

**Report Regarding Ancestor  
Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean  
(RIN #11565)**



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### **A. Introduction**

The Algonquin Enrolment Board and Algonquin Tribunal were established by an ANR Special Resolution of April 20, 2021 (Motion 20210420-01). The purpose of the Board and Tribunal is to consider appeals and protests resulting from Stage 1 of Enrolment under the Proposed Beneficiary Criteria (PBC). The establishment of the Board and Tribunal had been anticipated by an ANR Special Resolution of January 22, 2020 (Motion 20200122-01) which set out the details and process for enrolment under the PBC.

By way of a motion made on June 16, 2022, the ANRs referred certain historic persons that are on the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors to the Algonquin Tribunal for the purposes of determining whether such historic persons are identified in a historic record or document dated on or before December 31, 1921, in such a way that it would be reasonable to conclude that the person was considered to be an Algonquin or Nipissing, or a sibling of such a person. A "sibling of such a person" means a person with a common Algonquin parent. These references were made pursuant to section 76(d) of the ANR Special Resolution of April 20, 2021 (Motion 20210420-01).

"Algonquin Ancestor" is defined in Article 1 of the Special Resolution of January 22, 2020 and referenced in the Special Resolution of April 20, 2021, as follows:

"Algonquin Ancestor" means a person who was born on or before July 15, 1897 and identified in an historic record or document dated on or before December 31, 1921, in such a way that it would be reasonable to conclude that the person was considered to be an Algonquin or Nipissing, or a sibling of such a person, and includes the persons listed in the schedule of Algonquin Ancestors, as amended by the Algonquin Negotiation Representatives from time to time and which may be viewed at the Algonquins of Ontario Consultation Office and Algonquin community offices. In this definition, a sibling of a person is a person with a common Algonquin parent" [emphasis added]

Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean (RIN #11565) is one of the 14 ancestors referred to the Tribunal for review. This report provides information held in the Enrolment Office regarding Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean. His wife, Sophie Emilie Jammes dite Carriere (RIN #11566), was also referred to the Tribunal for review. She is the subject of a separate report. Some of the details of this report are repeated in the report pertaining to Sophie Emilie Jammes dite Carriere.

### **B. Methodology and organization of report**

This report is based on written documents in the possession of the Enrolment Office at the time of writing. The information contained in these documents is outlined in Sections C to F. The source of the information is footnoted by an ALG document number. ALG document numbers are randomly assigned numbers for primary documents held in the Enrolment Office database. The cited documents are listed and their images appended to this report as described below.

Note that certain historic people referred to in this report are also identified by a "RIN #". A "RIN #" is a randomly generated number assigned by the Legacy Genealogical database to each individual person entered in that database. These individuals include historic persons that have been identified as Algonquin Ancestors, persons descended from these ancestors, and various non-Algonquin people who are married to Algonquins. RIN #s also appear in the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors. The use of a RIN # is not indicative of whether a historic person is, or is not, an Algonquin Ancestor, as defined above, or is otherwise suspected of being Algonquin. It merely means that the historic person has been entered into the Legacy Genealogical database. RIN #s are used to assist in the identification and tracing of family trees and are particularly useful when a historic person may be identified by different names or spelling conventions or when several individuals have the same or similar name.

Appendix 1a is a genealogical chart, also known as a family tree, illustrating the relationships between the subject ancestor, his parents, his siblings and the ancestors' children. Appendix 1b is a genealogical chart showing the relationship between the subject ancestor, his father, paternal grandparents and five additional generations of his ancestors on his father's side. Appendix 1c is a genealogical chart showing the relationship between the subject ancestor, his mother, maternal grandparents and four additional generations of his ancestors on his mother's side. It is recommended that you consult these charts when reading the report as it assists in understanding the different individuals. They can be printed out for ease of reference.

Appendix 2 is a timeline identifying the major life events for this ancestor that are recorded in the documents appended to Appendix 4. The table is organized chronologically by date of event and specifies the type of event, location of event, notes on individuals involved, tribal origin, and the ALG document number of the source (archival) document.

Appendix 3 is a list of supporting documents relevant to the ancestor. The table is organized by ALG document number and specifies the date of the document, a brief document description, and the archival source of the document.

Appendix 4 is a package of supporting documents cited in this report. These are images of the actual documents. They are organized by ALG document number and thus appear in the same order as the list in Appendix 3. The images are bookmarked for ease of reference. The original archival source of the document, where available, is stamped on the document image as well as being included in the table in Appendix 3.

### ***C. Name variations***

Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean's name was rendered variously as Laguarde or Legarde, or simply Thomas St. Jean. His name has also been referred to as Thomas St. Jean dit Lagarde or Laguarde. His wife's name was commonly given as Sophie, Emilie, or Marie with her surname being Jammes, Gammes, James, or Carrière. These spelling anomalies commonly occurred in historic documents where individuals who created written records at the time of events used phonetic spellings to record names as they understood them. In addition, when handwritten records were transcribed, recorders often guessed at the spelling of a name, adding to the

confusion. Further complications arise because individuals frequently changed their names throughout their life time. These anomalies can make it difficult to determine if records are referencing the same individual.

#### ***D. Original basis for including Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean on the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors***

The name of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean (RIN #11565) was originally placed on Schedule A, as it was then known, based on a Board decision on March 6, 1999. The enrolment of applicants relying on this ancestor was appealed in May and June 1999. A subsequent Board hearing held on January 22, 2000 concluded that the basis of enrolment was erroneous and the name was removed from the Schedule. Applicants came forward with additional evidence which was heard by the Board on April 15, 2000. The ancestor was accepted by that Board and his name was returned to the Schedule.

The inclusion of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean on the Schedule of Ancestors was appealed in 2011. The appeal was referred to Justice Chadwick for review and a hearing was held on February 11, 2013. Interested persons presented additional documentation and spoke in person at the hearing. The protest was rejected and pursuant to Justice Chadwick's recommendation the name of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean remained on the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors.

This report contains the results of further research on Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, as well as a review of the documentation that was presented at various hearings and reviews. Additional research included extensive review and use of information published by *Le programme de recherche en démographie historique* (PRDH) in order to provide secondary evidence of the parentage of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean. The PRDH information is available through their website and contains over 2 million certificates drawn from records of baptisms, marriages, and burials from the parishes, missions, and Catholic institutions in Quebec, dating from 1621 to 1849. It is generally considered a reliable source. Unless otherwise stated, research undertaken by the Enrolment Office, which was done as part of this report, has confirmed the PRDH findings by reviewing the primary source documents.

Note that Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean's wife Sophie Emilie Jammes dit Carriere (RIN #11566) is also under review at this time and is the subject of separate report.

#### ***E. Documents related to Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and what they purport to say***

##### **E.1 Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, his parents and siblings**

- The earliest document with regards to Thomas Lagarde (RIN #11565) is his baptism record of March 21, 1801 at St. Eustache's Church in the County of Deux Montagnes. His parents were named as Paul Lagarde (RIN #14681), a Labourer, and Marguerite Poirier (RIN #14682).<sup>1</sup> The parents were noted as being "of this parish" ("de cette paroisse"),

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<sup>1</sup> ALG-40273

and the godparents were named as Joseph Lagarde, uncle of the child, and Marguerite Langlois, aunt of the child and widow of Antoine Lagarde. This family was not identified as Indigenous or Algonquin.

- The named godparents of Thomas were given as Joseph Lagarde, uncle, and Marguerite Langlois, aunt and widow of Antoine Lagarde. The relationship of the godparents to Thomas Lagarde can be confirmed by looking at the PRDH family sheet which gives a family breakdown of the Thomas' grandparents Antoine Lagarde St. Jean Sr. (RIN #31487) and Marie Elisabeth Mondoux (RIN #31488). On the family sheet, Antoine Lagarde Jr. is noted as the brother of Thomas' father, Paul Lagarde. Antoine's wife is shown as Marguerite Langlois Traversy. Joseph Lagarde is shown as a brother to Paul. Thus, the godparents indicated are Thomas' uncle and aunt by marriage.<sup>2</sup>
- Note that the County of Deux Montagnes was a large county bordering the north shore of the Ottawa River and Lac des Deux Montagnes. It included the parishes of St. Benoit, St. Scholastique, St. Coloman, St. Augustin, St. Eustache, as well as the mission of the Lake of Two Mountains (Oka), and parts of the parishes of St. Jerome and the Township of Morin. The parish church of St. Eustache where Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean had events is situated in the eastern portion of the county, now an off-island suburb of Montreal, approximately 18 kilometres north-east of the Lake of Two Mountains/Oka mission, which is located on the lake at present-day Oka, Quebec (see document ALG-40510 for a map depicting these locations).
- The parents of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, Paul Lagarde (aka Paul Lagarde dit St. Jean, RIN #14681) and Marguerite Poirier (aka Marguerite Poirier dit Delage/Poirier Deloges, RIN #14682), were married on February 4, 1793 at St. Eustache Church. Paul's parents were named as "Antoine Lagarde" (RIN #31487) and Marie Elisabeth Mondoux (RIN #31488) of the parish of Ste. Genevieve. Marguerite's parents were named as "Thomas Poirier dit Deloge" (RIN #31523) and "Marie Josette Clement" (RIN #31524) "of this parish". The marriage was witnessed by both fathers of the bride and groom, Thomas Poirier and Antoine Lagarde. None of the wedding party were identified as being Indigenous or Algonquin.<sup>3</sup>
- Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean was one of 15 children born to Paul Lagarde and Marguerite Poirier, of which all known birth/baptism, marriage, and deaths took place at the parish church of St. Eustache.<sup>4</sup> Six of Thomas' siblings were married at the St. Eustache church between 1816 and 1835: sisters Marguerite (1816),<sup>5</sup> Marie Louise (1823),<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> ALG-40295

<sup>3</sup> ALG-40282

<sup>4</sup> ALG-40294

<sup>5</sup> ALG-40363

<sup>6</sup> ALG-40364

Pauline/Appoline (1831)<sup>7</sup> and Josephe/Josette (1835)<sup>8</sup>; and brothers Paul (1823)<sup>9</sup> and Antoine (1829)<sup>10</sup>.

- Of these marriages, Thomas served as a witness to his sister Marguerite's marriage in 1816, and his sister Josette's marriage in 1835.
- None of these marriages refer to the siblings or parents of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean as being Indigenous or Algonquin.
- Neither the family of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean nor his father Paul Lagarde was enumerated at the Algonquin or Nipissing Villages on either the 1825 census or 1842 census for mission at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>11</sup>
- Paul Lagarde dit St. Jean, father of Thomas, died and was buried at the St. Eustache church on April 21, 1843 at the age of 72 years old.<sup>12</sup> Thomas was a witness to this burial, and neither Paul nor his son Thomas were noted as being Indigenous or Algonquin in this record.
- Marguerite Poirier Deloges, Thomas Lagarde's mother, was buried at the St. Louis-de-Gonzague church in 1857 at the age of 86 years old, and was noted as being the wife of Paul Lagarde.<sup>13</sup> Neither Marguerite nor Paul was noted as being of Indigenous or Algonquin origin.

## E.2 Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean's early ancestors

- Further Research was undertaken with the PRDH (*Le programme de recherche en démographie historique*) website in order to provide secondary evidence of the ancestry of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, specifically in order to ascertain any Indigenous or Algonquin heritage. The PRDH research in conjunction with marriage records confirm seven generations of the ancestors of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean.
  - Seven generations of the Lagarde family were traced, involving the analysis of 106 individuals (53 couples). In addition to the information provided by PRDH, marriage records were found for all 53 couples and were retrieved to support the PRDH summaries. Additional information on place of birth was obtained for individuals such as Philbert Couillaud Larocque Rockbrunne (RIN #46227) who is shown in historical sources as being a soldier who came with the Carignan-Salyers Regiment from France;<sup>14</sup> Sebastian Provencher (RIN #31511) was listed in Marcel Trudel's *Catalogue des immigrants, 1632-1662* on page 439 as immigrating into the Trois Rivières region in 1660 at the age of 26 and marrying

<sup>7</sup> ALG-40368

<sup>8</sup> ALG-40367

<sup>9</sup> ALG-40365

<sup>10</sup> ALG-40366

<sup>11</sup> ALG-07287, ALG-40373

<sup>12</sup> ALG-40369

<sup>13</sup> ALG-40370

<sup>14</sup> ALG-40512, ALG-40513

around 1663.<sup>15</sup> No information has been located on his wife Marguerite Manchon (RIN #31512). All other individuals are traced directly back to their origins in France. Please refer to Appendices 1b and 1c for charts demonstrating eight-generations of lineage (Thomas and seven generations of ancestors), and the document package for the PRDH family sheets and associated marriage records.

- The marriage records and associated historical sources trace these families back to their origins in France. There is one exception in the paternal line.
  - Marguerite Manchon (RIN #31512) who married Sebastian Provencher (RIN #31511) in Quebec in 1663 has not been identified as to her place of birth or parents place of birth. None of the located records suggest she was Indigenous.

In summary, detailed searches of the ancestors of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean have not demonstrated any evidence of Indigenous origins.

### **E.3 Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and his wife Sophie Emelie Carriere**

- Thomas Lagarde and Emelie Carriere (RIN #11566) were married at the St. Eustache church on the August 20, 1827.<sup>16</sup> Thomas was named as Lagarde dit St. Jean, being the adult son of Paul Lagarde dit St. Jean and Marguerite Poirier dite Delage of “this parish” (“de cette paroisse”). “Marie Emelie James dite Carriere” was the minor daughter (“fille mineur”) of the deceased “Michel James dit Carriere” (RIN #55712) and “Genevieve Falmard” (RIN #55713), also “de cette paroisse”.
  - This marriage was witnessed by Thomas’ father Paul Lagarde dit St. Jean and Guillaume Richer dit Lauveteau, Emelie Carriere’s step-father.
  - None of the named individuals on this marriage record were identified as being Indigenous or Algonquin.
- After their marriage Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and Sophie Emelie Jamme dite Carriere had ten known children, nine of whom were baptized at St. Eustache between 1828 and 1842.<sup>17</sup> No known Algonquins were listed as being witnesses to these baptisms, nor was Thomas or his wife Sophie identified as such in these records.

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<sup>15</sup> ALG-40511,

<sup>16</sup> ALG-11688

<sup>17</sup> ALG-40275, ALG-40276, ALG-40277, ALG-40278, ALG-40279, ALG-40280, ALG-40281, ALG-40371, ALG-40372

- Thomas was enumerated on the 1842 census as being a non-property owner living at St. Eustache with a total of nine people in his household.<sup>18</sup> No racial identifiers were provided on this census.
  - The marriage, baptism and census records of Thomas and his family indicate that the Lagarde family were consistently living in the parish of St. Eustache from at least 1827 to 1842. No records from the mission at Lake of Two Mountains/Oka have been located that name Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean or his wife Sophie Emilie Jammes dite Carriere.
- A Notary document dated March 4, 1843 indicates that Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean was in prison in Montreal from February 11 of that year, after a warrant was issued for his arrest due to non-payment of a debt. The debt was paid and Thomas was subsequently released from prison. The document was witnessed by Edouard Spenard, an Inn-keeper, along with the notary Stephen MacKay.<sup>19</sup> No other notarial records have been located from this date onwards that described Thomas as having any further legal troubles.
- An extract from “Pioneer Portrait” describes the background of the wife of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, Marie Sophie Carrière. According to this secondary source, Marie Sophie was born in St. Eustache in 1807 and moved to the Ottawa Valley with her husband Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and settled in Litchfield Township, Pontiac County around 1844-45. She was well known in the area and died at Calumet Island in 1886. Some of her children are listed in this article including Sophie (b. 1832) and Joseph (b. 1845). Nothing in this narrative indicates that the individuals were Indigenous.<sup>20</sup> Details of interest are as follows:
  - According to this source, Marie Sophie Carrière married Thomas Lagarde dit St-Jean on August 20, 1827 in St. Eustache. She was the daughter of Michel Jammé dit Carrière and Geneviève Falmard. Her father had died by around 1818 and her mother married Guillaume Richer dit Louvètau. These details are consistent with the marriage record of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and Marie Emilie Jamier dite Carrière, noted above.
  - According to this source, after farming for a few years in St. Eustache, Thomas and Sophie moved in 1843-44 to the Upper Ottawa Valley and settled in Litchfield Township in Pontiac County, Quebec. They had many children including Marie Sophie (1829-1829); Jules (b. 1830); Sophie (b. 1832); Jean Baptiste (b. 1834); Marie Louise (b. 1835); Paul (b. 1837); Dolphin (b. 1838); Théotime (b. 1839); Alphonse (b. 1842) and Joseph (b. 1845).

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<sup>18</sup> ALG-40374

<sup>20</sup> ALG-40431

<sup>19</sup> ALG-40377, ALG-40382 (translation)

- According to this source, “Sophie Carrière St-Jean” was widowed sometime after 1851. No death record has been located for Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean; however, as noted below, he was said to have died in the year leading up to the enumeration of the 1851 census. Sophie remarried on May 22, 1861 to Antoine Barbeau who was the widower of Marie Marguerite Lauzon. He was a cousin of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and also had a large family. Barbeau died in 1870 and was buried at Portage du Fort. Sophie died in 1886, described as the widow St. Jean, believed to be about 70 years old.
- In 1845 Thomas and Sophie had their last child, Joseph, baptized at the Notre Dame Cathedrale in Ottawa on September 2nd. A church register entry and an index of baptisms for Notre Dame of Ottawa have been located. Joseph was baptized on the day he was born the son of “Thomas St. Jean” and “Sophie Carriere” who were noted as being resident in Bytown. The priest who performed the baptism was noted as “Brunet Obl.MS” (Oblate of Mary Immaculate) and shown in the index as “A. Brunet,” who will be discussed in sub-section E.6 of this report. Neither the parents nor godparents (Joseph Leblanc and Lucie Groux) were noted as being Indigenous or Algonquin.<sup>21</sup>
- The marriage of Xavier Turcotte (RIN #11560) and Sophie St. Jean (RIN #11561), daughter of “Thomas St. Jean” and “Sophie Carriere,” took place on October 5, 1849 at Ile du Grand Calumet, Quebec.<sup>22</sup> Sophie was stated as being a minor and having her father’s consent to marry. Both Sophie and her parents were noted as being from this mission, having moved there between 1845 and 1849. None of the names recorded on the marriage record were noted as being of Indigenous or Algonquin origin.
- The Lagarde dit St. Jean family were recorded on the 1851 census living in the Litchfield, Pontiac area, near Ile du Grand Calumet, Quebec.<sup>23</sup> The family included Thomas, his wife Sophie, their sons Jules, Jean Baptiste, Paul, Adolphus, Athone and Joseph, as well as their daughter Louisa. Thomas was listed as a being a Labourer, and the family were noted as born in Canada which was recorded as “Canada E” for the parents and “Canada Fr” for the children.
  - The second page of the census notes the death of Thomas during the 12 months prior to the taking of the 1851 census. He would have been 55 at his next birthday, which is generally consistent with his known baptism year of 1801. No cause of death was given. No death or burial record has been located for Thomas. It is clear that he was deceased by 1855 as he was noted as such on his son Jean Baptiste’s marriage record.<sup>24</sup> Taken together the documents suggest he died in late 1850 or early 1851.

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<sup>21</sup> ALG-40375, ALG-40376

<sup>22</sup> ALG-40378

<sup>23</sup> ALG-40379

<sup>24</sup> ALG-40383

Of all the documents located for Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, including his baptism, marriage, and baptisms of his children, he was never identified as being indigenous or Algonquin in origin.

None of the documents noted above indicate that Thomas or his family had relationships with the Algonquin/Nipissing villages at the Lake of Two Mountains/Oka mission or with individuals known to be Algonquin. He does not appear on any of the Algonquin/Nipissing petitions written between 1827, the date of his marriage, and 1845 when he was residing in Litchfield, Pontiac. Known Algonquin petitions from that period were dated 1827 (two), 1833 and 1845.<sup>25</sup>

#### E.4 Children of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and Sophie Emilie Jammes dite Carriere

A review of documents related to the children of Thomas and Sophie was undertaken to ascertain if any Algonquin heritage was identified. Baptism records have been noted above, therefore marriage, death and census records were further analyzed and noted below in two tables.

Name	Marriage	Origin	Death	Origin
Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean Jr.	August 30, 1859 St. Eustache, QC	Not given	February 7, 1919 Montreal, QC	Not given
	ALG-40384		ALG-40385	
Jules Lagarde dit St. Jean	September 18, 1855 St. Eustache, QC	Not given	Deceased by 1901; wife noted as a widow on 1901 census	-
	ALG-40386		ALG-40406	
Sophie Lagarde dit St. Jean	October 5, 1849 Ile du Grand Calumet, QC	Not given	December 24, 1919 Pembroke, ON	Not given
	ALG-40378		ALG-30637	
Jean Baptiste Lagarde dit St. Jean	January 8, 1855 Ile du Grand Calumet, QC	Not given	October 8, 1904 Fort Coulonge, QC	Not given
	ALG-40383			
	June 15, 1870 Ile du Grand Calumet, QC	Not given	ALG-40395	
Louisa/Elisa Lagarde dit St. Jean	January 13, 1853 Ile du Grand Calumet, QC	Not given	November 10, 1925 Otter Lake, QC	Not given
	ALG-40387			
	January 9, 1865 Ile du Grand Calumet, QC	Not given	ALG-40389	
Paul Lagarde dit St. Jean	Unmarried	-	July 22, 1865 Montreal, QC	Not given
			ALG-40390	

<sup>25</sup> ALG-90098, ALG-90109, ALG-90191, ALG-40271, ALG-90296

<b>Name</b>	<b>Marriage</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Death</b>	<b>Origin</b>
Theotime/ Maxime Lagarde dit St. Jean	May 17, 1861 Ile du Grand Calumet, QC	Not given	April 22, 1926 Arnprior, ON	French
	ALG-11690		ALG-40391	
Alphonse Lagarde dit St. Jean	January 23, 1866 Montreal, QC	Not given	June 18, 1887 Montreal, QC	Not given
	ALG-40392		ALG-40393	
Joseph Lagarde dit St. Jean	Not located	-	Not located	-

Where located, the marriage and death records of the Lagarde dit St. Jean children state that they were from the parish in which they wed or died. No racial identifiers were provided other than the Ontario civil death record for Theotime/Maxime Lagarde dit St. Jean who was identified as being French in origin. No marriage records have been found that indicate intermarriage with known Algonquin families.

The findings of the census records are outlined below. Census records for the children of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean and Sophie Emilie Jammes dite Carriere from 1861 to 1921, when available, noted the family members as French or French Canadian. No members of this family were recorded as Indian, Indigenous or Algonquin.

Census Records of the Lagarde Children

Name	1851 Census	1861 Census	1871 Census	1881 Census	1891 Census	1901 Census	1911 Census	1921 Census
Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean Jr.	Canada French	Not noted as "sauvages"	French	French	French Canadian	French	French	<b>Deceased</b>
	ALG-40408	ALG-40396	ALG-40407	ALG-40409	ALG-40410	ALG-40411	ALG-40412	
Jules Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "sauvages"	French	French	Not located	<b>Deceased</b>	-	-
	ALG-40379	ALG-40396	ALG-40399	ALG-40400				
Sophie Lagarde dit St. Jean	Not located	Not noted as "Indian"	French	French	French Canadian	French	French	<b>Deceased</b>
	-	ALG-40413	ALG-40415	ALG-40416	ALG-40414	ALG-40417	ALG-40418	
Jean Baptiste Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "Indian"	French	French	Not given	French	<b>Deceased</b>	-
	ALG-40379	ALG-40398	ALG-40401	ALG-40402	ALG-40403	ALG-40419		
Louisa/Elisa Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "Indian"	French	French	French Canadian	French	French	Not located
	ALG-40379	ALG-40397	ALG-40420	ALG-40421	ALG-40422	ALG-40423	ALG-40424	
Paul Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "Indian"	<b>Deceased</b>	-	-	-	-	-
	ALG-40379	ALG-40397						
Theotime/Maxime Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "Indian"	French	French Canadian	French Canadian	French	French	French
	ALG-40379	ALG-40397	ALG-40399	ALG-40427	ALG-40404	ALG-40430	ALG-40429	ALG-40428
Alphonse Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "Indian"	French	French	<b>Deceased</b>	-	-	-
	ALG-40379	ALG-40425	ALG-40405	ALG-40426				
Joseph Exelus Lagarde dit St. Jean	Canada French	Not noted as "Indian"	French	<b>Not located presumed deceased</b>	-	-	-	-
	ALG-40379	ALG-40425	ALG-40405	-				

### E. 5 Letter stating Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean was of Algonquin descent

A letter stating Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean was of Algonquin descent was provided by an interested party at the review in 2012-13. The letter was written by a Father Brunet to Monsignor Bourget, the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Montreal. The letter is not dated. The opening sentence of the letter gives a date of June 23, 1845 for an event recounted in the letter; the internal content of the letter suggests that it was written after September 22, 1845.<sup>26</sup>

This letter was not provided with a source reference. The original applicant who supplied the letter stated that they received a “copy of the document from an individual who had a private collection of info concerning the fur trade that he had accumulated over many years” but could not provide further source information.

The Enrolment Office made written inquiries to the Archives of Saint-Sulpice, the Archives of the Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée (Archives Deschâtelets-NDC), and the Archives for the Diocese of Montreal asking if they had this letter in their possession. All three archives replied they could not find the letter. Note that the Montreal Archives holds letters written by Bishop Bourget but did not have any incoming correspondence from Father Brunet. A difficulty locating this letter may arise from the fact that it does not bear a date and many archives file their documents by date.

The letter bears stamps and an imprint that the archivist of the Saint-Sulpice Archives has indicated are common on documents from their archives; however, the letter has not been verified as appearing in their archival collection.

The text of the letter is very difficult to read. [Square brackets in the translation indicate best efforts at deciphering the French text or guesses at possible meanings.] A working translation of the document is as follows:<sup>27</sup>

*[Sgnr] Bourget*

*On the twenty-third of June, eighteen hundred and forty five, you [placed] me a secular priest to go and evangelize the distant regions of the North West of the [l'eminence?] diocese of Saint Sulpice. I happened upon a little mission of Île aux Allumettes in the fall the twenty-second September. With two young Indians [“Indiens”] [originaire?] of the Lake of Two Mountains, I [illegible] in [secret?] with a voyageur Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, a Masonic member and also descended from Algonquians [“q'un membre maçons et aussi descendre d'Algonquians”]. He is a fugitive and is condemned to death by the English authority of Montreal. [Illegible] who returned to Montreal with voyageur Urget St. Jean of St. Francois de Templeton, and then to return to [Nipeigon?]. We took advantage of certain matters which I could talk to you about thoroughly in a little while.*

*Brunet*

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<sup>26</sup> ALG-40360

<sup>27</sup> ALG-40438 (translation)

An analysis of the contents or statements made in this document was undertaken, which analysis suggest several important points.

- Internal content of the letter suggests that the letter was written sometime after the events of September 22, 1845 when the priest Brunet met Thomas Lagarde dit Jean at Ile aux Allumettes.
  - Oblate missionaries attached to the Pembroke Mission had been making annual visits and performing sacraments such as baptisms, marriages and burials at Allumette Island and Grand Calumet Island since around 1839. Both the North West Company (NWC) and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had established trading posts around Allumette and Grand Calumet Islands and non-Indigenous squatters had been settling on the islands since the 1830s.
- The recipient of the letter, Bishop Ignace Bourget, was the Bishop of the Diocese of Montreal from 1840 to 1876. That tenure does not narrow down the likely date of the letter. Note however that he was absent from September 1846 to May 1847 recruiting priests in France, so it is unlikely that the letter was written in that period.<sup>28</sup>
- The letter implies a connection between Brunet, the priest who wrote the letter, and the parish of Saint-Sulpice, which was run by members of the Sulpician Order. As noted below Brunet was an Oblate, which is a different order. However, because the letter is difficult to decipher the significance of the relationship is unclear.
- Brunet states that he had been ordered to go to the "North West" ("Nord-Ouest") by Bishop Bourget. The term North West was used at this time to indicate the great unsettled country west of the Canadas, especially the country around the upper Great Lakes. Biographical sources indicate that he was sent to the North West, specifically Illinois country south west of Lake Michigan in 1858.<sup>29</sup> There is no record of Father Brunet going to the "North-West" at any earlier period. If the letter was written around the time of the events described in the letter (June to September 1845), Brunet was in service on the Ottawa and Gatineau Rivers. See sub-section E.6, below, for an outline of Brunet's religious service.
- The term "indiens" is used to describe the two young men with whom Brunet travelled. It was unusual at the time to use this term in French to describe persons of Indigenous descent. The term used was "sauvage" or tribal designations, such as Algonquin or Iroquois. Hundreds of entries in the Oka mission registers illustrate this use of "sauvage" or tribal designations as opposed to "Indiens."
- Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean is described as a voyageur in this letter. No records have been located that indicate that Thomas had a contract with the HBC to work as a

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<sup>28</sup> ALG-40362

<sup>29</sup> ALG-40361

voyageur; two additional documents noted him as being a voyageur (1835, 1843). In most extant records he is described as day-labourer or labourer in 1829, 1830 (two), 1832, 1834 and 1851<sup>30</sup> and as an “artisan” in 1842.<sup>31</sup> This suggests that Thomas worked a variety of jobs from 1829 to 1851, including working as a voyageur in 1835, 1843 and in September 1845.<sup>32</sup>

- In the letter, Thomas is said to be a member of the Masons (“un member maçons”). Knowing that Thomas Lagarde was a Roman Catholic of French lineage, it would be unlikely that he would have been a Freemason.
  - The Freemason Society in Montreal was established by Royal petition to His Royal Highness Prince Augustus Frederick of Lunenburg, Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of Masons in 1823.<sup>33</sup> Note the proper French term is “Franc Maçon”. Freemasonry in Upper Canada at this time period was established by men of the British Empire and all existing lodges had descent from English, Irish and Scottish Grand Lodges. The catholic church opposed Freemasonry with papal pronouncement issued at various times – the earliest in 1738 and most recent in 1890.<sup>34</sup>
  - Note that the French term “maçon” can also mean bricklayer. Thomas was not noted in any document as being a bricklayer and the same letter describes him as a voyageur, therefore that interpretation seems inconsistent.
- Thomas is said to be a fugitive under sentence of death. As noted in sub-section E.3 above, Thomas was in prison in Montreal for debt from February 11 to March 4, 1843, when he was released. No records have been located to indicate that he had been condemned to death by the English authorities or that he had been in serious conflict with the law.
- The letter above stated that either Father Brunet or the fugitive Lagarde returned to Montreal with the voyageur Urgel St. Jean at some unspecified time after the events described in the letter to Bishop Bourget.
  - As noted below, the biography on Father Brunet notes that he left his service in the lumber camps of the Ottawa and Gatineau in November 1845 to return to Longueuil. Longueuil is located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence across from Montreal Island in November 1845 (see map ALG-40510). However, the letter is unclear as to who returned to Montreal.

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<sup>30</sup> ALG-40276 to ALG-40280, ALG-40379

<sup>31</sup> ALG-40372

<sup>32</sup> ALG-40281, ALG-40377, ALG-40503

<sup>33</sup> ALG-40380

<sup>34</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freemasonry#North\\_America](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freemasonry#North_America)

- The letter references either Father Brunet or the fugitive Lagarde returning to Nipigon after traveling to Montreal at some unspecified time.
  - Lake Nipigon is located north of Lake Superior, approximately 1,300 km from Ottawa. There was no Catholic mission at Nipigon until around 1848; however, individual Jesuits were known to travel around Lake Superior.<sup>35</sup> The priests who served the Catholic mission to Nipigon are well known, led by Father Frederic Baraga who led the mission for the Fort William Diocese in 1835,<sup>36</sup> later becoming a Bishop in 1853;<sup>37</sup> and Father Nicolas-Marie-Joseph Fremiot, who established the mission at Nipigon in 1852.<sup>38</sup> There is no known record for any Catholic priest named Brunet working in the Lake Nipigon area during the time period that this letter was likely written.<sup>39</sup>
  - The Father Brunet who wrote the letter to Mgr. Bouget, thought to be Father Alexandre-Auguste Brunet, was a known member of the Oblate of Mary Immaculate, and not a Jesuit, so it is unlikely that he was one of the priests who visited the mission at Lake Nipigon.
  - These facts tend to support the possibility that it was Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean who intended to travel to Lake Nipigon, again the meaning in the letter is unclear.
- The final sentence of the letter is somewhat cryptic. In French it reads: “Nous avons profête certaine chose donct je pouvoir vous entretenir à fond dans feu.” This has been roughly translated as “We took advantage of certain matters which I could talk to you about thoroughly in a little while.” It is difficult to speculate on what information the Priest Brunet would be have learned about that would be of interest to his superior, the bishop. However, again the meaning is unclear.

## E.6 Who was Father Brunet?

The letter noted above was purportedly signed by “a secular priest” named “Brunet”. According to the website *Catholic Answers* “Secular—or better, diocesan—priests are priests who are ordained for a particular diocese and who serve ordinarily in parishes. This is their main work, although some are engaged in other ministries as well.”<sup>40</sup>

There are several Catholic priests with the name Brunet who are documented from this period. Only two recorded priests with this name were working in and around Montreal and/or Ottawa at the relevant time period.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> ALG-40432

<sup>36</sup> ALG-40435

<sup>37</sup> ALG-40434

<sup>38</sup> ALG-40433

<sup>39</sup> ALG-40361

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.catholic.com/ga/what-is-the-difference-between-secular-priests-and-religious-priests>

<sup>41</sup> ALG-40381

- Father Pascal Brunet was ordained in Montreal in 1832, and then worked as a priest at Saint-Eustache and Longueuil (1834), Petit-Nation (1835) and Sainte Rose de Lima, Laval (1838 until his death in 1864).
  - There is no documented evidence of Father Pascal Brunet working anywhere west of Laval after 1838, so it is very unlikely Pascal Brunet wrote this letter.
- Father Alexandre-Auguste Brunet was a priest of the order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. He arrived from France at the end of 1843 and was ordained a priest by Bishop Bourget on August 29, 1844.<sup>42</sup> Father Brunet worked as a missionary along with Father Eusèbe Durocher at the lumber camps on the Gatineau and Ottawa rivers between January and November of 1845. These dates coincide with the date upon which Brunet met Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean. In November 1845 Brunet returned to Longueuil, on the south shore across from Montreal; he was recalled to minister to the lumber camps in 1849 at which time he lived in Bytown (Ottawa). A decade later in October 1858, Brunet was sent to the “North West” with Father Lucien-Antoine Lagier where he was active in Bourbonnais and Kankakee in the Illinois country, which were Potawatomi villages at that time. His purpose for travelling to the Illinois country was to counteract unauthorized activity being carried out by an Oblate priest.
  - An oblate named A. Brunet baptized Thomas and Sophie’s son Joseph in September of 1845.<sup>43</sup> The baptism was recorded in the records of Notre Dame Cathedral in Ottawa. A review of the church register for Notre Dame Cathedral shows that Brunet performed services there from February 20, 1845 to November 21, 1845. His presence in the area in that time is consistent with the record of his mission responsibilities, noted above. This supports the probability that the Brunet who wrote the letter to Monseigneur Bouget, the authority who had ordained him, was Father Alexandre-Auguste Brunet.
  - There is no documented evidence that this Father Brunet was sent to or served at Nipigon or in the North West in this time period. His biography clearly states he was working on the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers in 1845 and again in 1849.<sup>44</sup> He was sent to serve North West in 1858, not at Nipigon, but in Illinois country around the southern end of Lake Michigan.
- Another church document was put forward by an interested party to support the authenticity of the identity and signature on the letter from Brunet to Bishop Bourget. The document was a marriage record of Urgel St. Jean at St. François de Templeton. The bans for the marriage were read at the mission of St. François de Templeton, the home of the bride. The marriage was recorded in the Alymer Mission (Quebec) register.<sup>45</sup> St. François-de Sales-de Templeton was located at modern-day Pointe Gatineau across the

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<sup>42</sup> ALG-40361

<sup>43</sup> ALG-40376

<sup>44</sup> ALG-40436

<sup>45</sup> ALG-40437

Ottawa River from Bytown (now Ottawa). These locations are consistent with Brunet's service along the Ottawa River with fellow priest Father Durocher, who also appears as an officiant in the St. François register. Note as well, that Urgel St. Jean was named in the letter from Brunet to Bishop Bouget, as the party with whom either Brunet or the fugitive Lagarde returned to Montreal.

The following timeline illustrates activities in the relevant time period:

Dates in Letter, Brunet to Bourget	Known posts and documented activities of Father Brunet	Documented dates for Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean
	1843 - Entered Canada	1843/02 to 1843/03 Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean imprisoned in Montreal for debt 1843/04/21 Thomas present at this father's burial in St. Eustache, QC
	1844/08 ordained	
1845/06/23 instruction from Bourget for Brunet to go evangelize in the North West	1845/01 to 1845/11 working in lumber camps on the Gatineau and Ottawa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1845/06/23 married Urgel St. Jean at St. François de Templeton, QC (Pointe Gatineau)</li> <li>• 1845/09/02 baptized Joseph St. Jean s/o Thomas St. Jean and Sophie Carriere at Bytown, ON</li> </ul>	1845/09/02 baptism of son Joseph St. Jean at Bytown, ON baptism performed by Father A. Brunet
1845/09/22 at Isle aux Allumettes		
After 1845/09/22 either Brunet or fugitive Lagarde returned to Montreal	1845/11 Brunet returned to Longueuil, QC (south shore across from Montreal)	
	1849 living in Bytown, ON; sent back to work in lumber camps	1849/09/02 Thomas present at marriage of daughter Sophie at Ile du Grand Calumet, QC
	1858 sent North West, Illinois country to oppose activities of a renegade Oblate priest	

### E.7 Other Lagarde families

Interested parties have submitted a number of documents listing men named Lagarde who are noted as being Indigenous and working in the fur trade in the first half of the nineteenth century. These documents and references are noted below.

A report entitled *The Historical Roots of Métis Communities North of Lake Superior* written by established historian Gwynneth C. D. Jones in March 2015 highlighted several men bearing the surname Lagarde, LaGarde, or Legarde. The information in the Jones report was taken from Hudson Bay post journals in the Lake Superior area, North West Company (NWC) records, and Robinson Superior treaty paylists. Jones notes that the freemen (men who were once servants of a trading company and now trading on their own), such as the Lagarde men, who were noted in HBC post journals in the period from 1821 to 185, later appear on Robinson-Superior paylists. In other words, these families accepted treaty payments under the 1850 Robinson Treaty (see page 128).<sup>46</sup> Jones' detailed historical report specifically cited the following men with the surname LaGarde. The information regarding LaGarde families has been highlighted in the PDF of this report for ease of reference. The following men are mentioned in the report with dates and places of service/residence:

- Joseph LaGarde Sr. on the North West Company (NWC) list at Fond du Lac, 1805; Jean Baptiste LaGarde and his son Joseph LaGarde, employed by the NWC at Fond du Lac District in 1805 (see page 74, footnote 319);
- LaGarde at NWC Long Lake post in 1817; LaGardes at Drummond Island pre-1828; LaGarde freemen around Michipicoten from at least 1824, includes Sansong Lagarde and brother (see page 33 footnote 112, and page 123);
- LaGarde Sr. at Fort William in March 1824 (see page 74 footnote, footnote 280);
- Paul La Garde, a half breed freeman, at Lake Nipigon between 1829 and 1831 (see page 74, footnote 319-321);
- Jacques Lagarde, on a Nipigon payroll in 1855, associated with Paul LaGarde and Joseph LaGarde Sr mentioned above (see page 126);
- Sansong Lagarde and Laguarde and family at Michipicoten post in 1852-59 (see page 141, footnote 528); and
- Sanson Lagarde was chief of the Michipicoten Band in 1887, Joseph S. Lagarde appears with him on a petition to government for the band (see page 161, footnote 646).

In addition, an interested party submitted indexes of names that appear in the NWC account books (1795-1827) which are held in the Archives of Manitoba. These indexes indicated instances of men bearing the surname "LaGarde" found in the account books of posts at Pic, Michipicoten, Lac La Pluie (Rainy River), Athabasca, as well as general North West Company ledgers between 1815 and 1821. The men are listed as Amable LaGarde, Jean Baptiste LaGarde, Joseph LaGarde and Joseph Aubin LaGarde.<sup>47</sup>

Two additional indexes of names were submitted for men found in the records of the HBC's Northern Department Servants' Engagement Registers (1823-1895) held by the Manitoba Archives. These indexes list records regarding several men bearing the surname "Lagarde" who were given contracts to work for the HBC in their Northern Department. Note that the NWC and HBC merged in 1821 and was henceforth known as the HBC, so many men previously

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<sup>46</sup> ALG-40506

<sup>47</sup> ALG-40507

employed by the NWC obtained employment with the HBC. The men who were listed as having contracts were as follows: Joseph Lagarde, "Native" to the country, engaged as a bowsman and middleman in 1826 and 1850, respectively,<sup>48</sup> and Joseph Lagarde, from Red River engaged as a middleman in 1850.<sup>49</sup> The last two references are likely to the same Joseph Lagarde as both contacts were made in 1850 for the position of middleman. The repetition merely indicates the name was found in two separate records.

These records of association and service with the NWC and HBC are consistent with the report written by Gwynneth Jones, cited above. These sources demonstrate that men bearing the surname LaGarde or Lagarde/Legarde worked in the west for the fur trade companies during the period 1815 to 1850. As Jones demonstrated in her work, these were predominantly mixed-ancestry families who were native to the county. In other words, they grew up, formed families, work in the territory, and eventually took treaty around Lake Superior.

There is no evidence that links these men with Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean or this family members. In fact, the available evidence suggests that there is no connection between them, For example:

- All the NWC and HBC men used the surname LaGarde or Lagarde/Legarde. Records associated with Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean employ the dit name St. Jean in their surname and most of Thomas' descendants drop the Lagarde and adopt St. Jean as their family name.
- The territory where the NWC and HBC men are noted from 1815 to 1850 is around Lake Superior. The Lagarde dit St. Jean family is well documented in that period in Lower Canada and on the Ottawa River from Bytown upriver to Allumette and Grand Calumet Islands, far distant from the Lake Superior region.
- As noted in the Jones report, most of these mixed-ancestry families associated with the NWC and HBC in the Lake Superior area took treaty under the 1850 Robinson-Superior Treaty. There is no record of any members of the Lagarde dit St. Jean family participating in that treaty.

### ***F. Summary/Issues***

The letter from Brunet to Bishop Bourget is the only document that indicates that Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean was of Algonquin or Algonquian descent. The document does not have a proper archival source and its provenance has not been verified by an archive. The document is difficult to decipher and some of the content could not be verified by supporting documentation or appeared contradictory.

None of the other documentation regarding Thomas, his ancestors or immediate descendants, name these individuals as having any indigenous or Algonquin heritage. No one in Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean's immediate family marry into known Algonquin families, reside with known Algonquin families, sign any Algonquin petitions, or witnessed or had events witnessed by known Algonquins. Documents and information from PRDH indicated that Thomas Lagarde

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<sup>48</sup> ALG-40508

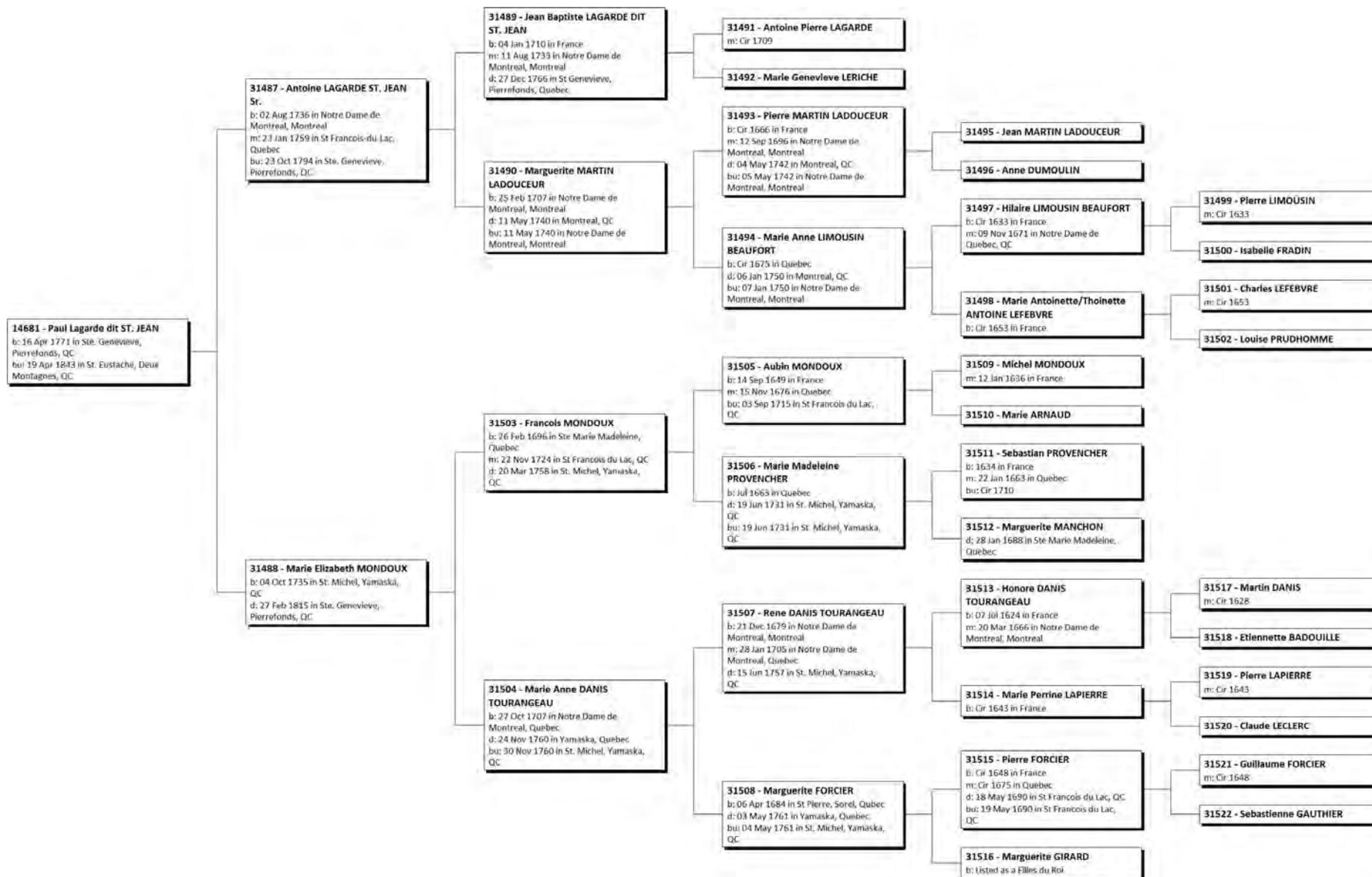
<sup>49</sup> ALG-40509

dit St. Jean was the eighth generation of individuals who immigrated from France to New France (Quebec) predominantly in the mid-1600s. One woman who married a man of French descent in Quebec in the mid-1600s has not had her parents' or her own place of birth verified.

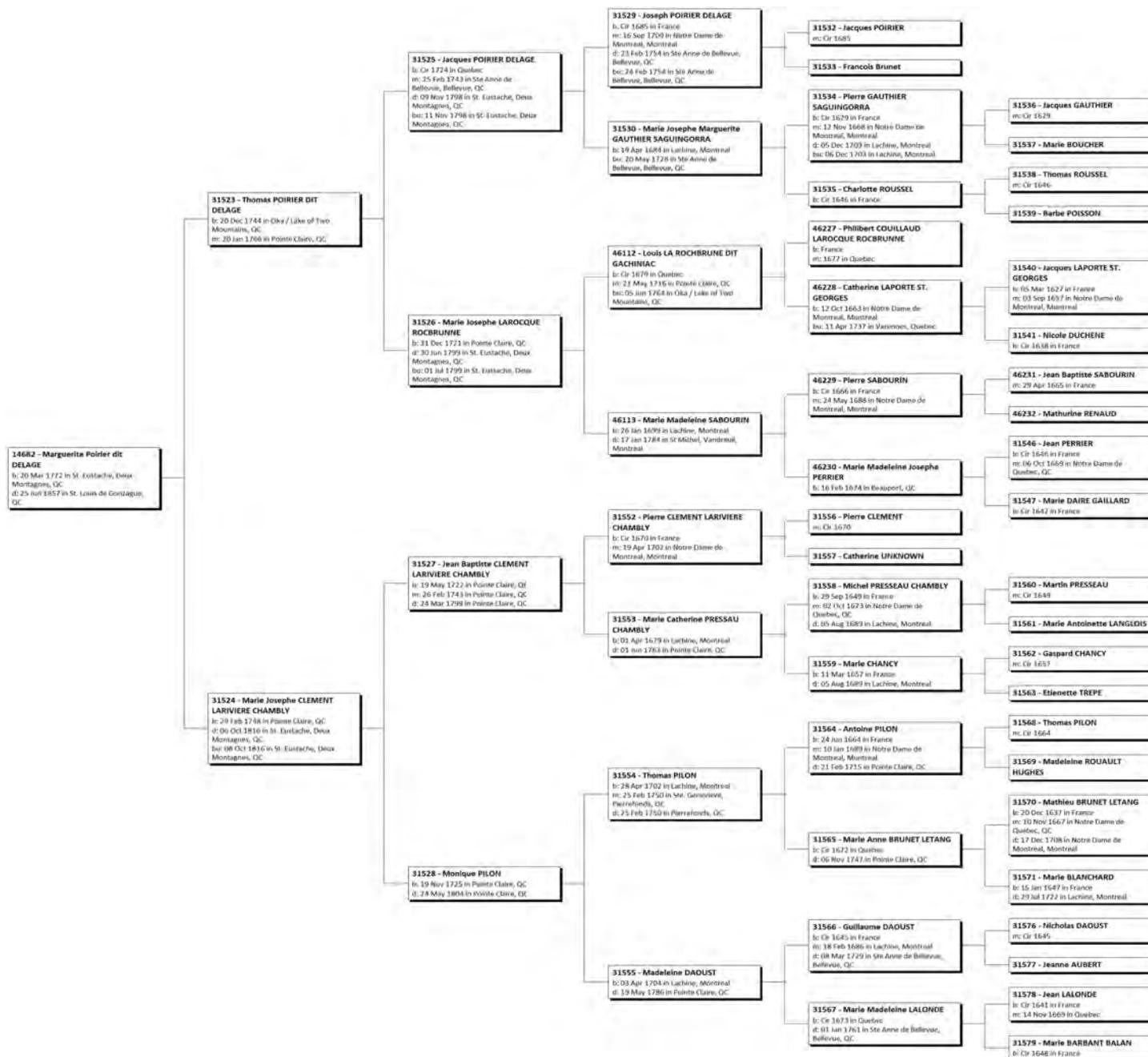
**Appendix 1a: Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean RIN #11565, Parents, Siblings and Children**



**Appendix 1b: Ancestors of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, Paternal Line**



**Appendix 1c: Ancestors of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, Maternal Line**



**Appendix 2: Ancestor Timeline for Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean**

The documents in this table are listed chronologically. The documents can be found in Appendix 3, organized by ALG document number.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Doc No.</b>
1801-03-21	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of Thomas Lagarde	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40273
1816-09-09	Marriage	St. Eustache, Quebec	Witness to sister Marguerite's marriage	Not given	ALG-40363
1827-08-20	Marriage	St. Eustache, Quebec	Marriage of Thomas Laguarde dit St. Jean and Emilie Jammes dit Carriere	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-11688
1828-05-27	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of son Thomas	Not given	ALG-40275
1829-10-25	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of daughter Sophie	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40276
1830-07-30	Burial	St. Eustache, Quebec	Burial of daughter Sophie	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40277
1830-12-25	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of son Jules	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40278
1832-04-25	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of daughter Sophie	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40279
1834-05-30	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of son Jean Baptiste	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40280
1835-04-28	Marriage	St. Eustache, Quebec	Witness to sister Josette's marriage	Not given	ALG-40367
1835-11-17	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of daughter Louise Loisa	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40281
1837-07-28	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of son Paul	Not given	ALG-40275
1839-03-27	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of son Theotime/Maxime	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40371
1842-00-00	Census	St. Eustache, Quebec	Enumerated with 9 people in household	Not given	ALG-40374
1842-10-24	Baptism	St. Eustache, Quebec	Baptism of son Alphonse	'de cette paroisse'	ALG-40372
1843-03-04	Notarial Record	Terrebonne, Quebec	Notarial record stating Thomas Lagarde was imprisoned.	Parish of St. Eustache	ALG-40377 ALG-40382
1843-04-21	Burial	St. Eustache, Quebec	Witness to burial of father Paul Lagarde	Not given	ALG-40369
1845-09-02	Baptism	Notre Dame, Ottawa	Baptism of son Joseph	Of Bytown	ALG-40375 ALG-40376
1849-10-05	Marriage	Ile du Grand Calumet	Marriage of daughter Sophie to Xavier Turcotte.	'de cette mission'	ALG-40378
1851-00-00	Census	Litchfield, Pontiac, Quebec	Enumerated with wife and children	French Canadian	ALG-40379
1851-00-00	Death	Unknown	1851 Census notes death of Thomas during the year 1851.	French Canadian	ALG-40379

**Appendix 3: Supporting Document List for Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean**

The documents in this table are listed by ALG number and appended in Appendix 4.

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-07287	1825-00-00	Census of Algonquin Village at Lake of Two Mountains	LAC MG 31-C-1 Reel C-718; www.ancestry.ca 1825 Census of Lower Canada York > Lac des Deux-Montagnes
ALG-11688	1827-08-20	Marriage of Thomas Lagarde and Emelie Carriere	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 205 of 494
ALG-11690	1861-05-17	Marriage of Antoine St. Jean and Marguerite Robillard	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 I > Ile-du-Grand-Calumet > ALL > 1860-1871 p. 20
ALG-30637	1917-12-24	Civil death record of Sophie Turcotte St. Jean	AOO MS 935 Reel 235; Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1948 Renfrew > 1917 p. 173
ALG-40271	1833-07-00	Translation of Petition by Algonquin and Nipissing Indians of the Lake of Two Mountains to Lord Aylmer	LAC RG 10 Vol. 86 1833-07-00
ALG-40273	1801-03-21	Baptism of Thomas Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1796-1808 > image 229 of 613
ALG-40275	2022-11-14 (accessed)	Family breakdown of Thomas Lagarde St. Jean	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/161643">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/161643</a>
ALG-40276	1829-10-25	Baptism of Marie Sophie Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 319 of 494

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40277	1830-07-30	Burial of Sophie Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 353 of 494
ALG-40278	1830-12-25	Baptism of son Jules Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 367 of 494
ALG-40279	1832-04-25	Baptism of Sophie Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 367 of 494
ALG-40280	1834-05-30	Baptism of Jean Baptiste Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 490 of 494
ALG-40281	1835-11-18	Baptism of Louise Loisa Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1834-1855 > image 71 of 592
ALG-40282	1793-02-04	Marriage of Paul Lagarde and Marguerite Poirier	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1769-1795 > image 470 of 574
ALG-40283	1759-01-23	Marriage of Antoine Lagarde and Elizabeth Mondoux	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Francois-du-Lac > Saint-Francois-du-Lac > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1749-1795 > image 92 of 488

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40284	1733-08-11	Marriage of Jean Baptiste Legarde and Marguerite Martin	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1730-1751 > image 184 of 674
ALG-40285	1696-09-12	Marriage of Pierre Martin and Marie Ann Limousin	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1695-1710 > image 62 of 826
ALG-40286	1671-11-09	Marriage of Hilaire Limousin and Thoinette Lefebvre	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Quebec > Notre-Dame-de-Quebec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1621-1679 > image 481 of 512
ALG-40287	1724-11-22	Marriage of Francois Mondoue and Marie Anne Dani	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Francois-du-Lac > Saint-Francois-du-Lac > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1687-1790 > image 247 of 813
ALG-40288	1676-11-15	Family sheet for Aubin Mondoux and Marie Madeleine Provencher	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Aubin Mondoux and Marie Madeleine Provencher Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Union/4561/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Union/4561/print</a>
ALG-40289	1663-1-22	Family sheet for Sebastian Provencher and Marguerite Manchon	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Sebastian Provencher and Marguerite Manchon Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1579/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1579/print</a>
ALG-40290	1705-01-28	Marriage of Rene Dany and Marguerite Forcier	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1700-1712 > image 317 of 1388
ALG-40291	1666-03-20	Marriage of Honore Dany and Perrine Lapierre	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Basilique Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures > 1642-1681 p. 147

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ALG-40292	1675-00-00	Family sheet for Guillaume Forcier and Sebastienne Gauthier	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Guillaume Forcier and Sebastienne Gauthier Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3424/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3424/print</a>
ALG-40293	1766-01-20	Marriage of Thomas Poirier Delage and Marie Josephe Clement Lariviere Chambly	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Pointe-Claire > Saint-Joachim-de-la-Pointe-Claire > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1713-1785 > image 421 of 668
ALG-40294	1793-02-04	Family sheet for Paul Lagarde St. Jean and Marguerite Poirier Deloge	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Paul Lagarde St. Jean and Marguerite Poirier Deloge Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/71888/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/71888/print</a>
ALG-40295	1759-01-23	Family sheet for Antoine Lagarde St. Jean and Marie Elisabeth Mondoux	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Antoine Lagarde St. Jean and Marie Elisabeth Mondoux Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/35400/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/35400/print</a>
ALG-40296	1733-08-11	Family sheet for Jean Baptiste Lagarde St. Jean and Marguerite Martin Ladouceur	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Baptiste Lagarde St. Jean and Marguerite Martin Ladouceur Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/18599/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/18599/print</a>
ALG-40297	1709-00-00	Family sheet for Antoine Pierre Lagarde and Marie Genevieve Leriche	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Antoine Pierre Lagarde and Marie Genevieve Leriche Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/18600/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/18600/print</a>
ALG-40298	1696-09-12	Family sheet for Pierre Martin Ladouceur and Marie Anne Limousin Beaufort	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Martin Ladouceur and Marie Anne Limousin Beaufort Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/7769/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/7769/print</a>
ALG-40299	1666-00-00	Family sheet for Jean Martin and Anne Dumoulin	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Martin and Anne Dumoulin Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/83397/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/83397/print</a>

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ALG-40300	1671-11-09	Family sheet for Hilaire Limousin Beaufort and Marie Antoinette Antoine Lefebvre	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Hilaire Limousin Beaufort and Marie Antoinette Antoine Lefebvre Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3775/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3775/print</a>
ALG-40301	1633-00-00	Family sheet for Pierre Limousin and Isabelle Fradin	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Limousin and Isabelle Fradin Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3776/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3776/print</a>
ALG-40302	1653-00-00	Family sheet for Charles Lefebvre and Louise Prudhomme	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Charles Lefebvre and Louise Prudhomme Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3777/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3777/print</a>
ALG-40303	1724-11-22	Family sheet for Francois Mondoux and Marie Anne Danis Tourangeau	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Francois Mondoux and Marie Anne Danis Tourangeau Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/14907/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/14907/print</a>
ALG-40304	1636-01-12	Family sheet for Michel Mondoux and Marie Arnaud	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Michel Mondoux and Marie Arnaud Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4562/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4562/print</a>
ALG-40305	1705-01-28	Family sheet for Rene Danis Tourangeau and Marguerite Forcier	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Rene Danis Tourangeau and Marguerite Forcier Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/9560/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/9560/print</a>
ALG-40306	1666-03-20	Family sheet for Honore Danis Tourangeau and Marie Perrine Lapierre	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Honore Danis Tourangeau and Marie Perrine Lapierre Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2107/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2107/print</a>
ALG-40307	1628-00-00	Family sheet for Martin Danis and Etiennette Badouille	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Martin Danis and Etiennette Badouille Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1166/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1166/print</a>
ALG-40308	1643-00-00	Family sheet for Pierre Lapierre and Claude Leclerc	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Lapierre and Claude Leclerc Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2108/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2108/print</a>

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ALG-40309	1675-00-00	Family sheet for Pierre Forcier and Marguerite Girard	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Forcier and Marguerite Girard Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4397/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4397/print</a>
ALG-40311	1766-01-20	Family sheet for Thomas Poirier Deloge and Marie Josephe Clement Lariviere Chambly	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Thomas Poirier Deloge and Marie Josephe Clement Lariviere Chambly Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/43144/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/43144/print</a>
ALG-40312	1743-02-25	Family sheet for Jacques Poirier Deloge and Marie Joseph Larocque Rocbrune	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jacques Poirier Deloge and Marie Joseph Larocque Rocbrune Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/23340/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/23340/print</a>
ALG-40313	1743-02-05	Marriage of Jacques Poirier and Marie Laroque	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue > Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'Île > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1703-1795 > image 349 of 705
ALG-40314	1709-09-16	Family sheet for Joseph Poirier Deloge and Marie Josephe Marguerite Gauthier Saguingorra	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Joseph Poirier Deloge and Marie Josephe Marguerite Gauthier Saguingorra Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/10477/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/10477/print</a>
ALG-40315	1709-09-16	Marriage of for Joseph Poirier Deloge and Marie Josephe Marguerite Gauthier Saguingorra	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1700-1712 > image 531 of 1388
ALG-40316	1702-02-25	Marriage of Marie Gauthier and Alexandre Turpin	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1700-1712 > image 531 of 1388
ALG-40317	1685-00-00	Family sheet of Jacques Poirier and Francoise Brunet	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jacques Poirier and Francoise Brunet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/10478/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/10478/print</a>

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ALG-40318	1666-11-12	Marriage of Pierre Gauthier and Marie Boucher	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1642-1699 > image 163 of 1937
ALG-40319	1666-11-12	Family sheet for Pierre Gauthier Saguinorra and Charlotte Roussel	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Gauthier Saguinorra and Charlotte Roussel Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2647/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2647/print</a>
ALG-40320	1629-00-00	Family sheet for Jacques Gauthier and Marie Boucher	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jacques Gauthier and Marie Boucher Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2648/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2648/print</a>
ALG-40321	1646-00-00	Family sheet for Thomas Roussel and Barbe Poisson	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Thomas Roussel and Barbe Poisson Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2649/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2649/print</a>
ALG-40322	1716-05-21	Marriage of Louis Larocque and Marie Madeleine Sabourin	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Pointe-Claire > Saint-Joachim-de-la-Pointe-Claire > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1713-1785 > image 42 of 668
ALG-40323	1716-05-21	Family sheet for Louis Larocque Gachiniac and Marie Madeleine Sabourin	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Louis Larocque Gachiniac and Marie Madeleine Sabourin Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/12304/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/12304/print</a>
ALG-40324	1677-00-00	Family sheet for Philibert Couillaud Larocque Rocbrune and Catherine Laporte St George	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Philibert Couillaud Larocque Rocbrune and Catherine Laporte St George Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4480/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4480/print</a>
ALG-40325	1857-09-13	Marriage of Jacques Laporte and Nicole Duchene	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Basilique Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures > 1642-1681 p. 115
ALG-40326	1857-09-13	Family sheet for Jacques Laporte St Georges and Nicole Duchene	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jacques Laporte St Georges and Nicole Duchene Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1087/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1087/print</a>

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ALG-40327	1627-00-00	Family sheet for Jacques Laporte and Marie Hamelin	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jacques Laporte and Marie Hamelin Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1081/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1081/print</a>
ALG-40328	1638-00-00	Family sheet for Francois Duchene and Marie Nolet	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Francois Duchene and Marie Nolet Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1082/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1082/print</a>
ALG-40329	1688-05-24	Marriage of Pierre Sabourin and Magdeleine Perrie	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1642-1699 > image 1530 of 1937
ALG-40330	1688-05-24	Family sheet for Pierre Sabourin and Marie Madeleine Josephe Perrier	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Sabourin and Marie Madeleine Josephe Perrier Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/6128/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/6128/print</a>
ALG-40331	1665-04-29	Family sheet for Jean Baptiste Sabourin and Mathurine Renaud	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Baptiste Sabourin and Mathurine Renaud Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2206/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2206/print</a>
ALG-40332	1669-10-06	Marriage of Jean Perrier and Marie	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Quebec > Notre-Dame-de-Quebec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1621-1679 > image 452 of 512
ALG-40333	1669-10-06	Family sheet for Jean Perrier and Marie Gaillard	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Perrier and Marie Gaillard Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2848/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2848/print</a>
ALG-40334	1646-00-00	Family sheet for Jean Poirier Perrier and Marie Dervie	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Poirier Perrier and Marie Dervie Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2849/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2849/print</a>
ALG-40335	1647-00-00	Family sheet for Pierre Gaillard and Marie Gaillard Martin	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Gaillard and Marie Gaillard Martin Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2850/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2850/print</a>

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ALG-40336	1743-02-26	Marriage of Jean Clement and Monique Pilon	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Pointe-Claire > Saint-Joachim-de-la-Pointe-Claire > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1713-1785 > image 227 of 668
ALG-40337	1743-02-26	Family sheet for Jean Baptiste Clement Lariviere Chambly and Monique Pilon	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Baptiste Clement Lariviere Chambly and Monique Pilon Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/23351/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/23351/print</a>
ALG-40338	1702-04-19	Marriage of Pierre Clement and Marie Presot	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1700-1712 > image 142 of 1388
ALG-40339	1702-04-19	Family sheet for Pierre Clement Lariviere Chambly and Marie Catherine Presseau Chambly	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Clement Lariviere Chambly and Marie Catherine Presseau Chambly Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/8978/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/8978/print</a>
ALG-40340	1670-00-00	Family sheet for Pierre Clement and Catherine [Unknown]	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Pierre Clement and Catherine[Unknown] Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/8979/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/8979/print</a>
ALG-40341	1673-10-02	Marriage of Michel Presot and Marie Chancy	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Quebec > Notre-Dame-de-Quebec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1621-1679 > image 494 of 512
ALG-40342	1673-10-02	Family sheet for Michel Presseau Chambly and Marie Chancy	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Michel Presseau Chambly and Marie Chancy Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4177/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4177/print</a>
ALG-40343	1649-00-00	Family sheet for Marin Presseau and Marie Antoinette Langlois	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Marin Presseau and Marie Antoinette Langlois Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/615/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/615/print</a>

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ALG-40344	1657-00-00	Family sheet for Gaspard Chancy and Etiennette Treppe	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Gaspard Chancy and Etiennette Treppe Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4178/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/4178/print</a>
ALG-40345	1725-01-24	Marriage of Thomas Pilon and Madeline Daoust	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Pointe-Claire > Saint-Joachim-de-la-Pointe-Claire > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1713-1785 > image 134 of 668
ALG-40346	1725-01-24	Family sheet for Thomas Pilon and Marie Madeleine Daoust	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Thomas Pilon and Marie Madeleine Daoust Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/14981/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/14981/print</a>
ALG-40347	1689-1-20	Marriage of Antoine Pilon and Marie Anne Brunet	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1642-1694 > image 478 of 598
ALG-40348	1689-01-10	Family sheet for Antoine Pilon and Marie Anne Brunet Letang	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Antoine Pilon and Marie Anne Brunet Letang Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/6269/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/6269/print</a>
ALG-40349	1664-00-00	Family sheet for Thomas pilon and Madeleine Rouault Hughes	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Thomas pilon and Madeleine Rouault Hughes Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1741/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/1741/print</a>
ALG-40350	1667-11-10	Marriage of Mathieu Brunet and Marie Blanchard	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Quebec > Notre-Dame-de-Quebec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1621-1679 > image 434 of 512
ALG-40351	1667-11-10	Family sheet for Mathieu Brunet Letang and Marie Blanchard	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Mathieu Brunet Letang and Marie Blanchard Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2378/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2378/print</a>

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ALG-40352	1638-00-00	Family sheet for Jacques Brunet and Jacqueline Recheine	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jacques Brunet and Jacqueline Recheine Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2379/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2379/print</a>
ALG-40353	1649-00-00	Family sheet for Jean Blanchard and Martine Lebas	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Blanchard and Martine Lebas Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2380/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2380/print</a>
ALG-40354	1686-02-17	Marriage of Guillaume d'Aoust and Marie Magdeleine de la Londe	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Lachine > Saints-Anges-de-Lachine > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1676-1790 > image 71 of 1302
ALG-40355	1686-02-18	Family sheet for Guillaume Daoust and Marie Madeleine Lalonde	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Guillaume Daoust and Marie Madeleine Lalonde Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/5668/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/5668/print</a>
ALG-40356	1645-00-00	Family sheet for Nicholas Daoust and Jeanne Aubert	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Nicholas Daoust and Jeanne Aubert Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/5669/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/5669/print</a>
ALG-40357	1669-10-14	Family sheet for Jean Lalonde and Marie Barbant Balan	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Jean Lalonde and Marie Barbant Balan Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3063/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3063/print</a>
ALG-40358	1641-00-00	Family sheet for Philippe Lalonde and Jeanne Duval	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Philippe Lalonde and Jeanne Duval Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2372/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/2372/print</a>
ALG-40359	1648-00-00	Family sheet for Alexandre Balan and Marie Lenoblet	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Alexandre Balan and Marie Lenoblet Family sheet, accessed at: <a href="https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3064/print">https://www.prdh-igd.com/Membership/en/PRDH/Famille/3064/print</a>
ALG-40360	1845-00-00 (circa)	Letter from Father Brunet to Monsignor Bourget	Document provided by original applicant; no source given
ALG-40361	2022-09-29 (accessed)	Canadian Biography of Alexandre-Auguste Brunet	Gaston Carrière, "BRUNET, ALEXANDRE-AUGUSTE," in <i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> , vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 17, 2022, <a href="http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brunet_alexandre_auguste_9E.html">http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brunet_alexandre_auguste_9E.html</a> .

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40362	2022-09-29 (accessed)	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> entry for Ignace Bourget	Philippe Sylvain, "BOURGET, IGNACE," in <i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> , vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 17, 2022, <a href="http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourget_ignace_11E.html">http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourget_ignace_11E.html</a> .
ALG-40363	1816-09-09	Marriage of Marie Marguerite Lagarde and Jean Baptiste Paiment	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1808-1822 > image 378 of 607
ALG-40364	1823-01-07	Marriage of Louise Lagarde and Antoine Charbonneau	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 44 of 494
ALG-40365	1823-04-08	Marriage of Paul Lagarde and Eugene Chamailard	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 48 of 494
ALG-40366	1829-04-27	Marriage of Antoine Lagarde and Esther Cardinal	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 262 of 494
ALG-40367	1835-04-28	Marriage of Josette Lagarde and Jean Baptiste Tepin	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1834-1855 > image 55 of 592
ALG-40368	1831-01-10	Marriage of Pauline Lagarde and Eustache Black L'Anglois	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1822-1834 > image 368 of 494

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40369	1843-04-21	Burial of Paul St. Jean Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1834-1855 > image 272 of 592
ALG-40370	1857-06-25	Burial of Marguerite Desloges, wife of Paul Lagarde	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 Saint > St-Louis-de-Gonzague > St-Louis-de-Gonzague > 1857 p. 24
ALG-40371	1839-03-28	Baptism of Théotime Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1834-1855 > image 184 of 592
ALG-40372	1842-10-26	Baptism of Alphonse Lagarde	Archives Nationales du Quebec (National Archives of Quebec), Montreal. www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979, Saint-Eustache > Saint-Eustache > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1834-1855 > image 259 of 592
ALG-40373	1842-00-00	Census of Algonquin and Nipissing Village	www.ancestry.ca 1842 Census of Canada East Deux-Montagnes > Deux-Montagnes (mission)
ALG-40374	1842-00-00	Census for Thomas Lagarde	www.ancestry.ca 1842 Census of Canada East Deux-Montagnes > St-Eustache p. 30
ALG-40375	1845-09-02	Baptism of Joseph St. Jean (index)	Archdiocese of Ottawa: Ancestry.ca Ontario, Canada, Roman Catholic Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1760-1923 Ottawa > Notre Dame of Ottawa > Baptism; Ottawa; 1829-51 p. 179
ALG-40376	1845-09-02	Baptism of Joseph St. Jean (church register)	Archdiocese of Ottawa: Ancestry.ca Ontario, Canada, Roman Catholic Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1760-1923 Ottawa > Notre Dame of Ottawa > Baptism, Marriage, Burial, Confirmation; Ottawa; 1825, 1829-47 p. 429
ALG-40377	1843-03-04	Notarial Document naming Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean	Fonds Cour Supérieure, BanQ, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Notarial Records, 1637-1935 Actes Notariés (Notarial Acts) > Terrebonne > Mackay, Stephen (1821-1859) p. 12361

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40378	1849-10-05	Marriage of Sophie St. Jean and Xavier Turcotte	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 I > Ile-du-Grand-Calumet > ALL > 1846-1859 p. 38
ALG-40379	1851-00-00	Census of Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-1131; Ancestry.ca 1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Canada East (Quebec) > Ottawa County > Litchfield p. 15
ALG-40380	1892-00-00	Extract from <i>Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec</i>	Graham, John H. <i>Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec</i> . Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1892.
ALG-40381	1910-00-00	Biographical Dictionary of French-Canadian Clergy	Allaire, L'Abbé J.-B.-A. "Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français; Les Anciens". Imprimerie de L'Ecole Catholique des Sourds-Muets, 1910
ALG-40382	1843-03-04	Translation of Notarial document naming Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean	Fonds Cour Supérieure, BanQ, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Notarial Records, 1637-1935 Actes Notariés (Notarial Acts) > Terrebonne > Mackay, Stephen (1821-1859) p. 12361
ALG-40383	1855-01-08	Marriage of Jean Baptiste St. Jean and Caroline Lapointe	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 I > Ile-du-Grand-Calumet > ALL > 1846-1859 p. 95
ALG-40384	1859-08-30	Marriage of Thomas Lagarde and Lima Desforges	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 Saint > St-Eustache > St-Eustache > 1859 p. 18
ALG-40385	1919-02-07	Burial record of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean Jr	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Basilique Notre-Dame > 1919 p. 120
ALG-40386	1855-09-18	Marriage of Jules Lagarde and Marie Dumoulin	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 Saint > St-Eustache > St-Eustache > 1855 p. 26
ALG-40387	1853-01-13	Marriage of Eliza/Louisa St. Jean and Joseph Belanger	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 I > Ile-du-Grand-Calumet > ALL > 1846-1859 p. 70

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40388	1865-01-09	Marriage of Eliza/Louisa St. Jean and Thomas Valdnois	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 I > Ile-du-Grand-Calumet > ALL > 1860-1871 p. 80
ALG-40389	1925-11-10	Death of Eliza St. Jean spouse of Thomas Valdnois	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 O > Otter Lake > St-Charles-Borromée > 1925 p. 7
ALG-40390	1865-07-24	Burial of Paul St. Jean dit Lagarde	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Basilique Notre-Dame > 1865 p. 498
ALG-40391	1926-04-22	Civil death record Maxime St. Jean	AOO MS 935 Reel 340; Ancestry.ca Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1948 Renfrew > 1926 p. 45
ALG-40392	1866-01-23	Marriage of Alphonse Lagarde dit St. Jean and Marie Julie Aird	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Basilique Notre-Dame > 1866 p. 338
ALG-40393	1887-06-18	Burial of Alphonse St. Jean	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Basilique Notre-Dame > 1887 p. 282
ALG-40394	1870-06-15	Marriage of Jean Baptiste St. Jean and Adeline Lapointe	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 I > Ile-du-Grand-Calumet > ALL > 1860-1871 p. 176
ALG-40395	1904-10-08	Burial of Jean Baptiste St. Jean	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 F > Fort Coulonge > ALL > 1904 p. 11
ALG-40396	1861-00-00	Census for the families of Thomas and Jules St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-1238; Ancestry.ca 1861 Census of Canada Canada East > Montréal p. 4997
ALG-40397	1861-00-00	Census of Sophie St. Jean and her sons Paul and Maxime	LAC RG 31-C-1; Ancestry.ca 1861 Census of Canada Canada East > Pontiac p. 165
ALG-40398	1861-00-00	Census of family of Baptiste St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1; Ancestry.ca 1861 Census of Canada Canada East > Pontiac p. 136

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40399	1871-00-00	Census for the families of Jules and Maxime St. Jean.	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-10024; Ancestry.ca 1871 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac South > Clarendon p. 124
ALG-40400	1881-00-00	Census for Jules St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13282; Ancestry.ca 1881 Census of Canada Manitoba > Provencher > Morris East p. 14
ALG-40401	1871-00-00	Census for Baptiste St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-10025; Ancestry.ca 1871 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac South > Litchfield p. 42
ALG-40402	1881-00-00	Census for Baptiste St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13226; Ancestry.ca 1881 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Bryson Village and Litchfield Upper p. 16
ALG-40403	1891-00-00	Census for Baptiste St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel T-6413; Ancestry.ca 1891 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Bryson Village p. 8
ALG-40404	1891-00-00	Census for Maxime St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel T-6413; Ancestry.ca 1891 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Clarendon North p. 25
ALG-40405	1871-00-00	Census for families of Alphonse and Exalus St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-10043; Ancestry.ca 1871 Census of Canada Quebec > Montréal > Ste Marie Ward p. 191
ALG-40406	1901-00-00	Census for widow of Jules St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-6428 – T-6556; Ancestry.ca 1901 Census of Canada Manitoba > Provencher > Ritchot p. 22
ALG-40407	1871-00-00	Census for Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-10042; Ancestry.ca 1871 Census of Canada Quebec > Montreal East > St Jacques Ward p. 336
ALG-40408	1851-00-00	Census of Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-1131; Ancestry.ca 1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Canada East (Quebec) > Ottawa County > Litchfield p. 23
ALG-40409	1881-00-00	Census for Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13218; Ancestry.ca 1881 Census of Canada Quebec > Montreal City > St James Ward p. 132
ALG-40410	1891-00-00	Census of Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel T-6407; Ancestry.ca 1891 Census of Canada Quebec > Montréal Centre > St Jacques Ward p. 224
ALG-40411	1901-00-00	Census of Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-6428 – T-6556; Ancestry.ca 1901 Census of Canada Quebec > Montréal {City/Cité} > Montréal (City/Cité) Saint-Jacques (Ward/Quartier) p. 237

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40412	1911-00-00	Census of Thomas St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-20326 – T-20460; Ancestry.ca 1911 Census of Canada Quebec > Montréal St Jacques > Sub-District 35 -St Jacques p. 17
ALG-40413	1861-00-00	Census for Xavier Turcotte	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-1305; Ancestry.ca 1861 Census of Canada Canada East > Pontiac p. 269
ALG-40414	1891-00-00	Census for Xavier Turcotte	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel T-6365; Ancestry.ca 1891 Census of Canada Ontario > Renfrew North > Petawawa and McKay p. 10
ALG-40415	1871-00-00	Census for Xavier Turcotte	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-10022; Ancestry.ca 1871 Census of Canada Ontario > Renfrew North > Petawawa p. 7
ALG-40416	1881-00-00	Census for Xavier Turcotte	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13234 Province: Ontario, District Name: Renfrew North (114), Sub-District Name: Petawawa and McKay (G), p. 21
ALG-40417	1901-00-00	Census for Sophie Turcotte	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-6428 – T-6556; Ancestry.ca 1901 Census of Canada Ontario > Renfrew (North/Nord) > Petawawa and McKay p. 7
ALG-40418	1911-00-00	Census for Sophie Turcotte	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-20326 – T-20460; Ancestry.ca 1911 Census of Canada Ontario > Renfrew North > Sub-District 11 – Petawawa, McKay p. 12
ALG-40419	1901-00-00	Census for Jean Baptiste St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-6428 – T-6556; Ancestry.ca 1901 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Bryson (Village) p. 4
ALG-40420	1871-00-00	Census for Louisa/Eliza St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-10025; Ancestry.ca 1871 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac South > Litchfield p. 41
ALG-40421	1881-00-00	Census for Louisa/Eliza St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13226; Ancestry.ca 1881 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Bryson Village and Litchfield Upper p. 24
ALG-40422	1891-00-00	Census for Louisa/Eliza St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel T-6413; Ancestry.ca 1891 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Bryson Village and Litchfield Upper p. 23
ALG-40423	1901-00-00	Census for Louisa/Eliza St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-6428 – T-6556; Ancestry.ca 1901 Ancestry.ca Quebec > Pontiac > Litchfield p. 34
ALG-40424	1911-00-00	Census for Louisa/Eliza St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-20326 – T-20460; Ancestry.ca 1911 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontias > Sub-District 19 – Litchfield p. 1
ALG-40425	1861-00-00	Census for Alphonse and Exelus St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-1305; Ancestry.ca 1861 Census of Canada Canada East > Pontiac p. 167

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40426	1881-00-00	Census for Alphonse St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13219; Ancestry.ca 1881 Census of Canada Quebec > Montreal City > St Marys Ward p. 328
ALG-40427	1881-00-00	Census for Maxime St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel C-13226; Ancestry.ca 1881 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Clarendon North and Clarendon South p. 13
ALG-40428	1921-00-00	Census for Maxime St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Folder No: 84 Census Place: 84 Renfrew South, Ontario Page No:20; Ancestry.ca 1921 Census Ontario > Renfrew South > Sub District 26 – Arnprior (Town) p. 20
ALG-40429	1911-00-00	Census for Maxime St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reel T-20326-T-20460; Ancestry.ca 1911 Census Quebec > Pontiac > Sub-District 12 – Clarendon p. 9
ALG-40430	1901-00-00	Census for Maxime St. Jean	LAC RG 31-C-1 Reels T-6428 to T-6556 Ancestry.ca 1901 Census of Canada Quebec > Pontiac > Clarendon p. 60
ALG-40431	Unknown	Extract from Pioneer Portrait	Pontiac Archives; "Pioneer Portrait", pp. 91-74
ALG-40432	1996-00-00	Journal article discussing missionary work to Northern Superior	Krats, Peter. 2014. "‘This Remote Field of Missionary Toil’: Christianity at the Pic, Lake Superior to 1900". <i>Historical Papers</i> (August 1996). <a href="https://historicalpapers.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/historicalpapers/article/view/39428">https://historicalpapers.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/historicalpapers/article/view/39428</a> .
ALG-40433	2022-11-22 (accessed)	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> entry for Nicolas-Marie-Joseph Frémont	Elizabeth Arthur, "FRÉMIOT, NICOLAS-MARIE-JOSEPH," in <i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> , vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 25, 2022, <a href="http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fremiot_nicolas_marie_joseph_8E.html">http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fremiot_nicolas_marie_joseph_8E.html</a> .
ALG-40434	2022-11-22 (accessed)	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> entry for Frederic Baraga	J. S. McGivern, "BARAGA, FREDERIC," in <i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> , vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 25, 2022, <a href="http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/baraga_frederic_9E.html">http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/baraga_frederic_9E.html</a> .
ALG-40435	1956-00-00	Journal article discussing the Catholic mission to Nipigon	Nelligan, Rev. Francis J. "The Visit of Father Allouez to Lake Nipigon in 1667." <i>Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA), Report 23</i> (1956), pp. 41-52. Accessed at: <a href="http://journal.cchahistory.ca/journal/CCHA1956/Nelligan.pdf">http://journal.cchahistory.ca/journal/CCHA1956/Nelligan.pdf</a> .
ALG-40436	1845-06-24	Baptism performed by Father Brunet in Ottawa	Archdiocese of Ottawa: Ancestry.ca Ontario, Canada, Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1802-1967 O > Ottawa > Basilique Notre Dame > 1845-1847 p. 18

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ALG-40437	1845-06-23	Marriage of Urgel St. Jean and Sophie Sequin dit Laderoute	Intitut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 A > Aylmer > Missions d'Aylmer (registre) > 1841-1848 p. 231
ALG-40438	1845-00-00 (circa)	Translation of letter written to Bishop Bourget from Father Brunet	Document provided by original applicant; no source given
ALG-40503	1837-11-04	Notarial Document naming Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean	Fonds Cour Supérieure, BanQ, Montreal; Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Notarial Records, 1637-1935 Actes Notariés (Notarial Acts) > Terrebonne > Mackay, Stephen (1821-1859) p. 10516
ALG-40506	2015-03-31	Historical report written by Gwynneth Jones	Jones, Gwynneth C. D. <i>The Historical Roots of Métis Communities North of Lake Superior</i> . Prepared for the Métis Nation of Ontario, 2015.
ALG-40507	2022-12-05 (accessed)	North West Company Account Books Name Index	Archives of Manitoba, "North West Company Account Books (1795-1827)." Accessed December 5, 2022 at: <a href="https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/name_indexes/nwc_accounts.html/">https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/name_indexes/nwc_accounts.html/</a>
ALG-40508	2022-12-05 (accessed)	Northern Department Servants' Engagement Registers Name index	Archives of Manitoba, "Northern Department Servants' Engagement Registers (1823-1895)". Accessed December 5, 2022 at: <a href="https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/name_indexes/hbc_northern_department_servants_engagement.html">https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/name_indexes/hbc_northern_department_servants_engagement.html</a> .
ALG-40509	2022-12-05 (accessed)	Northern Department Servants' Engagement Registers Name index	Archives of Manitoba, "Northern Department Servants' Engagement Registers (1823-1895)". Accessed December 5, 2022 at: <a href="https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/name_indexes/hbc_northern_department_servants_engagement.html">https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/name_indexes/hbc_northern_department_servants_engagement.html</a> .
ALG-40510	2022-12-05 (accessed)	Map showing Saint-Eustache and Oka, Quebec	Google Maps. "Map showing Saint-Eustache and Oka, Quebec." Accessed December 5, 2022. <a href="https://www.google.com/maps/">https://www.google.com/maps/</a>
ALG-40511	1983-00-00	<i>Catalogue des immigrants 1632-1662</i>	Trudel, Marcel. <i>Catalogue des immigrants 1632-1662</i> . Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 1983.

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40512	2022-12-01 (accessed)	Alphabetical Listing of the Carignan-Salières Regiment Officers and Soldiers Who Settled in Canada	La Société des Filles du roi et soldats du Carignan. "Alphabetical Listing of the Carignan-Salières Regiment Officers and Soldiers Who Settled in Canada." Accessed December 1, 2022 at: <a href="https://fillesduroi.org/cpage.php?pt=19">https://fillesduroi.org/cpage.php?pt=19</a>
ALG-40513	2022-12-01 (accessed)	Alphabetical listing of the Carignan-Salières Regiment Officers and Soldiers who married other than Filles du Roi	La Société des Filles du roi et soldats du Carignan. "Alphabetical listing of the Carignan-Salières Regiment Officers and Soldiers who married other than Filles du Roi." Accessed December 1, 2022 at: <a href="https://fillesduroi.org/cpage.php?pt=16">https://fillesduroi.org/cpage.php?pt=16</a>
ALG-40514	2022-12-01 (accessed)	Extract: A listing of the <i>Filles du roi</i> (King's Daughters)	La Société des Filles du roi et soldats du Carignan. "A listing of the <i>Filles du roi</i> (King's Daughters)." Accessed December 1, 2022 at: <a href="https://fillesduroi.org/cpage.php?pt=9">https://fillesduroi.org/cpage.php?pt=9</a>
ALG-90098	1827-02-19	Petition from Algonquin and Nipissing Chiefs of Lake of Two Mountains	LAC RG 10 Vol. 496 pp. 31,340 – 31,169
ALG-90109	1827-10-05	Petition from Algonquin and Nipissing Chiefs of Lake of Two Mountains	LAC RG 10 Vol. 497 pp. 31,620 – 31,968
ALG-90191	1833-07-00	Petition by Algonquin and Nipissing Indians of the Lake of Two Mountains to Lord Aylmer	LAC RG 10 Vol. 86 1833-07-00
ALG-90296	1845-00-00	Petition from Algonquin and Nipissing Chiefs of Lake of Two Mountains	LAC RG 10 Vol. 94 pp. 38,425 – 38,912

***Appendix 4: Supporting Document Package for Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean***

The documents are organized by ALG document number.  
They appear in the same order as in the list in Appendix 3 and are bookmarked for ease of reference.



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1954

Noms des Patrons.	Noms des Clerfs de Familles.	Nombre total de Personnes de tout Age et Sexe réunies.	HOMMES					FEMMES					Remarques Générales et Noms de la personne ou des personnes qui ont personnellement été l'Énumérateur et Releveur de chaque place, et aussi les notes de qui, dans chaque place, il a été déposé une copie de ces Releveurs.			
			de 15 ans et au-dessous	de 15 et de 25 ans	de 25 et de 50 ans	de 50 et de 65 ans	de 65 ans et au-dessus	de 15 ans et au-dessous	de 15 et de 25 ans	de 25 et de 50 ans	de 50 et de 65 ans	de 65 ans et au-dessus				
1177																
Messier, ou Lac contigu	Répart	83	1	17	15	9	3	3	7	4	1	2	18	8	6	3
	Simon Rivest	6	1	1	1									1	1	
	Antoine	6	1	1	2	2							2	1	1	
	Nicolas	7	1	2	1	1							1	1	1	
	Jacques	10	2	2	3								4			
	Joseph	5	2	1									2	1		
	Luc	14	1	3	1	1	2	1	1				3	3	2	
	Denis	8	3	1	2								2	1	1	
	Thomas	11	4	1				2					3	1	2	1
	Auguste	1	1										1	1		
	Thomas	5	1	1	1	1							1	2	1	
	Michel	5	2	1		1							2	1		
	Joseph	2	1			1							1	1	1	
	Thomas	2	1			1							1	1	1	
	Thomas	2	1			1							1	1	1	
	Paul	4	2			1							1	1	1	
	Thomas	3	0	1									2			
	André	3	1			1							1	1		
	Jacques	2	1	3	1								2	1		
	Simon	5	2	1									2	1		
	Jacques	4	2			1							2	1		
	Joseph	5	3	1		1							2	1		
	Philippe	5	2	4	1		1						3	1		
	Michel	10	3	1	1	1							2	2	1	
	Joseph	2	2	1		1							2	1		
		242	87	141	22	6	12	23	8	1	3	11	22	14	14	3

Noms des Patrons.	Noms des Clerfs de Familles.	Nombre total de Personnes de tout Age et Sexe réunies.	HOMMES					FEMMES					Remarques Générales et Noms de la personne ou des personnes qui ont personnellement été l'Énumérateur et Releveur de chaque place, et aussi les notes de qui, dans chaque place, il a été déposé une copie de ces Releveurs.			
			de 15 ans et au-dessous	de 15 et de 25 ans	de 25 et de 50 ans	de 50 et de 65 ans	de 65 ans et au-dessus	de 15 ans et au-dessous	de 15 et de 25 ans	de 25 et de 50 ans	de 50 et de 65 ans	de 65 ans et au-dessus				
1178																
Messier, ou Lac contigu	Répart	242	87	141	22	6	12	23	8	1	3	11	22	14	14	3
	Joseph	5	1	1									1	1		
	Joseph	10	2	1	1								2	1	1	
	Joseph	4	1	1	1								2	1		
	Joseph	2	1	1									1	1		
	Joseph	10	3	1	1	1							2	2	1	
	Joseph	8	2	1	1	1							1	1	1	
	Joseph	4	2	1									2	1		
	Joseph	4	1	1									1	1	1	
	Joseph	2	1										1	1		
	Joseph	7	1	1	1								2	1	1	
	Joseph	16	1	2	1								1	1	1	
	Joseph	3	1	1									1	1	1	
	Joseph	3		1	1								2			
	Joseph	7	1	1	2	2							2	2		
	Joseph	11	0	1	2	1							1	2	1	
	Joseph	37	8	11		1	1	2	1				10	2	2	
	Joseph	11		1	2	2							1	2	2	
	Joseph	3	2	1									2	1		
	Joseph	1	2	1									2	1		
		242	87	141	22	6	12	23	8	1	3	11	22	14	14	3





1860  
A  
1871

ILE  
DU  
CALUMET  
PAROISSE  
TE ANGE  
PLANTIN  
P S

REGISTRES  
T. GRADIE  
LA  
PAROISSE

REDUCTION  
18  
LUMIERE  
4/2

B. 36 Le Cnef de Meis Mil huit cent soixante un  
Pabik Weill son fils baptisé au St Sacrement  
de Meis dernièrement au légitime mariage  
de Mlle Marie Weill et de Mlle Marie de  
cette paroisse. Le parrain est M. Pierre Chea  
et la marraine Mlle Marie Bonny qui n'ont  
pas signé

L. G. Arthur Curé

B. 37 Le Cnef de Meis Mil huit cent soixante  
Joseph Murphy son fils baptisé au St Sacrement  
de Meis le 25 Mars 1860 au légitime  
mariage de Mlle Marie Murphy et de Mlle  
Chea de la paroisse de St Joseph de Meis. Les  
parrains sont M. Thomas Smith et Mlle Marie  
Anne Jans qui n'ont pas signé.

L. G. Arthur Curé

B. 4 Le Cnef de Meis Mil huit cent soixante un  
son fils baptisé au St Sacrement de Meis  
Thomas Weill de la paroisse de Meis. Les parrains  
sont M. Joseph de Meis et Mlle Marie  
Anne Jans qui n'ont pas signé.

L. G. Arthur Curé

C. 5 Le Cnef de Meis Mil huit cent soixante un  
son fils baptisé au St Sacrement de Meis  
Charles Bonny de la paroisse de Meis. Les parrains  
sont M. Joseph de Meis et Mlle Marie  
Anne Jans qui n'ont pas signé.

L. G. Arthur Curé

Dieux paroisse - fe 1860

M. 4 Le Cnef de Meis Mil huit cent soixante un  
Antoine Joffe son fils baptisé au St Sacrement  
de Meis le 25 Mars 1860 au légitime mariage  
de Mlle Marie Joffe et de Mlle Marie de  
cette paroisse. Le parrain est M. Pierre Chea  
et la marraine Mlle Marie Bonny qui n'ont  
pas signé.

L. G. Arthur Curé

B. 38 Le Cnef de Meis Mil huit cent soixante un  
son fils baptisé au St Sacrement de Meis  
Joseph de Meis de la paroisse de Meis. Les  
parrains sont M. Joseph de Meis et Mlle Marie  
Anne Jans qui n'ont pas signé.

L. G. Arthur Curé

B. 39 Emmanuel Joffe son fils baptisé au St Sacrement  
de Meis le 25 Mars 1860 au légitime mariage  
de Mlle Marie Joffe et de Mlle Marie de  
cette paroisse. Le parrain est M. Pierre Chea  
et la marraine Mlle Marie Bonny qui n'ont  
pas signé.

L. G. Arthur Curé

DEATHS

County of *Renfrew* Division of *Storn Pembroke*

	Surname First	Surname First	Surname First
SURNAME of Deceased.	<i>McKaulby</i>	<i>Lanthier</i>	<i>Jurecotte</i>
Christian Name.	<i>Ellen</i>	<i>Mary Lila</i>	<i>Sophie</i>
Sex.	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>
Age.	<i>60 years</i>	<i>few minutes</i> ✓	<i>89 years.</i>
Date of Death.	<i>Dec 3. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 17. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 21. 1917</i>
Place of Birth.	<i>Ontario</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Co. Quebec</i>
Place of Death, City, Town, Village, or Concession and Lot.	<i>General Hospital Pembroke</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>
Place of Burial.	<i>Mount St Patrick</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
Occupation.	<i>027610</i>	<i>027611</i>	<i>027612</i>
Single, Married or Widowed	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Widowed</i>
Name of Father.	<i>Dont know</i>	<i>Isaac Lanthier</i>	<i>St. Jean.</i>
Maiden Name of Mother.	<i>"</i>	<i>Mary Holder</i>	<i>Dont know</i>
Cause of Death, if known.	<i>Heart Failure</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
Name of Physician who attended Deceased.	<i>J. Graham</i>	<i>H. Jamin</i>	<i>St Jamin</i>
Name of Informant.	<i>M. J. Beville</i>	<i>L. Lanthier</i>	<i>Jamin Jurecotte</i>
Address.	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Potawarra</i>
Date of Return.	<i>Dec 3. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 17. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 21. 1917</i>
	Physician's Return of Death	Physician's Return of Death	Physician's Return of Death
Surname of Deceased.	<i>McKaulby</i>	<i>Lanthier</i>	<i>Jurecotte</i>
Christian Name.	<i>Ellen</i>	<i>Mary Lila</i>	<i>Sophie</i>
Date of Death.	<i>Dec 3. 1917</i>	<i>Dec. 17. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 21. 1917</i>
DISEASE CAUSING DEATH.	<i>Heart Failure</i> ✓	<i>Debility</i> ✓	<i>Debility</i> ✓
Duration.	<i>6 months</i>	<i>—</i>	<i>2 years</i>
Immediate Cause of Death.	<i>Syncope</i>	<i>—</i>	<i>Heart Failure</i>
Duration.	<i>24 hours</i>	<i>—</i>	<i>5 hours</i>
Physician's Name.	<i>J. Graham</i>	<i>H. Jamin</i>	<i>St Jamin</i>
Address.	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>
Date of Return.	<i>Dec 3. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 17. 1917</i>	<i>Dec 21. 1917</i>
Remarks.			

I hereby certify the foregoing to be the true and correct entries of all Deaths returned to me for the quarter ending *31 Dec* 1917  
 Given under my hand, this *18* day of *Dec* 1917  
*A. J. Forth* Division Registrar of *Storn Pembroke*

**TRANSLATION OF PETITION BY ALGONQUIN AND NIPISSING INDIANS OF THE LAKE OF TWO MOUNTAINS TO LORD AYLMER, GOVERNOR OF LOWER CANADA DATED JULY 1833**

His Excellency the Right Honorable Mathew Lord Aylmer, Knight, Commander of the Right Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of Upper Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, & their various dispensations, Vice Admiral from the same etc, etc, etc

The chiefs and officers of the Algonquin and Nipissing nations greet you, my father, and venture to set forth humbly their misfortunes; they are worthy of pity. They already submitted several moons ago in a petition - that they are without land to provide for the subsistence of their families. You told them: "My children, wait, I will convey your words to our common father, beyond the great Lake, who will consider them, and will command me to grant you what you are asking from me". What have you done for us, my father, since then? Nothing, at least to our knowledge, to grant what we asked you for then, except to tell us to hunt or live on the islands in the Ottawa. We went there and we found these islands occupied by other people with higher power according to what they told us, and who chased us away saying: "Leave, you have no right here, we forbid you to hunt and fish. If your father had granted you some rights, he would have granted them to you in writing" [emphasis added]. And so, my father, these same persons, who were not afraid to scorn your word, feared even less chasing us off the land given to us by Lord Dorchester, which was little enough compensation compared to what we were entitled to expect from our good king.

My father, you want your children to love you, to be loyal to you, to follow you and to help you when you need help. Have they not done this? Look back and read the history of the last war. Who went first to the border and faced the enemy? Was it we, your children, or those to whom you have shown most favour? It was we the Algonquins and Nipissings who defended this land that we are asking you for today, that over which you govern. Other nations have done practically nothing, some were traitors to our father and they have been generously rewarded with lands. But for us, what have you done? Promises only. Perhaps, my father, some evil birds have advised you to do otherwise, have told you to grant nothing to the Algonquins and Nipissings. Alas, my father, know your children better, remember that an evil cloud has never darkened their ever-grateful hearts and observe that an Algonquin or Nipissing father gives up his portion to share it among his children, he carries them in his heart, their misfortunes becomes his own; in this way, he gains the affection of his children, they are loyal to him, they share with him their troubles, their sufferings and their joys; and you, my father, you see your children dying of hunger, without an inch of land which would provide them with shelter, or where they could [rest] their [heads]. Rejected everywhere, you forget them, you ignore them in the midst of plenty, you forget the distress of your children, you forget that the bodies of some of their ancestors, or rather their ashes, still attest to these exploits which were ever the mark of Braves and Warriors.

Despite your neglect, your children still love you and cherish you; grant them, therefore, what they ask, land along the Ottawa or on the rivers that flow into it, that this land may belong to us, that we may be free there, we and our children forever to hunt and fish there without anyone preventing us from doing so [emphasis added]. We earnestly ask you this, so that we will be assured of a place where the bodies of our descendants may rest in peace, and be assured that we will not find ourselves in the dire situation where one day we are told [by our descendants] ...Beloved shades, precious bones of our dear ones, they are sending you and us far away from here; rise up and come and live with us in a strange land. Alas, my father, remember that some of this land you are living on today and over which you govern today once belonged to us; do not refuse us at least a little bit of it on which we may rest in the shade of your paternal goodness and your kindnesses.

By granting us this favour, or at least a reply to our request, you will find us at all times loyal children who will cherish you and pray that the precious days of their father may be preserved.

**TRANSLATION OF PETITION BY ALGONQUIN AND NIPISSING INDIANS OF THE LAKE OF TWO MOUNTAINS TO LORD AYLMER, GOVERNOR OF LOWER CANADA DATED JULY 1833**

Chefs Algonquins

Pierre Louis Penency  
Ignas Meiachkowateh  
Jappatist Kigons  
Benjamin Osawakik  
Antoine Ca\_inawatik  
Joseph K\_pat

Chefs Nepisaingue

Fill PaPino  
J. Bt. Kigikomanitou  
J. Bte. Makwa  
Simon KioekGat  
Ignace Chawinabais  
Bi Wapichip  
Francois Otjik  
Michel Besinoawatch  
Matois Chabakatch

# RELIURE SERRÉE

43  
St. Thomas  
Lagarde  
8  
1. pt.  
De Jacques  
Smith  
femme de  
Joseph Blondin  
+ age de trente  
deux ans et 2/3  
1. pt. 9  
Francois  
Mondou  
44  
L  
Marie  
Frenche  
1. pt. 10  
Des forges  
45  
38  
Marie  
Levesque  
46  
St.  
Joseph Villot

Le vingt et un de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été baptisé Thomas ne d'un d'origine mariage de Paul Lagarde Laboureur et de Marguerite Perron sa femme et mère de cette paroisse. L'année de ce jour Lagarde a été de l'enfant et l'année de mariage Marguerite Perron a été de l'enfant et mère de l'enfant Lagarde. Tous ainsi que le jour ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt quatre de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Jeanne Marie Smith femme de Joseph Blondin Laboureur de ce de d'avant hier en cette paroisse, unie des sacrement de l'Église. à l'humation furent présents Jean Blondin de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt six de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Françoise Mondou de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt huit de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Frenche femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt huit de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Joseph Blondin de ce de d'avant hier, âgé de trois ans et neuf mois, fille de Joseph Blondin de ce de d'avant hier, et de Marie Anne Perron sa femme et mère de cette paroisse. Les parents furent présents et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le vingt de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Cent quatre vingt quatre  
17  
St. Eustache  
M. Ullier  
Nochon  
11  
1. pt.  
F. J. G.  
12  
1. pt.  
F. J. G.  
13  
1. pt.  
F. J. G.  
14  
1. pt.  
F. J. G.  
15  
1. pt.  
F. J. G.  
16  
1. pt.  
F. J. G.

Le treize d'un de Mars mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

Le quinze d'avril mil huit cent un par nous vicaires saints que a été célébré dans la ci mention de cette paroisse le corps de Marie Levesque femme de Jacques Levesque de ce de d'avant hier, demort subite, âgé de six ans et demi, fut présent et furent présents Jean et Jeanne de ce canton de Lalonde qui ont déclaré et signé.

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**Family**

# 161643

of **Thomas LAGARDE STJEAN** and **Marie Sophie JAMME CARRIER CARRIERE JAMES***Father* : Paul **LAGARDE STJEAN***Father* : Michel **JAMME CARRIER JAMES CARRIERE***Mother* : Marguerite **POIRIER DELOGE***Mother* : Genevieve **FALMARD WARD****Marriage** : 20-Aug-1827 St-Eustache (St-Eustache).

Children born before 1850 :

Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	<u>1828-05-27</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Thomas</b>
f	<u>1829-10-25</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>		<u>1830-07-28</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>	<b>Sophie</b>
m	<u>1830-12-24</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Jules</b>
f	<u>1832-04-25</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>	<u>1849-10-05</u> <u>Île-du-Grand-Calumet (Ste-Anne)</u>		<b>Sophie Sophia</b> Xavier <b>TURCOT</b>
m	<u>1834-05-29</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
f	<u>1835-11-17</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Marie Louise Loisa</b>
m	<u>1837-07-28</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Paul</b>
f	<u>1839-03-27</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Theotime</b>
m	<u>1842-10-24</u> <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>			<b>Alphonse</b>





## ÉCRITURE COUVERTE

Le seire puillé mit mil huit cent trente par nous curé soussigné  
a été inhumé le corps de Louis, d'ici de avant hier, âgé de sept ans, fils  
de Jean Baptiste Landry, journalier, et de Marie Sophie Desjardins de cette  
paroisse. L'aveu de l'inhumation Jacques Beauchamp, curé  
et fils qui nous en a signé. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le seire puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été inhumé le corps de Marie fille de Joseph  
d'ici de avant hier, âgé de quatre ans, par le L'aveu de l'inhumation  
Jacques Beauchamp, curé et fils qui nous en a signé. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix sept puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé Donatide ne, aujourd'hui, de la légitime  
mariage de Pierre Desjardins Journalier et de Rose Pichon de  
cette paroisse. Parain François Pichon, Marianne Rose  
Desjardins qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix sept puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé Charlotte ne, hier, de la légitime mariage de  
Louis Lavoie Arban et de Marguerite Brunet de cette pa  
roisse. Parain Théophile Vénier, Marianne Charlotte  
Brunet qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix sept puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé Marie et Helène Marie ne, aujourd  
d'hui, de la légitime mariage de Michel Joyal cabaretier et  
de Marie Poitau de cette paroisse. Parain Jean Baptiste  
Normand, Marianne Sutte Robert le père, ont  
a qui s'ignés. Amiehl Joyal. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix huit puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé Henriette ne, hier, de la légi  
time mariage de Jean Baptiste Hubert Districat, pasteur  
et de Louise Poirer de cette paroisse. Parain Antoinette La  
belle, Marianne Thion (charbonneau qui ont déclaré ne  
savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix huit puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé François Xavier ne, aujourd'hui, de la légitime  
mariage de Joseph (chartrand) cultivateur et de Marie  
de cette paroisse. Parain Joseph David, Marianne  
Mondoué qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix neuf puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été inhumé le corps de Joseph Poirer (cultiva  
teur) époux de Françoise Poirer de cette paroisse  
d'ici de avant hier, âgé de quatre-vingt ans.  
L'aveu de l'inhumation Jacques Beauchamp, curé et fils qui nous en a signé. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>  
Le dix neuf puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé soussigné a été inhumé le corps  
d'Antoine de la Plante de la paroisse de St-Joseph et de Marie Poirer fille de Joseph et de  
Baptiste Poirer et de la paroisse de St-Joseph qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer, ni s'ont  
couchés aucun empêchement au dit mariage. Nous curé soussigné avons reçu  
mariage et de mariage  
en présence de Jean-Jacques Lafontaine, de Jean-Baptiste Poirer et de autres soussigné  
qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le vingt un puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé soussigné a été baptisé  
scholastique ne, hier, de la légitime mariage de Jean-Baptiste Lavoie et de  
de Catherine et de Genevieve Morin de cette paroisse. Parain Jacob Martineau,  
Marianne Sutte Bourgoy, le Parain ont a qui s'ignés. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le vingt deux puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé soussigné a été  
inhumé le corps de Marie, d'ici de avant hier, âgé de dix mois, fille de Joseph Lavoie  
cultivateur et de Louise (hoir) de cette paroisse. L'aveu de l'inhumation  
Jacques Beauchamp, curé et fils qui nous en a signé. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le vingt huit puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé Marie ne, hier, de la légi  
time mariage de Jacques Lavoie (cultivateur) et de  
Catherine Poirer de la paroisse de St-Benoit. Pa  
rain Poirer Labelle, Marianne Monette Brunet  
gnon qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le dix neuf puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été inhumé le corps de Joseph de Michel Mathieu  
Journalier et de Marie Anastasie Fougère de cette paroisse.  
Depuis ce jour hier après avoir été inhumé à la maison  
L'aveu de l'inhumation Jacques Beauchamp, curé et fils  
qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le vingt puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé  
soussigné a été baptisé Jean Baptiste ne, hier, de la légitime  
mariage de Alexis Poirer (cultivateur) et de Marie  
Anne Poirer de cette paroisse. Parain Jean Baptiste  
Goy, Marianne Archange Poirer de cette paroisse qui ont déclaré  
ne savoir signer. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

Le trente puillé mit huit cent trente par nous curé soussigné a été inhumé le corps  
de Marie, d'ici de avant hier, âgé de neuf mois, fille de Thomas Lavoie (cultivateur) et de  
Catherine de cette paroisse. L'aveu de l'inhumation Jacques Beauchamp, curé  
et fils qui nous en a signé. J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>









Le vingt deux Janvier mil sept cent quatre vingt trois par nous Curé  
 de St. Louis de Bouffignol a été Baptisé Marie Louise née d'Hyacinthe de Legitimie mariage de  
 M. Louis François Langlois et de Marie Marguerite Pariseau, le parrain a été  
 Jacques Paul Bédard et la marraine Marie Louise Brunet épouse de Jean Baptiste  
 Bigas qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer ainsi que le père

B.N. Maillon curé

Le vingt huit Janvier mil sept cent quatre vingt trois après la publication  
 de trois banns de mariage faite au presbytere de la messe paroissiale par trois  
 dimanches consécutifs entre Guillaume Larian de la Fontaine, fils de  
 défunt Alexis Larian de la Fontaine et de Marguerite Bélec ses père et  
 mère de cette paroisse d'une part et Marie Thérèse Leunier fille de  
 défunt François Leunier et de Marguerite La Couray ses père et mère aussi  
 de cette paroisse d'autre part, Nous Curé Bouffignol ne s'étant découvert  
 aucun empêchement audit mariage, avons reçu leur mutuel  
 consentement et leur avons donné la bénédiction nuptiale avec les  
 cérémonies ordinaires de votre mère la Ste. Eglise et le en présence de  
 Alexis Larian père de l'époux Marguerite Bélec mère de l'épouse  
 Marie Thérèse Larian Joseph Boileau beau père de l'époux  
 Pierre Boileau Augustin Boileau Marie Boileau Joseph Boileau  
 Thérèse Boileau et plusieurs autres qui ont déclaré ne savoir  
 signer.

B.N. Maillon curé

Le vingt huit Janvier mil sept cent quatre vingt trois après la publi-  
 cation de trois banns de mariage faite au presbytere de la messe paroissiale  
 par trois dimanches consécutifs entre François Langlois de Traversy  
 fils de Jean Michel Langlois de Traversy et de Genevieve Clement ses  
 père et mère de cette paroisse d'une part, et Catherine Brodeur fille  
 de Michel Brodeur et de Marguerite Villerey ses père et mère aussi  
 de cette paroisse d'autre part, Nous Curé Bouffignol ne s'étant découvert  
 aucun empêchement au dit mariage avons reçu leur mutuel  
 consentement et leur avons donné la bénédiction nuptiale avec  
 les cérémonies ordinaires de votre mère la Ste. Eglise et le en  
 présence de Louis Leunier beau père de l'époux Jean Baptiste et  
 Toussaint Langlois Frères Antoine Lagarde Thomas Poirier  
 Alexis Vallancourt, Michel Brodeur père de l'épouse, Michel  
 et Joseph Brodeur ses frères, Joseph et Antoine Brodeur  
 oncles François Langlois Joseph Labrosse et plusieurs autres  
 parents et amis qui ont tous déclaré ne savoir signer

B.N. Maillon curé

quatrième

Le vingt huit Janvier mil sept cent quatre vingt trois après la  
 publication de trois banns de mariage faite au presbytere de la messe de  
 paroisse par trois dimanches consécutifs entre Louis Drouin  
 de Louis fils de Louis Drouin et de Marie Joséphine Verdouin ses père et mère de  
 cette paroisse d'une part et Marie Antoinette Lantier  
 Lantier et de Marie Françoise Villerey ses père et mère aussi  
 de cette paroisse d'autre part, Nous Curé Bouffignol ne s'étant  
 découvert aucun empêchement au dit mariage, avons reçu leur  
 mutuel consentement et leur avons donné la bénédiction nuptiale  
 avec les cérémonies ordinaires de votre mère la Ste. Eglise et le en  
 présence de Louis Drouin père de l'époux Ignace Lantier père Ignace  
 Lantier fils, Maurice Verdouin P. B. Lantier Michel Lantier Marie  
 Lantier Jacques Lantier et plusieurs autres qui ont tous déclaré  
 ne savoir signer

B.N. Maillon curé

Le vingt huit Janvier mil sept cent quatre vingt trois par nous Curé  
 de St. Louis de Bouffignol a été Baptisé Rose amable née de Legitimie  
 Rose Amable mariage de M. Paul, et de Marie Quay, le parrain a été Jean  
 Baptiste Quay et la marraine Marie Suzanne Danois qui ont  
 déclaré ne savoir signer ainsi que le père

B.N. Maillon curé

Le quatre février mil sept cent quatre vingt trois après la publication  
 de trois banns de mariage faite au presbytere de la messe de paroisse par  
 trois dimanches consécutifs, entre le tout en cette paroisse qu'on appelle  
 de Saint de la paroisse, entre Paul Lagarde fils de Antoine Lagarde et de Marie  
 Elzabeth Clément ses père et mère de la paroisse de St. Genevieve Jean  
 Lagarde et de  
 Marie Joséphine Clément ses père et mère de cette paroisse d'autre part  
 et de  
 Marguerite Marie Curé Bouffignol ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement audit  
 mariage avons reçu leur mutuel consentement et leur avons  
 donné la bénédiction nuptiale avec les cérémonies ordinaires de votre  
 mère la Ste. Eglise et le en présence de Antoine Lagarde père de l'époux  
 Joseph Lagarde, Jean Baptiste Lagarde Jean Baptiste Lantier  
 Jacques Préjean, Thomas Poirier père de l'épouse, Joseph  
 Clément François Langlois Joseph Langlois Joseph Poirier et  
 plusieurs autres qui ont tous déclaré ne savoir signer

B.N. Maillon curé

présence des Jeans B. Gauguet et alard Pires des dits mariés  
 Antoine Jouelle, les quels tmoins ont, ausy bien que les mariés  
 déclaré ne scauoir signer de ce Inquis. François Tavelle a l'age  
 suivant l'ordonnance de Jean B. Auguste prestre.

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le dix sept Janvier, Baptiste  
 de Joseph Soufflet, Curé des François, et Marguerite Joyelle  
 parrain Joseph Joyelle la femme Geneuieve Joyelle, les faux  
 né le 13 Janvier, l'âge femme. Elisabeth des Roches. J. B. de  
 Courville de la compagnie de J. B. de la Souffignie, Curé des François  
 Certifie que le present extrait est conforme a son original de  
 Baptiste Auguste prestre.

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le dix sept Janvier 1759  
 Baptiste Auguste prestre.

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le dix sept Janvier, Curé des  
 François ay jehumé dans la Paroisse de la Paroisse en laq  
 monde est le dit mariage de la fille de la fille Peron et de la fille de  
 parrain et mere, ont esté a son Interment François Dupuy et François  
 Tavelle, les quels ont déclaré ne scauoir signer de ce Inquis  
 l'ordonnance de Jean B. Auguste prestre.

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le dix sept Janvier des  
 Curé des François ay jehumé dans le Curé de la Paroisse  
 Dupuy âgé d'un an: ont esté a son Interment Jean B. Caplet et  
 François Tavelle, les quels ont déclaré ne scauoir signer de ce Inquis  
 suivant l'ordonnance de Jean B. Auguste prestre.

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le vingt trois de Janvier, apres  
 publication de trois Banis faite aux prones de grande messe Paro  
 ale d'entre Antoine la Garde fils de Jean la Garde dit S. Jean et  
 deffunte Marguerite Martin de la Paroisse de  
 deffunte Geneuieve d'une part: et d'entre Elisabeth mod  
 fille de feu François Modoué et de Marie

F. 92  
 Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le vingt trois de Janvier, apres  
 publication de trois Banis faite aux prones de grande messe Paro  
 ale d'entre Antoine la Garde fils de Jean la Garde dit S. Jean et  
 deffunte Marguerite Martin de la Paroisse de  
 deffunte Geneuieve d'une part: et d'entre Elisabeth mod  
 fille de feu François Modoué et de Marie

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 fille de feu François Modoué et de Marie

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le vingt trois de Janvier, apres  
 publication de trois Banis faite aux prones de grande messe Paro  
 ale d'entre Antoine la Garde fils de Jean la Garde dit S. Jean et  
 deffunte Marguerite Martin de la Paroisse de  
 deffunte Geneuieve d'une part: et d'entre Elisabeth mod  
 fille de feu François Modoué et de Marie

Le an mil sept cens cinquante neuf le quatre feurier de  
 la Souffignie Curé des François ay baptisé Antoine fils d'Antoine Joyelle



Pierre  
primé  
B.

Le huitième jour de septembre mil six cent  
quatre vingt seize a été baptisé Pierre  
Gibault de son père Pierre Gibault et de  
Marie de Lamoignon sa femme, née le 20  
jour de mai. Le parrain a été Pierre  
Ducan et la marraine Magdeleine  
Du Castel. Le père et le parrain  
ont déclaré ne savoir signer de ce requis  
Magdeleine de fr.

Marie mag  
Gibault  
B.

M. Caille Saisant Les Fonct. curiales  
Le huitième jour de septembre mil six cent  
quatre vingt seize a été baptisé Marie  
Magdeleine fille de Jean Baptiste Gibault  
on unier et de Anne Pavier sa femme,  
née le septième du mois et en le  
parrain a été Vincent Du Gast Gibault  
et la marraine Marie Magdeleine Gibault  
Laquelle a déclaré ne savoir signer de  
ce requis. Gibault

Marie cath.  
Guillemot  
fille de la  
Lange  
B.

M. Caille Saisant Les Fonct. curiales  
Le neuvième jour de septembre mil six cent  
quatre vingt seize a été baptisé Marie Catherine  
fille de François Guillaume dit La Lande  
Gibault et de Magdeleine Dupont sa femme  
née le septième d'icel mois et en le parrain  
a été Jacques Malheray l'austr. et la marraine  
Marguerite Dine Compagnie du desachent  
de la marine et la marraine d'icelle  
Marie Catherine Lambert a requis  
de son père et de son parrain de

vingt six  
B. Gibault

J. Malheray guillemot  
M. Caille

Desnoyer  
et  
M. Perrot

M. Caille Saisant Les Fonct. curiales  
Le onzième jour de septembre mil six cent quatre  
vingt seize a été fait et célébré le mariage  
entre François Desnoyer de la montagne  
fidèle de la compagnie de nos seigneurs, fils  
de François Desnoyer et de Catherine de fr. de  
de la paroisse de St Pierre de Lescar, âgé  
de trente deux ans. Et Marie Perrot venue  
de Beauregard sa femme et de Paul Perrot  
et Marie Chouart sa mère et d'icelle âgée de  
vingt quatre ans. Il y a eu dispense de trois  
sans auctorité par son oncle grand vicar. Le  
mariage a été fait en présence de Jacques  
Compagnie, Paul Perrot frère de l'épouse  
père M. M. de la paroisse de St Pierre de  
Lescar et de la paroisse de St Pierre de  
Lescar. Et de la paroisse de St Pierre de  
Lescar. Lesquels ont tous déclaré l'épouse  
ne savoir signer de ce requis. D'icelle

Pierre  
Marthin  
et  
Marie  
Lamoignon

M. Caille Saisant Les Fonct. curiales  
Le douzième jour de septembre mil six cent quatre  
vingt seize a été fait et célébré le mariage entre  
Pierre Martin fidèle du St. Du mesme f. de Jean  
Martin et Anne Desnoyers de la paroisse de St  
Jean de Bergerac diocèse de Périgueux âgé de  
trente ans. Et Marie Anne Lamoignon fille de  
filiale Lamoignon et d'Antoinette la femme de la

gardijs de ~~l'Amateur~~ d'eu d'iceux agés de  
vingt un an Il y a eu diffinse des ~~freres~~  
sans accordie par Mr Othier grand vicair.  
Le mariage a été fait en gregue de  
Bernard du mouhez cordonnier, amhoine  
Qondre Boulanger, Louis La biche cuisinier  
du seminaire en galere Aralant d'ompreque  
Dad pommawo Les quelz ont été declarez ne  
pouvoir signer a deses requis.

M. Caille faisant les fonct. curial.

Jacques  
Bigras

Le quatorzieme jour de septembre mil six  
cent quatre vingt seize a été baptisé  
Jacques fils de Jean Bigras Labrieux  
de Marie Anne sa femme né le 14  
jour et an. Le parrain a été Jacques  
Boyer Labrieux et la marraine Marie  
Anne LeFebvre Les quelz ont été declarez  
ne pouvant signer de ce requis.

M. Caille faisant les fonct. curial.

Louis  
hector Le  
Gardcurie  
Bannat

Le quatorzieme jour de septembre mil  
six cent quatre vingt seize a été  
baptisé Louis Hector fils de René Le  
Gardcurie luy et de Beauvais l'ensouant  
d'une compagnie du détachement de la  
marine et Marie Barbe de St oust  
son épouse, né le treizieme jour de  
septembre et an. Le parrain a été messire Louis

vingt sept ans  
de Beauvais

de Caliere chevalier de l'ordre  
de St Louis gouverneur de l'isle de  
Montreal et autres lieux circonvoisins  
La marraine a été <sup>Marie</sup> Gertrude le gardcurie

Le G. de Beauvais  
Le Gardcurie  
se neie le gardcurie

Pierre  
Brebau  
et  
marraine  
La place

M. Caille faisant les fonct. curiales  
Le quinzeieme jour de septembre mil six cent quatre  
vingt seize a été fait et solemnisé le mariage  
entre Pierre Brebau soldat de la compagnie  
de Mr Cadille, de la paroisse de Notre Dame  
de Oigne a la Rochelle, fils de Clement  
Brebau et de Françoise Ruiral, agé de vingt  
sept ans. Et Marguerite La plume fille de Nicolas  
La plume et de Genevieve femme ses pere et mere  
des deux de Paris, agé de trente sept ans.  
Il y a eu diffinse des trois sans accordie par  
Mr Othier grand vicair. Remons Francois  
Cottu gendre de l'epouse, Jean Meniguy soldat de l'ordre  
Compagnie, Jean Labrieux soldat de la compagnie  
de Mr de Louigny, Jean L'arrour les quelz ont été  
declarez ne pouvant signer de ce requis.

M. Caille faisant les fonct. curiales.

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Hélène Lomouin  
et  
Aimée Le Febvre.

Le neuvième jour du mois de novembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et onze après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'une Hélène Lomouin habitante de Beauport, fille de Pierre Lomouin et d'Isabelle Steadon ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Adolphe de la ville et Québec de Trois Rivières d'une part. Et Aimée Le Febvre fille de Charles Le Febvre et de Louise Gaudin ses père et mère de la paroisse de Chapeau Québec d'autre part. Les ayants disposés du troisième ban et ne s'opposant aucun empêchement. Le Henry de Bernières prêtre curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec et Grand vicaires de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec les ay en ladite Eglise solennellement mariés et leur ay donné la bénédiction nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la dite Eglise en présence de témoins connus Claude Mouchaux, Charles Marquis Pierre Egon, Jacques Brisel de.

H. de Bernières.

Qui vacher  
ou  
Anne Barillet.

Le neuvième jour du mois de novembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et onze après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage de l'homme et femme desdits mois et en l'année qui vacher habitant de la paroisse de Bois fils de défunt Guillaume vacher et de Guillemine Vabonneau ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Pierre de la ville et Québec d'une part. Et Anne Barillet fille de défunt Jean Barillet et d'Anne bertrand ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Sulpice du grandbourg St Germain de la ville de Trois Rivières d'autre part. Les ayants disposés du troisième ban, et ne s'opposant aucun empêchement. Le Henry de Bernières prêtre curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec et Grand vicaires de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec les ay en ladite Eglise solennellement mariés et leur ay donné la bénédiction nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la dite Eglise en présence de témoins connus Jean Givras, Adrien Michelon, René Luce, Pierre vacher de.

H. de Bernières.

Jean François  
ou  
Elzabeth Broussé

Le quatorzième jour du mois de novembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et onze après les fiançailles et la publication d'un ban de mariage d'une Jean François habitant de Beauport fils de Pierre François et de Genevieve Bode ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Adolphe de la ville et Québec d'une part. Et Elzabeth Broussé fille de défunt Adrien Broussé et de Marie Elzabeth ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Nicolas de la ville de Beauport d'autre part. Les ayants disposés du second et troisième ban, et ne s'opposant aucun empêchement. Le Henry de Bernières prêtre curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec et Grand vicaires de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec les ay en ladite Eglise solennellement mariés et leur ay donné la bénédiction nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la dite Eglise en présence de témoins connus Denis Belleperche, Pierre vacher de.

H. de Bernières.

106 405

Jacques Beatrix  
ou  
Marie Fouquet.

Le sixième jour du mois de novembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et onze après les fiançailles et la publication d'un ban de mariage d'une Jacques Beatrix habitant de Gémorville fils de défunt Robt. Beatrix et de Marie Lamoignon ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Germain de la ville de Rouen d'une part. Et Marie Fouquet fille de défunt François Fouquet et de défunt François Brisel ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Germain de la ville et Archidiaconé de Rouen d'autre part. Les ayants disposés des deux autres bans, et ne s'opposant aucun empêchement. Le Henry de Bernières prêtre Grand vicaires de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec les ay en ladite Eglise solennellement mariés et leur ay donné la bénédiction nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la dite Eglise en présence de témoins connus Jacques de la Rivière et Claude de la Rivière témoins de.

H. de Bernières.

Pierre Couvaulé  
ou  
Françoise Duval.

Le sixième jour du mois de novembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et onze après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'une Pierre Couvaulé habitant de la Rivière de St Charles, fils de défunt Pierre Couvaulé et de Jeanne Gabor ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Jacques de la ville et Québec de Trois Rivières d'une part. Et Françoise Duval fille de défunt Jean Duval et de Jacqueline Dica ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Jean de la ville de Paris d'autre part. Les ayants disposés du troisième ban, et ne s'opposant aucun empêchement. Le Henry de Bernières Grand vicaires de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec les ay en ladite Eglise solennellement mariés et leur ay donné la bénédiction nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la dite Eglise en présence de témoins connus Claude Mouchaux, Jacques de la Rivière et Marie Lamoignon et Claude de la Rivière.

H. de Bernières.

Jacques de Fleury  
ou  
Marguerite Chauvigny.

Le dix-neuvième jour du mois de novembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et onze après la dispense des trois bans de mariage d'une Jacques de Fleury de Fleury St Denoch de la Rivière a Québec fils de défunt Jacques de Fleury et de Terrence Fleury ses père et mère de la paroisse de St Jean de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Lisieux d'une part. Et Marguerite de Chauvigny veuve de défunt Thomas Douais St de Bondy d'autre part. Les ayants disposés de l'homme et femme Grand vicaires de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec les ay en ladite Eglise par paroles de présent consentis en mariage en présence de témoins connus Jacques de Fleury et de Fleury de la Rivière, Valentin Fleury St de Beauport de.

H. de Bernières.

1724

19

Le jour Le sixième des mois de Septembre le vingt troisième jour du mois de  
 Octobre par moi l'abbé J.B. ougou prestre Curé de la Paroisse  
 de St. Francois a été baptisé agathe Doiel fille de Jean Doiel de Christe  
 Doiel son pere et mere. née d'Hyver. le parain a été Antoine Doiel et la  
 marraine Therese la bonte, lesquels ont declare au l'auoir. L'ageur de ceint  
 pelle J.B. ougou prestre

Le sixième des mois de Septembre le vingt cinq. Octobre par moi l'abbé  
 J.B. ougou prestre et Curé de la Paroisse de St. Francois a été baptisé angélique  
 Brunette fille de J.B. Brunette et de Marie angélique Montreuil  
 son pere et mere. née le vingt trois du courans. le parain a été Louis  
 Niquet qui a déclaré au l'auoir l'auoir, et la Marraine Françoise Dautra qui  
 a signé l'auoir l'auoir. J.B. ougou prestre

Procurat

Le sixième des mois de Novembre le vingt deux de Novembre apres la  
 publication de trois banes de Mariage faite aux preses de la messe  
 Paroissiale d'entre Francois Modnie fils Daubin Modnie et de  
 Madeleine Rouanchois son pere et mere demourant a St. Michel  
 d'une part. et de Marie Anne Dautra fille de René Dautra et de  
 Marguerite Forcier son pere et mere demourant a St. Michel  
 d'autre part, et ne s'étant trouue aucun empêchement legitime  
 de l'abbé J.B. ougou prestre Curé de la Paroisse de St.  
 Francois, les y ai marie' selon la forme prescrite par nosre

1724

Mere P. Legue en presence de Louis Cotte Noire pierre abraham  
Jaques Rideshol, et de Charles Dubois, temoins. René Dani  
pour de la fille, pierre abraham a signé, l'opuz et l'opuz  
avec les autres temoins avec le Pere ont declare ne scavoir  
signer de ce interpellé. Suivant l'ordonnance M. Bugas prêtre

San mil sept cent vingt quatre le vingt deux de Nouem bre par moy  
L'abbé J. B. Dugas prêtre, Cure de la Paroisse de St. Francois de la Baye  
qui est fils de René Dani et de Marguerite Jansin  
père et mere, né le seize de Novembre, le parrain a été François Mésure  
et la Maraine Marie Anne Jansin qui a été le parrain et la Maraine  
Louise Rivière M. Dugas prêtre. **Maria Jansin**

San mil sept cent vingt quatre le quatrieme jour d'Avril de Nembre  
par moy L'abbé J. B. Dugas prêtre, Cure de la Paroisse de St. Francois  
a été baptisé Marie Jeanne Craussy fille de Noel Craussy et  
Françoise Niquis. Le pere et mere victe J. Niquis né le 17  
parrain a été M. J. Dubois et la Maraine Jeanne Rivière  
qui ont signé Suivant l'ordonnance M. Dugas prêtre.

San mil sept cent vingt quatre le vingt neuvieme de decembre par  
moy L'abbé J. B. Dugas prêtre, Cure de la Paroisse de St. Francois  
a été baptisé Gabriel Brouillard fils de Jean Baptiste  
Brouillard et de Madeleine P. Laurent. Le pere et mere de M. Brouillard  
né le même jour. Le Parrain a été Jean Baptiste Carliera, la Maraine  
Marie Gabrielle P. Laurent les quels ont declare ne scavoir signer  
de ce interpellé. M. Dugas prêtre.

**Couple** # 4561  
of Aubin **MONDOUX** and Marie Madeleine **PROVENCHER**  
Burial : 03-Sep-1715 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier) Burial : 19-Jun-1731 Yamaska (St-Michel)  
Father : Michel **MONDOUX** Father : Sebastien **PROVENCHER**  
Mother : Marie **ARNAUD** Mother : Marguerite **MANCHON**  
**Marriage : 15-Nov-1676 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)**

**Liste of the married children :**

Sex	Date of marriage Place	Name of the child Name of the spouse
f	<u>1703-10</u> <u>La Prairie (La-Nativité-de-la-Ste-Vierge)</u>	<b>MARIE MADELEINE</b> Etienne <b>MARCIL</b>
f	<u>1722-11-23</u> <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	<b>MARGUERITE</b> Gilles <b>BADAYAC LAPLANTE</b>
m	<u>1724-11-22</u> <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	<b>FRANCOIS</b> Marie Anne <b>DANIS TOURANGEAU</b>
f	<u>1734-05-03</u> <u>Trois-Rivières (Immaculée-Conception)</u>	<b>CATHERINE</b> Francois <b>THOMAS TRANCHEMONTAGNE</b>
m	<u>1735-10-11</u> <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	<b>ETIENNE</b> Gertrude <b>DANIS TOURANGEAU</b>

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<b>Family</b>				
# 1579				
of <u>Sebastien PROVENCHER</u> and <u>Marguerite MANCHON</u>				
<b>Marriage : <u>22-Jan-1663</u> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
<b>Sex</b>	<b>Birth (<i>Baptism</i>)  Place</b>	<b>Marriage  Place</b>	<b>Death (<i>Burial</i>)  Place</b>	<b>First name of the child  Name of the spouse</b>
f	Vers 1663-07  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1676-11-15</u>  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1731-06-19</u>  Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Marie Madeleine</b>  Aubin <b>MONDOUX</b>
f	Vers 1665  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1682-04-28</u>  <u>Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)</u>	<u>1739-10-29</u>  L'Île-Dupas (La Visitation)	<b>Marguerite</b>  Antoine <b>COTTENOIR</b>
m	Vers 1668  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1691-05-14</u>  <u>Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)</u>		<b>Louis</b>  Marie Simone <b>MASSE</b>
m	Vers 1670  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1694-08-23</u>  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1739-02-17</u>  Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Sebastien</b>  Marie Anne <b>MASSE</b>
m	<u>1674-02-01</u>  <u>Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)</u>	<u>1701-11-15</u>  <u>Batiscan (St-François-Xavier)</u>	<u>1734-02-02</u>  <u>Bécancour (Nativite-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie)</u>	<b>Jean Francois</b>  Marguerite <b>MOREAU</b>
f	<u>1678-04-23</u>  <u>Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)</u>	<u>1702-08-02</u>  Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)		<b>Marie Catherine</b>  Louis <b>MASSE</b>

a été Marie Lardier <sup>sa femme</sup> Jurée de cette  
Ville. *Mut* *Chrs* Marie Lardier

*Mut* *Chrs*  
Le vingt-deuxième jour de Janvier de l'an mil sept Cent  
Cinq a été inhumé le corps de Mathieu Ballelet  
dit Polycoeur Soldat de la Compagnie de M<sup>r</sup> de  
Beaucourt homme mort sur la glace âgé d'environ  
quarante ans. ont été témoins M<sup>r</sup> Michel  
Barthélémy <sup>Prêtre</sup> du Seminaire de cette Ville  
et M<sup>r</sup> Pierre Chantreau Bédau de cette Paroisse  
lequel a déclaré ne savoir signer de ce enquis  
suivant l'ordonnance Barthélémy <sup>Prêtre</sup>

*Mut* *Chrs*

*Mut* *Chrs*  
Le vingt-quatrième jour de Janvier de l'an mil sept  
Cent Cinq a été inhumé le corps de Joseph âgé de cinq  
mois fils de Joseph Desnos dit Destailles et de Jeanne  
Adhemar sa femme, en présence de M<sup>r</sup> Leonard Chagnereau  
<sup>Prêtre</sup> du Seminaire de cette Ville et de M<sup>r</sup> Pierre Chantreau  
Bédau de cette Paroisse qui a déclaré ne savoir signer de  
ce enquis selon l'ordonnance Leonard Chagnereau *Chrs*

*Mut* *Chrs*

*Mut* *Chrs*  
Le vingt-cinquième jour de Janvier de l'an mil sept  
Cent Cinq a été baptisé Françoise née le jour précédent  
fille de Jacques Godet habitant de cette Paroisse

4<sup>e</sup> feuillet  
D

et de Marguerite Dugue <sup>sa femme</sup> le <sup>nom</sup> Parreau  
a été Henry Jules le fourrier d'Evry le Neuf  
Deuxième Lieutenant d'une Compagnie du Détachement  
de la Marine La Marre Marie <sup>sa</sup> Croix fille  
de Jacques La Croix habitant de cette Paroisse  
le <sup>Prêtre</sup> a déclaré ne savoir signer de ce enquis  
Marie Sacrez <sup>Prêtre</sup> *Mut* *Chrs*

B  
Joseph Le Beigne

Le vingt-septième jour de Janvier de l'an mil  
sept Cent Cinq a été baptisé Joseph né le jour d'hier  
fils de Jacques Le Beigne et de Jeanne Lorrain  
sa femme. Le Parreau a été Joseph Le Due  
habitant de cette Paroisse. La Marre Angélique  
Ducharme femme du sieur Claude Pudevoir Bourgeois  
de cette Ville. Le <sup>Prêtre</sup> et le Parreau de L'Oratoire  
ont déclaré ne savoir signer de ce enquis suivant  
l'ordonnance Marie Angélique Ducharme

*Mut* *Chrs*

B  
Rene Dany  
et  
Marguerite  
Lorrain

Le vingt-huitième jour de Janvier de l'an mil sept  
Cent Cinq après la publication de trois bans sans qu'il  
apparaît aucun empêchement, se sont signés <sup>Prêtre</sup>  
faisant les fonctions curiales dans la Paroisse de  
Ville-Marie après avoir pris le mutuel  
consentement par paroles de présent de Rene  
Dany âgé de vingt-cinq ans fils de défunt  
Jacques Dany et de Perrine La Meuve sa  
femme de cette Paroisse d'une part, et de

Marguerite Forcier age de ungt un an fille de  
deffant Pierre Forcier et de Marguerite Girard  
la femme de La Paroisse de St Francois d'autre  
part, les ay maries et leur ay donne la benediction  
nuptiale l'unant les vitz de Notre Mere sainte  
Eglise en presence de Rene Abraham Desmaretz  
Beaupere de ladite Epouse, de Pierre Collevon dit  
La fatigue Beaupere de ladite Epouse Tailleur  
d'habit, de Jean Dany frere de L'Epouse, d'honore  
Dany aussy son frere et de plusieurs autres parven.  
et amys desdites parties lesquels ont tous declare  
ne savoir signer nom plus que L'Epoux et L'Epouse  
de ce enquis selon L'ordonnance. *J. Juillie*

G. Bras Salou *M. J. Juillie*

B  
D'ordre Comp

Le trentieme Janvier de l'an mil sept Cent cinq  
a este baptise Pierre ne le iour precedent fils de  
Francois Campy et de Marie Anne Grollant la femme  
de Parren a este Jean Loupi dit Girdelun Tailleur  
d'habit. La Marrene Madelen Dupont femme de  
Jacques Bigot dit La Giroflee vivant dans les  
bougies lesquels ont declare ne savoir signer de ce  
enquis selon L'ordonnance. *M. J. Juillie*

M  
Francois  
heurtier  
et  
Francoise  
Boudier

Le trentieme Jour de Janvier de l'an mil sept  
Cent cinq, Monsieur francois Vachon de Belmont  
Grand-Vicair de Monseigneur de Quebec ayant  
accorde La dispense des trois Caris et moy Arche

5<sup>e</sup> Feuillet  
D

Souffigne faisant Les fonctions curiales dans la  
Paroisse de Ville Marie ayant pris le mutuel  
consentement par parties de present de francois  
heurtier dit La matie et devent, soldat de la  
compagnie Dumery age de ungt ungt ans et  
de francois Boudier age de ungt ungt ans fille de  
Philippe Boudier et de Marie Boudier la femme  
demeurans en cette Paroisse, les ay maries et unant  
les vitz de notre Mere sainte Eglise en presence  
dudit Philippe Boudier, d'Etienne charpentier  
sergent de la Compagnie de M<sup>r</sup> de saint Ours, de  
Nicolas Le clere dit monfort soldat de la compagnie  
de Monsieur de Ramezay, de Pierre chantreseau  
Bedeau de cette Paroisse. Lesquels tous aussy bien que  
L'Epoux et L'Epouse ont declare ne savoir signer de  
ce enquis l'unant L'ordonnance.

Francois Vachon Debelmont *M. J. Juillie*  
vic. genl

B  
Francois  
heurtier

Le premier iour de february de l'an mil sept Cent cinq  
a este baptise francois ne le meme iour fille de francois  
heurtier dit La matie et de francoise Boudier la femme  
de Parren a este Nicolas Le clere dit monfort soldat  
de la compagnie de M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay. La Marrene  
Catherine Oudien femme de Robert fusche. Lesquels  
ont declare ne savoir signer de ce enquis l'unant  
L'ordonnance. *M. J. Juillie*

1666  
 mariage selon promesse de francois Bailly  
 Julien Duboy, Anne Rapiin et plusieurs autres  
 amis des parties qui ont déclaré ne sçavoir  
 et n'ont ny signé ny plus que Julien Duboy  
 & Guille **ANDRE RAPEL**  
 b. Souart

---

Le 20<sup>me</sup> Mars 1666  
 M<sup>rs</sup> Dany  
 A esté fait et solennisé le mariage d'homme  
 de Paris, deux lieux de cette paroisse. Les deux beaux  
 ayons esté publicz au paravant sans opposition avec  
 dépense de 2<sup>me</sup>, et au temps prohibé. Le mariage  
 fut en présence de Pierre des Neils, de la paroisse  
 et de Claude Jaudouyn et Jean Dubois et d'autres  
 et n'ont communié des parties qui ont déclaré ne  
 sçavoir et n'ont ny signé ny plus que Julien Duboy  
 & Guille **ANDRE RAPEL**  
 b. Souart

M<sup>rs</sup> 6. La 22<sup>me</sup> Mars 1666  
 Claude Jaudouyn  
 A esté fait et solennisé le mariage de Claude  
 Jaudouyn fils de Jean Bataste et de Michelle  
 de la paroisse de Saint-Jacques. avec Anne Echemy fille  
 de feu Jean Et de Marie Platon du Chastan  
 de Vincennes. Les deux de cette paroisse. Les  
 deux ayons esté publicz au paravant sans opposition  
 et dépense de deux parties. Et du temps prohibé.  
 Le mariage fut en présence de Gilbert Rabreau  
 Jean Joubert et plusieurs autres beaux communiés  
 des parties. Les Epouses Et Jean Joubert  
 ont déclaré ne sçavoir ny signé ny plus que  
 b. Souart

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Le 6<sup>me</sup> Juin  
 M<sup>rs</sup> 7.  
 A esté fait et solennisé le mariage de Jacques  
 Blanc fils d'Antoine Blanc et de Marguerite  
 Bouchet de la paroisse de St. Pierre de  
 la Plaque avec Susanne Vauvrelle fille de  
 Philippe Vauvrelle et d'Helene Martin de la paroisse  
 de St. Jacques. Les deux beaux ayons esté publicz  
 au paravant sans opposition. Le mariage fut en  
 présence de Pierre des Neils, Et Paul Jaudouyn et  
 plusieurs autres beaux communiés des parties qui ont  
 déclaré ne sçavoir et n'ont ny signé ny plus que  
 Claude Jaudouyn

<b>Family</b>				
				# 3424
of <u>Guillaume FORCIER</u> and <u>Sebastienne GAUTHIER</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1648</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Bi th (Baptism) Placb</b>	<b>Ma iagb Placb</b>	<b>Dbathr(Burial) Placb</b>	<b>Fi stmambrofrthb child Nambrofrthbrspousb</b>
m	Vers 1648 France	Avant 1675 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1690-05-18</u> <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François- Xavier)</u>	<b>Pierre</b> Marguerite <b>GIRARD</b>
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1766

03. Le premier de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six est soustigné Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Susanne ne aujourd'hui fille legitime de legue françois legue de de l'ancien et de Marie Jeanne Gros son épouse. Le parrain a été Jean Baptiste Dubois, fils de la maraine Susanne legue et de la baptisée legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

05. Le neuvieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six est soustigné Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Marie Angelique nee aujourd'hui fille legitime de l'ancien françois et de Marie Amable Fortin son épouse. Le parrain a été Jean Pierre de la Riviere et la maraine Marie Angelique pape legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

M. Le Troisieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six apres la publication de l'ordonnance de mariage au pres de la messe paroissiale entre Nicolas Binet fils de françois Binet et de Charlotte papeau son épouse de cette paroisse d'une part et Agathe Amable papeau fille de Jean papeau et de Charlotte papeau les papes unis aussy de la paroisse de l'autre part sans qu'il se soit remoustré ny opposition ny empêchement canonique, je soustigne Louis missionnaire ay vu leur mutual consentement de mariage parole du présent eue ay donné la benediction nuptiale avec toute les ceremonies presrites par la sainte Eglise Romaine et en presence de françois Binet pape de la paroisse de Jean papeau pape de l'épouse de françois pape et Thomas pape au pres de l'autel present et absent des papes legues et de l'ancien ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

03. Le dix septieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six est soustigné Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Marie Archange nee aujourd'hui fille legitime de françois Lalonde et de Genevieve Chamaille son épouse. Le parrain a été Jacques Chamaille de grand pape de la paroisse et la maraine Marie Legue Lalonde de la grande messe legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

M. Le vingtieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six apres la publication de l'ordonnance de mariage entre Joseph Lalonde fils de Antoine Lalonde et de Felicie Marie de la Plante les papes unis de la paroisse de St. Jean d'une part et Marie Louise de la Plante les papes unis de l'autre part sans qu'il se soit remoustré ny opposition ny empêchement canonique, je soustigne Louis missionnaire ay vu leur mutual consentement de mariage parole du présent eue ay donné la benediction nuptiale avec toute les ceremonies presrites par la sainte Eglise Romaine et en presence de Antoine Lalonde pape de la paroisse de Joseph de la Plante pape de l'épouse de Jean Baptiste de la Plante pape de l'ancien ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

pillon et autres papes, en unis des papes des papes soustignés Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Marie Archange nee aujourd'hui fille legitime de françois Lalonde et de Genevieve Chamaille son épouse. Le parrain a été Jacques Chamaille de grand pape de la paroisse et la maraine Marie Legue Lalonde de la grande messe legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

M. Le vingtieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six apres la publication de l'ordonnance de mariage entre Antoine Lalonde fils de Antoine Lalonde et de Felicie Marie de la Plante les papes unis de la paroisse de St. Jean d'une part et Marie Louise de la Plante les papes unis de l'autre part sans qu'il se soit remoustré ny opposition ny empêchement canonique, je soustigne Louis missionnaire ay vu leur mutual consentement de mariage parole du présent eue ay donné la benediction nuptiale avec toute les ceremonies presrites par la sainte Eglise Romaine et en presence de Antoine Lalonde pape de la paroisse de Jean Baptiste de la Plante pape de l'épouse de Jean Baptiste de la Plante pape de l'ancien ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

M. Le Troisieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six apres la publication de l'ordonnance de mariage entre Thomas papeau fils de Jacques papeau et de Felicie Marie de la Plante les papes unis de la paroisse de St. Jean d'une part et Marie Louise de la Plante les papes unis de l'autre part sans qu'il se soit remoustré ny opposition ny empêchement canonique, je soustigne Louis missionnaire ay vu leur mutual consentement de mariage parole du présent eue ay donné la benediction nuptiale avec toute les ceremonies presrites par la sainte Eglise Romaine et en presence de Jacques papeau pape de la paroisse de Jean papeau pape de l'épouse de Jean papeau pape de l'ancien ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

M. Le troisieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six apres la publication de l'ordonnance de mariage entre Thomas papeau fils de Jacques papeau et de Felicie Marie de la Plante les papes unis de la paroisse de St. Jean d'une part et Marie Louise de la Plante les papes unis de l'autre part sans qu'il se soit remoustré ny opposition ny empêchement canonique, je soustigne Louis missionnaire ay vu leur mutual consentement de mariage parole du présent eue ay donné la benediction nuptiale avec toute les ceremonies presrites par la sainte Eglise Romaine et en presence de Jacques papeau pape de la paroisse de Jean papeau pape de l'épouse de Jean papeau pape de l'ancien ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

03. Le deuxieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six est soustigné Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Marie Louise nee aujourd'hui fille legitime de Jean Baptiste Choiseul et de Catherine Cournoyer son épouse. Le parrain a été françois Binet et la maraine Marie Angelique Choiseul de la paroisse legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

03. Le deuxieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six est soustigné Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Marie Louise nee aujourd'hui fille legitime de Jean Baptiste Choiseul et de Catherine Cournoyer son épouse. Le parrain a été françois Binet et la maraine Marie Angelique Choiseul de la paroisse legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

03. Le deuxieme de l'an mil sept cent soixante et six est soustigné Louis missionnaire ay baptisé Marie Louise nee aujourd'hui fille legitime de Jean Baptiste Choiseul et de Catherine Cournoyer son épouse. Le parrain a été françois Binet et la maraine Marie Angelique Choiseul de la paroisse legue avec le pape présent ont déclaré ne s'avoient signés de la langue. Reverchon ptra.

**Family** # 71888

of **Paul LAGARDE STJEAN** and **Marguerite POIRIER DELOGE**

*Father* : Antoine **LAGARDE STJEAN**      *Father* : Thomas **POIRIER DELOGE**  
*Mother* : Marie Elisabeth **MONDOUX**      *Mother* : Marie Josephe **CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY**

**Marriage** : 04-Feb-1793 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)

**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
f	1793-11-29 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1816-09-09 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Marguerite</b> Jean Baptiste <b>PAYMENT LARIVIERE</b>
m	1795-04-14 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1823-04-08 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Paul</b> Marie Eugenie <b>CHAMAILLARD</b>
x	1796-06-06 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1796-06-06 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Anonyme</b>
m	1797-06-28 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1797-06-28 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Anonyme</b>
f	1798-05-03 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1798-08-05 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Marie Josephe</b>
f	1799-05-30 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1823-01-07 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Marie</b> Antoine <b>CHARBONNEAU</b>
m	1801-03-20 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1827-08-20 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Thomas</b> Marie Sophie <b>JAMME CARRIER</b> <b>CARRIERE JAMES</b>
m	1802-10-06 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)			<b>Jacques Bruno</b>
f	1804-07-04 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1831-01-10 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Pauline Apolline</b> Eustache <b>BLACK LANGLAIS</b>
m	1806-03-16 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1829-04-27 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Antoine</b> Esther <b>CARDINAL</b>
f	1807-10-01 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1835-04-28 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Josephe</b> Jean Baptiste <b>TESSIER LAVIGNE</b>
f	1809-10-20 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1810-06-23 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Catherine</b>
m	1811-11-04 St-Benoît (Deux-Montagnes)		1812-08-19 St-Benoît (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Augustin</b>
m	1814-05-07 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)			<b>Michel</b>
m	1816-05-09 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1816-08-26 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Basile</b>

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Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
<p><b>Family</b> # 35400  of <u>Antoine LAGARDE STJEAN</u> and <u>Marie Elisabeth MONDOUX</u>  <i>Father : Jean Baptiste LAGARDE STJEAN</i> <i>Father : Francois MONDOUX</i>  <i>Mother : Marguerite MARTIN LADOUCEUR</i> <i>Mother : Marie Anne DANIS TOURANGEAU</i>  <b>Marriage : 23-Jan-1759 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</b>  <b>Children born before 1850 :</b></p>				
m	1762-10-21 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	1783-10-21 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1797-11-22 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Antoine</b> Marguerite <b>LANGLOIS TRAVERSY</b>
m	1765-02-19 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)		1765-06-20 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	1766-05-03 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	1786-08-01 Laval (St-Martin)	1825-02-14 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Josephe <b>TAILLEFER</b>
m	1768-02-13 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)		1768-07-23 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	1769-10-03 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)		1769-11-18 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	1771-04-16 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	1793-02-04 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1843-04-19 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Paul</b> Marguerite <b>POIRIER DELOGE</b>
f	1772-05-04 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)		1772-07-17 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie Marguerite</b>
m	1773-12-06 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)		1774-07-24 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
f	1776-12-10 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	1796-01-18 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1800-10-23 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie Marguerite</b> Ignace <b>CHORET CHAREST</b>

Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	<u>1734-05-12</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>		<u>1783-06-17</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	<u>1736-08-02</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<u>1759-01-23</u> <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	<u>1794-10-23</u> <u>Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)</u>	<b>Antoine</b> Marie Elisabeth <b>MONDOUX</b>
m	<u>1737-12-28</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>		<u>1738-05-28</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Louis</b>
m	<u>1739-04-30</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<u>1772-03-02</u> <u>Montréal (St-Laurent)</u>	<u>1781-04-22</u> <u>Montréal (St-Laurent)</u>	<b>Laurent</b> Marie Anne Jeanne <b>BOUCHET STAMOUR</b>
x	<u>1740-04-29</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>		<u>1740-04-29</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Anonyme</b>

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<b>Family</b> <span style="float: right;"># 18600</span>				
of <u>Antoine Pierre LAGARDE</u> and <u>Marie Genevieve LERICHE</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1709</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Bi th (Baptism) Placb</b>	<b>Ma iagb Placb</b>	<b>Dbathr(Burial) Placb</b>	<b>Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb</b>
m	1710-01-04 France	<u>1733-08-11</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de- Montréal)	<u>1766-12-27</u> Pierrefonds (Ste- Geneviève)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marguerite <b>MARTIN</b> <b>LADOUCEUR</b>

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**Family**

# 7769

of **Pierre MARTIN LADOUCEUR** and **Marie Anne LIMOUSIN BEAUFORT**Father : Jean **MARTIN**  
Mother : Anne **DUMOULIN**Father : Hilaire **LIMOUSIN BEAUFORT**  
Mother : Marie Antoinette Antoine **LEFEBVRE****Marriage : 12-Sep-1696 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)****Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	<u>1695-01-25</u> Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	<u>1719-03-12</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1769-08-30</u> Montréal (St-Laurent)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Anne Marie <b>GAUTHIER</b>
m	<u>1697-01-18</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1726-03-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1742-06-10</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Pierre</b> Marie Jeanne <b>HAYES HAY</b>
m	<u>1698-05-15</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1698-05-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Antoine Joseph</b>
f	<u>1699-07-08</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1725-07-30</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1741-03-20</u> Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie Therese</b> Francois Honore <b>AUBAN LAGARDE</b>
f	<u>1700-12-17</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1700-12-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Therese</b>
f	<u>1702-03-12</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1702-03-15</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Anne</b>
f	<u>1703-02-23</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1723-06-21</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1740-03-01</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Ignace <b>CHORET</b>
f	<u>1704-05-30</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1720-01-08</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1776-09-24</u> Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie Francoise</b> Pierre <b>BLENIER JARRY</b>
m	<u>1705-10-28</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1727-05-09</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Simon</b>
f	<u>1707-02-25</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1733-08-11</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1740-05-11</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marguerite</b> Jean Baptiste <b>LAGARDE STJEAN</b>
f	<u>1708-06-18</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1732-06-09</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1738-07-22</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Etienne</b> Pierre <b>BIGOT</b>
m	<u>1709-12-04</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1732-04-21</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1781-07-06</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Joseph</b> Elisabeth Isabelle <b>BOURDON</b>
f	<u>1712-04-10</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1722-08-04</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Catherine</b>
m	<u>1713-08-26</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1714-10-27</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Jean Paul</b>
m	<u>1715-06-21</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1741-11-06</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1771-11-15</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Louis</b> Marie Anne <b>TABEAU</b>
f	<u>1718-03-21</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1734-11-18</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1806-02-26</u> Louiseville (St-Antoine-de-la-Rivière-du-Loup)	<b>Marie Genevieve</b> Louis <b>AUSTIN MARINEAU</b>

m	<u>1721-07-18</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1743-01-07</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1795-05-26</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marie Anne Jeanne <b>GAUTHIER</b>
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<b>Family</b>				
				# 83397
of <u>Jean MARTIN</u> and <u>Anne DUMOULIN</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1666</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Bi th (Baptism) Placb</b>	<b>Ma iagb Placb</b>	<b>Dbathr(Burial) Placb</b>	<b>Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb</b>
m	Vers 1666 France	<u>1696-09-12</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de- Montréal)	<u>1742-05-04</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de- Montréal)	<b>Pierre</b> Marie Anne <b>LIMOUSIN</b> <b>BEAUFORT</b>
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Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
<b>Family</b> # 3775				
of <b>Hilaire LIMOUSIN BEAUFORT</b> and <b>Marie Antoinette Antoine LEFEBVRE</b>				
Father : Pierre <b>LIMOUSIN</b>		Father : Charles <b>LEFEBVRE</b>		
Mother : Isabelle <b>FRADIN</b>		Mother : Louise <b>PRUDHOMME</b>		
<b>Marriage : 09-Nov-1671 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
f	1672-10-21 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)		1673-01-13 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)	<b>Genevieve</b>
f	1673-10-09 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)	1687-10-29 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)		<b>Marie Genevieve</b> Jean Baptiste <b>LAHAISE</b>
f	Vers 1675 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1696-09-12 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1750-01-06 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Anne</b> Pierre <b>MARTIN LADOUCEUR</b>
f	Vers 1677 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1703-02-05 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1737-12-23 Chambly (St-Joseph)	<b>Catherine</b> Guillaume <b>LANGLOIS SANSOUCY JACQUES</b>
f	Vers 1679 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)		1703-02-18 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Louise</b>
f	1680-04-04 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1695-04-11 Batiscan (St-François-Xavier)		<b>Marie Therese</b> Jean Baptiste <b>LEBOEUF</b>
f	1681-10-13 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1713-02-28 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1762-10-13 Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade (Ste-Anne)	<b>Marie Angelique</b> Jean Baptiste <b>LEMERLE</b>
f	1683-03-02 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)		1714-09-11 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	<b>Renee Francoise</b>
m	1684-08-28 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1725-05-21 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)		<b>Francois</b> Marie Marguerite <b>HOUE HOULE</b>
f	1687-02-03 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1722-01-19 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1753-12-07 Ste-Croix (Lotbinière)	<b>Marie Charlotte</b> Noel <b>HOUE HOULE</b>
f	1689-08-03 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1713-01-17 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1715-01-27 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	<b>Antoinette</b> Jean Baptiste <b>DUBOIS</b>
m	1692-03-28 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1718-11-25 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1770-04-18 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Josephe <b>DUBOIS</b>
m	1694-10-08 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1735-04-25 St-Pierre-les-Becquets (St-Pierre-Apôtre)		<b>Pierre</b> Marie Josephe <b>LECUYER</b>

<b>Family</b>		# 3776		
of <u>Pierre LIMOUSIN</u> and <u>Isabelle FRADIN</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1633</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r</b>				
Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambroftrhbrchild Nambroftrhbrspousb
m	Vers 1633 France	<u>1671-11-09</u> Québec (Notre-Dame-de- Québec)	<u>1708-05-14</u> Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la- Visitation)	<b>Hilaire</b> Marie Antoinette Antoine <b>LEFEBVRE</b>
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**Family** # 3777

of Charles LEFEBVRE and Louise PRUDHOMME

**Marriage : Vers 1653**  
 Children before 1850:

Sex	Baptism Place	Marriage Place	Burial Place	Family Name Name of Spouse
f	Vers 1653 France	1671-11-09 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)	1723	<b>Marie Antoinette Antoine</b> Hilaire <b>LIMOUSIN BEAUFORT</b>

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**Family** # 14907

of **Francois MONDOUX** and **Marie Anne DANIS TOURANGEAU**

*Father* : Aubin **MONDOUX** *Father* : Rene **DANIS TOURANGEAU**  
*Mother* : Marie Madeleine **PROVENCHER** *Mother* : Marguerite **FORCIER**

**Marriage** : 22-Nov-1724 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)

**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	1726-09-22 <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	1748-08-05 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1802-01-03 <u>St-Eustache (St-Eustache)</u>	<b>Francois</b> Marie Angelique <b>PELISSIER</b> <b>LAFEUILLADE</b>
m	1728-02-04 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>		1748-04-18 <u>Trois-Rivières (Immaculée-Conception)</u>	<b>Etienne</b>
m	1729-04-03 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1760-01-21 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1809-03-12 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	<b>Pierre</b> Marie Dorothee <b>CAREY</b> <b>CORNIC</b>
m	1731-02-28 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1755-06-02 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1775-03-26 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	<b>Joseph</b> Marguerite <b>PETIT</b>
f	1732-10-28 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1754-11-25 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1812-12-29 <u>Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)</u>	<b>Marie Anne</b> Francois <b>PARENTEAU</b>
m	1734-03-12 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>		1760-11-25 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	<b>Augustin Michel</b>
f	1735-10-04 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1759-01-23 <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	1815-02-27 <u>Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)</u>	<b>Marie Elisabeth</b> Antoine <b>LAGARDE STJEAN</b>
m	1738-05-17 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1763-11-14 <u>Longueuil (St-Antoine-de-Padoue)</u>	1785-04-24 <u>Laval (St-Martin)</u>	<b>Paul</b> Marie Charlotte <b>VARIN</b> <b>LAPISTOLE</b>
f	1740-08-01 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1759-05-08 <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	1800-01-25 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Marie Marguerite</b> Jean Marie <b>AUBIN</b> <b>STAUBIN</b>
f	1742-08-04 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1764-04-30 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	1813-06-27 <u>Yamaska (St-Michel)</u>	<b>Genevieve</b> Michel Jean Baptiste <b>DUMAS</b>

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<b>Family</b>		# 4562		
of <u>Michel MONDOUX</u> and <u>Marie ARNAUD</u>				
<b>Marriage : 12-Jan-1636 France</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
m	1646-09-14 France	<u>1676-11-15</u> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1715-09-03</u> <u>St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)</u>	<b><u>Aubin</u></b> Marie Madeleine <b>PROVENCHER</b>
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Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
f	Vers 1706 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1733-10-14 Yamaska (St-Michel)	1784-06-03 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Madeleine</b> Joseph <b>GOGUET</b>
f	<u>1707-10-27</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1724-11-22</u> St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	<u>1760-11-24</u> Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Marie Anne</b> Francois <b>MONDOUX</b>
f	1709-04-13 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1735-10-11 Yamaska (St-Michel)	1787-02-05 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Gertrude</b> Etienne <b>MONDOUX</b>
f	1711-05-04 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)			<b>Inconnu</b>
f	1713-05-04 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1737-03-04 Yamaska (St-Michel)	1737-11-30 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Louise Lisette Ursule</b> Joseph <b>THEROUX LAFERTE</b>
m	1715-05-10 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1743-02-04 Yamaska (St-Michel)	1790-03-11 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marie Genevieve <b>GIROUX</b>
m	1717-03-04 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1744-01-13 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1784-10-29 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Gabriel</b> Marie Catherine <b>ALLARD</b>
f	1719-11-27 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1749-01-27 Yamaska (St-Michel)	1801-07-07 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	<b>Charlotte</b> Jean Baptiste Xavier <b>VANASSE</b>
m	1721-04-25 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1749-08-11 Yamaska (St-Michel)	1787-11-21 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Joseph</b> Catherine <b>PLANTE</b>
m	1723-05-21 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1749-09-15 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1790-04-25 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Laurent</b> Elisabeth Isabelle <b>JULIEN</b>
m	1724-11-13 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)			<b>Jean Francois</b>
f	1726-06-02 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)		1726-06-07 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	<b>Marie Catherine</b>
m	1727-11-03 Yamaska (St-Michel)			<b>Louis Michel</b>



<b>Family</b>				
				# 1166
of <u>Martin</u> <b>DANIS</b> and <u>Etiennette</u> <b>BADUILLE</b>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1628</b>				
<b>Childreo nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Bi thr(Baptism) Placb</b>	<b>Ma iagb Placb</b>	<b>Dbathr(Burial) Placb</b>	<b>Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb</b>
m	1624-07-07 France	1658-09-23 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<b>Honore</b> Marie <b>BEDARD</b>
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<b>Family</b>		# 2108		
of <u>Pierre LAPIERRE</u> and <u>Claude LECLERC</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1643</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
f	Vers 1643 France	<u>1666-03-20</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1712-04-24</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Perrine</b> Honore <b>DANIS</b> <b>TOURANGEAU</b>
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Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
<b>Family</b> <span style="float: right;"># 4397</span> of <b>Pierre FORCIER</b> and <b>Marguerite GIRARD</b> <i>Father</i> : Guillaume <b>FORCIER</b> <i>Mother</i> : Sebastienne <b>GAUTHIER</b> <b>Marriage</b> : Vers 1675 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec) <b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
f	1675-02-10 Sorel (St-Pierre)	1692-10-08 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1703-02-25 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Marthe</b> Pierre <b>BILLERON LAFATIGUE</b>
m	1677-01-20 Sorel (St-Pierre)	1703-02-19 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1741-09-02 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Gertrude <b>JOYAL</b>
m	1680-04-25 Sorel (St-Pierre)		1258-07-69 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Pierre</b>
m	1682-02-10 Sorel (St-Pierre)	1706-10-10 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	1750-06-05 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Jacques</b> Marie Jeanne <b>AREL</b>
f	1254-04-02 Sorel (St-Pierre)	1705-01-28 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1761-05-03 Yamaska (St-Michel)	<b>Marguerite</b> Rene <b>DANIS TOURANGEAU</b>
m	1687-02-09 Sorel (St-Pierre)		1689-01-09 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
f	1689-04-01 St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)			<b>Charlotte</b>

**Family**

# 43144

of **Thomas POIRIER DELOGE**and **Marie Josephe CLEMENT LARIVIERE  
CHAMBLY***Father* : Jacques **POIRIER DELOGE**  
*Mother* : Marie Josephe **LAROCQUE  
ROCBRUNE***Father* : Jean Baptiste **CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY**  
*Mother* : Monique **PILON****Marriage** : 20-Jan-1766 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
f	Vers 1767	1791-11-07 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1845-12-03 Ste-Scholastique (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Anastasia</b> Joseph <b>LAUZON</b>
f	1768-03-13 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1786-01-24 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1846-04-20 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Francois <b>LAUZON</b>
m	1769-07-09 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1769-09-05 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Thomas</b>
f	1772-03-20 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1793-02-04 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Marguerite</b> Paul <b>LAGARDE STJEAN</b>
m	1773-11-30 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1804-02-06 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1829-05-30 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Louise <b>Laurin</b>
m	1775-04-18 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)			<b>Thomas</b>
f	1776-04-27 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		1776-07-19 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Marie Agathe</b>
f	1778-06-04 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1804-02-13 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Marie Louise</b> Pierre <b>DUBEAU</b>
m	1780-01-25 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1802-10-25 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1822-09-21 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marie Veronique <b>CHEVAL STJACQUES</b>
m	1781-10-12 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1811-01-21 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Antoine</b> Genevieve <b>FILIATRAULT STLOUIS</b>
m	1783-03-10 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)			<b>Thomas</b>
f	1784-09-15 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1812-08-17 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1820-07-09 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Marie</b> Jean Baptiste <b>RICHER LOUVETEAU</b>
m	1786-07-04 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1808-07-04 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Jacques</b> Marie Scholastique <b>DANIS TOURANGEAU</b>
m	1788-05-27 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1811-01-21 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Louis</b> Marie <b>FILIATRAULT STLOUIS</b>
f		1814-01-31 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Catherine</b> Michel <b>LEGAULT DESLAURIERS</b>



**Family** # 23340

of **Jacques POIRIER DELOGE** and **Marie Josephe LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE**

*Father* : Joseph **POIRIER DELOGE** *Father* : Louis **LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE**  
*Mother* : Marie Josephe Marguerite **GAUTHIER SAGUINGORRA** *Mother* : Marie Madeleine **SABOURIN GACHINIAC**

**Marriage** : 25-Feb-1743 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne).

**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	1695-11-00 Oka (L'Annonciation)		1699-21-08 Oka (L'Annonciation)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	1699-10-02 Oka (L'Annonciation)	1766-01-20 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<b>Thomas</b> Marie Josephe <b>CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY</b>
f	1697-25-14 Oka (L'Annonciation)		1697-26-14 Oka (L'Annonciation)	<b>Marie Josephe</b>
f	1747-05-27 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1764-02-06 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1832-08-30 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Marie Clemence</b> Francois <b>DEGUIRE LAROSE</b>
f	1748-07-27 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1698-24-03 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Marie Josephe</b>
m	1749-08-21 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1772-05-18 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1823-07-27 St-Benoit (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Francoise <b>CHARBONNEAU</b>
m	1750-11-01 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1774-02-14 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)		<b>Toussaint Noel</b> Marguerite <b>ROCAN LAVILLE</b>
f	1752-07-15 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1630-28-12 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Marie Catherine</b>
m	1753-07-06 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1633-10-15 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Jacques</b>
f	1754-09-06 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1633-21-09 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Marie Amable</b>
m	1633-10-05 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1755-12-25 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Etienne</b>
m	1757-02-11 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1778-04-28 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1828-07-19 St-Benoit (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Jean Pascal</b> Marie Rose <b>BRAZEAU ROSE</b>
f	1758-11-22 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1759-08-18 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Marie Josephe</b>
m	1761-01-03 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	1793-01-21 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	1814-03-04 St-Benoit (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Francois</b> Marie Louise <b>CHARTRAND</b>
f	1763-05-06 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)		1763-08-06 Pierrefonds (Ste-Genevieve)	<b>Marie Amable</b>

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100  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le treizieme decembre  
d'ancien lieu je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de  
ff anes je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de  
de chaudiere de la paroisse de la messe par son pouvoir acte  
joseph madelaine de la douceur esta mariee a marie femme  
lucienne laquelle ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous  
l'ad onant. Presteur prie

101  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
poures du delage je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
genevieve femme son parain nath charles d'ancien de st anne madeline marquette  
le pouse lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous  
l'ad onant. Presteur prie

102  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
genie je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
son parain je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

103  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

104  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

105  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

Thomasi sonz velle riviere  
Presteur prie de st anne

106  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

107  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

108  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

109  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

110  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

111  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

112  
R. B. Ruyssant

L'an mille sept cent quarante et deux en le dixieme decembre  
je sougnie par les fonctions curiales de st anne de la paroisse de  
marquette l'enfant fille de pierre l'ancien de la paroisse de  
son parain est genevieve talonde esta mariee marquette  
lesquels ont declaree ne scauoir signer selon ce enquis par nous l'ad onant. Presteur prie

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
<b>Family</b> # 10477 of <b>Joseph POIRIER DELOGE</b> and <b>Marie Josephe Marguerite GAUTHIER SAGUINGORRA</b> <i>Father : Jacques POIRIER</i> <i>Father : Pierre GAUTHIER SAGUINGORRA</i> <i>Mother : Francoise BRUNET</i> <i>Mother : Charlotte ROUSSEL</i> <b>Marriage : 16-Sep-1709 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</b> <b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
m	1710-10-12 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1730-06-30 Beaumont (St-Étienne)	1732-11-13 Beaumont (St-Étienne)	<b>Marie t</b> Marie Anne <b>LACASSE</b>
m	1712-09-28 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1733-09-15 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1781-01-01 Vaudreuil (St-Michel)	<b>h r J a r p t P</b> Marie Charlotte <b>BOYER FONTAINE</b>
m	1714-11-01 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1740-01-07 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)		<b>h g t p a</b> Marie Helene <b>PILON</b>
f	1717-07-25 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1739-11-17 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1772-05-16 Montréal, Sault-au-Récollet (La-Visitation-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie)	<b>u r i c d g t p a</b> Pierre <b>PITON TOULOUSE</b>
m	1719-10-13 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1742-02-03 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1795-07-29 Île-Perrot (Ste-Jeanne-de-Chantal)	<b>h r J a r p t P</b> Marie Genevieve <b>HENAULT DESCHAMPS HUNEAU</b>
f	1722-03-22 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1741-11-21 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1794-10-31 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>u r i c a r i g n i P</b> Jean Baptiste <b>SEDILOT MONTREUIL</b>
m	Vers 1724 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1743-02-25 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1798-11-09 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>h r B C n t</b> Marie Josephe <b>LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE</b>
m	1726-10-05 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1748-01-08 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1764-07-10 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>l c i i</b> Marie Charlotte <b>PILON</b>



Le vingt-neufiesme jour du mois de fevrier mil sept cent deux a esté baptyzé par moy  
 prêtre soussigné Jean-Baptiste Curé de  
 Marie Louise fille de Mathurin Perron  
 et de Marie Charpentier et de Marie Boucher  
 sa femme née le huitiesme jour de may de  
 l'année dernière en saque de la paroisse de  
 Saint-Joseph de la paroisse de la Madeleine Marie Louise  
 Bequet fille de Jean-Baptiste Bequet  
 natif de la paroisse de la Madeleine et de Marie  
 avec moy  
 Charles Germain  
 Curé de la paroisse de la Madeleine  
 Le dix-neufiesme jour du mois de fevrier mil sept cent deux  
 a esté baptyzé par moy prêtre soussigné faisant les fonctions  
 curiales de la paroisse de la Madeleine  
 de Marie Louise fille de Mathurin Perron et de Marie Charpentier  
 sa femme née le huitiesme jour de may de l'année dernière en saque  
 de la paroisse de la Madeleine et de Marie Bequet fille de Jean-Baptiste  
 Bequet natif de la paroisse de la Madeleine et de Marie avec moy  
 Charles Germain Curé de la paroisse de la Madeleine

11e feuille Antoine Boyer fils de Nicolas Boyer  
 habitant de cette paroisse La Marine Genevieve  
 perthuis femme d'Urban Germain aussi habitant  
 de cette paroisse Le paroissien a déclaré ne savoir  
 signer de ce interpellé suivant l'ordonnance Le  
 pere et la marine ont signé avec moy  
 Charles Germain  
 Genevieve perthuis  
~~Charles Germain~~  
~~Genevieve perthuis~~  
 Le vingt-cinquieme jour du mois de fevrier mil sept  
 cent deux les trois publications avant esté faites et dans  
 cette paroisse et dans la paroisse de la chine et ny ayant  
 paru aucun empêchement j'ay soussigné prêtre faisant  
 les fonctions curiales donne la bénédiction nuptiale a  
 Alexandre Dupont âgé d'aproximativement soixante ans veuf  
 de défunte Charlotte Beauvoir natif en fait d'armes  
 demourant au haut de l'île d'une part et a Marie  
 Gauthier âgée de dix-huit ans fille de Pierre Gauthier  
 et de défunte Charlotte Roussel de la paroisse  
 de la chine ses pere et mere d'autre part Led.  
 mariage a esté fait en présence de Jacques Michel  
 Marchand de cette ville de Charles Chabouille  
 sculpteur de Pierre Couturier tailleur de pierre  
 de Pierre Gauthier pere de led. épouse et de Pierre  
 Chanterneau beau de cette eglise Led. épouse led.  
 Pierre Gauthier et Pierre Chanterneau ont déclaré ne  
 savoir signer de ce interpellés suivant  
 l'ordonnance Les autres ont signé avec

<b>Family</b>					# 10478
of <u>Jacques POIRIER</u> and <u>Francoise BRUNET</u>					
<b>Marriage : Vers 1685</b>					
<b>Children before 1850:</b>					
Sbx	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Burial (Burial) Place	Family Name of Spouse	
m	Vers 1685 France	<u>1709-09-16</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame- de-Montréal)	<u>1754-02-23</u> Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Josephe Marguerite <b>GAUTHIER</b> <b>SAGUINGORRA</b>	
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auparavant sans opposition Le d<sup>r</sup> Mariage  
 fait en presence de M<sup>r</sup> Jacques Le  
 Vert Marchand de M<sup>r</sup> Charles Le  
 Moyne de M<sup>r</sup> Longueil de M<sup>r</sup> Jean  
 Gibuay habitant et de plusieurs autres  
 tous amys communs des d<sup>s</sup> parties qui  
 ont declare ne scauoir signer de regny  
 selon l'ordonnance

Gobanquais  
 Perot  
 Curé

M. H.  
 Jean me  
 et  
 Jaqueline  
 Langlois

Le 19 du Moys de Nouemb<sup>r</sup> 1668  
 A Est fait et solemn<sup>l</sup> le Mariage  
 de Jean Me habitant de St-Ju filz de St  
 Pierre Me et de Francois Mercedeau  
 Ves pp<sup>r</sup> et Mer du Bourg s<sup>t</sup> Fort en  
 Ainsong. Avec Jaqueline Langlois fille  
 de feu Claude Langlois et de Jaqueline  
 Gautier des pp<sup>r</sup> et Mer paroisse de  
 Limay a La Roch-Guion by bay public  
 au parauant sans opposition avec dispense  
 des deux autres Le d<sup>r</sup> Mariage fait  
 en presche de Pierre des aubly Antoin  
 Courtmanche, Nicolas Gard, Mathurin  
 Bernier et plusieurs autres tous amys  
 communs des d<sup>s</sup> parties qui ont declare ne  
 scauoir signer de regny selon l'ordonnance  
 de Hauts et Bas

Perot  
 Curé

N. 12.  
 Isaac Nafrecheou Le 19 du Moys de Nouemb<sup>r</sup> 1668  
 et A Est fait et solemn<sup>l</sup> le Mariage de  
 Isaac Nafrecheou habitant filz de Jacques  
 Nafrecheou et de Louise Garnier s<sup>s</sup> pp<sup>r</sup> et  
 M<sup>r</sup> de paroiss. et M<sup>r</sup> de paroiss. Avec  
 Catherine Le Loup fille de Nicolas Le Loup  
 et de Marguerite Hauet des pp<sup>r</sup> et Mer  
 de s<sup>t</sup> Saturnin et de s<sup>t</sup> Jean Les trois bay public  
 au parauant sans opposition, Le d<sup>r</sup> Mariage  
 fait en presche de M<sup>r</sup> Charles  
 Daillibout s<sup>r</sup> de Musseau s<sup>r</sup> de civil et  
 criminel et de Lieu de M<sup>r</sup> Pierre Pielle  
 et de s<sup>t</sup> Lest. et M<sup>r</sup> Jean Baptiste  
 Vincent Philippe s<sup>r</sup> de Hautmadril et  
 M<sup>r</sup> Benign. d'affer Guiffre et de Lieu  
 et M<sup>r</sup> Nicolas Bouchet Marchand  
 et M<sup>r</sup> Jean Gibuay habitant et  
 M<sup>r</sup> Gabriel Barbier de M<sup>r</sup> Francois  
 barly et de plusieurs autres tous amys  
 des d<sup>s</sup> parties qui ont signe

Isaac Nafrecheou Catherine Le Loup  
 Philippe de Hautmadril  
 Basot  
 Gouanquais  
 Perot  
 Curé



<b>Family</b>		# 2648		
of <u>Jacques GAUTHIER</u> and <u>Marie BOUCHER</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1629</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
Sbx	Bi thr(Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
m	Vers 1629 France	1668-11-12 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1703-12-05 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Pierre</b> Charlotte <b>ROUSSEL</b>
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<b>Family</b>		# 2649		
of <u>Thomas ROUSSEL</u> and <u>Barbe POISSON</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1646</b>				
<b>Childre nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbath (Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
f	Vers 1646 France	1668-11-12 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de- Montréal)		<b>Charlotte</b> Pierre <b>GAUTHIER</b> <b>SAGUINGORRA</b>
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Paul le pointe claire paroisse de St Joachim paroisse des fonctions  
 L'évêque curiales en l'absence de Mr de bruley curi de la dite pa-  
 roisse baptême pour le curi de rini le curi habitant de  
 cette paroisse et de susanne abelin son épouse ni le curi  
 du mois de may l'an mille sept cent seize le parain  
 a été Jean chaste Etienne fils de rasque Etienne habitant  
 de cette paroisse et la maraine mari le curi habitant  
 de rasque Etienne et de Louise femme avec lesquels  
 ont déclaré se voir signer de ce mariage devant M<sup>r</sup>  
 Etienne

Deuxième partie

M. 2 le curi de rini mille sept cent seize son conjoint pour le curi  
 Louis mari de la paroisse de St Joachim paroisse des fonctions curiales  
 L'évêque en l'absence de Mr de bruley curi de la dite paroisse après avoir  
 publié un ban et avoir obtenu la dispense des deux autres  
 Marie maguelon trouva aucun empêchement et ay obtenu la bénédiction  
 Madelin supplé à Louis la rigne fils de philbert lavoyeur  
 ne de susanne et Georges les père et mère habitant de Contre  
 Sabou-cour et à Marie magdelaine sabou-cour fille de Gen-  
 rivé Marie sabou-cour et de magdelaine Joseph perrier les  
 pères et mère habitant de la paroisse de la maraine  
 a été fait en présence de rini pour le curi habitant

de la dite paroisse et Jean perri de la dite  
 épouse et de Jean charles habitant de la paroisse  
 claire supplé à l'absence de la dite épouse et de Guillaume  
 Colond habitant de la paroisse de St Etienne au  
 haut de la dite paroisse lesquels ont déclaré se  
 voir signer de ce mariage devant M<sup>r</sup> Etienne  
 Deperre prêtre.

M. 3 le curi de rini mille sept cent seize son conjoint pour le curi  
 Rini missionnaire de la paroisse de St Joachim paroisse des fonctions  
 curiales en l'absence de Mr de bruley curi  
 et de la dite paroisse après avoir publié un ban et obtenu  
 François son la dispense des deux autres voyant aucun  
 Bigras empêchement ay obtenu la bénédiction supplé à rini  
 Aubin âgé de environ trente ans fils de André Aubin  
 et de Marie verine de la paroisse de remuelle a été  
 ange des père et mère et a francisque Bigras âgé  
 de six huit ans fils de francisque Bigras et de Marie bra-  
 net les père et mère habitant de cette paroisse  
 le mariage fut fait en présence de Jean charles  
 habitant de cette paroisse et de francisque Bigras le  
 père de la dite épouse et de Michel rini son

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
<b>Family</b> # 12304				
of <b>Louis LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE GACHINIAC</b> and <b>Marie Madeleine SABOURIN</b>				
Father : Philibert <b>COUILLAUD LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE</b>			Father : Pierre <b>SABOURIN</b>	
Mother : Catherine <b>LAPORTE STGEORGE</b>			Mother : Marie Madeleine Joseph <b>PERRIER</b>	
<b>Marriage : 21-May-1716 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
m	1718-02-20 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1739-01-26 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1772-03-01 Les Cèdres (St-Joseph-de- Soulanges)	<b>Louis</b> Marguerite <b>JULIEN</b> <b>DARAGON STJULIEN</b>
m	1695-59-91 Pointe-Claire (St- Joachim)	1744-01-27 Oka (L'Annonciation)	1791-11-05 Vaudreuil (St-Michel)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marie Charlotte <b>SEGUIN</b> <b>LADEROUTE</b>
f	1697-19-01 Pointe-Claire (St- Joachim)	1743-02-25 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1799-06-30 St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Jacques <b>POIRIER DELOGE</b>
m	1723-06-25 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)		1692-58-57 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Pierre</b>
f	1725-04-12 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1746-02-21 Oka (L'Annonciation)		<b>Marie Madeleine</b> Pierre <b>HERY DUPLANTY</b> <b>GERMAIN</b>
f	1726-12-29 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1747-05-15 Oka (L'Annonciation)	1784-09-12 Montréal (Notre-Dame- de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Thomas <b>PROULX</b>
f	1729-08-22 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)			<b>Catherine</b>
m	1731-07-14 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1753-03-05 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1802-10-27 Vaudreuil (St-Michel)	<b>Antoine</b> Marie Anne <b>POIRIER</b> <b>DELOGE</b>
f	1733-05-14 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)		1628-54-52 Oka (L'Annonciation)	<b>Francoise Amable</b>
m	1735-04-06 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1754-10-21 Oka (L'Annonciation)	1635-51-53 Pierrefonds (Ste- Geneviève)	<b>Francois</b> Marie Jeanne <b>PILON</b>
f	1736-08-31 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)		1608-53-18 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>Angelique Louise</b>
m	1738-03-09 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)		1604-53-15 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>Hyacinthe</b>
m	1739-09-19 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1764-02-20 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1813-11-22 Rigaud (Ste-Madeleine)	<b>Joseph</b> Marie Josephe <b>SAUVE</b> <b>LAPLANTE</b>
m	1741-05-11 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1761-09-14 Oka (L'Annonciation)	1827-11-07 St-Benoît (Deux- Montagnes)	<b>Pierre</b> Marie Catherine <b>SEGUIN</b> <b>LADEROUTE</b>

<b>Family</b> <span style="float: right;"># 4480</span>				
of <u>Philibert COUILLAUD LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE</u> and <u>Catherine LAPORTE STGEORGE</u>				
<i>Father</i> : Jacques <b>LAPORTE STGEORGE</b> <i>Mother</i> : Nicole <b>DUCHENE</b>				
<b>Marriage</b> : Vers 1677 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	1677-10-15 Sorel (St-Pierre)	1704-09-11 Varennes (Ste-Anne)	1753-07-04 Varennes (Ste-Anne)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marie Anne Jeanne <b>CELERIER DESLAURIERS</b>
m	Vers 1679 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1716-05-21 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1764-06-05 Oka (L'Annonciation)	<b>Louis</b> Marie Madeleine <b>SABOURIN</b>
f	1681-10-03 Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)	Avant 1700		<b>Marie Anne</b> Leonard <b>GIRAULT LACHAUME</b>
m	1683-11-06 Boucherville (Ste-Famille)	1723-06-21 Bécancour (Nativite-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie)	1749-01-15 St-Denis-sur-Richelieu (St-Denis)	<b>Antoine</b> Marie Madeleine <b>CHEDEVERGNE LAROSE</b>
f	1685-01-12 Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)	Avant 1700 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1750-10-26 St-Denis-sur-Richelieu (St-Denis)	<b>Catherine</b> Noel <b>BOULIER LAFOSSE</b>
m	1686-12-03 Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)	1717-11 Sorel (St-Pierre)		<b>Francois</b> Marie Josephe <b>GRESLON LAVIOLETTE GRENON</b>
m	Vers 1694 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1718-02-02 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1772-10-22 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Michel</b> Marie Josephe <b>PINEL</b>
f	Vers 1696 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1722-06-25 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<b>Marie Hilaire</b> Jean Baptiste <b>SCHOFIELD LEPINE</b>
m	Vers 1697 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1721-09-30 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1751-10-08 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Philibert</b> Jeanne <b>BRUNET BOURBONNAIS</b>
f	Vers 1700 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1723-11-02 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)	1770-11-24 St-Joseph-de-Beauce (St-Joseph)	<b>Marie Barbe</b> Julien <b>GARDET DUPLESSIS GARDE</b>



<b>Family</b>				
# 1087				
of <u>Jacques LAPORTE STGEORGE</u> and <u>Nicole DUCHENE</u>				
Father : Jacques <b>LAPORTE</b> Mother : Marie <b>HAMELIN</b>			Father : Francois <b>DUCHENE</b> Mother : Marie <b>NOLET</b>	
<b>Marriage : 03-Sep-1657 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	<u>1695-02-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1688-02-24</u> Boucherville (Ste-Famille)	<u>1876-01-45</u> Boucherville (Ste-Famille)	<b>Paul</b> Marie <b>LUSSIER</b>
m	<u>1660-11-17</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1703-08-26</u> St-François-du-Lac (St-François-Xavier)	<b>Antoine</b>
m	<u>1664-02-47</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	Avant 1690 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1693-08-20</u> Boucherville (Ste-Famille)	<b>George</b> Marie Madeleine <b>GUERTIN</b>
f	<u>1667-10-14</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	Avant 1677 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1878-02-11</u> Varennes (Ste-Anne)	<b>Catherine</b> Philibert <b>COULLAUD LAROCQUE ROCBRUNE</b>
m	<u>1669-10-46</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1687-01-09</u> Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)	<u>1748-03-07</u> St-Denis-sur-Richelieu (St-Denis)	<b>Jacques</b> Marie Madeleine <b>PAVIOT LAPENSEE</b>
m	Vers 1667 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1659-01-70</u> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1818-01-46</u> St-Sulpice (L'Assomption)	<b>Louis</b> Marie Madeleine <b>MASSEAU STMARTIN</b>
f	Vers 1670 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)		<u>1684-08-10</u> Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)	<b>Angelique</b>
m	<u>1682-04-06</u> Sorel (St-Pierre)			<b>Jean</b>
f	<u>1686-04-43</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1659-01-41</u> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1743-10-27</u> Contrecoeur (Ste-Trinité)	<b>Suzanne</b> Pierre <b>MENARD</b>
m	<u>1678-04-30</u> Sorel (St-Pierre)	<u>1703-07-27</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1751-09-05</u> Lavaltrie (St-Antoine)	<b>Pierre</b> Marie Anne <b>HAN CHAUSSE JAHAN JEAN</b>
f	<u>1682-05-08</u> Boucherville (Ste-Famille)		<u>1683-11-28</u> Boucherville (Ste-Famille)	<b>Jeanne</b>

<b>Family</b>		# 1081		
of <u>Jacques LAPORTE</u> and <u>Marie HAMELIN</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1627</b>				
<b>Childre o nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Bi thr(Baptism) Placb</b>	<b>Ma iagb Placb</b>	<b>Dbathr(Burial) Placb</b>	<b>Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb</b>
m	1627-03-05 France	1657-09-03 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>Jacques</u> Nicole <b>DUCHENE</b>
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**Family** # 1082

of Francois DUCHENE and Marie NOLET

**Marriage : Vers 1638**  
**Childre nrebfo br1850r:**

Sbx	Bi thr(Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
f	Vers 1638 France	1657-09-03 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>Nicole</u> Jacques <b>LAPORTE STGEORGE</b>

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le 20<sup>e</sup> may 1688 a été baptisée Helene  
 fille des Sr Binard & Françoise et des parrains  
 Lambert Lagomine Le Garrein Gabriel & Anne  
 la marie & Catherine & Anne & Françoise  
 Michel mené Catherine duomeni & Genevieve Cure

le 4<sup>e</sup> may 1688 a été solennisé le mariage  
 entre Pamela Courin fils de Jean La Courin et de  
 la femme Mathurine Regnaud les pere & mere de l'un et  
 de l'autre de la femme de defunt Jean Courin  
 et de Marie Yckard les pere & mere l'autre par  
 temoigns de Sr Guillard et Charles Bois notaires  
 de Sr E. Gaudet Cure

le 28 may 1688 a été baptisé Antoine fils de  
 Jean & de Marie de la femme de Sr Jean  
 Antoine forester Chirurgien & Catherine Belle  
 femme de Sr Louis Bois notaire de Sr Ligne

**AGRESIMENTS**

le 2 Juin 1688 a été baptisé Gabriel fille de  
 Marie & Mathurine Gouart la femme de Garrein  
 Gabriel & de la marrieme Anne Caullier

le 22 Juin 1688 a été enterré dans l'église Jean  
 Garrein après avoir vécu 85 ans & 80 jours

le 14 Juin 1688 a été solennisé le mariage  
 entre Jean de Sr Potier notaire & de Sr Jean  
 de Sr le marrieme de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr  
 de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr

de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr  
 de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr de Sr

**AGRESIMENTS**

le 20<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1688 a été baptisée Marie  
 Charlotte Gauthier fille de Jean Gauthier sergent de  
 la compagnie de Monsieur le Gouverneur de Canada et  
 de Marie duin sa femme le parrain Monsieur le  
 Marquis de Casady la marraine Madame de  
 Marie Charlotte Gouart

le 10<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1688 a été baptisée Marie  
 Charlotte Gauthier fille de Jean Gauthier sergent de  
 la compagnie de Monsieur le Gouverneur de Canada et  
 de Marie duin sa femme le parrain Monsieur le  
 Marquis de Casady la marraine Madame de  
 Marie Charlotte Gouart

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 la compagnie de Monsieur le Gouverneur de Canada et  
 de Marie duin sa femme le parrain Monsieur le  
 Marquis de Casady la marraine Madame de  
 Marie Charlotte Gouart

le 20<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1688 a été baptisée Marie Anne  
 Gouart fille de Claude Gouart & de Louise Gouart  
 de parrains Sr Jean de Sr la marraine Marie  
 Gouart

le 20<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1688 a été baptisée Marie Anne  
 Gouart fille de Claude Gouart & de Louise Gouart  
 de parrains Sr Jean de Sr la marraine Marie  
 Gouart

le 20<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1688 a été baptisée Marie Anne  
 Gouart fille de Claude Gouart & de Louise Gouart  
 de parrains Sr Jean de Sr la marraine Marie  
 Gouart

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 Gouart fille de Claude Gouart & de Louise Gouart  
 de parrains Sr Jean de Sr la marraine Marie  
 Gouart

**Family** # 6128

of Pierre SABOURIN and Marie Madeleine Josephe PERRIER

Father : Jean Baptiste **SABOURIN**      Father : Jean **PERRIER**  
 Mother : Mathurine **RENAUD**      Mother : Marie **GAILLARD**

**Marriage : 24-May-1688 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal).**

**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	<u>1692-09-24</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		<u>1692-10-10</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	<u>1694-05-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1716-11-23</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1750-07-24</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Pierre</b> Barbe Charlotte <b>SEGUIN</b>
m	<u>1696-07-06</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1727-07-27</u> Oka (L'Annonciation)	<u>1781-10-08</u> Vaudreuil (St-Michel)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marie Catherine Sara <b>HANSON</b>
f	<u>1699-01-26</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<u>1716-05-21</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1784-01-17</u> Vaudreuil (St-Michel)	<b>Marie Madeleine</b> Louis <b>LAROCQUE</b> <b>ROCBRUNE GACHINIAC</b>
m	<u>1701-10-06</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		<u>1734-10-06</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
m	<u>1705-02-15</u> Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<u>1726-11-25</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1784-08-29</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jacques</b> Marie Jeanne Anne <b>DUMAIS</b> <b>AUMAIS</b>
f	Vers 1707 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1735-08-11</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1778-02-14</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Genevieve</b> Charles <b>JULIEN DARAGON</b> <b>STJULIEN</b>

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<b>Family</b>					# 2206
of <u>Jean Baptiste</u> <b>SABOURIN</b> and <u>Mathurine</u> <b>RENAUD</b>					
Father : Jean <b>SABOURIN</b> Mother : Etiennette <b>JUNEAU</b>			Father : Sylvestre <b>RENAUD</b> Mother : Judith <b>LAUBERTRE</b>		
<b>Marriage : 29-Apr-1665 France</b>					
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>					
Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse	
m	Vers 1666 France	1688-05-24 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>		<b>Pierre</b> Marie Madeleine Josephe <b>PERRIER</b>	
f	<u>1670-07-03</u> <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1685-11-12 <u>Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)</u>	1716-11-26 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Francoise</b> Claude <b>SOURDY LAMOTHE</b>	
f	1672-08-31 <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1688-08-03 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	1706-02-26 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Marie Madeleine</b> Jean Baptiste Marie <b>PICARD</b>	
m	<u>1674-11-23</u> <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1698-06-10 <u>Montréal, Pointe-aux-Trembles (St-Enfant-Jésus)</u>	1756-07-16 <u>Montréal (Hôpital général de Montréal)</u>	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Catherine <b>CHARTIER</b>	
f	<u>1676-07-01</u> <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1695-01-10 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	1750-05-19 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Marie Jeanne</b> Nicolas <b>PERILLARD BOURGUIGNON</b>	
m	Vers 1678 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)			<b>Guillaume</b>	
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Jean Berpin  
Madeleine Vallée

Le sixième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'an 1689. Soixante-neuf, après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'entre Jean Berpin, habitant de Fontevieux, fils de Pierre Berpin et de Marie Mirreux, de la paroisse de St. Remy, d'une part, et Madeleine Vallée, fille de Thomas Vallée et de Renée Vallée, de la paroisse de St. Thomas de St. Louis, d'autre part. M. l'Evêque les ayant dispensés du 3<sup>e</sup> ban, et ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement, Je soussigné prestre curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec les ay mariés en ladite Eglise, en présence de François Lavachon, Jean Chartant, et de Nicolas Rousselot, témoins.

H. Schermiers

Nicolas Preunier  
Antoinette Le Grand

Le sixième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'an 1689. Soixante-neuf, après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'entre Nicolas Preunier, habitant de Fontevieux, fils de feu Jean Preunier et de Catherine Devault, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Eustache d'Amiens, d'une part, et Antoinette Le Grand, fille de feu Jean Le Grand, et de défunte Nicole Pion, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Jean de la Ville d'Eu, d'autre part. M. l'Evêque les ayant dispensés du 3<sup>e</sup> ban, et ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement légitime, Je soussigné prestre curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec, les ay mariés en ladite Eglise, en présence de Nicolas Rousselot, François Vercheres, et de Pierre Guignard, témoins.

H. Schermiers

Jacques Daroff  
Barbe d'Orange

Le sixième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'an 1689. Soixante-neuf, après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'entre Jacques Daroff, fils de défunt Pierre Daroff et de Barbe Couquignon, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Eustache d'Amiens, d'une part, et Barbe d'Orange, fille de Daniel d'Orange et de Jeanne Neveu, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Jean de la Ville et d'Eu, d'autre part. M. l'Evêque les ayant dispensés du troisième ban, et ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement, Je soussigné prestre curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec, les ay mariés en ladite Eglise, et leur ay donné la benediction Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la 1<sup>re</sup> Eglise, en présence de Pierre Le Moine, Jean Berpin, et Guillaume Duvallet, témoins.

H. Schermiers

Pierre Poirier  
Marie Chaire

Le sixième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'an 1689. Soixante-neuf, après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'entre Jean Poirier, fils de défunt Jean Poirier et de Marie Torrie, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de Pau Euschi de Bayonne, d'une part, et Marie Chaire, fille de défunt Pierre Chaire et de Marie Gaillard, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de Clermont d'Archevêché de Rouen, d'autre part. M. l'Evêque les ayant dispensés du 3<sup>e</sup> ban, et ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement, Je soussigné prestre curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec, les ay mariés en ladite Eglise, et leur ay donné la benediction Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la 1<sup>re</sup> Eglise, en présence de Guillaume du Bault, Pierre Le Moine, et Joseph Guerin, témoins.

H. Schermiers

Jacques Talua  
Genevieve Godeby

Le septième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'an 1689. Soixante-neuf, après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'entre Julien Talua, fils de Pierre Talua, et de Jeanne Besnes, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Pierre Euschi de Nantes, d'une part, et Genevieve Godeby, fille de défunt Laurent Godeby, et de Marie Martin, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Jacques de Dieppe, archevêché de Rouen, d'autre part. M. l'Evêque leur ayant donné dispense du troisième ban, et ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement légitime, Je soussigné prestre curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec, les ay mariés en ladite Eglise, et leur ay donné la benediction Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la 1<sup>re</sup> Eglise, en présence de Michel Blanchot, et Jacques Formel, témoins.

H. Schermiers

Mathurin Renaut  
Marie Pelletier

Le septième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'an 1689. Soixante-neuf, après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans de mariage d'entre Mathurin Renaut, fils de Mathurin Renaut et de Gabrielle Renaut, ses père et mère, de la paroisse de St. Etienne d'Archevêché de Rouen, d'une part, et Marie Pelletier, fille de Jean Pelletier, et de Montargis Archevêché de Sens, d'autre part. M. l'Evêque ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement, Je soussigné prestre curé de la paroisse de Notre Dame de Québec, les ay mariés, et leur ay donné la benediction Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la 1<sup>re</sup> Eglise, en présence de Charles Petit, René Arnaud, et Pierre Guilbaud, témoins.

H. Schermiers

**Family** # 2848

of Jean PERRIER and Marie GAILLARD

Father : Jean **POIRIER PERRIER**      Father : Pierre **GAILLARD**  
 Mother : Marie **DERVIE**                      Mother : Marie **GAILLARD MARTIN**

**Marriage** : 06-Oct-1669 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)

**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
f	1670-08-21 <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1686-11-25 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	1750-10-20 <u>Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)</u>	<b>Marie Marthe</b> Jean Charles <b>CHARLEBOIS JOLIBOIS</b>
f	1670-08-21 <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1683-12-06 <u>Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)</u>	1740-12-05 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Marie</b> Guillaume <b>LORET FONTAINE LAFONTAINE</b>
m	1672-12-10 <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	1711-11-30 <u>Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)</u>	1737-12-20 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Jacques</b> Marguerite <b>PARE</b>
f	1674-02-16 <u>Beauport (Nativité-de-Notre-Dame)</u>	1688-05-24 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>		<b>Marie Madeleine Joseph</b> Pierre <b>SABOURIN</b>
f	Vers 1677 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1692-09-01 <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	1755-12-18 <u>Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)</u>	<b>Marie Marguerite</b> Jacques Jacob <b>THOMELET</b>
m	1680-02-21 <u>Beauport (Nativité-de-Notre-Dame)</u>			<b>Francois Madeleine</b>

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<b>Family</b>				
				# 2849
of <u>Jean POIRIER PERRIER</u> and <u>Marie DERVIE</u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1646</b>				
<b>Childre o nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Bi thr(Baptism) Placb</b>	<b>Ma iagb Placb</b>	<b>Dbathr(Burial) Placb</b>	<b>Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb</b>
m	Vers 1646 France	1669-10-06 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)		<u>Jean</u> Marie <b>GAILLARD</b>

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**Family**

# 2850

of Pierre GAILLARD and Marie GAILLARD MARTIN**Marriage : Vers 1647**

Childre o nrebfo br1850r:

Sbx	Bi thr( <i>Baptism</i> ) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr( <i>Burial</i> ) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
f	Vers 1647 France	1669-10-06 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)	1736-07-12 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Marie</b> Jean <b>PERRIER</b>

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<b>Family</b> # 23351				
of <u>Jean Baptiste CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY</u> and <u>Monique PILON</u>				
Father : Pierre <b>CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY</b>			Father : Thomas <b>PILON</b>	
Mother : Marie Catherine <b>PRESEAU CHAMBLY</b>			Mother : Marie Madeleine <b>DAOUST</b>	
<b>Marriage : 26-Feb-1743 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
<b>Sex</b>	<b>Birth (Baptism) Place</b>	<b>Marriage Place</b>	<b>Death (Burial) Place</b>	<b>First name of the child Name of the spouse</b>
m	<u>1744-01-29</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1744-03-22</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jean Amable</b>
m	<u>1745-01-30</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1745-02-12</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Thomas</b>
f	<u>1746-03-08</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1763-11-14</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1833-02-23</u> St-Benoît (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Genevieve Amable</b> Michel Marie <b>LANGLOIS TRAVERSY</b>
f	<u>1748-02-29</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1766-01-20</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1816-10-06</u> St-Eustache (St-Eustache)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Thomas <b>POIRIER DELOGE</b>
m	<u>1750-03-27</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1775-01-23</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1834-03-29</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Joseph Jean</b> Marie Josephe <b>LEDUC</b>
f	<u>1752-04-06</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1752-04-21</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Monique</b>
f	<u>1753-05-10</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1770-03-30</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Agathe</b>
m	<u>1755-04-06</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1756-01-01</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>
f	<u>1756-04-02</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1775-11-13</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1789-01-01</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Charlotte</b> Jean Baptiste <b>GROULX</b>
f	Vers 1757-03 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)		<u>1757-06-24</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marguerite</b>
f	<u>1758-12-26</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1759-07-13</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Louise</b>
f	<u>1761-03-07</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1771-01-22</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Monique</b>
m	<u>1762-08-21</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1782-09-23</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<u>1839-10-08</u> St-Benoît (Deux-Montagnes)	<b>Joachim</b> Marie Josephe <b>JAMME CARRIERE</b>
m	<u>1764-03-12</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1764-05-21</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Ignace Anatole</b>
m	<u>1766-12-12</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<u>1767-06-09</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b>

le corps de s'asph' parchal, fils de pierre you  
 De la Decouverte officier dans les troupes  
 de l'Am' de Magdelaine, fut son epouze  
 mort age de trois jours le meme jour desd' mes  
 et au moins Magdelaine Le que' sa mere  
 et sa soeur de mere servait Le frere enfan de  
 choeur lequel ont signez avec moy epouse chantrea  
 beveau qui a declare ne savoir signer de ce interpellé  
 suivant l'ordonnance ~~ma~~ <sup>legui</sup>  
~~gervais~~ <sup>Le feuvre</sup>  
 R. C. De Braslay faisant les fonctions curiales

Le dix neuvieme jour du mois de Avril  
 mil sept cent deux des trois publications  
 du present mariage d'ant' fait et n'ant  
 aucun empichement au mariage soy  
 sousigne' pretre faisant les fonctions curiales  
 d'ant' apres avoir pris le mutuel consentement  
 des parties par parole de present et donne' la  
 benediction nuptiale a pierre clement age de  
 trente deux ans fils de pierre clement et de  
 Catherine <sup>ses</sup> pere et mere de la  
 paroisse de st Jacques de la ville de Tarrason  
 Du dioc' de Beaulieu en provenze d'une part  
 et Marie presot agee de vingt deux ans fille  
 de Michel presot de Chamblay et de Marie  
<sup>ses</sup> pere et mere d'autre part led.  
 mariage a été fait en presence de Gervais le  
 feuvre faisant office de clerc en l'eglise de

19<sup>e</sup> feuillet Francois Tahan tuteur du seminaire  
 de Noel Burot soldat de la compagnie du r.  
 De Louvigny et de pierre chantrea  
 beveau led. epoux et epouze Noel Burot  
 et pierre chantrea ont declare ne savoir  
 signer de ce interpellé suivant l'ordonnance  
 les autres savent servir le frere et Francois  
 Tahan assignés avec moy

Gervais Le feuvre  
 Francois Tahan  
 R. C. De Braslay faisant les

fonctions curiales  
 Le dix neuvieme jour du mois de Avril  
 mil sept cent deux a été baptize par moy  
 pretre sousigne' faisant les fonctions curiales  
 Jacques fils de Jean Moyner habitant de cette  
 paroisse et de Jeanne Chet sa femme né le  
 sept desd' mois et an. Le perein Jacques  
 Leguin habitant de cette paroisse La Marise  
 Magdelaine fille femme de Jean Drapeau  
 habitant de cette paroisse lequel ont declare  
 ne savoir signer de ce interpellé suivant l'ordonnance  
 R. C. De Braslay faisant les fonctions  
 curiales

Le dix neuvieme jour du mois de Avril mil  
 sept cent deux a été baptize par moy pretre  
 sousigne' faisant les fonctions curiales

<b>Family</b> # 8978				
of <b>Pierre CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY</b> and <b>Marie Catherine PRESSEAU CHAMBLY</b>				
Father : Pierre <b>MONJX</b>		Father : Michel <b>RVNEENCHAM CD SO</b>		
Mother : Catherine <b>PPPPP</b>		Mother : Marie <b>M CUM</b>		
<b>Marriage : 19-Apr-1702 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	Vers 1701 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1721-01-08 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1791-04-11 Vaudreuil (St-Michel)	<b>Bernard</b> Marie <b>ADNEECTHN CCROCGJN</b>
f	1703-03-17 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1724-05-09 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1784-11-21 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Louise</b> Raymond <b>ACS V F EEN VC D F UL</b>
f	1705-11-18 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1722-04-13 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		<b>Marie Angelique</b> Jacques <b>ACHJ NOS G VCE</b>
m	1708-02-06 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1727-04-21 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1774-05-02 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Antoine</b> Marie Anne <b>S F HVL F U</b>
m	1710-12-13 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		1770-05-09 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Pierre</b>
f	Vers 1712 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1728-04-06 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1785-01-03 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Jean Baptiste <b>ACD D N MC VVGW/ACVVGWN</b>
m	1715-03-10 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		1715-03-12 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Mathieu</b>
m	1716-05-28 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		1716-05-28 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Anonyme</b>
f	1717-08-24 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1738-02-10 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1795-03-15 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Marie Charlotte</b> Joseph <b>RVF HOP</b>
m	1719-12-01 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)			<b>Thomas</b>
f	1719-12-01 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)		1719-12-07 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Madeleine</b>
m	1722-05-19 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1743-02-26 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1799-03-24 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Monique <b>RCF U</b>

<b>Family</b>					# 8979
of <u>Pierre CLEMENT</u> and <u>Catherine XXXXX</u>					
<b>Marriage : Vers 1670</b>					
<b>Childre o nrebfo br1850r:</b>					
Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofthbrchild Nambrofthbrspousb	
m	Vers 1670 France	<u>1702-04-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de- Montréal)	<u>1725-10-11</u> Pointe-Claire (St- Joachim)	<b>Pierre</b> Marie Catherine <b>PRESSEAU</b> <b>CHAMBLY</b>	
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Mathurin du Chiron  
et  
Marguerite Roussel

Le vingt-huitième jour du mois de Septembre de l'année mil six cents soixante et trois après les fiançailles et la publication des trois bans de mariage venant Mathurin du Chiron fils de Michel du Chiron et de Jeanne Anon son père et mère de la ville et archevêché de Bourges d'une part Et Marguerite Roussel fille de Jean Roussel et de Louise Morel son père et mère de la paroisse de Matroine ville et archevêché de Rouen d'autre part M<sup>re</sup> Charles Amador marlin procureur du foinnaire de Québec en vertu du pouvoir à lui accordé par nous Henry de Bernières Vicaire general de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de cette ville les a solennellement mariés en ladite Eglise et leur a donné la benediction nuptiale en presence de Wmvoins connus Pierre L'auve, Jean Boucher etc  
H. de Bernières.

Pierre L'auve  
et  
Anne Flechet

Le second jour du mois d'Octobre de l'année mil six cents soixante et trois après les fiançailles et la publication des trois bans de mariage faire le vingt-cinquième et vingt-sixième de Septembre et le premier jour du mois d'Octobre venant Pierre L'auve fils de Michel L'auve et de Louise Berthouin son père et mère du bourg de St-Joye Evêché de Rochelle d'une part Et Anne Flechet fille de Jean Flechet et d'Anne Gagne son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Joye Evêché de Langre d'autre part Et ne s'espant de aucun empêchement légitime nous Henry de Bernières Vicaire general de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de cette ville les a solennellement mariés et donné la benediction nuptiale en presence des Sieurs Mathieu Dumont, Michel Martel, Romain Goy Trospagny etc.  
H. de Bernières.

Michel Drozet  
et  
Marie Charzy

Le second jour du mois d'Octobre de l'année mil six cents soixante et trois après les fiançailles et la publication des trois bans de mariage venant faire le vingt-cinquième et vingt-sixième de Septembre venant Michel Drozet fils de Jean Drozet et de Marie Langlois son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Jacques de la ville et archevêché de Rouen d'une part Et Marie Charzy fille de Gilles Charzy et de Suzanne L'auve son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Jacques de la ville et archevêché de Rouen d'autre part Et ne s'espant de aucun empêchement légitime nous Henry de Bernières Vicaire general de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de cette ville les a solennellement mariés et donné la benediction nuptiale en presence de Wmvoins connus Benoit L'auve, Antoine L'auve et Guillaume Vanier etc  
H. de Bernières.

Guillaume Corbelle  
et  
Anne Baugé

Le second jour du mois d'Octobre de l'année mil six cents soixante et trois après les fiançailles et la publication des trois bans de mariage faire le 25<sup>e</sup> et 26<sup>e</sup> du mois de Septembre venant Guillaume Corbelle fils de Michel Corbelle et Marguerite Arden son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Jacques en Casa Archevêché de Rouen d'une part Et Anne Baugé fille de Jean Baugé et de Madeleine Chénier son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Victor de la ville de Paris d'autre part Et ne s'espant de aucun empêchement nous Henry de Bernières procureur Vicaire general de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de cette ville notre dame de cette ville les a solennellement mariés et donné la benediction nuptiale en presence de Wmvoins connus Antoine Frotier, Edeu de Jean-Benoit Laine et Michel L'auve.  
H. de Bernières.

Jean Malherbaud  
et  
Barbe Ravaux

Le neuvième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'année mil six cents soixante et trois après les fiançailles et la publication des trois bans de mariage le vingt-cinquième et vingt-sixième de Septembre et le premier jour du mois d'Octobre venant Jean Malherbaud et de Michelle Roussel son père et mère de la paroisse de la paroisse de St-Pierre L'auve Evêché de Québec d'une part Et Barbe Ravaux fille de Claude Ravaux et de Marie L'auve son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Roch de la ville de Paris d'autre part Et ne s'espant de aucun empêchement légitime nous Henry de Bernières procureur Vicaire general de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de l'Eglise paroissiale de cette ville les a solennellement mariés et donné la benediction nuptiale en presence d'Alphonse Morel, Jean du Buis, Romain Trospagny, Paul Currier etc.  
H. de Bernières.

Jean Picart  
et  
Anne Gaultier

Le dixième jour du mois d'Octobre de l'année mil six cents soixante et trois après les fiançailles et la diffusion des trois bans de mariage venant Jean Picart fils d'André Picart et de Catherine Piquant son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Jacques du bourg de Croix Evêché de Granche d'une part Et Anne Gaultier fille de Charles Gaultier et de Catherine de Camus son père et mère de la paroisse de St-Joye d'autre part laquelle dispense nous Henry de Bernières procureur Vicaire general de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec et curé de cette Eglise paroissiale de cette ville de cette dispense de Québec leur avons donné, et les avons en ladite Eglise solennellement mariés et donné la benediction nuptiale en presence des Sieurs Louis Rouer de Villerey, Michel Gauthier, Jean Baptiste Francois des Champs etc de la Consistoire etc.  
H. de Bernières.

**Family** # 4177

of Michel PRESSEAU CHAMBLY and Marie CHANCY

Father : Marin **PRESSEAU**                      Father : Gaspard **CHANCY**  
 Mother : Marie Antoinette **LANGLOIS**                      Mother : Etienne **TREPE**

**Marriage :** 02-Oct-1673 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)

**Children born before 1850 :**

Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse
m	<u>1676-07-01</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)			<b>Pierre</b>
f	<u>1679-04-01</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<u>1702-04-19</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1763-09-01</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Catherine</b> Pierre <b>CLEMENT LARIVIERE CHAMBLY</b>
f	<u>1681-09-05</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	Avant 1709 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1757-03-06</u> Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie Marguerite</b> Jean Baptiste <b>GAUTHIER SAGUINGORRA</b>
f	<u>1683-12-12</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		<u>1683-12-28</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Marie Madeleine</b>
f	<u>1685-03-06</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		1689-08-05 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Madeleine</b>
f	<u>1688-01-28</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		<u>1688-02-08</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Francoise</b>

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**Family**

# 615

of Marin PRESSEAU and Marie Antoinette LANGLOIS**Marriage : Vers 1649**

Childre o nrebfo br1850:

Sbx	Bi thr(Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
m	1649-09-29 France	1673-10-02 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)	1689-08-05 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Michel</b> Marie <b>CHANCY</b>

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<b>Family</b>				
# 4178				
of <u>Gaspard <b>CHANCY</b></u> and <u>Etiennette <b>TREPE</b></u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1657</b>				
<b>Children before 1850:</b>				
<b>Sbx</b>	<b>Birth (Baptism) Place</b>	<b>Marriage Place</b>	<b>Death(Burial) Place</b>	<b>Family Name of the Child</b>
f	1657-03-11 France	<u>1673-10-02</u> Québec (Notre-Dame-de- Québec)	1689-08-05 Montréal, Lachine (Sts- Anges)	<b>Marie</b> Michel <b>PRESSEAU</b> <b>CHAMBLY</b>

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10. L. Lan mil sept cent vingt et cinq le vingt et  
 Thomas quatrieme samedy apres avoir la dispense de  
 Pilon trois ans par un priat grand vicar de  
 Mabeline marier Thomas pithon fils d'antoin pithon et  
 de marianne brunet ses pere et mere d'une part  
 et entre maries magdellene Daurut fille de  
 guilhaumes Daurut et de maries magdellene la toni  
 ses pere et mere d'autre part paroitte de sa  
 ny veu leur mutuel consentement et leur ay  
 donne la benediction nuptiale avec les ceremonies  
 prescrites par l'eglise catholique en presence  
 de Jacques chate, Jacques pierre Joachin  
 marlot, Jacques chate la signés les autres ont  
 declare ne scavoir signés de ce requis  
 suivant lord Jacques chate Breuil p<sup>re</sup>

B.1. Lan mil sept cent vingt et cinq le septieme  
 Joseph  
 Marie  
 Xanthier  
 fevrier a été baptisé Joseph marie lantier d'un  
 de legitime mariage de Jacques lantier et de  
 cuneyonde Dubois ses pere et mere le parrain a été  
 venay Dubois et la marraine angelique  
 lantier Lesquels ont declare ne scavoir signés de  
 ce requis suivant lord  
 Breuil p<sup>re</sup>

B.2. Lan mil sept cent vingt cinq le onzieme  
 Xanthier fevrier a été untesse Joseph marie lantier

feuille 2.  
 fils de Jacques lantier et de cuneyonde Dubois.  
 Ses pere et mere en presence de Jean Meoret et  
 de venay Dubois Lesquels ont declare ne scavoir  
 signés de ce requis suivant lord  
 Breuil p<sup>re</sup>

B.2. Lan mil sept cent vingt et cinq le neuvieme mars  
 a été baptisé Thomas venet né de legitime mariage  
 de venay venet et de marquerite Bigois ses pere  
 et mere le parrain a été Thomas pithon et la  
 marraine maries magdellene brunet Lesquels ont  
 declare ne scavoir signés de ce requis suivant lord  
 Breuil p<sup>re</sup>

B.3. Lan mil sept cent vingt et cinq le seizieme mars  
 a été baptisée marie Joseph parrain né de  
 legitime mariage de Joseph parrain et de marquerite  
 Brunet ses pere et mere le parrain a été Jean  
 magdellene et la marraine Suzanne Boilebois Lesquels  
 ont declare ne scavoir signés de ce requis suivant  
 lord  
 Breuil p<sup>re</sup>

B.4. Lan mil sept cent vingt et cinq le vingtquatrieme  
 a été baptisé maries magdellene parrain né de  
 legitime mariage de chaste parrain et de  
 marquerite cire ses pere et mere le parrain a été  
 pierre choillebois et la marraine magdellene Dubois  
 Lesquels ont declare ne scavoir signés de ce requis  
 suivant lord  
 Breuil p<sup>re</sup>



1699  
Jeanne la seconde delan ib 89 a l'entree dans le cimetièr  
Bauvais Jeanne Bauvais agee de 28 mois & Guyotte curé

Louis Le 8 delan ib 89 a été baptizé Louis fil. de  
martin francois martin et de Catherine boyer le parrain  
Louis le comte marchand La marraine barbe  
Le feveux du bois Le comte barbe Le feveux

antonie Le 10 delan ib 89 a été solennisé le mariage entre  
pilon antoine pilon fil de thomas pilon et de magdeleine  
m. anne Duques les peres & meres d'une pz et de marie anne  
Brunel Brunel fille de matieu Brunel et de marie blanchard.  
les peres & mere. d'autre pt temoin matieu Brunel et  
le venant l'autre au notaire curé & Guyotte curé

B Le 21 delan ib 89 a été baptizé vincent fils de René  
allard et de marie Royer la femme le parrain vincent  
Le noir La marraine Catherine naffrecheux couvent  
& Guyotte curé Le Noir  
Hone Alary Catherine naffrecheux

Louis Le 25 de lan ib 89 a été enterré dans le cimetièr  
martin Louis martin age de 16 jours & Guyotte curé

Jean Le 29 delan ib 89 a été baptizé Jean fil de  
Jean tixer et de Louise-Laron la femme le parrain  
4enier Jean Couillet etruyer fr de la Chasseigne Capitaine  
du detachement de la marine La marraine anne le m. fr  
vieilles Pachattayns anne le m. fr

Jarque Le 6 de febvrier ib 89 a été baptizé Jarque la  
mele ray <sup>M. mele ray et</sup> fils de Jarque <sup>mele ray</sup> et de francoise piroti  
La femme

Le garren <sup>est curé</sup> noé Jacques lebon fr de plainville  
Lieutenant d'une compagnie du detachement de la  
marine et de marie <sup>anne</sup> quité La marraine  
De Blainville marie anne de celeste

m. Cathes Jacques Maleray & Guyotte curé  
migeon Le 4 febvrier ib 89 a été enterré dans le cimetièr  
marie Catherine migeon agee de 19 ans apres  
avoir rendu tous les serrements & Guyotte curé  
anne Le 13 febvrier ib 89 a été baptizé anne fille de  
aurou Jean aurou et de Catherine martin la femme le  
parrain antoine forestier et de la marraine anne  
henry ~~m. forestier~~ & A. forestier

Cécile Le 25 febvrier ib 89 a été baptizée cécile fille de  
Gredhomme francois Gredhomme et de cécile Geruais la femme  
Le parrain Charles Geruais et la marraine Jeanne  
Gredhomme & Charles Geruais Jane p. u. d. honne

Jean Le 14 de febvrier ib 89 a été baptizé Jean fil  
Guenes de Jean Guenes et de etienneette Rivreize la femme  
Jarque le ber de senneville le parrain et la marraine  
marie quereze Gredhomme de senneville M. p. u. d. honne  
& Guyotte curé

Le 17 febvrier ib 89 a été solennisé le mariage  
Entre alphonse de conny etruyer baron de palady  
Lieut enant d'un detachement de marine fils de



**Family** # 1741

of Thomas **PILON** and Madeleine **ROUAULT HUGHES**

**Marriage : Vers 1664**  
**Childre o nrebfo br1850r:**

Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
m	1664-06-24 France	<u>1689-01-10</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1715-02-21</u> Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Antoine</b> Marie Anne <b>BRUNET</b> <b>LETANG</b>

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310  
An 1667. Nouemb.

Notre-Dame

Burel

ff

Le troisieme jour du mois de Novembre de l'annee 1667. Soixante sept.  
Après les fiançailles et la publication d'un ban de Mariage d'entre André  
Burel fils de feu Pierre Burel, et de Philippe Buegar, les pere et mere  
de la Paroisse de St. Germain de la ville et d'Archieves de Valenciennes d'une part  
Et Jeanne Burel fille de feu Daniel Burel, et d'Anne Le Suisse, sa  
pere et Mere de la Paroisse de St. Denis du faux Bourc de Rouen d'autre  
Part. Lesquels les ayant dispensés des deux autres bans, et ne  
s'étant decouvert aucun empeschement legitime, Je soussigné Curé  
de cette Paroisse les ay mariés, apres les Ceremonies ordinaires de la Paroisse  
en presence des témoins connus, Antoine Adamas, Pierre Levedé, la  
Favours, Jacques Douin, et Julien Jamain, tous deux de cette Paroisse.  
H. de Bernieres.

Pierre Rivard  
Marie Duquesnoy

Le trentiesme jour du mois d'Octobre de l'annee 1667. Soixante sept.  
Après les fiançailles et la publication des trois bans de Mariage d'entre  
Pierre Rivard, fils de Pierre et de Marguerite du Mont, ses pere et Mere  
de la Paroisse de St. Charles de la Roche-foucault Diocèse d'Angoulême  
d'une part, et Marie Duquesnoy, fille de feu Pierre Duquesnoy et de  
de feinte Louise, du faux nay les pere et mere de la Paroisse de St. Pierre  
d'Alençon Diocèse de Lez d'autre part, et ne s'étant decouvert aucun  
empeschement legitime, Le R. Reverend Etienne de la Roche, Curé de  
de la Paroisse de St. Charles de la Roche-foucault, les ay mariés en la Chapelle de  
de Beauport d'entre  
de cette Paroisse, et leur a donné la benediction Nuptiale, en pres  
des témoins connus, Desrois-faire, Nicolas Morin, et Leonard de  
habitant du lieu de Beauport.

Mathieu Brunet

Marie Blanchard

ff

Le dixiesme jour du mois de Novembre de l'annee 1667. Soixante sept.  
Après les fiançailles et la publication d'un ban de Mariage d'entre Mathieu  
Brunet, fils de Jacques, et de Jacquesine Pecheine, ses pere et Mere  
de la Paroisse de Couronne, Curché de Chartres d'une part, et Marie  
Blanchard, fille de Jean, et de Martine Lebas, sa pere et Mere, de la  
Paroisse de Nicolas Brouce de Rouen d'autre part, lesquels les  
les ayant dispensés des deux autres bans, et ne s'étant decouvert  
aucun empeschement legitime, Je soussigné Curé de cette Paroisse les ay  
mariés, et leur ay donné la benediction Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite  
par la 1<sup>re</sup> Col. de la 1<sup>re</sup> Ordonnance en presence des témoins connus, Michel Morel, Pierre  
Leves et Andre Loubé, tous deux de cette Paroisse.  
H. de Bernieres.

311  
An 1667. Nov.

Jean Morin

de Belleau

ff

Le vingt deuxiesme jour du mois de Novembre de l'annee 1667. Soixante  
sept. Après les fiançailles et la publication d'un ban de Mariage  
d'entre Jean Baptiste Morin fils de Noel Morin et d'Isabelle de Potes  
sa pere et Mere, de cette Paroisse d'une part, et Catherine de Belleau  
fille de François de Belleau, et de défunte Anne de Breda, sa  
pere et Mere de la Paroisse de St. Jean de Montmorency d'autre  
Part. Lesquels les ayant dispensés des autres bans, et ne s'étant decouvert aucun empeschement  
legitime, Je soussigné Curé par l'ordre et commission de M<sup>re</sup> le  
Curé de Bernieres, les ay mariés, et leur ay donné la benediction  
Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la 1<sup>re</sup> Col. de la 1<sup>re</sup> Ordonnance en presence des  
témoins connus, Melville Daniel de Remy fig. de fauxcelles  
Gouverneur d'Acadie, Louis de Francky Royer de L'Orléans, et  
Nicolas de Hautcourt Chevalier, de plus les M<sup>rs</sup> Nad Morin, Nicolas  
Laidry d'Acadie, Alphonse Morin, et Parly Guillaud d'Acadie  
M<sup>rs</sup>, tous deux de cette Paroisse. J. Morin Curé

Mathieu Roulet

de Mortier

ff

Le vingt deuxiesme jour du mois de Novembre de l'annee 1667.  
Soixante sept. Après les fiançailles et la publication de deux bans  
de Mariage d'entre Ernestus Roulet, fils de Thomas Roulet  
de Jeanne Bouéde, sa pere et Mere, de la Paroisse de Notre Dame  
de la Ville et Curché de Montpellier d'une part, et Madeleine de  
Mortier de leur Mere d'Anges de Mortier de leur et de Catherine de  
d'autre part. Lesquels les ayant dispensés du troisième  
ban, et ne s'étant decouvert aucun empeschement legitime, Je  
soussigné Curé de cette Paroisse les ay mariés, et leur ay donné  
la benediction Nuptiale selon la forme prescrite par la 1<sup>re</sup> Col. de la 1<sup>re</sup> Ordonnance en  
presence des témoins connus. Les Sieurs Charles Sature, et Jean  
Mahaut, tous deux de cette Paroisse. H. de Bernieres.

<b>Family</b> <span style="float: right;"># 2378</span>				
of <b>Mathieu BRUNET LETANG</b> and <b>Marie BLANCHARD</b>				
Father : Jacques <b>BRUNET</b>		Father : Jean <b>BLANCHARD</b>		
Mother : Jacqueline <b>RECHEINE</b>		Mother : Martine <b>LEBAS</b>		
<b>Marriage : 10-Nov-1667 Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</b>				
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>				
<b>Sex</b>	<b>Birth (Baptism) Place</b>	<b>Marriage Place</b>	<b>Death (Burial) Place</b>	<b>First name of the child Name of the spouse</b>
m	Vers 1668 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1692-10-07 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1695-50-05 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Michel</b> Marie Madeleine <b>MOISON</b>
f	Vers 1670 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1684-04-12 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)		<b>Jeanne</b> Francois <b>HUARD LALIBERTE</b>
f	Vers 1672 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1689-01-10 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1747-11-06 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Anne</b> Antoine <b>PILON</b>
m	1674-01-03 Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)	1694-10-19 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1620-50-28 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Jean</b> Marie <b>PERRIER</b>
m	1676-02-13 Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)			<b>Pierre</b>
f	1677-10-25 Cap-de-la-Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine)	1693-08-31 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	1697-51-12 Pierrefonds (Ste-Geneviève)	<b>Marie</b> Francois <b>BIGRAS</b>
m	1680-07-30 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1701-11-14 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1654-12-51 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Jacques</b> Marie Jeanne <b>VERRET VERE</b>
f	1681-11-05 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)	1694-11-15 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		<b>Catherine</b> Honore <b>DANIS TOURANGEAU</b>
f	1683-08-19 Champlain (Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation)		1699-08-03 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Marguerite</b>
m	1744-53-16 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		1657-11-56 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<b>Mathieu</b>

<b>Family</b>		# 2379		
of <u>Jacques</u> <b>BRUNET</b> and <u>Jacqueline</u> <b>RECHEINE</b>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1638</b>				
<b>Childreo nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthb child Nambrofrthbispousb
m	1637-12-20 France	<u>1667-11-10</u> <u>Québec (Notre-Dame-de-Québec)</u>	<u>1708-12-17</u> <u>Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)</u>	<b>Mathieu</b> Marie <b>BLANCHARD</b>
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<b>Family</b>		# 2380		
of <u>Jean <b>BLANCHARD</b></u> and <u>Martine <b>LEBAS</b></u>				
<b>Marriage : Vers 1649</b>				
<b>Childreo nrebfo br1850r:</b>				
Sbx	Bi th ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr( <i>Burial</i> ) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
f	1647-01-15 France	<u>1667-11-10</u> Québec (Notre-Dame-de- Québec)	<u>1722-07-29</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts- Anges)	<b>Marie</b> Mathieu <b>BRUNET</b> <b>LETANG</b>
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<b>Family</b>					# 5668
of <b>Guillaume DAOUST</b> and <b>Marie Madeleine LALONDE</b>					
Father : Nicolas <b>DAOUST</b>		Father : Jean <b>LALONDE</b>			
Mother : Jeanne <b>AUBERT</b>		Mother : Marie <b>BARBANT BALAN</b>			
<b>Marriage : 18-Feb-1686 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)</b>					
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>					
Sex	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death (Burial) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse	
f	1691-09-13 Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)		1699-10-18 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Marie</b>	
m	1694-10-30 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1715-01-07 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1784-01-19 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Guillaume</b> Marie Elisabeth Isabelle <b>PILON</b>	
m	1697-02-11 Montréal, Pointe-aux-Trembles (St-Enfant-Jésus)			<b>Augustin</b>	
f	1699-09-11 Montréal, Pointe-aux-Trembles (St-Enfant-Jésus)	1715-01-07 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1789-04-30 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Anne</b> Pierre <b>PILON</b>	
m	1701-08-16 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1723-12-02 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1772-06-10 Les Cèdres (St-Joseph-de-Soulanges)	<b>Charles</b> Marie Angelique <b>SAUVE LAPLANTE</b>	
f	1704-04-03 Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	1725-01-24 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	1786-05-19 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Madeleine</b> Thomas <b>PILON</b>	
f	Vers 1706 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1724-02-28 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1773-03-29 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Marie Josephe</b> Mathieu <b>PILON</b>	
m	1710-03-01 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)		1720-05-18 Pointe-Claire (St-Joachim)	<b>Alexis Francois</b>	
m	Vers 1712 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	1733-11-23 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	1766-07-31 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>Louis</b> Marie Renee Marguerite <b>MIGUE LATREMOUILLE</b>	
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**Family** # 5669

of Nicolas DAoust and Jeanne Aubert

**Marriage : Vers 1645**  
**Childre nrebfo br1850r:**

Sbx	Bi th (Baptism) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr(Burial) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
m	Vers 1645 France	1686-02-18 Montréal, Lachine (Sts- Ange)	1729-03-08 Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste- Anne)	<b>Guillaume</b> Marie Madeleine <b>LALONDE</b>

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<b>Family</b>					# 3063
of <u>Jean LALONDE</u> and <u>Marie BARBANT BALAN</u>					
<i>Father : Philippe LALONDE                      Father : Alexandre BALAN</i> <i>Mother : Jeanne DUVAL                              Mother : Marie LENOBLET</i>					
<b>Marriage : 14-Nov-1669</b> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)					
<b>Children born before 1850 :</b>					
Sex	Birth ( <i>Baptism</i> ) Place	Marriage Place	Death ( <i>Burial</i> ) Place	First name of the child Name of the spouse	
m	<u>1671-05-06</u> Sorel (St-Pierre)			<b>Jean</b>	
f	Vers 1673 Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1686-02-18</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<u>1761-01-01</u> Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>Marie Madeleine</b> Guillaume <b>DAOUST</b>	
m	<u>1675-10-10</u> Montréal (Notre-Dame-de-Montréal)	<u>1698-02-03</u> Montréal, Pointe-aux-Trembles (St-Enfant-Jésus)	<u>1750-02-04</u> Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<b>Jean Baptiste</b> Marguerite <b>MATHA</b>	
m	<u>1679-02-07</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)		<u>1682-02-02</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<b>Jean</b>	
m	<u>1684-08-21</u> Montréal, Lachine (Sts-Anges)	<u>1710-04-27</u> Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)	<u>1752-08-21</u> Les Cèdres (St-Joseph-de-Soulanges)	<b>Guillaume</b> Marie Madeleine <b>ALLEN</b>	
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**Family** # 2372

of Philippe LALONDE and Jeanne DUVAL

**Marriage : Vers 1641**  
 Children before 1850:

Sbx	Birth (Baptism) Place	Marriage Place	Death(Burial) Place	Family Name of Spouse
m	Vers 1641 France	<u>1669-11-14</u> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)	<u>1687-09-30</u> <u>Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue (Ste-Anne)</u>	<u>Jean</u> Marie <b>BARBANT BALAN</b>

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**Family** # 3064

of Alexandre **BALAN** and Marie **LENOBLET**

**Marriage : Vers 1648**  
**Childre nrebfo br1850r:**

Sbx	Bi thr( <i>Baptism</i> ) Placb	Ma iagb Placb	Dbathr( <i>Burial</i> ) Placb	Fi stmambrofrthbrchild Nambrofrthbrspousb
f	Vers 1648 France	<i>1669-11-14</i> Lieu indéterminé (au Québec)		<u>Marie</u> Jean <b>LALONDE</b>

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Monsieur Bourget.

Le vingt-trois jours, mil huit cent quarante cinq,  
vous avez été fort utile recueillir et aller en compagnie  
de la région lointaine du Nord-Ouest de l'immense  
territoire de Saint-Julien. J'ai d'ailleurs vu à la suite  
minime de l'île avec l'Alouette dans l'antenne  
le vingt deux septembre. Avec deux jeunes Indiens  
vigilants du Lac de Deux Montagnes, je reviens en  
secret avec un voyageur Thomas Lagarde et  
St-Jean, grand membre Ingonis et aussi de nombreux  
Algonquins. Il est un fugitif et est un excellent  
à mort par le pouvoir les Anglais de Montreal.  
Il qui revint à Montreal avec voyageur Urgot St-  
Jean de St-Jean et de l'Alouette, et alors retourna  
dans le pays. Nous avons profité de certains moments  
pour se faire un petit voyage à fond dans le pays.

Bourget.



**BRUNET, ALEXANDRE-AUGUSTE** (he signed **Auguste**), priest, Oblate of Mary Immaculate, missionary; b. 7 Oct. 1816 at Pont-en-Royans (dept of Isère, France), son of Jean-Baptiste Brunet, a merchant, and Marie Blain; d. 27 June 1866 at Montreal.

Alexandre-Auguste Brunet attended the Collège de Saint-Marcellin and the Petit Séminaire de Côte-Saint-André in Isère. In 1837 he joined the army but left it the following year and completed his studies at the Petit Séminaire. He was admitted to the noviciate of the Oblates of Notre-Dame de l'Osier on 14 Aug. 1841, took his perpetual vows there on 15 Aug. 1842, and began his theological studies. He was sent to Canada at the end of 1843, and Bishop Ignace Bourget\* ordained him priest at Longueuil on 29 Aug. 1844.

Father Brunet and Father Eusèbe Durocher were the first Oblates to undertake the difficult work as missionaries to the lumber camps on the Gatineau and Ottawa rivers. He went there as early as January 1845, but in November returned to Longueuil to devote himself to parish missions. He was recalled to the lumber camp mission in 1849, and lived at Bytown (Ottawa) where he ministered to young lumbermen on their way through the town. He was also engaged in directing the seminarists and gave a few courses at the local college. At the same time he took charge of preaching and was chaplain at the mother house of the Grey Nuns. His favourite work, however, was in the lumber camps among the employees whom he visited regularly and called his "dear children." Brunet left a small manuscript entitled "Le guide des voyageurs," dedicated to Joseph-Bruno Guigues\*, bishop of Bytown. The work, drafted after 1848, contains a series of canticles, a kind of treatise on the "temporal and spiritual duties of the voyageur" and "religious exercises for the voyageur." The canticles, set to familiar tunes such as "Quand Marianne s'en va au moulin" or "Un Canadien errant," showed the missionary's concern to adapt himself to the mentality of the faithful. In September 1855 Brunet had to give up his ministry because of poor health. He went to the Oblate residence of Saint-Pierre-Apôtre at Montreal, to devote himself once more to popular preaching in Canada and in several American dioceses.

At this time the preaching in Illinois of the former Oblate, Charles-Paschal-Télesphore Chiniquy\*, was attracting people away from the Roman Catholic Church, and Bishop Anthony O'Regan of Chicago turned to Bishop Bourget for assistance. The latter passed on the request to Mgr Guigues who demurred somewhat, asserting that the mission was far away and they were short of men; finally, in October 1858, Fathers Lucien-Antoine Lagier\* and Brunet were sent to fight the schism. They exercised their apostolate first at Bourbonnais; then Brunet went to Kankakee while Lagier took over the mission at St Anne, Ill. Following their preaching, "about 150 schismatics" returned to the practice of the Catholic religion. When the missionaries were preparing to return to Canada, Chiniquy had Father Brunet arrested, "on the false pretext," *Le Canadien* wrote, "that the reverend Father had

accused him of having had the church at Bourbonnais burned down in 1853." Thanks to a bond of more than \$2,000 put up by the Catholics of Kankakee, Brunet was able to return immediately to Canada. Chiniquy brought a libel action against Brunet, however, in the circuit court of Kankakee, which began on 13 April 1859. The missionary was ordered to pay Chiniquy damages amounting to \$4,625. An appeal was launched and a new trial was held in January 1860. The jury sustained the verdict of guilty but reduced the fine to \$2,500. The bishop of Chicago then decided to bring the case before the United States Supreme Court, but later abandoned the plan. Brunet declared himself insolvent and was forced to go to prison in May 1861. He thus obliged Chiniquy to pay his board in prison, instead of his paying Chiniquy the damages fixed by the judge. An enterprising Catholic managed to engineer Brunet's escape after three months of confinement, and the priest returned to Montreal in August. The affair seems to have had no sequel.

Even though his imprisonment played a large part in destroying his already impaired health, Brunet none the less continued to preach until he was stricken with paralysis in 1866. He died in June, leaving behind him the memory of a good-humoured and simple man who had distinguished himself by his zest for work.

GASTON CARRIÈRE

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AHO, Auguste Brunet, "Le guide des voyageurs . . ."; Nérée Gingras, "Mémoire du procès du père Brunet, olat, de sa condamnation, de son emprisonnement, de son évacion de la prison de Kankakee . . .". Archives départementales de l'Isère (Grenoble), État civil, Pont-en-Royans, 7 oct. 1816. Archives des Sœurs grises de la Croix d'Ottawa, Correspondance Bruyère 21 janv. 1845. Archives provinciales O.M.I. (Montréal), *Codex historicus*, Montréal, I, 157–62 (copies at AHO). *Rapport sur les missions du diocèse de Québec . . .*, no.10 (mars 1853), 88–95; no.11 (mars 1855), 17–21. *Le Canadien*, 26 nov. 1858. *Notices nécrologiques des O.M.I.*, I, 273–99. Carrière, *Hist. des O.M.I.*, I, II, IV. [C.-P.-T. Chiniquy], *Mes combats, autobiographie de Charles Chiniquy, apôtre de la tempérance du Canada* (Montréal, s.d.). Marcel Trudel, *Chiniquy* (2<sup>e</sup> éd., [Trois-Rivières], 1955), 209. Gaston Carrière, "Une mission tragique aux Illinois; Chiniquy et les oblats," *RHAF*, VIII (1954–55), 518–55. Léo Deschâtelets, "Le guide des voyageurs," *La Bannière de Marie-Immaculée* (Ottawa), XLVIII (1940), 82–92.

General Bibliography

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## Related Biographies





GUIGUES, JOSEPH-BRUNO



CHINIQUY, CHARLES



LAGIER, LUCIEN-ANTOINE



BOURGI

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**BOURGET, IGNACE**, Roman Catholic priest and bishop; b. 30 Oct. 1799 in the parish of Saint-Joseph (now in Lauzon), Lower Canada, son of Pierre Bourget, a farmer, and Thérèse Paradis; d. 8 June 1885 at Sault-au-Récollet (Montréal-Nord), Que.

Ignace Bourget's forebear, Claude Bourget, was originally from the Beauce region around Chartres, France. On 28 June 1683 at Quebec City he married Marie, the daughter of Guillaume [Couture\\*](#), a former *donné* of the Society of Jesus and a companion in captivity of Isaac [Jogues\\*](#). Ignace was the eleventh of 13 children and in 1811, after a primary education about which little is known, he entered the preparatory class at the Petit Séminaire de Québec. His brother Pierre, who was 13 years older than he, had preceded him at the seminary and was ordained priest on 4 June 1814. Ignace proved a studious pupil but his assiduity did not earn him the highest academic rank. One of his fellow students was Étienne [Chartier\\*](#), who was to become notable as "chaplain to the Patriotes," and his teachers included Charles-Joseph [Ducharme\\*](#), subsequently a parish priest and founder of the Petit Séminaire de Sainte-Thérèse, and Antoine [Parant\\*](#), later spiritual director and procurator of the Séminaire de Québec.

A pious youth, Bourget was admitted to the Congrégation de la Sainte-Vierge in 1812. Being clearly destined for the priesthood, he was tonsured on 11 Aug. 1818 in the cathedral at Quebec City and by the next month was at the Séminaire de Nicolet, where for three years he studied theology and taught first and second year classes in Latin elements and Syntax respectively. Joseph-Octave [Plessis\\*](#), the archbishop of Quebec, conferred minor orders upon him on 28 Jan. 1821 and, at the parish church of Nicolet on 20 May, the subdiaconate. The next day Bourget left to assume his new appointment as secretary to Jean-Jacques [Lartigue\\*](#), the auxiliary bishop at Montreal. He received the diaconate at the bishop's residence in the Hôtel-Dieu on 22 Dec. 1821 and was ordained priest on 30 November the following year.

The tasks facing the new priest soon multiplied. In addition to his duties as secretary to the bishop, Bourget took on supervision of the building of the episcopal residence and of the church of Saint-Jacques, the corner-stone of which was blessed on 22 May 1823. Construction, carried on at a brisk pace, was completed two years later and Archbishop Plessis consecrated the church on 22 Sept. 1825. Bourget was then appointed first chaplain of Saint-Jacques where he was responsible for organizing the pastoral ministry and seeing to the conduct of public worship. He also directed the Grand Séminaire Saint-Jacques which was housed with a primary school on the ground floor of the episcopal residence; there were

never more than 20 students studying theology.

The duties entrusted to Abbé Bourget matched the complete confidence Bishop Lartigue had in his secretary. From the outset the young priest determined to be the unwavering disciple of the bishop, whose thinking reflected the ultramontane teachings to which such writers as Joseph de Maistre and Hugues-Félicité-Robert de La Mennais had recently attracted a great deal of attention in Europe, and whose authoritarian character was ill adapted to ambiguous situations and compromises. Thus it pained Lartigue to see his episcopal authority thwarted at times by the jurisdiction exercised over Montreal Island since the 17th century by the Sulpicians in their capacity as seigneurs and pastors of the single parish of Notre-Dame. He also found it scarcely tolerable that his superior, the archbishop of Quebec, was not more energetic in upholding the rights of the church with the civil power because he lacked boldness in his relations with the governors. "In the 70 years of conquest," Bourget wrote on 16 Jan. 1830, "religion in this country has almost always lost the advantage through fright, and I very much fear that we are not cured of it yet."

It was because Bourget showed himself to be Lartigue's spiritual heir and increasingly shared his views concerning church government that the bishop decided to propose him as his successor to the episcopal see in which he had been enthroned on 8 Sept. 1836. But this candidature, when it was submitted to Pope Gregory XVI, met with the opposition of the Sulpicians, who saw Bourget as an adversary because he shared Lartigue's suspicion of them, as well as that of certain parish priests in the Montreal region [see Jean-Baptiste [Saint-Germain\\*](#)]. These priests held that Bourget lacked the attainments essential for a bishop in an environment where there were many Protestants and considered him too preoccupied with rules and the minutiae of discipline. But Pope Gregory overruled these objections and by an apostolic brief dated 10 March 1837 appointed Bourget bishop of Telmesse *in partibus infidelium* and coadjutor to the bishop of Montreal with right of succession. He was consecrated on 25 July in the cathedral of Saint-Jacques by Lartigue, assisted by Bishop Pierre-Flavien [Turgeon\\*](#), the coadjutor of Quebec, and Bishop Rémi [Gaulin\\*](#), the coadjutor of Kingston, Upper Canada.

Lower Canada was then passing through a difficult period. Faced with the rebel agitation in the Montreal region, Lartigue took a stand against the partisans of his cousin Louis-Joseph [Papineau\\*](#). In a pastoral letter of 24 Oct. 1837 he resorted to the arguments of Pope Gregory's encyclical *Mirari vos* of 15 Aug. 1832 which condemned the propositions, deemed revolutionary, that La Mennais, who had shifted from ultramontanism to liberalism, had developed in his Paris paper *L'Avenir*. The young coadjutor, a model of loyalty to his hierarchical superior, adhered with the full force of mind and heart to the views expressed in the encyclical. This document provided the traditionalist and authoritarian answer to the

great problem confronting the Roman Catholic Church since the beginning of the century: what attitude should be adopted to the world born of the intellectual and political revolution of the 18th century and particularly of the régime of civil and religious liberties proclaimed in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen." Here, as Bourget himself later clearly indicated in his opposition to the liberal arguments of the Institut Canadien, was, at its origin, the explanation of the stance he would maintain throughout his episcopate.

But for the moment Bourget had to deal practically with the spiritual needs of a Catholic population scattered across a vast area bounded by James Bay on the north, the United States on the south, the border between Upper and Lower Canada on the west, and a line on the east which was halfway between Montreal and Quebec. Bishop Lartigue's declining health forced the coadjutor to undertake more and more of the administration of the diocese, which had 79 parishes, 34 missions at widely dispersed points, particularly in the Eastern Townships, and four missions to the Indians. With a total of 186,244 adherents of whom 115,071 were communicants, the diocese had 22,000 Catholics in Montreal itself – two-thirds of the town's inhabitants.

To inform himself as fully as possible of the needs of the diocese, Bourget set out to visit it. From 1 June to 14 July 1838 he was received by 16 parishes, and from 21 May to 5 July of the following year by a like number. In 1839, with the assistance of the Jesuit Jean-Pierre [Chazelle\\*](#), rector of St Mary's College near Bardstown, Ky, he instituted a retreat for his priests; the success of this endeavour led him to make such week-long retreats an annual event. Thus, when Lartigue died on 19 April 1840, Bourget inherited a task with which he was thoroughly familiar. The plans conceived by Lartigue were to be realized by the person who had inherited both his see and his spirit.

In the autumn of 1840, as he continued to explore his vast diocese, Bishop Bourget went to the north shore of the Ottawa River. Its flourishing lumber industry [*see* Philemon [Wright\\*](#)] and the dynamism of some 5,000 settlers prompted him to lay the foundations of eight new missions, the nucleus of a religious structure which would lead in 1847 to the establishment of the diocese of Bytown (Ottawa).

To meet needs whose magnitude would have discouraged anyone else, the bishop of Montreal first consolidated the means already available to him. In November 1840 the training of ecclesiastics, conducted since 1825 in haphazard fashion at the Grand Séminaire Saint-Jacques, was entrusted to the Sulpicians of the Petit Séminaire de Montréal. A hospital was required at Saint-Hyacinthe: he detached four religious from the Hôpital Général to form a new community of Sisters of Charity. Bishop Lartigue had long wanted to establish a religious journal independent of politics. This project was realized in December 1840 when the *Mélanges religieux* began publication in Montreal under the direction of Abbé Jean-

Charles [Prince\\*](#), superior of the Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe.

Up to this point the bishop of Montreal had called upon the internal resources of the diocese. In the period 1840–42 the preaching of Bishop Charles-Auguste-Marie-Joseph de [Forbin-Janson\\*](#), a Bourbon supporter who had come to North America from France in 1839, marked the beginning of a contribution from elsewhere which would grow in the coming years. French-speaking circles in North America, from Louisiana to Lower Canada, in turn heard this fervent Legitimist. He gave free rein particularly in the Montreal region to a stirring eloquence which did not disdain the spectacular methods used in France during the celebrated Restoration missions 20 years earlier, and which now resulted in the erection of a gigantic cross – “the tallest and most beautiful in the world,” as he proudly asserted to a compatriot – on Mount Belœil in October 1841. Less conspicuous but more lasting effects resulted from a trip Bourget made to Europe that year, from 3 May to 23 September. Personnel had to be recruited for the parishes to be supplied, the schools and colleges to be founded, the missions to be established or strengthened. In addition, thought had to be given to setting up an ecclesiastical province in order to unify the administration of the Canadian dioceses under a presiding metropolitan. The shortage of priests was a particular concern of the bishop of Montreal. The situation in Lower Canada had, it is true, improved since 1830. Nevertheless the diocese of Montreal, where needs were pressing and where Protestant proselytism had been making headway because of the presence of Swiss evangelical missionaries since 1834 [*see* Henriette [Odin\\*](#)], was in a less advantageous position than the diocese of Quebec.

Bourget’s voyage overseas was fruitful. It coincided with the religious revival which was kindled in France during Louis-Philippe’s reign by such men as Henri Lacordaire, Prosper Guéranger, Montalembert, and Louis Veuillot, and which inspired great fervour and rededication. Religious congregations of men and women grew rapidly. Thus in the course of his trip Bishop Bourget could channel towards his own diocese this swelling tide of apostolic activity; such indeed was the hope expressed by Veuillot’s Paris newspaper, *L’Univers*, in its issue of 23 June 1841, when it learned that “Mgr de Montréal” had “come to Europe to seek a reinforcement of workers for the gospel.”

Although the recruitment of secular priests met with a somewhat disappointing response from the bishops, apart from three Sulpicians who arrived in Montreal in the autumn of 1841, the religious congregations reacted enthusiastically to Bourget’s invitation. On 2 Dec. 1841 six Oblates of Mary Immaculate, four fathers and two brothers, landed in Canada [*see* Jean-Baptiste [Honorat\\*](#)]; on 31 May the next year it was the turn of the Jesuits, with six fathers and three lay brothers headed by Father Chazelle; on 26 December some sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus arrived to take over the direction of a school at Saint-

Jacques-de-l'Achigan (Saint-Jacques); and finally, on 7 June 1844, four Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd from Angers came to give assistance to their colleagues who had already arrived in Montreal [see Jacques-Victor [Arraud\\*](#)].

Aby assisted by these reinforcements, Bourget added indigenous foundations: the Sisters of Charity of Providence (Sisters of Providence) [see Marie-Émilie-Eugénie [Tavernier\\*](#)], the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary [see Eulalie [Durocher\\*](#)], the Sisters of Mercy [see Marie-Rosalie [Cadron\\*](#)], and in 1850 the Sisters of St Anne [see Esther [SUREAU, dit Blondin](#)]. With the assistance also from 1844 of Bishop Prince as coadjutor, he was thus in a position to give a decisive stimulus to his diocese. A French priest, Abbé Charles-Étienne [Brasseur\\*](#) de Bourbourg, who during an enforced idleness in the Séminaire de Québec in 1845 made a study of the situation in Canada, could not resist comparing “the progress characteristic of great things” in the diocese of Montreal “under the influence of its bishop” with the inertia of the diocese of Quebec, which “has been merely existing, and vegetating like a sapless plant since the death of M. Plessis.”

Bourget, whom a new pope, Pius IX, was to regard as the guiding spirit of the Canadian episcopate (as he said in confidence in 1847 to the founder of the Oblates, Bishop Charles-Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod), was not satisfied merely with promoting fruitful developments in his own diocese. He worked actively for the realization of projects that concerned the Canadian church, such as the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec, erected by a papal bull of 12 July 1844, and the conferring of the pallium on the metropolitan, Archbishop Joseph [Signay\\*](#), a ceremony over which he presided on 24 November in the cathedral at Quebec.

Canada West also received his attention and watchful zeal. It was partly due to him that the diocese of Toronto, detached from that of Kingston, was created in 1841, and endowed with a cathedral which he consecrated on 29 Sept. 1848. Bishop Gaulin, who was unable to provide adequately for the administration of the diocese of Kingston, had received Bishop Patrick [Phelan\\*](#) as a coadjutor in 1843; the city of Kingston itself, chosen to be the capital of the Province of Canada, had little in the way of Catholic education and assistance to the sick. Accordingly Bourget invited the Congregation of Notre-Dame to set up a primary school in Kingston [see Marie-Françoise [Huot\\*](#)]. He also asked the Religious Hospitallers of St Joseph from the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreal to establish a hospital for the town and surrounding district; this was carried out in September 1845. On 12 February that year Bytown had received a group of Grey Nuns [see Élisabeth [Bruyère\\*](#)], this community having in the previous year sent a contingent of its members to the Red River region [see Marie-Louise [Valade\\*](#)], again at the prompting of Bourget.

The mere enumeration of these achievements is an eloquent testimony to the enthusiasm

and energy of the tireless bishop. But his innovative measures both inside and outside his own diocese had in the end displeased his hierarchical superior, Archbishop Signay of Quebec, who was a procrastinator and little given to breaking new ground. Bourget had suggested to him in December 1844 that he should call a first provincial council in order to demonstrate that the title of archbishop was not merely honorific and that an important responsibility was attached to it. Signay was stung and his inertia became stubbornness. At the end of his tether, Bourget decided to go once more to Rome. There, with the encouragement of Abbé Charles-Félix [CAZEAU](#), the archbishop's secretary, he sought – albeit in vain – his superior's resignation; he had already, with brutal frankness, written to Signay himself on 25 Sept. 1846: "For a long time I have been thinking that Your Grace should give up the administration of your archdiocese, contenting yourself with retaining the title of metropolitan. I shall use the occasion of my journey to Rome to put before the Holy See the reasons leading me to believe that it might be time for you to relieve yourself of this burden." Indeed in his opinion there were problems pending which only a concerted effort of the bishops in a provincial council could solve: non-observance of rituals, a complete revision of the catechism manual, and any number of other improvements in the organization of the Canadian church were all needed.

This second journey, in 1846, during which Bourget witnessed with delight the delirious demonstrations in Rome in favour of Pius IX, who had just succeeded the unpopular Pope Gregory, brought results as impressive as had his first. The decision was taken to create the diocese of Bytown, and its first bishop was his own candidate, Joseph-Bruno [Guigues\\*](#), the superior in Canada of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Moreover, Bourget returned with some 20 labourers for the faith: his repeated invitations brought responses from the Congregation of the Holy Cross [*see* Jean-Baptiste Saint-Germain], the Clerics of St Viator [*see* Étienne [CHAMPAGNEUR](#)], the Jesuits, and the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. When the great epidemic of 1847 swept Montreal, Bourget was able to detach several priests from his reinforced team to go to the aid of those stricken with typhus. He himself set the example and was fortunate to escape the ravages of the disease, unlike the nine priests and 13 religious sisters who were victims of their own dedication.

By the dawn of 1848 Bourget was justified in believing that the prediction he had shared with Bishop Turgeon in the dark days of 1837 had come true: "The people, seeing their clergy take up their interests at a time when their previous leaders abandon them to the mercy of an authority which they have insulted out of ignorance, will recover their feelings of affection and trust towards their pastors." During the decade just ended, a swing back towards the clergy had indeed occurred and the practice of religion had noticeably improved: the moving addresses of Bishop de Forbin-Janson had stirred hearts and minds, and the new clergy from Europe had sustained and consolidated the effects of his preaching. Moreover, one of the

greatest paradoxes of this troubled period was the result produced by the French Canadian Missionary Society [see Henriette Odin], founded by English-speaking Protestants of Montreal in 1839, shortly after the ill-fated rebellion, to take advantage of a situation unfavourable to the Catholic clergy in order to recruit adherents. In fact, contrary to the expectations of the society's promoters, this same clergy, when put on the alert, made every effort to counteract the activity of the Swiss missionaries effectively and to recover "by dint of good offices," as Bourget had urged, the trust of the people which had been temporarily shaken. By 1848 "Christianization," to use the bishop's word, had gradually permeated all levels of French Canadian society. Religious congregations of men and women were given an increasingly important role in primary education, while the clergy, through the classical colleges which were under its sole direction, ensured the recruitment and training of the élite of the middle class. At the same time, the people of the towns, countryside, and settlements were fitted with a solid organization by parish priests and missionaries. Hospital and charitable assistance was dispensed by religious hands. Finally the *Mélanges religieux*, the Canadian counterpart of *L'Univers* though without the talent, and the Œuvre des bons livres, a library established in 1844 in Montreal [see Joseph-Vincent [Quiblier\\*](#)] on the model of one at Bordeaux and recognized in a pastoral letter of 20 Sept. 1845, proposed to inculcate "good principles" and sound doctrines.

These accomplishments were the fruit of unceasing labour. In the habit of allowing himself no more than five hours' sleep a day, Bourget seemed to contemporary witnesses to have taken a vow to waste no time. A man of action and authority, he nevertheless, like the most industrious and versatile of authors, left an impressive number of published and manuscript works. These manifest an extraordinary dedication to the task of composition, especially given that the written word never came easily to him. Bourget always commenced his pastoral letters well ahead of time and repeatedly revised his texts before sending them to the printer. Heavily burdened with all manner of tasks and worries, the bishop was none the less easy to approach. Even the inopportune visitor did not seem to irritate him. In intimate gatherings he had an inexhaustible fund of conversation and never missed the chance to make a teasing remark or to enjoy the apt retort, even at his own expense.

The prelate made an impression whenever he performed his episcopal duties. His mitre crowning his prematurely white hair, he would stride rather abruptly into the church to participate in liturgical rites with impressive dignity. When he undertook to speak, the conviction which enlivened his remarks made his lively blue eyes sparkle all the more and gave to his even features a ruddier hue.

The Roman liturgy which Bourget introduced into his diocese matched his reverence for the papacy, his exacting sense of order, and the effusive piety which fitted well with

ultramontane devotional celebrations. Thanks to him, the formality and sedateness of the services conducted by the Sulpicians in Montreal, a true city of the north, gradually gave way to the Mediterranean warmth of Roman rites. As a result, new importance was accorded to gestures, to the public image, and to gatherings for magnificent ceremonies in immense churches. One thinks of the spectacular celebrations at Notre-Dame in Montreal when the Zouaves were departing, and the financial sacrifices that Bishop Bourget unhesitatingly imposed on his diocesan flock in order to erect a cathedral reminiscent of St Peter's in Rome. A similar emphasis was placed on processions, confraternities, the veneration of innumerable relics brought back from Rome (that "great reliquary," as he liked to term it), the observance of Forty Hours which he introduced to his diocese on 21 Feb. 1857, and such highly emotional devotions as those to the Seven Sorrows of Mary and to the Sacred Heart. As for the strict moral discipline applied in admission to the sacraments, this was softened as a result of the adoption in the Montreal diocese of the Ligourian ethical rules, as laid out by Bourget in his memorandum to the clergy on 25 July 1871: "Yes, St Alfonso has always been regarded as the [spiritual] director of this diocese, and his moral doctrines have always resolved the difficulties that were encountered in the course of the sacred ministry."

A churchman whose reputation for saintliness soon spread throughout the diocese, and whose sympathy and compassion for the moral and physical distress visible in Montreal, a city then experiencing rapid urbanization and the growth of a working class, Bourget was also a patriot whom the events of 1837 anchored to a conservatism antipathetic to any political or social adventure. It is significant that when the Institut Canadien, at the instigation of Jean-Baptiste-Éric [Dorion\\*](#), founded on 5 April 1848 the Association des établissements canadiens des townships, the chairmanship of the central committee was given to Bourget, while Louis-Joseph Papineau had to be content with the vice-chairmanship. But in September the bishop resigned, and although the association survived it fell prey to ideological and political conflicts. No compromise was possible between the Ultramontane and the liberal, between the undisputed leader of his clergy as well as to a lesser but real degree of the conservative middle class which had rallied to the Reform party of Louis-Hippolyte [La Fontaine\\*](#) and Robert [Baldwin\\*](#), and the former Patriote chief who since his return from exile had vehemently demanded the "repeal of the Union," a local variation of the liberal principle of "nationalities" (self-determination).

Following Papineau's example, the contributors to *L'Avenir*, a paper that began in July 1847 in Montreal, stood more and more aloof from the Reform majority. One of them, Papineau's nephew, Louis-Antoine [Dessaulles\\*](#), moving in the wake of his uncle, proved a determined adversary of responsible government. Throughout May 1848 he argued passionately in *L'Avenir* that "the Union is undeniably the most flagrant injustice, the most infamous outrage upon our natural and political rights that could be perpetrated." The

February revolution in Paris, and more importantly the seditious turn of events in Rome, inflamed men's minds. Pius IX, having shaken off his fleeting inclination towards liberalism after refusing to declare war on Austria for the liberation of the peninsula, had aroused the anger of the Italian patriots, and in face of the revolutionary ferment he deemed it prudent to flee Rome and take refuge in the kingdom of Naples. The question of the temporal power of the pope was from this moment a real one. The pope having failed to take up his task as leader of the national movement, the Roman republic, proclaimed on 5 Feb. 1849, took over the government of its territory by virtue of the right of a people to self-determination.

Bourget had not been slow to draw the parallel between the upheavals in Europe and the articles in *L'Avenir* that he termed "revolutionary." In his pastoral letter of 18 Jan. 1849 ordering "prayers for our Holy Father Pope Pius IX," he came down firmly on the side of the government against the supporters of Papineau and *L'Avenir*: "What recommendations can we make to you in order to escape the calamities that are besetting so many great and powerful nations? Here they are in brief: Be faithful to God and respect all legitimately constituted authorities. Such is the will of the Lord. Do not listen to those who address seditious remarks to you, for they cannot be your true friends. Do not read those books and papers that breathe the spirit of revolt, for they are vehicles of pestilential doctrines which, like an ulcer, have corroded and ruined the most successful and flourishing states."

The news of the proclamation in Rome of the Mazzini republic gave the young contributors to *L'Avenir* the chance to define their own position clearly: they were determined to draw all the logical inferences inherent in the liberal principle of nationalities. On 14 March 1849 they declared themselves against the maintenance of the temporal power of the pope with a bluntness reinforced by their observation that the clergy, headed by the bishop, sided openly with their political opponents. "Those of our readers who feel keenly the beauty and truth of the principles we are defending, will," their spokesman asserted, "understand our insistence, knowing that this revolution in Italy is the occasion for incessant attacks against democratic principles, coming from sources which are even more to be feared because they are more respectable."

There was no better way to cement the alliance between the clergy and the La Fontaine-Baldwin party. Through fear of possible upheavals, religion became the bulwark of political and social order. The Reform party, soon to call itself the Liberal-Conservative party, obtained appreciable political advantages from the clerical influence thus placed at its disposal. On the other hand their more liberal opponents, nicknamed the Rouges because of their radical arguments for the abolition of tithes, the secularization of education, the separation of church and state, and, on the strictly political side, annexation to the United States, attracted the persistent and unrelenting opposition of this same clergy, and especially

of Bourget, particularly from the moment when the *L'Avenir* group seized control of the Institut Canadien, that is, in 1851.

The bishop of Montreal continued his tireless efforts in the field of social action. Because the first association set up to encourage the settlement of the Eastern Townships had failed to attain its goals in the circumstances already mentioned, Bourget personally took over the project, being behind the second association, dedicated to the same purpose, which the Canadian bishops recommended at their assembly in Montreal on 11 May 1850.

Intemperance was a social evil in French Canada at that period. He entrusted the struggle against this scourge to the eloquence of Abbé Charles-Paschal-Télesphore [Chiniquy\\*](#) and in 1853 he founded the *Annales de la tempérance* at Montreal. His zeal encompassed the poor: convinced that each parish ought to see to their needs, he encouraged, with this intention, the expansion of the St Vincent de Paul Society, presiding over the founding of the Montreal conference on 19 March 1848. Among other unfortunates, the deaf-mutes required assistance: in 1850 there were about 1,100 in French Canada, 400 of whom lived in Montreal. For them, Bishop Bourget established the Hospice du Saint-Enfant-Jesus at Côte-Saint-Louis (now part of Outremont), and entrusted its management to Abbé Charles-Irénée [Lagorce\\*](#), who was shortly succeeded by the Clerics of St Viator. The fire in Montreal on 8 July 1852, which destroyed 1,100 houses as well as the cathedral and the bishop's palace and which left about 10,000 destitute, grieved him deeply, and his words at the time testify to the charity and compassion he brought to all tragedies and disasters. By the role he played in social action he helped to sustain an ongoing broad movement of moral and religious renewal.

To his concern for these adversities was added his apprehension about the Institut Canadien, which since its foundation in 1844 had become increasingly influential in every sphere of French Canadian life, political, social, or religious. This institute brought together the young intellectual élite of Montreal to discuss the most advanced ideas of the time, and its library had been built up with no obvious regard for the rules of the Index of Forbidden Books. Bourget judged the institute eminently subversive of the moral and spiritual well-being of his flock and believed it expedient to issue a first warning. At the second provincial council, held in Quebec City in June 1854, he used his influence with the other bishops to get a disciplinary regulation drawn up indicating to the priesthood and the faithful the attitude to be adopted towards "literary institutes." Its explicit text was clearly aimed at the Institut Canadien: "When it is an established practice that a literary institute has books harmful to faith or morals, that readings are given there which are anti-religious, that immoral and irreligious newspapers are read there, one cannot admit to the sacraments those who are members of it, unless there is reason to hope that, given the strength of good principles, they may continue to effect reforms within [the institutes]."

This document, dated 4 June 1854, did not prevent the institute from getting 11 of its members elected to the Legislative Assembly that summer. Its success allowed “the brilliant pleiad of 1854,” as Arthur [Buies\\*](#) called it, to abandon pure speculation for action, having been restricted heretofore to the institute’s own platform or to *Le Pays*, which had replaced *L’Avenir* two years earlier. While Charles [Daoust\\*](#), the member for Beauharnois and editor of *Le Pays*, demanded in his paper the separation of church and state, Joseph [Papin\\*](#), the member for L’Assomption, constituted himself the interpreter in parliament for his liberal colleagues with the aim of obtaining a particularly important consequence of that separation, nondenominational schools.

No doubt contemplating future battles against those who held these views, which could not but give offence to him as an Ultramontane, Bourget set off a third time for Rome, on 23 Oct. 1854. Turgeon, the archbishop of Quebec, who had succeeded Signay at his death on 3 Oct. 1850, had invited him to represent the ecclesiastical province at the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, set for 8 December. Bourget spent his leisure in Italy and France studying in detail the particular characteristics of the Roman liturgy, which tine Benedictine Prosper Guéranger had been zealously restoring in France since 1840, and in 1856 he published in Paris a substantial volume of 569 pages entitled *Ceremonial des évêques commenté et expliqué par les usages et traditions de la sainte Eglise romaine avec le texte latin, par un évêque suffragant de la province ecclésiastique de Québec, au Canada, anciennement appelé Nouvelle-France*. He presented complimentary copies of his book to all the bishops of France, a courteous gesture which did not, however, make the work a best-seller; it was seldom read. Nevertheless, when Bourget returned to Montreal on 29 July 1856, he hastened to apply to the last detail the conclusions he had drawn from his newly acquired erudition in liturgy. In his ultramontane fervour he sometimes acted with a haste and intransigence which ran counter to what certain subordinates such as Abbé Charles [La Rocque\\*](#), parish priest of Saint-Jean (Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu), believed feasible, and to their conviction that one should not sweep away time-honoured usages. Probably realizing that the young generation of ecclesiastics would be more receptive to his views, Bourget wanted the Séminaire de Montreal to adopt manuals of Roman theologians instead of those of the Gallican Jean-Baptiste Bouvier being used by the Sulpicians. The bishop regretted “that here as in France, the Society of Saint-Sulpice, which in many ways is so worthy of respect, is not at the head of this splendid movement which is taking place throughout the world in favour of the sound doctrines of Ultramontanism.” Even the details of priestly garb were not a matter of indifference: in 1858 he made it obligatory for his clergy to wear the Roman collar instead of the French band. Finally, as one more of the indirect results of his last voyage to the banks of the Tiber, his cathedral, destroyed by fire in 1852, was to be rebuilt on no less a model than St Peter’s in Rome.

His nearly two years overseas reinforced Bishop Bourget's ultramontane convictions. What he saw in Italy, in the state of Piedmont which had remained clerical for so long and where the liberals had since 1850 been pursuing their task of secularization, contributed in no small measure to confirming his aversion to liberalism. Back in Montreal, he found himself again confronted by those liberals whose principles and activities had seemed so detestable to him in Europe. But he did not act immediately.

To counteract the influence of the Institut Canadien, a group of its moderate members had in 1852 started a rival association, the Institut National, which they had placed under the patronage of the bishop of Montreal; its success had not, however, lived up to the expectations of the founders and their protector. On 2 Feb. 1857, no doubt thinking that they would be more fortunate, the Sulpicians set up the Cabinet de lecture paroissial with spacious premises near the Place d'Armes, "in opposition to the Institut Canadien" according to a contemporary, Laurent-Olivier [David\\*](#); a literary centre which was attached to it in October subsequently became the Cercle Ville-Marie. In September 1854 the Jesuits, who had founded the Collège Sainte-Marie in 1848, had forestalled the Sulpicians in the battle against the common foe by setting up in their college the Union Catholique, first a congregation and then an academy, which on 23 Nov. 1858 started the newspaper *L'Ordre* espousing the views of Louis Veillot [*see* Cyrille [Boucher\\*](#)].

Whether or not the two enterprises, Sulpician and Jesuit, had produced the anticipated results, Bishop Bourget decided to take drastic action. He did so in three pastoral letters on 10 March, 30 April, and 31 May 1858, which followed a well-developed plan. In the first letter, he described the disastrous effects of the French Revolution and, generally, of all revolutions, which he attributed to the circulation of evil books; in the second, he indicated that revolutionary propaganda could be prevented in Canada through the enforcement of the rules of the Index; and in the third, he stigmatized those whom he considered the harbingers of revolution in Canada, the liberals of the Institut Canadien.

The institute, brought under attack by the first pastoral letter, in which it was likened to "a seat of pestilence" for the whole country, met on 13 April. The majority of its members, in accord with the liberalism it professed, refused to yield to the bishop's threatening text. Indeed, for a liberal, each person has the power to choose his intellectual sustenance as he wishes; cases of poisoning that may result are merely accidental inconveniences, amply compensated for by a higher good: liberty. But the minority, following its leader Hector [Fabre\\*](#), although as desirous as the radical majority of not finding itself under the thumb of the clergy, was ready to compromise. Fabre and his friends realized that most of the institute's members lacked the necessary maturity and culture to tackle indiscriminately the reading of certain works in their association's library. They believed "that if society has the

right to regulate the sale of poison, the institute should have the right to forbid its members to poison themselves." Since no agreement could be reached, a separation followed. On 22 April 1858, 138 of the some 700 members tendered their resignations to the president of the Institut Canadien, Francis Cassidy\*. On 10 May they formed an opposing association which they named the Institut Canadien-Français.

In his second pastoral letter, dated 30 April, Bishop Bourget called the Institut Canadien specifically to account. "Against the evil books" in its library he brought forward the rules of the Index. The summons was to submission, otherwise "it would follow that no Catholic could henceforth belong to this institute; that nobody could read the books in its library, and that no one could in future attend its sessions or go to listen to its readings," for by virtue of the regulations of the Council of Trent the mere fact of possessing, reading, selling, or passing on prohibited books was so grave an offence that it resulted *ipso facto* in excommunication.

Having dealt with the library of the institute and its readers, the bishop of Montreal in his third letter attacked the principles of its leaders. Wishing to make his censure of French Canadian liberalism as authoritative and effective as possible, he took his arguments from the encyclical that had determined the direction of his thinking once and for all at the beginning of his priestly career, Gregory XVI's *Mirari vos*. Using this blunt pontifical text, he accentuated its forcefulness by giving it an extreme interpretation whose categorical and absolute precepts can only occasion profound astonishment today. Having censured liberal views he turned to the newspaper which transmitted them, *Le Pays*. After singling out amongst the "bad papers," the "irreligious paper," the "immoral paper," and the "heretical paper," Bourget came to the anticlerical paper; this he termed "impious," for "each priest being the representative of Jesus Christ," and "the authority which is vested in him being that of Jesus Christ himself, any attempt to destroy the influence of the clergy is tantamount to attacking this divine authority." Clearly, for the prelate's pen the "impious paper" was another term for the "Liberal paper," since the Liberals had always been opposed to clerical interference in the political sphere. Indeed Bourget himself immediately confirmed this identity: "The Liberal paper is the one that claims, among other things, to be *free* in its religious and political opinions; that would like the church to be separate from the state; and that in a word refuses to recognize the right of religion to have anything to do with politics, even when the interests of faith and morals are at stake." In order to prove that "no one is permitted to be *free in his religious and political opinions*," the churchman started from the principle that Jesus Christ has "given his church the power to teach all peoples the *sound doctrine*," namely "that pure doctrine which instructs them to govern themselves, as all truly Christian peoples must do. Here obviously is a moral point of high import. Now, any moral point comes within the domain of the church and essentially derives from its teaching. For its divine mission is to teach sovereigns to govern with wisdom and subjects to obey in

gladness.”

In this way the bishop's thinking led directly to theocracy, which in the opinion of a contemporary of Veuillot, Abbé Henri Maret, dean of the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne, was the epitome of the social and political doctrine of ultramontanism. And in fact, according to the Ultramontanes, “the Sovereign Pontiff, in addition to his spiritual authority, [which is] sacred for all Catholics, possesses by *divine right* a true political jurisdiction throughout the world, a jurisdiction which renders him an arbiter of the great social and even political questions; and, in certain respects, kings and heads of nations are only his deputies.” From this theocratic principle follow “social and political privileges for the clergy of each nation,” and the fact that “civil intolerance is raised to the rank of religious dogma.”

The intransigence of the bishop clashed again with the intransigence of the liberals over the war launched by Piedmont which was the start of the unification of Italy. From 1859 Austria was gradually forced out of the Italian peninsula: principalities and the kingdom of Naples disappeared, the Papal States broke up, and the kingdom of Italy was brought to completion by virtue of the principle then entering into international public law: the right of peoples to self-determination.

For Catholics these dramatic years were a distressing period. In their view the movement for the unification of Italy was nothing short of a concerted attempt on the part of forces hostile to the Roman Catholic Church to reduce it to impotence. Nobody was more convinced than the bishop of Montreal. Consequently, from 1860, he sent out an increasing stream of pastoral letters and memoranda to his clergy concerning “the independence and inviolability of the Papal States.” For him the revolution was first attacking the papacy “in order next to overthrow unimpeded the rest of the universe,” including Canada, where liberal books and newspapers were serving as a means of spreading the “forces of evil.” *Le Pays*, whose editor after 1 March 1861 was Louis-Antoine Dessaulles, was naturally a target, as is apparent from the seven long letters ablaze with ultramontane fervour which Bourget addressed to the newspaper in February 1862. The owners of the liberal paper having refused to publish them, Dessaulles replied to the bishop on 7 March. In the course of his remarkably lucid letter, he came to the central problem which divided Ultramontanes and liberals: which group would impose its ideology on the community? He had suspected that the bishop of Montreal wanted “to intermingle the spiritual and temporal spheres, in order to control and dominate the latter by means of the former,” while the ambition of the “laymen” was to “avoid confusion between these two orders of ideas” and to require “that the spiritual order be entirely distinct from the temporal order.” He concluded: “In a word, my lord, in the purely social and political order we insist on our entire independence from the ecclesiastical power.”

The apprehensions of Dessaulles and those who shared his liberal convictions about the

crushing preponderance of the ecclesiastical structures in French Canadian society, particularly in the Montreal region, can be understood in the light of facts about Bishop Bourget's diocese in this period. (These are taken from historian Serge Gagnon.) The diocese had 128 parishes and 322 priests to serve a Catholic population of 342,654, of whom 210,654 were communicants: hence one priest for every 1,064 persons or 623 communicants. Of this total, 121 parish priests and 48 curates were assigned to pastoral duties. Thus almost every parish had a resident priest and some 40 per cent of the parish priests were assisted by a curate. About one-third of the clergy exercised their ministry as chaplains or teachers; apart from 52 secular clergy, all of these belonged to the various communities of regular clergy settled in the diocese. The great majority of secular clergy, who did not work at the parish level, taught the 811 pupils of the four classical colleges in the diocese, where many of the 127 candidates for priesthood in the diocese directed classes while pursuing theological studies. The lay religious taught 5,943 boys. "As for the 10 communities of women, they comprise, in addition to 1,033 religious, 148 novices and 152 postulants. Seven of these women's communities teach 9,705 children. The other three attend to 36,463 poor, sick and infirm, etc."

The Catholic population, suitably endowed with these structures in large part attributable to the ability and zeal of Bishop Bourget, was on the whole amenable to the directives given by its pastors and committed to the realization of the objectives suggested to it. There is no better indication of this than the recruitment and enlistment of 507 Zouaves, in seven detachments, who went to assist the papacy from 1868. Historian René Hardy, who has minutely analysed all aspects of this important episode of Canadian religious history in the 19th century, estimates that the amount expended in sending the Canadian volunteers to Rome was at least \$111,630, no trivial sum since it was raised in years of financial hardship. As historians Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby show, the financial crisis in England and the difficulties of reconstruction after the American Civil War had a negative impact on the economy of Quebec, so that all sectors of the economy were adversely, though unevenly, affected. Most Canadian Catholic bishops were hesitant about fitting out soldiers and instead exhorted their dioceses to contribute to the charity known as Peter's pence, but thanks to Bishop Bourget, despite all pecuniary and other difficulties, French Canada stood with France, Belgium, Holland, Ireland, and others in recruiting volunteers for the defence of the Papal States. The stakes, already considerable by reason of the objective that was directly and publicly pursued, were perhaps higher still because of the accompanying tactics calculated to disseminate ultramontane ideology throughout the various strata of society. "The function of the Zouaves in clerical strategy as a whole," writes Hardy, "was principally to legitimate the cause of the Holy See, which the French Canadian clergy used as a pretext to justify its opposition to the section of the bourgeoisie that was contending with it for power. Whatever

the needs of Rome might be, Bishop Bourget and his associates wanted Canadians to serve in the pope's army, for in their judgement these soldiers were an even more powerful means of combatting the ideas diffused by the liberals of *Le Pays* and of the Institut Canadien than the organizing of public demonstrations and prayers or the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets favourable to the cause. In short, it was a matter of involving the population directly in this struggle of 'truth against error' by getting [their] compatriots to fight in it, increasing in this way information favourable to the papal viewpoint, fostering affection for Pius IX by constantly publicizing his misfortunes, arousing fear and hatred for his enemies, and, in the Roman tradition, forging on the battlefields and in the papal city an ultramontane élite which in the future would serve as a bulwark against the introduction into Canada of 'subversive and revolutionary ideas' such as those condemned in the *Syllabus*. "

Concurrently with the expansion of ultramontanism, which the Zouave movement powerfully assisted, liberalism as represented by the Institut Canadien met with one defeat after another. Attempts at reconciliation with the bishop of Montreal in 1864, a petition addressed to Pius IX by 17 Catholic members of the institute in 1865, unfavourable reports by Bourget to the Holy Office in 1866 and 1869, all these proceedings finally resulted in the *Annuaire de l'Institut Canadien pour 1868* [see Gonzalve [Doutre\\*](#)] being placed on the Index in July 1869. The Guibord affair [see Joseph [Guibord\\*](#); Alexis-Frédéric [Truteau\\*](#)], with its succession of sudden developments between November 1869 and 1874, really marked the final decline of the association, even though the Privy Council in London appeared to give victory to the liberals over the ecclesiastical authority. Joseph [DOUTRE](#) in particular, who with Dessaulles was one of the institute's most influential associates, never forgave the clergy for having subjected him to relentless opposition as a member of it, and especially whenever he aspired to a political role in his country's government.

This conflict was not the only one in which the bishop of Montreal was involved. An Ultramontane and a churchman *par excellence*, he was paradoxically led by circumstances to wage exhausting and endless struggles against the two most impressive religious institutions of the Canadian church at that period, the Séminaire de Québec and the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice at Montreal.

The founding in 1852 of the Université Laval by the Séminaire de Québec stemmed from Bishop Bourget's initiative [see Louis-Jacques [Casault\\*](#)]. But this initiative was based on a misunderstanding. According to the bishop the new university was to be a provincial one for which all the bishops of the ecclesiastical province took responsibility. It was not long, however, before he was forced to sound a different note, since the organization and management of the university were taken over entirely by the seminary and the archbishop of Quebec. An attempt was made to allay Bourget's apprehensions by introducing an

affiliation clause making the extension of university privileges to affiliated institutions possible, but this clause proved inoperative in his diocese. In 1858 none of the local classical colleges was affiliated with Laval, and an application from the Montreal School of Medicine and Surgery was twice turned down [see Hector [Peltier\\*](#)]. From 1862 Bishop Bourget thought of establishing another university in his episcopal city. He was impatient to do this because of the increasing numbers of Catholic students who had to enrol in the faculties of law and medicine at McGill College and elsewhere. In 1865 he based an application to Rome on statistics: in 1863–64 Laval had only 72 registered students. Few of those who enrolled came from Montreal, which had 530 Catholic students at the university level, counting those attending the “grand séminaires.” For its part the Séminaire de Québec stressed that in 10 years it had spent more than \$300,000 to maintain the university, whose future would be irrevocably compromised by an institution at Montreal. Rome concluded that it was not expedient to create a second university at Montreal. In 1870 Laval suggested a branch in Montreal, but as the authority of its bishop was virtually ignored, Bourget rejected the project. Two years later the Montreal bar started negotiations which came to naught. The Jesuits attempted in their turn to obtain university privileges for the law school of their Collège Sainte-Marie from the government, but the bishop, at Rome’s request, asked them to withdraw their petition [see François-Maximilien [BIBAUD](#)]. A provisional epilogue in the dénouement of this 25-year university crisis came in a resolution of Propaganda dated 1 Feb. 1876 stating that a branch of the Université Laval should be established at Montreal. The costs were to be paid by Montrealers, but the university authority would remain at Quebec, the bishop of Montreal being at most permitted to approve the appointment of the vice-rector. Bourget, however, tendered his resignation as bishop soon after, and thus avoided having to implement such a decree.

Another conflict, no less bitter, had pitted Bourget against the Séminaire de Montréal over the thorniest problem with which he had to deal as an administrator: the division of the parish of Notre-Dame. At the time of his resignation the feelings aroused by this incident had only just subsided.

“The Parish,” as the expression went, covered all of Montreal Island and in 1864 it had a population of 100,000. Its status had not changed since Bishop François de [Laval\\*](#) had erected the parish of Ville-Marie canonically in 1678, and united it for all time to the Séminaire de Montréal. A few years later an ordinance of Bishop Saint-Vallier [[La Croix\\*](#)] had decreed that the superior of the seminary should be *ex officio* the parish priest. In 1863 the superior general of Saint-Sulpice in Paris presented a report to the Holy See in which he begged that the established order be maintained. Asked to reply to him, Bourget stated: “I grant that the superior of Saint-Sulpice should be the priest in perpetuity of the parish of Montreal. But, at the same time, I expect him to be *entirely subordinate to the bishop*. This

*entire subordination to the bishop* on the part of the parish priest of Montreal must be that which is required by the holy canons for the good government of souls." The two parties were summoned to Rome. The superior proved conciliatory on certain points but adamant as to a method of dismissal for the parish priest; he even threatened the bishop that he would withdraw from Montreal his entire community of 57 priests, of whom 42 were assigned to pastoral ministry. Finally in 1865 the superior accepted the following decisions of Propaganda: the bishop obtained authorization to divide the parish of Montreal; the new parishes would be offered first to the Sulpicians; the parish priest of Notre-Dame would be nominated by the seminary but would receive his investiture from the bishop; he could be dismissed by either the superior or the bishop [see Joseph-Alexandre [BAILS](#); Joseph [DESAUTELS](#)].

Within the boundaries of the parish of Notre-Dame, Bourget hastened to erect ten new canonical parishes between September 1866 and December 1867. But he had to have them incorporated by the civil authority so that, by virtue of the law, they would have a legal existence. It was on this point that the Sulpicians lay doggedly in wait for him. They urged the government not to recognize the autonomy of the new parishes, which in their eyes were merely succursal chapels of the parish of Notre-Dame. To uphold their cause they could count on the advice of their former pupil, George-Étienne [Cartier\\*](#), who was then at the summit of his political power, and on the legal skill of a protégé of Cartier, lawyer Joseph-Ubalde [Beaudry\\*](#), the legal adviser to the council of the parish of Notre-Dame. For his part Bourget had the eminent lawyer Côme-Séraphin [CHERRIER](#) to assist him. The result was an endless series of disputes, punctuated by frequent appeals to Rome, during the course of which Cartier brought his authority to bear to such an extent that the bishop of Montreal's patience, legendary though it was, almost reached the breaking point. "What then," he wrote on 19 Feb. 1871, "is the nub of this inextricable difficulty? It is M. Cartier, who exercises his right to [use] pressure, or rather oppression."

By this time the battle was raging on all fronts. *Le Nouveau Monde*, begun in 1867, identified itself with the causes supported by Bourget, who on 28 Sept. 1872 condemned *La Minerve*, Cartier's journal, "because of the insults it continually hurls at the editor of *Le Nouveau Monde*, that is to say at me." The ultramontane paper had conducted a relentless campaign for four months against the work Beaudry had published at Montreal in October 1870, *Code des curés, marguilliers et paroissiens accompagné de notes historiques et critiques*. A new St George, Canon Godefroy Lamarche, the editor of *Le Nouveau Monde*, seems not to have been able to crush the dragon of "Gallicanism" in Beaudry, for in 1872 Siméon Pagnuelo, a young lawyer who was Lamarche's legal adviser and associate, in his turn published *Études historiques et légales sur la liberté religieuse en Canada* [see Desautels] which attacked Beaudry's arguments.

Pagnuelo had already helped draft the *Programme catholique* [see François-Xavier-Anselme [TRUDEL](#)], which Bourget considered “the strongest safeguard of the true Conservative party and the firmest support for the right principles that must govern a Christian society.” Repudiated by the new archbishop of Quebec, Elzéar-Alexandre [Taschereau\\*](#), the programme struck a blow at the hitherto uncontested authority of Cartier over the Conservative party, and he suffered a resounding defeat in Montreal East in the federal elections of 1872. Bourget denied having contributed to the defeat but this was not the opinion of Charles La Rocque, the bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe, who might be viewed as the prototype of the symbiotic alliance existing between clerics and French Canadian politicians in the 19th century. He wrote to Cartier on 1 Sept. 1872: “May I tell you in friendly fashion that I feel humiliated when I reflect whence came the blow that succeeded in striking you down.” For the Ultramontanes it was evident that the bishop of Montreal, whose golden anniversary of ordination had been celebrated in great style from 27 to 30 Oct. 1872, had finally triumphed over his Sulpician adversaries and their powerful ally, since early in January 1873 all the canonical parishes obtained their civil registration. “The immense popularity of the great statesman,” Bishop Louis-François [Lafliche\\*](#) observed on 31 January, “shattered in Montreal against the firmness of this worthy bishop, like a clay vase against rock.”

Weighed down by so much labour, and often sick, Bourget had secured Canon Édouard-Charles [Fabre\\*](#), Cartier’s brother-in-law, as a coadjutor. The archbishop of Quebec presided at his consecration on 1 May 1873 in the church of the Collège Sainte-Marie. All the bishops had assembled around the archbishop and Bourget, the dean of the Canadian episcopate.

At first sight this ceremony symbolized a harmony that seemed to exist in the episcopal body. But appearances were deceptive. Archbishop Taschereau, in particular, was not very fond of the bishop of Montreal. As former rector and chancellor of Université Laval he had been unalterably opposed to the attempts to set up another university. On the question of the division of the parish of Notre-Dame, he had often sided with the Sulpicians. But, above all, the extremism of the Ultramontanes in Montreal offended his innate realism, and his close friends did not look kindly upon the “rabid men of Montreal.” He also reproached Bourget for welcoming into his diocese priests whom Quebec had got rid of without regret: the Jesuit Antoine-Nicolas [BRAUN](#), for example, who on the recent occasion of the 50th anniversary of Bourget’s ordination as priest had delivered in the archbishop’s presence a sermon railing against liberalism and Gallicanism, the archbishop himself, in Montreal eyes, being far from free of their taint. But Taschereau was particularly annoyed about Abbé Alexis [Pelletier\\*](#). The latter, a Gaumist, had been obliged to resign as auxiliary priest at the Séminaire de Québec, and had taken refuge in the diocese of Montreal. There, from the safe cover of the inner offices of *Le Franc-Parleur*, a subsidiary of *Le Nouveau Monde*, he vented his ill temper on

Taschereau, the person whom he saw as “the perfect example of domination, arrogant superiority, imperious, arbitrary autocracy, and a cold ill-concealed disdain for any grandeur other than his own.”

The apparent unison among the bishops was shown once more when they published a collective letter on 22 Sept. 1875 denouncing Catholic liberalism, which the Conservatives used as a weapon against their Liberal adversaries. The province was in an uproar. “One hears talk only of politics,” Abbé Jean-Baptiste-Zacharie Bolduc, procurator of the archdiocese of Quebec, observed on 21 Jan. 1876 to his friend Benjamin [Pâquet\\*](#). Bourget himself entered the fray when a pastoral letter sent with a memorandum to his clergy on 1 February in its turn condemned Catholic liberalism. To his great regret he was unable to form a precise notion of what Catholic liberalism really was: he would have to ask Rome for a definition! The bishop of Montreal attacked those who reviled the clergy, especially the parish priests who deserved respect and obedience: “I listen to my parish priest, my parish priest listens to the bishop, the bishop listens to the pope, the pope listens to our Lord Jesus Christ.” Feeling that this pastoral was “bound to stir up trouble,” the archbishop of Quebec was alarmed. In Taschereau’s immediate circle men like Abbé Louis Pâquet believed Bourget had lost his senses. “Frankly,” he added, “this is the most charitable opinion.” The Capuchin Ignazio Persico, a good observer who had been parish priest of Sillery since 1873, thought too many bishops were ardent political partisans, as he intimated on 20 April 1876 to Cardinal Alessandro Franchi, the prefect of Propaganda: “It is obvious that many bishops not only prove to be party men, but also take matters to extremes; and [they do] this not to defend religious values but simply for political or personal motives.”

Archbishop Taschereau judged it his duty to straighten things out. In his pastoral letter of 24 May 1876, he stated that it was necessary to discriminate between the liberalism which had been condemned and the liberalism which had not. He enjoined his priests not to speak of politics in the pulpit or elsewhere, and to show no preference for any candidate. But Bishop Persico believed the archbishop could no longer control the situation. Rome would have to institute an inquiry on the spot: this would be the mission of Bishop George [Conroy\\*](#).

Bishop Bourget thought that his resignation at this time would quell the storm. Such was his wish when on 28 April 1876 he asked Cardinal Franchi “to persuade the Holy Father, by accepting my resignation, that I be cast into the sea, so that perfect calm might be restored.” On 15 May he learned that his resignation had been accepted by the pope, to take effect in September.

Bourget was appointed archbishop of Martianopolis, the former capital of Moesia Inferior, a region that partly corresponds to present-day Bulgaria, and retired to the residence of Saint-Janvier de Sault-au-Récollet in the spring of 1877, together with his loyal secretary of

more than 30 years, Abbé Joseph-Octave [Paré\\*](#). Ill and exhausted, Bourget had, as he said many times, but one desire: to “meditate on the years of eternity.” Only twice did he come out of his seclusion for any substantial period. The first time, urged by the die-hard supporters of an independent university at Montreal, the old man, then nearly 82, embarked on yet another journey to Rome from 12 Aug. to 30 Oct. 1881. He was unsuccessful, for Propaganda confirmed its decree of 1 Feb. 1876: there would be only one Catholic university in the province of Quebec. The second time, to help pay off the diocese of Montreal’s enormous debt of some \$840,000, he travelled through the parishes, in all seasons regardless of the weather, to collect donations. In his memorandum to the clergy on 11 Oct. 1882 he announced that his trip had yielded the grand total of \$84,782. This sum was no more than a tenth of the amount necessary to extinguish the debt but, in the words of one of his friends, “he re-established the confidence which seemed temporarily to have ebbed in the possibility of meeting the diocese’s monetary crisis.” On 9 Nov. 1882, at Boucherville, concluding his diocesan collection he celebrated the diamond anniversary of his ordination.

This occasion really was the end of his public life. Sick and growing ever weaker, he passed away on 8 June 1885. After an impressive funeral in the church of Notre-Dame, his body was placed in a vault of the unfinished cathedral in Montreal. A commemorative statue by artist Louis-Philippe [Hébert\\*](#), a former Papal Zouave, has stood in the parvis of the building since 24 June 1903. His remains were finally transferred on 20 March 1933 to another part of the cathedral, the mortuary chapel for bishops and archbishops; his mausoleum, which stands in the centre, is the visual symbol of his pre-eminent place in the history of the diocese.

Even today the personality and work of the second bishop of Montreal still inspire intense feelings. One has only to look through recent historical works to realize that there are fewer devotees than there were 10 or 20 years ago, and that his religious and political conceptions are being scrutinized more and more critically. It is impossible to think of Ignace Bourget as other than a man of the church, but it was an authoritarian, uncompromising, intolerant church, in short the church of the last phase of the pontificate of Pius IX, whose anathema against the modern world in the end confined Roman Catholics as a body to a kind of ghetto. On the other hand, to do justice to the bishop, one must stress the tireless worker he proved to be despite an often deplorable state of health; the leader who awakened the devotion of so many; the man of prayer whose saintliness inspired a veritable cult; and finally the effective administrator who set up or helped to set up so many lasting institutions within and beyond his diocese. That is why Bishop Bourget remains, despite his inadequacies, one of the great architects of the province of Quebec.

[PHILIPPE SYLVAIN](#)

[The ACAM is of course the principal source for information on the life and work of Bishop Ignace Bourget. In particular, the Registres des lettres de Mgr Bourget (RLB) and the valuable file on the Institut Canadien (901.133; 901.134; 901.135) were used. In 1965, when the file was first opened, its contents had not yet been classified. A perusal of the file revealed that there was a wealth of information in the material from the institute's members or about them; in particular, the numerous letters from Louis-Antoine Dessaulles to Bourget on the difficulties arising between the institute and the bishop proved most important and useful for defining the existing liberal and ultramontane ideologies and delineating the conflict between lay and clerical forces at that time.

The *Mandements, diocèse de Montréal, I–VIII*, are an essential printed primary source. The most complete list of Bourget's writings is to be found in Léopold Beaudoin's thesis, "Bio-bibliographie de Monseigneur Ignace Bourget" (thèse de Bibliothéconomie, univ. de Montréal, 1950). Danielle Boisvert's recent work, *Inventaire sommaire d'une collection de mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires de Mgr Ignace Bourget (P 66), 1840–1858* (Montréal, 1979), prepared as one of the publications of AUM, is also useful.

Father Léon Pouliot spent more than 40 years studying the life and work of Bishop Bourget. He published numerous studies in various reviews and periodicals, and then synthesized these in his principal work: *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps* (5v., Montréal, 1955–77). He also wrote *Les dernières années (1876–1885) et la survie de Mgr Bourget* (Montréal, 1960). Anyone who writes on Bourget is inevitably indebted to this remarkable accumulation of information on the second bishop of Montreal. Volume IX of Arthur Savaète's major study of ecclesiastical matters in Canada, *Voix canadiennes, vers l'abîme* (12v., Paris, 1908–22), also proved useful. In addition to Lucien Lemieux's fine scholarly and detailed history of the diocese of Montreal, *L'Établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada, 1783–1844* (Montréal et Paris, 1968), the following works were used: Serge Gagnon, "Le diocèse de Montréal durant les années 1860," *Le Laïc dans l'Église canadienne-française de 1830 à nos jours* (Montréal, 1972), 113–27; René Hardy, "Les zouaves pontificaux et la diffusion de l'ultramontanisme au Canada français, 1860–1870" (thèse de PHD, univ. Laval, Québec, 1978); Robert Perin, "Bourget and the dream of a free church in Quebec, 1862–1878" (PHD thesis, Univ. of Ottawa, 1975); and Sylvain, "Libéralisme et ultramontanisme." Unfortunately it has not been possible to consult the PHD thesis which Mme Huguette Lapointe-Roy is currently preparing at Université Laval on various aspects of the social history of mid-19th-century Montreal. P.S.]

General Bibliography

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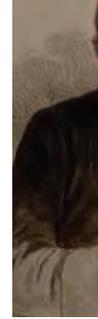
COUTURE (Cousture),  
GUILLAUME (d. 1701)



JOGUES, ISAAC



CHARTIER, ÉTIENNE



DUCHAI

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B. 50 Le vingt quatre avril mil huit cent  
 Olivier vingt neuf par nous soussigné a été  
 Brossseau baptisé Olivier né cette nuit du légitime  
 mariage de Gabriel Brossseau journalier  
 et d'Estie Marion de cette paroisse. Pères  
 Jean Baptiste Savard maraîcher Angele  
 que Thoreau qui ont déclaré ne savoir  
 signer.

J. Paquin ptre

B. 35 Le vingt cinq avril mil huit cent  
 Marie vingt neuf par nous soussigné a été  
 Choutier inhumée. Marié de cédé avant son  
 et age de dix mois fille de Jean Bap-  
 tiste Choutier journalier et de Marie  
 Choutier de cette paroisse. Pères Jacques  
 et François Beauchamp qui ont dé-  
 claré ne savoir signer.

M. M. Brun ptre

B. 36 Le vingt cinq avril mil huit  
 Jean Baptiste cent vingt neuf par nous  
 Marineau soussigné a été inhumé  
 l'enfant de Jean Baptiste  
 Marineau et cultivateur et  
 Marie Anne Lauser de cette  
 paroisse ondoyé et mort  
 après. Pères Jacques et  
 François Beau Champ qui  
 ont déclaré ne savoir si-  
 gner.

M. M. Brien ptre

B. 51 Le vingt sept avril mil  
 Benjamin huit cent vingt neuf  
 Labelle par nous soussigné a été  
 baptisé Benjamin né  
 hier du légitime mari-  
 age de Louis Labelle cul-  
 tivateur et de Josephite

Dont de cette paroisse Parain  
 Benjamin Poivier maraîcher  
 Josephite Ferrin qui ont dé-  
 claré ne savoir signer.

M. M. Brien ptre

M. 13 Le vingt sept avril mil  
 Antoine huit cent vingt neuf après  
 Lagarde dit St Jean la publication de trois  
 sans de mariage entre An-  
 toine Lagarde dit St Jean  
 fils majeur de Paul Lagarde  
 dit St Jean et de Margue-  
 rite Tiedoge de cette paroisse  
 d'une part et Esther Cardinal  
 fille mineure de Joachim  
 Cardinal et de Marguerite  
 James dite Curier aussi de  
 cette paroisse d'autre  
 part. Ayant observé ce  
 que le droit du consente-  
 ment des parents nous  
 soussigné avons reçu  
 leur mutuel consentement  
 de mariage et leur avons  
 donné la benediction  
 nuptiale en présence d'An-  
 toine Lagarde dit St Jean  
 et de François Cardinal  
 d'Etiers des Eperes de Joseph  
 Lorrain et de Jacques Beau-  
 champ qui tous ont dé-  
 claré ne savoir signer de  
 ce requis.

M. M. Brien ptre

B. 52 Le trente avril mil huit  
 Marie Annette cent vingt neuf par  
 Labelle nous soussigné a été



## ÉCRITURE COUVERTE

Joseph Beaucou et Jacques Beauchamp qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le quatre janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Marie Baptiste Marie desANGES née, aujourd'hui, du légitime mariage de desANGES Joseph Ethier (cultivateur et de desANGES Carole dite de Ste. Rose) Parain Louis Laplante, Maraine (Suzette) Bouchard qui avec le père ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le cinq janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Baptiste Emile né, huit, du légitime mariage de Joseph Brière (cultivateur et de Pauline Dumet dite Domet de cette paroisse). Parain Antoine Domet, Maraine (Émile) Daquet qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le six janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Charles (Charles né, huit, du légitime mariage de Charles Charbonneau (normalien et Charles de Lethur) Nihoux dite Leca de cette paroisse. Parain Abraham Giroux, Maraine (Archange) Rochon qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le six janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Baptiste Domitille née, huit, du légitime mariage de Jean Domitille Marie Desjardin (cultivateur et de Christine Bellanger de cette paroisse. Parain Paul Desjardin, Maraine (Esther) Rochon Desjardin qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le sept janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Baptiste Marie Euphémie née, huit, du légitime mariage de Euphémie Fernand Nadeau (Forgeron) et de Julie Rigaud de cette paroisse. Parain Paul Nadeau, Maraine (Léa) Nadeau qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le huit janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Gustave (Gustave né, huit, du légitime mariage de Gustave Bouchard (cultivateur et de Lucette Lagotte) de cette paroisse. Bridgier et mort avant huit. Témoins de l'inhumation (M. Rigaud) Jacques Beauchamp père et fils qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. Deux ont signé et nul. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le neuf janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Baptiste Marie Aurélie née, huit, du légitime mariage de Louis Charbonneau (cultivateur et de Isabelle Giroux de cette (Charbonneau) paroisse. Parain Louis Labriche Delisle, Maraine (Esther) Desjardin qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le dix janvier mil huit cent trente un après la publication de trois bans de mariage entre Gustave Belle veuve

veuve et quatrième feuillet  
Journalier d'Anglais garçon menuisier de cette paroisse d'une part et Pauline Lagarde dite Jean fille menuisier de Paul Lagarde dite Jeanne et Jean Journalier et de Marguerite Poirer dite Delapex ayné de cette paroisse d'autre part ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement au dit mariage; de consentement des parents nous (curé) soussigné avons reçu leur mutuel consentement de mariage et leur avons donné la bénédiction nuptiale en présence de Joseph Choquet, de Jean Baptiste Blac, dit Robine (choses) et de Jean Baptiste Vézina (choses) qui, tous, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le onze janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été (inhumé) le corps de Pierre Besnais dit de Long en un Journalier (époux) de défunte Marie Prévost de cette paroisse, âgé de quatre vingt dix sept ans. Témoins de l'inhumation Jean Baptiste Fortier et Jacques Beauchamp qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le quinze janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Baptiste Marie Adolphine née, huit, du légitime mariage de Antoinette Nadeau Journalier et de Solange Desjardin de cette paroisse. Parain Nadeau Pierre Giroux, Maraine (Angelique) Desjardin qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le dix sept janvier mil huit cent trente un après la publication de trois bans de mariage entre Paul Dumoulin dit Lagiroffli alias Fâche Journalier fils menuisier de feu Jean Baptiste Dumoulin dit Lagiroffli alias Fâche Journalier et de Lucette Dagnais de cette paroisse d'une part et Julienne (Julie) fille menuisier de Jean Baptiste (Julie) Journalier et de Marie Thérèse Dequise dite Larose ayné de cette paroisse d'autre part, ne s'étant découvert aucun empêchement au dit mariage; de consentement des parents, nous (curé) soussigné avons reçu leur mutuel consentement de mariage et leur avons donné la bénédiction nuptiale en présence de Jean Baptiste (Julie) père de l'époux, de Michel Charbonneau, de Jean Marie Labelle et de Martin Grand qui, tous, ont déclaré ne savoir signer de ce requis. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*

**L** Le dix huit janvier mil huit cent trente un par nous (curé) soussigné a été Baptiste Marie Thérèse née, aujourd'hui, du légitime mariage de Joseph Denchamps (cultivateur et de Marie Thérèse) veuve de M. Benoit. Parain André (Thérèse) Tardif (choses) de M. Benoit. Parain André (Thérèse) Tardif (choses) de M. Benoit, Maraine Louise Bouchette qui, avec le père, ont déclaré ne savoir signer. — *J. Jaquin P. 63*





B. 27.

Philomine  
Blaise

Le sept mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Philomène, née hier d'un légitime mariage de Lucie  
Blaise macou & de Adelaïde Lanthier. Parrain Pierre Leduc, marraine  
Marie Trudel qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 28.

Onésime  
Mathieu

Le sept mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisé Onésime né ce jour d'un légitime mariage de André Mathieu  
& de Marguerite Boies de St. Martin. Parrain Alexis Galopier, marraine  
Victoire Lorrain qui, le père absent, ont déclaré en savoir légitime & artisan.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

S. 13.

Sivie  
Jeanette

Le sept mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été instruit le corps de Sivie Jeanette, décédée ce jour, âgée de vingt ans,  
fille de feu N<sup>os</sup> Jeanette cultivateur & de Marguerite Roule, de cette pa-  
roisse. Témoin Jacques & François Beauchamp qui n'ont signé.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

S. 14.

Antoine  
Belanger

Le treize mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été instruit le corps d'Antoine Belanger, décédé le jour de courawit,  
qui se quarante ans, époux de Marie Dumet, de cette paroisse.  
Témoin Jacques & François Beauchamp qui n'ont signé.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 29.

Sophie  
Carrière

Le dix sept mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Sophie née hier d'un légitime mariage de Jean Baptiste  
Carrière & de Esther Carrière, de cette paroisse. Parrain Jean Baptiste Va-  
nier, marraine Scholastique Carrière qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en sa-  
voir légitime & fermier.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 30.

M. Marcelle  
Thérèse

Le vingt deux Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
qui a été baptisée Marie Marcelle, née avant hier d'un légitime ma-  
riage de Théophile Choquet cultivateur & de Marie Roussin, de cette  
paroisse. Parrain Jacques Roussin, marraine Angélique Taillefer  
qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime.

J. Paquin P<sup>re</sup>

S. 15.

Enfant de  
S<sup>te</sup> St.  
Jacques

Le vingt cinq Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
qui a été instruit le corps d'un enfant ondoyé de S<sup>te</sup> Thérèse de S<sup>te</sup> Jac-  
ques & de Charlotte Gourzy de cette paroisse de courawit, de cette paroisse.  
Témoin Jacques & François Beauchamp qui n'ont signé.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 31.

M. Mathilde  
Lanthier

Le vingt cinq Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Mathilde, née ce jour d'un légitime mariage de Pierre  
& de Marguerite Lanthier & de Marguerite Carrière de cette

Certificat de décès de la paroisse de Saint-Eustache le 17 Mars 1848

parois. Parrain Antoine Lanthier, marraine Marie Lanthier qui, avec  
le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime. Tim. P. P. Filiatrault.

B. 32.

Théophile  
Leroux

Ce vingt cinq Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisé Théophile, né ce jour d'un légitime mariage de Joseph Leroux  
& de Louise Lanthier, de cette paroisse. Parrain Joseph Leroux, marraine  
Sophie Potvin qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime & cultivateur.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 33.

M. Aurélie  
Bernard

Ce vingt sept Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Aurélie née ce jour d'un légitime mariage de François  
Bernard & de Thérèse Bonin, de cette paroisse. Parrain Napoléon  
Naton, marraine Marie Léonard Bonin qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en sa-  
voir légitime & artisan.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 34.

Rosalie  
Mathieu

Le vingt sept Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Rosalie née ce jour d'un légitime mariage de Nicolas Mathieu  
& de Angélique Beauchamp, de cette paroisse. Parrain Basile Lanthier, mar-  
rain Pierre Desrosiers qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime & artisan.

Bis on a St Jacques  
de Montréal le 10 Nov 1908

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 35.

Théophile  
Lagarde

Le vingt huit Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisé Théophile né ce jour d'un légitime mariage de Thomas Lagarde  
& de Sophie Carrière, de cette paroisse. Parrain Théophile Bironneau, marraine  
Scholastique Carrière qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime & cultivateur.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 36.

Rose  
Laroque

Ce vingt neuf Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Rose, née hier d'un légitime mariage de Charles Laroque  
& de Esther Blondin, de cette paroisse. Parrain Joseph Naton, marraine Ro-  
se Blondin qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en savoir légitime & cultivateur.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 37.

Mathilde  
Lévesque

Ce trent un Mars mil huit cent trente neuf, par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Mathilde, née ce jour d'un légitime mariage de Joseph Lévesque  
& de Marie Genevieve Boileau, de cette paroisse. Parrain Benjamin Jean  
nette, marraine Adelaïde Thériault qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en sa-  
voir légitime.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault

B. 38.

Marguerite  
Desjardis

Le trent un Mars mil huit cent trente neuf par N<sup>os</sup> vicaires Souffigné  
a été baptisée Marguerite née ce jour d'un légitime mariage de Pierre de  
quière Laroque & de Suzanne Desjardis, de cette paroisse. Parrain Pierre Je-  
dun, marraine Adelaïde Thériault qui, avec le père, ont déclaré en sa-  
voir légitime & menuisier.

Tim. P. P. Filiatrault



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1954

[ 8 ]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
NOM du chef de chaque famille		PROFESION		MÉTIER		NOMBRE TOTAL de personnes dans chaque famille		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la famille		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune	

310 213  
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No 1

[ 1 ]

1120

RETOUR de l'Énumération des HABITANTS de Village du Parc des Montagnes ainsi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
NOM du chef de chaque famille		PROFESION		MÉTIER		NOMBRE TOTAL de personnes dans chaque famille		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la famille		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la paroisse		NOMBRE de personnes appartenant à la section de la commune	

13 30 106  
 Amount (amount) forward to p. 2 Page

*Calvin*

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1954

[ 8 ]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30

170.

[ 1 ]

1121

RETOUR de l'Énumération des HABITANTS de *Villon du Lac des Deux Montagnes*

MAISONS avec leur possesseur ou locataire dans un ou plusieurs Maisons, Concessions, Bar, etc.	NOM du Chef de chaque Famille.			PROPRIÉTAIRE de Bonne Foi.	NON PROPRIÉTAIRE de Bonne Foi.	LOCALITÉ où se trouve le chef de la Famille (Cité, Ville, etc.)	MÉTIER ou PROFESSION.	NOMBRE TOTAL de Personnes des deux sexes dans la Famille (y compris les enfants nés et décédés).	NOMBRE de Personnes appartenant à l'Église, à l'Église ou à l'Église, et appartenant à l'Église.
	MAISONS habitées.	MAISONS inhabitées.	MAISONS en construction.						
1	1						<i>Passant</i>	1	
2								1	
3	1							3	
4								2	
5								5	
6	1							8	
7	1							4	
8								3	
9								8	
10								2	
11								4	
12								4	
13								5	
14								3	
15								7	
16								3	
17	1							4	
18								5	
19								4	
20								3	
21								3	
22	1							6	
23								4	
24								5	
25								4	
26								2	
27								2	
28								2	
29	1							5	
30								2	
31								1	
32								120	
33								136	
34								256	

Algonquin

*Carreau No. 3, Page 11*

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1954

1	Nombre de MOULINS à CORDELIERS dans chaque localité.
2	Nombre de MOULINS à SIEGE dans chaque localité.
3	Nombre de MOULINS pour le PAIN dans chaque localité.
4	Nombre de MOULINS à POULIN dans chaque localité.
5	Nombre de MOULINS à CLAUDE dans chaque localité.
6	Nombre de MOULINS à VERRE dans chaque localité.
7	Nombre de MOULINS pour le PAIN dans chaque localité.
8	Nombre de MOULINS à PAIN dans chaque localité.
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28	Nombre de MOULINS à PAIN dans chaque localité.
29	Nombre de MOULINS à PAIN dans chaque localité.
30	Nombre de MOULINS à PAIN dans chaque localité.

MAISONS habitées.	MAISONS inhabitées.	MAISONS en construction.	NOM du Chef de chaque Famille.	PROPRIÉTAIRE de Bonne Foi.	SON PROPRIÉTAIRE de Bonne Foi.	LOCATAIRE ayant droit de Voter à l'élection de Cité, Ville, etc.	MÉTIER ou PROFESSION.	NOMBRE TOTAL de Personnes dans chaque Famille, Habitant Français, 7 ans et au-dessus.	NOMBRE de Personnes appartenant à la Famille, Mères sans Famille, et Indépendantes de l'étranger.
1			Antoine Charbonnel	/			Chasseur	3	
2			Antoine Charbonnel	/				3	
3			Jacques Charbonnel	/				1	
4			Jacques Charbonnel	/				4	
5			Jacques Charbonnel	/				4	
6			Jacques Charbonnel	/				7	
7			Jacques Charbonnel	/				1	
8			Antoine Charbonnel	/				1	
9			Antoine Charbonnel	/				9	
10			Antoine Charbonnel	/				6	
11			Antoine Charbonnel	/				4	
12			Antoine Charbonnel	/				4	
13			Antoine Charbonnel	/				4	
14			Antoine Charbonnel	/				4	
15			Antoine Charbonnel	/				1	
16			Jacques Charbonnel	/				2	
17			Jacques Charbonnel	/				2	
18			Jacques Charbonnel	/				1	
19			Jacques Charbonnel	/				2	
20			Jacques Charbonnel	/				4	
21			Jacques Charbonnel	/				1	
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25			Jacques Charbonnel	/				1	
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29			Jacques Charbonnel	/				3	
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195			Jacques Charbonnel	/					
196			Jacques Charbonnel	/					







PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1954

[ 8 ]

103.

[ 1 ]

1126

RETOUR de l'Énumération des HABITANTS du Village de Lac des Montagnes ainsi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

MAISONS habitées.	MAISONS vides.	MAISONS à construire.	NOM du Chef de chaque Famille.	PROFESSEUR / IRE de Bureau Public.	NOS PROPRIÉTAIRE de Bureau Public.	LOCATAIRE, sans droit de Vente & location. Enfant de Coq, Vite, etc.	MÉTIER ou PROFESSION.	NOMBRE TOTAL de Personnes dans chaque Famille, Mère et Famille, y compris militaires.	NOMBRE de Personnes habitant la Maison. Mère et Famille, y compris militaires.	
1			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				Chauffeur	8		
2			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	3		
3			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	2		
4			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	3		
5			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	3		
6			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	3		
7	1		Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				Chef de Bureau	8		
8			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				Chauffeur	4		
9			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	5		
10	1		Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	3		
11			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	4		
12			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	2		
13			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				Femmes	1		
14			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
15			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	2		
16			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
17			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
18			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
19			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
20			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	6		
21			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
22			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	4		
23	1		Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				Nouveaux Charbonniers	2		
24	1		Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				Femmes	2		
25			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	3		
26			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	1		
27			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	2		
28			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	2		
29			Messrs J. Gagnon & Co				"	4		
30										
31										
				28				86		
				61				288		
				89				324		
				Total No. Népissiens						

*Messrs J. Gagnon*

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1954

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30

Carried forward to No. 2 Page

RETOUR de l'enumeration des HABITANTS de St-Eustache ainsi

MAISONS habitées.	MAISONS inhabitées.	MAISONS en construction.	NOM du Chef de chaque Famille.	PROPRIETAIRE de biens-fonds.	SON PROPRIETAIRE de biens-fonds.	LOCATAIRE pour tout de Vainc à terme (Bonne de Dieu, Vainc, etc.)	MÉTIER ou PROFESSION.	NUMERO TOTAL de Personnes dans chaque Famille, mâles et Femelles, y compris ceux qui ne sont pas nés dans le territoire.
1			Hélène St. John					5
2			Charles St. John					6
3			Thomas Legendre					9
4			Charles Legendre					2
5			Charles Legendre					2
6			Charles Legendre					2
7			Charles Legendre					2
8			Charles Legendre					2
9			Charles Legendre					2
10			Charles Legendre					2
11			Charles Legendre					2
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24			Charles Legendre					2
25			Charles Legendre					2
26			Charles Legendre					2
27			Charles Legendre					2
28			Charles Legendre					2
29			Charles Legendre					2
30			Charles Legendre					2

Carried forward to No. 3 Page

## BAPTISMS, IN THE YEAR

## OF OUR LORD, 1825.

No.	Date of Baptism.	NAME OF BAPTIZED.	Date of Birth.	Son or Daughter.	NAMES OF PARENTS.	NAMES OF SPONSORS.	Signature of Priest.
276	Sept. 2	Joseph St-Jean	Sept. 2, 1825	Infant child of	Thomas St-Jean Sophie Lemire	Joseph Lellanc, Lucie Groux	A. Brunet, P. m.
277	" 3	Maria Anne Gagnie (Elms)	August 6 "	" "	Francis Gagnie Euphrosine Labiche	Jean Baptiste Dubois, Elizabeth McParilly	" "
278	" 3	Francis Xavier Duguay	Sept. 1 <sup>st</sup> "	" "	George Duguay Pauline Petit	Augustin Lafleur, Sophie Lafleur	" "
279	" 3	Francis Xavier David Duguay	" 2 "	" "	St. Xavier Duguay Julie Poiras	Pierre Duguay, Genevieve Renaud	" "
280	" 3	John Corcoran	July 21	" "	Thom. Corcoran Mary Hickey	Mr. Corcoran - Mrs. Hickey	J. Dandurand, P. m.
281	" 4	James Smith	September 9, 1825	" "	John Smith Mary Snokes	Patrick McMulhon, Ann Dolan	A. Brunet, P. m.
282	" 6	Margaret Sahay	June 18 <sup>th</sup> "	" "	John Sahay Mary Morgan	James Sahay, Margaret Sahay	" "
283	" 6	John Stackpole	" "	" "	John Stackpole John O'Connor	Thomas O'Connor, Mary Stackpole	" "
284	" 6	Sarah Ann Doras	February 9 <sup>th</sup> 1825	" "	John Doras Sarah Capot	Joseph McEnally, Marguerite Labile	" "
285	" 7	Catherine Tierney	Sept. 4, 1825	" "	James Tierney Catherine Kehoe	Richard McConn, Mary Shauldie	" "
286	" 9	Margaret Cottrel	" - 1819	" "	Joseph Cottrel Margaret Mullens (Mj)	Winnifred Bartly	J. Dandurand, P. m.
287	" 14	Maria Leclerc Brunet	" 12, 1825	" "	James Brunet Martha Nelson	Thomas Brule, Angélique Brunet	A. Brunet, P. m.
288	" 14	Thimothy Buckley	August 31, "	" "	Michael Buckley Thomas McCreathy	James Honan, Elizabeth Swain	" "
289	" 14	Francis Dauray	Sept. 13, "	" "	Francis Dauray Emmeline Fillion	Margaret Dubouché, Adelaïde Aubry	" "
290	" 17	Jean Baptiste Champagne	" 17 "	" "	Jean Baptiste Elvire Petit	Louis Petit, Julie Champagne	J. Dandurand, P. m.
291	" 16	Thomas Hamelin	" 16 "	" "	Joseph Hamelin Lorriette Séguin	Gabriel Bellefleur, Anastasia Séguin	A. Brunet, P. m.
292	" 18	Louis Groux	" 15 "	" "	David Groux Marguerite Côté	Guillaume Gaze, Marguerite Faillon	" "
293	" 19	Mary Ann Ludgate	, 1826	" "	George Ludgate Emma Lou Dawson	Fanny Borey (Mj)	J. Dandurand, P. m.
294	" 19	Maria Ste Lévesque	Sept. 18, 1825	" "	Niel Lévesque Solida Moiraw	Michael Versailles, Emmerance Versailles	A. Brunet, P. m.
295	" 20	Joseph Alexander Armand	" 19 "	" "	Charles Armand Christiana Cummings	Joseph Armand, Josephine Armand	" "
296	" 21	John Otterson	March 18 "	" "	John Otterson Mary Toole	Patrick Howly, Mary Ann Bromson	P. A. S. Tolman, P. m.
297	" 23	James Mc Connell	October 5 <sup>th</sup> 1823	" "	Robert Mc Connell Judith Duffey	Isabelle Duffey	A. Brunet, P. m.
298	" 22	Alfred Mc Pherson	a few days old	" "	Mark Mc Pherson Marguerite Billotte	Jean Baptiste Robinson, Marie Etienne	" "
299	" 22	Thomas Monjean	Sept. 20, 1825	" "	Thomas Monjean Marguerite Bourgeois	Félicie Monjean	" "
300	" 22	Domitille Boudoin	" 22 "	" "	Jean Boudoin Isabelle Maurot	Louis Boudoin, Domitille Andors	" "

263 On the twenty ninth of August the one thousand  
 James with hundred and six, and the priest, have baptized  
 Quig - James Quig, born the twenty fifth of August  
 of lawful marriage of Charles Quig and of  
 Nelson & Maternity: Godfather Edmond Bergin  
 Godmother Anna Dolan.

*Prusset pr. ob. M.*

264 On the thirtieth of August, one thousand eight  
 hundred and six, and the priest have baptized Helena  
 McCann, born the twenty sixth of August of  
 lawful marriage of Prochard & McCann, son of  
 Honorat McCann. Godfather Michael Leonard  
 Godmother Mary Anna McCann.

*Prusset pr. ob. M.*

B. 265. On the thirty-first of August, one thousand eight hundred  
 Margaret Hilpfe, in the undersigned priest, has baptized Margaret,  
 born the nineteenth instant, lawful daughter of John Hilpfe &  
 Mary McCole, of Gloucester. Sponsors Martin Hilpfe & Mary  
 Ready.

*Prusset pr. ob. M.*

B. 266 On the thirty-first of August, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie-Albine Abbott - in the undersigned priest has baptized Marie-Albine, born the twenty-  
 eighth of this month, lawful child of Alexander Abbott & of Anne  
 Demour, of Gloucester. Sponsors Jean-Baptiste Antoine & Marie-  
 Cecile Couture.

*Prusset pr. ob. M.*

B. 267 On the thirty-first of August, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie-Magdeleine McLaughlin - in the undersigned priest, has baptized Marie-Magdeleine, born  
 the twenty-eighth instant, lawful child of Owen McLaughlin &  
 Catherine Gagnon, of Bytown. Sponsors John McLaughlin & Marie-  
 Madeleine Gagnon.

*Pandurand*

L. 68 On the thirty-first of August, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Sidre Bare - in the undersigned priest, have performed the  
 funeral over the corpse of Sidre Bare, who departed this life  
 the twenty-first of August. Sponsors Jean-Baptiste St. John & Rose St. John.

*Pandurand*

268 On the first of September, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Margaret Brennan - in the undersigned priest, have baptized Margaret  
 Brennan, born the fourth of July of lawful marriage of  
 Michael Brennan and of Margaret McDonald. Godfather  
 Edward Brennan; godmother Mary Brennan.

B. 269. Le second de septembre, mil huit cent quatre-vingt  
 six, le prêtre, en sa paroisse, a baptisé Joseph  
 du légitime mariage de Thomas St. Jean & de Sophie Carrière, de  
 Bytown. Parrain Joseph Leblanc, & marraine Marie Gagnon.

B. 270 On the third of September, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie - in the undersigned priest, have performed the funeral service  
 over the corpse of Marie Gagnon, who departed this life two days  
 ago, aged ten months, lawful child of Felix Gagnon & de  
 Louise Desjardins. Sponsors Martin Gagnon & Marie-  
 Louise Desjardins.

B. 271 On the third of September, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie - in the undersigned priest, has baptized Marie, born the  
 twenty-first of this month, lawful child of Francis Gagnon & of  
 Euphrasie Labrie, de Cumberland. Sponsors Jean-Baptiste Dubois  
 & Elizabeth Massallay.

B. 272 On the third of September, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie - in the undersigned priest, has baptized Marie, born the  
 twenty-first of this month, lawful child of Francis Gagnon & of  
 Euphrasie Labrie, de Cumberland. Sponsors Jean-Baptiste Dubois  
 & Elizabeth Massallay.

B. 273 On the third of September, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie - in the undersigned priest, has baptized Marie, born the  
 twenty-first of this month, lawful child of Francis Gagnon & of  
 Euphrasie Labrie, de Cumberland. Sponsors Jean-Baptiste Dubois  
 & Elizabeth Massallay.

B. 274 On the third of September, one thousand eight hundred & six  
 Marie - in the undersigned priest, has baptized Marie, born the  
 twenty-first of this month, lawful child of Francis Gagnon & of  
 Euphrasie Labrie, de Cumberland. Sponsors Jean-Baptiste Dubois  
 & Elizabeth Massallay.



Pardevant Les notaires publics pour  
 cette partie de la Province du  
 Canada, Constituant la ci-de-  
 vant Province du Bas-Canada,  
 Résidans dans le Comté du Lac-  
 des deux montagnes, dans le Dis-  
 trict de Mont-Réal Juppignés:

— Fut présent Le H<sup>e</sup> Édouard  
 Spenard, aubergiste, résidant en  
 la paroisse St Augustin dans ce  
 comté, —

— Lequel a reconnu et confessé  
 par ces présentes, avoir eu et eue  
 à l'acquit de Thomas LaGarde dit  
 St Jean voyageur, actuellement  
 en prison de Mont-  
 réal, sur le mittimus de L'Hon-  
 orable William King W<sup>e</sup> Cord-  
 juge de la cour de District du  
 Comté du Lac des deux montagnes  
 et des Cours de Division du dit  
 District, v. l. 46. le dit mittimus  
 daté à la Cour de division n<sup>o</sup> 4  
 à St-Lasalle le 11 Février 1842  
 La Somme des trois livres quatre-  
 -vingt quatre deniers et demi cour actuel  
 montant de la Cuiance, item, l'unité  
 du quatre mars 1842 & frais — des huit



Chelliers

chellins dit cours, frais d'exécution &  
Rebellion une livre d'aine chellins  
trois deniers dit cours, formant  
en total cinq livres quatre  
chellins Sept deniers & demi

ci £ 5. 14. 7 1/2

Dont quittance générale et fincée  
pour quai le dit Sr Compagnon  
Donne pleine et entière main levée  
au dit Thomas Lagarde dit Jean  
de sa détention en la dite prison  
Commune du dit District de mon-  
real — Dont, et. quittant &c.

Dont acte fait et passé en la parolle  
Sr Curé de la paroisse de Bon-  
mit huit cent quarante trois  
Le quatrième jour du mois de  
mars après midi

— Sr Sr Spénard a signé avec  
nous notaire après Lecture faite.

Et Spénard

Stephen Mackay

J. L. de la Rivière

Not. 2654.  
Le 4 Mars 1873.  
Main-levée et quittance donnée par  
Eugène Spénard & Thomas Lagarde dit  
Sr Jean

151

1 LF  
DU  
CALUMET  
PAROISSE  
DE  
P. A. N. E.

REGISTRES  
DE  
PAROISSE

REDUCTION  
18  
LUMIERE  
1842

N. 88  
Louis Desrosiers  
Le vingt eteubie mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Robitaille n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 86  
André Louis Lemay  
Huguenard  
Le vingt huit eteubie mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Lemay et Marie Huguenard n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 87  
Antoine Desrosiers  
Le quatre novembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 89  
Louis Desrosiers  
Le vingt eteubie mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 88  
Marie Desrosiers  
Le vingt eteubie mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 89  
John Royal  
Le vingt eteubie mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Royal et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

Neufieme feuille 37

N. 90  
Richard Murphy  
Le vingt novembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Murphy et Marie Murphy n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 17  
William Desrosiers  
Desrosiers  
Le vingt trois novembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 91  
Marie Desrosiers  
Desrosiers  
Le vingt cinq novembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 12  
William Desrosiers  
Desrosiers  
Le quatre decembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 14  
Thomas Desrosiers  
Le quatre decembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

N. 92  
Joseph Desrosiers  
Desrosiers  
Le neuf decembre mil huit cent quarante neuf p. 1849  
Joseph Desrosiers et Marie Desrosiers n. l. le vingt septieme  
de leur mariage legitime. Le parson est M. Louis Desrosiers  
et le maraître M. Jean Desrosiers qui ont signé par le parson  
et le maraître en l'absence de leur père. J. Hauriell p. 1849

1846  
A

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1955

Fait conformément à l'Acte 10 & 11 Vict. chap. 49.

Recenseur.

RENSEIGNEMENTS RELATIFS AUX MOULINS, MANUFACTURES, Etc., MISE DE CAPITAL, FORCE MOTRICE, PRODUCTION, Etc.

39. 40. 41.

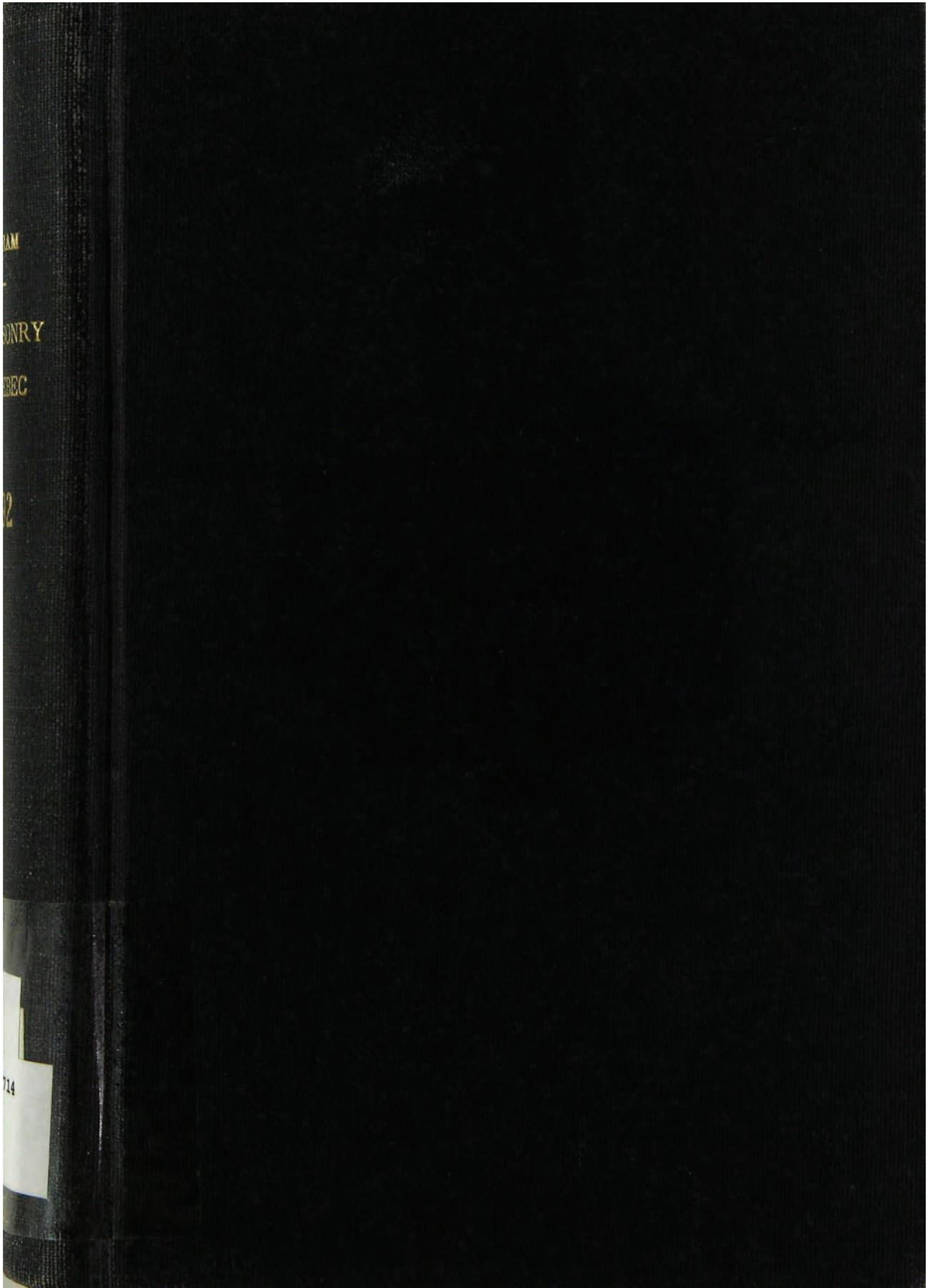
*See sheet No 12  
 total of children brought from  
 sheet No 11 197  
 attending school 74  
 total in this sheet 37  
 attending school 220 74  
 correct to sheet No 12*

Sheet No 8

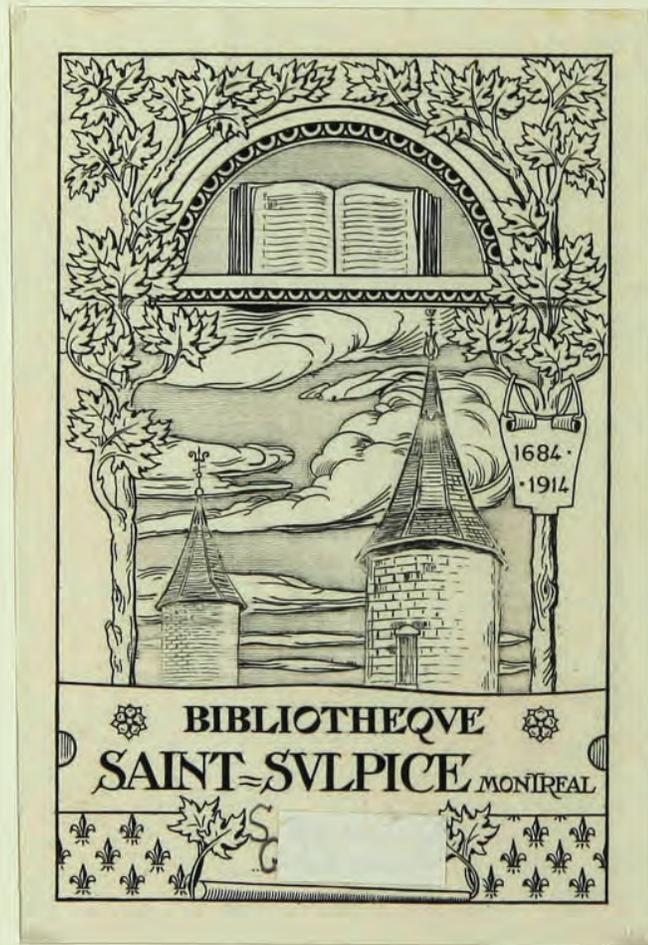
RECENSEMENT PERSONNEL, District de Recensement, No de la paroisse de Litchfield 15

NOMS DES PERSONNES DANS LA MAISON.	PROFESSION, ETAT OU OCCUPATION	LIEU DE NAISSANCE.	RELIGION.	RESIDENCE SI ELLE EST HORS DES LIMITES.	Age au jour anniversaire de naissance suivant.	SEXE.	
						Hommes.	Femmes.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
William S. Small	Lithuanian	Canada	Roman Catholic	Litchfield	40	1	
Mary McDonald	"	"	"	"	35		1
William	"	"	"	"	22		1
John	"	"	"	"	20		1
James	"	"	"	"	18		1
James	"	"	"	"	16		1
Robert	"	"	"	"	14		1
Elizabeth	"	"	"	"	12		1
Robert	"	"	"	"	10		1
William	"	"	"	"	8		1
Mary	"	"	"	"	6		1
Small	"	"	"	"	4		1
Budget	"	"	"	"	2		1
James Barber	"	West	Presbyterian	"	35		1
Sam Taylor	"	"	"	"	40		1
John Walker	"	"	"	"	18		1
James	"	"	"	"	16		1
John	"	"	"	"	14		1
James	"	"	"	"	12		1
James	"	"	"	"	10		1
James	"	"	"	"	8		1
James Tompkins	Shroton	West-Ann	R. Catholic	"	60		1
James Tompkins	"	Bellevue	"	"	30		1
Patrick	"	"	"	"	25		1
Roma	"	"	"	"	20		1
William	"	"	"	"	18		1
John	"	"	"	"	16		1
John	"	"	"	"	14		1
Thomas	"	"	"	"	12		1
Thomas	"	"	"	"	10		1
James	"	"	"	"	8		1
Robert	"	"	"	"	5		1
Robert	"	"	"	"	50		1
Anna Palmer	"	"	"	"	40		1
Sarah Jane Palmer	"	"	"	"	30		1
Robert	"	"	"	"	20		1
Robert	"	"	"	"	18		1
William	"	"	"	"	16		1
William	"	"	"	"	14		1
William	"	"	"	"	12		1
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Graham, John H. Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1892.







HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EDWARD DUKE OF KENT,  
PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF "ANCIENT" FREEMASONS OF LOWER CANADA, A.D. 1792-1812;  
G.M. "ANCIENTS," ENGLAND, 1813; GRAND PATRON OF MASONIC KNIGHTS  
TEMPLAR OF ENGLAND, 1791-1820; AND GRAND PATRON-  
PROTECTOR, M.K.T., SCOTLAND, 1811-20.

OUTLINES  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY  
IN THE  
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

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By JOHN H. GRAHAM, M.A., LL.D.,  
P : G : M : AND P : G : Z : ,  
QUEBEC.

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BELLOTTÉ  
SANT-SULPICE

Montreal :  
PRINTED BY JOHN LOVELL & SON,

1892.

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Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two, by ISAAC HENRY STEARNS, in the office of the Minister of Agriculture and Statistics at Ottawa.

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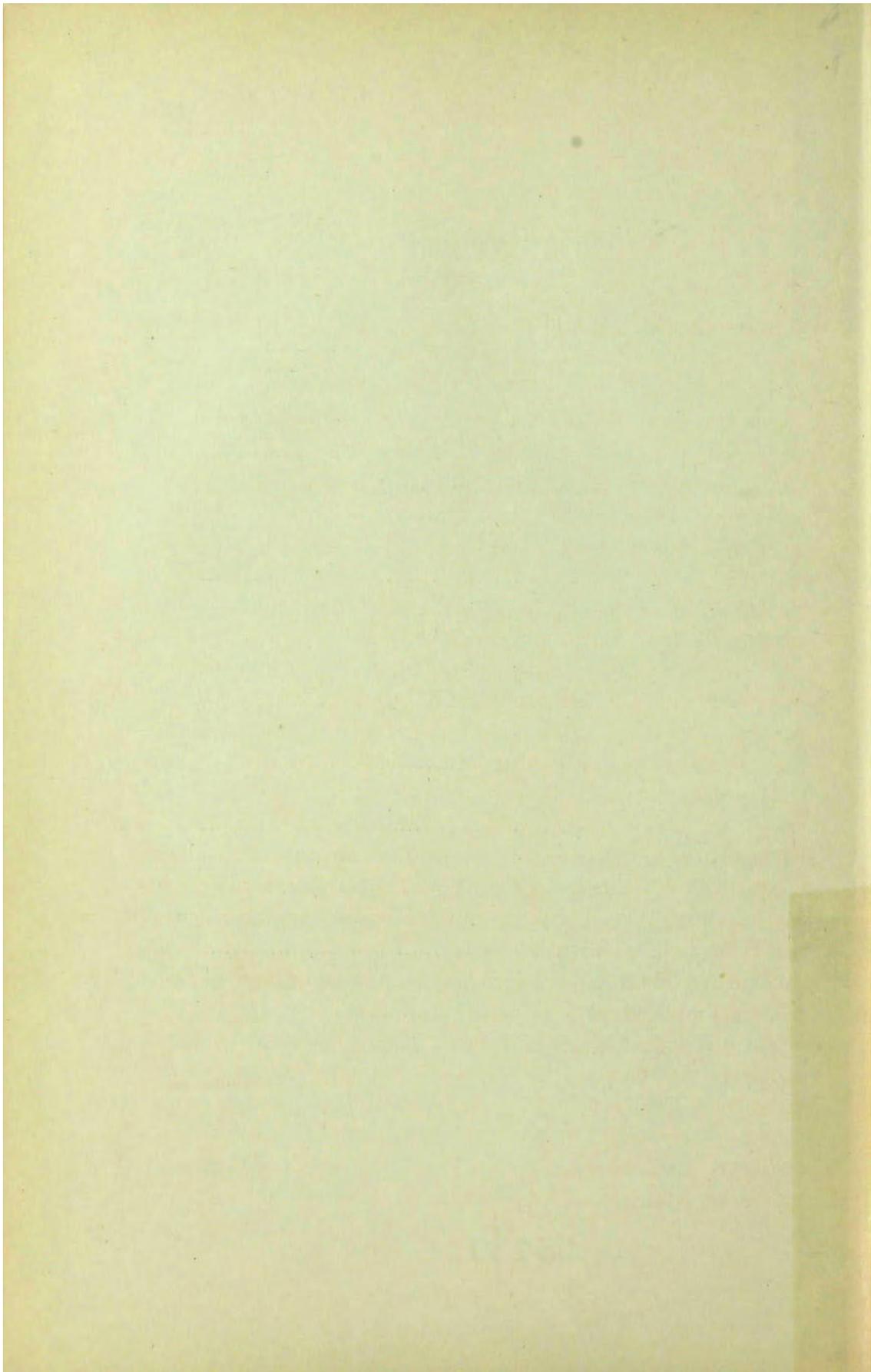
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## PREFACE.

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THIS VOLUME originated in a desire to aid in rescuing from oblivion the outlines of the early history of Freemasonry in this ancient Province of Quebec.

The oft-repeated wishes of eminent Brethren, the marked material encouragement given by our Grand Lodge, our Grand Chapter, and by distinguished members thereof, led to the commencement of the work, and have secured its completion.

Eighteen months' continuous labor is now submitted for the inspection and, it is hoped, for the instruction and edification of the Craftsmen throughout the Province, and, perchance, to some extent abroad.

To secure accuracy, to avoid predilection, to aid in correcting regrettable errors, to help intensify the love of the Brethren for the beneficent fellowship of Freemasonry, to increase the store of useful Masonic knowledge, to inculcate unswerving loyalty to the ancient Constitutions and Landmarks of the Fraternity, and to assist in making the dead past live again, for the benefit of the present and the future, are among the objects which have been earnestly sought after.

The writer is painfully conscious how far the work done falls below the ideal which he had set for himself; but, aside from the imperfection of its presentation, the hope is cherished that the thoughtful reader may find therein much to interest him, and that he may glean therefrom many lessons of wisdom and experience.

The best informed Brethren will most fully understand that the search for, and the setting forth of much concerning the greater part of the first century of our Masonic history, have been laborious, "pioneer" work; and hence the studious reader is courteously requested to note, and kindly communicate to the writer, corrections of any errors which he may discover, and to transmit any important

*Preface.*

additional facts of record which may be in his possession, and thereby greatly favor in the matter of subsequent revision.

The writer gratefully acknowledges his deep obligations to many Brethren and other gentlemen at home and abroad, who have kindly furnished so many facts and items of value; and well-merited credit has been cheerfully given to those Masonic authors and publishers from whose works quotations have been made.

'The fates' have been wondrous kind, in bringing to light much concerning the long-ago past of the Craft in the 'ancient' Province of Quebec, and in Lower Canada, which by many was supposed to have been forever lost! Diligent search will, doubtless, be rewarded by the discovery of much more of unique interest and importance.

For himself, and in behalf of the ancient and honorable Fraternity of Freemasons in the now Province of Quebec, and elsewhere, the Author desires to express his profound gratitude to Her Most Gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, for her exceeding kindness and condescension in bestowing the superb likeness of His late Royal Highness Prince Edward Duke of Kent, a copy of which adorns and ennobles this work; and it is not in mere form of words that this Volume is devoutly dedicated to the revered memory of our late Royal Grand Master and the father of one of the best and most Illustrious Sovereigns that ever graced a Throne or blessed an Empire.

RICHMOND, Que., 22nd June, A D. 1892, A. L. 5892.



“ Sir Henry Ponsonby has received the Queen’s commands to  
 “ send a print of His late Royal Highness Prince Edward Duke  
 “ of Kent, to Mr. J. Hamilton Graham, which Her Majesty hopes  
 “ may meet Mr. Graham’s wishes for his forthcoming work,—a  
 “ History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec.”

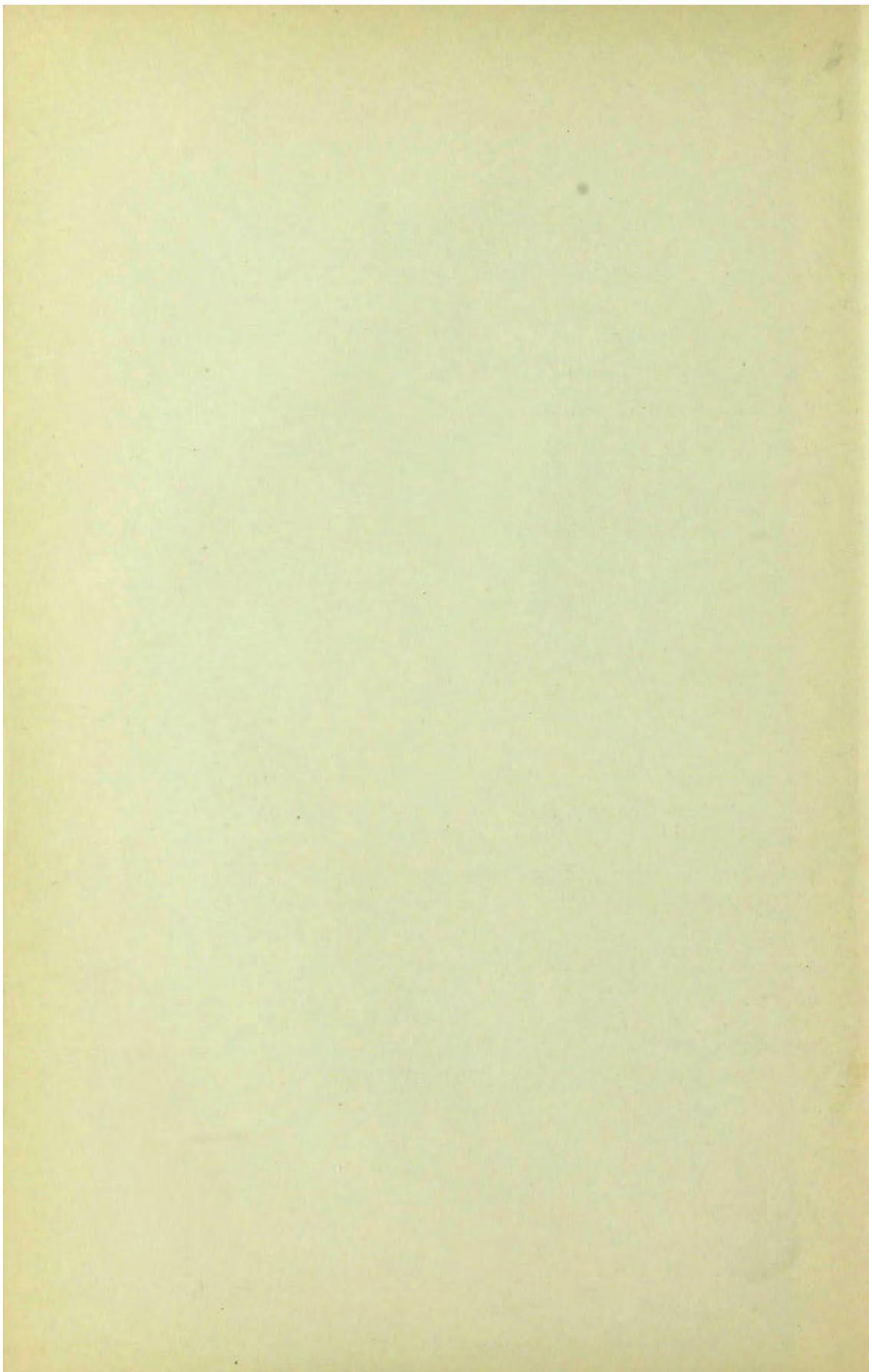
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*DEDICATION.*

*To the revered memory of Most Worshipful Brother, His Royal Highness Prince Edward Duke of Kent and Strathern and Earl of Dublin; Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master of Ancient Freemasons in Lower Canada, 1792–1812; and Most Worshipful Grand Master of Ancient Freemasons of England, 1813; this Volume is fraternally dedicated by the Author, on this, the first Centenary of the Installation of His Royal Highness, as Prov. G : M : , L. C., at the City of Quebec, June 22, A. D. 1792, A. L. 5792.*

*Richmond, Province of Quebec,  
 June 22, A. D. 1892, A. L. 5892.*



## CHAPTER I.

## BRITISH AND IRISH MASONIC MEMORABILIA.

All existing Lodges of Symbolic Freemasonry in the Dominion of Canada have their descent, direct or indirect, from the Grand Lodges of England Ireland and Scotland ; and hence a brief sketch of these Grand Bodies is a necessary prelude to what follows of the history of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec.

A. D. 1717.—**The Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of England.**—This, the premier Grand Lodge of England, was formed at London, by “four Lodges” and “some old Brothers,” on the 24th day of June,—the ancient Summer Solstitial Festival, commonly called St. John, the Baptist’s Day ! Anthony Sayer, gentleman, was elected and installed “Grand Master of Masons.”

The names of the “old Brothers” present, or of the Lodges which they represented, are not recorded.

The numbers and meeting-places of these “four Lodges” were:—

- “ 1. At the Goose and Gridiron, in St. Paul’s Churchyard.
- “ 2. At the Crown, in Parker’s Lane, near Drury Lane.
- “ 3. At the Apple-Tree Tavern, in Charles street, Covent Garden.
- “ 4. At the Rummer and Grapes Tavern, in Channel Row, Westminster.”

The known leaders in this transformation of the ancient “operative” and “operative and speculative” Masons’ Guilds into a system of Symbolic and Cosmopolitan Freemasonry, were the Rev. James Anderson, D.D., a native of Scotland, but at that time a Presbyterian clergyman in Picadilly, London ; and John Theophilus Desaguliers, LL.D., F.R.S., a native of France, of Huguenot descent, educated at Christ’s Church, Oxford, and celebrated by his Lectures and Books on Natural Philosophy.

To Dr. Anderson was intrusted the preparation of “the Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, containing their history, charges, regulations, etc., for the use of the Lodges.” These were promulgated by the Grand Lodge in 1723.

Abundant evidences of the cultured mind and beneficent spirit of Dr. Desaguliers, George Payne, the second Grand Master, and others, are also manifest in these constitutions, as in much else pertaining to the newly formed Grand Lodge.

**Lodges Represented.**—It appears reasonable to suppose that the “old Brothers” mentioned as having met with the “four Lodges” who “constituted themselves a Grand Lodge” as above, belonged to Lodges other than those named ; and hence there probably were at least six “time-immemorial Lodges” represented at that famous Assembly of Craftsmen !

## CHAPTER VI.

## MONTREAL AND WILLIAM HENRY.

**1822-55.**—Dismemberment of L. C. The dissolution of the Prov. G : L : of Lower Canada, Prov. G : East at the City of Quebec, by the severance of the Province into two separate Masonic Districts, called the District of Quebec and Three Rivers, and the dependencies ; and the District of Montreal and the Borough of William Henry and the dependencies, will be readily understood from the following circulars, reports, and the like :

**Circular from No. 12, L. C.**—“ Montreal, 27th January 1823. Worshipful Sir and Brother,—I am requested to inform you that Saint Paul's Lodge, No. 12, having been repeatedly urged by many respectable Brethren in the vicinity to use their endeavors for the establishment of a Provincial Grand Lodge in this City, to have jurisdiction over the District of Montreal and Borough of William Henry, and being fully persuaded of the beneficial effects likely to result from such a measure, we have drafted a Petition to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, requesting his gracious interference in our behalf.

“ We annex extracts of our Memorial, to which we beg leave to refer you, as containing some of the reasons which have induced us to adopt this measure.

“ We beg leave to call your immediate attention to the subject, and if in conformity to your views, would suggest the propriety of calling a Lodge of Emergency on the occasion, it being necessary that petitions on Masonic subjects should be signed in open Lodge.

I am, Sir and Brother,  
Sincerely yours, etc., etc.,

JOHN RAWLINS,

Secretary Saint Paul's Lodge No. 12.

“ To the Master of Prevost Lodge, No. 9.

**Extracts from the Petition :**

“ To His Royal Highness, Prince Augustus Frederick of Lunenburgh, Duke of Sussex, Earl of Inverness, Baron of Arklow, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, etc., etc., etc., Most Worshipful Grand Master of the United Fraternity of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of England.”

“ The Humble and Dutiful Petition of the undersigned, Master, Wardens and Brethren of St. Paul's Lodge, No. 12, in the District of Montreal and Province of Lower Canada, Sheweth : ”

“ That many serious difficulties have occurred in the management of the Craft from the want of a Provincial Grand Lodge in the City of Montreal.”

“ That there are at present, in the District of Montreal and William Henry, thirteen Lodges, whereas in the District of Three-Rivers and Quebec there are only eight, three of which are on the Registry of England.”

“ That the City of Montreal, being the great Mart to which the Inhabitants of both Provinces principally resort, the Officers and Brethren of the Lodges in the District of Montreal and William Henry would have frequent oppor-

tunities of personal communication with the Grand Master; whereas from the local situation of Quebec, your Petitioners are virtually excluded from that important privilege, the exercise of which would tend most materially to extend true and genuine Masonic principles, to animate and revive the exertions of the Craft, and to strengthen the ties of Union and Brotherly love."

"That from the unavoidable delay in receiving a reply to any communication addressed to the present Provincial Grand Master, your Petitioners are debarred from exercising many of the important rights of Masons."

"That your Petitioners have heard with the highest satisfaction that your Royal Highness has been pleased to grant permission to the Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada to apply to charitable purposes the quarterly contributions heretofore due to the Grand Lodge of England, and your Petitioners would humbly suggest for the consideration of Your Royal Highness, that a similar dispensation in favor of Lower Canada would be peculiarly acceptable, inasmuch as it would afford the means of granting more efficient relief to numbers of poor distressed emigrants, Brethren from Britain."

"That your Petitioners, relying on that paternal care which Your Royal Highness has invariably manifested for the welfare of the Craft, beg leave most respectfully to submit their Petition for your gracious consideration, and that your Royal Highness would be pleased to appoint a Provincial Grand Master for the Government of the Craft in the said District of Montreal and Borough of William Henry."

"Signed in open Lodge, on this day, being the anniversary of the Festival of Saint John the Evangelist, in the year of Masonry 5822."

**Petitioners.**—A careful examination of extant papers and minutes of several of the Lodges at or near the above date has failed to furnish evidence that any of the Country Lodges joined in the above petition. One or perhaps two may have done so.

It is easy, however, to imagine the consternation produced in those Lodges which had Warrants ("according to the Old Constitutions") signed by H. R. H. Prince Edward, Grand Master, and those, too, whose Warrants had been granted after his departure by the "Grand Lodge" of the "Ancients" (A : Y : M :) at Quebec, upon the receipt of the following official circular and summons :

"MONTREAL, 12th Sept., 1823.

"SIR,

"In consequence of certain Petitions to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of England, praying for the formation of a Provincial Grand Lodge for the District of Montreal and Borough of William Henry, His Royal Highness has been graciously pleased to appoint the Honorable Wm. McGillivray, Provincial Grand Master for the said District (by Warrant of date April 23, 1823!), and I now wait upon you with a Summons to attend the Provincial Grand Lodge, to be held here on Monday, the 6th day of October next.

"The R : W : Prov. G : M : has thought fit to direct that the following extract of Instructions, received by him through the Grand Secretary, should be published for the information and guidance of the different Lodges under his jurisdiction.

"By His Royal Highness' Command, I have to state that although there are several Lodges in that District (Montreal), yet none of them hold their

Warrants from the Grand Lodge of England, but assemble under dispensations or Warrants which have been granted by Provincial Grand Masters or Provincial Grand Lodges; as this state of things is not in accordance with the general principles of the Craft, and is opposed to, and subversive of its best interests, His Royal Highness is anxious that you should, at your earliest convenience, ascertain as far as may be in your power what Lodges are at present in Montreal, and under what authority they assemble; and in regard to such of them as do not hold Warrants from this country, that you should require them to apply in regular form for such documents through you. The Grand Master's chief anxiety being the regularity of proceeding, His Royal Highness has commanded me to say, that it is indispensable that a complete list of the members of such Lodges respectively should accompany the Petitions, in which list should be specified the Lodges where, and times when, the Brethren were initiated and raised to the third degree, in order to their being registered in the Books of the Grand Lodge, and a registering fee of 10s. 6d. must be paid for each Brother whose name has not before been returned to the Grand Lodge, and 2s. 6d. for such whose names are registered. The Grand Master, however, is pleased to say, that He will recommend to the Grand Lodge to permit the Warrant to be issued to all such Lodges as are at present meeting under Provincial Dispensations, free from the accustomed fee of Five Guineas, payable upon the Constitution of new Lodges."

**"Further,**

"I have only to add that the payment of two shillings sterling per annum for each subscribing member of a Lodge to the General Fund of Charity is now dispensed with from Colonial and District Grand Lodges; but without at all lessening the claim of their Members to assistance in case of need.

"In referring to the above communication, the R : W : Prov. G : M : confidently expects from the Brethren the assistance necessary to enable him to carry into effect the beneficent wishes of His Royal Highness; and as it would appear that none of the Lodges in this District can at present be strictly considered as regularly constituted, it becomes requisite that they should receive new Dispensations from the Prov. G : M : , and in due time Warrants of Constitution from the Grand Lodge of England. For the purpose, however, of obtaining this authority, Petitions must first be presented, which may be to the following purport:

"To the Right Worshipful the Honorable William McGillivray, Provincial Grand Master for the District of Montreal of the United Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of England."

"We, the undersigned, being the Master, Wardens and Brethren of Lodge No. —, held at —, and which has heretofore acted under authority of (Here state, as the case may be, whether Warrant or Dispensation, by whom granted, when dated, etc.), having at heart the prosperity of the Craft, and being anxious to exert our best endeavors to promote and diffuse the general principles of the art in this District, being also particularly desirous to supply any deficiency, or to remedy any irregularity in the authority under which we have heretofore acted, and to be received and acknowledged as a regular Lodge, under the Constitution of England, and to have the names of our members registered accordingly in the Books of the Grand Lodge :"

"In consequence of these several reasons, we pray for a Warrant of Constitution, or such other regular authority as it may be competent in you to grant, empowering us to meet as a regular Lodge at —, on the —day

of (as the case may be), and there to perform the duties of Masonry in a Constitutional manner, according to the forms of the Order, and the laws of the Grand Lodge."

"We also pray your interposition and assistance in obtaining for our Lodge a regular Warrant of Constitution, and in procuring the registry of the names of our Members in the Books of the Grand Lodge, and the prayer of this Petition being granted, we promise strict obedience to the Commands of the Most Worshipful Grand Master, and to the Laws and Regulations of the Grand Lodge."

"This Petition to be signed by as many as possible of the Members of the Lodge, and it must be signed by seven at the least :"

"**And to be accompanied by**, 1st, A copy of the Warrant or Dispensation by which the Lodge has heretofore acted.

2nd. A List of the present actual Subscribing Members.

3rd. A copy of the By-laws and Regulations.

4th. A payment of ten shillings and sixpence for each member, as the Registering fee to the Grand Lodge, and a further payment of six shillings and sixpence sterling each, for such members as may wish to obtain Grand Lodge Certificates."

"The Master or Representative of each Lodge must also bring up and exhibit the original Warrant or dispensation under which the Lodge has acted, and the Prov. G : M : will either grant a sanction of the same or a new dispensation, according as the case may require, upon receiving which, and not before, the Master, Wardens and Past Master of each Lodge will be qualified to be admitted and to vote in the Provincial Grand Lodge."

"I remain, Sir and Brother,

"Yours faithfully,

"TURTON PENN, P : G : Secy.

**Copy of Summons.**—"To the Worshipful Master, Wardens and Brethren of Lodge No. —, at —"

"In conformity to the Orders of the Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master for this District, you are hereby summoned to cause your Lodge to be represented in the Provincial Grand Lodge, to be held at Montreal on Monday, the 6th day of October next."

"It is desirable that the representation should consist of the Worshipful Master, Wardens and Past Master of your Lodge, bringing with them your Warrant and Jewels.

"I remain, Sir and Brother,

"Yours faithfully,

"TURTON PENN, P : G : Secy.

"Montreal, 12th Sept. 1823."

**Installation.**—In the absence of a copy of the official report, it seems more than probable that the first Prov. G : M : for the newly created District of Montreal and William Henry was installed by the R : W : Simon McGillivray, Prov. G : M : for Upper Canada. This Brother, who occupied a prominent position in Masonic circles in England, was about to visit Canada, and was early in 1822 specially commissioned by the Duke of Sussex to endeavor to unite the Niagara, Kingston and York (Toronto) subdivisions in that long distracted Province into one Provincial Grand Lodge. During this period, he resided chiefly in Montreal, and doubtless was more or less identified with the Masonic events taking place in the City at that time !

It is not known, for the reason mentioned above, which, if any (unless the St. Andrews), of the Country Lodges were represented at the first meeting of the Prov. G : L : held on Oct. 6 ; but subsequent events appear to show that eight of the thirteen Lodges stated in the foregoing Petition to the Duke of Sussex, as existing in the proposed District of Montreal and William Henry, were granted new Warrants by the United Grand Lodge of England, in lieu of the Dispensations which had been given to them by the Prov. G : M :

In securing the adhesion of that number even, very great difficulties seem to have been encountered, as the following extract from a brief historical sketch of Golden Rule Lodge, Stanstead, will show. It was penned by a contemporary, a worthy and zealous Craftsman, W : Brother Elisha Gustin, afterwards the efficient District Deputy G : M : of the Eastern Townships District.

Bro : Gustin says that " during this year, 1823, a kind of rivalry which had for some time existed between the cities of Quebec and Montreal resulted in severing the Masonic connection heretofore existing, and the organization of a new Provincial Grand Lodge for the District of Montreal and William Henry, by which Golden Rule was required to be represented in that body on the 27th of December, returning their Warrant and Jewels. Brother James C. Peasley was elected a committee to go to Montreal with the Charter and Jewels, with instructions not to request a renewal of the Warrant, 'as the burthen of the claims of the Grand Lodge at Montreal were too grievous to be complied with ; we being unable to meet all such demands, are consequently compelled to relinquish our Warrant, and deny ourselves the pleasure of meeting in Brotherly Love and Friendship on our regular communications.' "

There are probably a few veterans still alive who from experience, or paternal story, will testify that the following account of Brother Peasley's trip to Montreal in the mid-winter of 1823 is " true to the life : "

" On his way to Montreal he encountered a severe snow storm, which in the French settlements completely blocked the roads. Here he was obliged to leave his sleigh and tread through drifted snow-banks for miles in succession, and with his only arm leading his horse and carrying his valise ; yet firm to his purpose, he persevered, and at length, cold and weary, reached the frigid banks of the St. Lawrence, there to learn that there was no crossing. Nothing daunted at this unexpected interruption of his designs, he pushed forward to Caughnawaga, where he crossed the river in a small boat amid fields of ice, even at the hazard of his life, and arrived at Montreal in season to attend the Grand Lodge."

" Brother Peasley carried out his instructions. The Prov. G : M : assured him that no fees would be charged for a new Warrant, which would, however, confine the Lodge to the working of the three degrees only, as he had no power to grant Warrants for Chapters ; but he had no objection to their continuing to work the Chapter degrees as usual on the Master's Charter, but he would not recommend their so doing. He said the Jewels and funds belonged to the Lodge, on which the Grand Lodge had no claim."

" Brother Peasley took the new Warrant (Dispensation) subject to the approval of the Lodge."

At a meeting of the Lodge, held Jan. 13, 1824, a vote was passed to renew the Charter, which was received from England, March, 1825. The old St. John's Chapter continued to meet for several years afterwards.

**First By-laws of Prov. G: L:—**These were prepared by a committee consisting of the Prov. G: M:, and Brothers Penn, Stanley, Dorwin, H. McKenzie, Jacob Bigelow and John Bethune. The By-laws were printed at "Montreal, by Turner and Milford, No. 16 Notre Dame street, 1824."

Some of these were excellent: others seemed well calculated to limit the Prov. G: L: Office-bearers to unusually well-to-do Brethren, and to render the long continuance of the Prov. Grand Lodge very precarious! In fact it did lapse after a short period!

*Inter alia*, it was required that Brethren appointed or re-appointed to office in "Grand Lodge!" should pay the following fees: D: G: M:, ten guineas; the Wardens, each eight guineas; the Gr. Treas., five guineas; the Gr. Reg., the Gr. Sec., and the Gr. Deacons, each three guineas; and the G: D: of C:, the G: Supt. of W:, and the Gr. Sword Bearer, two guineas each; that they should furnish their own clothing according to the pattern now in use; that if officers did not attend duty in Grand Lodge (without good and sufficient reasons acceptable to G: L: for absence or neglect) they were fined, for the first neglect: the Wardens, each 20s.; and all the others, 15s. each; for the second neglect, the above fines were doubled; and for the third neglect within a year, or any refusing to pay their fines, their offices shall be considered as vacated, and any rank or distinction they may have acquired, in consequence of their appointment, shall be forfeited; that any officer of G: L: not present in the Hall of G: L: at the hour of meeting shall pay a fine of 5s., and every member, ditto, 2s. 6d.; that all officers of G: L: (except the Tyler), the Master, the Past Master, and Wardens of every Lodge in the District, and Deputies of Country Lodges, present or absent, shall pay 5s. each per quarter towards defraying the expenses of the Grand Lodge; that Lodges in the city of Montreal pay to G: L: for each initiation, one guinea; for each member joining, 5s. 6d., and for each member of the Lodge, annually 4s. 4d.; that Country Lodges should pay for each initiation 15s., for each joining member 4s., and an annual fee for each member to G: L: 2s. 6d.; that for every Grand Lodge Certificate 7s. shall be paid; and that each Lodge shall furnish its Deputy at G: L: with a proper Jewel and pay for a copy of the G: L: By-laws. There is also an entry in the minutes of Golden Rule Lodge of date Feb. 6, 1824, "Paid Turton Penn, Prov. G: Sec., Montreal, the sum of 23s. 4d. for one copy of the Book of Constitutions!" and another of date Nov. 27, 1827, "By cash paid for Postage on two Circulars from the Grand Lodge of England, \$2.00!!"

**Lodge By-laws.**—The By-laws of Union Lodge, of St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, and of Wellington Persevering Lodge, adopted 1824-25, have provisions somewhat analogous to the above regarding fees, fines, etc.

**Odell Lodge**, at Odelltown, was established by Warrant, No. 788, of date March 29, 1824, from the G : L : of England.

1824.—The Prov. G : L : Officers were as follows :

R : W : Wm. McGillivray, Prov. G : M : , R : W : The Rev. John Bethune, D : P : G : M : , V : W : Jed. H. Dorwin, S : G : W : , V : W : Wm. Snaith, J : G : W : , V : W : The Rev. B. B. Stevens, G : C : , V : W : Horatio Gates, G : Treas., V : W : Henry McKenzie, G : Reg., V : W : J. S. McCord, G : Sec., V : W : Rufus B. Page, S : G : D : , W : John Field, J : G : D : , W : John Molson, G : Sw. Br. : , W : Jacob Bigelow, G : D : C : , Bro : Joseph Tutton, 1st G : Tyler, Bro : William Coulson, 2d G : Tyler.

1825.—The following extracts are from a Circular addressed to the Masters of Lodges :

MONTREAL, 5th March, 1825.

W. BROTHER,

“The R : W : the Prov. G : M : for this District having received through the R : W : G : M : of Upper Canada!” (R : W : Simon McGillivray, resident in Montreal) “the following Communication from the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, accompanied by a Warrant of constitution for your Lodge, I am commanded by him to send you the following extract for the information of your Lodge.”

‘FREE-MASONS HALL,

‘London, 21st Sept., 1824.

‘His Royal Highness has therefore, in accordance with your recommendation, been pleased to Grant Warrants for the eight Lodges to which you have issued Dispensations, and which Warrants you will be kind enough to transmit to the respective Parties, without requiring payment of the accustomed Fees ; taking care, however, that such of the Lodges as may not yet have transmitted a correct list of their subscribing Members should put you in possession of such list previously to the Warrant being delivered, and that they pay the registering Fees for all those Members whose names have not yet been registered in the Grand Lodge Books, in conformity with the Laws of the Craft, viz : 10s. 6d. sterling for each Brother initiated in the Lodge, and 2s. 6d. sterling for each Brother who may have joined from any other Lodge, where such Brother's name has been registered, but if the Brother be not previously registered here, the same Fee must be paid as for a newly initiated Brother, and the same must be observed in respect to Brethren initiated in any Lodge not holding its Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.’ \* \* \*

“As soon, therefore, as the foregoing conditions are complied with, and you shall deliver over to me all Warrants or Dispensations under which you may have heretofore worked, I will be ready to deliver your Warrant of Constitution.”

“Country Lodges are requested to send in an authorized Brother to that effect.

“I have the honor to be,

“Your sincere Brother,

“J. S. McCORD, P : G : Secy.

“To the W : M : of——.”

1824-25.—The following were the Lodges on the Registry of the recently formed Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and the Borough of William Henry, together with their Numbers on the Registry of the late "Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, at Quebec," on the Montreal Registry, and on that of the United Grand Lodge of England. The new Warrants were all of date March 29, 1824, from which date their existence reckoned as far as England is concerned! The Warrant for "No. 8, Hull," would seem to have been obtained soon after the eight mentioned in the above Circular were forwarded from London, but it appears of the same date as the others. "Dorchester," St. Johns, No. 3, Quebec, did not, it appears, "fall into line" just then. It will be noted that they are numbered consecutively from 780 to 788 inclusive, and that the "order" of their establishment by the "Grand Lodge, at Quebec," as given in the previous Chapter, was accepted as correct! Six "Ancient" Quebec Lodges in the new District are missing!

Names.	Location.	Que.	Mont.	England.
1. Union .....	Montreal .....	8	1	780
2. Prevost .....	Frelighsburg .....	9	2	781
3. St. Paul .....	Montreal .....	12	3	782
4. Nelson .....	Caldwell Manor .....	14	4	783
5. Murray .....	St. Andrews .....	17	5	784
6. Golden Rule .....	Stanstead .....	19	6	785
7. Wellington Persevering....	Montreal .....	20	7	786
8. Columbia .....	Hull .....	25	8	787
9. Odell .....	Odelltown .....	26	9	788

March 14, 1825.—At a Quarterly Communication of the Prov. G : L : , held at the Mansion House Hotel, at which Lodges Nos. 1, 3 and 7 were represented, the Prov. G : M : was absent on account of "Indisposition." The R : W : Deputy Prov. G : M : , the Rev. John Bethune, presided.

*Inter alia*, it was "Resolved, with the approval of the Prov. G : M : , to request the Grand Lodges of Quebec and of Upper Canada to join with them in an humble Petition to the M : W : , the G : M : of the United Grand Lodge of England, that he may be pleased to extend the privileges of the P : Grand Lodges of the Canadas, to the effect that in the case of the death, resignation, suspension, or removal of a Provincial Grand Master, the Deputy Prov. G : M : of such Grand Lodge be authorized to fill his office *pro tempore* with power to do all legal business until a new appointment shall have been made by the M : W : Grand Master."

**Dedication of Masonic Hall.**—May 13, 1825. An Especial Grand Lodge was holden at the Masonic Hall Hotel, and the Honorable William McGillivray, Prov. G : M : of Montreal and William Henry, assisted by the officers of the Prov. G : L : (named above), and by Lodges No. 7, No. 3, and No. 1, accompanied by the Band of the 70th Regiment, dedicated

in solemn form a new Masonic Hall "erected at the particular instance of St. Paul's Lodge, No. 3." A grand musical performance was given, under the direction of the Grand Organist, Brother Kyle. The Grand Chaplain, the Rev. Bro: B. B. Stevens, pronounced an Oration. The sum of £51 4s. was collected in aid of the Funds of the Orphan Asylum. R: W: Simon McGillivray of Montreal, Prov. G: M: of Upper Canada, was present on the occasion.

**Laying a Corner Stone.**—June 13, 1825. An Especial Grand Lodge was holden at the Masonic Hall Hotel, the R: W: Simon McGillivray, Prov. G: M: of U. C., presiding. The acting Prov. G: M: informed the Brethren that this Especial G: L: had been convened for the purpose of laying the Corner Stone of the New American Presbyterian Church, at the instance of the Building and Prudential Committees of that Institution, and that he had been delegated to open this Grand Lodge and organize the Ceremony, by the Prov. G: M: The Procession was formed in the following order: 1st. Two Tylers with drawn swords; 2nd. Brethren not Members of any Lodge; 3rd. Lodges Nos. 7, 3, and 1; 4th. Music; 5th. Officers of Prov. G: L:; 6th. "Gentlemen of the Bar, two and two."

On arriving at the spot where the stone was to be laid, they were joined by the Prov. G: M:, who, with the assistance of his officers, laid the Corner Stone in the usual Masonic form. The G: C: delivered an Oration.

**1826.**—The following extracts from an official "Circular" will explain themselves:

"MONTREAL, 25th August, 1826.

"W. SIR AND BROTHER,

"With the utmost pleasure I proceed to communicate to you, for the information of your Lodge and the Craft in general, that it hath pleased H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex, M: W: G: M: of Masons, to appoint John Molson, Esquire, Prov. G: M: for this District."

"His installation into office will take place on Tuesday, the 5th day of September next, in open Grand Lodge, where it is expected your Lodge will be duly represented either by deputy, if a Country Lodge, or in the usual manner, if a Town Lodge." \* \* \*

"The Prov. G: M: commands me to inform you that he will use his utmost exertions to replace the Craft in the same flourishing state that it was at the death of his much lamented predecessor."

"All the Lodges in this District, on the reception of this letter, will discontinue their mourning."

"By Command, I have the honor to be, W: Sir,

"Yours fraternally,

"J. S. McCORD, P: G: S:"

"To the W: M: of ——— Lodge."

**Sept. 5, 1826.**—At an Especial Grand Lodge, held at the Masonic Hall Hotel, in the City of Montreal, the "R: W: Claude Dénéchau, Esquire, Prov. G: M: for the District of Quebec and Three Rivers, presided as Prov. G: M:," "The V: W: T. G. Western, S: J: W: for Somersetshire,"

V : W : Joseph S. Shaw, Quebec, as S : G : W : , V : W : Andrew McGill, Quebec, as J : G : W : , V : W : Rev. J. Somerville, Quebec, as G : C : , V : W : Colin McCallum, Quebec, as P : G : Sec., W : Geo. Keyes, as S : G : D : , W : George Blumhart as J : G : D : , W : S. McCaulay, as G : Sw. B. : , and R : W : John Molson, Prov. G : M : for Montreal, the Rev. John Bethune, Past Prov. D : G : M : , V : W : Horatio Gates, Past Prov. G : Treas., V : W : Henry McKenzie, Past Prov. G : R : , V : W : Turton Penn, Past Prov. G : S : , V : W : J. S. McCord, Past Prov. G : S : , W : S. F. Holcourt, W : M : , No. 1. Brothers J. G. Scott, John P. Hogg, Joseph Shuter, William Badgley, Frederick Griffin, Abner Bagg, M. J. Hayes, Past Prov. G : S. B. : , Alexander Kyle , W. K. McCord, Charles Ward, Joshua Pelton and the Masters, Past Masters, and Wardens of various Lodges in the District.

“The R : W : the Honorable Claude Dénéchau installed R : W : John Molson, Esquire, Prov. G : M : of the District of Montreal and William Henry, to succeed the Honorable William McGillivray, deceased. The R : W : Brother Dénéchau delivered an Address to the newly installed Prov. G : M : , who was afterwards pleased to thank the R : W : Prov. G : M : and Brethren from Quebec for their kind and fraternal attendance at his installation.”

**Appointments.**—The Prov. G : M : made the following appointments :

R : W : Rev. John Bethune, D : Prov. G : M : , V : W : Turton Penn, S : G : W : , V : W : S. F. Holcomb, J : G : W : , V : W : Henry McKenzie, G : Reg., V : W : J. S. McCord, G : Sec., W : Jas. G. Scott, Dep. G : Sec., W : John Potts Hogg, S : G : D : , W : Joseph Shuter, J : G : D : , W : Abner Bagg, G : Supt. W : , W : William Badgley, G : D : of C : , W : Frederick Griffin, D : G : D : of C : , W : Moses F. Hayes, G : S : Br : , W : Alexander Kyle, G : Orgt., Charles Ward, G : Std. Br : , Joshua Pelton, Std. B : to P : G : M : , Peter McGill, William Stephens and William Blackwood, Grand Stewards, and W. K. McCord, 1st G : Tyler.

**Divine Service** was held in Christ's Church, where a sermon was delivered by the Rector, R : W : Rev. John Bethune, G : C : A collection was taken up in aid of the Montreal General Hospital. The order of procession was : 1st, Band of 76th Regiment ; 2nd, Brethren not members of any Lodge : 3rd, Lodges Nos. 7, 3 and 1 ; and 4th, Officers of Prov. G : L :

**1826.**—An Especial Grand Lodge was held at the Masonic Hall Hotel, Sept. 21, the R : W : Prov. G : M : John Molson, Esquire, presiding. *Inter alia*, “George Stanley handed to the Prov. G : M : a packet from Wellington Persevering Lodge, No. 7, containing the Warrant of said Lodge, which they resigned, and also the reasons for such resignation.”

“The Prov. G : M : replied that the Warrant would be forwarded to England, and that, in the meantime, the Lodge could no longer exercise its Masonic functions.” “The representatives of No. 7 withdrew.”

**1826.**—A Quarterly Communication of the Prov. G : L : was held Dec. 11. The Prov. G : L : was informed that a “Sealed Paper had been

received by the Prov. G : Registrar, from the Grand Lodge of England, with instructions that it is to be opened only in the event of the death or resignation of the Provincial Grand Master."

"Thanks were voted to the Rev. Bro : Bethune for the Sermon delivered by him on Sept. 5, and it was ordered that the Discourse be published at the expense of the G : Lodge."

"Brothers J. S. McCord and Wm. Badgley, Inspectors of Country Lodges, appointed by the late Prov. G : L : , Sept. 12, 1825, made Report that on Nov. 1, they had visited St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 5, at St. Andrews, L. C., and instructed them in the uniform work. They complimented the Master of the Lodge, Mr. Ruben Harriman, as "an active and zealous Mason," and mentioned their indebtedness to the kindness of W : Bro : M. Davis, a P : M : of that Lodge, and to other Brethren at St. Andrews.

"On Nov 8, they visited Columbia Lodge No. 8, at Hull, and were pleased with the respectability of the Lodge. They did Initiating and Raising, instructed the Lodge in the mode of opening and closing in the three degrees. They expressed their thanks to W : M : Bro : Eastabrook and to the P : M : Bro : Brigham, and also for the kindness and civility of our old and worthy Bro : Philemon Wright, Esq."

"The lateness of the season prevented them from completing visits to the remaining Country Lodges, previous to the Festival of St. John, but they purposed doing so immediately after the same." This is signed by J. S. McCord and Wm. Badgley, of date Montreal, Nov. 25, 1825.

"The Prov. G : L : voted to thank the Inspectors of Country Lodges."

No reports of any other official visitations to Country Lodges, during the existence of the Prov. G : L : and William Henry, have as yet come to light.

**Dec. 27, 1826.**—At an Especial Communication, holden in "Masonic Hall," the Deputy P : G : M : reported that he had this day installed Bro. Wm. Badgley as W : M : of Union Lodge No. 1, and that he had suspended Rufus B. Page for "gross unmasonic conduct for having forcibly taken away the Warrant of No. 1." This old and excellent Lodge lapsed shortly after this.

It was voted "respectfully to request the Grand Lodges in the U. S. A. and elsewhere to change communications for the mutual information and benefit of the Craft."

**1828.**—St. George's Lodge, No. 10, Registry of Montreal and Wm. Henry, received a dispensation from the Prov. G : M : It was constituted by Warrant, No. 643, from England, Oct. 20, 1836!

**Dec. 27, 1828.**—"At an Especial Prov. G : L : holden at the Masonic Hall, on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, were present : R : W : John Molson, Esquire, Prov. G : M : , R : W : the Rev. John Bethune, D : P : G : M : , V : W : Turton Penn, S : G : W : , V : W : John S. McCord, J : G : W : , V : W : J. H. Dorwin, Past S : G : W : , V : W : Wm. Snaith, Past J : G : W : , V : W : H. Mackenzie, G : R : , V : W : James G. Scott, G : S : , Bro : H. Seymour, as S : G : D : , Bro : P. McGill, J : G : D : , W : Wm. Badgley, G : D : C : , Bro : Stanley Bagg, G : Steward, and the Officers of St. Paul's Lodge ! and Lodge No. 233, Registry of Ireland !"

“The Prov. G : M : was pleased to inform the Grand Lodge that he had issued a Dispensation, permitting certain Masons therein named to hold a regular Lodge in the City of Montreal, on the first Tuesday of every month, under the name of **The Canning** Lodge, No. 11, on the Provincial Registry, till it shall please His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to grant them a Warrant of Constitution.”

“By command of the R : W : Prov. G : M : Bro. Lucius L. Solomon, having been previously approved of, was installed in the Chair of ‘Canning’ Lodge in Ancient form and with due solemnity.” “Canning Lodge” appears never to have received a Warrant!

The R : W : Prov. G : M : was then pleased to nominate the following Brethren Prov. Grand Officers for the ensuing year, who were invested and proclaimed accordingly: R : W : Turton Penn, Depty P : G : M : , V : W : Wm. Badgley, S : G : W : , V : W : Lucius L. Solomon, J : G : W : , R : W : The Rev. John Bethune, G : C : , V : W : Horatio Gates, G : T : (elected); V : W : Henry Mackenzie, G : R : , V : W : John S. McCord, G : S : , Bro. Francis Perry, Depty G : S : , Bro : Frederick Griffin, S : G : D : , Bro : Hiram Seymour, J : G : D : , Bro : James E. Campbell, G : S : W : , Bro. Moses J. Hayes, G : Sd. B : , Bro : Peter McGill, G : D : C : , Bro : Wm. Eydam, Depty G : D : C : , Bro : Nicholas C. Radiger, G : Organist, Bro : Nicholas Spooner, G : Sd. B : (of Prov. G : M : ), Bro. Norman Bethune, G : Tyler; and Bro : Wm : Blackwood, W : Bro : Edward Hartley, Bro : Stanley Bagg, Bro : S : F : Holcomb, and Bro : Robert S. Piper (Capt. R. E.), Grand Stewards.”

“Lodge No. 3” and Nos. 10 and 11 under Dispensation seem to have been the only Lodges existing in Montreal at this time, and names of Deputies representing Country Lodges do not appear in any of the Prov. G : L : records which have been seen by the writer.

**Sept. 15th, 1831.**—The R : W : the Prov. G : L : , assisted by Lodges Nos. 3 and 10, laid the Corner Stone of “the Richardson Wing” of the Montreal General Hospital with Masonic honors.

**1832-36.**—During these years, the Prov. G : appears to have had “but a name to live” until the decease of the Hon. John Molson, Prov. G : M : in Jan. of the latter year, when it lapsed and so remained for the space of ten years.

**Notes.**—For some years prior to this interregnum, even as early as 1827, complaints had been forwarded from England, anent the non-receipt of dues and other returns from the Prov. G : L : , and in 1833, V : W : Bro : Wm. Badgley, who was then in London, wrote to St. Paul’s Lodge, intimating that its Warrant and that of other Lodges in the District would probably be cancelled for “alleged irregularities and contraventions of the Constitutions and the omission to furnish regular returns and dues of members,” unless early action was taken to rectify all errors and omissions.

The Masonic Hall was destroyed by fire April 24th, 1833, whereby St. Paul’s Lodge lost its Warrant and its principal books, papers, regalia, etc., and hence there was very considerable delay in sending returns to England.

It does not seem credible that in 1835 this Lodge should have found it necessary to transmit to the Grand Secretary at London a List of the Members of the Lodge for the then past eight years ! It appears also that the Grand Lodge of England, although repeatedly petitioned therefor, did not grant a new Warrant to St. Paul's Lodge for the space of 13 years, *i. e.* from April 24th, 1833, till March 21st, 1846 ! It is difficult to imagine a more unhappy state of Masonic affairs than that which had come about, or had been brought about, in this District ! It speaks volumes in favor of those Country Lodges which continued in existence for a long period without the semblance even of local Grand Government !

In the meantime, St. George's Lodge, No. 10, Montreal, on Oct. 20th, 1836, had been constituted by Warrant No. 643 from England ; and on April 20th, 1844, Zetland Lodge, No. 11, Montreal, received Warrant No. 731, England. It was constituted August 12, 1845, by V : W : Bro : McCord.

In reference to the "Nos." of these Lodges, it is necessary to have in mind that a "renumbering" took place in England, in 1832.

**Scottish Prov. G : M :**—May 5th, 1834. John Law, Esquire, "W. S.," was constituted Prov. G : M : over all the Lodges in North America holding Charters under the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

**1841.**—The Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada were "re-united" under the name of "the Province of Canada," the former geographical portions being called "Canada East and Canada West."

Aug. 1st, 1842. Sir Allan Napier McNabb was appointed Prov. G : M : by the G : L : of Scotland for the "new Province of Canada."

March, 1845. W : Wm. Badgley retired from St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, his "public avocation" being given as the reason therefor. About this period, 1840-45, various movements took place for the "re-establishment" of the Prov. G : L : for the District of Montreal and William Henry. The following letter thereanent explains itself :

"MONTREAL, Jan. 26, 1846.

"SIR AND BROTHER,

"We, the undersigned, Masters of the several Lodges in this city, have convened a meeting of all Masters, Pastmasters and Wardens, to be held at Tétu's Hotel, in this City, on Wednesday, the 4th day of February next, at 3 o'clock, P. M., for the purpose of adopting measures for the re-organization of a Grand Lodge for the District of Montreal ; and as the Lodge over which you preside has as much interest in the matter as we can have, it would perhaps not be inconvenient for you, with your two Wardens, to attend the meeting."

"Should, however, it be out of your power to attend, you might possibly call a meeting of your Lodge, and appoint a delegate who would come to Montreal and act for your Lodge. If you adopt the latter course, perhaps you would be kind enough to give the person named as Delegate such a

written authority to act in that capacity as could be attached to the proceedings of the Meeting, when forwarded to England."

"We have the honor to be,

"Sir and Brother,

"Your obedient Servants,

"M. SAMUEL DAVID, W: M:, St. Paul's Lodge.

"T. DOUGLAS HARRINGTON, W: M:, St. George's Lodge.

"WM. M. BROWNE, W: M:, Zetland Lodge."

"V: W: Brother BENJAMIN BURLAND,

W: M: of Dorchester Lodge,

St. Johns, Canada East."

"At Custom House."

It seems probable that a like autograph circular letter was sent to the Masters of the several Lodges in "the dependencies!"

R: W: Bro: Burland is one of the very few "veterans" now living who did so much to keep the Craft alive "east of the St. Lawrence," in those trying times! On his removal from the "Customs" in Montreal to the Port of St. Johns, he revived "Old Dorchester;" and his efficient and willing services were in frequent demand to aid in reviving and upbuilding the 'old Prevost' and 'Nelson' Lodges.

**Feb. 22, 1846.**—The Earl of Zetland, Grand Master of England, "constituted and appointed our Right Trusty and Well Beloved Brother, the Honorable Peter McGill, one of Her Majesty's Councillors in the Province of Canada, Provincial Grand Master for the 'District of Montreal and William Henry, and its dependencies' in the Province of Canada East, with full power to make Masons, and constitute and regulate Lodges, as occasion may require," etc.

**May 20, 1846.**—An Especial "Grand Lodge" was held at the St. George's Lodge Room, in Mack's Hotel, in the City of Montreal, for the purpose of installing the Hon. Peter McGill, Prov. G: M:

PRESENT:

"R: W: the Hon. P. McGill, Prov. G: M:

R: W: Rev. J. Bethune, Past Prov. D: G: M: and P: M: of St. Paul's Lodge, as Depty P: G: M:

V: W: Wm. Badgley, Past D: D: P: M: and P: M: St. Paul's Lodge, as S: G: W:

V: W: Wm. Snaith, Past S: G: W: and P: M: Zetland Lodge, as J: G: W:

Bro: Rev. W. A. Adamson, St. Paul's Lodge, as G: Chaplain.

W: T. D. Harrington, W: M: St. George's Lodge, as G: Sec.

Bro: I. Aaron, P: M: Zetland Lodge, as S: G: D:

Bro: J. Glass, Past Warden, St. Paul's Lodge, as J: G: D:

Bro: H. H. Whitney, St. Paul's Lodge, as G: Pur.

Bro: J. Darby, St. Paul's Lodge, as G: Tyler.

V: W: F. Griffin, Past S: G: W: and P: M: St. Paul's Lodge; V: W:

J. H. Dorwin, Past S: G: W: and P: M: St. George's Lodge; V: W:

J. S. McCord, Past J: G: W:, Past G: Sec., and P: M: St. Paul's

Lodge; Bro: M. J. Hayes, Past G: Sword Bearer; and the Masters, Past Masters and Wardens of various Lodges."

It may be remarked in passing that the last clause in the foregoing, and which appears in successive minutes of the re-established Prov. G: L:, seems generally to have been inserted as a matter of form.

“The Patent of the Prov. G: M: was read, and V: W: Bros: Dorwin and McCord presented the Hon. Peter McGill to the presiding officer, the Rev. and R: W: John Bethune, who duly installed him into the office of Prov. G: M: for ‘the District of Montreal and William Henry, and its dependencies!’”

“After having been proclaimed and saluted according to ancient custom, the Prov. G: M: addressed the Brethren present, and he was pleased to announce that he had appointed the following Brethren Officers of the Prov. G: L: for the current year:”

“Rev. J. Bethune, Depty P: G: M:; Wm. Snaith, S: G: W:, J. G. Danter, by proxy, J: G: W:, Rev. W. A. Adamson, G: Chaplain, T. D. Harington, G: Sec., I. Aaron, S: G: D:, J. Glass, J: G: D:, J. H. Dorwin, G: Supt. W:, J. S. Elliott, by proxy, G: D: C:, C. S. De Bleury, Asst. G: D: C:, M. J. Hayes, G: Sw. B:, C. W. Maçon, G: Stand. B:, H. H. Whitney, G: Pursuivant, J. Darby, G: Tyler, and Bros: Noxon, Kinnear, Derbishire, Thompson, Townsend and Chalmers, G: Stewards.” Bro: Fred. Griffin was unanimously elected Treasurer, and the Prov. G: M: concurred in the appointment of Bro: T. A. Cary as Asst. Prov. G: Sec.

“All business being ended, the Prov. G: L: was closed in due form and with Solemn Prayer.”

The memory of many of these excellent men and worthy Freemasons is greatly revered even to this day. The thoughtful reader of the foregoing will, however, note with pain the unhappy recurrence of inauspicious omens similar to those which attended the inauguration of the Prov. G: L: in 1824!

**1846.**—A Quarterly Communication of the Prov. G: L: held at the Lodge Room, at Tétu's Hotel, June 8, 1846, the Hon. P. McGill, Prov. G: M:, presiding.

*Inter alia*, it was enacted that the officers and members of the Prov. G: L: shall pay in advance, 20s. each per annum (amended the following year to except representatives of Country Lodges); that on appointment or re-appointment to office, the Depty Prov. G: M: shall pay 25s., the Prov. G: Wardens each 15s., and all other officers, 10s. each; that Lodges shall pay for each initiation 10s., for each joining 5s., for each member 4s. 4d.; and for a G. L. Certificate 10s.

It was, on motion of V: W: Bro: Harington, seconded by V: W: Bro: Grundy, voted unanimously that the R: W: the Rev. Dr. Oliver of Scopwick Vicarage, and W: Bro: Dr. Crucifix, of Gravesend, England, be Honorary Members of this Prov. G: L:

**Oct. 1, 1846.**—The Prov. G: M: assisted by “Grand Lodge,” by visiting W: Brothers Albouy, 46th Regt., P: M: Royal Standard Lodge, and W: Bro: Compain, P: M: St. Andrew's Lodge, Halifax; W: Bros: W. K. McCord and Cole, P: M: 's of Albion Lodge, Quebec; and by the various

private Lodges in the City, laid the Foundation Stone of the New Freemasons' Hall Building to be erected in Dalhousie Square, by Bro: Moses Judah Hays. An Oration was delivered by the Depty. Prov. G: M: which was directed to be published. A collection amounting to £30 was made in aid of the Building Fund of the Montreal Orphan Asylum. About one hundred Brethren dined together at Bro. Daley's Hotel, in honor of the occasion.

**Dec. 14, 1846.**—At a Quarterly Communication held at the Lodge Room, Tétu's Hotel, a communication was received from England approving of the Proceedings at the organization of the Prov. G: L:, disallowing any authority heretofore supposed to have been vested in R: W: Bro: Turton Penn (Depty. Prov. G: M:), and stating that the Degree of Mark Master is not recognized by the G: L: of England. The Prov. G: M: nominated the Officers of Prov. G: L: for the ensuing year, and announced that they would be installed at an Especial Grand Lodge, on Monday the 28th instant, at noon.

A Resolution was passed, affirming "that this Prov. G: L: views with admiration and feelings of deep respect the truly Masonic conduct pursued by the M: W: the Earl of Zetland, Grand Master of England, in relation to the exclusion of Jewish Freemasons from the Lodges in Prussia."

**Dec. 28, 1846.**—The half-yearly Returns and Dues received from Lodges were:—St. Paul's Lodge, £8 1s. 4d.; St. Andrew's (or Murray), £6 5s. od.; St. George's, £22 1s. 6d.; Dorchester, £2 3s. 9d.; Zetland, £9 14s. od.; Prevost, £24 3s. 9d. In the next succeeding list 'Nelson' appears, but no sum is placed to its credit; and in the next is Golden Rule, £5 10s. od. In the accounts of Mar. 6, 1847, the following receipts are credited:—"From Officers and Members, for Dues and Fees on appointment to office, £45 15s. od. From the several Lodges, and for Prov. G: L: and Grand Lodge of England Dues, £72 9s. 6d.

In 1847, the Earl of Zetland appointed R. E. the Hon. Peter McGill, Grand Supt. of Royal Arch Masonry in "the Province of Canada"!

**1847-49.**—Elgin and Antiquity Lodges. May 3, 1847, the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted Warrant, No. 348, for the establishment of Elgin Lodge, Montreal. Some of the petitioners for this Warrant had been members of the military Lodge, "Unity, Peace and Concord," No. 316, E. R., attached to the 1st Regt. Foot, and warranted in 1798; and for a time (1808) attached to the 2d. Batt. Royal Scots, then serving in India.

May 10, 1847. The Lodge of "Social and Military Virtues," No. 227, I. R., and attached to the 46th Regt. of Foot, and warranted in 1752, was established in Montreal.

The following is nearly the complete list of Officers, 1847-49, under the Hon. Peter McGill, Prov. G: M: of the "District of Montreal and William Henry, and its dependencies," till his resignation on account of ill health, Oct., 1849:

"R: W: J. S. McCord, D: Prov. G: M: , V: W: D. L. Macpherson, S: G: W: , V: W: D. Gorrie, J: G: W: , the Rev. W. T. Leach, G: Chaplain, the Rev. W. A. Adamson, Past G: Chaplain, V: W: F. Griffin, G: Treas., V: W: T. D. Harington, G: Sec., W: J. Glass, S: G: D: , W: J. McNider, J: G: D: , W: R. S. Tylee, G: D: of C: , Bro: G. Moffatt, Jr., Asst. G: D: of C: , Bro: T. A. Cary, Pur.; Bro. H. H. Whitney, Past Pur.; J. Thompson, G: Tyler; and Brothers Townsend, Chalmers and Claremont, G: Stewards."

Dec., 1848, the Prov. G: M: appointed R: W: Thos. D. Harington, Depty. Prov. G: M: in the place of R: W: J. S. McCord, resigned. Oct., 1849, the Hon. P. McGill resigned his office of Prov. G: M: "on account of ill-health." At this time, V: W: Benj. Burland, W: M: of Dorchester Lodge, was appointed Prov. G: S: W:

**1848.**—The following is the list of Lodges at this period, with their numbers as on the Prov. list, 1824, their then present English numbers, and the numbers assigned them at this date on the Prov. Registry!

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Location.</i>	<i>Prov. Nos., 1824.</i>	<i>Eng. Nos.</i>	<i>Dist. Nos., 1848.</i>
St. Paul's,	Montreal, .....	3 .....	514 .....	1
St. Andrew's,	St. Andrews. ....	5 .....	516 .....	2
St. George's,	Montreal .....	.....	643 .....	3
Dorchester,	St. Johns, ....	1 .....	775 .....	4
Zetland,	Montreal, .....	.....	731 .....	5
Prevost,	Dunham, .....	2 .....	776 .....	6
Nelson,	Clarenceville, .....	4 .....	515 .....	7
Golden Rule,	Stanstead, .....	6 .....	517 .....	8

Comparing the above Montreal District 'enumeration' of 1848, with the numbers of these Lodges of 'Ancient' L. C. origin, and with their relative numbers on the Registry of the District of Montreal, as awarded in 1824, it does not seem possible to justify the committee and the District G: L: in their new 'enumeration' of 1824! It very clearly appears that serious injustice was done, at least to the two oldest Lodges, Nos. 1 and 2, by the placing of the 1824, No. 3, at the head of the list in 1848!

The Dist. G: L: interregnum, the loss of Warrants by fire, the unhappy delays in correspondence with England, the unavoidable suspension of 'work' during the Morgan 'frenzy,' and other causes of temporary inactivity, were well known to the 'revived' District G: L: , and hence there appears to have been no rightful justification for the thus placing of three Lodges above the former No. 1 (Dorchester), and five Lodges above the former No. 2 (Prevost).

**January, 1850.**—The Honorable William Badgley was appointed Prov. G: M: of the District of Montreal and William Henry, by the Earl of Zetland, G: M: of the United Grand Lodge of England. He re-constituted the Prov. G: L: , which, with varying fortunes, continued till 185—, when he resigned. He died 1888, much lamented. No successor was appointed by England.

**April 29, 1854.**—The St. Lawrence Lodge, Montreal, was established by Dispensation from the Prov. G: M: , and was numbered 9 on the Prov.

Registry. Sep. 5, 1854, it was warranted by the U : G : L : of England, and numbered 923.

**May 11, 1854.**—The Prov. G : L : , assisted by the various Lodges in the City, laid, with Masonic honors, the Foundation Stone of the Mechanics' Institute Building at the corner of Great St. James and St. Peter Streets, Montreal.

**Shefford Lodge**, Waterloo, was established by Warrant from England, No. 934, of date April 23, 1855, and LaColle Lodge, at LaColle, by Warrant, No. 938, of date June 28, of the same year.

**1855.**—The Grand Lodge of Canada ("the Province of Canada") was formed at a Convention held at the City of Hamilton, Canada West, Oct. 10, 1855, in which various Lodges situated in the District of Montreal and William Henry and elsewhere in Canada East participated. The G : Officers were not installed until Nov. 2, 1855! This important Masonic event will be more fully referred to on subsequent pages.

**DICTIONNAIRE BIOGRAPHIQUE**

—DU—

**CLERGÉ CANADIEN-FRANÇAIS**

—  
**LES ANCIENS**  
—



DU MÊME AUTEUR

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HISTOIRE DE LA PAROISSE DE SAINT-DENIS-SUR-  
RICHELIEU, un volume in-8 illustré,  
630 pages.—1905.



# DICTIONNAIRE BIOGRAPHIQUE

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—DU—

# CLERGÉ CANADIEN-FRANÇAIS

—PAR—

L'ABBÉ J.-B.-A. ALLAIRE



# LES ANCIENS

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OUVRAGE ORNÉ DE 100 PORTRAITS



MONTREAL

IMPRIMERIE DE L'ÉCOLE CATHOLIQUE DES SOURDS-MUETS.



Vicaire à Arthabaskaville (1869-1872), à Champlain (1872-1873), à Gentilly (1873); curé de Vincennes (1873-1874); décédé aux Trois-Rivières, le 24 septembre 1874.

**BRUNELLE (L'abbé Louis-Marie-Jérôme)**, né le 30 septembre 1828, de François-Xavier Brunelle et d'Émilie Dambourgès, fut ordonné aux Trois-Rivières, le 29 décembre 1850. Décédé le 17 juin 1854.

**BRUNET (Rév. Père Alexis)**, né dans le diocèse de Laval en France, le 27 janvier 1842, de Moïse Brunet et de Marguerite Paiement, fut ordonné en 1867. Vicaire dans le diocèse de Laval (1867-1875); entra chez les Oblats de Marie-Immaculée en 1875 et prononça ses vœux dans l'Alberta en 1876; missionnaire dans l'Alberta (1876-1881); prédicateur de retraites avec résidence à Saint-Pierre de Montréal (1881-1891); retiré à Mattawa (1891-1892), où il est décédé le 4 août 1892.

**BRUNET (Rév. Père Augustin-Alexandre)**, né à Pont-en-Royan dans la France l'an 1816, entra chez les Oblats de Marie-Immaculée et fut ordonné à Longueuil par Mgr Bourget, le 29 septembre 1844. Missionnaire au Saguenay (1844-1847), à Bourbonnais dans l'Illinois; décédé à Montréal, le 17 juin 1866.

**BRUNET (L'abbé François)**, né à Montréal, le 4 juillet 1763, de François Brunet et de Marthe Pouget, fit ses études à Québec et fut ordonné, le 8 octobre 1786. Vicaire aux Cèdres (1786-1787); curé de l'Île-Perrot (1787-1789), avec desserte de Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue (1787-1789); curé de Sainte-Rose-de-Laval (1794-1807), de Saint-Jean-Port-Joli (1808-1809); vicaire à L'Assomption (1809-1810); curé de Saint-Paul-de-Joliette (1810-1819), où il est décédé le 10 avril 1819.

**BRUNET (L'abbé François-Xavier)**, né à Saint-François-de-l'Île-Jésus, comté de Laval, le 6 décembre 1803, fit ses études à Montréal; fut ordonné le 22 septembre 1827. Vicaire à Napierville pour la desserte de Saint-Valentin (1827-1829); vicaire à Sorel pour la desserte de l'Île-Dupas (1829-1830); missionnaire aux îles de la Madeleine dans le golfe Saint-Laurent (1830-1833); curé de Saint-Damase-sur-Yamaska (1833-1869); retiré à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Saint-Hyacinthe (1869-1870), à Upton

(1870-1874), à Sainte-Angèle-de-Monnoir (1874-1875), à Saint-Damasc-sur-Yamaska (1875), où il est décédé le 18 septembre 1875.

**BRUNET (Rév. Père Herménégilde)**, né à la Pointe-Claire, près Montréal, en octobre 1862, fit ses études à Rigaud et à Saint-Laurent près Montréal; entra chez les Oblats de Marie-Immaculée et fut ordonné à Ottawa, le 6 avril 1890. Missionnaire dans l'Athabaska à Fort-Dunvegan (1890), où il a succombé à la phtisie, le 17 novembre 1890.

**BRUNET (L'abbé Louis-Ovide)**, né à Québec, le 10 mars 1826, de Jean-Olivier Brunet et de Cécile Lagueux, fit ses études dans sa ville natale et y fut ordonné le 1 octobre 1848. Vicaire à la cathédrale de Québec (1848-1849); curé de Valcartier (1849-1850); vicaire à Saint-Joseph-de-Lévis (1850-1851); missionnaire à la Grosse-Ile (1851-1853); vicaire encore à la cathédrale de Québec (1853), à Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade (1853), à Lévis (1853-1854); curé de Saint-Lambert-de-Lévis (1854-1858); professeur de botanique au séminaire de Québec (1858-1861); voyage d'études naturelles en Europe (1861-1863); professeur de botanique à l'université de Québec (1863-1871). Créateur du musée botanique de cette institution; les plantes canadiennes que renferme son herbier ont été, pour une bonne partie, recueillies par ses soins; à la mort de son organisateur, il comprenait plus de dix mille plantes étiquetées et classifiées. Retiré chez sa mère à Québec (1871-1877), où il est décédé le 2 octobre 1877. Il a publié un grand nombre d'opuscules ayant rapport à la botanique. C'était en cette science un savant reconnu et souvent consulté. Son principal ouvrage est: *ÉLÉMENTS DE BOTANIQUE ET DE PHYSIQUE* (1870).

**BRUNET (L'abbé Michel)**, né à Montréal, le 18 avril 1771, de François Brunet et de Marthe Pouget, fit ses études à Québec et fut ordonné, le 11 mai 1794. Desservant à Notre-Dame de Saint-Hyacinthe (1796); curé de Terrebonne (1800-1802), de Saint-Martin-de-Laval (1802-1835), où il est décédé le 2 octobre 1835.

**BRUNET (L'abbé Michel-David)**, né à la Pointe-Claire près Montréal, le 19 août 1817, de François Brunet et de Marguerite Campeau, fut ordonné à Sainte-Thérèse, le 22 mars

1846. A Saint-Janvier, desservant (1846-1847), curé (1847-1855); curé de Saint-Jérôme-de-Terrebonne (1855-1858); décédé le 11 septembre 1858.

**BRUNET (L'abbé Pascal)**, né à Sainte-Geneviève-près-Montréal le 10 janvier 1808, fut ordonné à Montréal, le 26 août 1832. Vicaire à Saint-Eustache (1832-1834), à Longueuil (1834-1836); curé de Montebello (1836-1838), de Sainte-Rose-de-Laval (1838-1864), où il est décédé le 9 avril 1864.

**BRUNET (L'abbé Philippe-Félix)**, né à Québec, le 23 octobre 1828, de Philippe Brunet et de Julie Gauthier, fit ses études à Québec, où il fut ordonné le 17 juillet 1853. Vicaire à Lévis (1853-1854), à Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec (1854-1856); curé de Sainte-Sophie-de-Mégantic (1856-1873); retiré (1873-1876); curé de Saint-Apollinaire (1876-1879); auxiliaire à Saint-Ferdinand (1879-1893), où il est décédé le 19 décembre 1893.

**BRUSLÉ (Rév. Père Michel)**, né dans la Bretagne en France, entra chez les Récollets et y fut ordonné. En France (....-1698); en Canada (1698-1740), desservant à Saint-François-du-Lac (1699), curé de Contrecoeur (1699-1703), de Rimouski (1706-1708, 1712, 1718-1719), de la Baie-Saint-Paul (1722-1723), de Ristigouche (1723), du port Lajoie sur l'île du Prince-Edouard (1723-1725); décédé le 1 septembre 1740.

**BRUYAS (Rév. Père Jacques)**, né en France, entra chez les Jésuites et y fut ordonné. En France (....-1666); en Canada (1666-1708); missionnaire des Iroquois au sud du lac Ontario (1667-1682); curé de Caughnawaga (1682-1684); encore missionnaire des Iroquois au sud du lac Ontario (1684-1688); encore curé de Caughnawaga (1688-1693); supérieur général des Jésuites du Canada à Québec (1693-1698); de nouveau curé de Caughnawaga (1699-1708); il a été interprète, orateur et député des gouverneurs de Québec auprès des Iroquois et des Anglais de Boston; décédé le 6 octobre 1708.

**BRUYERE (Mgr J.-M.)**, né en 1798, fut ordonné vers 1822. Vicaire général de l'évêque de London dans Ontario (1857-1888); à Sandwich (1867-1868), à London (1868-1888), où il a succombé à une attaque de paralysie, le 13 février 1888.

## TRANSLATION OF NOTARY DOCUMENT SIGNED BY ED. SPENARD AND STEPHEN MACKAY, DATED MARCH 4, 1843

No. 2654

March 4, 1843

Release and receipt given by Edouard Spenard to Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean  
[illegible]

Before the public Notaries for this part of the Province of Canada, constituting the former Province of Lower Canada, residing in the County of Lake of Two Mountains, in the District of Montreal [undersigned]: [Was] present the [sir] Edouard Spenard, innkeeper, residing in the parish of St. Augustin in this County.

- Who hereby acknowledged and confessed that he had read and received in [word in French means a written acknowledgement of a payment received] of Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, traveler, now confined in the jail of Montreal, on the mittimus of the Honorable William King McCord - judge of the District Court of the County of Lake of Two Mountains - and of the Divisional Courts of the said District, [illegible] [25] the said mittimus dated at Divisional Court No. 4 - at St. Eustache on February 11, 1843 - the sum of three pounds four shillings four deniers and one-half current exchange rate amount of the debt, item, [illegible] of March four, 1842 [and] costs - eighteen schillings said exchange rate, execution costs [illegible] one pound [twelve] schillings three deniers said exchange rate, forming in total five pounds fourteen schillings seven deniers and a half -

[£ 5 14 s 7½ d]

of which general and [final] receipt for which the said [sir] [appearing] gives full and complete release to the said Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean of his detention in the said common prison of the said District of Montreal - of which [illegible] releasing [illegible] of which [illegible]: made and passed in the parish of St. Eustache in our study the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three - the fourth day of the month of March after noon -  
[the sir] Spenard signed with us notary after reading made.

Ed. Spenard  
Stephen MacKay  
[Signature]

[Illegible]

[N.P.]





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REGISTRE  
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PAROISSE

Le septieme mill neuf cent dix-neuf, nous, Petre unseign, avons fait dans le  
 Chapitre de cette paroisse le mariage de Thomas et de Marie épouse de  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Thomas de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Le septieme mill neuf cent dix-neuf, nous, Petre unseign, avons fait dans le  
 Chapitre de cette paroisse le mariage de Suzanne et de Marie épouse de  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Suzanne de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Le septieme mill neuf cent dix-neuf, nous, Petre unseign, avons fait dans le  
 Chapitre de cette paroisse le mariage de Marie et de Marie épouse de  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Marie de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

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 Chapitre de cette paroisse le mariage de Marie et de Marie épouse de  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Marie de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

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 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Marie de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

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 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Marie de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

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Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Marie de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

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 Chapitre de cette paroisse le mariage de Marie et de Marie épouse de  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

Marie épouse de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 mari de la paroisse de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 Marie de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

qui ont signé, Lector jure.  
 J. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 A. J. de Jean Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger  
 de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

J. M. de l'Église de saint Manuel Foisforger

1855

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CH. BÉNE MONTAGNES  
P. Q.  
RELIGIEUX  
PHOTOGRAPHES  
NO  
LABRIE  
DE  
ST-JÉRÔME

Sacord. Mairaine Marie Piché,  
qui, ainsi que le père ont déclaré au  
sacord signer  
P Lafabry p<sup>re</sup>

15-135  
Moise Gaetan  
Girard

Le ~~sept~~ <sup>trois</sup> septembre mil huit cent  
cinquante cinq, nous prêtre soussigné avons  
baptisé Moise Gaetan fils légitime  
mariage de Moise Girard cultivateur et  
de Hélène Villeneuve de cette paroisse.  
Parrain, Jérémie Girard, Mairaine,  
Catherine Plande qui sont au signe  
le père absent  
un mot original. P Lafabry p<sup>re</sup>

15-136  
Augustin  
Rochard

Le quatorze septembre, mil huit cent  
cinquante cinq, nous, prêtre soussigné  
avons baptisé Augustin fils légitime  
mariage de Augustin Rochard  
cultivateur et de Marguerite Mandana  
de cette paroisse. Parrain Jean Baptiste  
Laurain, Mairaine, Catherine David,  
qui, ainsi que le père, sont au signe  
P Lafabry p<sup>re</sup>

15-137  
Léopold

Le dix-neuf septembre de l'an mil huit cent cinquante cinq  
Bédelle Leduc nous, prêtre soussigné, avons baptisé les circoncis de Léopold  
à Cédille, baptisé par son père le même le dix-neuf de ce mois,  
et est le même par son légitime mariage de Julien Leduc  
et de Sophie Leduc de parson à St-Jérôme Québec  
et la marraine, Joséphine Leblond, qui se sont signés  
P Gauthier p<sup>re</sup>

15-138  
Alexis  
Aubry

Le sixième septembre 26

Le six septembre, mil huit cent  
cinquante cinq, nous, prêtre soussigné  
avons baptisé Alexis fils légitime  
mariage de Norbert Aubry cultivateur  
et de Elémoré Desrochers de cette paroisse.  
Parrain, Joséphine Desrochers,  
Mairaine, Catherine Aubry, qui, ainsi  
que le père, sont au signe  
P Lafabry p<sup>re</sup>

15-139  
Julie Lagarde et  
Josée Dumartin

Le dix-neuf septembre de l'an mil huit cent cinquante  
cinq, nous, prêtre soussigné avons bap<sup>tisé</sup> notre  
petite Lagarde fille de son père Lagarde et de  
Sophie Girard dite Carrière, épouse de son père, Duce  
parrain, et Marie Desrochers, fille de son père Desrochers  
et de Marie Josée David, marraine en cette  
paroisse, et de son père, et de la prêtre soussigné de deux  
autres lieux ce mariage ayant été obtenu à St-Jérôme  
administrateur de St-Jérôme et au même lieu  
en dit mariage se sont mariés entre eux, et  
nous, prêtre soussigné, avons reçu les enfants conformément  
au mariage et leur avons donné la bénédiction usuelle  
en présence de Joseph Leduc, curé de St-Jérôme, prêtre  
qui se la maria. Et plusieurs autres qui sont pas baptisés  
P Lafabry p<sup>re</sup>

15-139  
Margite  
Girard

Le six septembre, mil huit cent  
cinquante cinq, nous, prêtre soussigné avons  
baptisé Margite fille légitime  
de Arsime Girard cultivateur et de  
Virginie Carrière de cette paroisse.  
Parrain, Julien Lafabry, Anastasie  
Gagné, qui ainsi que le père, ont déclaré au  
sacord signer

Plus up'ime feuille 27

150  
A  
1851

ILE  
DU  
CALUMET  
PAROISSE  
18 ANNE  
PASTOR  
P. S.

REGISTRES  
PAROISSIAUX  
LA  
PAROISSE

REDUCTION  
18  
LUMIERE  
N/2

Le 24 de Janvier Michel et  
Donat furent trois par sans être sans  
signé à cette dernière sans égale de  
ce hit mois, sur ce l'acte de mariage  
de Michel Donat de la paroisse de  
ce cette paroisse. Le paronna de  
ce mois de la paroisse de la paroisse de  
avec le père n'ont pu signer.

L. G. Gaudet P.  
1851

Le 24 de Janvier Michel et  
Donat furent trois par sans être sans  
signé à cette dernière sans égale de  
ce hit mois, sur ce l'acte de mariage  
de Michel Donat de la paroisse de  
ce cette paroisse. Le paronna de  
ce mois de la paroisse de la paroisse de  
avec le père n'ont pu signer.

L. G. Gaudet P.  
1851

Le 24 de Janvier Michel et  
Donat furent trois par sans être sans  
signé à cette dernière sans égale de  
ce hit mois, sur ce l'acte de mariage  
de Michel Donat de la paroisse de  
ce cette paroisse. Le paronna de  
ce mois de la paroisse de la paroisse de  
avec le père n'ont pu signer.

L. G. Gaudet P.  
1851

Le 24 de Janvier Michel et  
Donat furent trois par sans être sans  
signé à cette dernière sans égale de  
ce hit mois, sur ce l'acte de mariage  
de Michel Donat de la paroisse de  
ce cette paroisse. Le paronna de  
ce mois de la paroisse de la paroisse de  
avec le père n'ont pu signer.

L. G. Gaudet P.  
1851





1865

NOTRE-DAME

DE MONTREAL

TQ

REGISTRE

PHOTOGRAPHIE

AA

PAROISSE

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Margant souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Margant, deidee Parant  
 Gorreau veulle, age de quatre ans, fille de fheub Gorreau, com-  
 mersant, et de Jean Lucien. Venons: Benjamin  
 Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Marie souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Marie, deidee le vingt  
 et un d'octobre, age de dix mois, fille de Fran-  
 cois St. Aubin, parrain, et de Adeline Boudreau. Venons:  
 Benjamin Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont  
 en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Paul souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Paul (françois), journalier  
 Chartrand deidee la veille, age de soixante ans. Venons:  
 Benjamin Desroches, et françois David Champagne  
 qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Antoinette souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Antoinette, ma endogme  
 Picaud deidee la veille, fille de Joseph Picaud, menuisier,  
 et de Marguerite Lebois. Venons: Benjamin  
 Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Thomas souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Thomas, deidee le  
 jour de son anniversaire, age de deux mois, fils de Jean  
 Isaac, et de Marie. Venons: Benjamin Desroches, et françois David  
 Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Alphonse souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Alphonse, deidee  
 Desroches, le vingt quatre, age de dix neuf mois, fils de M<sup>r</sup> Desroches  
 Desroches, et de Marie Louise Labay. Venons: Benjamin  
 Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Paul souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Paul, deidee le  
 jour de son anniversaire, age de deux ans, fils de Jean  
 Desroches, et de Marie Louise Labay. Venons: Benjamin  
 Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Marie Angèle souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Marie Angèle, deidee  
 Desroches, le vingt quatre, age de vingt et un mois, fille de Louis  
 Richard Desroches, huissier, et de Marie Louise Fitchault, sœur  
 Benjamin Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Edward souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Edward, deidee le vingt  
 Garreau, age de vingt sept mois, fils de Edward Garreau, journalier,  
 et de Marie Beaulieu. Venons: Benjamin Desroches,  
 et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Virginie souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Virginie, deidee le vingt  
 Lapierre veulle, age de trois mois, fille de Polyte Lapierre  
 menuisier, et de Rose de Louis Gervais. Venons: Ben-  
 jamin Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en  
 signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Marie souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Marie, deidee le vingt  
 Lebois, age de dix mois, fille de Louis Lebois, menuisier,  
 et de Marie Robert. Venons: Benjamin Desroches,  
 et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Joseph souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Joseph, deidee  
 Keating le vingt quatre, age de quatre mois, fils de John  
 Keating, journalier, et de Ellen Piquet. Venons: Ben-  
 jamin Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont  
 en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Louis Joseph souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Louis Joseph, deidee  
 Auclair le vingt quatre, age de dix mois, fils de M<sup>r</sup> Auclair  
 avocat, et de Marie Louise Auclair. Venons: Benjamin  
 Desroches, et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

Le vingt quatre juillet, mil huit cent soixante cinq, je prie  
 Marie souffigne, ai inhume le corps de Marie, deidee le vingt  
 Labelle, menuisier, deidee à l'Hopital, le vingt et un d'octobre  
 et de Marie Louise Auclair. Venons: Benjamin Desroches,  
 et françois David Champagne qui n'ont en signe

# DEATHS

223

County of Renfrew

Division of Arnprior

	No. 15	No. 16	No. 17
Surname of Deceased	<u>St. Jean</u>	<u>Potter</u>	<u>Slator</u>
Full given Name	<u>Maxime</u>	<u>Elms</u>	<u>Kannah</u>
Place of Death, street and number or	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>
(a) Sex, (b) Marital Status, (c) Single, Married, Widowed	<u>M.   b. French   widowed</u>	<u>M.   b. Scotch  </u>	<u>F.   b. Irish   married</u>
Age	<u>46 yrs.   - mos.   - dys.   hrs. min.</u>	<u>5 yrs.   3 mos.   dys.   hrs. min.</u>	<u>71 yrs.   9 mos.   dys.   hrs. min.</u>
(a) Place of Birth, (b) Date of Birth	<u>Lumber   b. March 22   Arnprior   1920</u>	<u>Arnprior   1920</u>	<u>Almonte   b. 1853</u>
Trade or Occupation	<u>Laborer</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>Housewife</u>
Kind of Industry	<u>Lumbering</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Date from which to which employed	<u>from — to —</u>	<u>from — to —</u>	<u>from — to —</u>
Length of Residence at place of death in Ontario in Canada	<u>16 yrs.   in Ontario   in Canada</u>	<u>5 yrs.   3 mos.   in Ontario   in Canada</u>	<u>29 yrs.   in Ontario   in Canada</u>
Name of Father	<u>Alphonse St. Jean</u>	<u>Benjamin Potter</u>	<u>Morris Levey</u>
Birthplace of Father	<u>—</u>	<u>M. Nat. Sup.</u>	<u>M. Nat. Sup.</u>
Maiden Name of Mother	<u>Barbeau</u>	<u>Estimote King</u>	<u>Mary Elsie Walker</u>
Birthplace of Mother	<u>—</u>	<u>Darling Sup.</u>	<u>M. Nat. or Huntley</u>
Name of Physician	<u>Archibald Jamieson</u>	<u>W. B. McNaughton</u>	<u>J. H. Boyd</u>
Address	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>
Name of Informant	<u>Joseph St. Jean</u>	<u>Benjamin Potter</u>	<u>Stanley Slator</u>
Address	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>
Relation to Deceased	<u>son</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>son</u>
Place of Burial	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior</u>
Date of Burial	<u>April 24-1926</u>	<u>Apr. 26/26</u>	<u>Apr. 29/26</u>
Name of Undertaker	<u>P. L. Conroy</u>	<u>G. W. Boyce</u>	<u>G. W. Boyce</u>
Address	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>
Cause of Death if no Physician attended	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Date of Death	<u>April 22 - 1926</u>	<u>Apr. 25/26</u>	<u>Apr. 27/26</u>
Name of Deceased	<u>Maxime St. Jean</u>	<u>Elms Potter</u>	<u>Kannah Slator</u>
Date of Death	<u>April 22 - 1926</u>	<u>Apr. 25/26</u>	<u>Apr. 27/26</u>
Dates from which to which Medical Practitioner attended Deceased	<u>from Apr. 8/26 to Apr. 22/26</u>	<u>from Apr. 23/26 to Apr. 25/26</u>	<u>from Apr. 24/26 to Apr. 27/26</u>
Primary Cause of Death	<u>Pneumonia</u>	<u>Measles</u>	<u>Apoplexy</u>
Duration	<u>7 dys.</u>	<u>3 dys.</u>	<u>—</u>
Contributory Cause of Death	<u>Apoplexy</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Duration	<u>14 dys.</u>	<u>3 mos.</u>	<u>—</u>
(a) Did an operation precede death? (b) Was there an autopsy?	<u>no   no</u>	<u>no   no</u>	<u>no   no</u>
Name of Physician	<u>Archibald Jamieson</u>	<u>W. B. McNaughton</u>	<u>J. H. Boyd</u>
Address	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>	<u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>
Date of Return	<u>24 April - 1926</u>	<u>April 26/26</u>	<u>April 28/26</u>
Date received by Division Registrar	<u>24 April - 1926</u>	<u>April 26/26</u>	<u>April 28/26</u>
I certify that the foregoing are correct registrations of Deaths made to me during the month of <u>April</u> 19 <u>26</u>			
Signature: <u>J. H. Boyd</u> D.R. or Sub-Registrar. Address: <u>Arnprior, Ont.</u>			

1866

NOTRE DAME  
 DE MONTRÉAL  
 REGISTRE  
 PHOTOGRAPHIÉ  
 A A  
 PAROISSE

28.  
 Alphons  
 Lagarde dit St Jean  
 et  
 Maria Julia  
 Bird

Le vingt huit janvier mil huit cent soixante six, après la publication des bans de mariage sans empêchement ni opposition, par notre sous-signé curé en cet effet, ayant pris le mutual consentement par parole de présent de Alphons Lagarde dit St Jean, célibataire, domicilié en cette paroisse, fils majeur de défunt Thomas Lagarde dit St Jean, et de Josephine femme de l'encre de Jean Labaud dit un part, et de Maria Julia Bird, fille mineure de Jean Bird, condamnée, et de excellent conseil de cette paroisse, d'autre part: les a mariés suivant les bans et coutumes observés en la sainte Eglise, en présence de Joseph Provost, de Jean Bird, père de St Jean, consentant au dit mariage, et de Thomas Lagarde dit St Jean, père de St Jean, et de plusieurs autres de la paroisse.

Je soussigné  
 Maria Julia dit St Jean  
 Thomas Lagarde dit St Jean, Joseph Bird

P. Roussin  
 P. 233

29.  
 Louis  
 Felinski  
 et  
 Marie  
 Rodin

Le vingt trois janvier mil huit cent soixante six, après la publication des bans de mariage sans empêchement ni opposition, par notre sous-signé curé en cet effet, ayant pris le mutual consentement par parole de présent de Louis Felinski, condamnée, fils majeur de défunt Joseph Felinski, et de Marie Louise, femme de cette paroisse, d'autre part, et de Marie Rodin, fille mineure de Jean Rodin, femme de cette paroisse, d'autre part: les a mariés suivant les bans et coutumes observés en la sainte Eglise, en présence de Joseph Provost, sous-signé, de Jean Rodin, père de Marie, consentant au dit mariage, et de Joseph Felinski, père de Louis, et de plusieurs autres de la paroisse.

Je soussigné

P. Roussin  
 P. 233

30  
 Apollon  
 Philémon Aude  
 dit Lapointe

Le vingt huit janvier mil huit cent soixante six, après la publication des bans de mariage sans empêchement ni opposition, par notre sous-signé curé en cet effet, ayant pris le mutual consentement par parole de présent de Apollon Philémon Aude dit Lapointe, condamnée, fils majeur de défunt Philémon Aude dit Lapointe, et de Marie, femme de cette paroisse, d'autre part, et de Marie, femme de cette paroisse, d'autre part: les a mariés suivant les bans et coutumes observés en la sainte Eglise, en présence de Joseph Provost, de Jean Bird, père de St Jean, consentant au dit mariage, et de Thomas Lagarde dit St Jean, père de St Jean, et de plusieurs autres de la paroisse.

Je soussigné  
 Apollon Philémon Aude dit Lapointe  
 Marie, femme de cette paroisse  
 Marie, femme de cette paroisse  
 P. Roussin  
 P. 233

31  
 Louis  
 Charbonneau

Le vingt trois janvier mil huit cent soixante six, après la publication des bans de mariage sans empêchement ni opposition, par notre sous-signé curé en cet effet, ayant pris le mutual consentement par parole de présent de Louis Charbonneau, condamnée, fils majeur de Philémon Aude dit Lapointe, et de Marie, femme de cette paroisse, d'autre part, et de Marie, femme de cette paroisse, d'autre part: les a mariés suivant les bans et coutumes observés en la sainte Eglise, en présence de Joseph Provost, de Jean Bird, père de St Jean, consentant au dit mariage, et de Thomas Lagarde dit St Jean, père de St Jean, et de plusieurs autres de la paroisse.

Je soussigné  
 Louis Charbonneau  
 Marie, femme de cette paroisse  
 Marie, femme de cette paroisse  
 P. Roussin  
 P. 233

NOTRE DAME  
REGISTRE  
PAROISSIAL  
A A  
1887

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de Louis fils de Joseph Roussin et de Marie Masson  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de la Paroisse Saint Joseph  
Témoins: Alfred Dubord comptable et Théodoric Leroy curé  
qui ont signé: Théodoric Leroy  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de Marguerite Walden veuve de Joseph Fournell laboureur  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de la Paroisse de la Sainte Trinité  
Témoins: Alexandre G. Desros marchand et William Fournell  
qui ont signé: Alexandre G. Desros  
William Fournell  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de ~~Alfred~~ fils de Léon Lamarche  
carréleur et de Julie Séguette  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de cette Paroisse  
Témoins: Alfred Dubord comptable et Théodoric Leroy curé  
qui ont signé: Théodoric Leroy  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de Eugène fils de William Renaud marchand et de Marie Quilbaine  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de cette Paroisse  
Témoins: Alfred Dubord comptable et Théodoric Leroy curé  
qui ont signé: Théodoric Leroy  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de Joseph fils de Joseph Masson journalier et de Josephine Masson  
décédé le dix sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de la Paroisse Saint Joseph  
Témoins: Alfred Dubord comptable et Théodoric Leroy curé  
qui ont signé: Théodoric Leroy  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de Théodore fils de Joseph Plé et de Marie Desros  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de la Paroisse Saint Jean Baptiste  
Témoins: Thomas Desros fils de Joseph Plé et de Marie Desros  
qui ont signé: Thomas Desros  
Joseph Plé  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de ~~Alfred~~ fils de ~~Alfred~~ et de ~~Marie~~  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de cette Paroisse  
Témoins: Alfred Dubord comptable et Théodoric Leroy curé  
qui ont signé: Théodoric Leroy  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre

Les dix huit jours mil huit cent quatre-vingt-sept, Nous Prêtre soussigné avons inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse, le corps de ~~Alfred~~ fils de ~~Alfred~~ et de ~~Marie~~  
décédé le sept du mois courant âgé de \_\_\_\_\_ ans \_\_\_\_\_ mois \_\_\_\_\_ jours, de la Paroisse Saint Vincent  
Témoins: Alfred Dubord comptable et Théodoric Leroy curé  
qui ont signé: Théodoric Leroy  
Alfred Dubord  
Ch. Lafont Prêtre



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1871

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DU  
CALUMET  
PAROISSE  
DE  
SAINTE  
ANNE  
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REGISTRES  
DE  
T. GRADIN  
LA  
PAROISSE

REDUCTION  
18  
LUMIERE  
1/2

de l'Église de Sainte-Anne de Pontiac  
et de l'Église de Sainte-Anne de  
Pontiac en présence de  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

B-40  
Catherine H. G. P.  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

B-41  
Helen Dayley  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

B-42  
Marie Anne Robitaille  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

M-12  
Marie-Anne  
Mary H. G. P.  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

B-43  
Margaret Cole  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

B-44  
Margaret Cole  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

M-13  
Margaret Cole  
Le jour de jeun...  
Monsieur le Curé et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac et de  
Monsieur le Maire de  
Pontiac qui ont signé  
C. P. M. A. L. B. L. P.

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PAROISSE  
ST. PIERRE

REGISTRES  
PHOTOGRAPHES  
AU  
GREFFE  
DE  
CAMPBELL'S  
BAY

Présent de l'Union de Bois Franc. Parrain Fran-  
çois, oncle de l'époux Marius Effroy Bonin et  
Henri Martel, père

B. 58 Les deux octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous fête  
N. H. Leclain prêtre soussigné avons baptisé Joseph Louis, né le jour  
septième dernier du légitime mariage de Louis  
Leclain et d'Isabelle Villeneuve. Le parrain a  
été Joseph Villeneuve et le marraine Marie  
Leclain.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

S. 21 Le huit octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous fête  
J. B. S. Jean prêtre avons béni le corps de J. B. S. Jean épouse  
d'Estelle Lepoint décédé avant hier à l'âge de soixant  
et onze ans. Le corps a été enterré dans la  
cimetière de cette paroisse en présence de M. Marie  
Golin et d'Edouard S. Jean.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 57 Les neuf octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous  
Joseph prêtre soussigné avons baptisé Joseph  
Louis Monro Théophile Carver, né avant hier, du légitime  
mariage de Johnny Monro et Maggie Ber-  
trand. Le parrain a été Monro Monro et  
le marraine Lucie Bertrand.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 60 Le dix neuf octobre mil neuf cent quatre, nous fête  
Louise Beaulieu prêtre soussigné avons baptisé Louise Beaulieu, née le onze  
Bertrand courant du légitime mariage de Félix Jules Ber-  
trand et Rosa Levesque. Le parrain a été  
William Boncher et le marraine Denise Bertrand.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 61 Les vingt deux octobre mil neuf cent quatre, nous fête  
Barnette prêtre soussigné, avons baptisé Barnette, né le vingt sept sep-  
tembre dernier du légitime mariage de Jules Les-  
pinois et de Thérèse Romain. Le parrain a été Philippe  
Lepinois et le marraine Alix Romain qui ainsi que  
le père ont déclaré ne savoir signer.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

F. 62 Les vingt trois octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous fête  
Prêtre soussigné avons baptisé Maria Joanne, née le vingt

Folio original

hier du légitime mariage de Louis Carlier et  
de Mary Bertrand. Le parrain a été Charles Job  
et le marraine Bernette Bertrand qui ainsi  
que le père ont déclaré ne savoir signer.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 63 Le vingt cinq octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous  
Michael prêtre soussigné avons baptisé Michael Joseph, né  
Kelly le vingt deux courant du légitime mariage de Michael  
William Kelly et de Maggie Kenny. Le parrain a été  
Joseph Kelly et le marraine Mary Ann Kenny.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 64 Le vingt sept octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous fête sou-  
signé prêtre soussigné avons baptisé Marguerite Marie Refuse, née  
Reyne avant hier du légitime mariage de Joseph Reine  
et de Antonie Dumontier. Le parrain a été George  
Blondin et le marraine Georgiana Carrière qui  
ainsi que le père ont signé avec nous.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 65 Le trente octobre mil neuf cent quatre nous fête nous  
Joseph prêtre soussigné avons baptisé B. ne le vingt quatre courant du  
légitime mariage de J. B. Duguelle et d'Elise Labrie. Le  
parrain a été David Boncher et le marraine Estelle  
Deschamps qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

S. 22 Le premier novembre mil neuf cent quatre nous  
François prêtre soussigné avons béni le corps de Pas Nicholas  
épouse de Sarah Beaucault décédé le vingt trois octobre  
dernier à l'âge de vingt sept ans. Le corps a été enterré dans  
la cimetière de cette paroisse en présence de  
F. J. Bertrand et George Jewell.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*

B. 62 Les deux novembre mil neuf cent quatre nous fête  
prêtre soussigné avons béni le cadavre enfant d'Ange  
Ange prêtre de Blument Malou et de Philomène Malou né et décé-  
dé la veille après avoir reçu le baptême.

A. M. Renaud *Prêtre*





THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA - MICROFILMED 1956

PERSONAL CENSUS.			Enumeration District, No. <u>1</u>		of		<u>St. Lawrence Island</u>		in the County of <u>Pontiac</u>		138																										
NAMES OF INMATES.	PROFESSION, TRADE, OR OCCUPATION.	PLACE OF BIRTH.	Married during the year.	RELIGION.	RESIDENCE, IF OUT OF LIMITS.	SEX.			Color or Complexion.	RESIDENTS.				Members of Family Abroad.	Persons over 90, who cannot read or write.	DEATHS IN 1860.				HOUSES.																	
						Males.	Females.	Married or Single.		Members of Family.	Not Members.	M.	F.			M.	F.	No.	Age and Cause of Death.	Brick, Stone, Frame, Log, etc.	No. of Stories.	No. of Families living in houses.	Vacant.	Being built.													
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36		
George Lette	Seaman	England		Ch. Eng.		33	1	m																													
Joseph Lette	Lab.	Scotland		Ch. Eng.		39	1	m																													
Thomas Lette	Lab.	Canada		Ch. Eng.		21	1	s																													
James Lette	Lab.	Canada		Ch. Eng.		20	1	s																													
Mary Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		18	1	f																													
George Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		17	1	s																													
James Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		14	1	s																													
James Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		12	1	s																													
William Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		9	1	s																													
Hugh Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		6	1	s																													
Andrew Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		2	1	s																													
Robert Lette		Canada		Ch. Eng.		2	1	s																													
William Bonshaw	Seaman	Canada		Catholic		52	1	m					5	6																							
Elizabeth Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		51	1	f																													
Baptist Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		12	1	f																													
Lawrence Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		13	1	s																													
Catharine Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		10	1	f																													
Victoria Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		8	1	f																													
Mary Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		5	1	f																													
Catharine Bonshaw		Canada		Catholic		62	2	f					1	2	5	1																					
Thomas Bonshaw	Seaman	Canada		Catholic		74	1	m																													
James Bonshaw	Lab.	Canada		Catholic		66	1	m																													
William Bonshaw	Lab.	Canada		Catholic		50	1	m																													
William Bonshaw	Lab.	Canada		Catholic		24	1	m																													
James Bonshaw	Lab.	Canada		Catholic		22	1	m																													
James Bonshaw	Lab.	Canada		Catholic		16	1	m																													
James Bonshaw	Lab.	Canada		Catholic		17	1	m																													
Ellen Griffin		Canada		Catholic		76	5	f					2	2	2	1	1																				
James Bonshaw	Seaman	Canada		Catholic		50	1	m																													
Elizabeth Laporte		Canada		Catholic		42	1	f																													
Ellen Laporte		Canada		Catholic		19	1	f																													
Calena Laporte		Canada		Catholic		16	1	f																													
Charles Laporte		Canada		Catholic		15	1	m																													
Elizabeth Laporte		Canada		Catholic		13	1	f																													
Catharine Laporte		Canada		Catholic		12	1	f																													
Mary Laporte		Canada		Catholic		12	1	f																													
Andrew Laporte		Canada		Catholic		11	1	m																													
Francis Laporte		Canada		Catholic		7	1	m																													
James Laporte		Canada		Catholic		6	1	m																													
Charles Laporte		Canada		Catholic		5	1	m																													
John Laporte		Canada		Catholic		4	1	m																													
John Laporte		Canada		Catholic		3	1	m																													
Andrew Laporte		Canada		Catholic		24	5	m																													
Robert Laporte	Seaman	Canada		Catholic		25	1	m					7	7	1																						
Charles Laporte		Canada		Catholic		23	1	m																													
Baptist Laporte		Canada		Catholic		5	1	m																													
James Laporte		Canada		Catholic		3	1	m																													
Charles Laporte		Canada		Catholic		1	3	m					3	2																							
Robert Laporte		Canada		Catholic		7	1	m																													
John Laporte		Canada		Catholic		7	1	m																													
Joseph Laporte		Canada		Catholic		25	1	m					1	1																							
Mary Laporte		Canada		Catholic		25	1	f																													
						25	25	1	1			20	23	3	2	2																					





*Joseph Pelissier immigrateur*

No.	NAME	SEX	AGE	Color of Hair	Color of Eyes	RELIGION	NATURALIZATION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	EDUCATION					Date of Immigration and Remarks					
									Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Other	None						
	Paul	M	12	1	2	Catholique	Francaise												
	Louise	F	5																
	Ella	F	4																
	Hydrophie	M	2																
	Oliver	F	12																
110	117	M: Donald Gray	M	30	1	2	Presb	Ecosaise	Cultivateur	M	1								
		Agnes	F	31															
		Donald	M	2															
		Jane	F	7															
111	114	Jackson R. Street	M	34	1	2	Presb	Ecosaise	Cultivateur	M	1								
112	117	Fannie	F	26															
		Koko Kachel	M	37	1	2	Anglais	Anglais	Cultivateur	M	1								
		Jane	F	40															
		Charlotte	F	16															
		Charles	M	14															
		James	M	12															
		Kachel	M	11															
		Sarah	F	9															
		Joseph	M	7															
		Lucas Rebecca	F	31															
		P. Jane	F	9															
113	117	Kramer John	M	33	1	2	Presb	Ecosaise	Cultivateur	M	1								
		Keller	F	27															
		Kramer Rodinir	M	24	1	2													

*Joseph Pelissier immigrateur*

No.	NAME	SEX	AGE	Color of Hair	Color of Eyes	RELIGION	NATURALIZATION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	EDUCATION					Date of Immigration and Remarks					
									Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Other	None						
114	117	M: Miller John	M	63	1	2	Presb	Ecosaise	Cultivateur	M	1								
		Margery	F	53															
		Hugh	M	24															
		John	M	22															
		Byngal	M	20															
		Dan	M	17															
		Mary	F	14															
		William	M	12															
		Jane	F	11															
115	127	Stoddart Alexander	M	29	1	2	Presb	Ecosaise	Cultivateur	M	1								
		Ann	F	22															
		John	M	15															
		Ross John	M	23	1	2													
116	127	James Alfred	M	25	1	2	Catholique	Francaise											
		Bridget	F	27															
		Catherine	F	25															
117	127	Jealton Jonite	M	39	1	2													
		Philomine	F	35															
		Melisa	F	14															
		Alida	F	13															
		Odias	M	11															
		Solomia	F	10															
		Fortuna	M	8															
		Ferdina	M	7															
		Alestine	M	5															

Numbered in the order of valuation.						Sex	Age	Born within last twelve months	Country or Province of Birth	Religion	Origin	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married or single	Married within last twelve months	Instruction			Education			Dates of Operations and Remarks	
Ward	Household	Family	Individual	Female	Male										Reading	Writing	Both	None	None	None		None
1				218	218	St. John	M	36	2	R Catholic	Irish	Farmer	M		1	1						
2						"	F	24	"	"	"		M		1	1						
3						"	M	14	"	"	"											
4						"	M	12	"	"	"				1							
5						"	F	9	"	"	"											
6						"	M	5	"	"	"											
7						"	F	4	"	"	"											
8						"	M	1	"	"	"											
9																						
10				219	219	Moorehead	M	32	Ordn.	C Presbyterian	Irish	Farmer	M		1	1						
11						"	F	29	2	C of England	"		M		1	1						
12						"	F	7	"	C of England	"											
13						"	M	5	"	"	"											
14						"	M	1 1/2	"	"	"											
15						"	M	10	"	"	"	Farmer	M									
16				220	220	Brown	M	36	Ireland	"	"		M									
17						"	F	40	"	"	"				1							
18						"	M	10	2	"	"											
19						"	F	7	"	"	"											
20						"	F	3	"	"	"											

*1st May 1871*  
*James Kennedy*  
*Enumerator*

*3rd class*  
*John*  
*Quasi this (25) has a frequent paper not filled up*

Numbered in the order of valuation.						Sex	Age	Born within last twelve months	Country or Province of Birth	Religion	Origin	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married or single	Married within last twelve months	Instruction			Education			Dates of Operations and Remarks	
Ward	Household	Family	Individual	Female	Male										Reading	Writing	Both	None	None	None		None
1				221	221	Packard	M	30	La.	R Catholic	Irish	Carpenter	M									
2						"	M	24	"	"	"	Labourer	M									
3						"	M	17	"	"	"											
4						"	M		"	"	"											
5						"	M		"	"	"	Farmer	M									
6				222	222	Bisimion	M	60	2	"	"											
7						"	F	23	"	"	"											
8						"	M	25	"	"	"											
9						"	M	21	"	"	"											
10				223	223	McGee	M	25	"	"	"	School Teacher	M									
11						"	M	25	"	"	"											
12				224	224	Patterson	M	18	0	W Methodist	Irish	School Makeup	M									
13						"	F		"	"	"											
14				225	225	Patterson	F	18	0	W Methodist	Irish	School Teacher	M									
15						"	M	17	0	W Methodist	Irish	Farmer	M									
16				226	226	Jacobs	M	47	England	"	"	Labourer	M									
17						"	F	52	"	"	"											
18						"	M	64	England	"	"											
19						"	M	8	"	"	"											
20				223	223	Jacobs	M	8	"	"	"											

*James Kennedy*  
*Enumerator*

*May 2nd at 3 O'Clock 1871 finished*

*James Kennedy*  
*Enumerator*

*per O.C. at 11 O'Clock 1871 at 2 O'Clock P.M.*  
*J.K.C.*

*3rd class*

*P. J. M. M. M.*

PERSONS OF THE SEXES OF THE FAMILIES						SEX	AGE	COUNTY OF BIRTH	RELIGION	COMPLEXION	PROBABLE OCCUPATION AT TIME	EDUCATION					DATE OF IMMIGRATION AND REMARKS		
TOTAL	MARRIED	SINGLE	UNMARRIED	WIDOWED	ILLITERATE							ABLE TO READ AND WRITE	ABLE TO READ	ABLE TO WRITE	ABLE TO READ AND WRITE				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
						<i>Sabourin</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>French</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Jan</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>101 103 St. Thomas</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Domestic</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>1</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>102 104 Thelma</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Domestic</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>103 105 Joseph</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Domestic</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>104 106 Charles</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Irish</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								

*20 April P. J. M. M. M.*

*P. J. M. M. M.*

PERSONS OF THE SEXES OF THE FAMILIES						SEX	AGE	COUNTY OF BIRTH	RELIGION	COMPLEXION	PROBABLE OCCUPATION AT TIME	EDUCATION					DATE OF IMMIGRATION AND REMARKS		
TOTAL	MARRIED	SINGLE	UNMARRIED	WIDOWED	ILLITERATE							ABLE TO READ AND WRITE	ABLE TO READ	ABLE TO WRITE	ABLE TO READ AND WRITE				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
						<i>105 107 Letcha</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>C. Methodist</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Blacksmith</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>C. Methodist</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>106 108 St. Jean</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>Oct</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>107 109 Susan</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Plasterer</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>English</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>108 110 Loughlan</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Thamesian</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Domestic</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								
						<i>Robertson</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Thamesian</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>109 111 N. Susan</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Blacksmith</i>	<i>16</i>						
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>C. Protestant</i>	<i>English</i>								
						<i>"</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>								

*33/21*



Province Quebec

District No. 176 Pontiac

S. District Clarendon No. 2

PAGE 56

SCHEDULE No. 1 - Nominal Return of the Living. Enumerated by me on the 17 day of May 1891.

TABLEAU No. 1 - Dénombrement des Vivants. Enuméré par moi ce jour de 17 May 1891.

PAGE 56

Residence at the Census or Vaccination.					NAMES.	Sex.	Age.	Married Widowed.	Religion at Birth or Present.	Country or Province of Birth.	French Canadian.	Place of Birth of Father.	Place of Birth of Mother.	RELIGION.	Profession, Occupation or Trade.	Employment.	Wage Earned.	Unemployed during past 12 months.	Employed more than 1 month during past 12 months.	Incomes.						
Yearly and Monthly.	Household.	From other sources.	From other sources.	From other sources.																Real.	Wages.	Profits.	Dividends.	Other.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
					10416																					
					Thomas Ellen	F	12	-	10	Quebec	-	Quebec	Ireland	-	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Elliot George	M	5	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Elliot Mary	F	41	16	10	-	-	-	-	-	Methodist	House kept	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Edouard	M	52	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	Church of England	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					John	M	21	-	8	-	-	Quebec	Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Thomas	M	34	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					William	M	28	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Letitia	F	17	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Edward	M	14	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Honorat	M	12	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Remy	M	7	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Joseph	M	65	10	-	Ireland	-	Ireland	Ireland	Protestant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Joseph	M	35	-	11	Quebec	-	Ireland	Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Daniel	M	30	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Thomas	M	34	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Mary	F	28	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Robert	M	32	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Michael	M	20	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					William	M	39	16	-	England	-	England	England	Church of England	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Mary E.	F	32	16	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Elizabeth	F	14	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Joseph	M	12	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Richard	M	6	-	8	Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
					Archie	M	4	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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Province Quebec

District No. 176

S. District Clarendon No. 2

PAGE 57

SCHEDULE No. 1 - Nominal Return of the Living. Enumerated by me on the 27 day of April 1891.

TABLEAU No. 1 - Dénombrement des Vivants. Enuméré par moi ce jour de 27 April 1891.

PAGE 57

Residence at the Census or Vaccination.					NAMES.	Sex.	Age.	Married Widowed.	Religion at Birth or Present.	Country or Province of Birth.	French Canadian.	Place of Birth of Father.	Place of Birth of Mother.	RELIGION.	Profession, Occupation or Trade.	Employment.	Wage Earned.	Unemployed during past 12 months.	Employed more than 1 month during past 12 months.	Incomes.					
Yearly and Monthly.	Household.	From other sources.	From other sources.	From other sources.																Real.	Wages.	Profits.	Dividends.	Other.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
					10041																				
					Longhen Mary	F	24	-	10	Quebec	-	Quebec	Quebec	Methodist	Engineer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Mary	F	24	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Joseph	M	17	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Maria	F	13	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Margie	F	9	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					John	M	70	10	11	W. Meth.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	Protestant	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Marion	F	45	10	-	Ontario	-	Ontario	Ontario	Protestant	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					William	M	36	-	8	Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Mary	F	24	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Charles	M	33	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Robert	M	22	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Elizabeth	F	20	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Elizabeth	F	18	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Elizabeth	F	16	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					William	M	19	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Martha	F	10	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Mary	F	5	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Katherine	M	4	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					John	M	53	16	-	-	-	Quebec	Quebec	Protestant	Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Margaret	F	48	16	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Mary	F	36	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					John	M	17	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Joseph	M	15	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Elizabeth	F	9	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					Elizabeth	F	6	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Noms dans l'ordre des visites.						Noms	Sexe	Age	Né dans les dix dernières années	Père ou Prédécesseur de naissance	Religion	Origine	Profession, occupation ou métier	Marié ou en voyage	Marié dans les dix dernières années	Instruction				Infirmité		Dates de l'émigration et Remarques	
Nat. et	Ch. de	Marié en	Marié en	Marié en	Pr. milles											Allé à l'école	Après l'école de 20 ans et plus	Après l'école de 15 à 20 ans	Après l'école de 10 à 15 ans	Après l'école de 5 à 10 ans	Après l'école de moins de 5 ans		Avant l'âge de 15 ans
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
						Blanche	F	6	-	2	Catholique	Française											
						Marie	F	3	-														
						Federic	M	2	Oct														
						Charles	F	24	-														
						114 H. H. H. H.	M	13	-					Somerset									
						Marie	F	34	-					Bookkeeper									15 H. Charest
						Thomas	M	7	-														
						Alphonse	F	49	-														
						Charles	M	6	-														
						Joseph	M	1	-														
						Barthélemy	F	20	-														
						115 Elie	M	29	-					Somerset									
						Marceline	F	30	-					Sculpteur									15 H. Charest
						Georgina	F	7	-														
						André	F	4	-														
						116 Junie	M	21	-														
						Colville	F	31	-					Commissaire									15 Compagnon
						Virginie	F	4	-														
						Joseph	M	2	-														
						Edmond	M	7	Apr														

Noms dans l'ordre des visites.						Noms	Sexe	Age	Né dans les dix dernières années	Père ou Prédécesseur de naissance	Religion	Origine	Profession, occupation ou métier	Marié ou en voyage	Marié dans les dix dernières années	Instruction				Infirmité		Dates de l'émigration et Remarques		
Nat. et	Ch. de	Marié en	Marié en	Marié en	Pr. milles											Allé à l'école	Après l'école de 20 ans et plus	Après l'école de 15 à 20 ans	Après l'école de 10 à 15 ans	Après l'école de 5 à 10 ans	Après l'école de moins de 5 ans		Avant l'âge de 15 ans	Après l'âge de 15 ans
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
						117 Smith	M	17	-	Anglais	E. Anglaise	Anglais	In case of the Army											
						George	F	35	-														17 H. Charest	
						George	M	3	-															
						Richard	M	1	-															
						118 Somerset	M	24	-															
						Alma	F	42	-														19 H. Charest	
						Joseph	M	13	-															
						Georgina	F	15	-															
						Clara	F	12	-															
						Clara	F	10	-															
						119 Superior	M	24	-															
						Alma	F	21	-														19 H. Charest	
						120 Marcel	M	58	-															
						Victoria	F	28	-														19 H. Charest	
						Victoria	M	13	-															
						Ferdinand	M	8	-															
						Coralie	F	72	Nov															
						121 Christin	M	36	-															
						Appie	F	38	-														21 H. Charest	
						Lucie	F	3	-															

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA MICROFILMED 1955

Fait conformément à l'Acte 10 & 11 Vict. chap. 49.

Recenseur.

RENSEIGNEMENTS RELATIFS AUX MOULINS, MANUFACTURES, Etc., MISE DE CAPITAL, FORCE MOTRICE, PRODUCTION, Etc.		OBSERVATIONS GENERALES PAR LE RECENSEUR.	
39.	40.	41.	
		<p>Sheet No 6</p> <p>Number of children brought forward from sheet 325 106</p> <p>Attending school 54</p> <p>Not in the school 18</p> <p>Attending school 122 63</p> <p>Correct to sheet 325</p>	

Sheet No 12

RECENSEMENT PERSONNEL, District de Recensement, No 12 de Litchfield 23

NOMS DES PERSONNES DANS LA MAISON.	PROFESSION, ETAT OU OCCUPATION.	LIEU DE NAISSANCE.	RELIGION.	RESIDENCE ET VIEUX NOMS DES LIMITES.	Age au jour anniversaire de naissance suivant.	SEXE.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7. 8.
				Litchfield		
1 John Selby	Laborer	Ireland	Roman Catholic	"	60	1
2 Hiram Cotton	Merchant	Canada	Presbyterian	"	44	1
3 Anne Barr	Housewife	Scotland	"	"	43	1
4 Alfred Cotton	"	Canada	"	"	15	1
5 James Barr	"	"	"	"	17	1
6 Margaret Barr	"	"	"	"	12	1
7 Thomas St Jean	C. Carver	"	Roman Catholic	"	72	1
8 Anthony Amundson	Laborer	Ireland	"	"	44	1
9 Moses Roberts	"	Canada	"	"	17	1
10 Margaret Young	"	Ireland	"	"	31	1
11 John St John	Laborer	Scotland	Presbyterian	"	35	1
12 Mary St John	"	"	"	"	61	1
13 Samuel St John	"	"	"	"	25	1
14 James St John	"	"	"	"	24	1
15 Pauline Miller	"	"	"	"	5	1
16 John St John	"	Canada	"	"	4	1
17 Mary St John	"	"	"	"	2	1
18 Peter St John	"	"	"	"	21	1
19 Emily Miller	Servant	Ireland	Roman Catholic	"	43	1
20 Annametta St John	Laborer	Scotland	Presbyterian	"	33	1
21 Charity St John	"	"	"	"	17	1
22 Catherine St John	Housewife	Canada	"	"	15	1
23 Mary St John	"	"	"	"	14	1
24 John St John	"	"	"	"	13	1
25 Margaret St John	"	"	"	"	11	1
26 William St John	"	"	"	"	9	1
27 Annametta St John	"	"	"	"	5	1
28 Henry St John	"	"	"	"	6	1
29 Ann St John	"	"	"	"	4	1
30 Samuel St John	"	"	"	"	2	1
31 Sarah St John	"	"	"	"	2	1
32 James Amundson	"	Scotland	"	"	35	1
33 John Miller	"	"	"	"	21	1
34 John St John	Laborer	Ireland	Roman Catholic	"	40	1
35 Margaret St John	"	Canada	"	"	16	1
36 John St John	"	"	"	"	15	1
37 Antoinette St John	"	"	"	"	13	1
38 John St John	"	"	"	"	11	1
39 Mary St John	"	"	"	"	9	1
40 James St John	"	"	"	"	8	1
41 Bridget St John	"	"	"	"	8	1
42 Mary Jones	"	Ireland	"	"	18	1
43 James Jones	"	"	"	"	22	1
44 Gabriel St John	Shoemaker	Scotland	Presbyterian	"	65	1
45 John St John	Laborer	"	"	"	35	1
46 James St John	"	Canada	"	"	7	1
47 John St John	Laborer	Ireland	English Method	"	35	1
48 Agnes St John	"	Canada	Presbyterian	"	17	1
49 John St John	"	"	Roman Catholic	"	58	1
50 Margaret St John	"	Ireland	Church of England	"	50	1
51 Sarah St John	"	"	"	"	1	1
52 Mary Ann St John	"	"	"	"	1	1

RECENSEMENT - CANADA EST 1851 CANADA EAST CENSUS

PERSONS IN THE CLASS OF YOUTH.						NAME	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth	Country of Birth	RELIGION	SCHOOL	Profession, Occupation or Trade	EDUCATION				Date of Operation and Remarks		
Years	Months	Days	Hours	Minutes	Seconds									Years	Months	Days	Hours		Minutes	Seconds
						57 52	Minor	Trudeau	M	2		R	Catholique	Francaise						
						38 53	Braham	Robert	M	45		R	Methodiste	Irlandaise	Wood	Trudeau				
								Lesbours	F	43										
								Chiboloth	F	22		R								
								Kate	F	20										
								Bertha	F	18										
								Francis	M	17				Communi						
								Eva	F	15										
								Ida	F	13										
						39 54	Foranell	Josephine	M	48			Catholique	Francaise	Marchand					
								Victoria	F	38										
								Malina	F	15										
								Mania	F	8										
								George	M	11										
								Marion	M	9										
								St. Eugene	F	41										
						40 55	Dezer	Emile	M	33			Albano	Protestant	Albano	Communi				
								Dea	F	25			R	Catholique	Francaise					
						41 56	Beaudry	J. Napoleon	M	47						Comptable				
								J. Arthur	M	18						Communi				
								E. Emile	M	16										
								Albert	F	24										
								Rosa	F	14										
								Flora	F	12										
								Augustine	F	10										

PERSONS IN THE CLASS OF YOUTH.						NAME	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth	Country of Birth	RELIGION	SCHOOL	Profession, Occupation or Trade	EDUCATION				Date of Operation and Remarks		
Years	Months	Days	Hours	Minutes	Seconds									Years	Months	Days	Hours		Minutes	Seconds
						41 56	Beaudry	Auguste J	M	8		R	Catholique	Francaise						
								Helene	F	25										
						42 57	Form	John	M	55		R	Methodiste	Irlandaise						
								Mary Jane	F	32		R		Anglaise						
								John	M	25		R			Communi					
								William	M	23					Etudiant					
								Josephine	F	16					Communi					
								George	M	14										
								Ida	F	11										
								Isabelle	F	9										
						43 58	St Jean	Thomas	M	56			Catholique	Francaise	Comptable					
								Maximilien	F	43										
								Stephane	F	18										
								Thomas	M	17										
								Jacques	M	14										
								Paul	M	12										
								Richard	M	8										
								Blandine	F	5										
								Allestine	F	3										
						44 59	Gusson	Marion	M	39					Procteur					
								Louise	F	43										
								Edmond	M	14					Communi					
								Palmyre	F	17										
								Rebelle	M	15										

CENSUS OF CANADA, 1891.

RECENSEMENT DU CANADA, 1891.

Province *Quebec*

District No. *172*

S. District *13*

PAGE *11*

SCHEDULE No. 1.-Nominal Return of the Living. Enumerated by me on the day of *12* 1891.

PAGE *11*

TABLEAU No. 1.-Dénombrement des Vivants. Enumérés par moi ce jour de *12* 1891.

Enumerator. *H. Deschamps*

RESIDENCE AT THE TIME OF ENUMERATION					PERSONAL PARTICULARS																				
Yearly Residence	Place of Birth	Place of Birth of Father	Place of Birth of Mother	Place of Birth of Grandfather	NAME	Sex	Age	Married	Single	Country or Province of Birth	French Canadian	Place of Birth of Father	Place of Birth of Mother	RELIGION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Employment	Year Commenced	Completed Course of Education	Employed in other occupation or trade	Intermarriage	Spouse	Wife	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
					<i>JAMES.</i>																				
					<i>JOHN.</i>																				
1					<i>Marie</i>	F.	2.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Gardener</i>										
2					<i>John</i>	M.	53.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Imp. on the</i>										
3					<i>Becca</i>	F.	50.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
4					<i>John</i>	M.	20.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
5					<i>Becca</i>	F.	19.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
6					<i>Elena</i>	F.	15.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
7					<i>Antoine</i>	M.	48.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
8					<i>Marie</i>	F.	38.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
9					<i>Antoine</i>	M.	16.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
10					<i>Antoine</i>	M.	14.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
11					<i>Arthur</i>	M.	1.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
12					<i>Kulland</i>	M.	26.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Commis</i>										
13					<i>Marie</i>	F.	26.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
14					<i>Marie</i>	F.	4.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
15					<i>Marie-Louise</i>	F.	12.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
16					<i>Joseph</i>	M.	17.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
17					<i>Jean Thomas</i>	M.	62.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
18					<i>Elena</i>	F.	50.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
19					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	26.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
20					<i>Joseph</i>	M.	24.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
21					<i>Paul</i>	M.	22.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
22					<i>Adelmar</i>	M.	14.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
23					<i>Albertain</i>	M.	11.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
24					<i>Arthur</i>	M.	37.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
25					<i>Emile</i>	M.	30.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										

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CENSUS OF CANADA, 1891.

RECENSEMENT DU CANADA, 1891.

Province *Quebec*

District No. *172*

S. District *13*

PAGE *12*

SCHEDULE No. 1.-Nominal Return of the Living. Enumerated by me on the day of *12* 1891.

PAGE *12*

TABLEAU No. 1.-Dénombrement des Vivants. Enumérés par moi ce jour de *12* 1891.

Enumerator. *H. Deschamps*

RESIDENCE AT THE TIME OF ENUMERATION					PERSONAL PARTICULARS																				
Yearly Residence	Place of Birth	Place of Birth of Father	Place of Birth of Mother	Place of Birth of Grandfather	NAME	Sex	Age	Married	Single	Country or Province of Birth	French Canadian	Place of Birth of Father	Place of Birth of Mother	RELIGION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Employment	Year Commenced	Completed Course of Education	Employed in other occupation or trade	Intermarriage	Spouse	Wife	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
					<i>JAMES.</i>																				
					<i>JOHN.</i>																				
1					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	2.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
2					<i>Joseph</i>	M.	7.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
3					<i>Albertain</i>	M.	3.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
4					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	35.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
5					<i>Elena</i>	F.	41.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
6					<i>Anna</i>	F.	14.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
7					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	14.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
8					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	14.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
9					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
10					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
11					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
12					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
13					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
14					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
15					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
16					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
17					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
18					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
19					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
20					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
21					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
22					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
23					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
24					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										
25					<i>Josephine</i>	F.	47.							<i>C. R.</i>	<i>Protestant</i>										

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FIFTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1911.

SCHEDULE No. 1. POPULATION BY NAME, PERSONAL DESCRIPTION, ETC. TABLEAU No. 1. POPULATION NOM, RENSEIGNEMENTS PERSONNELS, ETC.

CINQUIEME DU CA

Province: Quebec District No: 181 St Jacques S. District No: 13 Enumeration District (District du recensement) No: 10 (in) St Jacques Montreal

(City, town, village, township or parish.) (Cité, ville, village, canton ou paroisse.)

PERSONS AND PERSONAL DESCRIPTIONS										CITIZENSHIP, NATIONALITY AND RELIGION					INDUSTRY, OCCUPATION, TRADE OR MEANS OF LIVING					WAGE EARNERS					INSURANCE HELD AT DATE					SCHEDULED AND UNEMPLOYED AT DATE									
RESIDENCE BY RENSEIGNEMENTS PERSONNELS										CITIZENNETE, NATIONALITE ET RELIGION					INDUSTRIE, OCCUPATION, COMMERCE OU MOYEN DE VIE					RENTIERS					ASSURANCE EN FORCE A LA DATE					RENTES ET SALAIRES EN ATTENTE A LA DATE									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12																												





Census of 1871.

Schedule No. 1--Nominal Return of the Living.

W. Bellfleur, Enumerator

Census of 1871.

Names in the order of visitation.						Sex	Age	Born within last twelve months	Country or Province of Birth	Religion	Origin	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married or widowed	Married within last twelve months	Education			Infirmities			Dates of Operations and Remarks		
Yves	Blanch	Drilling horses in occupation										Can read	Can write	Can speak	Deaf	Blind	Insane						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
						37	M	1	X	O	England	Irish											
						87	F	25		O	" ditto	" ditto					1	1					
						38	M	54		D	R. Catholic	French	Farmer	M									
							F	43		D	" ditto	French		M									
							M	19		D	" ditto	" ditto		M									
							M	17		D	" ditto	" ditto											
							M	14		D	" ditto	" ditto											
							M	12		D	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	9		D	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	7		D	" ditto	" ditto											
							M	6		D	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	4		D	" ditto	" ditto											
						38	M	3		D	" ditto	" ditto											
						39	M	17		Ireland	" ditto	Irish	Farmer	M									
							F	47		O	" ditto	" ditto		M									
							M	17		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	13		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	11		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							M	10		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	4		O	" ditto	" ditto											

Census of 1871.

Schedule No. 1--Nominal Return of the Living.

W. Bellfleur, Enumerator

Census of 1871.

Names in the order of visitation.						Sex	Age	Born within last twelve months	Country or Province of Birth	Religion	Origin	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married or widowed	Married within last twelve months	Education			Infirmities			Dates of Operations and Remarks		
Yves	Blanch	Drilling horses in occupation										Can read	Can write	Can speak	Deaf	Blind	Insane						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
						59	M	65		Ireland	R. Catholic	Irish	Farmer	M									
						40	M	65		Ireland	" ditto	" ditto											
						40	M	60		Ireland	" ditto	" ditto											
						41	M	35		England	" ditto	English					1	1					
							M	35		O	" ditto	Irish					1	X	X				
							F	11		O	" ditto	" ditto											
						42	M	27		O	" ditto	Irish	Farmer										
							F	26		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							M	26		D	" ditto	" ditto	Labourer										
						43	M	41		D	" ditto	" ditto	Farmer	M									
							F	37		O	" ditto	" ditto					1	1					
							M	14		O	" ditto	" ditto					1	X					
							F	12		O	" ditto	" ditto					1						
							M	10		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	8		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							M	4		O	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	1	X	O	" ditto	" ditto											
							F	16		O	" ditto	" ditto	Servant										
							M	21		Germany	Lutheran	Labourer					1	1					
							M	35		D	R. Catholic	Irish	Labourer										

W. Bellfleur, Enumerator

19

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CENSUS 1881-RECENSEMENT.

Journal N. Brannan, Enumerateur.

RECENSEMENT 1881-CENSUS.

Province of Ontario

District No. 14 North Renfrew

S. District 5 Township Petawawa & McKay

PAGE 20

SCHEDULE No. 1 - Nominal Return of the Living.  
TABLEAU No. 1 - Dénombrement des Vivants.

PAGE 20

NOMENCLATURE DE SEX CHANGES DE VIGITATION						NAMES	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth (Month & Day)	Country of Birth (or Province)	RELIGION	SEXES	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married (Yes/No)	Single (Yes/No)	Widow (Yes/No)	Blind (Yes/No)	Deaf (Yes/No)	Mental (Yes/No)	Date of Immigration (or Date of Birth)						
Female	Male	Female	Male	Female																						
						1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
						1																				
						2																				
						3																				
						4																				
						5																				
						6																				
						7																				
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						22																				
						23																				
						24																				
						25																				

CENSUS 1881-RECENSEMENT.

Journal N. Brannan, Enumerateur.

RECENSEMENT 1881-CENSUS.

Province of Ontario

District No. 14 North Renfrew

S. District 5 Township Petawawa & McKay

PAGE 21

SCHEDULE No. 1 - Nominal Return of the Living.  
TABLEAU No. 1 - Dénombrement des Vivants.

PAGE 21

NOMENCLATURE DE SEX CHANGES DE VIGITATION						NAMES	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth (Month & Day)	Country of Birth (or Province)	RELIGION	SEXES	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married (Yes/No)	Single (Yes/No)	Widow (Yes/No)	Blind (Yes/No)	Deaf (Yes/No)	Mental (Yes/No)	Date of Immigration (or Date of Birth)							
Female	Male	Female	Male	Female																							
						1																					
						2																					
						3																					
						4																					
						5																					
						6																					
						7																					
						8																					
						9																					
						10																					
						11																					
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						24																					
						25																					

SCHEDULE TABLEAU No. 1. POPULATION.

Province Ontario

District No. 110 Renfrew North

S. District No. 36

Polling sub-division (Subdivision de votation) No. 1

in dans Petawawa Township

(City, town, village, township or parish) (Ville, ville, village, paroisse ou paroisse.)

Sexual Return of Living Persons by Dénombrement des Vivants par

Alexander Rankin

Enumeration

April 15 1901

Page 7

Table with columns for Personal Description, Citizenship, Nationality and Religion, Principal Profession or Trade, and Education and Language of each person. Includes names like Thérèse Allard, Marie Allard, etc.







*P. J. Mullon*

TITRES DE LA FAMILLE DE L'INDIVIDU.						NOM.	SEX.	AGE.	The date of the birth of the individual.	Country or Province of Birth.	RELIGION.	OCCUPATION.	Profession, occupation or trade.	Married or Widowed.	EDUCATION.				Date of Operation and Remarks.
Parents.	Grandparents.	Other Ancestors.	Other Relatives.	Other.	Reading.										Writing.	Other.	Other.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
						<i>Levesque Joseph</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Bolanger Joseph</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Dubois</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Levesque Thomas</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Eliza</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Joseph</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Eliza</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Stephen</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Lucy</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Lucie</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Thomas</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Presne</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Selene</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Delphine</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary Jane</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Margaret</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Lucie</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Jane</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Alphons</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							<i>April 25<sup>th</sup> of birth</i>
						<i>Levesque James</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Levesque Joseph</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Elizabeth</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Carrollton</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>James</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>William</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							

*P. J. Mullon*

TITRES DE LA FAMILLE DE L'INDIVIDU.						NOM.	SEX.	AGE.	The date of the birth of the individual.	Country or Province of Birth.	RELIGION.	OCCUPATION.	Profession, occupation or trade.	Married or Widowed.	EDUCATION.				Date of Operation and Remarks.
Parents.	Grandparents.	Other Ancestors.	Other Relatives.	Other.	Reading.										Writing.	Other.	Other.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
						<i>Levesque Richard</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Levesque Thomas</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Thomas William</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Margaret Ann</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Deloy</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Hamilton</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Ann</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Margaret Jane</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Levesque Thomas</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Ann</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Catharine</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Michael</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Margaret</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Edward</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Thomas</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Bradford</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Levesque Thomas</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Josette</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary Joseph</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							
						<i>Mary</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Farmer</i>							





FIFTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1911

SCHEDULE TABLEAU No. 1 POPULATION BY NAME, PERSONAL DESCRIPTION, ETC.

Dist. 185 Anu 19

CINQUIÈME DU CEN

Province: *Quebec*

District No. *185 Pontiac*

R. District No. *10*

Enumeration District / District de recensement No. *3*

[in] *Litchfield township*

(City, town, village, township or parish) / (Cité, ville, village, canton ou paroisse.)

Nominal return of living persons by / Dénombrement des vivants par

Enumerator / Recensement

Table with 35 columns: 1-10 (RESIDENCE AND PERSONAL DESCRIPTION), 11-15 (CITIZENSHIP, NATIONALITY AND RELIGION), 16-21 (OCCUPATION, EMPLOYMENT, TRADE OR MEANS OF LIFE), 22-29 (WAGE EARNERS), 30-32 (INSURANCE HELD AT DATE), 33-35 (LANDS AND LANDS OF OTHERS). Rows list individuals like 'Kinsley Bani', 'Vadamez Alphonse', 'O'Brien Richard' with their personal and economic details.

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Province of *Quebec*

District No. *50* *Arbitaire 101*

S. District *Arbitaire 101*

PAGE *115*

SCHEDULE No. 1-Nominal Return of the Living.  
TABLEAU No. 1-Dénombrement des Vivants.

PAGE *114*

CHARGES BY THE OFFICE OF VITALS						NAMES	SEX	AGE	MARRIAGE	COUNTY OR PROVINCE OF BIRTH	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	PROFESSION, OCCUPATION OR TRADE	EDUCATION				DATE OF DEPARTURE AND DESTINATION	
Married	Single	Widow	Orphan	Pauper	None									None	None	None	None		None
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
						<i>583</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>55</i>		<i>Arbitaire 101</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Traveller</i>	<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Caroline</i>	<i>18</i>											
							<i>Orman</i>	<i>18</i>											
							<i>Wood</i>	<i>18</i>											
							<i>Schibald</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Belin</i>	<i>9</i>											
							<i>Wilbluma</i>	<i>1</i>											
							<i>Jeffrid</i>	<i>2</i>											
						<i>584</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>36</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Bongamou</i>												
							<i>Leblin</i>	<i>31</i>											
						<i>585</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>43</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Chapman</i>												
							<i>Blanc</i>	<i>39</i>											
							<i>Marie Louis</i>	<i>15</i>											
							<i>Belleguon</i>	<i>2</i>											
						<i>586</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>38</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Dean</i>												
							<i>Marie Julie</i>	<i>32</i>											
							<i>Marie Jean</i>	<i>14</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>12</i>											
							<i>Mathie</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Joseph</i>	<i>2</i>											
							<i>Bernadette</i>	<i>1</i>											
						<i>587</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>66</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Hard</i>												
							<i>Marcelin</i>	<i>51</i>											
							<i>Dean</i>	<i>51</i>											
						<i>588</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>44</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Lejay</i>												

Province of *Quebec*

District No. *50* *Arbitaire 101*

S. District *Arbitaire 101*

PAGE *115*

SCHEDULE No. 1-Nominal Return of the Living.  
TABLEAU No. 1-Dénombrement des Vivants.

PAGE *115*

CHARGES BY THE OFFICE OF VITALS						NAMES	SEX	AGE	MARRIAGE	COUNTY OR PROVINCE OF BIRTH	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	PROFESSION, OCCUPATION OR TRADE	EDUCATION				DATE OF DEPARTURE AND DESTINATION	
Married	Single	Widow	Orphan	Pauper	None									None	None	None	None		None
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
							<i>Joseph</i>	<i>36</i>		<i>Arbitaire 101</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Traveller</i>							
							<i>Alba</i>	<i>21</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>1</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>3</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>2</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>2</i>											
						<i>589</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>43</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Leval</i>												
							<i>Joseph</i>	<i>41</i>											
							<i>Joseph</i>	<i>18</i>											
							<i>Joseph</i>	<i>12</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>11</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>11</i>											
						<i>590</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>45</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>												
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>41</i>											
						<i>591</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>35</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Alphonse</i>												
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>18</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>5</i>											
							<i>Alphonse</i>	<i>23</i>											
						<i>592</i>	<i>Mr</i>	<i>36</i>					<i>Notaire</i>						
							<i>Alphonse</i>												

PERSONS IN THE HOUSE OF VISITATION.						NAME	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth	Country or Province of Birth	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married	EDUCATION				Date of Operation and Remarks	
French	English	Other	None	Partial	Reading										Writing	Arithmetic	Other			
PERSONS IN THE HOUSE OF VISITATION.						NAME	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth	Country or Province of Birth	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married	EDUCATION				Date of Operation and Remarks	
French	English	Other	None	Partial	Reading										Writing	Arithmetic	Other			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
						Grant, Saml	M	1	1											
						Wanderant, Jhn	M	43		2	Methodist	Seaman	Farmer							12.5.18. 64/2/1881
						" Matilda	F	41		"	"	"	"							
						" Jhn Amory	M	20		"	"	"	"							
						" Jhn C	M	17		"	"	"	"							
						" Robert	M	15		"	"	"	"							
						" Mary E	F	13		"	"	"	"							
						" Matilda	F	10		"	"	"	"							
						" Ditty Ann	F	8		"	"	"	"							
						" George W	M	4		"	"	"	"							
						" Saml B	M	2		"	"	"	"							
						Messier, Joseph	M	31					Farmer							
						" Elias J	F	23					"							
						" Catharine A	F	31					"							
						" Mary Ann	F	7					"							
						Jenny, William	M	66		Ireland	C. England									
						" Elsa Ann	F	58		2										
						" Ed. Mary A	F	25		"	"									
						" Samuel	M	23		"	"									
						" Robert	M	21		"	"									
						" Sarah, Jan	F	19		"	"									
						" Mary	F	17		"	"									
						Paterson, Alex	M	11												
						Carlier, James	M	40		Ireland	"		Farmer							
						" Mary Ann	F	70					"							

PERSONS IN THE HOUSE OF VISITATION.						NAME	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth	Country or Province of Birth	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married	EDUCATION				Date of Operation and Remarks	
French	English	Other	None	Partial	Reading										Writing	Arithmetic	Other			
PERSONS IN THE HOUSE OF VISITATION.						NAME	SEX	AGE	Date of Birth	Country or Province of Birth	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	Profession, Occupation or Trade	Married	EDUCATION				Date of Operation and Remarks	
French	English	Other	None	Partial	Reading										Writing	Arithmetic	Other			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
						Carlier, Catharine	F	28		"	"									
						" Ann	F	30		"	"									
						" Harry	M	5		"	"									
						" John P	M	12		2										
						Wells, Mary Ann	F	17		"	"									
						Carlier, Charles	M	38				Teacher	Farmer							
						Roby, Joseph	M	35		"	Catholic	Seaman	Farmer							
						" John	M	30		"	"	"	"							
						" John	M	29		"	"	"	"							
						" Joseph	M	13		"	"	"	"							
						" Alexander	M	11		"	"	"	"							
						" Daniel	M	8		"	"	"	"							
						" Bridget	F	6		"	"	"	"							
						" Mary Ann	F	5		"	"	"	"							
						" Emma	F	4		"	"	"	"							
						" Mary	F	1		"	"	"	"							
						St Jean, Myriam	F	35		2			Farmer							
						" May	F	30		"			"							
						" Marime	M	19		"			"							
						" Mary	F	17		"			"							
						" Sophia	F	13		"			"							
						" Jean	M	7		"			"							
						" Joseph	M	4		"			"							
						" Alexander	M	1		"			"							

FORM 1.

SIXTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1921.

DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS—BUREAU FÉDÉRAL DE LA STATISTIQUE.

SIXIÈME RECENSEMENT DU CANADA, 1921.

# POPULATION.

"B"

Province Ontario District No. 120 Enumeration Sub-District Arnprior No. 26 in Arnprior (City, town, village, township or parish). (Cité, ville, village, canton ou paroisse).

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Enumerated by Heta Kowals

Enumerator Heta Kowals

Page 20

No.	NAME AND RESIDENCE	PLACE OF BIRTH	SEX AND CLASS OF BIRTH	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION	NATIVITY	CITIZENSHIP	RACE, LANGUAGE AND RELIGION				EDUCATION	PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT																						
							11	12	13	14																								
1	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
2	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
3	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
4	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
5	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
6	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
7	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
8	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
9	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
10	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
11	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
12	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
13	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
14	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
15	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
16	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
17	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
18	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
19	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
20	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
21	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
22	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
23	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
24	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
25	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
26	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
27	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
28	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
29	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
30	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
31	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
32	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
33	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
34	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
35	Walter Evans	Arnprior, Ontario	M	single 4 m 20	Can	Can	White	English	Anglican	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35

FIFTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1911.

SCHEDULE No. 1. POPULATION BY NAME, PERSONAL DESCRIPTION, ETC. TABLEAU No. 1. POPULATION - NOM, RENSEIGNEMENTS PERSONNELS, ETC.

Dist. 185  
Mou. 12

CINQUIÈME DU CAN

Province Quebec District No. 185 Pontiac & District No. 7 Enumeration District (District du recensement) No. 7 (in data) Clarendon township (City, town, village, township or parish. (Cité, ville, village, canton ou paroisse.)

Sexual status of living persons by (Statut matrimonial des vivants par) Married (Mariage) Enumerator (Recenseur).

Table with columns for name, sex, age, birthplace, nationality, religion, profession, and insurance. Includes handwritten entries and a red box highlighting a section of the table.

Province: *Quebec*

District No: *180 Pontiac*

S. District No: *7*

Parish or other division: *St. Louis*

Township: *Clarendon Township*

Page: *10*

Page 10

Serial Return of Living Persons by Enumeration des Vivants par

Enumeration

Line Entry	Numbered to the order of Visitation		Personal Description								Citizenship, Nationality and Religion					Principal Profession or Trade					Wages Earned					Education and Length of time in person					Inferiorities						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34			
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## Pioneer Portrait

On 2 June 1807 another daughter was born to Michel Jammé dit Carrière and his wife Geneviève Falmard dite Wane of St-Eustache near Montréal. The child was the eighth of eleven which would eventually fill the Carrière household and was named Marie Sophie. Sophie's father died when she was eleven and her mother remarried to Guillaume Richer dit Louveteau, a widower with ten children of his own. It was a familiar pattern of life—marriage, childbirth, early death and remarriage—played out in Québec since Sophie's great-grandfather had arrived from France in the 1680s and a pattern that Sophie's own life was to closely parallel.

Sophie Carrière married on 20 August 1827 in St-Eustache to Thomas Lagarde dit St-Jean. They spent the first several years of their marriage farming in St-Eustache but in 1843-44 they were attracted by the large grants of land becoming available as the upper Ottawa Valley opened up. They were settled in Litchfield Township in Pontiac County by 1845 when the baptism of their son was recorded in the registers of Notre Dame parish in Ottawa.

Like her mother, Sophie gave birth to at least eleven children—Marie Sophie (b. 1829, died aged 9 months), Jules (b. 1830), another Sophie (b. 1832), Jean Baptiste (b. 1834), Marie Louise (b. 1835), Paul (b. 1837), Dolphin (b. 1838), Théotime (b. 1839), Exeluce (b. 1840), Alphonse (b. 1842), and Joseph (b. 1845). Also like her mother, Sophie was widowed sometime after 1851. No record has been found of the death or burial of Thomas St-Jean.

The widow St-Jean remarried on 22 May 1861 at St-Anne's church on Ile du Grand Calumet to Antoine Barbeau. His first wife Marie Marguerite Lauzon had been a first cousin of Thomas St-Jean and had left him with eight children. The St-Jean-Barbeau household was very large and Sophie was left to deal with it alone when Antoine died in 1870. He was buried in Portage du Fort with his first wife.

The widow Barbeau, still known as the widow St-Jean, lived on to age 69. Her main concerns in life were her children, her work and her religion and when she died following church services on 23 April 1886 the Pontiac Advance of that week recorded her unexpected demise.

Mrs. St. Jean, of Litchfield, an aged woman of about 70, was drowned at Calumet village, on Friday night last, whither she had gone to attend church on Good Friday. Having left church after prayers, about half past eight o'clock, she walked in the direction of Mr. Richard's house, a short distance below, when it would appear that in doing so, owing to the darkness she went too close to the river bank, which had been undermined by the action of the present high water, when it fell in, precipitating her into the river in about fifteen feet of water. A fruitless search was made for her through the village later on in the night, but, the following morning a young lad directed the attention of the people to where the bank was particularly dangerous; when her body was discovered on the surface, stuck against a tree a few feet below, where the bank had caved in.

[This article also appeared in the Pembroke Observer 30 April 1886, p.1]

The waters of the Ottawa River had led and sustained many of Sophie's pioneer predecessors up the Ottawa Valley and claimed more than its share of lives in tribute. It was a tragic but all too prevalent end to a faithful Valley pioneer wife and mother.

ARCHIVES PONTIAC AD 1886

91-74

Campbell's Day  
JUN 190

## **“This Remote Field of Missionary Toil”: Christianity at the Pic, Lake Superior to 1900**

PETER KRATS

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“Indian demonology,” wrote the Rev. Thomas Hurlburt in 1840, has a “strong hold on their [Indian] feelings.”<sup>1</sup> He and his fellow proselytizers worked long and hard to introduce Christianity to the peoples of the Superior North Shore. Such “Christian assistance” proved in its own way as disruptive an influence as the resource seekers and officials drawn to the real and imagined riches of that rugged land. Indeed, clerics all along the North Shore, however well meaning, were prime contributors to change, for they were among the most vigorous of the new arrivals. Even as they decried the “evils” of the fur trade, missionaries like those at the Pic failed to perceive that they were attacking the very tenets of Indian life.<sup>2</sup> Thus their “successes” reshaped the North Shore Indian culture just as surely as secular forces.

### ***Beginnings***

The missionary presence on the North Shore rivalled the fur trade for longevity for the first missionaries to work among the North Shore Indians, though few in number, were indefatigable. In 1636 Father J.A. Poncet established the Mission du Saint Esprit at the site that 32 years later was renamed Saint-Marie-du-Sault. That Mission served as a base for work along the northern coast of Lake Huron until at least 1696. Progress over the great expanse of Superior was slow, notwithstanding Father Claude Allouez’s journey to Lake Nipigon in 1667. The North Shore effort

***Historical Papers 1996: Canadian Society of Church History***

declined with Cadillac’s emphasis on Detroit and Michilimackinac: a nominal “mission among the Outaouais” persisted until at least 1756, but the North Shore effort was “silent” from about 1704.<sup>3</sup>

British control and the ensuing withdrawal of the Jesuits left the northern Great Lakes with little Christian missionary work apart from the occasional visit to Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie by Roman Catholic priests working within the (later) Diocese of Detroit.<sup>4</sup> More specific North Shore work resumed about 1818 when Bishop J. Octave Plessis directed two priests, Fathers Pierre-Antoine Tabeau and Joseph Grevier, to undertake missionary activity on the Upper Lakes. Missionaries intent on travelling farther west provided brief services during their lake shore travels. Bishop Joseph Nibert Provencher, for instance, journeyed along the North Shore in 1822; he wrote to Bishop Joseph O. Plessis of having

baptized seventy-seven children en route . . . Twenty-three at Drummond Island, forty-one at the Sault, twelve at Fort William, and one at the Pic. It is very necessary that a priest should be sent to the Sault, Drummond Island, and Michilimackinac. Instruction is needed there, which one who is merely passing by is never able to give. The Americans are going to build a fort at the Sault, which will attract many people. I suppose that you can authorize a priest for both sides [of the river] . . . It is necessary to have a Canadian; a priest speaking both French and English would be better still.<sup>5</sup>

Provencher’s hopes were partially realized for the extension of Detroit-based Catholic work won a permanent, if thin, presence on the North Shore. Re-established Roman Catholic endeavour at Sault Ste. Marie (1834) provided an operational base for Father (later Bishop) Frederic Baraga. Further west, Father Franz Pierz, travelling Roman Catholic missionary at the Grand Portage Mission, began providing services for the Indians of the North Shore.

In June, 1838, he [Pierz] started out on a missionary trip . . . After instructing and baptizing twenty-five natives [Michipicoten], he travelled to Okwanikisinong, a large pagan settlement forty-five miles farther north. Here a group of seventeen received Christianity and were baptized on the picturesque shore of the lake.

By 1839 Pierz had established mission substations at Fort William and the

Pic.<sup>6</sup>

Roman Catholic “successes” spurred Protestant missionary work on the North Shore. Inspired by a spirit of evangelism in Great Britain, both the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodists moved to provide “spiritual assistance” to the Indian populations of the Great Lakes. Of course, such “assistance” was directed against traditional native values and the especially the “men of medicine . . . practitioners [who the missionaries complained] make a great mystery of their decoctions and when administering them, conceal them with the greatest care.” The various pressures of European contact saw traditional modes “much neglected” as the missionary effort worked toward Fort William and points beyond.<sup>7</sup>

### *Methodism Ascendant*

First in line stood the Methodists who were already working among the Indian populations farther south. In 1838 James Evans (1801-1846), Thomas Hurlburt (1808-1873), and the Native catechist Peter Jacobs [Pah-tahsega] (c.1807-1890) were appointed to missionary work about Lake Superior.<sup>8</sup> Arriving at Sault Ste. Marie in early August 1838, they journeyed on to Michipicoten where the immensity of their task and the relative lateness of their arrival – fall was at hand – surely compounded personal tensions between Evans and Hurlburt.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, they set about their work: Evans took up a post at Michipicoten while Hurlburt, on 23 October 1838, continued west to Fort William stopping briefly at the Pic.<sup>10</sup>

Vast distances and a formidable environment were challenge enough; but the Methodists also faced rival clerics. The Baptist James Cameron was working Michipicoten and Pic:

The Rev. Mr. Cameron, nephew of the late secretary, is about 45 miles from this place on the N.E. He is under the direction of the American Baptist Missionary Society; he is connected with the Indians of these parts by ties of blood, his uncle being regarded as the head man of this region. He is connected with them also by marriage, having taken a pure native woman. He speaks the Indian well, and his influence among the Indians is great.

Cameron, apparently son of trader Dougald Cameron, was at Black Bay during the winter of 1839-40 and at Fort William during May and June

1841.<sup>11</sup>

Far more serious was the “Papist” challenge: on 1 January 1840 Thomas Hurlburt wrote the Wesleyan Missionary Society calling for aid in his North Shore work:

The call for Missionaries is great. Many of the poor Indians have come to a stand, and are now ready to receive the word of life. This inquiry was caused by the work in Upper Canada, and it has now spread far and near among the tribes speaking the Ojibewa and kindred dialects. The Catholic Priests are taking advantage of this state of things, and are running through the country and baptizing all they can persuade to receive a brass crucifix and a string of beads, with a few pictures of saints; very frequently the Indian is not at all instructed, only he is told that, in times of danger and want, he is to look at the pictures, and he shall have all he desires. A Priest, last summer, on this Lake, baptized an Indian and his *two* wives. These are all provable [sic] facts. Thus the poor Indian casts away his otter skin with his instruments of magic, and substitutes other things of less value; for some of his medicines were really good. Thus he changes the objects, but not the nature, of his worship.<sup>12</sup>

The evident displeasure with Jesuit efforts extended beyond the Methodist clergy to the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) administration, for Governor George Simpson, after initially opposing all missionary presence had by 1840 taken a determined pro-Methodist stance. As Evans noted “we have, through the Divine blessing found favour in the eyes of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s factors and as they command the entire influence of the Indian country, our prospects as far as they are concerned are good.”<sup>13</sup>

### *Developments at the Pic*

Aid from the HBC was certainly important at the Pic: company support gave Evans an early advantage over such rivals as Cameron and Fr. Pierz. After Evans’ and Jacobs’ brief stop in early May 1839 they reported much enthusiasm for the planned establishment of a Methodist mission. A second stopover (13-15 July) reinforced Evans determination not least because more than 20 children were baptized on the visit.<sup>14</sup> The success saw a permanent mission established, with Hurlburt assuming the station thus fulfilling his earlier plea for a mission at that spot.<sup>15</sup>

Accompanied by his wife Betsey Almira and two young children, Hurlburt arrived at the Pic “the last of August” 1839, the journey from Toronto having taken nearly two months. Welcomed by post manager Thomas McMurray with “much cordiality,” Hurlburt and family lived in one room within the post while proceeding, largely on their own, to build a home. In the autumn of 1839 Hurlburt dug a cellar and built a foundation for the dwelling; the onset of winter saw his attention shift to the cutting and hauling (up to 2 miles) of some 50 logs for its construction. The resulting home was

a little removed from the trading establishment and pleasantly situated near the river, but still in view of the lake. Our house is 24 feet square, with a cellar 12 feet square and 5 1/2 feet deep. I have the house divided into five rooms. The best room is 14 feet square; this is finished, and the floor painted. One bedroom, 10 by 12, and kitchen the same, both finished. Of the rest I design to have another bedroom 8 by 12, and a study 6 by 10. I have six doors, of six panels each, already made. The sashes for the four of the six windows are made; but as I have but 24 lights of glass, I got a large strong white paper and pasted it over the whole sash on the outside, and then oiled it. This admits a considerable light, and has a very beautiful appearance when the light shines upon it. Even when I get glass, I shall be loath to spoil my paper windows . . . We have had one serious storm of rain, hail, and snow since we came, and still they are as firm as ever. The want of boards has put me to much labour to get a substitute. The whole of my upper floor is made of poles and clay. When I put up the beams I put in cross pieces, upon which I put the small poles, and spread the clay mixed with straw over. I can still put up a ceiling underneath and a floor above without interfering with my mud floor, as it is between the beams. The roof is a temporary one made of cedar bark. The logs are all hewed on the outside, and on the inside I drove in about 2,000 small pegs, and put upright pieces all around to make the walls of equal thickness. The plastering was a heavy job, as the clay was obtained at a distance, and the walls are from one to four inches thick. The clay now appears very solid; the pegs will keep it from falling . . . The whole expenditure . . . will be about L 9 10s 0d.<sup>16</sup>

The Hurlburt’s home also featured practical additions including sheds and a garden. Spiritual concerns led to rapid work on a chapel. Timber was

being cut for that purpose by April 1840, and a 21 x 18 foot building was erected “composed of logs flatted, and laid horizontally, with the ends secured in the posts upon which the plates of building rest.”<sup>17</sup>

Hurlburt, not surprisingly, proclaimed the buildings “decent for the style of the country, as well as comfortable and commodious.” Betsey’s letters home hint at greater misgivings:

This is the holy Sabbath evening; the duties of the day having been performed, I now sit down, with an overflowing heart, to make you acquainted with our prosperity. We can say of a truth the Lord is with us; we feel his divine presence on our little meetings, warming our hearts and the hearts of the poor Indians, who have but lately passed from darkness into light, and from bondage to the liberty of God’s people. There are four of these who give good evidence of a change of heart – one Indian man, the Trader’s wife (Indian woman), and two of her daughters; and there are several more, who, we have good reason to believe, are anxiously seeking. We have every thing to encourage us in the pursuit of duty. There were two adults baptized this evening, making sixteen in all, besides twenty-nine children. O this is a blessed cause that we are engaged in! I don’t lament my situation; I never have done so, nor do I ever expect to, although I highly prize, and often sigh for Christian and civilized society and privileges, both for myself and my dear children. But what are these when compared with the salvation of precious immortal souls!! . . . O pray for us that we may be faithful, humble and thankful!

Whatever her inner doubts, Mrs. Hurlburt did her part in both missionary and practical endeavour: caring for three young children, as well as the garden, a cow and poultry, demanded her (and an active Indian) assistance.<sup>18</sup> Educational tasks, including teaching some of the Indian women to spin and knit the wool from sheep kept by the HBC for mutton, were a further demand on her time.<sup>19</sup>

The work was surely relentless, and conditions difficult, yet by Hurlburt’s standards there was progress. In 1840 the British Wesleyan Missionary Society began supplying Hurlburt’s work, and a number of the Pic band expressed some interest in his message.<sup>20</sup> Fourteen baptisms and four conversions – “peace through believing” – were achieved rather quickly; a number of other Band members were “anxiously seeking” or “taking up the cross” at prayer meetings. The “successes” reflected the

Rev. Hurlburt's relentless endeavour, including leading at least five services a week.<sup>21</sup> He also instructed some twenty children by day, several adults during the evening, worked on a lengthy "Chippewa grammar" text, and supplied food and clothing to those in need. All this was not enough: Hurlburt sought out the Long Lake Band, travelling inland in August 1840 and in the spring of 1841.

Such journeys reinforced Hurlburt's conviction that more workers were needed to bring not only Christianity but also practical aid to the population. Hurlburt's greatest impact may have been the introduction of both European-style education and especially agriculture among the Pic Indians – within two years a number were planting potatoes and turnips, the seed provided by the HBC.<sup>22</sup> Despite the climate and topography he felt agriculture was the only hope for a population that lived in "about the poorest part of the Indian country." The "affairs of the Indians are growing worse every year," he wrote, pointing especially to the Long Lake Band as among "the most wretched beings that inhabit our world. They suffer very severely from hunger; two or three died last winter [1840-1] purely of hunger. Indeed it appears to me that death from starvation is so common in this country that it does not produce that sensation that it ought."<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the challenge loomed too large, for HBC Postmaster Cuthbert Cumming wrote in February 1842 that the local Indians "seem perfectly indifferent about him [Hurlburt] and the Christian religion."<sup>24</sup> This assessment was in sharp contrast with Hurlburt's claim that about 50 Pic and Long Lake Indians had been converted during his stay. In any event, Hurlburt's work at the Pic was done: he departed late in 1842 due to a combination of circumstances. First, likely, came his wife's poor health; conflict between the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Society of England cost Hurlburt financial support, sealing the mission's fate.<sup>25</sup>

Those Indians converted to Methodism at the Pic, led by Atickonse, made repeated calls for a new missionary. But a lack of funds saw long years pass before the placing of native missionary George Blaker in July 1854.<sup>26</sup> Blaker, accompanied by his wife and four children, arrived at the Pic early in August 1854; a shanty was erected near the site of Hurlburt's home, which by then was "entirely demolished." The chapel, meanwhile, was a "rotting skeleton," a reminder of earlier failures.<sup>27</sup> It was a tenuous beginning: visiting missionaries, including Hurlburt, joined with

one of the natives of that place . . . to gather materials to make a house, and before night it was completed, near the ground where the Mission-House had stood. It was, even when finished, a frail affair, but was designed only to answer the purpose till a suitable one would be made, to secure them from the inclemency of the long and dreary winter, which, I have no doubt, Br. Blaker will accomplish before the winter sets in.<sup>28</sup>

Raising new buildings was just one element of Blaker’s service to the 40-member Pic River Mission Station, part of a Michipicoten-based circuit. HBC Governor Simpson, for one, found it a peculiar posting.

The Wesleyans have another station, at the Pic in Lake Superior under the charge of Mr. Blaker: that station was occupied several years ago by Mr. Hurlburt but abandoned in 1842 and I hardly know what inducement there was for its re-establishment, the Indian population being very small while there are not about 5 or 6 servants at the Company’s post; but it was probably considered impolitic to abandon a station that had once been occupied lest it might lead to an inference that the Society was unsuccessful.<sup>29</sup>

Naturally enough, the Rev. Blaker saw the posting in a more positive light:

This new Mission is established at the mouth of the Pic . . . When I received my appointment to this remote field of missionary toil, it was with considerable reluctance and trembling I entered upon it. But I came hoping it was my providential path. Trusting in the Lord, I determined to do all I could to advance the good cause, and for this I have laboured day and night in my weak way. During the year I have visited the Indian in his wig-wam. Last winter, I spent four or five weeks in search of the poor benighted Pagan on his hunting-ground in the interior of this cold country, and have laid night after night on the top of the snow, without shelter; sometimes I have found a foot of snow on top me in the morning . . . At this Mission we have a few that enjoy the comforts of religion, and meet in class regularly. In all, nineteen have renounced paganism, given up their images, and are striving to serve the true God. One who was converted last fall, continued faithfully during the winter, and this spring while on a hunting excursion he died in the triumphs of faith. Three families have

promised to build houses at the Pic and remain; which we hope will induce others to do the same. My first effort was to build a house with my own hands, 14 feet square, with a cellar, which I completed in September last. I had no shingles, so I made the roof of timbers laid close together, then plastered and covered it with cedar bark. The Hudson's Bay Company kindly furnished me with plank for the floor, and several other materials without charge.<sup>30</sup>

Blaker won praise in the Methodist Reports as local membership rose to over 60 persons. Thus a renewed Mission greeted the Rev. Hurlburt, who visited his old station in 1858:

Pic, July 16 . . . Towards evening . . . Our boat was seen entering the [Pic] river, and we saw a boy go into a wig wam, and soon three running hither and thither; and when we landed there was a group collected to receive and greet us . . . Here are the foundations of the house I built 18 years ago . . . and still I see remnants of my work, in a table, chair, doors and windows of the present mission-house . . . From this mission has gone forth an influence that has battled the influence of the priests in some considerable degree all along the north shore of the lake, and in the interior also.

Bro. Blaker needs aid to finish his mission-house and to build a little church. He also should be empowered to travel and visit the surrounding bands. I learn from Bro. Blaker that thus far the Company have charged nothing for freight and passage in their vessel. This is a great favour to us, and should not be forgotten.

Hurlburt provided more graphic evidence of the challenges faced by Blaker, noting that he and his family were "entirely destitute of flour, meat, &c., and subsisting for the present almost entirely on fish." Spiritual challenges were as daunting: in the excitement surrounding Hurlburt's visit several new "conversions" were made but their permanence was surely suspect.<sup>31</sup>

Nor was the isolation of the Pic a minor issue: by 1862 Blaker had relocated to Michipicoten, making only irregular visits farther west. In yet another visit, Hurlburt reported on a population hard-pressed to make old ways suit new times:

The place [Pic] should be occupied by a missionary in the summer for

the present, as there is no land here suitable for settlement, and the place is not a very good one for fish. Something however should be done for these Indians, or they will more or less of them starve: the country being burned over, much of the game is destroyed, and they have made no preparation either by planting potatoes or by securing a supply of fish to provide for the winter. Their prospects are gloomy. It is of but little avail to come to them and bring them partially the light of the Gospel, and then leave them after a little oral instruction. We have the New Testament, Psalms and Hymns in Indian, and our first and great effort should be to give them access to these. In tribes like those on these great lakes, schools to teach the children English are only productive of evil. If they are kept long enough to acquire the English, they will have become so far accustomed to our modes of life as to be entirely unfitted for the hunter life, and there is nothing besides this for them in this region. But by giving them access to the Scriptures in their own language, we may impart enough of Christian instruction to save their souls.<sup>32</sup>

### *A Faltering Few*

By the early 1860s, then, the challenge of Lake Superior had nearly overwhelmed the Methodists despite the continuing work of the Revs. Blaker and his successor Erastus Curry, or, more often, “Native Assistants” such as Thomas Wahboose and Thomas Sky. In 1873 Curry bemoaned the Methodism’s local state:

Our meeting closed on Tuesday, to meet again at Point Irisquois on the 12th July, 1873, and at Michipicoton on 23rd July, 1873. We purpose to get the Indians from Nippigon, Pic, Batchawana, L’Ance, Grand Island, and Waiskey Bay to attend the latter. If we could secure a small grant from the Missionary fund to provide provisions, and extend our meeting over several weeks, it would accomplish more for these wandering bands than we could in six months’ visiting them at the Posts. This would be a saving to the Society in lessening the travelling expenses. We should have an Indian preacher travelling among the five hundred on the Nippigon; another at the Pic, and surroundings, labouring with the three hundred there; a third at Michipicoton, ministering to the wants of three hundred more; a fourth at Batchawana, with Goulais Bay and Ogewaung in his boundaries, partially supplying the wants of the two hundred and

twenty Indians and whites . . . Then, there should be a missionary at Fort Francis, and another at Lake Saul . . . Nearly all of the above-mentioned posts are asking for a school.<sup>33</sup>

The Rev. Curry concluded his plea with an attack on a persistent rival noting that Jesuits were visiting the various Bands and urging them “to become Papists.”

The “Papists” (Jesuits) were no more popular with the backers of the Church of England who even more than the Methodists found the North Shore a challenging frontier. Indeed, the “English Church” long overlooked the North Shore because a flawed administrative structure left it lost between that Church’s Rupert’s Land and Canadian Dioceses. Church of England missionaries finally found their way onto the North Shore in the late 1850s, with a Rev. “Chase” preaching at the Pic in 1859. This may have been Canon J. Chance, who certainly travelled northwest from Garden River in July 1869; he later reported a stopover at the Pic:

A few miles south-east of the Pic we found a small encampment of Christian Indians who gave us a hearty welcome. They subsisted chiefly on fish, but they were less fishy and surly looking and more happy looking and cleanly than some other we had previously met with. We had a religious service and ministered to their spiritual wants, then proceeded to the Hudson [sic] Bay factory at the Pic, where we met with a most cordial reception. Most of the Indians were preparing to go away into the interior on a hunting expedition, but waited for Divine service and the administration of The Holy sacrament of Baptism and The Supper of the Lord. We held services in the Fort and in the open air.<sup>34</sup>

Charles Begg, in charge of the Pic post, made sure that the good Reverend formed a favourable impression: “I treated the gentleman well – which will leve [sic] him no room to say anything about the company.”<sup>35</sup> The Rev. J. Frost made a longer stay at the Pic a few years later; he reported the majority of the Indians “pagans, and the others only nominally Christian, not having been instructed in the teachings of the Christian religion.”<sup>36</sup> Thereafter Anglicanism was without local impact: *Algoma Missionary News* reveals little concern for the by-then wholly native population at Pic river. Only the few whites along the CPR line drew any missionary attention.<sup>37</sup>

***The “Papists” Triumphant***

Protestant weakness reflected the successes of the Jesuits whose North Shore work benefitted from the strong organization and personal commitment of the Order, their historical seventeenth-century contacts with the region, and especially the sophisticated interpretation of the gap between the sacred and the secular. Put briefly, the Jesuits – unlike the Protestant missionaries – were content that the Indians maintained their long-established lifestyle so long as they accepted baptism.<sup>38</sup>

These circumstances were beneficial to the efforts of individual Jesuits who, in their travels around Lake Superior, provided occasional religious services at the Pic. Pioneering work out of Sault Ste. Marie and Grand Portage was supplemented from 1838 by travellers from the new Wikwemikong Mission (on Manitoulin Island). From 1848 a thin but steady stream of men served the Pic out of the Jesuit mission at Fort William; meanwhile Father Auguste Kohler led the way for priests working the eastern half of Lake Superior by way of Sault Ste. Marie, by 1849 penetrating westward as far as the Pic where he baptized seven adults.<sup>39</sup> The Priests serving in these various locations travelled extensively: Father Fremiot, for instance, ranged from a base at Lake Nipigon to Long Lake, Pic, Michipicoten and elsewhere. Father Fremiot was succeeded by Father du Ranquet who spent a quarter-century at this arduous station.<sup>40</sup> Through untiring and increasingly structured efforts – du Ranquet began regular visits to the Pic River Mission no later than 1862 – and a comparative decline in Protestant activity, the Pic Indian population abandoned its Methodist leanings in favour of Roman Catholicism.

***Religious Orientation of Native Pic Population, 1861-1897***<sup>41</sup>

YEAR	TRADITIONAL	METHODIST	ROMAN CATHOLIC
1861	—	146	25
1871	184	48	132
1881	—	—	530
1891	—	—	133
1897	—	—	233

Easier access to the North Shore changed the nature of the Jesuit work by adding a non-native element, the so-called *apostolat chez les blancs*, with nearby Peninsula drawing some attention. But in the main, Jesuits like Fathers Hebert, Specht, Chambon and Gagnon continued their work with the native population. Change brought challenges: Father Specht noted in 1883 that the arrival of the CPR – while easing travel on the North Shore – coincided with a much increased incidence of disease among the Indian population along Superior’s North Shore. New physical and demographic circumstances had a local impact: Bishop Francois Jamot (1877) urged the construction of a church at the Pic. Progress was slow, but under the urging of Fathers Joseph Hebert and Fr. Gagnon a small building, though a year from completion, was used for Christmas services in 1880. Two large crosses were raised five years later.<sup>42</sup> With a church in place, the Pic mission assumed a larger role among the native missions of the North Shore, and the number of “converted” steadily increased: in 1879 the Fort William Mission claimed all local Indians converted. These conversions included the much-approved-of conversion of Protestant Band members to the Roman Catholic faith. In 1879 Fr. Hebert applauded the “return” of the Pic River Indians to Roman Catholicism; the new church seems to have been an important catalyst in this regard.<sup>43</sup>

But not all was well by Roman Catholic standards, for the CPR (and the liquor sellers and others who followed the line) brought continuing pressures to bear. Population movement was a further complication:

The heretofore prosperous mission of Le Pic has received a set-back by the division of its 250 Catholics in three groups. The Hudson’s Bay Post was removed four miles away to the CPR Station at Heron Bay, and was followed by a good portion of the congregation. Later another migration took place to another point on the CPR called Montizambert, of a number of hunters, to be closer to their hunting grounds. They form with their families a little group of 62 souls; they have their own cemetery, but no church as yet, and are much exposed to the perversion of an active Anglican minister. There is another small group of Indians at White River, who attend services with the Whites in their Church, and are visited in connection with Montizambert.<sup>44</sup>

At the Pic, change became inevitable: by 1888, the chapel was one of just two buildings at Pic post reported in a useable state.<sup>45</sup>

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Jesuit influence was by now seen by the Indian Affairs Department as having a “wholesome influence” on the Band, a far cry from the attitudes of a half-century earlier. Approved of by the authorities, and providing some services which the band members welcomed, the St. Francois Xavier mission seemed an important factor in local society as the new century took firm hold. Indeed, a new church was built at Heron Bay just after the turn of the century under the watchful eye of Fr. Louis Napoleon Dugas.<sup>46</sup> But appearances could be deceiving: while all but one local Indian professed Catholicism, participation was somewhat spotty. Indeed, the “Status Animarum” for 1897 suggests that of some 233 persons in the Pic mission, only 136 were regular communicants.<sup>47</sup> Maintaining the local commitment to Roman Catholicism in the face of both spiritual competition and secular change would be a continuing challenge for the priests of the St. Francois Xavier mission.

### *To the Twentieth Century*

Change – the CPR brought it in with a rush – proved too much for the lifestyle which had been followed at the Pic for about a century. The Jesuits who served Pic were at once part of, and critics of, that change.<sup>48</sup> In 1886 Chief HBC Factor Peter Bell of Michipicoten, a veteran of the Lake, bemoaned the changes sweeping over the Indian people:

The Indians are gradually decreasing in numbers. The only change is, in their becoming more corrupted according to their intercourse with the *Whites* and the roving *Missinnaries* [sic] The only *true Indian* is the *Simon pure* (so called) *H. Bay Infidel*; who, has intercourse with the *Company alone*, and, only at *stated periods*.<sup>49</sup>

According to Bell’s seemingly bitter assessment, the Pic Indians were unlikely to flourish in the new atmosphere which intermingled the isolation of the North Shore with the “modern age.” While HBC officials alternately condemned the Pic Indians as a “bad lot” or worried that the Indians, “having their Church at the ‘Pic’ will stand by the old place,” practical considerations mandated a move, first to track side and, soon afterward, to Montizambert.<sup>50</sup> At that location, farther from the “white” settlements along the railway line – the local white population had fallen below fifty by century’s end – the practices of a century and the skills earned over a

millennia could continue for many years to come.

But many members of the Pic band opted to remain. For them the old ways were no longer sufficient; the *Annual Reports* of the Indian Affairs Department provide many illustrations. For instance, in 1879 Amos Wright praised the construction of a “commodious” schoolhouse at the Pic. The Indians, he noted, believed that “in due time the Government will furnish them with a schoolmaster.”<sup>51</sup> More physical improvements followed, with work concentrated some distance upriver from the Pic post. Several wood homes were constructed in 1881, and agriculture won a more prominent role. According to newly-appointed Indian Agent J.P. Donnelly:

The Pic River Indians have settled and built houses on the river bearing their name, and cleared and fenced fields averaging about five acres each, and now under root crop. The land is a rich, sandy loam and yields abundantly. Their improvements commence at the Hudson [sic] Bay Company’s post, about a half mile from the mouth of the Pic River, and extend three miles along that river, being about half a mile in width, bounded on the westerly side by a rocky mountain . . . They have a good school house, but as yet have been unable to obtain a teacher, as the allowance for salary is not sufficient.<sup>52</sup>

Funds from the Roman Catholic Church helped overcome the last; a first teacher arrived about October 1885. E.F. Dessaint was the first of many, for low wages and an isolated location saw a fairly rapid turnover in personnel at the Catholic school. Meanwhile, a newly-appointed Indian Special Constable attempted to counter the sale of alcohol by the CPR crews. The Indian Department, for its part, provided a “fine yoke of cattle” which was housed in a “fine stable” albeit obtained and built at the band’s expense. The cattle aided in hauling timber for more housing, and in the continued expansion of agricultural pursuits.<sup>53</sup> Thus, from the mind set of the Indian Affairs official, so different from that of the HBC man, the Pic Indians were on the correct course, “a thrifty, industrious class” who “from the various resources of which they avail themselves . . . manage to exist comfortably.” Indian Agent Donnelly credited the changes to the granting of a Reserve:

In 1884 your department gave them [the Pic Band] eight hundred acres of land along the east side of the Pic River at its mouth on Lake Superior. Prior to this they had built a few houses with small gardens,

their entire potato crop might be one hundred bushels. After their homes were secured to them, living on their own land was a stimulus to improve. They cleared more land and yearly put more under cultivation, and the settlement increased. Your department furnished them with a yoke of cattle, plough, harrow and other implements. In the winter they leave their families at home with plenty of fish and potatoes, etc., in their cellars and go to their hunting grounds and make some money by their fur catches. They keep their oxen well housed and fed, and this year will have nine hundred bushels of potatoes, six hundred of turnips, two hundred of carrots and fifty of beets, and are building six two story frame houses of a good size, and with fine cellars.<sup>54</sup>

Even as paternal Indian Affairs officials congratulated each other on the supposed demise of “old ways” – smaller and smaller fur returns seemed a case in point – they admitted that despite agriculture, pulpwood and tie cutting, blueberry harvesting, house construction, church and school, many problems remained unsolved. Twenty six members of the Band died of “la grippe” in 1891, leaving many families greatly impoverished and in need of assistance. Local economic options were very limited, because the passing of the CPR boom saw outside economic options dwindle. Some work, usually seasonal, could be found on the railway, in the bush camp or the fishery. Then, of course, there remained the continuing fur trade efforts of the independents, the HBC and, from about 1908, the Revillon Frères. So as the new century dawned, the Pic Indians found themselves drifting uncomfortably between two worlds, trying to use the skills borne of many generations, and belief structures ancient and new, to flourish in a world of a very different order.

### *Endnotes*

1. *Christian Guardian*, 21 October 1840. Much of this paper is based on work done for my “The Fur Trade History of Pukaskwa National Park and Environs: The Nineteenth-Century Context” (Parks Canada Microfiche Report Series, Environment Canada, 1992). The aid of Parks Canada, and especially Ron Dale, is gratefully acknowledged.
2. The Pic was a traditional native location and a fur trade location since the latter half of the eighteenth century, located at the mouth of the Pic River midway on the north shore of Lake Superior. The modern community of

Marathon lies a few miles to the west.

3. The key source is R.G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrows Bros, 1886-1901).
4. Father Gabriel Richard, for instance, visited the Sault in September 1799 (George Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit 1701-1788* [Detroit: Gabriel Richard Press, 1951; reprint, Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1983], chapter 25).
5. Grace Lee Nute, ed., *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1827* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942), 352. The Bishop again held service at the Pic on 6 September 1830 while on his way “to Canada” (John Swanston, “Pic Journal and Official Correspondence 1830,” B.162/a/4, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives [hereafter HBCA]). The Pic Post Journals note other missionaries making brief stops in 1827, 1831 (2), 1833, 1835, 1838 (2), 1841, and more often in the mid-1840s.
6. Sister Grace MacDonald, “Father Frances Pierz, Missionary,” *Minnesota History* 10 (June 1929): 109-111.
7. On local spiritual values see the fairly sympathetic George Keith, “Reply to a List of Questions to me by Governor Simpson,” 29 July 1830, B.129/b/5, HBCA. Father Dominique du Ranquet’s journals also detail various beliefs of the Lake Superior Ojibwa circa 1850-70 (See Yvette Majerus, ed., “La journal du Pere Dominique du Ranquet, s.j.,” *Documents historique de la Societe Historique du Nouvel-Ontario* 57 [1967]). On rare occasions even those involved questioned themselves. Thomas Hurlburt admitted casting aside tradition was not *always* good: traditional spirit bags contained “really good” medicine (“Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Hurlburt,” *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* 83 [March 1841], 451).
8. For more on Evans and Jacobs [Pahtahsega] see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press), respectively vol. 7: 275-277, and vol. 11: 660-661. See also Biographical Folders, United Church Archives (hereafter UCA).
9. Evans already doubted Hurlburt: *en route* to Lake Superior he wrote: “Br. Hurlburt joined us the evening before we started – he is still a strong Mississippian, and would prefer going to the States to going up Lake Superior . . . I feel myself associated with a colleague whose heart is not as fully in the work as I could desire” (Rev. James Evans, Goderich, to Rev. Joseph Stinson, Toronto, 18 July 1838, in Fred Landon, “Letters of Rev. James Evans, Methodist Missionary, Written During His Journey to and residence in the Lake Superior Region, 1838-39,” *Ontario Historical Society Papers and*

*Records* 28 [1932]: 48).

10. Thomas Hurlburt was born in the Township of South August, Upper Canada; he married to Betsy Almira, eldest daughter of the Rev. Ezra Adams, and remarried during the 1860s. He began work for the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1828 among the Indian population at Muncey, Middlesex County, and during the 1830s worked at Saugeen and St. Clair prior to North Shore work. He moved on (seemingly confirming Evans' doubts) to Missouri through 1851, and then returned to work in Indian villages in Canada West. In 1854 he moved to Norway House remaining there until 1857, and then returned to Canada West. Hurlburt was noted for his linguistic skill, being able to work without interpreters. He continued his work with the Indian population until his accidental death at Little Current (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X: 372-73; and Biographical Folder, UCA).
11. *Christian Guardian*, 15 May 1839; 24 October 1838; 17 April 1839; 15 May 1839; 3 July 1839; and 24 May 1843. See also letters from Cameron to Livingston, 21 February 1840, 25 May 1841, 1 June 1841, J.L. Livingston Letters, American Fur Company Papers, The Sault Ste. Marie Collection, Bayliss Library, Sault St. Marie, MI.
12. Thomas Hurlburt, Pic, to Missionary Society, 1 January 1840, in *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* 26 (February 1841).
13. Evans, for his part, praised the HBC as far superior to independent traders, who he characterized as “villainous fortune hunters” (Egerton R. Young, *The Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans* [Toronto: W. Briggs, 1900], 74-75).
14. Evans reported 21 children baptized but the records show 23 children received his attention (“Baptismal Register for the Pic Mission, Lake Superior,” in James Evans Papers, Regional Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario [hereafter UWO]).
15. On 9 April 1839 Hurlburt wrote Evans urging a mission at the Pic, arguing that “the Peak would be a comfortable situation for a man that had a family, as every necessary [sic] could be easily procured” (quoted in John MacLean, *James Evans, Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language* [Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1890], 114). Ironically (or perhaps in Evans' view, predictably), Hurlburt was less than enamoured of the posting: as early as May 1841 he informed Evans of his desire for a posting in the Mississippi valley (Hurlburt, Pic River, to Evans [Norway House], 8 May 1841, James Evans Papers, UWO).
16. *Christian Guardian*, 6 January 1840; and 1 July 1840.

17. Pic Post Journal 1840/41, 12 April 1841, B.162/a/11, HBCA.
18. In 1841 the oldest child, a boy, was seven; his two sisters were five years and just seven months in age.
19. *Christian Guardian*, 3 July 1839, 18 March, 1 July, 21 October 1840, 4 August 1841, 30 July 1862, 2 March 1864 (obituary). Letter from Mrs. Hurlburt to parents, 20 December 1840, in J.E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1910), II: 23; and Thomas Hurlburt, Pic, to Rev. Robert Alder, General Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, 11 January 1841, Letter 2, Box 13, "Methodist Missions, Documents; Papers of the Methodist Missionary Society," MG 17 C1, National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC).
20. In his letters Hurlburt professed considerable satisfaction at being supported by the British rather than the Upper Canadian Missionary Society.
21. He provided two Native language services and one English service on Sundays, and at least two during the week, believing that constant effort and attention would aid the cause.
22. See Hurlburt's letters to the Wesleyan Mission Society, James Evans Collection, UWO; and *Christian Guardian*, 21 October 1840. On agriculture, see "Pic and Long Lake Report Outfit 1840," Pic Post Journal, B.162/a/11, HBCA.
23. Hurlburt to Robert Alder, General Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 11 January 1841, Letter 2; T. Hurlburt to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missions, London, 29 June 1841, Letter 49; and T. Hurlburt to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missions, London, 23 June 1841, Letter 50, Box 13, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Records, MG 17 C1, NAC. See also *Christian Guardian*, 21 October 1840.
24. Cumming, Pic Post, to Sir George Simpson, 23 February 1842, Jesuit Archives, Regis College, Toronto.
25. *Christian Guardian*, 28 September 1842; and 30 July 1862. See also Hurlburt to Evans, from the Pic, 11 August 1842, James Evans Collection, UWO.
26. Atickonse was probably taught English as well as the scriptures by Hurlburt. The re-established "Lake Superior North Shore" effort was initially based under the geographically unlikely "Owen's Sound District" before being established as a separate District in 1857 (*The Minutes of the Twelve Annual Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada from 1846-1857* [Toronto, 1863], 2: 75, 97).

27. *Christian Guardian*, 18 October 1854.
28. C. Vanduren, “Lake Superior North Shore Mission,” *Christian Guardian*, 18 October 1854. As often was the case, the visit prompted “successes”: four or more children were baptized while the visitors were at the Pic.
29. Sir George Simpson to Governor and Committee, Fort Garry, 29 June 1855, D.4/75 p.645a, HBCA. On Blaker’s arrival see *Christian Guardian*, 18 October 1854.
30. *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada (1854-55)*, xxx.
31. *Christian Guardian*, 1 September 1858.
32. *Christian Guardian*, 30 July 1862.
33. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices (Canada Conference) 17* (November 1872), 271. See also *Christian Guardian*, 25 November 1863.
34. Canon J. Chance, *Our Work Among the Indians* (London: Heal & Fleming, 1898), 28-29; and Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunderbay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1973), 183, n. 22.
35. Charles Begg to J.S. Watt, Michipicoten, 1 May 1859, MU 1385, HBC General Box 2, Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO).
36. Rev. F. Frost, *Sketches of Indian Life* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1904), 112.
37. *Algoma Missionary News* 5 (1 May 1882): 27; 9 (1 September 1886): 34; 4 (June 1907): 67 (new series).
38. The Jesuit outlook is summarized in John Webster Grant, “*Moon of Wintertime*”: *Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), 81, 90-91.
39. Kohler was at the Pic for these baptisms on 15 June 1849 (see extract from letter, Kohler to du Ranquet in “Missions Outside Fort William: Notes taken from Register of Baptisms, etc.,” typed copy of St. Andrew’s Rectory files, Local History files, Pukaskwa National Park Library [hereafter PNP]).
40. Typically, in the 1860s, du Ranquet stayed at the Pic about a week during the summer (see “Missions Outside Fort William,” St. Andrew’s Rectory files, PNP; J. Paquin, “The Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Fort William Ontario,” unpublished manuscript, PNP; Lorenzo Cadieux, “Fondateurs du Diocese du Sault-Sainte-Marie,” Societe historique du Nouvel Ontario, *Document historique* 6 [1944]: 5-35; Lorenzo Cadieux, *Lettres des nouvelles*

*missions du Canada 1843-1852* [Montreal: Editions Bellarmine, 1973], 685, 691, 829, 885-86, 888; Lorenzo Cadieux, "Missionnaires jesuites au Nipigon," *La Societe Canadienne d'histoire de l'eglise Catholique, Rapport* [1957-8]: 91-101; Edward LeCompte, *Les Jesuites du Canada au XIXe siecle* [Montreal: Impr. du Messager, 1920], 1: 229-238; Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life and Labours of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga* [Milwaukee: M.H. Wiltzius, 1900], 25, 259-260, 284, 384).

41. Compiled from the manuscript censuses and the "Status Animarum" of Saint Francois Xavier mission. The census figures include the non-native population, who after 1871 make up the "others." The senior HBC figures and their families were usually Presbyterian; later European populations more varied. The higher figure for 1881 reflects changes in the enumeration boundaries.
42. The church was 30 x 22. Fr. J. Hebert to Fr. Baudin, 4 April 1881, in "Correspondence concerning Pic River Mission," PNP. See also Paquin, "The Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Fort William Ontario," 76; *Recollections*, Ghislaine Lecours Collection, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa (hereafter CMC); and "Pic Post Expenses from 1874 to 1891," B.162/d/6, HBCA.
43. This discussion is based upon various sources, the most important of which are "Missions Outside Fort William," St. Andrew's Rectory files, PNP; and Paquin, "The Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Fort William Ontario."
44. The movement to the rail line, away from the river mouth, was well under way by 1889 (Paquin, "The Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Fort William Ontario," 94).
45. Peter W. Bell, Chapleau, to S.K. Parsons, Montreal, 30 May 1887, A.11/39, HBCA.
46. The old church was later converted to a school (Letterbook, Vol. 1, 22 March 1906, District Office V-5, Lakehead, Field Office Records, Sub Series V, Series C, Indian Affairs Records, RG 10, NAC).
47. By 1897 the Saint Francis Xavier mission included "Pic Indians" at the Pic, Montizambert (Mobert), Bremner, Amyot, and near White River. Dugas was succeeded by Fathers Lamarche, Belanger, Desautel, Desjardins, Couture and others. For local impressions on many of these priests see *Biographies*, Ghislaine Lecours Collection, CMC; Jean Boulton, *Pic, Pulp and People: A History of the Marathon District*, rev. ed. (Marathon: Township of Marathon, 1981), 123; Cadieux, "Fondateurs du Diocese du Sault-Sainte-Marie," 20-22; and John Marsh, "The Human History of the Pukaskwa Park Area 1650-

1975,” unpublished manuscript, 1976, Parks Canada, 80-82. Notes in the “Status Animarum” reveal concerns about Protestant “interference” and the continuing hold of both traditional views and the newer, more damaging influence of alcohol. A copy is available in “Indian Genealogical Records,” reel 11, MS 871, AO.

48. Among the early twentieth-century priests were the aforementioned L.N. Dugas (Songwebidung/strong voice), Prosper Lamarche (Komistatogus/strong talker) and Charles Belanger (Menoweedung/lovely voice.) Indians names from recollections held in Ghislaine Lecours Collection, CMC.
49. “Michipicoten Post District Reports”; 1 April 1886, HBCA B.129/e/15; emphasis is Bell’s. For something of the same, in arguing that the onrush of “white” society was taking a heavy toll on the Indian population of Northern Ontario, see the reports of Stipendiary Magistrate Edward Borron (Ontario *Sessional Papers*).
50. P.W. Bell, Michipicoten Post Records, Report on District, 1 April 1886, B.129/e/15, HBCA. Gilbert Spence agreed with Bell (“Letters from the Pic,” Spence to Bell, 7 February 1884, HBC General Box 4, AO).
51. Indian Affairs, 1879, 29.
52. Indian Affairs, 1883, 10.
53. Indian Affairs, 1884, 94; 1885, 94; 1885, 95; 1886, 21, 212; 1887, 288, 303. Later teachers included Angus McDonald (1887-1888), and J.A. Blais (1889-1891).
54. Indian Affairs, 1888, xxviii; 1894, 13.

**FRÉMIOT, NICOLAS-MARIE-JOSEPH** (baptized **Nicolas-Joseph**), Roman Catholic priest, Jesuit, and missionary; b. 5 Oct. 1818 in Bellefontaine, dept of Vosges, France, son of Joseph Frémiot and Marie-Jeanne Didier; d. 4 July 1854 near present-day Blind River, Ont.

After five years of training with the Society of Jesus in France, Nicolas-Marie-Joseph Frémiot was ordained subdeacon in September 1846 and priest one year later. He departed at once for the Canadian mission field to which the Jesuits had only recently returned after a long absence [*see* Jean-Pierre [Chazelle\\*](#)], and spent his first winter in the Montreal region. On 20 May 1848 he set out for Sandwich (Windsor), Upper Canada, site of the most westerly

Roman Catholic parish at that time. Only after his arrival was he informed that he and Father Jean-Pierre Choné were to establish a mission at Pigeon River at the west end of Lake Superior. From Sault Ste Marie, Frémiot travelled west with Father Choné and Brother Frédéric de Pooter. At Pigeon River, near the newly determined international boundary, they ministered to the region's Northern Ojibwa Indians. Father Choné was the senior in age and in experience, already familiar with the Ojibwa language that Frémiot had yet to learn, so that in the first year of their association Choné had to undertake most of the journeys from the Pigeon River mission while Frémiot studied to prepare himself for his later work. At different times in his ministry Frémiot made good use of the Ojibwa grammars written by fellow missionaries George-Antoine [Bellecourt\\*](#) and Frederic [Baraga\\*](#).

In 1849, a year after their arrival, Choné and Frémiot decided to move their headquarters to the Kaministikwia River near Fort William (Thunder Bay), and Frémiot spent the fall there in charge of building the new Mission de l'Immaculée-Conception. During the next four years the two priests divided duties between them, one remaining at Fort William, the other travelling to the smaller Hudson's Bay Company posts and to the mining locations at Isle Royale in Michigan and at Prince Bay. As time went on Frémiot undertook most of the extended journeys while Choné concentrated on the area near the mission and on the school for Indian children that he had begun. It was Frémiot, for example, who established a mission at Nipigon in February 1852. Later the same year the two men parted in amity with no hint of the disharmony that sometimes existed between Choné and his assistants, and Frémiot set out for his new headquarters, Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, where Jean-Baptiste [Proulx\\*](#), a fellow missionary, had previously laboured. Given a roving commission, he usually travelled among the Ottawas, the Potawatomis, and the Saugeens (a mixed group of Ojibwas, Potawatomis, and Ottawas), about whom his previous experience had taught him little. But, on his final journey along the north shore of Lake Huron, he again encountered the Northern Ojibwas.

While performing the many arduous tasks demanded of a pioneer missionary, Frémiot wrote a number of lengthy and detailed letters to his colleagues in Canada and abroad. These

letters are particularly important as a counterbalance to contemporary accounts by John [McLean\\*](#) and Thomas Gummingsall [Anderson\\*](#) of the region and its native peoples. Frémiot assessed Indian life from a point of view far removed from that of those who sought economic advantage or the expansion of Canadian political power, and his horror at many of the customs he described was tempered by his sympathy for the individuals he met. He perceived that most of the young Indians owed their livelihood to the HBC, and he questioned the effect on them of both the long journeys undertaken to secure furs and the company's practice of paying with merchandise, some of it worthless. As a witness to the discussions held in 1849 between Canadian representatives, led by Anderson, and the Indians around Fort William prior to the treaty concluded the next year by William Benjamin [Robinson\\*](#), Frémiot had a rare opportunity to record contacts between Indians and whites and the resulting misunderstandings. At first, he was inclined to view the treaty as acceptable, if only because it seemed preferable to American contemporary practice, which included pushing the Indians to the area west of the Mississippi River, but, observing its effects, he came to regard it as a shameful bargain that reduced the Indians to poverty.

Frémiot's experience and influence were largely restricted to the small groups he served at his missions and on his travels. For most of his missionary career he was far removed geographically from the centres of institutional power; in the Thunder Bay region he had little contact with government officials or with missionaries of other faiths, and the mines he visited were closing down rather than expanding their operations. His own training, moreover, had left him completely isolated from the pressures and prejudices of contemporary politics. His was the voice of the European humanist in the Canadian wilderness.

In a letter dated 2 Feb. 1851 Frémiot described his many missionary trips as involving "at one and the same time the greatest hardships and dangers, but also the greatest consolations and, perhaps, the greatest rewards." He fell victim to those very dangers some three years later when he drowned in the Mississagi River while on a journey among the Ojibwas. He was buried at Wikwemikong.

[ELIZABETH ARTHUR](#)

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Valuable material relating to Nicolas-Marie-Joseph Frémiot is held in the Arch. de la Compagnie de Jésus, prov. du Canada français (Saint-Jérôme, Qué.).

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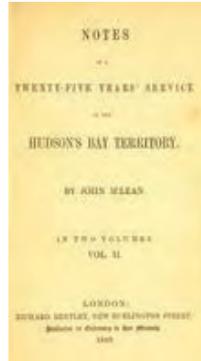
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Matth Langen: Bild Frederik Baraga. Epistolarisch umrandet.

*F. Frederik Baraga*  
Bishop of Sault Ste Marie, for Upper Michigan.

Source: [Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons](#)

### **BARAGA, FREDERIC (Irenaeus Fridericus, Irenej**

**Friderik, Friedrich)**, Roman Catholic priest, missionary, and bishop; b. 29 June 1797 near Dobrnič (Yugoslavia) at the castle of Malavas where his father was overseer, son of Maria Katharina Josefa Jenčič and Johann Nepomuc Baraga; d. 19 Jan. 1868 at Marquette, Mich.

Frederic Baraga was born into a prosperous Slovenian family, but not into the nobility as has sometimes been stated. He received his early education from tutors and at Laibach (Ljubljana, Yugoslavia) before studying law at the University of Vienna and entering the seminary at Laibach. He was ordained a priest on 21 Sept. 1823 and surrendered all rights to the family estates in order to take up pastoral work in the diocese of Laibach. He was soon attracted to foreign missions and in 1829, when the Leopoldine Society was established in Vienna to encourage missionary activity, he applied to be sent to the diocese of Cincinnati in the United States. Baraga was the first missionary sponsored by the society and arrived in New York City on 31 Dec. 1830. He was already fluent in several European languages including English and French.

After studying Ojibwa at Cincinnati, where he also preached to German congregations, Baraga set out in 1831 for Arbre Croche (Harbor Springs), a settlement of some 650 people in Michigan. In 1833 he went to Grand River (Grand Rapids, Mich.), in 1835 to La Pointe (Wis.), and in 1843 to L'Anse on Keweenaw Bay, where he established a mission. In 1848 he was named a vicar general of the diocese of Detroit and in 1853 bishop of Amyzonnia responsible for the diocese of Upper Michigan. His episcopal seat was Sault Ste Marie (Mich.) until 1865 when he transferred to Marquette.

Baraga's first missions in the United States were among mixed populations which included Indians and fur-traders, many of them retired and many of them French Canadians or Métis. Because there were few Catholic missionaries in much of the territory north of lakes Huron and Superior Baraga soon made occasional missionary trips in the 1840s to settlements in this area, where he again served fur-traders and Indians. He depended at first on the bishop of Quebec, then after 1837 on the bishop of Kingston, to provide him with a share in the Leopoldine grants to carry on his work in Canadian territory. As a bishop himself after 1853 he was delegated jurisdiction by the bishop of Toronto for the missions on the north shore of Lake Superior from Bruce Mines to Fort William (Thunder Bay, Ont.), including the Jesuit missions at Fort William (where Father Dominique Duranquet served) and Garden River (under the care of Father Auguste Kohler), as well as the Indian missions at Michipicoton,

Lake Nipigon, and Pic. In October 1854 he confirmed 44 persons at Garden River, the first confirmation to be held there. In 1856 the missions were transferred to the charge of Bishop John [Farrell\\*](#) of Hamilton, but responsibility for them continued to be delegated to Baraga. However, he himself served only the area around the Canadian Sault Ste Marie where, he said, "there are many Indians . . . who cannot speak but Indian" and he could provide better service to them. He visited the Sault regularly, and in 1862 celebrated the first Mass at Goulais Bay, some 20 miles to the north, in a church which he had begun.

Baraga's services as a missionary to the Indians in what became northern Ontario were extensive and pioneering, but his influence on both contemporary and later missionaries working among the Indians in Canada is the most significant aspect of his career. Before coming to North America he had published prayer books in Slovenian, and as early as 1832 he published one in Ojibwa. He published numerous prayer books, books of meditation, and other devotional works in Indian languages, several of which went through many editions. He also published a volume in German on the customs of the Indians. His most significant works, however, were a grammar of the Ojibwa language, first published in Detroit in 1850, and an Ojibwa dictionary, in 1853. Both volumes were indispensable to missionaries wishing to learn the language, and were printed numerous times. Father Albert [Lacombe\\*](#) published editions of the two works in Montreal in 1878–80.

Bishop Baraga died at Marquette in 1868. His cultural and linguistic influence on later missionaries and on the study of the Ojibwa language and its dialects was felt well into the 20th century and his works continue to be republished and studied.

[J. S. MCGIVERN](#)

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Frederic Baraga's principal works were the following: *A theoretical and practical grammar of the Otchipwe language, the language spoken by the Chippewa Indians . . .* (Detroit, 1850; 2nd ed., [ed. Albert Lacombe], Montreal, 1878); and *A dictionary of the Otchipwe language, explained in English . . .* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1853; new ed., [ed. Albert Lacombe], 2v., Montreal, 1878–80). References to other editions of these works and to other works by Baraga can be found in R. P. Cujes, *Ninidjanissidog saigiinagog; contribution of the Slovenes to the socio-cultural development of the Canadian Indians* (Antigonish, N.S., 1968), and *National union catalog. Appleton's cyclopædia of American biography*, ed. J. G. Wilson *et al.* (10v., New York, 1887–1924), I. DAB. Lorenzo Cadieux et Ernest Comte, *Un héros du Lac Supérieur, Frédéric Baraga* (Soc. historique du Nouvel-Ontario, *Documents historiques*, no.27, Sudbury, Ont., 1954). Chrysostom Verwyst, *Life and labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga, first bishop of Marquette, Mich. . . .* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1900).

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CCHA, *Report*, 23 (1956), 41-52

## The Visit of Father Allouez to Lake Nipigon in 1667

by

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The Diocese of Fort William was erected on April 29, 1952. It comprises that part of Ontario which is bounded on the west by the Manitoba border; on the north by the height of land dividing the watershed of the Albany River from the waters that flow into Lake Superior; on the east by the 86th degree of longitude; and on the south by the international boundary. The Catholics of this new diocese are desirous of learning something of the beginning of the Church in this vast territory. Who was the first priest to visit the area? When and where was the first Mass celebrated? What is known of early missionary efforts in the region? It is the purpose of this paper to answer those questions as best we can from the records that have come down to us.

The first priest who visited the north shore of Lake Superior was Father Claude Allouez, S.J. During the early summer of 1667 he was at Lake Nipigon where he went to meet the Nipissings, an Algonkian tribe. Allouez had established in 1665 the Mission of the Holy Spirit on Chequamegon Bay in the present State of Wisconsin. From there he set out early in May, 1667, accompanied by two Indians, to visit the Christians among the Nipissings. While there he said the first Mass ever to be celebrated in what is now Fort William Diocese. This is his story.

### I

Claude Allouez was born at St. Didier, France, probably in 1622. He made his studies at the Jesuit College at Puy. While there he had St. John Francis Regis for spiritual guide and instructor in Christian Doctrine. The Saint had begged the Jesuit General to be allowed to go on the Canadian Mission, but had been refused. But it was through his influence that young Claude Allouez first conceived the idea of becoming a Jesuit missionary himself. On September 25, 1639, accompanied by his brother Ignace, Claude entered the novitiate at Toulouse. During the course of his training for the priesthood, and for ten years after his ordination, he kept asking to be sent to the missions of New France. He had finally persuaded himself that God wanted him to remain in France when, on March 3, 1657, he received a letter from his Superior stating that his oft-repeated request was to be granted at last. He was to sail for Canada shortly. Filled with joy at the news he exclaimed: "Lord, here I am. My heart is ready. Take me."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The details about Allouez's early life are given in Rochmonteix, "Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIe Siècle," II, pp. 351-354.

Father Allouez was a man of middle height, rather stocky in build, hardy, and quite strong enough to endure the hardships that were ahead of him. He possessed a strong will, and was not easily turned aside from any course he had set himself. He was prudent, energetic, well-informed, of good practical judgment, calm in outward appearance, but burning with a zeal within. He was the very type of man needed on the Canadian missions.<sup>2</sup>

The new recruit sailed for Canada with Mr. d'Argenson who was coming out to take over the duties of governor of New France. They arrived at Quebec on July 11, 1658. During the next six years Allouez was stationed at Quebec, and also at Three Rivers where he was Superior for a time. He studied the Huron and Algonkian languages, and was initiated into the work of the Indian missions in the Three Rivers neighbourhood. In 1664 he was ready to go to the Ottawa country on Lake Superior. Bishop Laval appointed him Vicar General of the whole Northwest country, and he went to Montreal late in the summer to join the usual Indian flotilla on its way back to Lake Superior. But he arrived there too late: the Indians had left already. So he returned to Three Rivers to wait another year.<sup>3</sup>

Finally on August 8, 1665, Allouez began the long trip to Lake Superior accompanied by six Frenchmen and more than four hundred Indians. The journey up the Ottawa, by the Mattawa, across Lake Nipissing, down the French River, and along the north shore of Georgian Bay was an extremely arduous experience even under the most favourable conditions. But on this occasion the Indians treated the missionary very badly indeed: they showed him plainly that he was a most unwelcome fellow-traveller; they stole some of his possessions; they vented their fury upon him because of his unskilled paddling. At one point the Ottawa chief ordered him left behind. Abandoned in the deep forest, what could the poor man do but fall on his knees and pray? Fortunately, one of the Indians took pity on him, and returned to bring him in his canoe. But his sufferings were by no means ended. Long hours at the paddle utterly exhausted him, and there was no food but the nauseous mess of boiled lichen, tripe de roche, and some badly spoiled venison. Then there was the very difficult problem of transporting his personal effects, some books, his altar equipment, and a two-years' supply of wine over the thirty-six portages. In spite of everything he managed to reach Sault Ste. Marie by the beginning of September. From there he and the six Frenchmen took a more leisurely trip along the south shore of Lake Superior. It was when they arrived at the portage across the Keweenaw peninsula that Father Allouez stopped to say Mass, the first he was able to celebrate since leaving the St. Lawrence on August 8.<sup>4</sup> It was the spot where the first priest to come to Lake Superior, Father René Ménard, had wintered in 1660-61.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> "The Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus," cited by Rochmonteix, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> "Journal des Jésuites" (2<sup>e</sup> éd., Montréal, 1892), p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> This journey is described in "Jesuit Relations," Thwaites edition, (Hereinafter JR), vol. L, pp. 249-255.

<sup>5</sup> Father Ménard had come to Keweenaw Bay on October 15, 1660. During the winter he spent there he made only six or seven converts, and in the spring of 1661 he went on to Chequamegon Bay. In June of that year he went seeking out

On October 1st the travellers reached Chequamegon Bay where the new mission, called La Pointe de Saint-Esprit, was to be established. There were two large Indian villages on the shore of this bay, one occupied by Hurons, the other by Ottawas and representatives of other Algonkian tribes. These Hurons belonged to the Tionnontate or Petun tribe, part of which had been converted to Christianity by St. Charles Garnier<sup>6</sup> while they still lived on their home-lands southeast and east of Nottawasaga Bay in southern Ontario. They had fled northwards when the fierce Iroquois attack of 1649 had destroyed a large part of their nation.<sup>7</sup> A fair number of those whom Allouez met at Chequamegon Bay were therefore Christians at least in name. The Ottawas at the bay were also fugitives before the Iroquois onslaught towards the Northwest. They had formerly dwelt on Manitoulin and on other Islands in Georgian Bay. Besides the Indians, there were probably about a dozen Frenchmen at Chequamegon Bay in 1665.<sup>8</sup> The first *coureurs de bois*, Radisson and Des Groseilliers, had established a trading post there, probably in 1660.<sup>9</sup> The rich cargo of furs these two had brought down to Montreal during the summer of 1660, had lured to the west the pioneers of that movement which was to effect such great changes in the whole Northwest during the next two hundred years or so. But Chequamegon Bay was the only centre of the fur trade in the upper country as yet.

Allouez built a small chapel of bark midway between the two Indian villages.<sup>10</sup> This rude sanctuary in the wilderness was the first church erected west of Georgian Bay. As there was nothing left of the old Huronia missions in 1665, it was at the time the only chapel west of the Montreal area. Here the devoted missionary gathered his Christians together, and undid, as best he could, the ravages to faith and morality fifteen years of separation from priest and Sacraments had wrought in their half-pagan souls. Here also he instructed the pagans of some ten different nations who flocked in from many directions to see the new Black Robe. He suffered much from hunger, loneliness, and the horrors of pagan life around him. But he had the great consolation of knowing that a hundred or more children whom he had baptized before death, had gone straight to Heaven. And little by little his flock was growing.

But the missionary's eyes were cast longingly on the great fields that lay ripe for the harvest all around him. He was all alone at La Pointe de Saint-Esprit as yet,

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some Indians in the forest, and became lost in the Wisconsin woods. He died either of starvation or by the hand of some prowling savage.

<sup>6</sup> JR, vol. L, p. 297.

<sup>7</sup> JR, vol. LI, p. 306. See also "The Downfall of the Huron Nation," by C. C. James (Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd series, XII, section ii, pp. 311-346).

<sup>8</sup> "Les *coureurs de bois* au Lac Supérieur vers 1660," par Benjamin Sulte (Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, V, section i, pp. 249-266).

<sup>9</sup> Radisson's Account of his Third Journey, 1658-1660, pub. in "Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699," ed. by Louisa P. Kellogg (New York, 1917), p. 50. See also Grace Lee Nute, "Caesars of the Wilderness" (New York, 1943), p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> JR, vol. L, pp. 297 and foll.

and could not leave his neophytes for long. He did pay a visit to the Sioux in the west, but he knew nothing of their language, and work among them would have to be deferred to a later date. He spent a month, probably during the summer of 1666, among the Saulteurs or Ojibways in the Sault Ste. Marie region. A mission was begun among them in 1668 by Father James Marquette. Then one day Allouez heard of some poor abandoned Christians among the Nipissings, and he resolved to visit them during the summer of 1667.

## II

But who were these Nipissings? Whence had they come? And who had evangelized them? We are deeply interested, for they were the first Christians to inhabit the territory of what is now Fort William Diocese.

The first mention of the Nipissings in Canadian history occurs when Champlain was told of them by other Algonkian tribes on the occasion of his trip up the Ottawa to Allumette Island in 1613. They were said to inhabit a region around a lake in the west, and were called Nebicerini.<sup>11</sup> They were a rather nomadic people who roamed around hunting and fishing in the great forest area north, west, and south of the lake which bears their name. Jean Nicolet, the explorer, went to live among them in 1620, and he was adopted as a member of the tribe. He set down in his journal copious notes about their customs and way of life.<sup>12</sup> When Quebec was captured by the English in 1629 Nicolet sought refuge among the Nipissings, and remained with them till Canada was restored to the French Crown in 1632. All our information about the Nipissings is derived from Nicolet and the Jesuits who began mission work among them in 1640.

We are told that the Nipissings lived in scattered villages composed of bark huts of the most primitive type of construction. These were hastily erected, and as hastily abandoned when the tribe decided to move to a new location. There was hardly any social organization among them. Once in a while the older men would assemble in council, but their decisions imposed no obligations on anyone. The women were the drudges, for the men were hunters and warriors who never stooped to menial tasks. Unlike the Hurons, with whom they were friendly, the Nipissings do not seem to have practiced any form of agriculture. In religion they were worshippers of the sun and moon. Sorcerers and shamans were very numerous and influential in the tribe. The Jesuits thought these were devil-worshippers. Innumerable superstitious ceremonies and sacrificial offerings to the spirits of the dead, and to animal spirits, were their most characteristic practices. Morality was practically unknown among the Nipissings, and the greatest obstacle the missionaries met with was a deep-seated addiction to

<sup>11</sup> "Quatrième Voyage du Sr. de Champlain," pub. in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Champlain Society ed.), II, p. 284 and passim.

<sup>12</sup> The chief contents of Nicolet's journal were incorporated into the Jesuit Relation of 1640-43.

polygamy, and other forms of shamelessness in sex behaviour.<sup>13</sup>

Father Claude Pijart was the apostle of the Nipissings. The tribe had come down for the winter of 1640-41 to what is now the Parry Sound district. There Pijart and Father Charles Raymbault began instructing them in November, 1640, and they continued the work all the following winter. In the spring of 1641 Pijart, accompanied now by Father René Ménard,<sup>14</sup> followed them north to their summer camps. Across rivers, lakes and mountains the two Jesuits travelled after them, suffering incredible indignities and hardships to win this degraded people for Christ. Father Pijart worked nine years altogether among the Nipissings. There were almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of their conversion, but he had succeeded at last in forming a small Christian community when the great blow of 1649-50 fell. For the Iroquois invasions of those years not only destroyed all the missions in Huronia, and the Jesuits were forced out of the whole Georgian Bay area, but the war drove tribe after tribe north and west from their usual habitats in north-eastern Ontario. The Nipissings fled with their neighbours, the Amikouets, or Amikouets,<sup>15</sup> to the Lake Nipigon region.<sup>16</sup> It was there that Father Allouez found the relics of Pijart's Christians in 1667.

### III

Allouez tells the story of his trip to Lake Nipigon in his journal, extracts from which were published in the Relation for 1666-67.<sup>17</sup>

"On the sixth of May of this year, 1667, I embarked in a Canoe with two Savages to serve me as guides, throughout this Journey. Meeting on the way two-score Savages from the North Bay,<sup>18</sup> I conveyed to them the first tidings of the Faith, for which they thanked me with some politeness.

<sup>13</sup> See "The Nipissings" in the Twenty-Ninth Archeological Report, 1917, being part of the Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, pp. 9-23.

<sup>14</sup> Raymbault accompanied Father Isaac Jogues to Sault Ste. Marie during the summer of 1641. He then returned to Quebec where he died late in 1642.

<sup>15</sup> These formely inhabited the Algoma district between the Nipissing territory and the Ojibway lands around Sault Ste. Marie. See B. Sulte, "La Baie Verte et le Lac Supérieur, 1665." (Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, VI, section i, pp. 3-34)

<sup>16</sup> Nicolas Perrot, "Mémoire sur les Maeurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale," publié pour la première fois par le R.P. J. Tailhan, S.J. (Leipzig et Paris, 1864), p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> JR, vol. LI, pp. 63 and foll.

<sup>18</sup> The "North Bay," "Sea of the North," and similar expressions, were used by the French at this period to designate Hudson's Bay. They were not certain as yet that the North Bay of which the Indians spoke was the same as that which they knew Henry Hudson had discovered. See JR, vol. LIV, p. 135, where Father Dablon gives reasons for taking a trip to the North Sea, and wonders if it will prove to be "Hudson's Bay." The Indians from the North Bay that Allouez met were most probably Kilistinins or Crees.

“Continuing our journey, on the seventeenth we crossed a portion of our great Lake,<sup>19</sup> paddling for twelve hours without dropping the paddle from the hand. God rendered me very sensible aid; for, as there were but three of us in our Canoe, I was obliged to paddle with all my strength, together with the Savages, in order to make the most of the calm, without which we would have been in great danger, utterly spent as we were with toil and lack of food. Nevertheless we lay down supper-less at nightfall, and on the morrow contented ourselves with a frugal meal of Indian corn and water; for the wind and the rain prevented our Savages from casting their nets.

“On the nineteenth, invited by the beautiful weather, we covered eighteen leagues, paddling from daybreak till Sunset, without respite and without landing.

“On the twentieth, finding nothing in our nets, we continued on our journey, munching some grains of dry corn. On the following day, God refreshed us with two small fishes, which gave us new life. Heaven’s blessings increased on the next day, our Savages catching so many sturgeon that they were obliged to leave part of them at the water’s edge.

“Coasting along the Northern shore of this great Lake on the twentythird, we passed from Island to Island, these being very frequent. There is one, at least twenty leagues long, where are found pieces of copper, which is held by Frenchmen who have examined it here to be true red copper.<sup>20</sup>

“After accomplishing a good part of our journey on the Lake, we left it on the twenty-fifth of this month of May, and consigned ourselves to a River, so full of rapids and falls that even our Savages could go no farther;<sup>21</sup> and learning that

<sup>19</sup> Nellis M. Crouse, in his Doctoral Dissertation, “Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France,” states (p. 123), “This remarkable feat of crossing even a portion of Lake Superior was not an unusual one with the Indians, for by taking advantage of favorable weather they could cover the distance from Keweenaw Point to Isle Royale (approximately forty-five miles) from sunrise to sunset.” But it does not seem that Allouez crossed the Lake at that place, for it appears from the narrative that it was only on May 23rd, not on the 19th, that they came near Isle Royale. It is very probable that he crossed much nearer the head of the Lake to some point on the Minnesota portion of the northern shore.

<sup>20</sup> There can be little doubt that this was Isle Royale. On the Jesuit map of Lake Superior of 1671, and on other early maps, it was called Isle Minong. In his description of the copper deposits on the shores of Lake Superior in the Relation of 1669-71 (JR, vol. LIV, pp. 159 and foil.), Father Dablon gives a full account of this island and its red copper as he had heard of them from Indians and French voyageurs.

<sup>21</sup> We conclude that this was the Nipigon River for the following reasons:

- i) Allouez calls his two Indian fellow-travellers “guides”: presumably therefore they knew that the most direct route to their destination from Lake Superior was up the Nipigon River.
- ii) On the 1680 map of mission sites, to which reference will be made in the text shortly, the only river connecting Lake Nipigon with Lake Superior is the Nipigon. The Black Sturgeon and other streams by which more or less long portages could be made, are not marked on this map at all.
- iii) The Nipigon is “full of rapids and falls.” In its relatively short

Lake Alimibegong was still frozen over,<sup>22</sup> they gladly took the two days' rest imposed upon them by necessity.

"As we drew near our journey's end, we occasionally met Nipissirinen Savages, wandering from their homes to seek a livelihood in the woods. Gathering together a considerable number of them for the celebration of Whitsuntide,<sup>23</sup> I prepared them by a long instruction for the hearing of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which I celebrated in a Chapel of Foliage. They listened with as much piety and decorum as do our Savages of Quebec in our Chapel at Sillery; and to me it was the sweetest refreshment I had during the Journey, entirely removing all past fatigue."

We have here the first record of a Mass having been said in the present-day Diocese of Fort William. That it was not only the first one recorded, but actually the first Mass said north of Lake Superior must be reckoned as very probable. For under the rude and primitive conditions of canoe travel in the wilderness of those days it was not usual, nor indeed always possible, for a priest to celebrate at every stopover on their journeys. Though the missionary carried some sort of portable altar, it was not easy to erect a table for Mass. None could be carried of course in their light canoes. Sometimes rough makeshift underpinnings were driven into the ground, and paddles were used for the surface of the altar-table.<sup>24</sup> They had no boards, for there were no saw-mills. But even such flimsy altars set up by lake or stream took time to erect, and from his account we see that Allouez and his companions made stopovers only at sunset, and they were on their way again at sunrise. They had no time or energy to erect altars. Quite apart from that, wine for Mass had very probably to be spared for the important occasions when a sufficient number of Christians were gathered together. Allouez could hardly have had much wine left in the summer of 1667, for his only supply was what was left of that brought up from Three Rivers in 1665. We read in the annals of early missionary travels of there being no wine left for Mass, and of attempts being made to ferment some from the juice of wild grapes. It is unlikely, moreover, that Allouez would omit mentioning so important an event as the celebration of Mass at a stopover, since he notes in his journal matters of so much less significance. We have seen that the Mass he said at the Keweenaw portage in mid-September, 1665, is prominently featured in his description of the trip from the St. Lawrence to Chequamegon Bay. And that was the first Mass he had said since leaving Montreal a month and a half before. Unfortunately, the exact site of this historic

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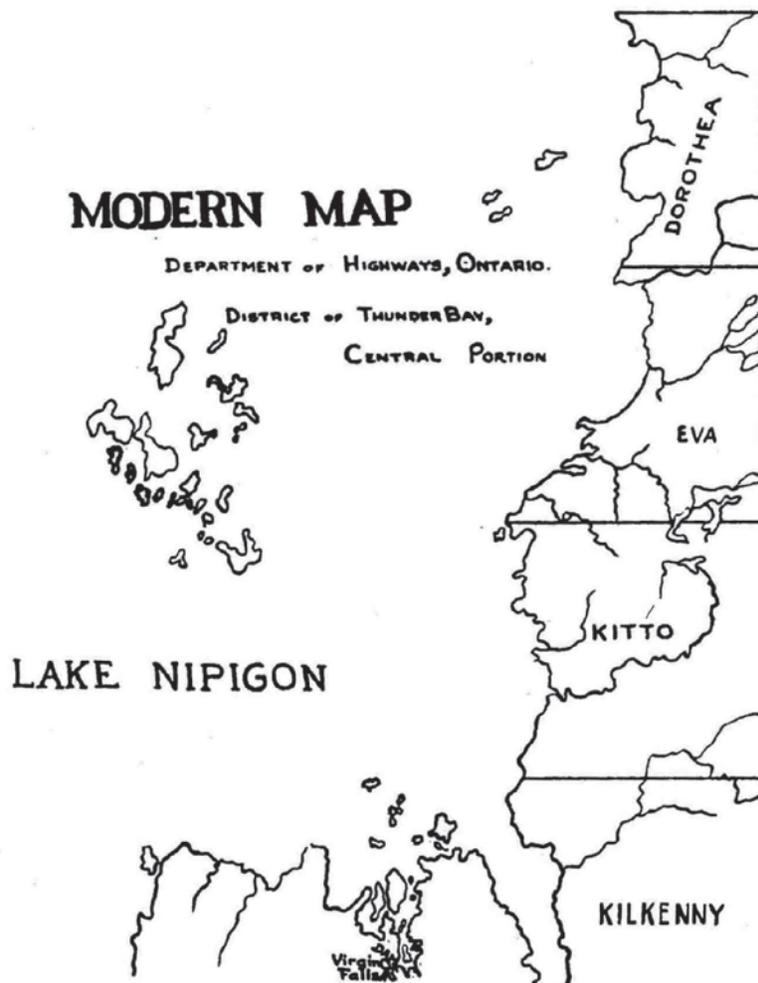
length of forty-three miles there are fifteen waterfalls.

<sup>22</sup> Lake Nipigon was called during the French regime "Alemibegong," "Alemi-pigon," "Nemipigon," "Alimbeg," etc. Later it was also called Lake Ste. Anne; on Father Hennepin's maps of 1682 and 1697 it is named Lake St. Joseph. See Ernest Voorhis, "Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies," Ottawa, 1930, p. 128.

<sup>23</sup> Pentecost Sunday fell on May 29th in the year 1667.

<sup>24</sup> We read of this use of paddles in the document, "Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de MM. D'Olier et Galinée." published with English translation by J. H. Coyne in Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, IV. Part I, p. 48.

event, the first Mass said anywhere in Canada west of Sault Ste. Marie, cannot be located with any degree of certainty. It may be asserted, however, that this Whitsunday Mass of May 29, 1667, was very probably said in the near vicinity of Virgin Falls where the Nipigon River begins to flow southwards. This is shown by a careful consideration of a cross on a map and a few words in Allouez' journal.



The map to which we refer is an early one of Lakes Huron, Superior, Michigan, and the upper Mississippi valley. On this map crosses mark the sites of early Jesuit missions as well as places the missionaries visited for apostolic purposes. The original of this map is in the Bibliothèque de la Marine, Paris, but it has been reproduced in various publications.<sup>25</sup> The map is undated and its author unknown, but cartographers agree that it was drawn not later than 1680.<sup>26</sup> Now one of the crosses on this map is placed near the south-eastern shore of Lake Nipigon. The general shape and contours of the lake are, unfortunately, too badly drawn to identify the exact spot which the cross indicates. All we can say is that it points to a place somewhere in Kilkenny, Kitto, or Eva townships. But there can be no doubt about its indicating the site of the Nipissing village Allouez visited in 1667. For it is quite certain that no other missionary ever went to Lake Nipigon before 1726, and it is most improbable that any priest was ever there again till 1852. There is no record of Allouez' or any other Jesuit's ever going back, and there was no need of their doing so. For not long after the visit of 1667 the Nipissings, and their neighbours the Amikouets, returned to their old homes north and east of Georgian Bay. They were there attended by the Jesuits stationed at Sault Ste.. Marie.<sup>27</sup> We may take it then that the cross on the 1680 map indicates the site of the Nipissing village which Allouez reached on June 3, 1667, and is in commemoration of that visit. But how does that help us to locate his celebration of Mass on May 29th? It was certainly not said in the Nipissing village.

The following lines from Allouez' journal, where he tells us what happened between May 29th and June 3rd, next comes to our assistance: "We spent six days in paddling from Island to Island seeking some outlet; and finally, after many detours we reached the Nipissiriniens on the third of June."<sup>28</sup> The point under consideration is the place from which the party set out on this six days' journey. For that was the place where they were on May 29th, the day on which the first Mass was celebrated. Now this could only have been somewhere on or near that half-mile southern shore of the narrow inlet where the waters of Lake Nipigon enter the river. The bay just north of this inlet is studded with islands, and there are several others just north and east of it in the lake. These are certainly the islands to which Father Allouez refers. It is important to consider that the six days were not consumed wandering indefinitely around Lake Nipigon looking for the Nipissing village. For the Indians who had attended Mass on Pentecost were Nipissings, and Allouez would most surely have found out from them, if his own guides did not know it, that it was in a general north-easterly direction that he must go to find the village. It was not therefore ignorance of where to find their

<sup>25</sup> V.g. opposite page 150 in "The French Régime in Wisconsin and the North-west," by Louisa P. Kellogg (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1925). A much better reproduction is Carte No. 17 in A. L. Pinart's "'Recueil de Cartes, Plans, et Vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada, etc., 1651-1731" (Paris, 1893).

<sup>26</sup> See Pinart, *op. cit.*, Introductory remarks on Carte No. 17.

<sup>27</sup> JR, vol. LV, pp. 147-155; vol. LVI, pp. 93 and foll.; vol. LVII, pp. 239 and foll.

<sup>28</sup> These words of Allouez are the immediate continuation of his narrative after what we have cited above. JR, vol. LI, pp. 55, 56.

destination on the lake, nor its great distance from where they were, which caused the six days' delay in reaching the Nipissings. The difficulty was rather that of finding a passage for their frail canoe through the floating and half-melted ice which choked the bay and the lower part of the lake between the various islands. This can be the only meaning of the "outlet" they were seeking, and the "many detours" they were obliged to make. We must remember that when the party was at the mouth of the Nipigon River on May 25th, news reached them that Lake Nipigon was still frozen over. No doubt the ice was breaking up a few days later. On the basis of this argument we may conclude with some semblance of probability that the Mass of May 29th was celebrated at or near the opening of the Nipigon River on the inlet near what is now called Virgin Falls.

We may now return to the narrative in which Father Allouez writes of his sojourn in the village of the Nipissings:

"It [i.e. the village] is composed of Savages, mostly idolators, with some Christians of long standing. Among them I found twenty who made public profession of Christianity. I did not lack occupation with both classes during the two weeks' sojourn in their country, and I worked as diligently as my health, broken by the fatigues of the journey, allowed. I found more resistance here than anywhere to infant baptism;<sup>29</sup> but the more the devil opposes us, the more must we strive to confound him. He is hardly pleased, I think, to see me make this latest journey, which is nearly five hundred leagues in length going and coming, including the detours we were obliged to make."<sup>30</sup>

Father Allouez gives us no account of his return trip to Chequamegon Bay. He may not have returned there at that time, but could have followed the north shore of Lake Superior to Sault Ste. Marie. We do know that he accompanied the usual summer party of Ottawas on their way to the St. Lawrence, and arrived at Quebec on August the third, 1667.<sup>31</sup> He remained there only two days. He had brought with him some samples of the Lake Superior copper ore, and Talon, the Intendant, became greatly interested. He despatched Jean Péré and Adrien Jolliet to explore and report on the copper deposits in the Lake Superior area.<sup>32</sup>

But Allouez had gone to Quebec in search of fellow-labourers for the great Northwestern harvests. Father Louis Nicolas and Brother Louis La Boèsme were

<sup>29</sup> One of the superstitions of the Indians was the fear that Baptism would cause the death of their children. This was the chief reason for the Ottawas opposing the trip of Allouez with them to the upper country in 1665. It is clear of course that it was infants in danger of death who were baptized in preference to all others, and the Indians falsely concluded that it was the Baptism that caused death.

<sup>30</sup> JR, vol. LI, p. 69.

<sup>31</sup> JR, vol. LI, p. 75.

<sup>32</sup> Despite what has long been claimed in many books it appears that it was not Louis Jolliet, the Mississippi explorer, but his elder brother Adrien, who went up to Lake Superior with Péré in 1667. Father Jean Delanglez, S.J. has definitely proved this, we think, in his book, "Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet, 1645-1700" (Chicago, 1948). See also "Louis Jolliet, Early Years, 1645-1674," by Delanglez in *Mid-America*, XXVII, pp. 3-25.

given him, and four men were hired for the construction and agricultural work Allouez planned to do at La Pointe de Saint-Esprit. The Indians refused, however, to take so many back with them, and Allouez had to be content to take Father Nicolas and one workman along with him.<sup>33</sup> But Nicolas did not prove to be a very useful helper, and early in the spring of 1668 he returned to Quebec.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile Father Allouez continued his labours at Chequamegon Bay, without, however, achieving much success. During the summer of 1668 he had determined to abandon the Ottawas altogether. They had long listened to his instructions without making the slightest move to give up their heathen practices and embrace Christianity. But when it was learned that the Black Robe intended leaving, a Council was called, and one Ottawa tribe, the Kiskakons, promised to join the Church. So Allouez decided to remain another winter to instruct them.<sup>35</sup> Many of the Kiskakons had been baptized when Father James Marquette came from the Sault to replace Allouez during September, 1669. The future discoverer of the Mississippi stayed at Chequamegon Bay till 1671.<sup>36</sup> That year the Sioux declared war on all the Lake Superior tribes. To escape these "Iroquois of the West" the Hurons and the Christian Kiskakons migrated with Marquette to Michillimackinac where the mission of St. Ignace was established. The other Ottawa tribes returned to their former homes on the Georgian Bay Islands. Chequamegon Bay was thus abandoned, and not far for a hundred and sixty-four years would the sound of the sanctuary bell be heard over its waters. It was in 1835 that the great missionary, Father (later Bishop), Frederick Baraga, came there to open a mission once more, and from there once again would he, and another Slovenian priest, Father Pierz, cross the great Lake to sow the Gospel seed in the territory of Fort William Diocese.

It is beside our purpose to follow the subsequent career of Father Allouez. For twenty more years he laboured among the Potawatomes, Miamis, and Illinois tribes south and west of Lake Michigan. During the night of August 27-28, 1689, near what is now the city of Niles, Michigan, he passed to his well-merited reward. Like Brebeuf he had written a description of what kind of man the Indian missionary of those days must be. It was found among his papers after his death, and thus, quite unconsciously, he portrays for us a sketch of his own life and character.

"The Jesuits who come from old France to New France must be called by a special and particularly strong vocation. They must be men dead to the spirit of the world and to themselves, apostolic men, saintly men, who seek nothing but God and the salvation of souls. They must be lovers of the cross and of self-abnegation; they must prefer the conversion of an Indian to conquering an

<sup>33</sup> JR, vol. LI, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Marie de L'Incarnation, *Lettres* (éd. Richaudeau, Tournai, 1876), vol. II, pp. 373, 374. Nicolas spent five years on the Iroquois missions later, but he was not of the heroic mold of those who could endure to the end. He returned to France and there left the Jesuit Order.

<sup>35</sup> JR, vol. LII, p. 205.

<sup>36</sup> JR, vol. LV, pp. 100 and foll.

empire. They have to live in the Canadian forests as precursors of Christ, and be in a small way other John the Baptists crying out in the wilderness to the Indians that happiness comes through Christ alone. They must seek their only support, and receive their only comfort, and find their only treasure in God alone, for to Him alone it belongs to call them to Canada ...

“To convert the Indian there is no need of miracles, but there is great need of doing them much good, of suffering much, of never complaining except to God alone, and of regarding oneself as a very useless and unprofitable servant after all..”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, etc. (Paris, 1876-1386), vol. I, pp 71, 72.

1845  
1847

BASILIQUE  
NOTRE DAME  
D'OTTAWA  
ONT.

REGISTRES  
PHOTOGRAPHIQUES  
LA  
PAROISSE

REDUCTION  
18  
LUMIERE  
H

**I. 141.**  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest performed the funeral on the body of *Joseph* *Wife of James* *deceased on the eighteenth instant who was buried in the new church in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**B. 198.**  
John McNamee  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *John* *Wife of John* *deceased on the eighteenth instant who was buried in the new church in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**B. 199**  
John Brennan  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *John* *Wife of John* *deceased on the eighteenth instant who was buried in the new church in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**I. 12**  
Mary Maloney  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Mary Maloney* *who departed this life yesterday on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**B. 200**  
David Joseph Boulton  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *David Joseph Boulton* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**B. 201**  
Francis Joseph Lamontagne  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Francis Joseph Lamontagne* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**M. 32**  
Flaming Bird  
Methilda Burton  
On the twenty third of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Methilda Burton* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**I. 153**  
Eugene Quillere  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Eugene Quillere* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**M. 33.**  
Mary Kelly  
On the twenty fourth of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Mary Kelly* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**M. 2-3**  
John Brennan  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *John Brennan* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**B. 215**  
Elizabeth Sparrow  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Elizabeth Sparrow* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**M. 54**  
Elizabeth Sparrow  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *Elizabeth Sparrow* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*

**I. 153**  
John Kelly  
On the twenty first of June on thousand eight hundred and forty five in the undersigned priest has performed the funeral on the body of *John Kelly* *deceased on the eighth instant in presence of John Corcoran father of the deceased and of Charles Sparrow and many others.* *P. A. Nelson, p.p.*



## TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM BRUNET TO [SGNR] BOURGET, UNDATED

[Sgnr] Bourget

On the twenty-third of June, eighteen hundred and forty five, you [placed] me a secular priest to go and evangelize the distant regions of the North West of the [l'eminence?] diocese of Saint Sulpice. I happened upon a little mission of Île aux Allumettes in the fall the twenty-second September. With two young Indians["Indiens"] [originaire?] of the Lake of Two Mountains, I [illegible] in [secret?] with a voyageur Thomas Lagarde dit St. Jean, a Masonic member and also descended from Algongians ["q'un membre maçons et aussi descendre d'Algongians"]. He is a fugitive and is condemned to death by the English authority of Montreal. [Illegible] who returned to Montreal with voyageur Urget St. Jean of St. Francois de Templeton, and then to return to [Nipeigon?]. We took advantage of certain matters which I could talk to you about thoroughly in a little while.

Brunet

No 2243.

le 4 novembre 1837.

7. Dec -

obligation consentie par Thomas  
Hjean dit Lagarde, au profit de  
M. Louis Langlois.

expédié.

dans la parolle de l'acte en date du  
 mil huit cent trente sept de quatorze  
 jour du mois de novembre après mûre  
 délibération et délibération savoir signer  
 par ce langage le Sr. desjardins a signé  
 avec nous notaires après lecture faite  
 un motray, est nul - un mot en  
 silence - un moment en apparence.

P. J. desjardins  
 Notaire public  
 P. J. desjardins  
 Notaire public

obligé.

Pardevant les notaires publics pour la  
Province du Bas Canada, résidant dans le  
Comté des Deux Montagnes, dans le District  
de Montréal soussignés: —

Fut présent Thomas St-Jean dit Lagarde  
voyageur résidant dans la paroisse St-Basile —

Lequel a reconnu et confessé par ces pré-  
sentes, devoir légitimement au St-Louis Langlois  
marchand, résidant à Headport Haut Canada,  
le St-Robert Groves son <sup>fr</sup> présent & acceptant la Som-  
me de vingt cinq piastres d'Espagne et quarante trois  
sols, ancien cours pour la valeur reçue ~~en~~ dont il a  
consenti son billet, frais de la poursuite sur le dit  
billet y compris, quatre piastres et vingt-quatre sols  
dit cours. —

Quelle somme de vingt cinq piastres d'Espagne  
et quarante trois sols dit cours, —

Le St-Debitur a promis et promet sous l'hy-  
pothèque Générale de tous ses biens présents et  
futurs sans exception ni réserve, à peine de  
tous dépens, dommages et Intérêts, Bailler  
et payer au St-Créancier ou ordre — le  
premier jour de janvier prochain — sans intérêt  
pendant ce délai —

Telles sont les Conventions des parties.  
pour l'exécution des présentes Le  
Débitur a élu son domicile dans sa demeure  
sus-dite. —

(Dont actes fait et passés dans  
le

#  
Commis

R. J.

M. J.

dans la paroisse St. Eustache en date du 24<sup>me</sup> l'an  
mil huit cent trente sept le quatrieme  
jour du mois de novembre apres-midi  
le debiteur a declare ne savoir signer  
et ce lequel le 10<sup>me</sup> acceptant a signe  
avec nous notaires, apres lecture faite  
un mot raye est nul - un mot est  
elimie - un renvoi en apparence

Robert Groves  
Stephen Mackay

J. L. de la Roche  
Not. Pub.

*[Signature]*

no 2245  
le 4 novembre 1837  
Obligation contractee par Thomas  
Mason et Legarde, au profit de  
M<sup>rs</sup> Louis Langlais.  
Tepid 11

*[Signature]*

**The Historical Roots of Métis Communities  
North of Lake Superior**

**Gwynneth C. D. Jones  
Vancouver, B. C.  
31 March 2015.**

**Prepared for the Métis  
Nation of Ontario**

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## Introduction

This report was prepared at the request of the Métis Nation of Ontario. The terms of reference for this report included:

1. To prepare a report based on historical research on the Métis in and around Lake Superior, Lake Nipigon and Michipicoten, as part of the Métis Nation.
2. The general focus of the historical research will be on those members of the Métis Nation who lived, used and/or occupied the areas around upper Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon.
3. The particular focus will be on historic settlements including but not limited to, Fort William (Thunder Bay), Nipigon, Rossport, McDiarmid, Longlac, Geraldton, Terrace Bay and Michipicoten (Wawa).
4. The report will cover the political, cultural, social and economic history of the Métis living in and around the Upper Great Lakes generally and the Lake Superior/Lake Nipigon/Michipicoten region specifically, including its ethnogenesis, early influences and persistence.
5. The report will look at historic Métis patterns of use and occupation including resource harvesting, with a particular focus on Métis use of the fisheries on Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior region.

The study area includes the territory north of Lake Superior, from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William/Thunder Bay, south of the height of land separating waters draining into Lakes Superior and Nipigon from those draining into Hudson's and James Bay. These boundaries are not intended to define a territory based on use or occupancy by a specific population, but rather to provide a geographical frame within which to study activities and populations over time. The study relies on documentary evidence only and does not include an oral history or interview element.

The precise genealogical and ethnic origins of much of the population of the area north of Lake Superior prior to 1821 are not clear, because of the sparseness of the documentary record from this time period. However, it is evident that there was significant interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the study region from the late seventeenth century onwards, together with the development of a distinctive way of life and economic structure drawing on

Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal and newly-created elements. Because of the uncertainties surrounding the identification and genealogies of specific individuals involved in this way of life, I have chosen to call it a “fur trade culture” instead of ascribing a biologically-specific term, as it developed as a result of the requirements and characteristics of the fur trade. The available historical record strongly suggests that many of the participants in this culture were of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry, and that mixed-ancestry children were raised in this culture in increasing numbers in the study region in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many elements of what scholars have identified at a later period as “Métis culture” clearly emerge prior to 1821. Therefore, although I have not characterized this “fur trade” culture as being exclusive to mixed-ancestry people, it is directly relevant to the lives and identities of people and families labelled in later documents as “half-breeds” or “Métis”. I have also emphasized that this culture was transmissible to succeeding cohorts in ways that did not depend on genetics, so that even if individuals within the culture were highly mobile (a characteristic requirement of the fur trade), the distinctive elements of the culture developed and persisted over time.

Between 1821 and 1850, this distinctive fur trade culture and the populations associated with it continued to thrive, despite a reduction in the number of people directly involved in the fur trade and changes in the work environment. Families of mixed ancestry were raised together in this setting around the posts, and were joined by newcomers who were hired based on their familiarity with the skills and culture of the trade. "Half breeds", "Canadians", "Métis", "voyageurs", "freemen", "engagés", "servants", traders and clerks were all a part of this way of life. Including both heads of households and families, people of mixed ancestry were the majority in the fur-trade community north of Lake Superior during this period. The historical sources reveal a strong sense of shared identity and traditions in both a larger fur trade community that extended from the Great Lakes to the Athabasca-Mackenzie, and a specific Lake Superior (Sault Ste. Marie/Nipigon/Fort William) community. The few outside non-Aboriginal observers that passed through this area between 1821 and 1850 could easily distinguish the members of this community both from themselves as Europeans and from the "Indians" or "Sauvages", who with a few "half-breed Indians" participated as fur trappers and customers at the posts. Unfortunately, although we know that fur-trade marriages were being made and

families expanded during this period, the lack of birth, marriage or death records obscures the ways in which an interrelated community may have been developing genealogically as well as culturally. The few families for which we have genealogical data demonstrate a tendency for fur-trade families to marry within the culture and strengthen their connections over generations.

Terminology in research on mixed-ancestry peoples is often problematic. As much as possible, I have tried to follow the terminology used in the source historical documents, which may or may not reflect the words that people used to describe themselves. “Indian” is an unsatisfactory term that has become overlaid with legal and historical implications I do not intend, but I have used it in the absence of definite ethnological identifications for indigenous North American people who probably did not have any European ancestry. It is the usual term for such people in the documents from this time period. “Aboriginal” is a term I use as implying descent from indigenous North Americans. I have used the term “mixed ancestry” as a relatively neutral descriptor for people in the study area of mixed Aboriginal (which could include Métis) and non-Aboriginal ancestry. For non-Aboriginal people, I often use the term “European” to describe ethnic origin, without implying that everyone to whom I apply the term was born in Europe. “Canadian”, in this time period, could have different meanings depending on who was using the term. Prior to the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, Hudson's Bay Company men used it in a generic way to mean anyone who was affiliated with the fur trade exporting out of Montréal. It was used in contradistinction to someone affiliated with the HBC, which exported out of Hudson's and James Bay. A “Canadian”, to an HBC author, could include someone born or living in the Great Lakes region as well as someone from the St. Lawrence River valley, regardless of ethnicity. Some North West or independent fur company authors narrowed the definition to mean a person descended from French settlers in New France (with or without Aboriginal ancestry). After the merger of the HBC and the NWC, "Canadian" could be used by HBC managers or visitors to describe someone hired in or with ancestry in "Canada" (which could include the Great Lakes), usually with some connection to the fur trade, without excluding the possibility that they might have Aboriginal ancestry. I have tried to clarify definitions in the text, following the context of the document, where necessary, but there are many instances where the precise ancestry of the person being described is obscure without further genealogical research. A person from “Hudson's Bay”, in HBC parlance during

this time period, was a mixed-ancestry person, usually the child of an HBC employee, born in HBC Charter territory (not necessarily on or near Hudson's Bay). Other terms, such as "half breed", "Métis" or "Creole" are shown in the context of the documents in which they appear.

Most of the historical documents that can be located today were written by people of solely non-Aboriginal descent. They wrote their descriptions as outsiders and with their own perspectives and purposes in mind. Although we get occasional glimpses of mixed-ancestry peoples' descriptions of themselves and their lives, much of what we read in the documents is mediated through observers who did not hesitate to interpret using their own standards and assumptions. Much of the everyday life and perspectives of mixed-ancestry people is missing from the historical documents, which were never intended to record them. The following report, based on these documents, should be read with that absence in mind.

## **Section I: The Early Fur Trade and Populations to 1821**

### The Fur Trade on Lakes Superior and Nipigon, 1600 – 1763

The roots of the fur trade, and contact between European and Aboriginal cultures, run very deep in the Superior/Nipigon area. By the mid-1620s, the French fur trade in the St. Lawrence River Valley was collecting 12,000 to 15,000 beaver skins per year in exchange for European goods. Much of this traffic was transferred through Aboriginal trade networks that carried furs and trade goods as far inland as Lake Superior. Europeans, both north and south of the St. Lawrence, were discouraged from travelling inland by the key Aboriginal intermediary traders that controlled major transportation routes, such as the Algonquin and Mohawk.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1630 and 1655, epidemic diseases and warfare cleared the non-Iroquoian trading people with whom the French had dealt out of the area between the Ottawa River Valley, the St. Lawrence River, and the north shores of the Great Lakes, as far north as Lake Nipissing. Some of the people who had lived in this area travelled as far west as Lake Nipigon and the south side of Lake Superior to escape their well-armed and well-organized Iroquoian enemies. The disruption and conflict during this period strangled the fur trade of New France. The Jesuit order of missionary priests, who had come to New France in 1625, were the only Europeans allowed by the French and by Aboriginal peoples to enter the area west of the Ottawa River, and by the 1640s some Jesuits were living in Huron settlements (dispersed by 1650) east and south of Georgian Bay.<sup>2</sup>

In a brief truce period between 1654 and 1657, a convoy of Ottawa and Wyandot people displaced from present-day southern Ontario to south of Lake Superior came to Montréal to trade. The Governor of New France and the Ottawa/Wyandot agreed that a French trader, Medard Chouart des Groseilliers, would be allowed to travel back with Ottawa/Wyandot to their new territories. des Groseilliers returned in 1656 with the first European description of the

<sup>1</sup> R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 84, plate 35.

<sup>2</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, 84 - 86, plate 35.

western Great Lakes region, and in 1659 returned to the southern Great Lakes with a Mississauga convoy, accompanied by Pierre Esprit Radisson. On this journey, they also gathered information from Cree people about the area north of the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay. The 1659 - 1660 expedition, however, was not authorized by the government of New France, and Radisson and des Groseilliers had their furs confiscated when they returned to New France in 1660. This event set off a series of transactions which led to Radisson and des Groseilliers engaging to trade on behalf of the English out of Hudson Bay, resulting in the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670.<sup>3</sup> The Jesuit order also returned to the field during the 1660s, and in May of 1667 Father Allouez visited some of the Jesuits' former converts, dispersed from Lake Nipissing, at the mouth of the Nipigon River.<sup>4</sup> Around this time, some dispersed populations began making their way back to their original territories, and the French, bolstered by several hundred troops newly arrived from France, pushed back militarily against the Iroquois, leading to a peace treaty in 1665.<sup>5</sup>

Also at this time, despite official edicts to the contrary, individual traders known as *coureurs de bois* (wood runners) began travelling with Aboriginal groups back to Aboriginal hunting territories to the west after the groups came in to New France to trade. By the late 1660s, scholars estimate that perhaps 100 to 200 of these traders were operating in the upper Great Lakes (the *pays en haut*, north and south of the Great Lakes),<sup>6</sup> a number that increased to as many as 800 (or one-fifth of the male population of New France) by 1680.<sup>7</sup> The 1660s and early 1670s also saw the founding of several Jesuit missions near Aboriginal gathering places at Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace (in present-day Michigan, across the narrow Straits of Mackinac from Mackinac Island),<sup>8</sup> and Chequamegon Bay (on the south shore of Lake Superior, near present-

<sup>3</sup> Victor Lytwyn, *The Fur Trade of the Little North: Indians, Pedlars, and Englishmen East of Lake Winnipeg, 1760 – 1821*, (Winnipeg: Rupert's Land Research Centre, University of Winnipeg, 1986), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 86, plate 35; Lorenzo Cadieux, "Missionnaires au Lac Nipigon", (Sudbury, Ontario: La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents Historiques no. 33, 1957), 32.

<sup>5</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, 86, plate 35.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, 86 - 87.

<sup>7</sup> Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: a Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis", *Ethnohistory* 25/1 (Winter 1978), 47.

<sup>8</sup> The place name "Mackinac" has been through many permutations. I use it as a term for the geographic location now called by that name. Trading and military forts by the name of Michilimackinac have been constructed at different sites at that geographic location, and when I intend to refer specifically to the Fort I use that name.

day Ashland, Wisconsin). These missions attracted not only the Aboriginal targets of Jesuit conversion efforts, but the *coureurs de bois* travelling and trading through the Upper Lakes. Two Sulpician priests visited the Sault Ste. Marie mission in 1670 and noted that there were often as many as twenty to thirty Frenchmen there.<sup>9</sup> As the years passed, these gathering places became semi-permanent villages. In 1695, French commandant La Mothe Cadillac described Mackinac Island as one of the largest trading centres in “Canada”, composed of sixty bark-covered dwellings housing traders with their Aboriginal wives and mixed-ancestry children.<sup>10</sup> By 1700, this number had grown to 104 traders with their wives and children.<sup>11</sup>

There is no doubt that many of these traders were operating on the north shore of Lake Superior and around Lake Nipigon, and some of their wives and children may have originated there. By 1673, a Jesuit missionary at Sault Ste. Marie reported to the Governor General of New France that the new English (Hudson’s Bay Company) trading fort on James Bay (Fort Albany) was drawing away “inland” Aboriginal people who had previously visited missions and traders on Lake Superior. Some of these people were reported to be from as far west as Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake. Daniel Greysolon Dulhut (an explorer-trader who had opened a trading post at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River in 1679)<sup>12</sup> proposed to the Governor the construction of a ring of forts to divert the trade back to French control, and he was given a commission in 1683 to trade and explore in the *pays en haut*. His first trading fort, as part of this plan, was constructed in the fall of 1684 on Lake Nipigon.<sup>13</sup> It is not clear exactly where this post was located, although some evidence suggests the mouth of the Ombabika River.<sup>14</sup> Dulhut’s choice demonstrates the extent to which the Lake Nipigon area was integrated into the fur trade (both

<sup>9</sup> Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records*, Vol. 4, “du Casson and Galinée: Explorations of the Great Lakes”, cited in Carolyn Harrington, “Development of a Half-Breed Community in the Upper Great Lakes”, paper prepared for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (n. d.), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Peterson, “Prelude to Red River”, 47 – 48.

<sup>11</sup> Peterson, “Prelude to Red River”, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Victor Lytwyn, “The Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade”, in Jean Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake: Three Centuries of Fur Trade History*, (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 2003), 28. Historian Marcel Giraud identified the mouth of the Kaministiquia River and Lake Nipigon as “active trading centres” and “meeting places of the coureurs de bois” from as early as 1681 (Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. I {George Woodcock, translator, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986; originally published by Institut d’Ethnologie, Museum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris, France, as *Le Métis Canadien*, 1945}, 98 -99.

<sup>13</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> K. C. A. Dawson, “A Report on Lake Nipigon Fur Trading Posts”, report prepared for the Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board, [1969], 8 – 11; see also Giraud, *Métis*, 99, 101.

the English trade to James Bay, and the French trade to New France) and represented a key strategic point in trading networks. An additional French post may have been constructed between 1684 and 1697, possibly north of Windigo Bay.<sup>15</sup> It is not clear how long these Nipigon posts were in operation. Although some French trading posts (including Kaministiquia, but not including Michilimackinac/Mackinac) were closed by official edict in 1696 as a result of an oversupply of furs on the European market, unauthorized *coureur de bois* activity from New France and trading at the Hudson's Bay Company posts on James Bay continued.<sup>16</sup>

By 1717, the external situation affecting trade in the *pays en haut* had changed. France and Britain had signed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, by which France recognized British claims to the Hudson's Bay Company's territories on James and Hudson Bay, and Aboriginal peoples of the interior were officially permitted to trade with either the French or the British. The oversupply of fur in Europe had been reduced (apparently, most of the stockpiles were eaten by vermin). Officially-sanctioned posts were opened at Kaministiquia and Mackinac, among other places. More traders from "Canada" than ever before flooded into the Great Lakes region to join the increasingly mixed-race population that had never left. In 1716, as the French completed work on an expanded Fort Michilimackinac and the first official trading licences were issued, an estimated 600 traders gathered there at the peak trading and transshipment time in the summer.<sup>17</sup> During this period of official and unofficial expansion, a "Canadian" post was opened at the mouth of the Nipigon River on Lake Superior, with an outpost at Michipicoten.<sup>18</sup>

Documentation from this period on the activities and identity of the interior traders is very slight. The holders of official licences (of which only twenty-five were issued) employed hundreds of men who went unrecorded, and unlicensed traders and the purchasers of their furs avoided official paperwork. A marriage and birth registry kept by the Jesuits at Mackinac provides some family names of those who chose to formalize their relationships through the church. As only 62

<sup>15</sup> Dawson, "Lake Nipigon Posts", 11 – 12.

<sup>16</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, 87, plate 39; Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade", 28; Giraud, *Métis*, 101 – 102.

<sup>17</sup> Jacqueline Peterson, "Ethnogenesis: The Settlement and Growth of a 'New People' in the Great Lakes Region, 1702 – 1815", *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 6:2 (1982), 35.

<sup>18</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 5. In 1728, La Verendrye was in command of the "northern posts" of Kaministiquia, Nipigon and Michipicoten, as he prepared to push further west (Giraud, *Métis*, 108, 539 {fn. 95}).

marriages were recorded in the period 1698 – 1765, this record clearly does not include all the family units that congregated at Mackinac during that time.<sup>19</sup> An online copy of the register, commencing in 1725, includes the surnames Chaboiller (or Chaboillez), Grignon, Pelletier, Chevalier, Bourassa, Jourdain, Tellier, Langlade, Cadot (or Cadotte), Metivier, Boyer and Villeneuve prior to 1763.<sup>20</sup> As Fort Michilimackinac was a garrison town as well as a fur trade centre, some families of wholly European descent were present and not all of these marriages involved Aboriginal people.

One example of a mixed-ancestry individual who does not appear in the Mackinac registers is Joseph La France, a “French Canadese Indian” born at Mackinac in about 1706, of a “Saulteur” mother and a French father, whom HBC trader Arthur Dobbs interviewed in approximately 1742. La France went to Montréal twice to exchange furs for trade goods; the second time he applied for a permit to trade but was denied. He then “stole away” with two Indians in three canoes and went back to the *pays en haut* via the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing, and the French River. On returning to Montréal via the same route, he had the misfortune to encounter a large canoe brigade carrying the brother-in-law of the Governor of New France, was arrested, and had all his furs confiscated. He escaped custody, returned to Sault Ste. Marie, and decided to try to defect to the English on Hudson Bay in 1739. During the winter of 1739 – 1740, he “hunted and lived with the *Indians* his Relations the *Sauteurs*, on the North Side of the upper Lake [Superior], where he was well acquainted, having hunted and traded thereabouts for fourteen Years”. These Indians were living in the vicinity of Michipicoten. He travelled “about 100 Leagues farther Weft” to another river, “which runs from the North-weft into this Lake, which he calls the River *du Pique* from a fharp Rock at the Mouth of the River...it is only navigable for about three Leagues to a Fall, above which is a Lake about fix Leagues long”. This river, about 300 miles or 485 kilometres from Michipicoten, was separated by two long portages from the “River Du Pluis”, which fell in to “Lake Du Pluis”, and so is not today’s Pic River but may be the Pigeon

<sup>19</sup> Peterson, “Ethnogenesis”, 38 – 39.

<sup>20</sup> MIGenWeb, Mackinac County Marriage Records, [http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/mimack/marriages/data/nameindex.asp?MackinacMarriagesOrder=Sorter\\_mckmarrID&MackinacMarriagesDir=ASC&MackinacMarriagesPage=1](http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/mimack/marriages/data/nameindex.asp?MackinacMarriagesOrder=Sorter_mckmarrID&MackinacMarriagesDir=ASC&MackinacMarriagesPage=1) (accessed December 2012). The Chaboillez family later was prominent in the fur trade in the Missouri River region; see for example an 1805 reference by NWC clerk Daniel Williams Harmon in his *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, Daniel Haskel, ed., introduction by W. L. Grant (Toronto: A. S. Barnes, 1911), online at <http://books.scholarsportal.info/viewdoc.html?id=60300> (accessed January 2013), 101.

River, site of the future North West Company rendez-vous and depôt Grand Portage.<sup>21</sup> La France then travelled to York Factory, where Dobbs interviewed him, *via* Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, and the Nelson River. La France provided information to Dobbs to develop a map of the north shore of Lake Superior and the rest of the route he travelled to reach York Factory.<sup>22</sup>

In the 1730s and 1740s the officially-sanctioned French fur trade extended to Rainy Lake (1731), Lake of the Woods (1732) and the watershed of Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba. However, trading and transportation work continued out of the established posts at Kaministiquia, Michipicoten, Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimackinac, and posts south of the Upper Lakes, as well as many ephemeral trading sites around Lake Nipigon and the north shore of Lake Superior.<sup>23</sup> Nipigon, Kaministiquia, Michipicoten and Sault Ste. Marie contributed relatively small amounts of fur under permit, but were important transshipment and logistical points.<sup>24</sup> In 1755, notarized contracts of men hired by official trading licencees in the old settlements along the St. Lawrence River Valley showed that 20 were contracted in that year for Michipicoten or Nipigon, and 55 for Kaministiquia, out of a total of 478 (317 were engaged with a destination of Michilimackinac or Detroit).<sup>25</sup> The Montréal-exporting traders made serious inroads on the fur returns of the Hudson's Bay Company, which still expected Aboriginal people to come to its coastal forts to trade.<sup>26</sup> In 1743, the Company made its first experiment with an inland post, at Henley House 150 miles upstream from Fort Albany. However, the inland trade was still carried on primarily by small-scale mobile traders at ephemeral "posts",<sup>27</sup> with an export point of Montréal, an

<sup>21</sup> Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay in the North-West Part of America* (London: J. Robinson, 1744), online at University of Alberta, "Peel's Prairie Provinces" website, (<http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/18/7.html>), 26 – 34 (accessed January 2013). La France, or any man who could be his father, does not appear in the database of voyageur contracts hosted by Le Société Historique de Saint-Boniface described below.

<sup>22</sup> Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, map at beginning of book (<http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/18/7.html>).

<sup>23</sup> Ian Stuart, "The Organization of the French Fur Trade, 1650 – 1760", in Jean Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake: Three Centuries of Fur Trade History*, (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 2003), 20 – 21; Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 6 – 7.

<sup>24</sup> See Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, plate 40.

<sup>25</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, plate 41.

<sup>26</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 7 – 8.

<sup>27</sup> See Giraud, *Métis*, who characterizes these as "huts", "shelters", or "shacks", 124 – 125, 154 - 155.

increasing proportion of whom had family ties to Aboriginal populations in the Great Lakes region.

In the late 1750s, the resources of the French colony (which was still financed primarily by the fur trade) were stretched to the limit in defence against British troops as part of the Seven Years War, and some western trading sites were shut down or captured by the British.<sup>28</sup> However, the capitulation of the French in 1760 was by no means the end of the inland fur trade exporting through Montréal, or the end of the development of a mixed-ancestry population around the Upper Great Lakes. As Marcel Giraud emphasizes, many French-Canadian and mixed-ancestry members of fur trade families had established ties to the way of life and the people west of the settled areas of New France, and did not feel obliged to return to defend the colony in the Seven Years' War or to retreat at the war's end. Subsequent waves of traders and travellers were incorporated into pre-existing trade and transportation networks well-known to earlier arrivals.<sup>29</sup>

#### Post-Conquest Organization of the Fur Trade, 1761 - 1784

The conclusion of the Seven Years' War caused only a brief pause and reorganization in the fur trade in the early 1760s. Traders from New York and Montréal arrived before the British troops in Fort Michilimackinac in 1761. British merchants began to take an increased share of business from French-Canadian fur companies, but on the ground the skilled and experienced French-Canadian and mixed-ancestry traders, interpreters, and canoemen continued their work.<sup>30</sup> In 1777, 2,431 "voyageurs" were officially licenced to participate in the fur trade out of the St. Lawrence River valley, although one scholar has estimated that the number actually working inland after the end of the French licensing system ended could have been twice that.<sup>31</sup> A database of all surviving contracts with men engaged for the fur trade in the vicinity of Montréal, including over 35,000 contracts and covering a time period from approximately 1714 to 1840 (with a preponderance of contracts dating between 1755 and 1815), does not include many of the men named in other primary sources as operating north of Superior in the eighteenth and early

<sup>28</sup> See Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, 89, plate 42.

<sup>29</sup> Giraud, *Métis*, 126 – 127, 154 - 155.

<sup>30</sup> Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas*, Vol. I, 144.

<sup>31</sup> Grace Lee Nute, quoted in Peterson, "Great Lakes Métis", 49.

nineteenth centuries. The contracts do not cover men who were trading on their own or who employed others. The employees that are included often have only one or two contracts on file, although they were hired for positions that required significant experience.<sup>32</sup> It seems unlikely that such men were taken on in these positions as novices or that they spent only a year or two in the fur trade after acquiring a high level of skill and responsibility. These features of the official records appear to indicate that many experienced individuals had worked without a notarized contract for some time prior to signing an official document, and/or that many fur trade employees were not hired in the St. Lawrence River valley but at inland locations for which record series have not survived.<sup>33</sup> These inland employees may have also been the most likely to have started families and established roots in the Great Lakes region. The characteristics of the written records for the fur trade in the *pays en haut* tend to reinforce the view that they greatly understate the presence and persistence of traders, employees and their families in the Upper Great Lakes in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

While some French-Canadian and mixed-ancestry residents moved out of the stockades of Fort Michilimackinac after the British troops moved in, a “suburb” of from eighty to one hundred families or households persisted in the vicinity of the fort, connected to the fur trade and/or harvesting and preparing provisions such as maple sugar and fish. Twenty-six of the forty-three marriages recorded at Mackinac between 1765 and 1818 involved at least one Métis partner, and an additional six marriages were between a non-Aboriginal person and an “Indian”.<sup>34</sup> At Sault Ste. Marie, Alexander Henry the Elder found four houses in 1761, occupied by the trader/interpreter Jean Baptiste Cadotte and his Métis family; by 1777 there were ten log houses there occupied by traders, and about ten to twelve traders and their families were in residence in 1789.<sup>35</sup> Kaministiquia was abandoned after 1759, but Michipicoten was taken over by British

<sup>32</sup> See for example Jean-Baptiste Cadotte *fils*, hired for three years to work in the vicinity of Lake Nipigon in 1742, tasks to include going to trade with the Indians as well as transporting goods, hunting, fishing and cutting wood; or Merry Allard, hired as a steersman (the most senior and skilled job in the canoes) at very high wages in 1803 to travel to and winter at Grand Portage for three years; or Joseph Arsenaux, hired for one year as a steersman to winter at Grand Portage in 1758 (entries in Voyageur contracts database hosted by Le Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, <http://voyageurs.shsb.mb.ca/en/search.aspx>, accessed January 2013).

<sup>33</sup> See also Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 35 – 36.

<sup>34</sup> Peterson, “Ethnogenesis”, 41 – 43.

<sup>35</sup> Peterson, “Ethnogenesis”, 49. According to a genealogy of the Cadotte family, Jean Baptiste Cadotte’s maternal grandmother was a Huron woman. Jean Baptiste married Anastasie Nipissing, a woman probably of the

traders.<sup>36</sup> Grand Portage, south of Kaministiquia near the Pigeon River, quickly developed in the 1760s and 1770s as the staging place for brigades to and from the North West for the Montréal-exporting trade.<sup>37</sup> These settlements should be understood as landing places, meeting grounds, or in some cases retirement communities, in an essentially mobile business that required active traders and voyageurs to travel most of the year to make transactions and move goods between suppliers and customers. Traders with their voyageurs ranged as far west as Lake Winnipeg and north of Lake Nipigon, as well as in the territory south of the Great Lakes.<sup>38</sup> Sedentary activities such as agriculture were not an important part of the economies of settlements such as Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. Some of the males that gathered at Mackinac during the summer had inland families in their trading or employment areas and used the documented settled area as a summer meeting place.<sup>39</sup>

Michipicoten was operated by Alexander Henry the Elder between 1761 and 1778, when he sold the business to Jean Baptiste Nolin<sup>40</sup> and Venant St. Germain. By this time an independent trader, Ezekiel Solomon (a German Jew operating out of Montréal and Mackinac) was becoming a major factor in the Lake Nipigon trade. In 1778 and 1779, Solomon had engaged twenty-seven and thirty-seven men respectively on contracts from the Montréal area for the fur trade around Pays Plat and Nipigon.<sup>41</sup> In the late 1770s, traders recorded finding Solomon's employees at Lake Minnitaki, Pashkokogan Lake, Lake Escabitchewan, Lac Seul, Shikag Lake, and Sturgeon Lake. The rendezvous point for this trade was at Pays Plat, and the travel route to these lakes

eponymous nation who died in 1766. By 1761, the family had travelled and operated in the fur trade for three generations; Cadotte's grandfather may have been engaged for the "Western" trade as early as 1671 (<http://www.telusplanet.net/public/dgarneau/cadot1.htm>, accessed January 2013). A Jean Baptiste Cadotte "fils" was recorded as a voyageur engaged for Lake Nipigon in 1742 (see Voyageur database) but as the spouse of Anastasie Nipissing was the son of a Jean-François Cadotte, they are likely two different people.

<sup>36</sup> Stuart, "French Fur Trade", 20.

<sup>37</sup> Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade", 29. The Athabasca brigades unloaded their cargo and picked up supplies from a dépôt at Rainy Lake, although the Athabasca supplies and furs passed through Grand Portage. The term "North West" means, at its most basic level, territory north and west of the St. Lawrence River Valley. As more posts were opened between Lake Winnipeg and the Athabasca-Mackenzie between 1786 and 1800, the term became more commonly used for the region west of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains and north to the Arctic Ocean.

<sup>38</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> Peterson, "Great Lakes Métis", 50; "Ethnogenesis", 41 – 42, 49.

<sup>40</sup> Jean-Baptiste Nolin was engaging men from Montréal on a small scale for trading operations at Sault Ste. Marie in 1789 and 1790; possibly as late as 1819 (Voyageur database).

<sup>41</sup> Voyageur database, search term "Solomon".

was through Lake Nipigon at Wabinoosh Bay.<sup>42</sup> John Long, a Solomon trader, travelled to Sturgeon Lake from Montréal in 1777 and described arriving at Pays Plat, repacking his goods, passing through the “Grand Côte de la Roche” portage, “the route that all the traders are obliged to take”, with a “customary” rest afterwards. Running short of provisions at his post, he went back to Sturgeon Lake in early 1778 *en route* to another trader (Shaw), who had a more substantial and better-supplied post at a lake he called Monontoye.<sup>43</sup> In the summer of 1778, Long brought his 140 packs of furs to Pays Plat, exchanged them for “fresh goods”, and went back “to winter another year among the Nipegon Savages”, heading for Jackfish River. In the summer of 1779, Long came out again to Pays Plat, “where we stayed some days in the society of traders, who had also wintered in the inlands, and others who arrived with goods to supply those who were engaged to return”, but he returned to Michilimackinac as his engagement had concluded.<sup>44</sup> In 1779 – 1780, the first HBC trader at Sturgeon Lake reported that his neighbour, a Solomon trader, had described two “Canadian” trading houses on Lake Nipigon, two at Michipicoten, and thirteen others north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Winnipeg.<sup>45</sup> However, a smallpox epidemic in 1782 – 1783 around Sturgeon Lake and Lake Nipigon killed many of Solomon’s customers, and he did not return to trade in the area after 1783. Solomon and his family settled along the north shore of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, and became the progenitors of a large Métis extended family with residential focal points at Killarney and Penetanguishene.<sup>46</sup>

The North West Company took over the Michipicoten post in 1784. This Company, an alliance of traders with access to the capital required to establish an integrated trading network from north of Athabasca to Montréal, gradually began to absorb or crowd out the plethora of small

<sup>42</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 12 – 23. Many of the contracts made in the vicinity of Montréal for men hired by Solomon have a destination point of Pays Plat. See Voyageur contracts database, search term “Solomon”.

<sup>43</sup> John Long, “Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader”, (London: 1791), extract reprinted in *Nipigon to Winnipeg: A Canoe Voyage through Western Ontario by Edward Umfreville in 1784*, R. Douglas, ed. (Ottawa: R. Douglas, 1929), 55 – 57. Long does not appear in the Voyageur database.

<sup>44</sup> Long, “Voyages and Travels”, extract reprinted in Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 61 – 63.

<sup>45</sup> George Sutherland, quoted in Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 36. Another HBC employee, Edward Jarvis, had visited two “Canadian” trading posts at Michipicoten in 1776 (*ibid.*, 28).

<sup>46</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 44. For more about the Solomons, see Gwynneth C. D. Jones, “Dancing with Underwear: Charivari, Community and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Killarney, Ontario”, paper presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 2008.

traders in fur-producing regions. An HBC trader visited Lake Nipigon, on which “Canadians” were reported to have one trading establishment, in 1784, and although he thought access from existing HBC posts was too difficult to be practical, he wrote that he believed the area “swarms with beaver”. The HBC also identified Lake Nipigon as a key strategic area and the entry point for the “Canadian” fur trade north, east and west of the Lake.<sup>47</sup>

The North West Company were also focussing increased attention on Lake Nipigon in 1784. Edward Umfreville was a former Hudson’s Bay Company clerk who had briefly been in charge of York Factory, but had joined the North West Company after a dispute over unpaid wages. In 1783, the Treaty of Paris had determined that the Montréal traders’ entrepôt of Grand Portage was within American territory, and the NWC gave Umfreville the task of exploring and documenting an alternate route to Lake Winnipeg from Lake Nipigon.

Umfreville left with his party, which included foreman Venance St. Germain (the former proprietor of Michipicoten post), steersman Raymond, Jean Roy and Dubay (or Dubé), from an island in Lake Superior close to the mouth of the Pays Plat River in June of 1784.<sup>48</sup> An “Indian guide” was engaged at Pays Plat to pilot them to Lake Nipigon. As they travelled, Umfreville recorded the names of each portage, most of which were in French, remarking at the conclusion of his journal that

The portages are all called by names given them by the guide and where he has known none, it is always mentioned by whom the new name was given. As to my Indian information I refer you to Mr. St Germaine, who is a much better master of the Indian language hereabouts. I endeavoured to obtain the French names which I thought of more consequence to the voyageurs.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 47.

<sup>48</sup> Umfreville journal published as *Nipigon to Winnipeg: A Canoe Voyage through Western Ontario by Edward Umfreville in 1784*, R. Douglas, ed. (Ottawa: R. Douglas, 1929), 8, 13. Douglas, the editor of this journal, observes that Alexander Henry the Elder, a North West Company partner, also described camping on an island across from Pays Plat in 1775.

<sup>49</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 15, fn. 3. Daniel Harmon noted that a “Mons. St. Germain” had “the charge of a small Fort, belonging to the North West Company” when he passed along the north shore of Lake Superior in 1800. The “small Fort”, not far from Sault Ste. Marie, may have been Batchewana. Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 14.

Umfreville thus observed that most of the portages had already been named by previous generations of voyageurs, and that these names would be recognized by experienced men and should be taught to newcomers.

Upon arriving at the Nipigon River's intersection with Lake Nipigon, Umfreville did not mention any remains of earlier trading posts. A few miles northwest, the Umfreville party met "a family of Indians", one of whom recognized Umfreville from visiting the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Fort Severn. This "Indian", wrote Umfreville, "belongs to Sturgeon Lake and has agreed to pilot us to portage de l'Isle" (at the present-day Ontario/Manitoba boundary on the English River). The party left their first guide at this point.<sup>50</sup> After a few days, they turned Champlain Point on the west shore of Lake Nipigon and after travelling northwest three miles, came to "a place where a settlement has formerly been erected, but no traces are now to be seen of it except the wood being cut away". Umfreville described this "settlement" as "the old French house", or trading establishment.<sup>51</sup> By 1784, evidence of earlier trading sites was already vanishing or completely gone. About fifteen miles north and north-east, the party "passed another place where a house had formerly been erected". At the "bottom" of the bay now named Wabinosh, they reached "the beginning of the river we have to enter" (the Wabinosh River). At Wabinosh Lake, they parted company with their guide, and for a day or two Umfreville was in a quandary as to what to do, thinking perhaps he could wait "till the French people pass by".<sup>52</sup>

But, thank God, our gloomy apprehensions were in a great measure obliterated in the afternoon by the arrival of a canoe, with a Frenchman and Indian in it. The former is called Constant, and is a guide in the service of Monsieur Coté...Constant says a Canadian is near hand, who is not at present engaged to any one, is well acquainted with the road, and he thinks will be willing to engage with us...[the next day] Mr. St. Germaine set off...in quest of the man we are in hopes to engage...He is named Pierre Bonneau; he knows the way as far as Sturgeon lake...<sup>53</sup>

Gabriel Coté, or Cotté as he was also known, was a successful trader who had obtained a permit to send canoes to Nipigon in 1778. Umfreville noted in his diary that sixty "packs"

<sup>50</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 15 – 16.

<sup>51</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 17 – 18. HBC employee George Sutherland was told by a "Canadian" trader at "Piskocoggan Lake" that the "Canadians" had only one operating post on Lake Nipigon in 1784 (Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 46).

<sup>52</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 19 - 21.

<sup>53</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 21 – 22. The Voyageur database does not contain any entries for a Constant in the Great Lakes region between 1780 and 1790; or any records for a Pierre Bonneau.

(approximately 90 pounds each) of beaver skins has been collected by Coté “in his quarter” in the winter of 1783 – 1784, although “four of their men have been eat by the savages through extremity of hunger”. While Umfreville and his party were preparing to leave Wabinoosh Lake, two more canoes “in the service of Mr. Coté” went by.<sup>54</sup> Umfreville reached Sturgeon Lake, passing “an old settlement where a Mr. James wintered six years ago”, on 10 July. This was as far as Bonneau “knows the way”, but Umfreville remarked that he knew the route from Pays Plat to Sturgeon Lake “very well”.<sup>55</sup> Under an “Indian” guide, the party continued on to Portage de L’Ile, recording French and Ojibway names for landmarks and portages and occasionally bestowing new names where an existing name was unknown. Umfreville noted of his last “Indian” guide that “he has been brought up among the Canadians and seems very fond of them”.<sup>56</sup>

This route may have been new to Umfreville, who had stayed close to the Hudson’s Bay coastline as an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company, but despite not being the usual east-west travel corridor commencing at Grand Portage used by the “Canadian” fur trade, it was well-known to experienced fur trade men. The landscape (or the features most important to the voyageurs, being the portages and some of the most salient water features) already had been named in French and described by them, in such useful ways as “Portage Plat” (flat portage),

<sup>54</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 21 – 22. Douglas notes that Coté married twice, once at Mackinac in 1765 and then at Montréal in 1783 (Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 9). There were four children by his first wife and five by the second; and at least three of his daughters married fur-traders (Alexis Laframboise, Jules Quesnel and François Larocque). He died in Montréal in 1794. It is very likely that his first wife, Agathe Desjardins, was of mixed ancestry, as she was described in the Mackinac marriage records as being “of this post” (Mackinac marriage records online at [http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/mimack/marriages/data/record.asp?s\\_GroomSurname=cote&s\\_mckmarrID=150](http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/mimack/marriages/data/record.asp?s_GroomSurname=cote&s_mckmarrID=150) (accessed January 2013). The marriage record also notes that the witnesses to the formal marriage (which took place in 1768) were “Mr. Catine sargt.” (evidently in the military garrison at Mackinac), Pierre Chaboiller (of a well-known fur trade family), friends of Coté; and Sieur Jacques Giasson and “Therese Campion wife of Pierre Ignace Dubois”, friends of Agathe. An Etienne Campion was a fur-trader active in Mackinac; the Voyageur database contains contracts from the 1770s and 1780s for men hired by his company to travel to Mackinac and winter in the region, and his own contracts of 1754 and 1761 ([http://voyageurs.shsb.mb.ca/en/Results.aspx?AC=PREV\\_BLOCK&XC=/en/Results.aspx&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fvoya%2F%2Fsearch.aspx](http://voyageurs.shsb.mb.ca/en/Results.aspx?AC=PREV_BLOCK&XC=/en/Results.aspx&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fvoya%2F%2Fsearch.aspx), accessed January 2013). Coté’s second wife, Angélique Blondeau, is described by Douglas as the “daughter of a bourgeois” (a fur-trader or partner in a fur-trading firm) and it is possible that she was also of mixed ancestry. See also Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 26.

<sup>55</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 33. Bonneau was hired as a guide by the HBC for the Cat Lake post in 1790 (Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 63).

<sup>56</sup> Umfreville/Douglas, *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, 38.

“Portage le Petit Jour” (relatively short, “over a good road”), portages “Petite Côte de Roche” (1100 yards long) and “Grande Côte de Roche” (4550 yards long). Portages also bore the names of individuals and past events, such as “portage Campion” or “lac des Morts”, preserving the stories and history of the route. A distinctive fur trade body of knowledge and culture was being built up and transmitted to successive waves of new employees or traders as they came into the Lake Nipigon area, generated partly from existing Aboriginal knowledge and partly from the viewpoint of those working in the trade.

#### Nipigon, Michipicoten, Grand Portage, and Mixed-Ancestry Fur Trade Employees, 1789 - 1804

The North West Company and other “Canadian” traders continued to use the Grand Portage rendez-vous and travel route as their main passageway west after Umfreville’s report. However, Lake Nipigon and vicinity were still desirable locations for trading posts. In 1789 – 1790, the HBC trader at Cat Lake reported that a John McKay was trading on Lake Nipigon for the Montréal-exporting firm of Cotté and Shaw. Donald McKay (apparently unrelated) was trading on his own account at Sturgeon Lake. The size of the complement at Lake Nipigon was unknown, but at Cat Lake the “Canadian” trader brought ten men with him.<sup>57</sup> By 1791, the HBC’s reluctance to hire defectors from the “Canadian” trade was dwindling, as the Company saw the obvious advantages of using such experienced and skilled men with established trade connections inland. John McKay was engaged by the HBC to open a post on Lake Nipigon (opened in the fall of 1792), while Donald McKay went west to Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods and Portage de l’Isle.<sup>58</sup> When John McKay returned to the location of his former post, he discovered that another trader, Chavaudrille, had taken it over for Cotté and Shaw, so he built the new HBC post beside it. These posts may have been located on Ombabika Bay.<sup>59</sup> In 1793 –

<sup>57</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 58.

<sup>58</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 64 – 65, 72. The HBCA finding aid for Nipigon post indicates that it was established in outfit 1792 – 1793, and the first surviving post journal dates from 1792

(<http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/27316/1/7/524?RECORD> , accessed January 2013).

<sup>59</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 72.

1794, McKay moved the HBC post to Wabinoosh Bay.<sup>60</sup> This post was in operation until at least 1803.<sup>61</sup>

In 1796, a son of Ezekiel Solomon returned to Lake Nipigon to trade on his own account, but apparently retreated from the area after a couple of unsuccessful seasons.<sup>62</sup> Also in 1796, Duncan Cameron, formerly a trader for Cotté and Shaw who had operated in the vicinity of Lake Nipigon since about 1784, joined the North West Company and returned to Lake Nipigon to trade and direct the Company's operations in the *Petit Nord* ("Little North"), roughly the area east of Lake Winnipeg, north of Superior and inland from Hudson's Bay.<sup>63</sup> By 1799, Cameron had seven "clerks" or "commis" and at least twelve posts under his charge in the Nipigon Department.<sup>64</sup> Many of the North West Company employees in the Department were seasoned hands who had worked for Cotté and Shaw or Ezekiel Solomon.<sup>65</sup>

The North West Company also maintained at least one post at Michipicoten during the 1790s. Alexander Henry the Younger, nephew of the Alexander Henry who had operated the Michipicoten post between 1771 and 1768, was in charge of Michipicoten from approximately 1796 to 1799, and two of his sons with his Aboriginal wife were born there.<sup>66</sup> In May 1797, the Hudson's Bay Company established a post adjacent to the North West Company post, with a

<sup>60</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 72.

<sup>61</sup> HBCA records description for Nipigon House, (<http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/27316/1/7/524?RECORD>, accessed January 2013). See also the discussion and maps of potential locations for these posts in Dawson, "A Report on Lake Nipigon Fur Trading Posts", 13 – 17, 21, 27.

<sup>62</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 78. Jacob Corrigan, chief trader at the HBC's main Nipigon post in 1796 – 1797, referred to an "agreement" with "Mr. Solomon" regarding not setting out to collect furs from Aboriginal trappers without Corrigan's knowledge (HBCA, B.149/a/5, fol. 10d, 7 January 1797). Corrigan also referred to meeting Solomon on Lake Nipigon in the winter of 1796 – 1797, when Solomon retracted an accusation he had made that Corrigan had hired Indians to murder him (HBCA, B.149/a/5, fol. 20d, postscript).

<sup>63</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 86.

<sup>64</sup> The clerks were Ranald Cameron, John Dugald Cameron (brother of Ranald; unknown relationship to Duncan), Jacques Adhemar, Jean-Baptiste Chevallier, Allan McFarlane, Jean-Baptiste Pomainville, and Frederick Shultz (Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 88). Duncan Cameron later referred to "Dougle Cameron" as his "name sake...always ready to undertake as well as undergo any hardship for the Interest of the Concern [NWC]", which may indicate that John Dugald was a relative (Duncan Cameron, "The Nipigon Country: A Sketch of the Customs, manners and ways of living of the Natives in the barren country around Nipigon", online at [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm) (McGill University), images 59 - 60 (accessed January 2013).

<sup>65</sup> Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 89.

<sup>66</sup> Barry M. Gough, "Introduction", in *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799 – 1814* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988), Barry M. Gough, ed., xxiii. By the 1790s, Alexander Henry was a partner in the North West Company; he had brought his nephew into the Company by 1792 (see *ibid.*, xxii, xxvii – xxviii).

trader and three men. The HBC post was closed in 1803, under an agreement between the two companies regarding trading territories, but the HBC had not succeeded in competing against the established NWC trade there.<sup>67</sup>

In 1793, a newly-recruited North West Company clerk, John Macdonell, was sent to Lake Winnipeg to trade. He wrote a daily journal detailing his trip via the usual route through the Ottawa, Mattawa and French Rivers and Lakes Superior and Huron. When he passed through Sault Ste. Marie, he enjoyed the hospitality of “Mr Nolin”, probably Augustin Nolin, who was in charge of the NWC business at the Sault. At this time, all the “settlements” at the Sault were on the south shore; the North West Company had “much the best improvements of any of those settled here”. The brigade dropped off another NWC trader, Lemoine, “to shift for himself”, and a few miles past the Sault found a Mr. Nelson building a large boat for the NWC trade on Lake Superior. The brigade passed “the Bay of Michipicoton in which the North West Company have a trading post”, and then “the entrance of the Pic River where there is a Trading Post belonging to Mr Coté and associates situated within half a mile of our encampment”.<sup>68</sup> They passed a canoe of “Forsyth Richardson & Cos, that had wintered in Nipigon alongside of the H. B. Company’s traders”, and the day after meeting this canoe passed the entrance to the Nipigon River.<sup>69</sup> A few days later, they reached Grand Portage, which Macdonell described as follows:

The pickets [high fence built of vertical logs] are not above fifteen to twenty paces from the waters edge...

The Gates are shut [always] after sunset and the Bourgeois and clerks Lodge in houses within the pallisades...

The North men while here live in tents of different sizes pitched at random, the people of each post having a camp by themselves and through their camp passes the road of the portage. They are seperated from the Montrealeans by a brook. The Portage is three leagues from one navigation to the other...

All the buildings within the Fort are sixteen in number...Six of these buildings are Store Houses for the company’s Merchandize and Furs &c. The rest are dwelling houses shops

<sup>67</sup> Ian T. Stuart, “Indians and the Lake Superior Trade”, in Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake*, 88 – 89.

<sup>68</sup> The NWC post at Pic River traded for thirty packs of furs in 1790, according to Harold Innis (*The Fur Trade in Canada* {New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930}, 268, fn., cited in John Macdonell, “The Diary of John Macdonell”, reprinted in Charles M. Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* {St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1965}, 90, fn. 49).

<sup>69</sup> Macdonell, “The Diary of John Macdonell”, 88 – 91.

compting house and Mens House – they have also a warf or kay for their vessel to unload and Load at. The only vessel on the Lake Superior is the new [one] Mr Nelson was building...Part of the Company's Furs are sent Round the Lakes in Shipping, but the major part goes down the ottawa in the montreal Canoes. Every improvement about this place appertains to the North West Company. Between two and three hundred yards to the East of the N. W. Fort beyond the Pork eaters camp is the spot Messrs David and Peter Grant have selected to build upon, as yet they have done nothing to it...<sup>70</sup>

Macdonell in this passage highlighted the social and geographical divide between the “North men” (those who wintered in the fur country and made the round trip from their posts to Grand Portage), and the “Montrealeans” or “Pork eaters”, who made the brigades’ return trip from Montréal to Grand Portage. Among the North men, the men of each post camped together. The canoemen and tradesmen of both groups were in turn separated from the Bourgeois (partners) and clerks (trader/post managers, who if they performed well might be offered a partnership). Although the North West Company was by far the largest operator in the “inland” region, other companies trading out of Montréal were still active at this time, as well as the HBC. Macdonell, as Umfreville had done nine years earlier, also carefully recorded the French names used by the experienced travellers in the brigade for the portages, rapids and other notable landmarks along the route, as well as the stories and lore (derived from both Indian and voyageur sources and histories) associated with the names and sites.

In 1795, Roderick MacKenzie, a partner of the North West Company, emphasized the continuity and distinctiveness of the wintering employees of the NWC:

Most of the Voyageurs in the service of the North West Company have been here for a great many Years. Some of them often speak of leaving the Country – but being thoughtless they seem to care little about it. These Voyageurs in general are equal to any thing, I might add, good or bad just as they are commanded – they are well acquainted with the Country, the ways of the Natives, and the nature of the trade – they may be employed to advantage in every capacity. In the voyage they are patient, emulous, indefatigable, and capable of performing seeming impossibilities, out of it extremely indolent – fond of their pleasures – careless of the future.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Macdonell, “The Diary of John Macdonell”, 93 – 94.

<sup>71</sup> AO, F471, file F471-1-0-15, B003021, “An Account of the Athabasca Indians by a partner of the North West Company”, 1795; also in AO, F471-1-0-18, MU2199, “Some Account of the North West Company”, B803022; also online at [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm) (McGill University), pages 3 – 7, 54. Although MacKenzie refers to the Athabasca Indians in the title of this document, the description of the voyageurs is contained in a broader discussion of the NWC across the continent.

The arrival of the HBC on Lake Nipigon marks the beginning of more descriptive documentation about the Nipigon region. HBC post managers were required to keep a daily post journal outlining activities at the post, the weather, arrivals and departures, and other information considered relevant to the conduct of trade. As well, depending on the time period, they also kept account books, submitted annual and special reports, compiled incoming and outgoing letterbooks of the regular correspondence with senior management and other posts that they were required to maintain, and kept up employment records. As these records were often made in duplicate and were submitted to a large central office in London, much (although certainly not all) of this documentation has been preserved. North West Company and independent traders generated much less paperwork and, after their absorption by the Hudson's Bay Company, less of it has survived. Nipigon House HBC journals have been preserved from the years 1792 to 1800, 1802 – 1803, 1827 – 1839, 1842 – 1844, and some later years.

The Nipigon House journal for 1796 – 1797 begins with the arrival of Jacob Corrigan, the trader, and his men from Marten Falls (a 25-day journey). The men were John Kipling, William Corrigan (Jacob's brother), Thomas Johnson, John McDonald, Christopher Harvey, Alexander Groundwater, William Corsie and Magnus Tait. A few days later, Jacob Corrigan left with most of the men to establish a trading house adjacent to a "Canadian" trader who had set up across the lake, leaving William Corrigan in charge of the "old house" with John Kipling and Magnus Tait to assist him.<sup>72</sup> These men were experienced hands.<sup>73</sup> Jacob Corrigan, of Birsay in the Orkney Islands, had joined the HBC in 1790, as had Groundwater, also of the Orkney Islands. Harvey had joined in 1792 and Johnson and Tait in 1793. All three were Orkneymen. Kipling was a young man of seventeen, but was from "Hudson's Bay" (and therefore of mixed ancestry), capable at tasks foreigners did not usually learn, such as building canoes.<sup>74</sup> McDonald, a "Canadian", had evidently been previously employed by Duncan Cameron and possibly by Solomon, as in February Jacob Corrigan got wind of a scheme by the "Canadians" to take

<sup>72</sup> Dawson believes the NWC post and the "new post" may have been located at or near the mouth of the Wabinoosh River on Wabinoosh Bay, while the "old post" may have been around the Ombabika River near the south Ombabika peninsula, adjacent to a post occupied by Shaw in 1788 – 1790 (Dawson, "Lake Nipigon Posts", 14 - 17. The journals indicate the two posts were a day or two's canoe travel apart.

<sup>73</sup> The employment and parish of "residence" information given here comes from HBCA, A.30/9, "List of Servants in Hudson's Bay 1799", Albany, fols. 1 – 14.

<sup>74</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/5, 26 September, 1 October, fol 4, 4d. "Hudson's Bay" as a parish of "residence" at this period is not necessarily limited to the Hudson's Bay coastline, but could refer to the Hudson's Bay charter territory.

McDonald prisoner to force him to repay debts owing to Cameron.<sup>75</sup> Corrigan eventually sent McDonald back to the “old house” to keep him out of the “Canadians” way.<sup>76</sup> In mid-June, Jacob Corrigan returned to the “old house” with all his men and a good trade of 767 made beaver.<sup>77</sup> At the end of June, the entire crew left for Marten Falls with a cargo of 1800 made beaver.<sup>78</sup>

In mid-September 1797, Jacob Corrigan brought William Corrigan, Johnson, Groundwater and Corsie back to the “new house”, noting that owing to a shortage of men it was not possible to leave William Corrigan at the “old house”. He also brought James Yorston, an Orkneyman who had joined the HBC in 1786, John Taylor, Hugh Patric and Angus McDonald (another “Canadian”). The “Canadians” had been at their house for about three weeks already.<sup>79</sup> Shortly after arriving, Jacob Corrigan had to send away a group of Indians who had come to guide “Englishmen” to “Jack River” as agreed on with Corrigan the previous season, again because of a shortage of men. Corrigan observed that the trade of Jack River (about 300 made beaver) would probably all go to a “Canadian” already established there.<sup>80</sup> Corrigan and his men stayed on Lake Nipigon, with a few visits to the “old house”, until 10 June 1798, when they left in three large canoes for Marten Falls.<sup>81</sup>

On 1 August, he returned to the “old house” with his brother, Johnson, and six others, including John Sanderson (or Sanderson), a 22-year-old (of mixed ancestry) from “Hudson’s Bay”.<sup>82</sup> A week later they decamped for the “new house”, arriving there before the “Canadians” and succeeding in dealing with Indians before their rivals.<sup>83</sup> On 17 August, Duncan Cameron appeared with a brigade from Grand Portage headed for Osaburgh.<sup>84</sup> On 16 September, “Solomon”, with a Mr. Clark, showed up at the “new house” and began building a third trading establishment beside the HBC and the North West Company, having brought trade goods from

<sup>75</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/5, fol. 12, 1 February 1797.

<sup>76</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/5, fols. 16d – 17, 8 May 1797.

<sup>77</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/5, fol. 19, 13 – 14 June 1797.

<sup>78</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/5, fol. 20, 30 June 1797.

<sup>79</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/6, 13 September 1797, fol. 2d.

<sup>80</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/6, 17 September 1797, fol. 3.

<sup>81</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/6, 10 June 1798, fol. 18.

<sup>82</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 1 August 1798, fol. 2d.

<sup>83</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 10 August 1798, fol. 3.

<sup>84</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 17 August 1798, fol. 3d.

Mackinac “on his own account”.<sup>85</sup> On 18 September, the NWC, under chief trader W. Frederick, arrived from Grand Portage.<sup>86</sup> By 6 October, Corrigan was observing of the Indians that “Their seeing so many traders here makes them very pragmatic and insulting”.<sup>87</sup> The fierce competition prompted Corrigan to rethink his original plan of sending his brother to “Jack River”, keeping all his men around the “new house”. On 10 June 1799, they all set off to the “old house”, noting that Frederick was staying for the summer at the NWC house.<sup>88</sup> Solomon and Clark had left on 7 June for Mackinac, having traded a pack and a half of furs.<sup>89</sup> On 19 June, Corrigan and his crew left Lake Nipigon for Marten Falls with 21 “bundles” of furs and 5 of parchment (skins processed by the Indians with guard hairs intact ).<sup>90</sup>

By August 1802, Jacob Corrigan’s brother William was in charge of the HBC’s Nipigon trading house. His plan was to supply the Indians with trade goods on lake Nipigon (he did not specify the “old” or “new” house), and then travel “several days Journey to the W. ward” to be closer to the Indians’ hunting grounds. Competition from “Canadians” was still intense.<sup>91</sup> On 1 September 1802, Thomas McNab, Thomas Stanger, John Daniels, and Robert Moad left for a “wintering ground” in company with a group of Indians. McNab, a native of “Hudson’s Bay” (as was John Daniels), was in charge of this party.<sup>92</sup> On 4 September, William Corrigan left for the west side of the Lake, to a “small rivers mouth which we Intend to go up”.<sup>93</sup> The Corrigan party stopped two weeks later at “Small Trout Lake”, “several days Journey short of the place I intended to be at”, because of a shortage of food.<sup>94</sup> The men in the Corrigan party included Thomas Richards, John Twatt, Magnus Flett, William Waters, James Corston, John (Jack) Kipling, and Nicol Scarth.<sup>95</sup> Of these, Richards and Kipling can be identified as having mixed-

<sup>85</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 16 September 1798, fol. 5d.

<sup>86</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 18 September 1798, fol. 5d.

<sup>87</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 6 October 1798, fol. 6d.

<sup>88</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 10 June 1799, fol. 20d.

<sup>89</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 7 June 1799, fol. 20.

<sup>90</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/7, 19 June 1799, fol. 21.

<sup>91</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/9, 25 August 1802, fols. 2, 2d.

<sup>92</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/9, 26 August 1802, 1 September 1802, fol. 2d.

<sup>93</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/9, 4 September 1802, fol. 3.

<sup>94</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/9, 23 October 1802, fol. 3d.

<sup>95</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/9, 19, 25 November 1802, 6 December 1802 (fol. 4d), 17, 22 December 1802, 3, 14 January 1803 (fol. 5).

ancestry origins in “Hudson’s Bay”.<sup>96</sup> Richards left the Small Trout Lake post on 6 December to live with his father-in-law to alleviate chronic food shortages at the post, an indication that he had married a woman from the vicinity.<sup>97</sup> The parties would meet at Lake Nipigon in the spring to travel back to Marten Falls.

The journals provide an on-the-ground description of fur trade activity on Lake Nipigon in the last years of the eighteenth century. They confirm that the posts were occupied nine or ten months of the year, and closed in the summer when traders were travelling to intermediate supply points such as Grand Portage, Mackinac, or Marten Falls. Post locations were flexible and could shift rapidly to meet competition from other traders or to be closer to customers. The names and some personal details of post employees can be confirmed from HBC journals and employment records. The HBC journals do not refer to wives or children around their posts, and do not describe the NWC or independents’ posts in enough detail to be able to determine if mixed-ancestry families lived there. However, some HBC employees can be identified as being of mixed ancestry. The same crew would not come back to the HBC post every year, although there were usually some returnees familiar with the area and the Aboriginal people who would have been able to pass knowledge on to newcomers. The journals also provide some insights into the activities and resource use patterns of the post. These will be further discussed in the section on “Fur Trade Culture to 1821”.

John Sanderson and John Kipling, the sons of HBC employees, also worked at other *Petit Nord* HBC posts supplied out of Fort Albany and Marten Falls in the early nineteenth century. In 1804 they collectively demanded better wages, and the chief HBC trader at Albany was obliged to give them substantial increases. He explained the situation as follows in his post journal:

the greatest trouble I have experienced this year is from the Half Breed or Creoles, who complain their Wages are much less than others, and as they are all Boat Steerers they think they have a right to better wages than they have. Mr. Sanders[on] has 3 stout sons who all steer Boats, besides there is Hugh Linklater [son of John Linklater], and John Kipling [jr.]; all stout men. They act as Interpreters and are in every respect most useful

<sup>96</sup> The employment and parish of “residence” information given here comes from HBCA, A.30/9, “List of Servants in Hudson’s Bay 1799”, Albany, fols. 1 – 14. The records for Albany and its inland posts between 1799 and 1812 are missing.

<sup>97</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/9, 6 December 1802, fol. 4d. On the same day James Corston and John Twatt were also sent off to live with other groups of Indians.

people, for they hunt equally as well as the Natives, and it is by their endeavours frequently in hunting, the several Posts fare much better than they otherwise would do without them. I cannot get a man to undertake to steer a Boat...they universally refuse to undertake the charge among the Falls...I wish to be bringing up a few young hands...<sup>98</sup>

North West Company men or other “Canadian” traders are less well described in the surviving records, but some fragmentary evidence is available. Duncan Cameron, the North West Company partner in charge of the Nipigon district from 1796 to 1807, wrote a monograph entitled “The Nepigon Country: A Sketch of the Customs, manners and ways of living of the Natives in the barren country around Nepigon” in 1804. He described, but did not name, some poorly-equipped “Canada” traders who had come into the Nipigon area before he arrived as a clerk in 1785 (although he appears to have underestimated the extent to which these traders had penetrated inland).<sup>99</sup> He referred to “Perrault”, who had been with Cameron “some years ago”, attempting to baptize a dying Indian, who refused to deviate from his own tradition.<sup>100</sup> However, Cameron noted that “several of the [Indian] women that were living with the white men” did not follow some of the dietary taboos of their tribe.<sup>101</sup> He also described how he managed the Nipigon trade to produce good returns, “by shifting from place to place Every year, and augmenting the Number of posts”, reinforcing the impression given in the HBC journals of the transient character of most of the trading establishments in the region.<sup>102</sup>

### Grand Portage, Kaministiquia, and North West Company families, 1799 - 1805

Grand Portage had a relatively small permanent contingent of employees, despite its importance as a transfer point. A list of NWC employees in 1799 shows seven men in the “Grand Portage

<sup>98</sup> Quoted in Lytwyn, “Fur Trade of the Little North”, 107.

<sup>99</sup> Duncan Cameron, “The Nepigon Country: A Sketch of the Customs, manners and ways of living of the Natives in the barren country around Nepigon”, online at [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm) (McGill University), images 55 – 60 (accessed January 2013).

<sup>100</sup> Cameron, “The Nepigon Country”, [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm), image 17. John Johnston, another NWC trader, recalled meeting a “Mr. Perrault, a very ingenious Trader” in 1792 on the south shore of Lake Superior (John Johnston, “An Account of Lake Superior”, online at [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm) (McGill University), image 47 (accessed January 2013). Jean-Baptiste Perrault was the author of a manuscript entitled “Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of North America Leaving Montreal the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1783 (to 1820)”, cited in Macdonell, “The Diary of John Macdonell”, 90, fn.49.

<sup>101</sup> Cameron, “The Nepigon Country”, [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm), image 36.

<sup>102</sup> Cameron, “The Nepigon Country”, [http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar\\_1.htm](http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/toolbar_1.htm), image 60.

Department”: “Doctor Munro”, Charles Hesse, Zachary Cloutier, Antoine Collin, Jacques Vaudreuil, François Boileau, and “Bruce”.<sup>103</sup> Daniel Harmon, a clerk and later a partner with the North West Company, described Grand Portage in 1800 as follows:

The Fort, which is twenty four rods by thirty, is built on the margin of a bay, at the foot of a hill or mountain, of considerable height. Within the fort, there is a considerable number of dwelling houses, shops and stores, all of which appear to be slight buildings, and designed only for present convenience. The houses are surrounded by palisades...There is also another fort, which stands about two hundred rods from this, belonging to the X. Y. Company, under which firm, a number of merchants of Montreal and Quebec, &c. now carry on a trade into this part of the country. It is only three years since they made an establishment here; and as yet, they have had but little success.

This is the Head Quarters or General Rendezvous, for all who trade in this part of the world; and therefore, every summer, the greater part of the Proprietors and Clerks, who have spent the winter in the Interior come here with the furs which they have been able to collect, during the preceding season. This [mid-June], as I am told, is about the time when they generally arrive; and some of them are already here.<sup>104</sup>

Harmon remarked that no one at Grand Portage observed the Sabbath, continuing to work at “making and pressing packs of furs”. He noted that “the people...who have been long in this savage country, have no scruples of conscience on this subject”. While Harmon was at Grand Portage, the

Natives were permitted to dance in the fort, and the Company made them a present of thirty six gallons of shrub. In the evening, the gentlemen of the place dressed, and we had a famous ball, in the dining room. For musick, we had the bag-pipe, the violin and the flute, which added much to the interest of the occasion. At the ball, there were a number of the ladies of this country; and I was surprised to find that they could conduct with so much propriety, and dance so well.<sup>105</sup>

These “ladies” would all have been of Aboriginal ancestry.

In 1803, the North West Company moved its depôt and rendez-vous site north to Kaministiquia from Grand Portage, after the U. S. government threatened to begin levying customs duties on the goods transferred there. The Kaministiquia site was renamed Fort William, after partner

<sup>103</sup> Lytwyn, “The Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade”, 31.

<sup>104</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 15 – 16. A rod is 5.5 yards in length (5.03 meters). The XY Company did not last much longer; its partners were incorporated into the North West Company in 1804.

<sup>105</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 17. “Shrub” was rum or brandy mixed with sugar and fruit.

William McGillivray, in 1807.<sup>106</sup> An 1802 map of the Kaministiquia site shows two “old French” building locations and the cleared plots for North West Company buildings.<sup>107</sup>

The origins of some NWC mixed-ancestry families from the Nipigon-Lakehead region around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been outlined by historians Ruth Swan, Edward Jerome, Elizabeth Arthur and Jean Morrison. Swan and Jerome have assembled some data for the Collin mixed-ancestry family, which appears to have originated in the Grand Portage/Lakehead area possibly as early as the 1760s but certainly by 1799; part of a New France family that may have had roots in the fur trade in the Great Lakes area as early as 1713.<sup>108</sup> Elizabeth Arthur has traced the family of Roderick McKenzie, a North West Company and then HBC trader on Lake Nipigon, from his country marriage to a “Nipigon Indian” woman in 1803 to the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>109</sup> Jean Morrison has described the origins of several mixed-ancestry families, including those of Edward Harrison, who had been near Grand Portage in 1797, was at Fort William by 1806, and by 1816 had six children with his Aboriginal wife; the McLoughlin/M[a]cKay/McCargo/Taitt interconnected families based around Fort William, with origins around 1802; the Masta/Dauphin families originating in Fort William; the MacKenzie/Bethune families living in the Grand Portage/Fort William area with mixed-ancestry origins prior to 1782 and in 1793; the McKenzie family resident around Fort William, with second-generation mixed-ancestry births occurring prior to 1800; and the McGillivray family (the patriarch of whom was the namesake of Fort William), originating around 1790.<sup>110</sup> The Donna Cona consulting firm also located biographical data for Nicolas Chatelain, Jean Baptiste Jourdain, “Vesnis”, Joseph Primeau, and Louis Rivet that indicated that they were born of mixed-ancestry unions near North West Company sites at Grand Portage and Fond du Lac

<sup>106</sup> Harmon reported that when the Fort was renamed, “the Company made a present to their Voyagers, of a considerable quantity of spirits, shrub, &c. and also a similar present to the Indians, encamped about the fort” (*Voyages and Travels*, 126).

<sup>107</sup> Reproduced in Stuart, “French Fur Trade”, 16.

<sup>108</sup> Ruth Swan and Edward Jerome, “The Collin Family at Thunder Bay: A Case Study of *Métissage*”, in Jean Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake*, 105 – 108. Harmon mentions a “Collin” who was an interpreter for him at Fort Alexandria near Lake Winnipeg in 1804 (*Voyages and Travels*, 95).

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Arthur, “Angelique and Her Children”, in Jean Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake*, 117 – 123.

<sup>110</sup> Jean Morrison, “Fur Trade Families in the Lake Superior-Rainy Lake Region”, in Jean Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake*, 93 – 104.

around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>111</sup> Some of these families originated outside the Lake Superior region, but from these isolated instances traceable in the records it seems clear that by the second decade of the nineteenth century, there was a significant proportion of first and second-generation mixed-ancestry families around Fort William and other North West Company trading sites.

Alexander Henry the Younger, a NWC partner from 1801, estimated that there was a total of 1,610 “white” men, associated with 405 women and 600 children in the “North West” in 1805, from Pic River to Athabasca, including 16 men, 2 women and 3 children at Pic; 62 men, 16 women and 36 children living at Kaministiquia/Lac des Milles Lacs and Lac des Chiens (Dog Lake); and 90 men, 20 women and 20 children in the Nipigon district.<sup>112</sup> A list of NWC employees from the year 1805 has survived, although it does not offer any information about wives or children. The list of NWC employees “at the Lake Nipigon, Lake of the Isles and its Dependencies” for 1805 enumerated 73 men who stayed over the winter in the region, and 12 “summer men”. Of these, four were described as interpreters: Louis Chevalier, Alexis Frambay, François La Lancette, and Pierre Dumas, and one, Joseph Monier, was qualified as a guide. Guides and interpreters were generally more highly paid and had been in the country long enough to pick up a reliable knowledge of the local Aboriginal languages and geography. At “the Pic Departement”, fourteen men were listed, including two interpreters, Louis Boileau and William Harris. Only one page has survived of the list of men at Kaministiquia, enumerating 29 men, but not identifying them by occupation. As well, there are lists for Lac la Pluie (33 men), Red Lake and Lac Seul (29 men), “Mille Lacs” (8 men), Lac du Flambeaux south of Lake Superior (18 men), Point Chaguoanigon (near present-day Ashland, Wisconsin) (5 men), and Fond du Lac (Minnesota/Wisconsin) (52 men). At Fond du Lac, Eustache Roussin, Baptiste

<sup>111</sup> Donna Cona consultants, “Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area’s Mixed European-Indian and Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community”, prepared for Canada Department of Justice, 4 February 2005, 18. Daniel Harmon referred in 1805 to a Louis “Chattelain” who had been in charge of a NWC fur trading post on the South Saskatchewan *circa* 1790 (*Voyages and Travels*, 117). In 1833, Angus Bethune, in charge of the Lake Superior District, instructed John Swanston at Pic to pay Nicholas Chatellaine's mother an amount owing to her (HBCA, B.129/b/7, Angus Bethune to John Swanston, 18 March 1833, 36d).

<sup>112</sup> Alexander Henry, “Report of North West Population 1805”, reprinted in *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger*, Barry M. Gough, ed., 188. As Gough points out in his notes on this census, there were no “white” women in the North West at this time. It is also probable that some of Henry’s “white” men were in fact of mixed ancestry. Henry’s census is not restricted to NWC men.

Beaudrie, Joseph LaGarde, François Boucher, Toussaint Laronde, and Vincent Roy were identified as interpreters.<sup>113</sup>

In July 1805, North West Company trader Daniel Harmon came down to Kaministiquia from Lake Winnipeg via Rainy Lake and Lac la Croix, a river which he called the Nipigon (but which is clearly not today's Nipigon River) and Dog Lake. He described this as “the rout, by which the French, in former times, passed into the interior”. He saw Kaministiquia, or the “New Fort” for the first time, noting that “here the French, before the English conquered Canada, had an establishment”. He met “gentlemen” from Montréal and “different parts of the Interior”, and remarked on the presence of “one thousand labouring men, the greater part of whom, are Canadians, who answer better in this country, for the service required by the Company, than any other people would probably do”.<sup>114</sup> In his first trip into the interior from Montréal, he had described a “Canadian” “fellow clerk” travelling with him whose mother had been an Indian, as well as remarking on how “the Canadians resemble their ancestors, the French”. For Harmon, born and raised in the United States, the word “Canadian” applied generally to people of French descent, with or without Aboriginal ancestry.<sup>115</sup> To his Hudson's Bay Company rivals, of course, Harmon himself would have been a “Canadian”, meaning an employee or partner of a trading company exporting out of Montréal.

### Posts and Settlements, 1807 - 1817

NWC trader Daniel Harmon was assigned to the post at Sturgeon Lake for the winter of 1807 – 1808, and left Fort William with three canoes in the last week of July 1807. For a few days, he travelled with several other NWC traders, (Haldane, Leith, Chaboillez, McLoughlin, Russel and Dougal Cameron, and Roderick McKenzie). Harmon left Chaboillez and Leith, who were going to take over the Pic and Michipicoten posts respectively, at the entrance to the Nipigon River. Four days after leaving Lake Superior, the brigade arrived at “Fort Duncan at the north end of

<sup>113</sup> AO, F471-1-0-18, MU2199, B803022, in Roderick Mackenzie, “Some Account of the North West Company Containing Analogy of Nations Ancient and Modern”. That the “Fond du Lac” list pertains to Wisconsin and not to Lake Athabasca is confirmed by Henry's classification of the Fond du Lac returns for 1805 in the “South Lake Superior” department (reprinted in *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger*, Barry M. Gough, ed., 189).

<sup>114</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 114.

<sup>115</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 5.

Lake Nipigon”. Roderick Mackenzie stayed to winter at Fort Duncan. Harmon, his wife and five other men wintered at Sturgeon Lake; one of Harmon’s children was born there. On 22 June 1808, the brigade from Red Lake, Sturgeon Lake, and other outposts of the Nipigon department arrived at Fort Duncan, where they paused for a few days before resuming their voyage to Fort William. Another few days were spent on an island in Lake Nipigon, “in fishing for trout, which are here in plenty, and are of excellent quality”.<sup>116</sup>

In 1809, NWC trader John Johnston wrote a description of Sault Ste. Marie, through which he had travelled on his way to Fond du Lac.

On the farthest stream on the North side the North West Company have a fine Saw Mill. Here they have also several Houses and Stores for the reception of their Goods from Montreal...The Goods are carted over the Portage which is half a mile in length, and deposited in a store from whence they are conveyed in Bateaux to the Vessel that transports them to Caminitiquia, the chief settlement of the Company on the North Western extremity of the Lake. The meaning of the word Caminitiquia in the Chipeway language is, the river of difficult entrance...

The eddies formed around the rocks are the best places for taking the white fish...[which] are the chief support of both the Indians and White people here.

The situation of the Village is pleasing and romantic; the ground rises gently from the edge of the river, the Houses if they merit that name, are scattered irregularly over the ridge, and continued to within Four hundred Yards of the Fall...the scene...is agreeably heightened by the swarms of little Children gambling [gambolling] in every direction; and the sleek and peaceful Cattle...

When the Vessels of the North West Company are at anchor on the opposite side...there is a variety and contrast in the scene creative of the most pleasing ideas...

Those who go to the expense and trouble of inclosing and draining have as fine oats and Vegetables as in the world; and I have seen several heads or ears of Wheat and Oats which had fallen into the gardens by accident come to perfect maturity.<sup>117</sup>

Jacqueline Peterson describes the Sault *circa* 1800 as the residence of “a growing number of French Canadian, Métis, and Scots and Irish traders [who] had fanned out along both sides of the rapids with their Native wives and children”, including Jean-Baptiste Nolin and Jean-Baptiste

<sup>116</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 126 – 132.

<sup>117</sup> AO, F471-1-0-16, B80302, John Johnston, “An Account of Lake Superior”, with a letter of 21 September 1809 from Johnston to Roderick Mackenzie (transcripts), 3 – 6.

Cadotte. Farming was limited; fish and other country foods supported the population.<sup>118</sup> North West Company clerk Daniel Harmon, when passing by Sault Ste. Marie in 1800, observed the North West Company buildings on the north side of the river and the locks the Company had built, as well as “a few Americans, Scotch and Canadians, who carry on a small traffic with the Natives, and also till the ground a little”.<sup>119</sup>

The old fur trade population centre at Mackinac had been shifted back and forth between British and American jurisdiction three times by 1815, with population migrations resulting each time. In 1796, the post was transferred peacefully to the United States, and the military garrison and many of the “Canadian” fur trade families moved to St. Joseph Island nearby. In 1812, a contingent of 160 volunteers from these fur trade families combined with a small number of British regular troops to recapture Mackinac for the British. However, under the Treaty of Ghent, Mackinac was deemed to be within American territory. The British garrison and most of the “Canadian” families then moved to Drummond Island.<sup>120</sup>

North West Company trader Gabriel Franchère provided a written sketch of Fort William in 1814 in his memoirs. Travelling through Cumberland House at the outlet of the Saskatchewan River at Cumberland Lake in present-day Saskatchewan, he noted that “at this place the traders who resort every year to Fort William, leave their half-breed or Indian wives and families, as

<sup>118</sup> Peterson, “Ethnogenesis”, 49. Johnston himself was married to an Ojibwa woman and had several children (*ibid.*, 54).

<sup>119</sup> Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, Daniel Haskel, ed., introduction by W. L. Grant (Toronto: A. S. Barnes, 1911), online at <http://books.scholarsportal.info/viewdoc.html?id=60300> (accessed January 2013), 12. In June 1800, Harmon left Sault Ste. Marie for Grand Portage with a North West Company brigade of 300 men in 35 canoes.

<sup>120</sup> A. C. Osborne, “The Migration of *Voyageurs* from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828”, Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records*, Vol. III, 123. As the title of the article implies, this community moved again in 1828 after boundary surveys determined that Drummond Island was in American territory. These people became the ancestors of many modern-day Métis people on Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, especially around Penetanguishene. Captain Joseph Delafield of the American boundary survey party recorded visits with “Mrs. Solomon” on his visit there in 1821. He described Mrs. Solomon as “of the Jewish faith and a very clever and kind woman”. She gave Delafield some “Indian” crafts, told him that large quantities of maple sugar were made on the island (although there was little agriculture) and that between 1,500 and 2,000 “Indians” assembled in the fall at Drummond Island to receive presents from the U. S. Government and trade their goods. Her “garden” was about half an acre in size (Joseph Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary: A Diary of the first survey of the Canadian Boundary Line from St. Regis to the Lake of the Woods*), New York: privately printed, 1843), 318 - 321). Delafield also recorded supplying provisions to “a Mr. Solomon with two little children” from Drummond Island, windbound on Goose Island close to Mackinac (*ibid.*, 461).

they can live here at little expense, the lake abounding in fish”.<sup>121</sup> Coming down the Kaministiquia River, at the end of a long and difficult portage about a day’s travel from Fort William, Franchère and his party “found a sort of *restaurant* or *cabaret*, kept by a man named *Boucher*”. Despite the difficulty of the subsequent portages around falls and rapids, the journey proceeded “without a murmur from our Canadian boatmen, who kept their spirits up by singing their *voyageur* songs”. Franchère described the Fort in some detail as it was in July:

Fort William has really the appearance of a fort, with its palisade fifteen feet high, and that of a pretty village, from the number of edifices it encloses. In the middle of a spacious square rises a large building elegantly constructed, though of wood, with a long piazza or portico, raised about five feet from the ground, and surmounted by a balcony, extending along the whole front. In the centre is a saloon or hall, sixty feet in length by thirty in width, decorated with several pieces of painting, and some portraits of the leading partners. It is in this hall that the agents, partners, clerks, interpreters, and guides, take their meals together, at different tables...On either side of this edifice, is another of the same extent...they are each divided by a corridor running through its length, and contain each, a dozen pretty bed-rooms. One is destined for the wintering partners, the other for the clerks. On the east of the square is another building similar to the last two, and intended for the same use, and a warehouse where the furs are inspected and repacked for shipment. In the rear of these, are the lodging-house of the guides, another fur-warehouse, and finally, a powder magazine...At the angle is a sort of bastion, or look-out place, commanding a view of the lake. On the west side is seen a range of buildings, some of which serve for stores, and others for workshops; there is one for the equipment of the men, another for the fitting out of the canoes, one for the retail of goods, another where they sell liquors, bread, pork, butter, &c., and where a treat is given to the travellers who arrive. This consists in a white loaf, half a pound of butter, and a gill of rum. The *voyageurs* give this tavern the name of *Cantine salope*.<sup>122</sup> Behind all this is another range, where we find the counting-house, a fine square building and well-lighted; another storehouse of stone, tin-roofed; and a *jail*, not less necessary than the rest. The *voyageurs* give it the name of *pot au beurre* – the butter tub. Beyond these we discover the shops of the carpenter, the cooper, the tinsmith, the blacksmith, &c.; and spacious yards and sheds for the shelter, reparation, and construction of the canoes. Near the gate of the fort, which is on the south, are the quarters of the physician, and those of the chief clerk. Over the gate is a guard-house.

As the river is deep at its entrance, the company has had a wharf constructed, extending the whole length of the fort...The land behind the fort and on both sides of it, is cleared and under tillage. We saw barley, peas, and oats, which had a very fine appearance. At the end

<sup>121</sup> Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814*, J. V. Huntington, translator and editor (New York: Redfield, 1854), online at <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/80/2.html?qid=peelbib|franchere|%28peelnum:000080%29|score> (accessed January 2013), 327.

<sup>122</sup> Donna Cona translate this term as “Trollop’s Tavern”. “Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area Mixed European-Indian...Community”, 22.

of the clearing is the burying-ground. There are also, on the opposite bank of the river, a certain number of log-houses, all inhabited by old Canadian *voyageurs*, worn out in the service of the company, without having enriched themselves. Married to women of the country, and incumbered with large families of half-breed children,<sup>123</sup> these men prefer to cultivate a little Indian corn and potatoes, and to fish, for a subsistence, rather than to return to their native districts, to give their relatives and former acquaintances certain proofs of their misconduct or their imprudence.

Fort William is the grand *dépôt* of the Northwest Company for their interior posts, and the general *rendezvous* of the partners. The agents from Montreal and the wintering partners assemble here every summer, to receive the returns of their respective outfits, prepare for the operations of the ensuing season, and discuss the general interests of their association...The wintering hands who are to return with their employers, pass also a great part of the summer here; they form a great encampment on the west side of the fort, outside the palisades. Those who engage at Montreal to go no further than Fort William or *Rainy lake*, and who do not *winter*, occupy yet another space, on the east side. The winterers, or *hivernants*, give to these last the name of *mangeurs de lard*, or pork-eaters. They are also called *comers-and-goers*. One perceives an astonishing difference between these two camps, which are composed sometimes of three or four hundred men each; that of the pork-eaters is always dirty and disorderly, while that of the winterers is clean and neat.

To clear its land and improve its property, the company inserts a clause in the engagement of all who enter its service as canoe-men, that they shall work for a certain number of days during their stay at Fort William. It is thus that it has cleared and drained the environs of the fort, and has erected so many fine buildings. But when a hand has once worked the stipulated number of days, he is for ever after exempt, even if he remain in the service twenty or thirty years, and should come down to the fort every summer...<sup>124</sup>

The scale, facilities and organization of the fort were indeed astonishing, especially by the rather spartan standards of fur-trade accommodation at many posts. The thousand-plus men and those of their wives and families who accompanied them each had their place socially and geographically: the partners, clerks, guides, winterers, summer men, skilled trades, and retired residents with their families. This sorting strategy would tend to reinforce identities by hierarchy and occupation, while the common experience of meeting at Fort William offered a broader

<sup>123</sup> The original French gives this phrase as "mariés a des femmes du pays, et chargés des familles nombreuses". See Gabriel Franchère, *Relation d'un Voyage à la Côte du Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique Septentrionale, dans les années 1810, 11, 12, 13, et 14* (Montréal: L'Imprimerie de C. E. Pasteur, 1820), online at <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/81/8.html> (accessed January 2013), 271.

<sup>124</sup> Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 339 -344. Former North West Company partner Andrew Stewart gave a similar description to Captain Joseph Delafield of the American boundary survey party in 1823. Stewart recalled that in 1818 he had 800 "North men" camped in the field traditionally reserved for them above the Fort, a similar plain below the Fort being customarily the camp for "Pork Eaters" or men making the round trip in the summer from Montréal. "There was always a constant riot in the camps, there being a sort of warfare existing", Stewart told Delafield (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 401).

Company identity. Other geographic spaces were occupied by the Indians that camped near the fort in the summer time, and the women and children who were left either at the posts or at common meeting places such as Cumberland House. The logistics of feeding, equipping, and regulating this army of summer visitors, let alone the business of shipping in goods and shipping out furs, were impressive. The equivalent Hudson's Bay Company establishments, at York Factory and to a lesser extent Churchill, Albany and Moose, were also impressive but could not match the scale of activity at Fort William's single funnel point from the fur trade country (including north of Superior) out to Montréal.

Franchère continued his journey to Montréal via the usual route through Lake Superior, Lake Huron, the French River, Lake Nipissing, the Mattawa River, the Ottawa River, and finally the St. Lawrence. He left Fort William in a large canoe with fourteen *voyageurs* and six passengers. On the fourth day out from Fort William, the group "dined at a small trading establishment called *Le Pic*, where we had excellent fish". A few days later, they crossed Michipicoten Bay, where they met a small canoe coming the other way containing Captain McCargo and the crew of the NWC schooner. He brought the news that Sault Ste. Marie had been attacked by the Americans. Two and a half days later, Franchère and his party reached "Batchawainon, where we found some women, who prepared us food and received us well. It is a poor little post". At the Sault, they saw "the ruins the enemy had left" of the North West Company houses, stores, and sawmills. The Americans had attacked and pillaged this establishment in revenge for the Company's raising of a *voyageur* regiment and arming some Indian people to fight against them in the War of 1812 – 1814.<sup>125</sup>

Also at Sault Ste. Marie, the travellers found "a certain number of houses" just below the rapids. On the south side was the residence of "a Mr. Nolin, with his family, consisting of three half-breed boys and as many girls, one of whom was passably pretty. He was an old Indian trader, and his house and furniture showed signs of his former prosperity".<sup>126</sup> Franchère continued,

<sup>125</sup> Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 347 – 350.

<sup>126</sup> Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 351. The French original reads, "Mr. Nolin, avec sa famille, consistant en trois garçons et trois filles, dont une était passablement jolie" (*Relation d'un Voyage*, 278). Delafield visited a Mr. Johnson, a trader, with his Indian wife and "a large family of children" on the American side of Sault Ste. Marie in 1822. He also commented that one of Mr. Johnson's girls was "a fine-looking girl", while her sister was "much of

On the British side we found Mr. Charles Ermatinger, who had a pretty establishment: he dwelt temporarily in a house that belonged to Nolin, but he was building another of stone, very elegant, and had just finished a grist mill. He thought that the last would lead the inhabitants to sow more grain than they did. These inhabitants are principally old Canadian boatmen, married to half-breed or Indian women. The fish afford them subsistence during the greater part of the year, and provided they secure potatoes enough to carry them through the remainder, they are content...<sup>127</sup>

Ermatinger was an established fur trader with a mixed-ancestry family of his own.<sup>128</sup> Although he entertained his North West Company visitors, he also recruited temporary employees for the Hudson's Bay Company's Lake Superior posts from among the Great Lakes fur trade families that gathered around the Sault, Mackinac, St. Joseph's and Drummond Island.

In 1816, in the context of the conflict between the HBC and NWC that had culminated in the Seven Oaks incident at the Red River settlement, HBC proprietor Lord Selkirk and soldiers from the des Meurons regiment seized the NWC establishment at Fort William. When the HBC relinquished Fort William in 1817, a new HBC post, named Point Meuron, was constructed across the river from the NWC's extensive developments. The HBC used this Point Meuron post for similar purposes, albeit on a much smaller scale, as the NWC used Fort William; as a staging area for transportation of goods, people, and furs between the smaller inland canoes used to access posts not easily reached from Hudson's Bay, and the large Great Lakes freight canoes used between Lake Superior and Montréal. In 1815, the HBC had stepped up its recruiting of employees from "Canada", usually from the parishes around Montréal, increasing the importance of the Great Lakes route for personnel transfers.<sup>129</sup>

the squaw in looks, and consequently kept in the dark, altho equally well behaved" (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 370).

<sup>127</sup> Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 351 – 352. The French of the third sentence reads: "Ces habitans sont la plupart de vieux voyageurs Canadiens mariés à des femmes du pays" (*Relation d'un voyage*, 279).

<sup>128</sup> Charles Ermatinger's father Laurenz had been involved in the fur trade since 1761 and was a founding partner of the North West Company (although he did not remain in the partnership). Laurenz married his business partner's sister (Charles' mother) in Montréal, further cementing ties in the fur trade family networks. Charles married an Indian woman from the Upper Mississippi while trading there in the late 1700s. He and his family moved to Sault Ste. Marie in 1808 (Gladys McNeice, *The Ermatinger Family of Sault Ste. Marie* [Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario: Creative Printing House, 1984], 1 - 11). In 1822, Joseph Delafield described Ermatinger as "an individual trader [on the Canadian side of Sault Ste. Marie] of considerable capital" (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 370).

<sup>129</sup> Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade", 35 – 36.

## Long Lake, 1815 - 1818

The next Hudson's Bay Company journal available for the region north of Lake Superior is for Long Lake post, commencing in August 1815. This post was established as an outpost of Henley House the previous season. Two labourers, Edward McKay, from Hudson's Bay, and John McDonald, from "Canada",<sup>130</sup> had stayed the summer at Long Lake. The crew arriving from Henley House, under the direction of Donald McPherson from Argyle in Scotland, included William Clouston, from Stromness in Scotland; Robert Dudley and Jacob Daniel,<sup>131</sup> steersmen from Hudson's Bay; and Thomas Brahoney and William Malone, from Sligo in Ireland.<sup>132</sup> Other employees at the post for at least part of the year were Roderick Davidson, a clerk from Inverness in Scotland; William Taylor from the Orkney Islands; Joseph Clouston from Ireland; Hugh Linklater, a steersman from Hudson's Bay; an apprentice, John Taylor, from Hudson's Bay,<sup>133</sup> and Hugh Craigie from the Orkney Islands.<sup>134</sup> Dudley was also a junior trader and was sent to manage an outpost at Cat Lake with the Cloustons and Hugh Linklater for several months of the winter.<sup>135</sup>

One feature of life at Long Lake was that the men were often sent out to travel with hunting Indians, or to other locations in the vicinity to trade, hunt or fish. On most of these trading, trapping or hunting expeditions, to such places as Lesser Long Lake and Cat Lake, one of the "Hudson's Bay" men would be paired up with one of the Europeans, presumably to take

<sup>130</sup> John McKay had opened the Nipigon post for the HBC in 1792, after having worked in the same area for Cotté and Shaw. Donald McKay also joined the HBC in 1792 after trading on his own account at Sturgeon Lake. It is not known if Edward McKay was related to either of these men. John McDonald, a "Canadian" who had previously worked in the Lake Nipigon area for Cameron and possibly for Solomon, was working for the HBC at Nipigon post in 1796 – 1797. It is not clear if the John McDonald of 1815 is the same person.

<sup>131</sup> John Daniels, a native of "Hudson's Bay", worked for the HBC Nipigon post in 1802. The spelling of "Daniel" and "Daniels" is sometimes not consistent in the records. It is not known if Jacob was related to John.

<sup>132</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/1, 25 August 1815, fol. 1. The information about the origins of the employees comes from HBCA, A.30/15, fols. 7 – 8 (handwritten numbers).

<sup>133</sup> It is not known if this is a descendant of the John Taylor who worked at Nipigon House in 1797, or a relative of the William Taylor who was working at Long Lake.

<sup>134</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/1, 30 October 1815, fol. 8; 28 November 1815, fol. 10d; 1 January 1816, fol. 14d; 20 February 1816, fol. 19d; 1 June 1816, fol. 30.

<sup>135</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/1, 27 November 1815, fol. 10d; 30 May 1816, fol. 30.

advantage of the native-born person's bush and/or language skills.<sup>136</sup> No women or children were mentioned in this journal; indeed Jacob Daniel was noted as netting snowshoes<sup>137</sup> and other men were recorded as hunting small game such as hares and partridges, tasks that were performed by women at other posts. Fishing, an important activity for the post, took place at various locations, and was engaged in by both the native-born and the Orcadians, who had doubtless learned this skill in their home country. The role of the "Hudson's Bay" men, however, was clearly critical to the HBC's operations, as the Albany trader had observed in 1804, and their numbers in the service were increasing.

Competition from the North West Company was intense; the "Canadian" house nearby was under the direction of a Mr. Nelson or Neilson (possibly the same person, or a relation, who had directed the boat-building near the Sault witnessed by John Macdonell in 1793). Desertion back and forth between houses appears to have been common; McKay, Daniels, Brahoney, Craigie, and Malone all deserted or attempted to desert to the NWC during the winter season, and two "Canadians" attempted to join the HBC.<sup>138</sup> The NWC also sent people from Long Lake to Cat Lake and Lesser Long Lake to trade.<sup>139</sup> The Long Lake NWC post was apparently supplied from a post at "Pic".<sup>140</sup> The trading year came to a dramatic end when Chief Trader McPherson was arrested by his NWC neighbours and taken away to Montréal via Pic in early June 1816.<sup>141</sup>

James Tate (also spelled Tait), of Ronaldsha or Ronaldsay in the Orkney Islands, took over Long Lake House for the HBC in 1816 and brought a crew of eight men to Henley House.<sup>142</sup> Five men accompanied Tate to Long Lake: Jacob Daniel, William Clouston, and Robert Dudley returned; William Taylor (possibly of the Orkneys) and Hugh Rich (home parish unknown),

<sup>136</sup> See for example HBCA, B.117/a/1, 2 October 1815 (Dudley and William Clouston sent off to trade with Indians), fol. 5; 30 October 1815 (Davidson and John Taylor hunt partridges and hares), fol. 8; 2 November 1815 (Davidson and McKay hunting), fol. 8; 1 January 1816 (Daniel and Joseph Clouston sent off "with the Indians"), fol. 14d.

<sup>137</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/1, 11 March 1816, fol. 21d.

<sup>138</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/1, 29 August 1815, fol. 1d; 31 August 1815, fol. 2; 28 November 1815, fol. 10d; 23 December 1815, fols. 13 and 13d; 30 December 1815, fol. 14.

<sup>139</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/1, 4 April 1816, fol. 24.

<sup>140</sup> HBCA, 23 December 1815, fol. 13d; 1 June 1816, fol. 30.

<sup>141</sup> HBCA, 5 June 1816, fols. 30d, 31.

<sup>142</sup> The men who stayed at Henley House were Joseph Clouston, William Cursiter of Rendall in the Orkneys, and Andrew Thompson and Andrew Haddle or Heddle of the Orkneys. These men, with the exception of Joseph Clouston, returned to Henley the following year.

were newcomers.<sup>143</sup> The HBC thus provided Long Lake with men familiar with the area, including two native-born men, to assist the newcomers and outsiders in the work of the post. *En route*, Daniel and Tate had had an altercation over which of them should have command of the boat. Daniel was the steersman and had both skills and knowledge of the route, but Tate was his superior as the master of the post.<sup>144</sup> Tate identified the HBC post as located about two miles southwest of the entrance to the lake from the north; the “Canadian” house, with a master and eight men, was north about 200 meters or 650 feet.<sup>145</sup> The Canadian master’s name was Solomon Mittelberger, and Tate learned the names of two of his men, Landrie and Charette.<sup>146</sup> The Canadian post was once again supplied from “Pic”.<sup>147</sup>

The Tate journal of 1816 – 1817 is the first to mention Jacob Daniel’s wife and family. Daniel and his family were sent by Tate to fish, “follow Indians”, and snare small game such as rabbits and marten. Daniel also had carpentry skills, having assisted in building the house the previous season, and making window frames in October 1816.<sup>148</sup> Tate observed that Daniel was the “best man for procuring the trade in this district”, and therefore some “trifling mistakes” (including, presumably, challenging Tate’s authority in the boat) were overlooked.<sup>149</sup> Daniel’s wife and kin connections may have assisted him in securing the trade of the local Indian population, and he also would have had language and cultural knowledge that would have given him an advantage in his relationships with the HBC’s customers. Dudley also continued to trade and hunt, at one point bringing in 400 rabbits, 1 goose, 1 duck and 11 muskrats.<sup>150</sup> Tate left the post in May of

<sup>143</sup> The information regarding parish of origin for 1816 – 1817 and 1818 – 1819 comes from HBCA, A.30/16, List of Servants in Hudson’s Bay 1818 – 1819, fols. 157 – 202. This is the next available register. The men for Henley and Long Lake are listed in HBCA, B.117/a/2, 10 August 1816, fol. 1; letter of James Tate to William Thomas, 1 September 1816, fols. 3 – 4.

<sup>144</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, letter of James Tate to William Thomas, 1 September 1816, fols. 3 – 4.

<sup>145</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, 23 September 1816, fol. 8.

<sup>146</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, 23 September 1816, fol. 8; letter of James Tate to Solomon Mittelberger, 28 August 1816, fol. 9.

<sup>147</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, 23 September 1816, fol. 8.

<sup>148</sup> See for example HBCA, B.117/a/2, 6 September 1815, fol. 2d; HBCA, B.117/a/2, 29 September 1816, 3 October 1816, 4 October 1816, fol. 10; 10 October 1816, 16 October 1816, fol. 11; 26 November 1816, 28 November 1816, 29 November 1816, 3 December 1816, fol. 16; 27 December 1816, fols. 18 – 19.

<sup>149</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, letter of James Tate to William Thomas, 15 March 1817, fol. 34. The employment register for 1818 – 1819 includes the following remark about Daniel: “Very capable of his duty and an excellent hand in procuring trade, but thinks too much of his own abilities and in case of a miscarriage can cloak it with a lie” (A.30/16, fol. 48).

<sup>150</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, 14 May 1817, fol. 46.

1817 for Henley House, leaving William Clouston in charge, and Jacob Daniel and Hugh Rich to continue at Long Lake over the summer. Daniel travelled with Tate as “pilot for part of the way”.<sup>151</sup>

Tate returned to Long Lake in August of 1817, bringing back Daniel (who had made a trip up to Albany), William Taylor, Hugh Rich, William Cursiter (who had been at Henley the previous season) and newcomers Charles Groux (parish of origin unknown), clerk Nicol Finlayson (from Great Britain), John Brady or Brodie of the Orkneys, and William Cromartie or Cromarty, an apprentice from “Hudson’s Bay”. William Clouston was left in charge at Henley House with William Scarth, James Flett, and Andrew Thompson, all of the Orkney Islands.<sup>152</sup> Long Lake was staffed again with a mixture of returning and new hands, including some mixed-ancestry individuals. Mittelberger was back at the “Canadian” house with nine men, including Charette, Pyette, and Legarde. Tate wrote to Henley House that each of the “Canadian” employees could do business with Indians and converse in the “Indian tongue”, at least one of them being “Indian or half Indian”.<sup>153</sup> Daniel was sent out frequently with the Orkneymen to fish, trade, and hunt furbearers. Locations for these activities included Pike River, Keenogamyshick, Blackwater Lake, Big Lake, Cat Lake, Wappuscuaca Lake, the “chain of lakes”, and Raw Bone Lake.<sup>154</sup>

This sample of early Long Lake HBC post journals highlights the presence and importance of mixed-ancestry men from “Hudson’s Bay” in the fur trade during this period. The Company clearly attempted to staff inland posts with a mix of men experienced in the region and newcomers, and the “Hudson’s Bay” men were a key element to ensure a post’s success. Men like Daniel and Dudley (and even the apprentices like John Taylor and William Cromartie) not only traded, hunted and fished to support the post, but also made the incoming Orkneymen useful by taking them to fishing and trading locations, facilitating communication with the Indians, and using skills specific to the fur trade country such as netting snowshoes, steering

<sup>151</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/2, 26 May 1817, fol. 48. Tate appended to this journal a useful map identifying the locations mentioned as fishing, trading, or travelling sites, and also the route taken back to Henley.

<sup>152</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/3, 12 July 1817, fol. 1; 3 August 1817, 7 August 1817, fol. 3.

<sup>153</sup> HBCA, B.117/a/3, letter of James Tate to Solomon Mittelberger, 29 September 1817, fol. 20; letter of James Tate to William Thomas, 3 February 1818, fols. 25 - 27; letter of 1 April 1818, James Tate to Solomon Mittelberger, fol. 39.

<sup>154</sup> HBCA, B.118/a/3, 12 September 1817, 15 September 1817, fol. 8; 3 February 1818, fol. 25; 25 March 1818, fol. 34; 8 April 1818, fol. 40; 16 April 1818, fol. 42; 1 May 1818, fol. 44a.

through rapids, or making canoes. After some exposure to this knowledge, some Orkney employees learned to “follow Indians”, find fishing locations, trade, hunt, and trap on their own, but these were not skills that they brought with them from the Old Country. Tate at Long Lake identified the facility of the majority of “Canadian” employees, some of whom were of mixed ancestry or had been involved in the fur trade for decades if not generations, in speaking Indian languages and dealing with Indian customers as a key competitive advantage for the North West Company. The “Hudson’s Bay” employees of the HBC, for their part, were aware of their unique abilities and position in the Company, and intermittently demanded more respect and recognition, whether it be through better wages or acknowledgement of their authority in specific situations.

### Michipicoten, 1817 - 1821

In the HBC Michipicoten District for the trading year 1817 – 1818, under the direction of Andrew Stewart from Scotland, ten employees were listed. Unfortunately, complete employment records for Michipicoten and Fort William for the 1817 – 1821 time period similar to those for Nipigon and Long Lake have not survived, so compiling information about the origins of these employees is more difficult. The Michipicoten District report for 1817 – 1818 offers some data about the ten employees. George Budge, a 20-year HBC veteran identified in 1814 as an Orkneyman,<sup>155</sup> was described by Stewart as “very dissatisfied with his Situation...he wanted to go to the [Red River] Colony with his family”. Budge was dispatched to Brunswick House, much against his will, but his family remained at Michipicoten.<sup>156</sup> John Vincent, clerk, was listed in 1818 – 1819 as a native of Hudson’s Bay.<sup>157</sup> Dominique Deminies, a clerk from Canada hired at Sault Ste. Marie, had decided to leave for Red River.<sup>158</sup> James Barr, an axeman, was from Red River, as was Neil Weatherwuto. Another woodcutter, Benjamin LaCosh, was “Canadian”, as was labourer Lawrence Stone or Sterne. Magnus Kirkness, labourer, was an

<sup>155</sup> HBCA, A.30/14, fol. 45.

<sup>156</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/1, fols. 3d, 4. Budge was transferred to Point Meuron for outfit 1818 – 1819, and his family was not recorded as staying at Michipicoten that year (HBCA, B.129/e/2, fol. 2).

<sup>157</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/1, fol. 4; HBCA, A.30/16, fol. 63.

<sup>158</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/1, fol. 4d.

Orkneyman. The origins of Robert Jones, clerk, and Andrew Nelson, sawyer, are unknown, although Nelson was formerly stationed at Fort Churchill.<sup>159</sup>

Stewart described the North West Company operations at Michipicoten in some detail in his report. Donald McIntosh was the partner in charge of the NWC's Michipicoten District, which included posts at Batchewana (staffed by three men, where maple sugar was an important product) and three other locations in the HBC's Brunswick district. John Robertson, a "half breed...brought up in our service he deserted from Mr Geo Gladman when master at New Brunswick many Years ago", McIntosh and five other men stayed at the post in the winter, and ten to twelve men were there in the summer. The NWC had built a structure 21 yards from the HBC post to observe their rivals' activities.<sup>160</sup>

According to Stewart, Michipicoten was not an important fur post, but was significant as a provisioning post and a supply depot for both companies, especially for canoes moving into the interior. Fishing was a critical part of the post's work, at locations 25 and 18 miles away and others nearby. At least four men were required to work the fishing nets used in the peak summer season. Few Indian people frequented either the NWC or the HBC post; Stewart commented that some from Sault Ste. Marie and Drummond Island had visited in the summer of 1817 and helped to collect cedar bark for the exteriors of the post buildings.<sup>161</sup>

The summary of the post journal that Stewart included with his annual report tends to confirm Stewart's characterization of the post's functions. In the navigation season, canoes and boats from Sault Ste. Marie, Fort William/Point Meuron, Montréal and Red River stopped at the Michipicoten posts, delivering or picking up supplies and provisions. Brunswick House (the winter residence of the Governor of the HBC's Southern Department) was also supplied from Michipicoten, and communications to and from the Governor passed through Michipicoten after freezeup. George Budge and sometimes John Vincent led the crews of boats that were sent out from Michipicoten.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>159</sup> HBCA, A.30/16, fol. 52; HBCA, B.129/e/1, fols. 4d – 5.

<sup>160</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/1, fol. 5d.

<sup>161</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/1, fols. 5, 6.

<sup>162</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/1, fols. 1 – 3.

Stewart's summary of the post journal for 1818 – 1819, submitted with his report for that year, showed a similar pattern. During navigation season, the port bustled with traffic to and from Red River, Montréal, Fort William/Point Meuron, Sault Ste. Marie, Lac la Pluie, Drummond Island and Brunswick House. From September to November, the “fall fishery” was in full swing, bringing in 4900 fish, although the site on Lake Superior eighteen miles from the post on was not as productive as hoped, “as we were ignorant of the proper method of catching them”. Firewood collecting took up most of the post's manpower from November to January, as the North West Company had harvested much of the easily accessible wood in the twelve years prior to the establishment of the HBC post. By April, the lake was navigable again. Few Indians visited; Stewart estimated that only one starving family came to the NWC post all winter.<sup>163</sup>

The NWC post had outposts at Brunswick, Capinacagamis Lake, Matawgamie Lake, and Batchewana, where an “old Canadian trader” and three men continued their hold on the trade. Stewart was able to name the clerks at the NWC post: Baptist Rousseau, John Robertson, D. Clarke and François Hillury.<sup>164</sup> In August of 1818, Stewart made a bold competitive move, intercepting two “heavy loaded canoes” from trader Augustin Nolin at Sault Ste. Marie in the charge of clerk Joseph Dufaut, who was headed inland to oppose the HBC's Brunswick post. He entered into an agreement with Dufaut, who was “personally known to all Indians in that quarter”, to instead trade for the HBC at Matawgamie Lake. Dufaut and Morrice were also to spend at least part of the winter at Michipicoten post. As well as trading, Dufaut had with him “three Sauter hunting Indians from Fond du Lac” to trap for the post, and “Canadians” (Nolin employees) Michel Batien, François Paquette, François Biron<sup>165</sup> and Nicholas Morrice.<sup>166</sup>

At his own post, Stewart had lost some of his most experienced employees, such as Budge and Vincent, perhaps explaining why the fishery had not been as successful as before. George Morin, clerk and interpreter, François Charlebois, Drummond Craigie and Joseph Labombard all came from “Canada”. Labombard had been engaged by Stewart at Sault Ste. Marie and had been

<sup>163</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/2, fols. 1 – 4, 6d.

<sup>164</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/2, fols. 6 – 6d.

<sup>165</sup> Biron was a progenitor of a large extended family with this surname in the Métis community of Sault Ste. Marie, Batchewana and Garden River.

<sup>166</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/2, fols. 2, 2d, 6d – 9.

essential for the fishery, but he was too highly-paid to retain.<sup>167</sup> James Flett, John Harcus, and John Mowat were all Orkneymen. Magnus Kirkness, a holdover from the previous year, had been Stewart's best man, but had been injured in December and unable to work.<sup>168</sup> Stewart applied to Governor Vincent in September of 1818 for the "services of his son" John, and John Vincent came to Michipicoten from Christmas to 8 March to help cut and prepare wood for the building of a house.<sup>169</sup> The lack of men skilled and experienced in fur trade work and knowledgeable about the region, including mixed-ancestry men, had apparently led to Stewart's hiring Labombard at Sault Ste. Marie, at wages over one-and-a-half times what regular employees at the same level were paid; and Augustin Nolin's crew of traders with established ties to the Aboriginal population and the ability to "go after Indians". Stewart did not refer to any families around his own post, except for the family of Patrick McNulty "belonging to the Colony" (Red River), who had stayed at the post and been supported there during the winter of 1817 – 1818, returning to Red River in the spring of 1818.<sup>170</sup>

In August of 1819, shipwright Edward Taylor (origins unknown) arrived with his wife and two assistants at Michipicoten, and shortly afterwards Stewart and Taylor set out to choose a suitable site for the construction of a boat to carry supplies from Sault Ste. Marie to Point Meuron. The project came to a disappointing end when Taylor declared that there was no suitable place to launch a boat of the size required, nor enough wood between Michipicoten and Sault Ste. Marie to build it.<sup>171</sup> As in previous years, a fishery at a site 18 – 20 miles away from Michipicoten was undertaken at the beginning of September, and at the end of September a "fall fishery" was underway until the end of October. This year, the fishermen were apparently successful. However, for the second year in a row, Stewart was obliged to purchase moose hides for leather from a passing traveller, in this case "Canadian" Jean Gannion making a round trip to Montréal from Red River, as none were available around Michipicoten. As in case of other commodities

<sup>167</sup> Labombard's ethnicity has not been confirmed, although there is a 1802 contract in the Voyageur database for a Joseph Labombarde from Pointe-Claire with William McGillivray, a NWC partner, to travel to Mackinac and Kaministiquia and winter in the "Nord Ouest". It is likely that this is the same man. There are also earlier contracts from the mid-1700s for men with this surname to travel to Mackinac and Detroit. Labombard's "half-breed" son Alexis, born in 1811, was later a guide for John James Audubon on the Missouri River near Fort Union (Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and his Journals*, Elliott Coues, ed. {New York: Dover Publications, 1986}, 529).

<sup>168</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/2, fols. 4d – 5d; HBCA, A.30/16, fols. 43, 45, 48, 50, 52, 55, 56.

<sup>169</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/2, fol. 4.

<sup>170</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/2, fol. 1.

<sup>171</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/3, fol. 1d.

such as fish, Michipicoten had to supply not only its own needs but the requirements of other posts and travellers.<sup>172</sup> The North West Company post was staffed by partner McIntosh, clerks Allan and Robertson, and four other men; their Michipicoten district employed fourteen men in all. The furs NWC obtained from locations other than the Michipicoten outposts such as Batchewana and Matawgamie came from “Indians along Lake Superior”, according to Stewart.<sup>173</sup>

Stewart, in 1819 – 1820, had the benefit of some seasoned employees. Jean-Baptiste Perrault, about sixty years of age, had been hired at Sault Ste. Marie in 1817 by the HBC, but had worked in the Lake Superior/Lake Nipigon area fur trade since at least 1783. “I have not the least doubt but that Mr. Perrault is still inclined to make himself useful but as he labours under two Severe bodily infirmities Rhumatism Rupture he cannot be actively employed”.<sup>174</sup> Perrault came to the post with a “large family”.<sup>175</sup> Drummond Craigie returned to the post, a good labourer but “totally unacquainted with the management of a canoe”. James Flett, John Mowat, Magnus Kirkness and John Harcus also carried over from the previous year; Harcus had learned to drive a dog team, and Flett and Kirkness were capable of travelling to interior posts. Michael Hyland, a sawyer, origins unknown, was the only newcomer.<sup>176</sup> As trading with the Indians had become such a small part of Michipicoten’s business, Stewart could manage with these few men who had picked up some bush skills and local knowledge, perhaps from some of the men brought in from Sault Ste. Marie the previous year.

Perrault, Flett, Hyland, Kirkness and Mowat all remained at the post for the season of 1820 – 1821. In September of 1820, Perrault led the group of fishermen at the early fishery site 20 miles away from Michipicoten. The NWC men were also there; and results were mediocre for both parties. The NWC post was staffed by the partner and twelve men. Stewart believed that the NWC fur returns were better than in previous years because of the “unusual good hunts made by many of the Michippicoton Indians” and a “large family of Indians from the Pic quarter”. He emphasized to his superiors that “we had no chance of procuring any trade at Michippicoton.

<sup>172</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/3, fols. 1d – 5.

<sup>173</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/3, fols. 5 – 6d.

<sup>174</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/3, fol. 5d.

<sup>175</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/4, fol. 2d.

<sup>176</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/3, fols.

Indeed when Michippicoton was established five years ago it was then clearly understood that it was with the view of supplying New Brunswick [House] with Provisions and to keep up regular communications with Canada”.<sup>177</sup>

On 25 May 1821, Stewart received a dispatch from Montreal with the dramatic news of the coalition of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the North West Company. On 6 June, Nicholas Garry, Deputy Governor of the HBC, and Simon McGillivray, senior partner of the NWC, arrived by canoe from Montreal and instructed Stewart to begin the process of disbanding the post. Stewart and McIntosh together took an inventory of all the goods and equipment in the HBC and NWC posts, and then

All of the effects of the former Company were then transferred to the NWCo managing partner. Two of the men stationed at Michippicoton were then sent to Moose Factory, Mr Perrault and the other man John Mowat were permitted to leave the Service, they departed for Canada on the 28<sup>th</sup> June.<sup>178</sup>

It is not known if Perrault took all of his “large family” back with him to “Canada”, or if in fact he travelled all the way back to his original Quebec home. He had likely not lived there for almost forty years.

#### Fort William/Point Meuron, 1817 - 1821

Across the river from Fort William, Jean-Baptiste Lemoine arrived at the Point Meuron site in the fall of 1817 with sixteen men.<sup>179</sup> It appears that this first contingent did not remain at Point Meuron; by June 1818 the list of names of men at the post was completely different. The men listed in June 1818 were Charles Giasson, post master;<sup>180</sup> Pierre Savoyard, Pierre Thibault,<sup>181</sup> Jean Baptiste Lefevre, Joseph Larente, Baptiste Major, Antoine Paquette, Antoine

<sup>177</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/4, fols. 1,1d, 3, 3d.

<sup>178</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/4, fols. 2, 2d.

<sup>179</sup> HBCA, B.231/d/1, “Livre de Compt Pour Les Hommes avec J. B. Lemoine, 16 Sept 1817”. This may be the same man as the “Lemoine”, a NWC trader, who was dropped off at the Sault by John Macdonell’s party in 1793.

<sup>180</sup> It seems likely that this is a relative of Jacques Giasson, witness to the 1768 wedding of Gabriel Côté or Cotté, trader on Lake Nipigon, to Agathe Desjardins at Mackinac. See footnote 54. It is therefore plausible that Charles was of mixed ancestry.

<sup>181</sup> There are many contracts in the Voyageur database for men with this surname, engaged for Great Lakes destinations in the mid-1700s. In particular, there is a Pierre Thibault engaged in 1753 to winter for three years at a “poste de l’Ouest”. It is not known if these are relatives of the man listed here.

LaBombarde,<sup>182</sup> Martin Faille, Baptiste Vesinat jr.,<sup>183</sup> George Budge, Germain Toin, Louis Groux,<sup>184</sup> André LaBrèche, Pierre Girard, Pierre Pepin and François Chorette<sup>185</sup>. Savoyard, Thibault, Lefevre, Larente, Major, Budge, Toin, Groux, and LaBrèche were engaged at Sault Ste. Marie. Pacquette, LaBombarde, Faille, Jean Vesinette, Baptiste Vesinat jr., Pepin, and Chorette were engaged at Point Meuron. Pierre Girard was originally engaged for Lac la Pluie, but was exchanged for Joseph Larente. Lefevre was engaged for Point Meuron but ended up travelling with Jean-Baptiste Lemoine when Lemoine left the post. Faille and Jean Vesinette were supposed to travel with the westbound brigade to Red River, but missed their departure and were engaged to work at Point Meuron. Pepin was supposed to travel east to Montréal with that brigade, but changed places with another man to stay at Meuron. “Young Savoyard”, perhaps a son of Pierre, also ran errands in the vicinity of the post until the family left for Red River in August 1819. Many of the Sault Ste. Marie men were noted as having been recruited by Mr. Ermatinger, a trader at the Sault, and owed him money, as if they had been advanced some goods by him.<sup>186</sup>

The items on account for each of these men also offer some insights into life at the post. Pierre Thibault bought many items, including a shawl and women’s shoes, indicating that he was buying for a partner. This impression is confirmed in Baptiste Major’s account, which notes that

<sup>182</sup> It is likely that this man is a relative of Joseph LaBombarde, from a fur-trade family, recruited at Sault Ste. Marie, who was hired for Michipicoten in 1818. An Antoine LaBombarde is included in the Voyageur contracts database, although that man signed a three-year contract with the North West Company in Montréal in 1819 for destinations including Mackinac, Fort William and Portage de la Montagne. This does not seem to align with the Antoine LaBombarde who was recruited at Point Meuron in 1818 and went to Drummond Island in 1820.

<sup>183</sup> A contract for a Jean-Baptiste Vezina dated 1765, with Montréal merchant Louis Baby, destination “poste que lui sera indiqué” (post to be indicated to him), is in the Voyageur database. This Baptiste Vesinat jr. seems too young to be Jean-Baptiste’s son, and his father was also employed at Point Meuron. It is however possible that Jean-Baptiste was Baptiste jr.’s grandfather, which would suggest that both Baptiste sr. and jr. were of mixed ancestry. In the HBC employee accounts for the year 1828 - 1829, Jean Baptiste Vezina, employed in the Lake Superior District, is listed as of unknown age, a native of Hudson’s Bay, with an undetermined number of years of service (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>184</sup> A Louis Groux from the parish of Saint-Laurent was engaged by North West Company partners in 1795 for “dans le nord”. Contracts for men of this surname from Saint-Laurent for Great Lakes destinations commencing in 1730 can be located in the Voyageur database.

<sup>185</sup> There are many men with the surname Chorette, Charette, or variations in the Voyageur database engaged in the 1700s for Great Lakes destinations, although there are none with the given name François. It is not known if this man is the same man, or related to, the Charette at the North West Company post at Long Lake in 1815 – 1817.

<sup>186</sup> HBCA, B.231/d/8, B.231/d/9; “Young Savoyard’ is mentioned in the post journal for 1819 – 1820 at fol. 1 (24 June 1819).

he paid “Thibault’s wife” 6 livres out of his salary. Germain Toin paid 6 livres for “Soap to Thibault’s wife”, indicating that perhaps Thibault’s wife was doing washing for the men. Martin Faille paid “Mrs Budge” 6 livres, and Pierre Pepin made two such payments to her. George Budge made payments to a “Free Man”, “old DeJaune”, “Lagaoie”, and “Young Savoyard” for unspecified goods or services. Savoyard, Thibault, Pacquette, Baptiste Vesinat, Budge, Girard, and Giasson all purchased calico, a coloured printed cotton fabric usually used for women’s dresses and shirts; often in conjunction with buttons and thread (Giasson also purchased a shawl). Other popular sartorial purchases were white or blue flannel, blue stroud (a heavy woollen fabric often made into capes or coats, or used as a blanket), brown “Holland” fabric or trousers made of the same, fustian (a heavy cotton fabric with a nap like corduroy or velveteen, used for working men’s jackets or trousers), ribbon, red woollen caps, silk or cotton handkerchiefs, and the occasional red feather. George Budge purchased “furniture calico”, as if his wife was covering an upholstered chair or padded bench. Rum was the most popular purchase overall; clerks such as Budge were also allowed to purchase Madeira or spirits.<sup>187</sup>

The 1819 – 1820 post journal for Point Meuron shows that it, like Michipicoten, was busy with arrivals and departures during the navigation season. North West Company brigades, settlers going to Red River, HBC brigades, light canoes carrying senior officers and dispatches, and the occasional independent trader passed east and west up the Kaministiquia River. Chorette, with the assistance of Savoyard, built several canoes of varying sizes for both the Company and groups of settlers.<sup>188</sup> An entry in the post journal confirms that Chorette’s wife was living at the post.<sup>189</sup> George Budge’s wife created a sensation by her “elopement”; Budge found her in August and then promptly defected to the North West Company at Fort William, his contract having almost expired.<sup>190</sup> “Mr. Nolin” with his family arrived from Sault Ste. Marie with several families headed for Red River; Savoyard and his family and Thibault went with this settlers’ brigade.<sup>191</sup> Giasson hired Adolphe Nolin and a man named Meneclier, “with a large family”,

<sup>187</sup> HBCA, B.231/d/8, B.231/d/9.

<sup>188</sup> See for example HBCA, B.231/a/5, fols. 1 – 4.

<sup>189</sup> HBCA, B.231, 23 October 1819, fol. 12d.

<sup>190</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 10 August 1819, fol. 5.

<sup>191</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 11 – 13 August 1819, fols. 5 – 5d.

who had come to Point Meuron from Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>192</sup> LaBombarde, Vesinette, Pacquette, and men named Legacée or Legacé and Coiteux were also employed at the post.<sup>193</sup> A brigade of canoes arrived from Red River in early September guided by a Cadotte, whose steersman was promptly engaged to guide another party of settlers back to the colony.<sup>194</sup> Vesinat and his son both worked for the HBC at tasks such as collecting canoe bark and fishing.<sup>195</sup> The journal referred to a “Free man” named Reaume, a “worn out servant” of the North West Company.<sup>196</sup> Giasson left the “women + children to take care of the Fort” at the end of November so that all the men could assist in hauling up the HBC’s boat for the winter.<sup>197</sup> Fur trading was not a large part of the post’s activities, but Meneclier, “young Vesinat”, and Legacé took a “small assortment” to “discover Indians” in mid-December and almost immediately had success.<sup>198</sup> In describing another trading excursion in mid-January, Giasson noted that Meneclier “speaks the Indian [language] well” and “young Vesinat is a half breed”.<sup>199</sup> These trading expeditions usually led to conflict with NWC men, who attempted to seize the furs collected and threatened both the Indian people and the HBC employees. In early March, Giasson hired Vesinat’s father on a steady wage, mostly to keep him out of the hands of the NWC, although Vesinat Sr.’s wife and child were being held at Fort William in an attempt to coerce him to engage there.<sup>200</sup>

By the end of the trading year, Giasson had been given clear instructions that Point Meuron was no longer to be a trading place at all. He pleaded with his superiors to ensure that men at Point Meuron be engaged for no fewer than three years, so that they could become “acquainted with the manner of raising canoe + Bark, Fishing, etc., all of which now has to be paid very high....[otherwise] it may not be in our power to procure canoe Bark as we have no intercourse

<sup>192</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 25 August - 10 September 1819, fols. 8 – 10. There is a contract for a Louis Meneclier, engaged by a predecessor company to the NWC in 1788 for Detroit, Michilimackinac, and “Nord”. Giasson refers to Meneclier as “Mr”, an honorific used only for clerks and above, and to his value as an employee, and this together with the references to his “large family” may indicate that he had been in the country for an extended period of time (see HBCA, B.231/a/5, 20 November 1819, fols. 14d – 15).

<sup>193</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, fol. 10; 23d.

<sup>194</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 5 September 1819, fol. 9.

<sup>195</sup> See for example HBCA, B.231/a/5, 24 June 1819, fol. 1; 12 September 1819, fol. 10.

<sup>196</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 18 November 1819, fol. 14d; see also 25 December 1819, fols. 19 – 19d.

<sup>197</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 29 November 1819, fol. 16.

<sup>198</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 17 – 18 December 1819, fol. 17d.

<sup>199</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, fols. 20d – 22.

<sup>200</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 6 March 1820, fol. 24d – 25. This passage mentions that Vesinat’s wife’s father was a resident of Fort William.

with the Indians and Vesinat is the sole dependence we have at present for that article”.<sup>201</sup> At least five hands employed at the post left the service by the end of May 1820: Groux, LaBombarde, and Legacé, who all headed to Drummond Island, Adolphe Nolin, who waited for his brother’s canoe to take him to Red River, and Chorette who went with “Mr Nolin’s canoe” from Red River to Sault Ste. Marie at the beginning of May, intending to continue on to Montréal.<sup>202</sup> Meneclier had left for Sault Ste. Marie in March 1820, with an express canoe headed from Lac la Pluie east, to improve his chances of finding passage on a canoe to Red River.<sup>203</sup> Michael McDonell of Red River was dispatched by the HBC to take over the post, which it considered “ill managed”, from Giasson for the 1820 – 21 season.<sup>204</sup>

When McDonell arrived at Point Meuron on 20 September, he found the population of the post as follows:

...the people at the house, besides Mr. Geasson, his wife and a little boy belonging to a man who went from here with the express to Montreal are J. B. Vesinat and family, consisting of two women and three children. This man has been engaged for one year by Mr. Geasson as a fisherman, procurer of Bark, and sugar maker, for which he is to have 2400 L [livres] and a complete Equipment [and provisions]...<sup>205</sup>

After some discussion, Giasson was allowed to stay until a canoe could take him to Red River, where he desired to settle.

McDonell described several buildings at Point Meuron: large and small houses, a storehouse, a “canoe house”, blacksmith shop, and some other accoutrements such as a bastion (watchtower) and a platform for drying corn. There were 14 acres cleared and prepared for cultivation, with six more cleared only, and a potato field. McDonell thought the site would make a good farm. However,

As for Trade this house has, I may say, none the N. W. have the whole (which I am informed consists of about 20 packs of good furs, annually) to themselves, nor have I at present the least prospect of getting any of it, for in the 1<sup>st</sup> place there are no men, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> there are neither goods nor provisions to supply the Indians with as they are accustomed to

<sup>201</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, fols. 30d – 31d.

<sup>202</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, fols. 30, 33.

<sup>203</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/5, 18 March 1820, fols. 25d, 26. Meneclier did not return to Point Meuron. It is unclear whether he took his family with him to Sault Ste. Marie or Red River.

<sup>204</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, letter of William Williams to Michael McDonell, 23 July 1820, fol. 1.

<sup>205</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, fols. 3, 3d.

have at Fort William, and in the third the few Indians who were in any way attached to the place while there was any thing in store, have now abandoned it...or been gained over by the threats, presents, and promises of the N. W. Co...<sup>206</sup>

McDonell had been informed that the NWC had six “gentlemen” (officers) at Fort William: McTavish, Tate, Scott, Captain McCargo (the master of the schooner), and “two young clerks whose names I am unacquainted with”, plus 30 “men”. The HBC post was under constant surveillance to prevent Indians from visiting and HBC employees from going out to meet them.<sup>207</sup>

On 21 September, McDonell set “the women” to harvesting the potatoes. Vesinat put out a few small nets, but the post did not have any large nets or twine to fish on a larger scale. When Vesinat ventured to a fishing site at rapids two miles upriver where some NWC people were fishing, he was chased by the NWC men and his wife and family taken prisoner, on the pretext that the family owed the NWC a substantial debt. McDonell boldly and successfully insisted on their return, but confided to his journal “I [was not] in the least sorry that the present affair had ended as it did” for the NWC party was “at least as strong as ours, if he had persisted I am inclined to believe that there would have been some broken heads on each side”.<sup>208</sup> Luckily for McDonell, on his return to the post he found three men that Ermatinger had engaged at Sault Ste. Marie to serve at Point Meuron: André La Brèche, Louis Groulx, and André Legacé. As relieved as he was to see them, he observed that La Brèche

I know to be a very good man but the two latter are old men about sixty years of age each but may be good enough for this post as there is not much to be done at it. They have been engaged...for 956 livres with an Equipment each, and to be free at the Sault. 20<sup>th</sup> June next on asking them why Mr. Ermatinger did not engage them for a longer period at least one year complete, they told me it was impossible to get men at the Sault to engage on any other conditions that they had engaged according to the custom of the South, which all the voyageurs of that quarter strictly adhere to...<sup>209</sup>

<sup>206</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, fols. 3d – 4.

<sup>207</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, fols. 4 – 4d. This “Tate” is probably actually “Taitt”, part of the interlinked McLoughlin/M[a]cKay/McCargo/Taitt families described by Jean Morrison in “Fur Trade Families in the Lake Superior-Rainy Lake Region”, 93 – 104.

<sup>208</sup> HBCA, B231/a/6, 26 September 1820, fols. 5 – 6.

<sup>209</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 26 September 1820, fol. 6.

In light of this, McDonnell suggested engaging men from Hudson's Bay or Montréal instead. On asking how much Ermatinger was charging for the "equipment" of the men, they replied that prices at the Sault were over two or three times what was obtainable at Mackinac or Drummond Island. "The fourth man who arrived in the boat", continued McDonnell, "is a son to old Vesinat, who took his passage in her from the Sault".<sup>210</sup>

Having been foiled in his attempt to fish upstream in the Kaministiquia River, McDonnell sent Giasson and his wife, "Old Vesinat" and his family, Vesinat's son, Legacé and Groulx to Rabbit and Tunnde Islands in Lake Superior to fish there. The fishing party was further augmented by some crew members of a canoe that "Nolin" had sent from Red River to collect some items he had left at Point Meuron. These men went to the fishery on hearing that the post had no food to provide for their return journey.<sup>211</sup> McTavish of the NWC sent McDonnell a peremptory letter demanding that the HBC pay the debts of "Old Vesinat" and "the Eagle's wife", freed from the NWC at the fishing place upriver. McDonnell opined,

I felt rather at a loss...my becoming accountable for the debt might be disapproved of and by not doing so Mr McTavish would have a pretext for detaining the man, which if he did would certainly distress us very much; as the success of our fishery depended entirely on the exertion of this very man a circumstance which Mr McTavish was but too well aware of and which I am certain was his motive for taking him more than that of recovering a debt. Being however unwilling to answer for the debt etc at the same time of opinion that the more pitiful we appeared to be the more Mr McTavish and people would exert themselves to distress us, I have therefore sent back word to McTavish that he may do with Vesinat as he thinks proper for that I can do very well without his services as I have more provisions in store than are sufficient for myself and people for upwards of twelve months...We got only two small fish from the nets.<sup>212</sup>

McDonnell's bravado apparently paid off, as the NWC released Old Vesinat from his debt on Vesinat's promise to engage with them the following spring.

McDonnell then received instructions from his superior at Lac la Pluie to prepare materials for canoe building. "Neither of the men engaged for the post understands anything about canoe building", wrote McDonnell, and then sent word to Vesinat's son at the fishery that "he might

<sup>210</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 26 September 1820, fols. 6, 6d.

<sup>211</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 27, 29 September 1820, 16 October, fols. 7, 8, 11d.

<sup>212</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 28 September 1820 - , fols. 7 – 8d.

consider himself as engaged as canoe builder for this post”.<sup>213</sup> On 4 October, the “Eagle’s wife”, whom McDonell had freed from the NWC at the inland fishing site, deserted back to Fort William. McDonell commented, “her absence is a loss. While here she made herself very useful in fishing + working at the potatoes etc.”.<sup>214</sup> On the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, Giasson left with Jacques and Regis Larente, who were travelling to Red River from Montréal with four canoes and men to trade on their own account.<sup>215</sup> The post was so short-staffed that McDonell himself spent several days in the potato fields with La Brèche trying to get in the crop before it became too frost-damaged to eat.<sup>216</sup>

The fishing party came back to the post on 28 October with only 10 barrels of fish, three of which were to go to “Old Vesinat” under the terms of his employment agreement. The next day, “not wishing to keep Vesinat and family around the house”, McDonell gave them and Nolin’s two men three months provisions and sent them off to Lake Superior to fish and fend for themselves. “Young Vesinat” was to stay, “procure cedar & build canoes...but as he is but a beginner at the business, is to forfeit all in case of the canoes not being found fit for service”. Young Vesinat and Legacé set off to find the appropriate building materials, which could be several days’ journey away.<sup>217</sup> On 14 December, McDonell suffered a further blow to his plans when “Young Vesinat” deserted to the NWC. “His desertion puts it entirely out of my power to have any canoes, etc. ready on the arrival of the Brigade”, wrote McDonell.<sup>218</sup>

Also in December, McDonell obtained some interesting intelligence from an elderly woman and a little girl “from Fort William” who had been gathering gum for canoes around the Point Meuron post. The woman told McDonell that Fort William employed thirty to forty men, some of whom “look solely after the Indians”, while others attended “the farm yard and cattle”, still others cut firewood, and “carpenters, Blacksmiths, Coopers and Canoe makers” all worked at

<sup>213</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 29 September 1820, fol. 8d.

<sup>214</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 4 October 1820, fol. 10.

<sup>215</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 7 – 10 October 1820, fols. 10d, 11.

<sup>216</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 6 – 13 October 1820, fols. 10 – 11d.

<sup>217</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 28 – 29 October, 1 November 1820, fols. 13 -14.

<sup>218</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 14 December 1820, fol. 15d.

their occupations. Ten men were currently squaring logs for a church to be built outside the Fort the following spring.<sup>219</sup>

In early January 1821, Old Vesinat returned to the post to ask for some assistance, as Nolin's men had deserted to the NWC. McDonnell reluctantly supplied him with rum, tobacco and salt in order to keep him from deserting as well.<sup>220</sup> A few days later, McDonnell attempted to get Legacé and Groulx to take letters to Lac la Pluie, but both men claimed not to know the route. McDonnell pointed out that they had been hired as guides, to which Legacé responded that he knew only the old Grand Portage route, and had done that only in the summer. McDonnell then attempted to send Legacé and Groulx to "the fishing place" to earn their keep. Old Vesinat promised that he would be able to support them there, but in early February the two men returned with the news that Old Vesinat had deserted to Fort William and that the NWC men were taking away all the equipment and provisions with which he had been provided.<sup>221</sup> McDonnell and the remaining men (La Brèche, Legacé, and Groulx) spent the rest of the winter very quietly, with little to do. In May, they planted their garden. Early in the morning of 30 May, they heard three reports from a gun from Fort William, and shortly afterwards a messenger from the Fort arrived inviting McDonnell to hear "news interesting to us all" about "a coalition of Interests between the rival companies". The NWC partners informed McDonnell that the two companies' brigades were travelling together from Red River towards Fort William and that there was no need for McDonnell to keep any of his employees around the post.<sup>222</sup> With that, the journal, and the hapless operations of the HBC at Point Meuron, ended. The newly amalgamated Company abandoned the Point Meuron location and moved into the much better-equipped Fort William.

### The HBC, NWC and Mixed-Ancestry Populations to 1821

Point Meuron, like Michipicoten, was not primarily a trading post and so did not need its employees to establish relationships with or communicate with Indian customers. However, country skills and local knowledge were still critical to the post's success. The post drew on a

<sup>219</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 8 December 1820, fol. 15.

<sup>220</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 3 January 1821, fol. 16d.

<sup>221</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 8 January – 7 February 1821, fols. 17 – 18.

<sup>222</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/6, 30 May 1821, fols. 19d – 20d.

pool of fur-trade labour centred on Sault Ste. Marie, Drummond Island, Mackinac and Fort William that had been developing for over 100 years by 1817. Many of these people were of mixed ancestry and/or had married into local Aboriginal populations. They formed a distinctive social and occupational enclave whose family ties were spreading south and west into the Missouri River watershed and the Columbia, and north and west to Red River and beyond to the Athabasca-Mackenzie waterways. Men like Chorette and “Old Vesinat” were critical to the HBC’s operations. Together with their families, they were skilled canoe-builders, fishermen, harvesters of bark suitable for canoes, and maple-sugar makers.

Most of these men, unfortunately for the HBC, worked for the North West Company, obliging the HBC to pay (by its standards) exorbitant compensation for their short-term services. Legacé and Groux had travelled the old Grand Portage-Rainy Lake route, implying they had been working for the NWC or other Montréal traders in 1802 at the latest. LaBrèche, Groux and Legacé told McDonnell that no one at Sault Ste. Marie would engage for longer than August to the following June, “according to the custom of the South, which all the voyageurs of that quarter strictly adhere to”, meaning the old customs around the Great Lakes (north and south) and into the Missouri.<sup>223</sup> Since at least 1716 and probably earlier, hundreds of inland fur trade men and some of their families had met at places such as Mackinac every summer to bring in their furs, socialize, rest and re-engage for the next winter season, and the Hudson’s Bay Company was not going to change that.

Point Meuron, Michipicoten and Long Lake were three quite different fur trade sites. Long Lake was trade-oriented. The men there were often sent on expeditions to find and trade with Indian people, and in the Long Lake region they held their own against aggressive competition. Michipicoten was a transportation, provisioning (fishing) and logistics location for both the NWC and the HBC, although the NWC collected a few furs from along the Lake Superior coastline. The inland outposts of Michipicoten were the fur-trading centres in the region. Point Meuron and Fort William were both primarily transportation and logistical centres, although the NWC traded a modest quantity of furs there. In terms of personnel, the three HBC posts were

<sup>223</sup> The “South” can be distinguished from the “Nord”, which after about 1790 could mean the area from Lake Winnipeg to the Athabasca-Mackenzie river system.

quite different in character. Long Lake relied on a few mixed-ancestry employees from Hudson's Bay Company families to deal with local Indian populations, pairing them up with Scottish employees to teach them some country skills. The mixed-ancestry employees had also picked up some tradesman's skills from their Scottish relatives and companions at the posts. To some extent, this repeats the pattern of Nipigon House and other inland posts twenty years earlier, where a few mixed-ancestry "Hudson's Bay" employees contributed unique skills and knowledge to the primarily Scottish labour force. Michipicoten had a preponderance of relatively green hands from Scotland, perhaps well-versed in fishing and trades but unfamiliar with the area and with the local Aboriginal population. Here, the post master hired men from Sault Ste. Marie to acquire the country skills and connections he needed. Point Meuron hired few or no men from the HBC's Scottish labour pool, instead engaging men from the fur trade labour pool in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie or Fort William.

There were therefore two pools of mixed-ancestry employees from which the HBC drew: the "Hudson's Bay" children of its own employees born within its Charter territory, and the Great Lakes fur trade networks. Each had its own identity. The "Hudson's Bay" men were aware of their value to the Company and were identified by senior HBC managers as a separate type by at least 1804. They were carefully deployed by the HBC among inland posts to fill the need for interpreters, guides, persons to trade with the Indians, canoe-builders, steersmen, and harvesters of fish and game. The Great Lakes fur trade men drew on long-held traditions in their community, adhered to their own terms of service for wages and contracts, and preserved a body of knowledge of European and country skills and local geographies and lore.<sup>224</sup> Intermarriage also strengthened ties between the old Great Lakes fur trade families.

The difficulty for historians studying the pre-1821 time period in the Nipigon/Lakehead region is that, essentially, the best records (the HBC documents) describe a small segment of the population that was not typical. The North West Company and other Montréal-exporting fur companies had many more employees in the region than the HBC ever did, beginning at a much earlier time period. Their employees, former employees, and their families made up the vast

<sup>224</sup> Hudson's Bay Company men also alleged that "Canadians" were more difficult to manage and less amenable to the hierarchy and discipline of the English company (Giraud, *Métis of the Canadian West*, 184.

majority of people immersed in a distinctive local fur trade way of life in the Upper Great Lakes. The incomplete records strongly suggest, but cannot confirm, continuity of family, cultural and occupational connections that by 1821 spanned many decades, generations and thousands of miles. The precise origins of many Métis families, and the economy and culture that fostered them, are therefore in many cases hidden from view. However, successive generations of newcomers and progenitors of new families in the Nipigon/Lakehead region entered this pre-existing economic, social, cultural and family context, made it their own, and accepted new members in their turn from the eighteenth century onwards. The following section describes some aspects of this cultural context, in which Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal and new elements combined in distinctive ways.

### Fur Trade Culture to 1821

French Jesuit priest François-Xavier de Charlevoix, on a fact-finding visit to New France in 1720 – 1721, described the portion of the French-Canadian population engaged in the fur trade, in the context of the agricultural settlement in New France, in terms remarkably similar to those used by observers of the Métis around Red River over 100 years later:

une partie de la jeunesse est continuellement en course, et quoiqu'elle n'y commette plus, au moins si ouvertement, les désordres qui ont si fort décrié cette profession, elle ne laisse pas d'y prendre une habitude de libertinage, dont elle ne se défait jamais parfaitement; elle y perd au moins le goût de travail, elle y épuise ses forces, elle y devient incapable de la moindre contrainte, et quand elle n'est plus propre aux fatigues de ces voyages, ce qui arrive bientôt, parce que ces fatigues sont excessives, elle demeure sans aucune ressource, et n'est plus propre à rien. De là vient que les Arts ont été longtemps négligés, que quantité de bonnes terres sont encore incultes, et que le pays ne s'est point peuplé.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>225</sup> François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, France: 1744), cited in Léon Pouliot, "François-Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J.", (Sudbury, Ontario: La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents Historiques no. 33, 1957), 10. For later assessments of the Métis around Red River, see Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State, with some account of the Native Races and its General History to the Present Day* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856; reprinted by M. G. Hurtig Ltd., Edmonton, 1972), 122 -127, 243, 252, who characterized the Métis as "restless...like wandering Arabs", criticized their "idle" ways when in the settlement, described the restrictive effect on the agricultural economy of Red River of undeveloped property and a lack of agricultural labour, and also described the Métis as "cordially detest[ing] all the laws and restraints of civilized life, believing all men were born to be free...they are marvellously tenacious of their own original habits. They cherish freedom as they cherish life".; the Oblate priest Mestre who described his Métis parishioners at St-Norbert as absent hunters with a "triste habitude qui favorise leur paresse naturelle", especially "les paresseux par excellence, qui mènent une vie toute nomade" (Mestre to H. H., 11 June 1861, SHSB, FCASB, Série Taché, pages T-53463 - T-53464); and Archbishop Taché who wrote of Red River that "The greatest social crime of our French Half-breeds is that they are hunters... their life of adventure is very prejudicial to our

{A part of the youth is continually on the move, and although they do not engage, at least overtly, in the disorderly conduct that had so strongly discredited their profession [of trading with the Indians], they take up libertine habits which they can never entirely give up; they lose at least the taste for work, they exhaust their strength, they become incapable of the least constraint, and when they are worn out from the fatigues of their voyages, which happens quite early, because their fatigues are excessive, they settle without any resources, they have nothing for themselves. From this comes that the Arts have been long neglected, and much good land is still uncultivated, and the country is hardly settled. }

At the time de Charlevoix was writing, the official French posts had re-opened and hundreds of official and unofficial traders and voyagers were travelling into the interior. In the relatively small population pool of New France, such a drain of young active men had an obvious effect on the sedentary communities along the St. Lawrence, as de Charlevoix observed. Some parishes and families in particular favoured the fur trade over several generations, as the Voyageur contracts database and some family genealogies show, and recruiters at a later period tried to locate men from particular regions or families that had already proven themselves.<sup>226</sup> This increased the impact of fur trade employment in local areas, and also contributed to the creation of a distinctive culture and body of customs and histories that could be transmitted in families. Thomas Hutchins, an HBC trader at Fort Albany, had the opportunity to learn about the “Canadian” trade from a “Canadian” employed by the HBC during the winter of 1780 – 1781. He opined,

The people of Canada whose principal commerce arises from the inland trade, have studied everything for its convenience and by long experience have arrived at great perfection in conducting it, having tradesmen on the spot for every branch, some packing the bales properly for the canoes, others making baskets, cases, rundlets etc. in which the nicest attention is paid to the stowage, and weight. The Canadian peasants are brought up to the service from their infancy so that a trader may engage any number of men ready trained and experienced to his hand. These are all great advantages which your Honours [HBC management] have not. When a servant comes first into this service as a labourer, he is

population” (A. Taché, *Sketch of the North-West of America* (translation by D. R. Cameron) (Montréal: John Lovell, 1870), 106).

<sup>226</sup> See Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, 32 – 33.

awkward and clumsy as it is possible to conceive, and by the time he [is] rendered useful for inland, he goes home...<sup>227</sup>

HBC men, judging from the post journals, were asked to do a variety of tasks. The same man might fish, construct buildings, perform general labour, travel to trade with Indians, and work in boat transport within the span of a few months. Despite the HBC's reputation as a stay-at-home fur company, many employees spent most of their time away from the inland posts in a radius of one to three days' travel away, or further if they were sent to live with an Indian group to collect their furs and ease food pressures at the post. The work structure of the NWC's employees is not as clearly described in the surviving documents, but it appears that some employees would specialize in travelling and trading with Indians, others would practice skilled trades, some would work as canoemen and general labourers, *et cetera*. As is evident from the post journals, the pressure on the HBC to find people, often mixed-ancestry people, to train its Scottish employees for inland work was intense. The North West Company benefited from lower turnover and the passing on of skills and traditions from one generation to the next, in a semi-permanent specialized labour pool of people bred to the work and the culture.

The active, adventurous, physically demanding life of the *voyageur* or small-scale trader, away from the strictures of small-town or rural agrarian life in New France, created an attitude commented on by many observers in addition to de Charlevoix. Daniel Harmon, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, characterized "the Canadian Voyagers" as bearing great hardship with gaiety, but improvident for the future; observing that "those who have been for any considerable time in this savage country, lay aside a greater part of the regulations of civilized and christian people, and behave little better than savages". He quoted some of his employees, when reproved for playing cards on the Sabbath, as replying that "there is no Sabbath in this country, and they added, no God or devil".<sup>228</sup> An elderly *voyageur* interviewed by Alexander Ross on Lake Winnipeg told Ross, "there is no life so happy as a voyageur's life; none so independent; no place where a man enjoys so much variety and freedom as in Indian country".<sup>229</sup> On the other side, Duncan Cameron in 1804 had observed that Indian women living with non-

<sup>227</sup> HBCA, B.3/a/79, fol. 4, quoted in Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 40 – 41.

<sup>228</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 34, 235 - 236.

<sup>229</sup> Quoted in Podruchny, *Voyageur World*, 301.

Indian fur trade men did not always follow some of the customs and taboos of their families. The meeting of Indian and non-Indian cultures occurred in a space where both parties relinquished some of their traditions to create a new way of living adapted to their surroundings.

However, this did not mean abandoning tradition and custom altogether. The writings of Umfreville and John Macdonell indicate that travel routes, including ones around Lake Superior, was described, named, and coloured with traditions and stories passed on by fur trade workers from one cohort to the next, by the latter half of the eighteenth century. Some of these were derived from Indian sources, and many were contributed by the travellers themselves, resulting in a unique body of knowledge and customs. Literate travellers among the brigades recorded such traditions as the “baptism” of newcomers with cedar boughs or a dunk in the river when crossing a height of land, making offerings or prayers at dangerous sites or places of commencement, pulling off hats and making the sign of the cross when leaving one stream for another, and of course the ceremonial “dram” at the completion of some long portages or sections of a journey.<sup>230</sup> Other travel-related customs included singing, the division of travel and portage into “poses” (from the French “pause”, or rest) or “pipes” (the distance either between pipes or the length of time that it took to smoke a pipe), the manner of carrying packages across a portage using a tump-line across the head or the *voyageur*’s woven belt, and stopping to shave, wash and put on clean clothes before arriving at a post.<sup>231</sup> Although many of these customs were associated with the North West Company and its long canoe brigade travel routes, Hudson’s Bay Company travellers also adopted or adhered to some of them as well. As historian Carolyn Podruchny states, these rituals and customs tended to forge a sense of identity and belonging among the participants.

Celebrations and “drams” were not limited to travel events. Christmas and New Year’s Day were celebrated at every post, with, at minimum, an issue of rum and a day off from regular work. Some posts also celebrated St. Andrew’s day (the patron saint of Scotland). As Harmon observed, few posts recognized Sundays as a religious day or a day of rest. Other occasions for a

<sup>230</sup> Macdonell, “The Diary of John Macdonell”, 69, 81, 99 – 100; Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 2, 9 – 10; HBCA, B.231/1/6, 26 September 1820, fol. 6d; Podruchny, *Voyageur World*, 52 – 65.

<sup>231</sup> Macdonell, “The Diary of John Macdonell”, 92, 96; Johnston, “An Account of Lake Superior”, images 48 – 49; HBCA, B.231/a/6, 26 September 1820, fol. 6d; Podruchny, *Voyageur World*, 86 -102, 125 – 127.

“dram” included the return of the fishing parties from an extended sojourn away from the post (a North West Company tradition), the finishing of construction and raising of a flagpole at a post, or re-engagement for another term.<sup>232</sup>

Distinctive clothing was another marker of fur-trade culture. In 1761, Alexander Henry the Elder had disguised himself as one of his “Canadian” canoemen as he passed by La Cloche on his way to Mackinac.

...I resolved to attempt...putting on the dress, usually worn by such of the Canadians as pursue the trade into which I had entered, and assimilating myself, as much as I was able, to their appearance and manners. To this end, I laid aside my English clothes, and covered myself only with a cloth, passed about the middle; a shirt, hanging loose; a molton, or blanket coat; and a large, red, milled worsted cap. The next thing was to smear my face and hands, with dirt and grease; and, this done, I took the place of one of my men, and, when Indians approached, use the paddle, with as much skill as I possessed. I had the satisfaction to find, that my disguise enabled me to pass several canoes, without attracting the smallest notice.<sup>233</sup>

This can be compared with Jonathan Carver’s description, from Detroit in 1766:

...it is not uncommon to see a Frenchman with Indian shoes and stockings, without breeches, wearing a strip of woollen cloth to cover what decency requires him to conceal. Yet at the same time he wears a fine ruffled shirt, a laced waistcoat with a fine handkerchief on his head.<sup>234</sup>

Popular dress items purchased by HBC employees at Point Meuron in 1818 included white or blue flannel (for shirts), blue stroud (a heavy woollen fabric often made into capes or coats, or used as a blanket), red woollen caps, silk or cotton handkerchiefs, and the occasional red feather.

<sup>232</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/5, fols. 10 – 10d (Christmas and New Year’s, 1796 – 1797); Diary of Archibald McLeod, reprinted in Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders*, 135 (St. Andrew’s Day, 1800; construction and flagstaff); Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 39, 57, 58, 73 (Christmas and New Year’s, 1801, 1802); HBCA, B.117/a/1, fol. 13d, 14d (Christmas and New Year’s, 1815 – 1816); B.231/a/5, fols. 19 – 19d (Christmas and New Year’s, 1819 – 1820).

<sup>233</sup> Alexander Henry [the Elder], *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1770*, (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 34 – 35. Scholars have varying theories on the purpose of the “dirt and grease” on the hands and face: whether it was meant to turn the skin darker to mimic the complexion of someone with mixed ancestry, or someone who had been exposed to a great deal of sunlight, or whether it copied the custom of the “Canadians” in using grease as a protection against insects, and the dirt that would collect after several days of hard work.

<sup>234</sup> Quoted in Peterson, “Great Lakes Métis”, 53.

Critical to the development of mixed-ancestry populations, of course, were the customs concerning country marriage and partnerships with Aboriginal women. Harmon described such a marriage that took place in 1800 near Lake Winnipeg, on the travel route out of Grand Portage:

This evening, Mons. Mayotte took a woman of this country for a wife...All the ceremonies attending such an event, are the following. When a person is desirous of taking one of the daughters of the Natives, as a companion, he makes a present to the parents of the damsel, of such articles as he supposes will be most acceptable...Should the parents accept the articles offered, the girl remains at the fort with her suitor, and is clothed in the Canadian fashion...<sup>235</sup>

Harmon, at Fort Alexandria in 1800, was offered the daughter of a Cree chief, and set out some of the reasons for undertaking such a marriage:

[The Chief] pressed me...to allow her to remain with me...and added ‘I am fond of you, and my wish is to have my daughter with the white people; for she will be treated better by them, than by her own relations.’ In fact, he almost persuaded me to keep her; for I was sure that while I had the daughter, I should not only have the father’s furs, but those of all his band...<sup>236</sup>

Conversely, the Aboriginal family might hope to receive additional trade goods and assistance from an in-law in the fur trade. Aboriginal women could also contribute skills and labour such as fishing, cooking, snaring small game, making and maintaining clothing, making maple sugar, and pulling potatoes, to materially improve the living conditions of men in country marriages and at the post generally (as evidenced by the work done by the women at Point Meuron). When it came time for him to accept a wife in 1805, Harmon also noted the other benefits of a country marriage:

...it is customary for all gentlemen who remain, for any length of time, in this part of the world, to have a female companion, with whom they can pass their time more socially and agreeably, than to live a lonely life...<sup>237</sup>

Harmon went on to speculate that when he left the country, he would “place her under the protection of some honest man”, as was also the custom of the country. However, by 1819, as he was preparing to leave the fur trade and return to his “native land”, he had changed his mind:

I design...to take my family with me...that they may be educated in a civilized and christian manner. The mother of my children will accompany me; and, if she shall be satisfied to

<sup>235</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 23 – 24.

<sup>236</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 69 – 70.

<sup>237</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 118.

remain in that part of the world, I design to make her regularly my wife by a formal marriage...as my conduct in this respect is different from that which has generally been pursued by the gentlemen of the North West Company, it will be proper to state some of the reasons which have governed my decision...

Having lived with this woman as my wife...during life, and having children by her, I consider that I am under a moral obligation not to dissolve the connexion, if she is willing to continue it. The union which has been formed between us, in the providence of God, has not only been cemented by a long and mutual performance of kind offices, but, also, by a more sacred consideration...I consider it to be my duty to take her to a christian land, where she may enjoy Divine ordinances, grow in grace, and ripen for glory. We have wept together over the early departure of several children, and especially, over the death of a beloved son. We have children still living, who are equally dear to us both. How could I spend my days in the civilized world, and leave my beloved children in the wilderness? The thought has in it the bitterness of death. How could I tear them from a mother's love, and leave her to mourn over their absence, to the day of her death? Possessing only the common feelings of humanity, how could I think of her, in such circumstances, without anguish?<sup>238</sup>

Fur trade men of the NWC, facing these questions, answered them in a variety of ways. Some more affluent men sent some or all of their children to their home countries to be educated. Some of these children then rejoined the fur trade as spouses or clerks. Some left their country families behind, perhaps with another fur trade employee, supported with a small stipend, or simply to fend for themselves.<sup>239</sup> Many could not leave their partners and children and the way of life with which they had become familiar, and settled at Red River, outside the palisades of Fort William, at Sault Ste. Marie, at Mackinac, Drummond Island or at some good fishing spot after they could no longer physically manage the punishing travel and labour of fur trade work. In 1820, the editor of Harmon's published journals informed his public that

In the numerous establishments of the North West Company, there are from twelve to fifteen hundred women and children, who are wholly, or in part, of Indian extraction. Women have, from time to time, been taken from among the Natives, to reside in the forts, by the men in the service of the Company; and families have been reared, which have generally been left in the country, when these men have retired to the civilized parts of the world. These women and children, with a humanity which deserves commendation, are not turned over to the savages; but they are fed, if not clothed, by the Company. They have become so numerous, as to be a burden to the concern; and a rule has been established, that no person, in the service of the Company, shall hereafter take a woman from among the

<sup>238</sup> Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 230 – 231.

<sup>239</sup> Some descriptions of the varying fates of traceable fur-trade families can be found in Morrison, "Fur Trade Families in the Lake Superior-Rainy Lake Region", 93 – 104; Elizabeth Arthur, "Angelique and Her Children", 117 – 123, both in Morrison, in Morrison, ed., *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake*.

Natives to reside with him, as a sufficient number, of a mixed blood, can be found, who are already connected with the Company. There are, also, in the N. W. country, many superannuated Canadians, who have spent the flower of their days in the service of the Company, who have families that they are unwilling to leave; and having nothing to attract them to the civilized world, they continue under the protection of the Company, and are supplied by them, with the necessaries of life.<sup>240</sup>

Hudson's Bay Company employees were generally required either to leave the country or go to Red River once their contracts had expired, but otherwise had the same choices to make. Their "half breed or Creole" sons and daughters often followed the fur trade life as well, supplying the HBC with the blend of European and country skills that the Company so desperately needed in establishing an inland business. By 1821, both NWC and HBC employees were part of a distinctive fur trade culture, one in which generations of mixed-ancestry children had been raised, combining elements of Aboriginal, European, local and occupational customs, beliefs and traditions.

## **Section II: From the Merger to the Treaty: 1821 - 1850**

### After the Merger: Restructuring the Fur Trade and Associated Populations, 1821 - 1826

As described in the extracts from post records for Fort William and Michipicoten, one immediate effect of the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 was the release of many employees from fur trade company employment. The newly-restructured HBC did not show particular loyalty to its veterans, indeed in the Lake Superior District the Company appears to have taken the opportunity to retain valuable country-skilled North West Company men with roots in the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence fur trade and reduce the number of inexperienced Scottish men.

At Fort William, the contingent of 30 "men", two clerks and six "gentlemen" in full-time employment with the NWC plus the three men and one officer from the HBC had been streamlined to fourteen labourers and tradesmen plus one or two officers and clerks by the

<sup>240</sup> Preface, Daniel Haskel, 2 August 1820, in Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, xvi –xvii.

trading season of 1825 - 1826.<sup>241</sup> Chief Trader John Haldane (a former North West Company officer) described the buildings of the Fort William complex in September of 1825 as being "still in good order", although some employees' accommodations had had to be rebuilt over the season.<sup>242</sup> Major Joseph Delafield, head of the United States boundary survey expedition, had a rather more critical view of Fort William in the summer of 1823, when he characterized the post as "become very insignificant & fast going to ruin".<sup>243</sup> Delafield had supper with the Andrew Stewart, departing Chief Trader for the HBC, in the great dining NWC hall; six or eight people in a room for 300, with "empty ware houses and useless offices" surrounding the building.<sup>244</sup> The "Indian" fur hunters of Lake Superior had also drifted away from Fort William. Haldane wrote in 1824 that "during the time of the NWCo" many Indian people who hunted around Lake Nipigon "were wont to resort to Fort William in Summer, for the sake of seeing our Montreal Gentlemen, and receiving some presents from them --This is now discontinued". The Indians who had joined the throngs of North West Company employees and partners in the great summer Rendez-vous, according to Haldane, had gone off to Nipigon, Fond du Lac (Wisconsin) and "a small portion to St. Marys".<sup>245</sup> However, in the winter, game shortages still drew many hunters and their families to Fort William to be fed by the Company on potatoes, salt fish and "Indian corn" (the last commodity had to be imported from Sault Ste. Marie).<sup>246</sup>

Lake Nipigon post and its outpost Sturgeon Lake had 12 labourers and three clerks in 1825 - 26.<sup>247</sup> The nearest available estimate of pre-merger North West Company employees around Lake Nipigon is Henry's 1805 list of 73 men who wintered in the region and 12 "summer men". Pic and its two outposts Long Lake and Black River were assigned three clerks and twelve

<sup>241</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 3d - 5. This includes Fort William's outposts Whitefish Lake and Pays Plat.

<sup>242</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 1d. Haldane had a "country wife" named Josette Latour, who remained in the Lake Superior region after he retired to Scotland in 1827. She was reported to be living near Sault Ste. Marie as late as the 1850s (Arthur, "Angelique and her Children", 117).

<sup>243</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 401.

<sup>244</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 401. American geologist William Keating and the party under Major Stephen Long, passing through Fort William shortly after Delafield, had a similar experience: "In the large mess-room, where we were handsomely and kindly entertained by the superintendant, Roderick Mackenzie, Esq. much mirth and hilarity formerly prevailed, but from the immense size and deserted appearance of this elegant apartment it had acquired a gloomy character" (William Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnipeek, Lake of the Woods* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824), Vol. II, 171).

<sup>245</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/1, 1, 2, 2d.

<sup>246</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/1, 1d; B.231/e/3, 1d; B231/e/6, 1.

<sup>247</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 2, 5.

labourers in 1825 - 26;<sup>248</sup> compared to Henry's 1805 list of sixteen NWC men at Pic, and staffing at Long Lake of nine HBC men and ten NWC men 1817 - 1818.

Michipicoten was closed briefly after the merger, but had reopened by Outfit 1824 - 25 in its former capacity as the staging point between the Lake Superior District posts, Moose Factory, and Sault Ste. Marie. Only three labourers, one "carpenter and boatbuilder", one "guide and canoe builder" and three clerks were assigned to Michipicoten and its outpost Batchewana in 1825 - 26; compared to the six to twelve HBC labourers and twelve NWC men working there in 1820.<sup>249</sup> However, at the opening of navigation every year, Michipicoten still bustled with activity. The other posts in the District were either closed or left with skeleton staffs in the summer season, as all hands joined the boat and canoe brigades shipping furs out to Moose, and provisions and European goods in through Sault Ste. Marie or Moose Factory/Brunswick House.<sup>250</sup>

A list of the "Men and their Characters" for Outfit 1825 - 26 in the Lake Superior District was compiled by Haldane in his annual report. The most highly-ranked employee below the clerk-officer class was Amable McKay, the "Guide and Canoe Master" stationed at Michipicoten.<sup>251</sup> He was described by Haldane as "a good Guide and industrious Man, goes away next year" (this did not occur). In the next rank, that of "Bowsman", were seven men, including John Taylor, "a Smart half breed".<sup>252</sup> Eleven men were listed as "Steersmen", including Robert Dudley (at Long Lake pre-merger), who had been killed in an accident at Brunswick House, William Cromartie,<sup>253</sup> Pierre Gurdon or Guidon, ("a good Steersman"),<sup>254</sup> Jean Baptiste Mallette,<sup>255</sup> and

<sup>248</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 2d, 5.

<sup>249</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 5.

<sup>250</sup> See for example HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to 6 August 1827; George Keith to Mr. Gladman, 11 August 1827; George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 23 October 1827; B.129/b/3, George Keith to John Swanston, 6 March 1830, 28 - 28d. Gladman, in charge of New Brunswick House, was of mixed ancestry (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>251</sup> Identified as a native of Hudson's Bay in HBC accounts, 43 years old with 27 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>252</sup> This may be the John Taylor who was an apprentice from "Hudson's Bay" at Long Lake in 1815 - 1816.

<sup>253</sup> Possibly the William Cromartie, apprentice from "Hudson's Bay", who had been at Long Lake in 1817 - 1818. This man was identified in HBC accounts as a native of Albany in Hudson's Bay (and therefore of mixed ancestry), 28 years of age with 17 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). Drowned in June 1831, described by George Keith as an "able and experienced voyageur" (HBCA, B.129/e/8, 2).

<sup>254</sup> Probably "Guidon", as Gurdon does not appear elsewhere in HBC records. This man was identified as a native of "Canada" in HBC accounts, 42 years of age with 23 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). He was

Jean Baptiste Lavalle,<sup>256</sup> another "smart halfbreed". Thirty-four men were identified as "Middlemen" (the most common class of labourer), including Louis Bouchard ("a good Worker"),<sup>257</sup> Joseph Dubois ("a good fisherman"), Jacques Fainant ("a good winter traveller"), Joseph Fontaine ("an active middleman"),<sup>258</sup> Jean-Baptiste Morrisson ("an industrious Man", due to retire the following year),<sup>259</sup> Paul La Garde ("a smart halfbreed") and Louis Ross ("a good halfbreed"). Ethnic ascriptions in the list are not always accurate; for example Robert Dudley,

described as a "Mechanic" or skilled tradesman, and was called a "Boat Builder" in the HBC Lake Superior District accounts of 1840 (HBCA, B.129/d/3,3d). The Nipigon post journals record Guidon's arrivals from Fort William either by canoe or on foot (HBCA, B.149/a/12), entry for 3 June 1829, 1d; B.149/a/14, entry for 10 February 1831). The name "Canada" as applied to the parish of origin could mean either that the parish was unknown, or that the person came from an area not yet organized into parishes, i. e. Lakes Huron and Superior, including the Sault Ste. Marie area.

<sup>255</sup> Identified as a native of Canada in HBC accounts, 67 years old in 1830 with 28 years of service. In 1829, Mallette was posted to the Lake Huron District. It seems likely that he was from the Upper Great Lakes and had had a long career in the fur trade prior to joining the HBC.

<sup>256</sup> Identified as a native of Ste. Anne's parish in Canada in HBC accounts, 33 years old with 16 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). Drowned on 29 December 1830, described by George Keith as an "able and experienced voyageur" (HBCA, B.129/e/8, 2)

<sup>257</sup> Identified as a native of Canada in HBC accounts, of unknown age and with 6 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/8/11). A marriage contract in HBC records indicates that Bouchard was from Maskinongé, and married Charlotte Fainiant from Fort William (likely a relative of Jacques) in 1828 (Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821 - 1892: A Collection of Documents*; quoted in Joan Holmes & Associates, "Historical Profile of the Lake Superior Study Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community", report prepared for the Office of the Federal Interlocutor, Canada, September 2007, 22. It appears that Bouchard married again, as the 1881 Census enumerated him (at age 80) as married to a woman named Mary about fifteen years his junior, with children born in the mid-to-late-1850s. Mary, according to Indian Affairs official J. A. Macrae, was "a sister of Chief Manitoshainse who subscribed the Robinson [Superior] Treaty" (LAC, RG10, Vol. 6896, file 492/28-5, pt. 2, "Report on Robinson Treaty Annuities Port Arthur Agency, J. A. Macrae, 9 February 1898; 1881 Canada Census, Algoma District no. 182, subdistrict Township of Nipigon BB).

<sup>258</sup> Identified as a native of Canada in HBC accounts, 23 years old with 13 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). The extremely young ages of entry into HBC service of some of these individuals emphasizes the family or hereditary character of fur-trade employment in the favoured labour pool for the Lake Superior District. Fontaine could have been recruited in Sault Ste. Marie with an older relative to serve as an apprentice. A Joseph Fontaine was recruited as a steersman by Captain Delafield (with Ermatinger's assistance) in Sault Ste. Marie in 1823 (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 381).

<sup>259</sup> This is Jean-Baptiste Morrisseau, who was responsible for caring for the livestock at Fort William. He in fact stayed on there as an employee for many more years. An Antoine Morrisseau, "freeman", and his son (a young man) also stayed in the vicinity of Fort William and Lake Nipigon in the 1820s (HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entries for 16 July, 15 October, 17 October 1828, 3d, 11). A man by the name of Antoine Morrisseau, a native of "Hudson's Bay", was engaged by the HBC at Albany in 1829 (B.135/g/11). In 1830, Jean-Baptiste was identified in HBC accounts as a native of Canada, 43 years old with 27 years of service (B.135/g/11). In the 1830s, Jean-Baptiste Morrisseau was sometime called "old Morrisseau" by HBC officers, perhaps to distinguish him from his children (HBCA, B.129/b/7, Angus Bethune to Donald McIntosh, 7 May 1833, 41d). Jean-Baptiste Morrisseau died at Fort William of a "malignant disease" blamed on the swampy character of the site in late 1834 or early 1835. He was described by Keith as "faithful, tho' rather superannuated" (HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to George Simpson, 15 February 1835, 28d).

Cromartie, and the clerk-interpreters John Vincent and John Robertson,<sup>260</sup> identified in other sources as of mixed ancestry, were not called "half breeds" by Haldane. The clerk-interpreter Jacob Truthwaite<sup>261</sup> may also have been the native-born son of a Hudson's Bay man but was not labelled as such.

Almost all the names on this list in the classes below clerk are French-Canadian in origin, illustrating the almost complete dependence in the Lake Superior District on the traditional multigenerational fur trade labour pools from the St. Lawrence River Valley and the Great Lakes. As discussed in the previous sections on the history of this population prior to the merger of the HBC and NWC, many of these men were of mixed ancestry and/or had families with Aboriginal women. Men from this tradition were strongly preferred by Hudson's Bay Company managers around Lake Superior. In May of 1831, George Keith (a former North West Company partner and Chief Trader in the Mackenzie River District, now the HBC Chief Trader for the Lake Superior District), wrote to Governor George Simpson noting that he was sending one of two Orkney recruits from the previous summer back to Moose Factory, explaining

I do not much approve of an augmentation of Orkneymen to a District where there is so much travelling on foot and particularly on the Water in small canoes, for which latter service they are extremely awkward for many years after their introduction -- Besides in the event of Opposition -- I need not say what Boobies they would prove to be for dealing with Indians and during such contests frequent important emergencies occur when a Clerk or Interpreter cannot be afforded.<sup>262</sup>

Keith refused the assistance of Orkneymen even in the face of continued reductions in employees in his District. In 1828, he observed in his annual report that that his "establishment" was "much reduced" since 1825, down to 40 men, including outpost masters, interpreters, labourers and two guides.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Identified as John Robertson (a), a native of Hudson's Bay in HBC accounts, 48 years old with 34 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). It is likely that this John Robertson was the same man described by Andrew Stewart at Michipicoten in 1818 as "a half breed...brought up in our service...deserted...from New Brunswick many Years ago" (HBCA, B.129/e/1, 5d).

<sup>261</sup> Truthwaite and Antoine Collin were included on a short list of "Freemen +c" with accounts in the HBC Moose (Southern) Department in 1828 - 1829 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>262</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/4, George Keith to George Simpson, 10 May 1831, 31.

<sup>263</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/5, 2.

Post masters across the Lake Superior District made up the deficiencies in their staffing, especially at the critical summer transport times, with the "freemen" in their vicinity and from Sault Ste. Marie. In June of 1827, Keith authorized Angus Bethune,<sup>264</sup> post master at Sault Ste. Marie, to hire men there and send them to Michipicoten for the transport season.<sup>265</sup> The Michipicoten post journal for 1827 - 1828 names three "freemen" who assisted with many tasks around the post (Antoine Pombrillant,<sup>266</sup> J. B. Mallette, and Louis Morrisseau), in addition to unnamed freemen in the area.<sup>267</sup> In October of 1827, he wrote to Donald McIntosh at Pic, formerly posted at the HBC's Fort William,<sup>268</sup> assenting to McIntosh's advice regarding the "superior facility of procuring Indians or free-men at Fort William to assist in bringing the Michipicoten Batteau from thence next spring", and remarking that he would ask Roderick McKenzie<sup>269</sup> at Fort William to engage two "Indians or freemen" to accompany the freight boats

<sup>264</sup> Bethune was the son of the Rev. John Bethune, founder of St. Gabriel's Presbyterian Church in Montréal, a favourite house of worship for fur trade employees and their families; and Veronique Wadden, the daughter of an independent fur trader murdered by Peter Pond on Lake Athabasca in 1782. Bethune's wife Louisa was the daughter of the Hon. Roderick McKenzie, a NWC partner at the turn of the century (not to be confused with the younger men Roderick McKenzie Sr. in HBC personnel records), Roderick McKenzie, jr. (Sr.'s son) and Roderick McKenzie (a) and (b)). She was born to McKenzie and his "country wife" in 1793 at Fort Chipewyan. Bethune had been a senior officer for the NWC in its trading missions to China and was a NWC partner before the merger. These families provide an example of the hereditary character of fur-trade employment and the tendency for fur-trade families to intermarry, within both the officer and working classes. Louisa died in 1833 and is buried in a cemetery near the old Hudson's Bay Company post at Michipicoten. Angus' and Louisa's great-grandson was the Dr. Norman Bethune who organized mobile medical services for the Maoist Chinese Liberation Army in the 1930s. (Morrison, "Fur Trade Families", 99 -100).

<sup>265</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 10 June 1827, 2.

<sup>266</sup> Antoine Pombrillant had been a labourer of "middleman" rank with the HBC in the Lake Superior District in 1825 - 1826, and was described by Haldane as "a good serviceable man". An older man, Joseph Pombrillant, also was in the service in the same year (HBCA, B.231/e/3, 4d). Antoine Pombrillant was described in an entry in the Michipicoten Post Journal of 14 August 1827 as "discharged from the service this year". He drowned while taking in a fishing net with employee Charles Robidoux in the Michipicoten fall fishery of 1828 (HBCA, B.129/b/2, George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 14 March 1829, 37. He had a wife and may have had children, but it is not clear what happened to them after he died (Arthur J. Ray and Kenichi Matsui, "Fur Trade and Métis Settlements in the Lake Superior Region, 1820 - 1850", report prepared for the Métis Nation of Ontario, 30 June 2011, 45). A man named Antoine Ponbrillant had been employed by the North West Company at Lac des Milles Lacs in 1805 ("List of the men &co at the Mille Lacs", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company"), and Joseph Ponbrillant had been at Pic in 1805 ("List of the men &co at the Pic Department", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company").

<sup>267</sup> Ray and Matsui, " Lake Superior Region", Appendix 4 (based on HBCA, B.129/a/12).

<sup>268</sup> McIntosh had been an officer at the North West Company post of Michipicoten in 1818 (Stuart, "Indians and the Lake Superior Trade", 89).

<sup>269</sup> This Roderick McKenzie is known in HBC records as Roderick McKenzie Sr. (to distinguish him from his son of the same name) or Roderick McKenzie (a). His wife was Angelique, an "Indian" from the Lake Nipigon area. He was a clerk at the NWC trading post on Lake Nipigon from the 1790s to the merger, and then moved to become Chief Trader at Fort William for the HBC. He and Angelique had twelve children. The four surviving girls all married men in the fur trade (including Adam McBeath, a mixed-ancestry man who became a clerk at the Nipigon

in a canoe. In addition, Keith noted that his district had been asked to build eight boats, and this would require "four or five additional hands...of necessity...Indians or free men", and requested that McIntosh hire two suitable individuals from his vicinity. In conclusion, he reported that "your free man A. La Garde arrived here with the Puckaswa's [Indian group]. He brought four skins in Bears and Rats...He and his family were destitute".<sup>270</sup> A few days later, he authorized Alexander McTavish at the Nipigon post to hire "free men or Indians" to transport his goods to and from Pic post in the spring, as "it is evident your complement of men will be short for the outcoming".<sup>271</sup> When Louis Ross (the "good halfbreed" of 1825) deserted from Fort William in late 1827, Keith consoled Roderick McKenzie with the wisdom that "these half-breeds are really a fickle and unprincipled race, and it happens unfortunately that, generally when well disposed they can render essential service and do nearly as much mischief when otherwise inclined". He suggested that McKenzie engage Vezina instead (without specifying the father or the son), the mainstay of the Fort William and Port Meuron posts from the time before the merger.<sup>272</sup>

### Fort William, 1823 - 1836

The Fort William post journals following the merger reveal many names familiar from the pre-merger days. In the fall of 1823, Antoine and Michel Collin (with Louis Ross) established fisheries to feed the fort.<sup>273</sup> In the spring of 1824, Antoine Collin continued making canoes as he had done before 1821, while his son Michel and Vezina fished.<sup>274</sup> They were joined at the fisheries by Langomois, a "freeman" hired by the month as a fisherman; and employee Masta.<sup>275</sup>

HBC post, and a Scotsman named Roderick McKenzie), and the seven surviving sons all became HBC employees. Angelique and Roderick retired to Red River in 1845, after a stint at Isle à la Crosse (Arthur, "Angelique and Her Children", 117 - 119).

<sup>270</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 23 October 1827, 23 - 24.

<sup>271</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Alexander McTavish, 23 October 1827.

<sup>272</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 17 January 1828, 31d; also George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 27 February 1828, 35. This observation may seem somewhat impolite given McKenzie's household full of fur-trade "half-breeds", although after attempting to settle his sons with uneven success, McKenzie himself remarked to George Simpson in 1841 that "none of these unfortunate half-breeds will ever give satisfaction in any other country than their own, and even in their own very seldom" (letter quoted in Arthur, "Angelique and her Children", 120). Keith also had a wife and children with him at the post.

<sup>273</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 2, 4, and 11 November 1823, 2 - 2d.

<sup>274</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 14 May, 29 May, 29 June, 14 July 1824; 15d, 19, 19d, 20d.

<sup>275</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 4 May, 29 June, 3 July 1824; 14d, 19, 19d. A Pierre Masta had been employed by the North West Company at Kaministiquia in 1805 ("List of the men &co at Kaministiquia",

Employee Fanniant undertook multiple tasks, including "making a Road in the Woods" to bring in cordwood, visiting Indian people in their camps, carrying mail, and shooting ducks and geese.<sup>276</sup> The employees' and freemen's families also played an important part in keeping the Fort going. In November of 1823, "the Women of the Fort", including Mrs. Haldane, wife of the Chief Trader, went off to hunt rabbits; on 9 December clerk Mr. Grant and employee Roleau went to look for interpreter Peter McFarlane, who had left the post a few days earlier in search of the "Rabbit Snarers". Grant and Roleau brought back Mrs. Haldane "with the Rabbits she had caught".<sup>277</sup> In late March of 1824, "Several of the freemen and their families and some of the Women of the Fort" were preparing to go to the sugar bush, where they stayed until mid-May.<sup>278</sup> In July, the "women" were sent to collect wattap (roots) to sew the canoes Antoine Collin was making.<sup>279</sup> "Young Dubois", probably the son of Joseph Dubois, fisherman, arrived in a canoe from Michipicoten with "LaGarde sr." and other men, and was sent back in a fishing canoe to Nipigon with a bull calf, a cock and two hens.<sup>280</sup> The HBC's proprietary attitude towards the "freemen" was illustrated by Haldane's reaction to rumours that the crew of the British Boundary Expedition's ship *Recovery*, camped near the Fort for the winter, were trading "Furs +c, from the freemen resident at this place", especially Vezina. According to the post journal, Haldane

called upon Lt. B[ayfield] this morning, and stated the circumstance to him. Mr. Haldane informed him, at the same time, that although the freemen were not in the Company's permanent Employ; they derived the whole of their Support from the Company, and that in every Estimate made for the Supply of the Indians, the necessaries required by these people were always included - in consequence of which they were to be considered, as on the same footing with the Indians; and any Clandestine Trade carried on with them, as an infringement of the Company's rights...

in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company"). An entry in the post journal for 24 February 1824 recorded that Masta was exempted from working because of the illness of his wife (9d).

<sup>276</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 19 November, 17 December 1823, 23 January, 1 - 2 April, 3 May 1824, 2d, 4d, 7, 12, 14d. This may be Jacque[s] Fanniant or variants, who appears frequently in the journals in the 1820s. A Jean-Baptiste Fanniant was employed by the North West Company at Kaministiquia in 1805 ("List of the men &co at Kaministiquia", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company"), and fellow-employee Louis Bouchard married Charlotte Fanniant in 1828 (see *supra*).

<sup>277</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 24 November, 9 December, 17 December 1823, 3, 4, 4d.

<sup>278</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 29 March, 9 May 1824, 11d, 15.

<sup>279</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 6 July 1824, 19d. The men employed by Delafield as guides and canoemen hired two "squaws" at Fort William to stitch the North canoe they were to use to travel to Lac la Pluie, "which they do very neatly", according to Delafield. Delafield noted that "there are always some poor squaws about the fort for such purposes, who are compensated by a little provision" (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 401).

<sup>280</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 20 July 1824, 21.

Lieut. Bayfield replied that he...perfectly agreed in this necessity of putting a Stop to such proceedings: -- He had therefore determined to issue Public Orders to his men to that effect...<sup>281</sup>

Accounts from the posts during this period show expenditures and rations issued to families and "freemen". At Fort William during Outfit 1827 - 1828, Roderick McKenzie Sr., reported that the barley grown around the Fort was ground and mixed with Indian corn, to be "served out as provisions for Indians and freemen". His own family (one woman and seven children) and that of employee Baptiste Deschamps (one woman and four children)<sup>282</sup> were maintained at the expense of the Fort, as well as those of Michel Collin (one woman and five children), Antoine Collin (one woman and one child), Jean-Baptiste Vezina (one woman and three children), all identified as "freemen". Another freeman, Jean Baptiste Langomois, "upwards of 80 years of age", was also provided for, as well as Madame Brisebois, "upwards of 70 years of age",<sup>283</sup> Madame La Gacé (100 years of age),<sup>284</sup> and a "few" others, "all maintained and clothed by the Company". The value of expenditures in provisions for the officers, "strangers", "officers

<sup>281</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 1 December 1823; also 12 December 1823, 3, 4.

<sup>282</sup> Identified as a native of Soulange in Canada in HBC accounts, 42 years of age with 4 years of service in 1830 (B.135/8/11). Evidently Deschamps had been in the country for much longer; probably as an employee of the North West Company. Deschamps died at Fort William of a "malignant disease" blamed on the swampy character of the site in late 1834 or early 1835. He was described by Keith as "faithful, tho' rather superannuated", and "left a young family" (HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to George Simpson, 15 February 1835, 28d).

<sup>283</sup> An Augustin Brisebois was employed at the Fort during this period (B231/e/6, 1d). He is identified in HBCA accounts as being of 61 years of age and a native of "Hudson's Bay", with 25 years' service in 1830) (HBCA, B.135/g/11). While Augustin was still an employee of the fort, a man named "old Brisebois", with a grown son, was a freeman occasionally employed by and trading with the Fort (HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entries for 17 October, 14 November 1828, 11, 13; HBCA, B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entries for 5 January, 19 January, 21 January 1830, 18, 19, 19d). An Augustin Brisebois had been employed by the North West Company as a cooper in the Lower Red River Department in 1805, but it is not known if this was the same man ("List of the men &co at the Lower Red River", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company"). Captain Delafield, with Ermatinger's assistance, engaged a "Brisebois" at Sault Ste. Marie as a guide or foreman in 1823, and called him "old Brisebois". He was impressed by Brisebois' skill as an "experienced guide" between the Sault and Lake of the Woods by the "old" Grand Portage route, with which he was familiar, but which he had not traversed for 20 years (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 381, 383, 412, 416, 455, 457). Brisebois also told Delafield about the route to Moose Factory *via* the Nipigon River, saying that he had been nine years "in that region" (*ibid.*, 396).

<sup>284</sup> Madame LaGacé died on 14 July 1828 at Fort William (HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entry for 14 July 1828, 3). A Legacé worked for the Hudson's Bay Company at Port Meuron in 1819 - 1820, returning to Drummond Island at the end of the outfit, and an André Legacé had been hired at Sault Ste. Marie to work at Port Meuron for the 1820 - 1821 outfit. Madame LaGacé could have been a spouse of an NWC employee of an earlier generation, or even possibly a mother-in-law to one of the Port Meuron Legacés.

families", servants, "Servants families", Indians, and "Superannuated Women +c" were all included in McKenzie's report.<sup>285</sup>

In Outfit 1827 - 1828, the post journal describes Vezina, Michel Robidoux, Dominique, Daviault and Deschamps working on canoes with "old Collin" in June 1827. The families of Michel Collin, Vezina, the "Veuve [widow] Giboche", and an Indian named Petit Vieux collected canoe bark at locations including Birch Lake, Black Bay and Sturgeon Bay.<sup>286</sup> In midsummer, two freemen named [Alexis] Tremblay and [Antoine] Morrisseau assisted Michel Collin and Vezina with mowing hay, and then went to Michipicoten to get thread for fishing nets.<sup>287</sup> Langomois and Samuel McKenzie, one of Roderick's sons, weeded the potato fields, with old Collin, Vezina and "Indian" men and women.<sup>288</sup> In late July, "Rhiel", apparently a freeman, came in to Fort William with "two Indians", and about a week later the three left for Nipigon.<sup>289</sup> In August, Fanniant's mother and other older women left to pick berries.<sup>290</sup> In late August 1827, as Joseph Fontaine, Deschamps and Louis Bouchard put up the stockade of the fort, an "Indian" named L Picante went off to join his son-in-law Joseph Perdrix Blanche at the Pic.<sup>291</sup> In mid-September, Benjamin McKenzie (another of Roderick's sons) went off to take command of the Lac la Flèche outpost for the winter, with Jean-Baptiste St-Cire and Joseph Fontaine. Robidoux and Daviault accompanied them to assist with the 24-mile portage, wryly named "His Lordship's Portage", while Deschamps and Bouchard assisted the elder Collin in making canoes and Michel Collin went to Rabbit Island to "arrange his fall fishing".<sup>292</sup> Alexis Tremblay and Antoine Morrisseau, freemen, along with several "Indians", received "debt" from the HBC to undertake their winter hunt, which in the case of Tremblay and Morrisseau was to be at Point au Père, where they were also to fish. On 21 September 1827, Collin, Bouchard, Vezina, and Bouché "started for their respective fisheries", while Brisebois, Langomois and Jean-Baptiste Morrisseau hauled barley

<sup>285</sup> HBCA, B231/e/5, 1d - 3.

<sup>286</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries in June and July 1827, 1d - 4.

<sup>287</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries in July and August 1827, 5d - 6d.

<sup>288</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 27 June 1827, 3.

<sup>289</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 30 July and 9 August 1827, 5d - 6. A man named Hipolite Rhiel had been employed in the Fond du Lac Department of the North West Company in 1805 ("List of the men &co at the Fond Du Lac Department", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company").

<sup>290</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 2 August 1827, 5d.

<sup>291</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 28 August 1827, 6d - 7.

<sup>292</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 11 September 1827, 7d - 8.

into the barn. Langemois also got seven trout in his two nets at Isle au Moulton on that day.<sup>293</sup> "Bouché" is Joseph Boucher, a native of "Hudson's Bay" aged 22 in 1830 with three years of service. He was also referred to in the journal as a "freeman" assisting in various tasks, trapping close to the fort with Vezina, the Collins and a "Nipigon Indian", and then being engaged by McKenzie at the end of November 1827 with an undertaking that he was to be "free" again at Fort William in a year.<sup>294</sup> During the winter, Michel Collin, Fontaine, Fanniant, Daviault, Bouché, Deschamps, Robidoux and Benjamin McKenzie took turns going to collect furs from "Indians" at Pays Plat, Lac la Flèche, Point au Père ("freemen and Indians"), Grand Portage, and other unspecified places.<sup>295</sup> On 14 April, Roderick McKenzie Sr. sent off some sledges of potatoes to Indians and freemen "starving" at Point au Père.<sup>296</sup> During the last two weeks of April, Fanniant, Vezina, and the Collins were making maple sugar close to the fort.<sup>297</sup> As the ice disappeared from the river and the Lake, the cycle of post activities began again with Daviault, Antoine Collin, St-Cire, Robidoux, and Deschamps making canoes, assisted by "the women" who sewed the seams of the canoes; transportation activities, and fort occupants young and old preparing for spring planting. Deschamps was accorded the honour of painting the Governor's north canoes, in which Governor Simpson and his party left Fort William for Red River at midnight on 20 May 1828.<sup>298</sup>

The post journals for 1828 - 1829 and 1829 - 1830 feature much the same cast of characters and activities.<sup>299</sup> Ten men were employed full-time with the Company in 1828 - 1829.<sup>300</sup> Jacques Fanniant became a freeman and undertook trips as far as Moose Factory for the Company.<sup>301</sup> A new freeman, a "half breed Canadian" named Louis Rivet came into the Fort William area from

<sup>293</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 21 September 1827, 8d.

<sup>294</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 20 October, 8 - 30 November 1827, 10 - 12.

<sup>295</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 22 January through 8 April 1828, 15 - 19d.

<sup>296</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 7 April through 14 April 1828, 19d - 20.

<sup>297</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 15 April through 27 April 1828, 20 - 21.

<sup>298</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 29 April through 31 May 1828, 21 - 23d.

<sup>299</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/8 (1828 - 1829), and B.231/a/9 (1829 - 1830).

<sup>300</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/6, 1d.

<sup>301</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 5 April, 7 April, and 10 May 1824, 12, 15d; B.129/b/3, George Keith to Alexander Christie, 21 July 1829, 10; HBCA, B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entries for 14 November, 24 December 1829, 14d, 17; B.129/b/9, George Keith to Thomas McMurray and Donald McIntosh, 9 June 1833, 4d.

Lac la Pluie.<sup>302</sup> In 1834, nine men (Joseph Bouchard, Hyacinthe Davilleau, Baptiste Deschamps, Joseph Fontaine, Coang Mizail, Jean-Baptiste Morrisseau, James Robertson, William Robertson, and Louis Rivet) were employed at Fort William, and Michel Collin was allowed to order goods from Moose Factory at the old North West Company prices.<sup>303</sup> In 1835 - 1836, Antoine, Michel, and Joseph Collin (Michel's son), Tremblay, and the Widow Guibosh's two sons were freemen getting regular work at the Fort, and Louis Rivet joined them in fishing and trapping. Vezina, Joseph Boucher, Daviault/Davilleault and Joseph Fontaine were employees, although Fontaine and his family left for Sault Ste. Marie at the end of the outfit. The Chief Trader at the American Fur Company post at Grand Portage was a Cotté, with his son, undoubtedly a descendant of the Cotté who traded around Lake Nipigon in the 1770s and 1780s. Jack Sayer and his family arrived from Lake Huron to join Cotté and the AFC, but when their fishery failed at nearby Sturgeon Bay, the HBC sent provisions.<sup>304</sup>

Fort William after the merger may have seemed to some to be a shadow of its former self: by 1829, the NWC farm had reverted to swampland,<sup>305</sup> and in 1834 George Keith reported to Governor Simpson that "the dwelling houses and Stores at Fort William...are fallen into total decay-- insomuch as it will be absolutely necessary to set about removing them next summer".<sup>306</sup> However, it was still a busy place with opportunities for freemen to support their families with regular or occasional wage labour, as well as productive fisheries and easily-accessible trapping areas. In the depths of winter, when country food failed, forty or fifty "Indians" camped near the fort to receive provisions,<sup>307</sup> and in the summer the population of "Indians", freemen, employees

<sup>302</sup> See HBCA, B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entry for 17 January 1830, 19; E.116/3, Fort William post journal, entries for 7 and 8 September 1835. Rivet was re-engaged intermittently in the 1830s; as a steersman at premium wages (B.129/b/9, George Keith to George Simpson, 22 August 1833, 14). Keith advised Donald McIntosh at Fort William in 1834 that "you cannot select a better man for counteracting [opposition] as Rivet" (B.129/b/10, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 12 August 1834, 6), and Angus Bethune recommended him to McIntosh for 1836 - 1837 (B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to Donald McIntosh, 31 January 1836, 13d). An Antoine Rivet requested that the HBC pay an amount owed to him to his mother at Sault Ste. Marie in 1833; it is not known if this man was related to Louis (HBCA, B.129/b/9, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 7 August 1833, 11).

<sup>303</sup> Thunder Bay Museum and Archives, "Statement of Servants Accounts belonging to Fort William Post, Outfit 1834".

<sup>304</sup> HBCA, E.116/3, Fort William post journal, entries for 24 September 1836; 13, 14, 21 and 28 February 1837.

<sup>305</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/6, 1d.

<sup>306</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to George Simpson, 22 September 1834, 11.

<sup>307</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 1d; B.231/e/6, 1. Large game such as deer and moose were extirpated in the area north of Lake Superior for over 100 years during this period. Both Indian people and freemen found it difficult to live for

and families could total close to 80.<sup>308</sup> The Oblate missionary G.-A. Belcourt was favourably impressed by Fort William when he visited it in May of 1831:

*Le Fort William est bien bâti; comme le Fort du Pic, il est entouré d'une palissade, ainsi que ses riches dépendances, au nombre des quelles on remarque une assez vaste batisse en pierre. Ce Fort est défendu par cinq Bastions dont 4 places en avant, aux quatre coins de la fortification, et le cinquième au-dessus de la principale porte...*<sup>309</sup>

Belcourt observed the activity that took place at Fort William when the men and baggage of their party was transferred from the large *canots du maître* to the smaller *canots du nord* for inland travel:

*Pendant toute la journée, tout le monde fut occupé; les uns se fesoient des avirons, les autres préparoient des sièges; d'un côté l'on fesoit des perches canot, de l'autre on assouplissoit les lignes qui devoient servir dans les rapides...*<sup>310</sup>

Although traffic through Fort William was not as heavy as it had been during the peak times of the North West Company, passengers and small freight loads were still being moved in canoes across Lake Superior, and the work of transshipping goods, equipping the *voyageurs*, and preparing these canoes continued to occupy the people there.

### Nipigon, Pic, Long Lake and Michipicoten, 1823 - 1836

Lake Nipigon post, located on the west shore of Lake Nipigon across from Jackfish Island, was a smaller post with steady fisheries nearby; in fact so steady that it was difficult to persuade the local Indian population to leave the lakeshore to hunt.<sup>311</sup> The Chief Trader at Nipigon, Alexander McTavish, reported in 1828 that "the men" working in the Nipigon District were "Canadians, and differ in [illegible] from the rest of their countrymen, a distinguishing trait in all is that they are hardy and active". The officers' wives and children (two wives and three children in all) were "maintained on fish and potatoes during the winter at the companys expense", but

long periods away from a fishery, and therefore the HBC fed and clothed hunters to a greater extent than in other parts of the North West.

<sup>308</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entry for 20 July 1828, 4.

<sup>309</sup> G.-A. Belcourt, "Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge", entry for 26 May 1831, reprinted in *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface*, Vol. IV, 1913 (Montréal: Arbour & Dupont), 33 - 34.

<sup>310</sup> G.-A. Belcourt, "Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge", entre for 25 May 1831, 33.

<sup>311</sup> HBCA, B.149/e/2, 2.

although "several of the men are married [and] have children...all are supported by their husbands, who by nets catch a sufficiency of fish, and each having a small garden provide a tolerable supply of potatoes for the winter".<sup>312</sup> In exchange, the HBC had to allow the men time to fish for their families.<sup>313</sup> Employees at Nipigon with families mentioned in the post journal at this time included Pierre Camerere,<sup>314</sup> Joubinville,<sup>315</sup> and Dubois,<sup>316</sup> and in addition employee Antoine Dutremble is known to have married Roderick McKenzie Sr.'s daughter and fathered children with her.<sup>317</sup> A small amount of money was spent at Nipigon on provisions for freemen.<sup>318</sup> "Freemen" mentioned in the Nipigon post journal between 1829 and 1831 included (Paul) La Garde, "a half breed", with his family;<sup>319</sup> and Antoine Morriseau and his sons. These people were described in the journals as fishing for themselves near the post and at locations such as "English Bay", "the straits", and the "old fort"; and hunting for rabbits and furs to trade with the Company. They also assisted the HBC by weeding the gardens, fishing, carrying letters, and guiding HBC employees to Long Lake and Fort William.<sup>320</sup> Possibly because of this less generous treatment of families and freemen around the Fort, La Garde in particular was described by Chief Trader John McIntosh's son (who kept the post journal at Nipigon for 1830 - 1831) as "a half breed who lives with the Indians", and was recorded as travelling with local Indian people.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>312</sup> HBCA, B.149/e/1, 3; see also B.149/e/2, 2.

<sup>313</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/14, Nipigon post journal, entry for 23 February 1830, 20d.

<sup>314</sup> Identified as a native of "Masha" in Canada in HBC accounts, 50 years old, with 21 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>315</sup> Identified as a native of Maskinongé in Canada in HBC records, 32 years old with 6 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>316</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/12, Nipigon post journal, entries for 15 October, 7 November 1829, 11, 12d; B.149/a/14, Nipigon post journal, entry for 2 November 1830, B.149/a/14, 7d.

<sup>317</sup> Identified as a native of Canada in HBC accounts, 27 years old with 9 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11); See Arthur, "Angelique and her Children", 119.

<sup>318</sup> HBCA, B.149/e/2, 2d, see also HBCA, B.149/a/12, Nipigon post journal, 8 February, 6 May 1830, 18d, 26d.

<sup>319</sup> Included on the list of employees for the Lake Superior District in 1825 - 1826 (HBCA, B.231/e/3, 4). A Jean-Baptiste LaGarde and a Joseph LaGarde had been employed by the North West Company in the Fond du Lac District in 1805 ("List of the men &co at the Fond du Lac Department", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company").

<sup>320</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/12, Nipigon post journal, entries for 15 June, 2 July, 5 July, 10 October, 28 October, 2 November, 7 November, 8 November, 8 December, 11 - 12 December 1829, 13 January, 28 January, 1 February, 7 February, 9 February, 18 February, 24 February, 20 March, 6 April, 8 April, 7 May, 22 May; HBCA, B.149/a/14, Nipigon post journal, entries for 16 October, 25 October, 28 October, 16 November, 5 December, 14 December 1830, 9 February 1831; HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 23 October 1827, 23 - 24.

<sup>321</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/12, Nipigon post journal, entry for 14 December 1830, 8d; also HBCA, B.149/a/12, Nipigon post journal, entries for 10 August, 10 October 1829, 7 May, 22 May 1830, 6d, 11, 26d, 28; HBCA, B.149/a/14, Nipigon post journal, entry for 5 December 1830, 9d.

Information from Pic and its outpost Long Lake is less complete. Delafield described Pic in 1823 as "situate at the mouth of river of same name...a good looking house...with outhouses for stores, &c., within the pickets, that also look substantial".<sup>322</sup> In September 1827, Donald McIntosh noted that "no less than five freemen besides Fyant & his brother" were in the vicinity of Long Lake, "voyaging, fishing and working about the establishment".<sup>323</sup> However, in February 1828, McIntosh reported to George Simpson from Pic that "there is not a Freeman, Canadian, or Half Breed at this place now".<sup>324</sup> In June 1828, McIntosh recorded that three women and seven children, the families of Pic Post employees, were maintained by the HBC at Pic, as well as "an Indian family, i. e., an helpless widow and four children".<sup>325</sup> For outfit 1832 - 1833, Pic Post, under the direction of Louis Denis La Ronde, consisted of eight employees, five women, thirteen children, and a "freeman" named Morrisseau and his wife.

"Women of the Establishment" received the same rations from the Company as the men at Long Lake and Pic, namely six pounds of fish and a gallon of potatoes each per day at Pic in 1832 - 1833. At Long Lake, potatoes were not grown, and more fish were frozen instead of salted. Thomas McMurray, the Chief Trader at Pic, thought that a garden could be started at Long Lake to grow "Potatoes and many other useful vegetables, was the Honourable Company to allow some Superannuated Servant, to remain at that place for the Summer, to attend to the Field and Garden".<sup>326</sup> At Pic and Long Lake, employees' families also received hulled corn, rough corn, "tallow" (fat) and rabbits, and officers' families were issued flour, pork, and maple sugar as well. Altogether, in 1832 - 1833, Pic and Long Lake fed one commissioned officer, one clerk, twelve "Servants", eight women, eighteen children aged three to twelve, and "an old Freeman and his

<sup>322</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 383, also 394.

<sup>323</sup> HBCA, B.162/a/1, Donald McIntosh to George Keith, 21 September 1827, quoted in Holmes, "Lake Superior", 19. "Fyant" or "Fyan" and his brother were described by McIntosh as "two Indians...why have been brought up from their infancy at the Fort. Consequently they are better voyagers than hunters" (HBCA, B.162/a/1, Donald McIntosh to George Keith, 3 November 1827, quoted in Holmes, "Lake Superior", 20. Long Lake was located at the entrance(north end) of the Lake. Thomas McMurray described Long Lake in 1833 as being on the White River, which appears not to be today's White River but the Aguasabon River (HBCA, B.162/e/3, 1). The fur trade history of this area is reflected in the names of Lac d'Hyvernant (Winterers Lake), at the western edge of Pic District, and McKay's Lake. Both of these names were in common use in 1833.

<sup>324</sup> HBCA, B.162/a/1, Donald McIntosh to George Simpson, 10 February 1828, quoted in Holmes, "Lake Superior", 20.

<sup>325</sup> HBCA, B.162/e/1, quoted in Holmes, "Lake Superior", 21.

<sup>326</sup> HBCA, B.162/e/3, 2.

Wife, who was maintained during 6 months", totalling 42 people.<sup>327</sup> In 1833 - 1834, one commissioned officer, one clerk, eleven servants, nine women, nineteen children aged two to twelve, and "two families from Lake Nipigon, who Passed the Summer of 1833" at Pic, were rationed by the HBC.<sup>328</sup>

At Michipicoten for the year 1827 - 1828 (the administrative centre of the Lake Superior District, relocated from Fort William), George Keith reported expenditures of seventeen pounds of tallow, eight bushels of hulled corn, four bushels of rough corn, thirty bushels of potatoes, and 701 pounds of salt fish for "Freemen in want". Labourers' families received rations of flour, beef, and pork in addition to twenty pounds of tallow, eight bushels of hulled corn, eighty-two bushels of potatoes, and 1,664 bushels of salt fish.<sup>329</sup> A few years later, in 1830, Keith clarified that "most families however are maintained at the expense of their Protectors or Guardians".<sup>330</sup>

#### Families in the Lake Superior District, 1825 - 1835

In 1830, George Keith listed sixteen employees' families across the district in his annual report, including his own, that of Roderick McKenzie Sr., John Swanston (who had married Keith's daughter) and Donald and John McIntosh (father and son). Pierre Camerere, Thomas Cadrant,<sup>331</sup> Hyacinthe Davilleau,<sup>332</sup> Baptiste Deschamps, Joseph Dubois (b),<sup>333</sup> Antoine Dutremble, Joseph Fontaine, Joseph La Perdrix Blanche,<sup>334</sup> Jean-Amable McKay, Jean-Baptiste LaVallé, John Robertson (a) and John Swanston<sup>335</sup> made up the others, totalling 16 women and 38 children.<sup>336</sup>

<sup>327</sup> HBCA, B.162/e/3, 2d.

<sup>328</sup> HBCA, B.162/e/4, 2 - 2d.

<sup>329</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/5, 2d.

<sup>330</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/7.

<sup>331</sup> Identified as a native of "Masha" in Canada in HBC accounts, 36 years old with 21 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>332</sup> Identified as a native of St. Ours in Canada in HBC accounts, 24 years old with 6 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>333</sup> Identified as a native of Hudson's Bay in HBC accounts, 24 years old with 5 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>334</sup> Identified as a native of Hudson's Bay in HBC accounts, 31 years of age with 13 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>335</sup> Identified as a native of England in HBC accounts, 37 years old with 11 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>336</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/7, 5. Of these names, the Michipicoten post journal for 1827 - 1828 refers to Jean-Amable McKay, Jean-Baptiste LaVallé, John Robertson (a), as well as William Schillen, as employees of the post. Most

In his report for 1833 - 34, Keith updated the list of families in the Lake Superior District. Twenty-six employees had families, with 56 children between them. Additions to the list included Thomas McMurray, Chief Trader; Louis Denis LaRonde, post master;<sup>337</sup> Joseph Boucher,<sup>338</sup> Toussaint Boucher,<sup>339</sup> Olivier Desautels,<sup>340</sup> Jacque Fagneant, Joseph Jobinville, Joachim Laferté,<sup>341</sup> Coang Mizael, François Rivet, John Robertson (b),<sup>342</sup> James Robertson (b),<sup>343</sup> William Schillen,<sup>344</sup> and Jean-Baptiste Vezina (who was now an HBC employee).

employees were not named in the journal (as summarized in Ray and Matsui, "Lake Superior Region", Appendix 4 (based on HBCA, B.129/a/12).

<sup>337</sup> Identified as a native of Ste. Anne's parish in Canada in HBC accounts, 27 years old with 12 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). De la Ronde had engaged with the North West Company in 1818, and was posted to "Lac des Isles" north and west of Lake Nipigon. The De la Rondes had ancestors in minor French nobility, including Louis Denys de la Ronde (1675 - 1741), seigneur and commander of the French post of Chagouamigon (near present-day Ashland, Wisconsin). This de la Ronde was one of the first Europeans to investigate the development of copper mines on Lake Superior. A Denys de la Ronde held a permit to trade with the Indians at "La Prairie des François" in 1781, and a "Chevallier Laronde" held a permit for Michilimackinac. Louis Denis de Laronde, Louis LaRonde's father, was a trader on Lake Nipissing in the late eighteenth century; Louis LaRonde's mother was Louis Denis' second wife, a Louise King of Montréal. Louis married the daughter of an Indian called "The Pelican" around Osnaburgh House in 1827. Louis' uncle Charles was also a fur trader and married Madeline Pewadjiwonokwe from Lake Simcoe. A half-brother, Toussaint Laronde, one of ten children from Louis LaRonde's father's first marriage to a Nipissing Indian woman, was an interpreter for the North West Company in the Fond du Lac Department in 1805 ("List of the men &co at the Fond du Lac Department", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company"). See Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon", in Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, *Paper and Records*, Vol. IX 1981, 31 - 48; Thunder Bay Museum and Archives, miscellaneous genealogical material related to the De la Ronde family.

<sup>338</sup> Identified as a native of Hudson's Bay in HBC accounts, 22 years old with 3 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>339</sup> Boucher was described by Keith as "a half breed" formerly with the American Fur Company, possibly from Sault Ste. Marie or Mackinac, who proved to be so useful as a temporary worker at Fort William that Donald McIntosh hired him there in 1831 (HBCA, B.129/b/3, George Keith to George Simpson, 10 May 1831, 32). A man by this name, associated with the Métis Drummond Islanders who migrated to Penetanguishene in 1828, was famous for having built an "iron canoe" at Penetanguishene, probably in the 1840s A. C. Osborne, "The Migration of *Voyageurs* from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828", in Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records*, Vol. III (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1901), 133, 139.

<sup>340</sup> Identified as a native of Masha in Canada in HBC accounts, 22 years old with 3 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>341</sup> Identified as a native of Canada in HBCA accounts, 24 years old with 3 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>342</sup> Identified as a native of Hudson's Bay in HBCA accounts, 22 years old with 3 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>343</sup> Identified as a native of Hudson's Bay in HBC accounts, 17 years old with one year of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11).

<sup>344</sup> Identified as a native of Canada in HBC accounts, 30 years old with 9 years of service in 1830 (HBCA, B.135/g/11). An 1825 three-year contract with the Hudson's Bay Company and William "Schiller", tinsmith and blacksmith, is recorded in the Voyageur database, and it seems likely that this is the same man. His home parish was stated as Boucherville, and his destination was to be Fort William, Sault Ste. Marie or Michilimackinac. A Ferdinand "Scheller", also a tinsmith, was engaged by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818 for "Hudson Bay

Roderick McKenzie Sr. had transferred out to Ile à la Crosse, although his daughter and son-in-law Dutremble remained. Jean-Baptiste LaVallé and John Robertson (a) were also no longer on the list.

Although the HBC supported employees' families to a varying extent, the Company emphasized that its men were expected to be responsible for them. In August of 1828, Keith wrote to Roderick McKenzie Sr. at Fort William, in the context of instructions to not allow men to request too much in the way of goods on account, that

I understand some of your Men propose forming matrimonial connexions at Fort William -- No one should be permitted to do so without binding himself to take the Woman 'for better or for worse' -- I transmit a form which may be useful on such occasions [not appended in the correspondence book].<sup>345</sup>

A marriage contract for Louis Bouchard and Charlotte Fainiant at Fort William from 1828 stipulates that ten per cent of Bouchard's wages were to be held by the HBC for the benefit of his family "in case of his accidental death".<sup>346</sup> In 1833, Angus Bethune refused a request from Baptiste Deschamps for additional rations for his family, while acceding to a similar request from Bouchard.<sup>347</sup> He observed that seven labourers in the Lake Superior District had given their notice to retire the following year, and proposed that "owing to the burthensome increase of families I would beg to suggest that a Batch of four or five be provided annually for a few years in order to allow such Servants gradually to retire".<sup>348</sup> Officers' families were allowed to accompany their men on summer transport trips, but labourers' families were not, because of limited space in the boats and the expense of feeding them while at gathering places such as Michipicoten.<sup>349</sup> While family connections in the trading area had traditionally been regarded as conferring an advantage on the traders, occasionally, as in any family, relationships broke down. Donald McIntosh's mixed-ancestry son John, post master at Batchewana in 1832 - 1833, had

territory", home parish Montréal. Lord Selkirk engaged a Michel "Schneller" in Montréal to go to Red River in 1817 to establish himself as a farmer, and to take up arms to defend the Colony if necessary.

<sup>345</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/2, George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 10 August 1828, 13.

<sup>346</sup> Holmes, "Lake Superior", 22.

<sup>347</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/7, Angus Bethune to Donald McIntosh, 7 May 1833, 41.

<sup>348</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/9, Angus Bethune to George Simpson, 22 August 1833, 13d. Although some reductions were made in 1833 - 1834, there is no indication that employees with particularly large families were targeted, or that a large number of new recruits took their places.

<sup>349</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/6, Angus Bethune to Thomas McMurray and Donald McIntosh, 31 January 1833, 28d; Angus Bethune to Denis La Ronde, 15 April 1833, 40; B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to Thomas McMurray, 4 June 1835, 2.

been there "too long, and has too many Relations, who are not fond of him, and with whom he is at variance", in the opinion of Angus Bethune.<sup>350</sup> John agreed to go to the Northern Department for outfit 1833 - 1834, but "owing to his wife's recent rather difficult couche [childbirth]", his family stayed in the Lake Superior District. "I promised they would get a passage to Red River next spring in the Montréal canoes", George Keith wrote to George Simpson.<sup>351</sup> In other instances the Company was less willing to incur the expense of moving families. In 1825, clerk Thomas Alder at Michipicoten at first accepted and then declined an appointment as post master of Long Lake, and then found himself without a place. John Haldane wrote in his District report that during the summer at Michipicoten "Mr. A was not...a satisfied man and his expressions tending rather to create dissatisfaction amongst the Companys Servants". Alder's term of service was up in 1826, and he was faced with the imminent need to move his family. He wrote to Haldane that

return to England would put me to very great expense, but I have friends at New York, and would very much wish to go there, but despair of finding a home for my family whom I am determined not to abandon. You were so good as to promise me a Bill which will defray my expenses, and enable me to take one child with me, and I have petitioned to the Honble Committee for permission to have the others, at some future period sent up this way, and will come myself and fetch them as soon as I am enabled to provide a home for them. If you would afford me a passage or assistance as far as the Sault it would be an additional act of kindness.

The Company, however, was not willing to assist Alder to move his family to the United States, and he ended up going back to Moose Factory for the winter of 1825 - 1826, from whence the only point of exit would be to England. It is not known where Alder's family ended up.<sup>352</sup>

### Fur Trade People and Work, 1825 - 1841

The population of HBC employees in the Lake Superior District in the 1820s and 1830s was overwhelmingly tied to St. Lawrence, Great Lakes and "Hudson's Bay" fur-trade families. Of the family heads with wives and children enumerated during these period, about half can be traced to origins in "Canada" (no parish, probably the Great Lakes) or "Hudson's Bay", and

<sup>350</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/8, Angus Bethune to George Simpson, 16 February 1833, 2d.

<sup>351</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/9, George Keith to George Simpson, 22 August 1833, 13.

<sup>352</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 5 - 5d.

therefore can be identified as being of mixed ancestry. These included some clerks and post masters, as well as working men of all ranks from labourer ("middleman") to steersman or guide. For the employees born in Québec, family fur-trade connections or mixed ancestry cannot be ruled out and in fact could be quite likely, given the long history of the preferred labour pool for the Lake Superior District. Because of this common history and experience, employees were less occupationally separated at Lake Superior posts than they had been in the days when Hudson's Bay or Great Lakes employees had had to be paired with Orkneymen to keep them safe and teach them country skills. Employees at all posts spent a great deal of time fishing year-round. In the summertime, transportation absorbed almost all the attention of working men and officers alike. A few men were left at each of the major posts to continue fishing, look after livestock and gardens, collect hay, and maintain the establishments. Cutting and hauling firewood was a steady winter activity. The relatively small permanent labour force in the Lake Superior District was augmented by the work of women and children associated with the forts, "Indians", and "freemen" and their families. Freeman specialists like Collin and Vezina (father and son), assisted by experienced employees such as Deschamps at Fort William, built canoes of various sizes in the spring. Many freemen fished for the posts,<sup>353</sup> and assisted employees in carrying mail and supplies.<sup>354</sup> Freemen provided a reliable overflow labour force for peak demand times such as at haymaking and on transports.<sup>355</sup> Women and children, with or without their men, collected the materials for canoes, weeded and harvested the gardens, snared rabbits, and made maple sugar, in addition to their unremarked work of food and clothing preparation and other household tasks.<sup>356</sup>

After the merger, fewer employees were required to travel out to collect furs from hunting groups. However, this was not a completely lost art, as the HBC still had to cope with competition on the eastern and western edges of the Lake Superior District from independent

<sup>353</sup> At Michipicoten: HBCA, B.129/a/12, entries for 11 September, 17 September, 26 November 1827, 16 January 1828, 9d, 10, 15, 18d.

<sup>354</sup> Michipicoten: HBCA, B.129/a/12, entries for 2 May, 18 May, 19 May 1828, 24 - 25d.

<sup>355</sup> HBCA, B.129/e/5 (proximity to Sault Ste. Marie "enables to Company to perform the Transport by means of an Establishment which under the circumstances would be far from being adequate to the task"), George Keith, 1d; HBCA, B.129/a/12, Michipicoten post journal, entries for 19 May, 17 July 1828, 25d, 4d. Collecting and cutting firewood at Michipicoten: HBCA, B.129/a/12, entries for 8 November, 12 November, 26 November, 27 November, 8 December 1827, 14 - 16. Cutting and carting hay at Michipicoten: HBCA, B.129/a/12, entry for 28 July 1827, 5.

<sup>356</sup> Rabbit-snaring: Michipicoten: HBCA, B.129/a/12, entry for 7 December 1827, 16; Maple sugar: Michipicoten: HBCA, B.129/1/12, entry for 30 March 1827, 22.

traders working through Sault Ste. Marie and Grand Portage. Although the American Fur Company signed an agreement with the HBC not to trade with people who had been given advances by the HBC, their establishment at Grand Portage still provided a challenge to Fort William. In 1829, Keith asked Angus Bethune at Sault Ste. Marie to attempt to find a good interpreter and "courier deruine" (a runner to meet the Indians) for Fort William: "look out about St. Mary's and...discover an active, sober Half Breed".<sup>357</sup> Fort William employees were sent to the vicinity of Grand Portage, Point au Père (McKellar Point), the outpost of Lac la Flèche (Arrow Lake) and Pays Plat to collect furs from HBC customers. From Sault Ste. Marie, "petty traders" such as François Alarie,<sup>358</sup> and larger traders from Penetanguishene or Newmarket supplied out of the Sault,<sup>359</sup> threatened to infringe on the trade at Batchewana and Pic.

By the mid-1830s, Sault Ste. Marie's economy and labour market was sufficiently active and independent of the HBC that wages for day labourers and skilled tradesmen were considered "very high" and the Company made considerable efforts to supply short-term labour from other sources.<sup>360</sup> The HBC purchased many supplies and provisions from Sault traders, and conversely had begun to develop a good business selling goods such as salt fish to the population there.<sup>361</sup> However, the centres of competition from an earlier era, such as Mackinac and Drummond Island, had faded away. In 1823, veteran Wisconsin trader John Lawe had visited

<sup>357</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/2, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 15 February 1829, 31d; also George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 14 March 1829, 37.

<sup>358</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 15 July 1827, 7d; B.129/a/12, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 15 July 1827, 4d. Alarie, "a Canadian free hunter", was later equipped by the HBC as one of their customers (HBCA, B.129/b/4, George Keith to Thomas Taylor, 10). Men named François Alarie had been employed by the North West Company at Lac des Milles Lacs and at "the Pic Department" in 1805 ("List of the men &co at the Milles Lacs", and "List of the men &co at the Pic Department", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company").

<sup>359</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/3, George Keith to Alexander Christie, 21 July 1829, 10. Keith obtained information shortly afterward that Borland and Ross, the Newmarket traders, had engaged "the Cadottes and Landrie (formerly employed in this District by the NWCo to be their local Traders or Agents" (HBCA, B.129/b/3, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 9 August 1829, 13d. An American fur trader, W. Halliday, engaged seven "half breeds and Indians" to manage his canoe while he scouted trapping and trading locations on the north shore of Lake Superior in 1834 (HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to Thomas McMurray, 6 June 1834, 2).

<sup>360</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to William Nourse, 3 February 1836, 17d - 18; Angus Bethune to George Keith, 20 February 1836, 20.

<sup>361</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to William Nourse, 3 February 1836, 17. See also HBCA, B.129/b/8, Angus Bethune to George Simpson, 16 February 1833, 3d - 4; HBCA, B.129/e/5 (Report on Lake Superior District, 1828), 1. In October 1840, Thomas McMurray, in charge at Pic, brought 20 barrels of salt trout to Michipicoten, allowing Keith to save most of his 26 barrels of whitefish for sale to "the American market" (HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 11 October 1840).

the American Fur Company installation on Mackinac Island and came away disappointed and nostalgic. It was as quiet as "any Sunday", he wrote to a friend, opining that "the old times is no more that pleasant reign is over & never to return any more. I am afraid and [uncertain] in this country".<sup>362</sup> The British removed their garrison from Drummond Island (to which the garrison had been moved from Mackinac in 1815 as part of the treaty ending the war of 1812) in 1828, after the Island had been determined to lie within American territory. An estimated seventy-five families of Métis *voyageurs* who had been living around the garrison, including members of the Solomon, LeGarde, Boucher, LaBatte, Langlade, Lavallee, Lagacé, Perrault, Boyer, Cadotte, and Fontaine families, followed the troops to Penetanguishene and settled there. Some members of these families also settled around Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>363</sup> Keith greeted the news of the relocation with pleasure, noting it would "naturally impede the migrations or wandering habits of our Indians thither".<sup>364</sup>

Another way that the HBC attempted to cope with its chronic structural labour shortages, in addition to drawing on freemen and families, was to reconfigure work and train a new local labour force for certain tasks. In 1827, at Governor George Simpson's direction, the Lake Superior District began a transition to large "keeled" boats instead of canoes for transport. Although skill was required to manage these larger boats, they were more like Scottish or English craft and therefore perhaps less dependent on the work of fur-trade men trained in North America. Keith anticipated that changing the traditional work of much of the labour force would create disruption, writing to Simpson in June of 1827 that "in this Quarter it is greatly to be feared that if our Servants are much disgusted at first effect, desertion will be the consequence and the business will be thrown into confusion".<sup>365</sup> In the summer of 1828, both boats and canoes were used. Keith observed that the boats were "not altogether agreeable to our mens

<sup>362</sup> Letter of John Lawe, 5 September 1823, quoted in Peterson, "Prelude to Red River", 42.

<sup>363</sup> Osborne, "The Migration of *Voyageurs* from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828", 123 - 166.

<sup>364</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/3, George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 14 March 1829, 37. Keith had identified the difficulty of preventing Indian customers from going on to Drummond Island if they were allowed to go as far as Sault Ste. Marie, as both sites had more competition and more goods to lure them than the HBC posts along Lake Superior. The Indian hunters "will learn no good at those dissipated and licentious stations", Keith wrote in June of 1827 (HBCA, B.129/b/1, 4; also HBCA, B.129/b/2, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 28 June 1828, 4d; HBCA, B.129/a/12, entries for 6 June, 21 August 1827, 17d). The purpose of the post at Batchewana was to turn Lake Superior Indian customers back towards Michipicoten or Pic, rather than to compete with the Sault or Drummond Island (HBCA, B.129/b/2, George Keith to Peter McKenzie, 19 September 1828, 16d - 17; also HBCA, B.129/e/5, 2).

<sup>365</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to George Simpson, 30 June 1827, 4d.

customs of travelling", but that most of them behaved well, except for Labatte from Sault Ste. Marie who refused to clear a landing spot for one of the boats when asked.<sup>366</sup> He was pleasantly surprised to report that the goods from Lake Superior had never been received in such good condition before at the Long Portage near Brunswick House.<sup>367</sup> By 1829, Keith was completely won over to the "boat system", writing to Donald McIntosh at Pic that it had "succeeded to the utmost of our wishes". Five boats, manned by six men each, carried all of the Lake Superior District's furs and goods up to the Long Portage.<sup>368</sup> Canoes were still built, however, especially at Fort William where the master Antoine Collin constructed fishing and travelling craft both for Lake Superior and for the journeys west to Lac la Pluie.<sup>369</sup> In 1832, Angus Bethune, filling in for Keith as the head of the Lake Superior District and faced with a large number of retirements, asked for "six Canadian voyageurs, able-bodied young men", to be "ordered up from Montreal next Spring for this District", with five "European Servants from Moose. I request that particular attention be paid in sending the Canadian voyageurs...for without them we shall be put to a nonplus".<sup>370</sup> From 1832 onward, however, there are increasing references to hiring "Indians" to work on the transports, collect bark, carry freight and messages between posts, and fish.<sup>371</sup> By September 1834, Keith was characterizing the personnel of the District as "rather ample" at thirty, noting that four servants had been "permitted to retire, somewhat against their

<sup>366</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 2 August 1828, 9d; George Keith to Angus Bethune, 5 August 1828, 10d.

<sup>367</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 10 August 1828, 11.

<sup>368</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 9 August 1829, 14.

<sup>369</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/3, George Keith to Roderick McKenzie, 7 March 1830, 28; George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 19 May 1830, 33; HBCA, B.129/b/4, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 10 March 1831, 25d; HBCA, B.129/b/9, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 18 March 1834, 30. With Antoine Collin periodically threatening to retire to Red River, Bethune commissioned two "small flat-bottomed boats...intended to supersede fishing Canoes" from the post at Pic, noting that they were in common use at Mackinac for "fishing and voyaging" and stating that "I approve very much of the plan of doing away with Canoes where it can be done" (HBCA, B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to Thomas McMurray, 24 October 1835, 11).

<sup>370</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/7, Angus Bethune to J. G. McTavish, 31 August 1832, 5 - 5d. These men, hired on long-term contracts, would have been much less expensive than the short-term men from Sault Ste. Marie.

<sup>371</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/9, George Keith to Thomas McMurray and Donald McIntosh, 9 June 1833, 4d; HBCA, B.129/b/7, Angus Bethune to Donald McIntosh, 7 May 1833, 41d; George Keith to Thomas McMurray and Donald McIntosh, 9 June 1833, 4d; HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to George Simpson, 22 September 1834, 10d; George Keith to Thomas McMurray and Donald McIntosh, 21 April 1835; HBCA, B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to Thomas McMurray, 4 June 1835, 2; A. Bethune to James Anderson, 24 October 1835, 10d; A. Bethune to Donald McIntosh, 31 January 1836, 14; Angus Bethune to George Keith, 20 February 1836, 19d; Angus Bethune to William Nourse, 1 March 1836, 20d; Angus Bethune to John Robertson, 1 March 1836, 21; Angus Bethune to Thomas McMurray, 23 March 1836, 24d.

inclination".<sup>372</sup> This experiment may not have been a complete success, however,<sup>373</sup> for by 1837 there were forty-three full-time "servants" employed in the Lake Superior District, plus three commissioned officers (J. Dougald Cameron,<sup>374</sup> Donald McIntosh, and Thomas McMurray), five clerks and post masters (William Clouston, Louis Denis La Ronde, John Robertston (a), John Swanston, and Thomas Taylor), and six individuals paid part wages. Among the "servants" were Louis Bouchard, Joseph Boucher, Pierre Camarere ("cow feeder"), Hyacinthe Davilleau, Joseph Dubois, Jacques Fagneant, Joseph Fontaine, Joseph Jobinville, Joseph La Perdrix Blanche, Barthelmie La Poitrie (blacksmith, an employee since the 1820s),<sup>375</sup> Jean-Amable McKay, John McPherson (interpreter), Olivier Mandeville, Joseph Morrisseau, and Jean Baptiste Vezina ("Mid & fisherman"). Coang Mizael and Louis Rivet were paid part-time wages as a middleman and steersman respectively, although they were both noted as "retired", as was William Schillen. Joachim La Ferté was included on a list of "Goers and Comers", or people employed on the transports from Montréal to the Great Lakes.<sup>376</sup>

By 1840 - 1841, the number of servants had increased to 48, with five clerks/post masters (Louis Denis La Ronde, A. McKenzie Hay, John Robertson (a), Thomas Taylor (a) [Batchewana] and John Swanston [Fort William]) and two officers (Thomas McMurray [Pic] and George Keith [Michipicoten]). Joachim La Ferté and William Schillen were both back on the employees' list,

<sup>372</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to George Simpson, 22 September 1834, 10d.

<sup>373</sup> "Indian voyageurs" were in continued use for the busy transport season, however, as Keith noted at the end of the transport season of 1840 that this group was "handsomely rewarded but this is necessary as they would not serve on less favorable terms and we cannot do without them" (HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 8 August 1840).

<sup>374</sup> Perhaps a relative of the J. Dougald Cameron who was a clerk for the North West Company in the Nipigon Department in 1799, under the direction of his relative Duncan Cameron. This J. Dougald Cameron had been the Chief Trader at Rainy Lake (Lac la Pluie) in 1825 - 1826 (Donna Cona, "'Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area Mixed European-Indian...Community", 36. An "Indian" named "Cameron's Brother in Law" came in to Fort William in October 1823 (HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 29 October 1823, 1d - 2); and an "Indian" trading at Michipicoten in 1840 named Carteaux was described as "brother-in-law" to Baptist Minister James Cameron, son of J. Dougald, "who is a native of the south side of the lake which he has abandoned having sold his inheritance to the United States government" (HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 3 August 1840; see also Donna Cona, "Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area's Mixed European-Indian...Ancestry Community", 45). This may be a reference to the Treaty of Washington, 1836, between the United States and Ottawa and Ojibwa peoples, which covered part of present-day Michigan including the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac. Provision in this Treaty was made for land and cash payments to "half-breeds".

<sup>375</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 4d. La Poitrie was listed in HBC accounts as a native of La Bauce in Canada, aged 48 in 1830, with an undetermined number of years of service (HBCA, B.135/g/11). A man by this name was employed by the North West Company in 1805 at Lake Nipigon ("List of the men &co at the Lake Nipigon, Lake of the Islands and its Dependencies ", in Roderick Mackenzie, "Some Account of the North West Company").

<sup>376</sup> HBCA, B.129/d/2.

and Joseph Fontaine and Jean-Amable McKay received small payments on the retired list. Other men on the servants' list included Louis Bouchard, Joseph Boucher, Toussaint Boucher, Joseph Collin, William Driver (a "Cooper"), Joseph Dubois (b) ("Guide +c"), Pierre Guidon ("Boat Builder"), Joseph Joubinville ("Herdsman"), Joseph La Perdrix Blanche, Barthelmie La Poitrie, Olivier Mandeville, François Mizzobie or Missobie,<sup>377</sup> Joseph Morrisseau, brothers William and James Robertson (b),<sup>378</sup> Thomas Lamphier (the skipper of the HBC sloop) and Thomas Taylor (b) (a "Slooper").<sup>379</sup> The post journal for Michipicoten for this year refers to Jean-Amable McKay building a fishing canoe and preparing boats for the spring transport.<sup>380</sup> Joseph Bouché or Boucher came to the post to work on the transport, Perdrix Blanche and Joachim LaFerté passed through from Pic, and Jean-Baptiste Vezina from Fort William.<sup>381</sup> Regular employees mentioned in the Michipicoten post journal included William Schillen, tinsmith, who also fished for the post and trapped on his own account; Casimir Gariépy, a young Northern Department servant who assisted with a variety of tasks such as wood chopping and fishing; François Mizzobie, who assisted with fishing, travelled with letters to Pic and Sault Ste. Marie, and worked at Batchewana; William Robertson, who assisted with transport, trapped on his own account, and performed general labour around the post; and Toussaint Boucher, who fished both with nets and with a spear under the ice,<sup>382</sup> collected furs from Indians, and made trips with mail to Pic and Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>383</sup> The account book for Nipigon post in 1842 - 1843 included entries for employees Olivier Mandeville, Joseph Rabit, Joseph Dubois (b), Baptiste Kehotassin, Barthelmie La Poitrie, Louis Bouchard (whose long account included children's clothes and beads), Joseph Collin, James Anderson (b) (who also purchased beads), Pierre Badayac (more beads), and Jean Baptiste Vadnais.<sup>384</sup>

<sup>377</sup> Described by Keith as travelling with "another Bois Brulé" (Métis) in carrying a packet of letters from Sault Ste. Marie (HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 15 February 1841).

<sup>378</sup> If James Robertson (b) was William's brother, he died of an unknown disease at Batchewana during Outfit 1840 - 1841 (HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 27 February 1841).

<sup>379</sup> HBCA, B.129/d/3.

<sup>380</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, entries for 9 - 20 June 1840.

<sup>381</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, entries for 15 June through 19 July 1840; 11 February 1841.

<sup>382</sup> Captain Joseph Delafield reported in 1822 that the "Indians" at Sault Ste. Marie took trout and pike with a spear, as well as capturing whitefish in the rapids with a scoop net. "Whites" caught whitefish with gill nets and seines, and trout and pike with a hook and line (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 319).

<sup>383</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22. *passim*. Not all employees at Michipicoten post are named in the journal.

<sup>384</sup> HBCA, B.149/d/2.

"Half-breed Indians", 1823 - 1849

As well as the nucleus of relatively well-documented individuals, raised in the fur-trade tradition and gathered with their wives and children around the HBC posts, there was another cadre of mixed-ancestry persons north of Lake Superior who were more or less integrated into "Indian" groups.

The La Garde family usually traded at Michipicoten and was headed by Amable La Garde, who occasionally picked up work carrying mail between posts but was effectively a full-time hunter. It is possible that Amable La Garde was the "Frenchman" Delafield encountered near White River on the shore of Lake Superior in September of 1823, living in a "wigwam" and offering Delafield whitefish. Delafield described this man as "a discharged company's servant, who had established himself here, which is not many miles from the Post of Michipicoten".<sup>385</sup> La Garde came in to Michipicoten with his family and the "Pukaswas" Indian group, who hunted in the area between Pic and Michipicoten, in October 1827, trading a few skins but "destitute".<sup>386</sup> In February 1831, George Keith at Michipicoten sent Amable La Garde with an employee with mail to John Swanston at Pic post, asking that La Garde be sent back immediately "owing...to La Garde's large family, which will require to be maintained at the Company's expense during his absence". Keith assured Swanston that it would be acceptable to break one of the Company's usual rules and allow La Garde to travel alone, "as he will fall in with his friends the Pukaswas about the Otter's Head".<sup>387</sup> In June of 1840, Keith recorded in the Michipicoten post journal that "Amable La Garde & family, the vilest in the Dist., with Tabenoscum, arrived from the Otter's Head yesterday". After settling with them for their furs, La Garde, Keyickonge and their families headed for the Agaywam River.<sup>388</sup> In October of 1840, La Garde and his family showed up at the post again with a modest catch of furs.<sup>389</sup> The family did not appear again at

<sup>385</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 456.

<sup>386</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Donald McIntosh, 23 October 1827, 23 - 24.

<sup>387</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/4, George Keith to John Swanston, 10 February 1831, 21. In 1849, Alexander Vidal and T. G. Anderson recorded that the "Michipicoten, Pucksawsebe and St. Maries" bands claimed hunting territory in common from Lake Superior northwest of Michipicoten, inland to the height of land, southeast to a point of land on the St. Mary's River south of Sault Ste. Marie (AO, F1027-1-2, T. G. Anderson and A. Vidal, "Report to His Excellency the Governor General in Council", 5 December 1849, Appendix B).

<sup>388</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 8 June 1840.

<sup>389</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 5 October 1840.

Michipicoten until the end of March, when La Garde's son arrived with Tabinoscum with a small collection of furs, and then returned to "the interior" to continue their hunt.<sup>390</sup>

Paul La Garde, described by Haldane as a "smart halfbreed" in 1825, was a "free half Breed" living around the Nipigon post by 1829. He fished with Indian people named Doocaninees, Capian, and Petit Jour at a variety of locations around Lake Nipigon, and he, his stepson and stepdaughter brought rabbits and a small number of furs to trade at the post. Occasionally, like Amable La Garde, he was hired to carry letters, but not infrequently the family was "starving" and was supplied with potatoes by the HBC. In 1830, clerk John McIntosh described Paul La Garde as "a half breed who lives with the Indians".<sup>391</sup>

Louis Ross, Haldane's "good halfbreed" of 1825, deserted from Fort William in late 1827 and made intermittent appearances at Fort William some years later. As Ross was suspected of deserting to the "Americans" at Grand Portage, he may have avoided the HBC posts. However, in December 1835, he came in with a group of "Indians" including Bonnet Carrier, Fidele, Measapy, and Cesar, possibly to share in the New Year's celebration at the post.<sup>392</sup> In October 1836, he was recorded as having taken "his necessaries" for the winter, and gone off to hunt around Point au Père.<sup>393</sup> This location was frequented by "freemen" and "Indians" for hunting and fishing.

These "half breeds" were slipping out of the orbit of the HBC posts and wage labour, although they were still identified by their European names. Other HBC customers were identified almost exclusively with the "Indians", but occasional references in the documents confirmed their mixed ancestry. In 1830, George Keith described the most productive hunter trading at Fort William as "the most eminent living character at present" in the Lake Superior District, "a Half Breed Hunter called The Spaniard (Ojibway -- Espagnolle -- a name no doubt adopted from the Canadian French), who I am informed is a very brave, well informed comparatively and

<sup>390</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 30 March 1841.

<sup>391</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/14, Nipigon post journal, entry for 16 November 1830; other references in HBCA. B.129/a/12 and B.129/a/14, *passim*.

<sup>392</sup> HBCA, E.116/3, Fort William post journal, entry for 31 December 1835.

<sup>393</sup> HBCA, E.116/3, Fort William post journal, entry for 10 October 1836.

sagacious character".<sup>394</sup> Roderick McKenzie Sr. described "The Spaniard" as "the principal Indian of this place [Fort William]" in the post journal of August 1828.<sup>395</sup> The HBC at Fort William treated The Spaniard as a preferred customer, bringing provisions and goods to his camp, feeding him and his group as they camped around the Fort, and offering him extra gifts of rum and goods. As well as rewarding him for his skill and dedication as a fur hunter, the Fort William traders were also aware that The Spaniard's group hunted on American territory and the HBC needed to compete for his loyalty.<sup>396</sup> He was never referred to as a "freeman" by HBC writers, and did not perform any paid work for the HBC.

Another individual usually included in "Indian" groups and not identified as a "freeman" in the 1820s and 1830s was Solomon, described occasionally as a "half Breed" or "half Breed Indian" in the Fort William post journals.<sup>397</sup> He was given "debt" and rum in the same way as other Indians, included in a list of "Indians" of the post, performed no wage labour, and brought in furs to trade. Solomon's mother, son and "Solomon's brother" were also recorded intermittently in the Fort William post journals.<sup>398</sup> It is difficult not to conclude that this person was a relative of the trader Ezekial Solomon who had frequented Lake Nipigon in the 1770s, and his son who had returned to trade there in the 1790s, but the relationship is not described in the documents. Solomon was recorded as visiting Fort William as late as December 1849.<sup>399</sup>

In the Lake Superior District report for the year 1830 - 1831, George Keith responded to a question from Governor Simpson by reporting that "there are seven Metif Hunters in this District".<sup>400</sup> It is not clear if he was referring to people such as The Spaniard and Solomon, the La Gardes, the Collins (who would occasionally bring in small furs to trade), or whether there were other "Metif" in the District he included in this category.

<sup>394</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/4, 16.

<sup>395</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/8, Fort William post journal, entry for 14 July 1828, 3.

<sup>396</sup> See for example HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entries for 14 July, 5 August, 5 October 1828, 3, 5d, 10; 12 January 1829, 17; HBCA, B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entries for 25 January 1829, 19d; B.129/e/7, 4. See also descriptions of "The Spaniard" quoted in Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade", 38 - 39.

<sup>397</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entries for 1 February and 19 March 1829, 20, 23d.

<sup>398</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/6, 1; HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 27 June 1824, 19; B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 17 June, 2 August 1827, 2 - 2d, 5d; B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entry for 11 December 1828, 14d; E.116/3, Fort William post journal, entries for 4 January, 16 January 1836.

<sup>399</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/20, Fort William post journal, entry for 11 December 1849.

<sup>400</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/4, 5.

## Fur Trade Culture, 1821 - 1850

In the 1820s through the 1840s, fur-trade employees and "freemen" associated with posts north of Lake Superior continued to have their own distinctive customs and traditions, as well as the common understandings and skills passed down to them from the previous generations described in the first part of this report. Joseph Delafield, in 1823, hired a crew of "Canadian" canoemen in Sault Ste. Marie, including "Old Brisebois", his guide; Joseph Fontaine, and men named Le Pine, LeBerg, Joseph Socier,<sup>401</sup> and Jervais.<sup>402</sup> During the four-month trip from the Sault to Lake of the Woods and back, he watched his crew with some curiosity. After trading with an Indian for a large trout near Michipicoten,

The five Canadians devour the whole of the 30 lb. trout except two or three & afterwards cook their corn. They are, with few exceptions, prodigious gluttons, eating like Indians, and never satisfied with anything, at the same time the most careless & probably the most happy people. They will work the whole day without eating, and eat and sing the whole night without sleeping; are the best of canoe-men & the worst to be managed without severity of any people I have had to deal with.<sup>403</sup>

Brisebois and his companions repeated the custom of many decades past in telling Delafield the names of landmarks and the Indian and voyageur stories behind them.<sup>404</sup> The men pointed out to Delafield that the gum for a Lake Superior canoe was of a different consistency than that for a river canoe, and entertained him by calling birds and animals to the craft, with a hunter's skill.<sup>405</sup> A few miles west of Otter's Head, Delafield met more "Canadians":

<sup>401</sup> May have been engaged at Mackinac. See Delafield, *Unfortified Boundary*, 379. The Voyageur database includes several men by the name of "Saucier" or "Socier" who were engaged between 1783 and 1822 with destinations for Grand Portage, Pic River, Sault Ste. Marie or Mackinac. A Joseph Saucier engaged at Québec in 1822 as a day-labourer, with a destination of "dans les limites et les dépendances de tout le Haut-Canada" by a Drummond Island merchant, may not be the same man, unless he either deserted or was released from his two-year contract.

<sup>402</sup> Le Pine, LeBerg, and Jervais were only named at the end of the narrative when Delafield paid them off at Sault Ste. Marie (Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 460). One of them may have been a crew member from David Thompson's expedition picked up inland past the Grand Portage (*ibid.*, 415). There are many men with the surnames "Lepine", "Jervais", or "Gervais" and variants in the Voyageur database engaged for Great Lakes destinations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but it is not possible to link them directly to Delafield's engagés with the information available to date.

<sup>403</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 391; see also 401.

<sup>404</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 383, 384, 393, 396, 398, 399, 408, 409, 413, 420 - 421, 442, 447, 459.

<sup>405</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 395, 397.

Encamp at sunset in company with the canoe that had been frequently near us. It proved to be a party of free-men discharged by the Company and returning to their homes at the Red River of Lake Winnipeg. A Mr. D'ease, an individual trader, was returning with them to his home. They were a hardy looking crew, and the witches of Macbeth were never made a more outré group over their cauldron than these fellows did over theirs. Mr. D'ease takes tea with me, and seems much to enjoy it.

Engagees of the Hudson's Bay Co. when their term of service is expired are called free-men. During the engagements they are slaves in a sense that none but Canadians could endure. In short, the more I see of the Canadian French, their mode of life, and connection with the Indians, the more I feel assured that without this very race of men, the fur trade of the North could not be carried on. They are more hardy than the Indians, are far more capable in the canoe, and in Winter will soon break down the Indian if travelling on snow shoes or with trains. Trains are little sleighs...drawn on the ice by men or dogs...I picked up one this day on an island...that had no doubt been abandoned by some hardy traveller in the Winter...<sup>406</sup>

This party was probably made up of employees discharged and recalled to Montréal after the merger of the North West Company and the HBC. "Mr. D'ease" is John Warren Dease, an American who had been the North West Company's Chief Trader at Fort Alexander before the merger, and was on his way to his new posting at Fort Nez Percés, at the junction of the Snake and Columbia Rivers. He had also been previously posted to the NWC's Rainy Lake post, and had married Mary Cadotte of Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>407</sup>

At Fort William, Delafield found it difficult to keep his crew at work preparing their North canoe for the trip inland to Lac la Pluie, as "the Canadians...always consider a stop at a fort as a holiday and signal for a frolic". He witnessed the pride of HBC Chief Trader Stewart's voyageur crew as they departed with Stewart for Hudson's Bay:

...a salute is fired on his departure, of three guns. The first gun was the signal for the chaunt of the Canadians, and straining their pipes and their nerves to the utmost he soon passed my camp...<sup>408</sup>

The showy departure was tinged with sadness, however, as Delafield witnessed the separation of a family:

<sup>406</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 394.

<sup>407</sup> Biography of John Warren Dease on Geni.com, accessed July 2013.

<sup>408</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 402.

Mr. Stewart left with much reluctance. He married a native & has a very large family, mostly girls. His wife being in low health, and it being impossible to take her and the children along, he leaves six children and a wife behind him, most probably never to meet each other again. I heard nothing said of their manner of parting, but from appearances about his quarters, two or three days previous, I can readily imagine that the same feelings were awakened, that (when expressed with the freedom and violence that these half-breeds are apt to shew) it is as cruel to understand as to witness. Two or three of his boys accompanied him. It is the diminished importance of the post that induces the change...<sup>409</sup>

Readers will be relieved to learn that Stewart's family did eventually depart Fort William in 1824 to rejoin him.<sup>410</sup>

Inland on the Grand Portage, the "Canadians" demonstrated the traditional way of carrying "pieces" with a tump line across the forehead.<sup>411</sup> At the end of a portage near the height of land, Delafield noted that "it is usual to prepare the canoe for the descent of rapids" on the other side. He was impatient with the delay, but did not interfere with his crew, "satisfied...that they were exercising their best judgement, and well knowing that everything goes wrong when they are not permitted to be lords of the canoe & the portages...it would have been fatal to all peace or comfort for a few days at least to have counteracted their plans for their darling canoe".<sup>412</sup> On spotting campfire smoke on an inland lake, his crew "commence[d] their chant", which drew out "a band of Indians...in all 20. In the group we discover a red cap of the voyageur...he proves to be one of Mr. [David] Thompson's men...taken sick....and...left behind".<sup>413</sup> He was added to the crew. On the La Croix River (on the "New Road", in contradistinction to the "Old Road" from Grand Portage), Delafield watched in awe as the crews of ten canoes headed for Fort William with furs competed with each other, racing expertly across the portages.<sup>414</sup> On Lake of the Woods, Delafield's party encountered "a brigade of four canoes", travelling like true voyageurs:

They approach in fine style, abreast of each other, the crews all singing and paddling in their best manner. They proved to be part of a larger brigade from the Athabasca Country, bringing down packs, and discharged clerks with their families, and broken-down and

<sup>409</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 402.

<sup>410</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 10 May 1824, 15d.

<sup>411</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 405.

<sup>412</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 409. Delafield did admit that the canoe was much improved by the refitting done by the crew.

<sup>413</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 415.

<sup>414</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 418.

super-annuated voyageurs, and freemen, all to seek their fortunes in some new mode of life, when set free in Montreal...<sup>415</sup>

These Athabasca crews shared the same travelling style and customs as the Lake Superior crew engaged by Delafield, emphasizing the universality of fur-trade culture. Shortly afterwards, Delafield asked Brisebois about two islands connected by a flat alluvial portage, and found out nothing:

...the information of my guide who has travelled the country for thirty years being no more than he who travels it but once. The canoe track is their home & it is their pride to know every crook & turn in it; to be attempt the least deviation is precisely like the driving of swine...<sup>416</sup>

After meeting another four canoes bringing furs and "discharged clerks with wives & children (half-breeds) in goodly number" from Athabasca, Delafield recorded the excitement with which his crew greeted a crew which had travelled from Lake Superior the previous year, carrying another member of the American survey team:

Mr. Ferguson's camp unexpectedly is in sight close by. The surprise caused the whoop of the canoe men, and the chant instantly brought the whole party to the shore. Their joy at seeing some one from the land of their friends and their home was not perhaps exceeded by mine in meeting with friends...<sup>417</sup>

Although the voyageurs shared customs in places as far distant as the Athabasca-Mackenzie and Sault Ste. Marie, the crews felt a special affinity to others "from the land of their friends and their home", Lake Superior and the Sault. On the trip back to Fort William, *via* the "New Road" near the Dog River, Delafield witnessed another example of the pride his crew took in their work. Meeting yet another brigade of outbound Athabasca men, women and children, his crew seemed anxious to get ahead of them on the portage.

My canoe I noticed, was brought down the mountain on the naked shoulders of my men, each being stripped to his waist. It was launched by them in silent procession in front of their baggage heap in the gaze of some 70 North men, and laden in good style, in short time...handing over...the last piece for my canoe, I embarked in full chorus once more on the Dog River, more commonly called the Kamanistiguia...It was soon disclosed that my

<sup>415</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 427.

<sup>416</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 427.

<sup>417</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 428. Ferguson had travelled from Fort William *via* the "New Road" in 1822 and had been surveying the south and west shores of Lake of the Woods.

crew were actuated by pride in the show of industry and skill displayed on the Portage du Chien, in presence of this large party...<sup>418</sup>

Delafield later found out that this Athabasca brigade had run out of food and his crew might have feared that their provisions might be given away, but the extra show put on in departing by the "southerners" was surely meant to impress the large group of the famed Athabasca northmen. Upon arriving once again at Fort William in the third week of August, Delafield watched yet more canoes "filled with freemen from the interior (just discharged), with their women and children" depart eastbound. He recorded that

The large establishment of Fort William is now deserted by all except the clerks in command, a few artificers and a few half-breeds (women), who have become dependents on the establishment, their husbands having left them & their children, when ordered to a different post, as heir-looms to the company. They receive from the company a scanty allowance of provisions, and, if the wives or children of clerks, a regular tax is imposed by the company and deducted from their wages for their maintenance.<sup>419</sup>

Stewart's wife and children would have been among these "heir-looms" for the winter of 1823 - 1824, together perhaps with the elderly women LaGacé and Brisebois. Delafield did not comment on the presence of "freeman" families such as the Collins, possibly because they lived in houses just outside the fort, or they were away harvesting other resources when he was there. He left Fort William to return to the eastern United States on 28 August.

Geologist William Keating wrote a narrative of an exploring and surveying expedition undertaken by the U. S. Government in 1823 to the source of the St. Peter's River, Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods, which traversed much of the same route as Delafield. This expedition hired a crew at Red River and Pembina to take them back to Sault Ste. Marie. Keating's observations of his crew and their lore, eating habits, means of handling the canoe, songs and portages were very similar to Delafield's. Having spent time at Red River, he had been told about the conflicts between the "Bois Brûlés" and the settlers in Selkirk's colony, and

<sup>418</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 445 - 446.

<sup>419</sup> Delafield, *The Unfortified Boundary*, 449 - 450. The number of "half-breed" women and children being taken out of the country back to Québec reinforces the impression that men recruited in Montréal or in Canada for the fur trade could have been of mixed ancestry even if their home parish was recorded as being in the St. Lawrence River valley. Haldane at Michipicoten observed in 1825 that bark for canoe bottoms was scarce as so much was used to patch the canoes "for the number of passengers who came out in swarms from the North" (HBCA, B.231/e/3, 2).

his guide Desmarais had been a witness to some of the events. He therefore distinguished between the "Bois Brûlés" and "Canadians" in his crew, commenting that the "Bois Brûlés" were "far superior to the Canadians" in the handling of the canoes.<sup>420</sup> Keating wrote that "on reaching the termination of our voyage in canoes [at Fort William], we could not help feeling some interest in the fate of our Engagés, for although their irregular habits, and their wild pursuits, render them at times disagreeable companions, yet their independant disposition, their endurance of all hardships and fatigues with the greatest equanimity, and their light and buoyant spirits, excited our astonishment, and won our admiration".<sup>421</sup>

The Oblate missionary G.-A. Belcourt travelled with Bishop Provencher from the Lake of Two Mountains in Québec to Red River in May and June of 1831, in a canoe brigade manned by Canadians and four or five Iroquois voyageurs. The canoes and the voyageurs were supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company; the canoe in which the Oblates rode was a large *canot de Maître* manned by sixteen voyageurs.<sup>422</sup> In his journal, Belcourt named only two men: the guide Joseph Morin, and a *bout* (steersman), François Oçan. Oçan was from Sorel; three men were hired at Fort Coulonge on the Ottawa River, and the origins of the others were not described by Belcourt, although it seems likely they were recruited from the Montréal area.<sup>423</sup>

Belcourt did not provide as much detail about the voyageurs as Delafield and Keating did in their journals, but some elements he recorded are familiar, and demonstrate the continuity of aspects of fur-trade culture. The arrival of the canoe at the Lake of Two Mountains mission was announced by the sound of the voyageurs' singing.<sup>424</sup> The brigade followed the old North West Company canoe route up the Ottawa and Mattawa Rivers, across Lake Nipissing, down the French River, along the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior to Fort William, and then continued westward (not by Grand Portage, a route Belcourt said was no longer followed) to Lac la Croix, Rainy Lake, and the Winnipeg River. Along the way, Belcourt recorded the name of each portage and, frequently, the stories behind the names, as told to him by the voyageurs.

<sup>420</sup> Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 67 - 68, 76, 78 - 79, see also 89 - 90, 96, 99 - 100, 117, 131 - 132, .

<sup>421</sup> Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 143.

<sup>422</sup> Belcourt, "Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge", 8; entry for 23 May 1831, 29..

<sup>423</sup> Belcourt, "Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge", entry for 3 May 1831, 15; entry for 28 May 1831, 38.

<sup>424</sup> Belcourt, "Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge", 7.

The route was also dotted with crosses and markers commemorating past generations of voyageurs, whose adventures and disasters were woven into a landscape of lore preserved and retold by the men.<sup>425</sup> Before arriving at Fort William, the men landed the canoes “pour faire toilette”, or wash up and put themselves in order.<sup>426</sup> Belcourt also described the *rouler*, the choreography of the rolling of the paddles into the boat when the men stopped for regular breaks to smoke a pipe (“une pipée”).<sup>427</sup>

Some other aspects of fur trade culture described by Delafield and Keating were more intangible in nature. Although Delafield acquiesced to the judgement of his voyageurs, his diary reveals that he sometimes found the situation socially difficult. Culturally, as the commander of a ship, he undoubtedly was uncomfortable to be seen to be relinquishing control to his hired hands, and characterized them as hard to “manage”. Keating made a similar observation in 1823 about his guide Baptiste Desmarais from Red River: “When they carry passengers, the guides are sometimes apt to assume too much authority and consequence. The responsibility which attaches to their station, in case of the loss or detention of the canoes under their guidance, requires that they should direct the march, and fix upon the proper places and times to encamp; this gives them an opportunity of displaying their brief authority in a manner that is oftentimes unpleasant to those not accustomed to it, but in this respect we had but little cause to complain of Desmarais, for we found him obliging and respectful in his demeanor to the party”.<sup>428</sup> In 1833, George Keith reported to George Simpson that a crew under the command of trader Berens and guide Versailles had complained about having to make an extra side trip to pick up a clerk at Mackinac and then carry extra passengers and livestock to Red River (Versailles being the spokesman for the crew). “To reason or urge such obstreperous Characters was useless”, he wrote to Simpson, so he admonished Versailles and then took off some of the livestock, saving

<sup>425</sup> Belcourt, “Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge”, see for example entries for 1 May 1831, 13; 3 May 1831, 14; 6 May 1831, 17; 8 May 1831, 18; 16 May 1831, 25.

<sup>426</sup> Belcourt, “Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge”, entry for 25 May 1831, 32. The men also took time to “faire...[une] petite toilette” on Lake Winnipeg prior to meeting the canoe that would take the Bishop and Belcourt to Red River, as Belcourt surmised, “je suppose, puis ensuite ils entonnèrent une chanson et arrivèrent avec honneur” (entry for 16 June 1831, 55).

<sup>427</sup> Belcourt, “Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge”, entry for 16 June 1831, 55 (footnote).

<sup>428</sup> William Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 78.

face on both sides.<sup>429</sup> These passages are also reminiscent of the conflicts between HBC master James Tate and his mixed-ancestry steersman Jacob Daniel about who should be in command *en route* to Long Lake in 1816. Delafield called the engagés "slaves" to the HBC, but within specified contexts central to fur-trade custom and culture such as travelling, they claimed the authority of knowledge, skill, tradition and identity over Euro-American concepts of employment and command relationships.

It was little wonder that George Keith was reluctant to tamper with this culture and these traditions in shifting transportation from canoes to boats, fearing that his employees, most of whom were from the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence fur-trade community, would be "much disgusted" and desert.<sup>430</sup> He encountered some resistance from the men, who found the boats "not altogether agreeable to [their] customs of travelling", but there was little outright rebellion, except for Labatte from Sault Ste. Marie who refused to clear a landing spot for one of the boats when asked.<sup>431</sup> In fact, shifting work environments did not reduce the demand for employees raised in fur-trade culture. In 1832, Angus Bethune, filling in for Keith as the head of the Lake Superior District and faced with a large number of retirements, asked his superiors that "particular attention be paid in sending the Canadian voyageurs" that he had requested be hired in Montréal, "for without them we shall be put to a nonplus".<sup>432</sup> Bethune's and Keith's assumption was that "Canadians" would have the country skills and experience to be of immediate usefulness north of Lake Superior; in other words that the HBC would not simply be hiring urban labourers or farmers' sons, but young men raised in families (quite possibly with a mixed-ancestry component) where these skills were taught as second nature. In addition, the HBC could draw on compatible mixed-ancestry "freeman" families living around the posts and the multi-generational "Hudson's Bay" and Great Lakes fur trade families established north of Lake Superior. These people had created a distinctive community and culture that had much in

<sup>429</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/9, George Keith to George Simpson, 22 August 1833.

<sup>430</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to George Simpson, 30 June 1827, 4d.

<sup>431</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to Angus Bethune, 2 August 1828, 9d; George Keith to Angus Bethune, 5 August 1828, 10d.

<sup>432</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/7, Angus Bethune to J. G. McTavish, 31 August 1832, 5 - 5d. These men, hired on long-term contracts, would have been much less expensive than the short-term men from Sault Ste. Marie. The Voyageur database contains HBC contracts only up to 1832.

common with "voyageur" culture from the Athabasca-Mackenzie to Montréal, but also had its own localized identity.

Other customs regarding work, holidays and celebrations were carried on at the Lake Superior posts after the merger. Christmas and especially New Year's days were the biggest holidays on the calendar. At Fort William in 1823, Christmas was a day off work, and each man received two pounds of beef, a pound of flour and "a little Butter" the day before to prepare a special meal. The New Year's celebrations went on for two days, and "according to custom" all the men were treated "with Drams +c" in the morning, as well as receiving another two pounds of beef, a pound of flour, half a pint of barley, butter, and "a pint of rum". The "Indians" were also treated to "a little Rum".<sup>433</sup> Men below the officer class at the posts would not have had flour, butter or beef in their rations at any other time of the year. By 1827, the holidays extended over several days, although on Christmas Day, "according to the rule of this day, no liquor was sold to any of the men". The freemen were also included in the rations of beef and barley and the "dram". Indian people arrived at the post especially for the New Year's celebrations. On 31 December 1827, Roderick McKenzie Sr. wrote: "Great preparations for tomorrow. I gave the Servants, Freemen and Indians their New Year's regale viz 134 lb flour, 338 lb fresh beef, 26 lb Butter & 12 lb Grease". On New Year's Day 1828, the Chief Trader hosted his usual reception:

As usual this day, the men and Indians paid me a visit early in the morning. They were treated with cakes and drams, and every civilities that are customary, on such a day. Our expenditure in liquor was considerable 10 1/2 Galls Whiskey & one Gallon French brandy -- We have no less than 72 Souls to support which requires 104 lb Salt fish and 36 Galls potatoes pr day.

The men were still drunk on 3 January, but were back at work on 4 January.<sup>434</sup> Similar celebrations took place at Fort William in 1828 - 1829 (including a dance on 3 January) and 1829 - 1830.<sup>435</sup> In 1835, the Fort had changed Chief Traders, as Roderick McKenzie and his family had left for Isle à la Crosse, but John McIntosh (also a veteran of the NWC) continued the traditions. On 31 December, he "served out a new year's Regale to all hands. The men were

<sup>433</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 24, 25 and 31 December 1823; 1 and 2 January 1824, 5 - 6.

<sup>434</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entries for 25, 26, 29 and 31 December 1827; 1 - 4 January 1828, 13 - 13d.

<sup>435</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entries for 25 and 31 December 1828; 1 - 3 1829, 15d - 16; B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entries for 25 and 31 December 1829; 1 - 3 January 1830, 17 - 17d.

allowed the day to prepare things for to Morrow". On New Year's Day 1836, he hosted his party:

This morning the people of the Establishment came to pay their Bourgeois the usual visit on this day agreeable to the custom of the country -- and they were treated as usual on that occasion -- which is, as much Brandy & Wine as they chose to drink & Cakes, +c. We also gave the Indians a regale and liquor as much as they reasonably could drink.

However, on 2 January, he was "pleased to see that the men diverted themselves very agreeably both today + yesterday, not one of them was the least intoxicated". Similar "agreeable" celebrations including the Indians and freemen took place in 1836 - 1837.<sup>436</sup>

Celebrations at the smaller posts were similar. At Nipigon in 1829 - 1830, Christmas was marked with "a glass of brandy" for "the people", and New Year's Day saw Chief Trader Donald McIntosh presiding over the reception:

The people came as customary and payed us the compliments of the day, on which occasion we treated them with as much French Brandy and Rum as they chose to drink, with Cakes and Butter; after they went out of the room we gave them the usual regale of flour, Pork, Grease, &c.<sup>437</sup>

At Michipicoten in 1827, Chief Trader George Keith issued a regale of flour, fat and fresh beef to six employees and their families, three freemen and two "Indians". He hosted a reception on Christmas Day, and allowed his men to buy additional rum:

This forenoon, according to the custom, the servants were invited to the Mess House and when collected were treated each with two drams of Brandy and a few small biscuit, during which a little desultory conversation was carried on and they soon after retired and began to purchase a little rum to pass the evening.

The next day, "the men were very sick...and begged to be excused from work today". "Being perfectly satisfied with their conduct hitherto, I deemed it advisable to indulge them and the day was spent with much hilarity", wrote Keith. However, aptly for the day we now call Boxing Day, "as usual when the company's composed mostly of Canadian voyageurs", the day did not go by "without producing a fight in which our tinsmith got the forefinger of his right hand cut

<sup>436</sup> HBCA, E.116/3, Fort William post journal, entries for 25 and 31 December 1835; 1 - 2 1836; 24, 25, 31 December 1836; 1 - 2 January 1837.

<sup>437</sup> HBCA, B.149/a/12, Nipigon post journal, entries for 25 and 31 December 1829; 1 January 1830, 15d - 16; see also B.149/a/14, Nipigon post journal, entries for 25 and 31 December 1830; 1 January 1831, 11.

and bruised". In fact, the tinsmith (probably William Schillen) was off his regular work for months. On New Year's Eve, a special regale of flour, "prime" pork, fresh beef and fat was distributed to the employees. On New Year's Day, Keith hosted another reception:

About broad day light this morning the men of the establishment accompanied by two Canadian freemen, collected in front of the Mess House and giving the customary salute of a few gun shots, were invited to step in and during the visit were treated with three drams of Brandy with a few cakes. This being over they retired in good humour, carrying with them some rum and tobacco which were prepared yesterday. Next came the Ladies and children, who after the usual salutation, were treated with wine, besides brandy diluted with water, to suit different tastes to which a liberal allowance of cakes were added and the morning was spent in this manner much to the satisfaction of our visitors, who retired with many expressions of gratification. The Indians on the ground lastly made their debut and were treated much in the same style as their precursors for which on retiring they made their bows and were gratified with some rum and tobacco to carry to their tent which is pitched a little distance from the House in order to prevent intercourse between them and our men as much as possible. During the afternoon, whilst splitting a billet of wood with an axe, [Jean-Amable] McKay cut his foot slightly. On learning this accident I attempted to prevail on him to desist drinking...<sup>438</sup>

In December of 1830, Keith instructed Thomas Taylor, the new post master at Batchewana, that the perquisite generally allowed in this District for New Year's Day -- is two days Rations or so, of Pork and Flour, half a pound of Plug Tobacco and a pint of Rum each -- When Indians happen to be at the House, if not in too great a number it is also customary to indulge them gratuitously with a little Flour and Tallow and a moderate allowance of Rum and Tobacco -- on such occasions care should be taken to allow as little intercourse as possible between them and the Servants -- Last Year, in consequence of the number collected here and the disorderly habits of some; added to the circumstance of having the Year before suffered much anxiety and trouble to preserve due order amongst the Servants and them I postponed the New Year's feast to the 2nd of March when all the Indians were out a hunting...<sup>439</sup>

Control and discipline amongst the "servants", especially control of alcohol, was a preoccupation among HBC officers, and distinguished fur trade employees from "Indians" and other non-"Indians" in the Lake Superior District. When Lieutenant Bayfield of the British navy and boundary survey party camped with his crew of the schooner "Recovery" at Fort William over the winter of 1823 - 24, Chief Trader John Haldane found them disruptive guests. Not only were they caught trading furs with the "freemen" around the fort, but "the Men of the party were a general pest to us at Fort William, their idle dissolute habits interfering with the regular ones of

<sup>438</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/12, Michipicoten post journal, entries for 24 December 1827 to 2 January 1828.

<sup>439</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/4, George Keith to Thomas Taylor, 20 December 1830, 18.

our establishment, owing to the liquor served out to the former" (daily rations of rum were customary in the British Navy).<sup>440</sup> "Indians" were given presents of rum when they brought in furs, but the freemen and employees around the forts were only given gifts of alcohol on special occasions such as Christmas or New Year's and special events such as the launching of a large boat or the return of a brigade.<sup>441</sup> Indeed it may be a mark of the extent to which some "half-breed Indians" such as The Spaniard and Solomon were considered to be integrated in to "Indian" society that they were treated with alcohol as part of the trading rituals usual in this area.<sup>442</sup> In 1830, Keith instructed John Clouston, post master at Batchewana, to keep the post's supply of rum under his personal care, reserving it for "Indians" for either trade or gifts, excepting "of course" "a dram" allowable to servants or Indians "when arriving from a Voyage or from Inland".<sup>443</sup> In 1831, the Oblate missionary G.-A. Belcourt observed that the voyageurs transporting him and Bishop Provencher were given a glass of rum ("le filet") from a barrel ("l'almand") by the guide in charge of the brigade, every morning and evening.<sup>444</sup> **"Freemen" like La Garde and Collin were included in the distribution of liquor around the forts on** special occasions, and were allowed to trade country produce for rum, but do not seem to have been given gifts of liquor to secure their loyalty.<sup>445</sup> Rarely, freemen appear to have received rum as a special gift for unusual service, as in the case of Collin the canoe-maker at Fort William, who was given a gallon of rum in July 1829 by order of Governor Simpson for building the canoes in which Simpson and his party travelled to Canada.<sup>446</sup> The HBC may have wished to keep

<sup>440</sup> HBCA, B.231/e/3, 2; also for example E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 8 May 1824, 15 (freeman Langomois got liquor from the "Government men" on the survey and refused to go to fish, for which he had been engaged).

<sup>441</sup> HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entry for 18 October 1823, 1 (regale to all on the launching of the schooner "Recovery", built by HBC employees and freemen); B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 1 November 1827, 10d (All Saints Day, "gave the men a dram"); entry for 6 April 1828 (Easter, "gave all hands a dram"), 19d; B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entry for 30 August 1828, 7 ("all the men drinking after their journey, and had a ball in the afternoon"); 1 November 1828 (All Saints Day, "gave the men a dram"), 12.

<sup>442</sup> See for example HBCA, E.116/2, Fort William post journal, entries for 6 - 7 June 1823 (arrival of The Spaniard with his son in law, "received his usual Clothing + a Big Keg of Mixt Rum", "drinking all day with the few Indians at the fort"); B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 17 June 1827, 2d (Solomon and Pikicanahang arrived, were given liquor); 24 August 1827, 6d (Ackawsinsis and Solomon equipped and went off to drink); B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, entry for 5 August 1828, 5 - 5d (The Spaniard, "chief, or principal Indian of this place", arrives with his Band; is given two gallons of liquor as a present).

<sup>443</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/3, George Keith to John Clouston, 3 March 1830, 25d - 26.

<sup>444</sup> G.-A. Belcourt, "Mon itinéraire du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à la Rivière Rouge", entry for 23 May 1831, 29.

<sup>445</sup> See for example HBCA, B.149/a/12, **Nipigon post journal, entries for 24 February and 20 March 1830 (La Garde and stepson bartering rabbits for rum).**

<sup>446</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/9, Fort William post journal, entry for 18 July 1829, 5.

"freemen" living in proximity to the fort and working regularly with its employees under similar rules and discipline, to assist in preserving the "regular" order of the post community.

At the beginning of 1836, the HBC's customs relating to alcohol were altered by an Act of the Province of Upper Canada forbidding the sale or giving of "ardent spirits" to "Indians". Bethune, the Lake Superior District Chief Trader in 1835 - 1836, instructed all his fellow Chief Traders to conform with this legislation, and began to recall some of the kegs of liquor previously allocated to the posts.<sup>447</sup> Keith, back at Michipicoten as Lake Superior District Chief Trader in 1840, also restricted the distribution of liquor to employees, but he did not wholly discard the customs surrounding the "dram", and allowed employees who trapped on their own account to buy rum with the proceeds. He described Christmas Day 1840 as follows:

Christmas Day -- a day of cessation from ordinary duty and too often heretofore devoted to dissipation, this year however as the servants at the other Posts are not gratified with any Spiritous Liquors either in a gratuitous manner or on their respective accounts I deemed it unfair to treat the servants of this Post with their usual allowance of Spiritous Liquors and therefore when they came to bid me as usual a happy Christmas -- there were complimented with some Cakes and a few glasses of Brandy -- and it was announced to them at the same time that as the servants at the other Posts obtained no Liquor, excepting perhaps a few Glasses from the Gentlemens private stock, it would be unfair to treat them otherwise. Hence I have resolved to issue no spiritous Liquor excepting on Engagement time to any of them who might be disposed to rehire -- This arrangement was not very palatable to one or two particularly of our tipplers but very little was expressed against it -- yesterday they were gratified with an ample Ration for today of some flour Pork and fresh Beef viz. about 4 lb Flour 1/2 lb Pork & 4 lb Beef p man. The Indians also receive a small Regale of the above luxuries.<sup>448</sup>

On New Year's Eve, Keith issued a "Regale" for New Year's Day for employees "as well as the many Indians on the spot", being three Indian males and their families plus two women. The employees received 30 pounds of flour, six pounds of "mess pork", six pounds of butter, 25 pounds of fresh beef, and five gallons of potatoes, while the "Indians" received 29 pounds of flour, five pounds of pork, two pounds of fat, and twelve quarts of hulled corn. After quoting a melancholy New Year's poem written by Roderick McKenzie, Keith wrote of the New Year's celebrations at Michipicoten:

<sup>447</sup> See for example HBCA, B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to Thomas McMurray, 31 January 1836, 14; Angus Bethune to James Anderson, 31 January 1836, 15; Angus Bethune to George Keith, 20 February 1836, 19d - 20.

<sup>448</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 25 December 1840, 15 - 15d.

After breakfast all the Servants assembled and paid us a visit, expressing their respects and best wishes for a happy new year. They were complimented with a few Glasses of Brandy (private or personal "allowance") and some Cakes and after discoursing some ten or fifteen minutes they departed in tolerable humour altho' rather disappointed in not being gratified with some Rum either as a gratuity or on account. They -- or rather one of them on rehiring for another term was indulged with a phiol d Engagement, and another man obtained three pints rum in part payment for a Silver Fox so that they being only five in number (the 6th is a teetotaller) were pretty well off. In the course of the day all the Indians in the vicinity paid us a visit and some -- those deserving at least -- complimented with a Glass of Port Wine (Spiritous Liquors being prohibited by an Act of the Upper Canadian Legislature) and some Cakes with a little Tobacco -- all which appeared to be thankfully received. Altogether owing to the limited issue of Liquor the day was spent very pleasantly.<sup>449</sup>

Keith was probably relieved to have a holiday free of the "boxing matches" that had been common in previous years.<sup>450</sup> These fights were usually attributed by the Chief Traders simply to the effects of drink, although on New Year's Day 1838 there was a suggestion by Donald McIntosh that employees of British descent, not hired from the Great Lakes fur-trade labour pool, squared off against "Half Breeds" at Fort William:

...there was some Squabbling between Christian the Cooper and Michel Collin the Freeman &c a few Blows exchanged which was near having been the cause of a general Fray between the Half Breeds and Sailors.<sup>451</sup>

The distribution of liquor had been used prior to 1836 to distinguish between employees (of mixed ancestry or not, stratified in officer and working classes) and freemen, and "Indians" who were customers of the posts. After 1836, employees and freemen were allowed access to "spiritous" (or what today we would call "hard") liquor, while "Indians" were restricted to a few glasses of wine served in the officers' quarters according to custom on holidays.

<sup>449</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entry for 1 January 1841, 16 - 16d. William Robertson caught two silver foxes in his own traps prior to New Year's Day in 1840, and William Schillen caught one (B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journals, entries for 22 November, 30 November, and 1 December 1840). Silver foxes were rare -- Keith commented on 1 December that he had never seen three such animals trapped at a single post in one season -- and very valuable; one skin could be worth one-third to one-half of the value of an average winter's hunt for a trapper.

<sup>450</sup> See HBCA, B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, 30 August 1828, 7; B.231/a/8, Fort William post journal, 1 January 1829, 16;

<sup>451</sup> HBCA,, B.231/a/7, Fort William post journal, entry for 1 January 1838, quoted in Donna Cona, "Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area's Mixed European-Indian...Ancestry Community", 41. The "Sailors" were hired for the HBC Lake Superior schooner, recently completed, for which British sailing skills rather than fur-trade country boat or canoe skills were required.

At Michipicoten in 1840, the men working on the transport boats from Fort Wililam, Lake Nipigon and Pic were given a "regale" of "spiritous liquor" when they arrived. Celebrations, unloading and loading of boats for the Long Portage, and other preparations continued from 23 June to 4 July. On 6 August, the boats returned from Long Portage, providing an occasion for another party. Keith wrote in his journal that he "gave the men and the Indians a small treat regale consisting per head of 1 1/2 lb flour, 1 lb pork, 1 lb sugar & 1 pint rum. The Indians got no rum but 1 lb maple sugar in lieu". After a day of "indulging", plus paying off the "Indian voyagers" and renewing engagements with some men, the boats began to move off with their winter outfits to Sault Ste. Marie, Fort William, Pic (and Nipigon, although this is not stated) from 8 August to 14 August.<sup>452</sup>

The account book for persons employed by the HBC in the Lake Superior District for the year 1848 - 1849 confirms that freemen and employees alike were also allowed to purchase "rum" at specified times, such as the completion of a transport voyage. Twenty-seven out of forty men in the "servant" class listed as having accounts with the HBC during this year bought unusual provisions such as bread, sugar, meat or rum at Michipicoten during the period June 22 - 27 or around August 2, 1848, a circumstance explicable by the assembling of crews to transport goods to Moose Factory via the Long Portage, and the return of those crews to Michipicoten. While some of these goods could have been used later in the year, many were perishable and clearly designed for fuelling a special social time. Twenty of these accounts belonged to men who charged little or nothing at any other time of the year.<sup>453</sup> A few of these accounts (those of William Clark and William Cromarty) were not linked to HBC contracts for 1848 - 1849, and so may belong to freemen hired locally for the busy transport season. Intriguingly, a few men with accounts with June and August purchases (David Nitahwassin, François Skandagainse, Henri Ackibe, Baptiste Keotahsine, François Mizzobie) have surnames that could be associated with the Ojibwe or Saulteaux population around Lake Superior, but as HBC employees they were allowed to purchase rum at these special times. This analysis of the accounts demonstrates the

<sup>452</sup> HBCA, B.129/a/22, Michipicoten post journal, entries for 23 June to 14 August 1840.

<sup>453</sup> Unlike the Christmas celebrations of today, the accounts show that men were actually less likely to make purchases in December than at other times of the year, probably because they knew they could count on the free distributions of extra food and delicacies at the posts.

persistence and popularity of fur-trade traditions despite their evolution over time to fit into new work environments.<sup>454</sup>

The application of Upper Canada liquor legislation to the area north of Lake Superior in 1836 was only one sign of further changes to come. In March of 1835, Keith wrote to William Nourse at Sault Ste. Marie approving Nourse's refusal to allow the Upper Canada Colonizing and Civilizing Mission there to order goods directly from Moose Factory. While the HBC was still the *de facto* European government of the country north of Superior -- in the same letter, Keith also praised Nourse for his "expulsion of the disorderly smuggling Individuals who had taken up a Stand at Goulais Bay" -- the Government of Canada, as well as the churches, had the north shore of Lake Huron in their sights. Keith approved of the approach of European settlement:

I am happy to observe that the enterprising Government of Upper Canada are planning measures for the extension of the Settlement of Lake Huron -- This amelioration will soon afterwards reach St. Marys -- the British side of which Settlement is certainly much in need of the organisation of an efficient Magistracy...<sup>455</sup>

However, the Upper Canadian government did not yet have the capacity to govern the Sault and Superior. In early January of 1835, Nourse had written to Keith asking for advice regarding interesting new developments at the Sault, to which Keith replied:

You seem to desire my opinion of a recent proceeding on your part at S. St Marys. In reply I have not the least hesitation to express my entire approbation of your attending the recently called meeting, at the Episcopal Mission Establishment, of the principal inhabitants of Sault St Marys, in order to promulgate and expose the nature and extent of the Commission granted by his Excellency Sir John Colborne, to Shinguakonce -- authorising him to warn off all Intruders on the Indian lands and to make seizures of what they were illegally intending to appropriate to their use +c +c A commission which is much and evidently intended as it is eminently calculated to promote British Sentiments, and interests, by contributing to secure a continuation of the prosperity and tranquillity of the Country -- Hence independent of our duty as loyal Subjects, many motives combine to induce the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company Officers, to countenance and even support a legal and temperate exercise of such a Commission. However in acting upon these principles, it is proper to observe, that particular care should be taken not to engage so warmly in such concerns as to afford much ground to excite in the minds of the Canadian or halfbreed population at Sault St Marys, any general unfriendly feeling towards the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Companys Servants or Interests.<sup>456</sup>

<sup>454</sup> Accounts in HBCA, B.129/d/4 and HBCA, B.129/d/5.

<sup>455</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to William Nourse, 18 March 1835, 32d - 33.

<sup>456</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/10, George Keith to William Nourse, 2 February 1835, 24.

Keith did not see harm in recognizing "Indian" authority over lands near the Sault, but he cautioned Nourse that too much overt support for the "Indians" could incite a backlash among the "Canadian or halfbreed population" of Sault Ste. Marie, who evidently also believed that they had an interest in the region.<sup>457</sup> This dynamic was to manifest itself again over the subsequent fifteen years in developments leading up to the signing of the Robinson Treaties of 1850.

As Protestant missionaries moved into the Sault, Catholic missionaries established themselves near Fort William. In 1848, the Jesuit priests Father Choné and Father Fremiot began ministering to the Aboriginal people and residents of the Fort. One immediate effect of his presence was the introduction of some new holidays at the Fort, such as 6 January (Epiphany), and the holding of formal church services.<sup>458</sup> Since the merger of 1821, post masters had generally observed Sundays as a day of rest for the employees, although no religious services were held and the arrival of Indian trading partners or the necessity to fish, work in gardens or repair houses would trump the holiday. Men variously identified as "Freemen", "Indians" (by the HBC post journalist); "Métis", "Canadiens", or "Sauvages" (by the mission journalist) assisted the Jesuits in building their house and place of worship from the summer of 1849 to February 1850.<sup>459</sup> Midnight mass on 24 December 1849 drew "presque tous les Sauvages et tous les engagés du fort", but afternoon prayers on Christmas Day were cancelled so that "les Sauvages puissent rendre visite au Bourgeois selon l'usage. Nous [the priests] les accompagnons. Là on donne à chacun un filet de *whisky* [accompagné] d'une égale quantité d'eau".<sup>460</sup> On New Year's Eve, John McKenzie, the Chief Trader or "Bourgeois" at Fort William sent the priests some meat for their New Year's dinner. On New Year's Day, "les Sauvages" came to visit the priests one by one in their small room. The priests gave them nothing. Only one family from the fort came to the mass, and afternoon prayers were said earlier so that "les

<sup>457</sup> Shinguakonce (Augustin Barthe or Lavoine) and another "principal chief" of the Sault Ste. Marie region, Nebanogoching (Joseph Sayer) were in fact of mixed ancestry, but identified themselves, and were always identified by observers as "Indians". For some of Shinguakonce's history, as told to ethnographer Georg Kohl by Ojibwe people at Garden River shortly after his death, see Georg Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings Round Lake Superior* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860), 373 - 379.

<sup>458</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/20, Fort William post journal, entry for 6 January 1849.

<sup>459</sup> HBCA, B.231/a/20, Fort William post journal, entry for 9 August 1849; Fort William mission journal, entries from 31 July 1849 to 14 February 1850, reprinted in Alain Nabarra, ed., *La Mission jésuite de Fort William: Journal de la Résidence, (1848 - 1852)* (Alain Nabarra, 2009), 29 - 49. The men are not named in these journals.

<sup>460</sup> Nabarra, *La Mission jésuite de Fort William*, entry for 25 December 1849, 43.

"Sauvages" could visit the Fort as usual. The priests recorded that McKenzie gave visitors something to drink, "plus que de coutume, les engagés 4 petits verres, et les Sauvages trois, dont deux seulement d'eau-de-vie [brandy]". Against the priests' advice, some of the young people went back to the fort in the evening, "et prennent part à un petit bal donné aux engagés, lequel se prolonge jusqu'à 2 heures du matin".<sup>461</sup> While the freemen, employees and "Indians" at Fort William expressed interest in what the priests had to offer, evidently the customs and traditions of generations were not to be superseded overnight.

The priests also began planning for a new spatial arrangement around the Fort, with an increased emphasis on small-scale agriculture. On 9 September 1849, after mass, Father Choné asked the "Sauvages" where they would pray in the winter, and proposed an immediate start to a wooden church to replace the bark structure used as a chapel during the summer. The priests proposed a new village, where "les Sauvages bâtiront d'un côté de l'église future; le long de la rivière, les Métis et les Blancs de l'autre. Ce qui est approuvé tout d'une voix".<sup>462</sup> By December 1849, the new chapel and the new priests' house were completed, at least in part by unnamed "Métis".<sup>463</sup>

However, the change with the greatest long-term ramifications north of Superior in the 1840s was related to resource development. The opening of copper mines on the north shore of Lake Superior heralded a new age of non-Aboriginal interest in the region. The Aboriginal response to this mining development prompted the Government of Canada to negotiate for a Treaty covering the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior in 1850, introducing among other elements Treaty paylists, Indian Reserves, and legal differentiation to the population of the area. In the next section, after a brief review of the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty, the construction and evolution of the Robinson Treaty paylists will be used as another tool to identify and describe the components and affinities of this population.

### **Section III: The Robinson Treaties, 1850**

<sup>461</sup> Nabarra, *La Mission jésuite de Fort William*, entry for 1 January 1850, 45.

<sup>462</sup> Nabarra, *La Mission jésuite de Fort William*, entry for 9 September 1849, 34.

<sup>463</sup> Nabarra, *La Mission jésuite de Fort William*, entries for December 1849, 42 - 43. "Métis", including Michel Collin and his son, also built houses for some of the Ojibwe; see for example Nabarra, *La Mission jésuite de Fort William*, entry for 16 February 1852, 111.

## Preparations for Treaty, 1845 - 1850

The presence of copper on both the north and south shores of Lake Superior was known to Europeans through Aboriginal reports from the time of the first French explorers and fur-traders. Alexander Henry the Elder had acquired the rights to Michipicoten post in 1761 more for the copper deposits nearby than for its value as a fur post. However, the distance of Lake Superior from markets and the lack of suitable transportation for metals and ores had limited extraction of the resource to the occasional lump of native copper produced as a curiosity. Geologist William Keating commented in 1824 on a sample of copper from Keeweenaw Point on the south shore of Lake Superior, originally brought in by “an Indian”, that

the question which appears to us of far greater importance is not where the copper lies, but what shall we do with it if it should be found. We are very doubtful whether any other advantage would result from it, at least for a century to come, than the mere addition in books of science of a new locality of this metal. It does not appear to us, that in the present state of that section of our country, and with the unpromising prospects which it now offers, these mines could be worked for a great length of time...<sup>464</sup>

By the mid-1840s, some of these obstacles were beginning to erode. The Hudson’s Bay Company was operating a large schooner in Lake Superior, and steamships were plying the north and south shores of Lake Huron. The population of Upper Canada or Canada West (present-day Ontario, south of the height of land with Hudson and James Bay) increased from about 158,000 in 1825 to over 950,000 by 1851, and agricultural settlement was becoming established on the Bruce Peninsula and southern Georgian Bay. On the American side of the Great Lakes, settlement and resource development were pushing rapidly westward. By 1845, several copper mines were operating on the south side of Lake Superior. Licences for exploration on the British side of Lake Superior were first issued in the fall of 1845, at about the same time that the government of the Province of Canada was planning for the first government surveys of Sault Ste. Marie.

T. G. Anderson, the Indian Superintendent at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island, had emphasized to the Province of Canada Executive Council in 1845 that “these poor Canadians and half-breed settlers... [at Sault Ste. Marie] located themselves without other authority than a

<sup>464</sup> Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 197.

permission from the Natives”, and had been promised by commanding officers at Drummond Island and St. Joseph’s Island that “when the Government should extinguish the Indian title, they would have a pre-emption right and their claim be confirmed by the Government”.<sup>465</sup> Alexander Vidal, the government surveyor dispatched to Sault Ste. Marie in 1846, compiled a “List of Settlers’ names, on the North Bank of the St. Mary’s River” to accompany his survey plan, including houses and properties occupied by J. B. Soulière, Guidon, Pierre Mastat, Michel Bonneau, Augustus La Roche, Pierre Belleau, Michel Bouillé, J. B. Chauter, William Perrault, Alexis Biron, Brassard, Michel Labatte, Louis Miron, Joseph Lefond, François Larose, Xavier Biron, Etienne Jolineau, Charles Cadotte, Joshua Trott, Marguerite Lafontaine, Madame Perrault, John Bell, Henry Sayer, Joseph Sayer, Ambrose Surette, J. B. Lesage, Xavier Perrault, J. B. Crachier, Joseph Boissoneau, Lisk, J. B. Denommé, and John Driver. These people or their families had been in “possession” of these properties for from two to over thirty years. The Roman Catholic burial ground at the Sault was reported by Vidal to have been used as such for at least fifty years.<sup>466</sup>

When Vidal arrived at Sault Ste. Marie in the spring of 1846 to undertake these surveys, he was met by the chiefs Shinguakonce and Nebenagoching, who protested against both the surveys and the mining exploration taking place without consulting them. Shinguakonce had been a signatory to the American treaty of 1820 for lands around Sault Ste. Marie, and was familiar with the precedent of treaties and purchases in Upper Canada. Vidal promised that he would convey their concerns to the Government, and the chiefs allowed him to proceed. It appears that the Government of the Province of Canada at this time considered “the Indians about Sault Ste. Marie” as “not...having any claim to the lands which they occupy, having emigrated from the United States”.<sup>467</sup> By the spring of 1847, however, mineral exploration parties were being driven away by “Indians” from locations near Garden River.

<sup>465</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 151, Statement by T. G. Anderson, 87758 – 87760, quoted in Morrison, “Robinson Treaties”, section 3.7.5.2.

<sup>466</sup> AO, RG1, A-VI-19, Vol. 6.

<sup>467</sup> AO, RG1, A-I-6, Alexander Vidal to D. B. Papineau, 27 April 1846, quoted in James Morrison, “The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study”, report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (version dated 31 March 1993), section 3.9.1.

Members of the Great Lakes fur trade Métis community had participated in the activity related to mining in various ways. B. H. Lemoine, quite possibly a relative of the J. B. Lemoine who had been dropped off at the Sault to trade by the North West Company in 1793 and/or the J. B. Lemoine who had been in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Port Meuron fort in 1817, acquired a mining location in May of 1847 that included part of the "Indian" settlement at Garden River.<sup>468</sup> George Johnson, a former American Indian Agent and "half breed" from the Sault, acted as an interpreter at a general council of the Ojibwe with T. G. Anderson and others to discuss "Indian claims" in August of 1848.<sup>469</sup> James Cameron, son of NWC trader J. Dugald Cameron, and a Métis who had been a beneficiary of the American treaty of 1836, attended Ojibwe council meetings at Garden River and reported to the Government of Upper Canada on the issues of mining and Aboriginal claims.<sup>470</sup> Louis or Lewis Cadotte, of the family of one of the first fur-trade settlers at the Sault, interpreted at the Ojibwe councils for Allan MacDonell, a mining entrepreneur and advocate for the Ojibwe.<sup>471</sup>

After further petitions, meetings, and confrontations over mining, in August of 1849 the Province of Canada appointed Vidal and Anderson as Commissioners "to visit the Indians on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, for the purpose of investigating their claims to the territory bordering on those lakes, and obtaining information on various points relative to their proposal to surrender their lands to the Crown, with a view to the final action of the Government on the subject".<sup>472</sup> In the fall of 1849, Vidal and Anderson travelled to Lakes Huron and Superior to prepare the way for formal Treaty negotiations.

Anderson, in his diary, noted that the Sault Ste. Marie trader Charles Ermatinger jr. made a claim "to lands on Lake Superior, but this cannot be as his Mother and her relations were originally from Lac la Pluie and his Grand Father or Uncle...are or were American Indians". Ermatinger's family had been established at Sault Ste. Marie for over forty years and doubtless considered the

<sup>468</sup> Morrison, "Robinson Treaties", section 3.9.7, 3.9.11.1, 3.10.2.

<sup>469</sup> Morrison, "Robinson Treaties", sections 3.7.4.1, 3.9.8.2.

<sup>470</sup> Morrison, "Robinson Treaties", sections 3.10.5 through 3.10.5.4.

<sup>471</sup> Morrison, "Robinson Treaties", section 3.10.5.1.

<sup>472</sup> LAC, RG1, L1, Land Book "E", p. 315, Executive Council Minute, 4 August 1849, quoted in Morrison, "Robinson Treaties", section 3.10.4. This paragraph and the preceding paragraph of my report is largely based on Morrison's report, sections 3.1.1 through 3.10.4.

area their home. Anderson observed what he characterized as the "great excitement...and...unbounded expectations of almost all classes to participate in the benefit of the Treaty Money" at the Sault.<sup>473</sup> Meetings at Sault Ste. Marie with Shinguakonce and other Aboriginal people broke down over Vidal and Anderson's unwillingness to deal with Allan MacDonell as a spokesman, and their lack of a mandate to make a concrete offer for a Treaty. MacDonell reported afterwards that

Mr Vidal, in my hearing, addressing himself to a most intelligent and respectable half-breed by the name of Catosh [?], said...the Indians shall not receive any thing for their lands; and this language was used subsequently on other occasions, by the Commissioners, who likewise stated that the half-breeds should not receive anything. To this the Chiefs replied: -- "These people are the children of our sisters, and of our daughters; they are born upon this land, and have equal rights with us; they shall share with us."<sup>474</sup>

To make the round trip to Fort William, Vidal and Anderson engaged a canoe and crew of eight at the Sault, including François Mezai (Guide), Louis Piquette (Steersman), Peter Bell, Pierre Crocheir, Louis Corbiere, Paw-Kauke, Waw-be-ma-ma, and Waw-saung-gais, middlemen.<sup>475</sup> Although neither Vidal nor Anderson, in their diaries, described their meeting at Fort William in detail, Father Frémiot reported to his superiors that

the half-breeds were passed by in silence, for they have not the right to speak at such gatherings. Is this wise? Do some people fear that they, better informed than the Indians themselves, might be in a better position to defend their rights?<sup>476</sup>

Peter Bell, described by the priests as "un jeune Métis du Sault", assisted with interpreting at Fort William, although Anderson was fluent in Ojibwe and was the primary interpreter.<sup>477</sup> At Michipicoten, Vidal and Anderson enjoyed the hospitality of Chief Trader John Swanston, while their canoe crew "gave a ball to their half breed brethern and enjoyed themselves first rate".<sup>478</sup> While *en route* around Lake Superior, Vidal and Anderson visited a few of the copper mines and

<sup>473</sup> AO, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, "Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson" (typescript transcript), entry for 12 September 1849, 6. Another copy of this document is also held in the Baldwin Room at the Central Branch of the Toronto Public Library.

<sup>474</sup> Toronto *British Colonist*, 18 December 1849, letter from Allan MacDonell, 11 December 1849.

<sup>475</sup> AO, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, "Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson", entry for 13 October 1849, 24.

<sup>476</sup> Father Frémiot, 18 October 1849, reprinted in Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821 - 1892: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society/University of Toronto Press, 1973), 14.

<sup>477</sup> Nabarra, *La Mission jésuite de Fort William*, entry for 26 September 1849, 37.

<sup>478</sup> AO, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, "Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson", entry for 9 October 1849, 22

observed boats laden with copper ore and other supplies for the mines.<sup>479</sup> In November, after they had completed their pre-Treaty trip, Anderson heard the news that MacDonell "had raised a force of 100 men armed, then, stolen several boats to convey his party to the Point aux Mines [Mica Bay] and to take possession of it and Michipicoten Island". Shinguakonce had "leased" Michipicoten Island and a location at Point aux Mines to MacDonell, so the intent of the attack was to evict other Government licensees. The "Indian war" quickly came to an end with the dispatch of soldiers from Canada West and the arrest of Shinguakonce, Allan MacDonnell, Pabinacochin [Nebenagoching] and "two other half breeds" (Pierrot Lesage and Charlot Boyer).<sup>480</sup> The men arrested were brought to Toronto and eventually released.

Although Vidal and Anderson appeared to reject claims put forward by the Métis, to the point of not allowing them to speak at meetings with the Ojibwe, in their final report they raised the issue of including them in any Treaty with Aboriginal peoples of the Great Lakes:

Another subject which may involve a difficulty is that of determining how far Half breeds are to be regarded as having a claim to share in the remuneration awarded to the Indians -- and (as they can scarcely be altogether excluded without injustice to some) where and how the distinction should be made between them -- many of them are so closely connected with some of the bands, and being generally better informed, exercise such an influence over them, that it may be found scarcely possible to make a separation, especially as a great number have been already so far recognized as Indians, as to have presents issued to them by the Government at the annual distribution at Manitowawning.<sup>481</sup>

The ceremonial present distributions at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island were originally intended to recognize and celebrate the British Crown's military alliances with Aboriginal peoples. "Canadians" and Métis voyageurs from the Great Lakes had participated in conflicts on the side of the British, particularly in 1812 when some corps were composed almost entirely of these men.

<sup>479</sup> There are also several references in the Fort William post journal for 1849 - 1850 to mining and the movement of goods and people; see for example HBCA, B.231/a/20, entries for 21 February, 3 June, 7 June, 22 August, 15 - 23 September 1850.

<sup>480</sup> AO, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, "Diary of Thomas Gummersall Anderson", entries for 16 November - 10 December 1849, 37 - 41; Morrison, "Robinson Treaties", sections 5. 1 through 5.2.4.

<sup>481</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 266, p. 162135, report of A. Vidal and T. G. Anderson to His Excellency the Governor General in Council, 5 December 1849.

John Swanston at Michipicoten wrote to HBC Governor George Simpson prior to the negotiation of the Treaties in August of 1850 that

I shall use my best endeavours in trying to secure something for Chastellain [at Rainy River, but originally from Fort William], but at present I am not certain whether the Government will acknowledge the rights and claims of the halfbreeds, to a share of the payments to be made for the land about to be ceded by the Indians of Lake Superior, but should hope they would, as many of them have much juster claims than the Indians, they having been born and brought up on these lands, which is not the case with many of the Indians, particularly the Sault Chiefs Shinguakonse and Nehbainecoching, whose lands are situated on American Territory.<sup>482</sup>

In the 1890s, Métis elders at Sault Ste. Marie recalled that Shinguakonce had met with the "Half-breeds of Sault Ste. Marie" in 1848 or 1849 and offered them a share of the upcoming Treaty proceeds if they would "side with them in the Point of Mines affere". The response of the Sault Métis was lukewarm; some men did accept Shinguakonce's offer, but others replied that "they were already Indians enough without binding themselves to be under an Indian Chief".<sup>483</sup>

Hudson's Bay Company officers north of Superior assisted the Government with the Treaty process by providing information and logistical support to Vidal, Anderson and the Treaty Commissioner J. B. Robinson. In June of 1850, the HBC forwarded a "Census L. Nipigon", probably compiled by the post master James Anderson. This census included two unmarried men with the surname La Garde, Joseph (also known by an Ojibwe name, illegible in the document) and one possibly named St. Paul (also known as Tuquay), part of the Loon clan. One unmarried "Half Breed" woman was also listed (although unnamed). In addition, seventeen "Company Servants, Indians and Half Breeds", comprising three men, four women, one unmarried man and nine children were enumerated in the census.<sup>484</sup> Swanston at Michipicoten and John McKenzie at Fort William also apparently forwarded censuses of their trading areas, although these have not been located.<sup>485</sup> Treaty Commissioner Robinson, in his report on the Treaty negotiations of early September 1850, commented on the "very correct census, particularly of Lake Superior" that he had in hand while at the Treaty meetings. He estimated

<sup>482</sup> HBCA, D.5/28, John Swanston to George Simpson, 21 August 1850, fol. 465.

<sup>483</sup> AO, F1027-1-2, (Irving Papers), file 27/32/09, John Driver to E. B. Borron, 4 March, 1893; statement of Alexis Biron, 27 May 1893; statement of Joshua Biron, 27 May 1893.

<sup>484</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 9501, "Census L. Nipigon", June 1850.

<sup>485</sup> HBCA, D.5/28, W. B. Robinson to G. Simpson, 23 September 1850, fols. 659 - 660.

the number of "half breeds" on Lake Superior was eighty-four, not including "some sixty half-breeds" at the Sault, who were spoken for by Shinguakonce and Nebenagoching.<sup>486</sup> Robinson's total estimate of the "Indians" on Lake Superior, which he used in the negotiations to limit the total amount of money to be paid each year in annuities, included these eighty-four 'half breeds'.<sup>487</sup>

### The Robinson Treaty and the Métis, 1850 - 1856

The Treaty negotiations for both the Robinson-Superior and Robinson-Huron Treaties took place at Sault Ste. Marie. Although Robinson was steadfast in his statements to Shinguakonce and Nebenagoching that he had "no power to give...free grants of land" to the "half breeds" at the Sault, he offered the Chiefs who would sign the Treaty a way of allowing them to share Treaty benefits with the Métis:

As the half-breeds at Sault Ste. Marie and other places may seek to be recognized by the Government in future payments, it may be well that I should state here the answer that I gave to their demands on the present occasion. I told them I came to treat with the chiefs who were present, that the money would be paid to them -- and their receipt was sufficient for me -- that when in their possession they might give as much or as little to that class of claimants as they pleased. To this no one, not even their advisers, could object, and I heard no more on the subject...<sup>488</sup>

In addition, although he had stated that he could not give free grants of land, Robinson "confirmed certain old residents in the free & full possession of their lands on which they now reside".<sup>489</sup> John Bell, a Métis who had agreed to support Shinguakonce prior to the Treaty,

<sup>486</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 191, no. 5451, W. B. Robinson to R. Bruce, 24 September 1850; also reprinted in Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories including the Negotiations on which they were based* (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke, 1880; reprinted by Fifth House Publishers, Saskatoon, 1991), 18 - 19.

<sup>487</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 191, no. 5451, W. B. Robinson to R. Bruce, 24 September 1850; also reprinted in Morris, *Treaties*, 19; also text of the Robinson-Superior Treaty, 7 September 1850, reprinted in Morris, *Treaties*, 303 - 304.

<sup>488</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 191, no. 5451, W. B. Robinson to R. Bruce, 24 September 1850; also reprinted in Morris, *Treaties*, 20.

<sup>489</sup> AO, J. B. Robinson papers, "Transcript of Diary", W. B. Robinson, entry for 9 September 1850, as quoted in Holmes, "Lake Superior", 41. This confirmation or promise does not appear in Robinson's official report to Bruce of 24 September 1850.

signed the Treaty. George Johnson, the American Métis who had interpreted at earlier meetings, and Louis Cadotte acted as interpreters at the Treaty negotiations and signed as witnesses.<sup>490</sup>

Shortly after the Treaty was signed, Governor Simpson of the HBC offered to Robinson and the Canadian Government that the HBC would pay the Robinson-Superior Treaty annuities in money at Michipicoten and Fort William without any extra charge, knowing that this practice would save the Government substantial expenses, reduce the distraction and travelling time for the annuity recipients, and of course that the HBC was likely to pick up most of the money in trade.<sup>491</sup> Robinson recommended this course of action to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, noting that the lists Robinson had left at the Crown Land Office would likely be suitable to use as a basis for annuity payments.<sup>492</sup> These lists have not been located.

The first Robinson-Superior payment lists available are for the year 1852, and also include the years 1850 and 1851. These lists provide a convenient point of comparison with earlier HBC records and supply information on the persistence and composition of Métis families north of Superior. It is possible that not all Métis families or individuals present in the region are identifiable on the paylists, for a variety of reasons including not attending Treaty payments, reluctance to participate in the Treaty, or accepting payments under an Ojibwe name. The following table lists family heads either identified in the Treaty payroll of 1852 as "half breed" or identified from other sources as being of mixed ancestry, and data about the family from earlier HBC records, if available:

<b>Name</b>	<b>1852 paylist</b>	<b>Biographical data</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Akibie, Henry	FW HB 3	HBC employee in LS Dist since at least 1840, labourer (middleman), FW 1847, bowsman/labourer/courier/canoe maker in 1848; recruited in "Indian Country"	Mich accts, HBC employment records, FW post journal
Auger	FW 1	"Retired Servant No. Deptmt" 1848 -	Mich accts, Jesuit

<sup>490</sup> Robinson-Superior Treaty, 7 September 1850; and Robinson-Huron Treaty, 9 September 1850; reprinted in Morris, *Treaties*, 302-309.

<sup>491</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 187, G. Simpson to W. B. Robinson, 15 October 1850, pp. 169390 - 169391; also HBCA, D.5/28, W. B. Robinson to G. Simpson, 23 September 1850, fols. 659 - 660.

<sup>492</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 187, W. B. Robinson to R. Bruce, 19 April 1851, pp. 169386 - 169389.

Name	1852 paylist	Biographical data	Sources
		1849, "Métis" J. B. Auger at FW injured in woods Nov. 1850.	mission journal
Auger (widow)	FW 3	See Auger	Mich accts, Jesuit mission journal
Begg, Charles	Mich HB 4	(FW?) 1847 - 1848, acting postmaster 1848 - 49. Home parish Orkney I	Mich accts, HBC employment records
Boucher, Joseph	FW HB 9	Bouchers at NWC Fond du Lac and FW from at least 1805; Joseph Boucher, freeman, age 19, native of Hudson's Bay, engaged at FW in Nov. 1827; still working at FW in 1849 - 1850	NWC lists 1805, Franchère, HBC employment records, FW post journals, Mich accts
Boucher, Toussaint	Mich HB 3	"half breed" with AFC (SSM? Mackinac?) hired by HBC in 1831 at FW. At Mich from at least 1840; fisherman, courier and labourer. Surname on NWC LS lists from 1805; also at Drummond Island	Mich corresp book 1831, Mich post journals and accts
Chastellain, Narcisse	Mich HB 1	Nicolas Chastellaine/Chatelain (father) born 1790s near Grand Portage	Dona Cona report
Collin, Joseph	Mich HB 6	Grandfather Antoine on NWC list at Grand Portage in 1799, Antoine and son Michel freemen at FW from at least 1823, Joseph first mentioned as freeman at Ft. Wm. in 1835, HBC employee by 1840. Surname in GL fur trade from 1750s. Jean-Baptiste Collin also a freeman at FW summer 1849.	Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and Fur Trade", Swan, "Collin Family", FW post journals, Mich accts, post journals, corresp books
Collin, Michel, Sr.	FW HB 8	See Joseph Collin. Michel Collin (sr.? jr.?) employed as "acting post master" and interpreter by HBC in 1848 - 1849. Sent to trade at Lac D'Original, in charge at FW summer 1849, also does woodwork and makes canoes	Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and Fur Trade", Swan, "Collin Family", FW post journals, Mich accts, post journals, corresp books
Collin, Michel, Jr.	FW HB 3	See Joseph Collin and Michel Collin Sr.	Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and Fur Trade", Swan, "Collin Family", FW post journals, Mich accts, post journals, corresp books

Name	1852 paylist	Biographical data	Sources
Corbeur, William	FW HB 3	Not located in sources reviewed to date. William Corbeau HBC employee (labourer) recruited in "Indian country"	n/a, HBC employment records (1850)
Delaronde, Louis Denis	Mich HB 5	NWC clerk NW of Nip 1818, HBC at Osnaburgh and Lac Seul, FW and outposts 1830, post master at Long Lake c. 1832 - 1851, post master Nipigon 1851 - 1868. Family in fur trade since at least 1700s, father a trader on L Nipissing	Arthur, "The Delarondes"; Mich DRs, Mich acct books, Mich corresp books
Deschamps, Joseph	FW HB 2	Baptiste Deschamps (father) HBC employee at FW from at least 1827; likely with NWC pre-merger, as canoe-builder, courier, labourer. Michel a freeman at FW 1849 - 1850, doing misc. labour at fort with brother Michel	FW post journals, HBC employment records, Mich corresp books and DRs
Deschamps, Michel	FW HB 3	See Joseph Deschamps	FW post journals, HBC employment records, Mich corresp books and DRs
Deschamps, Pierre	Mich HB 3	See Joseph Deschamps. Pierre HBC employee (labourer) at (Long Lake, Pic?) 1847, FW 1849 - 1850	FW post journals, HBC employment records, Mich corresp books, accts and DRs
Dubois, Joseph	Mich HB 6	Joseph Dubois (father) HBC employee (fisherman, labourer) at Nipigon from at least 1824; Joseph Dubois (b) (son) native of Hudson's Bay, HBC employee (Guide) at Nipigon from at least 1840	FW post journal, Nipigon post journals and accts, HBC employment records, Mich accts
Dumoulon, Isidore	FW HB 4	HBC employee (Pic?) 1847, at FW 1849 - 1850	Mich accts, FW post journal
Faigneant, Jean Baptiste	FW HB 8	Jacques Fainiant HBC employee LS 1825 to at least 1837, Charlotte Fainiant m. Louis Bouchard at Ft. Wm 1828. Jean Baptiste not located in sources reviewed to date	Mich accts, FW post journals, FW accts
Finlayson, John	FW HB 4	HBC apprentice LS 1840, FW 1847, cooper 1848, at FW as cooper 1849 - 1850, also collected furs from Inds, misc. woodwork, canoe-making, fishing. Recruited in "Indian country"	Mich accts, FW post journal, HBC employment records

Name	1852 paylist	Biographical data	Sources
Heron, Edward	Mich HB 5	Boatbuilder, Mich 1848. Recruited in "Indian Country"	Mich accts, HBC employment records
Keotasine, Jean-Baptiste	Mich HB 4	Labourer (Nipigon?) 1847	Mich accts
Lagarde, Joseph Sr.	Pic 3	Joseph LaGarde on NWC list at Fond du Lac, 1805; LaGarde at NWC Long Lake post 1817, LaGardes at Drummond Island pre-1828, LaGardes freemen around Mich from at least 1824	NWC list 1805; Long Lake post journals, Mich post journals and corresp books
Lagarde, Sansong, and Brother	Mich 3	See Joseph Lagarde Sr. [paid under "Half Breeds" after 1852]	NWC list 1805; Long Lake post journals, Mich post journals and corresp books
Lambert, Michel	FW HB 3	HBC employee (labourer) LS Dist 1840, FW 1847, "herdsman" 1848, FW 1849 - 1850. Recruited in Canada. Described by priest in 1851 as "un Blanc" who acted in the Ojibwe Chief's absence at a church service	Mich accts, FW post journal, HBC employment records, FW mission journal
Lamphier, Thomas	Mich HB 1	Skipper HBC sloop, Mich 1840. Home parish England	Mich accts, HBC employment records
Louis, Charles	FW HB 8	HBC employee LS 1840, retired and freed on LS by Simpson (acct at Mich) 1847, employed as bowsman 1848 - 1849, "sugary" near FW ID'd as his 1849 (freeman)	Mich accts, FW post journal
McDonald, James; daughter [Jane]	Mich HB 1	Not located in HBC records reviewed to date	n/a+
Mizzobee, François	Mich HB 6	HBC employee at Mich/Batchewana by 1840, fisherman, courier, bowsman. Recruited in "Indian country"	Mich post journal, Mich accts, HBC employment records
Moriseau, Joseph	Mich HB 4	Louis Morrisseau freeman at Mich 1827, Antoine Morrisseau freeman at FW 1827, at Nip 1829; J-B Morrisseau employed at FW from at least 1827, [?] Morrisseau freeman at Pic 1832, Joseph Morrisseau HBC employee by 1837 (bowsman), recruited in "Indian country"	Mich post journals, Mich accts, FW post journals, Pic post journals, HBC employment records
Nitawassin, David	Mich HB 1	HBC employee (labourer) by 1847 (FW?), recruited in Canada	Mich accts, HBC employment records

Name	1852 paylist	Biographical data	Sources
Perdrix Blanche, David	Mich HB 1	Father Joseph a native of Hudson's Bay and married into the (Pic?) Ojibwe; HBC labourer, courier at Pic from at least 1827, steersman from at least 1837	HBC employment records, FW post journal, Mich accts
Plante, Pierre	Mich HB 3	Not located in HBC records reviewed to date. May be "Plante" building house at FW (freeman?) in Dec 1850	n/a (FW post journal)
Robertson, Alexr.	Mich HB 1	Dead following 1852 payments. John Robertson "half-breed" brought up in HBC service (Brunswick House?), NWC employee at Mich 1817, HBC clerk-interpreter 1825; John Robertson (a) with family at Mich 1827, James and William Robertson employed at FW 1834, John and James Robertson (b) natives of Hudson's Bay & HBC employees 1833, James Robertson (b) d. Batchewana 1840. William Robertson HBC labourer, bowsman and trapping on own acct Mich 1840. Alex Robertson employed by HBC by 1847 (FW?), labourer and interpreter recruited in "Indian country"	Mich post journals, Mich accts, Mich DRs, FW accts, HBC employment records
Robertson, William	Mich HB 8	See Alex. Robertson	Mich post journals, Mich accts, Mich DRs, FW accts
Saunders, James	Mich HB 3	"Southern Dept. Winterer" in 1840, otherwise not located in HBC records reviewed to date. In 1850 HBC records charged to Moose Factory as "Guide &c", recruited in "Indian country"	Mich accts, HBC employment records (1850)
Schillen, William	Mich HB 6	Tinsmith/blacksmith hired by HBC in 1821, home parish Boucherville, employed at Mich. Son William (b) apprenticed on HBC sloop 1850	HBC employment records, Mich post journals, Mich accts, HBC employment records (1850)
Skandegance, François	Mich HB 2	HBC employee (Mich?) by 1847, labourer, at FW 1849 - 1850. Recruited in "Indian Country"	Mich accts, FW post journal, HBC employment records (1850)
Soulière, Antoine	Mich	HBC employee (Pic?) by 1847,	Mich accts, HBC

Name	1852 paylist	Biographical data	Sources
	HB 4	labourer, recruited in "Indian Country"	employment records (1850)
Swanson, Francis	Mich HB 2	Not in HBC records reviewed to date. [son of John Swanston?]. William Swanson (b) "Southern Dept Winterer", 1840	n/a (Mich accts)
Swanston, John	Mich HB 6	Native of England, joined HBC age 26 in 1819, m. dau. of Geo. Keith Mich CT, family by 1830, served at Mich, FW, Pic; CT LS Dist at Mich by 1849	HBC employment records, Mich DRs, Mich corresp books, Mich accts, Anderson diary 1849, Arthur, "Delarondes"
Taylor, James	Mich HB 1	John Taylor native of Hudson's Bay, employed at Long Lake 1815, HBC LS employee "half breed" 1825; Thomas Taylor (a) post master at Batchewana 1830 to at least 1841; Thomas Taylor (b) slooper LS 1840. James Taylor HBC apprentice carpenter recruited in "Indian country"	Long Lake post journals, Mich DR, Mich corresp books, Mich accts, HBC employment records (1850)
Tundiss, Joseph	Mich HB 2	Joseph Teindass HBC LS employee (labourer) 1848, recruited in "Indian country"	Mich accts, HBC employment records (1850)
Turner, Philip	Mich HB 1	HBC LS employee 1847, supernumerary labourer 1848, boatbuilder 1850, recruited in "Indian country"	Mich accts, HBC employment records (1850)
Vezina, François	FW HB 3	Baptiste Vesinat or Visina jr. employed at Point Meuron 1818, Baptiste Vesinat Sr. freeman at FW/Point Meuron, hired by HBC 1820; Vezina father and son freemen at FW working for the post for at least 1820s, Jean-Baptiste Vezina HBC employee LS 1833, labourer and fisherman 1837. François hired in "Indian country" as bowsman FW 1849, freeman at FW in the summer of 1849.	Mich accts, FW post journals, HBC employment records, Mich corresp books
Vezina, Jean-Baptiste	FW HB 3	See François Vezina. Jean-Baptiste not on HBC employment rolls reviewed to date after 1837, not mentioned in FW post journal 1849 -	Mich accts, FW post journals, HBC employment records, Mich corresp books

Name	1852 paylist	Biographical data	Sources
		1850.	
Watakoya, John	Mich HB 2	HBC LS employee 1847, John Wahtekkiyaie HBC labourer 1848, recruited in "Indian country"	Mich accts, HBC employment records (1850)

## Abbreviations:

AFC = American Fur Company

CT = Chief Trader

DR = District Report

FW = Fort William

GL = Great Lakes

HB = listed in the "Half Breed" section of the paylists

LS = Lake Superior

Mich = Michipicoten

Nip = Nipigon

number = number paid. Numbers struck through are as they were shown in the 1850 - 1852 paylist; however these people were paid in subsequent years. The significance of the strikethrough is not known.

The following family heads were added to Robinson-Superior paylists between 1853 and 1856:

Name	Paylist	Biographical data	Sources
Bouchard, Louis	Mich 1 1853	"At New Brunswick" (House). HBC employee in LS from at least 1825. M. Charlotte Fainniant 1828, remarried "Mary", sister of Ojibwe chief. At FW 1827, Nipigon 1843. Recruited in "Indian country". Note "Bouchard 1 Family" (7 people) paid at Nip 1855	Mich accts, Nip accts, Holmes LS report, Macrae report, HBC employment records (1850)
Chastellain, Nicolas	Mich 1 1853	"Lac la Pluie", b. Grand Portage late 1700s (HBC employee)	Dona Cona report
Collin, Jean-Baptiste	Mich 4 1856	Freeman at FW, 1849. See Joseph Collin Sr. in table above. Hired as "fisherman" by HBC 1850 in "Indian country"	FW post journal
Lagarde, Jacques	Nip 4 1855	Paul La Garde "halfbreed" HBC employee LS 1825, freeman at Nip by 1829; see also Joseph LaGarde Sr. in table above	Nip post journals, Mich DR
Solomon	FW 5 1855	"Half breed Indian" trading at FW from 1820s. May be descendant of	Lytwyn, "Fur Trade", Long, "Voyages", Nip

Name	Paylist	Biographical data	Sources
		Ezekial Solomon, trader at Lake Nipigon in 1770s, E. Solomon's son also at Lake Nipigon in 1790s	post journals, FW post journals

The total number of people paid as listed in the tables above was 188 under fifty-one heads. The actual number paid would vary from year to year. Not all paylists had a separate "half breed" section. Not all family heads under the "half breed" sections were themselves of mixed ancestry; for example Charles Begg, John Swanston, Louis Denis Delaronde, Thomas Lamphier, and (probably) William Schillen. It is not known if they were paid, or whether the numbers after their names include only their wives and/or children.

The connection of the families and individuals listed above to the historic fur trade north of Lake Superior is evident. HBC employment records for 1850 list fifty-two officers and men (including five retirees) assigned to the Lake Superior District. Of those, thirty-one were paid Robinson-Superior annuities as *per* the lists above. The remainder of the heads on the annuity paylists above have a clear connection to earlier generations of fur-trade employees around Lakes Superior and Nipigon, for example "Solomon", the Collins, the Vezinas, the LaGardes, the Deschamps, Perdrix Blanche, and Morriseau. The HBC employees in 1850 were also in some cases members of these families. A few, such as Auger and Plante, may have been recently-arrived retirees from other fur trade districts. Others had lived and raised families in the Lake Superior District for twenty years or more, and may have had much longer connections through earlier generations in the Great Lakes fur trade, such as Bouchard, Boucher, Delaronde and Robertson.

Who was absent from the paylists? The twenty-one officers and men in the HBC Lake Superior District accounts who were not included were mostly from Scotland or the Orkney Islands, and may not have been in the country long enough to establish families. Only two men on the HBC accounts in 1850 whose home or recruitment parish was listed as "Canada" were not on the Treaty paylists for 1850 - 1856: Pierre Badayac dit LaPlante, who may in fact be the Pierre

Plante on the payroll,<sup>493</sup> and Xavier Leclair. Only one person recruited or with a home parish in "Indian country" in the Lake Superior District, James Loutit, an apprentice labourer, was not on the Robinson Treaty payroll, and it is possible that he was below the age of majority. It is evident that among fur trade employees, there was no reluctance or stigma attached to taking Indian Treaty annuities. Swanston's own views about the entitlement of "half breeds" to share in the Treaty, and his accepting money for his own family, doubtless played a role in this view.

All the "freemen" families named most often in the HBC post journals in the period 1821 - 1850 (Collin, Vezina, LaGarde, Solomon, Morrissette) were represented on the Robinson-Superior Treaty paylists. Some prominent families may have retired in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie (which was included in the Robinson-Huron Treaty), such as that of Jean-Amable McKay (who bought property at the Sault in 1827, although he also considered retiring to Red River).<sup>494</sup> Two men named Amable McKay signed a petition in 1850 asking not to be disturbed in the possession of their properties at Sault Ste. Marie. This petition, written following the failure of the Treaty process to secure land grants to the "half-breeds", was signed by fifty-five individuals who "with the exception of some five or six, are all of mixed Indian Blood and have been born upon the Soil...most of them having inherited their possessions from their mothers, and the residue having purchased from half breeds or Indians". Another signatory to this petition was Pierre Mastat (family around Kaministiquia/Fort William from c. 1800 to the 1820s).<sup>495</sup> A "Memorial" of Shinguakonce and three other Robinson Treaty chiefs, also presented to the Governor General in 1850, requested that Pierre Masteaux, Alexander McKay, William Perrault, Xavier Perrault, Jean Baptiste Soulier, and other Sault Ste. Marie "Half Breeds" be granted one hundred acres "now in Occupation or possession" by them at the Sault.<sup>496</sup>

<sup>493</sup> This may also be the Pierre Badayac who was an HBC employee at Nipigon 1842 - 1843.

<sup>494</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/1, George Keith to George Simpson, 30 June 1827, 5.

<sup>495</sup> LAC, RG1, L3, Vol. 182B, Petitions "E", Bundle 6, no. 21, petition of C. O. Ermatinger and others, transmitted with letter of J. B. Robinson, 21 October 1850. This petition was also signed by an A. William McKay, likely from a different family, possibly a descendant of the Edward McKay who traded either for or against the HBC at Batchewana in the 1820s and 1830s, and F. Xavier Perrault, possibly a descendant of Jean-Baptiste Perrault at Lake Nipigon and Michipicoten from the 1780s. The Cadotte, Nolin, Sayer, Biron, and Boissoneau families were also well-represented on this petition.

<sup>496</sup> LAC, RG1, L3, Vol. 182B, Petitions "E", Bundle 6, folio 21h - 21m, "Memorial" of Joseph Na-bun-a-go-ging, Shinguakonce, and others to the Governor General of Canada.

At Sault Ste. Marie, fewer Métis initially signed on to the Treaty, possibly in the hope that they could retain their existing properties "without binding themselves to be under an Indian Chief". Over time, many of these Métis did accept Treaty payments and other benefits as part of the Batchewana or Garden River Indian Bands, especially after a land surrender at Garden River in 1859. However, further west on Lake Superior, Métis were not under immediate pressure from outsiders to protect their garden plots, and as most of them were affiliated with the Hudson's Bay Company, perhaps did not believe that accepting Treaty annuities would threaten their autonomy and put them under the authority of the Chiefs. It was unlikely, after all, that John Swanston could be made to answer to Tootoomine, the Chief at Michipicoten. This may also explain why at some locations such as Fort William and Michipicoten, "Half Breeds" were listed separately, although HBC employees at other locations would also have been expected to submit to the Company's authority and live within the fur trade culture, rather than that of their Ojibwe neighbours and relatives.

Other pre-1850 families not on the Treaty paylists, like that of Roderick McKenzie, were transferred out of the Lake Superior District prior to 1850, although in McKenzie's case a daughter married to an employee remained behind. Female family members are obscured in the records, possibly understating the extent to which family connections persisted in the area. In other instances, families may have left the region when their work contracts ended. In 1836, Angus Bethune commented in a letter to George Simpson that several men were talking of retiring when their terms were up and settling at St. Joseph's Island on the American side of the border southeast of Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>497</sup> In the same year, Hyacinthe Davilleau, Pierre Camerere, and Joseph Fontaine, all heads of families, went down to Montréal with the canoe brigade from York Factory, although Fontaine reappeared as a retiree in the Lake Superior District in 1840 and Hyacinthe "Daveau" Sr. was later identified as a family head at Sault Ste. Marie *circa* 1850.<sup>498</sup> The economic base of this population, dependent on physically vigorous fur-trade employment and with few other options for making a living on Lake Superior, induced turnover of about five to ten percent per year in HBC employees.

<sup>497</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/11, Angus Bethune to George Simpson, 26 March 1836, 23d.

<sup>498</sup> HBCA, B.129/b/10, Angus Bethune to Donald McIntosh, 31 January 1836, 13 - 13d; AO, F-1027 -1-2 (Irving Papers), file 27/32/08, list from Joseph Wilson, 6 November 1891; file 27/32/09, "Information of Paywatchinini", "List of names given by Paywatchinini...those for whom Chief Shinguacoose wanted the free grants", both dated 2 June 1893; John Driver to E. B. Borron, 9 June 1893.

## Fur Trade Culture on Lake Superior in the 1850s

The Métis Treaty adherents, their non-Aboriginal colleagues at the HBC, and other "Canadians" or "half breeds" around Lake Superior were part of the persisting and distinctive fur trade culture observed with interest by non-Aboriginal outsiders, and separated from the Ojibwe culture of their trading partners. This culture, which was a majority Métis culture by 1850, had roots in the Great Lakes at least 150 years old by the time of the Treaty. Successive generations of *voyageurs*, *coureurs du bois*, *engagés*, traders and "Hudson's Bay" men had taught skills, stories, geographies, names and country knowledge to newcomers.

German ethnographer Georg Kohl visited Lake Superior in the summer of 1855 and joined the succession of Europeans travelling the region with "Canadian", "half-breed" or "Voyageur" experts. Most of his observations on the local Ojibwe culture came from conversations with or interpretations made by people identified by these terms. Travelling by steamer to La Pointe on the south-west shore of Lake Superior, he witnessed the annual Treaty payments with their assistance:

Besides the Indians, several hundred half-breeds had come in, many Indian traders, American travellers, and French voyageurs. They had come from a very widely-spread country, and were all much-travelled and intelligent men, from whom I could obtain explanations as to what I saw among the Indians. As I had also attracted to my side an excellent and experienced Canadian Frenchman, I succeeded in discovering all sorts of novelties, and understanding many strange matters...<sup>499</sup>

Kohl observed the landing of "an Indian family" from Wisconsin in their canoe. The father of the family was Antoine Gendron, "a French Canadian, but had lived from his youth among the Indians, was a pagan...plus sauvage que les autres, et grand magicien, but much respected among the people up the country".<sup>500</sup> Gendron later showed Kohl some of his medicines. Gendron called himself " Français sauvage", a term Kohl stated was commonly used, along with "savage Englishman", by people like Gendron.<sup>501</sup>

<sup>499</sup> J. Georg Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings around Lake Superior* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860), 3. The treaty under which payments were being made was concluded in 1842.

<sup>500</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 34 - 35.

<sup>501</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 36.

Elders of the Ojibwe tribes made statements to the officers paying Treaty annuities regarding changes in families, and "whether a man is a half-breed, in what degree he is related to the tribe, and how far he has a claim to share in the tribute".<sup>502</sup> In this respect, payments in the Robinson Treaties (especially in the Robinson-Huron Treaty area) appear to have followed American practice, where Ojibwe leaders included "half breeds" in the payments if they so chose. Kohl made some observations about the traders he met at the payments:

Among the men collected here, and with whom I principally associate, I have already alluded to the Indian traders. They form one of the most important classes among the persons who live on an intimate footing with the Indians. They are far more highly educated than the trappers and Voyageurs, and even form a better judgement of the Indian character than the missionaries do...

Many of these traders have carried on the fur trade for generations, and thus acquired great influence over several tribes...<sup>503</sup>

On the American side of the Great Lakes, the smaller traders with deep roots in the fur trade persisted well into the nineteenth century, while the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly position in British territory tended to mute this tradition. However, Louis Denis Delaronde was descended from a family of these traders, and John Swanston anchored his family in an earlier era by marrying the mixed-ancestry daughter of his superior, former North West Company trader George Keith.

Kohl observed the pride that the Ojibwe and the "half-breeds" took in their genealogies. At La Pointe, he met

a half-breed, who spoke a little French, and possessed considerable knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians...he belonged, in his mode of life, more to the red than the white race.

He lived entirely like a forester, and had erected his lodge about two miles from our fort...His wife, an Indian woman, belonged to the totem of the Cranes, and his mother had come from the same clan...

<sup>502</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 113.

<sup>503</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 129 - 130.

When we came to the arms of Cranes (la marque des Grues), my friend spoke of this family as follows: 'La marque des Grues est la plus noble et la plus grande marque parmi les Ojibibeways'...<sup>504</sup>

The Cranes extended as far east as Sault Ste. Marie. Kohl had just spoken to a member of the Loon clan, who had convinced him that the Loon totem was "the eldest and noblest in the land".<sup>505</sup> A possible link to British territory could be the Loon clan, to which the LaGardes belonged, identified in the Ojibwe population around Nipigon post by the HBC immediately prior to the Robinson Treaty. Kohl commented of the "Canadians" he met on Lake Superior, taking as an example a "Canadian" living in present-day Wisconsin:

He was a remarkably merry and humorous fellow, of course descended from an old noble family of Normandy, and the son of a French officer; for the poorest Canadian here will boast of such progenitors. The Canadian half-breeds often swagger with two genealogies - a European, commencing with a 'lieutenant du roi', and an Indian, from some celebrated chief. I met one half-breed, a man tolerably well off, who had engraved both his French coat of arms and his Indian totem (an otter) on his seal-ring...<sup>506</sup>

In a similar vein, the attempts of the Delarondes to claim their lost inheritance from aristocratic French forbears, and the occasional references to Delaronde family members by honorifics such as "Count", are well-documented in a collection of papers held at the Thunder Bay Archives.<sup>507</sup> Although Kohl and others recorded many distinctive customs and external traits of the population, as an ethnographer, Kohl was one of the few residents or visitors to Lake Superior to comment on elements of ethnic self-identity among "half breeds" or "Canadians" in the nineteenth century.

Kohl took a steamer to Eagle River, a small trading hamlet on the Keeweenaw Peninsula, from which he hoped to journey across the peninsula to the mission station at L'Anse at the bottom of Keeweenaw Bay. He hired "Canadian Voyageur" Du Roy from his "bark lodge" near Eagle River, where Roy had come to fish. Leaving behind his wife and "half-breed" children, Roy agreed to take them. Kohl commented on the mode of carrying baggage overland by a strap

<sup>504</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 148 - 149.

<sup>505</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 148.

<sup>506</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 299.

<sup>507</sup> Thunder Bay Museum and Archives, miscellaneous papers related to genealogy and claims of the Delaronde family.

around the head, as had Macdonell and Johnson fifty or sixty years earlier, and on the culture and traditions of the "voyageurs", including those on British territories:

The weights these Voyageurs can carry are surprising; one hundred and fifty pounds is the ordinary and almost legal weight packed on every Voyageur in these lands, and is the rule throughout the Hudson's Bay territory....the question is who can carry the most, for the stronger porter receives the highest praise. The Voyageurs elevate a strong, powerful porter to the proportions of a hero...'Ha, monsieur,' Du Roy said to me, 'I knew Jean Pierre Roquille. That was a Voyageur! He was strong, leste, de bonne constitution! and a porter of the first calibre...Il était le plus fameux Voyageur entre le Lac Supérieur et la Baie de Hudson.'<sup>508</sup>

Kohl and Roy hired a canoe from an British trapper near a lake. Roy told him more stories of great travelling feats on Lake Superior as they proceeded, one involving his "cousin, a well-known Voyageur" named Dubois. He also called loons from the canoe, as Delafield had witnessed his voyageurs do thirty-two years before.<sup>509</sup>

Throughout his time on Lake Superior, Kohl recorded the Ojibwe and French names of many objects, tasks and geographical landmarks as pointed out to him by his "voyageur" informants, including the "poses" or resting places on travelled routes. He observed that "the Canadian Voyageurs, traders, and 'coureurs des bois' are as delighted with [Ojibwe] stories as the Indians themselves".<sup>510</sup> At L'Anse, a "half-breed" sang several Ojibwe songs for him.<sup>511</sup> However, Kohl was also interested in the distinctive "Voyageur" music and the role it played in their lives:

I...never allowed a song of this nature to escape me when I had a chance, and copied many of them in their entire length. I discovered, however, that these are not productions that can be easily collected and given out again...when seized, [they] prove to be a lump of jelly, and dissolve in the hand.

I grant that the old French Voyageurs brought many a pretty song from France into these remote countries, and you may hear on the Upper Mississippi, and in the bays and wild rivers of Lake Superior, even at the present day, an old chanson sung two hundred years ago in Normandy, but now forgotten there. But I am not speaking here of that class of songs...I here allude especially to the songs composed on the spot which are characteristic of the land and its inhabitants, as the people paint in them their daily adventures themselves, and the surrounding nature; and, among these poetic productions, there is

<sup>508</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 168- 170.

<sup>509</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 176 - 186.

<sup>510</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings* 86 - 87.

<sup>511</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 249.

much that makes no great figure in a book, although it produces its good effect in actual life.

The Voyageurs accompany and embroider with song nearly everything they do -- their fishery, their heavy tugging at the oar, their social meetings at the camp fire; and many a jest, many a comic incident, many a moving strain, which, if regarded closely, will not endure criticism, *there* serves to dispel ennui...

Generally, they designate their own most peculiar songs as 'chansons de Voyageur', and exclude from them songs they have derived from France and elsewhere.

As the Voyageurs from here to the Rocky Mountains, to Hudson's Bay, and to the Arctic Sea, rarely travel otherwise than in canoes, the great majority of their songs are calculated for the paddling work which they are specially intended to accompany and enliven. Hence they are classified according to the nature of the work, and are divided into 'chansons à l'aviron,' 'chansons à la rame,' 'chansons de canot à lège,' and so on. But, as is natural enough, the difference is less in the character of the song than in the time and tact of the melody.

'L'aviron,' or paddle, is a smaller and shorter instrument than the 'rame', or oar, and is used differently...

The most celebrated canot à lège among my Voyageurs on Lake Superior is the 'canot du gouverneur.' This is Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay territories, who lives at La Chine, near Montreal, and makes annually a rapid voyage of inspection to Lake Superior and through a portion of the territories. The people on the southern or American shore of the lake told me marvellous stories of this canot à lège voyage of the governor, which almost seemed to me like a poem. 'The great gentleman', they said, 'is always in a terrible hurry. His canoe is very large and long and remarkably pretty, and of light build. He has always a corps of twenty or twenty-four paddlers with him. These are very powerful, hardy, and experienced Voyageurs: 'Des hommes choisis! les plus beaux chanteurs du monde!' They sing the merriest songs, and work à l'aviron actively the whole day...The men paddle eighteen or twenty hours a day. On reaching the camping-ground, they wrap themselves in their blankets and sleep four or five hours. Young men, however, who try it for the first time, are so excited that they can neither sleep nor eat. And yet, at sunrise, the signal for starting is given. All the transport operations are performed with the greatest order and energy. If they come, for instance, among the cataracts to a rock, where the navigation ceases, or to what is termed a portage, the governor's canoe is quickly pulled into its proper haven. At the word of command the paddles are unshipped. Each man knows the packages he has to carry, and away each trots with it over the portage. Ten other drag the canoe from the water, swing it in the air and on their shoulders, and away they trot with it. In ten minutes all is ready again, and, singing and paddling, the governor and the crew again dash through the waves...<sup>512</sup>

<sup>512</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 253 - 257. A description by Simpson of his usual mode of travelling can be found in his *Narrative of a Journey Round the World in 1841 and 1842* (London: Henry Colbourne, 1847), Vol. I, 20 - 25. In this

This account of the pinnacle of the voyageurs' mobile world repeats many details of other journeys recorded by travellers extending back into the eighteenth century. Kohl emphasized that this particular event and its customs shared characteristics with a larger voyageur culture "from the Rocky Mountains, to Hudson's Bay, and to the Arctic Sea", but was also rooted distinctively in Lake Superior on both the north and south shores. The men chosen to transport the Governor were not only considered the strongest and most skilled travellers, but the best singers, showing the interrelation of all these elements of voyageur culture. Kohl corroborated this impression by his observation that the songs lost their effect and meaning when separated from the context and the work that had inspired them. The description provided to Kohl by his voyageur contacts on Lake Superior also provides insight into the prestige accruing to individuals such as Antoine Collin, who made the Governor's canoes, and Baptiste Deschamps, who painted them.<sup>513</sup>

Kohl continued his analysis of voyageur music in an attempt to gain an insight into the self-perception of the "Canadians", "Voyageurs", and "half-breeds" that he met on Lake Superior.

The Voyageurs have, however, another sort of songs, in which I discovered a deeper poetical feeling. These are what are termed the 'complaintes.'

These 'complaintes,' in themselves, are not thoroughly Canadian, they are a species of popular and elegiac romances, well known in French literature. Still it is characteristic enough for land and people, that of all the numerous varieties of French songs, these 'complaintes' should have found a local habitation and a name in Canada and on Lake Superior.

instance, his crew was composed of "Canadians" and Iroquois assembled at Lachine. For other journeys men were hired at Red River, with reinforcements and pilots taken on at Fort William and Sault Ste. Marie as necessary.<sup>513</sup> The traditions of the Governor's canoe, and the transports moving officers and men great distances between districts, were recorded by Chief Trader James Watt at Michipicoten in 1858: "At 6 ½ PM Governor Simpson + [Chief Factor] Hopkins arrived in 2 Canoes manned by Goers + Comers + some Winterers on their way to the Northern Dept. ...at 4 AM Gov. Simpson + party left -- at 9 ½ A. M. 2 Canoes manned by Goers + Comers, + some Winterers, with 2 App<sup>ce</sup> Clerks...arrived on their way to the Northern Department. They remained about an hour or so, + went on their way rejoicing, at least it would appear so, for they left with a song 'a 'petite Cordonere'. There are 27 Winterers (mostly Canadians + regular Suburb fellows they seem to be)...gone past this Place this Spring for the North" (AO, F471-2-0, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858 (n. p.), entries for 18 and 19 May. The reference to "Suburb fellows" is to the suburbs of Montréal, the traditional source of "Canadian" fur trade employees and voyageurs.

I heard them speak of their 'complaintes' everywhere, and I am bound to believe that at least one-half of their songs consists of elegies. Indeed, it may be fairly asserted that their entire music and poetry have an under-current of elegy.

Nothing, I say, is more natural than this. They regarded themselves as exiles -- indeed, as doubly banished, first from France, and then again from Lower Canada. Their life is a very hard one, the natives that surround them rough and wild...

Their mode of life exposes them to countless dangers and wants, and though they all say that they will soon return to Lower Canada, their real home, very few of them carry this into effect. And there are whole families of Voyageurs here on Lake Superior, who, from father to son, have sung of the 'return to Canada', but who have all perished here.

'Où restez-vous?' I once asked a Voyageur, who had taken a seat near us in a Canadian fishing-hut. In Canadian French this means so much as, 'Where do you live? -- where is your home?' 'Où je reste?' je ne peux pas te le dire. Je suis Voyageur -- je suis Chicot, monsieur. Je reste partout. Mon grand-père était Voyageur: il est mort en voyage. Mon père était Voyageur: il est mort en voyage. Je mourrai aussi en voyage, et un autre Chicot prendra ma place. Such is our course of life.' I must remark here, in explanation, that my Canadian had some Indian blood in his veins, either on the father or the mother's side, and hence, jestingly, called himself 'Chicot.' That is the name given in Canada to the half-burnt stumps, and has become a nickname for the half-breeds. They also call themselves, at times, 'Bois brûlés,' or 'Bois grillés,' in reference to the shades of colour that bronze the face of a mixed breed. [Note by Kohl: In addition to half-breeds, there are also quarter-breeds, quadrons, called in Canada 'quarts.']

Frequently, too, pure-blooded French Voyageurs, if they live entirely among the Indians, and intermarry with them, are counted among the Chicots. How much these French Voyageurs identify themselves with the Indians against the Anglo-Saxons, I had often opportunity of seeing. When they spoke of the irruption of the Americans into the country round Lake Superior, they used nearly the same language as the Indians. A pure French Canadian, with whom I spoke about the old Canadian songs, thus expressed himself on one occasion to me: 'Depuis que les blancs sont entrés dans le pays, nous n'usons plus de ces chansons-là. Formerly,' he added, 'when the white men were not so numerous here, we Voyageurs were always entre nous. Then there was a pleasure in singing, we knew that everybody was acquainted with any song begun, and would join in. But now, if a party of Voyageurs meet, there are often so many Britons, and Scotch, and Irish, and Yankees among them, that when one begins singing there is often nobody who knows how to join in. Hence we prefer remaining quiet. C'est bien triste à cette heure.'<sup>514</sup>

A song Kohl described at length as an example of a *complainte*, with which "nearly every Voyageur" Kohl spoke to on Lake Superior was at least partially familiar, told the story of a

<sup>514</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 259 - 261.

"Canadian" named Cayeux, a fur-trader working on the Ottawa River, in pre-Conquest times.<sup>515</sup> Kohl also collected a *complainte* from a "half breed" living on the Keeweenaw Peninsula, and commented on the man's constant singing while canoeing alone to borrow maple sugar for the fish soup he had prepared for his guests. While the songs were highly social in nature, they could also be sung alone to the appropriate work.<sup>516</sup>

In the passage quoted above, Kohl emphasized that among fur-trade veterans, the admixture of Indian blood was less important than identity and familiarity with fur-trade culture. It was possible to become a part of this culture by marrying into it and/or engaging fully in the life, including the Aboriginal, European and distinctive original elements. This may explain why, especially among older Great Lakes/St. Lawrence fur trade families and their employers, there is often inconsistency in the sources in the use of the terms "Canadian", "half-breed", and "Métis". Part of this identity was a sense of not fully belonging to other cultures, such as the Ojibwe, European, or Lower Canadian, while recognizing and celebrating their connections to these cultures. When confronted with increasing numbers of outsiders not integrated into fur trade knowledge and traditions, members of the old fur trade culture looked back nostalgically to a time when "Voyageurs were always entre nous". Being of mixed ancestry was an important part of identity for the "Chicots", who proudly claimed their Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestries, and could provide a kind of guarantee of integration into fur-trade culture. However, some fluidity in labelling was possible, conflating categories of "pure-blooded" and "half-breed" into larger patterns of ways of life, traditions, and identity. In a time when theories of race and nation were becoming increasingly popular in European cultures, this flexibility in itself may be a distinctive marker of the majority mixed-ancestry fur trade culture on Lake Superior in the mid-nineteenth century.

Kohl's last stop on his Lake Superior trip was the "Ojibbeway village" called Rivière au Désert or Garden River. He commented on the differing perceptions inherent in the French and English names of this place; the "French Canadians, accusing themselves, as it were of being desolators

<sup>515</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 261 - 265.

<sup>516</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 299 - 302. Kohl observed that the Ojibwe and "European traders who have lived with the Indians" used sugar instead of salt to season food (*Wanderings*, 319). This would explain the importance of spring sugar collecting for the Ojibwe and Métis, as well as the purchases and gifts of sugar at holiday or social times.

of nature" by producing "a desert of half-carbonised tree-stumps and skeletons" in the course of converting wooded land to cultivation. These "half-carbonised tree-stumps and skeletons" had previously been identified by Kohl with the term "Chicot" for Métis or "half-breed". To the English, however, this patch of cultivation was a "garden", with all of the pleasing associations assigned to that word. Kohl and the Catholic missionary with whom he travelled stayed not at the village but on Sugar Island with "a family of hospitable Canadians", who had "cleared the forest around to a considerable extent", and "had made gardens round their most cleanly and neat dwellings".<sup>517</sup> At Garden River,

I made the acquaintance of a half-breed in the village, who kindly invited me into his house. These men, who have two sorts of blood in their veins, have also generally two names, Indian and French. My good friend's French name was La Fleur, his Indian one Bimashiwin [a sailor]...<sup>518</sup>

La Fleur was a specialist at carving "Indian pipes", while his wife embroidered birch bark with porcupine quills. His wife's mother, who lived nearby, was originally from "far west on the Upper Mississippi, but had followed her son-in-law to this part of the world", indicating perhaps that La Fleur had been a trader or fur trade employee in that region and had retired to Garden River. Here a more sedentary life was possible, as both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal customers provided a steady market for the La Fleur family's crafts, and they and their small gardens could flourish, protected by the encroachment of newcomers from outside the fur trade culture. While the Métis were welcomed onto the Garden River Indian Reserve, in 1899 Indian Affairs inspector J. A. Macrae observed that "the line of demarcation between the Indians who commenced to settle at Garden River, where their Reserve was, and the half-breeds was and is still perfectly clear to the Indians' minds".<sup>519</sup>

### After the Treaty, 1856 - 1859

In 1858, Commissioners Richard Pennefather (Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for the Province of Canada), Froome Talfourd and Thomas Worthington submitted a report to the

<sup>517</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 303 - 313.

<sup>518</sup> Kohl, *Wanderings*, 314.

<sup>519</sup> J. A. Macrae, "Report on Garden River and Batchewana Bands", 30 January 1899, copy from DIAND Genealogical Research Unit.

Governor General on “the best means of securing the future progress and civilization of the Indian Tribes in Canada” and “the best means of so managing the Indian Property as to secure its full benefit to the Indians, without impeding the settlement of the country”.<sup>520</sup> This Report included brief descriptions of the populations legally recognized as “Indians” in the Province (present-day southern Ontario and Québec). Among the “Scattered Bands on the Northern Shores of Lakes Huron and Superior” described in the Report, the Band of Nebenagoching at Batchewana was noted as having 182 members, of which “9 families of 31 persons are half breeds, claiming entrance to the band on the mother’s side, and in four cases both man and wife are of mixed descent”. In the other Band sharing the Batchewana Reserve, at least eight out of the 55 members were “half breeds”. The Lake Superior Treaty Reserves were listed as Fort William, Gros Cap (near Michipicoten) and Lake Nipigon. The Gros Cap (Tootoomenai) Band, according to the Report,

now consists of 41 families containing 169 individuals; of these 11 families 52 persons are of mixed descent, and 2 families have no further claim to share in the Annuity than their father, a Canadian, having married an Indian woman of the Band. Six families seem *to be Whites*, and to be borne on the Rolls by mistake.

The Report did not comment on mixed-ancestry or “White” persons on the Treaty paylists at Fort William, Long Lake, or Nipigon, and noted one “white man...claims a share of the annuity for his family, through his wife” at Pic.<sup>521</sup>

Although Pennefather and his co-authors did not name the “half breeds”, “Canadians” and “white men” they identified on the Michipicoten and Pic paylists, the 1856 list of people paid at Michipicoten (the surviving payroll closest in date prior to Pennefather’s report) included Narcisse Chastellain (paid for one person), Joseph Legarde Sr. (paid for three people), and “Louison”(paid for two people) among the Ojibwe names. In a summary of payments made in 1856, however, £45.18/ was noted as having been paid to “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten, while £42.18/6 was paid to “Michipicoten Indians”. This implies that 108 “Half Breeds” and 101 “Indians” were paid at Michipicoten in 1856.<sup>522</sup>

<sup>520</sup> Appendix to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1858, no. 21, “Report of the Special Commissioners appointed on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada” (“Pennefather Report”), Commission of Governor General E. W. Head, 5 September 1856.

<sup>521</sup> Pennefather Report (n. p.), “Scattered Bands on the Northern Shores of Lakes Huron and Superior”.

<sup>522</sup> HBCA, B.129/d/7 (Michipicoten Account Books [Robinson Superior Treaty Paylists], 1851 - 1857).

Two hundred and fifty-six people were enumerated on the Fort William payroll for 1856, including “Solomon” (five persons), “Augers Family” (one person), Joseph Boucher (seven persons), Michel Collin Sr. (six persons), William Carteau (six persons), Michel Deschamps (four persons), Jean-Baptiste Faignant (seven persons), Michel Landry (two persons), Charles Louis (seven persons), Jean-Baptiste Vezina (three persons), François Vezina (three persons), John Finlayson (three persons), and Michel Collin Jr. (four persons). For Long Lake, Jean-Baptiste Moran and Joseph Legarde Sr. were paid for a total of six persons out of fifty-nine on the list. A Jean-Baptiste Moran was also paid for three people on the Pic payroll, on the same day as a payment was made to one person of the same name on the Long Lake payroll. None of these people on the paylists other than Michipicoten were identified as “Half Breeds”.<sup>523</sup>

Post journals survive for Michipicoten for the calendar years 1858 and 1859. For the first eighteen months, the journal was kept by Chief Trader J. S. Watt (home parish Stromness, Scotland), and from July to December 1859 it was kept by Chief Trader or Factor George Barnston (home parish unknown). Watt in particular provided a great deal of detailed information and colourful descriptions of life at the post in his journal. From these journals, it is apparent that some “Indian” recipients of annuities came to Michipicoten at various times to receive their payments, trade furs, and pick up provisions, rather than gathering together in one large group for payments on one or two days. The majority of recipients, however, were probably paid in early August, adding to the festivities associated with the return of the Brigade shipping out the yearly fur returns, the renewal of employees’ contracts, distribution of orders and advances, and preparations to send employees and Indian hunters inland for the winter.<sup>524</sup> Despite the level of detail offered in the journals, payments of annuities to the “half breed”

<sup>523</sup> HBCA, B.129/d/7 (Michipicoten Account Books [Robinson Superior Treaty Paylists], 1851 - 1857).

<sup>524</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), (n. p.), entries for 24 February 1858 (William Robertson, “who resides about Batchewana”, came in to collect his annuity for 1857. This man was paid for eight “half breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852); 21 June 1858 (boat arrived from Long Lake with the Chief and some of his followers to collect 1857 annuity); 23 July 1858 (five Indians arrive from Pic to receive their annuities); 31 July 1858 (some Pic Indians paid); 2 and 3 August 1858 (“most of those at Pic + this Place entitled to annuity for 1858 are now paid + a nasty job is therefore over”), also 4 and 5 August 1858; 12 August 1858 (“Inland Indians”); AC, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859) (n. p.), entries for 12 January 1859 (Alex. Robertston [William’s son] arrives from Batchewana to collect his father and family’s annuity for 1858); 19 July 1859 (three canoes arrive with Long Lake Chief and Indians for their treaty money); 28 July 1859 (“several Indians from the Pic” arrive for their Treaty money); 5 August 1859 (“a few Inland Indians” arrived for winter outfit and Treaty money).

Company employees or other families in the neighbourhood were not specifically described by Watt or Barnston.

Apart from the additional administration involved in making Treaty payments, the Michipicoten journals show that life at the post changed very little in the decade after the Treaty. In 1858, the post still employed William Schellin sr. (“Schellin (a)”, or “Old Schellin”) as a tinsmith and blacksmith; about once a week he also did the baking for the establishment and directed the fishing in the absence of other experienced employees.<sup>525</sup> His son, William “Schellin (b)”, was employed as a labourer at Michipicoten. Schellin sr.’s wife, and children Jane, John, Sophia and one unnamed daughter, were also mentioned in the post journal.<sup>526</sup> “Half Breed” employees Cromarty,<sup>527</sup> Sansong Lagarde or Laguarde,<sup>528</sup> Antoine Soulière,<sup>529</sup> and Boucher,<sup>530</sup> with their

<sup>525</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), *passim*; entries for 24 through 29 September 1858 (directing the fishing).

<sup>526</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 13 February (Mrs. and Miss Schellin and Indian Pahuahung catch a fox which had escaped from a trap); 5 June (Mrs. Schellin and three daughters going to Sault Ste. Marie on the schooner), 28 and 31 August (“one of old Schellin’s daughters (‘Jane’)” is badly burned in Dubois’ house and later dies) (William Schellin “b” or jr., see the journal *passim*); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 21 March (Mrs. Schellin, son John, daughter Sophia going to sugar bush to put up their lodge). William Schillen (sr.) was paid for six “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852 (see section in this report on the early Robinson Treaty paylists).

<sup>527</sup> Included in group of “Half Breed servants” by Chief Trader Watt, for example in AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 11 January, “Some of the halfbreed servants were fortunate in their hunting operations today, Boucher having caught a Beaver + a Fisher, + Cromarty a Beaver”. Cromarty and Soulière were the principal boat-builders at Michipicoten in 1858 and 1859, as well as performing many other tasks. Cromarty’s wife Mary was mentioned several times, for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 6 March (injured man “under the professional care of Mrs Cromarty who is...poulticing with juniper bark and [illegible]”); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 26 March and 8 May (Cromarty given permission to assist his wife to get to the sugar camp, “Mary Cromarty + her party” returning from the sugar camp).

<sup>528</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entry for 31 January (“As usual our Halfbreed Servts went off a-hunting...Laguarde...shot a Mink at the point above the Fort”); see also entry for 3 March, in which Laguarde’s travelling style is contrasted with that of the “Indians” whom he visited to collect their furs); 12 June (“Mrs Sansong Laguarde was safely delivered of a female child”). Sansong and his brother were paid for 3 “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852. “Old Laguarde” (Joseph Sr.), described by Watt as an “Indian”, came to Michipicoten to spend the summer among his relatives in 1858 (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entry for 13 July). He was transferred to Pic for outfit 1858 - 1859 (AO, F471-2-0-85, Michipicoten Post Journal 1859, entries for 7 and 9 February, Sansong Laguarde arrives with mail from Pic and returns).

<sup>529</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 27 March (“Cromarty + Soulière had liberty today to go out with their Wives to the Sugar-making operations”); 16 August (“Mrs Antoine Soulière delivered of a male child”). Soulière was usually included in the “Half Breed” hunting excursions, see for example entries for 18 and 20 February (Soulière catches a silver fox in one of his traps, goes hunting with Cromarty and get a fisher). Antoine Soulière was paid for four “Half Breeds” on the Michipicoten payroll of 1852.

<sup>530</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 11 January, 30 March (“Boucher has liberty today + to morrow to assist his Wife in establishing herself at Sugar making”); 26 April (Boucher’s wife and

families, worked at the post, alongside Europeans J. S. Watt, Murdo McDonald,<sup>531</sup> Christopher Robertson or Robinson,<sup>532</sup> Larsen,<sup>533</sup> Jorgen Evansen,<sup>534</sup> Neils Haakinson (posted to Pic but invalid at Michipicoten for most of the winter),<sup>535</sup> Ole Halsteenson,<sup>536</sup> Norman McKay,<sup>537</sup> schooner Captain Lamphier, and clerk Mr. Bélanger (ethnic origin not known). Lamphier and Watt also had families around the post that were mentioned in the journal.<sup>538</sup> Evansen, Larsen, Halsteenson, and Haakinson can be confirmed as being without families (as one of them cooked for the others),<sup>539</sup> and the family status of McDonald, Robertson/Robinson, McKay and Belanger is unclear. The workforce of the post was rounded out with some “homeguard” Indians (Ojibwe) who regularly performed labouring and travelling tasks, and fished to supply the kitchens (Kiwitakejick, Cass, Pahuahung, Endigoose, and unnamed “Indian” women and

Cromarty’s wife washing out floors of bedrooms in Officers’ House); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 5 April (Boucher’s stepson Stephen bringing home feed for animals). Boucher was noted as a “steady man”, “attentive at his work”, and a teetotaler (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entries for 25 June and 9 July; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 1 January). Toussaint Boucher was paid for three “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852.

<sup>531</sup> Retired *via* Sault Ste. Marie in June of 1858. Watt called him “an excellent man + one who will not easily be replaced” (AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 5 June). As he retired through the Sault, it is possible that he was Canadian. He went duck hunting once with Evansen, Cromarty, Soulière, Laguarde and William Schellin jr. when the men were given a holiday to do so (entry for 19 April).

<sup>532</sup> Praxis considers this man a “half breed” (Praxis Research Associates, “Historic Métis Communities in Ontario: Wawa and Environs”, report prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 15 June 1999, 69 - 70), but he went “home” to Europe *via* Moose Factory in August of 1858 (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 16 August and 23 August..

<sup>533</sup> Described by Watt as “a Swede” (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entry for 11 August).

<sup>534</sup> Retired *via* Sault Ste. Marie, by special permission (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 16 August.

<sup>535</sup> (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 4 March and 28 June. Haakinson was sent back to Moose Factory with the Brigade that departed on 28 June.

<sup>536</sup> After spending the outfit year 1857 - 1858 at Michipicoten as a servant to the officers, Halsteenson was transferred to Long Lake to be a clerk or “writer” for Joseph Morrisseau (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entries for 12 August and 4 September). He was transferred to the Lake Huron District for outfit 1858 - 1859 ((AO, F471-2-0-85, Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 11 October.

<sup>537</sup> Went “home” *via* Moose Factory in August of 1858 (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entries for 16 August and 23 August)..

<sup>538</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 5 June (Mrs. Lamphier going to Sault Ste. Marie on the schooner); 13 August (Mrs. Watt safely delivered of male child); 30 October (Steamer “Rescue” Captain Dick is son-in-law to Lamphier); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859) (n. p.), entries for 18 March (employee making shoes for Watt’s family);. Lamphier (home parish in England) was paid for one “Half Breed” at Michipicoten on the 1852 payroll.

<sup>539</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 17 February (McKay cooking for the “young men”), 17 May (Haakinson cooking for Evansen, Larsen and himself). Halsteenson was the servant and cook for the officers at the post (Belanger and Watt, and later Ironside).

children).<sup>540</sup> These “engaged Indians” did not work for the Company full-time, and were primarily fur-hunters like the other Ojibwe who traded at the post. However, they provided valuable services in assisting the “half breed” Company employees in tasks that required local knowledge (such as repairing and manning canoes, travelling with mail or to meet hunters, or fishing) and in supplementing the work force at times when many men were away on the schooner, on brigades to Brunswick House or Moose Factory, or fall fishing. Even the Ojibwe Wesleyan minister Ashquabe, who lived in a “parsonage” at Gros Cap “mission” an hour or two’s walk from the post, paid his bills by embarking on weeks-long fur hunting trips and trading the furs to the Company, as the other Ojibwe did.<sup>541</sup>

Conversely, the “half breed” employees worked six days a week at such tasks as hauling and chopping cordwood, building boats, sawing boards for house and boat construction, travelling with mail or to meet Ojibwe hunters, bringing in hay, putting up or repairing buildings, and loading and unloading boats. For most of these men, hunting was a welcome diversion on holidays, and at Michipicoten they were allowed to trade furs for credit on their accounts and feed their families with the game they harvested.<sup>542</sup> Indeed, although rations of fish and potatoes, garden produce (when available) and some ground corn, and in times of scarcity or

<sup>540</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 1 January (reference to “Indians who are called homeguards”); 28 February (Schellin “b” and Pahuahung sent to find a hunter and bring back furs); 3 May (“engaged Indians” Cass and Pahuahung helping to clean the yard); 13 and 14 May (Pahuahung harrowing the potato field); 19 May (Kiwitakejick, his wife, and Teindun’s mother assisting “all hands” at planting potatoes); 21 May (Kiwitakejick assisting Cromarty and Laguarde to prepare canoe for Moose Factory); 24 May (“as many Indn Women as we could muster” helping to plant potatoes); 20 August (“Indian Women + Girls” assisting hands at drying hay); 23 August (Pahuahung a bowsman, Endigoose midman, Schellin “b” in charge of Moose Factory canoe); 9 September (two “engaged Indians” go to assist Boucher and Cromarty at the Michipicoten fall fishery); 14 September (Pennety, “one of the Indn Widows at the Post”) fishing for the post); 1 October (“two or three Indn Women + a few Boys + Girls” assisting hands at potato harvest); 6, 7, 8 and 26 November (Schellin “b” and Endigoose go in three-fathom canoe to Sault Ste. Marie and return, Endigoose returns to his “camp” at Dog River).

<sup>541</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 3 January (Ashquabe conducts service in “Indian” attended by “Indians + some of the people of the place”, prevented by weather from returning with his wife to his “Parsonage” at Gros Cap); 13 February (Bélanger and Watt visit “Parsonage” at Gros Cap, find some of Ashquabe’s pupils, but he is absent hunting rabbits); 16 February (Ashquabe and “the Indn ‘Cass’” leave on a marten trapping trip that is expected to last a couple of weeks); 13 March (Ashquabe brings in 12 marten skins to make a payment on his account); 30 March (Ashquabe brings in 13 marten skins and a fisher skin); 11 October (Ashquabe comes to post to get his advances, he and his family embarking on a hunting trip of 5 to 6 weeks).

<sup>542</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 22 March (a Tuesday). This entry clarifies that even on Company time, furs were credited to the mens’ accounts (in this case, Boucher), although the food hunting might have been done for the Company kitchens. See also AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 13 March, in which Boucher’s two fisher skins were credited to pay for snowshoes he had “destroyed”.

holidays, European provisions of pork and flour (called by the men “vivre Français”),<sup>543</sup> were served out to the men and their families as part of their employment, families were also expected to help to provide for themselves.<sup>544</sup> “The Mens Wives + Ind Womens nets” were set out as well as the “Co’s nets” to feed the post community.<sup>545</sup> These women dried and smoked their own stocks of herring for times when the Company nets did not produce enough for a full ration.<sup>546</sup> Boucher (or “Old Boucher”, as Watt often called him) spent the most time of any of the employees at hunting and fishing. In the winter, he snared rabbits and shot partridges, for a modest but no doubt welcome variation on the post’s staple diet of salt fish and potatoes (in January 1858, Boucher brought in about 20 to 25 rabbits and a few partridges a week).<sup>547</sup> He set lines in the Bay in front of the post and caught a few trout per week, and worked at making and repairing large fishing nets when he was not out at his snares. As the ice retreated in the spring, he set nets as well as lines to supplement the salt fish with fresh. When it was possible to set and haul the post’s seine net (which required a boat and at least three or four men), he led crews of Company employees or hired Ojibwe to the river or fishing sites such as Gros Cap. In September, he departed with two engaged Indians and Cromarty for the fall fishery at Michipicoten Island, which provided most of the salt fish for the post.<sup>548</sup> Occasionally, he interpreted for Watt when groups of Ojibwe came in to trade, and pitched in with tasks such as chopping cordwood, unloading boats and working in the potato fields,<sup>549</sup> but his primary job was to keep the men and their families supplied with their ration of fish. Michipicoten was a refuge

<sup>543</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 3 July (men from Pic coming to collect food for rations, as they were not catching fish, people at Pic eating “Gamine [cured pork] + Grease”).

<sup>544</sup> Rations were usually served out once a week at Michipicoten. When local produce was plentiful enough for the families to harvest sufficient food for themselves, rations to families were stopped. See AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 16 October (fish and potatoes served out to the men for the week, for the first time in the winter of 1858 - 1859, Lamphier resuming his role as “steward and commissary” after a summer on the schooner).

<sup>545</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 19 August; also 7 February (Sunday).

<sup>546</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 15 July.

<sup>547</sup> Only once or twice a year did deer come within range of the post, causing great excitement among the Company employees and the local Ojibwe. In December of 1858, an Indian trading at the post was “kind enough to bring us a piece of Deer’s meat”, “a present to the Bourgeois”, “it being a treat here”, in Watt’s words (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entry for 16 December; see also entry for 19 January).

<sup>548</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), *passim*.

<sup>549</sup> For example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 8 June (interpreting); 14 May, 9 July (working in fields), 11 August (cutting hay); 10 May (moving cargo unloaded from schooner); 12 July (assisting Schellin sr. at iron work); 2 and 11 December (cutting cordwood). Boucher also apparently had some skills as a healer, see AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 30 June (injured Indian returns from Brigade, Watt “had him bled by Boucher”); 20 November (Boucher and Watt work together to stop the bleeding after Leask cut himself with an axe; Leask was also nursed by Mrs. Boucher, see entry for 29 November).

for Company and Ojibwe families who could not be fed at other posts in times of scarcity or illness, making Boucher's work even more critical to the regional economy.<sup>550</sup> Boucher, Cromarty, Laguarde and Soulière were also sometimes called upon to use other traditional "country" skills for the post, such as preparing canoes or making snowshoe frames.<sup>551</sup>

On Sundays in the fall and winter months, however, Boucher and his "half Breed" companions almost always went hunting for themselves. Boucher, Cromarty, Laguarde, Soulière, John Schellin, and in 1859, William Schellin jr. and Alex. La Ronde<sup>552</sup> were all recorded as being part of the group of "Half Breed Servants" who hunted on Sundays. They set traps and hunted with guns furbearing animals such as beaver, fisher, mink, lynx, fox, otter and marten (perhaps

<sup>550</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 10 and 17 March (Teindun's [engaged man] mother and family sent to Michipicoten from the outpost of Ogayon because of a shortage of food); 27 March (engaged "Indian" Cass bringing in his sick wife to Michipicoten); 4 December (Endigoose came to Michipicoten with Kiwitakejick's widow and family, "who are to stop about this place all winter").

<sup>551</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 14 and 16 April (Laguarde making paddles); 21 May (Cromarty, Laguarde and "the Indn Kiwitakejick" preparing the canoe for departure with Moose Factory packet); 3 September (Boucher gumming canoes for fall fishing); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859, entry for 8 December (Soulière and Cromarty making snowshoe frames). Although boats were used to move large quantities of goods between posts, canoes were still in wide use as passenger conveyances, fishing and for small loads.

<sup>552</sup> Son of Louis Denis De La Ronde, post master at Lake Nipigon, and an unnamed daughter of an Ojibwe man trading at Osnaburgh called "The Pelican". Louis Denis Delaronde was paid for five "Half Breeds" at Michipicoten in 1852, which may not have included his sons. Alex. La Ronde, according to J. A. Macrae, who wrote a report on these families for the Department of Indian Affairs in 1898, married "an Indian woman of Lake Nipigon", as did his younger brother Charles or Charley. Alex.'s older brother Henry, who had won a scholarship to the Red River Academy in present-day Winnipeg, became the post master at Nipigon in 1871, just as Charles left HBC employment, possibly to join independent traders working out of Sault Ste. Marie. Charles later returned to work for the HBC at Nipigon, was post master at Red Rock from 1869 - 1871, and was on the Red Rock Indian Band payroll, with Alex., in 1898. Alex.'s sister Louisa married Pierre Deschamps, who in 1858 was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort William and was in charge of boats bringing the fur returns to Michipicoten. Alex.'s sister Marianne, according to Macrae, "married a white man named Watt from Albany". It is not known if this is James Stewart Watt, who had been posted at Fort Albany before coming to Michipicoten in 1857. "Mrs. Watt" gave birth to a daughter at Michipicoten in August of 1858. Watt spent most of his career either in Quebec or at posts in the Ottawa Valley, and retired to an unknown destination in 1870. Marianne or Mary Anne and her sister Catherine were on the Red Rock Indian Band paylists in 1898, and lived near Red Rock. It is possible that if James Watt returned to Scotland or died, Marianne returned to Lake Superior to be with her family. A sister of Alex.'s, who may be the youngest sister Angelique (or one of the other three sisters) assisted Henry at Nipigon and was the woman, in Arthur's opinion, who was sketched in 1867 and later painted by William Armstrong ("Miss Le Ronde, Hudson Bay Post, Lake Nipigon", LAC, Acc. no. 1989-492-5, MIKAN no. 2833402, copy negative C-010505). See Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon", 42 - 44; Thunder Bay Museum and Archives, will of Louis Denis de Laronde, in miscellaneous genealogical material related to the Delaronde family; J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 21 - 16. Copy from DIAND Genealogical Research Unit.

catching a few per month), which were sold to the Company and credited to their accounts.<sup>553</sup> The clerk at Michipicoten, Mr. Bélanger, also enjoyed hunting and set a few traps. When he caught a red fox in one his traps, however, after making a “great...noise...about it the whole day”, in an act of “extraordinary generosity”, he made a “present” of the fox to John Schellin.<sup>554</sup> None of the European employees were ever noted as joining the “Half Breeds” on these Sunday hunting excursions. Chief Trader J. S. Watt, who read the order of Divine Service at the post on Sundays, observed in February 1858 that “most of the Half Castes off hunting, at any rate, if any remained at home not one attended Prayers -- I may here notice that old Schellin is a regular attendant at Prayers on Sundays -- so is Captn Lamphier + his Wife, + the Europeans are also attentive”.<sup>555</sup> Many Sundays, however, Watt noted that the audience for the Divine Service was “very thin”.<sup>556</sup>

The “Half Breed” Company employees and the local Ojibwe also enjoyed the spring rituals of maple sugar making and waterfowl hunting. On a Saturday in late March, Cromarty, Soulière

<sup>553</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 10 January (“Some of the halfbreed servants were fortunate in their hunting operations today, Boucher having caught a Beaver + a Fisher, + Cromarty a Beaver”); 31 January (“As usual our Halfbreed Servts went off a-hunting...Laguarde...shot a Mink at the point above the Fort”); 21 February (Cromarty got a few partridges); 21 November (Cromarty and Boucher off hunting, brought a few partridges); 28 November (Boucher came home with a lynx and a mink, Soulière checking baits he left for foxes, Cromarty hunting also); 5 December (Cromarty hunted three skins, John Schellin got a cross fox, Boucher got nothing); 12 December (“The HfBreeds off hunting”); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 6 February (“HfBreed servants”, including Cromarty, off hunting and fishing); 20 February (Soulière, Cromarty, Boucher off hunting); 6 November (Schellin “b” and Alex. LaRonde go hunting). All these days are Sundays. The “Half Breed” employees also hunted on days they were given as extra holidays, and after hours (see for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 18 February (Thursday, Soulière caught a silver fox in one of his traps, the same one as previously caught by Bélanger?); 20 February (Saturday, Cromarty and Soulière get a holiday for completing a lake boat, and go hunting; Soulière gets a fisher skin).

<sup>554</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 9 March (gift of the fox to Johnny Schellin); 15 and 16 April (Bélanger and Laguarde spend part of the day hunting waterfowl and partridges).

<sup>555</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 14 March. See also entry for 2 May (audience for Divine Service “thin, all the Ladies + their families having gone to pass the day at the Lake, + the Heads of the families {except Schellin (a) who attends Divine Service regularly on Sunday} are all absent, some in the Schooner + other off hunting”).

<sup>556</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 7 March. Watt, as a Scotsman, would have been reading either an Anglican or a Presbyterian service in English. When the Roman Catholic missionary priest Father Kohler visited Michipicoten in June of 1858, he requested that the Roman Catholic employees be allowed to attend Mass. It is not known how many people attended (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entry for 3 June). When the Rev. Ashquabe offered a holiday service at the post in the “Indian language”, the “Indians and some of the people of the place attended”, although “Whites + Halfbreeds” attended Watt’s English service (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entry for 3 January). When a “camp meeting” with Ashquabe and visiting Wesleyan missionaries Hurlburt and Salt was held at Gros Cap in 1859, many people from the post attended (AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 30 June and 3 July).

and William Schellin jr. were given a holiday to go with their wives (in Schellin's case, his mother) to help set up the sugar camps a short distance away.<sup>557</sup> A few days later, Watt gave Boucher an extra day off to help Boucher's wife set up her camp.<sup>558</sup> The next weekend, which was Easter, most of the men (including Mr. Bélanger) spent the weekend with the families at the sugar bush.<sup>559</sup> By April, the first flocks of waterfowl flying north were sighted, and duck and goose hunting vied with the sugar bush as distractions for the men. On 18 April (a Sunday), Watt wrote that "The Half Breeds (Servants) all off at the Sugar bush, + our clerk Mr Belanger not to be behind in the breaking of the Lord's day persuaded Laguarde to go off duck shooting".<sup>560</sup> The next day, Laguarde and William Schellin jr. went duck hunting for the post.<sup>561</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, Cromarty, Soulière, Laguarde, and William Schellin jr. were allowed the customary holiday to "hunt ducks for themselves", joined, very unusually, by McDonald, Halsteensen, and Evensen (Robertson was also allowed the day off but "stayed at home making shoes").<sup>562</sup> By the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, some of the "Mens Wives" had begun returning from the sugar camps, but Boucher was allowed a day off to hunt ducks for himself and Cromarty and Laguarde went off on a longer trip to hunt for the post.<sup>563</sup> Boucher and Bélanger brought in a selection of ducks over the next few days, some of which were served out to "the young [unmarried] men + old ones + their families".<sup>564</sup> In early May, the post's neighbours at Gros Cap, the Ojibwe Wesleyan minister Mr. Ashquabe and his wife, brought over a few grey geese and ducks, and Boucher, hunting for himself on a Sunday, shot "a fine grey goose which the old man kindly presented to the Bourgeois" (Watt).<sup>565</sup>

The extra holidays for sugaring and duck hunting, granted particularly to the "Half Breed" employees who continued these practices, were augmented over the work year by other

<sup>557</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 27 March.

<sup>558</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 30 March.

<sup>559</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 3 and 4 April (Holy Saturday and Easter, most men off "at the Sugarbush", "Mr Belanger off (like the other sweetmouths) to eat sugar at the sugar camps", "in the evening Mr Belanger + the men arrived from the sugar making Establishments").

<sup>560</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 18 April.

<sup>561</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 19 April.

<sup>562</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 20 April.

<sup>563</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 25, 27 and 30 April.

<sup>564</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 28, 29 and 30 April.

<sup>565</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 1 May (Mr. Ashquabe arrives with a present of "a very fine fat grey goose" and another "to be kept for Gov Simpson", shot at the mouth of the river); and 9 May (Boucher presenting Watt with "a fine grey goose")

customary holidays and celebration times. Men were given a day off to rest after completing a journey to deliver mail or goods to another post.<sup>566</sup> The early summer gathering prior to the departure of the boats carrying fur returns to Brunswick House and thence to Moose Factory, the celebration of renewal of contracts, and especially the late summer social events between the arrival of the boats with winter outfits from Brunswick House and the departure of hands and outfits to Lake Superior posts were continued with enthusiasm at Michipicoten in 1858 and 1859.<sup>567</sup> The departure and return of the fall fishing party was also marked with a dance (or “Grand Ball”, in the somewhat sardonic description of George Barnston, Watt’s successor at Michipicoten).<sup>568</sup>

However, the biggest holiday of the year was still the Christmas and New Year’s period, when all the men were entitled to five days’ holiday and gifts of food and liquor, as well as permission to buy more on their accounts. The first of January 1858 was marked by a “Dance in the Kitchen” that went on most of the night. Despite the amount of drinking, the day “was spent in perfect harmony”, according to Watt.<sup>569</sup> The next day, Watt and Belanger joined “the Women of the Establishment” in sliding down the hill behind the “Old Fish House” at the post, while the “Men + Inds” kept up the “festivities”.<sup>570</sup> January 3 was a Sunday, marked by a service in the “Indian language” celebrated by Ashquabe in one of the “Mens’ Houses...to the Indians + some of the people of the place”. Watt read a service in English in the Dining Room “to the Whites + Halfbreeds”. “Notwithstanding all our Services”, Watt wrote that “some of the Women had a second spree this afternoon + I understand kept it well up until a late hour”.<sup>571</sup> By January 4, the men were back to work, although the following week Watt gave them another day off to make up the full five days’ holiday to which they were entitled. This holiday was marked by Watt keeping Robertson “home” the day before, “to make a foot ball to give all hands the chance of a game tomorrow”. The “Young men” gave a “great ball” in the evening, followed by the holiday

<sup>566</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 21, 22 and 27 March (Schellin (b) “who was entitled to a days rest on his arrival from the Pic...preferred to await for the days rest until his Mother went to the Sugarbush”).

<sup>567</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 24 May (Indians present receive their share of “the usual regale of flour + Pork at close of trade”); 21 and 24 through 28 June; 5 through 13 August; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 25 through 29 June, 1 through 4 August.

<sup>568</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 7 September and 27 through 29 October.

<sup>569</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 1 January.

<sup>570</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 2 January.

<sup>571</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 3 January.

the next day.<sup>572</sup> Christmas in 1858 was marked by two days' holiday, cleaning and extra baking, a visit from the Chief Tootoomenai and his family and Ashqabe and his family, a quart of whiskey for each of the men, and "spreeing and quarreling", resulting in two fairly serious fights.<sup>573</sup> After a few days' work, 31 December 1858 was spent partly at work and partly in preparations for "tomorrow's grand doings". Watt observed that "We have a number of Indians about us now + the Regale usually given has [run?] off with a deal of provisions", although he did not give whiskey to the "Indians".<sup>574</sup> Unfortunately, New Year's 1859 was marked by a number of brawls, mostly among the Norwegians and Swedes who were fairly recent arrivals to the posts and the Indians Endigoose and Pahuahung, while the "HalfBreeds" stayed out of the way. Watt attempted to get control of the proceedings by stopping the issue or purchase of liquor.<sup>575</sup> When Alex Robertson (William's son) came in from Batchewana two weeks later to collect the 1858 Treaty annuity for his family, the men put on a "ball" to enjoy Robertson's skills as a fiddler. The expenses for this "ball": tea, flour and sugar, as no liquor was allowed -- were paid by Teindun and an engaged Indian from the Ogayon post (near Batchewana).<sup>576</sup> At Christmas 1859, Lamphier served out the mens' weekly rations plus a "Christmas regale" on December 24. A football game was played on Boxing Day, and a "Grand Ball" was held in the evening, as well as on the evening of 27 December.<sup>577</sup>

Holidays were usually marked by the distribution of liquor, and distinctions were preserved between the "Indians" trading at the post and Company employees. As referred to above, "Indians" were not allowed to have whiskey, although gifts of brandy and wine were acceptable at holiday times.<sup>578</sup> There were no references in the post journals to distribution of liquor to Indians as part of trade rituals at Michipicoten in 1858 and 1859. Employees were occasionally rewarded with liquor for work of exceptional quality or difficulty, such as Laguarde and William Schellin jr., who were given a bottle of whiskey for pitsawing 154 feet of boards in a single day

<sup>572</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 4, 12 and 13 January.

<sup>573</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 22 through 26 December.

<sup>574</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 31 December.

<sup>575</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 1 through 5 January.

<sup>576</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 12 and 13 January.

<sup>577</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 24 through 27 December.

<sup>578</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 1 January and 31 December.

(“very good work + extraordinary for Inlanders”, in Watt’s words);<sup>579</sup> and William Schellin sr., who got a pint of whiskey on completing the annual task of making charcoal for the forge, a demanding job that required Schellin to watch the fires night and day for as long as two weeks.<sup>580</sup> Interestingly, the Reverend Mr. Ashquabe, hosting Watt and Robertson at his house at Gros Cap after the Company men had brought him some fish and potatoes, offered a pipe of tobacco and “a cup of Adam’s Ale [water] in which the reverend kindly added about a thimble full of brandy”.<sup>581</sup>

The sailors on the schooner, who for most of the year worked at labouring jobs around the post, received allowances of liquor when they were working on the schooner (between about May and October).<sup>582</sup> In 1858, these men included Soulière, Norman McKay, Christopher Robinson/Robertson, Forbes Jamieson (brought in from Moose Factory, deserted almost immediately), and three or four men engaged at Sault Ste. Marie (including two Americans) at “fabulous prices” (\$1.25 to \$1.50 per day).<sup>583</sup> Five men were sent from Moose Factory in late September 1858 to fill the ranks of sloopers/labourers (Leask, Davidson, Samuelson, Jensen and Olsen), although three men from the Sault were also hired for the season in 1859.<sup>584</sup> The allowances of liquor to these men may have been a continuation of Royal Navy traditions, despite the fact that the schooner was owned and commanded by the Hudson’s Bay Company and its personnel. Similarly to when Captain Bayfield’s ship moored off Fort William in 1823 - 1824, the arrivals of the schooner, with its different rules about liquor, created disruptions at Michipicoten, when some particularly susceptible employees went down to share the whiskey given to the crew.<sup>585</sup> Liquor created disorder, made men unfit to do their jobs, caused accidents and injuries, and opened the way to conflict. On the other hand, it was managed by the HBC as a

<sup>579</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 28 January.

<sup>580</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 21 October, 10 November; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 27 October and 5 November.

<sup>581</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 13 March.

<sup>582</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 20 September.

<sup>583</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 23 June (Soulière); 20 and 23 June, 26 July (Jamieson); 16 August (McDonald and McKay); 25 July, 20 September, and 11 October (Sault Ste. Marie men).

<sup>584</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 29 September, 1 October; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 10 May and 25 October. The Ojibwe Endigoose was also a member of the schooner crew for 1859.

<sup>585</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 21 May, 20 September; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 14 June, 11 July, 24 August, 30 September.

scarce and prized reward for hard work and good behaviour, and was an important part of the holiday celebrations that enlivened the constant drudgery of post life. HBC officers in charge had to use their judgement and experience with the men to distinguish between a harmless (if noisy) drunken party and behaviour that could endanger the men or the trade, and withholding access to liquor was a key management tool, especially at holiday times.

At the festivities at the end of June 1858 prior to the departure of the Brigade for Brunswick House, Watt monitored the situation from day to day. He pulled Soulière off the schooner crew when Soulière made “a terrible noise before all hands today + [insulted] me before all hands” regarding the provisions aboard, reassigning him to the hard and significantly less-well-lubricated work with the Brigade to Brunswick House.<sup>586</sup> The following day, he observed, “men doing little or no work...all the work done now, will not pay for the whiskey the voyagers drink”.<sup>587</sup> The next day, however, he remarked that the “men keeping tolerably steady considering all things v<sup>l</sup> that they are all generally speaking idle + have opportunity to get drunk if they liked for their allowance p. diem is about 5 drams a day not to speak of extra tots + Bottles full on renewing Engagements...Schellin never was so sober at this jovial season”.<sup>588</sup> After a few more days of drinking and dances, the Brigade departed, and Watt was sufficiently pleased that he wrote, “I must say the Inland Men have behaved very well + in order to give them encouragement to perform their arduous journey poor devils, I have promised them, if they behave well, to give them a great ball on their return”.<sup>589</sup> The crew for the Brigade included almost all the men at Michipicoten (except for William Schellin sr. and Boucher, both older men), Joseph Dubois, the Lake Superior District Guide who during the winter was in charge of the outpost at Ogayon;<sup>590</sup> Pierre Deschamps from Fort William;<sup>591</sup> Joseph Morisseau (in charge

<sup>586</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 23 and 25 June.

<sup>587</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 24 June.

<sup>588</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 25 June.

<sup>589</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 26 through 28 June.

<sup>590</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 29 June and 13 September. Dubois was also employed as a mason. In mid-May, two Swedish employees partially built a chimney for the new Mens' House at Michipicoten, but the plastering of the chimney, which “must be built by one or other of the H'fBreeds -- I believe Dubois is the HfBreed mason here” (Watt, in AO, F471-2-0-85, Michipicoten Post Journal 1859, entry for 13 May), had to be left until Dubois' arrival from Ogayon and Batchewana in early June (entries for 2 June and 7 June). Dubois also repaired the chimney in the house he was sharing with the Lamphiers (AO, F471-2-0-85, Michipicoten Post Journal 1859, entry for 20 June). Dubois had a family, including a son, which he brought with him to Michipicoten in 1858 and 1859 (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entries for 26 April and 27 May;

at Long Lake during the winter);<sup>592</sup> and Baptiste Collin from Nipigon,<sup>593</sup> as well as other “Inlanders” and a number of Ojibwe from Nipigon, Pic and Michipicoten. The Brigade was under the charge of Charles Begg, who was the post master at Pic.<sup>594</sup>

However, when the Brigade returned on 5 August (just after most of the Pic and Michipicoten Indians had been paid Treaty money and outfitted for the winter trapping season), trouble broke out almost immediately. Watt stopped the “grog” after a fight between Pierre Deschamps and Chief Tootoomenai, the principal Ojibwe chief trading at Michipicoten and an important customer of the Company. The men held a “Ball” with no liquor, and after the “Inland Indians” began to move off to their winter hunting grounds and the “Indian” brigade men had been paid off, Watt advanced the Michipicoten Company employees their supplies ordered from Moose Factory and “restored grog, but threatened to stop it again if any more disturbances”. The next day, the “Grand Ball” was held, supplied with the men’s liquor, bread, and “Puddings + Cakes” baked for the occasion by Schellin sr. After a few more days of drinking and “frolicking” among the “Voyageurs” and “Inland Men”, work gradually resumed, and on 13 August everyone was back to their regular duties.<sup>595</sup> By mid-September, all the summer guests: Edward Heron, an Ojibwe and English-speaking clerk in charge at Batchewana,<sup>596</sup> and his engaged man André Wahtahkayais; Joseph Dubois and an “Indian Lad” for Ogayon;<sup>597</sup> Joseph Morisseau, in charge

AO, F471-2-0-85 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1859, entry for 2 June}). Thomas Dubois and a nephew were also recorded as visiting Michipicoten post (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entry for 24 March). Joseph Dubois was paid for six “Halfbreeds” at Michipicoten in 1852.

<sup>591</sup> Pierre Deschamps was in charge of a canoe bringing Portage men, furs and isinglass from Fort William in June 1858 (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entry for 22 June). He was in charge of the boat bringing Nipigon fur returns in 1859 (AO, F471-2-0-85 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1859}, entry for 25 June). He was paid for three “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852.

<sup>592</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 20 and 30 June, AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 18 June and 30 June. See also HBCA, online finding aid, Long Lake “Key people”, and Pays Plat “Key people”. Joseph Morrisseau was paid for four “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852.

<sup>593</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 20 June.

<sup>594</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 28 and 30 June, 1 through 4 July.

<sup>595</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 5 through 13 August.

<sup>596</sup> Heron was noted as interpreting for and otherwise assisting Watt in trading with the Ojibwe and paying Treaty annuities (see AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entries for 29 May, 4 June, 31 July, 2 August, 5 August). He had been hired by the HBC in “Indian Country” as a boatbuilder for Michipicoten, and continued to build boats during the summers (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entries for 29 June, 19 July). He was paid for five “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852.

<sup>597</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 13 September.

at Long Lake, with Ole Halsteenson as his “writer”;<sup>598</sup> Charles Begg, in charge at Pic, taking with him his family, with Sansong Laguarde and Tenidiss as his workers;<sup>599</sup> the DeLaRonde family, moving from Fort William to Nipigon),<sup>600</sup> Nicol McIntyre, his son John McIntyre and their families,<sup>601</sup> the schooner crew, the fall canoe brigade carrying mail and passengers to Moose Factory (William Schellin jr. in charge, two Ojibwe engaged men in the crew, and Andrew Spence {formerly at Pic}, Christopher Robertson and Norman McKay as passengers),<sup>602</sup> and the fall fishing crew (Boucher, Cromarty, and two “engaged Indians”: Matchikwis and Teindun)<sup>603</sup> had left the post. There were so few able-bodied workers available that Schellin sr. (not entirely sober), Larsen, the young clerk George Arthur Ironside (taking the place of Bélanger, who had been put in charge at Lac Seul),<sup>604</sup> Chief Trader Watt, “Miss Schellin”, and “some remaining Boys still here” went out to haul the seine to catch fish for their supper.<sup>605</sup>

<sup>598</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 12 August and 5 September.

<sup>599</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 12 August; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 7 and 9 February. The man “Tenidiss” should be distinguished from “Teindun”, who appears to be an “engaged Indian” working at Ogayon and Michipicoten (AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 14 and 26 February,, 9 and 22 June, 9 September). “Tenidiss” was described by Watt in February of 1858 as both a “Co’s servt” at Pic and “a freeman” (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entries for 3 and 5 February). Tenidiss is probably the Joseph Tundiss who was paid for two “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852. Charles Begg (home parish Orkney Islands) was paid for four “Half Breeds” at Michipicoten in 1852. His son Duncan worked at labouring jobs at Michipicoten after “Mrs Begg + three of her sons” came to stay at Michipicoten for the summer of 1859 (AO, F471-2-0-85 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1859}, entries for 4 June, 10 August, 26 October. He worked at Moose Factory as an apprentice blacksmith from 1860 - 1865, and then was an interpreter/postmaster at White Dog Post in the Lac la Pluie District between 1876 and 1886 (HBCA, biographical sheets).

<sup>600</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 15 August. The DeLaRonde family intended to come to Michipicoten in 1858 but instead met the northbound Nipigon boat as they were travelling from Fort William.

<sup>601</sup> Nicol McIntyre (home parish Scotland) was engaged “with his family” as the farmer for Fort William in 1849 and retired in 1858. John McIntyre, Nicol’s son (home parish Glenorchy, Scotland) was the “clerk in charge” at Fort William between 1855 and 1873, and arrived with his parents and two of his daughters at Michipicoten on 5 June, on their way to Sault Ste. Marie on the HBC schooner (AO, F471-2-0-84 {Michipicoten Post Journal 1858}, entry for 5 June).

<sup>602</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 23 August.

<sup>603</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 9 September.

<sup>604</sup> To be distinguished from a Mr. G. Ironside, who arrived in a canoe from Moose Factory on 20 June 1858 in his way to Sault Ste. Marie on retirement from the service on account of ill health” (AO, F471-2-0-84, Michipicoten Post Journal 1858, entry for 20 June). See also AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 22 May (Bélanger departs in Moose Factory canoe to take charge of Lac Seul); 22 June (arrival of George Arthur Ironside, a “young gentleman” and Company employee, on the schooner from Sault Ste. Marie).

<sup>605</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 13 September.

The post at Michipicoten recognized and encouraged the family life of the employees by allowing each family to build its own house on the post grounds, rather than obliging the men to live in large communal buildings. The unmarried men (all Europeans) had a “Mens House” and a cook to prepare meals.<sup>606</sup> The officers and their families occupied a separate house and had an employee assigned to them as a general servant and cook.<sup>607</sup> Employees with families were served out rations and were expected to cook and otherwise manage for themselves in their separate accommodations. Employees occasionally got extra days off to work on their houses.<sup>608</sup> Summer residents sometimes kept a house at Michipicoten, or shared accommodations with resident families. The District Guide Dubois, posted to Ogayon in the winter, had a house in Michipicoten that may have been damaged by fire in the summer of 1858, unfortunately taking the life of young Jane Schillen, whose dress was ignited by a fire in the fireplace.<sup>609</sup> Dubois shared a house with the Lamphiers for the first part of the summer of 1859,<sup>610</sup> and in August he moved into a new house he and his family were to share with the Soulière family during the summers.<sup>611</sup> William Schillen jr., unmarried, continued to live with his parents and siblings in a house of their own.<sup>612</sup> Boucher,<sup>613</sup> John Finlayson<sup>614</sup> (post master at outposts of Fort William during the winters, sent to Long Lake in 1859), Cromarty, Alex. La Ronde (in 1859), the “engaged Indian” Pahnahus,<sup>615</sup> and Edward Heron (clerk in charge at Batchewana during the

<sup>606</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 1 March (McKay keeping cattle and cooking mens’ dinner); 7 April (McKay washing mens’ house); 17 May (Haakinson cooking for Evansen, Larsen and himself); 31 October (Olsen kicked in door of Mens’ House); 19 November (Jansen cooking “young mens’ dinner”);

<sup>607</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 4 January (Halsteenson “general servt and cook”); 18 January (Evansen making window frames for officers’ house); 16 February (Evansen putting up windows on Officers’ house); 1 March (Halsteenson servt and “House Cook”); 26 April (“Boucher’s Wife + Cromarty’s Wife washing out floors of Bedrooms upstairs in Officers’ House”).

<sup>608</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 28 November and 2 December.

<sup>609</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 26 and 31 August.

<sup>610</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 20 June.

<sup>611</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 9 and 24 August.

<sup>612</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entry for 6 December; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 28 November.

<sup>613</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 22 June (Boucher put up a tent, as his house was in poor condition).

<sup>614</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 15 July. Son of Nicol Finlayson and a “native woman”, John was born at Marten Falls on the Albany River in 1823, and hired by the HBC at age sixteen as an apprentice cooper when his father was Chief Trader at Michipicoten in 1839 (HBCA Biographical Sheets for Nicol Finlayson and John Finlayson, 1999). John Finlayson was paid for four “Half Breeds” at Fort William in 1852.

<sup>615</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 2 December (Cromarty, Soulière, Pahnahus and Alex. LaRonde given the day off to caulk their houses for the winter).

winters)<sup>616</sup> all had houses at the post that were mentioned in the journals during 1858 and 1859. Except for Pahnahus, all of these men were either of mixed ancestry or were the heads of “Half Breed” families (Schillen sr. and Captain Lamphier, who had married a “Half Breed” woman). The only “Half Breed” employee at Michipicoten during 1858 and 1859 whose house was not mentioned in the journals was Sansong Laguarde, with his wife and children, and this may be an incidental oversight in the journals, which were not intended to record an inventory of all the structures at the post. Residential arrangements at Michipicoten therefore suggest important distinctions between “Half Breeds”, who lived in their own European-style houses with family members on post grounds; European workers, who lived as single men in a communal house; the Ojibwe, who generally lived in more temporary accommodations or camps (not described as “houses”) around the post; and the officers and clerks (some of whom may have been “Half Breeds” or heads of “Half Breed” families), who lived in a house with a servant.

The Michipicoten post journals of 1858 and 1859 rarely mention “Half Breeds” living in the local area who were not employed by the Company, or part of Company employees’ families. Watt recorded the arrival of “Old Laguarde”, (probably Sansong Laguarde’s father) at Michipicoten from Long Lake to live among his “Michipicoten relatives” for the summer of 1858. Watt described “Old Laguarde” as an “Indian”.<sup>617</sup> In June of 1859, Watt referred to the boat bringing furs from Nipigon to Michipicoten as being in the charge of Pierre Deschamps, crewed by three other Company employees and five “engaged hfBreeds + Indians”, implying that the “engaged” men were not employed by the Company year-round.<sup>618</sup> The Robertson family living in the vicinity of Batchewana were recorded as visiting Michipicoten to collect their Treaty annuities, and Alex. Robertson (son of the patriarch William) was noted as a fiddler.<sup>619</sup> However, the hunters who brought furs into the post were invariably described as “Indians”, bearing Ojibwe names.

“Half Breed” men from Sault Ste. Marie were mentioned in the journals. These men were reported as carrying mail, and/or possible competition for the HBC in fur-trading. A former HBC

<sup>616</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entry for 28 August.

<sup>617</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entry for 13 July.

<sup>618</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 25 June.

<sup>619</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entry for 24 February; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entries for 12 and 13 January.

employee named Clarke owned a sloop and fished around Pays Plat in 1857 and 1858, and Michel Rastoule, carrying letters from Pic in the summer of 1858, went there to see if Clarke would hire him.<sup>620</sup> Watt, however, was suspicious that Clarke was doing more than just fishing, noting in the winter of 1858 that Clarke had arrived at Michipicoten from Sault Ste. Marie in a small boat with “a Scotchman from Toronto” and a “Sault HfBreed” carrying mail for Red River. Clarke was going on to visit his sloop at Pays Plat, which he had left in charge of another former HBC man, Captain Leask, and then possibly to continue on to Pic or Fort William. In Watt’s view, Clarke “for years has had a hankering” to get into the fur trade, especially around Pays Plat.<sup>621</sup> A few months later, letters from De la Ronde at Nipigon and Morrisseau at Long Lake confirmed that “Clark + his party of opponents” were trading furs at Pays Plat.<sup>622</sup> By the end of March 1859, Clarke was reported as “giving our People of Nipigon Long Lake + Pic enough to do” in trying to prevent their Indian hunters from trading at Pays Plat.<sup>623</sup> In early May of 1859, the Ojibwe Endigoose, employed by the Company to carry mail from Fort William and Pic, arrived at Michipicoten with “Sault H’fBreed ‘Alex McKay” who had been wintering with Clarke at Pays Plat and was returning to Sault Ste. Marie. McKay told Watt that Clarke had only collected about \$300 worth of fur and 30 barrels of fish, and that he and Clarke had had a falling out (Watt was skeptical).<sup>624</sup> The Hudson’s Bay Company established an outpost of Pic at Pays Plat in the fall of 1859, under the charge of Joseph Morrisseau, to deter this competition.<sup>625</sup>

Near Batchewana, a number of “Traders” or “Fur Hunters”, probably from the Sault, competed to buy furs from the Ojibwe. Peter Bell was named in particular as coming in to trade, although in clerk Edward Heron’s view, “he did very little” in the way of business.<sup>626</sup>

This activity made the Company wary of “Half Breed” travellers from Sault Ste. Marie, and it tried as much as possible to discourage contact or traffic between the “Half Breed” population of

<sup>620</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entries for 3 July and 22 July.

<sup>621</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entry for 24 November.

<sup>622</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 1 February. Another letter received at Michipicoten on the same day referred to competing traders in the vicinity of Fort William.

<sup>623</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 30 March.

<sup>624</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 9 May.

<sup>625</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 4 August; also HBCA online finding aids, post history and list of “key people”, Pays Plat.

<sup>626</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entries for 24 February, 28 February; AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 19 February.

the Sault and the Ojibwe north of Lake Superior. This was made apparent when, as recorded in an entry for 30 October 1858, Watt recorded that “great was our surprise to see a steamer in this outlandish corner or spot of God’s creation”, not just passing by but moored near the river mouth. The steamer, it turned out, was under the command of Captain Dick, a former HBC employee who had worked for Clarke, and was also the son-in-law of Captain Lamphier. On board was Mr. Gibbard, in his capacity as a mail contractor for a new monthly service from Montréal *via* Sault Ste. Marie to Red River, with stops on the north shore of Lake Superior at Michipicoten, Pic, Long Lake, Nipigon, and Fort William.<sup>627</sup> Although Watt received instructions from Governor Simpson to assist in the establishment of this service, he was reluctant to commit his employees for times of the year when travel was difficult, or when employees were fully occupied on Company business. Nonetheless, he worked out an advantageous bargain with Gibbard, and noted that the Company would save on its own mail requirements, and “prevent HfBreeds (from the Sault whom I presume Mr. Gibbard would have employed...) from coming amongst our Long Lake + Nipigon Indians”.<sup>628</sup>

When the first mail delivery from Sault Ste. Marie came to Michipicoten by boat in December, carried by “a Canadian ‘Bourasseaux’ + a HfBreed ‘Denomy’”, Watt noted that he “must furnish [Bourasseaux] a Guide to take him home by Land”.<sup>629</sup> William Schellin jr. and Cromarty carried the mail on to Pic, and Teindun took the two Sault men back home *via* Batchewana.<sup>630</sup> In January, two “Hfbreeds”, John Mastaux and James Saunders, arrived from Sault Ste. Marie with the mail. Neither had been on the winter “road” to Michipicoten before, but they navigated with a compass. “The Indian Pahuahung” was sent off to Fort William with the mailbag and the two Sault men were sent back.<sup>631</sup> In February, Sansong Laguarde took the Red River mail from Fort William to Michipicoten, and Mastaux and Saunders brought the mail from the Sault to Michipicoten, where it was turned over to Teindun and Laguarde.<sup>632</sup> In March, Baptiste Boyer

<sup>627</sup> Gibbard was to visit Michipicoten again in June of 1859 in the role of fishery overseer, to “make arrangements with [Chief Trader] Mr. Barnston for certain leases of fisheries required by the Company at or near various stations along the Lake Superior” (AO, F471-2-0-85 {Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859}, entry for 18 June).

<sup>628</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entry for 30 October.

<sup>629</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entry for 17 December.

<sup>630</sup> AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1858), entries for 19 and 20 December.

<sup>631</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entries for 19, 20 and 21 January.

<sup>632</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entries for 7, 8 and 9 February.

and Mastaux brought the mail overland from the Sault to Michipicoten.<sup>633</sup> After this date, the mail could be put on the HBC schooner for transportation to Fort William. It appears from the post journals that Sault Ste. Marie “Half Breeds” did not visit Michipicoten, and that they would not have been welcome there. The Chief Traders at Michipicoten did not express concerns about the rare non-Aboriginal travellers (tourists, missionaries, mining company representatives, fishermen) that passed through the area, evidently not considering them the likely or capable traders with the Ojibwe that the “Half Breeds” might have been.<sup>634</sup>

The Michipicoten post journals for 1858 and 1859 offer a clear picture of the “Half Breed” fur trade community as distinct from both Europeans and “Indians”. Occupationally and residentially, “Half Breed” families were different from both Europeans and “Indians” involved in the fur trade, living with family members in European-style log houses and supporting themselves with a unique combination of European-style wage labour and rations, “country” skills, and harvesting of game, fish and other resources. “Half Breed” families preserved long-established local practices such as sugar-making and duck hunting, and were granted their own special holidays to continue them. The customs of the fur trade work-related holidays were also continued at Michipicoten in the 1850s, with special food, drink, social events, and dances. The inclusion of these people on “Indian” Treaty paylists appears to have made little or no difference to their ways of life, family and social networks, relationships with the Ojibwe, and identification by outsiders.

#### **Section IV: Persistence of Fur Trade Families on Lakes Superior and Nipigon, 1876 - 1901**

##### Infrastructure Changes in the Lake Superior District, 1863 - 1921

Major changes came to the Lake Superior District in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. Between 1872 and 1879, Fort William still operated four outposts, at Shebandowan, Maligne, Bois Blanc, and

<sup>633</sup> AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal, 1859), entry for 21 March.

<sup>634</sup> See for example AO, F471-2-0-84 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1858), entries for 20 May (Rev. Père Kohler); 10 July (Rev. J. Hurlburt); 28 July (two tourists, “English gentlemen”); 31 July (Rev. G. Blaker); AO, F471-2-0-85 (Michipicoten Post Journal 1859), entries for 30 June (Rev. J. Hurlburt and Rev. A. Salt); 23 July (tourists); 4 August (fisherman from United States); 14 August (Père DuRanquet); 20 September (Mr. Fletcher, “looking after the Mines up the Lake”).

Sand Lake, as well as the main post on the Kaministiquia River. However, the commencement of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Fort William in 1875 resulted in the closing of the Fort William post and all its outposts in 1879, as the CPR freight yards expanded into the HBC's property. An administrative office remained, but all the buildings except for a stone powder magazine were demolished. A new saleshop was not opened in the town of Fort William until 1891.<sup>635</sup>

Dramatic changes also came to Michipicoten. In 1863, the HBC abandoned the historic Michipicoten-Moose Factory transportation route in favour of the cheaper route through the Great Lakes to Montréal. Michipicoten was no longer the central depot and distribution centre for Lake Superior and inland posts, supplying only itself and its outposts at Agawa and Batchewana. Fur returns from west of Michipicoten were still gathered there for shipment to Montréal via Sault Ste. Marie. When the CPR came to Michipicoten in 1872 (connected only to the east, as gaps remained in the westward line until 1885), the post became a local trade centre only. It was closed in 1896, reopened briefly from 1898 to 1904 to supply miners and prospectors in the Wawa area, and then was permanently closed in 1904.<sup>636</sup>

Nipigon post, on the other hand, enjoyed a brief increase in importance in the 1880s, as Michipicoten declined. The post had been moved ten miles south of its original location (sometimes called Wabinosh House) in 1850. Nipigon House was a district headquarters from 1881 to 1892, during which time it operated outposts at Wayabimica, Poplar Lodge, Asoiniway, and Cross Lake. In 1900, Nipigon post was renamed Nipigon House, to avoid confusion with the post at Red Rock, which had been named Nipigon after the stop on the CPR line near the mouth of the Nipigon River. In 1954, Nipigon House was renamed Gull Bay.<sup>637</sup>

Red Rock also briefly benefited from Michipicoten's decline. In 1871, Red Rock became a district headquarters. The Chief Trader, believing that Red Rock would become the Lake Superior main terminal for the CPR, embarked on an ambitious building programme. In 1875,

<sup>635</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Fort William.

<sup>636</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Michipicoten.

<sup>637</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Nipigon House. The adjacent Indian Reserve of Gull Bay was surveyed in 1886.

however, the CPR chose Fort William as its Lake Superior terminus. In 1899, the HBC built a retail saleshop across from the Nipigon CPR station, and renamed the operations at Red Rock “Nipigon” after the CPR stop. In 1902, the fur trade post at Red Rock burned down, and the trade was abandoned. However, Red Rock operated a number of outposts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including Flat Rock (c. 1888), Pays Plat (1881? - 1895), Poplar Lodge (c. 1891), Grand Bay (1922 - 1923) and Sand Point (1922 - 1930) (now the site of Lake Nipigon Provincial Park).<sup>638</sup>

Long Lake post continued operations throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1921, the post was moved to be closer to the Canadian National Railway line.<sup>639</sup>

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway along the north shore of Lake Superior gave rise to new towns. Rossport, adjacent to the old fur trade post, gathering site, and fishing station of Pays Plat (sometimes known as McKay’s Harbour, after the trader there), was a section divisional headquarters for the CPR during construction and afterwards. The Pays Plat HBC trading post closed during the outfit year 1899 - 1900.<sup>640</sup> Schreiber, named after the railway engineer Collingwood Schreiber, also came into being during the construction period. Pic post was closed during outfit year 1887 - 1888 and its business moved to Montizambert on the CPR line.<sup>641</sup>

#### Investigations into Robinson-Superior Treaty paylists, 1879 - 1899

The Hudson's Bay Company continued to pay annuities to Robinson-Superior Treaty beneficiaries until 1875. When the Department of Indian Affairs took over payments in 1876, no changes were made immediately. A separate section in the Michipicoten payroll for "half breeds" included 68 persons, compared to 200 "Ojibways". Separate listings for "half breeds" at other locations had been discontinued. Indian Agent Amos Wright at Prince Arthur's Landing

<sup>638</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Red Rock.

<sup>639</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Long Lake.

<sup>640</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Pays Plat.

<sup>641</sup> HBCA, online finding aids, post history for Pic.

(Thunder Bay) was mystified by some of the people he was paying, and wrote in 1879 to Indian Department headquarters for clarification:

...in paying Indians under the Robinson Treaty, I have found in several instances, half breeds, whose fathers were White men, who, had married Indian women; the Children of whom were included in the old Pay list; they consider themselves Indians, and live and associate with them; they are generally poor, and, in some instances, are Widows with their Children.

Being of the opinion, that, the statute makes no provision for such payments, I have refused to pay these their annuities, but, as this has caused some dissatisfaction with the parties interested, I have thought it well to write to the Department, and, ask for instructions in the matter.<sup>642</sup>

The "statute" to which Wright was referring was the 1876 *Indian Act*, which narrowed the definition of "Indian" under the Act. Lawrence Vankoughnet, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, replied to Wright confirming Wright's understanding of the 1876 legislation, but indicating that the unique procedures of the Robinson Treaties were to remain intact:

The Dept. does not intend...to interfere with the persons of that class...referred to by you who have heretofore been participating in the Robinson Treaty moneys and whose names are now on the Pay List. But no new names of persons who are not Indian within the meaning of the Act must be added...<sup>643</sup>

The "half breeds" on Robinson Treaty paylists often rose to leadership positions within the *Indian Act* Bands. Joseph Boucher, Joseph Deschamps, Stephen Fayan (Fainniant or Faignant), Michel Collin and Jean Baptiste Collin were described as "chief men" in the Fort William Band by 1871.<sup>644</sup> Antoine Morrisseau was the "Chief" of the "Indians and half-breeds of the Pic River" when they petitioned the Governor General for a Reserve in 1880. John Anenyo signed this petition as the "HB Chief", along with John Finlayson, members of the Desmoulins family, and members of the Sabourin family.<sup>645</sup> In 1887, Sanson Lagarde was chief of the Michipicoten Band, and signed a petition to the Department with Antoine Dubois and Joseph S. Lagarde.<sup>646</sup>

<sup>642</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 2090, file 14455, Amos Wright to J. S. Dennis, 16 July 1879.

<sup>643</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 2090, file 14455, L. Vankoughnet to Amos Wright, 1 August 1879.

<sup>644</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 2115, file 21900, statement of Jean Baptiste Penassie, n. d.

<sup>645</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 2137, file 27806, Petition of Antoine Morrisseau and others to the Governor General, 23 June 1880.

<sup>646</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 2368, file 74201, Petition of Sanson Lagarde and others to L. Vankoughnet, 23 January 1887.

Pierre Deschamps was the Chief of the Nipigon Band by 1892.<sup>647</sup> However, Ontario challenged the entitlement of many "half breeds" to be paid under the Robinson Treaties, in the course of legal action to determine responsibility for annuity payments. E. B. Borron, an Ontario Stipendiary Magistrate at Sault Ste. Marie, in a report dated 31 December 1891, advised Ontario Premier Oliver Mowat that "Canadians" married to "Indian women" with "half breed" children had been, at the time of the Treaty, "found not only at Sault Ste Marie but in the vicinity of all the Hon. Hudson Bay Company's posts in the ceded territory...most numerous at the principal posts such as Fort William and [Michipicoten]". Borron argued that these "old French Canadian Voyageurs and their half-breed families" around the time of the Treaty were fundamentally different than the Ojibwe, even if some of them had married into the tribe:

They lived in log houses and when not employed by the Hon. Hudson Bay Company or others -- as voyageurs, boatmen, couriers or labourers would eke out a subsistence by hunting and fishing or in various other ways. In early spring they and their families made considerable quantities of maple-sugar. During the summer small patches of potatoes and corn were cultivated, and hay cut and made on the marshes, for their cattle (if they had any) in winter. In "the fall" when white-fish and trout sought the shallow water to spawn -- they would go to well known points on Lakes Huron and Superior and if provided with a sufficient number of nets would generally catch and salt down an ample supply of fish for use during the winter. In the winter season -- cutting and hauling cord-wood for their own use or for sale, and catching rabbits were the principal occupations -- when as already said not employed by the Hudson Bay Company or others.

Some of these Canadians or their sons -- might also during the winter set out a few traps for foxes or other fur-bearing animals in the neighborhood of their dwellings. But few if any such Canadians or their half-breed children had any regular hunting grounds -- as the Indians always had. Nor were they like the Indians dependent on Game and Fur-bearing animal [sic] for their subsistence...<sup>648</sup>

The activities enumerated by Borron are familiar from the HBC records. An aspect that Borron did not capture was the range within this population of dependence on wage labour, and the shared means of subsistence of all residents in the territory. Some families, like the LaGardes or the Solomons, performed little wage labour and travelled almost all the time with the Ojibwe, who also could not support themselves entirely on game in this region. In Lake Superior, there were few employment opportunities apart from the HBC, unlike the situation at Sault Ste. Marie. The HBC employees or steady part-time workers (such as the Collins at Fort William) were

<sup>647</sup> LAC, RG10, Vol. 2645, file 130522.

<sup>648</sup> AO, F-1027-1-2 (Irving Papers), item 27/32/08, E. B. Borron to O. Mowat, 31 December 1891.

supporting themselves by harvesting country produce and keeping gardens in the way that Borron described, but for the storehouses of the Company, which would be redistributed to them as rations. In 1892, Borron estimated that of the 2,075 people receiving Robinson Superior annuities, 418 were "half breeds" under his definition (claiming Indian ancestry through the maternal line); comprising 147 at Fort William, 72 at Red Rock,<sup>649</sup> 6 at Pays Plat, 61 at Pic, 32 at Long Lake, and 100 at Michipicoten. He could not obtain information on twelve people on the Nipigon payroll.<sup>650</sup>

In 1897, the Department of Indian Affairs assigned its Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves in Ontario, J. A. Macrae, to investigate entitlements to Robinson Treaty annuities. He wrote a report containing recommendations and historical information on families in the Michipicoten Band dated 21 September 1897, which unfortunately has not been located. On 9 February 1898, he completed a report on the Port Arthur (Thunder Bay) Agency, including the Fort William, Red Rock, Nipigon, Long Lake, Pays Plat, and Pic Bands. As part of this report, he compiled a memorandum including some historical and genealogical information supplied to him through interviews with the local Indian agents and some Indian Band members, as well as a review of the paylists. This information reveals some of the relationships between families on the Band paylists, particularly the connections through the female line that can otherwise be difficult to discern. Macrae also made an attempt to assess whether some people on the paylists were integrated into the Indian community and way of life. These concepts were undefined, but were used by the Department of Indian Affairs to determine eligibility for Treaty benefits. For example, Macrae considered the case of no. 40 on the Fort William Band payroll, "Widow McKay", as follows:

Mrs. McKay is the relict of a man known as both William and James McKay. The greater part of his children who now receive annuity separately, depend for their title to do so upon their father.

It is alleged that the elder McKay was a half breed from Sault Ste. Marie, but enquiry at that place has failed to show that he was ever known there. However, wherever he came from he never appears to have entered any Indian society or community as an acknowledged Indian, or to have resided in such society on unsundered or reserved

<sup>649</sup> Red Rock was a post established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1859, at the mouth of the Nipigon River on Lake Superior.

<sup>650</sup> AO, F-1027-1-2 (Irving Papers), item 27/32/08(2), E. B. Borron to O. Mowat, 11 October 1892.

lands. It is said that after his second marriage (in 1867) he lived for some time in a house, on the Fort William Reserve, which belonged to his brother-in-law, Dubokaning, but it is evident that he was at that time not regarded as an Indian for he was not paid annuity...

Before 1870 McKay was in the Hudson Bay Company's service at Red Rock, what employ he left in 1870 to join General Wolsely in the Red River expedition. Before he took service at Red Rock it is said that he had no fixed place of abode 'but moved about for the Hudson Bay Company for trading'.

On 21st september 1864 McKay married Sarah Peau de Chat, daughter of the Fort William chief of that name. She died and on 22nd July 1867 he married a sister of Dubokaning of Fort William Band, the present Widow McKay...

McKay would appear to have got on to the list under his wife's name. But I do not think he was an acknowledged Indian even though paid, nor do I think that he ever adopted the Indian mode of life or attached himself to their society, or took up residence amongst them in a way that would have constituted him an Indian under the law of 1859.

By James McKay his wife had offspring who survive, Moses, Alex, and Nancy (Mrs. Banan) all of whom are now paid separately...Then about 10 years ago, she married a half-breed named Collin, a non-treaty man, by whom she had one child, still living and improperly paid annuity...<sup>651</sup>

The Lodid or Loutit family also failed Macrae's indeterminate test of integration into the "Indian" community at Fort William:

Moses is the son of a Scotch half-breed...a permanent employee of the Hudson Bay Company...Lodid Sr. married a daughter of J. B. Crow, a sister of late Chief William Crow...

It appears that when Londid Sr. married an Indian woman he took her from the society of her own people and that though he subsequently lived among her people at the Fort William Mission he was not an acknowledged member of their community...he never claimed or if he claimed was refused, acknowledgement of a right to receive annuity...<sup>652</sup>

The Bouchards at Red Rock were recommended for removal from the paylists on the same grounds:

The Bouchard family...

Their father was a Frenchman named Louis Bouchard, their mother an Indian -- sister of Chief Manitoshainse who subscribed the Robinson Treaty.

<sup>651</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 3 - 5. Copy from DIAND Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>652</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 9.

The evidence, shows that Louis Bouchard was a permanent employee of the Hudsons Bay Company, a woodcutter, cattle tender, and outside labourer, and that from 1859 to 1872 he was employed at Nepigon House and lived at that post. It is quite clear that he did not become an Indian when by marriage residence and acknowledgement he might have done so; and that, at least until after 1872 he did not enter into any communal relationship with the Indians, even if he then did. From the fact that he was never an annuitant may be gathered...that he was never an acknowledged Indian...

François Bouchard....second son of Louis Bouchard...was born about 1841 at Nepigon House and died in 1882. In 1851 he married an Indian woman of Lake Nepigon...but he appear to have taken her to, and remained at, Nepigon House in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company as a labourer until probably 1881, at which date he adopted to some extent the Indian mode of life. It is said he was looked upon as an Indian of the Nepigon Band, by the members thereof and [as] such was paid by the Government, but it does not appear that he ever resided upon the reserve of the Nepigon Indians at Gull Bay, or lived amongst them...or joined any Indian Society or community...

Joseph Bouchard...another son of Louis Bouchards...always and until seven or eight years ago, resided at the Hudson's Bay Company's post known as Nepigon House...he was an occasional employee of the Hudson Bay Company and that when not engaged with that firm worked for surveyors, tourists etc: that he married Angelique Laronde sister of Henry Laronde and daughter of Count Louis de Laronde in 1883...

Louis Bouchard...Born about 1837 at Nepigon House...eldest son of Louis Bouchard Sr. ...Until he was about sixteen years of age he lived with his father at...Nepigon House. Then he was sent to Moose Factory...entered the employ of the Hudson Bay Company, and remained about James Bay until about 1872...

Louisa Bouchard...daughter of Louis Bouchard...married a Sault Ste. Marie halfbreed named David Maville [Mainville]...

Jimmy Bouchard...born about 1856 at...Nepigon House...fifth son of Louis Bouchard Sr. ...always lived with his father up to 1872 at Nepigon House and did not reside with the Indians but rather adhered to white society...

Nicholas Bouchard...Born about 1843 at Nepigon House...another son of Louis Bouchard Sr. ...married a halfbreed woman named Soulier from Michipicoten...where her family received annuity as halfbreeds in 1852...Nicholas himself states 'In my boyhood I lived at Nepigon House...and when I came of age I was employed by the Hudson Bay Company at that place as a day labourer...until seven years ago'...<sup>653</sup>

<sup>653</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 15 - 20.

Macrae also disqualified Michel, Antoine, Moise, Ambrose and Gilbert Bouchard, who had married into the local Ojibwe population.<sup>654</sup>

Similarly, he recommended that the members of the de la Ronde or Laronde family be removed from the paylists, as Louis Denis (the patriarch) "was not in any sense an acknowledged Indian or a member of any of the Indian societies by which he was surrounded, nor followed the Indian mode of life, nor resided amongst the Indians otherwise than as a trader, and that when he married he took his wife from her family and tribe, not in any way entering into tribal relationship with her people, that his children all had his status". Macrae deduced that de la Ronde's daughters had been paid annuity in the 1850s, but he had not claimed for his sons, on the theory that "those who enter into union with Algonquin Indian women, or are of mixed descent [sic]...are commonly governed by an idea that daughters may without derogation and with propriety take their mothers status whilst the male progeny may derogate by doing so". His sons Alex and Charley, and his daughters Mary Anne and Catherine, were on the Red Rock paylists in 1898 and lived nearby. Alex and Charley both married Ojibwe women from the Lake Nipigon Band, and Mary Anne married "a white man named Watt from [Fort] Albany".<sup>655</sup> Another daughter, Louise, married Pierrish Deschamps, son of Baptiste Deschamps "continuously employed" by the HBC at Fort William, and "a Saskatchewan Cree" woman. Pierrish, Chief of the Red Rock Band in 1898, lived at Fort William until his marriage in 1850, had lived subsequently at Pic, Michipicoten and Batchewana, and then twenty years at Nipigon House. According to Macrae, "during all the periods enumerated he worked for the Hudson's Bay Company as interpreter and guide". Therefore, Macrae concluded that the Deschamps family did not have "any inherited right to annuity or...ever acquired any right".<sup>656</sup>

Jean-Baptiste Morrisseau of the Red Rock Band, son of Pierre Morrisseau and nephew of Antoine Morrisseau of the Pic Band, was also recommended for removal from the paylists by Macrae because although Pierre married an Ojibwe woman of the Nipigon Band, "he was a servant of the Hudson Bay Company...serving first at Long Lake House with his father, and then at Nipigon House and Pays Plat. So far as I have been able to learn he was not...attached to any

<sup>654</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 20 - 21, 26 - 27.

<sup>655</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 21 - 24.

<sup>656</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 24 - 26.

Indian society, nor did he follow the Indian mode of life, nor reside amongst the Indians".<sup>657</sup> Joe Morrisseau, son of Antoine Morrisseau and paid with the Pic Band, married to a daughter of François Bouchard, was also deemed ineligible for annuity by Macrae.<sup>658</sup>

Macrae's investigations also revealed ties with historic Métis populations in American territory, for example Michel St. Germain, "born about 1851...an American Indian from either Sugar or Drummond Island, whence he came about 25 years ago".<sup>659</sup> This St. Germain was likely a descendant of the Venant St. Germain who owned Michipicoten post in the late 1770s and early 1780s in partnership with Jean Baptist Nolin, was a guide to Edward Umfreville in 1784, and was in the vicinity of Batchewana in 1800. Frank Paro or Perreault, according to Macrae, was a "French halfbreed who it is said came from Sault Ste. Marie", but Macrae's queries there turned up only a Frank Perault "who has always lived at Partridge Point, married to a Cadrant...the Fort William man is not of his family. On Sugar Island, U. S. A., there is a Perault who had several sons".<sup>660</sup> Further investigation would be required to determine which of these was the F. Xavier Perrault who failed in his attempt to secure his property at Sault Ste. Marie in 1850.

The genealogical links between Lake Superior communities were also brought out by Macrae's research:

Jos. Parent [Fort William]...his Widow has married Moise Bouchard...Red Rock Band...she is a United States Indian...<sup>661</sup>

Alexander Scott [Fort William] is a son of a halfbreed named Francis Scott...Francis...was a son of a United States soldier...by a Sault Ste. Marie halfbreed woman named Arcange Soulier...<sup>662</sup>

P. Banan [Fort William] is a son of Andrew Banan...P. Banan's wife was Mary Ann Desmoulins, sister of Chief Desmoulins of the Pic...<sup>663</sup>

Joe Lesarge...son of a halfbreed from Sault Ste. Marie named 'Botique' Lesarge who came to Pays Plats about 1860 in the employ of a trader named Clark and married a Pays Plats

<sup>657</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 27 - 28.

<sup>658</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 31 - 32.

<sup>659</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 6.

<sup>660</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 8.

<sup>661</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 10.

<sup>662</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 10 - 11.

<sup>663</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 12.

woman...Lesarge, himself, says that he was born at the Pays Plats about 25 years ago and that his father was a half-breed who is now at the Sault that his mother was a full Indian and that both belonged to the Pic Band...<sup>664</sup>

Even the Chief of the Fort William Band, Joseph Singleton, did not escape Macrae's investigation. His father, Richard Singleton, an Englishman, was a lighthouse-keeper at Isle Royale in the United States, who married Wa-ba-ban-oke of the "Fort William Indians" in 1849. Joseph built a house on the Fort William Reserve on 1881 and married into a network of old Métis families: "Joseph...was married...to Mrs. Francis Solomon nee Philomene Collin, daughter of Michel Collin Jr.". Macrae however deemed Philomene Collin/Solomon/Singleton entitled to annuity, "by her former marriage to a recognized Indian [Solomon]...and by descent".<sup>665</sup>

In total, Macrae recommended that 182 persons be removed from the paylists of the Fort William, Red Rock, Nipigon, Pays Plat, Long Lake and Pic Bands, mostly for reasons of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry. In some cases, men had been added to the paylists after marrying women entitled to annuity, which was not allowed under the *Indian Act*. Other families on the paylists failed Macrae's tests of "Indianness" based on their way of life and their apparent integration into Ojibwe communities. Although Macrae's assessments seem to be inconsistent and contradictory (for example, characterizing payment of annuities both as evidence of recognition (or not) as "Indian", and as errors to be corrected), his approach reflected a sense that the original core of Métis families taken into the Robinson-Superior Treaty in the 1850s, preponderantly Hudson's Bay Company employees and their families, were different from the Ojibwe, and that some distinction remained despite changes in economic relationships and extensive intermarriage with the Ojibwe. The historical evidence shows that most of the "half breeds" on the Treaty paylists in the 1850s were indeed quite distinct culturally and economically from the Ojibwe, although they shared the same resources for subsistence, were in some cases linked into local kinship networks, and had acquired language skills and other Ojibwe cultural knowledge. The genealogical and historical material collected by Macrae, as well as the assumptions underlying his analysis, are more significant than his specific

<sup>664</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 28 - 29.

<sup>665</sup> J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached, 6 - 7.

recommendations for revising the paylists, many of which were either never carried into effect or were later overturned.

### The Dominion Census of 1901

A preliminary review of the 1901 Dominion manuscript census reveals the continuing presence of many of the Métis families identified from earlier periods on Lake Superior. Unfortunately, as in most of the other available sources, intermarriage, persistence and family relationships through the female line are obscured in the record. However, a unique aspect of the 1901 census is its emphasis on identifying the "half-breed" population and the components of Métis ancestry such as Ojibwe, French, or Scottish. It is not clear from the records whether these identifications were supplied by the respondents (self-ascription), the local census enumerator or manuscript editors in Ottawa (other-ascription), or some flexible combination of the two. Although census enumerators made sometimes heroic efforts to track down the population in their census districts, under-enumeration of mobile populations such as Aboriginal hunters, harvesters and fishers is a chronic issue with census returns, as are inaccuracies in transcriptions of names and estimates of ages. In some cases, Indian Agents submitted returns based on their paylists without attempting to capture actual occupancy in their district. However, despite all these shortcomings, the census provides a unique record of individuals at a moment in time (ideally, one day, but usually one to three weeks, especially in large rural census districts).

One immediately striking aspect of the 1901 census is the number of individuals, especially from families identified earlier in this report, classified as "half breeds". Although many of the persons so classified were members of "Indian Bands", fifty years and two to three generations after the Treaty, they were still marked as separate from the Ojibwe. Further analysis of the available descriptive material, paylists and census records will be necessary to determine the principles on which this distinction may have been made.

Two hundred and twenty-six persons in the "Fort William Band" census were classified as "half breeds", predominantly Ojibwe French breeds. These included families of Benans, Belanger, Boucher, Busha (a variant of Boucher), Collin, Cyrette, Debokaning, Deschamps, Fyans, Gordon, Laudet (probably a variant of Loutit), Legarde, McKay, Scott, Singleton and others.

Some of these names, such as Boucher, Collin, and Deschamps, had been associated with the Fort for generations. Other, newer families such as that of Andrew Benan (Bannon), born about 1866, son of an Irishman and a Fort William Ojibwe woman, married to a McKay daughter and with a son married to a Desmoulins from Pic; Ed Gordon, a "half breed" from Bayfield, Wisconsin, who married Louise Busha and had a daughter who married a Cyrette; and Joseph Singleton, who married into the Collins; had established kinship ties with older Métis families. Debokaning was identified as an "Indian" by Macrae and was a brother-in-law to McKay from Sault Ste. Marie. Others of these families, such as Loutit and Scott, married women who were likely Ojibwe. A Bélanger was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at Michipicoten in 1858, and Fyans, "Indians", were freemen around Long Lake in 1827.

Half the census records from Michipicoten Harbour are illegible, but 24 persons from the McDonald and Devereaux families were enumerated as "half breeds" on the surviving four pages (50 persons to a page). Michipicoten River and Wawa census records classify a further 24 persons as "half breeds", including members of the LaGarde, Dubois and Schelling families. It appears that the Indian Band census records have not survived for this census subdivision, which may have removed as many as 100 "half breeds" from the enumeration (based on a tally of persons on Michipicoten/Gros Cap paylists from the 1890s from families with fur trade surnames).

In the Red Rock Band, 125 persons were classified as "half breeds", including members of the Boucher, Cameron, Deschamps, Laronde, Legarde and Wilson families. In the Nipigon Band, ten persons were classified as "half breeds", including Morrisseaus and Bouchers. In the Pic Band, seventeen members of the Desmoulin family, two members of the Finlayson family, nine members of the Morrisseau family, and three others made up a total of 31 "half breeds". The Long Lake Band had twenty-one persons classified as "half breeds", mostly members of the Wynne and Finlayson families.<sup>666</sup>

<sup>666</sup> Information on census data is drawn from a tabulation provided by the Métis Nation of Ontario. Genealogical information is from J. A. Macrae, report on the Port Arthur Agency, 9 February 1898, "Memorandum" attached.

In most of the "Indian Band" enumerations, some families with Ojibwe names are classified as "half breeds" (for example Ashek or Kakek at Red Rock, Debokaning at Fort William, and Majatakibinis at Fort William). As Kohl observed at Garden River in 1855, many Métis people had both Ojibwe and European names, and may have been more likely to use their Ojibwe names in the context of an Ojibwe community. Further genealogical research may be required to identify the mixed-ancestry roots of these and other families using Ojibwe names who may not have been termed "half breeds" in the census. It also appears that the number of persons classified as "half breeds" outside the Indian Bands was relatively small. It may be that residence among the Ojibwe increased the likelihood that a person would identify or be identified as "half breed", while other members of the same families outside the Indian Band communities chose not to disclose this identity to outsiders. This phenomenon has been observed in other parts of Canada, especially in the years following the Riel Rebellion of 1885.

The identifications of Macrae and the 1901 census-takers do not coincide in several instances. Individuals considered to be "Indians" by Macrae were identified as "half breeds" by the enumerators, and the reverse also appears to be true. These classifications were made under different criteria and for different purposes. For Macrae, eligibility for Treaty annuity, integration into the Ojibwe community (as imprecise a measurement as this may have been) and conformity with *Indian Act* stipulations were important elements in his assessments. Census enumerators were instructed to classify all children in a family under the ethnicity of a (usually male) family head, and in some cases wives and female family heads may also have been classified with their father's ethnicity. Neither method may be a precise expression of the identities in play in these populations, although the apparent need to distinguish Ojibwe, "half breed" and European individuals is suggestive of real differences on the ground.

It is apparent that Métis families lived in a deeply-rooted culturally distinct society at the time of the Robinson Treaties of 1850 and retained their distinctiveness (despite being legally classified with the Ojibwe) at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Continuity of Métis family lines and intermarriage between these lines from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William is also apparent (despite poor documentation of relationships through the female line), although new

mixed-ancestry families were introduced into the population between 1850 and 1900 and intermarriage with the Ojibwe continued.

## **Section V: The Twentieth Century**

### Lake Nipigon Fisheries, 1884 - 1973

In 1884, the Ontario Government assumed control over the fisheries of Lake Nipigon and the Nipigon River. Fishing with nets in Lake Nipigon was prohibited.<sup>667</sup> The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through Red Rock in 1885 opened up easier access to Lake Nipigon for tourists, especially sports fishermen. By 1889 Lake Nipigon and the Nipigon River were destination points for wealthy anglers, boasting, in the words of a federal Department of Marine and Fisheries official, “the finest Speckled Trout fishing on the continent of America”.<sup>668</sup> Although, in 1894, representatives of commercial fishing interests downplayed the importance of the sports and subsistence fisheries on the Lake in attempting to persuade governments to open the area to commercial fishing,<sup>669</sup> the Fort William Indian Agent protested that

Lake Nipigon is perhaps the most noted Lake in the world for the largest brook or speckled trout and in America for Lake trout and white fish in the most numerous quantities and quality, it is the great breeding ground that furnishes Nipigon River with the noted Large Brook trout...which attracts the numerous tourists from America and some parts of Europe every summer, gives employment to my Indians with their canoes at the highest wages...and as a rule are of the most wealthy class, also there are 500 treaty Indians of the Nipigon Band dependent on this Lake for their support...and about 200 more non treaty Indians depending on the same...[it] would be only a matter of short time, when the Government would have to support them...<sup>670</sup>

In 1898, a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council confirmed that the licensing of fisheries in Ontario was within the jurisdiction of the provincial government. In 1911, the Ontario Game and Fisheries Commission recommended that Lake Nipigon remain closed to commercial fishing. By that time, “a light steam railway” and a steamboat service connected

<sup>667</sup> LAC, RG23, Vol. 199, file 951, Regulation under the *Ontario Fisheries Act*, 15 May 1888; S. P. Bauset, “Memorandum for the Minister”, 16 October 1889.

<sup>668</sup> LAC, RG23, Vol. 199, file 951, S. P. Bauset, “Memorandum for the Minister”, 16 October 1889.

<sup>669</sup> LAC, RG23, Vol. 199, file 951, Thomas Marks to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 31 March 1894.

<sup>670</sup> LAC, RG23, Vol. 199, file 951, J. P. Donnelly to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 April 1894.

South Bay on Lake Superior with Nipigon Station on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was constructing its line north of Lake Nipigon with a spur line to Ombabika Bay. A rail line to be constructed by the Canadian Northern Railway was planned for Lake Nipigon's eastern shore.<sup>671</sup>

It is unclear from documentary sources when commercial fishing licences were first allocated in Lake Nipigon. Some sources from Métis communities on Lake Nipigon believe that commercial fishing started around 1917, as part of the war effort in World War I, and this may be corroborated by the fact that data on individual licencees were recorded in Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources files beginning in that year.<sup>672</sup> By this time, construction of the Canadian Northern Railway line connecting Nipigon town on the CPR to Longlac on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway line was complete. By 1921, the newly-formed Canadian National Railway (incorporating the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific railways into a new government-owned company) had built "Nipigon Lodge" at Orient Bay, advertising "guides and outfitters...available, and sport of the rarest may be promised any fisherman who cares to visit these most famous of angling waters...Orient Bay...has now become a famous rendezvous for sportsmen".<sup>673</sup> Macdiarmid, Beardmore, and Jellicoe were also stops on the former Canadian Northern line.<sup>674</sup> The Canadian Pacific Railway operated a "bungalow camp" for sports fishermen and tourists on Lake Helen across the Nipigon River from its station at Nipigon.<sup>675</sup>

A list of "Lake Nipigon Licenses", compiled by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources in 1973 from records dating back to 1925, notes commercial fishing licence holders in 1925 as

<sup>671</sup> Ontario: "Final Report of the Ontario Game and Fisheries Commission, 1909 - 1911" (King's Printer: 1912), 69 - 71.

<sup>672</sup> AO, RG1-296, file "Lake Nipigon - 1973", M. J. Brubacher to G. O. Koistinen, 17 May 1973. The information in this file begins in 1925.

<sup>673</sup> Canadian National-Grand Trunk Railways, *Canada Pacific to Atlantic: "The National Way"* (Canadian National Railways, 1921), 90.

<sup>674</sup> CNR, "The National Way", 91. The modern town of Geraldton, off the Canadian Northern line, was formerly known as Oklend or Little Longlac. It was renamed Geraldton in 1933, after two men who financed gold mines in the area after the discovery of gold at Kenogamisis Lake in 1931 (<http://www.ruralroutes.com/5939.html>, accessed March 2015).

<sup>675</sup> T. Morris Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country* (New York and London: The Century Co., 1924), 57 - 64, also map between pages 112 and 113. Fishing on the Nipigon was a luxury experience, with guides catering to the guests comfort and enjoyment in cooking meals, carrying baggage, making and striking camp, managing the canoes, *et cetera*. See also "E. E. M.", *Days on the Nipigon* (New York: Foster & Reynolds Company, 1917), 98 - 100.

James Muldrage and Percy Sully, A. F. Licknor, A. Bruley and A. Sutherland, Andrew Sutherland, John Bowman, Frank Bowman, F. W. Bowman, Allan McLeod, C. H. Douglas, Douglas Craigie, Joahn McIvor, Nipigon Fisheries Ltd., and Alex McKay. Other licence holders between 1925 and 1935 included J. Alex McDonald, John Bowman, Angus McLeod, J. H. Beamish, Alex McKay and Ralph Nestor, F. S. Williams, Chas. Wigiwas and L. Goodchild, K. Wigiwas and L. Goodchild, Ambrose Mowab/Michel King/A. Wigwam, Ambrose Wamasa/Sam Michel/J. Paile/J. Thompson, P. Shunia/A. Innes/Geo. Innes, John Shabwageezie, Joe Bouchard/P. Michel/A. Michel, Robert Hardy, Ellis Hardy, P. Esqigon, Emil Netemegesis, Philip and Frank Netemegesis, John Shabwegeezie and John Kowtash, Wawia Martin, P. Morrisseau, Moses and Luke Anakanagisis, Joe Ashqigon and John Anaskanagesis, B. Morrison and T. Bouchard, Pete Shunia, P. Michel, L. Goodchild, Fred Gejick and John Kamtiash jr., Frances Mamia, J. Thompson, Tom Bouchard, Fred Netemegesis, Gull Bay Indian Band, Chas. Eskala and Sam Pictorella, Grand Bay Indian Band, and F. T. James Co. Ltd.<sup>676</sup>

Although little documentation about the Lake Nipigon commercial fishery survives in Canadian archives, some wealthy sports fishermen who visited Lake Nipigon and the Nipigon River wrote of their experiences there, contributing to an increasingly popular subgenre of travel literature on the subject of hunting and fishing tourist adventures. Thomas Longstreth visited Lake Nipigon on a summer sports fishing trip in the early 1920s, and took several opportunities to travel with local people around the Lake, even travelling with a Department of Indian Affairs party to witness Treaty payments at Long Lake. His first guide, a young man he met at the CPR bungalow camp near Nipigon station, was Dan Moriceau (Morrisseau). Longstreth described Morrisseau at first meeting as an “Indian”, but then later modified his description of him to “a perfect illustration of the best sort of half breed”, combining “Indian” and “French” personality traits.<sup>677</sup> Morrisseau, at the time he met Longstreth, was living with his mother in a “log house by the shore” near the bungalow camp. Dan spoke fluent English, but his mother did not.<sup>678</sup> Dan told Longstreth Naniboujou stories, but when asked to explain the drawings on the Pictured Rocks on the Nipigon River, he claimed not to know what they meant, a result, in Longstreth’s

<sup>676</sup> AO, RG1-296, file “Lake Nipigon - 1973”, W. Pearson, “Lake Nipigon Licenses”, 24 September 1973, attached to M. J. Brubacher to District Manager, Nipigon, 25 September 1973.

<sup>677</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 60 - 61, 73.

<sup>678</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 64 - 65.

analysis, of “racial splitting up”. Dan did offer the information that “the old ones always drop a pinch of tobacco in the water as they go by, for the devil”.<sup>679</sup>

Longstreth, at the Treaty payments at Long Lake, noted that the games that took place after the payments included “old men carrying monstrous loads with the tump-line”,<sup>680</sup> reminiscent of the competitions among the *voyageurs* of a hundred years before.

Back at Orient Bay, Longstreth accepted an invitation from Angus Alexander MacDonald to travel on the tug *Ogama* on a trip northwards on the Lake and then undertake a canoe trip up the Onaman River. The *Ogama* was piloted by John Mickelson, guided by two “Indians”.<sup>681</sup> As the tug made its way through the Shakespeare group of islands, Longstreth befriended “one of the Indians, a half breed” named Jerry. Jerry, it turned out, was a cousin to Dan Morrissette.<sup>682</sup>

Jerry spoke fluent English, unlike his “Indian” companion on the boat, who was from Fort Good Hope in the Northwest Territories. Jerry told Longstreth several more Naniboujou stories.<sup>683</sup>

The party continued their journey up the Onaman River by canoe, where Longstreth observed that

Jerry always ran on the portages. This was because he had once worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company, where the rule seemed to be, “no run, no eat.” “Suppose”, he said, “we had the night camp on this side a portage. Breakfast would be cooked on the other. Each man would pick up his two-hundred-pound sack and run with it to the breakfast place, and the last few men would get no breakfast.”<sup>684</sup>

Up a tributary of the Onaman River, the group located a gold prospector working without a licence, whom “the Indians” had reported to MacDonald.<sup>685</sup> On the return trip, Longstreth and MacDonald travelled down the west side of the Lake in a canoe, stopping at Whitesand to fish for trout. At Wabinoosh Bay, they met “a young ranger, only seventeen, the embodiment of

<sup>679</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 69 - 70.

<sup>680</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 94.

<sup>681</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 112, 114.

<sup>682</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 115.

<sup>683</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 115 - 135.

<sup>684</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 124.

<sup>685</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 128.

shyness, the son of an Irishman and an Indian woman”.<sup>686</sup> Moving on to Nipigon House, they found the trader, Paddy McGuire, was away, but met his wife and children, of whom the “young ranger” was one. “I have rarely seen such lovely children”, remarked Longstreth. From the top of a high hill near the post, Longstreth could see Dog Island, “while to the north the shacks of an Indian village were clear”. The younger of the boys taking Longstreth to the viewpoint told him of seeing a “windigo” behind a boulder earlier in the day.<sup>687</sup> The tug *Ogama* came the next day to pick up the travellers and take them back to Orient Bay.

Longstreth’s next adventure was to travel by canoe from Orient Bay to the camp of a wealthy tourist at Pine Portage. For this journey, he was escorted by Stewart Michel, “a happy-faced breed” of about twenty-two, and Antoine Nanni, a boy of about seventeen.<sup>688</sup> Michel explained to Longstreth that the Devil’s Rapids on the river was so called because “the devil reached out for an Indian now and then at this spot”. Nanni did not speak to Longstreth, but Michel and Nanni conversed in Ojibwe.<sup>689</sup>

Longstreth then took a trip along the north shore of Lake Superior east of the mouth of the Nipigon River. At Michipicoten, he found a private yacht and a private seaplane in the harbour, to the surprise of his escort Worth, who assured him that “most of the year there are just two families and myself here and a few Indians at the mission”. They visited Charles Oakes and his family at the harbour, and then Longstreth and Oakes went out in a gasoline boat with “Jim Andrie, an Ojibway”.<sup>690</sup> Longstreth described Michipicoten as follows:

Here used to be an important post of the Hudson’s Bay Company, whence in a sixteen days’ journey supplies were shipped in to James Bay. Once it had known the activities of mining days, and Mr. Clergue had built a cabin on a charming islet...now raspberries crept from crevice to crevice, the blueberries rotted unpicked, and Michipicoten was sinking into dissolution with not ten souls looking on.<sup>691</sup>

<sup>686</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 136.

<sup>687</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 138 - 139. See also topographic map of the area reproduced with this report.

<sup>688</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 147.

<sup>689</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 148 - 149.

<sup>690</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 226 - 228.

<sup>691</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 228 - 229.

After a summer sightseeing and sport fishing, Longstreth decided to see some of the commercial fishing operations on Lake Superior. He took the CPR train down to Rosspoint, “the chief fishing village on the north shore of Lake Superior”. He arrived early in the morning and invited himself aboard a steam tug belonging to Fred Gerow, who was about to leave to check his nets thirty miles away at the Lamb Light[house]. The crew of the boat was Gerow’s three young sons and two “Indians”, one of whom was Zeno Singleton, “a breed”. Singleton recalled passing by in a canoe earlier in the summer and seeing Longstreth fishing with Stewart Michel on the Nipigon River. The fishermen hauled in some trout in the nets near the lighthouse, and Longstreth visited with the keeper (Alexander).<sup>692</sup>

Longstreth’s stories, while designed to be picturesque rather than scientific, identify some key “half breed” family members at various points around Lake Nipigon and on Lake Superior: the Morrisseaus, Mickelson, Michel, McGuire and Singleton. Except for John Mickelson,<sup>693</sup> Longstreth distinguished these people as “breeds”, possibly within a broader category of “Indian”, noting their dual characteristics such as language skills (fluency in English as well as Ojibwe), knowledge of “Indian” stories and woodland skills, and greater ease with non-Aboriginal people. He recorded the continuation of some fur trade traditions such as the competitions at the portages, as well as the participation of the “half breeds” in the newer occupations of catering to tourists and commercial fishing.

During the period 1935 to 1944, the following commercial fishing licences for Lake Nipigon were recorded in Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources files: Allan McLeod, Angus McLeod, Jas. Wooldrage, Nipigon Fisheries, Grand Bay Band of Indians, John Kowtiash, T. Bouchard, F. S. Williams, Alex McKay/Albert Brulez/Roger McKee, Gull Bay Indian Band, P. Morrisseau, Kenneth McLeod, F. T. James Co. Ltd., A. F. Licknor, Fred Netamegistic, Andrew Sutherland, Robert Hardy, and John Hardy.<sup>694</sup>

<sup>692</sup> Longstreth, *The Lake Superior Country*, 268 - 272.

<sup>693</sup> It is not clear if this is the John Michelson identified by J. A. Macrae as a Norwegian married to a Swampy Cree woman from Moose Factory in 1898 (who later was the lighthouse keeper on Lamb Island), or the son of this couple, John Michelson, who is listed in the 1901 census with the Red Rock Indian Band as an “Ojibwa OB” age 28.

<sup>694</sup> AO, RG1-296, file “Lake Nipigon - 1973”, W. Pearson, “Lake Nipigon Licenses”, 24 September 1973, attached to M. J. Brubacher to District Manager, Nipigon, 25 September 1973.

In the 1940s, the Longlac Pulp and Paper Company built a company town at Terrace Bay on Lake Superior to house the workers at its mill. The new town also provided a home for workers at the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission Aguasabon power development combining the Long Lake and Ogoki Diversions.

The following commercial fishing licences for Lake Nipigon were recorded in Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources files for the years 1945 to 1954: Andrew Sutherland, J. Sutherland, Nipigon Fisheries, Kenneth McLeod, Allan McLeod, James Wooldrage, F. S. Williams, A. W. McLeod, Angus McLeod, Estate of A. F. Ticknor/G. H. Humby/Kenneth McLeod, F. T. James Co. Ltd., Ray McKee, Andrew Sutherland jr., McIntyre [Bay] Band of Indians, John Kowtiash, Gull Bay Band of Indians.<sup>695</sup> During this period, although the number of licences was reduced, the amount of thousand feet of net allowed per licence was increased. The licences issued to Andrew Sutherland were for pound nets instead of the long nets allowed under the other licences.

The Lake Nipigon licences recorded for the period 1955 to 1964 were: James Wooldrage/H. D. Goodman Estate/Frank Goodman, Mrs. Alma McLeod/Oscar Lible Koljic/Case and August Par, Ray McKee/Thomas Chevrier/Claude L. Hadley, Andrew Sutherland jr. (pound nets), Andrew Sutherland, F. S. Williams/Valentine Bergman/Geo. H. Humby, Angus McLeod, J. Sutherland, F. T. James Co. Ltd./Alonzo W. Nuttall, Kenneth McLeod, McIntyre Bay Band/Rocky Bay Band of Indians, Gull Bay Band of Indians, Malcolm Sutherland/Edward Soloway, Whitesand Band of Indians, Gull Bay Band (Aquin), Gull Bay Band (Readman), Rocky Bay Band (Readman), Ray Hardy. During this period, an increasing tendency to issue shared licences can be observed, as well as the issuance of additional licences for the Indian Bands on Lake Nipigon.<sup>696</sup>

Between 1965 and 1973, the following licences were issued for Lake Nipigon: Frank Goodman/Oscar Lible Kaljic/Case and Ilma Case/Harold John Davison, Claude L. Hadley, Andrew Sutherland, Geo. H. Humby (Kemp Fisheries), Angus W. McLeod, J. Sutherland, Alonzo W. Nuttall, Kenneth W. McLeod, Rocky Bay Band of Indians, Gull Bay Band of

<sup>695</sup> AO, RG1-296, file "Lake Nipigon - 1973", W. Pearson, "Lake Nipigon Licenses", 24 September 1973, attached to M. J. Brubacher to District Manager, Nipigon, 25 September 1973.

<sup>696</sup> AO, RG1-296, file "Lake Nipigon - 1973", W. Pearson, "Lake Nipigon Licenses", 24 September 1973, attached to M. J. Brubacher to District Manager, Nipigon, 25 September 1973.

Indians, Whitesand Band of Indians, Ray Hardy (Ind.), Edward Soloway/Orville Wieben, Nate McGuire/Denis Lesperance/Mike McGuire/Lake Nipigon Metis Corporation, Cliff Sutherland, Andrew Sutherland, Malcolm Sutherland, John and Patrick Hardy, J. Sutherland/C. Sutherland, Ernest Enders.<sup>697</sup>

The presence of the licence for the Lake Nipigon Metis Corporation is noteworthy in this list. This organization was incorporated in October of 1969. Pat McGuire, the son of Paddy McGuire, whose family Longstreth met at the Nipigon (Gull Bay) HBC post in the early 1920s, was the first president and driving force behind the LNMC and later (1971) the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA). McGuire had a home in Macdiarmid. Other early Métis organizations in the Lake Nipigon/Lake Superior area include the Armstrong Indian and Metis Association (incorporated 1970), the Garden River Metis and non-Status Indian Association (incorporated 1972), the Geraldton Metis and non-Status Indian Association (incorporated 1973), the Longlac Metis and non-Status Indian Association (incorporated 1973), the Macdiarmid North Wind Metis and non-Status Indian Association (incorporated 1973), the Nipigon Metis and non-Status Indian Association (incorporated 1974), Red Rock Metis Association (incorporated 1975). The Métis of the Lake Nipigon/Superior area were the first in Ontario to develop their own organizations to promote the interests of the Métis in economic development and programme delivery.<sup>698</sup>

A small Indian Reserve for the Rocky Bay (also known as McIntyre Bay) Indian Band was set apart in 1971, adjacent to the hamlet of Macdiarmid.

In October of 1972, Chief Patrick Hardy of the Rocky Bay Band forwarded a proposal to the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests by the commercial fishermen of Lake Nipigon, endorsed by Pat McGuire of the Lake Nipigon Metis Corporation. Among the recommendations in the proposal was that “any meeting concerning Lake Nipigon should be held in Macdiarmid...since Macdiarmid residents has [sic] the biggest investments in Lake Nipigon”. This proposal was signed by forty-four persons, including members of the Hardy, Goodman,

<sup>697</sup> AO, RG1-296, file “Lake Nipigon - 1973”, W. Pearson, “Lake Nipigon Licenses”, 24 September 1973, attached to M. J. Brubacher to District Manager, Nipigon, 25 September 1973.

<sup>698</sup> OnCorp Direct Ontario Company Searches, “Metis”, database accessed March 2010.

McGuire, Dumas, Thompson, Adam, King, McLeod, Bouchard, Kowtiash, Morriseau, and Lesperance families.<sup>699</sup> In responding to one of the elements of the proposal, Chief Ranger W. R. Doyon proposed trying a coarse fish fishery in 1973 with “Metis fishermen”.<sup>700</sup> At a subsequent meeting with Department of Lands and Forests staff held in Macdiarmid, Ray Hardy, A. W. McLeod, and C.L. Hadley of Macdiarmid were present as licence holders, as well as Clifford Sutherland and Ernie Enders of Beardmore and Chief Hardy of Rocky Bay. Licence holders not represented at the meeting were identified as Andy Sutherland and Ken McLeod of Macdiarmid; Frank Goodman and Dave Davidson of Beardmore, Alonzo Nuttall of Hurkett, George Humby of Thunder Bay, the Lake Nipigon Metis Corporation, and the Gull Bay Band of Indians.<sup>701</sup>

### Métis Organizations in Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, 1971 - 1973

A small number of accessible government documents record the role of Métis organizations in the Nipigon-Superior region in community development, not only for Métis but for the small communities as a whole. In July of 1973, a “Submission on Physical Services for Remote Unorganized Communities” developed by the Indian Community Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services identified Armstrong, Heron Bay North, Hillspport, Hurkett, Jellicoe, Macdiarmid, and Rosspport as having active Métis organizations as “representative organizations”, in some cases as the only active community organization. Of Hurkett in particular, the submission indicated that the hamlet was “mostly Metis people, the community is reviving around the Hurkett Metis Association and is over the 100 population mark at present”.<sup>702</sup> In 1972 and 1973, Pat McGuire, on behalf of the Lake Nipigon Metis Association, wrote to the Ontario Government requesting the establishment of a police service in Macdiarmid

<sup>699</sup> AO, RG1-296, file “Lake Nipigon 1970 - 72”, Patrick Hardy to Leo Bernier, 4 October 1972, with attached “The Position of the Lake Nipigon Commercial Fishermen and other interested persons on the status of the Lake Nipigon Fishery”.

<sup>700</sup> AO, RG1-296, file “Lake Nipigon 1970 - 72”, W. R. Doyon to District Forester, Geraldton, 16 October 1972.

<sup>701</sup> AO, RG1-296, file “Lake Nipigon 1970 - 72”, W. R. Doyon to District Forester, Geraldton, with attached “Minutes of the meeting between Commercial Fishermen and the Ministry of Natural Resources to discuss the report, ‘The Status of the Lake Nipigon Fishery, 1971’.”, 1 December 1972.

<sup>702</sup> AO, RG47-138, file “Indian Community -- Unorganized Communities”, Indian Community Branch, “Submission on Physical Services for Remote Unorganized Communities”, July 1973.

and a proposal to keep the sawmill near the hamlet operating.<sup>703</sup> In 1974, the Indian Community Secretariat of the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services recommended that the Nipigon Metis and Non-Status Indian Association receive a small grant to “defray the costs of a person engaged to deal with family social and employment problems, providing Native individuals with the most expedient and efficient mode of action appropriate to their immediate needs”. The organization had been attempting to provide some of these services on a volunteer basis, receiving no “outside financial assistance” and relying on volunteers for everything from cleaning and secretarial services to programme development and assistance with social and economic problems. The Nipigon Metis local, according to Indian Community Secretariat staff, had “been instrumental in developing many social and recreational programs” in its community.<sup>704</sup>

<sup>703</sup> AO, RG47-138, file “Indian Community -- Ontario Metis and Non Status Indian Association”, Pat McGuire to Rene Brunelle, 24 August 1972; Pat McGuire to Jack Stokes, 12 November 1973; AO, RG47-138, file “Lake Nipigon Area Native People: Indian Community”, Pat McGuire to Wilf Weldon.

<sup>704</sup> AO, RG47-138, file “Nipigon Metis & Non-Status Indian Association Ind.”, Indian Community Secretariat, Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, “Proposal to Pay Grant”, 20 June 1974.

## **Appendix**

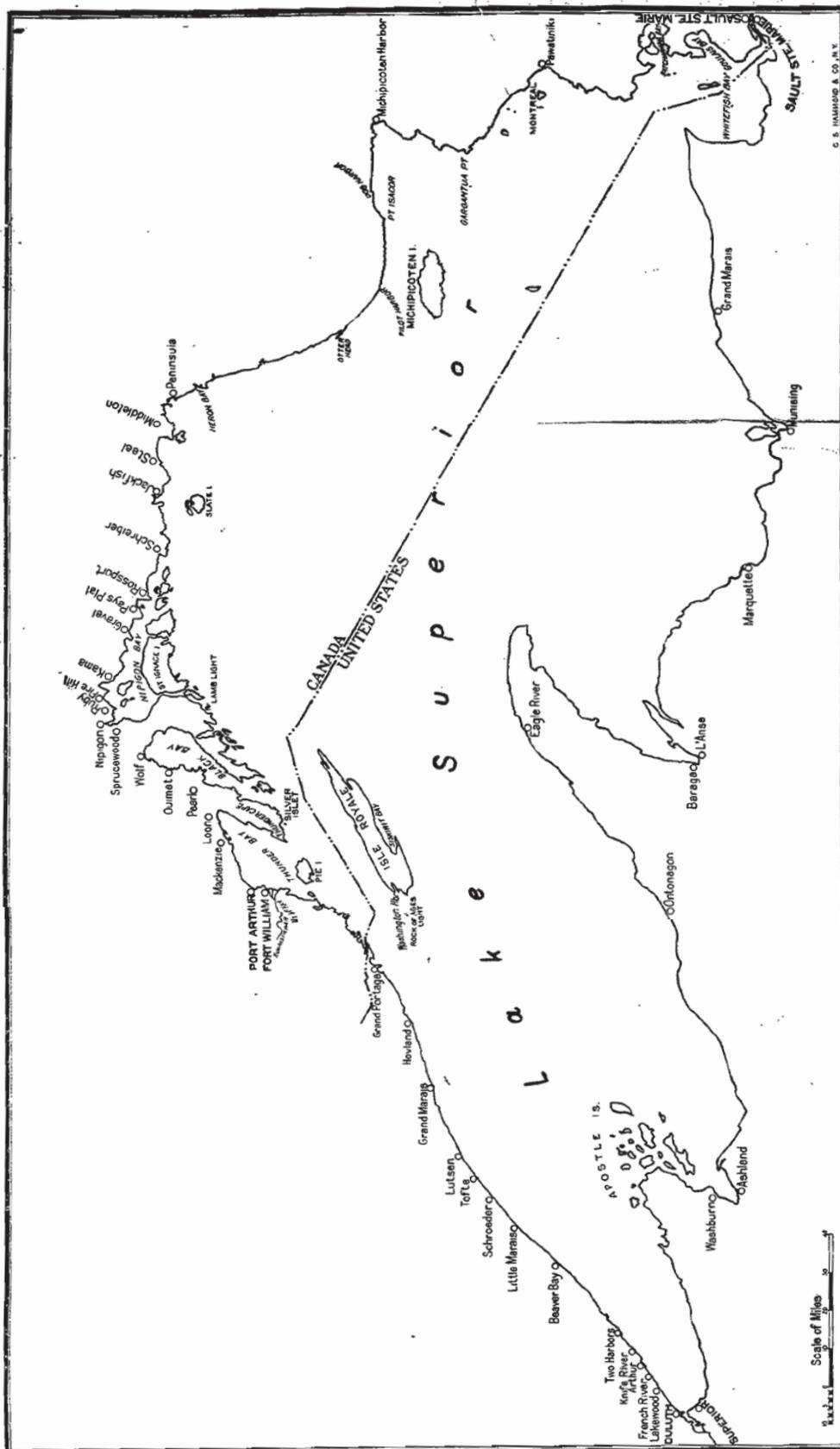
### **Maps and Illustrations**



Watercolour, “Miss Le Ronde, Hudson Bay Post, Lake Nipigon”, William Armstrong, dated 1901 (first sketched by Armstrong on a visit in 1867?). Inscription on back reads: “Leronde’s daughter cleaning white fish. Leronde married a squaw.” LAC, Acc. no. 1989-492-5, MIKAN no. 2833402, copy negative no. C-010505



THE NIPIGON REGION



~THE LAKE SUPERIOR COUNTRY~

Jones, Gwynneth C. D. The Historical Roots of Métis Communities North of Lake Superior. Prepared for the Métis Nation of Ontario, 2015.



# The Atlas of Canada

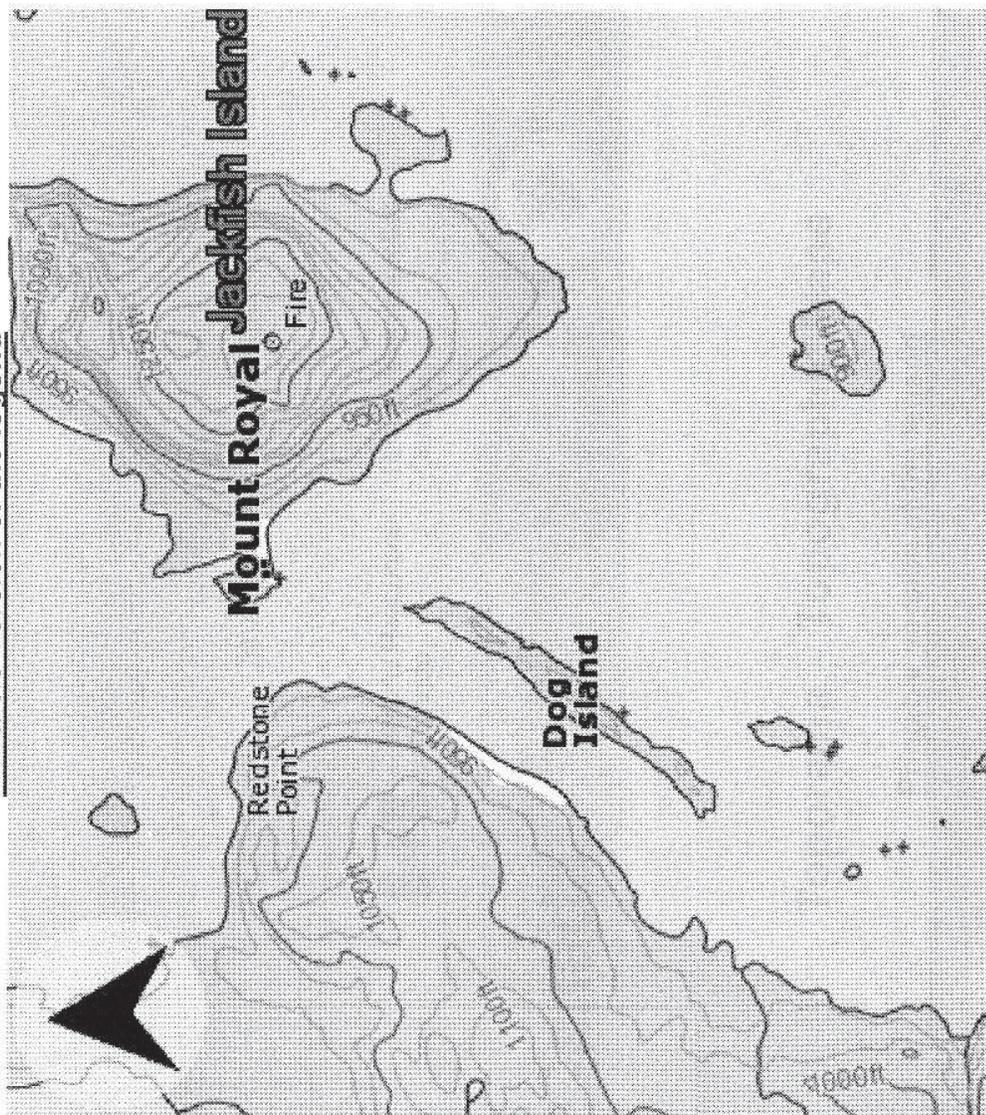


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## North West Company Account Books (1795-1827)

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Search table: 

### Name Index – North West Company records – Account books (1795-1827)

Name	Date	Item Title	Location Code
LaGarde, Amable	1820	Pic and Michipicotton equipment book	F.4/23
LaGarde, Amable	1816	North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 638
LaGarde, Jean Baptiste	1815	North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 505
LaGarde, Joseph	1820	Lac La Pluie blotter	F.4/29
LaGarde, Joseph	1820	Pic and Michipicotton equipment book	F.4/23
LaGarde, Joseph	1821	Athabasca general blotter	F.4/37
LaGarde, Joseph		North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 502
LaGarde, Joseph	1816	North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 637
LaGarde, Joseph Aubin		North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 619

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LaGarde, Jean Baptiste	1815	North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 505
LaGarde, Joseph	1820	Lac La Pluie blotter	F.4/29
LaGarde, Joseph	1820	Pic and Michipicotton equipment book	F.4/23
LaGarde, Joseph	1821	Athabasca general blotter	F.4/37
LaGarde, Joseph		North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 502
LaGarde, Joseph	1816	North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 637
LaGarde, Joseph Aubin		North West Company ledger	F.4/32, 619

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## Northern Department Servants' Engagement Registers (1823-1895)

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Search table:

Name Index - Hudson's Bay Company records - Northern Department servants' engagement registers (1823-1895)

Name	Date of 1st Engagement	Position	Post/Parish/Origin	Location Code
Laframboise, François 'a'	1826	Middleman		B.239/u/1 #1076
Lafrance, François	1829	Middleman		B.239/u/1 #1130
Lafrance, Louis	1855	Middleman	Lac des deux Montaignes	B.239/u/2 #1076
Lafrance, Pierre	1847	Middleman	Gentilly	B.239/u/1 #1205
Lafreniere, Charles	1828	Bowsman	Riviere de Loup	B.239/u/1 #1114
Lafretay, Louis	1830	Boute	Yamaska	B.239/u/1 #1078
Lafretay, Pierre	1833	Middleman & Fisherman		B.239/u/1 #1079
Lafretay, Pierre	1838	Fisherman	Red River	B.239/u/1 #1175
Lagarde, Joseph	1826	Bowsman	Native	B.239/u/1 #1080
Lagarde, Joseph	1850	Middleman	Native	B.239/u/2 #1034

Name	Date of 1st Engagement	Position	Post/Parish/Origin	Location Code
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Lagarde, Joseph	1850	Middleman	Red River	B.239/u/1 #1238
Lagrasse, Creole	1832	Middleman	Red River Settlement	B.239/u/1 #1135
Lagrange, Godfré	1848	Middleman	Maska	B.239/u/1 #1212
Laird, Alexander S.	1858	Labourer	South Ronaldshay	B.239/u/2 #1103
Lajeunesse dit Mainerous, Pierre	1835	Middleman	L'Assomption	B.239/u/1 #1155
Lajeunesse, Augustin	1850	Middleman	St. Hughes	B.239/u/2 #1035
Lalcherte, Baptiste	1890	Postmaster	Native	B.239/u/5 #187
Laliberte, Joseph	1866	Midman	Red River	B.239/u/2 #1157
Laliberte, Pierre 'A'	1867	Clerk	Native	B.239/u/4 #156
Laliberte, Pierre 'A'	1888	Clerk	Native	B.239/u/5 #181

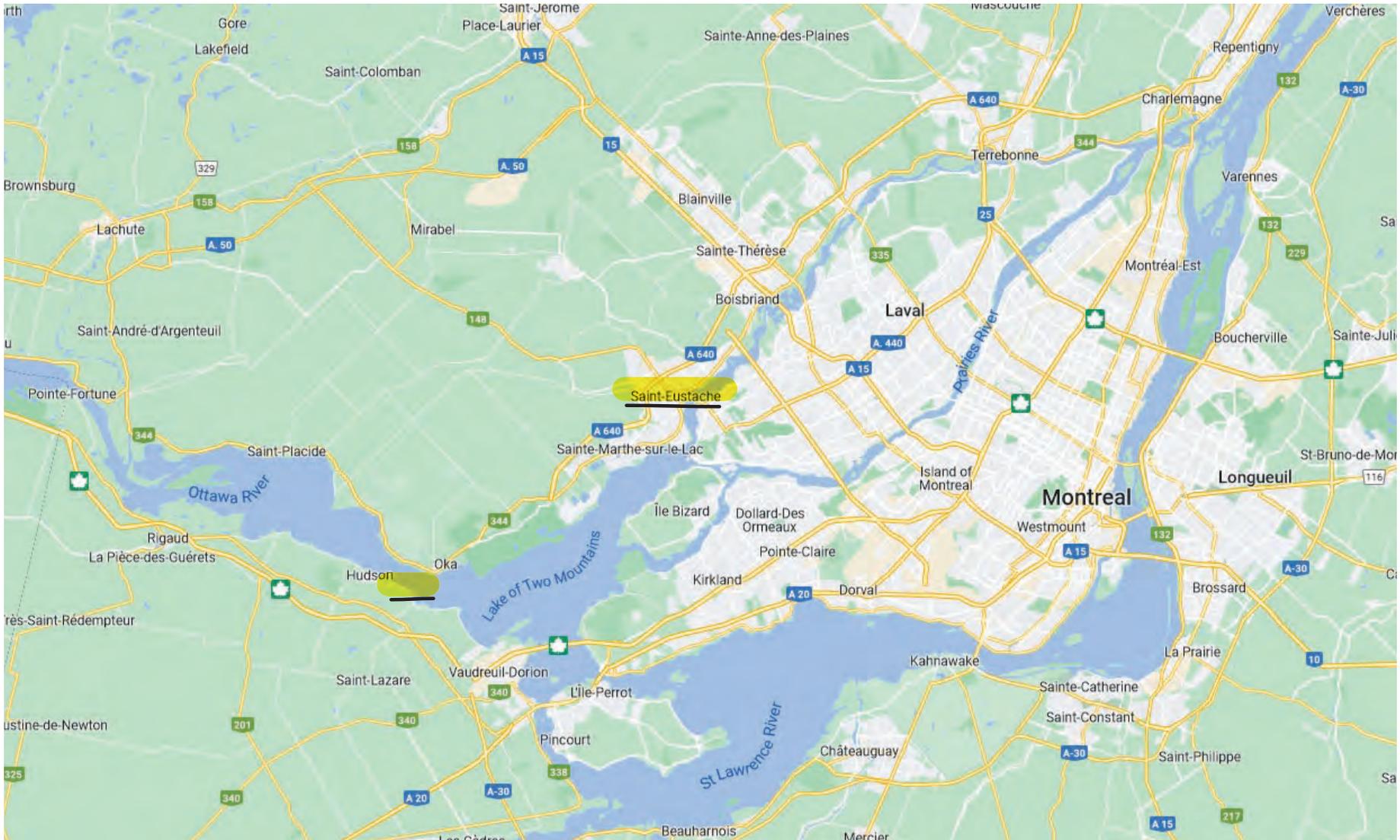
Name	Date of 1st Engagement	Position	Post/Parish/Origin	Location Code
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Google Maps. "Map showing Saint-Eustache and Oka, Quebec." Accessed December 5, 2022. <https://www.google.com/maps/>

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**Catalogue des  
immigrants**  
1632-1662

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*Imprimé au Canada*

- \*LONGUESPÉE, Jean  
seule apparition: confirmé à Sillery 6 juin 1661
- \*LOUVART, Jacques  
signe; seule apparition: témoin concession 10 juin 1661
- \*PELLETIER, Michel (distinct de Michel Pelletier dit Laprade)  
ne signe; première apparition: achète terre 30 mai 1661; deuxième et dernière: vente 15 nov. 1661; qualifié en 1661 de travaillant
- \*PELLETIER, Pierre  
ne signe; seule apparition: détient un bail des terres de l'église 31 août 1660
- PELLUCHON DIT LAFLEUR, Raymond  
première apparition: procès 26 mars 1661 aux Trois-Rivières, qualifié de tailleur d'habits; dernière: suite du même procès 2 avril suivant
- PERONNE DU MESNIL, Jean  
signe, Paris; intendant des Cent-Associés, arrive 7 sept. 1660 (*Journal*, 1660, RJ, 45: 162); repart 21 oct. 1663
- PERONNE DES TOUCHES, Michel, fils du précédent  
Paris; arrivé avec son père; décédé 29 août 1661 et inhumé le lendemain
- \*PERRIER, P.  
signe; seule apparition: témoin cession 2 juil. 1660 aux Trois-Rivières
- \*PERROT, Marguerite-Cécile  
ne signe, Ile-de-France; passe contrat de mariage 26 sept. 1660 avec Élie-Joseph Gaultier, mais ce contrat n'a pas de suite (seule apparition)

- \*PILLET DIT LAJEUNESSE, François  
30, ne signe; première apparition: achète terre au Cap-de-la-Madeleine en août 1660; qualifié de maître-charpentier en 1663; sa femme viendrait le rejoindre vers 1666; inhumé 8 sept. 1688
- \*POTET, Sébastien  
ne signe; première apparition: procès 5 mars 1661 aux Trois-Rivières; dernière: cession 21 avril 1662
- \*PROVENCHER, Sébastien  
26, ne signe; première apparition: obligation aux Trois-Rivières 6 juin 1661, qualifié de fermier de Pierre Boucher; obtient une terre 15 mai 1662; se marie ou est rejoint par sa femme vers 1663; vit encore en 1681
- \*PROVOST, Jacques  
signe; seule apparition: témoin cession 13 oct. 1660
- \*RAGEOT DIT LELYONNAIS, Étienne  
40, ne signe, Lyonnais; première apparition: passe contrat de mariage 17 juil. 1661 avec Marie Rouer, qu'il épouse 15 sept. suivant; obtient une terre en 1661; inhumé 21 nov. 1688
- \*RENCONTRE, Pierre  
tué par les Iroquois en Iroquoisie en ou vers 1661 (*Relation* de 1660-1661, RJ, 47: 88)
- \*RICHER, René  
20, signe; seule apparition: témoin vente 25 mai 1661
- \*TALON, Charles  
seule apparition: parrain 25 sept. 1660 aux Trois-Rivières
- \*TOURAILLON, François  
ne signe; seule apparition: achète terre 26 juin 1661



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## Alphabetical Listing of the Carignan-Salières Regiment Officers and Soldiers Who Settled in Canada

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<a href="#">A</a>	Last	First	Dit / De	Variations	Rank	Company
<a href="#">Back to Top</a>	Abbadie	Jean-Vincent d'	Saint-Castin		ensign	Chambly
	Achin	André	Saint-André	Archin	soldier	Des Portes
	Adhémar	Antoine	Saint-Martin	-	soldier	Saurel
	Allard	Julien	LaBarre	Halard	soldier	Saurel
	Aly	Vincent	LaRosée	Alix	soldier	Rougemont
	Amans	Pierre	-	Amand, Amant	surgeon	Des Portes
	Arcouët	Jean	LaJeunesse	Arcourt	soldier	Loubias
	Arnaud	François	DesMarchais	Arnauld, Arnault	soldier	Loubias
	Audouin	François	LaVerdure	Audoin	soldier	Loubias
	Audouin	Pierre	SansSoucy	-	soldier	Loubias
	Augrand	Pierre	LaPierre	Augran, Augeron	soldier	Des Portes
<a href="#">B</a>	Last	First	Dit / De	Variations	Rank	Company
<a href="#">Back to Top</a>	Babie	Jacques	de Ranville	Baby, Bavie	sergeant	Saint-Ours
	Bacquet	François	LaMontagne	Baquet, Paquet, Desbaupin	soldier	Monteil
	Badaillac	Louis	LaPlante	Bavaillac, Saguenon	soldier	Froment
	Badel	André	LaMarche	Babel	soldier	Grandfontaine
	Balan	Pierre	LaCombe	Ballan, Béland, Balu	soldier	La Brisandière
	Balard	Louis	La Tour, d'Ausson	Ballard	soldier	Des Portes
	Banliac	François	LaMontagne	Banhiac, Baillac, Banlard, Bainla, Bayard, Bauliard	soldier	La Fouille
	Banlier	Mathurin	LaPerle	Bauslnier, Banli, Boneliesse, Lanthier	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Barbary	Pierre	GrandMaison	Barbarin	soldier	Contrecoeur
	Barbotin	Nicolas	LaTouche	-	soldier	Grandfontaine
	Bariteau	Louis	LaMarche	Baribaut, Baritault	soldier	Chambly
	Barrois	Antoine-Jean-Baptiste	Bannois	Barroy, Bannois	surgeon	La Varenne
	Barsa	André	LaFleur, Le Limousin	Balsac, Balsat, Barzac	soldier	La Fredière
	Batanchon	Léonard (Léon)	LaLande	Batanchot, Betanchon, Battanchon	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Beaudoin	Antoine	Saint-Antoine	-	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Beaugrand	Jean	Champagne	Bougrand, Bougrant, Bougeren, Bougueran	soldier	Saurel
	Beaumont	Jean	Boutefeu, Piquefeu, Piquefer	-	soldier	Froment

Breton	René	LeBreton	LeBreton	soldier	La Tour	
Bricault	Jean(-Jacques)	LaMarche	Brisseau	soldier	Dugué	
Brin	Jacques	LaPensée	Bron, Boin, LeBrun	soldier	Berthier	
Brouillet	Michel	LaViolette	Brouillé, Bruillet	soldier	Petit	
Brunion	Pierre	LaPierre, LaFontaine	Brignon, Brugnon	soldier	La Fouille	
Bureau	Louis	SansSoucy	Sans souci	soldier	Berthier	
Bussière	Jacques	LaVerdure	Bussières, Brossier	soldier	Maximy	
Buy	Laurent	LaVergne	Bouy, Bouis, Buies, Bony	soldier	Saint-Ours	
<b>C</b>						
<a href="#">Back to Top</a>	<b>Last</b>	<b>First</b>	<b>Dit / De</b>	<b>Variations</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Company</b>
	Cambin	Laurent	LaRivière	-	sergeant	Dugué
	Carion	Philippe	Dufresnoy	Carrion	lieutenant	La Motte
	Carsi	François	LaViolette	Carcy, Quercy	soldier	Berthier
	Cartier	Joseph or François	LaRose	Quartier	soldier	Loubias
	Castineau	Jean	Maison Blanche	Coquineau, Cocquineau	soldier	La Tour
	Catelan	Jean	LeCatalan	Catalan, Canteleu	soldier	Berthier
	Chagnon	François	La Rose	-	-	La Fredière
	Chamaillard	Jean-Vincent	LaFontaine	-	soldier	La Fredière
	Chambly (de)	Jacques	-	-	captain	Chambly
	Charbonnier	Louis	Saint-Laurent	Charpentier	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Charles	Étienne	LaJeunesse	-	soldier	Monteil
	Charron	Jean- Baptiste	LaFerrière	-	soldier	La Fouille
	Châtenay	Jean	LaGuigne	Chastenay, Chastenot	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Chaudillon	Antoine	-	Chandillon	soldier	Saurel
	Cherlot	Jean	DesMoulins	Churlot, Cherbot	soldier	La Fouille
	Chevalier	Étienne	-	LeChevalier	soldier	Chambly
	Chevrefils	François	LaLime	-	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Chiron	Louis	-	du Chiron	soldier	Chambly
	Choquet	Nicolas	Champagne	Chouquet	soldier	Salières
	Clemenceau	Étienne	LaChesnaye	Clemenseau	soldier	Saurel
	Cognac	Claude	LaJeunesse	Coignac	soldier	Saurel
	Colin	Mathurin	LaLiberté	Collin	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Collet	Jean	LePicard, BonCourage	-	soldier	Petit
	Combette	Antoine	Desjardins	Combeth, Combelle, Comète	soldier	Des Portes
	Content	Étienne (André?)	De Buire, Berry	Contant	soldier	Monteil
	Coquin	Pierre	LaTournelle, LaTonnelle	Cocquin	soldier	Grandfontaine
	Coron	Jean	-	Caron	soldier	Headquarters
Couillard	François	LaFontaine	Couillart	soldier	Berthier	
Couillaud	Philibert	Rocquebrune	Couilleau	soldier	Contrecoeur	
Coulon	Auffray	Mabrian	-	soldier	La Tour	
Courtois	Jean	-	-	soldier	Salières	
Couturier	Gilles	LaBonté	Cousturier	soldier	Saurel	
<b>D</b>						
<a href="#">Back to Top</a>	<b>Last</b>	<b>First</b>	<b>Dit / De</b>	<b>Variations</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Company</b>
	Daniau	Jacques (Jean)	Daniau	Daneau	soldier	La Fouille
	Danville	Michel	Desmoulins	Dauville, Danville- Moulin	soldier	Saint-Ours
	Darbois	Jean	LaFleur	Dardois	sergeant	Saurel
	Dargan	Gaspard	LeBoesme	Daragon	soldier	Contrecoeur
	Daujean	Jean	Sieur de LaNoze (LaNoce)	Domejean, d'Omejean	soldier	Des Portes
	Dauvernier	Louis	L'Orange	D'Auvernier, Duvergier, Dauvergné	soldier	Froment
	Debord	Léonard	LaJeunesse	Dubord	soldier	Monteil
	DeGuire	François	LaRose	Guire	soldier	Saurel



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## *Alphabetical listing of the Carignan-Salières Regiment Officers and Soldiers who married other than Filles du Roi*

We first published a list of Members of the Carignan-Salières Regiment who married *Filles du Roi* in Volume VIII, Issue 2. This list was updated and included on our website a few years ago. A new list has been made of the soldiers that married other than *Filles du Roi*. This along with the list of soldiers that never married, that follows this article, now completes the list of all the soldiers of the regiment and their wives.

<b>A</b>	<p>Abbadie de Saint-Castin, Jean-Vincent d' m. Marie-Mathilde, daughter of Penobscot chief Madokawando abt. 1678</p> <p>Allard, Julien dit Labarre, m. Mercier, Marie, abt. 1675</p> <p>Aly, Vincent dit LaRosée, m.Perrin, Marie Delphine, 04 Oct 1677</p> <p>Audouin, François, dit Laverdure, m. Gibault, Suzanne, 10 Feb 1687</p>
<b>B</b>	<p>Babie, Jacques, de Ranville, m. Dandonneau, Jeanne, 01 June 1670- contract</p> <p>Balard, Louis, dit La Tour, m. Mignerou, Marguerite, 14 Apr 1676</p> <p>Banliac, François, dit La Montagne, m. Doyon, Marie-Madeleine, 27 Jan 1677- contract</p> <p>Barrois, Antoine-Jean –Baptiste, m. Leber, Anne, 12 Jan 1672</p> <p>Beaudoin, Antoine, dit Saint-Antoine, m. Dania, Marie-Anne, circa 1687</p> <p>Beaune, Jean, dit LaFranchise, m. Bourgerie, Marie-Madeleine, 22 Aug 1667</p> <p>Bécard, Pierre, de Grandville, m. Macard, Anne, 22 Oct 1668</p> <p>Berté, Jacques, dit Champagne, m. ?, Charlotte, son Charles b. 14 Jun 1679 mother listed as Charlotte.</p> <p>Bessière, Antoine, dit Francheville, m. Croteau, Jeanne, 26 Nov 1685</p> <p>Bin, René, dit LaCroix, m. Baril, Jeanne, 21 Oct 1670</p> <p>Blanchon, Étienne, dit La Rose, m. 1. Convent, Anne, 10 Sep 1666 2. Vidault, Anne, 30 Jun 1676</p> <p>Boulanger, Pierre, dit Saint-Pierre, m. Godefroy, Marie-Renée, 16 May 1677</p> <p>Boulin, Jean, dit Léveillé, m. Duverger, Françoise, 29 Jun 1671</p> <p>Breton, Jean-Baptiste-Guillaume, dit l'Ardoise, m. 1. Granderie, Elisabeth, 9 Jan 1682 2. Vandet, Marie, 6 Feb 1702</p> <p>Breton, René, dit Le Breton, m. Chavigny, Charlotte, 06 Nov 1668</p> <p>Bricault, Jean (Jacques), dit La Marche, m. Chenier, Marie, 12 Nov 1674</p> <p>Bureau, Louis, dit SansSoucy, m. Gauvin, Marie-Anne, 25 Jul 1685</p>
<b>C</b>	<p>Carion, Philippe, dit Dufresnoy, m. Desheures, Pétronille, 17 sep 1672</p> <p>Carsi, François, dit LaViolette, m. Blet, Anne, 06 jun 1688- contract</p> <p>Cartier, Joseph or François, dit LaRose, m. Celle-Duclos, Marguerite, 17 Sep 1674</p> <p>Catelan, Jean, dit LeCatalan, m. Carreau, Jeanne, abt. 1675</p> <p>Chamaillard, Jean-Vincent, dit LaFontaine, m. Renusson, Catherine, 23</p>

	<p>Sep 1676  Charron, Jean-Baptiste, dit LaFerrière, m. D'Anneville, Anne, 28 Nov. 1669  Châtenay, Jean, dit LaGuigne, m. Fafard. Jeanne, 30 May 1689  Chaudillon, Antoine, m. Boucher, Marie, 26 May 1672-contract  Chevalier, Etienne, m. 1. Provost, Anne Claude, 28 Oct 1678-contract,  2. Gautier, Jeanne, 17 Jun 1696  Cognac, Claude, dit LaJeunesse, m. Simon, Françoise, circa 1672  Coron, Jean, m. Lauzon, Michelle, 13 Oct 1670  Couillaud, Philibert, dit Rocquebrune, m. Laporte, Catherine, circa 1675  Courtois, Jean, m. Daniel, Catherine, circa 1670</p>
<b>D</b>	<p>Darbois, Jean, dit LaFleur, m. Harbaud, Marie, circa 1676  Daujean, Jean, dit, LaNoce, m. Heron, Geneviève, 16 Sep 1674-contract  Delpé, Jean, dit Pariseau, m. Lorion, Renée, 19 Nov 1674  Denis, Joseph, dit LeVallon, m. Bauvais, Marguerite, 19 Dec 72  Dextra, Pierre, dit LaVigne, m. Gazaille, Jeanne, 18 Dec 1685-contract  Diel, Charles, dit LePetit Breton, m. Picard, Marie-Anne, 31 Aug 1676  Dormet, Antoine (François), dit LaLande, m. Théodore, Marie-Barbe, 01 Dec 1674  Dufault, Gilles, dit LeBreton, m. Siméon, Françoise, 26 Jul 1678  Dugué, Sidrac-Michel, de Boisbriand, m. Marie Moyen, 07 Nov 1667  Dupas, Pierre, dit du Braché, m. Denis, Marguerite, 07 Nov 1677  Dupré, Antoine, dit Rochefort, m. Valiquet, Elisabeth, 28 Apr 1681  Dupré, Antoine, dit LaBonté. m. Guérin, Marie-Jeanne, 13 Jul 1667  Dupuis, Paul, de Lisloye, m. Couillard, Jeanne, 22 Oct 1668</p>
<b>E</b>	<p>Emery, Antoine, dit Coderre, m. 1. Vaux, Marie, abt. 1670  2. Favreau, M. Anne, 06 May 1689-contract</p>
<b>F</b>	<p>Forestier, Antoine, m. Cavelier, Marie-Madeleine, 25 Nov 1670  Forestier, Etienne, m. Lauzon, Marguerite, 27 Nov 1672  Fortin, Louis, dit LaGrandeur, m. Godin, Catherine, 21 Nov 1672</p>
<b>G</b>	<p>Gauthier, Germain, dit Saint-Germain, m. Beauchamp, Jeanne, 19 Jul 1677  Gauthier, Philippe, de Comporté, m. Bazire, Marie, 22 Nov 1672  Gauthier, René, de Varennes, m. Boucher, Marie, 26 Sep 1667  Gerlaise, Jean-Jacques, dit Saint-Amand, m. Trudel, Jeanne, 12 Sep 1667  Germaneau, Joachim, m. Couc, Elisabeth, 30 Apr 1684  Gervais, Mathieu, dit LeParisien, m. Picard, Michelle, 31 Aug 1676  Gourdon, Jean-Baptiste, dit LaChasse, m. Perrin, Michelle, 24 Nov 1676  Guillemot, Olivier, dit LeBreton, m. Cochon, Jeanne, 18 Nov 1680  Guitault, Jacques, dit JoliCoeur, m. Rebours, Marguerite, 14 Jun 1666</p>
<b>H</b>	<p>Handegrave, Pierre, dit Champagne, m. Guertin, Marie, 26 Nov 1675  Hudon, Pierre, dit Beaulieu, m. Gobeil, Marie, 13 Jul 1676  Huguet, René, dit Le Tambour, m. Perrin, Barbe, 16 Oct 1680</p>
<b>J</b>	<p>Jarret, André, de Beauregard, m. Anthiaume, Marguerite, 12 Jan 1676  Jarret, François, de Verchères, m. Perrault, Marie, 17 Sep 1669  Joachim, Bernard, dit LaVerdure, m. Pépin, Marguerite, 14 Nov 1679  Joncas, Pierre, dit LaPierre, m. Boulay, Jacqueline, 08 Jun 1672  Julien, Jacques, dit LeDragon, m. Labrecque, Anne, 10 Aug 1675</p>
<b>L</b>	<p>Labbé, Pierre, dit LaCroix, m. 1. Besnard, Catherine, 31 Jul 1672,  2. Meunier, Marguerite, 10 Apr 1674  Lafresnaye, Antoine, de Brucey, m. Picoté, Hélène, 23 Aug 1676  Lamoureux, Pierre, dit Saint-Germain, m. 1. Picarouiche, Marie, before 1672,  2. Lescel, Barbe, 05 Apr 1685  Lariou, Jean, dit LaFontaine, m. Mongeau, Catherine, 06 Nov 1673-contract  LaMarche, Jean, dit La Marche, m. Legendre, Marie, 03 Nov 1669-contract</p>



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## A listing of the *Filles du roi* (King's Daughters)

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<a href="#">A</a>	<p><b>Abraham, Marguerite</b>, m. 1: Nadeau, Ozanie-Joseph, dit Lavigne, contract Nov. 6, 1665, m. 2: Chartier, Guillaume, Jan. 31, 1678</p> <p><b>Adam, Anne</b>, m. Poliquin, Jean, Nov. 7, 1671</p> <p><b>Agathe, Marie-Anne</b>, m. Armand, Laurent, Oct. 16, 1663</p> <p><b>Albert, Marie</b>, m. Chauveau, Jean, dit Lafleur, Oct. 29, 1663</p> <p><b>Allence, Marie</b>, m. Tardif, Louis, contract Nov. 13, 1669</p> <p><b>Amiot, Jeanne</b>, m. 1: Pion, Nicolas, dit Lafontaine, Sep. 19, 1673, m. 2: Chicoine, François, Nov. 12, 1704</p> <p><b>Ancelin, Françoise</b>, m. Valade, Guillaume, dit Asselin, Nov. 10, 1669</p> <p><b>André, Louise</b>, m. Bossu, Nicolas, dit Le Prince, Jan. 18, 1672</p> <p><b>Andrieu, Marguerite</b>, m. Augran, Pierre, dit Lapiere, Sep. 19, 1673</p> <p><b>Angelier, Marie</b>, m. Rochereau, Vivien, Mar. 17, 1670</p> <p><b>Anthoine, Denise</b>, m. 1: Buy, Laurent, dit Lavergne, contract Oct. 11, 1670, m. 2: Banlier, Mathurin, dit Laperle, before 1704</p> <p><b>Arcular, Marie</b>, m. 1: Lefebvre, Claude, dit Boulanger, Oct. 28, 1669, m. 2: Lejamble, Pierre, Jul. 7, 1692</p> <p><b>Ardion, Marguerite</b>, (arrived with son, Laurent Beaudet), m. Rabouin, Jean, Oct. 28, 1663</p> <p><b>Arinart, Anne</b>, m. 1: Réal, Jean, Oct. 20, 1671, m. 2: Lefort, Antoine, Feb. 9, 1678</p> <p><b>Ariot, Marie</b>, m. Vandet, René, Apr. 11, 1671</p> <p><b>Asserin, Fleurance</b>, (arrived 1667)</p> <p><b>Aubé, Françoise</b>, m. Roy, Michel, dit Châtellerault, Oct. 8, 1668</p> <p><b>Aubert, Élisabeth</b>, m. Lambert, Aubin, dit Champagne, Sep. 29, 1670</p> <p><b>Aubert, Jeanne</b>, m. 1: Bisson, Jean, dit Provençal, contract Nov. 20, 1669, m. 2: De Morache, Joseph, before 1677</p> <p><b>Aubineau, Suzanne</b>, m. Campagna, Mathias, contract Apr. 25, 1667</p> <p><b>Aubry, Anne</b>, m. Caillé, Antoine, dit Brûlefer &amp; Biscornet, about 1674</p> <p><b>Aubry, Françoise</b>, m. 1: Mercier, Antoine, dit Lépine, Aug. 19, 1674, m. 2: Châtigny, Vincent, dit Lépine, before 1676</p> <p><b>Aubry, Jacqueline</b>, m. 1: Gros, Antoine, dit Laviolette, Sep. 9, 1670, m. 2: Denoyon, Guillaume, Mar. 22, 1689</p> <p><b>Auger, Catherine</b>, (arrived 1671)</p> <p><b>Auger, Jeanne</b>, m. Nolet, Sébastien, dit Larivière, Oct. 26, 1671</p> <p><b>Aupé, Isabelle</b>, m. De Lavoie, Pierre, contract Aug. 25, 1670</p> <p><b>Auvray, Madeleine</b>, m. Matte, Nicolas, Oct. 12, 1671</p>
<a href="#">B</a>	<p><b>Bagau, Antoinette, dite De Beurenom</b>, m. Roberge, Pierre, dit Lacroix, Oct. 22, 1672</p> <p><b>Bailly, Madeleine</b>, (out-of-wedlock child, Marie-Jeanne b. 1692),</p>

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	<p><b>Fressel, Isabelle</b>, m. Émereau, François, dit Bélair, Oct. 30, 1671</p> <p><b>Fressel, Jeanne</b>, m. Jacob, Étienne, Oct. 14, 1670</p> <p><b>Fro, Louise</b>, m. Meunier, Julien, Sep. 9, 1670</p>
<p><a href="#">G</a></p> <p><a href="#">Back to Top</a></p>	<p><b>Gaillard or Daire, Marie</b>, m. 1. Perrier, Jean-Baptiste, dit Lafleur, Oct. 6, 1669, m. 2. Sabourin, Jean, Sep. 22, 1682</p> <p><b>Gaillard, Marguerite, dite Duplessis</b>, m. 1. Provost, François, July 26, 1664, m. 2. Saucier, Louis, Jan. 12, 1671, m. 3. Legardeur, Michel, dit Sanssoucy, bef. Nov. 1677</p> <p><b>Galet, Anne</b>, m. Veau, Sylvain, Oct. 13, 1670</p> <p><b>Galet, Anne</b>, m. Hébert, Michel, dit Laverdure, Sep. 1, 1670</p> <p><b>Galien, Marie-Thérèse</b>, m. 1. Gouin, Laurent, Oct. 22, 1665, m. 2. Gilbert, Louis, Jan. 7, 1687</p> <p><b>Gambier, Marguerite</b>, m. Legardeur, Michel, dit Sanssoucy, Jul. 26, 1664</p> <p><b>Gargottin, Louise</b>, m. 1. Perron, Daniel, dit Suire, Feb. 26, 1664, m. 2. Alain, Charles-Louis, Jan. 7, 1679</p> <p><b>Gateau, Catherine</b>, m. Jean, Vivien, Nov. 29, 1671</p> <p><b>Gaumond, Madeleine</b>, m. 1. Langlois, Jean, Oct. 15, 1668, m. 2. François, Pierre, Aug. 16, 1670</p> <p><b>Gauthier, Marie</b>, m. Prou, Pierre, contract Nov. 7, 1669</p> <p><b>Gauthier, Marie-Jeanne</b>, m. Masson, Gilles, Oct. 17, 1668</p> <p><b>Gendreau, Anne</b>, m. Leduc, René, Oct. 28, 1664</p> <p><b>Genest, Jeanne-Léonarde</b>, m. 1. Cardin, Noël, contract Nov. 1, 1669, m. 2. Loiseau, Pierre, Nov. 6, 1671</p> <p><b>Geoffroy, Anne</b>, m. Flibot, Charles, Sep. 1, 1670</p> <p><b>Geoffroy, Marie-Marthe</b>, (arrived 1673)</p> <p><b>Gilles, Jeanne</b>, m. 1. Fleury, François, contract Aug. 24, 1670, m. 2. Dumas, Rebé, dit Rencontre, Jun. 1689, m. 3. Galet, Pierre, dit Laliberté, Sep. 1, 1704</p> <p><b>Girard, Anne</b>, m. Dodelin, Nicolas, Oct. 22, 1665</p> <p><b>Girard, Marguerite</b>, m. 1. Forcier, Pierre, m. 2. Abraham, René, dit Desmarais, Nov. 30, 1690</p> <p><b>Girard, Marie</b>, (arrived 1667)</p> <p><b>Goard, Mathurine</b>, m. Marie, Louis, dit Ste-Marie, May 31, 1667</p> <p><b>Gobert, Marie-Madeleine</b>, m. Groleau, Pierre, Sep. 8, 1670</p> <p><b>Godeby, Anne</b>, m. Talua, Julien, dit Vendamont, Oct. 7, 1669</p> <p><b>Godequin, Jeanne</b>, m. Croteau, Vincent, contract Sep. 22, 1669</p> <p><b>Godillon, Élisabeth</b>, m. Éthier, Léonard, Sep. 22, 1670</p> <p><b>Goiset, Anne</b>, m. Albert, André, dit Laroche, Oct. 21, 1669</p> <p><b>Gossard, Noëlle</b>, m. Bussière, Jacques, dit Laverdure, Oct. 16, 1671</p> <p><b>Goubilleau, Françoise</b>, m. Dazé, Paul, Apr. 15, 1671</p> <p><b>Grandin, Jeanne</b>, m. Brière, Jean, Oct. 19, 1671</p> <p><b>Grandin, Marie</b>, m. Beaudet, Jean, Sep. 23, 1670</p> <p><b>Grandin, Marie</b>, m. 1. Morel, Michel, abt 1670, m. 2. Robillard, Claude, abt 1672</p> <p><b>Grandjean, Adrienne</b>, m. Baucher, René, dit Sanssoucy, contract Jan. 8, 1666</p> <p><b>Grangeon, Marie-Madeleine</b>, m. Richard, Marin, dit Lavallée, Oct. 21, 1669</p> <p><b>Granger, Catherine</b>, m. Lépinay, Jean, Sep. 11, 1673</p> <p><b>Graton, Mathurine</b>, m. 1. Toupin, Pierre, dit Lapierre, Sep. 30, 1670, m. 2. Brunet, Vincent, Jul. 22, 1710</p> <p><b>Gravois, Marie</b>, m. Étienne, Philippe, Nov. 3, 1667</p> <p><b>Grimbault, Anne</b>, m. 1. Jouanne, Jean, Sep. 17, 1670, m. 2. Desportes, Claude, Feb. 19, 1691</p> <p><b>Groisard, Jeanne</b>, m. Dupuis, Zacharie, Oct. 25, 1668</p> <p><b>Groleau, Madeleine</b>, m. Marchand, François, Sep. 30, 1669</p> <p><b>Grossejambe, Françoise</b>, m. Boissy, Julien, dit Lagrillade, Oct. 26, 1671</p> <p><b>Gruaux, Jeanne</b>, m. 1. René, Jean, Sep. 9, 1670, m. 2. Pigeon, Jacques, bef. 1674</p>

31457

Petition from the Algonquin  
and Nipissing Tribes at the  
Lake of the 100 Mountains  
praying that Commissioners  
may be appointed to  
investigate their claims to  
compensation for land taken  
for the purposes of settlement.

<sup>to</sup>  
19 February 1827

Answered by the Genl Darling  
at the Grand Council held at  
Oupshuawaga <sup>at</sup> 5 October 1827

Indian Affairs (RG 10, Volume 496, pp. 31,340- 31,169)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES  
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LAC RG 10 Vol. 496 pp. 31,340 - 31,169

To His Excellency, George Earl of Dalhousie,  
 Baron Dalhousie of Dalhousie Castle  
 Knight Grand-Cross of the most Honourable  
 Military Order of the Bath, Captain  
 General, and Governor in Chief in and  
 over the Provinces of Lower Canada,  
 Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New  
 Brunswick, and their several dependencies,  
 Vice Admiral of the same, Lieutenant  
 General, and Commander of all His  
 Majesty's forces in the said Provinces  
 and their several dependencies &c. &c. &c.

May it please Your Excellency!

The petition of the Indian Tribes  
 of Algonquins and Nipissingues of the Lake of Two  
 Mountains most respectfully sheweth!—

That, in October of the year one thousand  
 eight hundred and twenty four, Your Petitioners  
 submitted to Sir John Johnson a memorial accompa-  
 nied with a map of the tract of land claimed by  
 your Petitioners on the Ottawa, from Hawkesbury  
 to Lake Nipissingue, and also a memorandum  
 explaining the extent of the said tract of land, and  
 a copy of the Proclamation issued in one thousand  
 seven hundred and sixty three by Sir William  
 Johnson, requesting at the same time Sir John  
 Johnson to submit the same to Your Excellency,  
 and that no answer whatever has, since their said  
 application, been made to Your Petitioners.

That, about one third of your  
 Petitioners' hunting lands has been taken within  
 a few years by Government and laid out in  
 Townships for the settlement of the Whites, and

no compensation whatever has been made to your  
Petitioners for the same.

That, they foresee, that the remainder of  
their lands will be soon taken away from them for the  
same purpose, without compensation, and they assure your  
Excellency that in such case they will remain become just  
distraint and deprived of all means of supporting their  
families, having no other property that they can call their  
own.

That the Indian Tribes of Upper Canada have  
ever always indemnified for their lands, when taken away  
by Government for Settlement purposes, and your petitioners  
are quite confident, that your Excellency will be pleased  
to treat them as favorably, and with the same consideration  
as the Indian Tribes of Upper Canada, are accustomed  
to from the Government of that Province.

Wherefore your Petitioners fully relying  
on the justice and munificence of your Excellency, humbly  
pray, that your Excellency may be pleased to appoint  
one or more Commissioners, to ascertain what extent of  
lands has been actually taken from them, and to fix the  
amount of indemnity which your Petitioners are entitled to  
receive for that part of their hunting lands that taken away  
for the settlement of the Michis, or that will be taken hereafter  
by the Government for the same or any other purpose, should  
your Excellency think proper, to indemnify your Petitioners  
for their land agreeable to the report which the Commissioners  
shall make upon their claims, and may be pleased also to  
cause such compensation or indemnity to be made to your  
Petitioners in such a manner as your Excellency shall, in  
your wisdom conceive to be the most convenient for the relief  
of your Petitioners.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever humbly pray

Constant <sup>mark</sup> & Laurens <sup>mark</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>tribe</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>two</sup> <sup>Mountains</sup> (Alconquim)  
(Nipissing)

Done at Lake of two Mountains, 5 Dec. 1726.

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Amable <sup>his</sup> + Sagouahonon (Ottawa)  
<sub>mark</sub>

Amable <sup>his</sup> + Oavatchigoull (Nipissing)  
<sub>mark</sub>

Louis <sup>his</sup> + Astinaouinde (Nipissing)  
<sub>mark</sub>

I do, the undersigned public Notary in and for the Province of Lower Canada, residing at Montreal, do hereby certify that the above named, Chiefs of the Indian Tribes of Montserrat and Nipissing, have made their marks with a cross, in our presence, having declared not knowing how to sign

Montreal 19<sup>th</sup> February 1827

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*



31695

*Copy*

*Petition from the Chiefs  
of the Algonquin and  
Nipissiquin Indians at  
the Lake of 2 Mountains  
29 July 1827*

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*Discussed at the Grand  
Council at Ganushuawagan  
5 October 1827*

Indian Affairs (RG 10, Vol. 497, pp.31,620 - 31,968)

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CANADA

*July 29, 1827*



A Son Excellence  
 Monsieur le Comte Dalhousie  
 Baron d'Alton, Chevalier d'honneur  
 Gouverneur en Chef de la Colonie du Nouveau Brunswick  
 Capitaine General & Gouverneur  
 des Provinces du Bas Canada, Haut-Canada, Nouvelle Ecosse, Nouvelle  
 France et des Indes occidentales, Vice-Amiral d'icelles, Lieutenant General  
 Commandant toute la Force de Sa Majeste dans les memes Provinces  
 et des Indes occidentales, & dans les Isles de Terre-Neuve, du Prince  
 Edward & des Bermudes, &c. &c. &c.

La tres humble requete de Chefs Algonkins, & Nipissings et de ceux de leurs Tribus etablis  
 aupres du Lac des deux Montagnes. expose respectueusement a Votre Excellence, &  
 que depuis un temps immemorial les Algonkins et Nipissings de cette Mission sont en  
 possession de chasse embrasant les Couverts qui se dechargent dans la Riviere des Pretres,  
 ont toujours joui du privilege exclusif de chasser sur ces terres sous la protection du Gouvernement.  
 Mais depuis quelque temps des Sauvages Noirs, Aloukis & autres, factieux, ont enjures  
 avide d'occur de chasser sur ces terres, & font des incursions et des dommages considerables et  
 etentement le castor de maniere qu'en tres peu de temps ces terres serent tout a fait  
 etruisies, et les supplians, pour qui la chasse sur ces terres est l'unique moyen de subsistance,  
 sont a la plus grande misere, plusieurs d'entre eux etant deja hors d'etat de payer leurs dettes  
 faites a cause des imputations ruineuses faites sur leurs terres.

Les supplians, par la necessite imminente de conserver leur moyen de subsistance et une fortune qu'on  
 n'avoit jamais disputee, ils ne pouvoient pas néanmoins employer pour s'y maintenir des  
 violents qui pussent troubler le pais, et employer pour s'y tenir leurs justes possessions des  
 armes qui serent pour usage que contre les ennemis de Sa Majeste et du Gouvernement  
 sous la protection duquel ils ont le bonheur de vivre; esperant qu'a la fin, Votre Excellence,  
 representant de leur pais commun, daignera prêter l'oreille a leurs justes reclamations et  
 dans sa sagesse, des moyens pour leur faire rendre justice.

Ils ont donc supplie instamment Votre Excellence de donner immediatement des ordres  
 que les supplians soient maintenus dans la paisible possession de leurs terres de chasse  
 et de dommages du tout qui on leur a fait et que on leur en soit fait defenses expresses a  
 ce soit de les troubler a l'avenir dans leurs possessions legitimes, et notamment d'aller chasser  
 et d'y commettre aucune imputations, depredations & autres dommages.

- |  |                 |  |                   |   |
|--|-----------------|--|-------------------|---|
| Louis Constant Verinoy<br>et Nipissings<br>le Halkwakoncan | } Grands Chefs. | + Jean B. Mackiva<br>+ Michel Payvandawa<br>+ Michel Chabokavakto<br>+ Benjamin Otanavakto<br>+ Adis Tehangay<br>+ Joseph Paskakavakay<br>+ Jacques Kotononko<br>+ Adis K'akikto<br>+ Amable de S. Yves Chabakto | } Chefs de guerre | Jugates akas<br>jriaketo roachitoh<br>jomlon ke se koo tan<br>akon tan d'ak<br>Me iacvabawo ak<br>Kas i' s' si tota<br>Mi Koum nabe<br>Ignae Chawinabais<br>Francais otik |
|--|-----------------|--|-------------------|---|

Montagnes & du Lac 1827  
 les Honnables } Seigneurs

31697

The English Copy of  
the Petition submitted  
with my letter to the  
Willing Secretary of  
the Indian Affairs  
20 August 1829  
to May 1829

Indian Affairs (RG 10, Vol. 497, pp.31,620 - 31,968)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES  
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES  
CANADA

To His Excellency George Paul of Delmonore Baron Delmonore of Delmonore Castle  
 Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Captain General  
 and Governor in Chief, in and over the Provinces of Lower Canada, Upper Canada,  
 Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and their several dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same,  
 Lieutenant General, and Commander of all His Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces and their several  
 Dependencies, and in the Islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward, Bermuda &c. &c. &c.

Most Humble Petition of the Algonquin & Nipissingue Chiefs and Others of their Tribes Resident in the Nipissing  
 & Lake of the Two Mountains. Most respectfully Sheweth,

in Time immemorial the Algonquin & Nipissingue Indians of this Nipissing have been in possession of Certain  
 Lands bordering on both sides of the Ottawa River, and have always had the exclusive privilege of Hunting on the same,  
 in the protection of His Britannic Majesty's Government.

Some time back many Indians of the Rogouois and Monagouois Tribes, and Others, under an Idea of having an equal  
 interest with the Algonquin and Nipissingue Tribes as to the right of Hunting on their Lands, have frequently made Ex-  
 cursions thereon, committing considerable damages, destroying the Beavers without any regard for the future, so it is  
 to be feared their Lands will eventually become entirely ruined, and the numerous Families of the Rightfull  
 owners of the Soil be reduced to the most dejected condition.

and by Necessity to procure their Means of Subsistence, and a Property which has never yet been disputed, they would  
 nevertheless wish to employ violent Methods, not disturb the Peace of the Country, nor make use of their Arms  
 in any other Manner but against the Enemies of His Majesty's Government, under the protection of which they have  
 hitherto had the Happiness to live. They therefore Hope and Pray Your Excellency, the Worthy Representatives of their Common-  
 Law will deign to pay Attention to this their Humble Petition, and take in Your Wisdom such Measures as may  
 be therein inquired and peaceable possession of such Lands as they have hitherto enjoyed by inheritance from their  
 Fathers.

supplicate Your Excellency to issue immediate Orders so as to put a stop to any further Ravages being Com-  
 mitted on their Lands by the said Rogouois and Monagouois Tribes, or any Others, and also that an Indemnification  
 be made them for the Losses they have already sustained.

Witness Our Hands at Montreal  
 this 29th day of May 1764

Present  
 Louis Constant Renaudie  
 Laurent Nipissingue  
 Amable Pitwakhwanne

Present  
 Jean Bt. Marchon  
 Michel Pansindawa  
 Mathias Chabot  
 Capt. Samu. Leli  
 Louis Tachonquay  
 Sr. Sakakabibeloh  
 Jacques Feltin  
 Pierre  
 Amable Pitwakhwanne

Agreed  
 In presence of  
 Messrs. Pitepachitch  
 Simon de la Roche  
 Jean Tachon  
 Charles Pitepachitch  
 Joseph Pitepachitch  
 Charles Pitepachitch  
 Jacques Pitepachitch  
 Jean Pitepachitch



July 18 33 34427

Son Excellence le Très-Honorable  
 Matthew Lord Aylmer, Chevalier,  
 Commandeur des Très-Honorables ordres  
 militaires du Bain, Capitaine Général  
 & Gouverneur en chef des Hauts &  
 Bas Canada, Nouvelle-Écosse, Nouveau-  
 Brunswick, & de leurs différentes dépendances,  
 Vice-Amiral d'icelles S. M. G.

Les chefs & officiers des  
 nations Algonquins & Képijiqués  
 ne saluent mon père, & sont exposés  
 humblement leurs misères, ils sont  
 dignes de pitié. Ils l'ont déjà représenté  
 de puis plusieurs lunes par une requête,  
 qu'ils étoient dans une extrême nécessité  
 à la subsistance de leur famille. Tu  
 leur dis: Mes enfants écoutez, je ferai par-  
 venir vos paroles à notre père commun,  
 au delà du grand Lac, qui les prendra en  
 considération, & me donnera l'ordre  
 de vous accorder ce que vous me demandez.  
 Qu'as tu fait mon père à notre égard  
 de puis ce temps? Rien, au moins à notre  
 connoissance, pour l'octroi de ce que nous  
 te demandions alors. Si ce n'est que tu  
 nous dis seulement d'aller chasser ou  
 habiter des Isles sur le territoire de nos  
 pères. Si nous avons trouvé ces Isles  
 occupées par d'autres personnes accoutumées  
 de pouvoir supérieur, à ce qu'ils nous  
 ont dit nous en avons chassé, & en  
 nous disant: Prenez vous, vous n'avez  
 aucun droit ici, nous nous défendons de  
 faire la chasse & la pêche. Si votre père  
 vous eût accordé quelques droits, il nous  
 l'aurait donné par écrit, ainsi mon père,  
 ces mêmes personnes qui n'ont pas craint  
 de mépriser sa parole, ont bien su que  
 craint

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craind de nous chagrin de la propriété qui  
 nous avoit <sup>droit</sup> Lord Torchester, qui n'estoit  
 que peu de chose en compensation de  
 ce que nous avions droit d'attendre de  
 notre bon roi.

Tu n'as mon père que les enfans tuissant,  
 qu'ils te voyent fidelle, qu'ils ne voient  
 & ne voient dans l'occasion. Ne l'ont  
 - ils pas fait? Regarde derrier toi, & lis  
 l'histoire de la dernière guerre. Qui sont  
 rendus les premiers aux Anglois & qui  
 ont à l'ennemi, est ce nous et nos enfans  
 ou ceux qui ont le plus favorisé? Ce  
 sont nous les Algonkins & les Pepinians  
 qui ont été de ce service que nous  
 te demandons aujourd'hui, celui sur  
 lequel tu es commandé. Et autres Nations  
 ne ont presque rien fait, plusieurs ont été  
 trahis à notre préjudice. Les uns a osé nous  
 récompensés par des sermens. Mais pour nous que as  
 tu fait? Des promesses seulement. Ne  
 est-ce mon père que quelques mauvais cœurs  
 n'auraient conseillé autrement. Il n'aurait  
 dit de rien accorder aux Algonkins &  
 Pepinians. Hélas! mon père connoit  
 mieux ses enfans, surtout toi qui ne  
 n'aurais rien n'a jamais obtenu de  
 nous toujours reconnaissant. Et remarque  
 qu'un peu d'Algonkins ou de Pepinians se  
 jettent de la portion qu'il a pour la part  
 à ses enfans, il les porte dans son cœur,  
 leur amis de vie et de mort. Les autres, par  
 cette voie il acquiesce à l'abjection de ses  
 enfans, ils lui sont fidelle, ils partent  
 avec lui ses peines, ses souffrances & la joie  
 et toi mon père, tu vois les enfans  
 mourir de faim, sans nous pourvoir de rien  
 qui leur assure un gîte ou pourvoir leurs  
 leurs têtes affoiblies par la jeûne.

Tobit.

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Rebelle par tout, tu les oublies, tu les  
mécoules. Si, au milieu de l'abondance  
tu oublies la détresse de ces enfants,  
tu oublies que les corps de plusieurs  
de leurs ancêtres, ou plutôt leurs  
cendres attendent encore ces exploits  
qui n'ont jamais signalé des  
 Braves & des Guerriers.

Malgré ton oubli, tes enfants Maimont  
encore & te cherchent, accorde leur donc  
ce qu'ils te demandent, un terrain sur  
le Ottawa ou dans les environs qui te  
paraissent, que ce terrain nous appartient  
à toi, que nous y soyons libres nous &  
nos enfants à toujours, & y fain la  
Chasse & la pêche, sans qu'aucune  
personne y mette aucun obstacle.  
Nous te la demandons avec instance,  
c'est alors que nous nous assurerons un  
bien ou les corps de nos ascendants  
pourront se faire en paix, que nous  
ne serons pas dans la dure nécessité  
que l'on nous dit un jour.....

Ombres Chéries, es précieuses & mes proches,  
vous nous chérissez ainsi que si vous l'avez  
levez vous & venez habiter avec nous une  
terre étrangère. Hélas! Mon père, appelle  
toi que partie de cette terre que tu habites  
aujourd'hui, & sur lequel tu commandes  
aujourd'hui nous appartenait autrefois,  
ne nous en refuse pas au moins un  
petit morceau pour nous y reposer  
à l'ombre de ta bonté paternelle &  
de tes bienfaits.

Qu'on nous accorde cette grâce, ou  
au moins une réponse à nos demandes,  
tu trouveras en tous temps des  
enfants fidèles qui te chériront &  
pourront pour la conservation des jours  
Brière

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Procès de l'empire.

Lac des Deux Montagnes Juillet  
1833

Chefs Algonquins & Chef Népissain Gue

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Guillaume Louis &amp; Genesly<br/>marquis</p> <p>Ignace &amp; Meawahkwa<br/>marquis</p> <p>Benjamin &amp; Osawakick<br/>marquis</p> <p>Antoine &amp; Kikowahk<br/>marquis</p> <p>Joseph &amp; Kikowahk<br/>marquis</p> | <p>En papino</p> <p>Jbt + Kigikomanitou<br/>marquis</p> <p>J. B<sup>te</sup> + Makwa<br/>marquis</p> <p>Simon Kikowahk</p> <p>Ignace Chawinabais</p> <p>Bier &amp; Wapi Chip</p> <p>Louis &amp; Kikowahk</p> <p>Francis Ojick</p> <p>Michel &amp; Besinawatch</p> <p>Matias &amp; Chabakawatch</p> |
|---|--|

Je soussigné certifie que Les Signatures  
ci-dessus sont les véritables, et  
garanties par leurs Demeures

D. Duhamel  
Interprète  
J. Dupont

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Mother

Ever last children the Algonquins & Nipissingus  
 beg permission to approach and salute you with joy they  
 humbly pray that the Great Master of Life may be pleased  
 to bless you with health, long life, and prosperity in all your  
 undertakings, and a lengthy sojourn amongst them.

Father

Having been deprived of the paternal care of Lord  
 Metcalfe in whom we had great confidence, and our Lord Mother  
 the Queen having deemed fit and proper to appoint you His  
 successor, and Her Representatives, the now said you, Father,  
 and will therefore address you as our Protector, in the hopes to  
 obtain that justice which has hitherto through untoward circum-  
 stances been denied us.

Father

At the last Autumn when our kind Father Lord Metcalfe  
 was pleased to allow us in the month of August last he had much  
 to say to us, but his words to us at this time (proceeding we imagine from  
 great suffering) about our Masters and dependents of that opportunity  
 of meeting him acquainted with the great grievances and injustices  
 we have long and awfully experienced from strangers that are  
 constantly trespassing on our hunting grounds, settling by quarter  
 and lumbered when we are annually increasing.

Ours

Indian Affairs, (RG 10, Vol. 94, pp. 38,425 - 38,912)

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Our Father, your Predecessor, requested us, to make known, and thoroughly explain to him, on a piece of paper, the injuries and grievances we had to complain of, and that he would examine them, and render us Justice— Now as our Good Mother, across the Big Salt Lake, has pleased you in His Chair, He therefore sends you the paper we were requested to prepare for your Predecessor, It contains all we have to say, in regard to the grievances, injuries, and the great injustice that has been done us— Our mouths are not forked Father, We speak straight and what we say is the truth,

Father

To make you thoroughly acquainted, with the causes of our present most destitute and distressed situation, We must go far back, and therefore entreat and pray of you to be patient, and to listen to our words not only as a good Father, but also as a just and kind Protector— We trust, Good Father, that you are just, that you show no partiality— That you render Justice to whom it appertains— Justice Father? is all we ask— It is what we are entitled to, and expect at your hands—

Father

As you are to us a stranger and perhaps ignorant of our claim, as regards our rights— Permit your Red children Algonquins & Delawares, to point out to you, the extent of the hunting grounds reserved to our tribes, by the Father of our ancestors (the King of France) & which they occupied and enjoyed long before the conquest of Canada, begins at Pointe à l'Original above the Long Sault, on the Ottawa River, and following that River to Mattawan thence up the little River to Lake Pepouangues on both banks of that River, to Deland, adjacent Countries, tributary Rivers and Creeks from their sources & heights of land, that flow down to and empty themselves in said Ottawa River—

And moreover Father, the same hunting grounds were reserved to us, by a Proclamation, signed by our good and much lamented Father King George the Third, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> October 1763— and by his order Father the late Sir William Johnston Chief Superintendent of the Indians in North America, assembled all the principal Chiefs & Warriors of our Tribes in Council, and was pleased to appoint one of his Officers

his

(his representatives) to address the Council (as we have always  
been given to understand by our Fathers and old chiefs) in the  
following words

Address

My Children Manganins & Nipissingans

"By command of your Father, Chief Superintendent,  
Mr William Robinson, I have assembled you in Council, to  
make your hearts dance with joy, and announce to you, that  
your new Father the King (George the Third) accords the  
Big Salt Lake, his the interests of his red children at heart,  
and has not forgotten you, - as he is persuaded, that should  
he at any time require your services, you will be prompt to obey  
him.

"The hunting grounds, my children, which your ancestors  
and yourselves, have so long occupied and enjoyed, and that  
have been the means of supporting and bringing up your  
families, are reserved to you as heretofore, by order of your  
Great and Good Father the King.

"No Strangers have a right to establish themselves on  
your hunting grounds, or molest you in any manner what-  
soever. They are reserved to your Tribes as hunting grounds,  
for the sole benefit of yourselves and children.

"Your Great Father even forbids his Officers, or any other  
Individuals, of making a survey of any part thereof, or to per-  
chase, or otherwise to appropriate to themselves a single  
particle of your hunting grounds.

"Should you my Children at a future period find that  
your hunting grounds become diminished and exhausted of  
Beaver, Fish, &c. &c. and that you might be willing  
to dispose of a part or the whole of the hunting grounds.

"They will be reserved for your benefit, and the King by his  
Representatives that may at the time be with you, and the Judges  
thereof to take place at a public Council, to be held for this  
purpose, when your Chief and principal Warriors will  
be present and set on an act with your Tribal Representative  
and such as having appeared to the present with him, and  
whatever arrangements may take place & mutually resolved  
upon at said Council will be attended by both parties well  
be approved in the Name of the King your Great Father by  
His

His

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His Representatives, who will give necessary orders for the payment of your hunting grounds in conformity to the resolve and arrangement of the Council.

"God Save the King"

My Children

"Here is a true Copy of the writing, which your Great Father the King has sent to your Chief Superintendent, & is certified by him dated the 24<sup>th</sup> Nov 1733, my orders are to place it in your hands, & be careful of it, may perhaps at a future period be of service to you

Father,

We hold this writing, our ancestors and ourselves were proud of it, we considered it as a sacred document, it contains the words of our Good Ancestor Father King George the Third, and as we were always given to understand, we were persuaded that his word and signature was sufficient to secure us of the peaceful enjoyment, of our hunting grounds; and keep us from being molested by Intemperance and Deceitfuls.

But Father, it is with tears, and a sore heart, that we Algonquins & Mississingues, are under the necessity of telling you, that to their great surprise, detrement and annoyance, that it is far from being the case, But at the same time they are persuaded that it ought to be —

Father

Permit your Red Children to present to you, that about fifty years ago or thereabouts there was not a single white man's establishment, above the Long Point with the exception of one and two or three Huts of Canadian Fur Traders, and these were not permitted to come without obtaining a licence from Government, In these days Father, we were happy, rich and independent, we lived well, made great heats, were well clothed, our hunting grounds abounded in beaver and all other species of valuable peltries, and our magnificent Forest, was stocked with Deer, no one in these days dares molest us,

It is only about the beginning of this Century Father, that a few indigent poor families, who were starving,

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(wounded children to the present) found their way up the  
 Long Sault, our old chiefs took pity on them and allowed  
 them a piece of land on our hunting grounds, to cultivate  
 for to support their families, they were grateful kind and  
 thankful. - But Father these Intidopes annually augmented,  
 We perceived they would be an annoyance to us, but before  
 making use of force to expel them, We complained to our  
 Father and Superintendent in of the J. M. S. He promised to  
 send them away but did not do so, - since that time Father  
 innumerable Memorials have been sent by us, with complain-  
 -ing, praying for the removal of these squatters and lumberers,  
 from our hunting grounds, We always received good words  
 and great promises from your Excellencies, and were told  
 that steps would be immediately taken to remove and  
 punish them; But Father these were but promises and  
 light, that they were blown away by the wind and of  
 course remain to be accomplished,  
 Father

We wounded children Algonquins & Nipissingues  
 are the tribes and identical children of the soil, and  
 according to the above mentioned proclamations of our  
 lamented Good Father King George the Third the real and  
 sole proprietors of these (one) rich hunting grounds and  
 Majestic Forests, But at the present day Father your children  
 are reduced to beggary, caused principally by those innum-  
 -erable squatters and lumberers, who not content of  
 taking possession and establishing themselves on the  
 most fertile part of our hunting grounds, destroying our  
 magnificent Forests, and appropriating to themselves  
 our fine timber, but they most maliciously set fire to our  
 woods, by which means they have destroyed our beaver  
 and peltries, and driven away our deer, the only supports  
 we had to support clothe and bring up our children.

We are often ill-treated by these Intidopes, they take pleasure  
 in destroying our patches of Maize which we have been  
 and thus in cultivation, and often pillaging and destroying  
 our sugar bushes, and when we threaten them with complaints  
 to our Father, they laugh at us, and say that it is from shame  
 that they decide themselves to cut our timber; We are too  
 weak to think before ourselves and are obliged to put up  
 with

M. S.

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with all these injuries and injustices—

Who Father is the cause of all we have endured for these many years past, and are thus reduced to the greatest distress?

It is with a sore heart that we say it Father?

It is the government, who furnish licenses, to these lumbermen and who connive at these squatters, who take possession of part of our valuable hunting grounds without our permission or authority from Government, and who owe us much money, they formally used to pay us a small sum for the enjoyment of the land they had squatted on, but now refuse to do so, saying that they are forced by Government—

Who Father has established, and are still establishing these numerous & flourishing Townships on our hunting grounds on the Ottawa river;

Government Father,

that some Government Father, who instead of protecting and assisting us (in conformity to the above mentioned Proclamation) are the principal cause of our present great distress—

Father

At the beginning of the revolutionary War, our Great Father the King required the assistance of his Red Children the Algonquins & Mississaugas, our ancestors were told by his then Representatives, that we were called upon as allies of our Great Father to encounter the enemy that we had the honor of our Father to defend, our lands and our families, and must act in concert with our White Brethren. We were no longer summoned, than the War whoop reiterated in our Camp, We remembered what our Father the King had done for us; and forgot ourselves, we fought and bled for King and Country, We did the same in the last war with the big Braves and in a similar case are ready to do it again—

Father

All the above mentioned grievances and great injustices, we have experienced, without being enabled to get redress, unobscured upon it before we had the good fortune

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fortune of having your Predecessor, Lord Metcalf, for a Protector. He promised to render us justice, it is at his request (as before mentioned) was prepared, so he has suddenly and unexpectedly been taken from us, at the present day we have no one but you alone, to look up to for Protection, we beseech you Father to watch over your Red Children as a good Parent, and order & see that Justice be rendered them.

Enough Father let us forget the past, and rather plan what is to be done for the future!

Father

We pray and beseech you to have a glance to the enclosed report of the Executive Council of Lower Canada of the 15<sup>th</sup> June 1837 that report Father has sent across the Big Salt Lake, and approved and sanctioned by Her Most Young Mother the Queen by a dispatch of the 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1838.

The representations in that Document Father, with respect to your Red Children The Algonquins and Nipissingues are but just, if heeded as therein represented - How happy I would make us, we would see more be rich and independent, as in former times, we have held this paper Father for several years past, always looking forward, and expecting that something good would last upon. But seven long years have passed away and your Children have received no benefit from it. The cause we imagine proceeds from the several too sudden changes and deaths of several of our Fathers your Predecessors, and the late distressed state of the Country, the now Father depend upon you to settle all this business, you have the Power and the Means.

Father

We have to represent to you, that the Algonquins and Nipissingues Tribes have frequently requested of Government, to assign the whole of their hunting grounds (with the exception of a sufficient extent of Country on said hunting grounds for both Tribes to establish themselves with the aid of Government) and we demand from Government that we be treated in like manner as our Brethren of Upper Canada

James

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have been in Conformity to the above mentioned Proclamation  
 We receive an annuity for such part of their hunting grounds  
 (according to their extent) that Government have assured.  
 Our hunting grounds are extensive, rich in soil and  
 abound in Majestic Forests, -

With respect to our demands, we pray our Father,  
 to be pleased to glance over several of our Petitions of the  
 Month of March 1840, August 1842 and Month of  
 June 1844 - The documents contain all our Prayers,  
 and are in the hands of our Officer Colonel Napier -

We beseech your Father to pay particular attention  
 to the one regarding Lele and Allumettes and  
 respecting the Monies due us by the numerous  
 Squatters, who are settled on that Island - Our Officer  
 Colonel Napier a Nominal list of them and the amount  
 of Monies they owe us. - When your children found that  
 it was impossible to obtain redress from Government to  
 expel and remove these trespassers, they came to an  
 agreement, viz they leased them the land they had squatted  
 on for a term of two & three years at the rate of one Shilling  
 for each acre annually, many were to pay, but since four years  
 they have refused to pay us, without we had some paper  
 from Government to authorize us to receive payment, -

Under no Justice Factor for that part of our hunting  
 grounds situated on the upper part of the Ottawa  
 River facing Lele and Allumettes South side, -  
 when we meant to settle ourselves, had the sanction  
 of so doing, and a promise from our Father in John  
 Colborne of Assistance. But that year after this promise  
 etc. our Chief's second visit to Toronto on the subject  
 To our great Mortification we were given to understand  
 that said part of our hunting grounds had been  
 clandestinely sold to the Upper Canadian Government  
 by the Thlinagouis, who well know that they belonged  
 to us, - and who nevertheless have for these many years  
 just & still receive an annuity for them, which annuity  
 we are here forth entitled to receive, and we are  
 persuaded that our Father will agree with us. -

Father

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Father

The annual accumulation of the vast revenues of the present and future flourishing Townships established on our hunting grounds, the rents and purchase Money that Government have a right to obtain from the numerous Squatters that are established on our said hunting grounds without authority, and the annual vast sums of Money that must and ought to be realized from the Timber of our Magnificent Forests, ought surely to be much more than adequate to furnish an annuity to your once rich Children (of the Soil) but now in the greatest distress) and also sufficient assistance to Establish them in some many Corns or other of their said hunting grounds to support and bring up their Children, without the risk of being hereafter molested by Strangers.

Father

We will break your ears no longer, we are persuaded that you are convinced that we have received much ill treatment and that we have every right to demand and entitled to receive Justice at your hands.

That the Great Master of Life may be pleased to give you health, long life and prosperity in all your undertakings is the prayer of your red Children  
The Algonquins and Nipissingues