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Je Me Souviens

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AMERICAN-FRENCH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

Post Office Box 830 Woonsocket, Rhode Island 02895-0870

CORRESPONDENCE

Written correspondence should be addressed only to our post office box. The library telephone number for voice and fax is (401) 765-6141. An answering machine will take messages when the library is not open. The Society can be reached by E-mail at AFGS @ afgs.org. E-mail to the Editor of *JMS* should be addressed to paul 1 @ cox.net.

MEMBERSHIP

Individual: \$32.00 (\$40.00 Canada); family: \$32.00 (\$40.00 Canada) + \$10.00 ea. addl. member; institutions: \$27.00 (\$30.00 Canada), life: \$384.00 (\$480.00 Canada) Make checks payable to the A.F.G.S. in U.S. funds. *Non-U.S. residents must use postal money orders or credit cards*.

LIBRARY

Our library is located in the basement of the First Universalist Church at 78 Earle Street in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. It is open for research on Mondays from 12 PM to 5 PM, Tuesdays from 1 PM to 9 PM, and every Saturday of each month from 10 AM to 4 PM. The library is closed on all holidays; there are no Saturday sessions in June, July and August.

RESEARCH

The Society does undertake research for a fee. Please see our research policy elsewhere in this issue.

ARTICLES

Original manuscripts are welcomed. Please see our authors' guide elsewhere in this issue.

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AFGS Mission Statement

The mission of the American-French Genealogical Society is:

- To collect, preserve and publish genealogical, historical and biographical matter relating to Americans of French and French-Canadian descent.
- To play an active part in the preservation of French-Canadian heritage and culture in the United States.
- To establish and maintain a reference library and research center for the benefit of its members.
- To hold meetings for the instruction of its members.
- To disseminate information of value to its members by way of a regularly published journal and other appropriate means.
- To disseminate genealogical and historical information to the general public, using appropriate means.



President's Message

Roger Bartholomy, President

Where does the time go! Rather than 6 months ago, it seems like a month or so ago that we were putting our previous issue to press and already, it's time to put another issue to bed.

Your Society has been very active during the past summer months. Our computer section has added a couple of new computers making a total of four computers available to our members for research. A variety of resources is accessible from the computers including the male and female Drouins. Pages from both of these dictionaries may be printed from the computers—a great advantage to you as the books are not able to be photocopied due to the risk of damaging the bindings.

Personal computers certainly have made the organizing of genealogical data quick and simple. Many members have been bringing their portable computers to the library, and we have made space to accommodate them. It has become so popular to bring portables that sometimes access to electrical connections is limited, so it would be wise to arrive with a fully charged battery.

The AFGS has purchased the 1871 Census of Canada on microfilm. The library committee is cataloging the film, and it should be available for your use

shortly. Other new additions to the library collection include research material from Indian Missions and the 1851 census for various areas of Quebec. Perhaps these new resources will solve some of your research mysteries.

As we continuously add to our resources, the library committee has come up with some very creative use of space—moving bookcases and squeezing research tables together. But we are near our limit. Which is why this summer found the board of directors exploring the possibility of purchasing a former church in Woonsocket that was closed two years ago. This facility would have served us well spacewise; but the cost to rehabilitate this structure by adding a dropped ceiling to contain heating costs, repairing or replacing the roof, and adding a new parking area would have gone into the 6 figures.

Our current building fund stands at just under \$100k which is a very nice little nest egg; but still a long way from the purchasing and rehabilitating of a building. This sum was amassed through the generosity and commitment of you, our members. Our building fund committee will be generating a cash raffle for the holidays similar to the one that we had for our 25th Anniversary Gala. We ask that you support this raffle

so that we can bolster our building fund. Also, if any of you have any ideas on how we can generate more revenue, please let us know.

A documentary entitled "Réveil-Waking Up French" produced by Ben Levine has recently been released. The film depicts some of our French-Canadian history, and through filmed interviews reveals our Franco-American experience of immigration and assimilation in New England. The documentary examines our tangible sense of loss for our French language and the efforts being made to continue our culture and regain our language.

This is a very powerful film about our heritage. Be sure to see it if it comes to a film festival near you, or better yet, purchase a copy for yourself and enjoy it in the comfort of your home. This would make a wonderful stocking stuffer. See our ad in this issued of JMS for more details.

By the time you receive this issue of JMS; we should have passed autumn and be just about getting into the beginning of winter with all of its beautiful Holiday traditions.

Thanksgiving, I can almost smell that Turkey now, can't you? Then, it'll be time to put up the Christmas decorations and look forward to Christmas Eve, the Midnight Mass, and "Le Réveillon" with the traditional Tourtière, Christmas

caroling, and just enjoying your family. If Ma Tante or Mon Oncle come by, it might a good time to get the older folks reminiscing about "The Old Days" and family stories that could shed more light on your research.

Then Christmas Day dawns with all its majesty and splendor. A day to celebrate the true meaning of Christmas with family members both near and far. For those who are not able to be with you during this grandest of days, call them to wish them "A Joyeux Noël".

And finally New Years Eve, watching the ball drop down on Times Square and being nostalgic about putting 2003 behind us and excited about ushering in the New Year 2004.

Life is so very short; so let's take the time to reach out to our friends and loved ones wherever they may be to wish them the best that the New Year has to offer.

I'm sure that my colleagues on the board and all our wonderful volunteers join me in wishing you joyeux Noël, bonne heureuse année, bonne santé, tout que vous désirez, et le paradis à la fin de vos jours.

À la prochaine.

Roger A Bartholomy President, AFGS

Three-fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings of the world will disappear if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint. We will then agree with them or think of them charitably.

- Mahatma Gandhi

Hail the Midwives; Beware the Witches: Women in Seventeenth Century New France

by: Eugena Poulin, RSM, PhD

This is the fourth in a series of articles on seventeenth century women of New France.

Seventeenth century New France was unique in many aspects, especially in its attitude toward women. The three major French settlements, Ouébec, Montréal and Trois-Rivières accorded women much greater latitude in society than did most of Europe. The majority of European women had little or no self determination. Financial matters were usually managed by a male member of the family. In New France, women operated businesses, bought and sold property. Official documents nearly always included their maiden names thus allowing them to retain their original family identity.2 They were accepted as leaders in education, religion, historical documentation and health care. During the early years of the colonies, some women arrived in Canada as skilled midwives while others learned the profession on site. The novel societal position of New France towards women extended to flexibility in the practice of midwifery as well. At this period of time in Europe, there were recurrent suspicions about a relationship between sorcery and midwifery. The French colonies in North America appear to have been more enlightened and much more tolerant on that subject.3

Women to the Rescue

European colonization of North America kept the ships sailing the Atlantic to and from the continents during the seventeenth century. France was equally desirous as its competitors Spain, Holland, and England to claim for herself generous portions of the New World. However, the tiny French colony first settled in 1608 in North America was quickly dominated by the English in 1629.4 Thus, France readily determined that in order to establish her foothold on the new continent, she needed a strong thriving population there. It was imperative to the future holdings of New France that the settlements have a large scale infusion of new immigrants, especially women who were in a serious minority. It was equally important that an increase in the birth and survival rate be promoted among its current inhabitants. In view of these goals midwives were especially important. If one examines the census records for the seventeenth century, it is apparent that growth was slow to moderate. In 1663, more than fifty years after its founding, the colonial population did not exceed 2500 inhabitants.5 Although women had been emigrating to New France since its founding, it wasn't until 1663 that the now famous "Filles du Roi" began arriving in conspicuous numbers, a pattern that continued for the following ten years.

The need for women in society was not merely to increase population. The position of women in society in seventeen century New France was vital to the permanence of the colony. Women provided much needed revenue to the new settlements. They fortified the dream of a continuing French presence in the New World. They brought a vibrancy to the untamed territory.

The birth rate naturally was extremely low in the earliest days of the colonies, but, as could be expected, rose in the latter part of the century. Strangely enough, patterns of conception appeared, especially in the rural areas.7 The highest rate of conceptions were usually between April and June, the second most productive months were between November and December. The lowest rates were between September and October and February and March. It can logically be understood that the months around harvest time would produce low numbers as the family spent long and grueling hours in the fields. However, other low rated months may be attributed not only to fatigue but also to nutrition.8 Survival was sometimes precarious. Women often had difficulties with their first pregnancies because of the sustained heavy field and farm work required. In addition, the latter births were also of concern because the woman's body was weakened by previous childbirth and years of strenuous physical labor. By the eighteenth century the seasonal pattern became less noticeable.

Despite all the hardships, the women of New France, with the help of the midwives, brought forth numerous progeny. It must be remembered that along with herbs and teas there existed taboos, myths, and superstitions associated with childbirth. Before exploring the lives of specific women who served as midwives in seventeenth century New France, it seems proper to discuss this singular profession in its historical and practical setting.

Obstetrics in the Seventeenth Century

It can be stated that medical knowledge of reproduction was woefully inaccurate in the seventeenth century. It was the third part of the century before a little more informed view of conception became known. Some medical men of the early part of the century thought that woman only provided her body as a receptacle for the baby to grow in, while others believed that conception occurred because of the mixture of the two "semences." Some of the doctors who wrote the texts and approved the drawings that appeared in them, imagined the foetus perfectly formed at conception. According to them, the foetus developed only in size.10 The practice of obstetrics was limited and uninformed. Philippe PEAU, first doctor to the queen, in his manual which was published in 1694 included drawings presenting the various positions of the foetus in which the infant seemed to be modeling as a cupid.11 Given the circumstances surrounding birth, it is amazing that so many women and children survived. On the other hand, a number of children were deformed and women maimed because of the practices of the period. Even seventy-five years after PEAU's text appeared, Jean-Christophe illustrated LE BEN Mme. BOURSIER's book in which the foetus is seen as sitting in the womb waiting to be born. The doctors who did assist at

births provided questionable care to pregnant women. Some doctors favored bleeding (blood letting) as an accepted mode of treatment for patients including pregnant women. In The Rosegarden for Midwives and Pregnant Women, which was first published in 1513, and remained in print for the next two hundred years, the author, Eucharius Rösslin, gives some advice to pregnant women. To lessen pain, Rösslin counsels the pregnant woman to, "Sit down for an hour and then stand-up, climb up and down the stairs crying loudly. The woman should also breathe heavily and hold her breath so that she pushes her insides down."12 Society, the medical field, and the Church did not consider birth a medical situation, but rather a social and a quasi-religious function. It was social because the neighbors and relatives usually took part in the event. It was deemed quasi-religious because a new being was coming into the world and would be claimed for God and the Church by baptism. Since the birthing process was for a long time considered, a purely natural occurrence and outside the realm of medicine, it was slow to be recognized as a condition requiring hospitalization.13

Caesarian section was not usually an option because at this time it was a death sentence for the mother. The operation was only performed to save the baby and this procedure could be undertaken by the midwife. It wasn't until the end of the eighteenth century that this procedure began to be successful in saving the mother as well as the child.

The Midwife, The Woman of Experience

The midwives, a very small but

interesting group of women, performed an important role in the French colony. They attempted and often succeeded in increasing the survival rate of both mother and child. The word midwife means "with wife or woman"; in Greek a woman in this profession was called "cutter of the umbilical cord"14 and in French she was called "sage-femme." "Sage" as in wise or "sage" as being a well behaved woman. A case can be made for either French definition. At this juncture of history in New France, the midwife assisted her sister colonist in ushering in new citizens. This was not a new role for women; midwifery was practiced in nearly all of Europe and most certainly in France. Since nearly all seventeenth century immigrants to the French colony originated in France, it was plausible that most of the same practices and customs of midwifery were established in New France. But, as in all phases of life in this French colony, there would be substantial differences as well.

Although one certainly can admit that the seventeenth century midwife was not "au courant" of any new developments in medical treatment, one can recognize that progress in this medical arena was slow by our modern standards. This dearth of progress must not be laid at the feet of women since they were not allowed entrance into most universities even in the most enlightened cities of Europe.15 It must be noted, however, that despite the lack of most formal training, the midwife possessed a personal knowledge of the female body, demonstrated a sisterly concern for the pregnant woman based on her own personal experience, and was knowledgeable on the use of natural remedies. Midwives administered herbs and teas to soothe their patients. The leaves and roots of plants containing medicinal effects were in normal usage, such as atropine and other related alkaloids and mistletoe. Ergot. which began as a fungus grown on rve then replaced the grain on the plant, was used to hasten labor, belladonna found use as an antispasmodic, and digitalis for heart treatment. Midwives based their practice on experience, they were empiricist.16 Frequently, they were organized for professional reasons. The actual practice of obstetrics in the seventeenth century was dominated by midwives. Rural areas were far less supervised or structured. The differences in the practice of midwifery developed with the needs of the clients.

The historian, Jacques GÉLIS, writing about the midwives in France blames them for many errors: artificially hastening birth by pressing and manhandling the mother's abdomen, not cutting the cord properly, not tying the cord correctly, and other gross mistakes.¹⁷ No doubt there occurred many errors. However, numerous colonial women died shortly after childbirth because they often returned to performing heavy work too soon. It is true that some "sagesfemmes" tried to "remold" pressing the heads or noses of new born infants to make them more esthetically pleasing. As a result of these types of procedures, some children suffered brain damage or impaired respiratory functions because the bones of the nose were too severely constricted. In France some famous midwives were accused of incompetence.18 Louise BOURGEOIS was implicated in the death in 1627 of the wife of Gaston d'ORLÉANS. The death of Mile. de GUERCHY in 1659 was attributed to the mishandling of an abortion by the "sage-femme." These types of cases cast a pall on the skill of the sage-femme by the French royal court.

For many years in France, doctors and society in general blamed the midwife for the death and maining of mothers and infants. After careful examination of the facts, as well as considering the time period, this condemnation seems exaggerated. The midwife, who was the primary, and in some locations. often the only recourse for the woman about to give birth, was being criticized by men whose knowledge of the subject was based on texts which were pitifully inadequate and in many instances ridiculously inaccurate. Later, it will be noted that when men entered the obstetric domain, the survival rate for either mother or child did not improve. In fact, it decreased. In the early settlements of New France, it would be difficult to ascertain the number of infant or maternal deaths with any great exactitude because most of the information for that period had to be gleaned from the parish registers rather than medical records. These documents left breaches in information because frequently when unbaptized or premature infants died, the registers did not note these facts. The registers sometimes recorded the death of a mother in such a way that it was impossible to document it as a childbirth death.20

It can readily be remarked that the sages-femmes of the seventeenth century were working under very adverse circumstances. They were not allowed access to the latest drugs or the use of instruments, they were held in suspicion by the authorities, and the information they received was crude at best. In early

seventeenth century Paris, the education of midwives was very superficial. In 1635 the midwives requested a formal course in obstetrics from the medical faculty of the Hôtel de Dieu in Paris. They were refused.

It was the normal practice in rural France that mothers frequently traveled long distances to be with their daughters as they gave birth. The custom also seems to have been followed in New France whenever possible.21 Some women gave birth alone either because the birth happened unexpectedly or because there was no one around to assist. Generally, the midwife was intimately acquainted with her patient and knew her past maternal history, hence, she ministered very capably to her charge. Some objects necessary for the sage-femme to have at her disposal were: clean cloths to wrap mother and child, a bed properly fitted for the occasion, a layette of sorts for the newborn, a pair of scissors for cutting the cord, oil or butter for the hands of the sage-femme, clear water to baptize the child, if necessary, a heavy thread or string (about a foot long) to tie the umbilical cord, "l'eau de vie,"22 wine, or vinegar to revive the mother and/or child if they were considered weakened.23 She provided an assortment of herbs. The midwife often took charge of the household tasks, especially if the labor was of long duration. She cooked, fed the husband and children and kept the household running smoothly.

Midwifery as a profession was quite a bit more structured than might be expected at first examination. The midwife in France was required to take an oath and in some regions she was elected by the women of the parish.²⁴

This was also true in New France. There were four categories of sages-femmes:²⁵ "entretenues," midwives paid by the government; "approuvées," those having taken the oath and approved by the parish; "veuves émigrées," widows who had some experience with childbirth; and "matrones," midwives who were requested by prison authorities to investigate feminine issues such as infanticide, pregnancy, abortion and rape. The "matrone" might be required to testify in court on her conclusions.

An example in New France of the sage-femme performing the task of a matrone is that of Madame GRENAPLE, the jailor's wife. The latter was called upon to examine the prisoner, Anne-Baugé CORRUBLE, accused of scandalous living, to verify that she was actually pregnant, a task usually performed by the sage-femme. If Madame CORRUBLE was judged to be with child, she would be freed from prison. She was found to be three or four months pregnant. However, we read, that far from leaving New France or amending her life, Anne-Baugé CORRUBLE continued to shock the colony with her behavior.26

Medical Men Versus the Midwives

Men were not to play a prominent role in obstetrics until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Their entry into that particular field of medicine was, to say the least, inauspicious. During most of the seventeenth century, men were not only excluded from assisting in the birth process, the birthing room was strictly off limits to them. Actually in 1646, a man in the state of Maine was prosecuted for acting as a midwife.²⁷

Some procedures followed by the surgeons of the day were: rubbing, shaking, envelopments, putting a feather into the esophagus.²⁸ Bleeding (blood letting) was an accepted mode of treatment for patients including pregnant women.²⁹

Midwives were forbidden to discuss their techniques or particulars of their profession with men. It must be stated that men were not more observant of sanitary conditions than the midwives. In fact, when men became more active in the birthing process the appearance of infections increased.³⁰

Women were forbidden the use of forceps. Considering their dangerous use, this may have had some advantages. In France there was a rivalry between the surgeons and the midwives. One doctor wrote, "A woman is a stupid animal who meddles in our profession; this profession belongs only to those who wear breeches and have a good head on their shoulders." This was not normally the case in New France where the relationship between these two groups was generally cooperative.

The advent of the men in the birthing room was not because there had been, in fact, a dissatisfaction with the ministrations of the midwives, but rather because of pressure from the masculine domain. Some reasons were political, others financial or social. The surgeonsbarbers of the seventeenth century were considered to be merely poor artisans. Doctors, who had studied biology at the university, were condescending in their dealings with them. Usually doctors would not lower themselves to use the instruments employed by the surgeons. The surgeons wanted to protect them-

selves from the disdain of the doctors. So it can well be imagined that it would be to the surgeons' advantage to expand their sphere of expertise and thus raise their work to a profession. There is a link between the surgeon and the birthing process which helped them enter the world of feminine medicine. Medical men of the seventeenth century were educated; however, the law had ruled against allowing women into universities. The surgeons' goal was to enter obstetrics. Why obstetrics? Because it was not usually considered the doctors' domain. Childbirth was considered the bailiwick of the midwife, a much easier rival than a doctor.32 It was in the seventeenth century that the surgeon (always male) forged his position in obstetrics. The date usually cited is 1663 when Louis XIV called in a surgeon to assist in the birth of Madame de LA VALLIÈRE's child.33

One wonders at this advice stating that a surgeon who wanted to practice obstetrics ought to be grubby, or at least slovenly, allowing himself to have a long dirty beard, not to cause any jealousy on the part of the husband. It wasn't until MAURICEAU's manual. Traité des Maladies de Femmes Grosses et Celles Qui Sont Accouchée, in1673 that a surgeon was seriously considered the medical establishment. MAURICEAU disparages the idea that a surgeon who enters the birthing room should be unkempt and careless in his appearance. He contends such an appearance in a surgeon simulates that of an executioner and the pregnant woman doesn't need to have such a fright at the critical time of birth.34

There were early accusations

against surgeons for the misuse of forceps to speed up the delivery resulting in the maiming of the child and /or mother. Some women were deathly fearful of instruments. In Mascouch, 35 in the Montréal district, a husband was brought to court because he refused to pay the male surgeon; the husband maintained that the surgeon killed his wife and a child (twin babies). Two sages-femmes testified that they opposed the surgery. They claimed that left to nature, the births would have been normal. 36

Men were not more savvy about sanitary issues than women. On the contrary, it seems that the intrusion of men into the birthing area introduced the puerperal fever.37 This should not be surprising considering the reception of the male medical profession to Louis PASTEUR's theory that germs could be transmitted by unsanitary conditions. Supposedly doctors would leave the dissecting room and proceed to the birthing room without so much as washing their hands. The French code of 1560 for midwives states that the women were to wash their hands before attending to their patients. The aforementioned fever was nearly unknown at the time the sagefemmes were the main administers of obstetrical care.

One example of the care and concern of the midwives for pregnant women during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, occurred in French Louisiana where a government paid midwife declined to minister to persons suffering from scurvy fearing for the safety of her pregnant patients. At the time, scurvy was thought to be infectious.³⁸

In another corner of North America, a Virginia historian claimed that the black midwives of that colony were less guilty of transmitting infections than doctors.³⁹ Most historical research now acknowledges that given the medical information of the period, in general midwives were superior or at least equal in skill to the surgeons.

The controversy between surgeons and midwives continued in Europe; however, in view of the more flexible attitude in New France regarding women, it is not surprising that surgeons and doctors in Québec did not hesitate to use the services of midwives for their own wives. Among several documented sources, one example was Marie LIÉNARD, wife of the surgeon in Neuville, François GREGOIRE, who was attended by the midwife of the area in 1717.

Where Are The Witches?

Witchcraft was prevalent in Europe from about the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century, in some countries more rampant than others. Among those executed for sorcery, it is estimated that 85% were women, usually peasants. Witches were hunted by church authorities, both Catholic and Protestant, and the government. In the middle ages the leading experts on witch hunting were the Reverends KRAMER and SPRENGER whose work, *Hammer of Witches*, appeared in 1484. These authors were friends of Pope Innocent VIII. 42

Witches were judged in three areas; first, they were accused of every

conceivable sex crime against men; second, they were denounced for belonging to an organized group; and finally, they were blamed for possessing medical powers for either good or evil. Despite the possible beneficial effects of the midwife's intervention, society judged it magical because it was inexplicable. If it was magic, it was evil, especially if wielded by a woman. Regarding sex crimes the *Hammer of Witches* states, "When a woman thinks alone, she thinks evil." All lust was the woman's fault, said the Church. All witchcraft comes from carnal activity.⁴³

One of the most famous women condemned and executed for witchcraft was Joan of Arc, who was accused of witchcraft and sexually depravity. Joan submitted to physical examination by women, acting as matrones,⁴⁴ to verify her virginity. The tribunal which conspired to rid itself of this troublesome young woman was thwarted because the matrones testified to her sexual integrity. Thus her accusers had to rely on the charges of heresy and magic.

In France, society in general was on the look-out for the witch. All good Catholics in France had to reveal any misdeeds by a purported witch or face excommunication and temporal punishments themselves. Once arrested, the accused witch, stripped naked and shaved of all bodily hair, was subjected to tortures, such as the thumbscrew, in order to obtain a confession. ⁴⁵ As can be imagined, often the pitiful creature would confess merely to end her humiliation and torture.

Superstitions abounded in many parts of Europe regarding birth. It was

believed that the caul or amniotic sack and placenta possessed magical powers. Thus in Wurzburg, Germany the regulations of 1555 forbade the midwife from either carrying off or burying the placenta. The midwife was closely associated with witchcraft. No one does more harm to the Catholic Church than midwives, wrote SPRENGER and KRAMER. Witches were charged specifically with having medical or obstetrical skills.

The seventeenth century saw the resurgence of witch hunts such as those associated with the celebrated Salem witch trials just a few hundred miles south of colonial New France. Inasmuch as the early Canadian Catholic Church dominated the profession of midwifery; supervising elections or appointing midwives, training in the administration of baptism, and imposing certain moral codes of behavior, the vigilant religious authorities seemed confident that witchcraft among the sages-femmes was not an imminent danger.

There were a few documented witchcraft cases pursued in French Canada in the seventeenth century, but none involved midwives. One instance was GRENIER, widow of DUPIN, who was accused of witch craft by the government of the Ile d'Orleans. Her case was continued for a year but as the historian, Raymond BOYER⁴⁸ states nothing more was heard about this case, and since her name later appears in a civil case having nothing to do with witchcraft, one must assume that the original charge of witchcraft was dismissed.

Another documented case implicated Anne LAMARC, wife of Charles

TESTARD de FOLLEVILLE. An aubergist and cabaret owner, she was banished in 1682 from Montréal because she possessed a book of magic. Her husband testified that she was a devil (Was this husband's evaluation truly unbiased?) and a magician. Another citizen testified that she possessed a blasphemous book. Her numerous connections in the city, however, assured her success against her detractors. BOYER wonders why there were so few instances of women convicted of sorcery given the scope of convictions throughout Europe and the English colonies. He concluded that women were so scarce in the French colony and their presence so precious that convicting them seemed counterproductive.49

The Church and the Midwife

Until late into the eighteenth century the role of midwife appeared to be controlled more by the Church than any other section of society. The attitude of the Church toward suffering, in general, and that associated with childbirth in particular, was far from sympathetic. Peasants were told to suffer for their sins while kings, nobles and the rich had their doctors. The Church taught that the labors of childbirth were a punishment from God on women because it was through a woman, Eve, that sin was introduced into the world and therefore she was at the origin of human misfortune. Even as late as 1848 in Edinburgh, Scotland, Sir James Young SIMPSON objected to anesthesia to relieve childbirth pain.

Birth being an important part of the social, economic, and religious life of a province or colony, the Church recognized its need to control as much of

this segment of life as possible. Developing the framework for the selection of midwives and the rules governing their behavior assured the Church of absolute authority. France and New France were not the only places where the Church dominated the midwives. English bishops and the American colonies also restricted the midwife.50 The Church wanted to safeguard certain aspects of the birthing process. The sage-femme was forbidden to perform abortions, she was instructed on the proper procedures for baptism and in order to curtail births outside of marriage, she was obliged to report any such births and the name of the suspected father. The sage-femme was urged by the Church to keep family secrets. The regulations of New France were similar to those of France, but less stringent.

In some parishes, both in France and New France, the midwife or midwives were selected and /or voted upon by the women of the parish. The nominated woman had to have certain qualifications; she should be a Catholic in good standing. Women belonging to the reformed religion, that is to say Protestantism, were forbidden from being midwives. Midwives were to be married or widowed, they had to have been mothers, but not still with small children or be likely to have any more children themselves because they then might be unable to tend to the needs of their clients. In some cities there were women selected for the higher class women and others for the peasant or poorer women. These elected females might receive a government salary or be paid by the individual family. The parish priest would see that these women were duly instructed on their religious duties.

"L'Ondoiement," baptism, characterized the perilousness of the infant's condition because only the actual baptism was performed without the surrounding rituals and blessings. The difference between "ondoiement" and "baptême" was that the former involved merely the essentials of the ritual, that is, the pouring of the water and the simultaneous saying of the formula of baptism.⁵¹ It was used in emergencies which, however, seemed to occur frequently. Mgr. LAVAL in 1664 directed parents to have their children baptized as soon as possible after birth. Despite the fact that the sage-femme was most likely well prepared to perform the "ondoiement," if there was a male present, then he was expected to be the "ondoyeur." Baptism performed by a priest included the anointing with oil and other attending ceremonies. In the sagefemme ritual of 1713 it stated the sagefemme should never baptize a child in the presence of a priest or other layman. unless the latter was unsure about the proper procedure.

One aspect of birth which did not seem to concern the Church was the medical education of the *sage-femmes*. ⁵² It must be noted that society's views on morality were molded by an extremely conservative Church and society. Even medical nude images were considered unseemly. As late as 1860 in the progressive United States, a country not usually dominated by the Church, an exposition of medical nude figures was closed by the San Francisco police. Midwives who did have manuals with images and/or diagrams were cautioned about allowing others to view such material. ⁵³

The skills of the midwife were not viewed entirely as natural, but rather su-

pernatural, the "White Witch" (La Sorcière Blanche). In a society riddled with superstition, some members held the medical powers of the midwife on a parallel with the powers of the priest who changed the bread and wine at Mass to the Body and Blood of Christ and also held this Sacred Specie in his hands. The priest was often associated with the witch or wizard because he, like the latter, had special powers, and he had a special rapport with the Deity. This attitude continued even until the twentieth century. In her memoire, Josette ARSENAULT, fifty years old in 1973. relates that Régina DUPUIS, who lived in old Shediac Road had met an old missionary priest who had given her some medals and told her to make a necklace from them and circle the abdomen of the mother.54

Meet the Midwives

In the very early days of New France 1608-1625 there seem to be very little information about midwifery and its practitioners. Despite the scarcity of governmental documentation on individual sage-femme, Hélène LAFORCE states that parish records shed more light on midwives and the practice of midwifery. Reviewing this available documentation helps to evaluate the contributions made by these women to the seventeenth century French colony.

The first official midwife mentioned 20 December 1654 by the priest of Notre Dame of Québec was Marguerite LANGLOISE, wife of Abraham MARTIN.⁵⁵ Marguerite's sister, Françoise LANGLOISE, married Pierre DESPORTES. Hélène DESPORTES, their daughter and niece of the first officially documented midwife, also be-

came a sage-femme in Québec. Hélène's first husband was Guillaume HÉBERT. Hélène's daughter, Françoise, by her first marriage, practiced midwifery at Saint-Thomas from1690 to1705. Keeping the profession in the family, Hélène and her second husband, Noël MORIN's daughter, Louise MORIN, was the sage-femme for the area of Château-Richer from 1720-1725. Louise was married to Charles CLOUTIER. The Cloutier family continued to be practitioners of midwifery well into the eighteen century.

The sage-femme, Anne LEMAISTRE, certainly experienced a dramatic life. She was born in Dieppe, Normandy in 1618. She married Louis ROY (LE ROY). After his death and despite her age, Anne became a "Fille du Roi." She was forty-five in 1663 when she landed in Ouébec. Her son, Nicolas ROY (LE ROY) and his wife and children traveled with her. Arriving in September, she married a fifty-eight year old widower named Adrien BLANOUET in November. Anne was the sage-femme for the Ile d'Orléans. Anne's daughter, Marie BLANQUET, and her granddaughter, Denise LECLERC, followed in her footsteps on the Ile d'Orléans. The family tradition did not stop there; the LECLERC family continued to serve the women of Orléans for many years.

It seems illogical to assume that these were the only women practicing midwifery during the seventeenth century. We know that many women served as unofficial midwives. That we do have some names and information on theses early sages-femmes is in itself amazing. Through historical and genealogical research, the future will probably reveal more specific information on the sages-

femmes of that century.

Conclusion

New France was formed, sustained, and enhanced by the female colonists of the seventeenth century. In reviewing their service to the French settlement as midwives, it can readily be seen that the survival of mothers and infants was greatly improved by their ministrations. They not only assisted at the births, but directed the household of the new mother, gave advice, provided a wet nurse when required, baptized the baby if necessary, and performed whatever services were needed. If it was a difficult or complicated birth, the sagefemme sometimes had to remain at her patient's home for several days. On occasion, the household might contain several small children and few, if any neighbors or relatives to help. Thus, the midwife had myriad responsibilities.

The midwives were occasionally required to assist at the jail, if a female prisoner required examination. If a doctor were unavailable, the midwife could also be expected at the bedside of seriously ill persons. During these early days, the midwives of Canada, in contrast to those of Europe, were well respected as can be documented by their close and collaborative association with the doctors.

One grave difficulty for the midwife in seventeenth century New France was the arduous traveling involved. Hélène DESPORTES traveled from Québec to Sillery,⁵⁶ Anne LEMAISTRE from Château-Richer to L'Ange Gardien⁵⁷ and at times one sage femme was the practitioner for all of the Ile d'Orléans.⁵⁸ If one considers the distances, the lack of good roads or paths, the primitive means of transportation, the threat of Indians, and the harsh climate that could prevail, midwifery was not for the faint hearted.

We of the twenty-first century, reading about the accomplishments of these brave, remarkable, and skilled women, can and should proclaim, "Hail to the Midwives!"

Notes

- 1. Je Me Souviens, Spring 1998; "Crime and Seventeenth Century Women in New France," Spring 1999; "The Devoted, the Distinguished and the Dauntless, Unusual Women of Seventeenth Century New France," Spring 2000; "Nuns, Wives, Mothers and Much More: The Contribution of Women to the Economy of New France."
- 2. Je Me Souviens, Spring 2000.
- 3. Hélène LAFORCE, Histoire de la Sage-Femme dans la Région de Québec (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1985): 32.
- 4. The French colonies were occupied by the KIRKE brothers. France and England signed a treaty which returned the colonies to France in 1632.
- 5. Silvio DUMAS, Les Filles du Roi en Nouvelle France (Québec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1972): 32.
- 6. "Filles du Roi" were women sponsored by the French King to populate New France. *The Providence Journal*, May 19, 2002 featured an article on these colonists.
- 7. The same pattern appeared in rural France.
- 8. Richard W. and Dorothy C. WERTZ, A History of Childbirth in America (New York: The Free Press, 1977): 3.
- 9. Jacques GÉLIS, La Sage-Femme ou

- le Médecin (Paris: Fayard, 1988): 254. 10. Mirelle LAGET, "Naissance aux Siècles Classiques," Annales 32 (1946): 960. Quotes François MAURICEAU, Traité des Femmes Grosses et Accouchées.
- 11. LAGET: 961-962
- 12. Merry E. WEISNER, "Early Modern Midwifery: A Case Study," *International Journal of Women Studies* 6 (1978): 32. Rösslin quoted by Weisner. 13. Hélène LAFORCE 30. Hôtel de Dieu de Québec did not admit pregnant women until 1949.
- 14. "La Sage-Femme," Bureau Universitaire de Statistique de Documentation Scolaire et Professionnelles Juin 1958: 2.
- 15. LAFORCE: 78.
- 16. LAFORCE: 75-76.
- 17. Jacques GÉLIS, "Sage-Femmes et Accoucheurs: L'Obstetrique Populaire au XVII^e Siècle" *Annales* 32:.5 (1946): 929.
- 18. Jacques GÉLIS, La Sage-Femme ou le Médecin: Une Nouvelle Conception (Paris: Fayard, 1988): 285.
- 19. GÉLIS, La Sage-Femme: 470.
- 20. LAGET: 971.
- 21. LAFORCE: 62. In 1719 a woman died in Québec after coming to help in the birth of her grandchild.
- 22. L'Eau de vie was an alcoholic distillation of wine, fruit residue, cider, and grain.
- 23. LAGET: 960.
- 24. Election of midwives became more prevalent in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.
- 25. LAFORCE: 198-200.
- 26. Raymond BOYER, Les Crimes et Les Châtiments au Canada Français du XVII^e au XX^e Siècle (Montréal: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1966) 350-351. See also, Je Me Souviens, Spring

1998, pp.72-73.

27. LAFORCE: 51. Quotes Judith BARRETT "The Midwife Controversy," Bulletin of Medical History v. 40 no. 6. (1966): 353.

28. LAGET: 964.

29. GÉLIS, La Sage-Femme: 284-285.

30. LAFORCE: 76.

31. GÉLIS, La Sage-Femme 486. Gélis is quoting Gui PATIN, a seventeenth century doctor and writer. "C'est un sot animal qu'une femme qui se mêle de notre métier, cela n'appartient qu'à ceux qui ont un haut-de-chausse et la tête bien faite" Translation by E. Poulin, RSM.

32. LAFORCE: 74-77.

33. Louise de La VALLIÈRE mistress of Louis XIV. They had two surviving children, the Comte de VERMANDOIS and Mademoiselle de BLOIS.

34. GÉLIS, Sage-Femmes et Accoucheurs: 947.

35. Located approximately 30-40 miles northwest of Montréal city.

36. LAFORCE: 81.

37. Puerperal fever was otherwise known as childbed fever.

38. WERTZ: 12-13.

39. WERTZ: 13. (WERTZ's source: BLANTON, *Medicine in Virginia*, 164.)

40. LAFORCE: 85.

41. Barbara EHRENREICH and Deirdre

ENGLISH, Witches, Midwives and Nurses (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1973): 8.

42. EHRENEICH and ENGLISH: 7-9.

43. EHRENEICH and ENGLISH: 10-11.

44. A. DELACOUX, Biographie des Sage-Femmes Célébres, Anciennes, Modernes, Contemporaines (Paris: Chez Trinquart, 1834): 92.

45. EHRENEICH and ENGLISH: 9-10.

46. Thomas R. FORBES, *The Midwife* and the Witch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966): 118.

47. EHRENEICH and ENGLISH: 13.

48. BOYER: 305-306.

49. BOYER: 306.

50. LAFORCE: 170-171.

51. LAFORCE: 54.

52. Jacques GÉLIS, "La Formation des Accoucheurs et des Sage-Femmes au XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècle, *Annales de Demographie Historique*, 1977: 7, 153.

53. GÉLIS, Formation: 163.

54. Quoted by LAFORCE: 43.

55. LAFORCE: 21.

56. The distance was approximately 4 miles.

57. Château-Richer was about 8 miles along the St. Lawrence River to l'Ange Gardien.

58.The island is approximately 60 square miles.

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Franco-Americans in the Civil War Era

by: Claude & Damien Bélanger

Editor's note: For those who have access to the internet, you are invited to visit the authors' homepage at: http://www2.marianopolis.edu/quebechistory/about.htm. You will be amazed at all you find there. At the end of the article you will find a brief rundown on the site and what it contains.

Preface

This booklet was written in an effort to better acquaint Franco-Americans with their outstanding contribution to American life. Indeed, it is partly up to Canadian historians to reveal this heritage to French Canada's often neglected and overlooked diaspora. For too long, Franco-Americans have remained the "forgotten Americans." This study seeks to help remedy this unfortunate oversight.

French America's past is at the crossroads of Canadian and American history. As such, a brief survey of the growth of Franco-American communities during the Civil War years and of French Canada's role in the United States' most violent and costly conflict seemed a good starting point for a more general reflection on the historical place of French Canadians in America.

On the whole, the events surrounding French Canada's reaction to and participation in the American Civil War also

offer an ideal example of the constant interplay between Canada and her great neighbor. As the conflict drew thousands of adventuresome French Canadians south, it also had a profound effect on the constitutional, political, military and intellectual development of Canada. Truly, the Civil War was a crucial event in Canadian history and should be treated as such.

Franco-Americans in the Civil War Era is the first booklet in a bilingual series called "Études sur l'histoire des relations canado-américaines/Studies in the History of Canadian-American Relations" that explores various aspects of the historical relationship between Canada and the United States. The series' goal is to provide the reader with a more holistic understanding of Canadian and American history.

Indeed, as a Canadian historian, my research has convinced me that our history cannot be studied in a vacuum. The writing of Canadian history must acquire a continental dimension. For too long, Canadian and American scholars have looked at the 49th parallel as if it were something akin to the Great Wall of China. I would argue for a more holistic or continental approach to Canadian and American history. The simple realities of North America proscribe iso-

lationism. A quick glance at a physical map of our continent will reveal far more north-south geographical convergences than divergences. As such, our common border is, in a sense, nothing more than an arbitrary line traced across our continent by nineteenth-century diplomats.

On a demographic level, Canada and the United States have never been truly separate entities. The inhabitants of our two great nations have constantly been on the move and have mingled in a most remarkable way. Seventy years ago, about one American in thirty-seven was of Canadian birth or parentage (almost one in three in New Hampshire and a little more than one in four in Maine) and roughly one Canadian in thirteen was of American birth or parentage (around one in four in Alberta and one in five in Saskatchewan). Moreover, our economies have been inextricably linked since the mid-nineteenthcentury. Finally, on a yearly basis, millions of tourists cross our shared border.

However, despite the tremendous attraction of the United States, Canada has remained independent. In a way, Canada exists in defiance of continentalism. Indeed, it is entirely clear to me that Canada's greatest achievement has been to resist the cultural, social, demographic, economic and geographic forces that bind our two nations together and remain a separate political entity.

For the sake of clarity and continuity, I have decided to use a certain number of anachronisms in this booklet. During the 1860s, the term Franco-American did not yet exist. Nonetheless, I have used "Franco-American" instead of "French Canadian living in the United

States" for obvious reasons. "Québec" and "Ontario" are used to describe what was then known as the Canadian sections of Canada East and West. "Canada" is used for what was in fact the Province of Canada, which contained the most settled areas of the present day provinces of Ouébec and Ontario. "British North America" is used in reference to the totality of the British colonies and possessions in North America as they stood in 1861 (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, the Province of Canada, Vancouver Island British Columbia, Rupert's Land, and the North West Territories).

This study has benefited from the criticism and encouragement of several scholars. My mother, Janice KELLY-BÉLANGER and father, Professor Claude BÉLANGER of Marianopolis College (Montréal), commented on an early draft and offered a great deal of encouragement. Professors Desmond MORTON, Gil TROY and Brian YOUNG of McGill University and Professor Pierre TRÉPANIER of the Université de Montréal have also provided me with useful and perceptive comments. My colleague Michel DUCHARME offered pertinent and constructive criticism. I would also like to thank Antoine GODIN and Dominique FOISY-GEOFFROY for their invaluable technical assistance. This study was made possible by a graduate fellowship granted by the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada.

Damien-Claude BÉLANGER Montréal, Québec June 24th, 2001

Chapter One Franco-American Enlistments: Facts and Figures

Franco-Americans were one of the most important Catholic groups present in the Union forces. Though thousands of Franco-Americans appear to have served in the conflict the exact number is largely unclear. There are no truly reliable statistics concerning foreign enlistments in the Union forces. Consequently, the historian is forced to estimate. Many have done so, and as a result most scholars tend to claim that anywhere from 20,000 to 40,000 Franco-Americans, many of whom would have been born in the United States or had resided there for several years, served in the Union forces, Historians Armand CHARTIER and Yves ROBY both feel that the number of Franco-American enlistments could be about 20,000. In his monumental study, Histoire des Franco-Amééricains (1958), Frenchborn historian Robert RUMILLY expresses doubts regarding the forty thousand enlistments claim but does not offer the reader a counter-estimate. Robin WINKS, who has examined all enlistment estimates feels that "most of the forty thousand or more 'Canadians' who enlisted probably were third and even forth generation French-Canadian Americans." Many historians, including Marcus Lee HANSEN and John BARTLET BREBNER have claimed that "the standard authority on the nativities of the soldiers serving in the Federal armies (an investigation based upon state and regimental records) lists 53,532 as being born in the British-American provinces."1

What is the scientific base for these estimates? Most are indirectly de-

rived from the text of a sermon given in early 1865 by abbé Hercule BEAUDRY (1822-1876) on the occasion of a Libera sung in Notre Dame Cathedral of Montréal for the souls of French Canadian soldiers killed in the Civil War. The very popular parish priest of St. Constant, Ouébec, claimed that 40,000 French Canadians had fought in the Civil War and that 14,000 of these men had already been killed. Through the years this estimate was transformed into a fact in the scholarly literature surrounding the Civil War. BEAUDRY had a good reason to inflate the number of French Canadians in the Union forces: he wished to impress on his listeners the horrors of war with the ultimate goal of keeping French Canadians from immigrating to the United States. Other historians have extrapolated the number of Franco-American enlistments from an estimate made shortly after the war by Benjamin Apthorp GOULD, who had been the actuary of the United States Sanitary Commission from July 1864 to the end of the war. He claimed that 53,532 Union soldiers were born in British North America. However, this frequently quoted figure was based on a very random and unscientific survey and has since been largely discredited by the research of American historian Robin WINKS. The apparent precision of this figure seems to have given it quite a bit of credence among historians.2

Most nineteenth-century estimates of Franco-American participation in the Civil War tend to be high. During and after the war both the Franco-American and the French Canadian elite inflated earlier estimates to serve their respective agendas. In May of 1864, the Catholic Bishop of Montréal, Msgr. Ignace

BOURGET (1799-1885), warned the priests of his diocese that at least 25,000 French Canadians were taking part in the fighting on the Union side and that unless something was done to stop them from enlisting, more would be headed for the *boucherie* (slaughterhouse).³

Major Edmond MALLET (1842-1907), who had served in the Union army, felt that 60,000 French Canadians had fought in the Civil War. In 1893, at a meeting of French Canadian Civil War veterans held in Montréal, Jean-Baptiste ROUILLARD (1842-1908), a radical journalist and veteran of the Tenth Vermont Regiment, claimed that forty-three thousand French Canadians had served in the Northern armies. These later observers used these figures to legitimize the presence of Franco-Americans in American society at a time when, following massive immigration from Ouébec. Franco-Americans were frequently accused of failing to "fit in." What better justification of the presence of Franco-Americans in the United States could there be than to show that so many had fought for the cause of emancipation and liberty in the Civil War?4

Local historians and genealogists who have painstakingly compiled lists of French Canadian servicemen offer the only possibly reliable figures on Franco-American enlistments. Some authors provide figures for individual cities: Southbridge, Massachusetts, sent thirty-nine Franco-Americans into the Union forces, Worcester, Massachusetts, thirty-six, Rutland, Vermont, twenty-nine, Waterville, Maine, sixty and Woonsocket, Rhode Island, fifty-six.⁵

Using these figures and compar-

ing them with reliable estimates of the Franco-American population of the towns in question in 1860 we can figure that anywhere from four to nine percent of French-Canadians residing in the United States served in the Civil War. This figure is high but not surprising because like most immigrant groups, French Canadian men of military age were over-represented within their communities.

Between 1840 and 1860, roughly 225,000 immigrants born in British North America had settled in the United States. A little less than half of these immigrants were French-speaking. Most had left the poverty of rural Québec to find work or affordable homesteads in New England or the Midwest, Many would return to Canada after a few years. By 1860, almost a quarter of a million Americans were born in British North America. These immigrants comprised 6 percent of America's foreignborn population and about one American in 125 was born in British North America. An overwhelming percentage of these immigrants resided in the North. Moreover, roughly nine percent of all people born in British North America lived in the United States. Canadianborn Americans were the fourth largest group of immigrants in America, behind the Irish, the Germans and the English but well ahead of any of the Scandinavian countries or Italy.6

In 1860, the population of French America would have been about 100,000. Many of these Franco-Americans were born and raised in the United States. Nonetheless, most were Canadian-born. If four to nine percent of French America's population had served in the Union forces then the total number of Franco-American enlistments would have been less than ten thousand. However, many French Canadians crossed the border, enlisted, and returned home after their term of service. It is impossible to ascertain the extent of this phenomenon. Yet, it is probable that the number of French Canadians who joined the Union forces after simply crossing the border is larger than the total number of enlistments generated by the various Franco-American communities of the Northeast and Midwest. These French Canadian recruits should be added to any estimate of Franco-American participation. Moreover, after a serious slump in 1861 and 1862, French America's population would experience rapid growth after mid-1863. Thus, it is probably safe to advance that anywhere from ten to twenty thousand French Canadians and Franco-Americans served in the Union forces during the Civil War. Twenty thousand represents an ambitious but not impossible maximum. Nonetheless, the true figure would likely be closer to the ten than the twenty thousand enlistments mark. An overwhelming proportion of these men enlisted in the army. Only a very small number of French Canadians seem to have served in the Union navy.

Nevertheless, all estimates of French Canadian enlistment and service in the Civil War, including those presented in this booklet, are inherently flawed. We will never know exactly how many Franco-Americans fought and died in the Civil War. During the first half of the war, no records were kept of the birthplace or parentage of enlisted men. When such information was at last requested, recruiting agents frequently

filled in the forms with guesses or falsified information to fill state or town quotas. Moreover, Yankee recruiting officers often saw very little difference between an Acadian, a French Canadian, a Frenchman or a French-speaking Belgian or Swiss recruit. All francophones might thus end up being lumped into a large "French" group. Even among French Canadians a certain degree of confusion existed. In fact, during the Civil War era, the term Canadien français had not vet become generalized in French Canada, French Canadians continued to refer to themselves as Canadiens, a term they had used since the French Regime and which distinguished them both from les Français and les Anglais. Franco-Americans, even those born in the United States were often referred to as Canadiens des États-Unis (Canadians of the United States). This confusion was the direct consequence of the temporary nature which most French Canadian immigrants gave to their American sojourn and to a conception of nationality based not on civic allegiance but on ethnicity. A Canadien was a Canadien no matter what side of the border he lived on. During the 1860s, the sense of a Franco-American community distinct from that of French Canada had not yet emerged and the term Canadien was often used to designate French Canadians on both sides of the border. Poor and lacking the basic institutions necessary to foster a distinctive sub-culture, Franco-Americans existed, but did not yet have a strong sense of their own identity. This distinct identity would emerge in the next few decades.8

Shoddy records and confusing identities aside, even a systematic examination of regimental lists would yield

little information about French Canadian enlistments because many, if not most French Canadian recruits do not appear under their real surname. Often illiterate, an important number had their names anglicized by recruiting officers on official documents. This process provides an endless source of frustration to modern researchers and genealogists, as given name and surname changes were common during this phase of French Canadian immigration and seem to almost have been the norm in the army.

Recruiting officers were not the only officials to change French Canadian names. Unable to pronounce French surnames properly, customs and immigration agents, town clerks and Englishspeaking priests were also frequently responsible for changes. However, the immigrant himself was sometimes the initiator of surname changes. Like many other immigrants, some Franco-Americans actively anglicized their surnames in an effort to better fit into American life. Either way, an anglicized surname was and remains one of the more tangible signs of assimilation. Later in the nineteenth century, as the Franco-American population grew, as levels of literacy rose, and as the community gained a greater institutional structure, surname changes would become less frequent.

Examples of surname changes abound. Typically, they followed one of three established patterns:

Phonetic surname changes: The name was spelled phonetically so that an English-speaking person could pronounce it. Thus, the abbé Thomas OUELLETTE, who was the chaplain of the Irish Sixty-ninth New York Regiment,

was known as Father Thomas WILLET. He served with his regiment at the battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg. Joseph BÉRARD of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, served in the Union army under the name Jerry BERRY. The phonetic name change was probably the most common and could be more or less direct (BIGRAW for BIGRAS, DUCETT for DOUCET, DUBAY for DUBÉ, DUPRY or DU PRAY for DUPRÉ, ENO for HÉNAULT, FAVRO for FAVREAU, LA BOUNTY for LABONTÉ, LAMAR for LAMARRE, LEDUE for LEDOUX, LEGASSEY for LAGACÉ, MAYNARD for MÉNARD. RONDO for RONDEAU, or TEBO for THIBAULT), or more approximate (BROTHER BRODEUR, for DAWIRAN for DORION, FRANCU for FRANCOEUR, FRIEZY for FOISY, GUBBY for GOBEIL, JEFFERSON for GEOFFRION, LEBERDEE LABADIE, PERQUINS for PAQUIN, SCAMBO for ARCHAMBAULT, or SHAPEAL for LACHAPELLE).

Translated surnames: This pattern, whereby the original French Canadian name was simply translated into English, was common among those whose surnames expressed an emotion (LOVEJOY for LAJOIE, or HAPPY or CONTENT for L'HEUREUX), a profession (KING for ROY, or WRIGHT for CHARRON), an object (STONE for LAPIERRE, or WOOD for DUBOIS), an animal (BEEF for LEBOEUF), or any other translatable term (FOREST LAFOREST, RIVERS LARIVIÈRE, LUCK for LACHANCE, or SMALL for PETIT). Jacques PAP-ILLON of Rutland, Vermont, served in the union army under the name James BUTTERFLY, while Denis

COURTEMANCHE of Burlington, Vermont, served in the Fifth Vermont Regiment under the name Denis SHORTSLEEVE.

Complete surname changes: The changed surname bore no resemblance, either phonetically or through translation, to the original French Canadian surname. Examples of this type abound and do not follow any pattern (YOUNG for LEMOYNE). Thus Louis G.-A. FAUTEUX, born in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1848, served in Company D of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry from February 1864 to June 1865 under the name George H. SANFORD. He died in Boston in 1899.9

When French Canadian migrants returned permanently to Canada, some kept their anglicized surname. Today, a quick look in any phone book in the Province of Québec will provide examples of some of the name changes listed above, especially the phonetic ones.

Acadians do not appear to have participated in the Civil War in any significant number. A peaceful people, they have traditionally shunned military pursuits. Moreover, in the early 1860s, Acadians had not yet begun their largescale immigration to New England. Indeed, most Franco-Americans in the Union forces hailed from Ouébec or from the Franco-American communities of New York, New England or the Midwest. The Acadians of Aroostook County, Maine, whose inhabitants had become Americans after the Ashburton-Webster Treaty of 1842 transferred their half of the Madawaska Valley to the United States, did contribute roughly

150 soldiers to the Union forces. However, when the 1862 draft went into effect, the county failed to supply its quota of men, and fifty potential recruits fled to New Brunswick. By 1863, the whole Madawaska Valley was said to be a haven for deserters and copperheads. The geographic and cultural isolation of the Acadian populations of Maine, Gaspesia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and of Prince Edward Island contributed to their low participation rates. In fact, in the Atlantic colonies, interest and participation in the Civil War seems to have bypassed many locales and internal minorities such as the Acadians. In Aroostook County, which was the most distant point in the United States from the theater of war, rumors swirled during the whole conflict. In early 1865, the Acadians of St. Bruno, Maine, built barricades, dusted off outdated muskets and prepared to repel a reported Confederate invasion of Maine. Such a seemingly alarmist reaction may seem absurd to the modern observer. However, in the wake of the Confederate raid on St. Albans. Vermont (1864), it was not wholly irrational to imagine that Confederate agents operating in Canada might launch a desperate assault on Northern New England.10

Chapter Two Factors Motivating FrancoAmerican Enlistments and Life in the Union Forces

Why did thousands of French Canadians fight and die in a war that, for the most part, did not concern them? This question, like its answer, is universal. Indeed, the reasons that motivate young men to fight in foreign conflicts are always the same, and can be divided into four distinct categories: idealism,

adventure, profit or coercion.

Today many people portray the Civil War as a conflict of ideals. Indeed. idealism embraced two clear-cut objectives during the war: the preservation of the Union and the liberation of the slaves. Slavery, which was unsuited to Canadian agriculture in any case, first fell into disuse, as Courts refused to be involved in the pursuit of fugitives, and was officially abolished in the British Empire in 1833. As a result, there was a strong abolitionist sentiment in French Canada by the mid nineteenth-century. For example, Harriet Beecher STOWE's (1811-1896) celebrated 1852 novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, was quickly translated into French and published in 1853 in Montréal under the title La case du père Tom, ou, Vie des nègres aux États-Unis. It enjoyed a wide circulation in French Canada, Louis-Antoine DESSAULLES (1819-1895), a prominent annexationist and radical, felt that the Civil War had been caused by slavery, a system that was "the practical negation of Republican institutions." Given these views, some idealistic voung men, like Henri Césaire SAINT-PIERRE (1844-1916), who later became a judge and jurist in the Superior Court of Montréal, seem to have enlisted out of a desire to put down slavery. Saint-Pierre served in the Seventysixth New York Regiment and was active in the G.A.R. after the war. He felt that he and his comrades: "[.....] were Christian soldiers fighting for a holy cause and like the crusaders of old, who wielded their violent swords in their efforts to free their enslaved brethren moaning under the foot of a ruthless conqueror; we devoted all our courage, summed all our energy in the task of breaking to pieces the shackles by which

three millions of human beings were kept in bondage."

Other French Canadians who were born in the United States or had resided there for a good deal of time. may have enlisted out of patriotism and a desire to preserve the Union. In French Canada, where some radical Republicans were proponents of Canada's annexation to the United States, a few men may have fought to save a nation that they considered a model of democracy and freedom. Indeed, SAINT-PIERRE claimed to have enlisted not only to liberate the slaves but also help preserve "the birth place of democracy": "We fought also for the preservation of that sacred compact by which the founders of the Republic had pledged [themselves] to the maintenance of a government of the people, by the people and for the people."1

Certainly, French Canadians were not above serving in foreign conflicts if they felt that the cause was just. In the mid 1860s, several had gone to Mexico to join the French forces defending the Catholic empire of MAXIMILIAN. A few years later, over five hundred ardent Catholics went overseas to defend Pope Pius IX against Italian unification. In 1890, a few even volunteered to join a proposed French military expedition to help suppress slavery in Africa. However, it is unlikely that idealism was the primary motivating factor behind most French Canadian or Acadian enlistments in the Civil War. Indeed, while most French Canadians were sympathetic towards abolition, they were also somewhat pro-Southern in their outlook. Paradoxically, the conservative and Catholic press in French Canada proclaimed itself in favor of secession but opposed to slavery. Conservative elements within French Canada claimed that the Civil War was the logical consequence of egalitarianism, democracy and Republicanism. Any government founded on the principle of popular sovereignty was destined to collapse in a fiery holocaust. Overall, the Civil War seemed a vindication of the traditional anti-Americanism of French Canada's conservative and clerical elite. Moreover, as a minority, French Canada did feel a degree of sympathy for the South's desperate struggle to maintain its distinct identity. Some, like abbé BEAUDRY, saw God's vengeful hand at the root of the conflict. The United States was a society built on "lies, corruption, blasphemy, immorality, fraud and impiety" and was being punished for its sins. He reminded his flock that "religion is the only solid base for a political system." American political institutions were an insult to God's will because they were too democratic and egalitarian. Consequently, Americans suffered from a general lack of respect for authority, especially religious authority. BEAUDRY warned that the thousands of French Canadians who had already died in the Civil War might be a prelude to God's wrath being unleashed on Canada. As in the United States, war would be the punishment for Canada's sins.2

BEAUDRY was not the only Canadian to see war coming to Canada. Indeed, the anti-Northern stance adopted by most Canadians was largely a result of the North's belligerent attitude towards the British Empire. Fearing that a victorious North would turn on British North America after defeating the Confederacy, many Canadians hoped for

a Southern victory. Others felt that American expansionism and manifest destiny, always a threat to Canada, would be checked by a permanently severed Union

Following the Trent affair of 1861, panic swept through British North America as the possibility of an Anglo-American war where Canada would be the battleground became very real. After an all-time high in the late 1850s, Canadian-American relations now had reached a fifty-year low. Indeed, the Civil War would poison relations between Canada and her neighbor for several years and leave a legacy of fear and mistrust north of the border.³

As the Confederacy tried in vain to draw Britain and France into the conflict, the British army rushed thousands of reinforcements into British North America to fend off an apprehended American invasion force. The American Secretary of State, William H. SEWARD (1801-1872), was a notorious proponent of annexation, and hostile rumblings were heard throughout Washington as the urge to retaliate against Canada to punish Great Britain gained momentum. At the conclusion of hostilities, Seward was among those who felt that a foreign war would be the quickest way to unite the North and South. In the House of Representatives, abolitionist Owen LOVEJOY (1811-1864) of Illinois, who was close to Lincoln, threatened that when the war was over the United States would aid the Irish rebels, and foment a revolt in French Canada. Indeed, toward the end of the war many Americans did fund and support the Fenian Brotherhood. The Fenians were American-based Irish nationalists who sought to harass

the British by launching periodic raids or "invasions" into British North America. Poorly planned and badly led, the Fenian raids were easily repelled by the Canadian Militia. Nonetheless, the unofficial American support of Fenianism was a direct consequence of the diplomatic friction generated by the Civil War. Many members of the Fenian "army" were veterans of the Union army and their goals, as expressed in one of their marching songs, were both belligerent and pathetic:

"We are the Fenian Brotherhood, skilled in the art of war,

And we're going to fight for Ireland, the land that we adore.

Many battles we have won along with the boys in blue,

And we'll go and capture Canada, for we've nothing else to do."

Rumors began to fly and exacerbated the situation. The most widely circulated rumor claimed that the North, realizing that it could not conquer the South, was ready to take Canada as a replacement. In diplomatic circles, it was rumored that General Winfield SCOTT had been empowered to offer French Canada to France if she would support the United States in a war with the British Empire. Throughout the Union, troops could be heard singing a new version of Yankee Doodle:

"Secession first he would put down Wholly and forever, And afterwards from Britain's crown He Canada would sever."

Canadians serving in the Union forces began to fear that they would soon be ordered to invade their own country. A group of Canadian-born soldiers went

so far as to petition Lincoln not to declare war on Great Britain.⁴

In Canada, the militia was strengthened. In 1862, Canadian Premier John A. MacDONALD (1815-1891) introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada to establish an active militia force of 50,000, to be selected by conscription if necessary. The bill's defeat brought about the fall of the government but subsequent bills would shore up the defense of Canada. Meanwhile, the British government moved to prohibit the export of military material to the United States while the bishops of Canada East (Ouébec) launched a preparedness campaign. They urged all Catholic men to join the Canadian Militia and prepare to defend their patrie (country) against invasion. In December 1861, during the height of the Trent affair, the Bishop of Montréal, Msgr. BOURGET, called on all the priests of his diocese to remind their parishioners of the bravery of the French Canadian heroes of the battle of Châteauguay, who had defeated a large American invasion force in 1813.

War fever gripped Canada. When rumblings were heard in the halls of Congress or in the popular press in favor of annexation, it became hard for Canadians to sympathize with a cause that, while just, was also a threat to Canada. Moreover, both French and English Canadians were disappointed when, early in the war, Lincoln failed to identify abolition as one of his war goals. Canadian hostility to the North reached its zenith in 1861-1862, then subsided somewhat after the Emancipation Proclamation. In fact, Canadian opinion evolved during different stages

of the war. Lincoln's assassination did unleash a torrent of sympathy in Canada. On the whole, because of Union belligerence towards Canada and the rest of the British Empire, Canadian opinion was more anti-northern than pro-southern per se.⁵

Remarkably, fear and hostility towards the North did not stop thousands of French Canadians from crossing the border and enlisting. Indeed, many enlisted out of a sense of adventure or for money. Undeniably, the call to arms coupled with the allure of uniforms, of action and of far away places has always had a great effect on young men. Contemporary accounts place a great deal of importance on adventure as a motivation for enlistment. At the time, many believed that French Canadian youths suffered from a particularly adventurous spirit that they had inherited from the days of the fur trade. In the annual report of the Province of Canada's Ministry of Agriculture to the Governor General, the commissioner of public works and future father of Confederation, Jean-Charles CHAPAIS (1811-1885), agreed: "Who cannot call to mind the voyageurs des pays d'en-haut, and remember that these bands of gay and intrepid adventurers were recruited almost entirely from the French Canadian youth? This inclination of our ancestors still exists as strongly among their children, and contributes in no small degree to draw away from agricultural pursuits numbers of our young men, who, strong and robust, might do important service in opening up the country. How many hundreds of these are this day to be found at the mines of California and Australia, engaged in the pursuit of treasures, often in vain, and which, when they do find,

they expend in useless, often indeed in criminal extravagances? How many of them pass their winters in the shanties, in the bosom of the forests, or their summers at the fisheries on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, or on the coast of Labrador and Gaspesia? Has not this same passion for excitement the effect of seducing too great a number of our young men into the ranks of the armies of the American Republic?"6

A prime example of an adventuredriven enlistment can be found in French Canadian journalist and writer Rémi TREMBLAY (1847-1926). At the age of twelve, TREMBLAY's family left Ouébec to immigrate to Rhode Island, where he and several relatives worked in various cotton mills in and around Woonsocket, However, when the Civil War disrupted New England's cotton industry, wages were cut and the TREM-BLAYs were unable to find work. In 1862, the family returned to Canada. At sixteen, Rémi TREMBLAY dreamed of serving in the French Foreign Legion. He then figured that his best chance to see any action was in the Union forces. TREMBLAY had caught "war fever" at fourteen while living in Woonsocket. In his autobiographical Civil War novel, Un revenant. Épisode de la Guerre de Sécession (1884), he explains how it affected him: "[I] had witnessed the departure of the Woonsocket, R. I., company and was also present for the ovation they received upon their return [from the first battle of Bull Run]. The spectacle of those brave men, their faces tanned by the Virginia sun, had gripped [my] imagination. The few injured men [I] had seen with their arm in a splint or walking with crutches inspired [me]. [I] believed that those soldiers who had lost

their lives at Bull Run were martyrs to the cause of humanity. The dead, the injured and the survivors all seemed to be heroes. [I] would have enlisted immediately, but it was 1861 and [I] was only fourteen "7

In October 1863, penniless, the sixteen-vear old TREMBLAY left his job and his family and walked 72 miles from Contrecoeur, Ouébec, to Rouse's Point, New York, where he enlisted in the Fourteenth United States Regular Infantry. He had signed up "not for money but for glory." However, during his eighteen months of service. TREMBLAY would see very little money or glory, and plenty of misery. He saw action in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor and in the siege of Petersburg and fought bushwhackers in Kentucky and West Virginia. Captured in 1864, he was incarcerated for six long months in the notorious Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, Paroled, TREMBLAY was sent to a parole camp in Annapolis, Maryland, where he went absent without leave and deserted. Wanted for desertion, he quickly returned to Canada and in 1866 became an officer in the Canadian Militia. He then saw action during the Fenian raids. Later he became a journalist and a translator at the Canadian House of Commons. An adventurous man throughout his life, TREMBLAY died in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, in the French West Indies. He was not the only French Canadian to use his Civil War experience to secure a commission in the Canadian Militia. Though he should have been arrested upon his return to Canada for flouting the British Foreign Enlistment Act, Isaïe DUSSAULT (1843-1929), who had joined the Union army in 1864, went on to become a lieutenant-colonel

in the Canadian Régiment de Portneuf.

TREMBLAY, like many other French Canadian soldiers, did not have any scruples regarding desertion, and indeed, tried to desert several times. After reading that Confederate President Jefferson DAVIS had issued a proclamation granting an amnesty and promising to repatriate foreign-born Union soldiers. TREMBLAY claims to have deserted to a band of West Virginian bushwhackers in hopes of being allowed to travel to Mexico and enlist in Emperor MAXIMILIAN's army. When he learned that he would not be sent anywhere but back to the Union lines. TREMBLAY eventually found his way back to his regiment, so as to avoid a court martial.

Many young French Canadians, upon learning that army life was not as glamorous as it had first seemed, deserted. Some tried to obtain a release on the grounds that they were British subjects and that their enlistment violated British neutrality laws or that they had enlisted while underage and without parental consent.

About forty percent of the Union forces were twenty-one years old or less and many were younger than eighteen. Éphrem-A. BRISEBOIS (1850-1890) enlisted in 1865, when he was only fifteen. A fervent Catholic, he later served in the Papal Zouaves and fought Italian unification. In 1873, when the Canadian government set up the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to patrol the recently acquired North-West Territories, BRISEBOIS was named one of its nine commanding officers. During 1875, he supervised the construction of Fort

Brisebois, which was later renamed Calgary, Alberta. In 1885, BRISEBOIS took part in the suppression of Louis RIEL's North-West Rebellion.

Undeniably, the Civil War was hell. Indeed, many Franco-Americans would never return home. Onésime FALARDEAU (1828-1862) was the first soldier from Cohoes, N. Y. to be killed in the war when the train that should have brought him to his basic training camp struck him. Eusèbe SANSOUCI (or SAN SOUCI) had settled in the United States in 1855. After enlisting in the First United States Cavalry Regiment, he was killed in the battle of Salem Church, Virginia, in 1863. One of his children, Emery John (1857-1936), would go on to become the Republican Lieutenant Governor (1915-1920) and Governor (1921-1923) of Rhode Island. Some French Canadians would return home horribly maimed.

Discipline in the army was often severe and the pay was low and irregular. The terror of battle contrasted severely with the monotony and boredom of camp life, with its endless and tedious drills and reviews as well as dirty, leaky and cold tents. Long marches carrying forty pounds of equipment, food shortages, contaminated water, parasites, improper nutrition, sanitation, lodging and medical care all weakened the troops' health and morale. Wearing the same uniform year-round, troops baked in the summer and froze in the winter. While the Union soldier was better fed than his Confederate counterpart, on the whole, his diet was utterly deficient. He lacked fresh meat, fruits and vegetables. Improper treatment of the wounded and the sick made soldiers fear the doctor. In fact, disease claimed twice as many Civil War soldiers than combat. In an era where germs were unknown to medical science, measles, especially in winter, malaria, venereal disease, dysentery and the deadly typhoid fever were the soldier's worst enemies. The camps surrounding Washington, D. C., which were transit points during the war, were notoriously insalubrious during the first phase of the conflict. Charles BILO-DEAU (1834-1901) of Saint-Lazare, Québec, immigrated to Pennsylvania in the 1850s and enlisted as a cook in late 1861. He offers a good example of how disease spread through the Union ranks. In his diary, he recounts his brush with death near Washington in 1861: "November 16. After having slept on the ground and in the mud, without any blanket, I contracted typhus." BILODEAU was lucky to survive, though he would later contract both dysentery and malaria. No longer a cook, he saw action until mid-1865 and was able return home to Saint-Lazare after the war.8

Like Rémi TREMBLAY, many Franco-American soldiers had to suffer through the wretched and unsanitary conditions of Confederate prison camps. Malnourished in cramped and insalubrious camps, many would not survive their internment. Simon M. **DUFUR** (DUFOUR) of Richford, Vermont, was confined for eleven long months in Pemberton, Libby, Belle Island, Florence, and the notorious Andersonville Prison. A private in Company B of the 1st Regiment of Vermont Cavalry, DUFUR was captured at the age of nineteen during the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren raid on Richmond, Virginia. He later wrote a gripping account of his incarceration under the title of Over the Dead Line (1902).

Modern warfare is said to be largely impersonal. Ships and planes fire missiles at distant targets and inflict "collateral damage." Inversely, Civil War fighting was highly personal. Soldiers would fire at each other at close range and then charge with fixed bayonets. Battles often degenerated into vicious hand-to-hand combat, which, at heart, was not fundamentally different from the methods of war practiced two thousand years ago. The deadly chaos of battle, where the screams of the wounded and the dying mingled with the smoke and noise of rifle and cannon fire drove many men mad. Forced to kill or be killed, many Franco-American soldiers returned home psychologically scarred by their war experiences.9

Isolated and homesick, Franco-American soldiers might not even be able to turn to their chaplain, who was usually a Protestant, and if he was Catholic, could probably not speak French. It was virtually impossible for isolated Catholics to keep Lent. Moral degradation rolled through the camps and Catholics and Protestants alike were swept up in a wave of swearing, gambling, drinking and prostitution. The accent and religion of foreign-born soldiers often made them the victims of pranks, mischief and abuse. Though French Canadians who had worked in lumber camps were used to cramped quarters, exhausting work and bad food, often, a steady diet of salt pork, hard tack and coffee and the general harshness of military life would take its toll on even the most hardened recruit. Many would do almost anything to get out of the service. Canada's National Archives contain one particularly pitiful yet touching letter written in desperation by a young English Canadian who had endured the Peninsular campaign of 1862: "You may write to Lord Lyons [the British Minister in Washington] & try to get me out if you can [.....] I want to get out very bad tell him that I enlisted under eighteen & that I am only five months over it now. Tell him that I am a British subject [.....] We got half a lemon and four potatoes one day and that was all [.....] the food didn't come [.....] we are full of lice [.....] the bones stick out all over me [.....] I saw the Rebels on the other side of the river [while] on picket but I did not fire at them. It seemed too much like murder & I thought of the Golden Rule — do unto others as you would they should do unto you [.....]"10

Of course, the war could have its lighter side. In a letter to his parents, a Wisconsin private recounted a story that probably involved a French Canadian: "We came in the [railway] cars from Madison from La Crosse. It was a new experience for me, I was wide awake the whole day. I was afraid we were off the track every time we crossed a switch or came to a river. At the towns the girls swarmed on the platforms to ask the boys for their pictures and to kiss the best looking ones. A young Frenchman [.....] small and quick, got the most kisses. He was so short the boys held him by the legs so he could reach down out the windows to kiss the girls. Many times some old fellows held the girls up so she could be reached. It was fun anyway."11

Most French Canadians did find the adventure they craved. Some thoroughly enjoyed the camaraderie of military life. Others served in the Deep South and returned home with exotic stories involving Negroes or alligators to tell their enthralled relatives. Many rural men who had never even seen a camera before had their first picture taken. Though French Canadian soldiers were often picked on by their Anglo-American peers, many claimed to have been quite popular, as they were able to entertain their comrades by telling stories of Indians and far away places or by singing French songs. Rémi TREM-BLAY claims to have been particularly well liked by his comrades. His ability to "imitate Irish, Negro or German accents" or to "sing bawdy songs" apparently endeared him to his brothers in arms. In his memoirs he wrote that: "There was no animosity directed at French Canadians. They [his comrades] only knew of one, [myself], whom they called Frenchy." Then, as today, many Franco-Americans had to endure being known as "Frenchy" at some moment of their life.12

The presence of musicians or of a band in a regiment might raise the troops' morale. One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Union army was its numerous bands of musicians. When not on the march, bands commonly gave concerts that were greatly enjoyed by the soldiers. Indeed, before gramo-phones, radio or television came into existence, live music was one of the preferred entertainment of the masses. On the whole, Civil War soldiers had to provide their own entertainment. During the early part of the war, each regiment was authorized a band, but in mid-1862 an order was passed prohibiting bands below the brigade level. In September 1861, one of Canada's most famous composers,

Calixa LAVALLÉE (1842-1891) enlisted as a first-class trumpeter in the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment, probably under the name Caliax LEVALLEY. Born near Verchères, Québec, LAVAL-LÉE had run away from home at the age of fifteen and had eventually joined a traveling minstrel show at New Orleans. A musician at heart, he nonetheless found himself transferred to combat duty after the War Department suppressed regimental bands. Wounded in the leg during the battle of Antietam, he was honorably discharged in October 1862. After his discharge, LAVALLÉE would compose the music to O Canada, which today is Canada's national anthem. He died in Boston at the age of forty-nine. Some historians speculate that LAVAL-LÉE's interest in patriotic music was sparked by his days as a military musician. 13

Though there was no specifically Canadian unit in the way there were Irish or German regiments during the war, many French Canadians served in regiments from Northern New England, the Midwest or upstate New York where their countrymen were well represented. Several regiments from Maine or Vermont contained so many French Canadians that French became the dominant language within some companies. Some served in the only French regiment of the Union army, the Gardes LAFAYETTE (the Fifty-fifth New York), commanded by a French immigrant, the writer and journalist Colonel Régis de TRO-BRIAND (1816-1897), who had had previous military training and experience in France. The regiment had been formed out of a New York militia unit and was partially equipped with funds collected among the French and French Canadian population of New York city. They drilled at Camp Lafayette on Staten Island before being shipped to the front. After a year of service, the regiment had lost over four hundred men and had to be incorporated into the Thirty-eighth New York Regiment.¹⁴

A few attempts were made to form Canadian or French Canadian regiments in the Union army. All failed. In 1861, Colonel RANKIN, who was a member of Parliament in the Province of Canada and a militia officer, set out to raise a regiment of sixteen hundred lancers for service with the North. He was quickly arrested for violating the British Foreign Enlistment Act. As a Union recruitment officer, Edmond MALLET had sought unsuccessfully to regroup all the French Canadians serving in the various infantry units mustered in the Lake Champlain region into one French Canadian regiment. Major MALLET, whose family emigrated from Montréal to Oswego, New York, when he was only seven, would eventually become a prominent member of the Franco-American elite. After the battle of Fair Oaks in 1862. MALLET was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. Severely wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor in 1864, he had been left for dead on the battlefield (his death was even announced in an Oswego newspaper) when a general who knew him well insisted that he receive medical treatment. After the battle, he recovered and was cited for "distinguished gallantry" and promoted from the rank of lieutenant to that of major by President Lincoln. After the war, MALLET attended Columbia University and received a degree in law. He went on to work for the United States Treasury Department and was named Special Indian

Agent in Oregon by President GRANT in 1874. Later, President CLEVELAND named him Inspector-General of Indian Affairs. Sadly, after his years of military and civil service, MALLET, like many other Franco-Americans, could barely speak French and was only a nominal Catholic, However, after a visit to Canada awakened his faith and his national pride, MALLET became very active in the movement to preserve the French language and culture in the United States. He acknowledged that he had been saved at Cold Harbor by Providence and by his mother's prayers and became a zealous Catholic. As an amateur historian and bibliophile, MALLET sought to chronicle the contribution of French Canadians to the American Republic in an effort to instill a sense of pride among his compatriots. Today, his library forms the core of the Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique's collection of Franco-Americana, Major MALLET had risen through the ranks to become, it would seem, the highest ranked French Canadian in the Union forces. According to Colonel de FOR-EST, "if he had been five years older and five inches taller, he would have finished the war a general rather than a major." On the whole, French Canadians in the Union army were disadvantaged not so much by their height or age but by their language and religion and by their general lack of military experience. Indeed, for various reasons, French Canadians were under-represented in the ranks of the Canadian Militia.

Consequently, most Frenchspeaking officers in the Union army were from France and had previous military experience. While there was one Montréal-born general in the Union army, Jacob Dolson COX, and one Canadian-born colonel, Joseph R. SCOTT, few French Canadians received officer's commissions.¹⁵

Along with adventure, money seems to have been the other prime motivation for French Canadians to enlist in the Union army. By 1863, recruitment had reached an impasse in the United States. Americans who were going to enlist for various reasons already had. The economy was in high gear and America had become war weary. An inefficient and unfair draft system (only seven percent of the men whose names were drawn actually served) allowed the purchasing of substitutes or an exemption from military service with the payment a 300 dollar commutation fee. Viewed as a right, substitution had a long tradition in America. However, the draft system was mostly an inducement to volunteer. Indeed, it was the volunteer who truly stood to profit from the war. As the conflict progressed and states and counties sought to fill their enlistment and draft quotas, the value of national, regional and local bounties increased. A substitute might receive several hundred dollars for his services, especially after Congress repealed commutation in 1864. By the end of the conflict, an entrepreneurial recruit could also combine federal, state, county and municipal bounties into grants of a thousand dollars or more. 16

In French Canada, as elsewhere, this sum represented a small fortune. Most Canadian workers only earned a few dollars a week and most farms, if they produced a marketable surplus, could not expect their yearly profits to

exceed one or two hundred dollars. Many enlisted in late 1864 or early 1865, knowing that the conflict would soon be at a close and hoping to use their bounty money to pay off debts or buy a farm. In a predictable pattern, poverty and debt drew many French Canadians into the Union army. The Canadian government understood the importance of Union bounties in attracting foreign recruits. In 1864, the Report of the Canadian Minister of Agriculture tried to explain the recent slump in immigration to Canada by claiming that: "The high bounty offered for enlistment in the North has also had a powerful effect in directing the current of European emigration toward our neighbors' shores."17

As America became desperate for soldiers, substitute brokers and unofficial recruitment officers crossed the border in hopes of inducing Canadians to enlist. These men operated illegally. Indeed, under the British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1818, it was illegal for British subjects to serve or recruit for foreign armies. It was also illegal for foreigners to recruit British subjects. Moreover. American law also forbade foreign recruiting. Quickly rescinded and rarely enforced, the War Department's General Order No. 45 of July 1861 had even prohibited the acceptance into the service of recruits who did not speak English. These legal stumbling blocks did not stop substitute brokers and recruiters from operating throughout Canada. Often these men sought to induce British soldiers to desert from the low pay and harsh discipline of the British army. They also convinced many privates and officers to desert from the Canadian Militia. Receiving a bounty or commission for every young man they could convince to cross the border, many agents operated with complete impunity. Bribes and a need for recruits made American officials look the other way. Detroit, Buffalo and Northern New England became centers of Canadian recruitment. Towards the end of the war, the problem became so serious that the Canadian government had to set up a secret police force to counter it.¹⁸

Some of the most successful recruiters were Franco Americans. The French Canadian elite denounced these men with particular vehemence. In 1864, the Bishop of Trois-Rivières, Québec, Msgr. Thomas COOKE (1792-1870), warned the clergy of his diocese that it was their duty to "unmask these traitors." 19

However, the system functioned improperly and many French Canadians took advantage of its flaws. Indeed, Canadians were notorious "bounty jumpers." Some were known to cross the border, enlist, claim their bounties and then desert and return to Canada at the first opportunity. A few even repeated this feat several times. Union General H. B. CARRINGTON reported that British North Americans would enlist, desert and enlist again, and that to help put an end to this practice he had court-martialed and executed two unfortunate Canadians who had each collected three bounties.²⁰

Canadians were not the only people to abuse the system. As French Canadians headed south to serve in the Union forces or work in a booming economy, hundreds of northern soldiers deserted and took a "French furlough" in Montréal. In early 1863, when Union morale hit rock bottom, desertion and

draft dodging reached a fever pitch and were noticeably prevalent in the states that bordered Canada, Indeed, Canada proved a safe heaven for deserters and draft dodgers or "skeddadlers" as they were called. At first, these men were welcomed because a decline in immigration from the British Isles had created a labor shortage. However, Canada soon contained as many as fifteen thousand deserters and draft dodgers. Coupled with the Union spies, escaped POWs, Confederate agents and copperheads that circulated freely in British North America, these men drove wages down and created all kinds of disturhances 21

Not all French Canadians were enlisted into the Union forces of their own free will. During the Civil War, both sides used entrapment and coercion to fill their ranks. Some French Canadians were illegally drafted in the United States while others who had become American citizens were subject to the draft. During the conflict, stories abounded of "crimps" drawing Canadians over the border with the promise of work and tricking or coercing them into enlisting. These stories generally follow a predictable pattern: An American would hire a French Canadian or promise him work across the border. The French Canadian would cross the border and go out and get drunk with his new friend (sometimes victims were drugged). The next morning, he would awake hung over in a barracks dressed in a blue uniform and discover that he had enlisted in the Union army. Often. his freedom and his bounty had been taken away. Some men were abducted from their homes along the American border, while others were arrested while

in the U.S. for alleged desertion from an army to which they had never belonged and were forced to enlist to avoid incarceration. The Collector of Customs at Coaticook, Ouébec, claimed that crimps made it unsafe for townsmen to be out at night. Reports of mere boys being tricked into recruiting were not uncommon. In 1864, six French Canadians petitioned the Governor-General of British North America, Lord MONCK (1819-1894), on behalf of a sixteen-yearold named Alfred BROISSOIT who had been made drunk by a recruiting officer, taken from Montréal to the United States where he enlisted and then was fleeced of his bounty money and forced to sign a receipt for a sum greatly in excess of his bounty. In his short novel, L'Innocente victime (1936), Franco-American writer and folklorist Adélard LAMBERT (1867-1946) tapped into the multitude of French Canadian folk-tales surrounding "crimping" and told the story of a young man who was tricked into enlisting in 1864. Wounded in battle and stricken with amnesia, the man fails to locate his wife who sets out to find him and is murdered in a case of mistaken identity. LAMBERT's novel, along with Rémi TREMBLAY's Un revenant and a few poems, are the only evidence of the Civil War to be found in French Canadian literature.22

While crimping did exist, it was not as common as Civil War era accounts suggest. Priests often used crimps as bogeymen to scare their parishioners away from the United States and alcohol. The government of the Province of Canada did all it could with limited resources to stop crimping. Sometimes, it offered rewards to apprehend known crimps.

It would also appear that about one in fifty British North Americans who fought in the Civil war served in the Confederate forces. Very little is known about these men. Some Nova Scotians served in the small Confederate navy or on blockade runners. Since only a few Franco-Americans lived in the Southern States in 1860 their numbers in the Confederate forces must have been very limited. In his autobiographical novel, Rémi TREMBLAY claimed that after deserting from the Union army he served briefly in a Confederate unit to avoid being sent back to the Union lines to face a court martial. After a few days, he deserted from his new unit and found himself in the unenviable position of being wanted for desertion by both sides. Isaïe PIGEON was living in Maryland in 1861 when he enlisted with a fellow French Canadian named DUROCHER in the Confederate Langways Regiment. Born in 1841 in Coteau Landing, Québec, he took part in the first battle of Bull Run and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant before being captured in 1863. After his release he returned to live in Canada 23

In French Canada, the clergy had long claimed that life in America would be deadly and miserable for emigrants. During the Civil War their words rang true. Indeed, the political and clerical elite of French Canadian society did all it could to stop young men from enlisting in the Union or Confederate forces. Though, as was the case with French Canadian immigration to the United States, they were less than successful in putting an end to enlistments. While they were denounced in both the pulpit and in Parliament, hardly any Canadian-born Union soldiers were arrested when they

returned home. A couple of French Canadian priests even found themselves serving as chaplains in Union regiments or hospitals. In addition, two French Canadian surgeons and five Canadian-born nuns attended to the sick and wounded during the conflict.²⁴

Chapter Three The Growth of French America During the Civil War

Most of the French Canadians who immigrated to America during the Civil War probably did not come to fight but rather to participate in a booming economy. Nonetheless, the conflict disrupted French Canadian immigration. Indeed, during the Civil War the United States was experiencing rapid but uneven growth. After an initial slump, the war stimulated the manufacturing sector but retarded overall growth. Soon, large numbers of women entered the labor market. Real wages stagnated as inflation and currency devaluation ate away at income. While the American economy grew as demand for food, uniforms, blankets, shoes and weapons soared, there was a slump in other sectors, notably in railway construction, or in the cotton industry of New England. On the whole, the Civil War both dislocated immigration and trade.1

The slowdown in the cotton industry would have serious repercussions on the fledgling Franco-American communities of New England. Many immigrants returned to Canada as mills closed or cut wages and work weeks. During the Civil War, the Canadian dollar was still on a gold basis. While the American Federal Government printed millions in greenbacks, the U.S. dollar depreciated in value and Canadians could buy farms in

Michigan at bargain prices. Some French Canadians did use this opportunity to buy land at twenty to thirty cents per acre. Nonetheless, the Civil War brought about a major shift in French Canadian immigration patterns. Before the War. French Canadians headed to the American Northeast and to the Midwest in roughly equal proportions. However, after the conflict, New England and New York State began to attract the vast majority of immigrants. The rapid industrialization of the Northeast accounts for part of this shift but it can also be attributed to the changing nature of French Canadian immigration. Before 1860, an important proportion of immigrants from French Canada settled on farms in Illinois or Michigan. As the American agricultural frontier continued to shift Westward towards the Dakotas, Montana and Kansas, French Canadians who could afford to homestead turned their sights on the regions of Québec which had remained largely untilled, like the Saguenay-Lake St. John or parts of the Laurentians. The new immigrant was poorer. He could not afford to travel as far, and was more likely to be seeking industrial work. Hence, the mills and factories of New England and New York State became more attractive.2

Between 1860 and 1870, about 100,000 French Canadians settled in the United States. During this period, the total population of French America roughly doubled. By 1870, almost half a million Americans were born in British North America. About a third of these new immigrants were French Canadians. Most would have arrived between 1863 and 1870. Indeed, many Franco-American communities in New England experienced negative popula-

tion growth from 1860 to 1863. In his memoirs, Rémi TREMBLAY described how and why many immigrants, including his family, returned home: "The industrial crisis deepened in the beginning of the war. The mills had cut two days out of the work week and everyone expected that they would soon close outright. Discouraged, many French Canadian families began to think about returning to the Saint-Lawrence Vallev. Some former farmers decided to make the trip home using horses that, owing to deflation, could be bought at reasonable prices. The savings it generated compensated the slowness and discomfort of this mode of transport. A farmer saved on railway tickets and arrived in Canada with a horse and wagon [and could start homesteading immediately1."3

Problems in the cotton industry, temporary passport regulations, a low U.S. dollar and the fear some immigrants had of being drafted kept many away, especially during the first half of the War. However, prosperity in Canada was the main cause for the decrease of French Canadian immigration. As a general rule, French Canadians would not leave their homeland if they could earn a decent living there. Immigration was stimulated by necessity and not by greed. During the Civil War, the Canadian economy flourished. Tied to the U.S. by a reciprocity treaty negotiated in 1854, British North America exported huge amounts of food and raw materials to a bulimic American war economy. In the Atlantic colonies, fish and lumber exports rose while shipbuilding and smuggling, which were an important segment of the regional economy, grew substantially as huge profits could be made in running the Union blockade of the Confederate States

However, by 1863-1864, Canadian wages began to return to their prewar level as thousands of American draft dodgers, deserters, copperheads and escaped Confederate POWs began to stream into Canada and drive wages down. Millions of dollars of depreciated American silver coins also found their way North, which helped alleviate Canada's traditional shortage of hard currency but also stimulated inflation. For the first time, Canadian banks and businesses were no longer willing to accept American dollars on par. While the cotton industry in New England slumped, the American leather and wool industries flourished in response to the military's endless demand for shoes, belts, harnesses, uniforms and blankets. Meanwhile, the war cut wide swaths through the American labor pool. Correspondingly, thousands of French Canadians streamed into the U.S. from 1863 to the end of the conflict. One of these, Alfred BESSETTE (1845-1937) of St-Grégoire-d'Iberville, Québec, came to work in New England's textile industry in 1865. Orphaned at the age of twelve, he had come to the United States in order to escape desperate poverty. BESSETTE would return to Ouébec in 1867 and join the Congregation of the Holy Cross as Brother André. He would go on to become Canada's most important faith healer and was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1982. Today, Montréal's St. Joseph's Oratory, North America's only major urban shrine and an important pilgrimage site, stands as a testament to Brother André's intense spirituality.

In the Midwest, the Civil War brought employment and prosperity to Franco-Americans. In Michigan, French Canadians arrived to work in a lumber industry that was experiencing rapid growth as timber prices soared. Michigan's lumber barons preferred French Canadian labor because it was more skilled and experienced. Other French Canadians found work in iron and copper mining around Lake Superior as wartime demand made prices soar. The Michigan mining industry was so desperate for labor that the various companies got together and founded the Mining Emigrant Aid Association to recruit workers in Canada and Great Britain. In June 1863, a Franco-American agent of the Association, Euchariste BRÛLÉ, arrived in the Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula with 250 workers he had recruited in French Canada. However, most of these workers soon left their mining jobs to work in an industry with which they were better acquainted: lumber. Some Franco-American entrepreneurs managed to obtain a piece of the action in Michigan. Félix ROULEAU imported Canadian horses to sell to the Union army. In 1863, Charles GARIÉPY, Jean-JOLICOEUR, **Baptiste** PERRAULT and John FOURNIER received government contracts to supply the constructors of the Michigan Mineral Range State Road with wood.4

Illinois witnessed important institutional growth during the Civil War era. In 1861, nuns from the Congrégation de Notre-Dame founded a convent in Bourbonnais. In 1865, a group of Clerics of Saint Viator led by Father P. BEAUDOIN, c.s.v. from Joliette, Québec, founded a commercial academy in Bourbonnais that was destined to be-

come the most important institution of the Viatorians in America: St. Viator College. Under the auspices of the Clerics of Saint Viator, the college would play a key role in the fight to preserve the French language and culture in the American Midwest, St. Viator College received a university charter from the Illinois Legislature in 1874. In Chicago, Father MON-TOBRIG, a French priest, founded Notre-Dame parish in 1863. A year later, the parish was taken over by Father Jacques CÔTÉ (1829-1911). who was its curate for twenty years. Soon, Notre-Dame parish became a transit point for many of the French Canadian immigrants arriving in Illinois. By 1865, there were roughly 7000 Franco-Americans in Chicago.

In the American Northeast, immigrants began to change their settlement patterns. As the following table attests, French Canadians headed increasingly towards Southern New England. As industrialization progressed in Southern New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, immigrants turned away from the farm labor, lumbering, brickworks, marble quarries and slateworks of Northern New England and headed for the industrial centers of Southern New England, Northern New York State remained a popular destination for immigrants. Between 1860 and 1870, the Franco-American population of New England nearly tripled and immigration patterns profoundly shifted. New England and upstate New York became the preferred destinations for French Canadian immigrants, and Massachusetts replaced Vermont as the New England state with the largest Franco-American population. By the early 1860s, railway construction had made

Distribution of the Franco-American Populatiion of New England, 1860-18706

State	Total Franco- American population in 1860	% of Total Fr American Population of New England residing in each state in 1860	Total Franco- American population by state in 1870	% of total Fr American population of New England residing in each state in 1870
Maine	7,490	20	15,100	14.6
New Hampshire	1,780	4.8	7,300	7.1
Vermont	16,580	44.4	29,000	28
Massachusetts	7,780	20.8	34,600	33.4
Rhode Island	1,810	4.8	8,900	8.6
Connecticut	1,980	5.3	8,600	8.3
Total	37,420	100	103,500	100

Southern New England much more accessible for French Canadians. Around 1850, it had taken five weeks for Napoléon LORD to travel by horse-drawn wagon from Southern Québec to Lowell, Massachusetts. In 1864, Philippe LEMAY's family was able make the trip in five days by riding the various rail lines which now crisscrossed the American Northeast.⁵

During the war, Franco-American institutions experienced a slow but steady pace of growth. In New England and New York State, only ten French Canadian Catholic parishes existed in 1860. Most Franco-Americans had to attend mass in English in predominantly Irish parishes. During the war years, the

Franco-Americans of Winooski, Vermont, would travel the mile and a half that separated them from Burlington, to attend a French mass in St. Joseph's parish (founded in 1850) until they could found their own parish, St. Francois-Xavier in 1868.

In Maine, the French Canadians and Acadians of Aroostook County petitioned Pope Pius IX to have the parishes of their region transferred to the authority of the diocese of Portland, Maine. After their half of the Madawaska Valley had become American, its parishes had remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick. Some even wanted an apostolic vicariate to be erected in the

Madawaska. In 1870, after several years of petitioning, Rome transferred the American half of the Madawaska Valley over to Msgr. BACON (1814-1874), Portland's first bishop.

One Franco-American newspaper, Le Phare des lacs, of Watertown, New York, was founded during the Civil War years by Alexandre GRANDPRÉ and Claude PETIT. It would remain in print for the next dozen years. Another newspaper, Le Courrier de l'Illinois, founded in 1857 in Kankakee, failed.

Fortunately for Franco-Americans and all American Catholics, the Civil War offered a brief respite from anti-foreign American nationalism. The war temporarily disrupted organized nativism by absorbing xenophobes and immigrants in a common cause. Indeed, the nativistic Sons of America, the Order of United Americans and the very heart of Know-Nothingism, the American party, all collapsed in the early 1860s. Suddenly Puritan New England's arch nemesis ceased to be the Pope and became "Johnny Reb." Despite a few incidents, Catholics contributed to the war effort. Moreover. anti-British sentiment stirred up by the Trent affair and other Anglo-American incidents helped make the Irish, and Catholics in general, appear more sympathetic to Protestant America.7

Like all American Catholics, Franco-Americans had had to suffer the high tide of nativism and *Know-Nothingism* in the 1850s. Claiming that Catholicism was a threat to American liberty, nativism was more anti-Catholic than it was anti-immigrant. The main target of nativists had been the Irish, but French Canadians had also had to suffer

discrimination. Like the Irish, French Canadians were triple outsiders: they were Catholic, poor and foreign. Moreover, they spoke French, which made them face discrimination even from the Irish.⁸

After a high tide in the 1850s, the war also largely submerged French Canadian annexationism. Though some radicals like journalist Hector FABRE (1834-1910) continued to speculate that French Canada would have been better off if it had become an American State. annexationism, once very strong in the late 1840s and early 1850s, was largely a spent force by 1865. Increasingly marginalized in French Canada, some annexationists, like the outspoken journalist and Civil War veteran Jean-Baptiste ROUILLARD, would have to take their message South, where they could preach to a more receptive audience. Indeed, annexationism was fairly popular in nineteenth-century French America, In 1893 ROUILLARD was in Boston publishing a monthly journal dedicated to annexationism named L'Union continentale.

On the whole, the Civil War severely tarnished the reputation that America had enjoyed as a model of stable democracy in the radical circles of French Canada. For years to come, Canadian Conservatives would use the war as a club to beat their Liberal opponents. To them, the American experiment in egalitarianism had failed. Democracy and equality could only lead to anarchy and war because they denied God's will. Conservative French Canadian Catholics and some English-speaking Protestants, especially High Anglicans, felt that society ought to be hier-

archical and ruled by a benevolent and paternalistic elite. They argued that authority was derived from God and not from the people. Should children *elect* their parents? Should women be *equal* to men? French Canadian conservatives asked rhetorically. They believed in duty, deference, and privilege, not in rights and equality. For conservatives, the cause of America's failure lay not in slavery, but in democracy itself. Canadians would have to learn to avoid the democratic and egalitarian pitfalls that had caused the Civil War.⁹

Without a doubt, the Civil War had a profound impact on Canada's political and constitutional evolution. Fear of an American or Fenian invasion and the need for a common defense strategy was one of the major factors that launched British North America on the road to Confederation from 1864 to 1867. Many of the delegates to the three constitutional conferences that drafted the British North America Act of 1867 felt that the Civil War was an indictment of not only of egalitarianism, democracy and republicanism, but also of decentralized federalism, if not of federalism itself. In turn. Canadian conservatives drafted a constitution that granted most of the powers that were considered important in the nineteenth-century to the federal government and contained several checks to "excessive" democracy. Canada became a country based not on "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" but rather on "peace, order and good government." Indeed, it was probably Canadian author and journalist Bruce HUTCHISON (1901-1992) who put it best when he wrote that "the United States is the affirmation of the revolutionary process; Canada the negation."10

The Civil War was another American Revolution that Canada wanted no part of.

Conclusion

On the whole, the Civil War was beneficial to Canada. Though the United States abrogated the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 primarily to punish Britain for its benevolent neutrality towards the Confederacy, and the Fenian raids gave Canadians a fright, the war promoted British North American unity. The possibility of invasion and the loss of reciprocal trade paved the road to Confederation. In a way, the war helped craft the British North America Act of 1867 and furnished a welcomed respite from American expansionism. Even Canada's official name was affected by the conflict. Indeed, the Fathers of Canadian Confederation chose not to further irritate the United States by giving their new nation the rather ambitious name of "Kingdom" of Canada and chose the more humble "Dominion" instead. The Civil War also brought a brief but intense period of economic prosperity to Canada.1

A further consequence of the Civil War, strongly lamented in French Canada, was that military service became the gateway to assimilation for many Franco-Americans. As would be the case in all of America's wars, the armed services proved to be a powerful agent of Americanization. Like Major Mallet, many Franco-Americans were assimilated in the army.

For the next fifty years or so, French Canadian and Franco-American veterans of the conflict held reunions periodically. In the year he founded L'Union continentale (1893), Jean-Baptiste ROUILLARD made a rousing call in favor of Canada's annexation to the United States at a Civil War meeting held in Montréal. Thereafter, the reunion became increasingly emotional as Rémi TREMBLAY recited his poem, Le drapeau du 14°, dedicated to his former regiment, which, ironically, he had deserted from on more than one occasion.²

After the two world wars, the Civil War is the third largest conflict in which French Canadians have fought and died since the fall of New France in 1760. This is despite relentless clerical and political censure back home and the fact that the conflict did not concern French Canada in any direct way. For generations of Franco-Americans, the Civil War took on a special importance. Veterans were revered as a living testament to Franco-American courage and patriotism. In later years, the Franco-American contribution to the Union cause was frequently cited as proof that French Catholics could become loval Americans and that Franco-American blood had also watered the Liberty Tree.

Notes Preface

¹ R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean, *The American-Born in Canada: A Statistical Interpretation* (New Haven and Toronto, Yale University Press and The Ryerson Press, 1943), 55-66; Leon E. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States* (New Haven and Toronto, Yale University Press and The Ryerson Press, 1943), 57, 73.

Introduction

¹ Micheal Perman, ed., The Coming of the American Civil War (Lexington.

D.C. Heath and Co., 3rd ed., 1993), xviii.

² Ibid.

³Leonard Dinnerstein et al., Natives and Strangers: A Multicultural History of Americans (New York, Oxford University Press, 1996), 95.

⁴ Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, Louisiana University Press, 1951), 572; James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York, Ballatine Books, 1989), 606-610.

Chapter One / Franco-American Enlistments: Facts and Figures

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² Hercule Beaudry, "Discours de M. l'abbé Beaudry, curé de St. Constant, àà l'occasion d'un *Libera* chanté pour le repos des associés de l'Union des prièères, morts dans les États-Unis," *L'Écho du Cabinet de lecture paroissial*, 7, 4 (1865), 54-58; Winks, "The Creation of a Myth [.....]," *loc. cit.*,

32-34.

³ Ignace Bourget, *Fioretti vescovili* [.....] (Montréal, Le Franc-Parleur, 1872), 141.

⁴ Winks, "The Creation of a Myth [.....]," loc. cit., 32-34.

⁵ Félix Gatineau, Histoire des Franco-Américains de Southbridge, Massachusetts (Framingham, Lakeview Press, 1919), 130; Alexandre Goulet, Une Nouvelle-France Nouvelleen Angleterre (Paris, Librairie de jurisprudence ancienne et moderne, 1934), 20; Robert Provost, "Vieux papiers: les Canadiens francçais àà la Guerre de Sécession." Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine, II (1956), 148: for Waterville, Maine, see Robert Chenard's web site (http:// members.mint.net/frenchcx/ civwar.htm).

⁶ Yolande Lavoie, L'émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 àà 1930 (Québec City, Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1979), 45; Truesdell, op. cit., 10, 16, 19, 27.

⁷ Until well into the twentieth-century, Franco-Americans and French Canadians considered themselves to be members of the same nation or *race*.

⁸ Winks, "The Creation of a Myth [.....]," loc. cit., 32.

⁹ Ella Lonn, op. cit., 311; Provost, loc. cit., 143-155; Marie-Louise Bonier, Débuts de la colonie franco-américaine de Woonsocket, Rhode Island (Framingham, Lakeview Press, 1920), 79, 85, 93, 99; Ulysse Forget, "Onomastique franco-américaine. Étude sur la transformation des noms franco-américains," in Maurice Poteet, ed., Textes de l'exode. Recueil de textes sur l'émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis (XIX^e et XX^e sièècles) (Montréal, Guérin, 1987 [1949]), 323-337.

10 Greg Marquis, In Armageddon's Shadow: The Civil War and Canada's Maritime Provinces (Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 109, 294; Robin Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years (Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 4th ed., 1998), 204; Thomas Albert. Histoire du Madawaska (Québec City, Imp. Franciscaine missionnaire, 1920), 254-255. On October 19th 1864, a group of Confederate agents based in Canada launched a daring raid on the border town of St. Albans, Vermont. After looting several banks, the raiders fled back across the border where they were arrested by the Canadian authorities but later released on a legal technicality. The St. Albans Raid significantly raised the degree of tension between the United States and the Province of Canada.

Chapter Two / Factors Motivating Franco-American Enlistments

1 Lonn, op. cit., 66; Hansen and Brebner, op. cit., 141; Yvan Lamonde, Ni avec eux ni sans eux : le Québec et les État-Unis (Montréal, Nuit Blanche Éditeur, 1996), 39; Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years, op. cit., 187; H.C. Saint-Pierre, Oration Pronounced at the Mount Royal Cemetery by H.C. Saint-Pierre [.....] on Decoration Day, May 30th 1899 (Montréal, C.A. Marchand, [1899]), 4; Saint-Pierre, Oration Pronounced by H.C. Saint-Pierre [.....] on Memorial Day, May 30th 1900 at Richford, Vermont, before the Veterans of the G.A.R. (Montréal, C.A. Marchand, [1900]), 8. The French Canadian edition of H. B. Stowe's novel incorrectly lists Henriette Beecher Stowe as its author.

- ² A. I. Silver, *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation*, 1864-1900 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2nd ed., 1997), 224; Lamonde, *op. cit*, 38-39; Beaudry, *loc. cit.*, p. 55.
- ³ In November 1861, Captain Charles Wilkes of the U.S.S. San Jacinto stopped the British steamer Trent on the high seas and seized two Confederate commissioners who were en route to England. The seizure, illegal under international law, was vigorously denounced in Great Britain and retaliation was threatened. Although British war fever subsided a few months after the incident, the Trent Affair almost brought Great Britain and the United States to war.
- ⁴ Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years, op. cit., 80, 97-98; Gerald M. Craig, The United States and Canada (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968), 139-140, 146; Hugh L. Keenleyside, Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of Their Historical Relations (New York, Knopf, 2nd ed., 1952), 111, 113, 120, 126.
- ⁵ S. F. Wise and R. C. Brown, *Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth-Century Attitudes* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1967), 82.
- ⁶ "Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Agriculture and Statistics", Sessional Papers of the Province of Canada, no 6, 28 Victoria (A 1865), 23. Chapais had been temporarily charged with the superintendence of colonization in Québec during the coalition government of 1864-1867.
- ⁷ Rémi Tremblay, *Un Revenant. Épisode* de la Guerre de Sécession (New Bedford, National Materials Development Center for French, 1980 [1884]), 45.

- ⁸ André Beaudoin, "Charles Bilodeau défend la cause d'Abraham Lincoln," Bulletin de la Société historique de Bellechasse, IV, 4 (1992), 11-12.
- ⁹ Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union (New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), 66, 69.
- ¹⁰ Quoted in Lois E. Darroch, "A Note: Canadians in the American Civil War," *Ontario History*, LXXXIII, 1 (1991), 58.
- 11 Quoted in Wiley, op. cit., 36-37.
- ¹² Rémi Tremblay, *Pierre qui roule* (Montréal, Beauchemin, 1923), 83.
- 13 Lonn, op. cit., 331, 377; Wiley, op. cit., 157; Gerard J. Brault, The French-Canadian Heritage in New England (Hanover and Montréal, University Press of New England and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 82; Rumilly, op. cit., 36-38.
- ¹⁴ Lonn, op. cit., 126-129, 357. In the 1850s, Régis de Trobriand had been the editor of the prestigious and widely distributed Courrier des États-Unis of New York City. As such, he was well known in the intellectual circles of French Canada.
- ¹⁵ Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years, op. cit., 189; Rumilly, op. cit., 36-37; Rosaire Dion-Lévesque, Silhouettes franco-américaines (Manchester, Publications de l'Association canado-américaine, 1957), 603-607; Goulet, op. cit., 20-23; Lonn, op. cit., 176, 236.
- ¹⁶ McPherson, op. cit., 600-606.
- ¹⁷ "Report of the Minister of Agriculture and Statistics for the year 1863," Sessional Papers of the Province of Canada, no 32, 27 Victoria (A 1864). ¹⁸ Lonn, op. cit., 162-163; Hansen and
- Brebner, op. cit., 162-163; Hansen and Brebner, op. cit., 142-144. The secret police force was also established to

counter Fenian insurgency and the activities of Confederate agents operating on Canadian soil.

19 Quoted in Roby, op. cit., 49.

- Winks, "The Creation of a Myth [.....]," loc. cit., 38.
- ²¹ Hansen and Brebner, op. cit., 148-149.
- ²² Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years, op. cit., 197; William F. Raney, "Recruiting and Crimping in Canada for the Northern Forces, 1861-1865," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, X, 1 (1923), 29; Brault, op. cit, 53-54.
- ²³ Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years, op. cit., 185; Provost, loc. cit., 149.

²⁴ Lonn, op. cit., 560.

Chapter Three / The Growth of French America During the Civil War

¹ Gary B. Nash et al., The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society (New York, Harper Collins, brief 2nd ed., 1996), 340; Dinnerstein, op. cit., 96.

- ² Hansen and Brebner, op. cit., 152; Jean Lamarre, Les Canadiens franççais du Michigan. Leur contribution dans le développement de la vallée de la Saginaw et de la péninsule de Keweenaw, 1840-1914 (Sillery, Septentrion, 2000), 34-36.
- ³ Tremblay, *Pierre qui roule, op. cit.*, 77.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 39, 54, 73, 137-138; Rumilly, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- ⁵ Franççois Weil, Les Franco-Américains, 1860-1980 (Paris, Belin, 1989), 42.
- ⁶ Based on figures quoted in Roby, op. cit., 47.
- ⁷ John Higham, Strangers in the Land:

Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1955), 4-14.

- 8 Ibid.; McPherson, op. cit., 32-33.
- 9 Wise and Brown, op. cit., 84-85.
- ¹⁰ Bruce Hutchison, *The Struggle for the Border* (Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1955), 3.

Conclusion

¹ Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years, op. cit., 379; Keenleyside, op. cit., 114. In French, the "Dominion of Canada" was translated into the more grandiose Puissance du Canada (Power of Canada).

² Winks, "The Creation of a Myth [.....]," *loc. cit.*, 34.

Bibliographical Note

Very little has been written about the Franco-American participation in the Civil War. Indeed, the general lack of reliable sources on the subject has proved to be a major deterrent to many. historians. Consequently, most accessible English-language sources tend to deal primarily with English Canadian issues and participation. However these can still provide a good starting point and a wealth of information. The most useful examination of Canadian-American relations during the Civil War era can be found in Robin W. WINKs' Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years (Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 4th ed., 1998). Three general works will also be found particularly helpful: Marcus Lee HANSEN and John Bartlet BREBNER, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Volume I: Historical (Toronto and New Haven, Ryerson Press and Yale University Press, 1940); Hugh KEENLEYSIDE, Canada

and the United States: Some Aspects of Their Historical Relations (New York, Knopf, 2nd ed., 1952); and L. B. SHIPPEE, Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874 (Toronto and New Haven, Ryerson Press and Yale University Press, 1939). These studies are dated but have retained their usefulness. Good accounts of the growth of French America during the Civil War years can be found in the following general studies: Armand CHARTIER. The Franco-Americans of New England: A History (Manchester and Worcester, ACA Assurance and Institut français of Assumption College, 1999); Yves ROBY, Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1776-1930 (Sillery, Septentrion, 1990); and Robert RUMILLY, Histoire des Franco-Américains (Montréal, self-published, 1958). On the American Civil War in general, the best work is James McPHERSON's Pulitzer Prize winning Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York, Ballatine Books 1989). Robert E. CHENARD provides a list of the Franco-Americans of Waterville. Maine, who fought in the Civil War at his web site: (http://members.mint.net/ frenchcx/civwar.htm).

The web site referred to at the beginning of this article is quite a source for those interested in Québec history.

The Readings category consists of one or more essays written by this au-

thor on the subject. The Biographies section inform the reader about the lives of the most important people in Québec history. The Statistics and Charts and Documents, Maps, Pictures sections are provided to give support to the site. It is in the Documentary category that the greatest substance of the site will be found, including an extensive chronological section. An extensive listing of internet sites in Québec and Canadian history that meet stringent academic standards are provided.

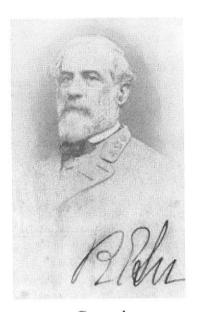
About the authors: Claude Bélanger graduated in the 1960's with an honors Bachelors' degree and an M.A. in history from the University of Ottawa. After pursuing doctoral studies in history at the Fondation national des sciences politiques of the Université de Paris and the department of history at the at the Université de Montréal. He's had an illustrious teaching career at Québec Province institutes of higher learning ever since.

Damien-Claude Bélanger studied Canadian and American history at the Université de Montréal, (B.A. 1998, M.A 2000) and McGill University (Ph.D. in progress). He has written and co-written many articles on Canadian and American history. He is currently a graduate fellow of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, and his doctoral dissertation will focus on continentalism and anti-Americanism in Canadian thought (1891-1945).

[&]quot;The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican War. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times." -U.S. Grant.



Major Gereral Ulysses Simson Grant Photo by Alexander Gardner



General Robert Edward Lee Photo by Julian Vannerson



Officers of the 17th N.Y. Battery - Photo by Matthew Brady

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The Godefroy Family ~ A Continuing Story

by: Jack Valois

Editors note: The following, an early genealogy of one of France's and Canada's prominent families of the seventeenth century continues with this installment.

English Captive of Abenakis Becomes DE TONNANCOUR Bride

One poignant but little-known aspect of Indian warfare in North America dealt with the anguish visited on English colonial families of the New England frontier by war parties of Abenaki braves under the command of French marine or militia officers.

The tribesmen were banished in 1680 by British conquerors from homelands in present Maine and New Hampshire for championing the French cause – a natural outgrowth of exchanging animal pelts with *Canadien* traders for needed trade goods, including firearms and ammunition. Not surprisingly, Abenaki warriors were only too willing to volunteer for French raids on English settlements.

Following expulsion from New England, many tribe members gravitated in 1683 to the comparative safety of a new village of square log cabins and bark wigwams specially prepared for them by the *regime* and named St. François-du-Lac. Called Odanak by the red inhabit-

ants, the community lay along the St. François River near the settlements of Sorel and Yamaska.

Anglicized to St. Francis by English settlers who learned to fear its warpainted braves, the village served as a staging area during the French and Indian wars for devastating, hit-and-run forays – led by *Canadiens* – into New England and New York Colony by the dispossessed Abenakis.

Massachusetts-born Major Robert ROGERS, of the British Army, and his proficient American woods rangers burned St. Francis to the ground in 1759 during the French and Indian War. Their feat was immortalized in a 1937 historical novel by Kenneth ROBERTS, Northwest Passage.

One New England raid made a lasting impression on the DE TONNAN-COUR family. In accordance with Indian custom, it happened early on the summer morning of 26 June 1723 in the village of Scarborough (Maine), located five miles south of Portland, near today's resort community of Old Orchard Beach paralleling the Atlantic shore.

They struck first at Roger DEER-ING's cabin. Abenaki warriors – faces and bodies hideously painted, using red

ocher dyes obtained from fur traders, and sporting plucked scalps except for crested warlocks – surprised Roger's wife, two militiamen from a local unit, and two other settlers. All were killed on the spot when they tried to sound an alarm

In nearby woods, six more settlers on a poorly timed berry-picking excursion were confronted by war-party members. Three adults in the group ended up slain but three accompanying youngsters escaped death and were carried away to Canada as captives.

Indians preferred young white prisoners; they were more easily assimilated into an understrength native culture always in need of breeding stock to replace warrior casualties of the struggle against red and white enemies. From a monetary viewpoint, white captives in 1756 might fetch as much as 500 *livres* (\$125 in 1957 U.S. currency) in ransom money from French officials in Canada.

Two of the youths – Thomas, son of Jediah JORDAN and a relative of the sole female captive, plus John HUNNEWELL – were employed locally as trade apprentices. The ultimate fate of both boys is unknown, for prisoners were marched away to strange and unpredictable destinations. The French clergy were reluctant as well to admit that English prisoners, especially converts to Catholicism, were alive and well in Canada.

The third captive, and only girl among them, was Mary SCAMMON (1711-1746). A resident of Saco, Maine, seven miles south of Scarborough, the 12-year-old was unlucky enough to be

visiting her aunt Sarah JORDAN. Mary spent the remaining years of her life in initially terrifying environments that gradually and completely claimed her heart and religious soul.

She was one of 10 children sired by English militia Captain Humphrey (1677-1727) and Elizabeth (JORDAN) SCAMMON (____-1734). Humphrey earned his living as a Saco ferry boat operator. The SCAMMONs were no strangers to Indian raids. Mary's father, mother and three grandparents were captured years earlier by Abenakis during another foray into New England. They were later ransomed from their captors. Luckily for Mary, as it turned out, one maiden aunt, captured in a 1703 Indian raid into Maine, never returned to her family.

Picture the horror witnessed that traumatic day by Mary and her two young companions as older, unluckier, family members and neighbors were butchered, probably in front of their eyes, during the sudden and violent attack. The obligatory forced march followed. Prisoners were bound together with rawhide nooses around their necks and placed in the middle of the Indian line of march in a single file. It was a physically demanding 150-mile trek northward, lasting a week, as red captors brusquely hurried them along obscure forest trails and water crossings to Lake Champlain, the Richelieu River, and the Abenaki village at St. Françoisdu-Lac.

A sinister rule of wilderness warfare dictated that exhausted captives – especially older colonists – unable to maintain the frenzied pace were routinely and quietly tomahawked to death on the trail to prevent the raiders being overtaken by white or red pursuers.

According to an 18th century New England chronicler named FOLSOM, Mary SCAMMON, renamed Marie-Anne by the French, was purchased from her Indian captors and personally sent by New France Governor VAU-DREUIL to be educated at the Catholic Ursuline Sisters' convent in Trois-Rivières "because she was an unusually bright child." This trait certainly helped Mary endure unpredictably cruel Indian captivity.

During her unexpected transition from Abenaki to French captivity, the SCAMMON surname was corrupted into "SEAMAN" by *régime* officials unfamiliar with English name spellings. Mary's outlook improved considerably after discovering her maternal aunt, Arabella JORDAN, was already living in Trois-Rivières, Québec. Captured in 1703, she had also been purchased from Indian captors by the French but, for unexplained reasons, never ransomed by relatives. She worked as a house servant for a French family.

At some point, young SCAM-MON was permitted to live with her mother's sister. Aunt Arabella's knowledge of Canada and the French language, her harrowing experiences with the Abenakis and long years as a captive, proved beneficial for Mary.

Their private conversations obviously touched on shared ordeals as massacre survivors and the hard life of prisoners in primitive Indian villages. Reliving such tribulations helped Mary better cope with her humbling status as an English captive in France Canada far removed from New England relatives, friends, customs, religion and native language.

The youngster's speedy assimilation into a Franco environment was demonstrated a mere two years later on 27 May 1725. Having become a zealous convert to Catholicism, 14-year-old Mary, still with Aunt Arabella in Trois-Rivières, "abjured and renounced the (Protestant) Religion which she has professed until this time, in order to live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith..."

The preceding extract from the baptism rite was recorded in its entirety in local Catholic parish registers. Mary's new, aristocrat godparents, who signed the baptismal document as witnesses, are identified as Lord Jean-Baptiste FAFARD de la FRAMBOISE and Lady Marguerite BOULANGER de ST. PIERRE.

In an unusual 1737 move, Aunt Arabella and her 26 year-old niece, now in their 34th and 14th year of captivity, respectively, formally petitioned authorities for naturalization as loyal subjects of the French King Louis XIV. No longer prisoners, the crown's subsequent approval now transformed them both into free citizens of New France.

Three years later on 11 February 1740, the Catholic Ursuline nuns celebrated the elaborate wedding of their former star pupil-captive, Mary SEA-MAN, nee SCAMMON, now aged 29, to a distinguished catch indeed: 27-year-old Louis-Joseph GODEFROY, IV, Es-

quire, Lord DE TONNANCOUR – King's Attorney, Royal Prosecutor, and Chief Deputy of the colony *Intendant* (who was the highest administrative official in New France). Louis held the comparable military rank of Lieutenant-General in the French royal army.

The nuptial benediction was pronounced by the Most Reverend Clement LEFEBVRE, superior of New France's Catholic Recollet order, in the presence of the bridegroom's brother, Reverend Charles-Antoine DE TONNANCOUR, Canon of the cathedral at Québec (city), other Catholic priests, and "the whole town of Trois-Rivières."

The same New England chronicler, FULSOM, noted that Mary's brother, Humphrey SCAMMON, made an arduous wilderness journey in midwinter from his Maine home to Trois-Rivières in a forlorn attempt to persuade Mary to give up her new-found religion and husband and leave Canada with him. How was he notified of the impending wedding? Perhaps Mary felt she owed her remaining family members that much (the SCAMMON parents were already deceased), and prevailed upon her DE TONNANCOUR fiance to contact them.

After nearly 17 years in captivity (five years longer than she had actually lived in New England), Mary had come a long way. From a frightened, 12-year-old prisoner of Abenaki savages to a tragedy-scarred yet mature woman, sincerely religious in nature, who was completely fluent and at ease in the French language.

The decision to remain in Canada coincided with the advantageous marriage to an important, well-to-do colony

official, her fading remembrance of the English language and Maine childhood, together with any elusive, girlish memories of the SCAMMONs. As far as is known, Mary never saw her New England relatives again.

Ironically, only 30 percent of captive boys and 50 percent of captive girls willingly returned to New England when the French and Indian wars ended. Despite cruelty commonly encountered as prisoners, once accepted as tribal members the harassment usually ended. There was something about the hard but actually freer and less restrictive Indian way of life that proved more appealing than the stern Puritan existence awaiting ex-captives in the colonies to the south.

Overall, life for white women among Indians was in some respects easier. She was required to pick seasonal berries and edible plants or roots in the surrounding forest, gather firewood and drinking water, build and tend fires in the wickiup while preparing and cooking meals for its occupants, wash cooking pots and eating utensils. She helped bring in animal meat, scrape clean and cure those same skins during the hide tanning process, and make, mend, and wash leather garments and other clothing for her Indian family.

Everyday village chores still left her free time to scent the fresh and pleasing odors of neighboring pine trees, nature's flowers, and wild grasses...and enjoy refreshing spring, summer, and autumn breezes wafted in from nearby forests, lakes, or rivers.

In a labor-intensive English colo-

ny environment, women were expected to constantly haul buckets of water from the spring or river...chop and carry in wood for cabin fireplaces while constantly tending those fires...make the household soap supply from fireplace ashes...scrub wooden cabin floors on hands and knees while cleaning everything else in sight to include: family wash, iron kettles and pots, cooking and eating utensils plus pewter dishware, and any squalling infants or young, washable relatives within reach...fashioning varn on the spinning wheel to be made into family garments, or mending household clothing.

Outside the cabin, a colony woman had to feed and groom family livestock...clean the barn...plant and harvest crops...and spend a goodly portion of her Sundays at the local meetinghouse while a Protestant preacher, concerned for the sinful souls of his flock delivered an overlong and tumultuous sermon chock full of religious fire and brimstone.

As if to seal the bargain of their new marital status, nine months later the newly wed DE TONNANCOUR couple's first child, Marie, was born on 21 November 1740. The baby's illustrious godfather was none other than New France Governor DE VAUDREUIL – confirming the budding father's prominence in colony circles. Three more children were born to Mary and Louis, but only one daughter lived to adulthood. Mary unfortunately died young at Trois-Rivières on 13 September 1746, ages 35, during the birth of her fourth child, who perished along with the mother.

Louis did leave male DE TON-

NANCOUR descendants by his second wife, Louise CARREROT, whom he married in 1749, three years after Mary's death. Louise was the Creole (a mixture of Negro and either French or Spanish genes) daughter of Pierre CARREROT, Keeper of the Royal Arsenal and Commissary Officer of the *Troupes de la Marine* detachment at Louisbourg fortress in the royal colony of Acadia (Nova Scotia).

The Last French and Indian War

The forth and final strife between France and England in North America, called the French and Indian War, 1755-1763, revealed early on that regular army troops on both sides could barely change the outcome of combat in the traditional way. Tactics and training developed on European battlefields proved of little advantage in the almost impenetrable forests of the New World. The decisive battle in 1759 on the Plains of Abraham, however, turned out to be one unforgettable exception to that rule.

As an example of how not to fight in thick forests, General Edward BRAD-DOCK (1695-1755) was killed on 9 July 1755 when his 2,200-man army of British regulars and colonial militia was adroitly ambushed, severely mauled, and shamefully routed by a much smaller force of 108 French marines, 146 Canadien militiamen, and 637 Indian auxiliaries.

The English attempted to march on Fort Duquesne, a French stronghold along the Ohio River in the trackless Pennsylvania wilderness. It could only be reached by land through largely unbroken stretches of woodland. The army's progress was impossible to hide and the march delayed considerably by the need for two companies of carpenters/engineers to fell obstructive trees and construct temporary roads and crude bridges, as necessary, for 200 horse-drawn supply wagons, some carrying heavy artillery pieces. One wagon was driven by a gangling, 21-year-old local backwoodsman named Daniel BOONE (1734-1820) of later Kentucky fame.

In any event, the snail-paced advance of the army just four miles per day. BRADDOCK's force comprised of the 44th and 48th regiments of Coldstream Guards, seven companies of Virginia colony militia, and 50 Iroquois scouts who, incredibly, failed to spot the ambush skillfully arranged by the French with Indian allies.

When surprised 10 miles from their objective on that hot and sticky July day by musket fire from a well-concealed enemy, the English force relied on standard infantry tactics. These Europeantrained regulars, clad in bright red coats, responded quickly enough to the shrill commands of their British officers. But they automatically formed up into neat and orderly ranks in plain sight of a hidden foe.

On command, the somewhat panicky British and colonial troops irregularly fired flintlock muskets at unseen opponents admirably screened by tree trunks and head-high underbrush. The French and Indian firepower was steady, on target, and deadly. A slaughter was inevitable. Before fleeing in terror from the punishing enemy muskets and rifles that afternoon, over 700 English regulars and colonials were slain, including a belatedly wiser General BRAD-

DOCK.

No prisoners were taken by the victors; wounded enemies were summarily dispatched by Indian tomahawks, war clubs, or knives. Freshly dripping scalps of slain English regulars and colonials were exultantly brandished in the air amid piercing war whoops by their new warrior owners. Amazingly, French mortalities amounted to just eight marines and 15 Indian auxiliaries. Not one *Canadien* militiaman died that day, a tribute to their frontier prowess.

Hyacinthe, V, GODEFROY DE LINTOT (1733-____), was a 22-year-old marine cadet when he participated in BRADDOCK's defeat. By 1758, three years later, he had attained the rank of Ensign. Another marine cadet on hand that day in the Pennsylvania woods was a 28-year-old Joseph, IV, GODEFROY DE NORMANVILLE (1727-1805). By 1767, he held the rank of militia (first) lieutenant under the British regime that had conquered Canada.

Even the future commanding general of the U.S. Continental army was present on that terrible July day in 1755. George WASHINGTON (1732-1799) was a 23-year-old Lieutenant Colonel commanding a battalion of Virginia colony militiamen. He survived the disaster and managed to escape with the remaining demoralized English and militia troops.

In charge of the French and Indians that so handily defeated the numerically superior British invaders was a 66-year-old militia captain and Knight of St. Louis (a prestigious award for exceptional valor), Chevalier Alexis

TROTTIER DES RUISSEAUX. He was the husband of Marie-Catherine, III, GODEFROY DE MAUBEUF (1766-1777), daughter of a wealthy family fur trader at the military fort and trading post in Detroit, then French territory.

In a regrettable reversal of fortune, two months later on 18 September 1755, Baron-General Ludwig DIESKAU (1701-1767), German-born mercenary and commander of a royal French army, was defeated in the Lake George region of northern New York. During the engagement, he was captured by colonial militia from New York and Massachusetts led by Sir William JOHNSON (1715-1774) – Irish immigrant, selftaught citizen soldier, fur trader, and influential white leader of the Mohawk Indian nation.

The following summer, Jean IV, GODEFROY DE NORMANVILLE, Lord DE ROQUETAILLAIDE (birth and death dates unknown), son of fur trader Pierre GODEFROY DE ROQUETAILLAIDE, was among marine officers who captured future president George WASHINGTON – recent survivor of the BRADDOCK massacre – in the Ohio Country. Promoted by then to colonel in the Virginia colony militia, WASHINGTON, surrounded on all sides, had no other option but to surrender his unit to a superior force of French marines in June 1756.

Operating from a crude palisade of upright logs, hastily built by his troops and fittingly names Fort Necessity, the Virginia officer commanded two companies of militia that tried to seize the Ohio valley village of Astione from French troops. Colonel WASHINGTON

- destined to become America's wealthiest landowner before and after the Revolutionary War – was accorded full military honors at a terse surrender ceremony and permitted to return home with his men under terms of the marine parole.

The French and Indian War also brought to prominence three major personalities – two Frenchmen and an Englishman. Pierre DE RIGAUD, Marquis DE VAUDREUIL (1698-1765), was the last royal governor of Canada. He was also the cherished godfather of shortlived Marie, V, GODEFROY DE TONNANCOUR (1740-1755), daughter of ex-Abinaki captive Mary SCAMMON.

A native-born *Québecois*, VAU-DREUIL was raised in the colony's winning military tradition of waging guerrilla warfare against enemy colonies in the south via frontier raids by Indianally war parties under marine of colonial troops. Unlike royal army counterparts, *Canadiens* lacked training in European battlefield tactics. But they proved unequivically superior to French regulars in forest warfare by using timetested Indian combat techniques.

Clad in camouflaging deerskin shirts, leggings, and moccasins, with faces disguised by war paint, a French militiaman's mastery of woodlore usually guaranteed surprise when stalking silently through the forest and covering bushes toward an unsuspecting enemy. After firing an initial musket volley from concealment, they used resultant confusion in English ranks to close immediately on their opponents, behind blood-curdling war whoops (to further frighten of bewilder foes), then slashed away with tomahawks or scalping knives in bloody

hand-to-hand combat.

Canadiens had a distinct advantage over English-speaking opponents from the south, being unusually competent at ranging through dense woods on the elusive trail of four-legged or two-legged forest dwellers. They learned in childhood, usually from neighboring Indians, those important survival skills of identifying and tracking woodland signs left by animals or men, and hunting edible birds and wild creatures-on-the-hoof with musket or bow and arrows.

Habitants utilized homemade snares to trap wild game, and could fish woodland streams by fashioning makeshift hooks or lures from materials at hand. Red brethren taught them to imitate bird and animal calls to signal each other in the presence of enemies, and Canadien militiamen were adept at building, not to mention handling, ustable birchbark canoes on wilderness waterways.

Daniel BOONE, Simon KEN-TON, and Roger's Rangers notwith-standing, most settlers on British America were out of their element in a wood-land environment. More at ease with axe, plow, of rowboat than with musket, hatchet, or canoe, they were reluctant to learn the woodcraft so vital to saving their own lives in a forest where luck, skill, and vigilance were fundamental to survival and for carrying out effective offensive or defensive military operations on the frontier. This traces to a long-standing aversion to, and fear of anything Indian – even Iroquois allies.

One French regular officer best summed up the *habitant's* fighting quali-

ties: "They make war by swift attacks and almost always with success against the English who are not as vigorous nor as adroit in the use of firearms as they, nor as practiced in forest warfare."

That same year of 1756, VAU-DREUIL acquired a military subordinate who turned into a rival, Georges-Louis-Joseph DE MONTCALM (1721-1759), Marquis de Saint Veran. A veteran of European wars, the Marquis was sent by the Sun King, Louis XIV, to defend Canada against the English. Unluckily for Canada, MONTCALM flatly rejected VAUDREUIL's guerrilla warfare theory. Instead, he was an unreconstructed proponent of European sandand-fight tactics — which cost him the war three years later.

Deferring to Governor VAU-DREUIL was difficult for the Marquis. A seasoned European campaigner, he scoffed at the former's colonial military experience. MONTCALM viewed Canada as only one of many French hot spots around the globe, even speculated about terms under which the Bourbon King might agree to yield his North American empire – a course of action totally unacceptable to Canadian-born VAUDREUIL. The general and governor were destined to clash.

A third historic figure emerging on the world scene in 1756 was William PITT (1708-1778), the British statesman who overcame bitter opposition from King George II (1683-1760), father of America's hated King George III, to become Secretary of State that year and Prime Minister in 1757. PITT was firmly committed to fighting France through use of colonial rather than Eu-

ropean war strategy. The Royal Navy's mastery of European seas enabled Britain to sent troops and equipment to North America in far larger quantities than the French.

By the end of this last French and Indian war, more that 20,000 of England's 140,000-man army were on duty in North America, supported by an equal number of colony militia and the unchallenged fleets of Britain's Royal Navy. Despite such formidable opposition, the years 1756 and 1757 witnessed a sobering number of victories and/or successful defenses of Canadian territory by consistently smaller French forces.

In the final analysis, their extraordinary efforts proved insufficient, even though all of New France was actively involved in the struggle. Some Iroquois warriors joined the British cause although most tribes of the Five Nations honored the neutrality terms of an existing peace pact with the French, reluctant to risk valuable warriors in what they considered to be a still uncertain cause.

New France had, in fact, become an armed society of soldiers, marines, and militia. It vividly illustrates that French Canadians were far more obedient to authoritarian rule than their outspoken, headstrong colonial antagonists in the south. The English already outnumbered their Franco adversaries by a whopping 25 to 1 margin. Population figures for the British colonies in 1754 totaled some 1,500,000 residents as opposed to just 55,000 Canadiens. The exceptional morale of Canadian habitants impressed even MONTCALM who was, nevertheless at odds with Governor VAUDREUIL. Late in 1757, MONTCALM at last won approval from the royal French court to conduct military campaigns largely free of VAUDREUIL's supervision. Thus, 1758 saw the war's strategy change suddenly toward an ultimately disastrous standand-fight policy. MONTCALM preferred it despite the governor's heretofore successful hit-and-run guerrilla warfare of *Canadien*-led Indian operations against vulnerable English settlements along the frontier.

General MONTCALM won his greatest victory in upstate New York by defeating the army of General James ABERCROMBY (1706-1781) on 8 July 1758, thereby halting the British advance on Fort Carillon (later to be renamed Fort Ticonderoga by the English). At this time, the French military command in Canada had just enough men - 3,500 army regulars, 2,500 marines, 15,000 habitant militia - and an always shifting number of fickle Indian warrior allies to hope that, with good luck, they could capably defend a vast region encompassing the St. Lawrence valley, Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario.

But at the eastern end of New France, the fortress at Louisbourg, sited on Cape Breton Island in present Nova Scotia Province, fell to besieging English sea and land forces on 26 July 1758. Following on the heels of this came the loss on 26 July 1758, without a fight, of Fort Duquesne. Located at the strategic junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers, it was abandoned to an advancing and numerically superior British army. The victors rebuilt the stronghold – burned by hastily retreating French – and renamed it Fort Pitt (where Pittsburgh, PA now stands).

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The Village Of Manville, RI

by: Mary A. Steere

Editor's note: This article appeared in the Providence Sunday Telegram on 2 July 1899. It's full title was "The Little Village of Manyille Has More History Than Many Large Cities." Manville, RI, located in the town of Lincoln, was a major stopping point for many of our French-Canadian ancestors. Our own grandfather worked for many years in the Manville-Jenks textile mill, which burned to the ground on 12 September 1955. Remember, this was written in 1899. The transcriber is unknown, but he/she is quoted at the end of the document, "This was copied from eight fraved vellow pieces I found in the R.I. Historical Society. I tried to get the whole newspaper but found the only one was at the University of Michigan."

In 1675, the period of the King Philip War, what is now the village of Manville was then called Senetchonet Island. Previous to this, according to a deed of William MINNION, May 14, 1666, in which he gives 2,000 acres more or less to Edward INMAN and John MOWRY of Providence, it was a portion of land which extended westerly, beyond Lime Rock and southerly to North Providence, and was known as Loquessit. The precise locality where these two men erected their cabins, it is not possible to locate at this time, but it is likely that INMAN settled near Lime

Rock and MOWRY at Sales Hill. In 1672, just six years after the date of this deed, Samuel WILKINSON and his bride, Plain WICKENDEN, after the celebration of their marriage at Providence, retired to this vicinity, then a wilderness.

Samuel was the son of Lawrence WILKINSON, whose name is appended to the original civil compact of the founders and settlers in the colony established by Roger WILLIAMS, dated as follows: "The 19th of the 11th month, 1645." Plain was the daughter of the Rev. William WICKENDEN, the second pastor of the First Baptist Church in America. At this late period, 227 years after the settlement, the home of this young couple is difficult to locate. The opinion of the present WILKINSON is that was scarcely a mile from Manville village, and in the direction of Lime Rock. Sept. 18, 1674, Samuel and Plain welcomed their first born. The mutual love and rural happiness, which they cherished, was now centered in a darling boy, which of course, they called Samuel. Young Samuel grew up to be a very industrious, hard-working man. He married a Miss Huldah ALDRICH and was afterwards the father of fifteen children. He carried on the business of farmer, tanner, currier and shoemaker. His father gave him a farm to which he made additions by subsequent purchases.

The following description contained in the "deed of gift, good-will and affection" will serve to point out its location: "To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come: I, Samuel Wilkinson of ye towne of Providence in the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England send greeting: Know ye, that I, Samuel Wilkinson, several good reason moving me thereunto, but especially the love, good will and natural affection which I do beare towards by beloved son, Samuel Wilkinson of the towne and colony aforesaid: Have given and granted - a parcel of land containing by estimation fifty acres, be it more or less; and also a dwelling house, and all other buildings standing upon said land; the said fifty acres of land was laid out on ye Original Right of Richard Scott, and is that which my aforesaid son now dwelleth on, and is situate, lieing and being within the township of Providence aforesaid, and about ten miles northwestwardly from said towne or harbour in said Providence and lieth on the southeastside of the brook called Westquattersett Brooke and neare to the Pawtucket river - in witness whereof I doe hereunto sett my hand and seale this twenty sixth day of November, and in the second year of the reigne of the sovering Lord George King of Greate Brittain, etc, and ve years of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifteen; 1715. Signed in the presence of Samuel Wilkinson, Thomas Hopkins, joiner, William Hopkins, carpenter; Recorded this 5th day of January 1716, before mee, Richard Waterman, clerk."

The Richard Scott referred to in

the deed was the person who wrote letters severe and sarcastic, against Roger WILLIAMS, not holding WILLIAMS in very high esteem. The letters were published and may be found in the library of Brown University. The Westquattersett brook was till recently known as the Tadpole stream, and is now used for the water supply of the city of Woonsocket. The Blackstone was formerly called the Pawtucket river. The number of miles given is supposed to be a guess on the part of the senior WILKINSON. The place referred to is the present farm of Alonzo VOSE. The owner says that some years ago he removed a large stone from the site of the original dwelling upon which was cut the date of erection, 1695. This corresponds favorably with the genealogical facts of the decedents. Samuel had been married several years, and lived in the farm granted in the deed. He was married, probably in the year of its erection, as a baby girl was born to him Dec. 16. 1697. There can be today a small enclosure, surrounded by an old stone wall, at the extreme end of Central street, the Wilkinson cemetery. The land around it is being rapidly filled with cottages, and there are few who pause to think that this marks the last resting place of the first white couple, and many of their decedents, within the limits of Manville.

It has already been stated that the pioneer, Samuel, retired to this vicinity in 1672. About ten years later John WILKINSON, a brother of Samuel, left Providence and settled near Ashton (Editor's note: A village in Cumberland, RI.) It is interesting to note how the family branched. David S. WILKINSON of Smithfield, Mrs. Mary A.

STEERE, the authoress, of Woonsocket, and others of this family can trace their lineage to Samuel. The descendants of Oziel WILKINSON of Pawtucket are lineal brothers figured prominently in the King Philip War, and Samuel was honored with the rank of captain. The mechanical genius for which the WIL-KINSONs afterward became known to the world seems to have begun in the grandsons of these two men, who were Israel and John WILKINSON, respectively. There is no reason to doubt that John was born at the home of his father near Ashton, about the year 1718. He married a Miss Ruth ANGELL, when he was about twenty-four years of age; and went to the locality which was then called Smithfield, where he started farming and black-smithing, and had his shop on a small stream of water called Mussey's brook. This stream is situated between Manville and Albion.

In those days there was a law against the erection of mills, the manufacture of iron and steel in particular. Lord CHATHAM was known to have said in parliament that he would not have the Americans make a hob nail. Upon this suggestion of others similar, England acted in 1750, when parliament passed "A law to prevent the erection of any mill, or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or with any furnace for making steel, in any of said colonies." The original bill sent to America is on file in the office of the Secretary of State. This did not in the least prevent him from erecting a trip hammer in addition to his shop, and the result of his experience might, with justice, be considered the stepping stone that led up to that most enviable title which Pawtucket bears today, through the medium of Samuel SLATER, the first place in America where the manufacture of cotton goods was successfully accomplished.

To quote the eloquent tribute paid in congress to SLATER and the WIL-KINSONs, worthy of the attention of the whole nation, and worthy, also of a fair page in her history, is the art and mystery of making cloth with machinery moved by water power. This was introduced in Rhode Island, and commenced in Pawtucket, four miles from Providence, about the same time that the American system was established, by the import law of July 4th 1789. Samuel SLATER, an English mechanic of the first order of mental ability, brought this invention to Pawtucket. He could not bring out from England the models, draughts or specifications. The whole art was treasured in his own mind, that alone could not be rummaged and pillaged by any custom house regulation. He, on arrival, addressed himself to Oziel WIL-KINSON & Sons. They were blacksmiths, whose hands were as skillful as their minds were intelligent and persevering. I have often thought Divine Providence directed SLATER and brought him to lay his projects before the WILKINSONs, because He had not fitted any other men in this country with a mind and ability to see and at once to understand and perform what must be understood and performed to bring this scheme into full and perfect operation.

Oziel was the son of John, and in a small cottage which stood by Mussey's brook he first saw the light of day Jan. 30, 1744. He became familiar with the trade by helping his father in the shop. He married and his family were all born there. His education, so far as schools were concerned, was quite limited, but it was varied and extensive in business matters and the practical concerns of everyday life. The family belonged to the Society of Friends, whose principals will not allow strife and bloodshed. The name of Oziel did not appear upon the military rolls during the Revolutionary War, but this does not signify that he did not render service to his country. On the contrary, he did, and probably more valuable that if he went into the field, for in his shop were manufactured many articles which were required in the country's break for freedom. He and his sons are said to have been the first in the world to make cut nails, and they were also the first to cast cannon solid. He is justly honored with the title of Father of successful American Manufacturers, as Samuel SLATER married his daughter Hannah, Timothy GREENE married Lucy and Marcy was married to William WILKINSON. It is almost unnecessary to state that these three men were in partnership, the first successful cotton manufacturers in America, and the ones to whom Pawtucket in indebted for the foundation of her prosperity.

David WILKINSON, the brotherin-law of these manufacturers was like
his sisters and father, Oziel, born at
Mussey's brook, the date of his birth
being Jan. 6, 1771. He was known
throughout the world as a mechanical
genius. Besides having helped SLATER
wonderfully in his machinery, the first
boat propelled by steam that was floated
on the waters of Narragansett Bay and
Providence river was invented and built
by David WILKINSON in connection
with a man by the name of Elijah
ORMSBEE, also a mechanic. This was

about sixteen years before Robert FULTON was successful on the Hudson river, FULTON's boat making its first trip in 1809. Congress in 1848 recommended the sum of \$10,000 as a remuneration to David for the benefit of accruing to the public service by the use of the principle of the gauge and the sliding lathe, of which he was the inventor, then in use in the workshops of the government at the different national arsenals and armories, and which resulted in the enriching of the nation and multitudes of individuals.

Oziel WILKINSON moved with his family and manufacturing concern to Pawtucket about 1783 or 1784. Miss Martha GULLY, eighty-three years of age, born at Manville, remembers the cottage at Mussey's brook, which when she was a child was then very aged in appearance. The residue of a house is visible there today. The cellar has become filled up and covered with grass. All that remains to point out the site is a small pile of stones and two great trees.

Israel WILKINSON was born on the Alonzo VOSE farm, March 21, 1711. About 150 years ago he build the Unity Furnace, where the No. 2 mill is now located, and so far as can be learned it was the first manufacturing enterprise ever started in Manville. The place at this time was called Woonsocket Unity. He was a man of great ingenuity and a skillful mechanic. It is said that some of the cannon for the Revolutionary War were cast in his shop. He was the inventor of a macine for cutting screws, both wooden and iron screws for pressing spermacetti oil, and clothiers screws. After his death about all his machinery was sold to Oziel WILKINSON & sons,

then of Pawtucket. By a succession of purchases the estate came into the possession, in 1811 of William ALDRICH, Samuel HILL (Jr.), Thomas MAN, Stephen CLARK, George AL-DRICH, Otis CAPRON, David WIL-KINSON, Alpheus AMMIDON, Ste-phen WHIPPLE and Asa BARTLETT, who were styled the Unity Manufacturing Company. The following year the first cotton mill was erected. There was a stone building on the same land as and as near the "Old Furnace", but of this nothing can be said except that in it were operated a saw mill, grist mill and fulling mill. The new mill was known as the Unity Cotton Factory, and still stands on the spot where it was erected. It is now used as a company boarding house. It is much smaller now, as the two additions in the rear have been removed and remodeled into tenement houses. The rapid changes of time and advancement, as everywhere, have worked wonders here, as the years have rolled by, and now there is nothing about the building, except the architecture, which would indicate that almost eighty-seven years have passed since the laying of its foundation commenced. (Editor's note: Historical preservation wasn't popular in those days.)

Among the men who united themselves as the company, there are a few of whom it is still possible to give a brief sketch. Samuel HILL Jr. was for many years known as Judge HILL. He and William ALDRICH of Cumberland were the owners of the water privilege when the Unity Manufacturing Company was formed. Thomas MAN was also known as Judge MAN and was born at Manville, Sept. 2, 1769. Judge MAN was a farmer, innkeeper and manufacturer. He married Lydia, the daughter of

Augustus LAP-HAM, a neighbor, who survived her husband by six years. During life he had been honored with many positions of trust, and served as a member of the town council, both branches of the Rhode Island Legislature, an associate and afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, for Providence County and for twenty-three years, as town clerk of Smithfield, Ex-councilman Arnold A. MAN is a grandson both Judge HILL and Judge MAN. Stephen CLARK was a grandfather of the late General Treasurer of Rhode Island. Samuel CLARK, the father of Stephen, was concerned in Shay's Rebellion, and Stephen, as a boy, came first to Glocester, and afterwards to Smithfield, where he was president of the town council in 1798, and a prominent man in the town. George and Daniel HILL and Jesse BROWN were property owners in the village.

David WILKINSON was a brother of Israel. He was a land speculator and was considered one of the solid men of the town. The goods manufactured were of very heavy material and were called nigger cloth. The weaving is said to have been done by hand looms at the homes of the residents. The goods were carried by carted oxen to the nearest market. In 1814, Aaron MAN of Providence bought the rights of Alpheus AMMIDON. The enterprise of the company, though the losses, if any, were not such as to embarrass men of their means. The company sold the estate in 1821 to William JENKINS and Samuel F. MAN, the latter the son of Aaron. The concern prospered under the new management and the property was greatly enlarged by the purchase of adjoining land. The business was continued under the name of Jenkins & Man.

In 1826 the foundation of No. 2 mill was started, the first one becoming too small for the business. The original dimensions were 139 x 42, five stories high, the material was brick, and the number of spindles was 8,000. The structure at this time was considered a model, and the best in New England. Since then the improvements have been many, and now it is twice the original size. In 1831, Alton MAN, brother of Samuel, was sold onefourth part of the estate. Business in all its branches through the village developed and boomed and as an act of respect to Samuel MAN, the name was changed to Manville. He always ended his name with a single N. A short while after the construction of the brick mill. the wooden structure was rented on commission to a gentleman by the name of James IRVING who managed it a number of years.

Samuel MAN was a shrewd financier. A very good instance of this, is a story that was told some time ago by one who knew his son. It refers to his clearing \$40,000 in one day by the purchase of a lot of indigo. (Editor's note: Indigo is a blue vat dye important in dyeing cotton. Until a synthetic indigo was developed, the dye was obtained by fermenting leaves of various species of the tropical leguminous plant Indigofera.) At the time there was a scarcity of indigo in this section of the country, and what little could be got was poor stuff. Through his boss driver, Ben GAGE, he learned that a cargo of the needed stuff had arrived in Boston. It seems GAGE got the [knowledge] from a Providence mill owner. Samuel immediately started for Providence to get the exact place

where the shipment could be found. When he got there he found the owner has gone to Boston. Suspecting he was after the indigo. Samuel started for there with haste. At the halfway house he stopped and just as he was going into the dining room, he saw the man he suspected as his rival. Without stopping to have dinner, he had his horse again harnessed and drove fast to Boston. He had first purchased the stuff when the Providence party drove up. By this deed \$40,000 was made. The horse was ruined but was well taken care of in after years, and the scales that weighed the stuff were ever preserved.

In many instances the education of Samuel was recognized, and was then requested to be a candidate for the governorship of this state, but refused on the plea that he was too heavy. At the time he weighed about 304 pounds, and almost always rode in a special saddle, having a special horse for the purpose. However, he was prevailed upon to be a member of the convention that framed the constitution of the state after the Dorr war. (Editor's note: Dorr's Rebellion was an uprising in Rhode Island in 1842 to secure constitutional reform. At that time the state was still governed under the terms of the 1663 colonial charter, which restricted voting rights to male property owners. In 1841 a reform movement began, led by Thomas Wilson DORR - 1805-54. DORR called a convention in October of 1841 which drafted a constitution based on universal male suffrage. The state legislature countered by drafting its own new constitution: but it was rejected in a referendum, and DORR's constitution was approved. Although state government ruled DORR's constitution illegal, his party nonetheless held elections, and as a result, DORR proclaimed himself governor in April 1842. The official government then declared martial law, and after some armed clashes DORR fled the state. He was arrested and sentenced in 1844 to life imprisonment, however he was released after one year. In the meantime, Rhode Island legally adopted in 1843 a new constitution.) He was an independent supporter of the Dorrites, and at the time they went to Manville, many of the opposite party were imprisoned in the Unity Cotton factory, and from there transferred to jail.

Before proceeding further, perhaps it would be interesting to give a brief genealogical sketch of the man from whom the village has derived its name. As early as 1625 and 1650 there were several branches of MANN in New England, but they seemed unable to trace their descent to any relationship. Judge MAN, for instance, of whom the intention has been made, was from the Rehoboth branch, and claimed as his ancestor a James MANN, who was first heard of there in 1650. Then there were the early Boston, Scituate, Virginia, Lexington, Cambridge, and other branches. Samuel belonged to the Cambridge branch, and the author of the Mann Genealogy is inclined to believe that Samuel was a lineal descendant of Sir Charles MANN of Haton Bradock, in Kent County and who was knighted in 1626 by Charles the First.

The founder of this family in America was William MAN, who settled in 1636 in Cambridge, Mass. He is said to have been the son of Sir Charles, and was born in 1607. In 1643 he married a Miss Mary JARRED, at Cambridge. The

only child was the Rev. Samuel MAN, who graduated in 1665 from Harvard College. He preached in that part of Dedham, now Wrentham, till March 30, 1676, when the inhabitants were drawn off by reason of an "Indian War," after which the red men burned all the dwellings but two. He returned, with many of the inhabitants, Aug. 21, 1680, and continued his ministerial labors. Theodore MAN was the fifth child of the Rev. Samuel, and in 1722 was a deacon in the church at Wrentham. He was also a selectman and a representative. Aaron MAN, father of Samuel, was a grandson of Theodore and was born in Wrentham Jan. 31, 1752. He settled in Providence, where he was married June 4, 1789, to Miss Grace Spear Willis FLAGG, daughter of Col. Josiah FLAGG of Boston, who displayed great patriotism by serving through the Revolutionary War without pay and departing this life a poor man. There were eight children in the family of Aaron MAN; Samuel, born 1791, died 1792; Samuel F., Thomas, Arlon, Orville, Eliza, Ann and George F. The only surviving member of this family is Miss Ann MAN of 155 Cranston street, Providence. Samuel F. died Sept. 17, 1847, and left a widow and one daughter, now a Mrs. Mary GOODLOE of Kentucky. The last resting place of this family is at the North Burial Ground, Providence. The family lot is on Eastern, 152 feet south of Cypress Avenue. It covers 650 square feet and there are several monuments.

But to return to the village and mills. Arlon MAN was general superintendent, and upon him to a great extent, depended the success of the manufacturing. The greater part of the houses then were owned by the company. The superintendent, regularly once a month, would visit them and give a pretty thorough inspection to see if the saying "cleanliness is next to Godliness" was being observed. Both Samuel and Arlon were strict disciplinarians and maintained in the village during their management a sober, industrious people and nowhere was there to be found a more quiet and orderly community. It has been stated that Samuel and Arlon were only part owners in the concern, but it also has been said that they with their brothers, Orville, Thomas and George were the important personages. Orville had charge of the weaving departments. It is said of him that he was greatly interested in trees and those large ones, which add so much to the beauty of the village today, were planted by his hands. Thomas always wore his hair long and wavey and was a peculiar sort of a fellow. He once wrote a book of poems, which, it is said, can be seen at the library in Franklin, Mass. Little is known of George. He was, of course like the others, employed about the mills and was considered a pretty good sort of fellow. Once while driving down the Manville hill, his horse took fright. He was thrown from the team, striking on his head and was carried to his home unconscious, became delirious and after long suffering died in a Charlestown institution, insane.

In those days the people had to start work at 5:30 A.M. At seven o'clock a half hour for breakfast was taken and a half hour for dinner at noon. The work would then be continued till 7:45 in the evening. The salaries were received once a year. But of course, if any of the help desired they could draw a part of their compensation. This was seldom found necessary though; the company had a

variety store, where the necessities could be gotten. Such a thing as the accommodation of steam cars was unknown to the people. If they intended to visit Woonsocket, Providence or other parts, they either had to take the stage, rent a carriage or go by foot. The latter seemed to be the favorite custom of the greater number. Samuel was continually talking to his employees of the necessity of saving every extra penny, and at one time he had in his possession a large amount belonging to them which he invested if they desired. The production of the mills at this time was delivered at Providence by means of the canal, from which place the goods were shipped to their destination. The canal was started at Providence in 1825 and in a little more than a year the enterprise had reached Woonsocket. There is, perhaps, no place along the Blackstone Valley that bears a more than striking evidence of the "old canal" than Manville. A portion of it is still here and extends for some distance along the railroad. There are many people residing there yet who remember this enterprise and they can tell many interesting stories about it. There were three locks at Manville and the tender's cabin was located a short distance below where the freight house now stands.

Make an imaginary trip through the village and compare the present with more than half century ago. At this period Jenkins & Man leased the mills and the factory tenements to Harkness & Stead for twenty years, but at the end of eighteen years the firm was forced to make an assignment. Samuel F. MAN had moved from his residence on Main street to the company farm on the Cumberland side. He employs a large

number of men and cultivates several hundred acres of land. The bridge will be the most favorable place to begin this trip. It is so situated that all the places and objects of interest can more readily be reached from it than from any other part of the locality. Cumberland and Lincoln are united by this structure and it is kept in repair by the railroad company and these two towns.

Manville has always included both sides of the river, the boundary line on the Cumberland side being on the main road, a few feet above the "old fountain." The New York. New Haven and Hartford railroad passes under this bridge. This road was formally opened Oct. 25, 1874, though the transportation of freight was begun the early part of the preceding month. In 1844, when the committee of the (rail)road went to Manville to tend to business along the line and to have the property surveyed, they found perhaps no more bitter opponent than Samuel MAN. He was in accord with many others in believing that the farming industry, by this enterprise would be ruined. The locomotives would not need hay and grain, and consequently these products, combined with horses, would be rendered almost valueless. Samuel, up to this time, had pretty much had his own way in everything he undertook. But in the officials of this enterprise he had found his equal. He could not prevent the railroad from going through. But at least he would stop them from laying the rails across one of the principal streets, as they intended doing. It is said that his determination in this was so strong that he stood on the forbidden spot and threatened to shoot the first man to break ground.

The consequences of this action can be seen today. At the time both sides of the river were connected by two bridges, one across the Blackstone and the other spanning the canal. Railroad street then was not in existence and Main was about as low as the canal bridge. which was just high enough to let the horses pass with convenience on the tow path underneath. The railroad was built on the tow path. The demands of Samuel were that the company raise the street and move several of the buildings. Railroad street was built by them and the demands of Samuel were complied with. Not a house on this street was erected there. The four center rows of factory houses used to extend to the canal.

The center of the village is said to have been more beautiful and picturesque, the advancement of civilization having deprived it of many of its natural beauties. The owners of the land upon which the Lincoln side of the village is now built were then Alonzo VOSE, father of Carlisle; Fenner MOWRY, father of Rensalear, and the mill company. The row of business places in front of the "brick blocks" is built within a few feet of the company bounds, and at the time at which this is written, a stone wall extended along there to the land now owned by the St. James parish. All of this space on Railroad street was devoted to the well kept gardens of the factory tenants, except a small portion upon which was a cemetery and hearse house for the mill people who desired a burial place. This was opposite the St. James Rectory.

On the other side of the stone wall the land of Alonzo VOSE and Fenner MOWRY was about all pine woods and pasture. The St. James Church, parochial school, convent and old cemetery are on the MOWRY. The rectory is on land (acauired as) the gift of the Manville company. The new cemetery is part of the Alonzo VOSE farm. The Episcopal church is in the center of the village and is the oldest. It was erected at the expense of Jenkins & Man, and was incorporated as the Emanuel church in 1836, the incorporators being Daniel HALE, Stephen P. TRAIN, John VANNCRAR, Nathan YOUNG, Bradbury C. HILL, Washington WILKINSON and others. The St. James church was erected in the winter of 1873, under the direction of Rev. James FITZSIMONS, now of St. Joseph's Ashton. The first place in which a Catholic priest celebrated mass in this village is in the second last house on Railroad street, as the visitor proceeds from the Consolidated station. This was in 1848. The tenant was Mr. John CONNELLY, father of Thomas CONNELLY of Sayles Hill. The other half of the house, that facing the station, was occupied by the grandparents of Lawver J. J. HEFFERMAN of Woonsocket. The present public school building has been remodeled. Previously it did service as a school and hall. The first story was devoted to the school.

The original building was erected by Samuel MAN. He always said that it was built for his brother Orville, who was a great lover of dancing and a good violinist. This hall was also used on Sunday be the Catholic clergy for many years before the St. James church was built. Before the period of steam cars, stages en route from Providence to Worcester went as far as the top of Main street. The road passing Contrexeville, and continuing by the farms of Rensalear MOWRY

and Alonzo VOSE, was called, in those days, the River road. The Albion and Woonsocket thoroughfares were not built then. The Manville and Albion companies gave the land for the former in 1856, and the latter was built at a much later date.

Returning to the bridge for the purpose of visiting the Cumberland side. and looking up the Blackstone, a heartiful scene presents itself. The river has two dams and both are quite close. The old one, erected about the time of No. 2 mill, is seen only when the river is low. The new dam was commenced August 15, 1868, and finished in three months. It was constructed of large hewn granite, is 246 feet long, 13 feet in width at the bottom, 8 feet on top with cap, 18 feet in height on the average, and rests upon solid rock its entire length. In some places it is 24 feet, and is composed of stones 10 to 14 feet in length and two feet square. The building facing the tourist is the mill office. The addition in the rear is the old store that was managed in the time of Jenkins & Man. It was moved to its present location from the foot of what is known today as the "New road." but was then called "Coal hill" on account of its dark colored stone. The gate house and trench are also in view. There is a great change there. The dye house, in which was used the indigo that brought Samuel MAN \$40,000 in one day, stood upon this handsome piece of land which is seen extending from the office to the gate house. Of course the river and trench were not so wide then. As we cross over to the opposite side, we see the No. 2 mill which is one of the finest in New England. The foundation for this mill was 350 x 76 with an ell 76 x 36. It was built of hewn granite from 6 to 8 feet in length, 18 inch face by 112 inches in depth, and cost about \$62,000. The plant changed hands about this time, and this piece of work was covered in for years before the mill was erected.

The Valley Falls company was owner of the estate then, having purchased it in 1854 from the Jenkins & Man heirs. The Manville company bought it about nine years later and was incorporated in May, 1863. The foundation was enlarged to about 900 x 100 and the mill erected. Russell HANDY was the superintendent and also a stockholder. The mill is four stories in front and five in the rear. The entire plant from the gate house to the engine room covers about eighteen acres and takes about 3,900 horsepower to run it. The two mills employ 1,500 people. There are 80,000 spindles and 2,600 looms. The goods woven are cotton and the patterns woven rank among the finest in the world. The number of pounds manufactured each week will average 50,000, and the number of yards of cloth about 38,000. Ninety is the finest number of yarn spun and the weekly payroll falls a little short of \$10,000. The site of the "old office" was at the main entrance. It has long since been removed and is now a one tenement cottage near the company stable.

Let us now proceed by way of the sidewalk to the corner of No. 2 mill. The street there was almost at the level of the water in the trench, which we see below us. When the Valley Falls company was the owner it expended \$20,000 around the mill yard and this place. The sum today is a mild amount in comparison with that what has been expended

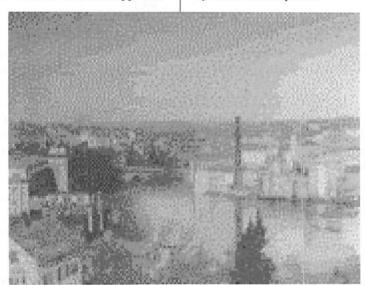
since. There is a large hollow at the right as we start to ascend the hill. This is the cellar of the James IRVING residence. The building with many others was moves and can now be seen next to the Mansion house. The ell was an addition which was taken from the rear of the Unity Cotton factory, The Mansion house, the residence of the boss farmer of Samuel MAN, and another building at the west of the mill were the only ones erected. The others were all moved there.

Before giving the valuation we will return to the Lincoln side and visit the Contrexeville Manufacturing company, managed by Edwin and Thomas HANDY. Both sons of the late Russell HANDY, who was superintendent for nearly thirty years, of the Manville mills, and to whom much credit for the prosperity of the village is due. This plant was purchased in 1886 from Mowry LAPHAM. It was then a farm of 150 acres. A mill for the manufacture of plush was erected. The enterprise today speaks volumes for the owners. The plush manufactured, for its kind, is not excelled in this country. The average number of yards woven each month is 8,000. The plant is run by 200 horsepower, steam. One hundred and fifty people are employed and the payroll is \$1,400 per week. There are 100 double looms in the mill, and the location is one of the prettiest in the village.

The valuation of Manville, both sides of the river included, is about \$1,340,350 real estate and personal assessments. The population is a little over 4,000. There are two schools, public and parochial. The educational facilities in the pubic school, 160, and in the parochial, 500. Both French and English are

taught in the latter and it is supported

by the St. James parish.



The Manville-Jenckes Mill, ca 1915

Until 1796, there was a State called Franklin which is now part of the State of Tennessee. There were other short lived States including Jefferson, Shasta, Klamath (all between Oregon and California), Superior (Upper Michigan) and Nickajack (Northern Alabama).

According to the writers of the U.S. Constitution, a National tax would be an External Tax. An Internal tax is a local tax within a State, Territory or the District of Columbia.

In 1914, the first year that the Federal Income tax was imposed, only one percent of the U.S. population was required to pay the new tax. Per capita, the average tax was .41 cents per person.

Until 1863, postal service in the United States was free. In that year, the U.S. entered an international treaty requiring nations to pay for their mail delivery to other countries.

Although Betsy Ross ran a munitions factory from her basement, she did not design the American Flag. It was designed by Congressman Francis Hopkinson, a naval flag designer, who was paid by the U.S. government for his design.

The U.S. Congress regulates the number of Justices on the Supreme Court. Originally having only six Justices, it had as many as ten at one time. In 1826, Congress voted to set the membership at nine.

Manville's "Brick Blocks" Unique Mill Housing

by: Normand Dauphinais

Editor's note: This article was taken from Neighbors, a local publication for Cumberland and Lincoln, RI. The author is a member of the Blackstone Valley Historical Society. The AFGS thanks the publication and the author for permission to reprint the article.

If you've lived in our valley any length of time, it is very unlikely that you haven't heard the term "mill housing" used at some point in time.

Mill housing was a product of the industrial revolution. Virtually every large mill complex constructed or made available housing in some form or another to their "operatives" or workers.

It's amazing when you consider the wide variety of housing that was constructed by various mills. Some were large wooden apartment houses. Others (such as in Saylesville) were very attractive freestanding single-family homes and duplexes.

Among the most easily identifiable even to the untrained eye, however, are the brick mill houses constructed by the Manville Company to house their workers.

It seems that as far back as any-

one can remember the brick mill houses in Manville were called the "Brick Blocks," or years ago, in typical Manville French slang, "les bloques de brick."

It's easy to see how they arrived at that nickname if you stop by Manville and view how they are neatly laid out, almost barracks-like, between Winter, Summer and Spring Streets of the village. Although, still called the "Manville Company" in the 1860's the industrial complex, it's dam, water privileges and other related property had changed hands a number of times over the years. The actual brick houses were constructed in 1874.

It was during that time that the largest number of French Canadian mill operatives were relocating to this thriving mill village.

The materials chosen for construction, brick and wood, were plentiful and cheap at the time. Bricklayers were likewise available in abundance, and the design was simple and functional. In short, these "brick blocks" were a perfect solution and a quick fix for a housing shortage.

As with most mills, the fading fortunes of the textile industry caused the Manville company to sell off its asset (including the brick block mill housing) long before the mill itself was destroyed by a devastating fire in the 1950's. Under private ownership the buildings continued (and still continue) to be rented out to village residents to this day. In 1970, about 94 years after their construction, the buildings received their first real "facelift."

Restored in a 70's style, porticos, columns, and new windows were installed, and much of the original brickwork was covered over in stucco. (Only

one "block" retains its original brick facade).

It's interesting to note that in the last few years such a style of restoration probably would not have been considered. Many fine examples of mills turned into modern day apartments demonstrate how successful, cost effective, and attractive sandblasting and repointing century old brick edifices to their original condition can be. At least they have survived to be a part of our living history.

Helpful Hints

Flies or bees bothering you? Spray them with hair spray and they will take a quick dive.

Sealed envelope - Put in the freezer for a few hours, then slide a knife under the flap. The envelope can then be resealed.

Use empty toilet paper rolls to store appliance cords. It keeps them neat and you can write on the roll what appliance it belongs to.

For icy door steps in freezing temperatures: Get warm water and put Dawn dishwashing liquid in it. Pour it all over the steps. They won't refreeze.

Crayon marks on walls? This worked wonderfully! A damp rag, dipped in baking soda. Comes off with little effort (elbow grease that is!).

Permanent marker on appliances/counter tops (like store receipt BLUE!). Rubbing alcohol on a paper towel takes it off.

Blood stains on clothes? Just pour a little peroxide on a cloth and proceed to wipe off every drop of blood. Works every time!

Migrations of the Asiatic Cholera

Translated by: Richard L. & George E. Christian

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Preliminary Remarks

Uninitiated as I am in such matters, the professionals will no doubt allow me to talk about it, as long as I avoid a scientific point of view.

In fact, science itself has not yet succeeded in rooting out the microbe of this illness. Its symptoms and its ravages are evident but its vital principle is still unknown. Humanity thus remains powerless against this implacable torpedoboat of the human machine. That is why every mortal can talk about it, since cholera is an always current subject.

Actual Passage of Cholera in Russia

Presently, it is making its rounds in Russia, sowing the dead and populating the cemeteries. This new invasion in that unfortunate country is not the first, but, this time, its march encouraged by famine is truly triumphant.

This scourge will probably deliver these people from an evil even more terrible, Bolshevism. If, in fact, the first kills bodies, the latter poisons minds and kills souls. Will Canada, as in 1832, 1834, 1849, 1851, 1852, and 1854, again see this unwelcome visitor land on our shores?

That is God's secret; He who, alone, can prevent the scourge from infiltrating itself in all the *cordons* sanitaires [quarantine areas].

Its Cradle

The name of this undesirable – Asiatic cholera – clearly indicates that its cradle was in Asia, not on the site of the Garden of Eden of Adam, but between the Himalaya and the Indus Rivers.

This zone which torrential rains transform into swamps is its national home. It reigns there permanently spending the summer season in the small villages grouped on the shores of the rivers and regaining its residence at the first cool spells. It also likes to travel with human caravans and famine.

This microbe is all the more terrible in that up to now it has eluded scientific research. Yet, the symptoms which announce its taking control are unmistakable.

Symptoms of Cholera

It begins, most often, by a period

of incubation varying from three to seven days, rarely overwhelms but frequently knocks down its victims in forty-eight hours, some-times, more rapidly. In fact, it operates independently with methodical tactics, in guerilla fashion.

To be leery of it is thus prudence. A threatening diarrhea is almost the equivalent of a calling card for cholera. If not immediately controlled, it is soon accompanied by vomiting, cramps, and intense thirst.

Then the appearance of the ailing person shows the following traits: – sunken eyes, sunken cheeks, blue nails, sharp nose, ice-cold hands and feet, and a temperature that falls 10 to 12 degrees below the surroundings.

If, at that moment, no response is offered, the victim does not wait long in giving up the ghost.

It is recommended to respond to this calling card by immediately summoning the doctor. There is the double chance of healing or of suffering for a shorter duration.

The Chinese Doctor

The Chinese doctor, if he is called, replies invariably to cholera's visit by a needle injection in the upper part of the stomach. Immediately, a flow of poisoned blood in which swims the microbe begins to filter, and when the process is completed, the cure of the sick person is a matter of a few hours.

This piece of information, I received from a Franciscan Sister, Missionary of Mary, who returned to the monastery of *la Grande-Allée*, after having spent twenty years in China, in the dis-

trict where cholera raged several times. This treatment, simplified to the utmost, well deserves to be noted.

Infectious and Contagious

Finally, is cholera infectious and contagious?...

"Doctors are divided." An early doctor of Québec, doctor PAIN-CHAUD, in a conference at the Canadian Institute in 1848, denied the second characteristic. As proof, he alleged the fact that cholera, in 1832, had taken only two doctors and not a single member of the clergy of Québec. This proof is perhaps not without value, but I persist in believing that this immunization is rather the evidence of a special protection. Be that as it may, contagious or not, cholera advances as if it were.

Would to God, at least, that like volcanic eruptions, the spread of cholera did not stray far from the environment where it perpetuated itself! Unfortunately, the microbe, "author of all this evil," has a taste for travel, as can very easily be pointed out.

First Migration

It will be a century in 1923 since cholera made its first appearance in Europe. Awakened in 1817, it reached China, the Moluccas, the Philippines, Mauritius, Réunion, Capetown. Then in the company of English troops coming from the infested Indian ports, it appeared on the coasts of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, touched Persia. There and then, it divided into two currents: one reaching Turkey, the shores of Syria, Alexandria, Smyrna; the other coming in through Afghanistan and Astrahkan and entering Russia, where the epidemic

died out.

Second Migration

This new incursion by land route lasted seven years. Leaving from Bengal, the epidemic crossed Afghanistan, Persia, Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Prussia, Finland, England, Belgium, France in May 1832, the United States and Canada in 1832, Spain in 1833, Algeria, France once again, via Marseille, Italy in 1836 and 1837, Asiatic Russia as well as European Russia, Egypt, the Regency of Tripoli, Algeria again, where it ended its travels.

This time, the cholera microbe had discovered North America, and after having gone up the Saint Lawrence, it was in Ouébec, on 8 June 1832. The cholera of 1832 and of 1834 had made the crossing from Dublin to Québec aboard one of the two ships filled with emigrants. Restrained for good and valid reasons at the quarantine station of la Grosse-Ile, the sailing ship was disinfected while the emigrants had gone on land, and then was allowed to continue on its course. Unfortunately, shortly after it had entered the port of Québec, one of its passengers died from an attack of Asiatic cholera in a boarding-house on Champlain Street, operated by a man named ROCHE. The fate of this first victim confirmed the rumor that cholera was at the door of the capital.

Striking detail: – almost at the same hour, the secretary of the Board of Health, after holding a preliminary inquiry, informed Québec that there was no case of cholera in the *Grosse-Isle*; – that was strictly true since the cholera had moved bag and baggage and entered Québec leaving nothing behind [at

Grosse-Isle].

On the same day, the *Canadien* [newspaper] gave additional details and reassured its readers, affirming that the cholera was not in Québec.

The latter [i.e., the cholera] replied to the "Canadien" by adding to its obituaries several new names. The next day, it went beyond this number, increasing in volume until the 15th of June, which closed with a slaughter of one hundred forty-three victims. It was its best day. After having remained steady for some days, above the one-hundred mark, the cholera thermometer began to decrease unevenly. When the epidemic began its end in the fall, 3,851 names were inscribed in the mortuary register, and Ouébec added a new "field of death" which was called the cemetery of the "cholera victims."

Site of the Cemetery

It is so named because the major part of its population is made up of cholera victims, even though typhoid victims are also largely represented there.

This ossuary, which brings back the sad memory of the victims of cholera at Québec, as well as those of typhus in 1847, is a very easy place to find.

To the south, it runs along la Grande-Allée; to the north, the border of Maison-neuve Street; to the west, Salaberry Street; to the east, a vacant building which separates it from the Franciscan sisters monastery.

Its surface – defined to the east and to the west by a stone wall ten feet high and two wide – when measured by sight,

is about 150 feet by 400 feet. The southern half is reserved for the Irish element, and the northern half for the Canadian-French element. This arrangement was intended to guarantee a cordial understanding.

Apart from the walls which I have just mentioned and which are still standing despite rain and snow, the sole vestiges of its primitive location are a few tombstones resting on the grass, and the mortuary vault uncrowned of its roof, but whose four sides have defied until now the ravages of the weather.

In more precise terms, it is on the site of this ancient cemetery which are built the asylum of *Ste-Brigitte*, the new church, and *St-Patrice* school. The latter is precisely on the half reserved to the Canadian-French.

Taking into consideration the Québec population of this period, it is evident that the cholera had not stopped working during its stay in the capital. Not to mention that, at the same time it made its journey throughout Canada. Two days after its arrival at Québec, it took possession of Montréal; then, crossing the Outaouais River, it continued its promenade through the cities of Ontario.

It is too simplistic to picture the appearance of the Quebeckers who were not able to run away, continually threatened by this sword of Damocles with cholera as the everlasting theme of conversation; the balance-sheet of mortalities, the main news of the morning or of the evening, the parade of cadavers aligned on those long wagons once used to transport bags of flour; the daily spectacle, the comings and goings of the doc-

tors and priests, the "extraordinary" distraction; the wailings, an almost uninterrupted concert. How very long these months must have appeared for those who lived them! To be sure, the people never forgot them. Even after the sixth visit of the Asiatic cholera at Québec, that of 1832 seems to have remained unforgettable, and its successors were only mentioned in passing. It is true that it had been the first in a series and the most murderous. In any event, a city under the control of cholera seems to me far more ill-fated than a city under canon fire. In this latter city, its inhabitants had at least the extreme resource of going down in caves and underground tunnels, while the cholera microbe circulates incognito, penetrates everywhere without being stopped by any obstacle, operates sneakily and does not reveal its presence until it is too late! Doctor MARSDEN, a contemporary of the cholera of 1832, published an interesting brochure concerning this epidemic.

The cholera of 1832 disappeared without saying goodbye at the end of autumn. This rudeness did not presage anything good. Accordingly, Québec was hardly surprised at its return on 7 July 1834. This time it came in again by way of the Saint Lawrence and when it left in the fall, 2,509 Québeckers missed the summons. Having arrived a month later than in 1832, it could not incubate either as long or as efficiently.

That is why it did not have the same success as its predecessor. The only beneficiaries of the cholera of 1834 were the pupils of the Minor Seminary of Québec, who had been sent away a month earlier, with examinations postponed until the fall.

Third Migration

This invasion, having left Persia in 1847, followed the itinerary of the preceding ones, and did not delay long before encircling Europe. No country was spared, and after having raged in the old world during the years 1847-1848, it crossed the Atlantic and visited the United States and Canada in 1849.

At the end of October 1850, at the time when the epidemic seemed to have died out in every country, it revived more malicious than ever in that Siberia which is being disputed presently, roams over the entire Europe from north to south and from east to west, wages war in Crimea with the Anglo-French troops, embarks for the American Republic and Canada; then, for the first time, visits the small republics of South America. In summary, we can say that from 1847 to 1855, cholera traveled in Europe practically without interruption. Consequently, it is not surprising that during this period, it had visited Ouébec and Canada four times.

Cholera in Québec in 1849, 1851, 1852, and 1854

In 1849, it seems to have made its appearance at Kingston, coming this time from the United States where it had been raging for several weeks.

The first victim at Québec was one named MC GILL, a road man, on Champlain Street, who died on 4 July, after just a few hours of illness. From Champlain Street, the cholera soon leaped to the Minor Seminary, because at that time and long after, vacations did not begin until the passing of the heat wave.

In fact, we read in the Journal of

the Québec seminary: "On 11 July, Dr. Naud said that the number of dead last night was 14. On 11 July, Lucien MORAUD, student in the class of rhetoric, falls ill around one in the afternoon, and dies around two o'clock in the morning. On 11 July, Roméo LAMONTAGNE, student in third, falls ill and dies at night."

"On 12 July, Philippe GAU-VREAU and Narcisse VANDERHEY-DEN die of it. The Seminary was closed the very day of the death of young MORAUD."

In the end, the epidemic of 1849 was, in Québec, less disastrous that those of 1832 and 1834 since it hardly exceeded 1,185 victims. Having begun during the first days of July, it ended in the last week of September.

The fourth epidemic of cholera in Canada took place in 1851 and was transmitted by the United States. Begun in August and dying out at the beginning of October, it had lasted two months. Ouébec was its last station. Cholera stopped there for about five weeks and claimed 280 victims from 26 August and 2 October. The first was a boarder of St-Louis Hotel, on Ste-Anne Street. The fifth visit of cholera at Québec took place in 1852; lasted from the end of September to the second week of November and claimed only 133 victims. The first to pay it tribute was a stevedore unloading the cargo of the Advance, sent from New York.

This appearance of cholera in full autumn demonstrates that it can rage even in this season. Its short stay in Québec, its late arrival, and the small

number of its victims are probably the reason it was glossed over.

The cholera of 1854, after having spent a few days at *la Grosse-Isle*, landed at Québec around 20 June. Had it been otherwise, we could almost declare it a miracle. The following facts, related in the report of doctors LANDRY and JACKSON, are proof of it.

Around mid-June, two ships from Liverpool loaded with émigrés, cast anchor at la Grosse-Isle. During the crossing, one had lost several persons afflicted with cholera, and the other some sick persons with measles, despite two attending doctors. The sick were hospitalized at the Lazaret hospital. After tarrying there for two or three days, the ships were authorized to take their passengers to their destination. After they arrived at Québec, on 17 June, medical inspection did not find anything abnormal. The guilty one (i.e., cholera) did not confess that it had incubated during its stop at la Grosse-Isle. The passengers were allowed to circulate in Ouébec, to return to take their meals and sleep on board the ships. We can easily guess what happened.

On 20 June, cholera exploded at the same time in the two vessels at anchor. In the blink of an eye, the Marine Hospital was overrun with the sick, and the epidemic began its travel through Québec and the neighboring parishes. The cholera followed the itinerary of the immigrants. On 22 June, it was at Montréal; on the 23rd at Hamilton; the 25th at Kingston and at Toronto, even before the population was in actual contact with the émigrés. Whim of the cholera, or the unpopularity of the convict-

prison of Kingston, I don't really know:

— it entered only on 12 July after tarrying in the city for nearly three weeks.

Better than that, either by distraction or pity — which was not its usual behavior— it did not stop at Brockville where the immigrants had crossed. When the cholera campaign of 1854 ended, around mid-September, the bottom line of victims was at 803 for the region of Québec and of 3,846 for all Canada.

As you would imagine, these statistics must be accepted, given the availability of records. The numbers mentioned might only be approximate, because if any statistic is a delicate matter, all the more reason for those which are collected in times of epidemics. One proof, among others, it is that not one of the three brochures which we have before our eyes agrees on this point.

The public civil servants whose lack of foresight had in some fashion given *carte blanche* to the cholera were neither shot nor even fired. We can at least congratulate ourselves that they still await their undeserved memorial. Cholera, we imagine, showed them its gratitude by ignoring them during its stay at Québec.

Fourth Migration

From 1855 to 1865, Europe breathed easily. But at the end of that decade, cholera threatened it anew. Imported from India to Mecca, from Mecca to Suez and Alexandria, after having made a stop at all the ports of the Mediterranean, it wove through all the cordons sanitaires [quarantine areas] and, once more, made its tour of Europe. In sixty days, it claimed 4,000 victims in Alexandria. Crazed, the popu-

lation fled – as the Russian caravans at the present time are doing – sowing the cholera microbe in its passage. This invasion, as the German occupation of the north of France in 1814, acclimated itself so well to Russia, country of choice for cholera, that it left there in 1869 to go reap again in Europe.

Accordingly, Québec awaited the cholera in 1865, since it invariably crossed the Atlantic after each of its tours in Europe. It started off with a good fright this time, but the famous visit was definitely announced for the end of June 1866. That is why the Council of the seminary of Québec decided, on 26 March, that the baccalaureate examination would take place on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of June. "This examination, says the Journal, has been advanced a month ahead this year, for fear that the cholera would force the students to pack off before time." Another consequence of this dreaded and terrible visit was the cancellation of the concert of 30 April. We read on that date in the Journal of the Seminary. "Today is the anniversary of the birth of Bishop de Laval. Nothing extraordinary was being done for fear of distracting the students from their studies, since they are getting ready for examinations much sooner than expected."

During the months of April and May, the community did not cease entreating God to prevent the scourge from crossing the Atlantic. Masses, novenas, lamps in front of the altar of the Congregation, promises — in a word all the weapons of the spiritual arsenal were requisitioned and we stormed Heaven with so much faith and perseverance that this pest declined to make its tour of

America.

If I remember well, prayers were recited for these intentions in most of the parish churches of the diocese of Québec. They are definitely the sole efficacious cordon sanitaire [quarantine] and are well in keeping with the precautions which human prudence suggests. That done, one places one's trust in Providence which regulates all for the good of mankind, as says Jean-Charles TACHÉ, former under-secretary of Agriculture, in a Memoire on cholera, published in 1866.

Fifth Migration

In 1833, always coming from India, cholera showed itself at Damiette [lower Egypt -Trans] and rapidly covered the whole of Egypt, where it caused, officially, 28,000 deaths. In June 1884, it raged terribly at Toulon, struck Marseille and spread in all the *Midi* (South) of France, and during the following years, in Algeria, in Italy, in Austria, in Spain, which as a whole was visited and ravaged, since more than 80,000 deaths were counted there.

In 1890, a short revival of the epidemic in Spain, with more than 4,000 victims.

In 1892, from India through Persia, within two months, cholera overran Russia where it struck 61 provinces and claimed more than 200,000 victims – Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary – France where it makes a kind of union with an epidemic of a relatively small scope, so to speak; – part of the administration of Nanterre at about the same time – and had already touched, other than Paris and the Seine, a certain num-

ber of areas of French territory.

Ever since, cholera has remained fixed in Europe, to be born again from its ashes here and there, with greater or lesser intensity.

From 1900 to 1901, the epidemic, an epidemic of Indian importation as the preceding ones, spreads throughout Asia, to Egypt, penetrates Russia, and makes the same incursion in Germany. Reawakened in 1907, in the south of Russia, this epidemic gained strength the following year, spreads in 1909 to the entire Russian territory where there were counted in 1910, 180,000 cases, hits a wall at the borders of Germany and Austria, but was able to penetrate into Italy.

"The number of cholera victims is incalculable; it is even impossible to have an exact idea of what it has taken from France. According to undoubtedly inac-

curate statistics, the early epidemics which touched France in 1832, 1834, 1837, claimed more than 100,000 victims; this number was surpassed again in 1847, 1850; surpassed by much more in 1851, 1855, at which time we note 70 overrun departments, 5,364 communes, and almost 150,000 deaths."

Conclusion

The cholera of 1854 did not have any successors in Canada. God be praised, and would that it never have any! This scourge, however, remains in the order of possibilities, all the more since the countries of the whole world are no more than "intercommunicating arteries."

It is currently raging in Russia, and as the scourge of war seems rather to have increased human folly—who knows what the future has in store for us?

High in the Middle and Round on Both Ends

Was President/Supreme Court Justice William Howard Taft a citizen of the United States? Taft, citizen of Ohio, was elected President and appointed to the Supreme Court during a 150 year period when Ohio was not actually a State of the Union, due to a legal technicality. Although Ohio had met all the requirements for Statehood in 1803, Congress did not approve Ohio's Statehood at the time. It wasn't until August 7th, 1953 that Ohio reapplied for Statehood. Congress approved the application and made it retroactive to 1803. But since the Constitution prohibits Congress from passing retroactive legislation, everything that William Howard Taft had done in his career as President and Supreme Court Justice would legally become null and void. To avoid a Constitutional crisis, the U.S. Courts refused to discuss the issue, referring concerned citizens to address the matter with Congress, which has refused to approach the matter.

Dr. Ulysse Forget

Physician, Author, Historian, A.F.G.S. Benefactor and Life Member

by: Roy F. Forgit

No doubt most A.F.G.S members have heard of, if not used in their research, the *FORGET Files*. They are listed in the Society's brochure as an important resource: "... the life's work of Dr. Ulysse FORGET, a noted French-Canadian genealogist from Rhode Island." These unpublished files contain thousands of Franco-American marriages in RI, collected over many years by this Life Member.

My own first knowledge of these files came in 1997 while visiting at the Danielson, CT, library of the Killingly Historical Society. This was prior to my ever having discovered the A.F.G.S.! Killingly was the 1905 birthplace of my father, Armand, and thus seemed a logical place to start. However, a staffer there kindly advised that with my surname having been originally "FORGET", I should check these files. Surely, all my ancestors would be found!

But alas, I was soon to be disappointed. There are only three FORGET family marriages in the FORGET files, none being a relative. You see, my grandfather, Oscar J. FORGET, had actually married in Millbury, MA in 1898. Ignorant of that, as well as of the facts about *dit* names, I had found instead my first brick wall.

Perhaps it is here that our readers

should be informed that Dr. Ulysse FOR-GET was a FORGET dit DESPATIE, while my own family was that of LATOUR dit FORGET. We are not related. Arriving at that fact required my researching of the good doctor's genealogy, which I have done. He was an admirable man, one whom we would gladly claim as family due to his accomplishments.

Nevertheless, the reward for my work is that I am able now to relate who he was, a question which I am often asked.

Ulysse was a native of Versailles, Iberville County, Québec. Born on 7 September 1898, his parents were Vildas FORGET and Delima LANCTOT. He received his classical education at Ste. Thérèse and St. John Colleges in Québec and passed the A.B. exams at Laval University in 1921. His M.D. Degree was awarded Magna Cum Laude by the University of Montreal in 1927, following the required internship at Hotel-Dieu Hospital, Montreal. In 1927-28 he was on the staff of Monson State Hospital, Palmer, MA. It was during that period that he passed the State Board Examinations for both Massachusetts and Rhode Island He was also licensed as a medical doctor in Québec.

Dr. FORGET began a medical practice in Warren, RI in April of 1928, and would remain in that community until his retirement in 1978. He was a specialist in eye, ear, nose and throat, following further studies in New York in 1934. From 1935-1940 he also had an appointment as a physician at the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary in Boston. In Fall River, he was on the staff at St. Ann's Hospital as well as at the former Union Hospital.

In October of 1928, Dr. FORGET had married Germaine GREGOIRE at Notre Dame de Lourdes Church in Montréal. They were blessed with two daughters, Helene and Louise, as well as a son, Bernard, who would him self become a doctor. We have learned from the 1985 Obituary of Dr. FORGET that at the time of his passing he had thirteen grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

In 1950 Dr. FORGET was elected President of the Association of Franco-American Physicians of New England. In addition, he was a member of the Union Medicale du Canada, the Bristol County Medical Society, the American Medical Association, the Association of Surgeons and Physicians, and the American Academy of General Practice.

But, Ulysse FORGET had an enduring interest as well in history and genealogy. He studied history and wrote at length. His interests in these subjects were shown by his many memberships, including those in La Societe Historique Franco-Americaine, La Societe Historique de Montreal and La Societe Genealogique Canadienne-Française, as well as our then new American-French

Genealogical Society, founded in 1978.

In 1952 he authored the History of St. Jean-Baptiste Church of Warren, RI on the occasion of that parish's 75th Anniversary. A copy is available in the A.F.G.S. Library. It is a remarkable work of scholarship, and sets an example for others who would aspire to be such authors. He states on the title page a standard for such work, in a quote as follows:

"La premier loi de l'histoire est de ne pas oser mentir; la seconde, de ne pas craindre de dire vrai." Bref Saepenumero considerantes Leon XIII, 18 aout 1883

Translated: "The first law of history is do not dare to lie; the second, do not fear to state the truth."

Why, one wonders, did the good doctor choose such a frank statement. one which is almost a challenge? What is more, why did he choose a Pope as his source! We believe an answer can be found on page 180 of this parish history, in his Chapter IV, entitled "The dissension's of 1923-1928." Here Dr. FORGET discusses what has been termed The Sentinelle Affair, a dispute between the Franco-American parishes and their Irish bishop over his use of parish funds. Ouite a number of people were ex-communicated after suing the bishop in the RI state courts (and winning!). In many parishes of the Diocese of Providence the faithful abstained from making donations to the Catholic Church altogether.

To quote Dr. FORGET's history of that era: "In Warren the abstention

policy was not too popular, though several public meetings took place. It seems that Father Ovide PLASSE acted wisely in trying to reconcile the people. He never refused to give absolution or communion to any of the *abstentionists*. He never threatened them with the wrath from heaven. It can be estimated that twenty-five per cent of the parishioners were *abstentionists*."

Surely, an author of lesser courage might have omitted altogether this period of strong emotions, not to say ethnic strife and anger. Dr. FORGET did not turn away from the historical truth, but saw the need to record it for posterity.

One of the more pleasant research activities which I had in writing this article was the opportunity to talk with Dorothy PROULX, who had been Dr. FORGET's nurse and secretary over a period of twenty years. She had been a childhood classmate and friend of his daughter Helene, who passed away in 1988. In one of her e-mails to me she tells of another facet of his personality: "He had many interests, one of which was to enrich a young girl's interest in the classics. He also loved the opera, which we listened to every Saturday afternoon during office hours. Every thing would stop when Madame Butterfly or La Bohemia was on." These were the radio broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera, live from New York.

Contrary to some other versions of how Dr. FORGET had compiled his files, Dorothy informed us that she never asked any of his patients for their marriage or family information. What he did do was to spend his free Wednesdays visiting the various city halls of the state, as well as the French parishes. Evidently his research was done "the old-fashioned way," by doing basic record-checking. He is also said to have spent considerable time going to the old Veterans Auditorium Building in Providence, in the basement of which the state stored the Archives of Vital Records. This was forty years ago, but Dorothy recalled that Dr. FORGET would bring several of his staff or family members along to help. Then, they had the added task of typing, cataloguing, and filing the records.

Although I was not able to locate a copy of Dr. FORGET's research of his own family's genealogy, Dorothy told me that he had made a Fan-chart of the "FORGET dit DESPATIS Tree" which was framed and displayed in the diningroom of his home in Warren. (The ascendance which follows is one which I have compiled myself.)

Dr. Ulysse FORGET died in Warren on 5 October 1985 at the age of 87. The obituary, which appeared in the Sunday, October 6, 1985 in the Providence Journal provided most of the biographical information which I have included above. However, a few of my notes came from his autobiography, which is in his 1952 History of St. Jean-Baptiste Parish, including a nice picture. Where the two accounts differed, I used his own writings, chiefly his birthplace being Versailles, in Iberville County, Québec.

I believe we can all agree with Dorothy PROULX, who wrote: "He certainly deserves recognition for *The For*get Files and many other articles he wrote." A postscript: Currently, the A.F.G.S. is undertaking a up-dating of the FORGET Files. This will include the editing of errors, the addition of any missing parental names, the correcting of family name spellings, etc.

Janice BURKHART, our Librarian, is requesting that anyone who has any additional information or corrections relevant to these valuable files would send that to us promptly, in order that they can be included.

The Ascendance of Dr. Ulysse FORGET

G1-Paul FROGET-DESPATIS (sic) born in Normandie, France + Nicole CHE-VALIER, m. circa 1630, Notre Dame d'Alencon, Normandie

G2-Nicolas FORGET-DESPATIS + Madeleine MARTIN m. 6 February 1653, Notre Dame, Québec

G3-Louis FORGET +Elisabeth ETIER

m. 2 March 1688, Lachenaie, Québec

G4-Jacques FORGET-DESPATY + Marie CHARBONNEAU m. 17 October 1712, St. François, Isle Jesus, Québec

G5-Louis FORGET-DEPATY + Angelique CHAUVIN m. 4 January 1769, Boucherville, Québec

G6-Louis FORGET/FORGETTE-DES-PATY + Pélagie GARIEPY m. 9 November 1807, Varennes, Québec

G7-Théophile FORGET + Alphonsine (Euphrosine?) LUSSIER m.23 February 1846, St. Edouard, Québec

G8-Jean-Baptiste-Vildas FORGET + Delima LANCTOT m. 18 February 1890, St. Philippe, La Prairie, Québec

G9-Ulysse FORGET+Germaine GRE-GOIRE m. 27 October 1928, St. Jacques, Montreal, Québec

The Pearl Harbor Conspiracy

The U.S. knew the Japanese were going to bomb Pearl Harbor a full ten hours before the attack on December 7, 1941. American forces intercepted a 14-part Japanese message and deciphered it by 4:37 a.m. Washington time. The message supposedly remained in the code room for 3 hours before President Roosevelt was notified. By 11:00 a.m., the message was transmitted to all areas of the Pacific except Hawaii, where the receiver was supposedly not working. Pearl Harbor finally received the message 3 hours after the attack and after 3000 people lost their lives.

Some historians believe that President Roosevelt deliberately withheld the message from Hawaii in order to provide the U.S. with adequate justification for entering World War II. The ensuing military buildup succeeded where Roosevelt's New Deal had failed, pulling the United States out of the state of bankruptcy on a tide of crimson and steel.

Québec: It's Formative Years

by: Lucille F. Rock

Editor's note: In this, our twenty-fifth anniversary issue, it is fitting that we include the first article in the first issue of this publication. Volume I, Number 1 of Je Me Souviens was published in September of 1978.

The unknown has always held fascination and intrigue for many; but for a chosen few, it is a chance at adventure, to touch danger, to conquer and to prove oneself in the face of extraordinary odds. The New World, virgin territory, attracted these few, but it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that men set foot on its shores.

A few ships followed and the discovery of the plentiful schools of cod on the coast brought mane fishing vessels from Europe. By 1519, the French fishing fleet numbered over one hundred ships. Through the first three decades of the sixteenth century, the eastern seaboard of North America was explored by English, Portugese, Spanish and French ships, but none penetrated the interior waterways.

In 1534, Jacques CARTIER was sent from France to explore the Bay of Castles, now called the Strait of Belle Isle. He arrived on June 10th and finding the coast barren and rocky, sailed southward. For the next two months, he ex-

plored the coast and then on the 15th of August, set sail for France. The following year, CARTIER returned to Canada where he gave Ile d'Orleans its name and also christened Mont Royal, which later became Montréal.

Meanwhile, the fishing vessels on the coast became more numerous every year and soon the fishermen became aware that they could exchange small trinkets with the Indians for valuable furs. By the middle of the sixteenth century, vessels sailed to New France for the sole purpose of fur trading, which proved to be very lucrative.

In 1599, a monopoly of the fur trade was given to the Huguenot, Pierre CHAUVIN, with the stipulation that he would bring in fifty colonists a year to New France, as Canada was then called. In the summer of 1599, CHAUVIN landed sixteen men at the mouth of the Sanguanay river and left them in a small log hut. When the vessels returned the following summer, CHAUVIN, more interested in fur profits that in colonization, didn't bring any new colonists. Only five of the sixteen he has left the summer before, survived the winter and only because they sought refuge with friendly Indians.

Other traders, excluded from the

business by CHAUVIN's monopoly, complained bitterly of favoritism. Finally, in the winter of 1602 and 1603, a commission was appointed that recommended the admission of certain Rouen and St. Malo traders, on the condition that they bear their share of the cost of colonization. It was also deemed advisable to survey the country in order that a favorable site be chosen for a settlement.

The survey began in 1603, when Samuel de CHAMPLAIN, a naval officer, and Du Pont GRAVE, a fur trader, explored the country, laying the foundation for what is now known as the Commonwealth of Canada. CHAMPLAIN and GRAVE journeyed farther into the continent than anyone else before them. They saw a land where Frenchmen could live in peace and prosperity.

As a result of the CHAPLAIN and GRAVE survey, a new monopoly was granted to the company of Pierre DU GUAST, Sieur de Monts, in 1604, for the span of ten years. This new grant also contained the stipulation that the company would bear the cost of colonization by sending no fewer than sixty colonists a year to New France.

The first settlement, comprised of men only, was landed in the summer of 1604 in the Bay of Fundy on the island of St. Croix. The winter proved so severe for the colonists on the exposed island, that the following summer the settlement was transported across the Bay of Fundy to the harbor of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Basin, a land of gently rolling hills and fertile soil in Nova Scotia. The buildings were erected in the form of a square, so that one would protect the other against the bitter cold. But

the following winter was equally hard and the colonist were driven to seek a fishing boat that would ferry them home to France.

In the spring of 1607, word was given to the company of Pierre DE GUAST that its monopoly, which had seven more years to run, had been terminated due to the subterfuge of the Hatter's Corporation of Paris. Wishing to recoup a portion of his losses and trusting to the advice of CHAMPLAIN, Pierre DE GUAST petitioned Henry IV and was awarded a fur trading monopoly in the St. Lawrence valley for one year.

CHAMPLAIN returned to New France in 1608 and founded the city of Québec, where he constructed a trading post consisting of three small two-story buildings and a single storehouse below the cliffs. It was hoped that this excellent geographical location would give the company an advantage over the other companies in the years of the open market and secure a safe passage of the St. Lawrence river made dangerous by the warlike Iroquois.

When the monopoly ended the next year and the fur trade was opened to the merchant marine of France in the summer of 1610, just like the cod, walrus and whale, so many furs were brought to the trading post that a glut in the market caused the price to drop. The situation became unbearable and traders found it impossible to get rid of even a portion of their pelts.

It became apparent that the problem would have to be resolved. CHAM-PLAIN, suffering from a broken leg caused by a fall from his horse, spent the summer of 1612 petitioning the King's uncle, Louis DE BOURBON, Comte de Soissons, to apply for a monopoly and to close the open market. It was granted on the condition that six families would be brought to New France every year during the twelve year contract.

The Comte de Soissons died a few weeks after the monopoly was granted and the holding was transferred to his nephew, Henri DE BOURBON, Prince de Conde. This monopoly, obsessed with the profits derived from the fur business, gave little thought to colonization. Only one family, that of Louis HÉBERT, was brought to New France in 1617. Two years later, two more families were brought in, Abraham MARTIN's and Pierre DESPORTES.

In 1627, Cardinal RICHELIEU and other prominent people formed the Compagnie des Cents Associes, whose aim was to lead "the people inhabiting New France to the knowledge of God, and to instruct them in the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion." Although this was a well meaning plan, the company never had a chance to prove itself as, two years later, New France fell victim to the KIRKE brothers, sailing under the English flag.

At the time of the English occupation, only thirty-four people of French origin lived there. They were: Marie ROLLET, widow of Louis HÉBERT; Guillaume HÉBERT; Guillaume HUBOU; Adrien DUCHESNE and his wife; Abraham MARTIN, Marguerite LANGLOIS, his wife, and their three children, Anne, Marguerite and Hélène; Pierre DESPORTES, Françoise LANG-

LOIS, his wife, and their daughter Hélène; Nicolas PIVERT, Marguerite LESAGE, his wife, and their niece; Guillaume COUILLARD, Guillemette HÉBERT, his wife, and their three children Louise, Marguerite, and Louis.

Besided these few families there were eight interpreters: Étienne BRULÉ, Nicolas MARSOLLET, Thomas GODEFROY, Jean GODEFROY, François MARGUERIE, Jacques HURTEL. Gros-Jean and Jean NICOLET. There were also: Sieur de Baillif, Pierre ROYE, FROIDEMOUCHE, LECOQ, and someone that worked for PIVERT whose name is unknown.

On 29 March 1632, the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye was signed whereby the King of England returned the colony to the King of France. Although the colony was at peace once again, the monopolistic companies, despite their contracts, did little to colonize New France.

To encourage colonization in New France, the immigrants were granted large parcels of land, usually one hundred acres or more, each having a strip on the St. Lawrence. This was a necessary factor, because the river afforded them their only means of transportation.

According to this system of land tenure, rural society was divided the seigneurs of landlords and the censitaires or tenants. In Canada, as in France, gentility and the possession of an estate went together, but there is an important difference between the feudalism of the mother country and the colony. In France, the peasants bore appreciable burdens during the seventeenth century,

but in Canada, no censitaire could be seriously financially crippled by the taxes or services to which he was bound. The moderate demands of the seigneur may be seen from a single instance. A deed of 19 June 1694 concedes a lot of land three arpents in frontage by forty in depth (about one hundred acres) "in consideration of 20 sous and good live capon for each arpent of frontage and one sou of cens, payable at the principal manor house of the seignory on St. Martin's day of each year so long as the grantee shall occupy the land."

Besides the farmers who cultivated their fields in the valley of the St. Lawrence, New France also had a small population called the coureur-de-bois. These men had adventurous spirits, laughed at danger and thrilled at discovery. They roamed the woods, traded in beaver skins, explored the pays-d'enhaut (land west of Montréal) and discovered rivers, streams and mountains, Occasionally, they served as guides and interpreters for the France and the clergy when they dealt with the Indians. Although their vices were an object of scandal to the missionaries and their lawless habits an embarrassment to the government, they were an important aspect to the settlement of the province.

Also inhabiting the area at this time were three major tribes of Indians: the friendly Hurons and the Algonquins, with whom the French bartered; and the Iroquois, who were a constant menace and threat, not only to the colonists but also to other Indians.

An attempt was made in 1653 to force the Iroquois back into the forest and to protect the settlers from their sav-

age forays. M. de MAISONNEUVE, agent for the Compagnie des Cent Associes, hired 154 Frenchmen, mostly from the area of Fleche, who signed contracts to work in New France for five vears. This endeavor, known as the Grande Recrue also helped to colonize the province, since many of these young men never returned to their mother country. M. de MAISONNEUVE selected these men carefully. He hired only young men, robust and courageous, devout Catholics, knowledgeable in warfare and each having a skill or profession that would help the settlement of Ville-Marie, as Montréal was then called. They also had to be of irreproachable moral character so as not to corrupt the existing colonists. Of the 154 young men selected, only 105 arrived in New France; some had reneged on their contracts and others had died at sea

This action helped to establish a semblance of peace, but did little to keep the Iroquois at bay. In the 1660's, the colonists feared annihilation by the Iroquois and pleaded with the King of France to send them support. In 1665, the famous Carignan-Salieres regiment arrived, comprising of twenty-six companies or twelve hundred men. Their brave and stunning exploits brought peace to the colony for some time. When the regiment returned to France in 1667, approximately four hundred soldiers and thirty officers elected to remain behind and settle as colonists. The officers were granted seigniories along the Richelieu river by the King of France and the soldiers by choice settled on the seigniories of their respective officers.

Colonization was more or less

state promoted until 1672, and thereafter it was discouraged in favor of Louis XIV's plan of European Hegemony. During the following century, there was little incentive to colonize the new territory. In the census of 1681, the population of New France had grown to a meager 9,677. In fact, during the French Regime, it is estimated that only 10,000 Frenchmen immigrated to the new colony. Thus, from the very beginning, the colony was badly handicapped in its long and arduous race with its southern competitors. It was not the lack of courage, resourcefulness and industry that brought the fall of New France; it was their great misfortune of having had kings who, due to lack of foresight. Were more concerned with continental ambitions and roval alliances than with colonial development and sea power.

The French government had given its colony an excellent and effective system of land tenure and an equally competent judicial system. It was not so from 1632 to 1663, when the affairs of the colony were controlled by the Crown in France through the Company of New France, which was managed with an abnormal amount of ineptitude, suffered greatly through its war losses and finally dissolved.

However, in March of 1663, Louis XIV approved the formation of a Sovereign Council in New France under the auspicious control of a governor, a bishop, an intendant, and a board of councillors varying in number from five to twelve. The governor, who was always a noble, held the highest office in the colony. He commanded the forces and had authority to make judgments in matters of emergency. The intendant ordi-

narily belonged to the middle class and had training in law and business. The board of councillors was chosen by mutual agreement between the governor and the bishop. This council had legislative powers and also served as a court of appeal in both civil and criminal cases.

From CHAMPLAIN's time, Trois-Rivières and Ouébec had existed as two separate governments. When Montréal was founded by M. de MAISONNEUVE in 1641, it became a third government. These three districts carried the names of their respective cities and after 1663, each had its own civil and judicial organization. Québec had a provost court, while Trois-Rivières and Montréal had civil and criminal courts organized in the same fashion as Québec's provost court. The judicial system of these three districts functioned so well that neither the governor nor the Sovereign Council interfered with their authority except in cases of appeal.

The Catholic Church and the judicial system of New France cannot be separated. The Church was supported by the government and the government was run by some members of the clergy. The judicial system served judgement not only in criminal cases, but also in matters of morality as defined by the Church. Court decisions always mentioned the Church and fines levied were payable to the King as well as to the Church.

Following are two examples which prove not only the bond between church and state, but also the severity of seventeenth century justice.

On 8 November 1679, Charles CATIGNON was accused and found

guilty of having used blasphemous language during a dice game with the Sieur de Repentigny at the home of Pierre NOLAN, on the previous 4th or 5th of October. A fine of over two hundred pounds was levied against him in the following manner: Fifty pounds to the Recollets (a reformed order of Franciscans); fifty pounds to the religious of Hôtel Dieu; fifty pounds to the poor of Hôtel Dieu; fifty pounds to the King; and court costs.

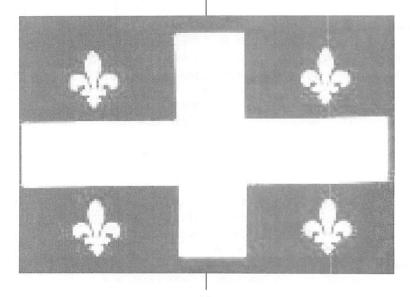
During Lent in 1670, Louis GA-BOURY ate meat, which was against lenten regulations. He was reported by his neighbor, Étienne BEAUFILS. On 26 October of the same year, GABOURY appeared in court and was found guilty and sentenced to be tied to the public post three hours. He was then to be lead bareheaded, a sign of disgrace, in front of the chapel of Ile d'Orleans, where he was to be made to kneel with hands clasped and beg God and the King and the courts of justice, for forgiveness for his sin. He was then to be fined twenty pounds, payable

to his parish charity and be forced to give his denunciator a cow as well as the profits of one year's work.

Finding this sentence harsh, GA-BOURY appealed his sentence to the Sovereign Council. On the first of December, 1670, the Council voided his first sentence but still fined him sixty pounds in lieu of the cow and the year's profits, payable to his accuser and another twenty-five pounds divided equally between the poor and the King.

Although the Church was an integral part of the colonists' existence and had almost absolute authority over them, they lived in harmony except for a few inconsequential instances.

With an effective seignorial land tenure system, good courts of justice and hardly any taxation, New France possessed an absolute and centralized administration. Its annals are adorned with noble deeds and its life represents a characteristic form of civilization.



Westward Ho, the Boissonneaults

by: Albert Boissoneault

Editor's note: The following is taken from the book, Je Me Souviens – A Family Remembrance, by Albert Boissonneault, and is serialized here with his widow's permission. This is the seventeenth installment in the series. Mr. Boissonneault's book is in the AFGS Library.

At this point I wish to write about my dear wife Ellie. When we were married back in 1949 our prospects were not too bright. She worked as a secretary in an insurance agency and I had no job at all. Under the G.I. Bill of Rights, we had the right to draw unemployment insurance of \$20 for 52 weeks and I guess that I drew it for about 30 weeks. I finally obtained a job as an unskilled laborer at a carpet cleaning company, 44 hours a week for \$48.

For about four months after we were married, we lived in Arlington, MA, with Ellie's family. They had a huge 11 room house at 103 Bartlett Avenue and there was plenty of room for all. Besides our huge bedroom (complete with fireplace) on the second floor, we had a small sitting room next to it. We furnished it with part of a living room suite (the rest was in the bedroom) and were able to entertain company there without disturbing the rest of the family. Our expenses were not very big as we

paid only \$20 a week board and we had no car; like most Bostonians, are main method of traveling was via the MTA.

My new job enabled to strike out on our own, but it was still practically impossible to find a rental apartment. Luckily, I had saved enough money so that in September, 1949, we were able to purchase a two-family house in Jamaica Plain, at 34 Chestnut Square. Since we paid only \$7500 for the house. you can imagine that it was no palace (although of course prices were extremely less in those days.) It was in a quiet section of town and on a dead end street, but was a short distance from Lamartine Street, a thoroughfare, which ran between the Commonwealth Avenue trolley cars and the Green Street subway station. Later on that section became quite a slum, but at that time it was not a bad neighborhood. I haven't been back there for at least 20 years but once read in the paper that the road was torn up to make a new roadbed for a highway (I think it was Route 93.)

The first floor was rented to a young couple and we had four rooms on the second floor, as well as two on the third which we did not use. Ellie had quit her job at Loyalty Group to keep house but soon found herself restless and obtained a part-time job for a detective

agency. She worked for them as a mystery shopper, reporting on the behavior and honesty of retail clerks. Later she went to work as an inventory clerk at Farrington Manufacturing Company, famed for its jewelry boxes. I continued working at the Albany Carpet Cleaning Company but was very dissatisfied with my position. I had been promised that I would do the accounting but since the owner's nephew needed a job, I took second place, and ended up with all the odd jobs that no one else wanted to do. Now that I was settled with a wife and a house, however, I had to be content with the job that I had.

Life was not exciting for us but was pleasant. We often visited my stepbrother John and his wife Lonnie, where we played canasta. We also visited back and forth with my sisters Estelle and Gabrielle; Edith was too far away, although Smith, Estelle Ellie and I took one memorable trip to Rochester in Smith's car. (In those days, it was quite a trip without the super highways and convenient motels of today.) We had also purchased the wonder of those days, a television set. On the nights when we stayed home, the couple who lived downstairs often came up to watch this amazing invention with us.

The trolley line was almost a mile away from our house and now that we were on our own, we had to carry the groceries on that long hike. The further we walked, the heavier the bags got! What a relief it was when at the end of 1949 we were able to buy a secondhand DeSoto sedan. I have forgotten the year it was made, but it was far from new when we acquired it and served us well until sometime in 1952.

In January, 1951 I had an operation for varicose veins at Chelsea Soldiers Home and while I was there. I was asked if I would take a position as a Railway Mail Clerk in Springfield, Mass. (I had taken the exam back in 1949.) Since I was in the hospital I had to pass it up temporarily. At the end of April I was again asked if I was interested in the position. I hesitated to accept at first because it meant selling the house and starting all over again in a strange town where neither of us had ever been. In addition, Ellie had changed her job and she was now working at the Boston Psychiatric Hospital, at a job she thoroughly enjoyed. Finally, after some discussion, we decided that the move would be more advantageous and putting the house up for sale, set out for Springfield.

On a fateful Sunday in April we drove to Springfield, accompanied by my brother-in-law, Albert SOUZA, Gabrielle's husband. Our first sign of the Springfield city marker brought a sense of wonder to us. We, who were used to a crowded city, saw only empty fields and woods in the main road, Route 20. It was a far cry from the crowded shopping area of today. Continuing on, we eventually reached civilization and, relying on the old standby, classified newspaper ads, rented a room at a rooming house until we could get familiar with the city.

Fortune shone down on us in that selection. We became roomers in the home of Mr. And Mrs. Harold WRIGHT at 1154 Worthington Street, where we had a bedroom on the second floor and a kitchen in the cellar. Though we had no sitting room, the bedroom did con-

tain two large easy chairs in which we could relax. Being able to prepare our own meals was a blessing, both time and moneywise. Our landlords were a second blessing, especially Mrs. Wright, a wonderfully warm hearted woman who treated all of her tenants like family. Rooming there besides us were another couple, an elderly maiden lady, two single men and Mrs. WRIGHT's young nephew. Mrs. WRIGHT looked after all of us; though she never had children, she would have been a wonderful mother. We count ourselves lucky to have lived there and we remained friendly with them until their deaths.

I started work at the Springfield Mail Terminal on the second floor of the Union Station as an indefinite substitute railway mail clerk, earning \$1.41 an hour. My job was sorting mail to be put on the trains. In those days, mail cars were attached to the trains, where the mail was sorted in the car en route to its destination. As a substitute, I was on call to work on the trains, but actually spent most of my time working in the station. This did not bother me as I enjoyed being home each day, even though I worked from 3:00 p.m. to 11:30. I preferred that to being on the road for days at a time. I worked a lot of overtime, as we were not given any annual leave or sick leave,

Since I was working six days a week, we went back to Boston only occasionally. In those days, it was about a three and one half hour ride on Route 20. When I could arrange it, I would work a day shift and go to Boston that evening. This allowed us to stay overnight at Ellie's parents two nights and come back the second morning in time at 3:00 p.m. This applied only until the end of June, however. Since Ellie was still on the state civil service list, she was able to obtain a summer job working for the Department of Employment Security in Westfield. From then until September, we were more or less tied to Springfield. This was not unwelcome since it gave us a chance to explore our new area.

When we first came to Springfield, I had been told that after two years of service, it might be possible for me to transfer back to Boston. As we became more familiar with the city that summer, we became more pleased with our surroundings. By the end of the summer we had come to a decision – the decision that western Massachusetts was a far better place to raise children. We resolved to cut our ties to the Boston area and to build our lives here.

To be continued in the Spring 2004 issue.

Contradictions

Do cemetery workers prefer the graveyard shift?

Do Lipton employees take coffee breaks?

How is it that a building burns up as it burns down?

If a train station is where the train stops, what is a work station?

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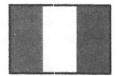
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Father Pierre Beaugrand dit Champagne

by: Lorraine C. Durling

Editor's note: This article first appeared in the alumni newspaper of St. Joseph's School in Red Lake Falls, MN.

I first heard about Father Pierre when I was a very young girl from my Dad. He was my grandfather's uncle. All I knew when I started researching my family history was that he borrowed money from my great-grandfather to build a church in Minnesota and the money was never returned. I often wondered how true this was as family storied sometimes get a little distorted as they are passed down through the years.



When I started doing research on my Champagne family in 1991, I was determined to find out more about him. The first piece of information I found was in an article in the *Genealogist* entitled *The French Presence in Minnesota* by Roger W. Lawrence. It stated "that in 1879 Father Pierre CHAMPAGNE had said masses at Red Lake Falls, MN in the home of Isaie GERVAIS until a church was built."

While doing research at the AFGS Library in Woonsocket, RI, I stumbled upon the book, Histoire de St. Guillaume d'Upton, 1833 to 1983. In this book I found a great deal of information about Father Pierre that would aid me in my research. I learned that he was born in St. Ambroise de Kildare in Joliette County, Ouébec in the 20th of October 1839. He was the first born and oldest son of Pierre CHAMPAGNE and Clarista AYOTTE. Father Pierre came from a family of at least 12 children, many of whom died at a very young age. He attended the Seminary of Nicolet and while there he made a promise which he did indeed fulfill. He was very ill with tuberculosis and promised that if he recovered from this illness he would become a missionary and devote his life to the missions in the Far West.

In another book, Le Clergé Can-

adien-Français it stated that he had been formally ordained at Ste. Monique des Deux Montagnes on the 22nd of September 1867. He was first assigned as a vicar is St. Guillaume, his home parish, serving there from 24 September 1866 to 6 October 1868. He was then assigned to St. David from 1868 to 1871, serving again as vicar. St. Guillaume and St. David are both in Yamaska County, Ouébec.

In another history book on St. Guillaume I found a paragraph stating that in 1871 he was assigned as a chaplain Zouaves Canadiens who wanted to start a new colony in Piopolis, located west of Lake Megantic in Canada. The Zouaves were a military-like organization dedicated to the protection of the Catholic Church, the country, its faith and morals. For some time I was unsuccessful in finding any information about the Zouaves and Piopolis. One night I typed in Piopolis in the search engine of my computer and came up with some information. There was an e-mail address and I chanced sending a request for information about Father Pierre. I got a reply with quite a bit of data.

Father Pierre was pastor of a church which he founded there. He was in Piopolis from 1871 to 1873. In 1872 he obtained permission to have registers in order to inscribe baptism, marriage and death records. On the 11th of July 1873, Monsignor Louis LAFLÈCHE, Bishop of Trois-Rivières, visited Piopolis for the dedication of the new church named Saint Zénon. Reverend LAFLÈCHE may have observed Father Pierre's organizational ability as a few months later he was sent to organize the church at St. Gabriel de Stratford and

became its pastor. In September of 1876 he returned to St. Guillaume from St, Gabriel to take part in the blessing of the newly installed bell. Several years went by before I found any more information about Father Pierre.

When I began using a computer and became confident enough to venture on the internet, I found a query in a CHAMPAGNE genealogy site. I contacted the gentleman who answered the question and it turned out that his wife's great-grandfather, Cyprien-Sulpice CHAMPAGNE, was one of Father Pierre's brothers. This new found cousin sent me a brief outline of Father Pierre's life. It was indeed true that he had founded churches in Minnesota. In 1879 he founded the parish of St. Joseph in Red Lake Falls, MN. In 1880 he founded a parish in Gentilly, MN; and in 1885 he began another parish in Louisville, MN. In 1884 he founded a very important parish in Duluth, MN. This was a French speaking parish where his younger brother, Adolphe and his large family later attended. He was also instrumental on organizing other parishes in Minnesota.

My interest now was really aroused and I wanted to know more about him. I wrote to the seminary in Nicolet, Québec where Father Pierre had been educated. I expressed my wish not only for more information but also hoping that they would have a photo of him. In due time I received a reply from the archivist with the information and a photo of the man when he was about 22 years of age. She also enclosed a copy of an inscription stating that he had entered a class of philosophy in 1862 which ended two years later, and that

his goal was to become a priest.

A few years ago I had the pleasure of chatting with his 90 year old great-grand nephew, who knew a great deal about him. He told me that Father Pierre had done a lot to help the Indians of North Dakota, From 1888 to 1889 we find him ministering in Leroy, ND and serving the nearby mission of Neché. In 1888. Father Pierre wrote a letter to Major MALLET while he was ministering in Bathgate, North Dakota. I was able to obtain a copy of this letter which was in the Mallet Library's collection in Woonsocket, RI. MALLET had been newly appointed by President Grover CLEVELAND as Inspector General of Indian Tribes of the United States. In his letter to Major MALLET, Father Pierre was rather forward but cordial and offered his services on behalf of the Indians. In translating this letter from French to English I could feel his determination in wanting to help "these poor souls," as he referred to them. He even suggested that "model farms be established to guide the young ones and get them used to submitting to the general law of God imposed on all mankind," that is "that you will earn your bread by the sweat of your brow."

Some time later I was contacted by a distant cousin who saw a posting that I made. She told me that she had been in touch with Rev. Timothy BUSHY of the St. Joseph parish in Red Lake Falls, MN, and that he had a good picture of Father Pierre. Father Tim was very kind and shared the photo with us along with other information. I was quite proud to learn that the street in front of

St. Joseph's was named Champagne Avenue

My cousin also had a family story to tell. Whenever Father Pierre visited family members, he wanted to baptize everyone, whether they wanted to or not, and baptize he did. I found many baptismal records with his signature. He always signed in a rather flowing hand writing: P. B. Champagne, ptre.

One baptismal record that I found amusing was that of his niece. The poor child was baptized Marie-Adelaide-Clorinda BEAUGRAND alias CHAM-PAGNE. Using the alias instead of the French dit indicated to me that he was quite fluent in the English language.

At this point in time whether the aforesaid load was repaid (or not) is inconsequential, my great-grandfather, Father Pierre's brother, was a man of means. In his burial record at St. Guillaume, he was listed as a "rentier" which translated means an investor. The loan of this money to Father Pierre may have been his very best investment. It vielded a great return, the beginning of a parish called St. Joseph, which still exists having been founded over 100 years ago. Could Father Pierre, in his wisdom, have named the church St. Joseph; his brother who supposedly loaned him the money was named Joseph.

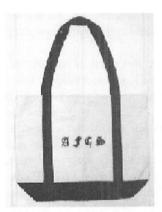
The life of this great man devoted to his faith and fellow man came to an end on 24 April 1894 at 55 years of age. He is buried in the Calvary Cemetery in Los Angeles, California.



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Photo Restoration Basics

by: Eric Curtis M. Basir (Bond)

Digital Photo Restoration is an important tool for serious historians and genealogists. With the advent of affordable digital imaging technology-photo editing programs, scanners, cameras and printers – it is becoming increasingly important. As one would painstakingly research county records for important family links, so should one do with photographic preservation and restoration.

An ounce of preventionè:

The best thing you can do for family photographs is to avoid restoring them! If you have photos in good condition, follow these basic guidelines to keep them as such:

- 1. Hold photos by their edges. Preferably, wear clean white gloves when handling your photos. This keeps oily fingerprints from embedding on the photo.
- 2. Keep those negatives sealed in a cool, dry space (a consistent 50% humidity). You can lose and tear up all the prints you want if you have the negatives. Keep prints stored in similar areas.
- 3. Only use photo-safe adhesives at a local hobby or craft store. Never use regular glue, tape or rubber cement (unless you want gooey yellow blobs on your great-great uncle's forehead).
 - 4. Use high-quality PVC-free

photo albums for original prints. Cheap photo albums will leave your descendants with a mess on their hands.

5. Photos will fade, fold and faint in direct sunlight! No matter how nice the frame is, glass or plastic can eventually bond with the surface of the print and leave it unremovable. Always frame copies. Store the originals in a safe place (see No. 2).

Find a retouching specialist:

There are plenty of good, affordable photo restoration specialists throughout the world. Drug stores specialize in selling prescription medications, not photographic restoration. The same goes for grocery stores.

Sure, their rates are cheap. When it comes to family heirloom photos, it might be best to at least consider paying a little more for something produced by an artist you can see or speak with personally.

When you need the best, look for a specialist. Some photographers and photo labs offer decent photographic restoration. However, most of them send their work to a specialist. The phone book is a good place to start.

Contact a few in your area, as well as some who are out of town. The fol-

lowing questions – if answered "Yes" – will give you a good idea of who you should hire.

- 1. "Do you specialize ONLY in photo restoration or retouching?" (If they say no, make sure it's relevant to photography, graphic or fine art).
- 2. "Do you use Adobe Photoshop?" (If they say no, ask if they restore photos by hand; if so, that's fine. If not, then you may regret hiring them).
- 3. "If I am not satisfied with the work, can I choose to be refunded?" (If no, you may really regret hiring them!)
- 4. "Do you restore the photos yourself?" (If not, ask who and do they mail it to them; then ask if you can be contacted by the artist directly).

Now, it's easier than ever to resurrect damaged family photos. With the rapid progress and lowered costs of computers, photo editing programs, printers, scanners, more and more people are giving their photographic family history a fresh new look. This is not the end of the professional retouching artists, though. Such an artisan is not easily replaced.

However, with a good eye, some training and the right hardware and software, precision and speed has put photo retouching in the hands of more and more genealogists. Many of those who want to upgrade or save for the computer equipment to restore family photos find the thought of making the right choices slightly nerve-wracking. Brand names, software, scanners, memory (RAM) and hard drives top the list of the most confusing detours on the road of decision.

This article is your map around such





detours.

Buying or upgrading your computer:

When working with photos, you will scan, restore and print, make sure your computer setup will need lots of memory, speed and disk space to use. Take into account the obsolescence factor as well: For what you buy "new" today will be "old" tomorrow. Below are the minimal requirements. Although it requires a certain degree of computer knowledge, you can find some great bargains through mail order catalogs, local classifieds and online auctions (but remember that *buyer beware* applies on the net).

The Computer Factor:

Personally, I prefer using a Macintosh computer for photo retouching. Since high school, through college and my career, I have used Macintosh almost exclusively. Nevertheless, I see very few differences between Macintosh and IBM/PC compatible functionality. Since most genealogy computer programs are not Macintosh compatible and most genealogists own IBM/PC's, I would not recommend purchasing a Macintosh simply because the author of this article prefers them.

- 1. System: IBM/PC compatible users: Pentium III or 4 with a 300 Mhz microprocessor or better. Windows98 operating system. Macintosh users: PowerMac G3 with 300 Mhz microprocessor or better. System should be no less than version 8.6.2.
- 2. Memory (RAM): IBM/PC compatible and Macintosh users: At least 256 Megabytes of memory.
- 3. Hard disk space (storage): IBM/PC compatible and Macintosh users: At least 1 Gigabyte of hard disk space.

The software factor:

As a professional photo retoucher, I retouch and restore photographs with the latest version of Adobe Photoshop. To a retoucher, this program is like the latest version of The Master Genealogist to a serious genealogist. However, it is not a program I recommend for those who are not pursuing a career in digital photo retouching.

First, the average price is around \$600. Upgrades average \$100-\$200. With all the high-quality alternatives to Photoshop, it is probably an unnecessary luxury. Second, the learning curve is steep; it absolutely requires a novice to hire a teacher or enroll in a Photoshop class. I teach such courses and can barely expose students to 50% of Photoshop's features without leaving them in a daze. These courses range from 10-14 hours at 2-hour sessions.

For many genealogists, buying Photoshop would be like hiring a Ph.D. student to do basic surname research on your father's side. Why not save a couple hundred dollars and splurge on prints?

Enter Adobe Photoshop Elements 2.0:

The May 2003 edition of Consumer Reports rated Elements' ease of use as "Very Good"— second only to Microsoft Picture It! Digital Image Pro 7.0. (Since Picture it does not work on Macintosh computers, I chose to discuss the more versatile program.) Elements is essentially the same as Adobe Photoshop. This \$100 program has all the tools you need to restore your family photographs. Many of my Adobe Photoshop students own Elements and easily apply what they learn in Photoshop to Elements. The menus, tools and

interface are nearly identical, with the exception that Elements possesses easy-to-use help features in the form of step-by-step tutorials and hints.

One of my personal favorite hidden gems in Photoshop and Elements is the ability to enter all kinds of information within each photo. Once the information is entered, it can be extracted for sorting in a database program such as FileMaker Pro and Extensis Portfolio.

To utilize all of the features present in any retouching program, hiring an instructor to help you or enrolling in your local adult continuing education Photoshop course is always recommended. A good instructor will supply you with the basic knowledge of certain tools and concepts that will form a foundation by which you can work comfortably and efficiently.

Nearly all computer systems and scanners have some type of photo editing software included. Some may include a particular version of Photoshop or Elements. However, if you do not feel like hiring a professional retoucher, you will need an intermediate- to advanced-level program like Elements to get the job done right. The computer system and software setup described in this article will get you off to a good start.

Computer lingo in plain language:

Microprocessor: The heart of your computer-which "processes" all of the commands, programs and functions; the faster the processor, the more information your computer can handle without shutting down. Programs that work with

photos and graphics require faster microprocessors.

Operating System: The language of your computer; the brain and nervous system; this handles your programs, scanners, monitors, mouse and whatever else is connected or installed in it.

Memory: Also popularly known as RAM (Random Access Memory). RAM is "temporary" memory. It retains information only as long as the computer and programs are running. The more of this you have, the faster your programs can open, manipulate and save your images. Some photo editing programs cannot run without extra amounts. If you can find 256 Megabytes for less than \$100, you found a good deal.

Storage or Hard Disk: This keeps your operating system, programs and photos on the computer for later use (also known as documents). As opposed to RAM, storage or hard disks have "permanent" memory. Ideally, it will remain on the disk for eternity. However, it's always good to save the information on CD-ROM disks or removable hard disks in case your hard disk or computer stops functioning.

Eric Curtis Basir (Bond) is the owner of Photo Grafix, a digital photo retouching studio in Evanston, Illinois. He can be reached online at www.abetterreality.net or toll-free at 888-446-2799. He is currently researching his Taylor/Welch and Bond ancestors around the North Carolina and Virginia areas.

Antoine Latour, *Forgette*, and His Son, Pierre-Simon Latour dit Forget

by: Roy F. Forgit

The man who bequeath us our surname was a forgeron, the name given an ironworker or a blacksmith. Most likely he learned his craft from his father, the fonder. But it is evident that he did not become a bell maker as he was able to live his life in a single locale, at least following his 1737 marriage. This is chiefly shown in the fact that all three sons of his union with Marie-Louise PLOUFE are found at Berthier, a village located opposite Sorel on the St. Lawrence River. No doubt there were other children born to them, but not yet known to us. The church of Ste. Genèvieve was a mission there in the 1730's and although founded in 1727 the records of 1733-1750 have been lost. After that time-lapse we find we find the families LATOUR dit FORGET continuously in that parish for another half-century.

The contract of Antoine's marriage to Marie-Louise PLOUFE is dated 27 May 1737. It was drawn up by the Notary DE LAFOSSE, who practiced law in the areas of Berthier and Sorel. Their marriage is also found in records cited by the genealogist TANGUAY, who states that Antoine's parents were Pierre LATOUR and Catherine CHEVALIER.²

Although the birth location of

Antoine is unknown, we do know that his bride was born in Verchères 1 October 1715 and baptized on the 4th at Contrecoeur, both tiny villages just upriver from Sorel, along the St. Lawrence. Her parents were Louis PLOUFE and Marie TRUCHON, who had six other children, four daughters and two sons. Louis had been born at Montréal in 1691, a son of Jean PLOUFE. a sauvetier (rescuer or lifeboat man) as well as a cordonnier (shoemaker).3 By 1726-28 the PLOUFE family lives at Lachenaie, a large seigneurie on the north shore and abutting that of Berthieren-haut. We are told that many tradesmen of the time traveled to other fiefs to perform services, so Antoine may have done smithing there. But it is also a fact that the notaries did match-making as a business, and Louis PLOUFE had five daughters to marry-off.

The first born of Antoine and Marie-Louise is believed to be his name-sake, Antoine, who wed at Berthier on 30 August 1757 to Elisabeth LA-ROCQUE.⁴ We estimate his birth year as 1738. Based on their order of marriage, we list François as the second son, then Pierre-Simon. It is he who holds our real interest as Pierre-Simon is our next-of-line ancestor, thought to have been born in 1745.

In 1711 King Louis XIV had issued the *Edict of Marcy*, a decisive break with earlier practices, to promote settlement in the colony of New France. He ordered the *Canadien Seigneurs* to grant land, a *roture*, without any initial cost to anyone who requested one. If refused, the land was granted in the King's name and the annual charges went into the Royal Coffers. Thus a *Seigneur* could become legally no more than the King's land agent, a status one dared not assume.⁵

Essentially, all of Canada had been structured under this legal system of land tenure beginning in 1598. Derived from feudal times in France, it was continued until 1854, outlasting by over a half-century its usage in France itself. There it was blamed for the economic inequalities which led to the bloody French Revolution in 1789-92.

These earliest grants were to furtrading companies and to religious missionary orders, as well as to some individuals. In most cases, a clause was included which required that a number of permanent settlers live on these lands. Occasionally, the King would take back title due to a failure to meet the condition of bringing settlers to populate Canada.

A seigneur was anyone, the King included, who was entitled to an oath of fealty for land held from him. So all of Canada was a seigneurie and there were hundreds of subordinate seigneuries within it. 6 The system then was not only a way to allot land, but a complex social organization, as with the land came obligations of loyalty. These were termed foi et homage. The contracts included

terms of military service as well as a share of farm produce, hence all grants were called *land-in-fief*.

Residing at the base of this 'pyramid' were the people called censitaires in France. This referred to anyone who could not sub-grant any land, earned a low income, and paid a cens. Thus censitaire was a word synonymous with peasant. In Canada it was not used, being pejorative, and the calling habitant appeared, to denote a resident who operated a farm and paid a cens.7 Some historians used censitaire to denote a form of ownership, not a class of people, since in Canada some censitaires were also seigneurs, and so became quite wealthy. In essence, New France, like New England, saw an evolution towards a less class-bound society, until the 1759 conquest.

Berthierville and the present county of Berthier had been named for Alexandre BERTHIER, a Captain of the Carignan Regiment, who was granted land by the Governor of New France. Count FRONTENAC, in 1672. This was an area lying about 40 miles northeast of Montréal on the north shore, and included some low, soggy islands. First termed Bellechasse, it was later named Berthier-en-bas. In 1673 his son acquired the neighboring grant, referred to as Berthier-en-haut, from Sieur RAUDIN, who had received it in 1672. This was a much larger and more desirable grant, indicating that the younger BERTHIER must have done his own site survey! The land en-bas was marshy and prone to river flooding.

A series of owners, all known as Le Seigneur de Berthier would succeed the original father and son. From 1718 to 1750 the local *Seigneur* was Pierre L'ETAGE (or LESTAGE), but in 1750 his widow sold *Berthier-en-haut* to Pierre-Noël COURTHIAU.⁹

Although we are uncertain of the years in which fiefs were granted to our LATOURs, we can assume it was before mid-century. It is likely that Antoine was a farmer as well as a blacksmith. Such a scenario could mean that his lands were large enough to sub-divide as fiefs to his own sons, an event most likely taking place when they had married. We have found ten grandsons of Antoine which suggests that they owed dues to their Seigneur de Berthier, whose 'domain' of idle land was still large. Consider that the original land grant in 1674 of Berthier-en-haut was about 34 of a league fronting on the St. Lawrence by two leagues deep, or inland to the river Chicot. A league was 84 arpents (an arpent was about 192 feet) and thus equal to approximately three mines! So two leagues inland was six miles.10

Further to the above, an augmentation was granted in 1732 to Pierre L'ETAGE adding to the Seigneurie de Berthier another three leagues square. The newer land was inland, abutting the fiefs of Chicot and Dautre (then called Antaya). This 80 square mines was granted by Charles, Marquis de BEAUHARNOIS, then Governor.11

An interesting description of the division of lands into fiefs is given to us by Metcalfe: "In the St. Lawrence Valley, the *seigneurial* system of land-holding led to long lots stretching back from the river with the houses being built along the riverfront. Later houses were

built along the roads that paralleled the river, and the long lots extended back from the roads. Each row of long lots became known as a *rang*. As the long lots were divided into smaller units, the farms became very narrow strips with long narrow fields."¹²

A visitor to Berthier County today will learn that many of the streets and roads are termed *Rang* instead of *Rue*.

Perhaps the single most important historical event in the lives of Antoine and his children was the fall of Québec in 1759 to the British. Termed simply *The Conquest*, it was to change the course of the future of Canada.

Throughout the second half of 1759 and into 1760 the LATOURs and their neighbors ardently believed that the King of France would send a military force and retake the colony's capital. Montréal, Berthier and most of New France was still in French hands.

In the spring of 1760 the fate of Québec would depend on whose ships arrived first from Europe with military reinforcements. On May 9th the race was won by England. French ships arrived on May 16th, only to be attacked off of Pointe-aux-Trembles by two English warships, the Vanguard and the Diana, and sunk. A later French convoy of five ships, under Captain LA GIRAUDAIS, was pursued into the Baie des Chaleurs (south of the Gaspé), by five English vessels under Commodore BYRON. Near Restigouche they came under artillery fire from June 27th to July 8th and finally were sunk, also.13

Prior to these losses a French force

under LEVIS had left Montréal and had attempted to retake Québec in late April, winning a battle ate Ste. Foye. However, they failed to immediately advance on the Citadel, instead using a conventional siege tactic which allowed time for the British garrison to be reinforced in May, as above.

The summer of 1760 would see General MURRAY's forces sweep up the St. Lawrence in a campaign for Montréal. His fleet of 35 ships laid waste to a three-mile swath along the south shore near Sorel, when on August 22nd he ordered the burning of all houses whose men were absent. This conflagration was in revenge for an attack there by French militia.14 Although islands separate the channel at this point, it is possible that the LATOURs saw the smoke columns from across the river at Berthier, or the glare in the night sky. Other atrocities were committed at Varennes, again to punish habitant militias who attempted to defend their homes, and again by order of MURRAY.15 While the historian PARKMAN related the incident at Sorel. he omits any mention of the British actions at Varennes, so deplored by LANCTOT in his 20th century versions of these actions against civilians.

Since Antoine was about age 43, both he and all three of his sons would have been obligated for militia duty, if chosen by the quota process. The minimum age was 15, so even Pierre-Simon, his youngest, was eligible.

On the north shore the *Canadien* militias were commanded by Captain DUMAS, who had fought in the 1755 bloody ambush rout of the British under General BRADDOCK by savage Indi-

ans along the brushy Monongahela River in the Pennsylvania wilderness. Now in 1760 the tactic was to harass the British fleet from both shores, since lacking artillery these defenders were unable to halt their advance up the wide St. Lawrence.

By September 8th Montréal was under siege by a force of 18,000, since MURRAY had been reinforced by General AMHERST, who had marched north along the Richelieu River from Chambly. The French garrison of under 3,000 was surrendered, although many desired to fight to the death. Governor VAUDREUIL had the French colors (flags) burned, since AMHERST had sought to humiliate the French troops in refusing the Honors of War. This episode ended sadly a five-year long struggle to save New France.

The French Governor and his retinue were given safe passage back to France. However, some of the King's ministers looked for scapegoats and a list of 55 people to be blamed was drawn up and a two-year trial held.

Finally on 10 December 1763 the judgements were announced, all the heavy sentences being against commoners. The historian LANCTOT would attribute this to hard cash at work behind the scenes, as well as family influence. The Marquis de VAUDREUIL and his nephew were exonerated, but BIGOT, the *Intendant*, was exiled for life and fined. He was able to afford to live in comfort in Switzerland as he was said to have amassed a fortune of 29 million *livres* through corruption and misuse of public funds in Canada.

Many French soldiers and marines elected to remain in the country as they had Canadien wives and children, and often held land-in-fief. Estimates run to about 1.000 such militarily retired settlers. All had to swear an oath of allegiance to the English king. LANCTOT disputes also the notion that all educated people fled New France: "Notwithstanding repeated affirmations based on misinterpretation of facts, statistics prove conclusively that Canada's elite did not emigrate. Not only the rural and urban population as a whole, but clergy, administrative leaders, seigneurs, officers of justice, merchants and leading citizens remained and took root in the country."16

Now a three-year long 'limbo' period began, as all *Canadiens* awaited a peace treaty while living under a military government and martial law. Three military officers ran the country as local governors: MURRAY at Québec, General GAGE at Montréal, and Colonel BURTON at Trois Rivières. The General-in-chief was still AMHERST, who made his headquarters at New York. The seigneurial system was continued, with rents being paid to the British King on those lands formerly of King Louis XV.

An indication that the farms about Berthier had survived the war's ravages is a purchase of grain in the Montréal area in February of 1761, as arranged by MURRAY and GAGE, and its distribution to the Québec region's farmers who had no seed for the spring planting.¹⁷

Upon the death of George II in 1761 all *Canadiens*, as British subjects, were required to honor a period of public mourning. The Catholic churches

were draped in black. Other events as well were proclaimed for celebration by the occupation's military leaders. These included the accession of George III, his marriage, and even English victories over French armies elsewhere! MURRAY and BURTON reported that the *Canadiens* had or would soon become good subjects of the King of England. Even *Abbé* MONGOLFIER, the Catholic Vicar General at Montréal, who in February 1762 had sung a "Te Deum" on the occasion of George III's coronation, referred to *our* joy!

We must refer again to LANC-TOT to obtain some notion of the reality: "None of these formulas is to be accepted at its face value. They are merely diplomatic phases required by the authorities or by circumstance... Grief, hope, resignation, these were some of the feelings experienced by Canadians between the surrender of Montréal and the Treaty of Paris." 18

Yet Canada was but a pawn in the negotiations between the four European powers whose ambassadors in powdered wigs met outside of Paris at Fontainebleau. The Kings of France, England, Spain and Portugal were in need of a peace settlement which would refill their exhausted treasuries while salving their royal egos. What is more, the debate was a very public one, as noted here: "In England, as peace conditions were under discussion, a curious debate was carried on in newspapers and pamphlets as to which of the French possessions, Guadeloupe or Canada, England should insist on keeping. The argument in favor of Guadeloupe was that the island's exports in sugar and cotton were worth 1,000,000 pounds sterling, whereas Canadian furs did not bring in one-tenth of that sum."19

In the end it was other opinions in financial circles as well as strong pressures from the American Colonies that favored the British keeping the prize of Canada. It can be termed a true twist of fate that within less that two decades many of these same voices in America would be raised in open revolt against King George III.

The final Treaty of Paris, signed on 10 February 1763, and in French, contains only a single one of twenty-five articles exclusively dealing with the colony of Canada. This was Article IV, by which Louis XV ceded New France to England. In turn, George III granted to Canadiens the right to practice the Catholic faith "in so far as the laws of Great Britain allow." France kept Guadeloupe, Martinique, and three small neighboring islands in the West Indies.²⁰

The habitants of a now former New France sought the advice and counsel as to the future from their seigneurs and their parish priests. Uniformly among the clergy the reply was that all would remain as it had been before the conquest. Indeed, life did go on as usual for more than a full decade. Marriages and baptisms continued to be celebrated, and crops grown. Les curés (parish priests) often became Anglophiles.

Berthier's seigneurie had continued to prosper, as populations grew where land was most available. The 1765 census states a total of 649 people, in 136 households. It counts 341 men, of whom only 140 are married or widowed. (Males 15 and older are counted as men.) There

are 371 children, reflecting the high birth rates.

A second, neighboring community called Petite Riviere de Berthier has 372 people and 80 households. Farming dominates, as a separate counting of farms and livestock lists 78 farmhouses with 7,295 arpents of land owned. This is larger that the 7,121 arpents held by 114 farms at the older settlement of Berthier itself, indicating that sub-fiefs have been issued there.21 We believe that this second village became St. Cuthbert, which founded its own parish in 1765. However, the LATOUR family is not found at St. Cuthbert, even though we know that they owned lands some distance from Berthier, as we'll explain further along in this text. It should be noted that the Seigneurie de Berthier was one of the largest in the area that was not a Churchowned fief.

The extent of Church ownership in the colony provides some insight into the reasons why the Roman Church was so prompt in accepting the British accords, and in promoting them to their lay faithful Essentially, all Church lands were left intact as they were *seigneuries* also, and provided incomes from subfiefs which were used to support hospitals and schools, as well as magnificent churches and bishop's residences.

In his study of Canada's lands-infief as of 1760, HARRIS²² estimates that the several religious orders and churches controlled fully one-quarter of all conceded lands. What is more, since these were some of the oldest grants and closest to the St. Lawrence and the major towns, they held one-third of the population. If one drew a 15-mile arc-radius about Québec City, it would be almost all Church lands. Similarly, a 15-mile circle around Montréal, enclosing both shores, would reveal it to be chiefly Church lands.

More specifically, the Sulpicians owned the seigneurie which covered the entire island of Montréal, plus those of St. Sulplice and Deux Montagnes. The Ile de Jesus, lying just to the north, was owned by the Québec Seminary. The Jesuits, in turn, owned seigneuries throughout Canada, many farmed by local habitants as fiefs. Those of the Jesuits included Cap de la Madeleine (1651) and Batiscan (1651), their two largest. They also held Belair, St. Gabriel (1667), and Notre Dame des Anges near Québec.23 A good example of the farming development on the above is given in the census of 1765 of Batiscan which counted 636 people. There were 125 farms with 9,313 arpents of cultivated land sowing 2,390 bushels of seed.

My purpose in stating all these numbers to you is to draw a distinction between church-owned seigneuries and lay seigneuries such as Berthier. For many habitants it would dictate their loyalties, their lives, and their fortunes.

The view of nearly every author writing in English about our French-Canadian ancestors, at least until quite recently, would assume that they were all incapable of independent thought and accepted every statement of their parish priests as true and beyond any questioning. This assumption could be traced most frequently to the writings of Francis PARKMAN, who wrote what is still regarded as the 'definitive' history of New

France in English more that 100 years ago. A single quotation suffices to inform us of the Anglophile perspective of this Harvard-educated son of a Boston minister. In his 1884 *Montcalm and Wolfe*, PARKMAN writes: "Civil liberty was given them by the British sword, but the conqueror left their religious system untouched, and through it they imposed upon themselves a weight of ecclesiastical tutelage that found few equals in the most Catholic countries of Europe."²⁴

What the events which we discover in the local history of Berthier suggests to us that in a lay-seigneurie, especially one that is owned by one of the 'conquerors', is that the habitants would ignore the demands of the Curés when the situation required it.

In 1765 COURTHIAU, then Seigneur de Berthier, sold his interests, doubtless a cause of alarm to those owning foi et homage. For the new seigneur was James CUTHBERT, a British officer and a Protestant. The fact that CUTHBERT had been Aide-de-camp to General WOLFE, the victor in 1759 at Québec, made him all the more distrusted. A testing of wills and of the entire body of obligations under fiefs would be inevitable. But fortunately this would not be necessary until after a period of peace had allowed some amicable relations to become established.

In 1759 Antoine LATOUR-FOR-GET would mourn the loss of his wife of some 32 years. Marie-Louise (PLOUFE) FORGET died on October 23rd at Berthier, just three weeks after her 54th birthday. The burial record states that many attended her funeral, including Pierre GENEREUX, and Alexis

TUREOT.²⁶ GENEREUX had married a Marie FORGET, but we cannot establish an exact family relationship.

In 1771 Antoine remarried. His second wife was Geneviève RIVIERE, whom he wed on November 2nd. However, she would pass away within three years.

Pierre-Simon LATOUR, son of Antoine, wed Marie-Louise FRICHET on the 13th of January 1772, also at Berthier. She was the daughter of Jean-Baptiste FRICHET and Marie-Agathe LASAISE (or LAHAISE), both of whom were deceased. Marie-Louise was then age 22, as she was born on 4 October 1749. Her baptism had been at the parish of La Visitation on Ile Dupas, an island in the St. Lawrence between Berthier and Sorel. Her parents had married in 1748, indicating that she was likely their first-born. However, both her parents had earlier marriages; he in 1734 and she in 1745, thus Marie-Louise most probably had stepbrothers and sisters.

Witnesses for the bride at the 1772 ceremony were Louis GUILBEAU and Louis BARBIER. One of the groom's witnesses was Antoine LATOUR, whom we assume was his father as that was customary. But it could have been his older brother. The second named witness was Jean-Baptiste RIVIERE, who would be one of his stepmother's relatives.²⁷

Less than three years later, Antoine passed away at Berthier. He was buried in the cemetery of Ste. Geneviève on 24 October 1774 with all the Sacraments. The parish-book entry by the *Curé*, POUGET, states his age as 66, but as with most other such estimates of age, it

is doubted.28

The most interesting entries in the above are the name usages. The left-hand column says the deceased is Antoine Forget Latours. But in the hand-written French text he is Antoine, forgette. This is a notation of his occupation. Did he operate a small forge, thus explaining the use of the diminutive ending? Or did he make only relatively small-sized iron products, such as horseshoes, nails, or hinges?

The year following the demise of Antoine would again bring war to the doorsteps of the habitants at Berthier. America's revolution spilled over into Canada when her colonial troops invaded to pre-empt the British. We all know the stories of our local history; of the midnight ride of Paul REVERE and the battles of Concord and Lexington in April of 1775. But who among us knows that the Colonial Congress on June 27th ordered General SCHUYLER to seize all enemy craft on Lake Champlain and to take St. Jean and Montréal, as well as any other British posts so as to "promote the peace and security of these colonies."29 The strategy was to prevent British forces from coming south and cutting the American colonies in two by seizing Albany and the entire Hudson Valley south to New York. Geography was to again determine that Sorel and Berthier lay in harm's way, as the water-routes to Montréal were down the Richelieu River from Lake Champlain. Sorel sits at the mouth of the Richelieu, where it empties into the St. Lawrence.

What John ADAMS and the Colonial Congress did not know was that

the governor of Canada, General Guy CARLETON, had only about 600 British regulars to defend the entire St. Lawrence Valley!³⁰ on July 9th he had to issue a Proclamation of Martial Law, calling out the militias, a force made up of civilians, and thus very similar to the 'Minute Men' of Massachusetts.

The farmer-soldiers of Canada had much in common with those of the American colonies, as officers on both sides had discipline problems within the citizen ranks. The historian HATCH describes the forces of the American General MONTGOMERY as they sailed up Lake Champlain: "The troops were still rent by sectional jealousies, and the New Englanders believed the army should be run like a town meeting, with the rank and file choosing and monitoring their officers."

A very similar situation existed in Canada. The habitants were angered by CARLETON's failure to appoint any of their own as officers of the militia, instead staffing with the noblesse, sons of the French nobility. So the locals defied their seigneurs, as well as their priests who insisted they obey the orders of the governor. Abbé MONTGOLFIER at Montréal, always supportive of the British government, recalled the clergy from at least two defiant parishes to punish the people.

Among the incidents were several involving the Berthier seigneurie. However, accounts vary. At St. Cuthbert the local men took an oath never to fight against the Americans. They defied the Seigneur CUTHBERT's order to enroll a full company of militia instead of their quota of fifteen. At Berthier, the militia-

men took two of the *noblesse* as captives! Their names were Charles de LANAUDIERE and Godefroi de TONNANCOURT. According to HATCH,³² it was the village *curé* who negotiated their release. This would be *Curé* POUGET, who had buried Antoine LATOUR less than a year before.

A more detailed account is given by MUNRO, which I am quoting because I believe that several of our ancestors had to be involved. "James CUTHRERT summoned the inhabitants of the seigneury of Berthier to his house. They refused to come, met him at the junction of three roads where a large cross was erected. He made a peremptory demand of their military services, which they refused, advising that not a man of them would follow him. As soon as he was gone, they all made an oath on the cross, round which they were assembled, that they never would take arms against the Provincials; that, if one of them offered to join the government, they would directly burn his house and barn and destroy his cattle, and that if General CARLETON should attempt to compel them into service, they would repel force by force. And, having thus sworn, they went home."33

MUNRO estimated that this angry event took place in late July or early August. Then it was late September when LANAUDIERE was sent from Montréal by CARLETON, making threats. He did manage to convince 16 men to join him. They, along with he and TONNANCOURT, were taken prisoners by the local force. Whether the homes of any of the 16 were burned is unknown. After lengthy negotiations all were set free, on the promise of CARLETON's

pardon, plus a promise never to return to Berthier on such an 'errand'.

Of course not all men refused conscription, but refusal was greater near Montréal. HATCH relates that many British civilians, chiefly merchants, also resisted. Out of seventeen companies of militia raised at Québec, eleven were of French habitants, indicating that in the church-owned seigneuries compliance was greater.

American forces did capture Montréal on 13 November 1775. Governor CARLETON made his escape on 16 November, disguised as a *habitant* and speaking French 'passably' well. On the 28th the American General MONT-GOMERY sailed down-river to reinforce the troops of Colonel Benedict AR-NOLD who had Québec under siege. In a New Year's Eve assault MONTGOM-ERY was mortally wounded and the Americans repulsed. The siege was continued through the winter, as they tried to starve out the British-held city.

Benjamin FRANKLIN and a commission of Congress was at Montréal on 10 May 1776 when news arrived that the American forces had fled Québec in retreat before a new British force. Franklin and his fellow negotiator, Charles CARROL of Maryland, a Catholic, has realized already that the Roman Clergy at Montréal had effectively doomed any hope that Canada might join the revolt against King George III.

Louis XV of France did not wish to aid the American invasion of Canada, as it might unravel the 1763 treaty with England, involving too many European commitments. Ironically, he would send the French fleet to aid the colonial armies within a few years, when asked by LAFAYETTE, a friend to General Washington.

In Canada the American occupation left a lingering distrust of her big neighbor to the south. It reinforced the positions of the seigneurs and of the clergy, especially, as they had been consistent allies of the British. In particular they had feared all the talk by the likes of Ben FRANKLIN of referendums and elections. Democracy was anathema to these royalist clergy. Any king was better than this unknown rule by the ballots of an unknown mob. And freedom of religion was beyond their comprehension!

Once again Berthier had escaped the horrors of a shooting war, sheltered behind her islands. Poor Sorel, so geographically exposed, had suffered again.

Pierre-Simon and Marie-Louise had continued to farm and to raise a large family. In the midst of the invasion's tumult a son, Louis, had been born on 1 June 1776. Another son, Pierre, was born in 1779. This child died at age two, only two weeks prior to the birth on 25 May 1781 of Antoine, destined to be our next-of-line ancestor.

James CUTHBERT, evidently following the example of Governor CARLETON, took no retaliatory measures against his fief-holders. The governor wanted peace now for Canada in order to prove that the much-maligned Québec Act Constitution of 1774 could become the means to integrate French and English institutions. This charter maintained French civil laws, thus there

were no elected assemblies, no trial by jury, nor habeas corpus. Canada was to be ruled by a Royal Governor and his council, all appointed by King George III.³⁴

It would be 1791 before a new constitution granted separate legislative assemblies to upper (Ontario) and lower (Québec) Canada. This was a scheme to avoid both the language problem and the fears of both parties of a plurality by the other.

We learn that Père POUGET is still at Ste. Geneviève in 1783 from another LATOUR family wedding. On July 28th he heard the vows of Antoine LATOUR dit FORGET, son of Antoine and Elisabeth LAROC, and Thérèse CARPENTIER. The uncle of the groom, Pierre-Simon, is present as well as the fathers of both the bride and the groom.

The above ceremony was in the original church at Berthier, now gone. Masonry work had begun on 30 June 1782 for construction of a new church which would be consecrated on 22 August 1787. This stone structure is now "la plus ancienne du Diocese de Joliette." Of course it has undergone both repairs and enlargements, but is a remarkable structure and a "tresor inestimable" (a priceless treasure).

In 1786 James CUTHBERT built a chapel at Berthier, also, and dedicated it to Saint Andrew. It is reputed to be the first Presbyterian Church in all of Québec Province, and it still stands as a museum.

On 19 November 1794 the *habitants* of St. Esprit and St. Pierre applied

to CUTHBERT for help in building a new chapel for their district, along the Bayonne River about eight miles west of Berthier. He granted them the land and construction began in 1798. The new chapel was a mission of Ste. Geneviève at first, but became the parish of Ste. Elisabeth in 1802. One old account states that Seigneur CUTHBERT named this church after his daughter.

After 1802 all family records of the LATOUR dit FORGETs are found at Ste. Elisabeth. Although our initial assumption was that they had been granted new land-in-fief, we believe now that the new church was simply closer to their existing farms. Records show that baptisms of all nine of the children of Pierre-Simon were at Berthier's parish of Ste. Geneviève, the last being his own namesake, Pierre-Simon, in 1799. Having your last son at age 54 was not unusual among the LATOURS.

However, the marriages of these family members are found for the most part at Ste. Elisabeth, for a village had grown up about the new church within a short time. (The conclusion to this series of articles will appear in the Spring 2004 issue.)

Footnotes

- ¹ Drouin files at A.F.G.S. (New France had only *Notaires*, no lawyers.)
- ² TANGUAY, Complement au Dictionaire Généalogique Tanguay, Vols.1 & 2.
- ³ JETTE, René. Dictionaire Généalogique des Familles de Qué-bec, 1983.
- ⁴ Drouin files, microfilm, Berthier, 1757, A.F.G.S.

- ⁵ HARRIS, Richard C. The Seigneurial System in Early Canada, a Geographical Study, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI, 1968, p.106.
- ⁶ Ibid. Preface, p.viii.
- 7 Ibid.
- ⁸ MUNRO, W.B. *Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada. 1598-1854*, 1908. Reprinted by Greenwood Press, N.Y., 1968. Pp.106 & 141.
- 9 Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Québec Archives. Registre des Foi et Hommage, no. 9, folio 38, 26 Januair, 1781. (This later date was when the original grants, 27 April 1674 and 25 March 1675, were combined into one title.)
- ¹¹ Québec Archives. Registre d'Intendance, no. 7, folio 4, 31 Decembre 1732, "Derriere Antaya, Randin, Berthier et Chicot," Augmentation de Berthier. (Note: Footnotes 10 & 11 are courtesy of a text lent to me by Clarence Gagne, which is in French. It is a study of Québec's geography and topography by each land grant, dates 1815, as follows: Bouchette, Joseph, Description Topographique de La Province du Bas Canada. Published by W. Faden, London, England, 1815.
- ¹² METCALFE, Wm., Editor. *Understanding Canada*, New York University Press, N.Y. 1932, p.55.
- ¹³ LANCTOT, Gustave. A History of Canada, Vol. 3. Translated from the French by M.M. Cameron, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1965, p.179.
- 14 Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid. (Note: In his own footnotes, nos.14 & 14a, Lanctot refers to orders by Murray to loot at Varennes.)

- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., p.190.
- 18 Ibid., p.192
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- ²¹ LANCTOT, Index charts.
- ²² HARRIS.
- 23 Ibid.
- ²⁴ PARKMAN, Francis, *Montcalm and Wolfe, 1884*, p.622 of Collier Books edition, 1962.
- ²⁵ MUNRO, W.B., see footnote #8.
- ²⁶ Drouin files, microfilm, Berthier, A.F.G.S.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- ²⁹ HATCH, Robert M., *Thrust for Canada, The American Attempt on Quebec in 1775-76*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1979, p34.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid., p.49.
- 32 Ibid.
- ³³ MUNRO, p.245.
- ³⁴ HATCH, pp.8-12.
- ³⁵ RAINVILLE, Jacques, *Tesor inesti*mable et reflet d'une collectivize, a pamphlet on the church of Ste. Gen-eviève de Berthier-en-Haut, La Corporation du patrimoine de Berthier inc., Berthierville, Ouébec, 1977.
- ³⁶ CHAMPAGNE, Roland.
- ³⁷ On 13 September 1999, my daughter Rachel and I did travel to the village of Ste. Elisabeth and walked around the cemetery and the church. There are many FORGET headstones. Unfortunately, the original church is gone, replaced by a new brick one.

Editor's note: On the following page is a photo of the Ste. Elisabeth Church.

Texas is allowed to divide itself into as many as five new states. West Virginia was originally established as the State of Kanawha, Utah was originally established as the State of Deseret.



Ste. Geneviève de Batiscan Before 1933

Contradictions

If the pen is mightier than the sword, and a picture is worth a thousand words, how dangerous is a fax?

Why do they put Braille on the drive-through bank machines?

Why do they sterilize the needles for lethal injections?

If you get cheated by the Better Business Bureau, who do you complain to?

In a country of free speech, why are there phone bills?

How do "Do not walk on the grass!" signs get there?

Why do black olives come in cans and green olives come in jars?

How is it possible to have a civil war?

If the #2 pencil is so popular, why is it still #2?



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Spice Added To My Ancestral Story

By Marielle A. Bourgeois

Editor's note: Marielle A. Bourgeois, M.A., C.F.A., is Founder of the European Ancestor Group, P O Box 31172, Santa Barbara, Ca. 93130, Tel. 805 683 7768, Email: marielle@dock.net Web page: http://searchancestors.com. A private collection book on Paul HUS and his descendants is available from the writer of this article. © May 20th, 2003 M. A. Bourgeois. All rights reserved.

One day, I wondered if I could find my ancestors who were from the Richelieu River Valley area, in the province of Québec, Canada.

I decided to visit cemeteries, surrounding the oldest churches of Québec, along the Richelieu River. I knew that my paternal grandparents, by the surname BOURGEOIS, had been born, lived, and were buried in the cemetery of the parish of St-Mathias sur le Richelieu, one of the oldest parishes in Québec and an historical monument.

I walked in the cemetery of the parish to St-Mathias, and that of a few neighboring parishes, reading the stone inscriptions. I did not find stones marked Bourgeois, other than my grandparents'. I found stones marked COURNOYER, which was the surname of my maternal grandmother. A priest who saw

me taking notes said "I suggest you take the ferry, go across the river to the parish of St-Roch, where the priest there is a professional genealogist." I thanked him.

At St-Roch cemetery a man, dressed in plain clothes, with a smile in his face, approached me. When I looked at him, I thought "This man has the same facial expression as my brother." He asked me for my parents' names. He smiled when I answered him. He was the curé and was named father Georges-Henri COURNOYER. He invited me for dinner saying "we are family." He turned out to be a third degree cousin of mine, on my mother's maternal side, a professional genealogist at the service of the Province of Québec Health Department. He gave me a file which contained my COURNOYER genealogy from my mother's name all the way back to France, in 1620. I gave Father COURNOYER a hug, tears of joy in my eyes. I had located over 350 years of ancestors in one evening.

With this gold mine of information in hand, I decided to review the COURNOYER family file. (The COURNOYER surname in Québec today is very familiar thanks to Yvan COURNOYER, a famous hockey player who represented the Montréal

Canadiens, from 1963 to 1979. Thanks also to Gérard COURNOYER, Québec Minister of Transports and Communications and to Jean COURNOYER, the well-know Québec Minister of Public Function, Minister of Labor, and finally Minister of Natural Resources, in the 1960s-1970s.) After many happy hours going over the records I thanked father Georges-Henri and left.

I then asked myself, "Suppose I never met Father COURNOYER, how would I have traced my ancestors?" With that question in mind I wrote out the following guidelines:

1. Start with what you know: I knew before I went to St-Mathias and other parishes in Québec that my grandmother, Anna COURNOYER, had married a distinguished looking German man, Henry RITTER, in Québec, at the turn of the century, in Sorel. The city of Sorel is situated between Montréal and Ouébec City, on the South shore of the St. Lawrence River. I also knew that Sorel was the region where my mother was born and where my grandparents RITTER/COURNOYER married, lived and died. Knowing this much, I was able to specify where in Québec - Sorel - to begin my search.

2. Check your family papers and photos: Going through my mother's albums I found the name of my greatgrandfather, Charles COURNOYER and my great-grandmother Adèle MONDOU, written on the back of a family photo. I now had a city and a few names to guide my research. On the Web site http://www.sympatico.ca. I searched for a list of "Eglises du Québec/" Churches of Quebec." I typed in "Sorel."

The computer then provided me with the list of the names and phone numbers of the churches in that area.

At random, I picked out the church of St-Pierre de Sorel and called the parish office. I mentioned the names of my grandparents and indicated they had married around 1900 (I knew that my mother was born in 1909 and that she was not the oldest child). A nice lady agreed to check the parish records of marriages for that time period. Later she called me back to say that my grandparents had not married in St-Pierre. She suggested I check at Ste-Anne's church.

3. Request copies of marriage certificates: A phone call to Ste-Anne's presbytery revealed that 'yes' my grand-parents had married in that parish. I requested a copy of the marriage certificate. The marriage certificate provided me with the names of my grandmother Anna COURNOYER's parents, Charles COURNOYER and Adèle MONDOU, my great-grandparents (names I had found on the back of a photo).

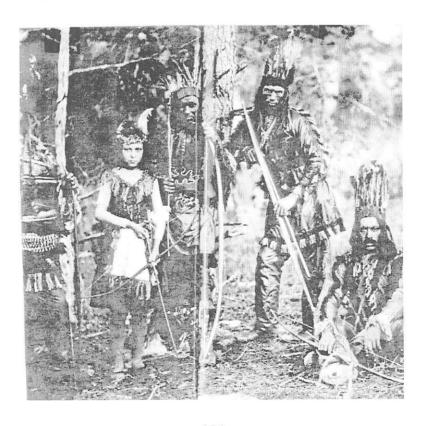
As was the fortunate custom in those days, the previous five generations of COURNOYER lived in or near Sorel, in the general Saint-François du Lac area. By requesting one marriage certificate at a time, for each generation traced, I obtained the names of my previous generations of ancestors. In this way I accumulated proof that I had found the right parents of each of my ancestors.

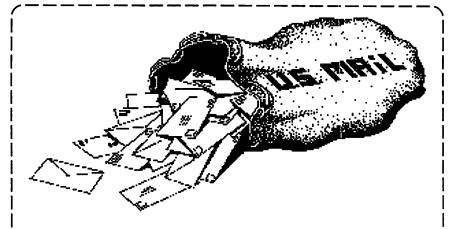
By the time I got to the migrating ancestor, I discovered that his name was Paul HUS (no COURNOYER in the surname – there had been a surname

change), married to Jeanne BAILLAR-GEON. Paul married Jeanne, a 14-year-old girl, in Cap de la Madeleine, Québec, on 16 June 1669. I obtained a certified copy of their marriage certificate from the office of the notary Jean CUSSON in Trois-Rivières, Québec. From that marriage document, I found out not only the names of the parents of the groom, but also the names of the parents of the bride and their places of residence in France.

History added spice to my ancestral story Jeanne BAILLARGEON, who became Paul HUS' wife, was taken as a hostage of the Iroquois, for about three years – from ages 8 to 11 (see photo). The King of France Louis X1V, paid

money to the Iroquois Indians, through his Ouébec intendant and representative, in order to get Jeanne back into the European colony. This proved the high value placed on girls, the soon to be young ladies of marriageable age, who could as mothers help populate the new colony. Jeanne and Paul had 14 children and left numerous descendants in Canada and the United States. The surname of some of their descendants could have become: BEAUCHEMIN; CAP-ISTRAN: CORPORAL: COUR-NOYER: LATRAVERSE: LAVEN-TURE; LE-MOINE; MILLÉ; MILLET; MILLETTE; MILLIER; PAUL: PAULET; PAUL-HUS, PAULHUS and some became English versions of those names.





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address for part of the year, you should inform us of that fact.

Amended Lines – Genealogy and Adopted Children

by: Theresa Poliquin

Editors note: The following article is reprinted from the Spring 1982 edition. The late Mrs. Poliquin was treasurer of this Society for many years. Preface by the editor of that edition, Dennis BOUDREAU: The following is a true story, although not an isolated case, as it bears a strong resemblance to my mother's situation. There are many adopted children, who, wanting to trace their heritage and genealogy, could go no farther than themselves, and there are those who have stumbled upon a whole world they never knew existed. Either that door has opened with warmth and acceptance or else it has closed with rejection.

It is strange how among the families of immigrant couples in which one spouse has died, the youngest child has often been placed into the care of another couple, who later adopted them. This article is written to show that, although an adoption has taken place, sometimes it *is* possible to learn one's real heritage and discover a lost family. Sometimes, it happens sheerly by chance or God's Providence that somewhere along the road of life, we meet those to whom we really belong. Or do we?

A Suspicion Grows...

Throughout the years, my three children have often heard me tell the

story of my strange adoption, and how I later encountered my real family. They have often urged me to write it down so they may pass it on to their children. It happened in this way...

My foster parents, Albert and Eva (BANVILLE) VERMETTE were of Canadian descent, and lived on the corner of South Main and Charles Streets in Fall River, Massachusetts. They married in Fall River on the 11th of July 1921, and had one son, named Maurice, who died at birth. My dad came from Ste. Flore, PQ, and was the son of Norbert and Esther (MOREST) VERMETTE. Mom came from Coaticook, PQ, the daughter of Anthime and Eléonore (GAUTHIER) BANVILLE. Albert had been a loom fixer in the King Philip Mill in Fall River.

One day I was cleaning out a closet of our home, when I accidentally came upon a small painted black and red wooden chest. Being curious of the contents, I opened it and found a baptismal certificate for a Cora COUTURE, which confirmed my many suspicions. I suddenly remembered my childhood years, as an only child, when people had been constantly secretive whenever someone began comparing me to my real sister, whom they knew, but whom I, at the time, didn't know. Perhaps they thought I wasn't listening to them as I played,

but I was taking in every word. Certainly I had grown up with the deep suspicion that I was not the VERMETTE's child. I put the chest back into the closet, realizing that I was still too young to approach the delicate subject with my foster parents. I kept growing with the knowledge, never saying anything to anyone. What a secret to live with!

At the age of seventeen, a close friend of mine introduced me to my "real" sister. A very dramatic meeting it was! This friend and my sister worked together, and as it is a small world indeed, with one story leading to another, imagine to their surprise that they had this very interesting connection.

The Meeting...

I worked as an office clerk for the Pomfret Bakery on Pleasant Street in the city, and as it was a one-girl office, most lunch times I spent alone. One day, my friend called and told me that she was on her way to have lunch with me. After hanging-up, I didn't think any more of the call, but only of the few moments away from the office, spent with such a good friend.

Before long, three girls came through the door. It was nearly noon. With me friend were two other girls, who I had never met before, and with whom she worked. Soon, we were on our way to a small Chinese restaurant downtown near the Durfee Theater on North Main Street. While riding to our destination, I was formally introduced to my real sister. Needless to say, my surprise was endless, and I was at a loss for words. It was a good thing my sister, Loretta, did all the talking.

After arriving at the restaurant, ordering our meal. I then found out about my real family. My father, Paul COUTURE, who was still living, had married my mother, Laura HOUDE on 2 July 1912 in Fall River. My mother had died a little more than two months after I was born, the youngest of six children. Loretta, with whom I had lunch that day, later married, in 1937, Harold CODERRE. I also had three brothers: Élizé, who married Lauretta BOUFFARD (who presently have three children); Arthur and Joseph-Romeo, who at that time were both in the army. had married Romeo Jeannette FORCIER. There was also another child who had died young. After my mother's death, my father had married Merilda LEVASSEUR, who bore him six more children: Thérèse, Benoit, Robert, Normand, Albin, and Peter. Little did my friend realize that she had openedup a whole new world for me.

The Adoption...

But why was I adopted? To some, it may seem a sad story, but certainly, not for me. I had a very happy and good home with my foster parents, the VERMETTE's. What I gleaned from my sister enlightened the issue.

Fall River in the early 1900's was strictly a mill city. People working there were just about making ends meet; for the most part, they were poor. My father, Paul COUTURE, was a weaver in one of the mills. As the story later confirms itself in the adoption papers, my mother died shortly after I was born, and no one was available to care for me. I was sent to the orphanage (poor house institution) on Bay Street in Fall River.

At about the same time that all this was happening to me, my foster parents also had a sad tragedy. Eva VERMETTE had given birth to a beautiful eleven pound son at home. He, however, was stillborn. Complications had set-in and she was removed to a local hospital, where she almost died herself. While there, she learned that she would never be able to have another child. It was then, that they decided to adopt.

Going to the parish priest at Blessed Sacrament Church, it was suggested that they adopt an illegitimate child, but they refused. Meanwhile my foster father's mother, Esther VER-METTE (nee MOREST), knew about the plight of the COUTURE family, and suggested to her son that perhaps he might be able to adopt this poor baby girl. This is exactly what they decided to do.

Of course, Mr. COUTURE was reluctant to give away his youngest child. He wanted the VERMETTE's to just "take care" of the child, but they refused, knowing that they would become attached to her over the years, and to have to give her up would surely disappoint and sadden them. They wanted a child all their own. Knowing Cora would have a good home, Mr. COUTURE finally agreed, knowing that he would never again have rights to his own daughter. And so, the home of the VERMETTE's became my home, and they became the only parents I had ever known, until I met Lorette.

A Postscript...

Through my sister, I went on to meet my three brothers: Élizé, Romeo and Arthur; also, I met my father and his second wife and their children. I was never really able to extend my love to them however, as I had known and loved the VERMETTE's as my parents. Perhaps, they always feared that I would change in my affection for them if I had found out earlier that I was an adopted child. Certainly, that never be so.

Five years after our meeting, Mr. COUTURE became ill and was taken to Ste.-Anne's Hospital. His doctors could not understand why he continued to fight for life, up until the last moment. Although one of his sons who served in the army came home, and his brothers came down from Farnum, Ouébec (how I found my ancestors), he still lingered on. My sister, Loretta, called me to visit him at the hospital, which I did. In those moments by his bedside, I told him that I loved him, though I never knew him, and that I forgave him for having given away his daughter. Shortly after I had arrived back home. Loretta called me to say that my father had passed away as soon as I had left his hospital room. He struggled and waited for me.

I attended his funeral, mainly out of respect, feeling a bit uneasy, as the eyes of my relatives were upon me. They were strangers to me, and somehow will always be. Three years ago, my foster mother died, leaving my father, Albert VERMETTE, with only myself to care for him. He is 86, and has been the best father a person could ever hope to have.



Our old library at the Le Foyer Club in Pawtucket, RI L-r: Jeannette MENARD, Therese POLIQUIN, Charles GAUDETTE, and Rachel GAUDETTE. These people have passed away.

Standing at the cabinets is Leon ASSELIN who is still active in the Society.

Companion to the Companions

by: Arthur J. King, OMI

Each October 19 we celebrate the feast of the North American Martyrs' St. Isaac Jogues, St. Jean de Brebeuf and "companions." It has occurred to me that the names of the companions ought to be printed out in the Liturgical Books instead of just grouping them all under the impersonal heading "companions." After all, they suffered the same heroic death. They were Jesuit Fathers Gabriel LALEMANT (1610-1649), Anthony DANIEL (1601-1648), Charles GA-MIER (1606-1649), Noël CHABANEL (1623-1649), and two Oblates, René GOUPIL (1601-1649) and Jean de LEIANDE (d. 1646).

I have a particular prejudice in this case because my first North American grandfather, nine generations ago, was a companion to some of these martyrs. Kate (BACON) KING, my paternal grandmother was, as I am, a direct descendant of Gilles BACON (1622-1654), Founder of the BACON family in North America.

Gilles BACON was born in Caen (Normandy) about 1622. The Jesuits had a college in Caen and most likely through the efforts of Fr. Paul LEJEUNE, founder of Jesuit Relations, Gilles was influenced by the "missionary propaganda" which was disseminated through the publications in France, Jesuit Rela-

tions was the equivalent of our Missions. In August 1643, Gilles sailed for New France with Jesuit Missionaries Leonard GAREAU, Noël CHABANEL and Gabriel DRUILLETTS. He came with other lay volunteers called *domestiques*, or domestic helpers, indentured to the missions for thirty-six months. For his labor he would receive lodging and a very small stipend.

Gilles spent the winter of 1643 either in Ouébec or Trois-Rivieres with other volunteers. In August 1644 he made the first of the long and dangerous journeys, 800 miles from Québec, to the mission of St. Marie in Midland, Ontario at the base of Georgian Bay (Huronia). That year Gilles traveled with Jean de BREBEUF, Leonardo GAREAU and Noël CHABANEL, the first and the last of whom would be martyred. Their group was the only one of four that left port and reached its destination. They arrived at the mission on September 7 en-force, priests, soldiers and domestiques.

The Mission at St. Marie was founded by Fr. Jean de BREBEUF in 1639. It became the headquarters for the Jesuits in that territory. From this point the missionaries would venture to visit the surrounding Indian villages and return from exhausting trips to rest. The

domestiques played an important role in the building of this fortified village. They worked under the direction of Fr. François-Joseph MERCIER who had been at the mission since 1640. Here at the mission. Gilles BACON learned to be a farmer, mason, carpenter, hunter and prospector. Since most of the missionary traffic passed through this village, Gilles also met most of the priests and other domestiques who worked with them in the mission. It was a small closeknit community. Among his companions we find the names of LAFONTAINE. CATERON. MERCIER. GROS-SILLIERS, LAMBERT, PELLITIER, LEIANDE AND GOUPIL.

By 1646 Gilles Bacon had fulfilled his contract with the Jesuits. He had the option to return to the missions as others sometimes did. Fr. LALEMANT tells us in his report, however, that Gilles BA-CON was among the domestiques who returned to Trois Rivieres in August of the year. Fr. René BACON, Gilles' biographer, writes of that moment, "Gilles BACON found himself with all of those people he knew so well. He met again Jean LEIANDE, a volunteer since 1642, who lived permanently with the Jesuits at Trois-Rivieres." He also mentions that Isaac JOGUES was there at that time. At the end of September Isaac JOGUES and Jean LEIANDE left for the missions. It was in mid-October that they were captured by the Iroquois, tortured mercilessly and murdered.

Gilles Bacon chose not to return to the missions. Fr. Bacon says, "We must believe that he had a premonition." Perhaps!!! Gilles left Trois-Rivieres at the end of August or the beginning of September and made his way to Québec. There he hired out to the Sisters of St. Augustine at Hotel Dieu. In 1649 there would be more deaths, LALEMANT, BREBEUF, GAMIER, GOUPIL and CHABANEL with whom Gilles had come from Normandy. It must have been a stunning blow to this young layman who shared so much with these valiant friends, companions and countrymen.

It is somewhat ironic that Gilles BACON, who helped build the missions of New France, was not to live much longer than his martyred companions. In 1647 Gilles Bacon married Marie TAVERNIER. They made their home on what is now part of the Plains of Abraham on the Grand Allee in Québec. In 1650 a son was born. He was named Eustache after his godfather Eustache LAMBERT who had also been a domestique with Gilles in the missions. In 1653 a daughter was born, Marie-Madeleine, named after the "lay foundress" of the Urslines in Canada, Marie-Madeleine de la PALTRIE.

In the registers of the Parish of Notre Dame in Québec can be found the laconic notation that Gilles BACON died on the fifth day of March 1654 after having received all the sacraments at Hotel Dieu and was buried in the parish cemetery. Gilles BACON was only 32 years old. He lived only five years after the death of his last four companions, the martyrs of Huronia. Gilles' son Eustache continued the family line. Marie TAVERNIER and her daughter Marie-Madeleine died as cloistered nuns in the Monastery of the Augustine Sisters at Hotel Dieu.

Life in the 1500's

by: Paul P. Delisle

The following is from several and varied sources, and it makes interesting reading.

Most people got married in June because they took their yearly bath in May and were still smelling pretty good by June. However, they were starting to smell, so brides carried a bouquet of flowers to hide the h.o.

Baths equaled a big tub filled with hot water. The man of the house had the privilege of the nice clean water, then all the other sons and men, then the women and finally the children. Last of all the babies. By then the water was so dirty you could actually lose someone in it. Hence the saying, "Don't throw the baby out with the bath water".

Houses had thatched roofs. Thick straw, piled high, with no wood underneath. It was the only place for animals to get warm, so all the pets... dogs, cats and other small animals, mice, rats, bugs lived on the roof. When it rained it became slippery and sometimes the animals would slip and fall off the roof. Hence the saying, "It's raining cats and dogs,"

There was nothing to stop things from falling into the house. This posed a real problem in the bedroom where bugs and other droppings could really mess up your nice clean bed. So, they found if they made beds with big posts and hung a sheet over the top, it addressed that problem. Hence those beautiful big 4 post beds with canopies.

The floor was dirt. Only the wealthy had something other than dirt, hence the saying "dirt poor." The wealthy had slate floors which would get slippery in the winter when wet. So they spread thresh on the floor to help keep their footing. As the winter wore on they kept adding more thresh until when you opened the door it would all start slipping outside. A piece of wood was placed at the entry way, hence a "thresh hold".

They cooked in the kitchen in a big kettle that always hung over the fire. Every day they lit the fire and added things to the pot. They mostly ate vegetables and didn't get much meat. They would eat the stew for dinner leaving leftovers in the pot to get cold overnight and then start over the next day. Sometimes the stew had food in it that had been in there for a month. Hence the rhyme: "peas porridge hot, peas porridge cold, peas porridge in the pot nine days old."

Sometimes they could obtain pork

and would feel really special when that happened. When company came over, they would bring out some bacon and hang it to show it off. It was a sign of wealth and that a man "could really bring home the bacon." They would cut off a little to share with guests and would all sit around and "chew the fat."

Those with money had plates made of pewter. Food with a high acid content caused some of the lead to leach onto the food. This happened most often with tomatoes, so they stopped eating tomatoes... for 400 years.

Most people didn't have pewter plates, but had trenchers – a piece of wood with the middle scooped out like a bowl. Trencher were never washed and a lot of times worms got into the wood. After eating off wormy trenchers, they would get "trench mouth."

Bread was divided according to status. Workers got the burnt bottom of the loaf, the family got the middle, and guests got the top, or the "upper crust". Lead cups were used to drink ale or whiskey. The combination would sometimes knock them out for a couple of days. Someone walking along the road would take them for dead and prepare them for burial. They were laid out on the kitchen table for a couple of days and the family would gather around and eat and drink and wait and see if they would wake up. Hence the custom of holding a "wake".

England is old and small and they started running out of places to bury people. So, they would dig up coffins and would take their bones to a house and re-use the grave. In reopening these coffins, one out of 25 coffins were found to have scratch marks on the inside and they realized they had been burying people alive. So they thought they would tie a string on their wrist and lead it through the coffin and up through the ground and tie it to a bell. Someone would have to sit out in the gravevard all night to listen for the bell. Hence on the "graveyard shift" they would know that someone was "saved by the bell" or he was a "dead ringer."

I am a nutritional overachiever.

My inferiority complex is not as good as yours.

I am having an out-of-money experience.

I plan on living forever. So far, so good.

I'm not afraid of heights, just afraid of widths.

Practice safe eating, always use condiments.

I have kleptomania, but when it gets bad I take something for it.

If marriage were outlawed, only outlaws would have in-laws.

Tips from Your Bookie

by: Jan Burkhart, A. F. G. S. Librarian

I know that when you visit the A. F. G. S. library, the amount of information housed there is overwhelming. I will try to give you some tips about using the library that will make the task a little easier.

- •Always ask the Librarian or the person at the desk if you need help finding material. We will always do our best to help you.
- We have a very large library catalog that lists our holdings and the code numbers that will help you locate the material for which you are looking.
- Know the church name but not the location? We have a catalog that lists our repertoires in alphabetical order and that identifies the location of each parish. We also have a library catalog box with cards that do the same thing as well as several general reference books that can help. Ask and we will gladly point these materials out to you.
- There are signs around the library that tell you what is on the various shelves. If you are still having trouble, ask and we will point you in the right direction.

I would like to tell you about our **periodical collection**. It is a very helpful

tool for your research. We have many periodicals from sister societies whose members may very well be working on the same family that you are researching. You should check these periodicals out because someone else may have already solved that road block that has been puzzling you for so long.

On our computers we have the PERSI file which indexes many of the periodicals in our collection. This makes it even easier to find that particular article or topic for which you are looking. You simply type in some key words and the articles appear. Emile MARTINEAU has all of the periodicals arranged with an index that will point you right to the correct issue. This resource is much underused and is truly a treasure chest of information.

Our lending library contains copies of many of our most important resources. These materials are on microfiche so you must have access to a reader. I think you will find that your local library probably has one that you can use. You might also try your local bank. Banks used to use microfiche readers but most no longer do. Many banks still have the readers in surplus equipment and are willing to sell them to you at a very reasonable price.

The fiche you can borrow include the Drouin Collections of Men and Women (2,000,000 marriages all alphabetized by the groom or the bride.) These marriages cover the period from about 1790-1940. Most of these marriages are from Québec but there are also marriages from parts of Ontario and New Brunswick. The Loiselle File covers the period 1642-1963 and includes marriages from Ouébec, Madawaska County in New Brunswick. Manchester, NH and Hillsboro County, New Hampshire. All the vital records that we have published for Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut are on fiche. This includes churches, civil records and funeral home records. We also have many Québec parishes on

fiche. If you have not purchased a Lending Library Catalog, you should do so at once. The cost of the catalog is deducted from your first purchase. This resource was put into effect to help our members who are unable to come to the library. Folks who have used it have given us rave reviews. Give it a try.

Next time I will discuss our extensive collection of reference books. Thanks to the purchase of the Drouin Institute Library, our collection is amazingly broad. Look for me next time.

Your Bookie, Jan Burkhart

Twelve Examples of Common Sense

- 1. Never take a sleeping pill and a laxative on the same night.
- 2. There can be a fine line between "hobby" and "mental illness."
- 3. People who want to share their religious views with you almost never want you to share yours with them.
- 4. You should never confuse your career with your life.
- 5. No matter what happens in life, somebody will find a way to take it too seriously.
- 6. Nobody cares if you can't dance well. Just get up and dance.
- 7. Never lick a steak knife.
- 8. Take out the fortune before you eat the cookie.
- 9. The most destructive force in the universe is gossip.
- 10. Nobody can give me a clear and compelling reason why we observe daylight savings time.
- 11. A person who is nice to you but rude to the waiter is not a nice person.
- 12. Your friends love you, no matter what.

Joseph-Wilfrid Moreau and Malvina Guay

by: Gertrude Moreau Gaudette

Editor's note: This is the couple featured on the back cover of this issue.

Malvina GUAY and Joseph-Wilfrid MOREAU married on 31 December 1877 in St. Joseph Church in the village of Berkeley, town of Cumberland, RI.

Not much is known about Malvina, except she was born in St. Valetin, Comté St. Jean, Que., 26 August 1858; the daughter of Grégoire GUAY and Julienne MÉTIVIER. Through her mother, she was a direct descendant of Guillaume CAMPBELL dit L'ECOSSAI and his second wife, Marguerite CHARTIER.

Malvina first came to America, arriving at Lowell, MA with her relatives. From Lowell, she came to live in Albion, RI (Editor's note: town of Lincoln, RI.) with her uncle Joseph METIVIER. There she went to work in the Chase Mill, later known as the Berkshire Mills, popularly known as the Albion Mills. She met and married Joseph-Wilfred MOREAU and became the mother of twelve children; ten sons and two daughters. Her first daughter, and third child, was stillborn. Her next daughter was born and baptized on 7 January 1901 and given the name Oliva-Marie, she died shortly after she was born and Malvina followed her on 7 July 1901.

Joseph-Wilfred MOREAU was born on 25 July 1853 in Marieville, Comté Rouville, Que.; the son of Joseph-Elzear DESJEURDIE dit MOREAU and Césarie BARBEAU.

With his parents and siblings, Joseph came to America in 1862, arriving in East Douglas, town of Sutton, MA. It was there that he went to work, at the age of ten, in the mill as a bobbin boy. Some time later, his parents returned to Canada and Joseph and his brother Azarie moved to Albion. What year this occurred is not known, but Joseph went to work in the Chase Mill, where he was assigned a job in the weave shed as a loom fixer.

Joseph and Malvina's first born, Wilfrid, saw the light of day on 25 November 1878 in his home on Main Street in Albion. Wilfrid later married Alma POISSANT in St. Ambrose Church on 20 September 1908. The line continues to the present day.

Of Joseph and Malvina's children, three sons died young: Clinton, born 14 June 1892 and died 5 January 1899 of "brain fever;" Wilbrod, born 14 September 1895 and died in April of 1896; Noé, born on 28 February 1899 and died 11 August 1900.

Legend has it that Joseph was a strict disciplinarian and always had a strap ready to keep the boys in line.

Their son, Wilfrid went to work in the Albion mill at age 12. He was short for his age and often was carried to work on his father's shoulders. Arthur, a tall one, could walk through the snow. Later these two boys went to work for the First National Stores in the stock room, later advancing to store managers. Wilfrid managed the store in Georgiaville, RI, and Arthur was at Smith Street in Providence where twice he was robbed at gunpoint.

All of this couple's sons worked for a period in the Albion Mills. Elphège and William at age fourteen.

Then came World War One. Elphège enlisted in the Army and as a doughboy saw action in France where he was caught in "No Man's Land." There, trapped by mustard gas, was eventually rescued and went to a military hospital in France. Returning home in 1918, he still was ill from the effects of the gas.

Joseph took him to a doctor who told him, "Let him have or do anything he wants – He won't live a year."

Elphège proved the doctor wrong. He married Alice LACOMBE in June 1922 and lived to see his grandchildren. He died on 6 July 1955 at the Veteran's Hospital in Providence, RI at age sixty-one.

Life was different for Joseph and Malvina than it is today. They had no indoor plumbing, they had to rely on well water for cooking and bathing. There were no supermarkets or convenience stores; families got their groceries from door-to-door peddlers. Children who worked were expected to give all their salary to the father, who doled out spending money. When the children became adults at twenty-one, those living at home then paid for room and board, "la pension" and were expected to put some of their salary in the bank.

Joseph lived to be seventy-six, dying in 1949.

I am not a perfectionist. My parents were, though.
As I said before, I never repeat myself.
Living on Earth may be expensive, but it includes a free annual trip around the sun!
There is a very fine line between "hobby" and "mental illness."
With all the modern conveniences available, it's now possible to have a bad day and never leave the house.

Family Associations in Canada

Editor's note: This listing of family associations was published by "La fédération des familles-souches québécoises" in Sainte-Foy, Québec. It has been translated from the French and included in this publication for vour research needs.

Alarie/Alarie

Assoc. des Alarie/Alary 9555, rue Lajeunesse, bus. 101 Montréal (OC) H2M 1S7

Jerome Alarie Tel.: (514) 336-1891 res.

Tel.: (514) 382-2170 bus. Fax: (514) 382-6959

Albert

Assoc. des Albert d'Amerique inc. 815, rue de Villers, app. 414 Sainte-Fov (OC) O1V 4M4 François Albert, Tel.: (418) 653-8124

Asselin

Assoc. des Asselin inc. C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2 Yvan Asselin

Tel.: (418) 681-8331 Fax: (418) 688-7747

E-mail: asselin@genealogie.org www.genealogie.org/famille/asselin

Auclair

Assoc. des families Auclair d'Amerique C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2 Robert Auclair Tel.: (418) 654-1649

E-mail: lheureuxv@videotron.ca www.genealogie.org/famille/auclair/

Baillargeon

Assoc. des Baillargeon inc. C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2 Gaetan Baillargeon Tel.: (450) 677-4769

Baker

Assoc, des families Ebacher-Baker 2080, rue René-Lévesque Ouest Sainte-Foy (QC) G1V 2K9 Dr. Aylmer Baker Tel. & Fax: (418) 688-8424

E-mail: bakerchi@globetrotter.qc.ca www.genealogie.org/famille/ebacher-baker/

Barrette

Assoc. des Barrette d'Amerique inc. C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (OC) G1T 2W2 Roger Barrette Tel.: (418) 658-3790 E-mail: roger@barrette.qc.ca

www.barrette.qc.ca

Bastarache

Assoc. des Bastarache, Bastrash et Basque C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (OC) G1T 2W2 Raoul Bastarache

Tel.: (514) 351-2166 E-mail: a3bas@hotmail.com

www.geocities.com/a3bas

Beaudet

Assoc. des families Beaudet inc.

C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2

Gilbert Beaudet Tel.: (418) 843-0440

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Beaulé

Assoc. des descendants de Lazare Bolley

C.P.214 Rouyn-Noranda (QC) J9X 5C3

Yvan Beaulé

Tel.: (819) 824-4282

E-mail: beauley@cablevision.qc.ca

www.beaule.qc.ca

Bégin

Assoc. des families Bégin inc. C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2 Émilienne Bégin

Tel.: (819) 868-8043

Bélanger

Assoc. des families Bélanger inc. C.P. 55033, succ. Montmorency Laval (QC) H7N 6G5 Tel.: (450) 667-3144

E-mail: laking@sympatico.ca www.genealogie.org/famille/belanger

Bernier

Assoc. des Bernier d Amenque inc. 795, rue Muir, app. 706 Ville Saint-Laurent (QC) H4L 5H8 Gilberte Bernier Tel.: (514) 747-4505

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Bérubé

Assoc. des familes Bérubé inc. C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery

Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2

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Besner

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26, rue Principale

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Bilodeau

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Blais

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Blouin

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Tel.: (418) 842-2957/(418) 573-8969 (cell.) E-mail: pierreblouinloret@hotmail.com

Bois

Assoc. des families Bois inc. C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery

Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2

André Bois

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Boisvert

Assoc. des families Boisvert inc.

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Bonneau

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Sainte-Foy (QC) G1W 2R7

Gilles Bonneau

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Boulanger-Lefebvre

Les descendants de Claude Lefebvre dit

Boulanger en Amérique

C.P. 1061, Terminus

Ouébec (OC) G1K 7B5

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Boulianne

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Bourbeau

Assoc. des descendants de Bourbeau inc.

C.P. 6700, succ. Sillery

Sainte-Foy (QC) G1T 2W2

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Bourgault

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Bourque

Les descendants d'Antoine Bourg inc.

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Boutin

Assoc. des Boutin d'Amérique inc.

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boutin.htm

Brisson

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Fernande Brisson

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Brochu

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The following are actual signs found on church property.

"No God-No Peace. Know God-Know Peace."

"Free Trip to heaven. Details Inside!"

"Try our Sundays. They are better than Baskin-Robbins."

"Searching for a new look? Have your faith lifted here!"

An ad for St. Joseph's Episcopal Church has a picture of two hands holding stone tablets on which the Ten Commandments are inscribed and a headline that reads, "For fast, fast relief, take two tablets."

When the restaurant next to the Lutheran Church put out a big sign with red letters that said, "Open Sundays," the church reciprocated with its own message: "We are open on Sundays, too."

"Have trouble sleeping? We have sermons-come hear one!"

A singing group called "The Resurrection" was scheduled to sing at a church. When a big snowstorm postponed the performance, the pastor fixed the outside sign to read, "The Resurrection is postponed."

"People are like tea bags-you have to put them in hot water before you know how strong they are."

"God so loved the world that He did not send a committee."

"Come in and pray today. Beat the Christmas rush!"

"When down in the mouth, remember Jonah. He came out alright."

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Idiot Alert

I live in a semi rural area. We recently had a new neighbor call the local township administrative office to request the removal of the Deer Crossing sign on our road. The reason: too many deer were being hit by cars, and he didn't want them to cross there anymore.

I was at the airport, checking in at the gate when an airport employee asked, "Has anyone put anything in your baggage without your knowledge?" To which I replied, "If it was without my knowledge, how would I know?"He smiled knowingly and nodded, "That's why we ask."

The stoplight on the corner buzzes when it's safe to cross the street. I was crossing with an intellectually challenged coworker of mine when she asked if I knew what the buzzer was for. I explained that it signals blind people when the light is red. Appalled, she responded, "What on earth are blind people doing driving?!"

At a good-bye luncheon for an old and dear coworker who is leaving the company due to "down sizing," our manager commented cheerfully, "This is fun. We should do this more often." Not a word was spoken. We all just looked at each other with that deer-in-the-headlights stare.

When my husband and I arrived at an automobile dealership to pick up our car, we were told the keys had been locked in it. We went to the service department and found a mechanic working feverishly to unlock the driver's side door. As I watched from the passenger side, I instinctively tried the door handle and discovered that it was unlocked."Hey," I announced to the technician, "It's open!" To which he replied, "I know -- I already got that side."

I work with an individual who plugged her power strip back into itself and for the life of her couldn't understand why her system would not turn on.

My daughter went to a local Taco Bell and ordered a taco. She asked the person behind the counter for "minimal lettuce." He said he was sorry, but they only had iceberg.

PARTING SHOTS

Paul P. Delisle, Editor

This is our 25th anniversary issue. We have made a lot of good friends in the last twenty-five years, and have met old ones that we haven't seen in years. We have also learned of cousins we didn't know existed. Some of those friends have passed on and we will miss them and all they have contributed to the Society and to French-Canadian genealogy in general. We look forward, as most of us certainly do, to a long and prosperous life for the American-French Gegealogical Society.

This spring, *The Call*, the Woonsocket newspaper, reported a savage act of vandalism in Precious Blood Cemetery. The mausoleum of Aram J. POTHIER was damaged by persons unknown with spray paint.

To those who are unfamiliar with POTHIER, he was one of the greatest French-Canadian public servants in Rhode Island. Born in Québec Province, at the age of 18 he followed his family to Woonsocket in 1872. He soon learned the banking trade as a teller for the Woonsocket Institute for Savings and was promoted to Vice President in 1909 and in 1913 he assumed the office.

POTHIER was elected to the Woonsocket School Board in 1885. This was the beginning of his political career.

In 1889, after serving two terms in the Rhode Island General Assembly, he was appointed by the Governor as Rhode Island's delegate to the Paris Trade Exhibition in France and then in 1899, delegate to the International Trade in Paris.

POTHIER was the first French-Canadian to be elected as Mayor of Woonsocket in 1893, serving two terms. In 1897 he was elected to Lieutenant Governor, then to Governor in 1908 serving until 1915. He was elected again in 1924 and served until his death on 4 February 1928. While Governor, he was credited with reorganized the state's finances, revamped to Port of Providence, and established the Rhode Island State Police.



While he was in Paris he met several important textile manufacturers, and convinced them to expand their enterprises in Woonsocket. POTHIER is credited with bringing six million dollars in foreign investment to the city, making it one of the leading textile manufacturing centers in the first half of

the 20th century.

The POTHIER Mausoleum is a landmark in Precious Blood Cemetery. It is hoped that the desecrators will be caught and that justice will be done to the memory of this great man.









"Heaven goes by favor. If it went by merit, you would stay out and your dog would go in." -Mark Twain

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