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# Je Me Souviens

A Publication of the  
American-French Genealogical Society

## Our 35th Year

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# AMERICAN FRENCH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

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Our library is open for research on Mondays from 11 AM to 4 PM, Tuesdays from 1 PM to 9 PM and Saturday from 10AM to 4 PM. The library is closed on designated holidays; there are no Saturday sessions in July.

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

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## From the President's Desk

First, I want to apologize to our members for not producing a Spring issue of *Je Me Souviens*. It is only the second time in 35 years that we have missed an issue. The resignation of our editor required us to establish new procedures and the need for us to seek out sufficient quality material for the publication prevented us from producing this publication in time to meet editorial and printing deadlines.

We “re-tooled” and already working on the Spring 2014 issue.

Starting in January 2014, the Society should be ready to introduce a Members-Only section of our web site. Members will register and select a user name and password that will include their membership number to gain access. Look for more details on [www.afgs.org](http://www.afgs.org) and in our newsletter.

You will notice some new features we are unveiling in this issue. We will have a Letters column to allow readers to submit comments about JMS content or other topics they deem of interest to our membership. We are also bringing back an old feature that we are now calling Brick Walls. This column will allow readers to submit the names of ancestors they have hit a “brick wall” that has resulted in a dead end in their research efforts. If you are in that situation I invite you to send in your information and perhaps you will find a cousin out there who can help.

Work has finally begun on the new wing of our research library. Walls are being patched and painted and carpeting will be installed soon. If all goes as planned, I hope we will be dedicating this new wing in early 2014.

# Authors Guidelines

*Je Me Souviens* publishes stories of interest to people of French Canadian and Acadian descent. Articles focusing on history and genealogy are of primary interest, although stories 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.

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 or Acadian 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.

Authors are responsible for the accuracy of all materials submitted. All material published in *Je Me Souviens* is copyrighted and becomes the property of the AFGS and *Je Me Souviens*.

All material submitted for publication must be original. Previously published material, except that which is in the public domain, will be accepted only if it is submitted by the author

# Letters



In this issue AFGS introduces a Letters column. We invite our readers to submit comments regarding articles or other matters of interest to our members. All letters published are subject to editing. Please include your first and last name, hometown and an e-mail address or evening phone number for verification.

Send letters by mail to: JMS Editor, AFGS, PO Box 830, Woonsocket, RI 02895-0870, E-mail letters to [JMSEditor@afgs.org](mailto:JMSEditor@afgs.org).

Bonjour,

I am writing this note to thank all of you for your fantastic assistance and friendship during the past several months. Judy and I have had a great summer touring various countries, meeting many people, and learning more about our family heritage. It has been a very enjoyable and informative adventure. We never tired as we had the ability to set our own pace. We were pleased to be able to validate so much information on our families. Being able to trace and follow the lineage of the LaPorte and Brisson families from the USA to Canada and then to France was exciting. Your professional assistance, coaching and recommendations have been most helpful.

We were able to trace the de Laporte dit Saint George and the Brisson families throughout Canada and back to France. Both families have solid, validated roots back to the 1500s. We met relatives on both sides of the family. Great fun and most interesting. Attached are photos of two plaques. The first is in honor of Jacques de Laporte from Noce, France; and the second is in honor of Rene Brisson from St. Xandre, France. Both immigrated to Canada in the mid-1600s and were honored as "Pioneers" for their role in helping to settle La Nouvelle France.

We started our adventure in Montreal, Canada. The old port area is exciting, and to know that Jacques de Laporte was one of the first 250 inhabitants was special. Baxter Laporte and Linda were great tour guides and shared so much information about the Laporte-St George history. We enjoyed travelling along the north shore of the St Lawrence River enroute to Ouebec and the Cote-de-Beaupre. The weather was perfect, and we enjoyed the ferry crossing to the south shore. Rimouski was special. We met cousins and enjoyed the rich Brisson heritage in this area. Canada was really enjoyable.

We found traveling in France delightful as long as we were mindful of the August traffic. We quickly learned ways to avoid traffic jams. The

French countryside is beautiful. We mostly stayed in B&Bs so we could enjoy the French culture. Met some wonderful people who always wanted to help. Near Noce, we stayed in a town called Belleme. We stayed in a delightful B&B. The couple who owned it were great hosts and knew the area well. They set us up with an 83-year old gentleman who had lived his entire life in Noce. His name is Robert Debray and his wife Alma. His father lived his entire life there also. Robert loved history, so he had many stories to tell. We were able to communicate well enough, and he shared some of his own personal records. He gave Judy and I a tour of Noce from his childhood eyes and memories. Very interesting. From his memory and his records, he said he knows of the family de Laporte but does not recall any linkage with dit Saint Georges. The plaque in the church of course links Laporte and St Georges. The nagging question of the genesis of linkage of de Laporte and St Georges still remains in my mind.

Judy and I had equal success with my grandmother's family....The Brissons. We traced their steps back to St Xandre, France. There is a plaque in the church in St Xandre honoring my Great Grandfather Rene Brisson who helped pioneer and settle Quebec. We really enjoyed the LaRochelle area. So much to see and do.

*—Leon and Judy LaPorte, San Antonio, Texas*

Dear AFGS,

You really helped me to get some "good stuff" on my ancestors. I really thought getting to Peter Minot and his parents and grandparents was going to be a helpless cause, but was I wrong.

Everyone at AFGS were really nice sharing what knowledge they had and it was fun working with such a great group of people.

Again many thanks!

*—Cheryl Holmes*

# LES FILLES DU ROI

By Sylvia Montville Bartholomy

France had staked its claim in North America in 1608 with Champlain's fledgling colony of Québec situated on the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River. However, long harsh winters, primitive living conditions, and the constant threat of attack by the Iroquois Indians, seriously hampered the growth of the community.

In an effort to increase settlement in Canada, King Louis XIV offered control of the colony to a group of entrepreneurs, who today would be equivalent to private investors. Their mandate was to build the outpost by recruiting skilled artisans and laborers to make the colony self-sustaining. In return for their investment and governance, this group known as the *Compagnie des Cent Associés*, would reap profits from the lucrative fur and lumber trades. Of course, the King would also receive his share of the profits; however, the crown would not venture any capital.

Many workers were recruited by the Association; but few stayed after their work contract expired. The inhospitable living conditions were a major factor; but more troubling was the fact that few women were brought to New France; and so the men were unable to marry and raise families. In the twenty-eight year period between 1634 and 1662 that the *Compagnie* governed the colony, only 220 women were brought to New France.

In 1662 when the King cancelled the group's grant and reclaimed control of the colony, the population in Canada was only 2,500 souls. Meanwhile, south of the struggling French settlement, there were 80,000 persons living in England's Atlantic colonies. With such a serious imbalance of population, there was the constant worry that the English would sail north to mount an attack and conquer the vulnerable colony that would be unable to defend itself with so few citizens.

King Louis appointed Jean Talon to the newly-created position of Intendant of New France. Talon was a talented admin-



istrator who envisioned expansion through trade, agriculture, and industry while increasing settlement. His primary focus was to devise a plan to quickly increase the population.

Since the major sticking point for many settlers was that there were no women to marry and share their life with, Talon proposed a program whereby women of marriageable age would be brought to New France under the protection of the King. In effect the King would become the figurative father of the young women by providing them with a dowry, usually between 50 and 200 *livres*, and a trunk of personal items, in addition to the cost of their ship's passage and the fee for boarding with the Ursuline nuns until they married. Thus was born "*Les Filles du Roi*" program.

In France, Jean Baptiste Colbert, *Ministre* of the Marines was responsible for recruiting the women when the plan was first conceived. Later it would be administered by private recruiters who earned a fee for each young woman entered into the program.

Intendant Talon asked that the girls be healthy of body and spirit and of good character--worthy of being called the King's daughters. Later Talon suggested that pleasing appearance should also be a consideration as they might as well populate the colony with good-looking people.

Women accustomed to farm work were believed more suitable for the hard life in Canada. Most of the women were recruited in Paris, Rouen and other northern cities in France.

Recruitment took many forms besides the private or government recruiters. Parish priests would announce the program during Sunday masses promoting the opportunity for young women to help increase God's fold in the developing colony.

In addition, it is known that many of the girls were residents of the *Salpêtrière*, a division of the *Hôpital Général* of Paris. The *Salpêtrière* was not actually a hospital for the sick, but a residence for impoverished or orphaned girls. The nuns encouraged, and in some cases, strongly persuaded, girls to afford themselves of the opportunity to enter the program because it offered a better life than they could expect in French society. At that time a woman without a dowry could not

marry nor enter religious life. She was destined to a life of servitude.

When a woman presented herself to the recruiter she needed a birth certificate, a letter of reference from her parish priest or other official, proof that she was free to marry, and she had to declare that she was not the sole support of a dependent parent.

In the first two years of the program, the girls traveled on the King's ships; and afterwards, they traveled on the ships of the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* which was under contract with the state to transport colonists to Canada. The cost of the voyage and necessary incidentals was 100 *livres*. In today's (2001) money (This is the date of Gagné's article; should probably say "In 2001 money" it would be roughly equivalent to \$1,400.

The crossing took two months, and as you can well imagine, it was a dangerous and arduous passage. Water, food and sanitation were limited. Living space was very crowded as the passengers were confined below deck for most of the time. These conditions led to the spread of disease, and many of the travelers arrived in poor health.

In Québec the women were taken under the care of the Ursuline nuns who nursed them back to health, gave them clothing appropriate to the conditions, and taught them practical skills needed to manage a household such as sewing, knitting, cooking and washing, as well as learning to make natural medicines and remedies from herbs and plants.

The nuns controlled the process of meeting and choosing a husband for the well-being of the young women. We must remember that at this time in history it was the custom that marriages were arranged by families. Since these women had no families to intervene on their behalf, the nuns filled that role. The eligible bachelors had to apply to the directress declaring their situation such as how they earn their living and how much property and possessions they owned.

The nuns hosted small, supervised gatherings where the men met the women. The women in turn asked such questions as, "Is your home completed?" "Does it have a large fireplace that draws well?" "Do you have many blankets as I hear the

winters are very cold?"

It was the woman's prerogative to refuse a proposal of marriage as the King had decreed that since the woman was risking her life and leaving her country and extended family, she should have the final word. This was unprecedented at the time.

If both agreed to marry, a notary was on hand to draw up the marriage contract, a legal document perhaps equivalent to our modern day license application. Most couples were married within two weeks of signing the contract.

In the *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec* by René Jette, the notation "c.n. annulé" followed by a date and name of a man are commonly found. This entry refers to the annulment of a marriage contract and not an annulment of a marriage. It seems that some women had a change of heart after signing a contract and reneged on getting married. Some annulled three contracts before finally getting married.

The first point of debarkation after the ocean voyage was Québec City. If after a month's time some had not found a husband, then they traveled up the St. Lawrence River to Trois Rivières to another convent; and, if they still did not find a suitable match, they continued on to Montreal. Some settlers complained that the prettiest women were chosen in Québec and that the women arriving at the third city were the least attractive.

If after a reasonable time they still did not find a suitable match, then the nuns would secure work for them in a family where it was hoped that in time they would find someone to marry in the community. The women were never forced to marry.

*Les Filles du Roi* program was in effect from 1663 to 1673. Depending on which historical source you refer to there were between 750 and 900 women in the program. Peter Gagne in his research has identified 768 daughters. A table in his book lists the number of arrivals by year. It is significant to note that almost 70% of the women arrived between 1667 and 1671. This increase was no doubt planned to coincide with the encouraged settlement of the soldiers of the *Carignan-Salières* Regiment. This elite fighting group had been sent to

Québec in 1665 to quell the Indian threat and help build the colony. When their enlistment ended in 1667, the men were offered free land and two years salary to help them build a home and clear their land. This was an extravagant offer for if they had returned to France they could never hope to own land. It is estimated that around 400 of the soldiers and officers accepted this offer. By the end of the King's Daughters program the population of New France had risen to 6,700 people – a very significant increase of 4,500 citizens.

This successful program ended after 10 years because of the cost to the King. There are historians who conjecture that had the program continued to 1700, Canada would not have been lost to the British in 1759.

It's doubtful that the women of this program understood the importance of their contribution to the development of Canada. Whether they came willingly or were strongly persuaded, they all faced daunting challenges and hardships in a primitive country, and they deserve to be known by name and honored for their significant contribution to the growth of a country.

This is simply an overview of this special time in our history. There are many, many more interesting details in Peter Gagne's two-volume book entitled "King's Daughters and Founding Mothers: The Filles du Roi, 1663-1673" which is in our library under Bio 594-595.

In addition to facts about the program in general, the books also contain a biography of each King's daughter listing her date and place of birth, the names of her parents, her arrival date in Quebec, as well as similar information on her husband, and the date and place of birth of her children, and other significant happenings in her life.

This year marks the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of the King's Daughters and many celebrations are planned in Québec. The AFGS is also planning to celebrate this event later in the year, and we invite those of you who are descended from one or more King's Daughters to register to participate in our program and receive a pin and certificate validating you as a King's Daughters descendant.

## References

Gagné , P.J.(2001) King's Daughters and Founding Mothers: The Filles du Roi, 1663-1673.Pawtucket.RI.Quintin Publications

## About the author:

*Sylvia Montville Bartholomy lives in Woonsocket with her husband, Roger. They joined AFGS in 1990 and have been active volunteers. Sylvia is a member of the Board of Directors and Chairperson of the Hall of Fame Committee. She was the former editor of AFGnewS, and former publicist. In 2000 she cofounded the group "Parlons Français" which meets monthly to facilitate the regaining of conversational Canadian French.*

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# USING THE RECORDS OF QUEBEC'S NOTARIES FOR GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH

By Michael J. Leclerc

French-Canadians are very fortunate when it comes to genealogy. With such vast surviving church records surviving, and women keeping their maiden names throughout their lives, it is far easier to research French-Canadian ancestors than it is for many of our compatriots of other ancestry. Because of this, sometimes we forget that there are many other records of value to researchers that can not only fill in missing information from church records, but also add additional information to our family tree besides the skeleton of births, marriages, and deaths. The records of Quebec's notaries can be very valuable to your research.

## *Quebec History*

Before we discuss the notaries, let us first review a bit of history. Louis Hébert and his family settled in Quebec in 1617. In the 1660s, a formal justice system was established in New France, following the "Coutume de Paris." A century later, the British won the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. The colony was formally ceded to the British with the Peace of Paris in 1763.

This was a period of great turmoil in Britain's "southern" colonies, stretching from Georgia to New Hampshire. The colonists were very unsettled. And now, the British faced administering conquered French colonists, with whom they had been at war for decades. In 1774, Parliament passed the Quebec Act, which started being enforced in 1775. Among the terms of this law, the oath of allegiance made no reference to the Protestant faith, the French were allowed to maintain their Catholic faith, and to tithe to that church instead of the Anglicans. It established English Common Law as the rule of the land for public administration and criminal law. However, civil law would remain under the Paris custom. The Quebec Act was considered by the American colonists to be one of the Intolerable Acts that led directly to the American Revolution in 1776.

The Coutume de Paris remained the law of the land in Quebec for almost a century more. In 1866 it was replaced by a version of the Napoleonic Code. The following year saw the province of Canada join with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to form the Dominion of Canada. Under the terms of Confederation, Canada was separated into two provinces. Upper Canada became Ontario, and Lower

Canada became Quebec. All provinces except Quebec reverted completely to English law. Quebec was allowed to maintain its French tradition for civil law. Thus, unlike our cousins elsewhere in Canada, French-Canadians have the rich resource of notarial records available to us.

### *Types of Notaries*

Notaries in Quebec are not like notaries in America. In Quebec, they are lawyers, handling all aspects of contract law, anything that involved agreements between people. Trial lawyers, called "advocats," were not allowed into the province until 1775.

There are four categories of people who deal with contracts. Gref-fiers were judges' assistants and recorded court proceedings, and sometimes acted as notaries. Tabellions were public scribes whose papers were supposed to be registered with notaries. Then there were two types of notaries: Notaires Seigneuriaux and Notaires Royaux. Seigneurial notaries were attached to a specific seigneurie, and prepared documents only for those who lived on that estate. Originally selected by the seigneurs, they were eventually appointed by the crown. Royal notaries could practice anywhere within a town or region. They were appointed by the governor, intendant, or the sovereign council, and they superseded the seigneurial notaries.

In the early years of the colony, all agreements were verbal ones. The population was so small that a man's word worked fine for agreements, as violating one's word and being painted as untrustworthy would make survival very difficult. The first notary in Canada was a man named Nicolas, appointed in 1621, but none of his acts survive.

The oldest notarial records to survive are three records of the greffier Jean de Lespinasse. They were all land records in 1637. The first two involved land granted by the seigneur Robert Giffard to Jean Guion and Zacharie Cloutier, both dated 3 February. The third was a land grant by Giffard to Noël Langlois, dated 29 June. The earliest surviving marriage contract was prepared later that year by Jean Guitet for François Drouet and Périnne Godin, dated 17 October.

By the 1680s there were already twenty-four notaries in New France, most of them Notaires Seigneuriaux. This number continued to grow throughout the French Regime. The Crown set the rules for creating and filing papers, rates, etc.

## **Notarial Acts**

There are many different types of notarial acts. Here are some of the most common ones:

Achat: Purchase of property.

Accord, Obligation, Contrat: General terms for agreements or contracts of any kind.

Contrat de Mariage: marriage contract, pre-nuptial agreement.

Curatelle: Guardianship records for incompetents, mentally ill, etc.

Donations Entre Vifs: Gifts of the living; usually aging parents distributing their estate amongst their children while they are still alive, in return for the children taking care of them for the remainder of their lives.

Engagement: Apprenticeships or employment contracts.

Inventaire Après Décès: Estate inventory after death.

Partage d'une Succession: Division of an estate.

Procès Verbal: Oral testimony.

Testament: Will.

Tutelle: Guardianship for a minor.

Vent: Sale of property.

The collection of a notary's papers is called a "minutier." Each notary was supposed to create two indexes to their minutier. The first, called a "répertoire," is organized by date, with the act number, type of act, and the names of the parties. The second, called the index, is organized by year, then by the first letter of the surname, the act number, the names of parties, and the type of act.

Locating the appropriate notary can be challenging. Because Royal Notaries practiced over large territories, some records may be far away from where your ancestor lived. I have an ancestor who lived in Baie du Febvre, near Trois Rivières, whose marriage contract was in Montreal. He used the same notary who had handled his engagement contracts.

There are listings of notaries, such as *Index des lieux de résidence et de pratique : des commis-- des garde-notes-- des greffiers-- des tabellions-- autres-- et des notaires, 1621-1991 ainsi que les lieux de dépôt de leurs minutes avec leurs cotes aux A.N.Q.* by Jean-Marie Laliberté. Find the notaries who practiced in the location



where your ancestor lived, then start moving outward concentrically looking for additional records.

### ***Accessing Records***

The goal of the Parchemin Project is to inventory all surviving notarial records from 1635 to 1885. Records through 1789 have been inventoried and abstracted into a database. This database is available at branches of the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales de Québec and other libraries in Canada. To the best of my knowledge, it is not available at any library in the U.S. It is not available online.

Early marriage contracts and some additional early records have been abstracted into the Programme de Recherche en Démographie Historique (PRDH) database. This represents only a small portion of the total number of notarial acts. This subscription database is available online in both French and English at

<<[www.genealogie.umontreal.ca](http://www.genealogie.umontreal.ca)>>.

Pierre-Georges Roy, provincial archivist in the early twentieth century, supervised the publication of a number of abstracts of notarial records. Some of these are available in stand-alone volumes, such as *Inventaire des Testaments, Donations, et Inventaires du Régime Français Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Québec*. Others were published as part of the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* series, published between 1921 and 1961.

FamilySearch is making some notarial records available online at <<[www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)>>. These records cover the period 1800 to 1900. They cannot yet be searched, only browsed. They are organized by judicial district, then alphabetically by the first name of the notary. Then you can browse by range of act numbers.

The Drouin Institute abstracted a number of notarial records in the early twentieth century. These abstractions are available in the Drouin Collection microfilms. These are abstractions only, and do not contain the entire text of the acts.

The records of deceased notaries are available at the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales de Québec (BANQ). They will not search these records for you, but if you can give them the name of a notary, and the act number or specific date of the act, you can order a copy of the original from them. You can also, of course, hire a professional to go research the records for you. As part of specific projects, BANQ has digitized some notarial records and made them available online at <<[www.banq.ca](http://www.banq.ca)>>. Some others have been abstracted or indexed and are available online. At this time there is no widespread project on the part of BANQ to digitize all of these

records.

Quebec's notarial records are a deep, rich resource of information on the everyday lives of your ancestors. While still a bit cumbersome to access, it is worth the effort. These records can help give you a much better understanding of your ancestors' everyday lives.

### **About the Author**

*Michael J. Leclerc is the author of numerous articles for genealogical magazines and scholarly journals. He has been a professional genealogist for almost two decades. He spent seventeen years working in various capacities at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, where he edited the award-winning fifth edition of the Genealogist's Handbook for New England Research. He currently serves as Chief Genealogist at the genealogy search engine Mocavo.*

## BRICK WALLS

AFGS is bringing back a column that was formerly featured in *Je Me Souviens*. Readers who have hit the so-called "brick wall" in locating a certain ancestor would ask readers for assistance.

It is rare that those doing genealogical research has not had difficulty finding at least one member of the family tree. If you are in that predicament, perhaps a reader with the same ancestor could provide a lead or two. If not, consider using the AFGS research Committee (see page 64 for more information).

Send your submissions to JMS Editor at PO Box 830, Woonsocket, RI 02895-0870, or by e-mail to [JMSEditor@AFGS.org](mailto:JMSEditor@AFGS.org).

## **BOOK REVIEW:**

**Le Québécois, the Virgin Forest by Doris Provencher Faucher**

**Reviewed by Jeanne Chakraborty, Winona, MN**

### **About the Author:**

Doris Provencher Faucher is a native of Biddeford, Maine and a retired high school teacher. She also teaches courses on the Franco-American Heritage at the University of Maine's local Senior College and has written a 4-book series depicting the lives of her ancestors, Sébastien Provencher and Marguerite Manchon and their descendants. The author is a direct descendant of Sébastien (called Bastien) and Marguerite.

### **About the Series:**

Published by Artenay Press of Biddeford, Maine

Book 1, *Le Québécois: The Virgin Forest*, (2000) Book 2, *The Rapids, Part 2*, (2002) Book 3, *Imperial Conflict*, (2006) Book 4, *Imperial Conquest*, (2009)

### **Review :**

Written in English, this novel is based on well-researched facts about the author's ancestors, as drawn from French departmental and Québec provincial archives. She also included information from Jesuit records of the unusual natural disasters the early settlers experienced, like earthquakes and floods, further enriching her story by enabling us to understand the extent of the challenges that our ancestors had to overcome. Bastien arrived in New France in 1657 and joined a small population of soldiers, settlers and Jesuits already in place. Many had actually arrived before him, but two-thirds of them had either returned to France or died. Marguerite would join him some five years later, when he had built a proper home for them and was ready to marry. When she came at last, she came as a *Fille du Roi*.

Provencher Faucher documents the couple's separate arrivals to New France, the birth of their children, and other life events. The day-to-day activities and conversations of the couple, however, are necessarily fictional, described from her general historical research and possibly having a slightly biased vision of the ideal ancestors. At times, Bastien and Marguerite almost seemed too dedicated, too ideal and too faultless to me, but one should remember that they had the advantage of having known each other in France. They had enjoyed a solid friendship in their homeland for some time before reuniting in New France. In contrast, most couples of New France

married as virtual strangers, almost as soon as the Fille de Roi arrived. In any case, Bastien and Marguerite were convincingly strong, brave, intelligent, resourceful and loving, as they portrayed the early French settlers of the St. Lawrence River Valley.

Interesting from start to finish, this book gives us a good sense of why and how much the men of France were motivated to go to New France to find a better life than they would have had in their birth land, due to difficult conditions in France. They viewed temporary indentured servitude as a great opportunity to secure their future by earning their own land and living better lives.

The author includes a very detailed description of what was required of our pioneer ancestors in the new land. They were not only felling huge trees, they were growing food, as well as hunting and gathering. They were building barns, houses and furniture. They were often making their own axes, other tools and farm implements. Bastian even made a spinning wheel for his wife. Women made baskets, pots, containers, clothes, soap and candles all from scratch, to keep their families going. They had to be self-reliant because ready-made supplies from France arrived slowly and infrequently. Despite certain dangers from the elements, animals, and unfriendly Indians, the forest was good to them and supplied their needs.

Readers will notice how well Provencher Faucher depicts the respectful bonds between the settlers and some friendly Indians, with each group benefiting from an exchange of technology. Similarly, she shows how settlers cooperated among themselves, sharing food, tools, goods and labor, and helping each other in every way. This strategy has always been the essence of survival for mankind and what enabled even the earliest humans to thrive.

Certainly the author's greatest achievement, in my view, is bringing her ancestors to life and allowing us to know them as real people. Isn't that what we should all be trying to do to some extent as genealogists? Who wants to read just a litany of meaningless names, dates and tedious lists of who begat whom? At first, early archaeologists mainly collected and labeled countless artifacts to display on museum shelves, and they were meaningless. Modern day archaeologists integrate disciplines to reconstruct the lifeways of the societies they excavate. They learn about the physical and social environment, and the challenges that early people faced. They also analyze their health, activities and customs, allowing us to take a real interest in the ancient ones as the real people they were. To her credit, Doris Provencher Faucher also accomplishes bringing Bastien and Marguerite to life and making them memorable people.

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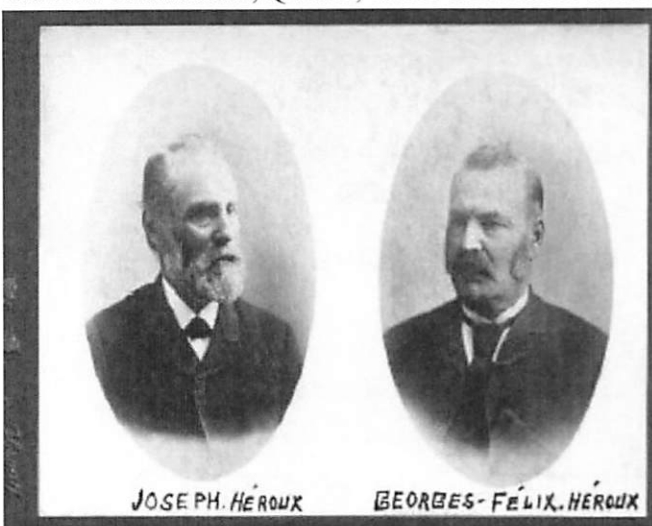
# Church Builders - Joseph and Georges-Félix Héroux

## *Their Achievements in New England*

By Ronald Gerard Héroux

Two French-Canadian brothers, Joseph (1831-1901) and Georges-Félix (1833-1901) HÉROUX, have been credited with building over 100 churches, along with some church rectories and a few notable homes between 1880 and 1901. Most of the construction took place in the Province of Québec, but a few churches were built in the United States, primarily in New England where so many French Canadians had migrated. According to the Héroux Family Association ([www.associationheroux.ca](http://www.associationheroux.ca)), the Héroux brothers were often only subcontractors in the construction of these churches.

Born in Yamachiche, Québec, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, about 65 miles east of Montréal, the Héroux brothers established their construction company in this city, which their ancestors helped



found. They became well known throughout Canada as "*Les Bâtisseurs d'églises*" (The Builders of Churches). They completed their architectural apprenticeship in Yamachiche under Alexis Milette (who was the father-in-law of Georges-Félix) and in Rome, Italy, where they studied the techniques of hemispheric dome construction using a circular base. Georges-Félix Héroux also served as the first mayor of the town of Yamachiche from 1887 to 1899.

According to a history of the Héroux family in the book *Nos Ancêtres* (Our Ancestors) by Jacques Saintonge (1983) and a publication on the history of Yamachiche by André Desaulniers (Number 4, February 2011), at one time, the Héroux brothers employed over thirty workmen including a team of carpenters and masons. For the most part, it was a family enterprise composed of architects, sculptors, gilders, draftsmen, construction workers, supervisors, administrators, and accountants. Saintonge's book indicates that at least four of Georges-Félix Héroux's sons participated in the family construction business and continued building churches until 1910. (Following is a web site containing a collection of photos of churches, rectories, and other buildings constructed by the Héroux brothers-- <http://www.flickr.com/photos/aheroux/sets/> .) (I was not able to access this website and received a message that the website could not be found)

The Héroux Family Association, based in the Province of Québec, informed me that at least four churches were built by Joseph and Georges-Félix Héroux in various, predominantly Franco-American communities in New England —1) **Pawtucket, Rhode Island**, 2) **Webster, Massachusetts**, 3) **Spencer, Massachusetts**, and 4) **New Bedford, Massachusetts**. However, this Association did not have any records identifying the names of these Catholic churches, only the cities in which the churches were supposedly constructed. Because of an upcoming Héroux Family Association booklet detailing the accomplishments of the Héroux brothers, I wanted to try to identify these New England churches, provide some photos and document the fact that Joseph and Georges-Félix Héroux (who are part of my lineage) did in fact build these churches and possibly even designed them.

### **Pawtucket, Rhode Island -St. John's (Saint-Jean-Baptiste)**

Being a native of Central Falls, Rhode Island, the city adjoining Pawtucket, I began my research with this Rhode Island community, one of many mill towns/cities established throughout New England in the late 1800s and early 1900s and site of the Slater Mill that marked the start of the Industrial Revolution. (The industrial revolution had already started in England. I'm not sure that it can be claimed that the Slater mill was anything other than the first cotton mill in the USA to use Arkwright system of cotton spinning.) After examining historical information on the Franco-American Catholic churches in Pawtucket and speaking with contacts in the Franco-American community, I discovered the church built by the Héroux brothers of Yamachiche, Québec.



It was called *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, the patron saint of the French Canadians. The name of the church has been anglicized to St. John's Church.

In the book on the history of the parish entitled *St. John's Parish, Pawtucket, RI -- 1884-1978* written by Reverend Edward G. St-Godard, Father Joseph Gustave Garcin is listed as the second pastor of *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* parish. In 1895, Rev. Garcin obtained a loan of \$45,000 to build a new and spacious church needed to accommodate the growing number of French-Canadian Catholics coming to live and work in the textile mills in and around

Pawtucket primarily. **The church "was built by Joseph Héroux Bros., Inc. of Québec"** (p. 17). Construction began in 1896 using Deschambault stone (granite) from Québec. The cornerstone was blessed on April 12, 1897 and the church was dedicated on May 31, 1897. (Unfortunately, I was unable to verify whether the parish rectory was also built by the Héroux brothers.)

Rev. St-Godard's book not only includes a detailed history of St. John's parish, but it also contains a good synopsis of the history of the Franco Americans in New England with particular attention to the Blackstone River Valley area of Rhode Island, namely the Franco-American communities of Woonsocket, Central Falls, Manville, and Pawtucket. Rev. St-Godard is presently pastor of Holy Family Parish in Woonsocket.

According to this parish history book (p. 17), the new *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* Church had a seating capacity of 700, and was "flanked by twin (bell) towers surmounted by spires....It had a high studded interior and three central entrances approached by a portico....And the windows were long and slender with the front wall containing two niches high over the portals for life-sized statues."

There is an interesting anecdote in Rev. St-Godard's book (pp. 17-18) concerning money owed to Mr. Joseph Héroux by the pastor of *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. (In the anecdote below, the phrase within parentheses was translated by me, RGH.)

It seems that on May 29, 1897, the day before the dedication, Father Garcin wrote to Mr. Héroux to tell him that the work had been done satisfactorily. On June 1, the pastor sent a \$1,000 check,



which bounced. Understandably upset, the builder requested his Chancery of the Trois Rivières Diocese to contact Bishop Harkins of the Providence Diocese with the request that he look into the matter. The letter of September 16 pleads in behalf of this "*pauvre architecte qui a besoin de son argent pour régler ses comptes.*" (poor architect who needs his money to settle his accounts).

Asked to explain, Father Garcin wrote to the Bishop on September 22 to say that due to urgent repairs, he could not at that time make good on the note, but he would pay the interest.

Mr. Héroux, however, demanded his money. And so Father Garcin was forced to borrow the \$1,000 from a friend. Before sending the money, however, the pastor made three demands:

- Mr. Héroux must remit the original note, plus interest paid,
- He must repair the roof which was leaking into the sacristy.
- He must redo the gold work on the altar....

Mr. Héroux said he would comply upon the receipt of the check. How the case was resolved is not indicated in the Diocesan Record.

Unfortunately, on October 17, 1918 at 1:30 PM a major fire started in the sacristy and the sanctuary. At 3:30 PM the towers collapsed and the roof caved in. According to Rev. St-Godard, "...by 5 PM the beautiful temple...was destroyed – only its unsafe, blackened walls remaining (p. 28)."

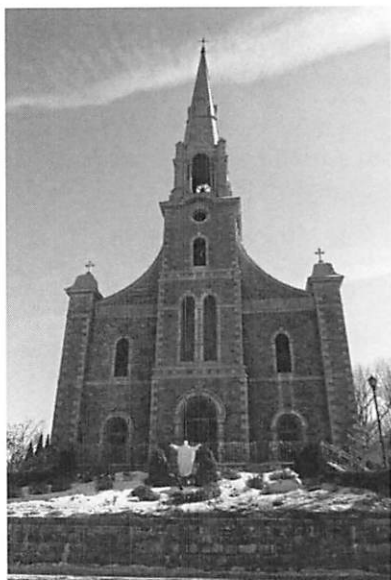
In 1927, a new *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* Church was built. Since the Héroux brothers had died a few months apart in 1901, the new architect chosen was Ernest Cormier from Montréal, and the building contractor selected was Damien Boileau Limited also from Montréal. So continued the tradition of selecting church builders from the native land of most of the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* parishioners or their immediate ancestors—the Province of Québec.

It is interesting to note that an invited guest to the dedication of the new *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* Church in 1927 was the Governor of Rhode Island, Aram J. Pothier, the first Franco-American elected as a governor in the United States. Coincidentally, his family was also from Yamachiche, Québec where the Héroux brothers were born and had established their company.

### **Webster, Massachusetts – Sacred Heart of Jesus (*Sacré-Coeur-de-Jésus*)**

Whereas there were three Franco-American churches built in Paw-

tucket, Rhode Island, there was only one Catholic parish in Webster, Massachusetts in the late 1800s serving a large Irish and French-speaking population, the latter mainly immigrants from the Province of Québec. The parish is Sacred Heart of Jesus, probably named "*Sacré-Coeur-de-Jésus*" by the French-speaking parishioners who came to work in the Slater Textile mill complex of Webster, originally part of Dudley, Massachusetts.



According to the *History of Sacred Heart of Jesus Parish 1870 – 1970*, prepared in large part by parish historian J. Edward St. Pierre, c.1970, Rev. Joseph Agapit Legris was the pastor when the parishioners of Sacred Heart of Jesus held meetings in November of 1894 to plan the erection of a new and larger church to better serve the influx of French-Canadian workers into the area. (Father Legris was born in Rivière-du-Loup, Québec on 21 May 1845. He was ordained priest in Nicolet, Québec in 1866, and came to head the parish in Webster in 1887 where he died on 16 February 1909.)

The parish history book states (p. 13) that a church announcement in February of 1895 alerted the parishioners that a new church and rectory would be constructed. In March of 1895 it was announced that **"Mr. G.F. Héroux of Yamachiche, Québec, Canada had been selected as the architect and contractor"**. (p. 13) It was estimated that the cost of the new church would be around \$50,000.

The parish history goes on to indicate (p. 13) that on April 3, 1895, the first Canadian granite stone (most likely from Deschambault, Québec) was laid, and the cornerstone was added on May 26, 1895. Before the church was completed in July of 1896, the parish history reports (p. 13) that a tragic accident occurred. "The stone wall on the Gospel side of the church had recently been built and an unexpected heavy frost during the night had frozen the concrete. The next day as temperatures rose the unset cement softened and the entire wall crumbled....a young man, nine years of age, by the name of Oswald Plasse, became the victim of a deluge of heavy stones."

The first mass was said in the new church on July 19, 1896. The church was officially dedicated and blessed on Labor Day, September 7, 1896 with huge crowds lining the streets to see the many religious and political dignitaries enter the church for a special Pontifical High Mass. According to the history of Sacred Heart Church (p.14), a long dedicatory sermon (in French) was given by Bishop L.F. Laflèche of Three Rivers (*Trois Rivières*), Québec; and in attendance at a large banquet that evening was G.F. Héroux, the architect of the church, and his construction foreman H.D. Bellemare, along with many Franco-American and French- Canadian dignitaries.

A description of the church is in order since, as far as I know, **this is the only remaining church constructed and designed by the Héroux Brothers still standing and in active use in the United States.** The red brick parish rectory was also built by the Héroux brothers and remains in use today. However, the bricks have since been covered by a type of vinyl siding; and removed from the rectory over the years were a beautifully designed second floor balcony covering the main entrance along with a porch surrounding the front and the right side of the rectory.



*Sacred Heart of Jesus rectory before the porch and second floor balcony were removed.*

The following description is a transcript from *The Webster TIMES* as reprinted in the *History of Sacred Heart of Jesus Parish* (pp. 15-

16). (No references were provided as to the exact date of the newspaper article, but it was likely published around September 1896:

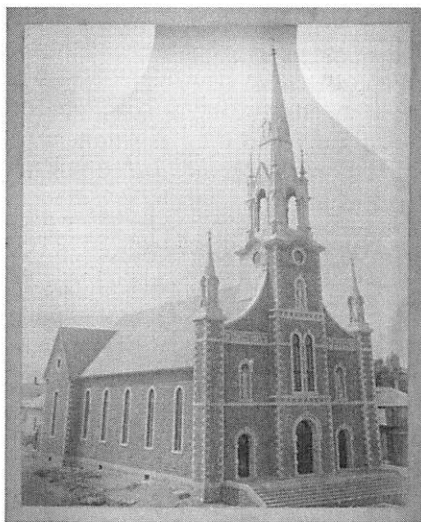
The size of the church is 145x65 feet, while the steeple is 165 feet from the ground. There are transepts on each side, 6x65 feet. The stone used in the construction is Canadian granite, procured from a quarry owned by the contractor located near the city of Quebec. The trimmings are of marble and lighter stone, making an agreeable contrast from the dark body of work. At the rear of the main edifice is a large ell, 50x36 feet, which will be used as a chapel and for holding business meetings, etc. The highest point of the main roof to the ground is 100 feet. The base of the steeple is 24 feet square. The church is lighted by six large mullioned windows on each side, with two on the front which furnish good light for the organist and choir, the latter being located in a spacious gallery above the main entrance. From the belfry tower on a clear day a magnificent view can be obtained. Entrance to the belfry is made from the chapel, an entrance way being left under the roof above the gallery. In front of the church are three niches in which are placed three statues: (1) in the center, Sacred Heart of Jesus, (2) on the right, St. John, (3) on the left, St. Raphael....These add to the imposing front of the Church....the interior...is perfectly handsome, going far ahead of many city churches. On each side are five large pillars extending from the floor to the roof, exquisitely finished in imitation marble. In fact, but for their largeness, one would take them for marble, so well has the work upon them been executed. They are about two feet in diameter. These pillars support the gallery, which extends all around the main building, except where the altar and sanctuary are located. The walls are plastered and finished in imitation marble. The ceiling is very tastefully finished in white and gold, the outlay for gold leaf alone on the interior decorations being said to exceed \$4,000. Various religious emblems, such as the cross, dove, crown of thorns, etc., are artistically brought out. The wood work used on the interior is of hand-carved Canadian Pine.

The altar and its accessories is where the decorator has shown the skill of a true artist. The wood work is all carved by hand and, with the lavish use of gold leaf, looks almost like a solid mass of gold, making a very rich appearance. Two pillars extend upward on each side....Outside the altar rail is a handsomely finished moveable pulpit, 10 feet high...The seating capacity is about 1,200. The pews are of pine with the black walnut trimming. The credit of the beautiful decorations belong to Cleophas Martel and Hubert Motot, who are exceptionally good workmen....A substantial stone

wall has been built in front of the church, entrance to the grounds is by three stone stairways, in the center and on each side. The entrance to the church is made by a flight of steps, with marble front risers which extend the full width of the edifice.

East of the church is the rectory, which is a very substantial brick building, containing twenty-four rooms, with a French roof.

In the financial report related to the expenses of the church outlined in the history of the parish (*pp. 16-17*), the contractor and architect, "Héroux Bros., of Yamachiche, P.Q., Canada", were paid \$71,571, and the total cost of the rectory was \$7,800. (It is interesting to note that on p. 17, the architect is listed as J. Héroux whereas his brother G. F. Héroux is mentioned on p. 13 as being the architect. I can only assume that it was a collaborative effort on the part of the Héroux brothers.)



The two church spires on each side of the main belfry tower were damaged during the violent hurricane of 1938 and were replaced by two cupolas. In 1965, the statues located in the three niches at the front of the church were replaced by stained glass windows. This was likely done because of wear and tear on the statues due to the weather along with the hurricane of 1938.

A visit to this church would be a worthwhile endeavor for anyone interested in seeing the magnificent work of the two

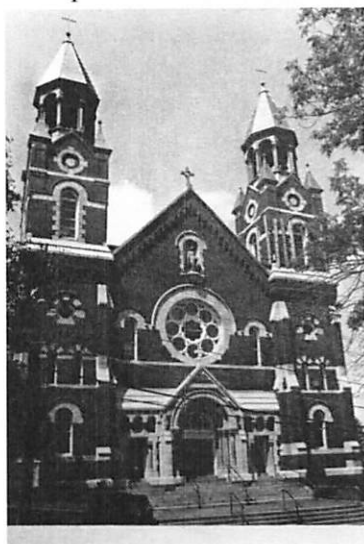
Héroux brothers, Joseph and Georges-Félix. And I am sure that Ronald George Héroux, a distant cousin of the author and a parishioner of this church as well as a proud member of the Héroux Family Association, would be happy to give you a tour of this beautiful church located about 20 miles south of Worcester, Massachusetts, off Interstate 395. (His email address is [heroux.ron@gmail.com](mailto:heroux.ron@gmail.com))

It is interesting to note that in the parish history book of Sacred Heart Church is a listing of "The Parish Elders" (p. 28) who were 80 or more years old when this book was published (c.1970); and the name Mattie Héroux is listed. According to historical records obtained by Ronald George Héroux of Webster, Mattie Héroux was born Martha Cyr on 13 February 1886 in Madawaska, Maine,

married Cléophas Héroux in Fall River, Massachusetts on 28 August 1911, died 4 October 1978, and was buried in Sacred Heart Cemetery in Webster.

### Spencer, Massachusetts -- St. Mary's (*Sainte-Marie*)

According to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary book of St. Mary's parish, Bishop Patrick T. O'Reilly of Springfield, Massachusetts announced in 1886 the formation of the second Catholic parish in Spencer, Massachusetts, to serve the rapidly growing number of French Canadians emigrating from the Province of Québec. *Sainte-Marie* (later anglicized to St. Mary's) was the name given to the new parish and church. The Reverend Antoine A. Lamy, born in



1884 in Yamachiche, Québec (the same city that the Héroux brothers were from), was appointed pastor in 1889; and he was responsible for the establishment of St. Mary's Church (*photo on left*). However, it was a very long and arduous struggle for Father Lamy and the parishioners to come up with the needed funds to build this church.

Based on information obtained in the *History of Spencer Massachusetts 1875 -1975* by Jeffrey H. Fiske, published by the Spencer Historical Commission in 1990, "only a small section of the foundation had been put in place" in 1891, and "financial problems seem to have caused the

halt in construction." (p. 266). In 1892 construction "resumed on the foundation," but again "work was halted." (p. 266) In 1893 work started again and continued through the fall of 1895. "Finally in the spring of 1900," according to Fiske, "work was again pushed forward...and the **contract for the construction was awarded to a Canadian contractor, Joseph Héroux**. Changes to the design of the church required rebuilding of portions of the foundation. The architect was J. H. Beserick of Boston." (p. 267)

Laying of the cornerstone was celebrated in January 1901 along with a celebration of Father Lamy's 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ordination. Father Lamy died at the age of seventy-one December 28, 1915 in Fiskdale, Massachusetts, and was later buried in his hometown of Yamachiche, Québec. At the time of the dedication of St. Mary's Church, November 22, 1903, the church was still not completely

finished. According to Fiske, "The frescoing of the interior and the installation of the stained glass windows were yet to be completed." (p. 268). Over the years, stained glass windows were added in various sections of the church along with the Stations of the Cross.

During 1980-81 St. Mary's Church underwent major renovations to its twin towers. They were no longer able to support the weight of the upper sections which had to be removed. Thus, the towers were shortened rather than eliminated to retain the architectural beauty and integrity of the church.

In 2006, St. Mary's Church was determined to be structurally unsound after part of the façade's south tower fell off the building. The church was then closed; and in June of 2008, the Franco-American parishioners bid adieu to their beloved church that they called *Sainte-Marie*. The Diocesan Bishop in Worcester, Massachusetts, ordered the demolition of this 118-year-old church while leaving the older, neighboring "Irish" church, Mary Queen of the Rosary, as the only Catholic church in Spencer.

*NOTE: I was unable to substantiate any work done by the Héroux brothers in the city of New Bedford, Massachusetts, although there were three Franco-American Catholic churches built in this city prior to or around 1900. Since some of the architects and builders of these New Bedford churches were French Canadians, I can only assume that the Héroux brothers may have been subcontractors. Also, St. Anne's Church in Three Rivers (Palmer), Massachusetts, constructed in 1884 and burned down December 17, 1922, may have been built by the Héroux brothers as well. I make this assumption because Rev. Antoine Lamy, who called on the Héroux brothers to build St. Mary's Church in nearby Spencer in 1900, was also responsible for the establishment of this 1884 St. Anne's Church. However, thus far in my research, I have been unable to identify the architect or the contractor of this Three Rivers church, which Reverend Lamy named Sainte-Anne after his hometown parish in Yamachiche, Québec.*

André Héroux, a direct descendant of Joseph Héroux and a member of a Héroux Family Association committee researching the work of the Héroux brothers for an upcoming publication, has only been able to verify the following information on the achievements of Joseph and Georges-Félix Héroux. However, André has informed me that the research continues as he and others believe the Héroux brothers were involved with more construction related endeavors than what is indicated below.

DESIGNED 18 churches, 17 notable homes, and 15 church rectories.

CONSTRUCTED 39 churches, 17 notable homes, 2 convents, 2 college buildings, 2 hospices, and 16 church rectories.

COMPLETED THE INTERIOR FINISH WORK OF: 21 churches (probably as subcontractors).

RENOVATED: 9 churches and 2 church rectories.

REPAIRED: 5 churches.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:** I want to acknowledge and thank the following individuals for their assistance in the preparation of this article: "cousin" **Ronald George Héroux** of Webster, Massachusetts, who is a parishioner of the only standing New England church constructed and designed by the Héroux Brothers, namely Sacred Heart of Jesus, in Webster, for his encouragement and research assistance; **Marsha Hafferty**, who works in the rectory of Sacred Heart Parish, for supplying me with a copy of the history of the church; **Roger Marcoux** of Pawtucket, Rhode Island and **Rev. Gerald Harbour** current pastor of St. John's Church for providing me with historical information and photos of *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* Church; **Philippe DeLongchamp** and his mother **Germaine** from Spencer, Massachusetts for providing me the key information needed to verify that the church in Spencer was indeed built by the Héroux brothers; **Suzanne Royer** and **Robert Houle**, dear friends from Québec City, for translating most of this article into French; and **Dr. Claire Quintal**, a dear friend and founder of the French Institute of Assumption College, in Worcester, Massachusetts, for her review and suggestions of both the English and French versions of this document.

(The author, Ronald Gérard Héroux, a native of Central Falls, Rhode Island, currently lives in Middletown, Rhode Island and can be contacted by phone at 401-849-2156, or by email [fran-nie542@aol.com](mailto:fran-nie542@aol.com) .)



# French Accents for PC

Examples of how to produce French Accents on a PC. French accents can be accessed on a PC by pressing and holding the ALT key plus selecting the numbers on the right key pad.

ALT key plus 133 = à ALT key plus 0192 = Â  
ALT key plus 160 = á ALT key plus 0193 = Á  
ALT key plus 131 = â ALT key plus 0194 = Â  
ALT key plus 132 = ä ALT key plus 0196 = Ä  
ALT key plus 135 = ç ALT key plus 0199 = Ç  
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# PERCHE OF LONG AGO

By Lucille Fournier

Many of our French Canadian ancestors hailed from Perche, in ancient times, a small, secluded, little province in France of approximately thirty-five by forty-five miles. It was bordered to the north by Normandy, to the south and east by Beauce and to the west by Maine. It is no longer a province. Almost two centuries ago, it was incorporated into other departments.

Perche is an important region to us of French Canadian extraction, because most of us can boast of having some ancestors from this area. Although Perche is ignored by the usual tourist, I visited there recently and found it a mecca of treasures. It is today, as it was in the seventeenth century, a rural area consisting of very small villages, whose populations have remained more or less stable through the centuries. Although only two hours drive from the nation's capital, it stands in sharp contrast to the hustling and bustling of the big city. It is a calm, serene area, where one can enjoy the tranquility of the picturesque countryside with its rolling hills, dense forests and green pastures.

Many of the small churches our forefathers worshiped in are still standing today. For the most part, they have kept their integrity and have not been embellished nor or (OR "... have neither been embellished nor remodeled.") remodeled. They stand as monuments to our heritage. In passing through the threshold of the first church I visited, I could feel with each step, the steps of some others whom I knew so well, who had walked the aisles centuries ago. And as I examined the altar, the choir, the ceiling and the interior as a whole, I wondered what they thought of as they stood here, perhaps at the exact spot where I was standing. I wondered how they prayed. Were they thankful and grateful, or were they petitioning for favors? Were they afraid of God? Question after question ran through my mind, but of course, there were no answers. As I travelled from one church to the next, the strange feeling that had enveloped me when I entered the first church never left me. It was like being in a land of fantasy; it was like a dream from which I did not want to wake up.

The thrill of Perche did not begin and end with the churches. There were the ancient dirt roads which had escaped the macadam covering of the twentieth century. There were the villages which had been named after the first inhabitants: the Giguerrerie, after a

Giguere; and the Gagnonniere, after a Gagnon. That the names have been corrupted through the centuries into Giguerie and Canonniere became unimportant. Here were the ancestral farms; here were the lands they had plowed and had sown. Unbelievably, the original homes of these two ancestors are still standing today. They have been remodeled through the centuries and are still inhabited.

The location of the farms of the Gigueres and the Gagnons are not the only ones that are known. Through the untiring efforts of M. and Mme. Montagne and also the Perche-Canada Association, the location of many other farms have been identified.

Of all the villages visited, Tourouvre must be singled out as the most important. This village was the cradle of the Perche emigration. Today, the population is estimated at a little over 1,500 people, whereas in 1810, there were 1,874 inhabitants. The population at the time of our forefathers is unknown.

On Sunday, August 13, 1944, the Nazis set fire in the heart of old Tourouvre. When it was over, fifty-four homes had been completely razed. Much history of the old village was lost during this fire, but miraculously, the old church of St. Aubin escaped the Nazis' devastation.

The actual church was built at the end of the fifteenth century onto the remains of the original church. The first church had but one nave, to which was added another. The new or principal nave is majestic by its proportions to the other and its wooden arches were built in the style of an inverted keel of a ship, which is typical of the churches, of the region. The steeple stands nobly with its dome and its bell-tower. They replace the old, slender spire that toppled down on January 15, 1707, during a violent storm. The steeple now holds three bells that are rung to announce the joyous or sorrowful ceremonies about to take place in the church. The staircase leading to the bell-tower, originally built of wood, was replaced with one of cement by Jean Guyon and Jean Froger. The contract for the work was signed on November 30, 1615. Guyon immigrated to Canada seventeen years later. It is an awe inspiring sensation to touch and feel the steps built by a grandfather eleven generations ago, but to also have the privilege and opportunity to step foot on them and to ascend the staircase, is an unbelievable and indescribable experience.

St. Aubin holds other treasures that, although not ancient, are gratifying to see. On the right side are two commemorative stained glass windows: the first, of the departure of Julien Mercier; the oth-

er, of Honore Mercier, one of Julien's direct descendants, who later became Minister of the Province of Quebec. In the choir, on the left, a large plaque honoring the immigrants hangs on the wall. The plaque is titled, "Tourouvraains Devenus Canadiens Vers 1634-1651" (Tourouvraains Who Have Become Canadians Around 1634-1651). It is divided into six columns: the first, lists the names of the immigrants; the second, their date of birth; the third, the date of their marriage; the fourth, the place where they settled; the fifth, the number of children they had; and the sixth, their date of death.

One cannot visit Tourouvre without being exhilarated by the experience, nor can one visit the remainder of ancient Perche without leaving the richer. I don't believe there is any other place in all of France, where so much research has been done in reference to the French Canadian immigrant. It is the personal aspect of the region that holds so much charm for the visitor of French Canadian ancestry, who has studied his roots. Who can help but be emotionally moved, when he is surrounded with so much personal history? For me, it was a sobering feeling to see, to touch, to be in proximity with something tangible that has existed for centuries and is akin to my very being.

The question generally asked is why did so many of our ancestors leave Perche, if it was such a paradise? The answer is quite simple. Under the feudal system, lands were divided with each succession. There came a time, after many divisions, that the parcels became so small, they could not support a family. The heirs were forced to move elsewhere. And we must not forget the thrill of adventure and the opportunity that the distant colony promised. Generally, after working for a period of only three years in Canada, the immigrant, if he so desired, could be granted a parcel of land of approximately one hundred acres.

To a large degree, it was through the efforts of Robert Giffard that so many colonists emigrated from Perche. Giffard was the son of Guillaume Giffard and Louise Viron. His father, a merchant, was also a trumpeter in the army in times of war. Born about 1589, Robert Giffard became an apothecary, doctor and surgeon.

As early as 1620 and not later than 1622, he left for Canada. He spent five or six years in the colony before returning home. They were not fruitless years, because during his stay, he realized that in this new frontier, he could carve for himself a brilliant and prosperous future. It was most likely during this time that he chose for himself the parcel of land situated at the junction of the St. Lawrence River and the river of Notre Dame de Beauport. However, he would not acquire it for some time.

On February 12, 1628, he married Marie Regnouard in Mortagne, Perche. A few months later, he left for Canada to work as a navy surgeon for the company of the Hundred Associates. On this voyage, he was captured by the Kirk brothers, who had taken possession of Canada under the English flag. His captivity was of short duration because he was back in Mortagne on November 13.

Although the English occupation was over in 1632, it wasn't until January 15, 1634, that he officially received the seigneurie of his choice. It measured two and a half miles in width by three and three-quarter miles in depth.

Giffard's dream had taken years to materialize and he was quickly approaching middle age, he was now about 45 years old. Perhaps it is the time element that gave him the zest, the drive and the energy to promote a rapid colonization.

On the fourth of June, five months after having acquired his seigneurie, Giffard was in Quebec. He most likely knew beforehand that he would receive this land grant, or else he worked diligently to organize his affairs in the few weeks he had before his departure. With him, on his arrival in Quebec, were Jean Guyon, to whom he had granted the fief of Buisson of one thousand "arpents" and Zacharie Cloutier, to whom he had granted the fief of La Clouterie. With the approval of these two, Giffard had hired artisans and laborers. The group comprised about forty people from Perche plus a few more recruited in Normandy. Without delay, Giffard had his manor house built, while his tenants built their own. Thus was born the first seigneurial village of New France.

During the next two decades, many more would leave their beloved Perche for Canada. We can count one hundred and thirty-four immigrants from this region, without taking into consideration the children they brought with them.

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# NOT FOREIGNERS BUT AMERICANS:

## A CASE STUDY OF FRENCH-CANADIAN DESCENDANTS IN LEWISTON, MAINE

By Mark Paul Richard

In 1897, flags of France and the United States adorned the city of Lewiston, Maine, to commemorate the feast day of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, the patron saint of French Canadians. An estimated two thousand French speakers, accompanied by ten bands, paraded through the city's streets. After attending mass at Saint-Pierre Church, three hundred uniformed members of l'Institut Jacques-Cartier, who were also celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of their mutual-benefit society, marched alongside a replica of the ship that Cartier had sailed to the New World. They passed through the evergreen archway l'Institut had constructed in front of its meeting hall. On the structure a banner stated emphatically: "Not foreigners but Americans, Let us be fair." French Canadians of Lewiston typically argued on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day that maintaining their language and their traditions did not preclude them from being loyal residents of the United States.

French Canadians emigrated as part of the Québec diaspora during which nearly one million people took up residence in the northeastern United States by the start of the Great Depression. Most *Canadiens*, as the French Canadians called themselves, settled relatively close to home in New England's industrial centers, such as Lewiston and Biddeford, Maine; Manchester, New Hampshire; Central Falls and Woonsocket, Rhode Island; and Lowell, Lawrence, and Fall River, Massachusetts. In these textile mill towns, the *Canadiens* succeeded the Irish as the predominant source of unskilled labor after the Civil War. They and their offspring eventually made up a substantial proportion of the population of the industrial centers of the northeast. In Lewiston, for example, people of French-Canadian birth and background constituted nearly half of the city's residents by 1900 and approximately three-fifths by 1930.

In recent decades, the field of migration history has attracted growing scholarly attention, in large part due to the work of the ethnic and labor historians who have tried to situate their studies in a broader, more global, context. To a larger degree than in the past, scholars are now exploring immigration in the United States from countries outside Europe. One sending society still largely neglected by scholars is Canada, a nation-state that has contributed propor-

tionally more of its population to the United States than any other country. The proximity of Canadian-born immigrants to their homeland, their exemption from U.S. immigration restrictions until 1930, and their relative slowness in becoming naturalized citizens of the United States have made their experiences different from those of immigrants from outside of North America. Though significant to the histories of both Canada and the United States, the international migration of Canadians during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has not received sufficient historical attention. On the one hand, this scholarly neglect reflects U.S. perceptions that few differences exist between English Canadians and Americans; on the other hand, it reflects Canada's discomfort with the large emigration of its people to the United States, for not being American is a defining element of Canadians' national identity. French-Canadian immigrants have received comparatively more attention from scholars than their anglophone compatriots because language, religion, and the formation of ethnic enclaves distinguished them in the United States.

Studies of French Canadians in the United States have focused primarily on their migration, settlement, and formation of ethnic communities. These earlier accounts, by both Canadian and U.S. scholars, have emphasized the theme of *survivance*, that is, the immigrants' retention of national characteristics in the United States, particularly the French language, the Roman Catholic faith, and French-Canadian traditions. No historical work explores in a systematic or comprehensive way how individuals of French-Canadian birth and background, while demonstrating greater cultural persistence than most other immigrant populations, have joined U.S. society. Using Lewiston, Maine, as a case study, this essay traces the evolving identity of French-Canadian descendants from the mid-nineteenth century to the contemporary era. Lewiston had the largest French-speaking population in Maine and one of the highest concentrations of French-Canadian descendants in New England. This essay examines what promoted or hindered the Americanization of its French speakers, and it considers the role of Catholic clergy in facilitating or delaying this process.

Central to this essay is the argument that French-Canadian descendants in Lewiston have, in the face of strong pressure to shed their ethnicity, actively negotiated the terms of their entry into, and their place in, U.S. society. Francophones often challenged, rejected, or redefined some of the norms of the host society. Despite persistent pressure to anglicize and to become assimilated Americans, most individuals of French-Canadian descent in Lewiston retained their French language, their Roman Catholic faith, and many of

their French-Canadian traditions through the first half of the twentieth century; some have maintained them to the present day. At the same time, however, French-Canadian descendants learned English and became naturalized citizens and voters. Historians tend to oversimplify acculturation and ethnic preservation by regarding them as binary opposites. By arguing that acculturation and ethnic retention served as intertwined goals among French-Canadian descendants, I offer a new conceptualization of the process of Americanization. Rather than struggling between the two, Lewiston francophones negotiated their identity in the United States.

In contrast, French Canadians who remained in Québec had no desire or need to acculturate in anglophone society. Not only did they constitute one of the founding European societies of Canada, but since Confederation in 1867, French Canadians in Québec functioned as a nation within the nation-state of Canada. Having their own province allowed them to govern themselves and to exert considerable influence in federal-provincial relations so that they could safeguard their French-Canadian identity. Having their own province also ensured that their ethnic identity would never become as elastic as that of the French-Canadian descendants who were scattered largely among the six New England states and New York. The latter groups had to acculturate in U.S. society to gain a measure of political power and influence to safeguard their cultural heritage. In short, French speakers in the United States had to pursue divergent strategies from those in Canada.

Naturalization records reveal that French-Canadian immigrants began arriving in Lewiston in the late 1850s. Religious, ethnic, and economic differences distinguished them from the Yankee natives and, to some extent, from the Irish co-religionists who had preceded them to Lewiston. These differences led to ethnic segregation as French speakers formed a *Petit Canada*—a Little Canada—in Lewiston. Under the leadership of their French-Canadian pastor, they established their own church, school, societies, and cemetery in the 1870s. But, even as the *Canadiens* formed their own community and developed ethnic solidarity, they began participating in U.S. society. As sociologists Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller argued in the early 1920s, forming tight-knit, ethnic communities was an integral part of the rooting process in the host society. By founding the first bilingual school in Maine in 1878, parents sought to guarantee that their children would retain their French, but they also ensured that they would develop a facility in English. Thus, while ethnic isolation characterized the community-building period of the 1870s, it was a period during which Lewiston's French-Canadian population planted roots in its country of adoption.



During the 1880s and 1890s, as French Canadians continued to build their ethnic community in Lewiston, they pursued more actively the goal of joining the host society. In September 1880, when Lewiston had only about one hundred French-Canadian voters, J.D. Montmarquet, the editor of the city's French-language newspaper, *Le Messenger*, helped organize le Club National to promote naturalization. Through this association, Montmarquet and other francophone leaders encouraged and assisted *Canadiens* in becoming U.S. citizens so that their ethnic group could gain political influence in Lewiston. They received a significant boost from the Dominican priests from France who took over the administration of Saint-Pierre parish in the fall of 1881. Prior to a local election in 1883, the Dominicans met with French-Canadian candidates and worked closely with le Club National in its naturalization campaign. At Sunday mass, the Dominican pastor invited parishioners to attend a meeting of the organization, at which he and French-Canadian leaders made a strong pitch for naturalization. The Dominicans gave le Club National access to the parish lists and even paid some of the court costs of parishioners who filed naturalization papers. As a result of the concerted efforts of the Dominicans and le Club National, and of the willingness of French-Canadian immigrants to naturalize, nearly eighty *Canadiens* became citizens in time for the spring election. Naturalization records underscore the considerable impact of such efforts. They reveal that only two of the city's *Canadiens* had become citizens in the 1870s, whereas naturalizations exceeded five hundred during the 1880s, and they surpassed six hundred in the 1890s.

As Lewiston's French-Canadian men became citizens and voters, ethnic competition and conflict resulted. Contrary to prevalent views, joining U.S. society served not to mitigate ethnic competition and conflict but to accentuate them. In 1883, French-Canadian votes tipped the political balance in Lewiston toward the Democrats, helping them to dislodge the Republican administration that had presided over the city. Politics became a battleground in the late nineteenth century, pitting Democratic Irish and French-Canadian voters against Yankee (native-born American) Republicans. In December 1883, when the local government denied funds for the evening school the Dominicans were organizing for working children who could not read or write, *Le Messenger* reported that an officeholder had voiced concerns that educating French Canadians would cultivate political adversaries. After competition for votes came competition for students. Faced with declining enrollments in the public schools, in 1890, Lewiston's Superintendent of Schools spoke with the Dominican pastor and, in 1891, he placed ads in *Le Messenger* to recruit French-Canadian children to city

schools. The 1890 school report implied that francophones lacked loyalty to the United States, because they did not send their children to public schools where they would receive instruction in English and mix with students of all backgrounds. While asserting the right of the *Canadiens* to maintain their French language and their Catholic faith, *Le Messenger* countered that French Canadians could indeed be good U.S. citizens and pointed out that they were, in fact, learning English in the parish schools. What *Le Messenger* saw so clearly is precisely what anglophones did not comprehend: ethnic retention and civic participation were interconnected goals in the late nineteenth century.

Nothing made clearer how French Canadians were negotiating their identity in the United States than their annual, public celebrations of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. They hung flags of France and the United States throughout Lewiston, and their parades included allegorical chariots featuring French-Canadian, French, and American themes. Typical of such celebrations in New England, a young boy dressed in lambskin portraying Saint-Jean-Baptiste stood next to a lamb on one float; on another, local French Canadians might pose as Revolutionary War figures Marquis de Lafayette and George Washington, even though French Canada had rejected both the French and American Revolutions. The identity of French-Canadian descendants changed, therefore, with time and place. Unlike French Canadians in Québec, Lewiston's *Canadiens* appropriated French themes and the Tricolor. They did this not only to assert their French identity in the United States, but also to argue for acceptance in their adopted country by playing up the historical connection between the French and American peoples. In doing so, they contended that maintaining their language and reshaping, but not abandoning, their traditions did not preclude them from being loyal residents of the United States. Commonly heard and seen during the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations of the 1880s and 1890s, the slogan "*Loyaux mais Français*"—"Loyal but French"—made two important statements. It announced that French Canadians were modifying their identity in the United States and, more significantly, it asserted that francophones were doing so on their own terms. That they refashioned themselves as "Franco-Americans" around the turn of the last century (1900) provides further evidence that they were negotiating their identity in the host society.

In the early twentieth century, *Le Messenger* continued to contend that naturalization was not incompatible with a changing French-Canadian identity. Indeed, naturalized francophones could better demonstrate their ethnic pride by advancing the interests of

their group in the United States. In 1902, *Le Messenger* conveyed this message with a bit of humor. Tongue-in-cheek, it asked women, who did not yet have suffrage, to do their part to get the men of the community to naturalize. It suggested that they introduce a patriotic dimension to their courtship rituals:

When a young man asks a young woman:

--Do you love me?

She should respond:

--Are you naturalized?

Then we would certainly expand the number of our voters, and our influence would increase.

Come on, young ladies, a little shock to the heart; it's in your interest since it will help our nationality.

In its efforts to promote naturalization, *Le Messenger* regularly detailed in its columns the laws governing, the costs associated with, and the steps involved in the naturalization process. The newspaper published information about evening classes designed to help francophones learn English and to prepare them for the exam on U.S. history and government, instituted after the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization came into existence in 1906. *Le Messenger* even supplied—in English—the questions that naturalization examiners often asked, along with the correct responses. This French-language newspaper routinely reported on the efforts of the individuals (usually attorneys) and the societies that organized naturalization clubs and drives and that helped French Canadians process the paperwork necessary to become citizens. Occasionally, it would indicate the number of French Canadians eligible to take out first or final naturalization papers, urging them and the French-language societies to take steps to ensure their naturalization. Readers of *Le Messenger* never lacked information or even prodding to become U.S. citizens.

Naturalization efforts in Lewiston appear to have yielded significant results. Based upon a sample from the 1920 federal census, 44.3 percent of the city's French-Canadian adult male immigrants had naturalized by 1920, and another 20.5 percent had declared their intent to become U.S. citizens. Thus, nearly two-thirds of Lewiston's first-generation, adult male French speakers had begun or completed the naturalization process by the end of the sec-

ond decade of the century. They were not primarily élites; over three-fourths (78.9 percent) were members of the working class.

Naturalized men helped Lewiston's French-Canadian population achieve significant political representation by the second decade of the century. In 1914, for example, Lewiston elected its first mayor of French-Canadian descent, and each year from 1917 to 1920 the city also elected a Lewiston-born francophone as mayor. When Democrat Charles Lemaire won re-election as mayor in 1918, *Le Messenger* warned Republicans that they had little future in the city. The Democratic victor and his supporters conveyed the same message during an evening torch light parade. When they passed in front of the offices of the Republican, English-language newspaper and marched through Lewiston's Republican wards, the band played funeral music by Chopin to announce the death of the Grand Old Party. By 1920, *Le Messenger* accurately claimed that Lewiston had become the Democratic stronghold of Maine. The fears of Yankee Republicans, dating back to the naturalization campaigns that French Canadians had organized in the early 1880s, had indeed been borne out.

As individuals of French-Canadian descent in Lewiston increasingly embraced U.S. political institutions in the early twentieth century, their Americanization revealed some twists and turns. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Catholic Church became the predominant battleground within which ethnic differences were contested. Until 1905, Lewiston's French speakers had maintained cordial relations with Maine's bishops, all of whom had been of Irish descent. In 1905, however, *Le Messenger* reported that the state's third Irish bishop, William O'Connell, had told his Diocesan Council that he wanted to anglicize the French-language parishes of Maine. A Lewiston society organized a committee called *la Cause Nationale* to promote the interests of the state's French speakers. In 1906, when delegates of *la Cause Nationale* went to Rome to plead for the appointment of a French-Canadian bishop to succeed O'Connell, they learned that, six years earlier, Dominican priests had asked the pope and cardinals not to appoint a French Canadian as Maine's bishop. Although Lewiston's Dominican priests vigorously denied the allegations, the resulting dispute divided the city's *Canadiens* from their French-from-France religious leaders. The controversy marked a defining moment in the history of Lewiston's francophones. From that point, they increasingly demanded French-Canadian clergy to help them preserve their ethnic identity in the United States. No longer was it enough to have French-speaking religious leaders; Lewiston's French-Canadian descendants demanded *Canadiens* as pastors.

After *la Cause Nationale* was rebuffed and the pope named a fourth Irish bishop, relations between French Canadians and the episcopacy soured further. The bitterest conflict was the decade-long Corporation Sole controversy during which Franco-Americans from Maine struggled with the new bishop, Louis Walsh, for administrative control of the state's Catholic parishes and institutions. Franco-Americans feared Walsh would use their funds to pursue his goal of assimilating them into U.S. society. They wanted to exercise control over their own institutions, just as the *fabriques*—or lay vestries—had in Québec. In the end, the Maine state legislature approved a parish corporation system, but it still gave the bishop control over parish funds. These conflicts with Irish bishops and the French Dominicans in the early twentieth century intensified the ethnic feelings of Lewiston's French-Canadian descendants and, if anything, had the effect of increasing their determination to control the terms and the pace of their entry into U.S. society.

Despite the efforts of Franco-American communities like Lewiston to learn English, xenophobic tensions led Maine and other New England states to pass legislation pushing English-language instruction during and after World War I. Nativists in the Maine legislature passed a law in 1919 requiring English as "the basic language of instruction" in the state's public and private high schools. During a speech on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in the following year, Lewiston attorney Fernand Despins pointed out the irony of U.S. involvement in World War I, ostensibly to promote democracy, while zealots pushing Americanization worked to deny those of French-Canadian descent the ability to speak French in the United States. Like his predecessors on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in the late nineteenth century, Despins argued in 1920 that preserving the French language and French-Canadian traditions was not incompatible with loyalty to the United States. The affirmation "*Loyaux mais Français*" still rang true. To Despins and to most other Franco-Americans in Lewiston, preserving ethnic traditions and becoming participants in the host society did not represent dichotomous goals. This belief, and the resumption of heavy immigration from Québec, fortified Lewiston Franco-Americans in the 1920s against the versions of Americanism advocated by Irish prelates and nativists.

During public celebrations of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in the 1920s and 1930s, Lewiston Franco-Americans contin-

ued to assert their identity in the face of the post-World War I Americanization movement and its most virulent strain, represented by the Ku Klux Klan. Sometimes they needed a little prodding from *Le Messenger*. In 1922, the year that l'Institut Jacques-Cartier celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, *Le Messenger* encouraged readers: "Let us not be afraid to show who we are, by wearing a small tricolor ribbon on our lapels, tomorrow, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day and Sunday, the fiftieth anniversary of the Institute." Residents of Little Canada near the industrial section of Lewiston decorated their homes, and the Franco-American societies paraded to Saint-Pierre Church for mass, during which Dominican prior Arsène Roy emphasized the importance of preserving the French language in order to retain the Catholic faith. The following year, when *Le Messenger* reminded readers of the upcoming feast day of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, it asked them to decorate their homes with flags and banners "in the national and American colors, which after all are the same." Thus the newspaper made explicit what francophones had conveyed through their symbols since the late nineteenth century, namely that their identities as French-Canadian descendants and Americans were closely intertwined. The French-language newspaper also asked Franco-Americans to sport buttons of the maple leaf or Tricolor. Despite the presence of the Ku Klux Klan in the Lewiston area, one thousand men, women, and children marched in the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day parade in 1923 to and from Saint-Pierre Church, which was decorated with the flags of France and the United States. An industrial crisis in Lewiston in 1924, as well as cross burnings and Klan parades in the Lewiston area, probably discouraged the organization of a Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebration that year. If Franco-Americans were intimidated in June, however, by September they had recovered: a thousand children paraded through Lewiston's streets to celebrate the opening of the new school of Saint-Pierre parish. They continued marching, and from 1925 to 1927, about two to three thousand Franco-American children paraded on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, carrying flags of the United States and either a flag or *bouttonnière* of the Tricolor. After watching the children pass in 1926, *Le Messenger* repeated its observation from three years before, highlighting that the U.S. flag "is equally tricolor and consists of blue, white and red." For a population negotiating its identity in the United States, this symbolism spoke volumes. So did the singing of both "O Canada" and the "The Star-Spangled Banner" following the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day banquet of 1938, anthems that Franco-Americans probably sang at celebrations in other years as well.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Franco-Americans continued to learn English and to become citizens and voters. At the same

time, they expanded their ethnic institutions. Drawing upon models and inspiration from Québec, Lewiston's French-speaking population created social, welfare, and credit institutions, such as snowshoe clubs, *la Guignolée* (a Christmas collection for the destitute), and a *caisse populaire* (credit union). Lewiston francophones maintained close ties to Québec during the twenties and thirties, thereby facilitating the transborder migration of ideas to the north-eastern United States. During the interwar period, then, Franco-Americans of Lewiston engaged the host society at their own rhythms, rather than to the drumbeats of nativists.

As class consciousness and union militancy grew among Franco-Americans, their ethnic identity did not decline. For example, when employees of Bates Mill, one of Lewiston's largest textile factories, voted to join the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) in 1941, they did so at l'Institut Jacques-Cartier Hall on ballots that appeared in both English and French. When Franco-Americans participated in regional textile strikes in 1945 and 1955, they held union meetings and fundraisers at the same hall. In short, their activities in the world of work demonstrated that their working-class identity was inextricably tied to their ethnic identity.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the advent of television, the closing of textile mills (a major employer of Franco-Americans), changes in the Catholic Church initiated by the Second Vatican Council, and continued discrimination against francophones in the post-World War II era all contributed to declining ethnic identification among members of Lewiston's Franco-American community. Franco-Americans came to view ethnic preservation and participation in the host society as incompatible objectives. When these previously-intertwined goals diverged, Franco-Americans loosened their connection with Québec in several different ways. Consistent with other New England Franco-American communities, Lewiston parents less frequently sent their sons to Québec's *collèges classiques*. In 1940 and 1955, French-speaking New Brunswick Acadians rather than francophone Québeckers served as

keynote speakers on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, despite the fact that, for reasons of geography and history, Acadians since the colonial period had developed an identity distinct from French Canadians in Québec. Moreover, if the reporting of *Le Messager* is any indication, Lewiston Franco-Americans did not follow the progression of the Quiet Revolution as it unfolded in Québec. As Premier Jean Lesage from 1960 sought to modernize Québec institutions, strengthen the economy, and improve the position of francophones, thus adopting measures to assert the French identity in Québec,

Franco-American communities were losing their French identity. Younger generations became unilingual English speakers, the Franco-American parochial schools declined, their parishes introduced English masses, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day parades ended, and the French-language newspaper, *Le Messenger*, ceased publication. These significant developments were the result of a long, historical evolution. They took place at midcentury as French-Canadian descendants in Lewiston actively pursued a change in identity from Franco-American to American.

Today, Franco-Americans and their institutions have evolved to such a degree in Lewiston that an outside observer might not easily discern their French-Canadian roots. Contemporary Franco-American identity no longer depends upon the ability to speak French, the practice of Roman Catholicism, or the celebration of French-Canadian traditions, as it had in the past. French-Canadian descendants in Lewiston have intermixed considerably with other ethnic groups through intermarriage, through occupational changes, and by joining the city's former Irish churches. Ethnic identity in Lewiston from midcentury to the present has evolved from an ascribed to a voluntary identification, from "being" to "feeling" Franco-American. In Lewiston today, cultural identity represents a personal strategy, rather than a group effort as it had in the past.

In conclusion, the experiences of individuals of French-Canadian birth and background in Lewiston highlight a number of important themes. First, French-Canadian descendants became Americans on their own and at their own pace. What happened in Lewiston contradicts the notion that outside pressures from nativists were primarily responsible for the Americanization of foreign-born persons and their children in the United States.

Second, the experiences of Lewiston's French-Canadian population challenge commonly-held perceptions that the process of integration in the United States serves to mitigate ethnic conflicts. Joining the host society increased rather than reduced ethnic competition and conflict as francophones demanded a share of resources and influence in the community and within the Catholic Church.

Third, individuals of French-Canadian descent negotiated their identity in the United States. They chose to maintain their French language and Catholic faith, and to reshape their French-Canadian traditions, while learning English, becoming citizens and voters, participating in elective office, and joining trade unions and labor protests. They also founded charitable institutions and voluntarily took part in American holiday celebrations and wars (there were no conscription crises dividing French and English speakers in



the United States during the two world wars as there were in Canada), giving further evidence of their participation in and commitment to U.S. society. Until the middle of the twentieth century, preserving ethnicity and participating in U.S. society proved to be interconnected goals for this population.

Fourth, the process of joining the country of adoption was not like traveling a turnpike that led in a straight line to what we call "assimilation." The road from *Canadien* to Franco-American to American had a number of twists and turns and was anything but linear. An ethnic resurgence of the last several decades underscores this point. To illustrate, during the 1970s Lewiston Franco-Americans tried (albeit unsuccessfully) to establish a bilingual education program in several elementary schools and founded several (though short-lived) bilingual newspapers, the last of which ended publication in the mid-1980s. Aided in part by Québec's Ministry of Culture, they formed a Franco-American heritage center at the local Catholic high school in 1972 that continues to this day at Lewiston-Auburn College. In addition, they organized a Franco-American festival to serve as an annual celebration of French-Canadian traditions, and the festival, although refashioned several times over the years, continues to celebrate Lewiston's French-Canadian heritage.

Finally, in light of the experiences of French-Canadian descendants in Lewiston over the past century and a half, modern-day concerns over the practice of ethnic groups to remain hyphenated Americans appear misplaced. The experiences of Lewiston's French-Canadian immigrants and their Franco-American offspring demonstrate that groups that retain their mother tongue and their ethnic traditions while participating in U.S. society are no less good citizens than other groups, including the native stock. Policymakers concerned about the contemporary large-scale migration of Hispanics across the southern U.S. border would do well to consider the experiences of that large immigrant population that entered the United States from its northern border. In the host society, French-Canadian immigrants effectively demonstrated that they were "Not foreigners but Americans."

United States from its northern border. In the host society, French-Canadian immigrants effectively demonstrated that they were "Not foreigners but Americans."

The author wishes to thank John Herd Thompson, Jacob Remes, and Paula Hastings for their suggestions on earlier versions of this essay.

Lewiston Evening Journal, 24 June 1897, p. 7; Le Messager, 29 June 1897, p. 6. For an examination of the evolution of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations, see Mark Paul Richard, "Negotiating Ethnic Identity: St. Jean-Baptiste Day Celebrations in Francophone Lewiston, Maine," in Nelson Madore and Barry Rodrigue, eds., *Voyages: A Maine Franco-American Reader* (Gardiner and Lewiston, Maine: Tilbury House and the University of Southern Maine Franco-American Collection, 2007), pp. 211-223.

Yolande Lavoie, *L'émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 à 1930* ([Québec, Québec]: Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1979), p. 45; Ralph Dominic Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 343; Laureat Odilon Bernard, "A Political History of Lewiston, Maine (1930-39)" (M.A. thesis, University of Maine-Orono, 1949), p. 6. For general accounts of French-Canadian immigrants and their Franco-American descendants in the northeastern United States, see C. Stewart Doty, *The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Histories from the Federal Writers' Project, 1938-1939* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1985); Gerard J. Brault, *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986); François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains, 1860-1980* ([Paris]: Belin, 1989); Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (1776-1930)* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1990); Armand Chartier, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1775-1990* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1991), translated by Robert J. Lemieux and Claire Quintal as *The Franco-Americans of New England: A History* (Manchester, New Hampshire: ACA Insurance; Worcester, Massachusetts: Institut Français of Assumption College, 1999); Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre: Rêves et réalités* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2000), translated by Mary Ricard as *The Franco-Americans of New England: Dreams and Realities* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2004); and Claire Quintal, ed., *Steeple and Smokestacks: A Collection of Essays on the Franco-American Experience in New England*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Worcester, Massachusetts: Institut français of Assumption College, 2003.)

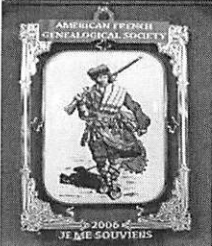
John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and*

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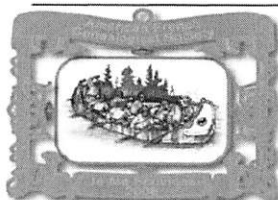
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*the United States: Ambivalent Allies* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 51-55, 128-129; Yolande Lavoie, *L'émigration des Canadiens aux États-Unis avant 1930: Mesure du phénomène* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972), pp. 63, 76-77; Randy William Widdis, *With Scarcely a Ripple: Anglo-Canadian Migration into the United States and Western Canada, 1880-1920* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), p. 351. On the emigration of English-speaking Canadians to the USA, see also Bruno Ramirez, with the assistance of Yves Otis, *Crossing the 49<sup>th</sup> Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001); Betsy Beattie, *Obligation and Opportunity: Single Maritime Women in Boston, 1870-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); and John J. Bukowczyk, Nora Faires, David R. Smith, and Randy William Widdis, *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.)

For a fuller treatment of the issues synthesized in this essay, see my *Loyal but French: The Negotiation of Identity by French-Canadian Descendants in the United States* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2008.)

Charles Voyer lived in Lewiston for six months around 1857-1858, and Noel Gravel arrived in Lewiston in 1859. Androscoggin County Supreme Judicial Court Records, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine [hereafter MSA], vol. 17, pp. 139-140; Lewiston Municipal Court Naturalization Records, MSA, vol. 4, p. 503.

Antonin M. Plourde, O.P., "Cent ans de vie paroissiale: SS. Pierre et Paul de Lewiston, 1870-1970," *Le Rosaire* (August-September 1970), pp. 11, 14-15; la Chronique du couvent, the series Monasteries and Parishes, the subseries Monastery of the Apostles Pierre and Paul of Lewiston, Maine, Archives of the Dominicans, Montréal, Québec [hereafter la Chronique des Dominicains], vol. 5, p. 396; Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York: Harper, 1921), pp. 24, 306-308; Yves Frenette, "La genèse d'une communauté canadienne-française en Nouvelle-Angleterre: Lewiston, Maine, 1800-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Laval, Québec, 1988.)

*Le Messager*, 16 September 1880; la Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 1, 2 February 1882, p. 17, 15 February 1883, p. 64, 18 February 1883, p. 65, 6 March 1883, pp. 74-75. The following constitute the nineteenth-century naturalization records of the

courts of Lewiston, Auburn, and Portland, Maine, from which naturalization data were compiled: Androscoggin County Supreme Judicial Court Records, vols. 1-27.5, 1854-1894, MSA; Androscoggin County Supreme Judicial Court Naturalization Records, vol. B, 1895-1899, Office of the Clerk of the Androscoggin County Superior Court, Auburn, Maine; Lewiston Municipal Court Naturalization Records, vols. 4-8, 1882-1893, MSA; Auburn, Maine, Municipal Court Naturalization Records, 1893, National Archives and Records Administration, Waltham, Massachusetts [hereafter NARA-Waltham]; U.S. District Court, Portland, Maine, Proceedings, vols. 1-2, 6-8, 1790-1845, NARA-Waltham; U.S. District Court, Portland, Maine, Naturalization Records, vols. 1-11, 1851-1899, NARA-Waltham; U.S. Circuit Court, Portland, Maine, Naturalization Records, vols. 1-3, 1851-1899, NARA-Waltham; Cumberland County Superior Court, Portland, Maine, Naturalization Records, 1868-1899, MSA. On the role of the Dominicans in Lewiston, see Mark Paul Richard, "The Ethnicity of Clerical Leadership: The Dominicans in Francophone Lewiston, Maine, 1881-1986," *Québec Studies* 33 (Spring/Summer 2002), pp. 83-101.

La Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 1, 6 March 1883, pp. 74-75, 11 December 1883, pp. 136-137, vol. 3, 22 August 1890, p. 225; *Le Messenger*, 13 December 1883, 20 November 1890, p. 4, 4 September 1891; English-language newspaper clipping inserted into la Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 3, 1890, p. 235; *Annual Reports of the School Committee and of the Superintendent of Schools of the City of Lewiston, for the Year Ending August 31, 1890* (Lewiston, Maine: Geo. A. Callahan, 1890), pp. 17-18, 23.

*Lewiston Evening Journal*, 22 June 1882, 24 June 1890, 24 June 1892, p. 5, 4 July 1895, p. 12, 24 June 1897, p. 7; French-language newspaper clippings inserted into la Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 2, 1885, p. 81, vol. 3, 1890, p. 212; la Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 2, 28 June 1886, p. 44; English-language newspaper clipping inserted into la Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 4, 1892, p. 27; *Le Messenger*, 8 July 1886, p. 1, 23 August 1895, 13 November 1896, p. 2, 15 January 1897.

*Le Messenger*, 4 June 1902, p. 2, 10 October 1902, p. 3. I have translated quotations from *Le Messenger* into English throughout this essay.

*Le Messenger*, 10 May 1901, 14 May 1901, p. 3, supplement of 12 December 1902, p. 3, 17 February 1903, p. 3, 10 November 1903, p. 2, 30 September 1904, p. 6, 13 October 1905, p. 2, 10 July 1906, p. 2, 4 October 1906, p. 7, 14 April 1909, p. 2, 24 May 1909, p. 1, 13 October 1909, p. 2, 21 February 1910, p. 5, 7

and 17 March 1913, p. 8, 22 October 1913, p. 8, 19 and 26 May 1915, p. 8, 18 January 1918, p. 1, 28 July 1919, p. 8, 30 July 1919, p. 1.

*U.S. Census, 1920.*

Geneva Kirk and Gridley Barrows, *Historic Lewiston: Its Government* (Lewiston, Maine: Lewiston Historical Commission, 1982), pp. 34, 36; *Le Messenger*, 6 March 1918, p. 1, 3 November 1920, p. 1.

*Le Messenger*, 13 October 1905, p. 2, 14 December 1905, p. 2, 7 June 1906, p. 2, 12 June 1906, pp. 1-2, 14 July 1906, p. 2, 4 May 1907, p. 3; undated copies of *La Quinzaine*, the bulletin of Saint-Pierre parish, inserted into la Chronique des Dominicains, vol. 11, 1906, pp. 219, 239-240.

Michael Guignard, "Maine's Corporation Sole Controversy," *Maine Historical Society Newsletter* 12 (Winter 1973), pp. 111-130; Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (1776-1930)*, pp. 263-267; *Le Messenger*, 15 May 1911, p. 4, 2 June 1911, p. 1. See also Michael Guignard, "The Case of Sacred Heart Parish," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1982), pp. 21-36.

*Acts and Resolves as Passed by the Seventy-Ninth Legislature of the State of Maine, 1919* (Augusta, Maine: Kennebec Journal Co., 1919), ch. 146; *Le Messenger*, 25 June 1920, p. 1. During the Americanization campaign of and following World War I, Connecticut in 1918 and Rhode Island in 1922 stipulated that English serve as the language of instruction in public and private schools. Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (1776-1930)*, pp. 291-292, 299-300. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Canadian provinces outside of Québec—including Ontario, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan—also enacted legislation to curb or to eliminate bilingual instruction in their schools. Discrimination against the French language in Canada factored into the decision of many French Canadians not to participate in the "war for democracy."

*Le Messenger*, 23 June 1922, p. 8, 26 June 1922, pp. 1, 3, 28 June 1922, p. 4, 22 June 1923, p. 6, 25 June 1923, p. 1, 20 June 1924, p. 6, 8 September 1924, p. 1, 26 June 1925, p. 1, 25 June 1926, p. 1, 24 June 1927, p. 1; *Lewiston Daily Sun*, 25 June 1923, p. 12, 27 June 1938, p. 12. On the Ku Klux Klan in New England, see C. Stewart Doty, "How Many Frenchmen Does It Take to...?" *Thought and Action* 11 (Fall 1995), pp. 92-94; Mark Paul Richard, "'This is Not a Catholic Nation': The Ku Klux Klan Confronts Franco-Americans in Maine," *New England Quarterly*, 82:2 (June 2009), pp. 285-303; and Mark Paul Richard, "'Why Don't You Be a Klansman?' Anglo-Canadian Support for the Ku Klux Klan Movement in 1920s New England," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40 (December 2010), pp. 508-516.

Richard, *Loyal but French*, pp. 175-185.

*Le Messenger*, 30 October 1941, pp. 1, 10, 2 and 3 November 1945, p. 1, 27 April 1955, p. 1. This contradicts Gary Gerstle's contention that, as the class consciousness of Woonsocket's Franco-Americans grew, their ethnic identification declined. See *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), passim.

Data shared with the author by Robert G. LeBlanc; Robert G. LeBlanc, "A French-Canadian Education and the Persistence of *La Franco-Américanie*," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 8 (Spring/Summer 1988), p. 59; *Le Messenger*, 24 June 1940, pp. 1, 3, 27 June 1955, p. 16; Naomi Griffiths, *The Acadians: Creation of a People* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973), passim; A.I. Silver, *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 7-9. The historical evidence does not support the view of sociologist and Auburn, Maine, native James Hill Parker that Lewiston francophones underwent "a cataclysmic shift in cultural orientation" during the 1960s, as he argues in "The Assimilation of French Americans," *Human Organization* 38 (Fall 1979), pp. 309-312, and in *Ethnic Identity: The Case of the French Americans* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983).

The evolution from "being" to "feeling" ethnic is explored in Anny Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1993); François Weil emphasizes the idea that the contemporary Franco-American identity is a personal strategy in *Les Franco-Américains*, p. 218.

John Higham, for example, emphasizes the effect of outside forces on U.S. immigrant groups in *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1955; New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992.)

According to Susan Olzak, integration into U.S. society leads to ethnic competition which, in turn, leads to ethnic conflict. See *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992.)

See, for example, Robert G. LeBlanc, "The Franco-American Response to the Conscription Crisis in Canada, 1916-1918," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (Autumn 1993), pp. 343-372.

John F. McClymer starts down this analytical road when he argues that ethnic retention and assimilation represented the same goal for French Canadians in Worcester, Massachusetts, prior to World War I in "The Paradox of Ethnicity in the United States: The French-Canadian Experience in Worcester, 1870-1914," in Michael D'Innocenzo and Josef P. Sirefman, eds., *Immigration and Ethnicity: American Society—"Melting Pot" or "Salad Bowl"?* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 15-23. But I go farther in analyzing and demonstrating how French-Canadian descendants negotiated their identity in their country of adoption.

April R. Schultz draws a similar conclusion about the Americanization process in *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian Ameri-*

*can through Celebration* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.)

*Observations* (Lewiston-Auburn, Maine), 23 June 1972, pp. 1, 4, 5; Lance Tapley, "Franco-American Heritage Movement Is Catching Fire," *Maine Sunday Telegram*, 19 March 1972, p. 3D; *L'Unité* (Lewiston, Maine), May 1976, p. 1.

## About the Author

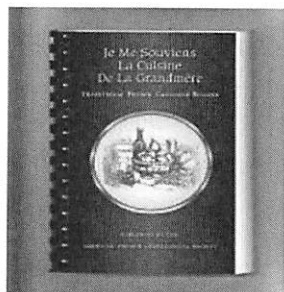
*Mark Paul Richard is Professor of History and Canadian Studies at the State University of New York at Plattsburgh, where he coordinated the Canadian Studies program for six years. He served as vice president of the American Council for Québec Studies from 2012 to 2013. His research examines French-Canadian migration to the United States, particularly the acculturation and integration of French speakers in U.S. society. He is the author of Loyal but French: The Negotiation of Identity by French-Canadian Descendants in the United States (Michigan State University Press, 2008.) His second monograph—on the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in French-Canadian population centers of the northeastern United States during the 1920s—is currently under consideration by a university press.*



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# The Buteau Families of Haiti

By George H. Buteau

In 1989, I received a Boston newspaper clipping from a Buteau cousin asking if I thought we might be related to Max Buteau, a thirty nine year old Haiti native and a resident of London, England at the time, who, as the subject of the very brief article, was being charged with defrauding a London bank. I put the clipping away for future reference and did not return to it for at least a dozen years. As I began to search the internet in the late 1990s for people with the surname Buteau, I came across several living in Florida who were born in Haiti. I subsequently learned that there is even an area of southern Haiti named Buteau. It was apparent to me that there might be a significant number of Buteau families living in Haiti. Several Buteau residents of Haiti have since made headlines as national figures and business people. There is even an American comedian with the surname Buteau whose father was born in Haiti. Virtually all of the Haitian Buteau individuals whose photos I have seen in the news appear to have African ancestry. I began to wonder how and when the Buteau surname made it to Haiti. Was it from French Canada or from France?

Spain controlled the Caribbean island of Hispanola after its discovery by Columbus in 1492 and eventually named it *San* or *Santo Domingo*. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, French pirates established bases on the western side of the island from which they raided Spanish ships. France began to colonize the island naming their side Saint-Domingue. France imported slaves from Africa for their island sugar, cotton, tobacco, indigo and coffee plantations. Saint-Domingue became France's most prosperous colony in the West Indies and was an important port for products moving between America and Europe. Because of Saint Domingue's importance, France essentially gave up on Canada being its primary American colony. The French king did not come to Canada's defense at the end of the Seven Years' War in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century allowing it to be captured by the British.

Tens of thousands of African slaves were imported to the Caribbean islands each year to maintain the agricultural-based economies. It has been estimated that half to three quarters of a million slaves

were kept on all Caribbean islands by less than a tenth of that number of plantation owners. There was a three-tiered class system imposed on Saint-Domingue by France: The white slave owners consisting of plantation owners and small business people at the top, the black slaves at the bottom and free people of color or freedmen, called "affranchis" in the middle. Some of the mulatto freedmen were wealthy enough to have slaves of their own.

The French crown encouraged harsh and cruel treatment of slaves on Saint-Domingue to keep them in line. Many slaves died because of the harsh living conditions and disease so new slaves had to continually be imported from Africa. There were constant slave rebellions, all of them successfully put down before 1791. There were about a half million inhabitants of Saint-Domingue in 1791 and almost 90% of them were slaves, most of whom having been born in Africa. In August of that year, an organized black slave rebellion against French domination began. The French Revolution in 1789 is thought to have sparked this successful slave revolution. France had previously given citizenship to freedmen in Saint-Domingue so it was a revolution with slaves and escaped slaves (maroons) against whites and free people of color, many of whom were also slave owners. The rebellion went on for more than a dozen years with much brutality on both sides and many inhabitants dying of yellow fever. Independence from France was declared on January 1, 1804 and the country was renamed Haiti, a name adopted from the Arawak people who were living on Hispanola when Columbus first landed.

After Haiti was declared a republic, social patterns that had been established under France remained. Most of the upper class of whites had been killed or had returned to France. The early leaders of Haiti were blacks and mulatto descendants of mixed-race children of white slave owners and African women. These leaders became the elite in Haiti after the revolution. However, the plantations had been broken up during the revolution and the land had been distributed among the poor former slaves. Therefore, the ruling upper class in Haiti turned away from agriculture for survival and toward urban pursuits; they dominated politics and economics creating a two-caste society, the urban elite and the military leadership. Solidarity among the elite class, which consisted of the educated

and the wealthy, was maintained by intermarriage. Poorer blacks found the military a place for advancement within their class. Because it was forced to make massive reparations to French slaveholders in order to receive French recognition after the revolution, the new Haiti never really recovered from poor economic conditions that persist to this day.

I learned from a Haitian Buteau descendant named Carl Schomberg, who I managed to contact by email, that the first Buteau to settle in Saint-Domingue was Nicolas Buteau who was born in Autun, France around 1680. He was a lieutenant in the local militia when he married Louise Perrine Tonder in Cayes du Fond, Saint-Domingue on November 23, 1706. Louise was born in Les Cayes, Saint-Domingue in 1693 to Pierre Tonder-Touder and Barbe Buteau. No special dispensation for consanguinity was mentioned in the marriage record of Nicolas and Louise so it is presumed that Nicolas and his mother-in-law were not closely related though they carried the same surname, spelled Butteau in the records of the era. Perhaps Barbe Buteau came to Saint-Domingue before Nicolas.

The translated marriage record reads:

*The twenty third day of the month of (November omitted from pastor's record but added in France) the year one thousand seven hundred six after the publication of the banns at the parish mass during three consecutive feast days, there having been found not a single canonical impediment I have joined in the sacrament of marriage in the presence of Pierre Tonder father of the bride and Martin Audibert her godfather, witnesses as required, Nicolas Butteau, native of the town of Autun St. Jean parish, son of Pierre Butteau and Elizabeth Perrine Chamard, with Louise Perrine Tonder native of this parish, daughter of Pierre Tonder and Barbe Butteau residents of this quarter, in witness whereof I signed the day and year below and also signed the original. B. Rio priest, pastor of this parish du Fond.*

Nicolas and Louise had three children, Francois in 1713, Marie Anne in 1716 and Nicolas Valentin Buteau in 1717. Nicolas died in 1720 in Cayes du Fond at age forty having risen to the rank of Captain in the militia. His son, Nicolas Valentin Buteau married Perrine Francoise Trichet in Cayes du Fond.

The translated record of their marriage reads as follows:

*The third of February of the year one thousand seven hundred thirty nine after the publication of a single bann at the sermon of the parish mass the twenty fifth of January of the present year, the contractants having obtained dispensation of the other two banns without having found a single canonical impediment, I, pastor signed below have joined together in the sacrament of marriage according to the standard format of our Holy Mother Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church in the presence of relatives and friends witnesses as required and signed below the sieur Nicolas Butteau legitimate son of the late sieur Nicolas Butteau and dame Louise Tonder his father and mother, native of the parish of the old town of this quarter of one part, and Miss Périnne Françoise Charlotte Trichet legitimate daughter of the late sieur Charles Trichet and dame Anne Duetron wife of Mr. de la Fresillière, native of the parish of Henant, in Brittany, bishopric of Saint-Brieux of the other part, in witness whereof we have signed the day and year below and also signed the original - Charlotte Trichet, Buteau, Duchon, La Freseillière, Laurent Buteau, Quinot de Saint-Memin, Lataste, Benu Sire, Quinot, T. de Thiveriny, Trichet, Trichet St. Martin, M. Françoise Trichet, Mésière Trichet, Benech, Hays, Anne La Freseillière, Lataste, Marsay, M. L. St. Martin, Levallois, Marsay, Estienne La Freseillière, Lareynie, La Freseillière, La Frescade, Fr. Rome pastor*

This couple had four children, Nicolas Joseph, Jacques Valentin, Francois Georges and Anne Charlotte Buteau. Nicolas Valentin was a slave owner who instructed his four children in his last will and testament to free his slaves upon his death which occurred after March, 1777.

The translation of his notarized last will and testaments reads as follows:

*The year one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven and the twenty fifth day of March eight o'clock in the morning, at the request of sieur Nicolas Valentin Butteau residing at the pointe de sable district of marcheterre parish of Torbec, we notary of the king in the royal jurisdiction of St Louis south, isle and coast Saint-Domingue resident of the district and parish of Saint-Pierre des Ances des Cotteaux undersigned, we are transported onto the*

*dwelling of the known sieur Butteau, and having been led into a chamber of his principal house being used as a store for cotton, have found said sieur Butteau in his bed motionless with severe disease, being in his proper sense of memory and understanding so it appeared to us and to the below named and undersigned witnesses, who has required us to receive his will of his last impositions that he said to us, dictated word for word, without interference of anyone, in the presence of the below named and undersigned witnesses so that it follows.*

*I Nicollas Valentin Butteau native of the old borough parish of Notre-Dame des Anges, aged sixty years, legitimate son of the late sieur Nicolas Butteau and Dame Tondere living resident at the aforesaid pointe de sable aforesaid parish of Torbec, make my present will and provision of my last wishes*

*Firstly I commend my soul to God the father almighty and ask him to forgive my sins and to receive my soul to happy goods that it will be separated from my body.*

*Secondly, I declare to having been joined in marriage with the late Périne Françoise Trichet of which marriage I have four children who are my legitimate heirs and sole legatees who I claim and name and install as my sole heirs, each to get a quarter share namely Nicolas Joseph, Jacques Valentin and François Georges Butteau, and finally Marie Anne Charlotte Butteau wife of M. Provost de la Croix, commissioner of the navy to department of Cayes at the bottom of the isle à vache.*

*Thirdly I want and intend that my debts known to be legitimate are paid immediately upon my death.*

*Fourthly, I request my aforesaid children treat the named Simon, Françoise, Zoe, Louison, Arouba, all my slaves, as free and to let them work the rest of their lives on the present dwelling.*

*Fifthly, I want and intend that the negro named Claude, créole, cook, will be and remain living with dame Anne Charlotte Butteau wife of my said sieur de la Croix, and charge her to hold account with her brothers on the sum of three thousand four hundred livres.*

*Sixthly, I declare that for several years I have given to enjoy to Nicolas Joseph Butteau my oldest son a mulatto named Hyacinthe today aged around thirteen to fourteen years, that he trained, I want and intend that he remains in his care and that he holds account of it with his brothers and sister on the amount of fourteen hundred livres.*

*Seventhly, I declare that for several years I have also given to enjoy to Jacques Valentin Butteau my son a young negro named Henry créole, aged around thirteen to fourteen years, who will likewise remain in his charge and will hold account of it with his brothers and sister on the amount of fourteen hundred livres.*

*Eighthly, I give and bequeath to the two sons of Mr. St Martin the elder living at Fond parish of Arbey, each one a young negro and to his daughter a young negresse Boéval after the payment of my debts and this in recognition of all that their father did for me and my children, I request it very instantly to receive this mark of friendship on my part.*

*Eighthly (sic), for the execution of my present provisions, I name and institute for my executor the sieur Antoine Darbouze my friend and my neighbor, who I beg to accept this charge and to give me this last proof of friendship.*

*Ninthly, I break and cancel and revoke all other wills and codicils that I may have made before the present, wanting that this one is my will and provision of my last wishes and that it is carried out according to its external form.*

*Tenthly, I request that whichever of my children to whom my negress Suzanne créole will fall in division to give to her her freedom and at least a sum of six thousand livres that she will be required to count.*

*The whole was thus said to us dictated, named word for word without direction from anyone by the said testator, in the presence of the witnesses named below and undersigned, and after read and reread word for word the present will to the said testator in the presence of the witnesses named below and undersigned and having it distinctly heard and said that it is his will and provision of his last wishes, that he wants and hears that it is carried out according to its form and tenure. Made and passed the present testament in the house and on the dwelling of the said sieur testator, located in the district of la pointe de sable aforementioned parish of Torbec aforementioned parish the said day day and year in the presence of the sieurs Bernard Vicaud and André Dupin residents living in this district in the aforementioned parish of Torbec required witnesses who both signed with the testator and us notary after reading made, not having been able to make two minutes because of the great weakness of the testator; signed - Butteaux, Dupin, Vicaud, Descures, Delesparre, authenticated, According to the signatures.*

Nicolas Joseph Buteau married Catherine Victoire Hanot. Their son, Pierre Louis Joseph Victoire Buteau was born in 1780 in Cayes du Fond. He married Marie Anne Caderre. Their son, Louis Joseph Fenelon Buteau was born in 1811, seven years after the end of the slave revolution and the formation of Haiti. Up to this point in time, it is presumed that all Buteau families were 100% Caucasian. At

some point after the revolution, intermarriage occurred most likely between a male Caucasian Buteau and a freed woman of color of partial or full African ancestry. Today, there are no Buteau families in Haiti that can claim to be 100% white but range from light skinned to dark skinned. The exact ancestries of most Buteau families in Haiti is unknown. It may be that the freed slaves of Nicolas Valentin Buteau assumed the Buteau surname and may likely be the ancestors of many Haitians carrying the Buteau surname today. Following is the known descendancy of Joseph Fenelon Buteau with most living descendants excluded for privacy reasons:

*Louis Joseph Fenelon Buteau was born in 1811 in Haiti. He married Occena Hawkes. Louis died on 28 Oct 1890 in Port au Prince, Haiti.*

*A. Marie Louise Fenela Buteau was born circa 1843 in Les Cayes, Haiti. She married Jean Jules Auguste Roumain on 20 Apr 1867 in Port au Prince. Marie died on 7 Apr 1907 in Port au Prince.*

*B. Louis Joseph Buteau was born after 1850. He married Rosa Avignon. Louis died on 7 Apr 1907 in Port au Prince.*

*1. Oceanie Buteau*

*2. Maria Buteau was born after 1875. She married Emile Blanchard.*

*3. Rose Buteau was born after 1875. She married Paul Gardere.*

*C. Bertrand Buteau was born on 1 Nov 1852 in Aux Cayes. He married Angela Avignon .*

*1. Eugenie Buteau*

*2. Angele Buteau*

*3. Amelie Buteau married Georges Remponeau.*

*4. Marie Buteau*

*5. Alice Buteau was born circa 1889 in Haiti. She married Alexis Letelier.*

*6. Maurice Buteau was born after 1900. He married Therese Strohm.*

*a) Max Buteau was born on 19 Apr 1923 in Port au Prince. He married Maryse Pilorge on 23 Apr 1949 in Port au Prince. Max died on 25 Sep 1992 in New York City, NY at age 69. They had seven living children.*



- b) Jean Buteau was born on 1 Nov 1925 in Port au Prince. He married Maryse Occenad on 13 Oct 1951 in Port au Prince. Jean died on 7 Oct 1995 in Port au Prince, at age 69. They had two living children.*
- c) Ginette Buteau was born circa 1926 in Port au Prince. She married Edouard Esper. Ginette died on 5 Dec 2006 in Haiti.*
- d) Odette Buteau was born circa 1928 in Port au Prince. She married Fred Rigaud. Odette died circa 2004.*

**Bibliography:**

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[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haitian\\_Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haitian_Revolution)

<http://www.agh.qc.ca/indexen.html>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_class\\_in\\_Haiti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_class_in_Haiti)

<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~htiwwg/familles/buteau.htm>

Personal communication from Carl Schomberg

# Research Policy

Autumn 2013

The American-French Genealogical Society accepts requests for ancestral searches. This offer is open to the general public, members or not. The only requirement is that the ancestor you are seeking be French-Canadian, for that is the focus of our organization, and the area where we can be of the most help.

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](http://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.

To utilize the AFGS Research Service, please fill out the research form with the following information and send it in regular mail:

## **What You Need To Send To Us**

1) Your request with a choice of one of the following;

### **Type of Research**

**Single Marriage** - One marriage to search.

Marriages of parents will also be counted as additional single marriages and billed as such.

**Direct Lineage** - A straight line of either a husband or wife back to the immigrant ancestor. This will include each couple, their date and place of marriage, and their parents' names and location of immigrants in France. Price for direct lineages will be determined by the number of generations found times the rates for research as applicable.

**Five Generation Ancestral Chart** - Standard five generation ancestral chart of 31 ancestors with 8 marriages found. The last column of names will give parents' names only: no marriages as they will start a new five generation chart.

Your name, street, city, state, zip code, and member number if you are an AFGS member

Any pertinent information you may have should also be sent.

### **What We Will Do In Return**

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.

### **Your Approval**

After receiving our report and billing statement, return the top portion with a check payable to AFGS. Upon receipt, we will forward your requested research.

All requests not found by the Research Committee will be placed in the question and answer section of our semi-annual journal, *Je Me Souviens*.

### **Rates**

\$5.00 per marriage (AFGS Members)

\$10.00 per marriage (Non-members)

\$35.00 per 5-generation chart - Direct Lineage (AFGS Members)

\$50.00 per 5-generation chart - Direct Lineage (Non-members)

# AMERICAN FRENCH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

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Francois Allard and Emerance Dufresne. They were married in Precious Blood Church, Woonsocket, R.I. on October 18, 1874