

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5-6 October 2013: Feast of the Hunter's Moon at Fort Ouiatenon four miles southwest of West Lafayette, Indiana.

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NEWS NOTES

From *Michigan's Habitant Heritage,* Vol. 33 #3, July 2012: There are several articles of interest. One is about the Petite Côte dit Côte Misère . It was located on the south shore of the Detroit River which is today, Windsor, Ontario. There is also a continuous article on the War of 1812 and an article on Pierre Chesne dit Saint-Orange and his wife Louise Jeanne Bailly.

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From *Wisconsin Magazine of H istory,* Spring 2012: There is an informative article, "The Federal Origins of Frontier La Crosse".

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From *Mémoires de la Societé genealogique*... Vol. 63, No. 2, cahier 272, Summer 2012: There is an article on the marriage contracts in New France.

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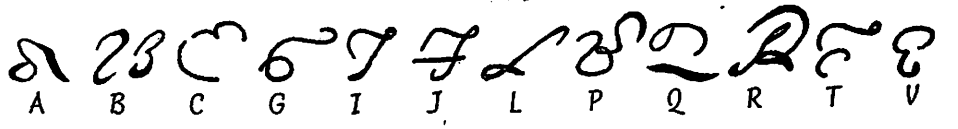
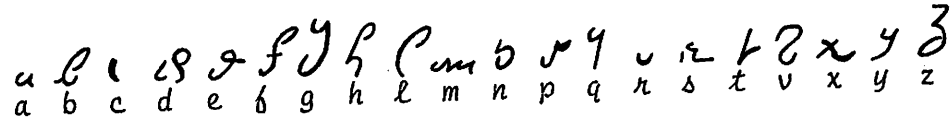
MORE TRIVIA

Evey notary had not only unique handwriting, but he had his own abbreviations or shorthand and practices. The practice of notary Basset was to transform ***dit*** in a name to ***de*** and to precede the ***de*** with ***Sieur***, capitalized. This was done even when his client was a tradesman, a mason, joiner, etc. He also gave the title, ***Ecuyer*** (squire) to people who had not yet received an ennoblement. Some of them were ennobled years later.

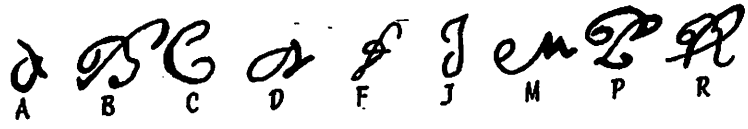
Following are samples of letter forms used by a few of the notaries of New France.

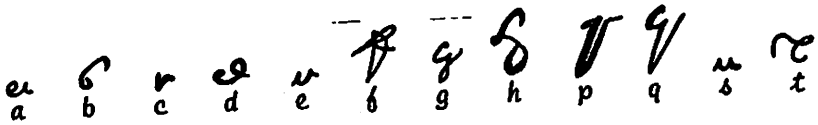
Guillaume Audouart 1648-1663



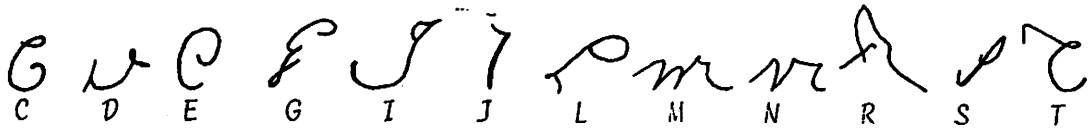


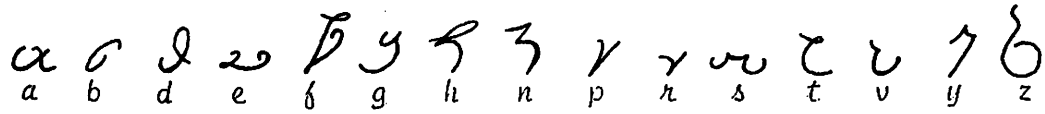
Romain Becquet 1665-1682





Daniel Normandin 1686-1729





These samples are from *Initiation à la paléographie franco-canadienne: Les écritures des notaires aux XVII –XVIII siècles*, Collection Méthode, Vols. 1-3 by Marcel Lafortune.