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Je Me Souviens

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President's Message

By Jan Burkhart

I am a lifelong New Englander and I love the fact that we actually have four distinct seasons. I must admit that I don't love each season equally but I do like the familiar pattern. When winter winds are blowing, it is comforting to know that daffodils are just around the corner.

AFGS is like that too. We have the tried and true solid foundation of our wonderful research library with its rich collection of print material, its outstanding microfiche and film and its outstanding computer programs. Our members know that they will be receiving their two issues of Je Me Souviens and their six newsletters. If they come to the library they are assured of meeting friendly, knowledgeable people who love genealogy as much as they do. These are all the familiar aspects of AFGS.

But like the variations we find from season to season, AFGS members are also likely to find changes and variations. We are constantly trying to improve our resources. Examples of this are: a growing number of databases found on our wonderful web page; an assistive device to help our low vision members better utilize our print media; a group dedicated to DNA research; an increase in our free genealogy class programs; and continued improvements in our wonderful building.

We are delighted with the changes that are coming about. Watch your newsletters. We are hoping to have two major improvements to offer our members in the very near future. The leaves may be falling in New England but at AFGS, we are looking forward to new growth.

Author's Guidelines

Je Me Souviens publishes articles of interest to members of the American French Genealogical Society and people of French Canadian and Acadian descent. Articles dealing with history and genealogy are of primary interest, although articles on related topics will be considered. Especially desirable are articles dealing with sources and techniques, i.e. "how-to guides," related to specifics of French Canadian research.

All manuscripts must be well-documented (i.e. with sources) and well-written material on French-Canadian or Acadian history, genealogy, culture or folklore, but not necessarily limited to these areas. However, there MUST be a French-Canadian connection to what you submit. They can be of any length, though we reserve the right to break down long articles into 2 or more parts.

We prefer a clear, direct conversational style. A bibliography is desirable, and documentation is necessary for genealogical and historical submissions. Please use endnotes, rather than footnotes. All articles should be single-spaced and left-justified. Do not use bold, italics or underlining for headings.

All submissions must be in electronic form. Any word processing file will be accepted but we prefer .txt, .doc, and .rtf files. Please no PDFs. All illustrations and photos should be submitted as JPEG (Joint Photographic Experts Group) files. You may also submit printed black-and white photographs for publication. These photographs should be labeled with the submitter's name and contact information and the caption for the photo, preferably on the back. We are not responsible for loss or damage to originals and they may not be returned.

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French Canadian Emigration to the United States 1840-1930

By Claude Belanger and Damian-Claude Belanger

Between 1840 and 1930 roughly 900,000 French Canadians left Canada to emigrate to the United States. This important migration, which has now been largely forgotten in Quebec's collective memory, is certainly one of the major events in Canadian demographic history. According to the 1980 American census, 13.6 million Americans claimed to have French ancestors. While a certain number of these people may be of French, Belgian, Swiss, Cajun or Huguenot ancestry, it is certain that a large proportion would have ancestors who emigrated from French Canada or Acadia during the 19th and 20th centuries. Indeed, it has been estimated that, in the absence of emigration, there would be 4 to 5 million more francophones living in Canada today. Around 1900, there would scarcely have been a French-Canadian or Acadian family that did not have some of its members living in the United States. While similar patterns of emigration affected English Canada, Canadian historians have more or less ignored this phenomenon, largely because it was far more diffused, did not affect their society as much as Quebec was affected as it was more used to migration than French-speaking Quebec where "la survivance" was always a major concern, and, lastly, did not leave the enduring traces that French-Canadian emigration did. Simply put, English Canadians were less noticeable and assimilated far more rapidly into American society than did French-speaking Catholics.

Causes of French Canadian emigration to the United States

At the outset, two important points need to be established: the first one is that there are costs associated to emigration. These costs are economical, emotional and cultural. The economical costs are fairly easy to estimate as they are quantifiable. When individuals leave, assets have to be liquidated, often at a loss. Many material possessions have to be left behind. Packing material has to be acquired. Then there is the cost of transportation to their intended destination, and the cost of sustaining themselves during their travel. Lastly, there will be further costs of settlement, once the destination has been reached. The emotional costs are more difficult to estimate. To migrate often means to leave behind beloved family and friends with whom long association have forged strong emotional ties. To leave family and friends behind certainly meant to leave behind one's support system. It also always meant to forego the familiar surroundings of one's region and ancestral home, the land that generations of their ancestors had toiled, the landscape that had defined their environment since birth. All migrants have to face these wrenching emotional costs, and they will frequently remember very fondly that which they have left behind. The cultural costs may also be great. If one emigrates from a region that has particular cultural characteristics, such as way of life, language, religion and traditions that are quite different from the host society then one will have to adapt to a far greater extent than a migrant that would share many cultural elements with the receiving society. Thus, it is evident that the greater the costs, economical, emotional and cultural, the less likely one is to leave one's country for another. While the economical costs of French Canadians to leave for the United States might have been relatively small, the emotional and, especially, the cultural costs were quite high. They left behind a traditional rural society with strong family ties. They entered an industrial world, alien to them by virtue of its way of life, language and religion. Given these high emotional and cultural costs, it is surprising that so many French Canadians engaged in the migration process between 1840 and 1930. In fact, it would be normal to consider that French Canadians, who only find their language and religion dominant in a part of the continent, would be the least likely to engage in the migration process. Indeed, since the beginning of the 20th century, Quebec has had consistently the greatest rate of retention of its population of all

provinces in Canada (for more recent statistics, see this table as well). These comments serve to highlight particularly the factors of causation for the emigration of French Canadians to the Unites States: if French Canadians were the people least likely to migrate from Canada, what severe problems impelled them to leave?

The second factor to raise is one that is familiar to historians and sociologists: immigration is the result of the interplay of push and pull factors. As mentioned above, if there are potentially considerable costs to migrate, then one engages in this process only when there are very serious reasons to do so. These reasons may be personal, economical, social, or political. Historically, the great mover of large numbers of people has been poor or deteriorating economic conditions. When one's life is miserable, when one does not see a way to pull out of poverty, then one is literally pushed out of one's environment. In this respect, much discussion of the poor economic conditions in Quebec will be found below. If that is so, where should the migrant go? Sometimes, economical circumstances, or political restrictions, will limit the choice. However, there is no doubt that what will be the most attractive alternative, what will pull the immigrant, is the land around them that is the most prosperous. In this respect, it should be noted that in the 19th century, the United States emerged as one of the most industrialised and prosperous nations on earth. To the Québécois, the United States appeared as a vast Eldorado whose streets were literally paved with gold. These factors are explored further below.

While some French Canadians emigrated to the United States for political reasons, namely young men trying to evade military conscription during the First World War or rebels who had chosen to side with the American patriots during the American Revolution or who had participated in the Lower-Canadian rebellions of 1837-38, an overwhelming percentage of emigrants left for economic reasons. What were these economic reasons?

The fundamental underlying causes of French-Canadian emigration can be found in the unequal levels of industrial development, and thus of standards of living, between Quebec and

New England, or on a larger level, between Canada and the United States. The industrial gap, combined with structural problems that plagued Quebec's agriculture during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, created an economic climate where thousands of French Canadians were pushed to emigrate in order to earn a living. Thus, we can divide the causes of French-Canadian emigration into two categories: those that pushed French Canadians to emigrate and those that attracted emigrants to the United States or, more fundamentally, the causes which are internal and those which are external to Quebec.

On an internal level, it must be noted that Quebec's agriculture underwent tremendous strains during the 19th century. In part, these difficulties were demographic. Indeed, throughout the century, Quebec experienced very rapid population growth. However, by the 1830's and 1840's, Quebec's most fertile farm land had been systematically occupied, leaving mostly peripheral regions open to agricultural colonisation, and thousands of landless farmers searching either for affordable, accessible and fertile land, or gainful employment. Between 1784 and 1844, Quebec's population increased by about 400 %, while its total area of agricultural acreage rose only by 275 %, creating an important deficit of available farmland. While not as dramatic, this trend continued between 1851 and 1901. Since Quebec was largely a rural society in the 19th century, agricultural problems were truly national problems.

After the 1850's, colonisation began in several peripheral regions. Slowly, French-Canadians began to farm in the Laurentians, the Saguenay-Lake St-John, the Lower St. Lawrence and the Matapedia Valley, certain forested or unexploited areas of the Ottawa Valley and the Eastern Townships, and, eventually as far north as the Temiscaming. In the last quarter of the 19th century, French Canadians would also begin to emigrate to Eastern Ontario, and, in smaller numbers, to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Generally speaking, the regions of Quebec that began to be actively colonised in the second half of the 19th century suffered either from a lack of fertility, a difficult access to major markets, a

short growing season, or a combination of all three factors. Thus, agricultural activity in these regions was quite arduous and often was largely oriented towards self-sufficiency and subsistence. For many, farming in these areas was only a part time activity. These farmers participated in an economy based on agriculture and forestry. Farming was often so unprofitable in peripheral regions that many would have to spend the entire winter, and part of spring and fall, working in the various primary stages of the timber trade. These seasonal jobs gave farmers access to desperately needed hard currency to develop their farms and ensure their subsistence but created long term patterns of dependency. Indeed, with timber barons being often the only major employers in many regions, farmers had little or no choice but to enter into a dependent relationship with them. Frequently, timber companies paid their employees with company scrip, lent money at very high interest rates, were the only market for the produce of local farms or monopolised the retail trade through company stores. They thus controlled the retail and purchasing price for goods, services, manpower and credit. The result was near monopolies that could have a virtual stranglehold over their region, notably, through debt peonage. Both the farmer and the timber baron lived in a symbiotic relationship. The farmer needed the employment, and the markets created by the timber industry, while the timber baron relied on the farmer to provide the manpower and the produce needed to fuel his logging camps. While co-dependent, there is no doubt, given the plentiful supply of labour, as to who profited the most from this system. The farmer could not subsist without the timber trade while the relative poverty engendered by subsistence level agriculture provided the cheap labour that the timber baron needed to generate profit. Quebec historians have termed this relationship *l'économie agro-forestière.*

Aside from the obvious difficulties associated with this type of farming, agriculture in the more fertile and established regions also suffered from serious problems. For most farmers, credit, vital to agricultural expansion, technical amelioration, crop diversification and improvement of the livestock, was difficult to obtain. Before the creation and widespread expansion of *Caisses populaires* and the government farm credit system established in the 1930's,

standard agricultural credit was difficult to obtain in rural Quebec. In the 19th century, and for a good part of the 20th, Quebec's banking network was vastly deficient, largely concentrated in major cities, and overwhelmingly anglophone. Banks that did have branches in rural parishes were few, frequently smaller French-Canadian institutions, regional in their scope, and had a smaller access to capital. Moreover, they tended to lend money not to farmers but rather to the local elite. Farmers frequently had to turn to local usurers for credit, with all the problems which usury entails. Claude Henri Grignon's novel *Un homme et son péché*, published in 1933, is a good illustration of this point.

The problem of indebtedness was of course related to the low productivity of the Quebec farms. There were various reasons for this state of affairs and historians have debated them for decades. These reasons will be discussed more fully elsewhere at the site. However, it should be noted that, ever since the beginning of the 19th century, Quebec was in a state of agricultural crisis that would truly only end with rural electrification, as well as with the large-scale development of the dairy industry and market gardening in the 20th century. Essentially, it should be borne in mind that until the onset of the 20th century, the vast majority of Quebecers lived on farms, when the climate, land base, and quality of soils suggested that this should not be so. Without proper alternatives, the people of Quebec were condemned to rural life. Without credit they could not improve their condition and, consequently, they fell increasingly into poverty. Historians Yves Roby and Jean Hamelin [*Histoire économique du Québec*, 1851-1896, Montreal, Fides 1971, p. 22] have estimated that the gross revenues derived from agriculture by Quebec farmers were, on average, $230 annually. This was less than half the income that Ontario farmers derived from their land.

Thus, credit problems, and the poverty attending it, were an important motivator for emigration. Farmers all over Quebec would have to migrate to big cities in order to find work either to pay off their debts, or after their farms had been foreclosed. Furthermore, lack of credit hampered agricultural modernisation which, in turn, engendered un-dynamic, un-profitable farming.

Overall, these factors combined to generate poverty even within the most fertile of Quebec's regions.

Poverty, overpopulation, debt and infertile soils pushed French Canadians off their land. However, external factors also attracted emigrants to the United States. Indeed, during the second half of the 19th century, Canada and the United States experienced rapid industrial growth. However industrialisation progressed far more rapidly in the USA while Canada's economy remained more dependent on primary economic activity. Moreover, industrial wages were generally higher in the United States than they were in Canada. Simply put, jobs were easier to obtain in the USA and at better wages.

Farmers who left their land were naturally attracted to the factories of the United States. Despite the fact that, around 1890, a greater share of the Quebec economy depended on industry than Ontario did, labour markets were saturated in the industrial agglomerations of Quebec and wages were low; work was much easier to find in the USA and wages were higher. Moreover, these factory jobs frequently required no formal skills or education and often would employ children and women. While this was true of light industry throughout Canada and the United States, it was especially true in the huge textile factories of New England where several members of a family could find work.

A majority of French-Canadian emigrants to the United States were from rural parishes and agricultural problems are at the root of the economic factors that stimulated emigration. However, a significant portion of emigrants were city-dwellers. Most of these emigrants left to find more stable, higher paying work in the USA. While for most, emigration usually meant proletarization, some middle class French Canadians also emigrated. Priests, motivated by an apostolic zeal to safeguard the souls of their compatriots, but also seeking the higher standard of living which working class American parishes provided over rural or proletarian ones in Quebec, eventually followed the general movement south. Doctors, lawyers, grocers and a wide swath of Quebec society also emigrated, thus capitalising on the emigrant's tendency to

ghettoise and patronise businesses and professionals who speak his language and understand his culture.

While emigration was often seen as a temporary solution to short-term financial problems such as debt or unemployment, for many the higher standard of living of the United States became difficult to forego. Many emigrants having left Quebec to avoid seasonal unemployment, or to save money in order to buy a farm or machinery, or to pay off their debts, found themselves unable to return home. While low paying factory work may seem miserable to some, it was a dream come true for many emigrants who had lived under far harsher conditions on Quebec farms or factories. For many farmers industrial work represented a successful social gain. American life was, for many emigrants, especially in the 19th century, their first real contact with the wonders of electricity, running water, a steady paycheck, and annual holidays!

The development of the railway stimulated emigration. As Eastern North America's railroad network became more complex and affordable, emigrating to the United States became simpler and cheaper. Indeed, while in 1840 a trip from Montreal to Vermont would have taken several arduous and expensive days in a cart, by the 1880's it would only be a question of a few dollars and hours.

Thus, the emigration of French Canadians to the United States was internally caused by demographic pressures, rural poverty created by indebtedness and a host of other ills related to the climatic and geographical characteristics of the province, low productivity of the farms, the developing agricultural crisis, the lack of suitable regions of colonisation, the insufficient level of industrial development to absorb the excess population and the low wages that inevitably attended such a catastrophic situation. Externally, the proximity of the New England factories that offered easy employment, good wages by Quebec standards, and the cheap and easy access through the rail system fuelled the migration.

Where did the emigrants go?

The railway also changed patterns of emigration. During the

opening phases of the movement, roughly from the 1840's to the 1860's, emigrants tended to head for Northern New York State, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine. They mostly sought work as farmhands, in lumber camps and in proto-industrial shops like the brickworks of Vermont. However, by the 1870's and 1880's, as industrialisation progressed in New England and railway ties between Quebec and the North Eastern United States became more solid, emigration patterns shifted from the States of Northern New England to the textile towns of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and, to a lesser extent, Connecticut.

Table 1

Distribution of French Canadians in New England, 1860-1880

State	Population in 1860	% of French distribution	Population in 1880	% of French distribution
Maine	7,490	20.0	29,000	13.9
New Hampshire	1,780	4.7	26,200	12.6
Vermont	16,580	44.3	33,500	16.1
Massachusetts	7,780	20.8	81,000	38.9
Rhode Island	1,810	5.0	19,800	9.5
Connecticut	1,980	5.3	18,500	8.9
Total	37,420	100.0	208,100	100.0

Source of the data: Ralph D. Vicero, Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968, p. 275; as given in Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle Angleterre*, 1776-1930, Sillery, Septentrion, 1990, p. 47

Table 2

Distribution of Franco-Americans* in New England, 1900-1930

State	Population in 1900	% of French distribution	Population in 1930	% of French distribution
Maine	58,583	11.3	99,765	13.4
New Hampshire	74,598	14.4	101,324	13.6
Vermont	41,286	8.0	46,956	6.4
Massachusetts	250,024	48.1	336,871	45.3
Rhode Island	56,382	10.9	91,173	12.3
Connecticut	37,914	7.3	67,130	9.0
Total	518,887	100.0	743,219	100.0

*Persons born in Canada, or in the United States of one or two French-Canadian parents.

Source of the data: Leon Truesdell, The Canadian Born in the United States, New haven, 1943, p. 77; as given in Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, Sillery, Septentrion, 1990, p. 282.

Emigration was thus largely centred on New England. Emigrants usually chose to move to towns and states relatively close to the Quebec section of the Canadian border. However, French Canadians living outside of Quebec also preferred to migrate to states adjacent or close to the Canadian border. Franco-Ontarians frequently moved to Michigan and Illinois while Franco-Manitobans and other Western French Canadians often opted for

Minnesota and Wisconsin. Around 1900, Minneapolis and St. Paul contained a fairly large community of French Canadians. This pattern ensured that States like Rhode Island would prove more attractive to emigrants than New York City, the Mecca of immigration in America, Pennsylvania or California.

The focus of French Canadian immigration to the New England area particularly is also related to two factors raised at the beginning of this article when the cost of immigration was discussed. Given his poverty, the French Canadian emigrant could not afford to go very far. The farther the destination, and the greater the length of time one had to travel, the greater the cost would be. New England provided the greatest opportunity at the lowest cost. However, it also minimised the cultural costs. Given the reality that French Canadians would have great cultural costs in leaving Quebec, one can only understand their large-scale emigration in the 19th century as a reflection of the serious economic problems of the time and because of the geographical contiguity of New England to Quebec. Essentially, it could be argued, these emigrants did not really leave Quebec not only because they often thought of their emigration as temporary, as will be discussed below, or because they established themselves in "petits Canadas" that resembled very closely the geographical and social patterns of Quebec, but, as well, because, in a sense, all they were doing was to slightly enlarge the borders of French Canada. In this sense, there was little difference between settling into New England or into the Saguenay region.

The initial patterns of emigration to New England were reinforced by what has been termed *l'émigration en chaîne*. Family and parochial ties played an important role in stimulating and channeling emigration. Often, the emigration of an entire nuclear family would begin with the departure of a couple of its members who would sound out the general situation in a given town and then would send for the rest of their family. Cousins, uncles and nephews would often join the initial family before bringing their own relatives down, creating a pattern of settlement where family ties became the primary source of support and information in the United States. This pattern would often ensure that certain

American towns would receive French-Canadian emigrants mostly from specific towns or parishes within Quebec. For example, the French Canadians of Southbridge, Massachusetts, tended to come from Sorel and Saint-Ours. This pattern, familiar to sociologists, also served to minimise emotional and cultural costs of emigration.

Emigrants themselves became the primary vectors of emigration. Visits and letters home would often put French Canadians in Quebec in contact with American life. Upon their return to Quebec, whether temporary or permanent, emigrants frequently painted an idyllic vision of New England factory life and encouraged many of their relatives or neighbours to try their luck *aux États*. In visits home, the emigrant often spent lavish sums of money to impress his family and neighbours and to prove to them that he had become successful. In many rural parishes, the gleam of a gilded pocket watch, a store bought suit or dress and a few American trinkets clashed with the relative material poverty of the local inhabitants. Indeed, the expressions "l'oncle des États" [uncle from the States] or "la tante des États" [aunt from the States] developed in Quebec to describe any relative that was rich, whether that relative was from the United States or not! The emigrant often became the symbol of success, stimulating others to follow his path to industrial New England.

Economic conditions and the process of immigration

Emigration followed an ebb and flow pattern. Economic prosperity and boom in the United States would lead to an important rise in the number of emigrants while recessions would push French Canadians to remain in Quebec or, if they lived in the USA, to return to Canada. During the period that saw the greatest number of people leave Quebec, from 1860 to 1900, several booms and busts either slowed or sped up emigration patterns. From the end of the American Civil War to 1873 and during the beginning of the 1880's and 1890's, emigration reached a fever pitch, while from 1873 to 1879, for most of the 1880's and from 1894 to 1896, it slowed down.

Economic recessions would lead to wage reductions and

unemployment. Thus, lower wages, and a congested labour market would make emigration a less attractive option for many. Moreover, strikes, which often occurred during recessionary periods, when wages stagnated or were reduced, could also push the emigrant to return to Quebec. While most emigrants tended to occupy low paying non-unionized jobs, they were sometimes affected by strikes among their better paid, skilled and unionized colleagues. In an era where unions were relatively weak, strike funds were insufficient and social security was almost inexistant, strikes could spell disaster for workers and gobble up their savings rapidly. They often impelled the emigrant to gather up his savings and return home, if only temporarily.

Indeed, French Canadian emigration was frequently not permanent. Roughly half of the 900 000 people who left Quebec would return after one or several stays in the United States. As we have seen, many emigrants sought only to stay long enough to accumulate savings that would be sufficient to pay off their debts or to acquire a farm or start a business. This issue is discussed further under the heading of *rapatriement* elsewhere at the site

Quebec's reaction to immigration

Although it was a temporary strategy for many, emigration was seen as a disaster by Quebec's elite who fought, unsuccessfully, to stop it. Approximately from 1840 to 1880, this elite perceived those who chose to emigrate as un-patriotic people whose departure would weaken French Canada by undermining its demographic position within Confederation. French-Canadian emigrants were presented as unhappy, exploited people who would lose their faith and language and be completely assimilated by American society. The clerical elite frequently misidentified the reasons for emigration laying the blame on the laziness of the emigrant or the extravagant desire for luxury of his wife. They were portrayed as weak people, incapable of effort or sacrifice, self-centered and inconsiderate of others. This negative characterization reflects the great sense of loss that was felt by the community, and a futile attempt to cover up by pretending that it did not matter in any case. The classic example of this attitude is

attributed to George-Etienne Cartier, the father of Confederation, who is reported to have said: "*Laissez-les partir, c'est la racaille qui s'en va*" [let them go, it's the riff-raff that are leaving]. Given this attitude, little was done to prevent this immigration, to address the real problems that caused it, and to provide the emigrants with the social, religious and cultural support they needed in the new communities they established in the United States.

However, from about 1880, Quebec's elite began to change its view of this emigration. The magnitude of the phenomenon was such, and the causes leading to it were so obvious, that the elite could not continue to stigmatise and stereotype these emigrants. They realised that assimilation was not necessarily a foregone conclusion for those who emigrated. When faced with the relative dynamism of many emigrant communities, they revised their vision of emigration. Indeed, it was during this period that the term « Franco-American » began to be used to designate French-Canadians living in the United States.

While the general phenomenon of emigration was still largely condemned as being a danger to French-Canadian society, Quebec's elite began to view Franco-Americans more favourably. For some traditional nationalists, such as Jules-Paul Tardivel, emigration was to be part of a movement to extend the boundaries of French Canada and of Catholicism. Franco-Americans could maintain their faith and language and could even be the backbone of an apostolic reconquest of Protestant North America. In such a view, French Canadians in the United States became an important element in the developing "messianism" of French Canada. However, cultural survival and expansion could only be guaranteed if the emigrant was well surrounded by French Canadian priests and institutions. Accordingly, hundreds of Catholic clergymen and nuns eventually left Quebec to serve in Franco-American communities. They ministered to the spiritual needs, established schools and hospitals, and created social institutions that mirrored the patterns of Quebec.

While Quebec's elite philosophised about the reconquest of the continent or the weakening of French Canada, they also sought to

put an end to emigration through a variety of colonisation and repatriation schemes. The clerical elite, whose ideology was heavily marked by agriculturalism, felt that emigration was fundamentally a rural problem and that the massive colonisation of new agricultural land would put an end to the phenomenon. They would call upon the government to stimulate the development of unexploited regions, and gave what aid they could to those who chose to farm in peripheral regions. Periodically, the provincial and federal governments would launch repatriation programmes that sought to establish Franco-Americans on farms in the Canadian West or in the colonisation regions of Quebec. These schemes usually met with mitigated success as many emigrants had no desire to return to the land or, in many cases, already owned land.

However, some of Quebec's elite, mostly liberal intellectuals and politicians, realised that emigration was both an agricultural and an industrial problem. For these people, industrialisation would put an end to emigration. They sought to stimulate foreign investment so as to develop the secondary and tertiary segments of Quebec's economy. They reasoned that it was industrial jobs and wages that had attracted emigrants to the United States and that French Canadians would stay in, or return to Quebec, if they could earn a living there. They sought to develop the transportation infrastructure so that Quebec goods gain easy access to markets. Such policies became the backbone of the Liberal governments from 1897 onward. Alexandre Taschereau, Quebec's premier from 1920 to 1936, was fond of saying that he preferred to import capital than export French Canadians. Indeed, this was the feeling of most people in Quebec at the time and that is partly why they continuously returned such governments to power, and kept them in place for long periods of time.

This dismayed traditional nationalists, such as Lionel Groulx, who saw industrialisation and the foreign control of Quebec's economy as a danger to French-Canadian society as great as was emigration. They argued that French Canada was an inherently rural society and that urbanisation and industrialisation would upset its traditional balance. Emigration was a disaster not only because it

placed French Canadians in a foreign country but also because it exposed them to a foreign environment: the dangerous and dirty life of urban, industrial exploitation. The factory was as foreign to French Canada as was the United States.

Franco-Americans and the "Little Canadas"

While Quebec's clerical elite condemned the factory and the dangers of urban life, Franco-Americans adapted themselves to it in their own way. As patterns of emigration began to fill certain American towns with French Canadians, neighbourhoods began to acquire a French flavour. These neighbourhoods were called "Little Canadas" and life in them was predominantly French and Catholic. Around their local church and school, life appeared much the same as it was in some parts of Quebec. In these "Little Canadas", Franco-Americans could often speak French to their priest, grocer or doctor. This was especially the case as the number of French priests, most of them sent from Quebec, rose substantially as time passed. Father Hamon, in his 1891 study, had found that 175 French-speaking priests ministered to the French parishes of New England; the ratio of French priests to francophone parishioners was the highest in the diocese of Burlington, in Vermont (1610:1) and lowest in the diocese of Providence that straddled Massachusetts and Rhode Island (2866:1) [see the corresponding figures for Quebec]. Given the concentration of French Catholics in urban centres, these figures were already rather good. Yet, over time they improved substantially. A careful examination of the *Guide officiel des Franco-Americains*, 1927, where the editor carefully listed every francophone priest found in the United States, tells us that there were 620 French-speaking priests in the same area Hamon had covered earlier. Some communities were especially well serviced in their national parishes. Plattsburg, New York, had 8 Franco-American priests in 1927. Pawtucket and Woonsocket, both in Rhode Island, had 13 and 22 Franco-American priests respectively. Lowell, Massachusetts had 21 French-speaking priests. The number of French-speaking professionals, many of them educated in Quebec, also rose substantially and contributed greatly to providing services in French in many communities, and thus

contributed to survivance. In 1927, there were 61 Franco-American doctors in Maine and 178 in Massachusetts. The community of Fall River had 8 francophone lawyers, 21 doctors, 11 dentists and 16 pharmacists. Lowell had 45 similar Franco-American professionals. As the emigrants would slowly take over a factory, French sometimes became the language of work on the shop floor, and bewildered anglophone foremen sought to learn a few key French words and phrases to keep things running smoothly. All these elements contributed to slow down the rate of assimilation among Franco-Americans.

While Franco-Americans encountered some resistance in their attempts to withstand assimilation, notably from Irish-Americans who sought to maintain their relative hegemony over the Catholic Church in America, they were largely successful, for a time, in building impressive institutional and social networks. Around 1900, Franco-Americans were sufficiently numerous in New England to have their own French parishes, bilingual parochial schools, French newspapers and fraternal organisations. While many Franco-Americans were being assimilated before the 1930's, a steady stream of new arrivals from Quebec, and a dynamic though somewhat ghettoized community, ensured that their society would continue to thrive. Around 1900, a list of the twenty-five North American towns containing the most francophones would have included Fall River, Massachusetts (33 000 Franco-Americans), Lowell, Massachusetts (24 800), Manchester, New Hampshire (23 000), and Woonsocket, Rhode Island (17 000). In these large cities, they frequently constituted a sizeable proportion of the total population, sometimes as much as 25% to 60%. The importance of these figures will be grasped when it is remembered that, if they are compared to the cities of Quebec, then Fall River was the third largest French Canadian city in importance, after Montreal and Quebec City; Lowell would be in fourth place, etc. In fact, in 1900, the New England area contained ten cities with a French Canadian population in excess of 10,000, while Quebec only had five, most of them barely above 10,000. During the same period, there were roughly as many daily French newspapers in New England as in Quebec; an author estimated that 195 Franco-American newspapers were founded between 1838 and 1910.

The French Canadian emigrant to New England was a factory worker, particularly in the huge cotton mills that dotted the area. In this respect, the French Canadian immigrants played a significant role in the industrial expansion of the New England area in the last half of the 19th century. Some of these textile mills had as many as 10,000 workers and employment was often readily available, as upwardly mobile English and Scots moved out of the area and were replaced by the Irish, French Canadians, Southern and Eastern Europeans. In these factories, wages were low, although higher than in Quebec, and work related accidents were frequent. The heat created by the machines, and the proper lack of ventilation, was stiffening; the noise of dozens of machines all working at the same time was deafening and could be heard hundreds of meters away from the factories; cotton dust was everywhere and coated the workers' lungs. Working hours were long, from 10-12 hours a day, up to six days a week, and much of it was spent standing while keeping an eye on several machines. These conditions were commonplace at the time and not restricted to New England. The newcomers were frequently victims of discrimination, as immigrants with a different language and religion often were at the time. They were called "frogs", pea-soupers" or Canucks. In this case, the national antipathy was compounded by the fact that French Canadians worked for lower wages, and sometimes were used as strikebreakers. They were blamed for keeping wages low and for resisting naturalisation. The classic pronouncement on this issue was in 1881, by Carroll D. Wright, Head of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts who wrote that French Canadians were "the Chinese of the Eastern States" who had no interest in the American social and political institutions. The comparison with the Chinese, when one understands the very unfavourable view that North Americans had of them at the time, greatly offended leaders of the French Canadian community. Intermarriage with people of other nationalities was not frequent, at least until the third generation.

The living conditions and the socio-economic status of the inhabitants of the "Little Canadas" were very poor. Based on the data presented by Father Hamon, in his book *Les Canadiens-*

Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, published in 1891, the percentage of proprietors among Franco-Americans in 1889 was rather small in the large cities ranging from a low 4.2% in Manchester to a high of 21% in Worcester. Thus, as they rarely owned property, they lived in tenements that are described as lacking comfort and amenities, and usually far too small and overcrowded. Built around the most uninteresting part of the town, in shabby surroundings, the "Little Canadas" had a considerable population density, among the highest in the United States. Thus, one should not be surprised that health conditions were also poor. For example, in 1886 a diphtheria epidemic in Brunswick, Maine, killed 74 French Canadians, most of them children. A study conducted on the French Canadian population of Lowell, in 1875, indicates that about 52% were in very difficult economic circumstances. Another study of wages paid in the cotton mills in 1908 shows that French Canadian mill workers earned $10.09 a week on average. This amount was between 5-25% lower that the wage earned by Irish, English or Scottish mill workers. Nor did the situation improve rapidly. Research conducted in 1935 in Newburyport, where about 1500 Franco-Americans lived, shows that, when the population is divided according to income into five different classes, 40% of French Canadians fell in the lowest category, another 23.8% fell in the fourth and 15.3% fell in the lower middle class category. Yet, what should be remembered is that, despite these miserable conditions, French Canadians continued to come to the United States until 1930. That fact is the truest testimony of the miserable socio-economic conditions that prevailed over much of French-speaking Quebec at the time.

Franco-Americans were largely ghettoized. Nevertheless, they participated in American life. Father Hamon, in the study quoted previously, listed 103 French Canadians occupying public functions throughout New England in 1889. It should be noted that he applied a very liberal definition of the functions, listing such people as postmasters, tax collectors and Justices of the Peace. Still, the figure is large enough to allow us to nuance the Wright Report that claimed that Franco-Americans showed no interest in American civic affairs. Franco-Americans would join American fraternal organisations, play baseball and football and attend public

high schools. Roughly 4000 of them fought for the Union side during the Civil War, and tens of thousands served their country during World War One and Two. Indeed, more Franco-Americans fought in the American army in the First World War than French Canadians did in the Canadian army. This fact was not missed by the Canadian government that advertised in the Franco-American press to recruit soldiers. While many Franco-Americans sought to preserve their language, culture and institutions, they could also be as patriotic and nativistic as contemporary native-born Protestant Americans.

The decline of the "Little Canadas" and the progressive assimilation of Franco-Americans

While Franco-American communities thrived around the turn of the century, and it was possible to live and work in French in several towns in New England until the 1940's, by the middle of the 20th century assimilation had largely run its course. The decline of Franco-America can chiefly be attributed to causes that were both external and internal to New England.

Externally, the demise of Franco-America can be blamed on the gradual decline and eventual end of French-Canadian emigration. Among the emigrant communities, new arrivals had always compensated for the losses sustained by assimilation, and allowed Franco-America to perpetuate itself. However, in 1930, during the opening phases of the Great Depression, the American government put a virtual stop to Canadian immigration by imposing severe restrictions on continental immigration and naturalisation (extra-continental immigration had been severely restricted from 1928 on). However, this was but the immediate cause for the halting of French-Canadian emigration. On a structural level, emigration ended because Quebec's economy and industrial structure grew at an unprecedented rate during World War Two and the postwar era. Simply put, as industrialisation sped up in the 1940's, there were enough better paid jobs available in Quebec to ensure that Quebecers did not have to leave the Province in droves to earn a living.

On an internal level, the decline of Franco-America can chiefly be attributed to the decline of the textile industry in New England and to the social rise of Franco-Americans. From the beginning of the 20th century to the mid 1930's the cotton industry of New England, which employed thousands of Franco-Americans, began to relocate to the states of the Southern USA, where labour costs were lower. The closing of a mill in a single industry town often forced Franco-Americans to return to Quebec and discouraged others from emigrating there. Moreover, while the textile industry slowly moved south, Franco-Americans were slowly climbing the social ladder and leaving their lower paying jobs and tenement neighbourhoods to a new generation of cheap foreign labour composed of Greco-Americans, Polish-Americans, and Italian-Americans. This social ascent intensified in the 1940's and 1950's as postwar prosperity allowed many Franco-Americans to leave their tenements in the Little Canadas and move to a less crowded suburban life. This geographic dispersion broke the isolation of many Franco-American communities and hastened assimilation.

American life and culture seduced younger Franco-Americans who realised that assimilation was the key to social improvement. Those who attended American public high schools or were drafted in the two World wars were at a greater risk of assimilation. Franco-Americans, long accused of lack of patriotism toward the United States, joined the army in great numbers during the two world wars. For example, the small community of Salmon Falls in New Hampshire contributed 68 soldiers to the Great War even though the community only had 125 Franco-American families. The leaders of the Franco-American community supported conscription as a means to show their loyalty to the USA. Eventually, by the 1960's, French could only be heard spoken in New England by middle-aged and elderly people. Despite a certain cultural renaissance that began in Franco-America in the 1970's, under the impulse of the New Ethnicity movement, French is no longer a functional language in New England. The once strong ties of kinship that bound Quebec to French New England have loosened to the point of virtual collapse.

The legacy of French Canadian immigration to the United

States

French Canadian emigration has left an enduring mark upon French Canada and New England. Historians have yet to accurately measure the cultural and economic impact of the repatriation of those who chose to return to Quebec. Aside from stimulating the economy by returning with their savings, these emigrants also carried a certain cultural baggage. They introduced new Anglicisms like *facterie* (factory/usine) into the French Canadian language, and new dishes like the *pâté chinois* (shepherd's pie, called chinois because it had been encountered in China, Maine) into the French Canadian diet. The emigrant became one of the prime vessels of transmission for American culture within French Canada. They also helped project a very positive image of the United States in Quebec, in sharp contrast to the anti-Americanism that sometimes characterised English-speaking Canada. To this day this positive image has remained.

Emigrants also left their mark on New England. They strengthened its Catholic institutions and participated in its industrialization process. The Credit Union movement in America began after Alphonse Desjardins helped Franco-Americans in several towns found their own Caisses populaires.

A good deal of research remains to be done on emigration and Franco-American life. Both French-Canadian and Franco-American societies offer insights into each other. Indeed, it is interesting to note that while French is, for the most part, no longer spoken in Franco-America, the Roman Catholic faith there has remained strong. In Quebec the opposite has occurred. Each society has maintained an important pillar of survival and a backbone of French Canadian identity before the 1960's: language and faith. As historians in Quebec « discover » their forgotten relatives in the United States, they learn much about their own society, which has also undergone radical social changes in this century.

Note on sources

While there are still gaps in the research, the literature on this subject is considerable, of high quality and of great interest. This literature is available both in English and in French, from an increasing body of historians and social scientists with French Canadian roots in the United States, and from Quebec historians. Only a few are mentioned here as a proper bibliography would cover several pages.

A good bibliographical essay, unfortunately written nearly twenty years ago, is Gérard J. Brault, "*État présent des études sur les centres Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre", in Vie française, Situation de la recherche sur la Franco américanie*, Québec, 1980, pp. 9-36. The book contains a wide variety of analyses of interest to our subject. Indeed, the entire collection of the Vie française colloquiums is to be consulted; all are edited by Claire Quintal. Among these are *L'émigrant québécois vers les États-Unis: 1850-1920*, Québec, 1982, 122p. *Le journalisme de langue française aux États-Unis, Québec*, 1984, 162p. *L'émigrant acadien vers les États-Unis:* 1842-1950, Québec, 1984, 177p.

The best analysis of the emigration of French Canadians to the United States is Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre,* 1776-1930, Sillery, Septentrion, 1990, 434p. This book would deserve to be translated into English. Another general source of information is Gérard J. Brault, The French Canadian Heritage in New England, Hanover, University Press of New England, 1986, 282p. The Brault volume contains a very extensive bibliography on pages 241-264.

The best measurements of the phenomenon of emigration to the United States and of the methodological problems associated with this research have been made by Gilles Paquet and Wayne Smith, "*L'Émigration des Canadiens français vers les États-Unis, 1790-1940: problématique et coups de sonde*", in *l'Actualité économique*, Vol. 59, No 3, (September 1983): 423-453 and Yolande Lavoie, *L'Émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 à 1930, Québec, Conseil de la langue française*, 1979. Ralph Vicero, "*Sources statistiques pour l'étude de l'immigration et du peuplement canadien-français en Nouvelle-Angleterre au cours du*

XIXe siècle", in Recherches sociographiques, Vol, 12 (1971):361-377. The data provided by Lavoie is universally used in the literature today.

A very useful short discussion of the causes of the emigration of French Canadians is found in Albert Faucher, "Explication socio-économique des migrations dans l'histoire du Québec", in Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, Series IV, Vol 13 (1975): 91-107. Another excellent study, by the leading expert on the subject is Yves Roby, "L'évolution économique du Québec et l'immigrant (1850-1929)", in Claire Quintal, ed., *L'émigration québécoise vers les États-Unis: 1850-1920, Québec, Conseil de la Vie française*, 1982. The entire volume is full of incisive essays.

The shifting view of the elite of French Canadian emigration to the USA is analysed by Yves Roby in "Les Canadiens français des États-Unis (1860-1900): dévoyés ou missionnaires" in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. 41, No 1 (Summer 1987): 3-22.

A useful beginning for examining French Canadians' views of the United States, particularly through its literature is Jacques Cotnam, "Americans Viewed Through French Canadian Eyes" in *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Spring 1977): 784-796.

The important Sentinelle issue that brought the French Canadians of Woonsocket to clash with their Irish Episcopacy over issues of survivance is discussed in R. S. Sorrell, "Sentinelle Affair (1924-1929) – Religion and Militant Survivance in Woonsocket, Rhode Island", in *Rhode Island History*, Vol. 36 (1977): 67-79. This issue is not discussed above as it will be dealt with separately in another text. A similar issue [Flint Affair] is discussed in Philip T. Sylvia, The 'Flint Affair': French-Canadian Struggle for Survivance", in Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 45, No. 3 (July 1979): 414-435.

All of the following studies contribute an element in understanding the Franco American society, way of life or socio-economic condition. Pierre Anctil, "L'identité de l'immigrant québécois en Nouvelle-Angleterre. Le Rapport Wright de 1882", in Recherches

Sociographiques, Vol. 22, No. 3 (1981): 331-360. Pierre Anctil, "La Franco-Américanie ou le Québec d'en bas", in Cahiers de géographie de Québec, Vol. 23 (April 1979): 39-52. Pierre Anctil, "The Chinese of the Eastern States, 1881", in Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1981): 125-130. Iris Saunders Podea, "Quebec to 'Little Canada': The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century", in New England Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1950): 365-380. Claire Quintal, ed., The Little Canadas of New England, Worcester French Institute, Assumption College, 1983. Bruno Ramirez, "French Canadian Immigrants in the New England Cotton Industry: A Socioeconomic profile", in Labour/Le travailleur, No. 11 (Spring 1983) 125-142. Bruno Ramirez et Jean Lamarre, "Du Québec vers les États-Unis: L'étude des lieux d'origine", in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 38, No 3 (1985): 409-422. Jacques Rouillard, Ah les États! Les travailleurs canadiens-français dans l'industrie textile de la Nouvelle-Angleterre d'après le témoignage des derniers migrants, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1985, 155p. Richard S. Sorrell, "The survivance of French Canadians in New England (1865-1930): History, Geography and Demography as Destiny", in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January 1981): 91-109. Martin Tetreault, "Immigration et santé publique: Lowell, Massachusetts, 1865-1890", in Canadian Historical Association, Papers, 1985, pp. 29-44

Emigration to the United States from Canada and Quebec, 1840-1940

Period	Canadian	Rate of	Quebec	Rate of	Quebec
1840-1850	75 000	4,3	35 000	5,4	47
1850-1860	150 000	7	70 000	7,8	47
1860-1870	300 000	10,7	100 000	10 (est)	33
1870-1880	375 000	11	120 000	10,1	32

1870-1880	375 000	11	120 000	10,1	32
1880-1890	450 000	11,3	150 000	11,3	33
1890-1900	425 000	9,7	140 000	9,6	33
1900-1910	325 000	6,4	100 000	6	31
1910-1920	250 000	4	80 000	4	32
1920-1930	450 000	6	130 000	5,6	29
1930-1940	25 000	0,3	-	-	-
1840-1940	2 800 000		900 000		32

Source: Yolande Lavoie, L'émigration des Québécois aux Etats-Unis de 1840 à 1930, Quebec, 1981, 68p., p. 53.

Regional breakdown of the Franco-American population (1930)[1]

REGION AND STATE	NUMBER OF FRANCO-AMERICANS AND PERCENT OF TOTAL (1930)
New England	**743,219 (67.2 %)**
Maine	99,765 (9 %)
New Hampshire	101,324 (9.2 %)
Vermont	46,956 (4.2 %)
Massachusetts	336,871 (30.5 %)
Rhode Island	91,173 (8.2 %)
Connecticut	67,130 (6.1 %)
Middle Atlantic	**96,621 (8.7 %)**
New York	83,057 (7.5 %)
New Jersey	7,423 (0.7 %)
Pennsylvania	6,141 (0.6 %)
East North Central	**146,752 (13.3 %)**
Ohio	9,428 (0.9 %)
Indiana	3 120 (0 3 %)

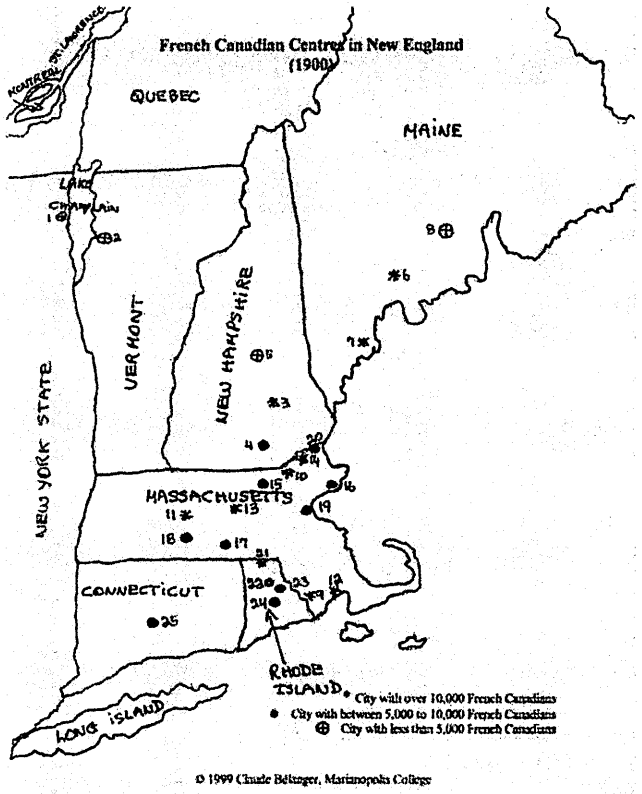
Illinois	24,250 (2.2 %)
Michigan	87,911 (7.9 %)
Wisconsin	22,043 (2 %)
West North Central	**51,354 (4.6 %)**
Minnesota	29,384 (2.7 %)
Iowa	4,233 (0.4 %)
Missouri	2,701 (0.2 %)
North Dakota	6,084 (0.6 %)
South Dakota	2,773 (0.3 %)
Nebraska	2,591 (0.2 %)
Kansas	3,588 (0.3 %)
South Atlantic	**5,835 (0.5 %)**
Delaware	177 (nil)
Maryland	908 (0.1 %)
District of Columbia	745 (0.1 %)
Virginia	574 (0.1 %)
West Virginia	371 (nil)
North Carolina	227 (nil)
South Carolina	132 (nil)
Georgia	343 (nil)
Florida	2,358 (0.2 %)
East South Central	**1,261 (0.1 %)**
Kentucky	373 (nil)
Tennessee	350 (nil)
Alabama	342 (nil)
Mississippi	196 (nil)
West South Central	**4 444 (0 4 %)**

Arkansas	380 (nil)
Louisiana	895 (0.1 %)
Oklahoma	1,372 (0.1 %)
Texas	1,797 (0.2 %)
Mountain	**13,963 (1.3 %)**
Montana	6,788 (0.6 %)
Idaho	2,075 (0.2 %)
Wyoming	570 (0.1 %)
Colorado	2,568 (0.2 %)
New Mexico	282 (nil)
Arizona	652 (0.1 %)
Utah	545 (nil)
Nevada	483 (nil)
Pacific	**42,710 (3.9 %)**
Washington	14,137 (1.3 %)
Oregon	4,930 (0.4 %)
California	23,643 (2.1 %)
Total	**1,106,159**
States bordering on Canada or on the Great Lakes[2]	**542,463 (49 %)**

1. Source : Leon E. Truesdell, The Canadian-Born in the United States. An Analysis of the Statistics of the Canadian Element in the Population of the United States, 1850 to 1930. New Haven & Toronto, Yale University Press & Ryerson Press, 1943, pp. 77-81. Figures drawn from the 1930 U.S. Census. Franco-Americans are defined as Americans declaring themselves to be of French or French Canadian ethnic origin born in Canada or of at least one parent born in Canada. Figures have been rounded to one-tenth of a percentage point. Alaska and Hawaii are excluded from this table.

2. Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Map and Population of the Franco-American Cities in New England



Cities of New England in 1900
Population of French Canadians and % of the population of French Origin

State	Name of City	# on the	Number of French	% of the population
New York	Plattsburg	1	2,500 est.	?
Vermont	Burlington	2	1,000 est.	?
New Hampshire	Manchester	3	23,000	40
	Nashua	4	8,200	34
	Concord	5	2,000	18
Maine	Lewiston-Auburn	6	13,300	46/18
	Biddeford-Saco	7	10,650	62/16
	Waterville	8	4,300	45
Massachusetts	Fall River	9	33,000	32
	Lowell	10	24,800	26
	Holyoke	11	15,500	34
	New Bedford	12	15,000	24
	Worcester	13	15,300	13
	Lawrence	14	11,500	18
	Fitchburg	15	7,200	23
	Salem	16	6,900	20
	Southbridge	17	6,027	60
	Springfield	18	6,500	11

	Boston	19	5,800	1
	Haverhill	20	5,500	15
Rhode Island	Woonsocket	21	17,000	60
	Central Falls	22	6,000	33
	Pawtucket	23	5,200	13
	Providence	24	8,000	5
Connecticut	Waterbury	25	4,000	9

Source of the data : Gérard J. Brault, « État présent des études sur les centres Franco-Americains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre », in Vie française. Situation de la recherche sur la Franco américanie, Quebec, 1980, pp. 11-12

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From Traitorous Opportunists to Missionaries of Providence

By Brendan Shanahan

Tout véritable Canadien, qui a dans son âme une étincelle de patriotisme, devrait repousser avec horreur la pensée d'abandonner sa patrie, pour aller se donner ou se vendre pour quelques piastres à des orgueilleux étrangers.

Monseigneur Louis-François Laflèche, 1864.

Mgr Laflèche, évêque des Trois Rivières ... nous conseillait, en 1881, d'apprendre l'anglais, mais de ne pas l'apprendre trop bien.

Alexandre Belisle: recounting the commands of Mgr. Laflèche to French Canadian emigrants departing for New England in 1881, (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1920).

Between 1840 and 1930 roughly nine hundred thousand French Canadians searching for employment migrated either permanently or temporarily to the United States. In this protracted period of emigration the majority of departing habitants settled in the factory towns and cities of the rapidly industrialising New England states. Since this emigration encompassed as much as one-third of French Canada's population and was accompanied by a greater migration within Canada, it represented part of a veritable diaspora that served as a central and defining event in pre-First World War Canadian history. As such, for a comprehensive understanding of late-nineteenth century Canadian intellectual, political and religious history, the responses of leading French Canadian clerics, journalists and politicians towards this emigration must be studied.

I will demonstrate that in the period roughly between the outbreak of the American Civil War and the onset of the Depression of 1873, the vast majority of French Canadian clerics and politicians opposed emigration and stressed the

insurmountable dangers that migration to "Protestant" America posed for habitant farmers. Priests decried emigration as the abandonment of the Catholic faith and politicians stymied emigration and encouraged the return of migrants. In turn, this negative and often hostile attitude towards emigration greatly affected the establishment of francophone communities in New England, as middle class journalists and community leaders stressed the affinity that their emigrant compatriots held for the *"mère-patrie"* and highlighted their desire to return to Canada. Nonetheless, events in Canada such as school language crises and the execution of Louis Riel highlighted the fragile status of the French language in Canada while such instances contrasted with the retention of the Catholic faith and French language among thousands of emigrants, forcing elites [editor's note: elites may include francophone clergy, journalists, academics and politicians] to re-examine opposition towards emigration. Soon, harsh rhetoric towards American-bound emigrants was tempered and Catholic clerics adopted differing attitudes towards the migration ranging from discouragement, ambivalence and even admiration for the emigrant's *"mission providentielle"* as it became apparent that French Canadians were not doomed to lose their faith in New England. Despite a greater respect shown by leading French Canadian politicians towards the emigrant population and a larger recognition of New England francophone communities as components of "French Canada," the opposition of politicians towards emigration was based largely upon the demographic and political effects of a diminishing Québec population. As such, politicians continued repatriation efforts and sought to prevent emigration. Opposition towards French Canadian emigration to the United State remained cohesive among leading French Canadian clergymen and politicians while both parties believed it to be a direct threat to their interests. This united opposition soon splintered as clerics realized that French Canadians could remain francophone Catholics in New England, whereas politicians remained unified in resistance to the loss of their constituency and power base which were the consequences of mass emigration.

In the 1860s, the overwhelming majority of French Canadian clergymen opposed emigration towards the United States. Instead clerics promoted an ideology of *"la survivance"*

because they believed emigrants were doomed to lose their Catholic faith to Protestant assimilation. Historians of Québec and Franco-America argue that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the French Canadian ideology of *la survivance* (defined as the retention of the Catholic faith, the French language and habitant cultural traditions) gained predominance in clerical circles and spread throughout the population by means of Catholic churches and schools across Québec. While this ideology taught that the defense of the French language was central in resisting Protestant Canadian efforts to assimilate the French Canadian population within Canada, most clerical leaders and their journalistic supporters treated anglophone Protestant America and its Anglo-Saxon population with equal suspicion. For instance, the American-born ultramontane journalist Jules-Paul Tardival attacked the United States as *"une vaste Sodome"* not only for its 'heretical' Protestant population and its ruthless capitalism but also as a destination where French Canadian emigrants were doomed to lose their language and Catholic faith. Recognizing the increasing French Canadian emigration to the United States during the American Civil War, Archbishop Ignace Bourget of Montréal actively discouraged French Canadian enlistment in the American armies since he believed soldiers would be needlessly killed in *"la boucherie"* while other clergymen feared enlistees would waver in their faith in a Protestant environment without francophone Catholic chaplains. Similarly, as emigration peaked during and immediately after the war, the conservative Catholic journal *Le Nouveau Monde* warned in 1869 that Canadian migrants *"perdent leur foi"* in the United States and maintained that as a consequence, emigrants *"deviennent...les êtres les plus méprisables de la société dans laquelle ils vivent."* While clerico-nationalist historian Robert Rumilly noted that a handful of French Canadian priests volunteered as missionaries and pastors for the migrant population and defended the character of emigrants, he too concluded that the vast majority of French Canadian clerics initially considered the establishment of New England francophone communities untenable and opposed migration owing to the ideology of *la survivance.*

Beyond vocal opposition towards emigration, members of the clergy took active steps to prevent it. Such actions included

clerical condemnation of emigrants, cooperation with government efforts to stop emigration and an initial hesitancy to send missionaries to New England. Leading clergymen attempted to prevent migration from their parishes, condemning emigrants as traitors to the nation and threats to the survival of the "*race française.*" For instance, one popular priest, Antoine Labelle, of Saint-Jérôme referred to the migration as "*le cimetière de la race.*" Moreover, clerics highlighted the supposedly awful conditions in which French Canadian emigrants toiled in New England factories as means of dissuasion. Many clergymen maintained that despite the low wages available to day laborers in rural Québec, conditions in New England factory towns were far worse. Furthermore, as the Québec government began repatriation programs in the 1870s to recapture much of their lost population, they turned to willing French Canadian clergymen who preached to wayward countrymen in American parishes about the possibilities of joining new agricultural settlements in Québec. Similarly, as a means of keeping the rural French Canadian population of the Saint Lawrence valley within Québec, clergymen such as Archbishop Bourget promoted the colonization of the Maurice and Ottawa valleys among farmers within their ecclesiastical jurisdiction and encouraged a greater study of agricultural sciences and farm cooperation at Catholic collèges classiques in efforts to forestall continued agricultural unemployment. Moreover, in the 1860s members of the church hierarchy expressed their disapproval of emigration by failing to send French Canadian priests to New England to serve as pastors in new national parishes for, "since the opinion was widely held in Canada that the emigrant chose to abandon his faith as well as his country, the Quebec clergy long remained deaf to the reiterated calls for French-speaking priests to care for the religious needs of the New England immigrants." While a trickle of French Canadian priests visited New England to perform baptismal, communal and marriage services during this period, Bréton-born Bishop Louis de Goësbriand of Burlington, Vermont was obliged to appeal to French missionaries to serve French Canadian migrants across northern New England. Only with Goësbriand's public appeal to Archbishop Bourget and the inability of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to ignore the massive emigrant population did Bourget agree in 1869 to send nine priests

to New England, thereby inaugurating the policy of sending French Canadian *curés* [pastors] to New England parishes that would continue until the end of the century.

While most French Canadian politicians opposed emigration due to the ideology of *la survivance*, they also feared it would threaten the Canadian state and diminish French Canadian representation in politics. Like their clerical counterparts, the vast majority of French Canadian politicians reacted with firm resistance towards emigration and based their language of opposition upon the danger it posed to French Canadian survivance as the government of Canada East labelled emigration in 1857 "an evil, a public calamity to be deplored" and blamed the migration upon a "radical social defect." Similarly, to discourage emigration, politicians claimed emigrant living conditions were far worse than those found in Québec as journalist-politician Honoré Beaugrand felt compelled in 1878 to respond to the "*rapports ridicules*" regarding emigrant standards of living in Massachusetts furnished by "*les législateurs de Québec.*" Moreover, many French Canadian (and English Canadian) politicians reacted with apprehension towards the enlistment of their compatriots in the American army during the Civil War when there was intense friction between the British Empire and the United States. As a result, American army recruitment officers were frequently arrested across Québec for seeking enlistees while newspapers reminded prospective recruits that service in a foreign army constituted treason as French Canadian enlistment in the American army was seen as a threat to Canadian security. Additionally, provincial inquiries regarding emigration highlight that during the Confederation period, French Canadian politicians feared continued migration would result in the "*diminution de leur representation à Ottawa.*" For instance, in 1868 influential Liberal provincial deputy, Félix-Gabriel Marchand, announced that "*[l]e mal est devenu si grand, qu'il faut que des mesures immédiates soient adoptées pour en arrêter le progrès autrement il sera bientôt sans remède.*" Clearly he, like other politicians, saw emigration as a menace to French Canadian proportional representation within the Canadian state.

From 1857 until the late 1870s, French Canadian politicians initiated numerous studies, attempted limited

government economic intervention and above all sought the repatriation and resettlement of emigrants to colonies within Québec in attempts to stop the migratory flow to the United States. To study the causes of emigration, French Canadian politicians launched numerous public "*enquêtes*", which found in 1857 and 1868 that a lack of arable soil for habitants, a shortage in industrial employment and the absence of work for thousands of laborers in the winter months, were leading causes of emigration. In response, the Québec government undertook very limited intervention in the Québec economy as the legislature adopted in 1869 "*une politique d'aide financière aux chemins de fer*" in order to provide employment and to expand access to new territories while efforts were enacted to study ways to "*moderniser l'agriculture*" in Québec. However, government intervention was highly limited by laisser-faire economic principles held by most contemporary Québec politicians and by "*la faiblesse financière de l'État québécois.*" Thus, while the government initiated limited economic intervention by building railways, Hamelin and Roby underscore that the political elite had only one immediate solution: "*la conquête des terres neuves.*" Little was done to promote industrialization within Québec. Thus, politicians passed the 1875 Repatriation Act that employed newly created repatriation agents, often clergymen and journalists, to travel across New England to encourage fellow countrymen to settle in new agricultural colonies across uninhabited or sparsely populated areas of Québec. In this project, the Québec government allocated $60,000 to defray train fare costs and to publish pamphlets encouraging colonization as Québec politicians sought an agricultural solution to stem the flow of emigration.

This elite reaction against emigration significantly impacted the formation of French Canadian *"Petits Canadas"* in New England as it encouraged migrants to maintain Canadian allegiance, to announce publicly their support for repatriation to Québec and to preserve French Canadian cultural traditions across class lines. The anti-emigrant discourse that emerged in the 1860s and 1870s had a profound effect upon members of the French Canadian middle class who migrated to New England as journalists of all political affiliations refuted accusations that emigrants were traitors to their homeland by emphasizing the

loyalty emigrants held towards their *patrie*. For instance, anti-clerical writer Beaugrand explained that immigrants "*n'ont jamais cessé de chérir et regretter*" Québec while the ultramontane journalist Ferdinand Gagnon of Worcester, Massachusetts implored his "*confrères*" in Canada to cease their foolish claim that they "*rendre service au pays en insultant les émigrés canadiens.*" To rebut claims that emigrants callously abandoned their native land, francophone journalists and professionals in New England publically supported repatriation efforts. Gagnon served as an *agent de rapatriement* while others such as J. D. Montmarquet of Lewiston, Maine's *Le Messager* repeatedly encouraged colonization efforts and emphasized that the majority of emigrants would return to Québec if sufficient employment were made available. Similarly, this pro-repatriation effort in the 1860s and 1870s led community leaders either to discourage implicitly or explicitly American naturalization (in contrast with neighboring Irish-American community leaders of the period), as journalists such as Gagnon argued emigrants should be "*[l]oyaux*" to their adopted country but "*Français toujours,*" and Worcester's French Canadian priest Jean-Baptiste Primeau argued emigrants should be "*[a]vant tout...Canadiens.*" Similarly, emigrant community leaders refuted the anti-emigrant discourse in Québec by promoting French Canadian mutual societies, journals and national parishes in a transplantation of the language of la survivance into the new Petits Canadas of New England. While it is impossible to know precisely how these notions affected the larger French Canadian working class population in New England, these concepts certainly shaped many aspects of working class immigrant experiences. For instance, many laborers responded with enthusiasm to the appeal of emigrant journalists and priests to attend the 1874 Montréal St-Jean-Baptiste celebration as more than ten thousand emigrants attended *la fête nationale* in a public affirmation of loyalty to their homeland. Likewise, since the vast majority of French Canadian workers remained Catholics, built national parishes from their own savings and attended mass where the devise "*qui perd sa langue perd sa foi*" was the established ideology, it is evident that the ideas of *la survivance* affected the experiences of thousands of emigrants across class lines.

Moreover, while events in Canada in the 1870s and 1880s

often highlighted the fragility of the French language outside of Québec and the failures of repatriation efforts, French Canadian emigrant experiences often underscored the successful establishment of francophone communities in New England and forced a re-evaluation of elite opposition towards emigration to the United States. While clergymen and politicians had maintained that emigration to New England would undoubtedly lead to the emigrant's loss of the French language, these arguments were undermined by threats to French Canadian communities and francophone Canadian schools. The 1871 New Brunswick Schools Crisis, the rise of the Equal Rights Association in Ontario and Québec and above all the execution of Louis Riel in 1885 highlighted the fragile status of the French language across Canada. These events proved to many French Canadians (and emigrants) that "Americans posed no greater danger...than did English Canadian groups like the Loyal Orange Lodge or the Young Britons in Canada." Furthermore, French Canadian elites were forced to recognize the failures evinced by most repatriation efforts for despite a spike in repatriation following the Crash of 1873 in the United States, Ferdinand Gagnon noted that just five years later, more than half of the emigrants he had helped to repatriate had once again returned to New England factory towns in a pattern reproduced across the region. Additionally, the repeated movement to and from New England by members of the French Canadian middle class including priests, journalists, musicians and composers (including "Ô Canada" composer Calixa Lavallée) proved to many among French Canada's elite that French Canadian Catholics were not destined to assimilation simply by living in the "materialistic" Protestant bastion of New England. However, hundreds of thousands of French Canadian immigrants maintained their native tongue and founded ninety francophone "national" Catholic parishes and established seventy-five bilingual schools between 1870 and 1890. These schools often maintained a greater degree of independence from the state than did Catholic schools in Canadian provinces outside of Québec. Consequently, the argument that French Canadian immigrants were doomed to assimilation and to lose their Catholic faith in the United States was proven utterly false.

Based on the conditions of the French Canadian population

in New England, many of the prior fears of French Canadian clergymen who sought the retention of Catholicism in a francophone milieu were proved to be unfounded. New respectful attitudes towards emigration emerged among leading clerics beginning in the 1880s that ranged from continued opposition to ambivalence and admiration for the "providential mission" of French Canadian emigrants. In this period, many clergymen expressed greater courtesy towards emigrants and often changed their approach towards the migration as the harsh language depicting emigrants as "*traitres*" or "*paresseux*" opportunists was generally dropped and the number of French Canadian priests assuming pastorates in New England increased significantly. Nevertheless, numerous clergymen continued to express their disapproval of emigration by encouraging settlement in northern Québec and Manitoba, serving as leaders of colonization enterprises in areas such as the Maurice valley and by continuing to act as repatriation agents for the Québec government. However, many leading clerics who had been staunch opponents of the migration softened their tone and expressed greater ambivalence towards emigration as the former anti-emigrant Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières no longer condemned emigrants as avaricious opportunists in the 1880s. In fact, while other bishops and *curés* opened colonization societies to prevent emigration, historian William Ryan astutely emphasizes that under Laflèche's tenure, "we do not find a diocesan colonization society organized in Trois-Rivières in spite of constant heavy emigration from this region to the United States." Furthermore, several clergymen and lay ultramontanists saw the establishment of francophone communities in New England as the manifestation of French Canada's "*mission providentielle*" as *curé* Louis-Adolphe Paquet attributed this migration as a sign of the French race's civilizing role in North America and called the migration "*l'extension du royaume de Jésus-Christ.*" This view gradually gained credence as François Weil explains that ultramontanists including anti-American Jules-Paul Tardival radically altered prior views towards emigration. In effect, Tardival promoted a new vision of the migration as he articulated that emigration represented the continuation "*sur cette terre d'Amérique*" of "*l'oeuvre de civilisation chrétienne que la vieille France a*

poursuivie avec tant de gloire" as he and others expressed a greater admiration towards the consequences of emigration without ever actively promoting it. Thus, while the response of the French Canadian clergy and their journalist allies towards the migration of their countrymen to the United States had never been entirely monolithic, the retention of the Catholic faith and the French language among emigrants prompted the emergence of different clerical attitudes towards emigration beginning in the 1880s.

However, while French Canadian politicians did initiate a new, deferential dialogue with emigrants and their descendants, politicians were predominantly concerned with the maintenance of the French Canadian population in Canada as the provincial and federal governments continued repatriation efforts and above all sought preventive economic measures to discourage further emigration before the outbreak of the First World War. Largely as a result of the limited successes of repatriation programs and their inability to ignore emerging francophone communities in New England, French Canadian politicians pronounced a more respectful discourse regarding emigrants as Honoré Mercier implored a Québec City audience of French Canadians from both sides of the border in 1889 to cease "*nos lutes fratricides; unissons-nous.*" Moreover, in 1881 and 1883 French Canadian politicians responded quickly to anti-immigrant rhetoric by members of the Massachusetts Department of Labor who labelled French Canadians "the Chinese of the East" and did not use the occasion to highlight why French Canadians should avoid New England at all costs. Instead, most defended the role that French Canadians played in creating the industrial "*prospérité de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*" and viewed such language as insulting to fellow members of their nationality and "race." Yet, unlike the wide range of views towards emigration that emerged among the clergy, French Canadian politicians united in opposition to the migration. They maintained repatriation efforts until the onset of the Great Depression despite the fact that "*ces appels restent sans echo dans la majorité des cas*" as politicians were greatly concerned by the decreasing percentage of the French Canadian population in Canada.

While repatriation efforts reflected few new ideas, other efforts by French Canadian politicians represented more preventative

measures to keep French Canadians in Canada. For instance, the federally-funded *Société de rapatriement du Lac-Saint-Jean* first sought the recruitment of emigrants and their children to populate the new colony north of the Saguenay River, upon finding that most colonists who had lived in the United States actually "*repirent le chemin des États-Unis*," the organization shifted its efforts towards promoting colonization among French Canadian farmers from the St. Lawrence valley who were found more likely to remain in northern Québec than their Franco-American counterparts. Finally, while turn-of-the-century Québec Liberal and Conservative politicians maintained support for laisser-faire economics, several younger Liberal politicians including premiers Lomer Gouin and Louis-Alexandre Taschereau believed "industrialization would put an end to emigration" and supported increased American capital investment in Québec to stimulate job creation. While these politicians still opposed most measures of state intervention in the Québec economy, their efforts in the 1900s and 1910s did aid in opening avenues of industrial employment for French Canadians as they looked beyond agricultural colonization in efforts to prevent emigration. As Taschereau liked to say, he "preferred to import capital than export French Canadians."

The greater recognition of emigrant communities in New England by members of the French Canadian elite greatly influenced New England francophone centres as many emigrants and their children sought increased voter participation in American politics while emphasizing their population's inclusion within an abstract concept of French Canada as *Franco-Américains*. Francophone journalists in New England embraced the novel elite expression of respect for emigrant populations and clerical support for their "*mission providentielle*." In 1884 Gagnon reflected a common emigrant view in writing "*[n]ous ne sommes plus de Canadiens errants...mais soldats d'avant-garde*." Likewise, Rumilly's work explains that elites increasingly used the term "*Franco-Américain*" as a term of self-description as opposed to French Canadian or Canadien in the *fin-de-siècle* period as their communities gained greater acceptance among the elite of French Canada. While a small minority among the Franco-American elite interpreted the promotion of their "*mission civilisatrice*" as a harbinger of the eventual political union between Québec and

francophone New England, a far greater number embraced the acceptance of their communities by the French Canadian elite as an occasion to encourage naturalization and voter participation in American politics. For instance, journalist Charles-Roger Daoust encouraged the Franco-American community in Manchester, New Hampshire to become politically active in 1890 as emigrants could now be considered Canadiens at heart, remain français by blood but also become naturalised "*Américains*." However, encouragement of naturalization did not diminish the commitment of the Franco-American elite to maintain and to propagate the ideology of *la survivance* among its youth as increasing numbers of young Franco-American men studied in Québec's *collèges classiques*. Furthermore, many entered into French Canadian seminaries while a large fundraising effort enabled Franco-Americans to open their own bilingual *collège classique, le Collège de l'Assomption of Worcester* in 1903 [Assumption College]. Thus, when Henri Bourassa announced in 1912 at the *Premier Congrès de la langue française* that Franco-Americans represented a central component of the French Canadian population because their Catholic faith and language retention made them a part of an abstract conception of French Canada, his statement reflected fifty years worth of evolving views towards emigrants and their descendants found among the French Canadian elite. While members of this elite maintained various opinions regarding emigration and its consequences until the outbreak of the First World War, the vast majority had come to view Franco-Americans as components of "French Canada."

This work argues that most members of the French Canadian elite initially opposed emigration as clergymen and politicians alike feared the loss of members of the French Canadian population and its consequences. Yet, as clerics learned that emigrants could and often did remain francophone Catholics in New England, differing attitudes towards emigration emerged among their numbers. While historians must be hesitant to attribute motives to historical actors, it is evident that the vast majority of French Canadian politicians continued to oppose emigration as their representation in Canadian politics slowly decreased in proportion to other Canadian populations. Additionally, this work explains that the avenues that clerics and government officials took in their attempts

to stop emigration and recruit emigrant returnees reflected the evolving economic theories of French Canada's leaders as the original prevailing solution, agricultural colonization, was slowly yet consistently complimented by attempts to open industrial employment in French Canada to prevent increased emigration. Alas, this work does not present a universal assessment of how French Canadians regarded and reacted to the emigration of their countrymen to the United States. Notably, the reactions of loggers, industrial workers and male and female farmers are absent. Yet, this essay does explore the dimensions of how those in power in Québec reacted to one of the greatest challenges of post-Confederation Canadian history and what the repercussions of their evolving responses meant to thousands of French Canadians across *les deux côtés de la frontière.*

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About the Author

Brendan Shanahan is a student at McGill University and worked at the Museum of Work and Culture in Woonsocket, RI this past summer.

The Will of Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson

By Seema Jane Kenney

I am a new AFGS member. My first visit was directly related to the Genealogical Research certificate program at Boston University. One of our many assignments was to visit a repository and view a manuscript. For the assignment, manuscript was defined as "an unpublished one-of-a kind item not available online, on microfilm, or digitized." I was very fortunate to look at the one qualifying document at AFGS – the handwritten will of Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson of Terrebonne, Quebec.

Physically, this is a leather bound book, about 9x12 inches, with gold lettering on the cover. There are more than 50 sheets of paper. Every 4 sheets are folded and held together with string stitching. The paper is thick, with wide lines and a marked margin at the bound edge. The entire document is written with a fountain pen in beautiful script.

The original will is dated Sunday, 27 August 1871. It was written at her writing desk in her bedroom. The three codicils were added on 23 June 1879 (17 pages), 29 December 1879 (7 pages), and 1 April 1880 (6 pages). Each of the four portions are notarized and witnessed.

Not only was it amazing to just view this document, the more I looked through the pages, the more there was to be amazed at! Each page is numbered. Each sheet is written on both front and back. At the bottom of each page is the first word for the next page. There are a few places where edit marks are inserted with a corresponding mark in the margin along with additional words for the text. Most amazing was the low number of crossed out words! I counted six errors made while writing the one hundred pages.

In addition to the excellent penmanship, I was in awe over the organization of the document. The original will is divided into seven Articles, each of which has specific sections, within which the paragraphs are all numbered. Between the Articles is beautiful

scrollwork that is amazingly consistent. And the thick paper does a wonderful job of keeping the ink from seeping through so the text is very legible and could be photocopied clearly.

The document is in excellent condition. There are a few finger marks, smudges, and a little dirt close to the binding. There are a few stains; two of which were most likely inkblots from the time it was written. There are some English translations written in pencil from previous reviewers. And, there are a few notes that were written in the margin and then erased.

My French being a little rusty, I did not try to read too many of the pages. However, I did look for the beginning of the bequests and found that the bequests in Article I of the original will totaled almost $18,000. Several of these were to religious persons or organizations. Article II included bequests that were to be made annually and totaled at least $2,000 per year. Between these numbers and the specific terminology used, it was easy to tell that this was a family of means.

A couple of weeks later, another assignment required that we treat our repository document as something a client brought us in an efforts to learn more about their ancestor. Well, Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson was a remarkable woman!

A Timeline History of Terrebonne, Quebec, Canada:[1]

1673	Title deeds delivered to French citizen, Mr. Andrew Daulia Deslandes, secretary general of the West India Company
1681	Louis Lecompte Dupre bought the lordship of Terrebonne
1707 - 1710	Louis Lecompte Dupre build the first mill in Terrebonne

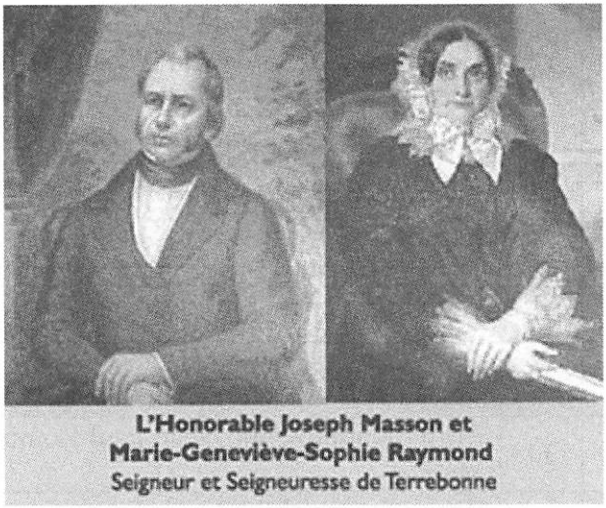
[1]"Ma Ville en Historie, " *Terrebonne.qc.ca* (http://www.ville.terrebonne.qc.ca/ville_ville-histoire.php?histoire=tbvision : accessed 11 August 2010) **and** "Terrebonne Quebec," *Wikipedia*.org (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrebonne,_Quebec : accessed 11 August 2010) **and** "Le College : Joseph Masson," *College Saint Sacrement.qc.ca* (http://www.collegesaintsacrement.qc.ca/fr/college-joseph-masson.php : accessed 11 August 2010)); using on-line translation software to view in English.

1720	Louis Lepage de Ste Claire bought the lordship
1734	Louis Lepage de Ste Claire builds the first church in Terrebonne
1832	**Joseph Masson**[2] acquired lordship of Terrebonne, a vast territory that included the time the lordship of Saint-Anne-des-Plaines and Sainte-Sophie-de-Lacorne, and developed its commerce and industry
1834	The 1st bridge was build between Terrebonne and the city of LaPlaine
1860	The village became the town of Terrebonne
1985	Terrebonne merged with the city of LaPlaine
2001	A three-way merge between LaChenaie, LaPlaine, and Terrebonne

Terrebonne, Quebec, settled in 1673, is now 59.7 square miles with a population over 94,000. It is located at the geographic coordinates of 45°42'N 73°39'W. It is considered a suburb of Montreal in the western area of the province of Quebec. Terrebonne is north of Montreal, on the shores of the Riviere des Mille-Iles and the Riviere des Prairies. It remains divided into three sectors which represent the three previously distinct cities. More information can be found at the city's website: www.ville.terrebonne.qc.ca.[3]

A Timeline for Joseph and Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson:

[2] Translation software on the Internet will change the name to 'Joseph Martinez'
[3] "Terrebonne Quebec," *Wikipedia.org* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrebonne,_Quebec : accessed 11 August 2010)



L'Honorable Joseph Masson et
Marie-Geneviève-Sophie Raymond
Seigneur et Seigneuresse de Terrebonne

Date	Age	Event
Jan 5 1791		Joseph was born in St. Eustache, Quebec the son of Antoine Masson, and Suzanne Pfeiffer (or Payfer).
1798		Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond was born, the daughter of Jean-Baptiste Raymond and Marie-Clotilde Girardin
1818	20	Joseph Masson and Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond are married
Mar 21 1819	21	Birth of their first child, Joseph Wilfred A. R. Masson
Aug 8 1820	22	Birth of second child, Marie Sophie Hermine Clotilde Masson
Aug 20 1822	24	Birth of third child, Marie Charlote Eliza Masson
Nov 24 1822	24	Death of their child, Marie Sophie Hermine Clotilde Masson
July 15	26	Birth of fourth child, Marie Adelaide

1824		Elodie Masson
Oct 17 1824	26	Death of their child, Marie Charlote Eliza Masson
Apr 5 1826	28	Birth of fifth child, Edouard Masson
Oct 6 1828	30	Birth of sixth child, Marie Angelique Sophie Masson
April 9 1830	32	Birth of seventh child, Jean Masson
Dec 28 1831	33	Death of child, Jean Masson
Feb 6 1832	34	Birth of eighth child, Jean Paul Romuald Masson
Nov 7 1833	35	Birth of ninth child, Louis Francois Roderick Masson
Jan 31 1836	36	Birth of tenth child, Henri Masson
June 2 1838	40	Birth of eleventh child, Louis Hugues Robertine Masson
Mar 27 1840	42	Birth of twelfth child, Marie Sophie Catherine Axelma Masson
May 15 1847	49	Joseph Masson dies; sometime thereafter Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson lost ½ her fortune because civil law did not recognize women[4]
1848-1854	56	Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson constructs Masson manor, referred to as a 'castle'
		Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson founded College Masson
May 17 1871	73	Death of child, Joseph Wilfred A. R. Masson
May 8 1875	77	Death of child, Edouard Masson
June 27	82	Death of child, Henri Masson

[4] "Resurrections dans le Vieux – La Prairie," *MonteregieWeb* (http://monteregieweb.com/main+fr+01_300+Resurrections_dans_le_VieuxLa_Prairie.html?ArticleID=655597&Journal : accessed 11 August 2010).

1880		
1882/1883		Death of Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond Masson in Terrebonne, Quebec

As a daughter of Jean Baptiste Raymond and Marie-Clotilde Girardin[5], Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond was probably educated as a young girl. She married and was the biological mother to seven sons and five daughters. Four of her children died as infants or toddlers. She was predeceased by three other children, some in-laws and grandchildren.[6] Marie Genevieve lost her husband when he was 56. She never remarried and continued her husband's projects in a time when women were not expected to do such things.

Joseph's sudden death left the project of their stately home incomplete. Marie Genevieve took the reins of that project from 1848 to 1854 and took possession of the building at Christmas, 1854. For nearly 30 years, the 'castle', as it was fondly referred to, was the scene of a brilliant social life for the religious and political elites.[7]

Another of the widow's projects was to help Bishop Tache in the mission of St. Boniface. This eventually became College Masson on rue Saint-Louis. Marie Genevieve also participated generously in the construction of a new parish church.

On-line articles indicate that the mansion was bequeathed to the Sisters of Providence, who opened the Hospice Sainte-Sophie just five years later. This will be confirmed with a formal translation of the provided document. The home was closed in 1888 and reopened fourteen years later by the fathers of the Most Blessed Sacrament.[8]

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[5] "Jean Baptiste Raymond," *Wikipedia.org* (http://en.wikipedia.org : accessed 11 August 2010)

[6] This information is unverified, merely taken from other people's public trees on Ancestry.com.

[7] "Le College : Manoir Masson de Terrebonne," *College Saint Sacrement*.qc.ca (http://www.collegesaintsacrement.qc.ca/college-manoir-masson.php : accessed 11 August 2010); used on-line translation software to view in English.

[8] "Le College : Fathers of the Most Blessed Sacrement," *College Saint Sacrement*.qc.ca (http://www.collegesaintsacrement.qc.ca/ : accessed 11 August 2010); used on-line translation software to view in English.

A strong, determined woman, Marie Genevieve's legacy is not as well documented as that of her husband, Joseph. The couple is memorialized in Terrebonne through buildings, streets, plaques, and parks.

Their descendants remained in the geographic area for several generations and continued to contribute to the local history through public service, military service and commercial pursuits.

Terrebonne, Quebec, Canada would be a lovely place to plan a family vacation and learn much more about these ancestors who made such a momentous contribution to the town, the province, and the country in the 1800's.

Your facility is extremely rich with resources. This document may truly be your 'crown jewel'!

1. Masson, Marie Genevieve Sophie Raymond. Mon Testament. Self published. Manuscript. American French Genealogical Society Library. Woonsocket, Rhode Island. 27 July 2010.

About the Author

Seema-Jayne Kenney has recently completed the program for the Certificate in Genealogical Research at Boston University.

Genetics for French-Canadian Genealogists

By Richard Provost, Ph.D.

About twenty years ago, I had a doctor's appointment and during the appointment I told the doctor I was working on my family genealogy. He suggested that I check my genealogical research and make a list of what caused the demise of my ancestors. I thought that was a good idea and proceeded to work on this project. At a later appointment he asked if I had found out what had killed my ancestors.

Without any hesitation I told him that if I stayed away from water and Indians, I would be fine. The doctor gave me a strange look so I knew that I had to explain that the two most prominent causes of death in my family were being killed by Indians and drowning. He shook his head but I went on to tell him the next most common causes were heart disease and stroke.

A family medical history should be detailed and include information about your immediate family, such as siblings, parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents. The information should include stillbirths, miscarriages, and children that died during infancy or adulthood. You should also volunteer information on any genetic abnormalities in your family, including color blindness, webbed fingers and toes, polydactyly (extra fingers or toes) and glaucoma. We know that high blood pressure, stroke, heart disease, some cancers and psychiatric disorders have genetic components. Serious genetic defects such as cystic fibrosis and hemophilia can be the result of recessive mutations.

Knowledge of ancestral origins can also be of interest to your doctor. Using modern medical knowledge and our family trees can be informative for predicting trouble spots for our own health.

Genetic disorders are far more prevalent than generally realized. Gormley states that 12 to 15 million Americans have a genetic disorder. About 20 million Americans are carriers of genetic defects but do not exhibit the disorder. One of every 250 newborns has a genetic disorder. One of every three babies and young children admitted to a hospital has a genetic problem, and each person carries an average of four to seven abnormal genes, but does not exhibit symptoms.

If we take the same ratios for Canada, about 1.9 million Canadians have a genetic disorder, and 5.7 million Canadians are carriers of genetic defects.

Individuals with a disorder caused by a defective recessive gene in many instances will find have no disease. But, when you marry, if your spouse also has this same defective gene then the disorder can appear on average in twenty five percent of your children, and another twenty five percent will be carriers.

Those of us who have ancestors born in France, Quebec and other French colonies should be aware of certain genetic disorders that can be found within their descendents.

When French explorers first came to Canada in the 1600s, most had not come to settle down, marry and have a family. They had come to make a fortune or a nest egg and go back to France to settle, get married and have a family. Thus when you look at the early French records you will find few women compared to men. To compensate for this, the Catholic Church allowed women to marry at a younger age, 16, and allowed men to marry close cousins. Some brides were as young as 12, marrying men in their late 20's to 40's. Not surprisingly, first and second cousin marriages were not unusual. However, there were genetic consequences.

Individuals who marry first cousins are at a greater risk for some genetic disorders. First cousins share 1/8 of their genomes and second cousins share 1/32. This genetic similarity in couples

increases the probability that each will pass on a recessive mutation to their children. If the children each have the mutation, they will exhibit symptoms of disease. Other children would have an increased probability of being carriers of the gene. Continual close intermarriage would concentrate genetic abnormalities in the descendents of these unions.

For example, some descendents of the Acadians who first settled in Nova Scotia ended up in Louisiana. Calling themselves Cajuns, many intermarried within their own group. They were a minority group and married close relatives for over 250 years. Because of this, Cajuns have a genetic disease risk factor between 35 to 250 percent greater than the U.S. national average.

French-Canadian families from the Quebec area would be an excellent study group. They have been keeping family history records since the early 1600's and have family associations with extensive databases that could be compiled into a large genetic database for research. It would be of interest if the Canadian Medical Society ran a similar study in Quebec where some of the French-Canadians have intermarried since the 1600's.

Some confirmed or suspected genetic disorders are Cystic Fibrosis, galactosemia, phenylketonuria, sickle cell anemia, thalassemia, Tay-Sachs and Gaucher's disease. Some diseases are carried genetically by women but only appear in men, such as color blindness, hemophilia, agammaglobulinemia (lack of immunity to infections), some forms of muscular dystrophy and spinal ataxia.

A genetic disorder that occurs in Caucasians of northern European heritage, usually appearing in older children and young adults is Malignant Hyperthermia (MH). MH is a hereditary condition in which very high body temperature and muscle rigidity occur when the individual is given certain anestethics. It is due to a genetic defect in the way that muscles use calcium, causing commonly used anesthetics to trigger high temperatures during surgery, damaging the heart, liver and brain resulting in death.

While only one in 15000 people in the general population carry this hidden genetic disorder, it is highly concentrated in one French-Canadian lineage. In a well-documented case, researchers traced the origin of this genetic defect through descendents of French-born Michel Dupuis who came to Nova Scotia with his wife Marie Gauterot in 1651. The Dupuis family tree includes about 4000 descendents back to 1642. In the mid-1950's, some members of these families began to die unexpectedly during surgery, revealing the mutation.

Another example is Tay-Sachs disease (TSD) in French-Canadians living near the St. Lawrence River. In TSD, children with two copies of the mutant gene experience the progressive destruction of the central nervous system, generally causing death by age five. By studying family group sheets of first or second cousins noting the death of several children under age five would suggest TSD in ancestral families where medical histories may be unknown.

As an interesting aside regarding the effects of genes on people is revealed in the height of men in France. About 50 years ago, some French scientist noted that French males were on average about two inches shorter than other European males. When they looked back through records the found the height difference had held true for 135 years. The answer was intriguing in its simplicity – Napoleon. As Emperor of France, he instituted the first modern military draft in an attempt to bring all of Europe into his empire. All French men served in his armies, and his shock troops who went into battle were Grenadiers. All the men in these units had to be at least six feet tall, and suffered the heaviest battle losses. After almost 18 years of constant warfare, the variation in height for Frenchmen, and tall Frenchmen left to reproduce and leave offspring, was almost completely eliminated. The reduction in the height of the French stems from selective loss of tall men in the population.

As you can see, genetics can affect a variety of aspects of our lives, from our height to our likelihood of having genetic diseases. I hope that I have given you some valid reasons as genealogists to know

not just our ancestors' vital statistics, but also the cause of their deaths.

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Jack Delaney-Franco-American Boxer

By Janice Burkhart

When I was a young girl, I used to watch the Friday Night Fights with my Dad, not because I liked the fights but because I loved my Dad and wanted to do everything he did. I saw some great fighters like Archie Moore, Rocky Marciano, Sugar Ray Robinson and of course Cassius Clay/Muhammad Ali. These Friday evenings with Dad developed a lifelong curiosity about the men who make their living by being human punching bags.

Thanks to research done by Camille J. Chapdelaine and William E. Chapdelaine, I recently became aware of a great Franco-American fighter named Jack Delaney. "Delaney?" you ask. That doesn't sound French and that's part of his story.

Jack Delaney was born Ovila Chapdelaine on 18 March 1900 at St-Francois-du-Lac, Quebec. His father was Pierre Chapdelaine and his mother was Rosilda Cartier. In 1904, the family moved to Holyoke, Massachusetts. Ovila received his early education at the Immaculate Conception Parochial School. After leaving school, he worked as a bobbin boy in the Hadley division of the American Thread Company. In 1916, the family moved to Bridgeport, Connecticut but returned to Holyoke two years later. Ovila, however, remained in Bridgeport.

In 1919, he started to fight professionally. It was during these early days that he acquired his professional name. There seem to be a few theories about why this came about. One of the stories is that when the announcer asked him his name Ovila said Chapdelaine which the announcer heard as Jack Delaney. Another story states that Ovila's mother did not want him to box so he changed his name so she wouldn't know about his boxing exploits. But Francis Albertani, in an article entitled "Jack Delaney's Rapid Rise to Fistic Fame" credits Ovila's manager, Al Jennings, as the source of the new name. Jennings apparently grew tired of the announcers

struggling to pronounce Chapdelaine and changed it to Jack Delaney. Whatever the true story, the name stuck.

Delaney began his career as a light-heavyweight and achieved great success, becoming Light- heavyweight Champion of the World on 17 July 1926 after defeating Paul Berlenbach. In 1927, he gave up his championship in order to pursue the heavyweight crown; but he did not achieve as much success at this weight.

In an article written by Eddie Merrill, "Bright Eyes, the Story of Jack Delaney, One of the Greatest Fighters in the Light-heavyweight Division," Jack Delaney is described as tall, handsome and full of personality. He was greatly liked in and out of the ring, had a great following of fans and was a true student of boxing. Add to this a powerful wallop and a keen brain and you have a recipe for success. Percy Thompson, in an article entitled "Delaney Wins Again" states "In the ring, there probably never has been a smoother, more graceful boxer than Delaney, nor a faster, more accurate, deadlier puncher with either hand."

In the early days of his career, Delaney shattered the middle knuckle of his right hand in administering a knockout to his opponent. After being sidelined for several months, Al Jennings sold Delaney's contract to Pete Reilly for $900.00. Under Reilly's management, Delaney soon became one of the biggest stars in the boxing world.

It was Reilly who took Delaney to the famous surgeon, Dr. W. G. Fralick who fixed Delaney's damaged hand. Dr. Fralick rebuilt the cartilage in Delany's knuckle and attached everything with two gold pins. That hand became a major weapon in Delaney's defeat of Paul Berlenbach.

Jack Delaney was one of several famous French Canadian boxers. They were George LaBlanche who knocked out Jack Dempsey to win the World Middleweight Crown; Noah Brusso, who as Tommy Burns, won the World Heavyweight Crown; Arthur Pelky, the man who gained fame by stopping Luther McCarthy in one round; George "Kid"Lavigne, Dave Dashler, Patsy Drouillard and

Gilbert Gallant among others. Each was a great boxer but none greater than Jack Delaney.

Delany was called the "Rapier of the North" because of his outstanding knock out punch. The great boxer retired with a record of 77 wins (44 knock outs, 12 losses, 2 draws, 2 no decisions and 2 no contests.) After his boxing career, he operated a number of businesses, ran a tavern in New York and continued in boxing as a referee.

Jack Delaney died in New York at the age of 48 from brain cancer. He left a wife, Cornelia and a 10 year old son. He is buried in St. Francis Cemetery in Mount Kisco, New York.

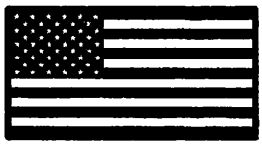
Bibliography

About the Author

Jan Burkhart is a long time member and current president of AFGS.

I WILL DO YOUR....
FRENCH CANADIAN
FAMILY TREE

BACK TO THE 1600'S



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Tintypes and Daguerreotypes

By David Mishkin

As a photo lab owner and national lecturer on photographic processes and photographic preservation, I often come across folks who are very confused about the types of family photographs they own. I often hear them tell us that they have a daguerreotype when in fact what they own is a tintype or visa versa. The differences between the two are significant, yet easily discernible if you know what to look for. Hopefully, this document will explain the both processes and show you the differences between them.

Daguerreotypes

Louis-Jacques-Mande Daguerre is credited with the discovery of the first photographic process in France in 1839. Daguerre was aided in his discovery by another Frenchman named Joseph-Nicephore Niepce. In 1827 Niepce and Daguerre formed a partnership and collectively worked on perfecting the world's first practical photographic process. Several years after Niepces' untimely death in 1833, Daguerre introduced the daguerreotype process. Daguerreotypes were popular from 1839 to 1860.

The daguerreotype is the only photographic process that used a thin coating of highly polished silver on a copper support. The silver was sensitized by exposure to fumes of iodine. After the camera exposed the plate, it was developed by exposing the plate to fumes of heated mercury. The surface of the daguerreotype was very fragile and that is the reason why glass was used on top of the plate. The typical construction of the daguerreotype was to use a highly buffed copper plate that had been coated with silver. After processing, this plate had a decorative mat placed over the surface of the plate. The mat was usually made of brass and was used as a spacer as well as for decorative purposes. Mats came in several shapes and designs. A piece of glass was placed on top of the plate and mat that protected the plate from rough handling. This glass cover plate was not as pure as glass is today and you might find

the glass "sweating." This does not indicate that the defects are in the daguerreotype itself. A photographic conservator can replace the glass and it will greatly improve the quality of the image. This "sandwich" was held together by a "preserver." The material used to make the preserver as well as the designs on the preserver changed over the years making the dating of the daguerreotype much easier. The most popular preserver was a malleable brass frame that held all the components together. This was then sealed to keep out any sulphur bearing gases and oxidants. Without this seal, pollutants could attack the silver and oxidize the surface. This would be seen as a bluish purple formation around the interior edges of the mat. This "sandwich" was then placed into a case that protected the entire daguerreotype. Over time, exterior cases changed from plain and utilitarian to highly decorative cases.

The exposures for this process were excessively long making it impractical for portrait photography. Most of the very early daguerreotypes were of landscapes, buildings and other immovable subjects. Exposure times varied according to the time of day, the season and the weather. Shortly after the process was announced to the world, Antoine Claudet introduced a process that shortened the exposure time thus making it more practical for portrait photography.

Tintypes

A tintype is a photograph made on a sheet of iron instead of a piece of paper. In 1856 Hamilton Smith patented the process for producing tintypes. Most tintypes were brownish in color and the most common size was about 2 ½ " x 3 ½". Tintypes were popular from1856 until the early 1900's. Tintypes were also called ferrotypes and melainotypes. Many tintypes were put in cases making it more difficult to differentiate them from a daguerreotype. Many tintypes were placed in a paper or cardboard frame while others were used in jewelry or in photo albums. The photographer would frequently clip the corners to make the insertion in the paper or cardboard frame easier. You may find very small tintypes (about postage stamp size) in a photograph album. These were called Gem tintypes. Some schools had

photographic albums for their graduating classes and they used the Gem sized tintypes for insertion in the albums. Tintypes were produced in the millions in the United States and are very commonly found today. Just like daguerreotypes, some of the tintypes were cased. Being cased makes it more difficult to distinguish the tintype from a daguerreotype.

After processing, most tintypes were varnished to protect the surface from abrasions and atmospheric conditions. Today you will find that many tintypes that were varnished are experiencing a cracking in the varnish coating. From the time it was introduced to the early 1900's tintypes were the preferred photographic process used by itinerant and street photographers. Tintypes were made mostly for portrait photography because of their relatively low cost and rapid development times. However, the image quality was not quite as good as other photographic methods.

The most popular sizes of tintypes and daguerreotypes are listed below. However, one should not assume that these were the only sizes produced. There were tintypes and daguerreotypes that were made into jewelry, small boxes, etc.

Full plate	6 1/2" x 8 1/2"
Half plate	4 1/2" x 51/2"
¼ plate	3 1/8" x 4 1/8"
1/6 plate	2 5/8" x 3 1/4"
1/9 plate	2" x 2 ½"
Gem	1/2" x 1"

About the Author

David Mishkin is a photographic restoration consultant and can be found on the web at http:\www.justblackandwhite.com. He has given Photo Preservation workshops at the AFGS Library.

The Families of Alexander and Pierre Jerd (AKA Giard)

By Al Spooner

Introduction

Alexander and Peter Jerd lived in Vermont from about 1860 until their deaths in the 1890s. Their roots can be traced back to Quebec, where they both married in the 1850s. However, there is no record of the names of their parents. The claim that they were brothers needs verification.

The primary goal of this article is to present evidence that the mother of Alexander and Peter was Genevieve Giard. Also included are the children of Alexander and Peter.

Identification of Alexander and Peter Jerd

Alexander and Peter Jerd lived in Vermont from about 1860 until their deaths in 1896 and 1893, respectively. They both spent most of the Vermont portions of their lives within a few miles of Randolph[1]. Census records show Alexander was in Brookfield in 1860, Roxbury in 1870 and 1880, and Braintree in 1890 and Peter was in Brookfield in 1870, Windsor in 1880, and West Randolph in 1890[2, 3]. Vermont towns generally have grand lists that show annual real estate and property tax information. Alexander appears in the grand lists of Roxbury from 1867 through 1890, and in those of Braintree from 1890 through 1896. Peter appears sporadically in the grand lists of Brookfield, Braintree, Randolph, Roxbury, and Windsor. The first mention of him is in the grand list of Braintree, where he is noted with a dog in 1863.

Alexander Jerd died in Braintree on March 24, 1896. His parents were identified as Peter and Carrie Jerd, but Peter and Carrie were

in fact his brother and sister-in-law. His age at his death indicates a date of birth of April 9, 1831. This is also the birth date on his tombstone in the East Braintree Cemetery.

Peter Jerd died September 27, 1893 in Randolph at age 58, suggesting a year of birth of around 1835. His father is identified as Edward Veo; his mother is not named. Peter is buried in Holy Cross Cemetery in Randolph, but his stone has no dates.

Death notices are available for both Alexander and Peter.[4] Peter's death was reported October 5, 1893, but there is no family information except that "he left a wife and a large family." This death notice item does say that he enlisted December 8, 1863 in Company C, 2nd Vermont Regiment, from which he was discharged in May 1864 because of disability and that he was a member of "the U. S. Grant Post". Alexander's death was reported to be April 2, 1896 but the notice also tells us very little, only that "he left a wife, a daughter and several sons."

Census reports and vital records related to their children consistently report that Alexander and Peter were born in Canada and family oral tradition states that Peter was born Pierre Giard in Quebec. Summaries of the marriage records for both Alexander and Peter follow.[5]

Jerd, Alexandre, laborer, living in the United States, married Emilina Jacques, living in this parish, daughter of Francois Jacques and Angelle Tremblay, both deceased, October 10, 1853 St. Trinite, Contrecoeur, Vercheres, Quebec. Witnesses included Edouard St. Laurent and Simon Jussaume, surrogate fathers of the groom and bride respectively.

Giard, Pierre, laborer, of this parish, married Caroline Labelle, daughter of Jean Baptiste Labelle and the late Judith Janette, September 29, 1856 Notre Dame, Montreal, Quebec. Witnesses included Jean Baptiste Labelle, father of the bride, and Isidore Viau.

The glaring omissions from both records are the identities of the parents of the grooms. Often, this omission is generally an indicator of illegitimate birth, but in Quebec if an individual is illegitimate, the record indicates that the person is a *garçon* or *fille naturel(le)*.

If the parents of Alexander and Peter Jerd are not known, what is the evidence that they are brothers? The details of their lives suggest a close bond between them, but that doesn't make them blood relatives. The simplest answer comes from military records. The two men served together in the Civil War, and both collected disability pensions. In Peter's case, his file states that he served from December 15, 1863, to February 1, 1864, in Company E of the 2nd Regiment of Vermont Volunteers.[6] He suddenly became sick in January 1864, near Alexandria, VA. Apparently, the after-effects were severe enough that he was awarded a disability pension. His wife, identified as Caroline (Labelle) Jerd, received a survivor's pension after his death. Furthermore, there is an affidavit from Alexander Jerd in which he says is the brother of Peter. Alexander also says that he, his wife and Peter were all living in Braintree at the time of the wedding of Peter and Caroline, and that the three of them traveled to Montreal for that wedding. Consequently, we know that Caroline Labelle was the wife and Alexander Jerd was the brother of Peter Jerd.

Alexander's Civil War Service file states that he served from December 8, 1863 to July 29, 1865 also in Company E of the 2nd Regiment of Vermont Volunteers.[7] He suffered from a "varicocele" and what was apparently a hernia, both the result of his carrying "many slabs" for the construction of shelter around December 25, 1863. He was awarded a disability pension. An affidavit identifies his wife as Malina Jacques.

Once we knew the wives of Alexander and Peter Jerd, we located their death records and death notices. Malina (Jacques) Jerd, wife of Alexander, died February 9, 1914, in Braintree, and is buried next to her husband in East Braintree Cemetery. Her death record indicates a date of birth of April 5, 1834, but her tombstone says April 15, 1839. Her death record also identifies her husband as

Aleck Jerd and her parents as Francis Jacques and Angeline Trombley. Malina's obituary, of February 12, 1914, confirms the April 15, 1839 birth date and her marriage to Alexander Jerd in Montreal at age 16.[4] The obituary also names several of her eight children. She was reportedly a fine singer who entertained at social gatherings with songs in French.

Caroline (Labelle), wife of Peter Jerd, died February 9, 1912 in Claremont, NH. Her death record says that she had been living in Newport, NH. She was born January 1, 1827 in Canada; and was the widow of Peter Jerd and the daughter of "Battien" Labelle. She was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery in West Claremont, NH, where the inscription has January 1, 1830 as the date of her birth. A death notice in the Claremont, NH *National Eagle* for February 17, 1912 contains the January 1, 1827 birth date and states that 11 of her 15 children survived her. Also mentioned was that she had been living with her son Gideon of Claremont, NH.

Both Alexander and Peter were naturalized United States citizens. Alexander of Roxbury was naturalized in Vergennes in 1858 and Peter of Windsor was naturalized in Burlington in 1880.[8] Apparently no information from their applications survives to help with tracing their ancestry. Information about their children will be presented. However, there is nothing in the records for these children that sheds light on the ancestry of Alexander and Peter.

Ancestry of Alexander and Peter Jerd

This section is an attempt to associate Alexander and Peter Jerd with the family of Pierre and Louise (Hogue) Giard. A description of this family follows.

Pierre Giard, son of Gabriel Giard and Magdeleine Compte, married Louise Hogue, daughter of Gabriel Hogue and Marie Jeanne Loiselle on 21 Nov 1796 in St. Charles sur Richelieu, St. Hyacinthe, Quebec. Their children:

1. Marie Louise, Baptized 5 Nov 1797 St. Charles sur Richelieu; married Isidore Viau 23 Sep 1828 Ste. Trinite de Contrecoeur, Vercheres, Quebec
2. Marie Anne, Baptized 1 Sep 1799 Notre Dame du Rosaire, St. Hyacinthe, Quebec; married Joseph Charbonault 29 Jan 1822 St. Genevieve, Berthier, Quebec
3. Pierre, Baptized 7 Dec 1802, Notre Dame du Rosaire; buried 28 Oct 1803, Notre Dame du Rosaire
4. Marie Josephte, Baptized 14 Oct 1804, Notre Dame du Rosaire; married Amable Moreau 14 Feb 1825, Ste. Genevieve
5. Rosalie, Baptized 2 Feb 1807, Notre Dame du Rosaire; m. Francois Xavier Viau 17 Jan 1826, Ste Genevieve; buried 11 Jan 1831, Ste. Trinite de Contrecoeur
6. Genevieve Leocadie, Baptized 17 Oct 1809, Ste. Genevieve
7. Marie Magdeleine, Baptized 12 Nov 1811, Ste. Genevieve; buried 11 Jul 1817, Ste. Genevieve
8. Genevieve, Baptized 19 Jan 1814, Ste. Genevieve; married Pierre Gagnon 22 Nov 1853, Notre Dame de Montreal, Montreal, Quebec
9. Pierre, Baptized 7 Sep 1815, Ste. Genevieve; buried 17Nov1835, Notre Dame de Montreal
10. Marguerite, Baptized 10 Aug 1818 Ste. Genevieve; buried 21 Aug 1818, Ste. Genevieve
11. Jean Baptiste, Baptized 11 Sep 1819 Ste. Genevieve; buried 27 Dec 1820, Ste. Genevieve

I have found no trace of Genevieve Leocadie after her baptism and assumed that she died young and that the Genevieve who was baptized 19 Jan 1814 was given the same name and survived to marry Pierre Gagnon.

Except for Notre Dame de Montreal, the parishes included in the family outline above – St. Charles sur Richelieu, Ste. Trinite de Contrecoeur, Notre Dame du Rosaire, and Ste. Genevieve – are all within about twenty miles of Contrecoeur. I looked in these

parishes for baptisms of infants named Pierre or Alexandre with unknown parents. The following two baptismal summaries are the most interesting:

On 13 Apr 1832 was baptized Alexandre, born the previous day of unknown parents, godparents Pierre Giard and Marguerite Ahiot, Ste. Genevieve

On 1 Jun 1836 was baptized Pierre Isidore, illegitimate, born the previous day, godparents Isidore Viau and Sophie Coitou St. Jean, Ste. Trinite de Contrecoeur

It is certainly plausible that these are the baptisms of Alexander and Peter Jerd. Isidore Viau is probably the husband of Marie Louise Giard mentioned above. Furthermore, we have seen that Isidore Viau was the surrogate father at the wedding of Pierre Giard and Caroline Labelle. Finally, the death record of Peter Jerd in 1893 called his father Edward Veo; could that be Isidore Viau? The godmother of Pierre Isidore, Sophie Coitou St. Jean, is probably the wife of Simon Jussaume, who in turn was a witness at the wedding of Alexandre Jerd and Emilina Jacques in 1853.[9]

The baptism of Alexandre has fewer helpful clues because I have not been able to connect Marguerite Ahiot to the Giard family. However, Pierre Giard, the godfather, could easily have been the patriarch of the family described above; he was certainly still alive at that time.[10]

Marguerite Ahiot may have been Marguerite Ayotte, daughter of Jean Baptiste Ayotte and Marguerite Siret or River, who was baptized 29 Aug 1781 at Ste. Genevieve. She married Joseph Boucher, son of Jean Baptiste Boucher and Louise Carpentier, 30 Jul 1804 at Ste. Elizabeth, Joliette, Quebec.

Nothing here proves that Alexander and Peter Jerd were connected to the family of Pierre and Louise (Hogue) Giard, but it certainly seems likely. In fact, it is reasonable to think that they were children of one of the children of Pierre and Louise. Which one? By 1836, all the children of Pierre and Louise were apparently

married or dead except Genevieve. Furthermore, among the four other girls who married, the ages at marriage ranged from 18 to 30. Genevieve didn't marry until she was almost 40. Finally, if Isidore Viau was the godfather of Peter, it seems reasonable to think he and his wife, Marie Louise (Giard) Viau, took responsibility for Peter's upbringing. Could it be that Marie Louise strayed and conceived Peter without Isidore's help? This scenario is unlikely because Isidore and Marie Louise had a child of their own baptized only one month after Peter's baptism. [11]

I will defer for the moment a description of the two Jerd families, but I do want to focus at this point on the baptism of the first child of Alexander and Malina:

Pierre Alexandre Giard was baptized 23 Dec 1854, son of Alexander and Malina (Jacques) Jerd, godparents Etienne Gagnon and Genevieve Giard, Notre Dame de Montreal

The choice of grandparents to be godparents of a first child was common in Quebec. Could Etienne and Genevieve, who married in 1853, have been the infant's step-grandfather and grandmother? The 1853 marriage record indicates that Genevieve married Pierre Gagnon, not Etienne Gagnon, but other records suggest that Pierre and Etienne were the same person.

Etienne Gagnon was buried 23 Jun 1869, age 73, barber, widower of Genevieve Giard, Notre Dame de Montreal

A Montreal city directory shows a Pierre Gagnon, barber, most years from 1846-1867. [12] In two of the intermediate years with no Pierre Gagnon, there is an Etienne Gagnon, barber. Etienne does not appear in any of the years when Pierre appears.

The burial record for Etienne Gagnon indicates that his wife, Genevieve Giard, died before him. However, her burial is not recorded in the registers of Notre Dame de Montreal. I believe that she survived him, as I will indicate below.

I have found very little information on the Gagnon couple. Pierre Gagnon was called the widower of Marguerite Bertrand in the record of his marriage to Genevieve Giard, but I have not found a record of the marriage of Pierre and Marguerite, nor have I found any baptismal records for children of Pierre Gagnon and either of his wives.

One more clue worth investigating comes from the 1880 census in the United States. Alexander Jerd is tabulated with his wife Malina and several of their children in Roxbury. Also living with them is Genevive Gonyeau or Gonjeau, age 65, [his] mother-in-law. This is very peculiar. Alexander's mother-in-law was Angele (Tremblay) Jacques, who was dead by 1853. It seems very likely that "Genevive" was in fact his mother, Genevieve Gagnon, but with language difficulties and the complexity of two different last names, the enumerator decided "mother" couldn't be right and chose "mother-in-law" instead. Note that Genevieve Giard would have been 66 when the census information was gathered, very close to the 65 shown.

This information prompted a trip by me to Roxbury for a look at the vital records. This is the key finding:

Geneoa Gonyo died 24 Mar 1888, age 74, widowed, born in Berthier, Canada, Peter and Eliza Jerd

It would be nice to read "Geneva" instead of "Geneoa", but the "o" is definitely closed. Nevertheless, this is almost identical to the correct information for Genevieve Giard at that time:

Genevieve (Giard) Gagnon, age 74, widowed, born in Berthier, Canada, Pierre and Louise Giard

All this suggests that, sometime after the death of her husband in 1869, Genevieve (Giard) Gagnon came to live with Alexander Jerd and remained with him the rest of her life, probably a period of about 15 years. The most likely explanation is that she was his mother.

The most significant remaining question is: who was the father of Alexander and Peter Jerd? All I have is speculation. For starters, they may not have had the same father; they may have been half-brothers. The father of one or both could have been Pierre Gagnon, but I have no evidence besides the fact that he and Genevieve Giard eventually married. The father of one or both could have been an Edward Viau, as indicated in the death record for Peter Jerd. (Isidore Viau apparently had a brother Edouard, but I have not gathered information about him.) I can't substantiate any of this.

Conclusion

It seems very likely that the mother of Alexander and Peter Jerd was Genevieve Gagnon, and that the children of Alexander and Melina (Jacques) Jerd are those shown above. The identification of the children of Peter and Caroline (Labelle) Jerd is more speculative for the reasons given. I would be delighted to get information anyone else has managed to put together. For the curious reader, Peter Jerd, first child of Peter and Caroline, was my great-grandfather.

Notes

1. All places mentioned in the United States are in Vermont unless another state is named.
2. For most historical records, no footnote is provided. The assumption is that the context will make the source clear.
3. It is unusual for 1890 census information to be available because most of the records were destroyed, but both Alexander and Peter Jerd served in the Civil War and are listed in the schedule of surviving soldiers.
4. *Randolph Herald and News*, Randolph, Vermont.
5. All information on baptisms, marriages and burials associated with churches in Quebec comes from the relevant church registers
6. National Archives and Records Administration, file WC 391 527, Peter Jerd, Civil War Pension Files.

7. National Archives and Records Administration, file WC 443 193, Alex Jerd, Civil War Pension Files.
8. Index to New England Naturalization Petitions. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont, LDS microfilm 1429750, Soundex J630 - Jerd. N.B. Most of the original supporting documentation is gone.
9. Simon Jussome, son of Denis Jussome and Josephte Jaques, m. Sophie Coitoux St. Jean, Jean Baptiste Coitoux St. Jean and Marie Angelique Noel, 23Oct1827, Ste Trinite de Contrecoeur, witnesses Francois Xavier Viaud et al
10. Pierre Giard, husband of Louise Hogue, was buried 16 Jul 1843, age 74, Ste. Trinite de Contrecoeur. Louise Hogue, widow of Pierre Giard, died in the hospital in Montreal and was buried 8 Mar 1865, age 98, Notre Dame de Montreal.
11. Rose Viau was baptized 7 Jul 1836, daughter of Isidore Viau and Marie Louise Giard, Ste. Trinite de Contrecoeur.
12. Lovell's Directory for the Montreal area (Annuaires Lovell de Montreal et sa banlieue) 1842-1899. An index can be found on this website: www.bibnum2.bnquebec.ca/bna/lovell/index.

About the Author

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To utilize the AFGS Research Service, simply print the research request sheet by clicking on the research request form at the bottom of the page at our website, www.afgs.org, fill in the necessary information, and send via regular mail to the address listed on the form. No requests will be accepted via email at this time.

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Any pertinent information you may have should also be sent.

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After receiving your request, we will start as soon as possible on your research. Currently, our staff is very busy with a record number of searches to perform, so please be patient. We will then notify you by mail of our findings and bill you in advance for the research performed using the applicable rates listed below.

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Florida Vaillancourt and Joseph Ritchotte pictured on their wedding day, August 16, 1920. They were married at St. John-Baptist in West Warwick, Rhode Island.