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Je Me Souviens

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AMERICAN-FRENCH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

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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 **paul471 @ cox.net**.

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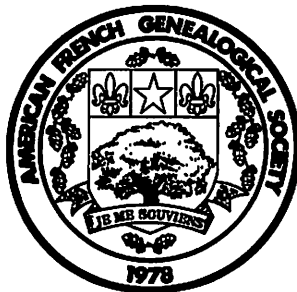
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AFGS Mission Statement

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

Janice Burkhart, President

Autumn seems like Mother Nature's cruel joke to me. On the one hand we have balmy September weather coupled with the crisp, clear days of October and the glorious foliage. If you have never experienced a New England Fall it might be difficult to imagine how beautiful it really is. But just as roses have thorns, Fall signals the harsh winds and icy conditions that are just around the corner. Changes that we are familiar with but would rather ignore until there is no way of avoiding them. Mother Nature's little joke on us!

But life is like that too. We all come face to face with change. I have found that most people would like to be able to avoid change. It is uncertain and often uncomfortable. We are required to take a step into unfamiliar territory. Some people take the step willingly and others reluctantly. Some people adjust quickly while some never do.

We are about to enter into several changes at the library that will effect regular attendees and visitors alike. Some will be difficult to adjust to at first. Some will take a little time. Some may irritate you for a long time. If the latter is the case, please talk to me about it.

First we again ask you to wear your name tag. I know it seems silly for

those of you who are there every week. However, we have had non-members repeatedly use and sometime abuse our resources. We need to know if a visitor is not a member. If every member is wearing a name tag, the visitors are easy to spot and we do not have to continuously approach them. Please help us out. We do not mean to irritate you but this is important.

Starting this Fall we will ask that no briefcases, backpacks, purses or lunch bags come into the library. We have had a number of books taken from the library without permission and several rolls of film are missing. We cannot afford to be constantly replacing these materials. We do not like the idea of having to inspect your bags when you leave and therefore this will not be an option. There will be fifteen lockers with paddle locks for your use. Briefcases will not fit but smaller backpacks will. Or you can choose to leave these items locked in your car and hand-carry your notebooks into the library. Please help us with this matter. We are, after all, trying to preserve very precious material.

Also, we have provided racks so you can hang up your coats. We know it is easier to hang them on the back of your chair but they are a safety hazard. I know you would feel awful if someone

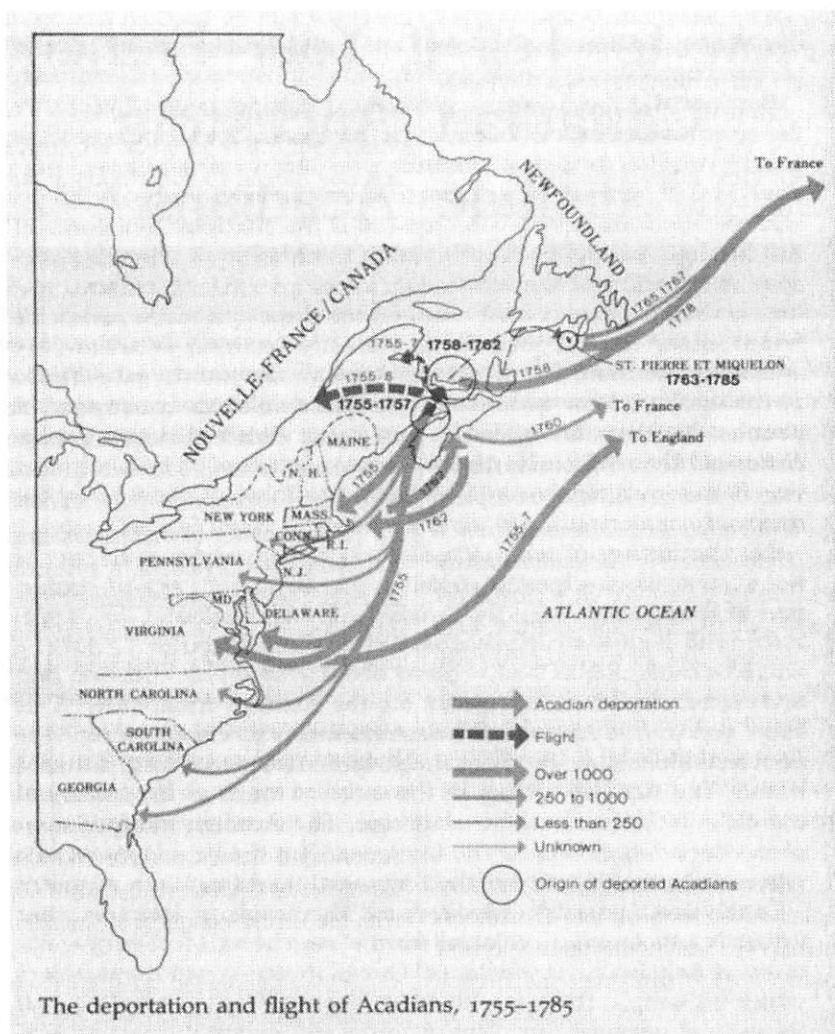


Figure 1: Used by permission of the Centre for Canadian Studies at Mount Allison University and McGill-Queen's University Press

The children of these Acadian refugees intermarried with French-Canadian families already established in Québec, and their descendants are in Québec today. Over a century later, some of the descendants of these Acadians, with other Québécois, migrated to the US.

may lead not only to French-Canadian ancestors; for some, the effort may lead back to Acadian ancestors as well. The question for researchers who trace their ancestors from the US back into Canada becomes, "How can I tell if my ancestors include Acadians?" To find out, read on.

An effort to trace a family with a French name back into Québec, then,

What follows is based on two

assumptions. One, your family has lived in upstate New York or in one of the New England states of the US for some years. Two, you are tracking your family back as through the US to Québec. I give these assumptions because researchers tracking French-Canadian families from the Upper Midwest back to Québec will have to use different resources than those used by researchers tracking French-Canadian families from New England back to Québec.

First, two definitions. An Acadian is a person of French ancestry born south of the Notre Dame Mountains which mark the southern edge of the eastern end of the Saint Lawrence River Valley. Any French person who lived in what is today Nova Scotia (including Cape Breton Island), Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and eastern Maine between 1636 and 1755 is an Acadian. A French-Canadian is a person of French ancestry born in the Saint Lawrence Valley. (See Figure 2.)

Now for the steps. Followed, they will tell you whether your French-Canadian ancestor has Acadian roots.

Step One: trace your family back to the border. That involves old-fashioned American genealogy. Get a copy of your parents' marriage certificate, civil or religious. That will usually tell you the names of your grandparents. Interview your parents' brothers and sisters if they are still alive to determine where your grandparents grew up. That will tell you what New England town office or parish church to go to for a copy of their marriage. For French-Canadian families in New England mill towns, their grandparents frequently grew up in the same town

or in an adjacent town. Once you have an idea of where your grandparents grew up, go get a copy of their marriage certificate, civil or religious. Repeat the process until you get to the last marriage celebrated in the US. Many New Englanders descended from French-Canadians are the third generation born in the US and the fourth generation to live in the US. Thus, the typical French-Canadian researcher should have to obtain only three marriage certificates before crossing the border. If you are fortunate, the last marriage certificate will identify the immigrant's parents and birth place in Québec.

Step Two: cross the border. This is the hardest task since it requires knowing the names of the parents of the immigrant. Sometimes, crossing the border also requires knowing the immigrant's birth date and village of origin. Taken together, those three bits of information are the Holy Grail for those trying to locate French-Canadian ancestors in Canada. Without the names of the immigrant's parents, researchers cannot look up the next generation in the ancestral line. Without a place of origin, researchers do not know where to look for original documentation of the next link in an ancestral line. Without the names of the parents of the immigrant or a date, researchers cannot confirm which person of many with the same name is the correct one.

In the next several paragraphs, I will mention two sets of books that are the primary tools for helping us track our ancestors once we cross the border. In this devoutly-to-be-wished circumstance, the immigrant came to the US not yet married, met a girl in one of the

One set is called "The Blue Drouin" because of the blue binding of the set. The proper reference is to the *Répertoire alphabétique des mariages des Canadiens-français, 1760-1935*, 61 vols. (Longueuil, QC : Services généalogique Claude Pepin, 1989-1990). The set lists marriages only by groom's name, so The Blue Drouin is sometimes referred to as "The Men Series." A 64 volume set, carrying the same title is referred to commonly as "the Red Drouin" because of the red binding of the set. This set lists marriages only by bride's name, so The Red Drouin is sometimes referred to as "the Women Series."

Back to the second step.

Let us take the easiest scenario. mill towns, and married. The civil marriage certificate does not provide the parents' names and says only "Canada" as the place of origin; however, the entry in the parish register of the church in which the marriage was celebrated provides the names of the parents. You are now across the border. In a variant of this scenario, the ancestor married in Québec before immigrating to the US. Family lore has told you consistently what the immigrant's wife's surname was. You cross your fingers and turn to the blue and red Drouin books and find them. You are across the border. In another variant of this scenario, the ancestor married in Québec before immigrating to the US. However, the surname of his bride remains unknown. The civil death certificate of your immigrant ancestor becomes your hope, but it says only "Canada" for the village of birth. However, a search for the civil death certificates of that ancestor's known brothers and sisters is profitable: one of the

sisters' death certificate identifies the family's village of origin. Again, you are across the border.

Now, let us take the frustrating scenario. Your immigrant ancestor was single when he came to the US for work, his civil marriage entry names neither his parents nor his village of origin, and his religious marriage entry is one of the few which does not name his parents. Do not yell, "Brick Wall!!" yet. Locate that ancestor's known brothers and sisters. Look for their religious marriage certificates. Canon law required naming a person's parents, and the parish register marriage entry which does not include the names of parents is rare. One of your ancestor's siblings' marriage entries will name the parents. You cannot find an immigrant's brothers and sisters? Look at the baptismal entries in the parish register for the immigrant's children. Parents commonly asked their brothers and sisters to serve as godparents. Once you have the names of the parents of your immigrant ancestor, you have crossed the border.

Note that each major source of an evidentiary document has its pluses and minuses. Civil certificates of birth, marriage, and death are more universal. It is rare not to find a birth, marriage, or death certificate on file for a person who was born, married, and died in upstate New York or in a New England state between 1880 and 1930. That is the plus of civil registrations. They have a minus, however, in that they are more likely than parish register entries to have omitted information. Parish register entries also have their pluses and minuses. They usually record the parents names for baptismal and marriage entries. That is

their plus. But many parishes in New England do not permit searchers or representatives of genealogical societies to examine or copy registers. Thus, there may no published list of abstracts of the marriages that were celebrated at many Catholic parishes in New England. More parishes in Maine and Rhode Island have permitted genealogical societies to make abstracts of marriages than parishes in other states. New Hampshire is close behind Maine and Rhode Island. Massachusetts has some, while Connecticut, Vermont, and New York have few.

Step Three: trace the family back to its progenitor in Québec. Once you have successfully identified your ancestor's parish of origin in Québec and the names of his parents, your task of tracking your ancestors becomes easy. Your first tool of choice is the paper or microfiche copy of Gabriel Drouin et al's published list of marriages celebrated in Québec between 1760 and 1935. Copies of the sixty-one volume Blue Drouin and of the sixty-four volume Red Drouin sets are at the Franco-American genealogy societies in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine, and New Hampshire. The New England Historic Genealogical Society in Massachusetts owns a copy as well.

Once you clear the year 1760, use the PRDH to get each preceding generation back to the progenitor of that surname in Québec. The full title of this work is the *Répertoire des actes de baptême, mariage, sépulture et des recensements du Québec ancien* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1980-1990). It is a product of the Research Program in Historical Demography for which the French abbreviation

is PRDH. The forty-seven volume *Répertoire* is often referred to as "the RAB of the PRDH" or just "the RAB." The printed set covers the 1621 through 1765 period of the French régime. A CD of the RAB, which contains additions, takes the database through 1799. Both the printed set and the CD are available at the same locations in New England where one can find *répertoires des mariages*. In addition, the database, which now contains some events up to 1850, can be searched on-line at www.genealogie.umontreal.ca for a modest per-record-found fee. The PRDH will enable you to construct your lineage all the way back to the progenitor in Québec.

Step Four: look for Acadian names. After you have finished tracing your line back to the progenitor, it is time to begin checking your growing list of French-Canadian ancestors for those who descend from Acadians. The task is a continuous decision-making loop. Take all the names of your ancestors born in Québec between 1760 and 1810 or who married during those years. If you were born around 1950 and your ancestors each married around age 25, then you have up to 59 surnames of your 64 great-great-great-great-grandparents to look up.

Look up your parents' surnames on the list constructed by Brenda Dunn of Parks Canada and Acadian Genealogist Stephen White. If neither of your parents' surnames are on that list, look up your grandparents' surnames on the list. Repeat this process until you have identified all your ancestors who married after 1755. If none of your ancestors' surnames are on the list in Table 1, then none of your French-Canadian an-

cestors include Acadians. Figure 3 charts the decision-making loop of this step of the process.

On the other hand, if one of your French-Canadian ancestors who married in Canada after 1755 is on the list of Acadian surnames in Table 1, then your ancestry *may* include Acadians. I say "may" because some names, like Martin, have both several Québécois branches and two Acadian branches, none of which are related.

Once you have identified an ancestor whose surname may be Acadian, then look up that person's ancestors. The tools for this task are Adrien Bergeron's *Le Grand Arrangement des Acadiens au Québec*, 8 vols. (Montréal: Éditions Élysée, 1981) for persons born to a marriage which occurred after 1714, and Stephen White's *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes, Première Partie, 1636-1714*, 2 vols. (Moncton: Centre d'Études Acadiennes, 1999) will take you all the way back to the progenitor in Acadie.

Now that you have the four steps for determining whether any of your French-Canadian ancestors are Acadian, a caution and a warning are in order.

First the caution. Keep in mind name changes. Most French-Canadian pioneers had *dit* names. Those who research Martins know that at least one line of the descendants of the Acadian Martin-dit-Barnabé, became "Barnaby" in upstate New York. Then there is the problem of spelling variations. Aroostook County, Maine, descendants of Jacques Miville-dit-Deschênes have been recorded as "Manville" and "Main-

ville." Then there are translations. Many descendants of the Roy-dit-Bonifaces of Hamlin, Maine, are known as "King," some Levesques in Caribou, Maine, are known as "Bishop," and some Paré in Lowell, Massachusetts, became "Perry." In all three cases, racial prejudice was at play, and the surname changed because its holder needed to become English to order to advance in the world.

Finally, there is the ever possible mangling of name spelling by a town clerk who could not speak French and was unfamiliar with French spelling. American-French Genealogical Society member Patty Locke tells the story of an ancestor named Lanctôt whose surname was recorded as "Long Toe," a person whose name was Boutin becoming "Button," and someone whose name was LeBaron becoming "Baron." Wise searchers will always be on the look out for name changes. In fact, searchers working with civil birth, marriage, and death records should ask an acquaintance who neither speaks nor reads any French to pronounce the family name in French, and then ask the acquaintance to spell the name in English. Do not forget to thank your acquaintance for helping you find your ancestor before you return to the town office.

An invaluable resource for researchers is René JETTÉ and Micheline LÉCUYER's *Répertoire des Noms de Famille du Québec des Origines à 1825* (Montréal: Institut Généalogique J. L. Et Associés, 1988). The first half of the 201-page book lists every French-Canadian patronymic found in a Québec document between 1621 and 1825. For all surnames having one or more *dit*

names or alternate spellings, those forms of the name are given with the date of its first appearance in an official document. The second half of the book changes the order, listing every *dit* name or alternate spelling followed by its patronymic.

Second, the warning. Do not get misled in The-Name's-the-Same-Error. Too often, the son has his father's name, two first cousins have the same name, and that an uncle and a nephew have the same name. For each marriage found in a list of marriage abstracts made from a New England source, go get a civil marriage certificate from the town in which the marriage occurred. For each marriage found in a *répertoire des mariages* made from a Québec source, go make a photocopy of the entry from the microfilm of the parish register. Look at the witnesses' names. Are the witnesses a parent or other relative? Look at the places. Are they the towns family members have told you that ancestor lived in?

Making sure you have the correct person is particularly necessary for any name given in Adrien BERGERON's eight-volume *Le Grand Arrangement des Acadiens au Québec* (Montréal: Éditions Élysée, 1981) and Bona ARSENAULT's six-volume *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens* (Montmagny: Éditions Leméac, 1978). We must always be grateful to those who have prepared the comprehensive genealogies that enable us to make a first draft of our ancestries, but we must also be cautious of works published before the wide use of personal computers which find errors and before the expectation that researchers provide sources. Talk to researchers who have worked with Bergeron and

Arsenault and also with microfilmed parish registers: each has a story of an error in Bergeron and Arsenault. The way of catching and stopping the spread of errors is to look up each date and name on an original source or an official copy of an original source.

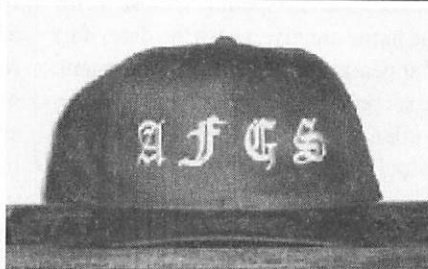
The warning to confirm every marriage in an original record is particularly relevant for French-Canadian research. Monseigneur Cyprien TANGUAY started something wonderful when he undertook his monumental effort to produce his *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours*. His work stimulated the curiosity of many people wanting to know more about their origins, and that is good. However, his work has also had the effect of leading many to do no more than amass nothing more than hundreds of names, and that is not good. Veteran French-Canadian researcher Joy REISINGER says that all too many searchers spend their time researching names instead of researching people. I agree. And that is why I urge readers to ask, for every marriage we find, "Is this really the right person? How do I know? Can I find another document that will confirm this?"

An ancestry – a list of names – should never be an end in itself. It should be the beginning. Census information, deeds, wills and other probate documents, court documents, notarial documents in Canada, photographs, and family heirlooms all have a story to tell. It is the sum and interaction of all those stories that tell us who our ancestors are. It is these stories that help us define who we are.



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Acadian Family Names

by: Stephen White

Editor's Note: Researched by Brenda Dunn and Stephen White in 1984, updated in 2004. Used by permission of Parks Canada. Do not copy without permission of Parks Canada.

Many family genealogists, while knowing that perhaps a part of their family came to the U.S. or moved west in Canada from an origin either in Quebec or further east, may not know that in fact their family originates from the territory once known as "Acadia". Acadia once encompassed the region now known as the state of Maine, in the U.S., and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in Canada. The first attempt to settle this region, by the French, was in 1604, but difficult weather and supply problems, diseases and problems with the native peoples kept the settlement numbers small. A truly continuous and successful settlement took hold after 1634. Relative peace helped the settlement to grow over the years (not that there weren't troubles), but the territorial wars between the British and French finally reached across the Atlantic to forever change the lives of the peaceful Acadians - the famous Dispersal of the Acadians in 1755 began, scattering the peoples of Acadia widely. Acadian families were split up and sent to the British colonies of the east coast, the Spanish settlement in Louisiana, and as far away as the Falkland Islands and

Bermuda. It is often because of this massive movement of the Acadian people, that many of Acadian ancestry are unaware of their hereditary connection to the land of Acadia.

While this is just a brief overview of the history of Acadia, it may help genealogists to begin the research of this rich culture within their own lineage. So, to help genealogists in their search, the following list is shared of the family surnames that are associated with the Acadian settlements of the 17th and 18th centuries.

*Acadian Family Names – Patronymes
acadiens; compiled by Brenda Dunn
and Stephen White*

Abbadie, de Saint-Castin
Abbadie d'Allain
Amirault dit Tourangeau
Ango dit Choisy
Apart
Arcement
Arosteguy
Arseneau
Aubois dit Dubois
Aubois dit Saint-Julien
Aucoin
Auger
Ayot

Babin
Babineau dit Deslauriers

Barillot
 Barolet
 Bastarache dit (Le) Basque Bastien
 Belliveau dit Bideau
 Belliveau dit Blondin
 Belou
 Benoit dit Labrière
 Bergereau
 Bergeron dit d'Amboise
 Bergeron dit Nantes
 Berrier dit Mâchefer
 Bernard
 Bertaud dit Montauray
 Bertrand
 Bézier dit Touin dit Larivière
 Blanchard
 Blanchard dit Gentilhomme
 Bodard
 Boisseau dit Blondin
 Bonnevie dit Beaumont
 Bonnière
 Borel
 Boucher
 Boucher dit Desroches
 Boudrot
 Bourg
 Bourgeois
 Boutin
 Brassaud
 Brasseur dit Mathieu
 Breau
 Broussard
 Brun
 Bugeaud
 Buisson
 Buote
 Buteau

 Daigre
 D'Amours de Chauffours
 D'Amours de Clignancour
 D'Amours de Freneuse
 D'Amours de Louvière
 D'Amours de Plaine
 Daniel

Darois
 David
 David dit Pontif
 David dit Saint-Michel
 Delisle
 Denis
 Denys de Fronsac
 Derayer
 Deschamps dit Cloche
 Desmoillons
 Després
 Deveau dit Dauphiné
 Dingle
 Doiron
 Dominé dit Saint-Sauveur
 Doucet dit Laverdure
 Doucet dit Mayard
 Doucet dit Lirlandois
 Doutremer
 Druce
 Dubois
 Dubois dit Dumont
 Dubois dit Voyer
 Dufaut
 Dugas
 Duguay
 Duon dit Lyonnais
 Duplessis
 Dupuis
 Dusseau

 Egan

 Flan
 Fontaine dit Beaulieu
 Forest
 Forton
 Fougère
 Fournier
 Froiquingont

 Gadrau
 Galerne
 Gallé
 Garceau dit Boutin

Garceau dit Richard
 Garceau dit Tranchemontagne
 Gareau
 Gaudet
 Gausset
 Gauterot
 Gauthier dit Bellaire
 Gentil
 Gerbert
 Giboire Duvergé dit Lamotte
 Girouard
 Gisé dit Desrosiers
 Godin dit Beauséjour
 Godin dit Bellefeuille,
 Godin dit Bellefontaine
 Godin dit Boisjoli
 Godin dit Catalogne
 Godin dit Châtillon
 Godin dit Lincour
 Godin dit Prévile
 Godin dit Valcour
 Gosselin
 Gourdeau
 Gousman
 Goutin, de
 Gouzeille
 Grageon
 Grandmaison (Terriot dit Guillot)
 Granger
 Gravois
 Grosvalet dit Vallois
 Guédry dit Grivois
 Guédry dit Labrador
 Guédry dit Laverdure
 Guéguen
 Guénard
 Guérin
 Guérin dit Laforge
 Guilbeau
 Guillot dit Langevin
 Guy dit Tintamarre
 Guyon

 Haché dit Gallant
 Hamel

Hamet
 Hamon
 Hébert dit Manuel
 Hélyès dit Nouvelle
 Henry dit Robert
 Hensaule
 Héon
 Heusé
 Hugon

 Jardin
 Jeanson
 Joseph dit Lejeune
 Kimine

 La Barre
 Labat dit Le Marquis
 La Bauve
 La Chaume dit Loumeray
 La Croix
 La Lande dit Bonappetit
 Lambert
 Lambourt
 Landron
 Landry
 Langlois
 Lanoue
 La Pierre dit La Roche
 La Vache
 Lavergne
 La Vigne
 Lebert dit Jolycoeur
 Le Blanc
 Le Blanc dit Jasmin
 Le Borgne de Bélisle
 Le Clerc dit Laverdure
 Lecul
 Léger dit La Rozette
 Le Jeune dit Briard
 Le Juge
 Le Marquis dit Clermont
 Le Mire
 Le Neuf de Beaubassin
 Le Neuf de Boisneuf
 Le Neuf de la Vallière

L'Enfant
 Le Poupet de Saint-Aubin
 Le Prieur dit Dubois
 Le Prince
 Leroy dit L'Espérance
 L'Eschevin de Billy
 Le Vanier dit Langevin
 Levasseur dit Chaverlange
 Levron dit Nantois
 Loiseau
 Long
 Longuépée
 Loppinot
 Lord dit La Montagne
 Lucas

 Maillet
 Maisonnat dit Baptiste
 Malboeuf
 Mangeant dit Saint-Germain
 Marcadet
 Marchand dit Poitiers
 Marres dit La Sonde
 Martel de Magos
 Martin
 Martin dit Barnabé
 Massé
 Massié
 Mathieu
 Maucaïre
 Mazerolle dit Saint-Louis
 Melanson dit Laverdure
 Melanson dit La Ramée
 Mercier dit Caudebec
 Messaguay
 Meunier
 Michel dit La Ruine
 Michel dit Saint-Michel
 Migneau dit Aubin
 Mirande
 Mius d'Azit
 Mius d'Entremont de Plemarais
 Mius d'Entremont de Pobomcoup
 Monmellian dit Saint-Germain
 Mordant dit Lanoy

Morpain
 Moulaison dit Rencontre
 Mouton
 Moyse dit Latreille

 Naquin dit L'Étoile
 Noël dit Pariseau
 Nogues
 Normand
 Nuirat

 Olivier
 Onel (O'Neale)
 Orillon dit Champagne
 Oudy
 Ozelet

 Part dit Laforest
 Pellerin
 Petitot dit Saint-Seine
 Petitpas
 Pichot
 Picot dit La Rigueur
 Pincer dit Lapince
 Pinet
 Pitre dit Marc
 Poirier
 Poitevin dit Parisien
 Porlier
 Pothier
 Poujet dit Lapierre
 Poupart
 Préjean dit Le Breton
 Prétieux
 Pugnant dit Destouches

 Racois dit Desrosiers
 Raymond
 Renaud dit Provençal
 Richard
 Richard dit Sansoucy
 Richard dit Beaupré
 Richard dit Boutin
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Simon dit Boucher
 Soulard
 Soulevant
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 Terriot
 Testard dit Paris
 Thébeau
 Thibault
 Thibodeau
 Tillard
 Tourneur
 Toussaint dit Lajeunesse
 Trahan
 Triel dit La Perrière
 Turcot
 Turpin dit La Giroflée

Vescot
 Viger
 Vigneau dit Maurice
 Villatte
 Vincent dit Clément

“He who joyfully marches to music in rank and file has already earned my contempt. He has been given a large brain by mistake, since for him the spinal cord would fully suffice. This disgrace to civilization should be done away with at once. Heroism at command, senseless brutality, deplorable love-of-country stance, how violently I hate all this, how despicable an ignore able war is; I would rather be torn to shreds than be a part of so base an action! It is my conviction that killing under the cloak of war is nothing but an act of murder.”

Albert Einstein

“A man’s ethical behavior should be based effectually on sympathy, education, and social ties; no religious basis is necessary. Man would in deeded be in a poor way if he had to be restrained by fear of punishment and hope of reward after death.”

Albert Einstein

“Heroism on command, senseless violence, and all the loathsome nonsense that goes by the name of patriotism – how passionately I hate them!”

Albert Einstein

THE BEGINNINGS
of the
FRANCO -AMERICAN
COLONY
in
WOONSOCKET, RHODE ISLAND

MARIE LOUISE BONIER



Translated and Edited
by
Claire Quintal

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Beyond the Répertoires: Researching the Online US Federal Census Records

by: Margaret M. Thombs, Ph.D.

Introduction

The marriage répertoires are a critical resource for researching French-Canadian ancestry, but it is necessary to go beyond the répertoires to add dimension and details to your family story. The US Federal census records can provide a wealth of interesting facts and are just keystrokes away, now that they are available online. This article details the information available by census year and provides references to other online services and resources.

In 1790, the United States began conducting a Federal census every ten years. In each census year, any facts were recorded for persons living in the household as of the official census date, regardless of the date the census taker actually visited to record the data. If a baby was born after the official date, the information would not be recorded until the next census. Likewise, if a person died between the official and actual census dates, he or she would still be listed as living in the census record. For privacy reasons, all census records remain confidential until 72 years (an average life span) after each census date. Only then are they released to the general public. Accordingly, 1930 is the latest census currently available for research.

Census Details

For the first six censuses, from 1790 through 1840, the name of the head of household was the only specific information recorded. Additional family or household members were simply recorded by gender and age range as tick marks in the appropriate column. From the 1850 census onward, more detail was collected for each household member. If we look at the types of questions asked in the census years from 1850 (the first year that lists all household members) until 1930 (the latest census made public), we see that the questions reflect many of the social and political aspects of the particular periods. The 1850 census shows a snapshot of life in the United States as of June 1st. Primary information includes the name, age, gender, and color (white, black, or mulatto) of each person living at the address; also included is the occupation for each male over 15, the value of real estate, the place of birth of each person, and whether or not the individual had been married or attended school during the past year. An annotation was made if the person was over 20 years of age and could not read or write, or if he was considered deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic a pauper, or a convict. The 1860 census, also as of June 1st, recorded the same information as well as the value of the personal estate. Beginning in 1870, information with respect to parentage and

citizenship was recorded. Columns, with markings only, recorded whether the father or mother of the listed person was foreign born, whether the person was a male US citizen over 21 years of age, and if the right to vote for any of the men of legal age had been denied.

1880 marks the first time that information regarding relationships of household members to the listed head of household was recorded. Several new columns were added to show the month of birth of those born within the census year; whether a person was widowed or divorced; the number of months a person was unemployed that year; if the person was sick or disabled; the nature of any disability; and the birthplace of both parents.

The loss of the 1890 Federal census from a fire in 1921 represents a significant detriment to researching family history. Although that census was not completely destroyed at the time, the remaining damaged records, which had been removed to temporary storage, were discarded in 1934 as part of a routine governmental destruction of papers no longer necessary for current business. In 1942 and again in 1953, some damaged fragments of the 1890 census were discovered and microfilmed. Approximately 6,160 names survive out of nearly 63 million.

By 1900, we begin to see additional details that are beneficial in researching family history. Age and the month and year of birth for all listed persons are indicated. The number of years in the present marriage is listed for those married, and the number of children born and still living is recorded for women. For the

first time we also see immigration information: the year of immigration, the number of years in the US, and naturalization status. New information in the 1910 census includes the language spoken, additional employment details, and Civil War veteran information. Data on disabilities, missing in the 1900 census, returns in 1910 but is limited to blind or deaf and dumb.

In the 1920 census, the number of births and children still living is no longer shown, but the year of naturalization has been added. Also, the mother tongue is included for the parents of the listed person. By 1930, the year of naturalization is omitted, but we can find out if the family owned a radio. Occupation and veteran status details are noted.

Online Sources

There are several online sources for the US Federal census records, some of which are free. The 1880 census can be found on the Family Search website (<http://www.familysearch.org/>), sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The search is free and does not require a login. To access this census, click on the Search tab and then on the Census menu option. Choose the 1880 census from the drop-down box and enter your search information. Results show optional spellings, which can be helpful for French-Canadian research. I performed a search for Lauzon and was able to find the correct listing for my ancestor, which had been misspelled Lauson. The screen shows printed search results but access to a digital image of the original handwritten page is not available.

The Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com>) website is another source of census and other genealogical records, including vital statistics (birth, death, marriage), military records, and immigration records. Although only the 1880 census is free, a trial 14-day membership is available and will give you access to all census years. A full year of access, which includes indices and images for all years of the Federal census records, costs \$99.95. The search options on this site are well-designed. Printable blank census forms can be downloaded and provide an organized way to record the results of your research. There is an every name index for all census years, except 1910 and 1920, which only have head of household indices at this time. The 1890 census fragment images are also available and fully indexed.

Genealogy.com (<http://www.genealogy.com>) is another source for Federal census records. Again, a 14-day free trial is available, but the package that includes the Federal census records is \$199.99. (This package is bundled for access to a number of other source documents, including immigration records.) I have found that the searches on this site cannot be as finely tuned as on Ancestry.com, although I do like the feature that permits inexact searching on the first name. For example, Frederick will produce not only that name, but Fred and Fredrick as well.

Search Techniques

Often a little detective work is needed to locate the census records you want. Some background on search techniques will help you get the most out of your research. Since the census takers were not likely to be French-Canadian,

spellings can be inconsistent. In addition, transcription errors might have occurred when the records were indexed. Start by entering all information you have into the search fields. If you do not obtain meaningful results, you can then modify the fields in a number of ways:

- *Choose Soundex instead of Exact for the spelling of the last name. Soundex is a way of coding spelling based on the sound. For example, a Soundex search on LeBoeuf will produce results that include a variety of possible spellings, including LaBouef and LeBoaf.

- *Eliminate the first name. For example, I have seen Norbert recorded as Albert. Omitting the first name can be especially helpful if it has a number of alternate spellings or is difficult to spell.

- *In the case of unusual first names, you may have luck searching on the first name alone. After numerous, unproductive searches for Leon and Alice Gaboury in the 1930 census, I was able to locate them by searching just for the name Leon and the state of Massachusetts. Gaboury had been misspelled Dadoury, a name that a Soundex search would not have picked up. An added bonus from those results was finding Leon's parents living next door!

Once you locate the correct record, take the time to scan the geographic neighborhood. Often extended families lived nearby and you might find relatives you never knew existed. Keep in mind that people serving in the military will not be listed with their families. Separate schedules exist for service men and women. Students away at school should be listed at the school residence, although I found one case in my own re-

search where the student was listed in both locations.

Additional Hints for Online Census Resources

As mentioned above, Ancestry.com provides blank census forms you can use to record your results. These forms are stored as PDF files (Portable Document Files) so that they can be accessed in a way that is not dependant on a particular software program (such as Microsoft Word) or a particular platform (PC or Mac). In order to view or print these forms, you will need to have Adobe Acrobat Reader on your computer. Most newer computers will have this installed, but if you try to access a PDF file and it does not open, simply go to <http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html> and follow the onscreen directions for the free download.

Since the images of available census records are in original handwriting, they might be difficult to decipher. Once you locate a match and view the record, you might find some of the online handwriting samples, such as those found at <http://www.cyndislist.com/handwrit.htm>, helpful in transcribing the results.

Beyond the Census Records

Results from census records provide a good lead to other online, micro-filmed, or printed records.

*Online or printed city directories can be used to track the family's location in the years between each census and will offer information about occupation. Most libraries contain copies of historical directories; a number of them have been digitized and are available online at

Ancestry.com.

*A variety of digitized newspaper archives available online can provide additional family details. These stories might add new dimensions, details, and even family members to your research. One place to start is the newspaper in the locality where the census record indicates your ancestor lived. Cyndi's List, a comprehensive online directory for genealogy sites, contains links to many newspapers at <http://www.cyndislist.com/newspapr.htm>.

*Using the year of immigration or naturalization from the census record, you can search for more details on citizenship. For additional information and resources, explore <http://naturalizationrecords.com/usa/>.

*Federal mortality schedules are available for the years 1850 through 1880. These give statistics on the causes of death and duration of illnesses for those who died in a particular year. You might be able to find these at libraries that have census records; they are also available as part of the census subscription on Ancestry.com.

Researching the US Federal census records is an ideal first step for filling in the details of your family story. The indexing features combined with the convenience of doing your research online make a formerly overwhelming task easy and enjoyable.

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French Terms Commonly Used When Translating Primary Source French Documents

by: Janice Burkhart & Armand Letourneau

We have often encouraged you to confirm your secondary source records with primary source records whenever this is possible. Look at the church record, the town hall source or use a microfilmed copy. We realize however that those records may very well be in a language other than English. In most cases for members of AFGS, primary source records will be in french and often in ancient french. This can be a hindrance and a hardship for those researchers who do not have a basic knowledge of the french language. We have, therefore, compiled a list of the most commonly used words and phrases so that you will have a handy resource when reading your primary source document. The list has the french term or word followed by a definition and/or a translation. Of course you may encounter other less frequently used terms that are not included on this list. In that case, we encourage you to use a good French to English dictionary. We suggest you make a copy of this list and include it with your research material so that it will be handy when you visit your favorite research center. We hope this resource will be helpful to you as you gather information that will help complete your family's life story.

Abandon de terres – transfer of land

Abandon de biens – bankruptcy papers

Abbé – priest; also a superior of an abby (abbot)

Abbaye – abbey; building housing monks.

Abjurer – to give up protestant religion

Abri – shelter

Abroger – to repeal

Académie – university, also academy

Accord – an agreement

Accouchement – childbirth

Accusateur – accuser (masculine)

Accusatrice – accuser (feminine)

Accusé(e) – accused, defendant

Achat – purchase

Acquit – discharge a debt

Acte – a document duly executed and legally recorded [English: act]

Acte de décès – an official document of death recorded by civil authorities [English: death certificate]

Acte de mariage – a parchment or paper showing the names, the date, place of marriage and other data pertinent to a marriage an official certificate of marriage recorded by civil authorities. [English: marriage certificate]

Acusée – accused

Adjoint(e) – deputy, assistant

Adopter – to accept in one's family through legal process [English: adopt]

Adulte – over age twenty [English: adult]

Affermée – rented

Âge – the time that has lapsed since

birth. [English: age]

Âgé(e) – aged

Agglomération – group of habitations constituting a village or a city, independently of administrative limits. [English: agglomeration]

Agriculteur – one who farms

Aïeul(e) – grandfather (grandmother)

Aïeux – ancestors collectively

Aîné(e) – an older person [English: senior]

alentour – around

alentours (les) – surroundings (the)

Alias – a false name; a borrowed name; otherwise known as [English: alias]

Âme(s) – people, the soul, a person, an inhabitant

Amérindien(ne). – [English: native of America]

Ami(e) – friend

Amirauté – admiralty, supreme command of maritime forces

Ancestral, (e), (aux) – masculine, feminine and plural adjectives for ancestral

Ancêtre – a person from which one is a descendant [English: ancestor]

Ancêtres (les) – family lineage; ancestors collectively [English: ancestry]

Ancien (ienne) – old, former, ancient

Angel – angel

Angel-gardien – guardian angel

Anglais – English, Englishman or English woman

Angleterre – English

Animaux – livestock

Annales – a chronological account of events from one year to another or from one period to another; historical and/or chronicle recordings [English: annals]

Anne bissextile – leap year

Annee – year

Anonyme – unnamed

Annuler – to declare invalid; no longer binding [English: annul]. In genealogy,

reference is usually associated with marriage contracts (annulé).

Annulation – the condition of being annulled [English: annulment]

An(s) – year(s)

Anonyme – in genealogy: unnamed; usually said of a stillborn baby [English: anonymous]

Anse – cove

août – french for the month of August

Apothicaire – pharmacist

Après – after

Après-midi – afternoon

Arbre – tree

Archêveché – archbishopric

Archives – a place holding public records and documents; the records and documents thus kept [English: archives]

Ardoise – slate

Argent – silver

Armes – weapons

Armurier – gunsmith

Arpent – land measure, nearly an acre

Arrêt – an official order from a government, a church, a court, etc. to stop [English: decree]

Arrière-grandmère – the mother of one's grandfather or grandmother [English: great-grandmother]

Arrière-grand-oncle – brother of a great-grandfather or a great-grandmother [English: great-uncle]

Arrière-grand-père – the father of one's grandfather or grandmother [English: great-grandfather]

Arrière-grand-tante – a sister of one's grandparents; also grandaunt [English: great-aunt]

Arrière-petit-fille – the daughter of one's grandchild [English: great-granddaughter]

Arrière-petit-fils – the son of one's grandchild [English: great-grandson]

Arrondissement – district; on the

order of a suburb

Association – association

Aujourd'hui – today

Aumônier – a priest, minister or rabbi performing religious functions in the armed forces, prisons, clubs, etc.; a priest or minister serving a private chapel or a non-parish church [English: chaplain]

Avant – before

Avant hier – day before yesterday

Avant le mariage – before marriage or wedlock [English: premarital]

Avocat – lawyer

Avril – [English: April]

Baillage – lower court

Banlieue – suburb

Banquier – banker

Baptisé(e) – baptized

Baptême – the ritual or sacrament admitting a person into a Christian church [English: baptism]

Baptiser – to dip a person in water or to sprinkle a person in water to symbolize admission into a Christian church [English: baptize]

Baronnie – barony

Bâtard(e) – one born of unmarried parents; illegitimate child [English: bastard]

Beau-fils – one's stepparent's son by a former marriage [English: stepson]

Beau-frère – the husband of one's sister; the brother of one's husband or wife; the husband of the sister of one's wife or husband. [English: brother-in-law; stepbrother]

Beau-père – the father of a wife or husband [English: father-in-law; step-father]

Bébé – an infant [English: baby]

Belle-fille – a female stepchild [English: stepdaughter; daughter-in-law]

Belle-mère – a female stepparent

[English: stepmother], the mother of one's husband or wife [English: mother-in-law]

Belle-sœur – the sister of one's husband or wife [English: sister-in-law; step sister]

Bellugues de feu – taxation unit

Bibliothécaire – a person in charge of a library [English: librarian]

Bibliothèque – a room or building where books, periodicals, microfilms and other reference items are kept [English: library]

Biens – inheritance, possession, goods

Bonhomme – a good natured man

Bon voisin (m), bonne voisine (f) – friendly, kind or sociable neighbor [English: neighborly]

Borné – bounded

Boucher – butcher

Boulangier – baker

Bourreau – hangman, executioner

Bureau – office

Calendrier – calendar

Canot du maître – a very large canoe which had a fourteen man crew.

Cantons – townships

Capitale – capital

Captaine de milice – captain of the parish militia who was appointed by the governor.

Carte – a drawing or a representation of a portion of the earth's surface on a flat sheet of paper [English: map]

Célibat – the state of being unmarried [English: celibacy]

Célibataire – an unmarried aunt, an unmarried man [English: maiden aunt, bachelor]

Ce matin – this morning

Cens et rente – annual payment to the seigneur. It could be money or goods such as produce.

Cérémonie – a formal act regulated by

custom or authority such as baptism ceremony, marriage ceremony etc. [English: ceremony]

Cérémonie supplée – completion of the baptism rites that consist of the act of faith and the renunciation of Satan.

Certificat – an official document duly signed and attesting to a fact [English: certificate]

Certificat de libért – written proof of a person's freedom.

Cession d'une terre – transfer of land

Chambre des comptes – accounting office

Chancellerie – chancellor's offices

Chapelle – a small church considered as a mission church of a parish; a recess area within a church building having its own altar; a room or small building where religious ceremonies are performed [English: chapel]

Chapelain – a priest, minister or rabbi performing religious functions in the armed forces, prisons, clubs, etc.; a priest or minister serving a private chapel or a non-parish church [English: chaplain]

Château – a large and stately house or residence; a manor house [English: mansion]

Châtellenie – territory under jurisdiction

Chef-lieu – chief town

Chercheur, chercheuse – one who researches [English: researcher]

Chronique – article of facts or events recorded in chronological order [English: chronicle]

Chronologie – the science of measuring time, dated events or facts arranged in the order of occurrence [English: chronology]

Chronologique – relating to chronology [English: chronological]

Cimetière – a place where the dead are

buried [English: cemetery]

Cimetière de l'église – a cemetery usually adjoining a church [English: churchyard; graveyard]

Cinq – five

Cinquante – fifty

Cinquième – fifth

Citadelle – citadel; a fortified place; stronghold; a place of safety

Citoyen – a member of a state, nation and other political division [English: citizen]

Clergé (le) – persons ordained to perform religious ceremonies and rites [English: clergy]

Clôture – closing of an account

Colon – one who settles as in a new country [English: settler]

Cohéritiers – co-heirs

Commerçant – one engaged in buying and selling goods for profit [English: merchant]

Commerce – trade; buying and selling of goods

Commune – town

Complexe funéraire – a place where a dead person is exposed to allow friends and relatives to come to pay their final respects [English: mortuary]

Comté – county

Condamné a payer – ordered to pay

Conjugal(e) – of matrimony; marital, nuptial, conjugal [English: matrimonial]

Conseil-provincial – provincial council

Conseil-souverain – royal council

Consulaire – council office

Consuls – consuls

Contrat de mariage – marriage contract

Cotes de capitation – per head tax

Cour – court

Cour des aides – court of justice

Coureur de bois – men who traded in furs without a license

Cousin germaine – first cousin

Crematorium – a furnace for burning

dead bodies; a building with such a furnace. [English: crematory]

Cultivateur – farmer

Curatelle – guardianship

Curé – parish priest

D'abord – at first

Dans – in

Dans la (le) – in the

Date – the time at which a thing happens; example; date of birth, date of marriage, date of death, etc. [English: date]

Décédé(e) – died

Décès – death

Décembre – December

Declarant – informant

Décret – a decree used by an authorityans legally binding. [English: decree]

Défunt (le) (la) – one who has died [English: deceased]

Délégation – delegation

Demain – tomorrow

Demeurant – dwelling or living

Demi – half

Demi-frère – half brother

Déposé – deposited

Depuis – since

Descendant – an offspring however remote from an ancestor [English: descendant]

Descente – lineage; ancestry [English: descent]

Deux – two

Deuxième – second

Deux mil – 2000

Diagramme – a group of names arranged in ancestral order on a paper surface; for instance, a five generation chart [English: chart]

Dimanche – Sunday

Dispense – dispensation

Diocèse – diocese

District – a political subdivision

[English: district]

Dit – a false name; a borrowed name; otherwise known as [English: alias]

Divorce – dissolution of a marriage [English: divorce]

Divorcé(e) – a divorced man or woman

Dix – ten

Dix-huit – eighteen

Dix-huitième – eighteenth

Dixième – tenth

Dix-neuf – nineteen

Dix-neuvième – nineteenth

Dix-sept – seventeen

Dix-septième – seventeenth

Doire – dowry

Domaine – land holdings; property [English: estate; domain]

Domestique – one employed to perform services especially as it relates to a household [English: servant]

Don mutual – an agreement between a husband and wife to leave each other their property at time of death

Douze – twelve

Doyenné – teanery

Duché – duchy

Duché-pairie – peerage

Du matin – of the morning

Durant – during

École – a place for teaching and learning [English; school]

École paroissiale – [English: parochial school]

Edit – an autoritative document of government [English: edict, decree]

Élection – election

Émigré(e) – one who left his country or region to live in another [English: emigrant]

Empêchement – impediment

Empêchement dirimant – an impediment that causes a marriage to be null and void

Empêchement ecclésiastique – impediment for a religious reason

En – in

Enclavé – enclosed

Endroit – a place [English: locality]

Enfance – babyhood; early years [English: infancy]

Enfant – an infant, a baby; a son or daughter; a boy or a girl in their early years; a descendant [English: child]

Enfant naturel(le) – one born of unmarried parents; illegitimate child [English: bastard]

Enfant trouvé – foundling

Engagé(e) – a person committed by pledge or promise to perform certain duties; men who offered their services for compensation to companies, lords and others for a defined period of time to settle or explore land or to engage in the fur trade activities [English: indentured servant]

Engagement – the contract the *engagé* signs

Engageur – person who hire the *engagé*

Enterrement – the act of burying a dead body [English: burial]

Environ – vicinity of

Épouse – wife

Époux – husband

Esclavage – slavery

Esclave – slave

Est – east

Exilé, exilée – one banished from one's own country [English – exile]

Expirer – to die; to come to an end [English: expire]

Famille – father, mother and the children [English: family]

Famille monoparentale – a family with one parent only [English: single-parent family]

Faux saunier – salt smuggler

Femme – a female human being

[English: woman]

Ferme – an area of land on which crops and animals are raised, usually containing a house, a barn and other structures. [English: farm]

Fermier – one who owns or operates a farm [English – farmer]

Feu(e) – late (as in deceased)

Feux – taxation unit

Feux compoïds – taxation unit

Feux d'assouagement – taxation unit

Feux asouage – taxation unit

Feux privileges – taxation unit

Feux taillables – taxation unit

Fevrier – February

Fille – a young unmarried female; a female child [English: girl]

Fille ainee – oldest daughter

Filleul, filleulee – a person for whom a godparent is a sponsor [English: godchild]

Filleul – a male godchild [English: godson]

Filleule – a female godchild [English: goddaughter]

Fils (after the name) – a son who has the same name as his father (Abbreviation: jr.) [English: junior]

Finances – finance

Flétrissure – to punish by branding

Fonctionnaire – one who holds a position of authority; formal [English: official]

Fonds nobles – taxation unit

Fortifications – fortification

Français – french

Frère – a boy or man having the same parents; a member of a male religious order. [English: brother]

Funérailles – ceremony accompanying the burial of a person [English: funeral]

Fusion – merger

Fusionné(e) – merged

Garçon – a male child; term most often used from birth to maturity [English: boy]

Généalogie – the science or study of a person's ancestors; pedigree; lineage; a chart showing the ancestral lineage [English: genealogy]

Généalogique – pertaining to genealogy [English: genealogical]

Généalogiste – a person researching a family tree, a family ancestry [English: genealogist]

Général – general

Généralité – generality

Génération – a degree in the succession of naturel descent (father, son, grandson etc); a period of time (usually 20 to 30 years) average) between one generation and the next. [English: generation]

Gouvernement – government

Grafique – a group of names arranged in ancestral order on a paper surface; for instance, a five generation chart, an ancestral chart, a pedigree chart etc. [English: chart]

Grand-mère – the mother of one's father or mother [English: grandmother]

Grand-père – the father of one's father or mother [English: grandfather]

Grands-parents – grandfather and grandmother [English: grandparents]

Greffier – clerk of the court

Grenier à sel – salt warehouse

Habitant(e) – a person living in a specified area or region; permanent resident [English: inhabitant]

Habitants – people

Havre – small port

Heritage – something handed down from one's ancestor; tradition; culture [English: heritage; legacy]

Hier – yesterday

Histoire – an account of things that

happened in the past [English: history]

Homme – a male adult [English: man]

Hotel-Dieu – name of a hospital in Québec or Montréal or other large city

Huit – eight

Huitième – eighth

Ici – here

Île – island

Immigration – any number of people entering a country or region for a given period [English: immigration]

Immigré(e) – one who has moved to a new country [English: immigrant]

Incapable de lire – unable to read

Incapable d'écrire – unable to write

Incinérer – to burn a dead body to ashes [English: cremate]

Indien(ne) – indigenous inhabitant of the United States and Canada [English: Native American]

Indigents – paupers

Inhumé(e) – buried

Intendant – manager

Inventaire – in genealogy, a listing of all the assets of a deceased person [English: inventory]

Janvier – January

Jeudi – Thursday

Jour – 24 hours; the time that it takes for the earth to rotate on its axis [English: day]

Juges – judges

Juillet – July

Juin – June

Juridiction – jurisdiction

Justice – justice

Laboureur – common laborer; tenant farmer

Laïc, laïque – people not of the clergy; layman; one not given to any profession [English: laity]

Langue maternelle – one's native

language [English: mother tongue]

Légal(e) – pertaining to the law
[English: legal]

Légende – a story handed down from generations [English: legend]

Lejeune – the younger; sometimes used if two children in a family share the same name or if a father and son have the same name

Lieu de naissance – place of birth

Livre de bibliothèque – a book belonging to a library [English: library book]

Lundi – Monday

Lycée – [English: secondary school]

Madame – a woman, a lady; a polite form of address [English: madam; Mrs.]

Mademoiselle – a young unmarried woman [English: maid]

Mai – May

Maillon – in genealogy, a person as part of a chain of ancestors of the same ancestral line [English: link]

Mairie – city hall

Maisons – houses

Maîtrise particulière – manager

Manoir – a landed estate with a main residence [English: manor]

Manuscrit – a book or document written by hand [English: manuscript]

Marchand – a person who trades, a merchant [English: trader]

Mardi – Tuesday

Maréchaussées – marshalsea

Mariage – the relationship between husband and wife; wedlock; matrimony [English: marriage]

Mariée – a woman about to be married or just married [English: bride]

Marine – [English; navy]

Marraine – a female godparent or sponsor [English: godmother]

Mars – March

Maternel(le) – pertaining to a mother;

motherly [English: maternal]

Médiéval(e) – referring to the middle ages [English: medieval]

Membre du clergé – a member of the clergy [English: clergyman]

Même – same

Mercenaire – doing things for payment. In early North America, it refers to soldiers of other countries paid by the British to serve and fight in the colonies [English: mercenary]

Merchandise – things bought and sold; wares, etc [English: merchandise]

Mercredi – Wednesday

Mère – a woman who has given birth to a child [English: mother]

Métis – a person who is mixed Indian and white

Militaire – military

Mil huit cent – 1800

Mil neuf cent – 1900

Mil sept cent – 1700

Mil six cent – 1600

Mineur – usually a person under twenty-one years of age [English: minor]

Ministre – a person appointed by a government to represent its interests or to assist in regulating the affairs of a country. [English: minister]

Mois – month

Morgue – a place where the dead bodies are kept [English: mortuary]

Mort, la mort – the permanent termination of one's life. [English: death]

Mort d'une chute – death from a fall

Mort subite – sudden death

Naissance – the act of bringing forth an offspring [English: birth]

Natif(ve) – born in a designated area [English: native]

Natal(e) – one belonging to a locality or country by virtue of birth [English:

native]

Nation – a community of people within a defined territory [English: nation]

Né(e) – brought into life [English: born]

Nés dans les douze derniers mois – born in the last twelve months

Nécrologie – a notice of someone's death [English: obituary]

Neuf – nine

Neuvième – ninth

Noble – of hereditary rank or title; aristocrat [English: noble]

Noblesse – high station or rank in society, especially when associated with a title [English: nobility]

Nom – a word by which a person is known [English: name]

Nom de famille – family name [English: last name]

Nom de jeune fille – name of a woman before marriage [English: maiden name]

Nord – north

Notaire – one authorized to certify, attest, record, depose, etc [English: notary public]

Notre-dame – Mary, the mother of Jesus; mary; the virgin mary [English: our lady]

Notre Père – the lord's prayer [English: Our Father]

Nouveau-né(e) – baby; newly born; a very young child [English: infant]

Nouvelle France – the area comprising eastern Canada, the great lakes and the Mississippi valley [English: New France]

Novembre – November

Nuit – that time of day from sunset to sunrise [English: night time]

Nul et non avenu – nothing; no longer significant [English: null and void]

Obligation – a debt; something owed to another

Obsèques – ceremony accompanying the burial of a person [English: funeral]

Octobre – October

Officiel(le) – one who holds a position of authority; formal [English: official functionary]

Ondoyé – baptized privately sometimes under emergency conditions and consisting of the rite of water ablution only

Onze – eleven

Onzième – eleventh

Ordonner – to invest with the functions of a priest, a minister or a rabbi [English: ordain]

Originaire – from

Orphelin – a child whose father and/or mother are dead [English: orphan]

Orphelinat – home for orphans [English: orphanage]

Ouest – west

Pacte – an agreement between persons, groups, nations, etc; a covenant [English: pact]

Palais – the official residence of a monarch, a king, an emperor [English: palace]

Pape – the head of the Catholic church; bishop of Rome [English: pope]

Parcelle de terrain – a piece of land; a parcel of land [English: plot]

Parchemin – a document, a manuscript a certificate [English: parchment]

Parent(s) – a father or a mother [English: parent(s)]

Parlement – parliament

Paroisse – an administrative division within a diocese usually serviced by one or more priests [English: parish]

Parrain – a male godparent or sponsor [English: godfather]

Passeport – a document issued by government authority to its citizens to travel abroad [English: passport]

Pasteur – a person duly authorized to conduct worship, preach etc; term applicable mostly to the protestant religion. [English: minister; parson]

Pas venu au Canada – did not come to Canada

Paternel(le) – fatherly; characteristic of a father [English: paternal]

Patrie – a country in which one was born or in which one lives [English: homeland]

Patrimoine – something handed down from one's ancestor; tradition; culture [English: heritage]

Perceptions – perceptions

Père – a man who has sired a child: a priest [English: father]

Personne – person

Petite-fille – a daughter of one's son or daughter [English: granddaughter]

Petit-fils – a son of one's son or daughter [English: grandson]

Pierre tombale – a tombstone; engraved stone marker over a grave [English: gravestone]

Pionnier – early settler [English: pioneer]

Place forte – small fort

Population – people in a given area [English: population]

Port – harbor

Porteuse – the woman who held the child at the christening

Posthume – done or made after death; born after the death of the father [English: postmortem]

Postulant(e) – a candidate for admission into a religious order [English: postulant]

Pouvant lire et écrire – can read and write

Prématuré(e) – ahead of time [English: premature]

Prénom – a given name; name received at baptism [English: Christian name]

Près de – near by

Présent – witness

Présidial – court of justice

Prêtre – ordained clergyman authorized to administer the sacraments and to tend to the spiritual needs of the people. [English: priest]

Prévôté – provost ship

Premier(ière) – first

Privée de son cure – without a priest

Profession de foi – the avowal of one's belief in a religion; formal entry into a religious order by taking the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. [English: profession]

Profession religieuse – the avowal of one's belief in a religion; formal entry into a religious order by taking the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. [English: profession]

Propriété – land holdings; property; possessions [English: estate]

Province – province

Provincial – provincial

Quarante – forty

Quarante-vingts – eighty

Quarante-vingts-dix – ninety

Quatorze – fourteen

Quatorzième – fourteenth

Quart – quarter

Quatre – four

Quatrième – fourth

Quinze – fifteen

Quinzième – fifteenth

Rapatriés – those who went back to France

Recensement – an official count of population [English: census]

Recette-perception – receipts

Recettes – receipts

Recherche – the systematic scrutiny of books, films, microfilms, etc for the purpose of uncovering desired infor-

mation. [English: research]

Recrutement – enlistment of people for a given purpose [English: recruitment]

Régitre – a book that holds records of acts such as baptisms, marriages, burials etc. [English: register]

Registre paroissial – the book or books of a parish in which are recorded the acts of baptism, marriages, burials, census, etc. [English: parish register]

Registres de la paroisse – the book or books of a parish in which are recorded the acts of baptism, marriages, burials, census, etc. [English: parish register]

Réhabilitation – rehabilitation

Religieuse – a member of a convent living under a rule of order and who took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience [English: nun]

Renvoyés – people returned to France because they were undesirable

Répertoire – a collection of acts, facts events that are repetitious in nature such as a repertoire of baptisms, of marriages, of burials etc. [English: repertoire]

Ressort – juried

Royal(e) – royal

Royaume – kingdom [English: realm]

Sage-femme – midwife

Salon de pompes funèbres – establishment where bodies of the dead are prepared for burial or for cremation. Where funeral services are sometime held [English: funeral parlor]

Samedi – Saturday

Sans feu – without taxation unit

Seigneur – a person with power and authority; a ruler; a master ; head of a feudal estate [English: lord]

Seize – sixteen

Seizième – sixteenth

Semaine – week

Sénéchaussé – seneschship

Senior – of older order; of a previous generation. Abbreviation: sr. Used after a name. In french a generally accepted form is père (father) or fils (son) after the name; ex.: Joseph, père and Joseph, fils.

Sept – seven

Septième – seventh

Septembre – September

Sépulture – the act of burying a dead body [English: burial]

Siècle – one-hundred years [English: century]

Six – six

Sixième – sixth

Sœur – a woman or a girl as she is related to other children of her father and mother; a nun [English: sister]

Soixante – sixty

Soixante-dix – seventy

Sous le nom – under the name

Sous seing privé – under private signature

Spirituel – spiritual

Subdélégation – subdelegation

Sud – south

Suffragant – suffragan bishop

Supprimé – deleted

Témoin – witness

Temporel – temporal

Terrain – a parcel of land [English: lot]

Testament – a will

Tiré de – taken from

Tiers – third

Titre – a name given to a person to indicate privilege, rank, profession etc. [English: title]

Tout-petit – one of very early age, one just starting to walk. [English: toddler]

Traditions – knowledge of things of a traditional nature [English: lore]

Treize – thirteen

Treizième – thirteenth

Trente – thirty

Trentième – thirtieth
Trent-et-unième – thirty-one
Trente-et-un – thirty-one
Trêve – jurisdiction
Trois – three
Troisième – third

Un – one
Une belle terre – good land

Valeur – value or worth
Vendeur – one who sells [English: seller]

Vendredi – Friday

Veuf – a man whose wife is dead [English: widower]

Veuve – a woman whose husband is dead [English: widow]

Vicomté – viscounty

Vieille fille – an unmarried woman; old maid [English: spinster]

Vieillesse – advanced years of a person [English: old age]

Vierge Marie – [English: Virgin Mary]

Vieux garçon – old bachelor

Viguerie – royal provost ship

Ville-natale – a village, town or city where one was born [English: hometown]

Vingt – twenty

Vingt-cinq – twenty-five

Vingt-cinquième – twenty-fifth

Vingt-deux – twenty-two

Vingt-deuxième – twenty-second

Vingt-et-un – twenty-one

Vingt-et-unième – twenty-first

Vingt-huit – twenty-eight

Vingt-huitième – twenty-eighth

Vingtième – twentieth

Vingt-neuf – twenty-nine

Vingt-neuvième – twenty-ninth

Vingt-quatre – twenty-four

Vingt-quatrième – twenty-fourth

Vingt-sept – twenty-seven
Vingt-septième – twenty-seventh
Vingt-six – twenty-six

Vingt-sixième – twenty-sixth

Vingt-trois – twenty-three

Vingt-troisième – twenty-third

Voisinage – a community of people living near each other [English: neighborhood]

Voisin(e) – one who lives near another person or persons [English: neighbor]

Voyageur – canoeman; fur trader

This is only a list of some of the common words you will see in the old documents. Here are some books at the library that have a much more expansive list:

2000 Objects Used in the Everyday Life by Our Ancestors by L'abbé Étienne Blanchard

AFGS Research and Reference Guide by Armand Letourneau

Dictionary of Occupations by Jean-Marie Hebert

Dictionnaire des Devises Ecclésiastiques by Henri Tausin

Dictionnaire General du Québec by R. P. L. Lajeune

Dictionnaire Historique De L'ancien Language Français by La Cume de St-Palaye

French-Canadian Sources; a Guide for Genealogists by Patricia Keeney Geyh et al.

Les Utensiles en Nouvelle-France by Robert L. Seguin

What Did They Mean by That? A Dictionary of Historic Terms by Paul Drake

You should also purchase a good English-French dictionary.

Either this man is dead or my watch has stopped.
 Groucho Marx (1890-1970)

Eustache Bacon's Billet Tirée

by: Rev. Arthur J. King, OMI

Some years ago my cousin Veronique GASSETTE and I made a trip to Québec in order to visit BACON sites and search for records. Visiting *Hôtel Dieu* was a must because it played such a significant part in the origins of the BACON family from whom I descend on my paternal grandmother's side.

There in the chapel Gilles BACON and Marie TAVERNIER were married in May of 1647. Notre Dame Cathedral had not yet been built and the Sister's Chapel served as the parish church. Both of their children were baptized there, Eustache in September of 1650 and his sister Marie-Madeleine in October of 1653. It is likely that their father, Gilles', funeral was also celebrated there when he died unexpectedly at *Hôtel-Dieu* in 1654. In October of 1669 mother and daughter made their religious profession as Sisters of St. Augustine in the same chapel. Marie, *Soeur Ste. Monique*, lived out her life there at *Hôtel-Dieu*. After years of service at the General Hospital of Québec, of which she was one of the foundresses, Marie-Madeleine, *Soeur de la Resurrection* returned to *Hôtel-Dieu*. Both died there and are buried in the Monastery's cemetery.

The remarkable and interesting story of Gilles BACON, Marie TAVERNIER and their children has al-

ready been told by Franciscan Father René BACON in *Memoirs de la Société Généalogique* of Canada. My interest here is about Eustache, Gilles' only son and his establishment on the Côte de Beaupré. Since Gilles died when he was only 34 years old, Eustache is really the only one who carried the family's generations through his nine children.

The Sisters received us most graciously at *Hôtel-Dieu*. It was a treat to wander through the monastery, guided of course, which was once a cloister more forbidden than the gold vaults at Fort Knox. In the cavernous cellars of the monastery we saw the emplacement for cannon which were used in the British wars and maybe even to protect against Indian raids. In the chapel the grilles, which once were closed against the public, were open wide and here it was that my ancestors celebrated the important events in their lives three hundred and thirty three years before. It was truly awesome!

The Sisters have a marvelous library and archives which we visited. Many questions and many answers in the form of ancient documents which were made available. I remember reading the vellum sheets on which were written the vows which Marie TAVERNIER and her daughter took and

which they signed in their own hand. The last words caused me to look up at Sister in startling disbelief. Yes she said "*mil six cents soixante neuf*" (1669)! I was holding two documents that were 311 years old! I could not have been more excited if it had been the Hope diamond.

I can't remember exactly how it came about, but the story of Eustache BACON's borrowing money from the Sisters came up. I asked if they had a contract. "*Oh oui!*" said Sister and two of them disappeared with a smile on their face. I had forgotten that Father BACON had mentioned that Eustache had taken out a *billet tirée*, a promissory note, with the Sisters, represented by the Prioress, *Reverende Mère Jeanne-Françoise JUCHEREAU* de St.-Ignace, all legally sworn before the notary *Monsieur AUBERT* de la Chesnaye. Expecting a sheaf of papers as some of those ancient contracts are, I was surprised when instead the Sisters appeared and placed before me a gigantic tome and opened it to a yellowing page on the top of which was hand written *Eustache Bacom Bacon*. This is the story of Eustache's *billet tirée*.

Eustache BACON was born in Québec on 11 September 1650. The BACONs owned a homestead on the *Grand Allée* which in mid-seventeenth century was wilderness, subject to the incursions of hostile natives. In the summer of 1652, Gilles BACON moved his family to the Côte de Beaupré and the village of Chateau-Richer in order to insure their safety. After his death and burial in Québec, Marie BACON returned with her children to Chateau-Richer where she remained for the next thirteen years.

In early January 1668, Eustache, now seventeen years old, entered the College of the Jesuits in Québec as a candidate for religious life. On the 20th of January that same year, Marie BACON sold her homestead in Chateau-Richer to her two nephews, Pierre and Alexis GRAVELLE. The contract stipulated that when Eustache reached his majority, he could reclaim his patrimonial lands. This meant that he could purchase them back from his two cousins.

Perhaps it was providential for his descendants that Eustache did not persevere in Religious life. Though we do not know exactly when he left the Jesuits, we have a lacuna of about six years, it is probable that he returned to Chateau-Richer where he had relatives and his patrimonial lands were in trust with his cousins. He was there long enough to meet and court Louise, the fifteen year old daughter of Jeanne and her late husband, Louis GUIMONT. On 27 June 1674 a formal contract of betrothal was drawn up and celebrated by the family very much in the style of a wedding. Because the church registers are lost, the date of the religious ceremony is unknown.

It would be reasonable to assume that Eustache immediately began the process to purchase his patrimonial lands from his cousins. It seems to have taken some years to consummate the purchase. Finally in June of 1680 the deal was completed. But Eustache was married and already had two children. Even though he was not exactly destitute, he did not have all the money he needed to consummate the purchase because in addition to the original price, he had to repay the years of development which

the GRAVELLES had spent on the land. And so Eustache turned to his friends, the Sisters at *Hôtel-Dieu*, and took out a promissory note in the amount of 300 *livres* payable over six years.

The great ancient tome which the Sisters had set before me was in fact the book of accounts kept by *Mère St.-Ignace* as the procurator for the goods of the Augustine Sisters. The page recorded how Eustache BACON repaid the loan he had taken out with the Sisters. The record was kept from 1684-1687 although the loan was made in June of 1680. In 1686 it becomes apparent that someone other than *Mère St.-Ignace* made the notations because the handwriting changes.

To begin with, *Mère St.-Ignace* acknowledges that Eustache did make a loan of 300 *livres* and that it was all legally consummated by a notary because he owed also for these costs, "*pour les pratiques du noataire qui luy a faict ces ecris et affaires.*" Fr. BACON said that the original contract was lost and if the Sisters had a copy of it, I am sure they would have shown it to me. *Mère St. Ignace's* testimony to its existence is therefore all the more important. However, a much less important detail was that he also owed for prunes and wine which he apparently bought from the Sisters.

The repayment of the loan was in both cash money and in kind. When goods were received they were given a cash value. In all honesty, the IRS, if it had existed in seventeenth century New France could not have figured out the monetary system in this record if they

tried. There is no question, however, that the Sisters knew the market value of those times and they were more than satisfied to receive goods as well as cash. I think it is fair to presume that the goods were those which Eustache produced himself on his homestead at *Chateau-Richer*. In addition to the money the Sisters received in 1684, they received 7 bushels of corn. From July 1684 to August 1686 they received five small tubs of butter. In March of 1687 they received a barrel of lard and a carton and a half of bacon.

Although we might find this kind of payment somewhat primitive it goes to show that in the New World, which was just beginning to establish itself, these were valuable commodities. The Sisters were maintaining a large community of nuns at the Monastery as well as patients at the *Hotel Dieu* and these items would have helped to reduce costs.

The last entry on the page reads "*il restes la somme de 41#.*" However much that might have been, we can be assured that Eustache BACON repaid the full amount of his 300 *livres* loan from the Sisters. Across the page, the last entry is a large X drawn from corner to corner. For Eustache BACON's *billet tirée* this could only mean paid in full.

I am profoundly grateful to the Sisters at *Hotel Dieu* in Québec for their hospitality and for providing me with a copy of *Mère St.-Ignace's* journal. I am also grateful to my cousin, Veronique GASSETTE, for translating the document for me.

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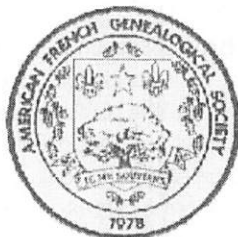
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For all those of you who have access to the Internet out there... Check out the AFGS web site. You'll be amazed at what you'll see.

The American Revolution and French-Canadians

by: Maurice Labelle

The question is often asked: Why didn't the French Canadians join the American colonists during the American Revolutionary War to either gain their own independence or form a union with the newly created United States of America?

Several have been advanced, but one is likely the most significant – the French settlers of Canada had been at war with the American colonists, who were British subjects, and with whom that most of the bitter fighting had taken place.

Countless encounters took place between the French settlers and their Indian allies, the Hurons and Algonquins and the British colonists and their own Indian allies, the powerful Iroquois Nation.

Although hopelessly outnumbered by the American colonists and the allies of the British, the French prevailed in most of the battles and skirmishes, even in a successful incursion deep into the New England colonies during which many captives were taken into Canada.

It was not until the British, who had the most powerful army and navy in the world at the time, sent a large force into Québec, that the outnumbered and

French colonists were overwhelmed at a time when France was unable and unwilling to continue the struggle over a colony it considered largely a liability.

The terrible atrocities committed by both sides – too graphic to be detailed here – left a deep animosity and bitterness between the French colonists and their counterparts in the American colonies that endured.

It must be remembered that the greater majority of the French who had settled Canada were Roman Catholics. The French Protestants, the Huguenots, initially controlled the valuable fur trade and their control over that trade was eventually lost and, however ill-founded, there was a lingering distrust that the Protestants would link up with their fellow religionists in Britain and later the Americans.

During and after the American Revolution the prospect of being part of a nation that was predominantly Protestant and which had discriminated against Catholics was not one that would encourage union. The British, during and after their conquest of Canada, were not unmindful of a possible tie between the French and Americans, and, edging their bets, granted to the French freedom of religion and lan-

guage. That guarantee was generally honored with notable exceptions from time to time, but nothing equaling the earlier expulsion of the Acadians to Louisiana.

Another compelling reason that the French colonists were not eager to join Americans in the quest for independence is that there was no guarantee that the Americans would succeed and there was very little likelihood that they could defeat the British who possessed the most powerful army and navy in the world. Besides, the French Canadians had been largely disarmed and lost their fighting skills and experience and would have been of questionable assistance. Had they joined and lost, they could have lost their guarantee of religious freedom and language. The possibility of being dominated by the Church of England was not inviting.

In what has to be characterized as one of the greatest ironies of history, the French, who had been unwilling to save its colony in Canada, came to the assistance of the American colonies and it goes without question that, without the extensive financial assistance, followed by the ground forces and navy that surrounded and defeated the British at Yorktown, the Revolution probably could not have succeeded.

In one of those strange twists of history, France did not recover Canada from the British in the terms that ended the American Revolutionary War and the concurrent wars in Europe. Unfortunately relations between the U.S. and France deteriorated rapidly over the refusal to

repay the French for their assistance and almost led to war. America did repay the French by coming to their assistance in World War I and II.

In another bit of irony, relations with Great Britain improved over the years and we became great allies. But there was a period during the American Civil War when relations with both Britain and France became strained over sympathy for the Southern cause and the attempt by the French to establish a foothold in Mexico. The French in Canada had little to say in these developments which included raids into Vermont by Confederate troops.

Will Québec or any other part of Canada eventually become united with the United States? The answer would have to be – doubtful.

Canada today, especially French Québec, has become too liberal to be accepted by a more conservative United States. Our Canadian cousins have become so liberal on such questions as abortion, homosexuality, homosexual marriages and the like that conservatives in the U.S., already facing mass immigrations from Mexico, are likely to block any such union.

Pretty much the same factors existed when war broke out again between the British and Americans during the War of 1812 when the Brits attempted to destroy the fledgling Republic and efforts by the Americans to conquer Canada were repulsed. Once again, there was no guarantee that the Americans would prevail against the British.

"Nationalism is an infantile disease, the measles of mankind"
Albert Einstein

Lost In Upstate New York

by: **Bill Calhoun**

I'm not a very dedicated genealogist. I reluctantly got started only because I couldn't match my mother's memory. After years of asking her the same questions about our family history over and over, I finally figured out that a computer's memory is pretty good, if the software cooperates. So I bought a genealogy program and filled it with everything my mother knew about our family. Then I added everything my eldest aunt could remember. Then everything my cousin had from a great-grandmother's Bible. There was a distant cousin in New York who had my family tucked away in a corner of her own genealogy. An unknown gentleman had sent my uncle a big handwritten record of his cemetery tramping in lower Scotland. There was a lot of information out there, it turned out, and I was busy just recording it, let alone checking anything.

The funny part is that in any genealogy there are these gaps just begging to be filled. I tried to ignore them, I'm still trying, but I really can't resist. So I find myself going, again, to spend a couple of hours at the American French Genealogical Society.

When I first walked in to the Society's library, and they kindly assigned me a volunteer, I explained to him that my ancestors had come from up-

state New York. The poor man rolled his eyes – oh those records are terrible, what little there is, he explained, you'll be really lucky to make the connection to Quebec. God bless him, he tried, and failed of course, but within minutes of opening the first index we looked at, I was staring at the first piece of genealogical information I had ever gathered by myself: a listing of the marriage of my great-great grandparents, Joseph LARAMIE and Delphine GRENIER, at Immaculate Conception in Keeseville, NY. So I had filled in one gap, and I was hooked.

At that very moment, I had also hit my first brick wall: the witnesses to the marriage were two Irish guys. There were no parents listed. So my volunteer showed me how to cross-reference the witnesses to other marriages and baptisms, teasing possible relationships out of the information. He tried to explain dit names, and demonstrated the world of misspellings and mishearings, bad transcriptions and Latinizations and Anglicizations. And that is how I became lost in upstate New York.

Chapter 1: How I finally found the parents of Joseph LARAMIE

I started by collecting names, lots of names. I looked for any vital records

I could find for Joseph and Delphine, and kept track of all the names that were included in those records as parents, children, godparents and witnesses. I checked records that were on the Internet as well as at the AFGS. I searched all the genealogy message forums online, looking for any postings that might contain vital records.

I also searched census records. The more children of theirs I could identify, the more likely I could find Joseph and Delphine's family in the censuses. When I did find them, I could add to or check the list of children I had, and then check their vital records.

I studied my collection of names, looking for patterns that might reveal likely siblings, or aunts and uncles, or in-laws. There seemed to be connections between Joseph and a Xavier LARAMEE, a Euphrosine LARAMEE, a Moses LARAMEE, and an Emily OPREY or OPRIX.

The dam burst when I found the 1860 census listing for Joseph's family. Living with Joseph and Delphine LARAMIE was a Harriet LARAMIE. She was listed after all the other children, and though young, she was too old to be Joseph's child. I thought, could she be a sister? I also remembered coming across a marriage record of Henriette LARAMIE and Robert COVENTRY. Was Harriet also Henriette? Henriette had a sister Celina, whose marriage record to Benjamin BELISLE I had also found.

I checked the 1870 census, looking for Harriet/Henriette, and I found, right next door to Joseph and Delphine, a Ralph and Harriet COVELTRY. Could

this be Robert and Henriette COVENTRY? They were the right age. And then my eye caught the names of Joseph's neighbors on the other side: Benjamin and Celinda BILLINGS. They, too, had ages that matched the marriage record I had for Celina and Benjamin BELISLE. Could BELISLE have been Anglicized to BILLINGS? Could I take the leap and assume all these people were related?

I checked a message forum for Clinton County, and found evidence that the whole BELISLE family had, in fact, changed their name to BILLINGS during the 1860's. So I allowed myself to assume that Henriette and Celina were Joseph's sisters, and that their parents, Joseph LARAMIE and Cecile HEBERT, were also Joseph's parents.

The genealogy message forums are worth investigating. Some of them are very informative and lively, others are sparsely visited and not much help. The Clinton County NY forum at Genealogy.com happens to be quite lively. In such a situation, there are often a couple of people who seem to be experts, answering everyone's queries and commenting on everything. I posted a query asking if anyone knew about my possible LARAMIE family: parents Joseph and Cecile; children Joseph, Henriette, Celina, and the others who I suspected were siblings. I mentioned that I thought the full family name was AUPRY dit LARAMEE. I also checked to see if anyone had been asking questions about any of these people, and I found one query, posted by someone who seemed to be pretty knowledgeable. I emailed him directly.

Some people like to focus their

genealogical research on one name. They want to know every descendant of a particular person born long ago. These folks, if you can identify them, can really help you fill in those gaps, because they know all the different branches of a family. They often have really large databases, tens or hundreds of thousands of names, and these databases are often available online. As luck would have it, the person I had emailed was just such a person, out in Missouri. He had been researching the AUPRY dit LARAMEE family for many years. He confirmed my assumptions about Joseph's family, and he was quite happy that I could fill in several gaps in his research. Of course, I was equally happy that he had been able to help me connect the dots from upstate New York to Quebec.

Chapter 2: How I found the parents of Delphine GRENIER

While poking around the Internet forums, I had also visited GRENIER forums, of course, with no luck. But there did seem to be a GRENIER expert, too. I was thinking of him when I tried to find my GRENIER forbears the same way I had found my LARAMIE ancestors. As soon as I got enough information, I would write to him.

But the GRENIERs proved more difficult to track down. Not many GRENIERs stayed long in New York. Many went on to Michigan through Ontario, some went to Maine, others Rhode Island. But eventually I was able to create a list of possible relatives to Delphine GRENIER, who also went by Olive. There was a Louis, and a Matilda, a Mary, and a Cecile. Then I found an

1850 census listing for a Greener family in Ausable, NY. The children were named Octave, Louis, Delphine, Mary, and Matilda. Delphine was the right age to be my Delphine. Maybe this was my family. Unfortunately, only one parent was alive; a father named Louis.

I was going to have to find a Louis GRENIER, born and married in Quebec, who had children by these names. It's relatively easy to track down a Quebec marriage, but a baptism is another thing. You have to go through the records parish by parish, and there are plenty of parishes in Quebec. That would have to be my last resort.

I wrote to the GRENIER expert, but unfortunately he had no record of GRENIERs outside of Quebec. I posted messages online, scoured family trees both on the Internet and at AFGS, checked censuses and vital records, but to no avail. I was left with my last resort.

So I looked up all the marriages of men named Louis GRENIER. I had a rough idea of when he was born, so I had a rough idea of when he might have married. I was able to compile a list of about fifteen marriages – not an impossible number. Through further research on the Internet, I was able to eliminate about four of those marriages. Now all I had to do was go through the micro-filmed parish records looking for baptisms, looking for a matching list of children. I would be hoping that the newly married couple would have stayed in the parish where they were married, at least initially.

It took time, but I was able to eliminate half the list before I came across the likely family, at St Michel d'Yamaska.

Louis GRENIER and Dorothee JOYAL had the following children: Mathilde, Louis Octave, Louis Augustin, and Olive Delphine. There were no more records after that. Mathilde died within the year, and the next daughter was also named Mathilde, and she also died. So I assumed that it was likely that they might have tried naming another daughter Mathilde. Here was the matchup, with birth years:

<u>Parish records</u> <u>(Quebec)</u>	<u>Census record</u> <u>(New York)</u>
Louis GRENIER (1802)	Louis GREENER (1800)
Dorothee JOYAL	
Louis Octave (1831)	Octave (1832)
Louis Augustin (1836)	Louis (1835)
Olive Delphine (1839)	Delphine (1838)
	Mary (1841)
	Matilda (1845)

I think this is a pretty good match. But whenever I pass my genealogy data on to someone, I always warn about the two big assumptions I've made: that the Delphine who married Joseph LARAMIE is the same as the Delphine in the 1850 census; and that the family in the 1850 US census is the same as the family from Yamaska.

Chapter 3: The BOMBARD mystery

The very first time I posted a query at Genelogy.com, it was on the BOMBARD forum. BOMBARD was my grandmother's maiden name, and it seemed like a good place to start. I immediately received a reply from a man in Montreal: I have all your BOMBARD ancestors, would you like the list? On my first shot, I had found one of those family experts, and he was able to fill me in. I didn't know at the time how exten-

sive and well-researched the French-Canadian records are, so I was shocked to find the BOMBARD line documented back to 17th century Flanders. Was genealogy always going to be this easy? No, as I quickly discovered. But this first victory had me eager for more.

The BOMBARDs descended from the BOMBARDIER dit LABOMBARDE line which began in Quebec in 1701 with the arrival of Andre in the French Army. My 2nd great-grandfather Charles was the first in his branch to head south to the United States, in about 1837. He lived in Alburgh, Vermont with a couple of uncles, and eventually moved to Keeseville, NY. He had married Domitille CHENET (Matilda CHENEY), and they had several children, one of them my great-grandmother Edwige Mary.

My family expert from Montreal had provided a list of the children of Charles and Matilda, but it seemed incomplete. Many birthdates were vague ("before 1844," for instance). But I kept coming across the same list in various family trees and forum postings on the Internet. The list seemed to be accepted by everyone, but no one knew where it had come from. I discovered that a cousin of mine had been in touch with a different BOMBARD expert, down in South Carolina. That expert had the same list, too, and she didn't know where it had come from either.

Well, I had bigger fish to fry, namely the LARAMIEs and GRENIERs, but as I researched the Clinton County NY records, I kept coming across the BOMBARD name. There certainly were a lot of BOMBARDs and LABOM-

BARDEs in upstate NY, and I would have been a fool not to collect the records as I came across them, even if I thought I might not use them. The more records I collected, the more I came to doubt that well-circulated list of the children of Charles and Matilda.

Unfortunately, the records I had collected were not entirely consistent. Here's one example: Charles and Matilda had a child named Joseph who was baptized in Keeseville in 1858. In the 1860 census he appears to be named Treffle, and a different son is named Joseph. In 1861 he is listed as Theophile. A death record in 1865 lists a Treffle, apparently but not definitively the same person. And there is a gravestone inscription for a Timothy, 1859-1867, presumably the same person.

The biggest part of the puzzle involved a Charles Jr, who was either the eldest son, living in Clinton County until his death, or a different son who fought in the Civil War and stayed south in Louisiana.

The BOMBARD expert in South Carolina felt she had good evidence to support the latter notion; namely, the oral testimony of the elderly great-granddaughter of the Southern BOMBARD. This presumed Charles Jr had named his son, her grandfather, Charles, after all. Indeed, I had records to indicate that the Louisiana BOMBARD did have three children, including a Charles, who was his eldest son.

On the other hand, my research in the New York records kept indicating that Charles Jr had never left New York. He had married Anastasie DIGUETTE,

and by 1860 was living in Saranac, and had children. He apparently did not serve in the Civil War, and he died in 1871, at the age of 36. In this case, the records were consistent.

I posted a letter about the children of Charles and Matilda to all the applicable genealogy forums online. I detailed the discrepancies between the "accepted" list and my slowly-evolving revision. I also emailed the two family experts, in Montreal and South Carolina. The only response I got was from the South Carolina expert – she was intrigued, but wanted to stick to the story she had personally received from Louisiana. She did have one puzzle, though, to work out, and maybe I could help her. She had obtained the Civil War records of the Louisiana BOMBARD, and was having trouble making sense of them. The difficulty was this; the Louisiana BOMBARD was named Thomas in the records, not Charles.

Thomas! He was in the accepted list of BOMBARD children, and I had come across Civil War records for him that seemed to link him to other BOMBARD children. So he was the Louisiana BOMBARD! But why did his great-granddaughter think he was named Charles?

At the same time as this discovery, I came across another. It was customary in some parishes in Quebec to take a regular census of the parish. Though it rarely happened in the United States, it did happen, and St Peter's parish in Plattsburgh NY took censuses in 1859, 1860, and 1861. The censuses included a mission in the village of Dannemora, in Saranac. My BOMB-

ARDs were not from the area, so I had not bothered to check these records, which were at AFGS. But, I thought, since Charles Jr and his sister had lived somewhere in Saranac, at least for a while, maybe there would be something for me in this collection. It wasn't indexed, I'd have to go through it name by name and year by year, but oh well, why not.

Sure enough, I found my BOMB-ARDs. The entire family, in fact. Charles Sr had died in 1860, leaving behind a pregnant Matilda with 8 children. So Matilda had packed up the whole family and moved north to Dannemora to live with Charles Jr and his family. She had stayed just long enough to give birth, and had then gone back to Keeseville. And she had stayed just long enough to be recorded in the 1861 parish census.

So now I finally had all the children, including Thomas, who was baptized Joseph. The only thread still loose was why the Louisiana BOMBARDs thought their forbear was named Charles, and for that thread I only have a theory. Charles Jr, the eldest son of Charles and Matilda, died young in 1871. Thomas, down in Louisiana, had his first son in 1872. I think Thomas named his son in

honor of his recently departed brother. Thomas himself died young, in 1879 at age 37. All of his children died young, too: at ages 14, 15, and 36. So Thomas' great-granddaughter never knew him. And her own grandfather Charles, named for his uncle, died when she was 8. I'm sure it was easy to remember that Charles had been named for someone, but also easy to confuse whether he was named for his father or for his uncle.

By the way, the story about Thomas is that he was captured by a farmer during the Civil War, and held in a barn, and that he fell in love with the farmer's daughter. Or he was arrested in town and held in jail, and fell in love with the jailer's daughter. Thomas did fight in the 2nd Regiment of the NY Veteran Cavalry, which saw service in the deep South. There is no record that he was ever captured, but the regiment was encamped in Talledega, Alabama at the end of the war. Thomas married his Southern belle in Talledega just before the regiment was disbanded. My guess is that Thomas was sowing wild oats in town before decamping, and found himself getting married at the end of a shotgun barrel. It's just my theory.

The only reason some people get lost in thought is because it's unfamiliar territory.

Paul Fix

Don't be humble. You're not that great.

Golda Meir (1898-1978)

Somewhere on this globe, every ten seconds, there is a woman giving birth to a child. She must be found and stopped.

Sam Levenson (1911-1980)

Louis Riel

1844-1885

by: Michael Lemire

Louis RIEL was born on October 22, 1844 at the Red River settlement (now Winnipeg, Manitoba) in the territory known as Rupert's Land. He was the eldest of eleven children, born to Jean-Louis RIEL and Julie LAGIMODIÈRE. They were a closely-knit and devoutly religious family. Louis' paternal great-grandmother was a Chippewa, giving Louis one-eighth Indian ancestry and he was therefore a member of the group of mixed-blood citizens of the West who were called the Métis. The name Métis comes from the French word that translates as people of mixed racial heritage. They were descendants of European fathers who went west to work in the fur-trade, and native Canadian mothers. Initially, while the numbers of this group remained relatively small, they were simply regarded as being of mixed racial heritage, but as their numbers grew rapidly, they became an entity in themselves and were collectively known as the "*Métis*".

At age seven, Louis was sent to a local Catholic school conducted by the Grey Nuns, and there, attracted the attention of Bishop Alexandre TACHÉ, who considered RIEL to be bright and a good candidate for the priesthood. In 1858, he arranged for Louis and three other boys to attend school in Québec at the Collège de Montréal, which was a

part of the Séminaire de Montréal. It soon became obvious that Louis demonstrated intelligence, was a serious scholar and had a capacity for charming others. He could also be moody, proud, irritable and somewhat of an introvert. He was actually the only boy of the four who remained at the Séminaire, the others having returned home for lack of interest.

Over the six years that Louis was at the Collège, he began to lose interest in the priesthood and had doubts about his conviction. In February of 1864, he learned that his father had died and, since Louis had been close to his father and greatly admired him, this event caused him much sadness. Jean-Louis' death also meant that the family would be destitute and Louis felt the need, as the eldest son, to support his mother and siblings. He withdrew from the Collège in March and took a job as a law clerk in the Montréal firm of Toussaint-Antoine LAFLAMME.

After pursuing this profession for a time, he began to lose interest and was annoyed with the subtleties of the law. He decided to return to his home in Red River. He arrived there in July of 1868, but the Red River settlement that he left ten years earlier was quite different than the settlement that he returned to. At

the time of his departure for Montréal, Red River was an isolated society of French settlers and Métis. Some of the Métis were English speaking while the predominant number were Franco-phones. The political climate at that time was organized, stable and disciplined, under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. The HBC governed all of the territory of Rupert's Land and the settlement itself was administered by a governor and the Council of the Assiniboine, comprised of democratically elected leaders. During Louis' absence, Red River had become settled by Scottish Anglicans, proud of their English culture and strictly devoted to the Presbyterian Church. They meant to impose that culture on the original settlers of Red River.

Despite the fact that the French Catholics were the original settlers in the community, the Scottish settlers were arrogant and condescending toward the native population whom they regarded as "savages". Religious antipathies developed and created significant tension in the settlement. The political climate that Louis returned to had become confrontational and volatile. This dramatic change in the affairs of Red River was precipitated by a series of events, which need to be explained in order to fully understand the complex life of Louis RIEL that was a consequence of these events.

The Hudson's Bay Company, under a charter granted by King Charles II of England, owned the area called Rupert's Land, and its power and control over the territory were absolute. For nearly a century, all of the furs that were procured in the territories and destined for the booming European markets, were traded exclusively through the monopoly

of the HBC. They had a large trading post on Hudson's Bay, which made it accessible for the fur-traders who used the rivers from the territories to deliver their cargo. The Bay itself had a deep-water port which allowed large ships to receive the cargo of furs to be transported to Europe.

This system, although not the most efficient as far as the trappers were concerned, functioned well for the Company until competition began to emerge. The Northwest Company was a venture financed by a group of investors from Montréal and France. This company had the foresight to build scattered outposts deep into the interior of the fur country and throughout the territory in an attempt to make it easier for the traders to reach their markets. The HBC stubbornly retained the central post on Hudson's Bay.

The hunters and traders that chose to sell to the HBC had to spend months of every year travelling across the prairies and down the rivers, to the post on the Bay. This difficulty resulted in the bulk of the trading soon going to the Northwest Company, whose posts were more conveniently located. The HBC lost its grip on the fur-trading monopoly to a point where hardly any furs were traded through them. In an effort to regain a foothold on the trade, they formed a police force and instituted laws, which mandated trading exclusively with the HBC, but the traders managed to sidestep these laws, including selling their pelts over the border in the United States, rendering these laws ineffective. In 1811, as the company's stock reached record lows, a very wealthy SCOTTSman named Thomas

DOUGLAS, Earl of Selkirk purchased controlling interest in HBC and obtained a personal land grant from the Company's stockholders that he called Assiniboia.

Selkirk did not invest in the HBC with plans of restoring its fortunes but had a rather different plan in mind. He wanted to bring European style agricultural development to the West and he founded a colony for white settlers, which he named Red River for the river on which it is situated. The rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company reached a point of outright hostilities as the latter became more apprehensive of the European settlers expanding their "civilized" life-style and encroaching on the wilderness areas, which were necessary for the survival of the fur-trade. They began to raid the settlement, burning homes and attacking the farmers. Discouraged by these violent events, the new settlers abandoned hope for a better life and took refuge at the post on Hudson's Bay, hoping for transport back to Europe. When Selkirk, who was in Europe at the time, learned of the attacks, he dispatched an envoy named Colin ROBERTSON to try to repair the damage and encourage the settlers to return to Red River. ROBERTSON promised the settlers that Selkirk would defend them against any incursions by the Northwest Company's soldiers. When Selkirk returned to Canada, he led his troops into battle with the Northwest Company and prevented any further aggression. Subsequently, the Europeans, encouraged by Selkirk's action, began to return to the settlement and renewed their efforts to develop the land. Selkirk was also gracious enough to grant lands to the de-

feated Northwest Company soldiers.

While conditions for the Europeans improved, conditions for the original Métis settlers were deteriorating. The influx of English and Scottish settlers in the Red River colony resulted in a kind of social prejudice and pressure for racial purity that affected the Métis economically and socially. The Métis no longer had full access to the white social or business world and their religion was not tolerated. Unions between French-European men and native-Canadian women, which were once acceptable and the norm, were now declared by the courts to be invalid and illegitimate, depriving them of rights to property.

As tensions mounted among the Métis, it was clear that leadership was needed and that leadership emerged in the form of Louis RIEL, who had just returned from Montréal. He was ambitious, well-educated, bilingual, young, eloquent and the bearer of a name that was famous in Red River. Louis was not by nature confrontational and tended more toward diplomacy, but he was sympathetic to the needs of his people and, somewhat reluctantly, accepted the responsibility of this leadership role. His power of rhetoric would provide a passionate voice for the Métis, articulating their grievances and defending their rights in a manner that forced Canada to reconsider its position.

At about the time that RIEL returned to Red River, the Hudson's Bay Company had decided to divest itself of Rupert's Land, and this opened the door for the purchase of that land by the Dominion of Canada. They did, However,

drag their feet on this opportunity and much time passed until a threat emerged from south of the border. The United States saw an opportunity to expand their territory north, from the Louisiana Territory up to the state of Alaska, which would effectively stop Canadian expansion at Ontario's western border. This threat gained Canada's attention as the Dominion wanted full access to the west coast to solidify its national identity and economic potential. They were finally awakened to the need for expediency in negotiations for the purchase.

The Métis and Indians, who were the original settlers in those territories, were completely left out of the negotiations, in spite of the fact that their well-being would be threatened by the HBC's action. The Métis, who owned the land on which they settled by homesteading and hundreds of legal purchases from the HBC, now stood to possibly lose their property under a new authority. Some Métis favored annexation by the United States but the majority, including RIEL, favored annexation by the Dominion and awarding the territory provincial status. It was the beginning of fifteen years of struggle for recognition and justice.

As if the political issues were not enough, the Métis farms were attacked by a plague of locusts that destroyed the crops of the settlement in 1867-1868. When locusts devour a crop, they also deposit their eggs in the soil, thereby destroying the crop for the following year as well. The Minister of Public Works, William MC DOUGALL, proposed providing "work relief" to the desperate men by financing the building of a road from Upper Fort Garry to Lake of the Woods. This road would be necessary if the an-

ticipated annexation by the Dominion were to occur. The Dawson Road project was poorly administered and contrary to the stated intention of aiding the Métis in their plight, it included no French-speaking members. There was also a question of the legitimacy of this project as MC DOUGALL, had said that the HBC consented to the roadbuilding, but the records showed that William MACTAVISH, the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Scottish governor of Rupert's Land, had protested the intrusion. Despite the governor's protest the project was continued and in the summer of 1869, Thomas SCOTT, an Irishman and fervent Orangeman, who was reckless, stubborn and contemptuous of the Métis, joined the roadbuilding crew. He was to have a dramatic effect on the life of Louis RIEL.

As far as the Métis were concerned, they found more sympathy for their grievances among the Americans than among the Canadians. According to testimony given by Bishop TACHÉ, more than four million dollars had been pledged by unidentified Americans, in addition to men and guns to support any movement for the annexation of Rupert's Land by United States. There was also at least a half-million dollars offered by donors from Minnesota. Donald SMITH, a future member of Prime Minister MACDONALD's Cabinet, wrote "*There was a very great danger at that time of the country being absorbed into the United States.*"

Ignatius DONNELLY, a Congressman from Minnesota and former Lieutenant Governor of that state, said that "*If the revolutionists are encouraged and sustained by the avowed sympa-*

thy of the American people, we may within a few years, perhaps months, see the Stars and Stripes wave from Fort Garry, to the shores of Puget Sound and along the shores of Vancouver". MACDONALD felt that *"The Americans would do anything short of war to acquire the British Northwest."*

Delegates were sent from Ottawa to London and appeals were made to Queen Victoria for expediency regarding annexation before the opportunity was lost. The address also included a pledge to respect the rights of individuals and to settle Indian claims *"in conformity with equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown in its dealings with aborigines."* MC DOUGALL wrote a letter to the Colonial Office in London on December 28, 1867, stating that *"transfer of the Northwest to the Dominion must not be delayed."* By March of 1869, Canada's delegates had finally reached general agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company on the terms of the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion, but no formal agreement had yet been drafted.

RIEL, eager to get involved in the interests of his people, defended the rights of the Métis in an article published in the newspaper *"Le Nouveau Monde"* in Montréal. He attended and spoke at a meeting called on July 19th by well-established leaders of the Métis community, to discuss growing anxiety about the course of events. The Métis were quickly developing fears that the "alien invaders" intended to push them out of the settlement. Prior to the meeting, there had been eight years of reckless talk about confronting the European settlers, but the time had come to take action,

although the form that that action would take was not yet proposed.

The fact that the Métis had a better claim than anyone, except the Indians, to the ownership of the lands, seemed of little relevance to the proponents of expansion. Chief among the expansionists was Dr. John C. SCHULTZ, an outspoken, bigotted and ruthless man. He was also ambitious, handsome, intelligent, an effective speaker and a man of superb physical strength. His influential manner was successful in rallying extensive backing among his Masonic colleagues, many of whom, if not all, were affiliated with the Loyal Orange Institution. Orangemen were conservative Protestants, intolerant toward Catholicism and an important force in Ontario where many of their lodges were located.

Robert MACHRAT, the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land along with Bishop TACHÉ, attempted to convince members of the Canadian government that their policy on Rupert's Land would lead to a bitter conflict with the Métis and that the complaints of the original settlers should be heard, but all appeals for an audience were ignored. Governor MACTAVISH also had attempted several times, to warn the Government of the grave danger of ignoring the pleas of the Métis settlers. In late September, matters worsened when it was announced that William MC DOUGALL, the Minister of Public Works, would become the first Lieutenant Governor of the Territories upon the transfer. No worse choice for the post could have been made. The hostility between the various factions in the Red River settlement required a leader with diplomatic

skills and tactful policies. MC DOUGALL had no diplomatic skill, was bigotted and impetuous and was at the very least, ill suited for this important position. He was scheduled to take the post on December 1, 1869.

MACTAVISH's final appeal for negotiations with the Métis, presented by Bishop TACHÉ in Ottawa, brought some response, but not the kind that the governor and the bishop had been seeking. The anticipation of a rebellion motivated the Prime Minister to send the future Lieutenant Governor of Rupert's Land on his way with a cargo of three-hundred Enfield rifles.

The news reached the seething Métis that William MC DOUGALL, the man that negotiated the transfer of the territory without consulting its inhabitants, was to be their new leader. Characteristically, MC DOUGALL saw no reason to wait upon legal formalities and appointed Colonel John Stoughton DENNIS as head of the survey party. He ordered DENNIS to immediately begin to select the "most suitable localities" for the survey of townships. MC DOUGALL ignored the fact that he was taking charge of the affairs of a sovereign foreign state predicated upon a transfer of authority which had not yet taken place, and which was bitterly opposed by the inhabitants of the region. *"The most desirable immigrants"*, stated MC DOUGALL *"will probably come from Ontario and the survey should be of a type familiar to them."* This attitude gave legitimacy to the oppression of the original inhabitants by the Anglo-Saxon Protestants from Ontario. The newcomers and not the established settlers were to be accommodated by the survey. The

12,000 inhabitants of Rupert's Land all had a claim, no matter how informal, to the property that they had settled on, and hundreds of them held legal deeds from the Hudson's Bay Company for their land. But MC DOUGALL persistently disregarded appeals for fair play, even though some of those appeals came from his own agents.

Colonel DENNIS was not well received upon his arrival on the 20th of August, and his close association with John SCHULTZ, increased the fears of the Métis. In late August of 1869, from the steps of the St. Boniface cathedral, Louis RIEL declared the ongoing survey a *"menace to the settlement."* Bishop TACHÉ viewed the Métis as a threatened part of the Red River settlement.

On October 11th, a group of Métis confronted the surveyors and stopped them from accomplishing their work. Several days later, on October 21st, MC DOUGALL was approaching the border travelling toward Fort Garry to assume his new post prematurely. He was met by an armed Métis patrol commanded by Ambroise LEPINE and ordered not to advance any further. One of the Métis handed MC DOUGALL a slip of paper from RIEL which read,

Sir,

The National Committee of the Métis of Red River orders Mr. William MC DOUGALL not to enter the Territory of the Northwest without special permission of this committee.

By order of President John Bruce Louis RIEL, Secretary

MC DOUGALL discarded the pa-

per unread. On October 25th, RIEL was summoned before the Council of the Assiniboine to explain the actions of the Métis. He declared that the newly formed National Committee would prevent the entry of MC DOUGALL or any other governor, unless the union with Canada was based on negotiations with the Métis as well as the population in general. The letter to MC DOUGALL did not forbid him to enter the country, but it merely informed him that he could do so only with the permission of the Committee. It was in effect a proposal for negotiations that the federal government had heretofore ignored. MC DOUGALL had no intention of negotiating. On October 30th, he reached the Canadian border at the village of Pembina, North Dakota and, despite the written order from RIEL, he proceeded to the HBC outpost. Long before MC DOUGALL reached the border, Métis scouts had reported to RIEL, every detail of the equipment that he was transporting, including the three hundred Enfield rifles and the names of his companions.

MC DOUGALL was too impatient to wait for Queen Victoria to formally conclude the annexation of the Territories and decided to take matters into his own hands. He wrote a proclamation, part of which stated that "*Our trusty and well-beloved William MC DOUGALL is appointed Lieutenant Governor of Rupert's Land*" and, to that proclamation, he forged the name of his Queen. Louis RIEL was reasonably certain, perhaps because his agents had had access to MC DOUGALL's official correspondence, that no such proclamation had been issued by Queen Victoria, and he knew that until it was, transfer of sovereignty could not occur. He stated pub-

licly that MC DOUGALL's proclamation was fraudulent and would not be honored by the Métis Council. MC DOUGALL's proclamation proved to be a comic event which was a great embarrassment to his Prime Minister. His performance horrified Ottawa and discredited him permanently in the West. MACDONALD denounced the actions of MC DOUGALL and never forgave his failure. Sir John had to recover politically and put as much distance as possible between MC DOUGALL and himself.

Meanwhile, John DENNIS and his crew continued with the survey and one day, they found themselves working on the property of André NAULT. NAULT was a French-Canadian who had married into the RIEL family, consequently becoming a member of the Métis community. When he encountered the surveyors on his hay-privilege, he protested vigorously, but he could speak only French and could not make them understand that the lot and section lines that they were drawing, if continued across his farm, would separate his buildings. He ran to get assistance.

A short time later, Louis RIEL and sixteen unarmed Métis accompanied NAULT back to his farm. RIEL put his foot on the surveyor's chain and told them calmly in English "*You go no further*"! The stunned work crew looked at RIEL who repeated the same words, just as calmly as the first time, and the surveyors departed.

Within three days of the survey incident, five hundred armed and mounted Métis, all of them skilled marksmen, had reported for duty in RIEL's

army. On November 2, an armed patrol of Métis, led by a daunting six-foot three Ambroise LEPINE, the National Committee's "Adjutant-General", called upon MC DOUGALL at the Hudson's Bay outpost, and gave him until sundown to get back across the border. The intimidated MC DOUGALL complied with the order.

RIEL decided that his men must confiscate the three hundred rifles that MC DOUGALL had brought with him. They were packed in twelve cases, waiting at Fort Abercrombie. There were also three hundred and ninety stacked in the arsenal at Fort Garry, along with thirteen six-pound cannon. On November 2, the same day that MC DOUGALL was ejected from the country, RIEL and one hundred and twenty of his men seized Fort Garry. It was a brilliant move on RIEL's part because control of the fort not only left them in a strong position militarily, but it symbolized control of all access to the settlement and to the Northwest. RIEL did this in an effort to preserve order and prevent a civil war. The Canadian government angrily and unjustly accused the Hudson's Bay Company of complicity in the coup.

During the month of November, RIEL worked intensively to unite the inhabitants of the Red River settlement, including established Métis leaders such as Charles NOLIN and William DEASE, who initially opposed him. He worked to maintain order in the settlement and to establish a broad-based, democratic government. He required an oath from his soldiers to abstain from liquor consumption and, with a few exceptions, they complied with this rule. His armed police, patrolling the streets were strictly charged to be civil and managed it pretty

well in spite of occasional provocation.

On November 6th, RIEL called for a convention to be held and he issued an invitation to the English-speaking inhabitants to elect twelve representatives from their parishes. An equal number would come from the French Métis population. At the convention, James ROSS, leader of the English speaking delegation, criticized the exclusion of MC DOUGALL from the settlement as an act of rebellion. RIEL angrily denied this allegation and insisted that the Métis were loyal subjects of the Queen.

On November 16th, as expected, Governor MACTAVISH issued a proclamation requiring the Métis to lay down their arms. In response, RIEL proposed the formation of a provisional government to replace the Council of the Assiniboine and to negotiate terms of the annexation of the territory by Canada. He was unsuccessful in rallying the English settlers behind this move. RIEL had written up a "List of Rights" consisting of fourteen items, which he presented to the convention on December 1st. It proposed representation of the Métis in the Canadian Parliament, guarantees of bilingualism in the Legislature, installation of a bilingual Chief Justice, arrangements for free homesteads for the settlers and establishing treaties guarding the rights of the Indians. The Bill of Rights offered a feasible program for union with the Dominion and at the same time, managed to protect the interests of virtually all groups of the heterogeneous community. When the "List" was later printed and widely distributed, many of the English population realized that the Métis demands were reasonable and began to

support RIEL.

More serious opposition was mounted by John SCHULTZ and Colonel DENNIS. "Lieutenant Governor" MC DOUGALL, not quite finished with his delusions of grandeur, issued a proclamation authorizing DENNIS to raise and equip a force to disperse the rebels, to fire upon any stronghold in their possession, to confiscate supplies, cattle, horses and vehicles, and to attack even any private home in which the armed men may be found. He ordered the arrest of RIEL and the Métis occupying Fort Garry, a threat that RIEL took seriously, but most of the English settlers refused to respond to DENNIS' "call to arms". SCHULTZ, in anticipation of a battle, fortified his house and store, and posted fifty guards around the perimeter. He obtained permission from Colonel DENNIS to attack Fort Garry and capture RIEL. RIEL became aware of this plan and took pre-emptive action. He increased the number of Métis guards in the streets and on December 7, he summoned them for review in front of SCHULTZ's "fort". He read the illegal commission, which MC DOUGALL had given to DENNIS, threw it into the snow and trampled upon it. Then he warned the guards that he would not permit the existence of an organization of armed companies such as the one now lodged in "Fort SCHULTZ", because they constituted a threat to peace. RIEL sent a man into the house with an ultimatum expiring in fifteen minutes, surrounded the "fort" with three-hundred armed Métis, and set up two cannon aimed at the front door. SCHULTZ's forces, realizing that the situation was hopeless, surrendered and were imprisoned at Fort Garry.

The events that transpired were just what Prime Minister MACDONALD had feared. MC DOUGALL had assumed his new position as Lieutenant Governor prematurely, the HBC relinquished control over the territory, and RIEL's Provisional Government, in MACDONALD's own words, was legal. On December 6th, MACDONALD, admitting that it was logical for the community of Red River to form a government for the protection of life and property, sponsored a proclamation of an amnesty to all in Red River who would lay down their arms. He also appointed a two-man goodwill mission consisting of Abbé Jean-Baptiste THIBAUT, a priest who had been a missionary in the Northwest for more than thirty-five years, and Colonel Charles-René d'IRUMBERRY. THIBAUT arrived in the settlement on Christmas Day while d'Irumberry remained in Pembina.

On December 27th, RIEL took over from the figurehead, John BRUCE, as President of the Provisional Government. RIEL had actually been exercising these functions from the start. On January 19, 1870, a rally was called and a large crowd gathered in a great open field, which surrounded Fort Garry to listen to Thomas BUNN, acting as speaker of the Provisional Government while RIEL interpreted. It was a bright sunny day with a temperature of 30 below, and as the audience moved around in place in an effort to stay warm, Donald Alexander SMITH, a special commissioner sent by MACDONALD, tried to appease the residents by promising a liberal policy in confirming land-titles to present occupants, and representation on the proposed territorial council. The meeting was continued on

the following day with an even larger crowd and, although some of the listeners on the previous day were a bit skeptical, they were now firmly behind RIEL. He was growing more confident and reaching the height of his influence. He was not satisfied. However, with mere assurances of goodwill and, taking the initiative, he moved that a convention of forty representatives be held, starting on January 25th, to consider SMITH's commission and what would be best for the welfare of the country. Twenty delegates would be elected by the Scottish and the English, while an equal number would be elected by the French. The motion carried, and then RIEL moved that a committee of six, three from each faction, draft a new, more detailed Bill of Rights. After approval by the convention, it was to be submitted to SMITH for his opinion. RIEL also attempted, unsuccessfully to incorporate a demand that Rupert's Land be admitted to the Dominion as a province rather than a territory. This motion did not carry initially but, after further negotiations, was subsequently incorporated into the Bill.

On February 7th, the convention discussed the newer, slightly modified "Bill of Rights" with SMITH, who approved it in principle but could not guarantee its acceptance by the Government of Canada. SMITH then declared that he had been authorized to propose the sending of a delegation to Ottawa, which would be given "a very cordial reception". This was an opportunity for direct negotiations between the settlement and the federal government. It was what RIEL had advocated from the start, and it was enthusiastically accepted. RIEL then suggested that, until a constitution was provided by the Canadian Government,

an interim government comprised of both language groups would be necessary. The delegates from the English parishes were now satisfied that they should cooperate further with RIEL. An assembly of twenty-four elected representatives, drawn equally from the French-speaking and English-speaking populations was formed to comprise the interim government and RIEL was elected President.

However, the meddling and vindictive SCHULTZ was yet determined to destroy Métis power and he, along with some other prisoners, including Thomas SCOTT, managed to escape the prison at Fort Garry. He made his way downstream to gather support for an armed force in the English parishes and the Indian communities. Two of his followers, MAIR and SCOTT went to Portage-La-Prairie to gather support there. At Portage, they enlisted the reluctant support of Charles BOULTON, Captain of the 46th Militia Regiment and a former member of DENNIS' survey crew. BOULTON's men had already been planning a raid on the fort to free the prisoners without their commander's knowledge. On February 9th, about sixty men departed Portage with the objective of meeting up with SCHULTZ's party at Kildonan and then proceeding to Red River to overthrow the Interim Government. Word of the expedition reached RIEL and when BOULTON's men approached the fort on February 17th, at least six hundred skilled Métis riflemen were waiting for them. RIEL was having difficulty restraining his impatient cavalry from an all-out charge, which would have unquestionably annihilated the poorly armed Canadians. Thomas SCOTT, who had boasted that he,

personally, would kill RIEL, was hidden in the cover of some trees adjacent to the fort, and from there, saw an opportunity to take a shot at RIEL when he was in view. Fortunately, SCOTT missed but not by much, and RIEL escaped narrowly. RIEL's soldiers arrested SCHULTZ's party including SCOTT and BOULTON, and they were imprisoned at Fort Garry. SCHULTZ himself, realizing that he would be hunted down, fled to Ontario.

RIEL correctly believed that dissent in the settlement and the resulting turbulence, was being provoked by the English faction. They had twice resorted to force to overthrow him. He decided to lay down the law by making an example of one of the instigators. One of them had to be punished and the Council condemned BOULTON to be executed, arguing with some justice that he had been responsible for two deaths and had almost precipitated a civil war after peace had been made feasible by the negotiations with SMITH. RIEL did not want the punishment to go this far. SMITH appealed for clemency for BOULTON, and RIEL only relented when he obtained a promise from SMITH to visit the English parishes, and attempt to repair the damage done by SCHULTZ's party. He asked SMITH to persuade the English to cooperate with the Interim Government.

Thomas SCOTT, regarding this pardon as a sign of weakness, proceeded to insult and abuse his Métis guards, who became so angry that they would have given him a severe beating had RIEL not intervened. He warned SCOTT to behave. One day, when his cell door was open and RIEL was walk-

ing past, SCOTT flung himself on RIEL and screamed "*You son of a bitch! If I'm ever free, I'll kill you with my bare hands!*" SCOTT was an ignorant and bigoted young man with a profound contempt for all mixed-bloods. When he continued to create difficulties, and persisted in threatening RIEL's life, should he escape, the guards insisted that he be tried by Court Martial for insubordination. SCOTT was convicted and sentenced to death by a jury presided over by Ambroise LEPINE and which included Jean-Baptiste LEPINE, André NAULT and Elzéar GOULET. Donald SMITH once again, appealed to RIEL for clemency but on this occasion, RIEL firmly rejected the appeal and went along with the Court's decision.

The execution of SCOTT was carried out on March 4, 1870 in the courtyard of Fort Garry and the incident was soon forgotten in the settlement. However, the English in Ontario considered it a "murder" and the execution fuelled the fire of hatred for RIEL. SCHULTZ and MAIR arrived in Toronto in early April. One of SCHULTZ's allies named Joseph MONKMAN went from town to town in Ontario, addressing Orangemen and infecting the whole province with his viscious rage. Soon after, his audiences in Ontario were contributing money, guns and even precious possessions to help finance SCHULTZ's crusade against RIEL and the Métis.

Bishop TACHÉ returned from Rome and arrived back at the settlement on March 8, 1870. He met with the newly elected council and read a telegram from the Secretary of State for the provinces, Joseph HOWE, which stated that the "List of Rights" was in the main, satis-

factory and that delegates should come to Ottawa to work out an agreement. TACHÉ then requested of RIEL, that the prisoners at Fort Garry be released as a gesture of good will. RIEL complied and the jail was emptied.

The Provisional Government selected Bishop RITCHOT and Alfred SCOTT (no relation to Thomas SCOTT) as their delegates. They left for Ottawa and were met at the Ontario border by a magistrate who offered them an escort. They accepted with pleasure and were promptly escorted to jail. They were arrested on an Ontario Provincial Warrant accusing them of complicity in the "murder" of Thomas SCOTT with the latter's brother Hugh as complaining witness. When word of the arrest reached the Prime Minister, he intervened and secured their release.

MACDONALD was soon criticized for receiving a delegation of "murderers" from Red River. On April 26th, negotiations opened and the Prime Minister quickly learned that Bishop RITCHOT was a formidable negotiator, and that he was determined to extract concessions that would guarantee protection for the original inhabitants of Red River, against the anticipated influx of Ontario land-seekers and speculators. The legislators wrote a code of laws to replace the now defunct statutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Bill of Rights that the delegates brought to Ottawa formed the basis of the Manitoba Act, under which Rupert's Land and the Northwest entered the Dominion. The act created a small province of roughly one-thousand square miles (later enlarged) and provided that the rest of the Northwest would be administered as a Territory un-

der the jurisdiction of Manitoba's Lieutenant Governor. Most of the major provisions of the "Bill of Rights" were incorporated into the Act.

On June 12, 1870, the Manitoba Act was passed by the House of Commons in a vote of one hundred and twenty to eleven. It was beginning to seem that the issues between the Métis and the federal government had been resolved and that peace had been restored. The results of the negotiations, which produced the Manitoba Act, were a substantial achievement for RIEL and RITCHOT. Provincial status had been granted to Manitoba (the name favored by RIEL) and after some hard bargaining, one million and four hundred thousand acres were reserved for the Métis. Bilingualism was recognized in the proceedings of the courts, the Legislature, and in government publications.

RIEL, who was somewhat isolated from the events in Ottawa, devoted his attention to the affairs of the Red River settlement. As President of the Provisional Government, he had remained in Fort Garry, though he returned the control of the fort back to the Hudson's Bay Company in order to allow the resumption of trade. Nathaniel Pitt LANGFORD, an American who visited the settlement as an agent for the Northern Pacific Railway, wrote "*RIEL is about twenty-eight years of age, has a fine physique, of active temperment, and I think is able to endure a great deal. He is a large man, of very winning persuasive manners. In his whole bearing, energy and ready decision are prominent characteristics. In this fact, lie his great powers. He is sagacious and I think thoroughly patriotic, and no less*

thoroughly incorruptable."

Bishop RITCHOT arrived back in Red River on June 17, 1870, and met immediately with RIEL who expressed great satisfaction with the priest's recounting of events. However, the question of his amnesty had not yet been entirely settled and was a source of anxiety, but the delegates were promised that it would be forthcoming from the Queen. Bishop TACHÉ, justifiably, continued to be uneasy about the absence of a written guarantee of amnesty.

A new concern appeared in May of 1870 when a military expedition was dispatched to Red River commanded by Colonel Garret WOLESLEY, under the pretext of "an errand of peace". Just when it seemed that all of the issues had been settled and that peace would prevail, this transparent "errand of peace" caused unease and fear among the Métis. The expedition was the result of Ontario's demand for action against RIEL and his followers, despite the passage of the Manitoba Act and the assurances of amnesty.

Although WOLESLEY was a British officer, and the expedition had imperial troops as well as militia units, the latter, which comprised about two-thirds of the force, were dominated by young Ontario Orangemen thirsting for Métis blood, RIEL's in particular. The Militia troops were inexperienced, unaccustomed to hardship, or to military discipline. The British regulars, on the other hand, were highly disciplined, well-trained and experienced soldiers, but they were unaccustomed to the rigors and difficulty of travelling in the Canadian wilderness. Also, food was a major

concern. Between Lake Superior and Red River, the expedition would not find a single settlement to acquire supplies. Wild game was so scarce in the bleak Canadian Shield that many small Indian bands, which ventured into the region, perished of starvation.

On August 23, news arrived that the troops were nearing Red River. At this point, a governor had not yet arrived to establish civil government, nor had there been any word of the promised amnesty. On August 24th, RIEL, who had initially planned to greet the party, learned that the soldiers were planning to lynch him. He vacated Fort Garry a few hours before the arrival of the troops, and crossed the Red River to Bishop TACHÉ's residence in St. Boniface. He told the Bishop that he had been deceived, but added "*No matter what happens now, the rights of the Métis are assured by the Manitoba Act. It is what I wanted! My mission is finished!*" WOLESLEY, finding Fort Garry vacated, paid off his troops and issued a proclamation praising their fortitude. In that proclamation, in direct violation of his orders, he denounced the Métis, whom the Dominion had authorized to govern the country until the new Governor, Adams ARCHIBALD arrived. WOLESLEY said that his noble force had "*routed the banditti*"

RIEL subsequently went to his home in nearby St. Vital, where his mother lived, but growing more apprehensive about his safety, he took refuge in the St. Joseph mission, about ten miles South of the border in Dakota Territory. Red River became a place of volatile turbulence. Two Métis were killed and sympathizers with the resistance were

threatened or assaulted by the Ontario Militia volunteers, who seemed bent on nothing short of assassinating all of the Métis. Faced with this situation, governor ARCHIBALD began establishing a civil administration to promote order in the settlement. He was a barrister with some administrative experience, and in sharp contrast to MC DOUGALL, ARCHIBALD was a prudent, fair and honorable executive. He was fluent in French and he formed a provincial cabinet, which was strictly bi-partisan. Alfred BOYD became Provincial Secretary and Marc-Amable GIRARD, Provincial Treasurer. ARCHIBALD, in a report to his Prime Minister one year later, told how his task had been complicated by the *"persistent ill-usage of the Métis by Canadians. Many of them actually have been so beaten and outraged, that they feel as if they were living in a state of slavery. They say that the bitter hatred by the Canadians is a yoke so intolerable that they would gladly escape it by any sacrifice."*

RIEL was pleased with the results of the first provincial election, held in December of 1870, in which a majority of the elected members were his allies. He was particularly pleased that Donald SMITH defeated RIEL's enemy, John SCHULTZ, although SCHULTZ would later become an MP. In February of 1871, Louis became seriously ill under a heavy mental burden of finding financial support for his family and of the concern for his personal safety. It was not until the following May that he was strong enough to return home to St. Vital.

On October 4, 1871, Governor ARCHIBALD, was faced with the threat of an invasion by Fenians from the United

States and issued a proclamation, calling for the immediate mobilization of all able-bodied citizens. He ordered out three militia companies, about 200 men, to patrol the boundary. He recruited several companies of armed horsemen, one under the command of Louis RIEL, and the threatened invasion was quickly put down in one day. Both houses of the Manitoba Legislature enthusiastically endorsed ARCHIBALD's action.

RIEL was becoming a serious political issue in Ontario. For Prime Minister MACDONALD, it was essential to avoid a Québec-Ontario confrontation over the RIEL question before the 1872 general election. Sir John knew that if RIEL and LEPINE were still at large in Manitoba, he might lose support in his home province of Ontario. On the other hand, if they were jailed and tried for "murder" as Ontario demanded, then all of Québec would be furious. MACDONALD believed that tensions would subside if RIEL could be induced to stay out of Canada for a time.

In December of 1871, TACHÉ (newly promoted to Archbishop that year) was in Ottawa to complain about the foot dragging on an amnesty for RIEL and about the government's patronage policy in Manitoba. Of eighty-five appointments made by Ottawa in the new province, only five had gone to Métis. MACDONALD approached the Archbishop with a proposition to convince RIEL to exile himself for one year in exchange for his personal intervention in speeding up the long overdue amnesty. The Prime Minister gave RIEL \$1,000 and another \$600 was donated by SMITH, to help with the needs and support of his family. RIEL was

justifiably bitter about the treatment he was receiving. He had, by consent of Deputy Prime Minister Sir George-Étienne CARTIER, who was at the time temporarily, head of the Canadian Government, administered the affairs of Rupert's Land for two months after the terms of the transfer had been agreed upon. Not only had he not been paid for this service, but he had been driven from office by a hostile, armed force from Ontario. Subsequently, he had been libeled, chased from his home, left without protection while being pursued by assassins and his family was terrorized. He had dissolved his Provisional Government upon a promise of amnesty, which had not yet been delivered. He had rallied what remained of his armed forces to protect the country from the threat of the Fenian invasion and no one except Governor ARCHIBALD had acknowledged the debt. Finally, nothing had been done about the distribution of 1,400,000 acres of land that were guaranteed to the Métis under the Manitoba Act, and RIEL and LEPINE were entitled to their share of those acres. However, despite his bitterness, he accepted voluntary exile.

He arrived in St. Paul, Minnesota on March 2, 1872, but he became increasingly insecure there because it was swarming with Ontarians on their way to Manitoba. They could have easily been induced by SCHULTZ and the Ontario government's reward to effect his arrest. SCHULTZ had in fact been in the city and had organized an attempt to burglarize RIEL's room with the purpose of trying to steal his Provisional Government records and personal correspondence. Early in 1872, a man from Ontario, hoping to profit three thousand

dollars, hired four men at five hundred dollars each to bring him the head of Louis RIEL "in a sack". He would deliver the head to "a man in Toronto" for which he would receive a reward of five thousand dollars. In yet another instance, while a crowd watched a fire in the city, two men were overheard discussing a scheme to kidnap or kill RIEL and LEPINE. The intended victims were urged by friends to leave St. Paul for their own safety, and did so with a volunteer bodyguard. The strain of these events began to take a toll on RIEL's physical and mental health. It became more difficult for him to distinguish between actual instances of threatened violence (later supported by affidavits) and imagined persecution. Louis realized that he would be safer among friends and decided to return to Red River in late June.

With the federal general election coming up in September, RIEL's supporters urged him to become a candidate for Minister of Parliament, representing the Provencher riding. He decided to run, despite warnings that he would be murdered if he set foot in Ottawa, and was easily nominated, but there was a new turn of events. Sir George-Étienne CARTIER, who was MACDONALD's Deputy Prime Minister and strongly supported by him, was defeated in an astonishing upset in his home district of Montréal East, where the election was held ten days before it was scheduled in Manitoba. MACDONALD, worried by the loss of his ally and seeing it as a potential threat to his own career, appealed to Governor ARCHIBALD in Manitoba for his help in finding a seat for CARTIER in that province. ARCHIBALD, in turn, appealed to RIEL and

his opponent, Henry Joseph CLARKE, to withdraw their candidacies in favor of CARTIER. RIEL agreed to withdraw as did his opponent on condition that the long overdue settlement regarding the land guarantees made to the Métis under the Manitoba Act, be acted upon. The question of amnesty, he was prepared to leave to CARTIER, whose sympathy on this point was a matter of record. CARTIER had been a spokesman for the French-Canadians in the conservative councils. On September 14th, CARTIER was elected for the Provencher riding but an incident occurred soon after where a mob of Ontarians destroyed the offices of the two newspapers that supported RIEL and attacked SMITH for his involvement with the Métis.

For the next few months, RIEL remained inactive while a renewed effort was made to secure the promised amnesty. Governor ARCHIBALD, although he had never received specific instructions concerning the amnesty, felt that it was implied as a condition of acceptance of the Manitoba Act by the people of Rupert's Land, and that it was necessary for the good of the Dominion. However, Sir John's primary concern came from the Ontarians who were crying for the blood of "the murderers" of SCOTT, and he ignored the appeals of RIEL's representatives. MACDONALD decided that his political position was too weak after the election and he backed out of the agreement that he made with RIEL. He denied that he had ever promised an amnesty.

Archbishop TACHÉ, who had been the intermediary in all of the negotiations, was angered by MACDONALD's attitude and decided that he had been "*made sport of in a most disgraceful manner.*"

To the horror of Ottawa politicians, he announced that he intended to publish all the facts "*in the game in which I have been the victim and the tool.*" TACHÉ received urgent pleas for forbearance from MACDONALD's allies. He was told that Sir John was going to London and would surely bring back the amnesty this time.

On May 23, 1873, George Étienne CARTIER, the champion of French rights in Manitoba and the chief proponent in the cabinet of an amnesty for RIEL, died in London. The death of CARTIER meant that a by-election would have to be held in the Provencher riding, and although RIEL was not in the province at the time, he was elected by acclamation. In November of 1873, the MACDONALD government resigned because of the Pacific Scandal and Alexander MACKENZIE of the Liberal Party became Prime Minister. MACKENZIE called for a general election to be held during February of the following year and in that election, he and his party overwhelmingly defeated MACDONALD's Conservative Party.

In that election, RIEL won the Provencher riding by a landslide, even though another Métis ran against him. He saw his election not only as a victory for the Métis cause but also as a mandate for the assertion of French and Catholic rights in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. The Ontario contingent, seething over the election of RIEL, maneuvered to oust him from his seat. In a motion called by MACKENZIE Bowell and seconded by John SHULTZ (now a Minister of Parliament), they called for a Decree of Expulsion of the new Minister, a move that caused out-

rage among the French Ministers from Québec. The Ontarians prevailed and RIEL was expelled from the House of Commons. Louis' support was strong in the Provencher riding and in the Provincial by-election in September, he was re-elected, only to be expelled a second time. MACKENZIE was at an impasse, as he could not resolve the issue in favor of Québec without offending Ontario. What saved MACKENZIE was the intervention of the Governor General, Lord DUFFERIN. Emboldened by Dufferin's move, MACKENZIE secured Parliamentary approval of an amnesty for RIEL and LEPINE, conditional on their banishment for five years.

After his expulsion from Parliament and facing more death threats from Ontarians, RIEL took refuge in Montréal for a time. It was the beginning of two years of distracted wandering for the embittered young leader. He later went to Plattsburg, New York where he stayed with the Oblate Fathers. He often went to nearby Keeseville, a French-Canadian lumber town, where he was warmly received, but he was tired and depressed. During the strain of the previous five years, he had suffered from bouts of nervous exhaustion.

Exiled and with no clear future, he became more preoccupied with religious rather than political matters. In January of 1876, Louis went to stay with his old friend, Father BARNABÉ in Keeseville. After a stay of about one month, there was no improvement in his condition and Father BARNABÉ sent for Louis' uncle, John LEE of Montréal, who took him back to Canada in February. After a short stay, Lee saw that RIEL needed professional help and he lured Louis into Saint-Jean de Dieu Asylum at Longue

Pointe where he stayed under the assumed name of "Louis David". On May 1, the nuns in charge of the asylum became concerned that RIEL's political enemies would discover his location and he was moved again, this time to Beauport Asylum near Québec. He remained there under the name of "La Rochelle" until January of 1878. In time, rest and calm had their effect, but his doctor warned him to live a quiet life.

After his discharge from Beauport, RIEL returned to Keeseville and again stayed with his friend Father BARNABÉ, while he looked for work. During his stay there, he fell in love with Évelina BARNABÉ, the priest's sister. For a short time, the tormented man found a new reason to live. He found peace in his relationship with Évelina and began a determined effort to establish himself economically, so that he could settle down like other men and marry her. Unfortunately, there was no work to be found and he finally decided that he would have to go back where his prospects were better, back to the western frontier. Father BARNABÉ wrote to a friend, Bishop IRELAND in Montana, recommending RIEL as ideally suited to become a leader in a movement that the Bishop was promoting. That movement was an effort to provide homes in the West for European immigrants who were distressed in the crowded industrial centers. Despite Évelina's desire to follow RIEL to Montana, Louis broke off the engagement, feeling that he could not offer her a suitable home in the circumstances under which he was forced to live.

Late in 1878, Louis arranged a visit with his family and friends at the Cana-

dian border. He could not return to his country at that time since his exile would not be completed for another year. During that visit, he learned that many of the Métis in Manitoba had sold their land to Winnipeg speculators because of widespread economic hardship and the lack of hope for survival in an alien and hostile white society. The Métis began to push further west in an effort to begin again and have the freedoms that they once had in Red River. They moved to the valleys of the Saskatchewan and upper Missouri rivers to hunt the now scarce buffalo. Unfortunately, the same problems that plagued them in Manitoba, would now follow them to the Saskatchewan territory.

In 1879, RIEL made his way to Carroll, Montana, a settlement in the heart of the Badlands of the Upper Missouri. He stayed with a colony of Métis at St. Peter's Mission, west of Cascades, and became a trader and interpreter. While on a hunting expedition, Louis befriended Jean MONETTE dit Bellehumeur and became a frequent visitor to his home. MONETTE had a daughter, Marguerite, whom RIEL had become very attracted to. They married in 1882 and their first child, Jean, was born on May 9th of that year. On March 16, 1883, Louis obtained United States citizenship in Helena, Montana.

In the summer of 1883, RIEL was hired to teach Indian boys at the St. Peter's Mission school. Father DAMIANI, who ran the school, asked Louis to take charge of the whole educational program the following year, when a girl's school was to be established. This post would provide no more than a bare subsistence, but Louis was quick to ac-

cept the offer. Marguerite was equally pleased since there was another baby coming, and she would be safe and well tended at the mission. The RIEL's daughter and second child, Marie-Angelique, was born at the mission on September 17, 1883. Louis was an excellent teacher and he enjoyed the work. The only criticism that Father DAMIANI ever made of his protégé was that he was far too interested in politics. That passion for politics soon involved him in the turbulent conflicts of Montana despite his doctor's warnings that he should live a quiet life. He wrote letters to newspaper editors and petitioned the territorial government to consider the rights of the Métis. He was appointed to a deputy position and worked to abolish the whiskey trade, which was demoralizing his people. It seemed that at this point in Louis RIEL's life, he was finally settled, with a family and an income, and he was no longer chased by assassins. Louis' life, however, was not destined to become routine. Fate would not let him rest and live a life like other men.

On Sunday, June 4, 1884, while Louis was at Mass, he was called from the church. There was "*someone to see him and it was important*". He was unaccustomed to being interrupted during mass and he was annoyed, but he rose and made his way to the church-yard where he saw a group of excited children surrounding four mounted men. The visitors dismounted and introduced themselves to Louis. The legendary Gabriel DUMONT, well known to RIEL, was the apparent leader of the group and he was accompanied by Michel DUMAS, Moisé OUELETTE and James ISBISTER. They had ridden six

hundred and eighty miles from the Saskatchewan settlement to ask RIEL to return with them and take charge of their campaign for recognition of their grievances against Canada. Louis' heart leaped. He directed the visitors back to his cabin and hurried back into the church where he knelt and offered thanks to God. The oppressed people had once again sent for RIEL and gave weight to the validity of his "mission". During the next few days, while the RIELs were preparing to move, the visitors were accommodated in Louis' cabin. There they rested and were somewhat shocked to discover their hero's poverty. The humble conditions in which the family lived made them aware of all that Louis sacrificed in the struggle for the good of his people, and how little he worked for himself. They returned across the border with twice as much confidence in him as they had when they started their mission.

Louis was confident that God would give him the success he longed for in the fight for Métis rights. He planned to return to Montana in September and continue his efforts for the Métis there. When RIEL reached Batoche, Saskatchewan, he found an unhappy and angry population of whites, Indians and Métis. As in Red River, surveys were begun that ignored the claims of the Métis that had settled there, and whose lots were established in the much preferred French pattern along the river. To the dismay of the fourteen hundred Métis settlers in the area, the American system was imposed on them and they were now forced to relocate to rectangular lots determined by the survey. Moved by their bitter protests, the Dominion land agent appealed in 1882, for

a resurvey of the French villages, but that appeal went unanswered for six months, while angry Métis besieged him. Finally, to their disappointment, MACDONALD replied "*It is not the intention of the Government to cause any resurveys to be made.*" In September of 1882, the people of Saint-Antoine de Padua again petitioned Sir John to let them keep their river-front lots and again they were turned down. Father André himself protested that his own two hundred acre mission, which he had fenced and labored on and had been in his possession for seven years, was now taken by a newcomer named KELLY.

If the pleas of the Métis had been answered, the Northwest Rebellion would probably not have occurred. Their patience gone, the Métis sent for Louis RIEL. In July, Louis held two meetings in which the issues of the settlers were addressed. One was a gathering of the Métis held at the house of Charles NOLIN in Batoche and the second was a meeting of several hundred English-speaking settlers at Red Deer Hill. In both cases, RIEL impressed everyone with his moderation. One week later, he went to another meeting, where most of Prince Albert was in attendance, and again advocated a peaceful presentation of grievances and proposals for their resolution. RIEL's calmness and moderation won the support of most settlers, and put him in a position of some influence.

In April of 1884, Louis SCHMIDT, a childhood friend of RIEL and a prominent, prosperous Métis, wrote to Ottawa to complain that, "*During the last four years, we have sent petition upon petitions. I feel bound to say that such a state of things is almost intolerable.*"

Archbishop TACHÉ received a response from Ottawa stating that "*a commission would be appointed to look into the complaints.*" This stalling tactic undoubtedly meant another drawn-out inquiry and the people no longer had any faith in Sir John, whom they nicknamed "Old Tomorrow". It was typical of the evasive and arrogant responses that came from Ottawa and the conclusion is inescapable that deliberate social discrimination as well as bureaucratic negligence contributed to the swiftly developing crisis.

Support for RIEL among the white settlers was beginning to wane and now yielded to growing opposition. The Prince Albert Times and the Saskatchewan Review, which were once behind RIEL, reversed their editorial policy in favor of the government after having been bribed by Edgar DEWDNEY, the Indian Commissioner and Lieutenant Governor of the territories. In addition, the clergy, tending to support the "status quo", turned against RIEL. Father ANDRÉ charged RIEL with mixing religion and politics. Also, there is some evidence that Amédée FORGET attempted to "buy" RIEL unsuccessfully with a seat on the Council of the Northwest Territories.

RIEL, undaunted, drew up a petition and on December 16th, it was sent to Ottawa, signed by Andrew SPENCE as Chairman, and William-Henry JACKSON as Secretary of the joint English-Métis Organization. The petition was comprehensive with twenty-five sections, the major portion of which concerned land claims. There was also a section on a proposal to admit the territory of Saskatchewan into the confederation, the argument being that Manitoba was admit-

ted with a population of only 12,000 while Saskatchewan had a population of 60,000.

Louis had not forgotten his plan to return to Montana, but his own land claims remained unsettled by the federal government including two hundred and forty acres that he was owed under the terms of the Manitoba Act. He also had owned five lots, which were of value for their hay, wood and proximity to the Red River. He estimated that in all, he was due the sum of \$35,000, but the federal government ignored his claims and the petition of the organization. By the end of February, 1885, RIEL felt compelled to stay in Saskatchewan.

Louis' manner in his public speeches, probably as a result of repeated frustration, became increasingly more aggressive, but the content of the speeches remained above reproach. He eventually decided on a dangerous gamble, the establishment of a provisional government under the protection of Métis soldiers, as he had done in Rupert's Land. He did not consider this an act of war but a demonstration to gain the government's attention, and it had been successful in Red River. He was convinced that it was the only way to bring Ottawa to terms. What Louis overlooked was the fact that the territory over which he now proposed to set up a government, was indisputably Canadian, not stateless as Rupert's Land had been in 1870. What had then been reluctantly tolerated by the new Dominion, was now considered riot, rebellion or more seriously, treason. Though the Dominion's neglect and seemingly deliberate provocation might provide some moral justification for ac-

tion, it did not constitute a legal defense for insurrection. RIEL had inadvertently crossed the line into territory which would give the government grounds for retaliation.

In March, the Métis, frustrated by the lack of federal action, began to consider a more forceful approach to their cause, a resort to arms. RIEL, who had been advised by his doctors to live a quiet, peaceful life, was again in the midst of a furious conflict between his people and the Government of Canada, and he was again suffering the symptoms of a nervous breakdown. However, the appeal of his charismatic personality was strong, and by this time, his more militant followers were seizing shotguns, rifles and ammunition. Although the missionaries were sympathetic to the Métis cause, they were opposed to any use of force against the established government. Father VITAL took a stand and stated that all who took up arms against established authority would be refused the Sacraments. RIEL, stunned and in disbelief, replied shouting *"You have turned the pulpit of truth into one of politics, falsehood and discord ...in daring to refuse the Sacraments to those who would take up arms in defense of their most sacred rights."* On March 2nd, Louis asked for Father ANDRÉ's approval of the formation of a provisional government. ANDRÉ sharply refused and RIEL called him a traitor, announcing to the people that they had been abandoned by their priests. Prime Minister MACDONALD, who had been returned to power in 1878, learned of the Métis's plans and decided to crush the revolt. He enlisted Major-General Frederick MIDDLETON, then commanding the Canadian Militia, to

march on Batoche.

On March 18th, the Métis learned that 500 Northwest Mounted Police led by Major L. CROZIER, were approaching, boasting that *"RIEL and other leaders soon would be under arrest"*. The Métis soldiers seized their guns and rode to Batoche to protect their leader. By this time, RIEL had formed a provisional government, composed of 15 Councilors and Louis was chosen as leader of the movement. They chose the popular Gabriel DUMONT, the renowned buffalo-hunter, best marksman in the Northwest and brilliant strategist, as head of the military. Louis announced to his people that *"In answer to our petitions, the Government sends police."* He gestured proudly to the armed Métis, *"These are my police!"*

Their intention was to first take Fort Carlton but, due to lack of support from the English-Métis, the plan was abandoned. DUMONT needed supplies for his troops and on March 25th, he led a small force to Duck Lake, the location of the Slobart & Eden store, one of the largest in the district. This store contained, in addition to its regular stock, a large shipment of Government supplies destined for the Northwestern Mounted Police post. DUMONT's men confiscated supplies, guns and ammunition, promising to repay the owners. On the following day, the Métis captured two scouts sent out by CROZIER and imprisoned them in the store, along with the clerk. The force then proceeded west and the next day had a chance encounter with a party sent out by CROZIER to get the supplies, unaware of what had happened to the scouts. CROZIER's men immediately turned back, escaping

DUMONT's soldiers. When CROZIER discovered that his supplies had been stolen, he led a force of fifty-six Mounted Police and forty-three Prince Albert volunteers, along with a seven-pound cannon and sleighs to retrieve and carry back the supplies. When the force encountered the Métis, CROZIER ordered his men to draw the twenty sleighs into a line across the road and to take shelter behind them. He ordered his men to fire and with the first return fire from the Métis, CROZIER realized that he had been outmaneuvered and had ridden into a well-organized ambush. He now discovered that the cabin to his right contained sharpshooters who could pick off his men on that flank, almost at will. Then one hundred and fifty Métis fighters charged to the battlefield from the settlement beyond the hill with Louis RIEL at their head. He was unarmed and holding at arm's length, a crucifix, one and one-half feet long. The police fired at him but he was still out of range. CROZIER's men held the Métis in their position with the cannon for a short time, but after it had been fired three times, the rattled gunner inserted a shell without first inserting a charge of powder and put the piece out of action. CROZIER ordered a retreat and the police force fled the battlefield. The Métis had won their first encounter with the Canadian army.

DUMONT, who had been wounded with blood streaming down his face, ordered his men to follow the fleeing enemy and annihilate the entire detachment. RIEL countermanded the order yelling, *"In the name of God, let them go. There has been too much bloodshed already."* DUMONT submitted to the decision of his chief and there was no pursuit. Of the Government's force of one hundred

Mounted Police, twelve were killed and eleven were wounded. The Métis lost only 5 of their 300 men and if RIEL had not ordered the fighting stopped, the Government forces would have been annihilated. After the battle, RIEL and his men spent the rest of the day in prayers for the dead and then returned to Batoche on March 31st.

Major General MIDDLETON with his detachment of Winnipeg's 90th Battalion of the Canadian Militia was on the march toward Batoche. By April 10th, most of his expeditionary force had arrived in the Northwest and were marching on the Métis. There was really no hope of the Métis force defeating the enormous number of well-armed Canadian soldiers especially since they had lost their best opportunity to stop the advance of Government troops. It was too late to dynamite the railroad that was transporting the soldiers west and too late to attack the depots where they disembarked. Largely because of RIEL's reluctance, more than three thousand men of the Militia had reached the Northwest safely, ready to do battle with him. DUMONT, at best, had fewer than five hundred soldiers for defense. It must be said that if DUMONT had been the ultimate authority over the Métis, they could have caused disaster for the Canadian forces in that first battle.

On April 23rd, DUMONT's patience had worn thin and he confronted RIEL. He argued that they must attack MIDDLETON at once if there were any hope of arresting his advance. RIEL, now beginning to worry, yielded without an argument saying *"All right, do as you wish!"* DUMONT wasted no time and gathered all armed men except thirty that

he left behind to defend Batoche. After riding for eight miles, a messenger from Batoche overtook them with a note reporting the sighting of some Police scouts from Prince Albert. An attack was feared and the thirty men left behind for defense needed reinforcements. DUMONT reluctantly sent back fifty of his two hundred men, led by RIEL.

On April 24th, DUMONT's scouts discovered MIDDLETON's column in camp, on a farm, twenty-two miles south of Batoche. DUMONT halted his men at Fish Creek, five miles further north, and prepared an ambush. He hid the major portion of his force, one hundred and thirty men, in a forty foot deep ravine where they quickly dug rifle pits facing up the slope so that the enemy troops would be silhouetted against the sky and could be picked off as they approached. He hid the remaining twenty men further south so that they could fall upon the rear of the Canadian force after they had stumbled into the trap. DUMONT stated emphatically that they were to do all of their riding off the road and in the grass so that their hoofprints would not be detected by the enemy. It would have been a good plan if the Métis in the rear position had been responsible and followed the orders of their commander. But, as inevitably happens, some did not. A few of the young Métis could not resist the fun of a chase on horseback of two stray cattle, up and down and across the road. The tracks that they left were found by MIDDLETON's scouts the following day and alerted them to the rebel's presence.

DUMONT's group, unaware that their position had been betrayed and losing the element of surprise which they

greatly depended upon, rode straight into an advance guard of MIDDLETON's troops with their rifles at the ready, and the Métis suffered many casualties. They fled for their lives and DUMONT rallied the remainder of his group, had them dismount and hide in a thicket. From there, they were able to hold off the Canadians long enough to escape being totally decimated. During a lull in the fighting, they returned to the ravine where the main part of the force was stationed in the rifle pits only to find that half of them had deserted. When MIDDLETON's troops approached the ravine, they dropped to their knees and fired over the edge of the slope but they became easy targets for the Métis sharpshooters. MIDDLETON's troops could not use their cannon because the shells would fall beyond the position of the Métis pits onto the opposite bank. Neither could they position their cannon on the slopes because there was nothing to hold them in position. A long standoff ensued. It was a brilliant strategy on DUMONT's part and an example of what gave him his reputation as a great military leader.

With the pause in the fighting, DUMONT saw an opportunity to get his men back to Batoche and prepare a defense with the troops that remained. MIDDLETON's force totalled eight hundred men in uniform as well as teamsters and other civilian employees. Their armament consisted of several cannon and the newly developed Gatling Gun, one of three of the machine guns being tried out by the army. The Métis force defending Batoche consisted of about two hundred men, some of them very old and most of them haphazardly armed. On May 9th, MIDDLETON advanced toward

Batoche and the outcome of the battle to follow seemed a foregone conclusion. His greatest asset in the battle was the new Gatling.

Lieutenant Arthur L. HOWARD of New Haven, Connecticut, commander of the 2nd Regiment's Machine-Gun Platoon, was on leave from his regular unit, the Connecticut National Guard, and was informally attached to MIDDLETON's Northwest Field Force. He was the demonstrator, master and "lover" of the Gatling Gun. He had left a wife and four children in New Haven, to involve himself in a quarrel, which certainly did not concern him in the least, because he loved a gun. He had five years of fighting experience with the U.S. Cavalry and he had used the Gatling in his American service. His knowledge of the gun was unsurpassed and his desire to use it bordered on fanaticism. When he learned that Canada was going to try it out against the Métis, he leaped at the chance to offer his services.

At nine o'clock, on Saturday, a glorious, sunny and warm day, the advance guard of MIDDLETON's column, came within sight of the church of Saint-Antoine and the parish house. Batoche lay in the ravine below, not yet visible to the approaching troops. There were no preliminaries to the battle. MIDDLETON was in no mood to offer the rebels an opportunity to negotiate. The Gatling Gun, with Major BOULTON's scouts as an escort, was rushed forward and aimed at the cabins near the cemetery. HOWARD spun its handle and the gun showered bullets into the log walls of the huts. The Battle of Batoche had begun!

There was no response to the

Canadian's fire. Gradually, more of the troops came up, and, dropping to their knees, fired over the crest of the hill to persuade any Métis to keep their distance while the cannon were brought to a point midway between the church and the cemetery. A white handkerchief was seen waving from the door of the parish house and the Canadians ceased firing while General MIDDLETON and some of his staff went inside to confer with the priests in the house. At this conference, the Métis were betrayed. The priests, who were bitter about RIEL having taken over their "flock" and angry about their own imprisonment, disclosed to MIDDLETON as much of the Métis strategy as they knew and, more importantly, revealed that the rebel force was desperately short of ammunition and food. Métis survivors of the epic battle always complained that they were defeated by the treachery of the priests, and some of them were so embittered that they never reconciled with the church. "*We learned*" DUMONT said "*from a thoroughly reliable source that MIDDLETON, even though he had reinforcements, despaired of defeating us, when some traitors (priests) whom I don't wish to name, advised him that we were almost out of ammunition and that, apart from a few, all the Métis were discouraged. That besides, if the besiegers didn't hurry, aid would soon arrive for the besieged.*"

MIDDLETON's cannon began shelling the village and not a single Métis soldier had yet become visible. The Canadian forces, encouraged by the lack of response, began to move forward, with the Gatling, as usual, in the front rank. Suddenly, less than thirty yards in front of the leading Canadians,

fire burst from the steeply sloping hillside. For a few moments, the troops stood dazed, gazing at puffs of smoke that appeared to be coming out of the ground itself, then panic seized them and they fled. An order was shouted to pull back the guns. One of the guns became caught in the brush and could not be extricated immediately. The crew of that gun panicked and was about to abandon it when HOWARD, who had made no effort to retreat with his Gatling, silenced the Métis fire in the gun's vicinity and, by maintaining a constant barrage, held the rebels back while the immobilized gun was withdrawn. Virtually alone, the Connecticut man held the line for retreat, and only after the Canadians had regrouped at the church did he pull his gun back. The Canadian command soon discovered what it was up against. The ground was honeycombed with rifle pits, far superior to the ones that the Métis had used at Fish Creek. Communication was accomplished by DUMONT calling orders to the closest of the pits and from man to man, they were relayed up the bank with the Métis fighters crawling on their stomachs up to the next communication trench until they reached the men in the most advanced positions.

DUMONT's men opened fire from the left, but since they were armed only with shotguns, they were ineffective. The Canadians stood firm but could not effectively reply, even with the Gatling because the enemy was invisible. When a more effective attack by the rebels started on the right flank and almost trapped a battery, further withdrawal was ordered by MIDDLETON. The Métis then used a trick that they had used at Fish Creek, incinerating the grass on both

sides of the Militia column. Howard was grimly firing the Gatling into the smoke, without any idea of where his targets lay, but with the intent of preventing a Métis charge. Nevertheless some Métis soldiers ran up to the front line, lay in prone position beneath the smoke and fired into the Canadian troops. That was the end of firing for the day.

MIDDLETON ordered an improvised stockade erected a few hundred yards east of the church and directed that all of the animals and equipment be brought there from the previous night's camp. For some unknown reason, the men built the stockade in a bad location, leaving one side fully exposed near a slight rise in the field, without a tree or brush for shelter. It was also placed in a plowed field in which choking clouds of dust arose from the men's activity, obscuring what little light there was from the stars.

Sunday was a cold morning evidenced by a thin film of ice on the water pails. The troops were stiff and sore when they were called up at four A.M. At five-thirty, the guns were again pushed out into position where their crews could see the village. The Canadians began a steady barrage of shelling which reduced most of the houses to rubble. However, as was the case at Fish Creek, the cannon firing nine-pound shells could not be brought low enough on their fixed carriages to bombard the rifle-pits on the sloping hillside. The Midland Battalion, learning from its enemy's tactics, dug their own foxholes and were able to hold their position all day without suffering a single loss. MIDDLETON, fearing heavy casualties, felt that he did not have enough men to take Batoche by storm,

even though his troops were five times the Métis numbers. His men were disgrunteled and angry at having to take the town by seige rather than by an all out offensive. They felt that it reflected on their courage.

The Canadian's timidity had given DUMONT and RIEL new hope. If Batoche could hold out for two or three more days, there was the slimmest hope of discouraging the invaders. On Monday morning, DUMONT moved among the rifle pits and was suspicious of the Canadian's reluctance to attack, but he took advantage of the opportunity to move his men swiftly into a broad front in order to spread their fire and convince MIDDLETON that they had greater numbers than was actually the case. Not much occurred that day except some shifting of positions by MIDDLETON's men. Early, on the morning of May 12th, Louis RIEL told the people gathered in the grove that *"This could be the day which will decide the fate of our race."*

MIDDLETON's officers had finally persuaded him to initiate an offensive and it was to occur on the following day. HOWARD, mad with impatience and anxious to fire his "beloved gun", begged for permission to go forward alone with the Gatling to clear out the first row of Métis rifle pits but MIDDLETON refused him.

With about one hundred and fifty men, including a Canadian detachment, one cannon and the Gatling gun, MIDDLETON set out on a wide sweep around the northeast flank of the Métis position. The idea was to create a diversion, and coax the Métis into reinforcing that front, while MIDDLETON's main in-

fantry force would attack the center, where the heaviest concentration of Métis riflemen currently commanded the best route to the ravine. Lieutenant Colonel VAN STRAUBENZIE, commanding the center force, not hearing the diversionary fire that he expected, which was to be the signal, concluded that something had gone wrong and did not order the advance. MIDDLETON was in a furious rage that his orders had not been obeyed. In vain, his staff protested that two shots from a single cannon could not be construed by anyone as a diversion.

The rebels, after three days of successful resistance, fell into MIDDLETON's trap by strengthening the northeast flank of their line at the expense of the center, exactly what the general had hoped. In the ensuing battle, the Métis force took heavy casualties and their defeat was assured. The battle and the rebellion were over in three days. The survivors surrendered, although most of the Métis soldiers were later freed by MIDDLETON. It was the leaders that MIDDLETON wanted. When the victorious Canadians began the mop up operation, a young soldier stumbled over a body in one of the rifle pits and paused for an instant to stare. The enemy soldier was a dried up old man with pure white hair. He was Joseph OUELLETTE, ninety-three years old. Another defender killed in the final charge, was Joseph VAN-DAL, seventy-five years old.

RIEL and DUMONT were not to be found. GABRIEL had some ammunition remaining and was not quite ready to give up the battle. He and his wife Madeleine hunted furiously for the fu-

gitives hidden in caves, and for RIEL who could not be found. Each night, GABRIEL would move his camp, taking his wife further and further from Batoche, but each morning, he was off again to look for RIEL. On May 15th, he took Madeleine to his father's house, several miles from the village, where she would be safe and decided that he would fight a one man war with the little ammunition he had left. Only after being discouraged by his father that this foolish action would accomplish nothing, did he escape to the United States.

Meanwhile, Louis RIEL was hiding while assessing his position and deciding what to do. MIDDLETON wrote him a message and gave it to Moise OUELETTE, thinking that RIEL would probably contact him. The message read *"I am ready to receive you and your council, and protect you until your case has been decided upon by the Dominion Government."* RIEL did get the message and after a wrenching decision, he decided to surrender, but before doing so, he wrote some last letters and arranged for the care of his family. Then, unarmed but accompanied by three Métis carrying shotguns, Louis left his hiding place and set off on foot to Batoche. They were met by three of MIDDLETON's scouts to whom RIEL showed the note that he had received from their general. He gave himself up and was escorted into the Canadian's camp.

The battle was lost now. Without RIEL to lead them, the Métis were demoralized. The priests that had betrayed the Métis, considered the war to be totally the fault of RIEL. They denied the dead soldiers full burial rights of the

Church except for "suitable prayers" and buried them in a mass grave. Loyalty to the church and its power began to disappear quickly. The Métis, destitute, disillusioned and forsaken, neglected their religious duties and withdrew their children from the parochial school. The young people's respect for the Church was lost and they mocked the priests. Father Fourmond's once prosperous mission of Saint Laurent failed and for a time was abandoned.

RIEL was well treated at MIDDLETON's camp while awaiting a decision on what to do with him. He actually had philosophical discussions with the general and his senior officers. Wearily, Louis explained that he had never expected to defeat Canada or Britain and wanted only to make an effective stand. He wanted only to convince the Dominion that it must deal honorably with the neglected people of the Northwest, including those whites of Prince Albert, who were initially part of the movement, but backed out when the chips were down. Louis was encouraged by the fact that his papers were found in the council house and had been impounded. They would prove that he had not initiated the rebellion, that the leadership role had been thrust upon him, and that he never wanted bloodshed. On the day after RIEL's surrender, the Minister of the Militia, Joseph-Philippe CARON, instructed MIDDLETON to send RIEL to Winnipeg under guard to stand trial. MACDONALD overruled the decision fearing that if the trial were held in Winnipeg, a unanimous verdict might not be secured, and Sir John wanted RIEL out of the way. It was decided that the trial would be held in Regina (Saskatchewan) and RIEL was delivered

there on May 23, 1885.

When the door of his cell closed behind him, Louis RIEL knew that he had been delivered into the hands of his enemies and that he was doomed, although he did have occasional brief periods of hope. His prison cell in the NWMP barracks was a four and one-half by six and one-half foot room and he was shackled by a ball and chain.

The fact that the trial would be held in Regina rather than Winnipeg meant an entirely different court procedure. If the trial were held in Manitoba, which was now a province, the case would be heard by a Superior Court Judge whose independence was guaranteed by law and practice. Instead, RIEL was tried in Saskatchewan which remained a territory and a trial in the territories required only a stipendiary magistrate. A stipendiary magistrate was a barrister with at least five years of experience, who served as a part-time judge in the Territories and was appointed by the Government in Ottawa. He was paid a stipend for the time that he worked and continued in office at their pleasure. Imperial statutes originally required that trials for capital crimes committed in the Territories, could only occur in Upper Canada (Ontario) before full provincial courts, but in 1877, the Dominion Parliament, by legislation, established the stipendiary magistrate system to ease the burden of the provincial judges. This act gave the magistrate almost unlimited powers and nullified the earlier statute.

Under Manitoba law, a prisoner was entitled to a twelve man jury and half the jury could be French-speaking. On the other hand, the federal law gov-

erning court procedure in the territories permitted a six-man jury (RIEL would later refer to this in his testimony as "half a jury"). Moreover, there was no assurance of bilingual rights. Louis felt, justifiably, that his crime was important enough to merit trial before a Dominion court in the Province of Manitoba, and not one before the makeshift court of the territory, presided over by a stipendiary magistrate.

On July 6th, Louis RIEL was charged with high treason. A complaint was required and that formality was fulfilled by Alexander David STUART, Chief of Police in Hamilton, Ontario, and reportedly a member of the Orange Order. High treason is modern society's greatest crime. Under British law, the only penalty upon conviction is death.

The trial began on July 20th and the Presiding Magistrate was to be Hugh RICHARDSON, a magistrate of the Northwest Territories who was not bilingual. Of the thirty-six persons summoned by RICHARDSON for jury service, only one was French speaking, and this man was prevented by an accident from appearing. French was the primary language of RIEL and some of the witnesses, and they were dependant upon translators for much of the important testimony. The two speeches that RIEL gave at the trial were spoken in English, but the necessity for doing so put him at some disadvantage. The Crown challenged one prospective juror, the only Roman Catholic on the list. Thus, despite the fact that French-Canadian and Métis jurors could have easily been obtained from the population of the Territories, RIEL was tried by a jury comprised entirely of English speaking Prot-

estants. The Crown selected witnesses who would testify that the defendant had used his great influence with the Métis to lead them to arm themselves, and subsequently had determined the strategy of the uprising. They also objected to the admission of evidence concerning the failure of the federal government to deal with the long-standing complaints of the Métis. They probably feared the effect of such evidence on the jurors because most settlers of the Territories felt alienated by policies made in Ottawa for the "benefit" of western Canada. Had that evidence been admitted, the jury would probably have been more sympathetic to the defense. Given the circumstances of the trial, the outcome was inevitable. It was clear from the beginning that the trial would be political, and there is indisputable evidence that MACDONALD's objective was to hold exclusive responsibility for the rebellion onto RIEL, and to secure his conviction and execution as soon as possible. MACDONALD was eager to please his vociferous Ontario supporters but he misjudged the explosion of anger in Québec.

An organization for RIEL's defense had sprung up in Québec and they provided him with distinguished counsel, headed by Francois-Xavier LEMIEUX, a member of the Provincial Legislature who at age thirty-four, was already renowned as a criminal lawyer. He was assisted by Charles FITZPATRICK, James N. GREENSHIELDS and T.C. JOHNSON. The chief prosecution counsel was Christopher ROBINSON and he was assisted by David L. SCOTT, Britton Bath OSLER, G.W. BURBIDGE and T.C. COSGRAIN.

RIEL was charged with six counts listing three overt acts. In the first three counts, levying war against the Crown at Duck Lake, at Fish Creek and at Batoche, he is described as a subject of the Queen. In the last three counts, which were exactly the same as the first three, RIEL is described as "merely living within the Dominion of Canada" (he had acquired United States citizenship) and under the protection of the Queen. In these last three counts, he was charged with violating what has become known as "local allegiance". It had been established in British law as early as 1600, that an alien living in England and enjoying the protection of the Crown, could be convicted of treason for acts committed in the country. Thus in British law, allegiance may be owed by anyone who has been permitted to enter a country on the assumption that he would not jeopardize its security. RIEL pleaded "not guilty". Defense counsel objected to these charges on the grounds that he was "double charged" because he was charged with the same overt acts both as a citizen and an alien. The judge held these objections to be "insufficient" and ordered the trial to proceed. Britton Bath OSLER, opening for the Crown, told the six jurors that they were serving in *"the most serious trial that has ever probably taken place in Canada"*. Yet this "most serious trial" put the fate of Louis RIEL in the hands of only six jurors.

Gabriel DUMONT wrote from the United States to testify for the defense. He wrote that he (DUMONT) alone was responsible for the military operations and that RIEL had come to Saskatchewan with peaceful intentions. After analyzing their position, the defense counsel decided (without consulting RIEL) that

a "not guilty by reason of insanity" was the best strategy. They, in their questioning of witnesses, made much of RIEL's eccentricities in his statements and actions regarding religion. They also tried to show that his actions against the established government were unrealistic and could only have been conceived by a person of unsound mind. Louis became increasingly nervous as he sensed the direction of his counsel's questions designed to make him out to be an irresponsible lunatic, a tool of other persons or of his own delusions. With each witness that was called, the defense counsel would skillfully lead them through the events in a manner that built the case for insanity, while the prosecution would try to show that RIEL was sane, intelligent and self-serving. Louis attempted to protest his counsel's line of defense by pleading with the judge to be allowed to question a damaging witness himself, or at the very least, to be allowed to make a statement to the jury supporting the case for his sanity. Judge RICHARDSON scolded RIEL for the disruption and told him that he must speak through his counsel or risk losing them. The chief counsel, François LEMIEUX, stated to RICHARDSON that if Louis were permitted to question the witness, his attorneys would abandon the case. RIEL assessed his position for a moment and stated "*I will assert that I wish to retain them.*"

Louis' attempt to take over the conduct of his own case, alienated him from his counsel, almost broke up the trial, and probably helped to cost him his life. OSLER, for the Crown, tried to make Dr. François ROY (Medical Superintendent and one of the proprietors of the asylum at Beauport) admit that the evidence of

RIEL's alleged insane acts was consistent with skillful fraud. The doctor, thoroughly outraged by now after OSLER's line of questioning, refused and stated that he did not think that Louis was a fraud. Testimony for the Crown's position continued. Captain Young, MIDDLETON's second in command, gave his tribute to RIEL's intelligence. General MIDDLETON said again that he had not in his conversations with Louis, thought him insane but quite the contrary. He thought that he seemed sensible.

Hour after hour, the evidence piled up favoring the prosecution's position that RIEL was sane and in full control of the rebellion. The weight of the testimony that RIEL led an armed rebellion against the established government, proved more convincing to the jury than any evidence of his peaceful intentions in the support of his oppressed followers.

Charles FITZPATRICK, in his final address for the defense, stated that no one could justify the rebellion "*but criminal folly and neglect would have gone unpunished had there been no resistance. It is right for me to say that the Government of Canada had wholly failed in its duty toward these Northwest Territories.*"

On August 1st, the jury returned a verdict of guilty with a recommendation of mercy. RICHARDSON asked RIEL the customary question "*Have you anything to say why the sentence of the court should not be pronounced upon you, for the offense of which you have been found guilty?*" Louis seized the opportunity and delivered a long

speech. With eloquence and passion, he denied being insane, although he acknowledged that his counsel truly believed that he was. He spoke of his political and religious beliefs, and, although they seemed strange to his audience, they could not be construed as indicating insanity. He spoke of the events of the Manitoba disturbances and made the case for the policies that should have occurred in the settling of the Northwest. It was a reasonable and logical program for creating a multi-cultural society. He spoke of his desire to work peacefully with the Dominion to rectify the oppression of the Métis in the territories. He spoke of how he risked his personal security to come and help his people. He spoke of his attempt to prevent a civil war and how he had worked for the government without compensation or acknowledgement.

His address had shrewd observations and passages, which typify his mastery of rhetoric that had given him so much influence in the Métis community. However, it had not been organized as well as it could have been and he paused several times to apologize for his difficulty with the English language. His listeners had become exhausted and fidgety. He had spoken too long.

In the end, RIEL turned out to be the Prosecution's best witness. He demonstrated his sanity, and his technical guilt, by his own speech. RICHARDSON, ignoring the plea for mercy, passed the death sentence. The verdict was appealed but the appeals were dismissed. Petitions for the commutation of the death sentence were flooding into Ottawa from thousands of French-Canadians in Québec, Manitoba and Massa-

chusetts. A considerable number of counter-petitions were sent from Ontario. RIEL's fate had become a national issue and one that threatened to divide the country. Ontario newspapers favored the execution, while the sentiment in Québec was highly critical of MACDONALD and his cabinet.

On November 16th at the Northwest Mounted Police barracks, six months after his arrest, Louis RIEL was hanged, meeting his death with dignity, calmness and courage. The execution of RIEL caused an outcry in Québec and precipitated events of violence. It nearly caused an overthrow of the Conservative government. It did cause a notable change in future local and national politics. Shortly after RIEL's execution, the Parti-Nationale was organized in Québec, led by Honoré MERCIER, a brilliant orator, and his party won the provincial election of 1886. In the federal election of 1887, there was a significant loss of Conservative seats to the Liberals, setting a trend that culminated in Wilfrid LAURIER's victory in 1896, and a fundamental realignment in Canadian national politics.

Louis RIEL began to achieve well-deserved recognition in the twentieth century as the founder of the Province of Manitoba and champion of the rights of the oppressed Métis and Indian populations. Numerous National and Provincial monuments were established in his honor, including buildings, parks, museums and a towering statue that until recently was in front of the Parliament building in Regina, Saskatchewan. He is the subject of a great many biographies and at least one film.

The RIEL's first child, Jean, married Laura CASAULT, a Montréal nurse, on March 25, 1908 in Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Québec. Jean was killed in a buggy accident before they had any children. The second child, Angelique died of Diphtheria at the young age of fourteen. A third child died at birth while Louis was awaiting execution in 1885. Unfortunately, the early death of all of Louis' children left him with no descendants. Marguerite, heartbroken, died shortly after Louis' execution.

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NOTES

1. In 1670, a charter was issued by King Charles II of England to the Governor and "Company of Adventurers" who were trading with the Hudson's Bay Company. The governor was Prince Rupert

who was a cousin of the King. The charter made the HBC "true and absolute lords and proprietors of all lands drained by rivers into Hudson's Bay (one-half million square miles). Some of it lay in what are now the states of Minnesota, North Dakota and Montana. This land was named "Rupert's Land."

2. Orangeman refers to the Conservative Protestant party in England and is derived from the name of William of Orange who led this party in the 17th century.

3. Joseph Monkman was an English Métis who was hired by John Dennis to recruit Indians to support the enemies of Riel.

4. The Fenians were a group of Irish-Americans who based their organization on the Fenians of Ireland who were opposed to the Protestant English loyalists. Their named is derived from Finn McCoon who founded the group.

5. The Pacific Scandal was one in which Prime Minister, Sir John Macdonald, accepted large sums of money for his campaign totalling \$350,000 from the Canadian-Pacific Railway, and then granted that company the charter to build the Transcontinental Railroad.

6. Lord Dufferin, the Governor General had been in Canada long enough to appreciate the nature of the Mackenzie problem. He stated that "This is the most thorny business I have ever had to deal with thanks to the imbecility of almost everyone who has hitherto meddled with it." Dufferin reviewed the whole history of the amnesty question and concluded that, since Riel took up arms in support of Canada at the request of Governor Archibald during the Fenian invasion, that he should be granted the amnesty and that any prior felony should not be pursued.

Jean Mignaux

by: Joseph W. Migneault

The ancestor of all MIGNAULT's (or MIGNEAULT, MIGNOT) in North America was born Jean MIGNAULT. Jean was baptized on April 20, 1622 in Église St. Philippe et St. Jacques in the village of Chatillon (just south of Paris in what was known as Ile de France). His parents were Nicolas and Madeleine (de BRIE) of Bagneaux, a neighboring village to Chatillon.

In 1643, ancestor Jean signed the *Liste d'engages* as Jean MIGNAUX and departed in April of that year for New France. His enlistment, as a soldier for a three year duration, was to the Sieur de la REYGNARDIERE, a director of the *Campagne General de la Nouvelle France*.

In April, 1647 Jean MIGNAUX dit CHATILLON lead an attack on an Iroquois village near Montreal where fellow Frenchmen were being held as captives. *Dit CHATILLON* is a nickname closely associated with soldiers serving in New France.

In November of 1648 in Beauport, Jean married a childless widow, Louise CLOUTIER, daughter of Zacharie and Xainte (DUPONT). He met her in Trois-Rivières while preparing and equipping for his attack on the Iroquois village the preceding year. They settled on land ad-

jacent to the Montmorency River which Jean purchased from Guillaume PELLETIER. In the census of 1666, Jean was listed as a farmer and tailor. Jean died in 1680.

In 1993, on the 350th anniversary of Jean settling in Beauport, the Ville de Beauport, PQ, at a site adjacent to Montmorency Falls (highest waterfall in North America), dedicated a park in the honor of Jean MIGNAUX. The dedication plaque reads—

JEAN MIGNAUX
SIEUR de CHATILLON
1622 1680
MILITAIRE
PONNIER de BEAUPORT
1643 350 1993

HOMMAGE de ses DESCENDENTS

While researching the MIGNAULT family history, an interesting anecdote was found. Jean and Louise great-grandson, Étienne was deported from Acadia in 1755 to the English colony of Georgia to work on the southern plantations. He managed to eventually escape his captors and proceeded north on foot in search of his wife Marie-Madeleine CORMIER and their children. He was miraculously reunited with his family in 1760.

Many of Jean's descendants in North America have prospered: A Superior General of a religious order of nuns, a Justice of the Canadian Supreme Court; an opera singer who in 1911 performed at Royal Albert Hall in London, and whose son was an operatic tenor; medical doctors; an architect, an engineer; and priest, nuns and missionaries. In the late 1800's many migrated south into the United States and found work in the textile mills of southern New Hampshire, Blackstone Valley and Fall River.

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1. Archival data from the records of *L'Association des Decendants de Jean Mignaux de Chatillon*. LaSalle, PQ.
2. Lorena Migneault Davis, who's genealogy of the Migneault family earned her a master's degree.
3. Correspondence exchanged with the Archives Department in Nanterre, France.
4. *Our French-Canadian Ancestors* by Thomas J. Laforest, Vol. XXIII, pages 137ff.

I knew I was an unwanted baby when I saw that my bath toys were a toaster and a radio.

Joan Rivers

A child is a curly, dimpled lunatic.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)

All children are essentially criminal.

Denis Diderot (1713-1784)

Of all the animals, the boy is the most unmanageable.

Plato (427?-348?) B.C.

Mothers are fonder than fathers of their children because they are more certain they are their own.

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.)

I never met a kid I liked.

W. C. Fields (1880-1946)

It is a good thing for an uneducated man to read books of quotations.

Winston Churchill (1874-1965)

I hate quotations.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)

Last time I tried to make love to my wife nothing was happening, so I said to her, "What's the matter, you can't think of anybody either?"

Rodney Dangerfield

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“Weather forecasts are horoscopes with numbers.”

“Progress in airline flying: now a flight attendant can get a pilot pregnant.”

“Airspeed, altitude and brains. Two are always needed to successfully complete the flight.”

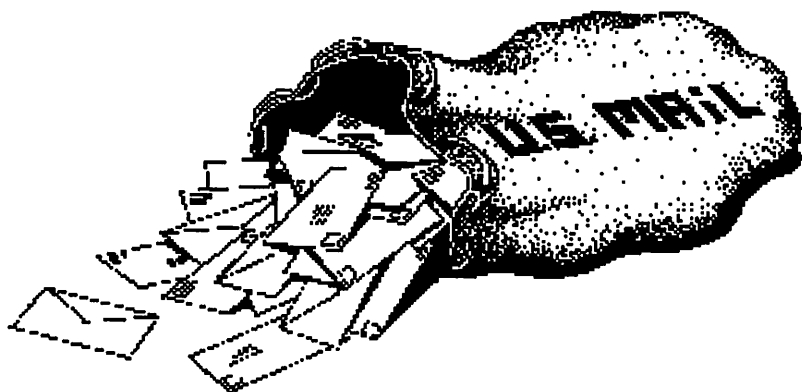
“A smooth landing is mostly luck; two in a row is all luck; three in a row is prevarication.”

“I remember when sex was safe and flying was dangerous.”



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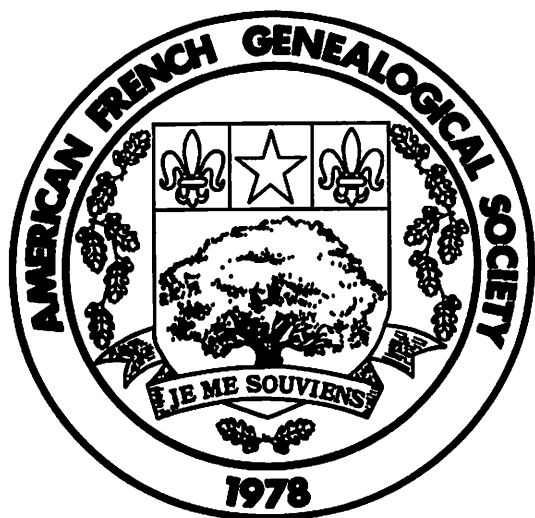
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# PARTING SHOTS

**Paul P. Delisle, Editor**

We have a very interesting issue for you this Autumn. First of all, Michael LEMIRE has written about the life of Louis RIEL. It's quite lengthy but worth your attention. Mr. LEMIRE has done a lot of research and it shows in his article.

George L. FINDLEN has written an interesting article on how you can tell if your ancestors are Acadian. We follow that with an article on Acadian family names by Stephen WHITE.

A look at the back cover shows Roland and Irene OUELLETTE who married in Central Falls, RI. It's not often that we get a biography of the couples that we feature, and we feature it here:

Roland-Napoleon OUELLETTE was born in Fall River, Massachusetts on 17 August 1917. His parents were Joseph-Arsène OUELLETTE, born in St. Aubert, L'Islet and Marie-Rose-Alphonsine (Alma) LABOSSIÈRE, born in Fall River. He was the youngest of three children; his brothers were Albert, born 25 May 1913 and Raymond, born 2 February 1915. His mother died on 3 October 1818 during the influenza epidemic. His father then married Albertine CARON of Fall River

on 27 October 1919. Three children were born of this union: Laurent, born 11 October 1920; Helen, born 6 July 1922; and Florence, born 14 May 1924. The family lived in Fall River until 1930 when they moved to Easthampton, MA, where Roland's father worked in the mills. By 1935 they had moved to Manville, RI where Roland worked in Jenckes Mill.

On 13 July 1940 Roland married Irene-Hattie PELLETIER at Holy Trinity Church in Central Falls, RI. On 23 April 1943 Roland joined the Merchant Marine with the rank of Steward's Mate, 2<sup>nd</sup> Class and attained the rank of Messman, Utility & Third Cook. He received the following decorations: Mediterranean Marine East War Zone Bar, Atlantic War Zone Bar, Pacific War Zone Bar, and Merchant Marine Combat Bar. He was honorably discharged on 20 August 1945. He and Irene had two children: Diane Marie born on 28 November 1945 and Ronald Joseph born on 26 April 1948. He worked at different mills in the area as a machinist, including Jarvis Tap and Die Company in Attleboro, MA for 25 years until he retired at the age of 65. He died at the age of 75 on 24 March 1993.

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"Never trade luck for skill."

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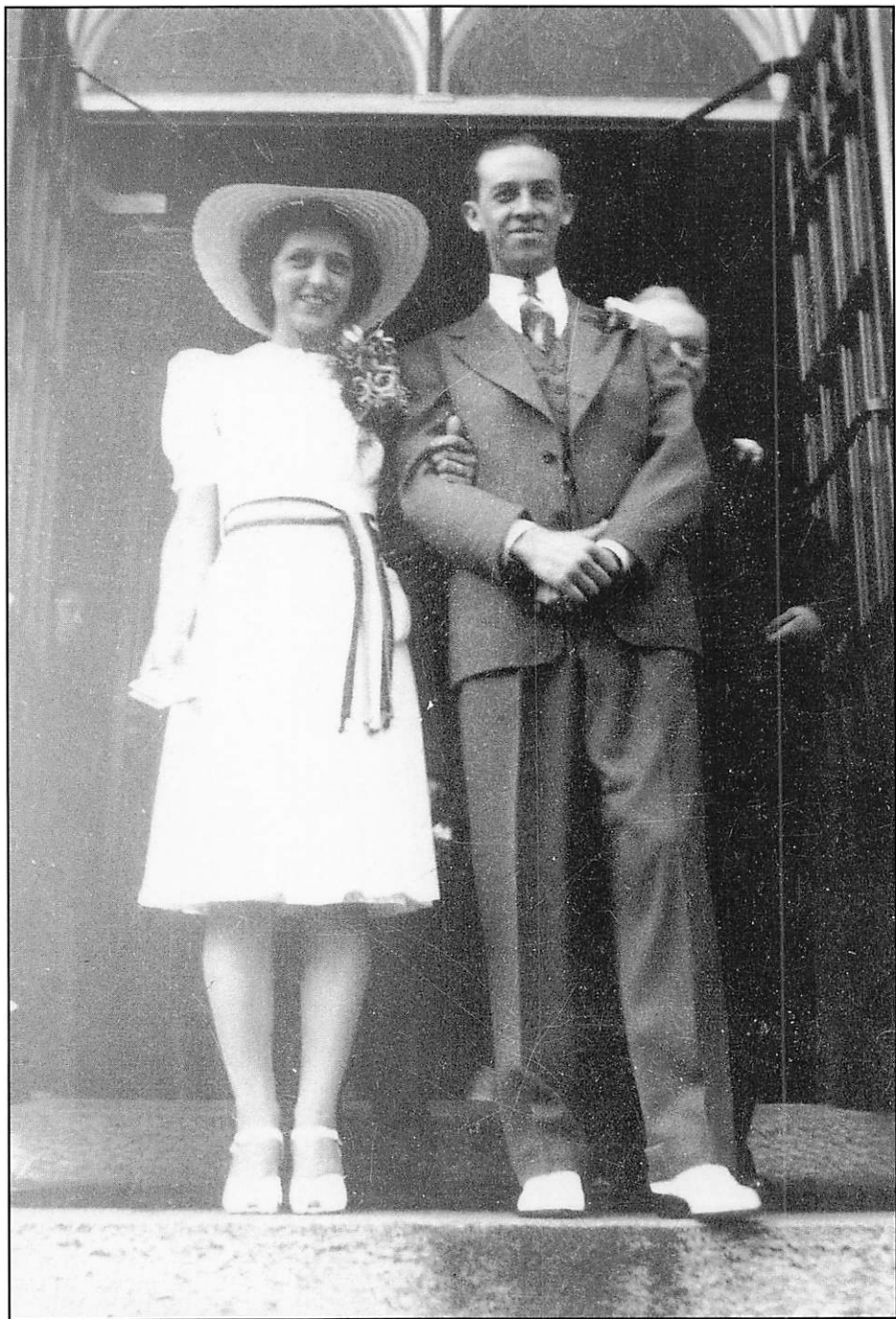
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Roland-Napoleon Ouellette married Irene Hattie Pelletier  
13 July 1940 at Holy Trinity Church, Central Falls, RI