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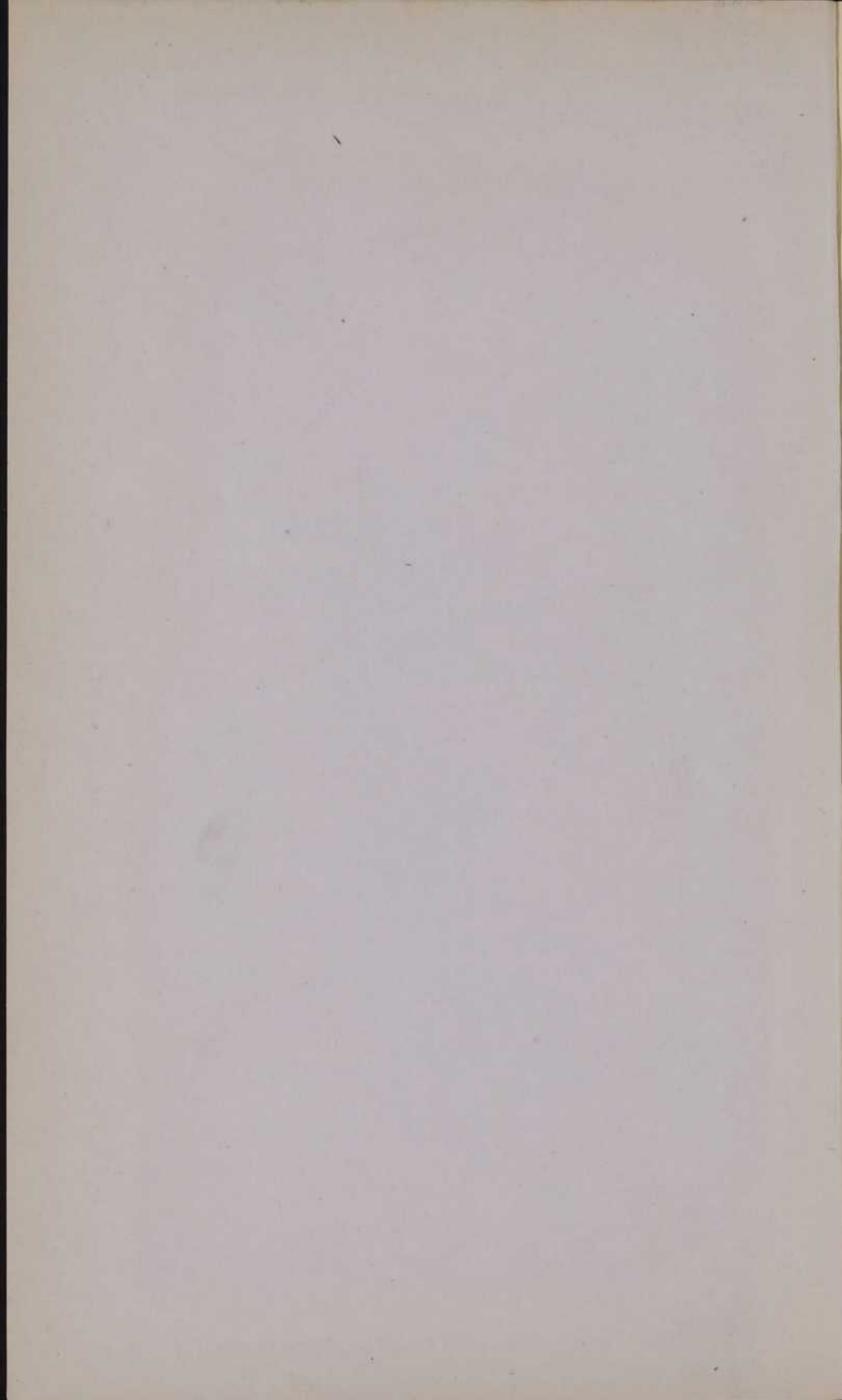
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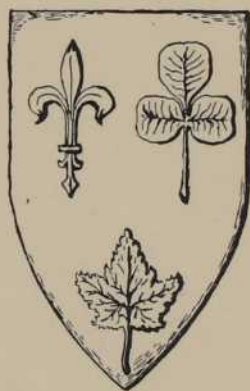
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The Gaet
in
New France



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THOMAS GUERIN

The Gael
in
New France

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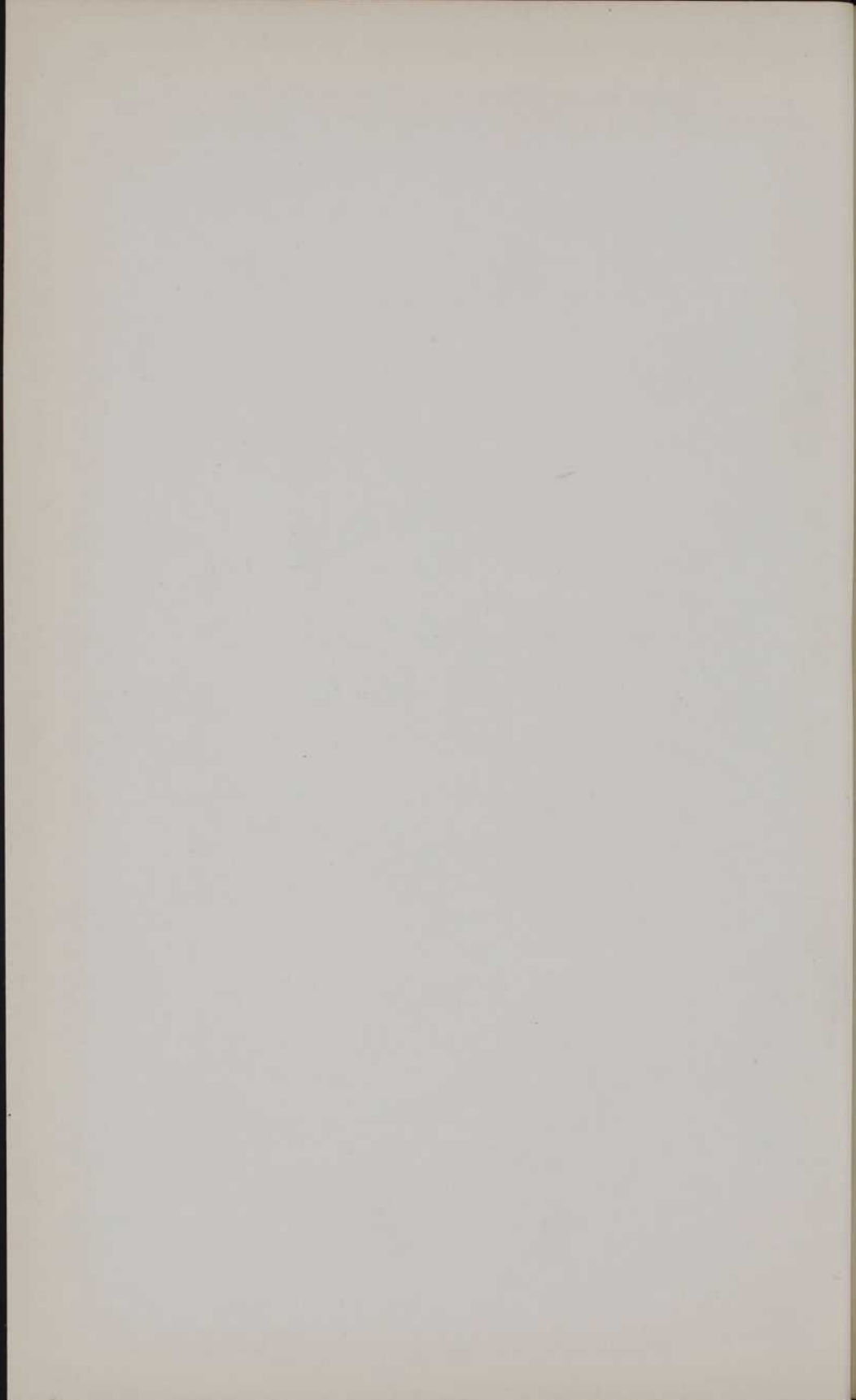
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*Dedicated to the
Irish Historical Society of Canada.*



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Timothee
Silvain, o'sullivan
of book long written by him
the 20 of May 1739

in Jesus Christ and —
let it be My Life —
to die for the love of
thee amen amen

1734

Signature of Timothee Silvain and inscription from the fly leaf of his prayer book, dated 1734.

Chapter I

THE FIRST COLONISTS

THESE is one thing peculiar to the Irish people, that is the desire on their part to know what role their countrymen have played in the history of whatever country they may be inhabiting. We in Canada are no different. We like to feel that men of the Irish race have been associated with the very creation of the land and that they have always aided in the development of the country. There has been much surmise with regard to the first Irishmen who came to New France. It is true that little available is known about them. Yet we have evidence that some did come and settled here, that they planted their seed in the forests on the banks of the St. Lawrence and that they were absorbed into the lives of the people. They were slow in coming and there is nothing at our disposal to indicate that they came in any numbers before the advent of the 18th century.

The first entries which we find in the early records relate to the two who had established themselves near

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Montreal. Their achievements, although of little importance to the history of the land, are worthy of note and should be placed before our compatriots in such a manner that they may appear to the best advantage, for men of our race are prone to claim as our heritage at least some part in most of the great achievements of the world.

We have never lacked assurance in such matters and modesty has never been our forte. No inferiority complex seems to have darkened our past and those who write our history seldom allow our modest reticence to curb our historical ambition. An amusing incident with regard to our national enthusiasm took place in Montreal in 1871. On the 15th of January in that year the St. Patrick's Society of that city held a dinner. The members must have dined well and the spirit of the occasion must have been very propitious. The guest speaker was a Mr. John O'Farrell who was a prominent lawyer and an orator of some repute. He made a vivid description of the part that Irish soldiers had played at the battle of Carillon as members of the French Army.

He pictured their prowess and bravery in the woods of Canada and gave the credit for that victory chiefly to the Irish. The only trouble with the theory was that there were no Irish troops at the battle of Carillon whatsoever. In his St. Patrick's night enthusiasm he felt that if there had not been, there should have been. He had this great speech published in pamphlet form but luckily it remained lost for many years. The pamphlet was originally published in the year that the speech was delivered by John Lovell and Sons under the title « Irish Families in Ancient Quebec records

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with some account of soldiers from the Irish Brigade Regiments of France serving with the Army of Montcalm ».

About twelve months after the resurrection of O'Farrell's article, that was in 1911, «The New Freeman's Journal» published an article under the heading «The Irish Brigade at Ticonderoga» with copious extracts from the pamphlet of O'Farrell. The article was signed with the initials J.R.H. The flight of fancy went so far as to state that after the capitulation of 1760, the remains of the Irish Brigade to the number of two thousand had settled in this country and became an integral part of the population which, at that time, numbered fifty thousand and that they had, thereby, given an Irish complexion to the entire Canadian scene. This whole story is of the purest fiction and has no historic basis that could be possibly established.

The Hon. Charles Murphy came into possession of the original O'Farrell pamphlet. He was charmed by the novelty of the ideas which it preached and had it republished. This was not so long ago. It must have caused much ado and Sir Thomas Chapais, that charming old reactionary who has written so delightfully on Canadian History and whom everyone regards as an authority of the first order wrote an answer which tore poor O'Farrell's oration to pieces.

Sir Thomas Chapais denied that the Irish had had anything whatsoever to do with the battle of Carillon or in fact with the military foundation of New France at all. He showed that O'Farrell did not have a leg to stand upon, which is quite true, but one cannot help thinking that Sir Thomas Chapais went too far when he denied the Irish nationality of men like Sieur de

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McCarty. We will touch later on some points that may have led Mr. O'Farrell astray and may have been the foundation on which he based his desire to give us a place which we do not merit in the founding of this land.

Any facts that may be given to you have all been culled from authentic documents such as the reports of the Archives of Quebec, the State Papers of the State of New York, the *Bulletins des Recherches Historiques*, as well as the records of the Hospitals and the registers of the City of Quebec and those of the *Hotel-Dieu* at Montreal. One must thank in a most particular manner the Religious of these Convents who made it possible to search through their lists of patients from the very cradle of the colony.

Few Irish names, indeed, are to be found before the year 1700. In reality they number only a token to prove that Irishmen were interested in the colonization of this new and great country beyond the seas. It is only after the Conquest that they began their immigration. Almost immediately following the entry of the English, the Irish sought haven in this land, then the names of Irishmen appear in increasing numbers and are soon to be found inhabiting every corner of the small area that was then the Province of Quebec.

The Island of Montreal has the right to claim the first Irish settler and it would be interesting to know if he left any offspring and what became of them. A list of the first inhabitants of Lachine and the environs has been collected from the «*Terrier et Régistres*» of Montreal and Lachine for the years 1661-1698, just after the Indian Wars. In the year 1693 we find our first Irishman. He was living in Lachine. He was a

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settler named Jean LaHaye (1). With such a name we would be inclined to gloss over him as just another colonist from France who had left to build a new Empire for the French Crown. The makers of the official records were careful, for they described him as being « un irlandois ». We are indeed very fortunate in the fact that most of the French registers describe the racial origin of everyone mentioned who was of other than French nationality. This excellent system has also been carried out in the hospital registers particularly in the city of Quebec.

Who was then this Jean LaHaye, so far from the land of his birth, and why should we find him lost in the Canadian woods, building a log hut or clearing the forest on the shores of Lake St. Louis? Nobody knows. He was without a doubt some Irish wanderer named Leahy whose progeny has been absorbed into our history under such guise as LaHaye or Lahaise.

Our John Leahy, it is recorded, acquired two holdings from the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice, the Seigniors of the Island of Montreal. In a roll of « Aveu et Dénombrement » or list of those holding land through seigniorial tenure there is an entry saying that Jean LaHaye held a parcel of land of three acres frontage by a depth of thirty acres and that the seigniorial dues thereon were 45 Sols and 2½ French Bushels (minots) of wheat (2). He also held another grant of three arpents by a depth of twenty-one arpents having on it a house, barn and stable. Twenty acres were arable and

(1) Girouard, D., LL.D., M.P. *Lake St. Louis Old and New*. History of the Lake of Two Mountains and Cavalier de La Salle — 1893, p. 216.

(2) Les Rapports de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec for 1941-42, p. 143.

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the dues were 37 Sols, 6 deniers as well as $1\frac{1}{2}$ minots of grain (3).

This part of the Island of Montreal seems to have possessed some novel fascination for these first Irish settlers, for shortly after this another Irishman is to be found living in the same Seigniory of the Sulpicians. Is it possible that he was seeking the company of a compatriot when he found that a man from his native land was already living in this vicinity, or was it just a chance that the site he chose to the North West on the Lake of Two Mountains reminded him of Killarney or some other sport in his own beloved Ireland? It is indeed lucky for us that he also had his nationality inscribed in all his records, for notwithstanding that he was known as Charles LeMer dit St. Germain (4), he came from Tipperary. His name appears as Lemaire amongst those who were naturalized by an edict of the Sovereign Council in Quebec in May 1710. The Lachine records call him LeMer St. Germain dit l'Irlande. What then could have been his Irish name? We have not the foggiest notion of any Irish equivalent for Lemaire — the secret is hidden in this word.

The registration of his marriage at Lachine tells us much (5). From this we know that on July 11th, 1707, Charles LeMer dit St. Germain, son of Etienne LeMer and Helen Ossé of the Parish of «Turlos en Irlande» was married at Lachine to the daughter of André Kaganis — at least the name of his mother, Helen Ossé, holds some hope, for she was most probably, Helen O'Shea, and the geographical riddle that

(3) Rappports Arch. P.Q., p. 153.

(4) Girouard, D. — op. cit., p. 193.

(5) Girouard, D. — op. cit., p. 216.

is hidden in « Turlos en Irlande » is quite simple, for it is Thurles in County Tipperary — but he had certainly travelled far from Ireland to settle on the shores of that great lake where the waters of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence meet.

LeMer the Irishman owned land on the seigniory of Senneville, a grant in « arrière fief » of the Sulpician seigniory and situated at the westernmost extremity of the Island of Montreal. His proprietorship is confirmed in entry No. 21 of the land book of this district. Later on, in other acts he is generally referred to merely as Saint Germain and we find the following note made under this entry (6) — « the seignior having acquired the land from St. Germain to serve as a landing place and warehouse between the Sault-au-Recollet and the Lake of Two Mountains for the removal of the Indian Mission from the Sault-au-Recollet, where they were first established, to the Lake of Two Mountains where they are today » — .

The Lemaire descendants took their place boldly amid the people of Quebec. We find Joseph Lemaire Saint Germain employing a man named Jean-Baptiste Vincent to go to Missilimakinac in 1747 (7) and an Antoine Lemire Saint Germain hiring Joseph Coulon to undertake a similar mission to the same place in 1752 (8). These two men were most likely the sons of Charles Lemaire from Tipperary. A few years later another generation appears, this time in the Church. In 1790, Charles François Lemair Saint Germain was the Curé of Repentigny and five years later we find

(6) Ibid. — p. 216.

(7) Rappports Arch. P.Q., 1930-31, p. 363.

(8) Ibid. — p. 428.

him being offered the post of Grand Vicairé at Three Rivers (9). In 1789, the Abbé Antoine Emeric Lemaire was a curate at Ste-Geneviève, not far from the spot where his grandfather first settled and he became Parish Priest of St-Martin on Isle Jesus in 1791 (10). By this time all touch of Ireland seems lost in them. Yet, how many Lemers or St. Germaines exist in our time, descendants of this « Irlandais Errant », who know that they are of Irish origin? It is more likely that they believe their name to have been born on the rocky coasts of Normandy or on the beaches of Brittany. They little realize that their ancestors came from a little isle beyond the seas of which they know nothing save a name. Had not the register recorded the fact that our hero was a Tipperary man, we would never have known anything about him.

The « Aveu et Dénombrement » of the Gentlemen of St-Sulpice shows us that a man named « l'Irlande » as they describe LeMer had a grant of three acres frontage by a depth of twenty acres and paid the same rental as his neighbors, which was 4 livres 10 sols as well as 4½ minots of wheat (11). He also had a second grant of the same size for which he paid 30 sols and 1½ minots of wheat (12). This land was forest and had neither clearing nor building upon it. His third grant had a frontage of three arpents. Its depth was twenty arpents, on it was a house, barn, stable and four acres of pasture. The charge he paid for this was 37 sols 6 deniers and one bushel of grain (13).

(9) Ibid. — pp. 232, 242, 244, 246, 248, 257.

(10) Ibid. — pp. 209, 257, 315, 316, 322, 325.

(11) Rapports Arch. P.Q., 1941-42, p. 113.

(12) Ibid. — p. 142.

(13) Ibid. — p. 155.

THE GAEL IN NEW FRANCE

It is indeed a very long way from Tipperary to Lachine and LeMer dit St. Germain is a strange disguise for an Irishman. Wolfe's « Irish Names and Surnames » gives us nothing that could be twisted into any sound resembling LeMer. All names at this time were spelled phonetically in the old Quebec records, however there is one thing of which we are certain, and that is he came from the Golden Vale and probably sailed from Limerick in the uniform of Sarsfield's men to seek a life of adventure under the Fleur-de-Lys and finally to end his days as a French pioneer in the depths of the Canadian woods.

In 1695, there was a record made of a prisoner taken from the English. It is not stated whether he was a soldier or civilian or merely kidnapped by some roving band of redskins. — He was one Jean Cahé (14), « un irlandois ». — Was his real name Casey or Kelly? — Who knows! He was taken at « Corlar » and he is described as having been born at « Gallo Ireland ». The nearest approach that one can make to Gallo is Galway. He settled down to a humdrum life in Montreal and entered the service of Monsieur Leber. One would judge that he became quite contented, for there is a note that he was « by religion a Puritan », but that on the 19th of March, 1696, he became a Catholic. Monsieur Leber seemed particularly partial to English prisoners, for nine years after Cahé's appearance in his household he took into his service another foreigner; this time an English boy aged sixteen named Samuel Williams. This lad was taken prisoner in 1704 but he also leaves the impression of having been satisfied to

(14) Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. III, p. 10; 1897.

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become a good Frenchman for we find mention of his also having embraced the Catholic religion. In many instances there is evidence that the people of New France must have treated their prisoners with kindness and encouraged them to enter upon life with them and become French subjects. They held no rancor towards their enemies and even children, carried away by the Indians retained a sincere affection for the people of Montreal and Quebec.

Another non-French name appears at an early date amongst the black-ropes. There is a record of 1677 which tells that in that year Mgr. de Laval sent a Father Phillip Pierson (15) of the Society of Jesus as a missionary to the Outawas and that in 1679 he recalled him to send him to minister to the faithful at the Mission de St-Ignace. One may ask whence Father Pierson could have come. He may have been an Irishman or even a Scotsman. There was a Gaelic name of Mac-Piarais which has been anglicised into Piers and Pierson. However, the robe he wore covered all nationalities and origins and he was but one more soldier of Ignatius ready for whatever fate awaited him.

In 1718 an Irish name is found of which there can be no misunderstanding. The Compagnie de l'Occident arranged for Bonaventure O'Donoghue to proceed as missionary to the Indies (16). Where exactly he went we do not know, but New France was not his destiny. He had been « Director of Strangers » in Paris and the authority for his appointment was dated on the 21st of November, but of his success or failure we are not aware.

(15) Rappports Arch. P.Q., 1939-40, pp. 235, 238, 240.

(16) Rappports Arch. P.Q., 1941-42, p. 189.

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In 1686, a man with an interesting Irish name stepped ashore in the New Country. In 1684 a Company had been founded by the merchants of Quebec for the purpose of trading throughout North America and for many years it played an important rôle in the marine history of the colony. It was known as the « Compagnie de la Baie du Nord », otherwise a French version of the « Hudson's Bay Company ». It helped LeMoynes d'Iberville to make his first voyage to the Great Bay of the North towards which the English were already casting longing eyes and seeking a foothold. The Company required navigators and sought them in France. There, they found one Thomas Moore (17) and hired him to command and pilot one of their ships. Moore was an Irish Catholic though born in Dover. His parents were Edmond Moore and Cecile Richardson, this is all we know of his antecedents but he became quite a personage in the new land. He made several voyages to Hudson's Bay where he must have met LeMoynes who had already arrived there, but Quebec was always his headquarters and on April 6th, 1690, — the year that his compatriots across the seas were fighting out the British supremacy between the House of Orange and the House of Stewart, he was married in Quebec to Jeanne Lemelin, the daughter of Jean Lemelin, carpenter, and Marguerite Brassard. Thus an Irish name was securely planted in Canadian soil before the turn of the 18th century.

In 1706 he was given command of the « Marie » and de Vaudreuil ordered him upon a mission which was considered of the first importance for it was to the Bri-

(17) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XXIV, p. 312, 1918; Vol. XXX, p. 385, 1924.

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tish Colonies to the South and de Vaudreuil wrote to Dudley, the New England Governor, that he was sending him forty-three prisoners on board the « Marie » sailing under the command of Moore. He appears to have carried out his mission with success for we soon find him back in Quebec.

Between his voyages he established himself on the Island Of Orleans and there he divided his time between farming and his calling of Master Pilot. His family settled on his new holding and remained there for many years.

In 1707, the Quebec Merchants procured another ship but this time it was for a different purpose. It was an armed frigate and was called the « Notre Dame de Victoire ». It was really a privateer and it was to prey upon the « enemies of France » — in other words the English. The command of this peaceful vessel was given to Le Neuf de Beaubassin who had associated with him Monsieur de la Vallière, a Lieutenant of Marine Troops, but Moore strode the bridge as master and pilot. The crew which he had under him counted one hundred men who sailed bent upon adventure and piracy which war had rendered legal; for the struggle of the Spanish Succession was at its height and Marlborough had yet to ride at Oudenard.

Unfortunately we have no record of the success of this enterprise and the romantic tale of a French pirate ship sailing down the St. Lawrence with an Irishman at the helm has been lost to us — Irishmen before had sailed the Spanish Main under the flag of England or under the Jolly Roger but Moore is unique in his voyages under the Fleur-de-Lys. A letter from the Intendant Randot to the Minister Pontchartrain

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dated in November 1707, tells us that in 1706 only one ship was built in Quebec, that it was armed and « sailed under the command of Le Neuf de Beaubassin, and that with him when he set sail he had Messieurs Dupuy and de Boishebert and a crew of one hundred men » (18).

We hear little more of Moore after this. Of what ultimately became of him we have no record. On some subsequent voyage he was probably lost at sea for no burial entry of his has been found. It is doubtful if after a roving life passed in trading, fighting and even in the gentlemanly art of piracy on behalf of His Most Christian Majesty, that he ever settled down to a monotonous life, living in a farmhouse on the Island of Orleans.

We know that he left a family, for a son of his, Pierre Moore was married in Quebec in 1724, and a grandson, another Thomas Moore in 1763. A new Irish family was firmly rooted in the colony, and if the Register of Marriages, known as the « Dictionnaire F^o - gues » is to be relied upon, this family left the Island of Orleans and settled around Ste-Marie de la Beauce where there are probably descendants still living in the neighborhood (19).

(18) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XXX, p. 312, 1924.

(19) Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 74, 312; 1923.



Chapter II

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE eighteenth century saw Irishmen arriving in New France for the first time in any numbers. They share with the Scotch a memorable place in French army records. Had it not been for the Chevalier Johnston (20), the Scottish A.D.C. to de Lévis, much of the details of the conquest might never have survived. As early as 1666 the Chevalier Jean-Louis Douglas (21), was a Lieutenant in the Carignan Regiment, the first regiment of Regular French Troops to come to New France. The Gordons appear often in French army rosters and in the records of the early eighteenth century. But there were Irish too, for the lists of those who were given French nationality are replete with Irish names. The wild geese had flown westward and many had settled in this new land.

The beginning of this century brought upon the scene one of the most interesting persons in Canadian

(20) Bull. Rech. Hist., 1898, Vol. IV, p. 128; 1900, Vol. VI, p. 37; 1901, Vol. VII, p. 56; 1903, Vol. IX, pp. 6, 43, 169.

(21) *Ibid.*, 1910, Vol. XVI, p. 351; 1921, Vol. XXVII, p. 288.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

History in so far as Irishmen are concerned. The record of this arrival had to do with the entry into our story of Thimothée Silvain (22). One would little imagine that such a name would hold hidden the mystery of the first really important Irishman to arrive in Montreal. He came in a most peaceful role in the year 1718, that of a doctor. He was neither soldier nor colonist but he slipped silently into our history and left it as noiselessly. He also had the unique distinction of being the step-father of Madame d'Youville, the foundress of the Grey Nuns.

In 1696, Daniel O'Sullivan and his wife Elizabeth McCarthy of the parish of St-Philbert, County Cork, Ireland, had a son (23). They baptised him Timothy. When he grew to manhood he, like the other wild geese, flew southward to Spain where he entered the typically Irish career of Arms and joined a Dragoon Regiment. He must have had rapid promotion, for in 1716 he had attained his Captaincy and was sent to Ireland to recruit other Irishmen for his squadron but the ship on which he sailed was overtaken by pirates. He was made prisoner and brought to New England. He escaped from his captors and made his way to New France. In 1718, two years after his departure from Spain he arrived in Montreal. Two years later he married, at the Parish Church in that city, Renée Gauthier de Varennes, the widow of Christophe Dufrost de la Jemmerais, by whom she had had a daughter. This

(22) *Ibid.*, 1897, Vol. III, p. 10; Vol. IV, p. 378, Vol. VII, p. 24; 1915, Vol. XXI, p. 356; 1917, Vol. XXIII, pp. 303, 356, 370; 1920, Vol. XXVI, p. 17; Vol. XXVII, p. 77; 1922, Vol. XVIII, p. 249.

(23) *Bull. Rech. Hist.*, Vol. XXI, p. 114; 1915.

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daughter had married Monsieur d'Youville and on her husband's death, she became the foundress of the Sisters of Charity, knowns as the « Grey Nuns », that Order that has done so much to enhance the religious history not only of Canada but of the whole of America.

This marriage of Madame de la Jemmerais does not appear to have pleased her daughter. If we may judge from the life of Madame d'Youville, written in 1826 by the Rev. Monsieur Sattin, the Sulpician who served for many years as spiritual director of her Convent, poor Thimothée Silvain's holy step-daughter failed completely to appreciate her newly acquired Irish parent. Monsieur Sattin's work was never published in book form but was quite extensive and all the facts which he mustered were acquired from members of the Grey Nuns' foundation who lived sufficiently close to the time of her personal administration to give her biographer quite a few details of her life (24).

By her marriage to Monsieur d'Youville she had several children, of whom two boys survived. They both entered the priesthood and one, l'Abbé Charles-Marie-Magdaleine d'Youville also wrote a life of his mother. This was accessible to Monsieur Sattin when he was employed upon his work. The two stories are preserved in the Archives of the Province of Quebec. The one of Monsieur Sattin was published in the Reports of that Department for 1928-1929.

Speaking of Madame d'Youville, Monsieur Sattin tells us the following story — « Madame her mother after eleven years of widowhood made a second mar-

(24) Rappports Arch. P.Q., 1928-29, pp. 387, 392.

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riage; this time to a stranger, a doctor, who far from placing her in a more flourishing situation, on the contrary caused her as well as her family to lose a part of the esteem and consideration in which the public had held them. When marrying this second husband, she was without a doubt unaware that he was only too well known in the country. Through the wasting of her fortune and also through his conduct, the lack of control of which he displayed amongst the people, caused Mademoiselle de la Jemmerais to forego a rich and honourable position » — It is difficult not to feel that Monsieur Sattin was prejudiced against Silvain, for the energy of his criticism would certainly appear rather exaggerated.

While in Spain, Timothy Sullivan had picked up quite a smattering of medicine and as doctors were very scarce in New France at this time, he was quickly accepted in that capacity and was such a success in his assumed profession that he was given the title of « Médecin du Roi », — The King's Doctor —. The rank appears to have been rather « Honoris Causa » for he had not, in any way, acquired his knowledge at any university, nevertheless he is shown on the list of the doctors attending at the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreal in 1724. He was even enrolled as an Honorary Surgeon in the French Army (25) and retired with a grant of three hundred livres while practising in Montreal.

Timothy Sullivan became completely Gallicised from what we know of him. He learned the language and spoke it without flaw and even mentally he was entirely a Frenchman. But one thing Irish remained

(25) L'Alphabet Laffarde — Public Archives of Canada.

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to him, that was an Irish temper. He is pictured as having been quarrelsome and quick to take umbrage. He was frequently in hot water with the authorities on account of his bellicose habits and there are several entries recorded of where he had to pay damages for his quarrels (26).

He lived on St. Paul Street. His house was indeed pretentious, being of stone, two stories high and built with a court and garden (27). He must have been quite a land owner for his time, for he had another house on St. Gabriel Street, this one of wood but built in the same style with court and garden (28), as well as vacant land on St. James Street (29). He allowed his name to assume a French tinge and it changed by degrees until Sullivan became Silvain and under this form it appears on many acts and legal documents. He became so completely absorbed into his new home and new surroundings that he is scarcely thought of as an Irishman at all, and he died in 1749. He leaves nevertheless a charming legacy to the history of our people in the early story of North America.

An Irish name that is to be found more frequently than any other in high places in the French History of this country is that of McCarthy. There were several holders of that name in the French Service and at times it is quite difficult to distinguish between them. The spelling varies and the names appear both as Macarty and Macarthy. For instance, there is a report from

(26) Gosselin, Abbé, A. — *L'Eglise du Canada depuis Mgr. de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête*, Québec, 1914, Troisième Partie, pp. 82-121
Faillon, Abbé — *Vie de Mme. d'Youville*, 1852.

(27) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1941-42, p. 19.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 36.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu dated 12th September, 1746, in which he says that a French officer, a Monsieur McCarthy desires to build a Fort at a distance of fifty leagues from the Arkansas (30). What he was doing so far from home in this Western land we have no indication other than that he was defending an outpost of France far in the Indian Country and striving to hold back the Empire of England against whom he was fighting — but we shall hear of him later.

Then again we find the name in more modest surroundings — the holder was of less exalted status, for he was but a colonist. His story is to be found in the LaPause Papers of 1759. Describing his return journey, LaPause tells that on his way from Cap Rouge to Quebec he stayed at « the home of a man named McCarthy who lived three quarters of a league from the Church » (31).

In 1757 we discover a seafaring man who also bore this name. In a report of the twenty-second of July of that year we find amongst the ships of war under the command of Dubois de la Mothe, who flew his flag of Vice-Admiral from the masthead of the « Formidable », a vessel of eighty cannon, the frigate « l'Abénaquaise » of thirty-six guns under the command of Monsieur McCarthy (32). So Thomas Moore was not the only Son of Erin who strode a French deck in American waters or grappled the timbers of an enemy ship for the honour of France at the very height of her greatness, and at the very time that her king, the Roi Soleil, was raising Monarchy to its highest lustre from his throne at Versailles.

(30) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1936-37, p. 387.

(31) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1933-34, p. 96.

(32) *Bull. Rech. Hist.*, Vol. IX, p. 291; 1903.

But there was one McCarthy who was greater than all in the history of the French Regime. He was Charles de la Touche, Sieur de McCarty (33). O'Farrell mentions him in his speech before the St. Patrick's Society of 1872 and Sir Thomas Chapais takes exception to it. The roll of the French Navy describes him as being of Irish origin though it is quite true that he was not at home in Ireland, rather that France had been the seat of his family for two or three generations, that his ideas, titles and upbringing were all completely French, but still his blood was Irish and his forebears had sprung from the Munster hills.

We find an account of his family history in that of the Famille Guillimin (34). Their ancestral tree unfolds for us the story of his forefathers. The marriage of Jeanne Guillimin to Charles de la Touche, Sieur de McCarty was solemnized at Quebec on October 7th, 1737. The bride was a daughter of Canada for she was born in this Capital of New France on St. Patrick's Day 1717, which must have been a propitious omen for this knight errant. The record of this marriage gives us the clue to his origin for from it we find that Charles de la Touche de McCarthy was the son of Thimothée de la Touche, Sieur de McCarty, and of Hélène Thée of the Parish of St-Sauveur in the diocese of Lyons. When the family settled in that land of vineyards we are unable to tell. Other than that they sprang from Irish soil, the records say little. It is most likely that Thimothée crossed the seas with James II and placed his sword at the disposal of Louis the Fifteenth.

(33) Bull. Rech. Hist., 1907, Vol. XIII, p. 288; 1908, Vol. XIV, p. 61; 1917, Vol. XXIII, p. 108.

(34) Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 108.

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However, on April 1st, 1745, The Conseil de la Marine named Charles McCarty captain of the Port of Quebec with the rank of « Capitaine-de-Frégate » and a salary of a thousand livres. France was in a great need of naval officers at the time that he assumed his post. In 1747 he returned to the sea and he was given command of the ship « Rubis ». This was a frigate and formed part of the convoy which accompanied Monsieur de la Jonquiere to the New World when he was named Governor of France across the waters.

McCarty sailed the seas brilliantly. He took part in the battle of Ortegale on May 14th, 1747. In this naval fight he conducted himself with much heroism and for his exploits he was given, on April 18th, 1748, the rank of « Capitaine-de-Brulot ». 1751 saw him with another promotion for he was raised to the rank of « Lieutenant-de-Vaisseau » and took command of the Frigate « La Fidèle ». In 1752 he was made a Chevalier of St. Louis. In 1755, he mounted the bridge, as commander, of the ship « La Valeur » and on April 17th, 1757, he achieved the rank of « Capitaine-de-Vaisseau ».

Some time before this he had left the shores of Canada and had settled again in his native France, yet even in his retirement he never forgot his Irish origin and often thought of helping the land of his ancestors for in 1759 he suggested to the Ministry of Marine the possibility of landing a force in Ireland near Queens-town. The Ministry refused to be convinced and decided against the attempt, so our friend Sieur de McCarty never put foot upon the shores of Cork at the head of men of the Royal Navy of the Grand Monarque. He died in Paris on June 24th, 1765. His Canadian bride

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of October 1737 returned to France with him and died in the land of her fathers.

In February 1758 many reports filtered into Quebec by way of Louisbourg. The latest news, which was furnished by the braves of the Illinois, told the authorities that the English were establishing posts which were annoying *Sieur de McCarty*, the Commander of a French outpost. At first it appears difficult to differentiate between the various *McCarthy*s in the French service. This *Sieur de McCarty* was not *Sieur de la Touche de McCarty* nor could he have been the commander of the «*Abénequaise*». All possibility of this is eliminated by the dates of their appointments and, in confirmation, we find more news of this Commander in the West in the History of the Illinois Country. He appears also to have been known as *Macarty-Mactigue* and it is most likely that he was the same person to whom *l'Abbé l'Isle-Dieu* referred.

There is to be found in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa, in the Manuscripts Department a series of lists, some bound and some in files. They are all handwritten extracts from Army and Navy Rosters preserved in Paris. They contain the names of officers who served in the French Army in America generally. Yet they lack the regimental officers of the great line regiments such as the «*Royal Roussillon*», «*La Reine*» and «*Béarn*». The title of this collection is «*Liste Générale Alphabétique des Officiers Militaires et de Plume Employés dans les Colonies Méridionales et Septentrionales de 1627 à 1786*». It is commonly referred to as «*l'Alphabet Laffarde*». It is replete with information. In many instances it gives little personal details as to the wealth, conduct or success of an officer

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as well as the circumstances of his promotions and the theatres of operation in which he served.

In the Naval Section it tells the ships in which he sailed while it also includes the « Officers de Plume » — The Officers of the Pen or the bureaucrats, the civil servants and the Officers of the Law. Unfortunately no christian names are given but the place of birth or of residence is generally mentioned and if the officer happened to be other than French origin, his nationality is sometimes indicated.

Most of those of Irish blood give us the impression of having been members of Irish families established in France for some time, even for two or more generations and they are shown as French provincials such as Bretons or Normands according to the locale in which their emigrés forebears settled.

In this list we find two « Irlandois » named McCarthy. The first one mentioned is given merely as Macarty, « Irlandois », Aide-Major in New Orleans in 1732 and Captain in Louisiana in 1735. The other is called « Macarty le Jeune », enseigne in Louisiana in 1736, and Lieutenant-du-Roi (King's Lieutenant) in New Orleans in 1741. He died in 1746.

It is the first of these who is of interest to us. If we return to the Indian lands we learn that in 1750, Benoist de St-Clair handed the government over to Bertet's successor. He was no other than Monsieur Makarty-Mactigue. He wrote his name sometimes with a « C » and at other times with a « K ». In « The Illinois Country, 1673-1818 » by Clarence Alworth Alvord of the University of Illinois we find some details. Our hero was born in France of Irish parentage and he was probably the descendant of Cromwellian refugees. Yet

his education and upbringing were entirely French and he belonged to a famous Regiment of the French Army, « Les Mousquetaires » (35).

His appointment to the Command in the Illinois Country, which he assumed on June 11th, 1750, appears to have come directly from the Royal Government itself and he was made a Chevalier of St. Louis at the same time.

While he was serving in Louisiana he was popular and well spoken of but in his new post things were different. Complaints soon reached Quebec of bad temper and intemperance on his part as well as the fact that he suffered from gout, which after all is a complaint that any Irish Gentleman, who has lived at all well, has a perfect right to suffer from.

The fact that Makarty was in France when his appointment was made rather confirms the belief that it came directly from the Ministry of War. It was he who rebuilt the wooden fort of Dugé de Boisbrillant which was known as Fort Chartres (36). Under him it became a fort indeed solidly built of masonry and stood in the heart of the valley near where the city of St. Louis stands today. Writing, on this exploit, John Finley president of the University of the State of New York, in his « The French in the Heart of America » says — « The King took thought of the little Illinois Colony, for the fort of wood was transformed under the direction of Chevalier Macarty into a fortress of stone and garrisoned by nearly a Regiment of French Troops. A

(35) Alvord, C.W. — *Centennial History of Illinois*, The Illinois Country, 1673-1816, University of Illinois, Vol. I, pp. 233-242.

(36) Finley, J. — *The French in the Heart of America*, New York, 1916, p. 115.

million Crowns it cost the King, but this could not have distressed his Majesty» (37).

When he learned that the English were preparing to send a war party into the Mississippi valley by way of the Tennessee River he ordered another fort to be built on the Ohio. This was completed in 1757 and it was first known as Fort Ascension and later as Fort Massiac. In 1760, he left this western land and returned to New Orleans where he became assistant to the Governor and he died in that city in 1764.

Politically as well as racially, until well into the eighteenth century the Valley of the Illinois was regarded as a part of Canada (38). After all, it was founded by Canadians, its first settlers were *coureurs-des-bois* who had made their way West from Ville-Marie and Quebec. We even find the Governor of New France, the Marquis de la Galissonnière asking the Government in Paris not to let the little Colony of Illinois perish — «not for its own sake, else Canada and Louisiana fall apart» —. Canada and Louisiana, joined in the West by that great fertile Valley on which England looked so longingly, together formed France in the New World. Its life had come from Canada and Canadian Officers manned its defences. The trading-posts of the St. Lawrence waited to receive its furs and give it its livelihood. It was regarded as a dependancy of New France until the formation of the Mississippi Company, when its administration became closer to Louisiana.

Macarty's defense of this vast western land, his fort-building and his role in its government would all

(37) *Ibid.* — pp. 116, 117.

(38) Parkman — *Half a Century of Conflict*, Boston, 1897, Vol. I, p. 329.

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constitute a part of the plans for the safeguard of New France and add another Irish name to those who strove to keep for Old France an Empire on the St. Lawrence.

News of him turns up in many places and he is mentioned again in the epistles of that wonderful letter-writer, Madame de Bégon (39).

Her letters are most charming for they are replete with a chattiness and a detail of small things that give a very human touch to events that have happened so very long ago. These writings make up about the only complete collection of documents of this kind extant in the archives of our history.

Marie Isabelle Robbert was born in Montreal in 1696. She married Claude Michel de Bégon, who was a captain in the Marine Troops serving at that time in New France. After many useful years in the service of his king he ended his colonial career in 1748 as the Governor of Three Rivers. In the following year, 1749, Bégon and his wife left Canada and retired to live in France where they took up their residence at the Port of Rochefort. This was an ideal place to settle, for it was the port from which ships were so often sailing for the New Colony on the St. Lawrence. Here his clever wife met many of the commanders of these ships and officers who were in close contact with their colleagues in the Regiments on Foreign Service as well as the functionaries of the State across the seas. She carried on her correspondence from this vantage point until the year of her death, in 1755.

All her letters were addressed to her son-in-law Honoré Michel de la Rouvallièrre de Villebois who was

(39) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1934-35. The whole of her correspondence is published in this report, pp. 1 to 186.

a « Commissionnaire-coördinateur » in the colony of Louisiana. From what we know of her and from her communications she must have been a most attractive and brilliant woman. She began her correspondence while still in Canada, for which she always displays a great affection and ever calls her « Chère Patrie ». Throughout her whole life she shows a nostalgic love for the country of her birth and gives evidence in all her letters of a great Canadian heart. The forest, the snows, the great River are ever present in her thoughts and the rustle of the winds of Canada carry through her writings as a leitmotif of her Canadian origin.

She tells of receiving a letter, delivered by the ship « Parabane », from the Commander in the Illinois Country on September 20th, 1750, he was no other than Monsieur de McCarty (40). This is without a doubt from the same Irish-Frenchman and fort-builder, Macarty-Mactigue, unfortunately she does not tell us its contents. Again in a letter of November 8th, 1752, she is anxious that her son-in-law should send her some news of those who had embarked with Monsieur de Lisardais and Monsieur de Sérigny, who commanded a frigate. She desired to know if they intended bringing back a Monsieur de McCarty who had already spent eighteen months on l'Isle Royale (41). She displays much worry about the comfort that may be offered to Madame de Sérigny and Madame McCarty (42) as well as that of a Mademoiselle de Guanes who were all on board their ship.

From this letter one would judge that throughout

(40) Rapports de l'Archiviste, 1934-35, p. 118.

(41) Ibid., p. 180.

(42) Ibid., p. 180.

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his stay of eighteen months at his post on l'Isle Royale Monsieur de Macarty had had his wife with him. We do not know her name neither do we know her racial origin, but her husband was an Irishman and that is what interests us. This fact and this date, 1752, would preclude his being Macarty-Mactigue, the Commander in the West.

Now another Irishman steps upon the scene and it is Madame de Bégon who draws aside the curtain. Little is known of him except what she tells us though he had a brother who was much in evidence. Writing on February 26th of the same year, she tells her son-in-law that a Monsieur de McNamara (43) is to be made the commandant of the port in the very city in which she lived, that is Rochefort.

This son of Erin does not seem to have ever landed upon our shores. At least he never occupied any post in New France, although it is probable that he passed our coasts and even touched upon our beaches, for his voyages carried him to American waters and he served his king in the West Indies. She writes that on May 11th, 1750, he is to be sent abroad and she wonders who will have the luck to accompany him on his new campaigns. She was enthusiastic. Naval engagements, the honour of France, the guns of the Grand Monarch would roar across the seas, islands in the West Indies would be the scenes of new victories and new glories, this would be luck indeed for any stout heart that fate might place upon the decks. An Irish hand on a French helm and the lilies of the Louis' flying from the mast-head, this was romance in its proper setting. What was

(43) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1934-35, pp. 85, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 96, 100, 106, 120, 128, 131, 133, 135, 145, 146, 178.

still more, a new ship had just come off the ways, the timbers were stout, the lines long-drawn, the guns gaped open mouthed at their ports, this was to be his own ship — completely equipped and ready to sail. He mounted its bridge and on May 19th, 1750, he drew anchor — the sails billowed and he headed for the sea.

He said that he hoped to reach Brest by June 15th. She was particularly proud that her son, «le petit Bégon», had sailed with him. «Le petit Bégon», that is the affectionate term she uses to describe her boy who like his father, had embarked upon the seas as a career. But all the arrangements were made by his mother who shows great pride in his new profession.

McNamara's name appears many times in these admirable letters, but in one of December 5th, 1750, she tells of meeting a brother of his, a Chevalier de McNamara (44), also in the service of France, scouring the high seas in search of gore and glory. She speaks of him as, although being quite attractive, lacking the charm of his brother, her friend. She tells that he, Monsieur de McNamara, was at the time in Paris and that the Chevalier, his brother, had just arrived from the San Domingo where the cause of Grand Monarque had called him.

On October 1st, 1752, Madame de Bégon writes, this time from Rochelle, that the month previous, promotions had been made in the French Service. She tells that Monsieur Bart had become a vice-admiral and that Monsieur de Camillie has been given the Grand Cross, one would presume of the Order of St. Louis; and with it went a pension of six thousand livres. The new Lieu-

(44) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1934-35, p. 128.

tenants-Generaux were to be Monsieur de Cramey, Monsieur Conflenis and Monsieur de McNamara who also received the Cordon Rouge. Here the scene closes and Monsieur McCarty and Monsieur de McNamara disappear from the letters of Madame de Bégon and the veil of time covers their story.

The Naval Section of « l'Alphabet Laffarde » of which we will hear more later, casts some interesting light on these remarkable brothers. They were both born in France and were of Irish origin. One would judge the Chevalier de McNamara to have been the elder. He was undoubtedly a favourite at court and he had the political backing of Pellerin and Gourdan. He reached the rank of « Chef-d'Escadre » or Commander of a naval squadron which would probably be equivalent in our present times to that of Vice-Admiral. In 1755, Dubois de la Motte commanded the fleet which brought to Canada the troops of de Vaudreuil, Dorio and Dieskau, but lest the English Navy attempt to intercept this fleet, Admiral de McNamara was sent out with another squadron of nine ships which was to accompany the convoy as a protection on the high seas till they reached a certain distance from the coast (45). This exploit alone would give him a right to a place in Canadian History. He was married in America to an Irish woman and through this marriage became very wealthy for the biographical notes in the naval records reveal that he was « très aisé par le mariage qu'il a fait avec une irlandaise en Amérique ».

The younger McNamara, the hero of Madame de Bégon's letters, also feathered his nest by a wealthy

(45) Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe — Boston, 1898, Vol. I, p. 149.

alliance for he also was « à son aise » by a marriage to an American whom he had met « in the Islands » — the French Antilles — (46) where he had been serving for over three and a half years.

Though the Frères McNamara may never have actually remained for any length of time in New France, they certainly plied the waters of the North Atlantic and they played their part in the struggles that begot our destiny and they deserve their mention in this story. At times it becomes very difficult to differentiate between those who were in the nearby wings and we may have to bring into this narrative the exploits of Irishmen who really never trod in person upon our nation's scene.

The « Archives Judiciaires de Montréal » also tell us of Irishmen who occupied much less illustrious and picturesque roles in our history. Nevertheless, these records speak to us of many more modest persons who have played their part. These records are unique. They consist of contracts entered into before local notaries and the records, or the « Etudes » as they are called, of each particular notary show us the date of the act, the locality and the participants in each transaction.

On May 29th, 1736, in the « Etude » of Notaire Porlier we find that Monsieur de la Vallerie and Monsieur de Cuisy had entered into a contract to employ a man named Antoine l'Irlande dit Rielle (47) to go from Montreal to Micklelemakinac*. This Antoine who was

(46) L'Alphabet Laffarde — Public Archives of Canada.

(47) Rapports de l'Archiviste, 1929-30, p. 332.

* Michillimakinac, spelled in various ways, an Algonquin word meaning turtle. It was the Post situated on the South of the Strait uniting Lakes Michigan and Huron, now the site of Mackinaw City Michigan.

called « Irlande » was undoubtedly a man named Reilly. The family appears to have been a large one for this name turns up quite often in these « Etudes » and again in the same year and before the same notary a Maurice l'Irlande dit Rielle (48) was employed to carry out the same mission.

Sixteen years later, on December 12th, 1752, a Bazile Rielle dit l'Irlande (49) engaged himself by contract to Toussaint Pothier to embark upon a similar expedition. This deed was made before a notary Blanzay. It is worthy of note that during the sixteen intervening years, the names have changed places and instead of l'Irlande dit Rielle, it is now Rielle dit l'Irlande. Bazile is now Reilly again, but called Ireland. The members of this family appear in these records during many years — the name changing as we go on till finally it becomes merely Riel, a common French-Canadian name of today.

The « Etude » of Notary Adhémar contains one of the most interesting contracts from the point of view of our study. On June 8th, 1747, he drew up a deed by which Joseph Lemaire St-Germain employs André French (50) dit Laframboise to go to Missillimakinac. Andrew French is a pure Irish name, it is now dit Laframboise, but is not Joseph Lemaire St-Germain most probably the son of our friend Charles Lemer of Senneville and Thurles, Country Tipperary? It would be very interesting to know if these two Irishmen, when they were drawing up their agreement, knew that they were both sons of Erin. Adhémar must have been a

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 296.

(49) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1929-30, p. 452.

(50) *Ibid.*, p. 359.

(51) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1930-31, p. 400.

popular notary with the Irishmen of the time for on the 12th of May, 1750, he drew up an agreement by which Monsieur Marin employed Charles Maddox (51) to go to the "Post on the Bay" — Maddox was most probably an Irishman, and Hudson's Bay was far away. A few days later, on May 17th he drew up another undertaking. This engaged a man named Denis Irlandois to go to the Rivière St-Joseph to work for Nicola Lefebvre and his associates.

In the same archives, in the Etude of Notary Simonet under the date of May 24th, 1749, we have a contract entered into by Barthélémi Métivier by which he employed Charles Couque, a strange form of the name Cook, to go on a mission to Detroit (52).

In the archives of these notaries we find the employment registered of men of many names that had not sprung from the soil of France but yet lived in Montreal in these early years. Who were they and how did they get there? Were they Irishmen, some of the « Wild Geese » lost in the wilds of New France? Who can tell? They were certainly not born under the banner of the Roi Soleil. The archives of Notary David practising in Montreal in 1719 carry such names as Feron and Nolan, but one must be particularly careful about not touching these lest they might possibly have been Frenchmen. They may have been variants of Ferond and Nolain — for we have little to go on. They also may have been Irishmen who strayed from the Isle of Saints and crossed the seas to new and freer lives.

Moran is another name which is quite controversial. It is constantly turning up under various spellings, such as Morand and de Moran. It would be the

(52) *Ibid.*, p. 387.

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height of presumption to suppose that all of those bearing it are of any other origin than French, in fact it was a very common name in the Colony. Yet Moran is as Irish as O'Brien or Murphy and there were Irishmen of the name in New France. There is an interesting record in the Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec, dated October 27th, 1749, which shows that Germain Moran «un Irlandois de chez Bourgueton» (53) was admitted for hospitalization. Here is an Irish Moran who worked at Bourgueton's and was a regular resident in the Colony. He is also described in subsequent entries as Morin. What happened to his descendants? Did their blood slip quietly into the veins of the people and become Morin or Morand? Few, it is sure, of their children will ever dream that the origin of their name was OMagarin, descendant of the « Slave Seal », or of OMarain, of the Great Hi Fiachrat and who ruled over the river Moy (54), and whose name was dispersed throughout Leinster and Connaught. On June 13th, 1743, we find that a permit was granted by Governor de Beauharnois to Monsieur de la Vérendrye to employ forty-six men and six canoes. Amongst them there is to be found a François Foran. This name is given for what it is worth yet he may have been an Irishman.

There were many Irishmen fighting upon the English side during the Seven Years' War. Amongst these there was quite a deal of sympathy felt for France. This was, after all, only the natural sentiment of the people in their own native Ireland, and France had been the haven of their fathers who had left their own

(53) The Archives of the Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec.

(54) Woulfe — Irish Names and Surnames, Dublin, 1923.

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shores under Sarsfield. There was also the tie of religion which was very strong, for they saw the freedom of worship in full force in New France which had been denied them in the land of their ancestors. There are even many instances to be found of Irish soldiers abandoning their British commanders and deserting to the side of the « Roi Soleil » (55).

On July 16th, 1746, two French warships, « Le Brillant » and « L'Heureux » anchored in the Port of Quebec. They had brought with them an English prize. She had on board a cargo of two hundred minots of salt which had as a destination the English colony of Virginia. She was also carrying as passengers some twenty Irish and Scotch girls. These had been shipped to America to serve as domestic servants amongst the colonists. At Quebec they were distributed amongst the private families and they entered voluntarily into the work of their new employers. There is nothing to show that they ever left New France and they most probably married there and were absorbed into the people.

From these extracts it will be seen that Irish blood had begun to flow in French veins while the white flag of France still flew proudly from the battlements of Quebec. But these Irish had lost their identity and their names had become unrecognizable. In the people they were lost as a distinct minority but nevertheless they must have left some traits in the physical and mental makeup of our present day French Canadians.

(55) Documents, Colonial History of New York, O'Callaghan, editor; Albany, N.Y., 1858, Vol. X, p. 72.

Chapter III

IRISHMEN IN THE FRENCH WARS

THE role played by the Irish in the wars against England has always been pregnant with controversy, much exaggerated by the Irish and much ignored by the French. However, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, they were there, these sons of the Wild Geese who had left their Irish homes to seek a new life far away.

The Irish were not in New France as an organized force or even in the form of military units but rather as simple soldiers clothed in the white uniforms of the French army and serving a Sovereign they had never known. O'Farrell placed them in Irish Regiments and Irish Companies, but this is quite wrong.

They shared with the Scotch their devotion to the French Cause. De Lévis had a Scotch Aide-de-Camp, the Chevalier Johnston, whose diary has been of so much help to the historians of this period and of whom we have already heard. He, like the Irish, had served the cause of the Stewarts and refused to accept a Hoïlander as his king. The Chevalier Douglas of the Carginan as we have seen was also a brilliant French Offi-

cer (56). Another Douglas was a captain in the Régiment de Languedoc (57) and fell wounded on July 8th, 1758, but we are talking of Ireland and not of Scotland. There were many others.

Charest tells us that on August 21st, 1759, just twenty-four days before that fateful September 13th when Wolfe stormed the Plains of Abraham and died so gloriously at the gates of Quebec, and by this victorious passing drew to a close the Reign of France in Canada, an intelligent habitant, living on the South Shore, tried to impress the French authorities at Quebec with the necessity of defending the Port of Levis. If this advice had been heeded what might the difference have been in our history? This habitant must have been either a very observant man or else he was well versed in military science, where he had acquired it, nobody knows, but his name was Duffy (58). It is a rare thing to find a man of Irish origin described as a « Habitant ». He is more often a man of arms rather than of the soil — this Duffy must have beaten his sword into a plowshare but the old martial instinct remained —. Another Duffy, but it is spelled differently — Dufay, le Sieur Dufay was an officer in the Regiment of Languedoc and was dangerously wounded in 1760. Was he of Irish origin? We do not know, but his name has a familiar lilt, though it is to be found frequently spelled in this manner in Canadian records and borne by men who could in no way claim Irish origin.

Such an entry is encountered amongst the reports

(56) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XIII, p. 351; 1907; Vol. XVII, p. 195; 1911.

(57) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. VII, p. 211; 1901.

(58) Rapports de l'Archiviste, 1933-34, p. 121.

of the Campaign of 1757, when word was received that on the 12th of March, Monsieur de Rigaud had left St. Johns with his last division. The order of the march was as follows: one company of Canadians with Monsieur de Godfroy at its head; a Monsieur Dufay (59), a merchant of Montreal commanded the volunteers; the Grenadier Company, the rest of the Canadians as well as the savages were with Monsieur de Longueuil. Who was this Monsieur Dufay? It is not likely that he was an Irishman, but it is not impossible that it was a corruption of the Irish form of Duffy.

The French authorities seem to have realized and appreciated the general feeling of malaise or rather of dissatisfaction which permeated the Irishmen in the English ranks and Monsieur de Bougainville writing from Quebec to the Ministry in Paris on October 29th, 1759, says — « It would be very advantageous to send one hundred and fifty Scotch, Irish and Germans to attract deserters of these nations of which there have been many » —. They were alive to the possibilities to be gathered from prying these people from their English allegiance. There is nothing to show that these foreign soldiers ever came from France in a body, but it is only reasonable to suppose that some sort of subversive propaganda was sown amongst English troops. It may have been a sort of Fifth Column which was contemplated, what form it took, we do not know. How far it succeeded we must judge from the number of soldiers of Irish and Scottish origin who joined the French colours.

There are many proofs that the authorities at Quebec made contact with the Irish in the English

(59) Rapports de l'Archiviste, 1923, p. 254.

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Service, and they in turn appreciated the good treatment which they generally received at the hands of the French. This sympathy did much to tear them away from the British Allegiance (60).

Amongst the Paris Documents there is the « Journal of Military Operations during the years 1745 and 1746 ». We find in this volume under the date of June 10th, 1746, the following entry — « A party of Abenakis brought in an English prisoner, Timothy Cummings by name, aged about sixty, whom they had taken near Fort George. This prisoner seemed eager to talk, and after telling all he knew of the military preparations at Boston, said that about one hundred English, Irish, and Dutch families had been sent to Louisbourg from East of Boston » (61) —. This same report goes on further to tell that an Irish prisoner, who had arrived on the 18th of June, again furnished the French with much valuable information of the impending attack against this country, that he had enlisted in the French Service and that many who had so enlisted had received thirty livres in Quebec currency, a gun and a blanket.

On September 3rd Monsieur de Ramesay sent in a report of the Irish soldiers who had deserted from Port Royal on August 9th. These gave details of the garrison there and said that more than thirty Irish soldiers wanted to follow their example (62). We have no knowledge of what happened to these men, that is if they succeeded in changing sides or not, but we do know of the numbers of Irishmen in Quebec but at a later date when a company of Irish troops was mo-

(60) Rapports concernant les Archives Canadiennes, 1905, p. 132.

(61) Doc. — Col. Hist. N.Y., Vol. X, p. 48.

(62) Ibid., Vol. X, p. 122, p. 146.

bilized from amongst them. Many Irish prisoners were now being brought in, their names are inscribed in the hospital records where they appear to have received a treatment in every way equal to that accorded those who had so recently been their enemy.

There is a report by Monsieur Dubuisson, an Ensign in the French Service. This is dated August 23rd, 1746, which tells the story that some time before, he had met at the upper end of Tonte Island, now off Kingston, a canoe full of men, women and children as well as a deserter from Chouaguen all of whom, representing themselves as Irish and dissatisfied with their life amongst the English, were coming to Quebec to take refuge amongst the French (63).

As far as we can know this little party arrived safely, for Ensign Dubuisson reports that on August 18th a man named Collin, «a native of Ireland», who had fled from Chouaguen with his family, bringing some personal effects and accompanied by a soldier, had arrived in French territory where they had been examined during September and had been found to be above suspicion. He says that they remained in Quebec and professed the Catholic religion.

These were stirring days in the colony. Many reports were being handed in daily and they make up a collection that is most enlightening. One of these bears the date of November 25th. It tells of an attack by the French on nine men who were going from Charlestown, New Hampshire, to a place called by the English Fort No. 4. The French killed two of them and took one prisoner. His name was John Anderson. He was an Irishman and he gave them much information on the mili-

(63) Doc. — Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. X, p. 138.

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tary and civil situation in the American colonies.

The lack of loyalty to England on the part of the Irish was in no way limited to the soldiers in the army but the Irish people of the soil in the New England colonies seemed to have looked to the French in many instances with sympathy and hoped for the success of French arms. The Irish prisoners leave the impression of having been accepted by their captors with a friendly and fraternal understanding.

Here we must mention the Irish in particular because on many occasions they remained to take their places in the armed Forces of France or entered into the life of the people of New France.

This sentiment in favour of their Gallic neighbours which we find amongst the Irish settlers of New England as we have seen, encouraged them to give much information of the troop movements and the general conditions existing in the colonies. They were very useful adjuncts to any force and formed a permanent intelligence service for the troops in the French Army.

Evidence of this condition is supplied by Sir William Johnson who, when writing from Fort Johnson to the Lords of Trade in London (64), on May 28th, 1756, speaks of unrest amongst the Onondagas and the Indians of the Six Nations which he believes is due to « deserters from Shirley's and Sir William Pepperill's Regiments ». In this despatch he writes « I apprehend a great number of Irish Papists and Transports who were enlisted from the back parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland. They desert from Oswego and

(64) Doc. — Col. Hist. N.Y., Vol. VII, p. 87; 1857.

other garrisons up the river. I am informed that there are a great number of them amongst the Delaware and Susquehana Indians who have done a world of prejudice to our interest». After this General Morris published a declaration of war against these tribes.

This declaration of war was probably more directly aimed at those who had taken refuge amongst these Indians than against the Indians themselves whose principal crime at that moment was the harbouring of the enemies of the Crown.

There is a very interesting record of a fight that took place in 1754, when Pecaudy de Contrecoeur, who was in command at Fort Duquesne, was informed of the approach of a body of English troops which was marching against him and his fort (65). This detachment was under the command of a young English colonel, a native of Virginia. His name was George Washington. Contrecoeur must have greatly underestimated the strength of his enemy or else he had been sorely misguided by his scouts. However, he sent a company of thirty men under the command of a young ensign named Colon Villiers de Jumonville. In the fight that ensued when the two forces met, de Jumonville was killed and all his men, save one, were taken prisoner. One man only escaped and returned to his headquarters to tell the tale of what had happened. All these prisoners were sent to London. Amongst them there was a lad named Joseph Brown, a native of Montreal. Who this Brown was we know not. His name might indicate a native of any of the British Isles, but the fact that he was an accepted member of the French armed

(65) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. X, p. 250; 1904.

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forces makes it more than probable that he was an Irishman. In the United States chronicles of this encounter the battle is called the fight of Great Meadows.

Chapter IV

THE FRENCH REGIMENTS AND THE IRISH BRIGADE

DURING these years, the fighting between New France and the British Colonies to the South never ceased. The best names in Canada appear constantly upon the pages of her history, carrying on with dogged determination the combat to the death that the Seven Years' War in Europe had forced upon them in the woods of America. What part the Irish played in the struggle, no one knows. We find that many Irish names appear upon the rosters of the British army. We find them amongst the wounded prisoners in the French hospitals and we find a few of them in the « Compagnie Irlandaise ».

O'Farrell speaks of the Irish Brigade serving in America, this is pure nonsense. He may have been led astray by a foot-note appended to an entry in the first volume of the « Documentary History of New York » on page 314. This, it is sure, was the basis for his error, for the entry deals with the retirement of the garrison

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at Oswego in which the Régiment de Béarn took part. In this foot-note the compiler says that the Irish Brigade was there. One could find no word in the context that might bear out this claim and on examining the records of the Irish Regiments in the French Service one finds that they are all accounted for in other parts of the world during this year of 1756.

The following entry is to be found in Volume I of the New York Colonial Manuscripts: «Albany, August 21st, 1756, past 8 o'clock. The following account is given by five other men who had deserted from the French and were in General Shirley's and Pepperill's Regiments». After describing the French position at Oswego, the spokeman whose name was Claude de Huténac, goes on to say that in escaping he saw: «The French on the other side of the harbour getting into boats, some clothed in red, faced with green, which he imagined belong to the Irish Brigade» (66).

It must be remembered that this was a Frenchman speaking and that he should know something of the composition of the force from which he had recently deserted. However, the word of deserters must never be taken too literally for they are without doubt attempting to curry favour with their captors and thereby alleviate as much as possible the very uncomfortable positions in which their traitorous acts may have placed them. Also this de Huténac, from what we know of him, appears to have been a very inferior fellow as well as a traitor fearfully afraid for the safety of his own scalp.

This is the only reference to the Irish Brigade, as such, which is mentioned in these reports, and it is

(66) Doc. — Col. Hist. N.Y., Vol. I, pp. 317, 324; 1856.

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almost certain that, if the Irish troops were there, they would without question have come into contact with the English Forces.

The only regiment in the French army which might have fitted this description would have been Lally's Irish Regiment (67), but it had sailed for the Indies in 1747. It had seen much fighting and had taken part in the capture of Gondelour on the 2nd of May, 1758. It could not, therefore, have been at Oswego on that eventful August 21st, 1756.

When the Irish Regiments sailed to France in the reign of James II they were still his troops; English troops loyal to a Stewart as the legitimate English Sovereign, they therefore retained their English uniforms. Their red tunics they still wore as proudly as they stepped ashore on French soil as they did when they met the forces of the Dutch pretender on the banks of the Boyne. The esprit-de-corps so common to all English regiments was not lacking in their ranks. The pride of their colours, their mottos, their crests and their facings were not lessened by their expatriation and their urge for glory had not dimmed under the lillied banners of the French kings. Their red coats were most conspicuous and they were at the time amongst the very few infantry regiments in the French service who wore this colour.

The cut of their uniforms changed with time and had become more French but the British red remained. The French infantry wore a uniform of greyish white with different coloured reverses and facings to distinguish the various units to which they belonged, but

(67) *L'illustration*, issue 4663, July 1932, pp. 364, 369 (Les Régiments Coloniaux de l'Ancienne France) Susane, L. — *Histoire de l'Ancienne Infanterie Française*, Paris, 1851-52-53, Vol. VIII, p. 328, article 1403.

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the Irish always retained the fundamental red of their tunics. Lally's regiment was the only one of the « Brigade » which wore green facings. The green colour would not have been significant in these years for Ireland had not yet adopted it, but the national colour at this date was blue and St. Patrick's blue remained so for some time. Even today the riband of the Order of St. Patrick is still light blue.

The supposedly Irish troops at Oswego were more likely to have been Irish deserters from English regiments, who having made their way to the French lines aided the soldiers in the French service and joined the French garrison while they still wore the uniforms in which they had deserted.

The French regiments who fought in the defence of New France deserve a little more than a passing mention, in order that we should understand something of the story of those who defended the coasts of the St. Lawrence and who fought so valiantly at the Battle of Carillon. There were eight of them.

There was the « Régiment de la Reine » (68) which fought with such bravery in the woods of Canada and on the Plains of Abraham. It wore a white uniform with facings of red. It was an old regiment raised in 1634 and had fought gloriously in Alsace under Turenne. In 1692 it was at Steinkerque and in 1741 it was at Prague. On May 3rd, 1755, it embarked at Rochefort for Canada there to take part in the valiant defence of New France.

After the wars in America had ceased, it returned home to France in 1763, and later, in 1779 we find it fighting in the Senegal. In 1792 a Battalion of « La

(68) Susane, L. — op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 79-107.

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Reine » — « The Queen's own Troops » —, sailed for Martinique where it later became absorbed into the « troops of the colonies ». The rest of the Regiment fought throughout the campaign of the Vendée and it ended its royal career by forming the 41st Regiment of French Infantry under the Republic. It was a great regiment and deserves a high place in the military history of this country. Its colours, quartered black and green and surcharged by a cross of white sprinkled with golden Fleurs de Lys, should have a more prominent place in the monuments of Quebec than they actually occupy today. They are symbolic of the best of our national chivalry.

The « Royal Roussillon » (69) was a regiment with an equally gallant history. It had fought across Europe before setting sail for America. It was present at Valenciennes in 1677 and at Oudenard in 1708. It sailed for Canada in 1755, the same year as « La Reine ». Its brilliant fight was at Carillon and again it stood before the gates of Quebec in 1759 on that fateful September 13th when the colours of France were lowered forever on the Plains of Abraham. It was its colonel, Monsieur d'Hussonville, who knelt beside the dying Montcalm as he fell mortally wounded and as his life blood seeped into Canadian soil the hero of the defence of Quebec whispered his last instructions to the colonel of the « Royal Roussillon ».

In 1761, two years before the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the regiment returned to France and carried on its glorious tradition in India, at Jemmapes in 1792, and in the Vendée. Its uniform was white and its

(69) Susane, L., — op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 397-410.

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facings were « Saxony Green », and on the fall of the French Monarchy and the re-organization of the French Army it became the 54th Infantry.

There was also the « Régiment de la Sarre » (70). It was an old regiment recruited in 1651 and served with great merit in Europe and America. Its uniform was grey-white and its facings were blue.

The Régiment de Guyennes (71) was raised in 1684 and wore the usual grey-white with red facings.

The Régiment de Berry was raised in the same year and also wore red facings.

The Régiment de Béarn (72) which evacuated Oswego and which we have already seen mentioned in the New York Colonial Manuscripts as having with it some members of the Irish Brigade was also raised in 1684 and wore red facings with its grey-white uniform.

The Régiment d'Artois (73) was raised in 1610 and wore grey-white, and the Régiment de Languedoc which distinguished itself also at Carillon wore blue facings on its uniform.

Though the Irish Regiments in the service of France have really no place in this history, one feels that all Irishmen should know something of them. It must be noted that during the troubled years of the Conquest they were far from Canadian shores for they were bearing French arms on other fields. They covered themselves with glory in all the battles of the French Army of their time and it is as well that they were not present when the lilies of France were lowered to the snows. They were saved also the humiliation of laying

(70) Susane, L., — *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 332-354.

(71) *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 211-212.

(72) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 335.

(73) Susane, L., — *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 260-290.

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down their arms to the English troops, whose ranks their forebears had refused to join after the fall of Limerick.

Walsh's Regiment (74) was the oldest. It was raised in 1661, under the name of the «Royal Irish» and it passed into the service of France twenty-six years later. It sailed from Irish ports and took its place in the French army in 1689. As a French Regiment, it distinguished itself particularly at Arleux in 1711, and at Denain in 1712. It formed part of the famous Irish Brigade at Fontenoy in 1745. It sailed from Dunkirk for Scotland in 1746 and fought again for the cause of the Stewarts at the battle of Cullodan. It saw service in all the French Colonial wars from this time until 1784. After serving in Cochin China in 1788, it sailed to American waters and was stationed in the West Indies where it remained till 1794. When the Royal Regiments were blotted out it formed the 92nd regiment of infantry of the line. It wore a colourful uniform. Its tunic was red with royal blue facings and its breeches and vest were of white.

Dillon's Regiment (75) transferred to the French service one year later than Walsh's regiment, that is in 1690. It served the French king in Italy, in Spain, and it was also a part of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy. In 1775 it became part of the Marine Troops, and embarked upon the fleet of de la Motte Piquet. It fought illustriously at Grenada and distinguished itself there by taking seven hundred prisoners, three standards and sixteen mortars. It was at the siege of Savannah in 1779 and served as marines on the ships of the Comte

(74) *L'illustration*, issue 4663, July 1932 Susane, L., — op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 241-252.

(75) Susane, L., — op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 181-193.

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de Guichen in the naval engagements with Admiral Rodney. It was serving on the vessels of the Comte de Grasse in the attack on Santa Lucia and was present at the taking of Tobago in May 1781. In 1792 one battalion was returned to the Indies where it was incorporated into the Colonial troops while the Regiment itself, on the fall of the Monarchy formed the 87th Regiment of Infantry. It wore the usual red tunic of its English days but the facings were of jonquil-yellow with breeches and waistcoat of white.

The Irish Regiment of Viscount Clare (76), whose name was Daniel O'Brien, was raised in 1690. He was what was known as the « Proprietaire » or Colonel Proprietor. In the year of its birth it offered its service to the kings of France. It fought brilliantly and lost its colonel at Ramillies in 1706. It covered itself with glory at Fontenoy where it took two cannon, seventeen standards and many prisoners. The English kings had many reasons for lamenting their loss of such soldiers, why had they not realized before the fighting potentialities of their Irish subjects, and instead of driving them into the forces of their enemies had they not given them an equal freedom with their other subjects and equal chances in their own armies? Austria, France and Spain opened their ranks to them. The kings of these realms well knew the monarchical loyalties of the Irish fighting men. The Irish Generals and Irish Officers took their places amongst the nobles of the Holy Roman Empire. The Golden Fleece, be it of Austria or of Spain hung as proudly on an Irish neck as on that of any subject who might have owed allegiance

(76) Susane, L., — op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 194-206.

to the Emperor or to the Most Catholic Majesty. The Order of the Holy Ghost, or the Gordon Rouge of St. Louis was worn as brilliantly upon the uniforms of the leaders of the Irish Bridage as upon those of any others in the service of His Most Christian Majesty.

Lord Clare's Regiment fought in the glorious defence of Cherbourg in 1758. By its stubbornness and gallantry it made the French nation and French army realize the strategic importance of this great port. In 1774 it was fused, or what was left of it was united with Berwick's Regiment of which we will hear later. It passed under the command of the Duke of Berwick whose name and colours it assumed, and while under its new title it was reformed as the 88th regiment of the line. It wore a red tunic with yellow facings and with waist-coat and breeches of a greyish-white.

Lally's Regiment (77) was of much later date. It was raised only in 1744 on October 1st, just fifty-four years after the battle of the Boyne and must therefore be regarded as a rather newcomer amongst the seasoned veterans of the « Brigade ». It was raised by its colonel, the Marquis de Lally Tollendal. It was a part of the Army of Flanders and it fought at Fontenoy in 1745. Two years later it was at Berg op Zoom and it sailed for the Indies in the same year. In 1758, when it should have been in Quebec, if we are to believe Mr. O'Farrell, it was taking part at the siege of Fort David where it took seven hundred Englishmen and seventeen hundred native prisoners. There it captured one hundred and eighty cannon. It fought in India, in Madras and at Pondicherry in 1761. In 1762, the year before the sign-

(77) Susane, L., — op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 323, article 1403.

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ing of the Treaty of Paris, by which Canada became a British possession, it returned to France. There it was fused with Dillon's Regiment and passes out of the history of the Irish Brigade. It wore the usual red tunic which carried green facings. Its waistcoat was green and its breeches white.

The man who raised this regiment was unique in the history of Irish Arms (78). Thomas Arthur, Count Lally, Baron Tollendal, was the scion of an Irish family and the name is a derivative of the O'Mullallys'. His father, Sir Gerard Lally — the *Encyclopedia Britannica* calls him O'Lally — was a confirmed Jacobite who followed the Stewarts to France and there married a Frenchwoman of noble birth.

Thomas Arthur Lally was born at Romans, department of Drome in 1702 and began his military career in Dillon's Regiment where he held the rank of captain. He fought in Flanders and at Fontenoy where he commanded his Regiment in the Irish Brigade. In 1745, he accompanied Charles-Edward Stewart to Scotland. Voltaire called him the soul of the enterprise, unfortunate though it was. He drew up a plan to drive the English from India and was made Governor-General of all French possessions there with the rank of Lieutenant-General. He set sail with insufficient men and after some trifling successes he was besieged in Pondicherry. After a year he capitulated and was sent as a prisoner to England. While there, his enemies in France accused him of treachery. He returned to Paris to vin-

(78) O'Callaghan, J.C. — *History of the Irish Brigade*, Dublin and New York, 1869. pp. 475, 476, 645 Mitchell, John. — *History of Ireland from the Treaty of Limerick to the present time*, New York, 1858, pp. 63, 70, 86 and 87.

dicate his honour but was arrested and thrown into the Bastille. After two years he was tried and sentenced to death and three days later he was beheaded. French public opinion was on his side and Voltaire, whose opinions Lally did not share, took up his defense.

He was a quixotic Irishman and not an intriguer. In India, the military power of the English and the genius of Lord Clive were too much for him. In France, jealousies and intrigue made him a martyr. Prince Charles created him Earl of Moenmaye, Viscount Ballymote and Baron Tollendally — but these titles he refused, pending the restoration of the Stewarts.

His son, Gerard Lally Tollendal (79) strove to clear his father's name and Voltaire again came to his assistance. The nobles of Paris named him to represent them in the State's General. In 1790 he escaped to England and in 1815 was created Marquis, a peer of France and a Member of the French Academy.

There was of course the Regiment of Berwick (80) of whom we have already heard. This was of a still later date again. It was only organized in 1776 from what was left of Clare's Regiment on its return to France. It was in a decimated state and had to be made over. Under its new name of Berwick it did garrison duty on the coasts of Brittany and in the Vendée. In 1791 a battalion of it was sent to quell the insurrection in Santo Domingo but it never returned. It was swallowed up in the revolutionary troubles that were sweeping that island. The other battalions which really made up the regiment itself were the original units which

(79) Grand Larousse — Vol. V, p. 542.

(80) Susane, L. — *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 194-206.

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formed the 88th Regiment of Infantry in the army of Republican France. It wore the red tunic, but with a yellow collar and black facings, and with it white breeches.

These are the Regiments that made up the most famous body of troops in the military history of Ireland, the renowned Irish Brigade in the service of France. This Brigade, more than any other Irish military organization in the world has cast glory upon the success of Irish arms. The greatest of its battles was Fontenoy and as long as military history shall be written, its gallantry in this fight will guarantee the recognition of Irish prowess.

From the dates in these regimental histories it will be noticed that it was impossible for them to have served in Canada during the Seven Years' War, and certainly they could not possibly have been at Oswego as our chroniclers have hinted.

Chapter V

AN IRISH COMPANY IN THE FRENCH ARMY IN CANADA

OF what means the French used to bring about the conversion of the Irish soldiers to their way of thinking, we have no record. Perhaps these Irishmen were never happy under the English Governors, or the memories of unkind government in their own land still surged in their bosoms. As their numbers grew in Québec they became active till finally we find that a body of over fifty men has been organized (81), all of whom were prepared to foreswear their allegiance to George of England and swear it anew to Louis of France.

De Vaudreuil showed himself to have been eager to enroll them in the French army. Many of them had been wounded and nursed back to health at the Hôtel-Dieu at Québec. We see their names on the lists of those confined in the wards, but they are described as

(81) Roy, P.-G., — *La Ville de Québec sous le Régime Français*, Québec, 1930, Vol. II, pp. 287, 288.

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English prisoners. Such English soldiers as John O'Neil, Michael Clarke, Brig Russel, and Thomas Murphy were treated there in 1756. In the year following we find an English prisoner of the name of Hugh Caraguen. A little later we discover him a sergeant in the Irish Company of the French Army (82). In that year we come across English prisoners bearing such names as Felin, William Redmont and Perdrix aux Maldoc (Patrick O'Malley). In July of 1757 we find an entry at the Hôtel-Dieu of John Devesse and of Danied Dan both described as soldiers of the « Irish Company ». As these two names form the only entry actually describing the patients as being of this unit, it seems most unlikely that it could have done any fighting for it had no wounded (83).

In 1757 de Vaudreuil authorized the formation of the Company and ordered it recruited (84). It included about fifty men, and on September 12th of that year he wrote to the Ministry in Paris and he told them of the number of Irish prisoners who had detached themselves from the English service and had expressed a strong desire to enter the service of his Most Christian Majesty. In this communication, he tells the government that he has formed them into a company under the command of Sieur Naisne whom, he says, he knows well and whom he can trust. He goes on to say: « You will see, Monsignor, that through the engagement that these Irish have entered into on the 13th of May last and which is attached herewith, there is reason to believe they will serve the French cause with zeal ».

(82) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XX, pp. 204, 302; 1914.

(83) Registres de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Quebec.

(84) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XX, p. 204, Vol. XXVIII, pl 321; Rapports concernant les Archives Canadiennes, 1905, p. 249.

Many of the prisoners taken at Chouaguen appear to have been Irish Catholics, for in the records of the Hôtel-Dieu when a prisoner patient died, it was noted if he had «abjured» as they record it, or had «not abjured». In the deaths of prisoners with Irish names, there is no record of any «abjuration» which fact would lead one to believe that they were already Catholics. Also some of these recruits for the French Company may have been the deserters from the English who, as we have already learned, appeared anxious to reach the French lines.

There is very little known of their commander, Sieur Joseph-Claude Naisne, except that he was probably an officer in the English service in whom the men showed great confidence and trust.

The following agreement was drawn up and all signed it — «We the undersigned prisoners of war sign and oblige ourselves in consideration of the following conditions:

- 1st That from the day and date on which we sign, we shall no longer be considered as prisoners of war and we shall be protected and treated in every way as subjects of His Most Christian Majesty.
- 2nd That we shall be under the command of Sieur Joseph-Claude Naisne on the good treatment of whom we are counting in drawing up this agreement.
- 3rd That we shall be sent to France as the desires of Monsieur de Vaudreuil may exact.
- 4th The conditions of this engagement are such that the articles herewith mentioned be decently and faithfully adhered to in every way, we engage and

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oblige ourselves firmly to serve and defend with our lives and our goods the Crown and dignity of His Most Christian Majesty as our superiors may best judge. »

This undertaking was signed and dated on the 15th of June 1757, by the following who thereby created themselves new soldiers of France and subjects of its Most Christian Monarch (85):

Hugh Carragan	Sergeant
John Lee	“
George Brown	Corporal
John Moor	“
Anthony Butler	(Died September 9th, 1757)
Robert Cosgrove	Drummer
Laurens Loghran	Soldier
John Doston	“
James Tewler	“
Denis Brainan	“
Thomas Mathiews	“
Luc Gilmor	“
John Fitzgerald	“
Sylvester McAlroy	“
Patrick Higens	“
Daniel Dan	“
Daniel Devit	“
James Johnson	“
Joseph Coffin	“
George Corley	“
John Olbery	“
Richard Bynx	“

(85) Roy, P.Q. La Ville de Quebec sous le Regime Français, Quebec 1930, vol. II, pp. 287, 288.

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Moses Rite	Soldier
Morgan Kenny	"
Piere Petit	"
Mikel Hogan	"
Thomas Butler	"
Charles Dowerty	"
James Garan	"
John Nowlan	"
John Magel	"
Nathanial Russell	"
Charles O'Brien	"
John Hegin	"
James Mathiews	"
Thomas Cockran	"
Robert Phillips	"
Edward Lande	"
John Druyes	"
Jacob Delsho	"
James Daws	"
Thomas Green	"
William Lawelay	"
John Forland	"
Arthur Stone	"
John Barret	"
Ruth Olfretch	"
John James	"
Thomas Maccormack	"
Richard Robierson	"

Some women seem to have followed them to Quebec for there are to be found at the end of the roll the names of the following attached:

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- Marie Carraghan — probably the wife of the Sergeant Caraguen who appears in the hospital records.
- Jeanne Droyes and her daughter — She was probably the wife of the corporal, John Druyes, who appears in the list.
- Catherine Moore and her child — She was probably the wife of the corporal, John Moore, who is found fourth in the list.

De Vaudreuil never sent them against the English. Did he not trust them or did he not wish to expose them to the ire of their former brothers-in-arms in case they should be taken prisoners; we know not. The English would have been perfectly justified in trying them for treason and desertion and in shooting them if they captured them.

Throughout the summer of 1757, he employed them in working on the fortifications of Quebec. In the fall he decided to send them to France and on September 16th they embarked upon the king's ship «Le Célèbre» under the command of Clément de la Jonquière, the nephew of the governor. As the winds filled the sails and they moved down the St. Lawrence to the open sea, the dream of a new world faded away. America, which had been their goal, was now left behind and their prow was pointed Eastward, not to the land of their ancestors, but to another land and to a new allegiance. On November 12th, 1757, they arrived in France. There they were soon incorporated into the Irish Regiments in the French Service to fight again

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in Europe, under the Fleur-de-Lys, far from Canada and Ireland.

On September 12th de Vaudreuil had notified the Ministry of his intention of sending back to France his new recruits. The departure of the « Le Célèbre » closes a most romantic episode in the military history of New France (86).

The « Alphabet Laffarde » casts some interesting light on the French soldiers of Irish and Scottish origin serving in the French possessions. Though these warriors were not defending France's Northern land, they were still engaged in a struggle in which New France was playing a vital role. The first Irish name we encounter is that of an « Officier de Plume » — a « Conseiller-du-Roy » — a « King's Councillor and King's Procurator » in 1704. His name was Carol. The entry is, as are all the others, a phonetical equivalent of the Irish form. There is a similar name which was borne by the medical officer at Port Royal in 1725 and who died in 1728, but it is spelled « Carrel », though this name may have been a Gallic distortion of that of the Tipperary lords of Ely, for the French like the Irish took, on occasions, alarming liberties with their vowels, it is also a French name of today so it cannot be definitely classed as belonging to an Irishman. Yet in contradiction to this we find it borne by a soldier who is described as being Irish and belonging to the Régiment de la Sarre and spelled in the records « Carielle ».

At this time in Louisiana there were several Irish-Frenchmen bearing arms. Such a one was Fleming who held the rank of Sub-Lieutenant. Unfortunately he was

(86) Rapports concernant les Archives Canadiennes, Ottawa, 1905, p. 249.

not a success for he is described as unsatisfactory (*un mauvais sujet*) and he left the Army in the following year. There was also a member of the great Irish-French fighting family of Dillon. He was a Captain in 1720 and retired in 1722. There was an officer named de Claro who held the rank of Lieutenant. He is described as being English and a note tells us that he was sent to France by Monsieur de Rigby in 1719. From his name one would judge that he was Irish rather than English, for he was probably a man from the County Clare who for some personal reason hid his identity under a *nom-de-guerre*, but one which indicated the place of his birth. Unfortunately neither was he satisfactory for he was sent back to France and retired the year after. In 1713 a man named Stapleton was a Major of Militia Cavalry in San Domingo.

Amongst the navy men there were several. One would judge their families to have been well established in France for none of them are first generation of Frenchmen. There was a Monsieur Karney who is described as coming from Brittany. He was born in the Isles, — « dans les Isles ». This would leave the impression that he was born in the West Indies for his father had held the post of « King's Lieutenant » — « dans les Isles », and he was also the god-son of the Comte de Maurepas. He joined the Garde Marine in 1741 and remained till 1752 and during his naval career he served in Canada. Another man of similar name was a naval officer from 1732 till 1760 and held the rank of « Lieutenant-de-Vaisseau ». He was the Chevalier de Carné. His name has taken a completely French form although nothing is mentioned either of his racial origin or of the part of France from which he came.

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The Chevalier de Bellingham was from Brittany and he had a brother who was a « Capitaine-de-Vaisseau ». He entered the Garde Marine in 1735, transferred to the Infantry in 1749 and retired in 1760. Another Chevalier is described as being from Normandy. His name was de Semerville (it was probably Sommerville originally) and he joined the navy in the same year as de Bellingham. He became an Enseigne-de-Vaisseau in 1746 and also retired in 1760. His father before him was an old Enseigne and his brother was a Sous-Lieutenant of Artillery.

Porter was a real Irishman for he is so described. Although born in St. Malo his record says that he was « un Irlandois ». His conduct was slightly carefree and he was not a teetotaler for it mentions that he was a good officer but liked to tipple — « aime un peu à boire ». He began as a page in the King's Chamber and joined the Navy in 1715. He was for three months a prisoner of the English and later — « with the King's permission » — he spent three years in England. He also left the service in 1760. There were also the three Picks, the first of whom served in the French Navy from 1714 till 1720 and was stationed at Brest, Toulon and in San Domingo. The second of the name was at Rochefort from 1724 till 1728 while the third one was at Martinique from 1724 till 1741. Their racial origin is not mentioned and where they lived is not given. The Chevalier de Morris was a Naval Enseigne in Louisiana from 1731 till he retired three years later. Monsieur de Landon was an Officer in Martinique in 1741 and in Trinité in 1743 where he died and a Monsieur Mary was an « Officer de Plume » at St. Pierre in 1732 where he filled the role of General Procurator.

AN IRISH COMPANY IN THE FRENCH ARMY IN CANADA

There is an extraordinary entry of a man from Brittany who joined the Navy in 1707. He was the Chevalier Marthezon de Spech. The last part of his name is Breton of the purest kind but Marthezon might easily be a corruption of the North-Irish and Scottish name of Mathewson.

The French Service held many Scotch names such as Milton l'Ecossais who was a Lieutenant in San Domingo in 1706, a Major at Légan in 1720, a Lieutenant-du-Roy in 1724 and the Governor of St. Louis in 1738. Ogilvy de Boyn, who sometimes appears in these records as Ogilwy, joined the Navy in 1743 and died in Toulon in 1751 and Frazier was the son of the Chief Cartographical Engineer of the French Navy and who was an Engineer himself in 1760. There was even a Scotte des Rois who was a French Naval Officer in 1750.

The presence of these Scottish names is nothing extraordinary if one bears in mind that not only did France have the Irish Brigade, but that she also had her « Royaux Ecossais » and amongst them there was the Régiment d'Ogilvy. France was always the haven of lost causes and the consideration and succor which she offered to the Stewart Cause brought to her colours soldiers of chivalry from strange directions.

Chapter VI

IRISH NAMES IN THE LISTS OF THOSE WHO RECEIVED FRENCH NATIONALITY

OWING to the fact that all names are phonetically spelled in both the old records and in the lists of those who received French naturalization, and as the entries probably varied according to the pitch of the ear of the one who did the recording, it is often very difficult to tell the nationality of the name entered. If the entry is of a name that appears to be English and it was borne by one who was a Catholic, the bearer is very likely to have been Irish. In the American Colonies breadth of religious tolerance was not excessive, and outside the Lord Baltimore's Maryland, Catholics were not numerous so that if we find that a man bearing an English name is received by the people of New France and no word appears of his rebaptism or reception into the Catholic church, we are fairly safe in presuming that he was an Irishman.

IRISH NAMES IN THE LISTS

The records of those on whom the Sovereign Council conferred French nationality (87), or would it be more correct to say Canadian nationality, for from these records we learn that it was granted by the Government in Canada and not by the Government in France — these records tell us much. These edicts of nationality appear to have been promulgated every so many years, for they are entered in blocks and all names in each block bear the date of the same year. 1710 seems to have supplied the most. In many entries the previous nationality is mentioned or else the place of birth is indicated, however in a few instances the name only is given. Some names are of Irish origin although borne by men described as having been born or coming from England. In the lists, those coming from across the seas are described as being from « La Vieille Angleterre » — « Old England » — to distinguish them from the « New Englanders ».

Amongst those naturalized in the Edict of May 1710, we find the following, first a Jean Thomas, « native of Bristol » in « Old England » married to a French woman by whom he had two children. He appears to have been a Catholic and Thomas is an Irish name, the Gaelic form of it is Tomar or MacToamir and is to be found in Mayo and Galway (88).

There is Jean Laza of « Irish nationality » living in Montreal, married to an English woman and having eight children.

Jean Baptiste Ohé (probably O'Hea or O'Hayes) of « Irish nationality » married to a French woman and having children is listed.

(87) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XXX, pp. 32, 225; 1924.

(88) All Irish equivalents are from: Woulfe — op. cit.

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Gabriel Jordan (his nationality is not mentioned) was living in Quebec. Jordan is an Irish name of Norman origin, the Gaelic form of which is MacSuirtain and MacShordane and Suirdan. Some bearing this name were said to have been descendants of Jordan d'Exeter. They were described by Campion in 1571 as being « very wild Irish ». They were to be found in Mayo and Dublin as well as through the South of Ireland. There were three mayors of Cork of this name during the 15th century.

Germain Aubry dit Larose is just described as an Irishman. His real name was most probably O'Brien.

There is Yvan Carter, with no nationality given. This is an English equivalent of the Gaelic name Mac-Arthur, son of Arthur. It was common in Scotland under the form of McArthur, but it is also found in Ireland as Carter.

Louis Price also with no nationality indicated is there — the Gaelic form is Aprir and it is found all through Ireland.

Nieblas Hutchin, without indication of where he came from, desired to be naturalized. Hutchin is an anglicised form of Huitesain and is found in West Galway.

Joseph Power — his nationality is not given either, but to any Irishman this is hardly necessary.

There is Jean Crony, dit St. Jean, an « Irishman » (probably originally Conroy).

Charles Lemaire dit St. Germain, an « Irishman » living in Lachine, married to a French woman and having children. This is our old friend of whom we have already heard.

IRISH NAMES IN THE LISTS

Louis-Philippe Sergeant has no nationality given. Under different variants such as the Norman form « Le Sergent » it is an early Anglo-Irish surname.

There are several entries of this date in which the Christian name only is given. Evidently the registrar found it too difficult to give a phonetic rendering of the original family name — some of these are of Irishmen.

There is for instance « Jean... » (1) an Irishman established at Petite Rivière near Quebec, married to a French woman by whom he had children.

And again another « Jean... (1) dit l'Irlande » a weaver by trade, was living at Lachine. Could this have been some of the Reillys or Rielles that we have already come across in the notarial contracts? Their pseudonym was « l'Irlande » and they lived in the neighborhood of Montreal.

There is Jean-Baptiste Carool « an Irishman » living at Lavaltrie, married to a French woman and having children. This was a man named Carroll.

Next to him on the list there is a blank space with a line to denote a name and then « Coal ». This may well be another Carroll whom the clerk who made the registers was unable to enter phonetically. The fact that these two entries, made on the same date, follow without any intervening name, would lead us to believe this.

There is a woman named Madeleine Warren, of English origin, married to a Cooper named Philippe Robitaille living at Ville Marie and having four children. This is a common Norman Irish name, in Irish « Barain », the « B » being sounded as the Greek letter Beta. It was common in Dublin, Meath and other parts of Ireland, the Norman form was de Warenne.

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There was Marie Washton of English nationality married to Jean Laska, an Irishman living on the island of Montreal and having three children. This is evidently the wife of Jean Laza, the second on the list.

Anne Lord, an English woman was married to a man who appears to have been an Indian called Sabaph-tin (huitabaton) and by another marriage to a man called Holet dit Laviolette, a weaver who lived at Ville Marie. Lord is a name of common origin with O'Tierney and Ternay, which means Lordly. It has been corrupted to Lord and is common in Mayo, Galway and Tipperary.

Madeleine Wilson is said to have been of English origin. She was the wife of a wigmaker named Chevalier, having children and living in Quebec. The Irish form is MacLiom translated to Son of Will, diminutive of William.

Catherine Dunkin, is entered as English but Dunkin is the Sligo and Leinster name of O'Dingine and of O'Dongen meaning « Brown Head ».

Martha Finn is also described as an English woman but Finn is an Irish name, O'Finn descendant of Fin meaning « The Fair One » chiefs of Lough Gill in Sligo and is found in Monaghan and Galway.

The record tells us that Madeleine Alleyn was an English woman. Alleyn is a corruption of the Irish name O'Halloyne and was found in Ormond and Offaly.

Marie Charlotte Brojon (?) is also listed as an English woman. This is a pure Irish name, she was without a doubt a woman named Brogan. This common Irish form of O'Brogan is to be found in Clare and Donegal.

IRISH NAMES IN THE LISTS

The last entry of the list of May 1710 is another Irish woman entered only as « Marie... (2) « Irlandaise ».

The June list of 1710 begins with Edouard Fléchier, with no nationality given. This also was originally an Irish name. The Gaelic form of Mac an Fleastair, the son of fletcher, or the arrow feather, gives us hope that he too was an Irishman.

Edouard Clements was naturalized without his racial origin being given. There are two Irish origins for this name. One « Climeiseac », son of Clement, and the other Maclogmainn, McClamon or McClement or Clements. They are of the McSweeney clan and according to McFiris are descended from the O'Neils.

Guillaume White was another man with an Irish name but was not described as being Irish. White is merely a translation of an old Irish name, O'Banain. The Irish forms are Bannon, O'Bannion, and O'Banim. In English it signifies white and in this form it is to be found in Fermanagh, Offaly and Mayo.

Richard Pearse appears without his origin being specified. Its Irish form is Piarar, an early Norman rendering of Peter.

Christopher Wood has also no clue given as to his nationality.. This name enjoys several forms in Ireland. There is a Norman one of de Wodo, but there is the old Hibernian form of Macconcoitte and it has a more common form of MacEnkelly. Cucotte means « Son of the hound of the Wood ». Phonetically Cucotte was turned into « Cox ». The name is chiefly found in Derry, Tyrone, Wicklow, Wexford, Cork and Limerick.

John Deniss was another who appears to have been of Irish origin without anything being given as to his

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antecedents. The Irish form MacDonncoda simply signifies the « Son of Donncod », meaning a brown warrior or strong warrior. This name has become Donogh or Denis. There is another Irish source for this family name, O'Donnguan, meaning descended from Donngur (Brown Choice) and corrupted to Denis in English. It is borne by an Ulster and Munster family found mostly in Cork and Waterford.

Marie-Ann Drew is also an Irish woman who is hidden in the list. It is a name that has been located for centuries at Listowel in the parish of Duagh and in Kerry as well as West Limerick. Its Irish form was O'Drae, the « descendant of the Druid ».

Daniel Maddox, a native of « Old England » was naturalized. But was he English? The original form of Maddox was Madog or Madocke common enough in Killkenny, Tipperary and Waterford.

Victor Thomas Dian has no nationality given. The name is probably Dean. The Gaelic form was O'Deane meaning the « Son of the Dane » and is to be found in South of Ireland and Donegal.

Jean Holond is described as « Native of Ireland ». This name was probably meant to be Holland.

Denis Byrne also a « Native of Ireland », was naturalized at the same time.

Thimothé Sylvain, « Native of Ireland », was naturalized some time after. It was on the 7th of March, 1724, that he changed his nationality. He is our Irish Dr. Timothy Sullivan who came to New France by way of Spain, pirates, New England and Montreal.

Marie Anne Jordan of English nationality, was naturalized on April 13th, 1740. She may have been the daughter of Gabriel Jordan who was living in Quebec

IRISH NAMES IN THE LISTS

and naturalized in July 1710 of whom we have already heard.

These extracts give some idea of the foreigners who settled down amongst the people of New France to become absorbed into the life of the new country. The Irish became French easily and even in the first days of the Colony the names that they had brought with them from Erin began to change and melt into the national nomenclature.

There is amongst the funeral records one of special intrigue. It is the act of burial of Marie Willis who died in Quebec in 1776 (89). She was the wife of Bartholemey Cotton and she was aged 96. She is described as a native of New England who was taken by the Abenakis as a child and brought up in the Catholic faith. Her husband, Bartholemey Cotton, was born in 1691 and was buried in 1770, aged eighty years. He appears to have been an Irishman. He had been living for many years in New France and was one of the people both in loyalty and religion. There is a hill in Quebec which has been named after him.

Again an Irish name turns up in an out-of-the-way place. The Jesuit Mission of Caughnawaga had a change of pastors and a Father Antoine Gordon was named parish priest for the years 1751 and 1752. He in turn was succeeded for the two following years by a Father Nicola de Gonnor. One might almost believe that this may have been a phonetical attempt at spelling the Irish name of O'Connor (90).

(89) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XX, pp. 175, 242; 1914.

(90) Gosselin, Abbé, A. — L'Eglise du Canada depuis Mgr de Laval jusqu'à la Conquete Quebec, 1914, p. 232; Jesuit Relations 1-68, p. 224.

Chapter VII

IRISH NAMES IN THE CIVIL RECORDS

THE administration of justice, both ecclesiastical and civil was quite severe. On the 26th of October, 1728, a court was convened under the presidency of Mr. Michel Lepaillieur, substitute for the King's Procurator, to hear a charge made by the Association of Master Cobblers, represented by Jean Rydoy and others against one Joseph Dugast also a Master Cobbler, for having failed to offer blessed bread on the feast of Saints Crispin and Crespian in the usual manner (91). Of what nationality was Jean Rydoy? It is not a French name. Is it not most probably a phonetical rendering of Reilly and one wonders if he too were not just another Irishman who had wandered far from home.

In the old reports there are several references to the Recollet Kilder mentioning his work and news of his person. This is an intriguing name and appears to

(91) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XXIV, p. 126; 1918.

IRISH NAMES IN THE CIVIL RECORDS

have an Irish touch but nothing has been found to tell us of him or whence he came.

There is a record of an engagement entered into by a lad named Michel Odic aged 16, to become apprenticed to Pierre Magué, son of Françoise Gobillard and Auguste Magué (92). Was he not most likely Agustin McGee whose name the notarial scrivener distorts and denationalizes? This is a very early contract and bears the date of 1685.

Amongst those who were not of Irish origin but appear in the naturalization records, there is one interesting name. It is that of a man named Gilles Strouds (93). From all we know about him he must have been an Englishman for he was born in London and emigrated to the Carolinas in 1712. In 1738 he became involved in an «affair of honour» and to avoid getting himself into trouble, or perhaps to escape the minions of the Law, he made his way to Canada and settled in Quebec where he entered business and in time became one of the city's leading merchants. He evidently fitted completely into the life of the French people for he was baptized in 1742 and on February 26th, 1748, he married Josèphe Elizabeth Morrissetaux a native of old France. On April 30th, 1749, by an edict of the Sovereign Council he became naturalized and was, until the time he died, a subject of the French kings (94). He was buried as a good French Canadian in the Chapel of the Jesuits in Quebec. This Strouds was in no way connected with Ireland but it is well merely to cite

(92) Bull. Rech. Hist., 1918, Vol. XXIV, p. 126.

(93) Ibid., 1914, Vol. XX, p. 375; Roy, P.-G. *La Ville de Quebec sous le Regime Francais*, Vol. II, p. 280 (R. Paradis, King's Printer, Quebec, 1930).

(94) Bull. Rech. Hist., 1924, Vol. XXX, p. 231.

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this case to show how completely a foreigner of alien blood and alien religion may have been absorbed into the routine of a new country.

There are many documents of all sorts which bring to light Irish names in the most unthought of places — for instance there is that of Charles Hardy who was the coachman to l'Intendant Bigot in 1759. There are both Irish and French Hardys, so this name is mentioned as a possibility only.

The church records of Bell Rivière tell us also the usual story. You will find there an entry of a baptism at Fort Duquesne where the missionaries passed but rarely, for there those baptised were not infants. An entry is to be found of August 10th, 1756, where Catherine (who was aged about twelve) daughter of Granville Smith and Cécile Burigarnox was baptised. The child was very ill and died a few days later. The godfather was one Gainguain « Irish of nationality and Catholic of religion » (95). The entry is signed by Father Denys Buron, P. R. Recollet.

The same Father Buron baptised another child of this family on the same day. She was Barbe, aged 2. This girl had as her godfather one Jean Cardon, also « Irish of nationality and Catholic of religion ».

In 1759, on August 27th, a young fellow named John Soton, aged 26 (96), was killed by the English and buried at Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré. He was probably an Irishman named Sutton for no Englishman would be in this locality waiting to be killed by his fellow Britons just two weeks before the fall of Quebec.

(95) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XIX, p. 205; 1913.

(96) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. VII, p. 254; 1901.

IRISH NAMES IN THE CIVIL RECORDS

One would judge that there must have been quite a deal of fraternization between the English prisoners in Quebec and the citizens of the city. Some of these erstwhile enemies had their wives with them for we find records of the baptisms of their offspring. These children were born of Catholic parents which would indicate that they were of Irish blood.

On October 5th, 1756, the son of Thomas Vincent and Helene Vincent was baptised in the Church of Notre-Dame at Quebec and he was given the name François. The parents are described as English prisoners. Unfortunately on the next day little François died and we find a record of his burial.

On March 12th, 1757, a boy named Fox, aged about seven and a half years, died. He was the son of John Fox and his wife Catherine Fox who are described as of Irish nationality and Prisoners of War, and on the 25th of September, 1757, a Catholic child aged two months was buried. It is described as the child of English prisoners but their names are not shown in the record.

These entries would give us the impression that these people were living natural and free lives in the city of Quebec. After the war they probably remained quietly in the Colony and there ultimately became a part of the people.

The burials of the prisoners would also give us the same impression. The records are in no way different from those of the ordinary citizens. The ceremony, the witnesses, were the same. The people who showed the last respects to the mortal remains of those who had once been their enemies in battle, were not

other prisoners but rather members of the congregation of the church to which they went in life.

On November 5th, 1757, Brig. Roussel (Russell), a prisoner of war, was buried at Notre-Dame, « muni des sacrements ». Yet he could not have been an Irish Catholic for he was described as a deathbed convert, still Russell is an Irish name.

On April 3rd, 1757, Owen (Owen) Doherty, an English prisoner, who had died the day before, « after having received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction », was buried at Notre-Dame.

On the next day, April 4th John Grousses, an English prisoner, who had departed this life on the 3rd « fortified by Extreme Unction », was buried in the same cemetery.

On the 4th of April, 1759, Denis Roch died after receiving Extreme Unction. He is described as an English prisoner and he was buried next day as a Catholic. Even his name tells us that he was an Irishman.

May the 2nd, 1757, was the date of a funeral of another English prisoner. His name was Guillaume Redam and he lived in the city of Quebec. This man's name was undoubtedly Redmond or Reddy and he also died, according to the funeral entry, « muni des Sacrements ». From these entries we hear a story told of a freedom far from the sort we are taught to believe to be the lot of Prisoners of War, and this treatment may have had much to do towards bringing about in these prisoners a very sympathetic outlook with regard to their captors and must have helped to incorporate them into the daily routine of Quebec life.

IRISH NAMES IN THE CIVIL RECORDS

There is a marriage entry of great interest to people of Irish origin in the records of Quebec. The event took place on November 22nd, 1751, when François O'Neil (97), son of Nicola O'Neil and Antoinette Jourdain of St-Valier, diocese of Dijon, and who was a sergeant of Bombardiers and Cannoniers in the garrison of Quebec, was married to Marie-Anne Chandonné. The marriage was fruitful for they had six children and all were baptised in the city on the Rock. He had a brother Pierre who was born at Talmes also in the diocese of Dijon and who was a wigmaker by trade. This Pierre was married on November 13th, 1753, in the same church as his brother, to Marie-Josephite, a sister of Marie-Anne Chandonné, his brother's wife. This marriage was also successful and they were blessed with eight youngsters.

These O'Neils belonged to an Irish family that had left the land of their ancestors and established their home in France. They must have emigrated quite early, for their grandfather Jean-Baptiste O'Neil was a merchant at Pont-sur-Saône in the Franche-Comté which is now in the district of Haute-Saône. His wife's name was Jean-Claudine Billard. They had only one son born to them. It was in the year 1700 and he was baptised Nicola.

Nicola grew up. At the age of twenty-two, he was married to Antoinette Jondrier at Tremay. This was on April 28th, 1722. Tremay is in the locality of Fontailler-sur-Saône also in the district of Dijon, Côte d'Or. There were two sons born of this marriage; François on April 17th, 1723, and Pierre on the 10th of

(97) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XVI, pp. 45, 46; 1910.

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August, 1726. Nicola never saw his sons grow to manhood for he died in 1730 or 1731.

The elder son, François, lost three of his six children for they died in infancy. Those who survived were Marie-Anne, born on September 4th, 1752, François Jr., born on August 8th, 1753, and Marie-Antoinette, born on September 8th, 1754. The eldest, Marie-Anne, returned to France and there married Jean Richard, the valet of the Marquis de Courtirron. When she became a widow, she settled down at Talmay and lived there till her death in 1840.

François Jr., also returned to France where he was admitted to the College for Irish Gentlemen. He had one son who was a French naval officer and this son left a daughter, Mathilde O'Neil, who died at Ouray in Brittany, on May 29th, 1892, as well as two sons. One of these was General Armand O'Neil whom we find on active service in Algeria at the end of the nineteenth century.

François Sr's other daughter, Marie-Antoinette, died unmarried at Talmay on September 6th, 1842.

Nicola O'Neil's second son, Pierre-Ignace, as he was called in his baptismal record, who had practised the art of wigmaking in his native town, carried on his trade in New France. His son Jean-Baptiste O'Neil, who was born in Quebec in 1756, became the sexton of the cathedral there and he held that post for fifty years. He must have learned wigmaking from his father, for he added to his duties as sexton the post of « Apostolic Barber » or « Barbier Apostolique » as he is described.

The original François O'Neil, sergeant of Bombardiers and Cannoniers at Quebec, returned with his wife to France for we find him at Talmay in 1764 des-

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cribed as a Sergeant Pensioner of Marines and in 1769 we discover that he has become a merchant and later he occupies the role of Bourgeois and Propriator. He died at Talmay in 1807.

It is worthy to note that in 1854, O'Neil, Viscount Tyrone, who was then « sous-prefet » of Saumur, Department of Maine-et-Loire, sought news from the mayor at Talmay, of a branch of his family that had lived in that city (98).

It is indeed a far stretch of the imagination from O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, the conqueror of Essex and the defier of Elizabeth, to Jean-Baptiste O'Neil the sexton of the cathedral and « Apostolic Barber » in Quebec, but it is the story of the vicissitudes of an Irish family. The Red Hand of Ulster borne with such pride in the Elizabethan Wars had become but the tool of the wigmaker.

The records of the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital for 1741 disclose to us that another Irish family was living in Quebec. In October of this year a man named Edouard Amelton, « Irlandois » (99), was treated there. Shortly after we find another patient seeking entrance. She is Esther Amelton, wife of Edouard. She was from London and aged 34. Their name, which was without doubt « Hamilton », appears with quite enough frequency and over a sufficiently long period to show that they became permanent residents of the Colony and were not in any way connected with the war prisoners. But calamity overtook them, and Edouard « Ambleton » turned out to be an all round bad lot. The Hôtel-Dieu records let the skeleton fall out of the closet. Through

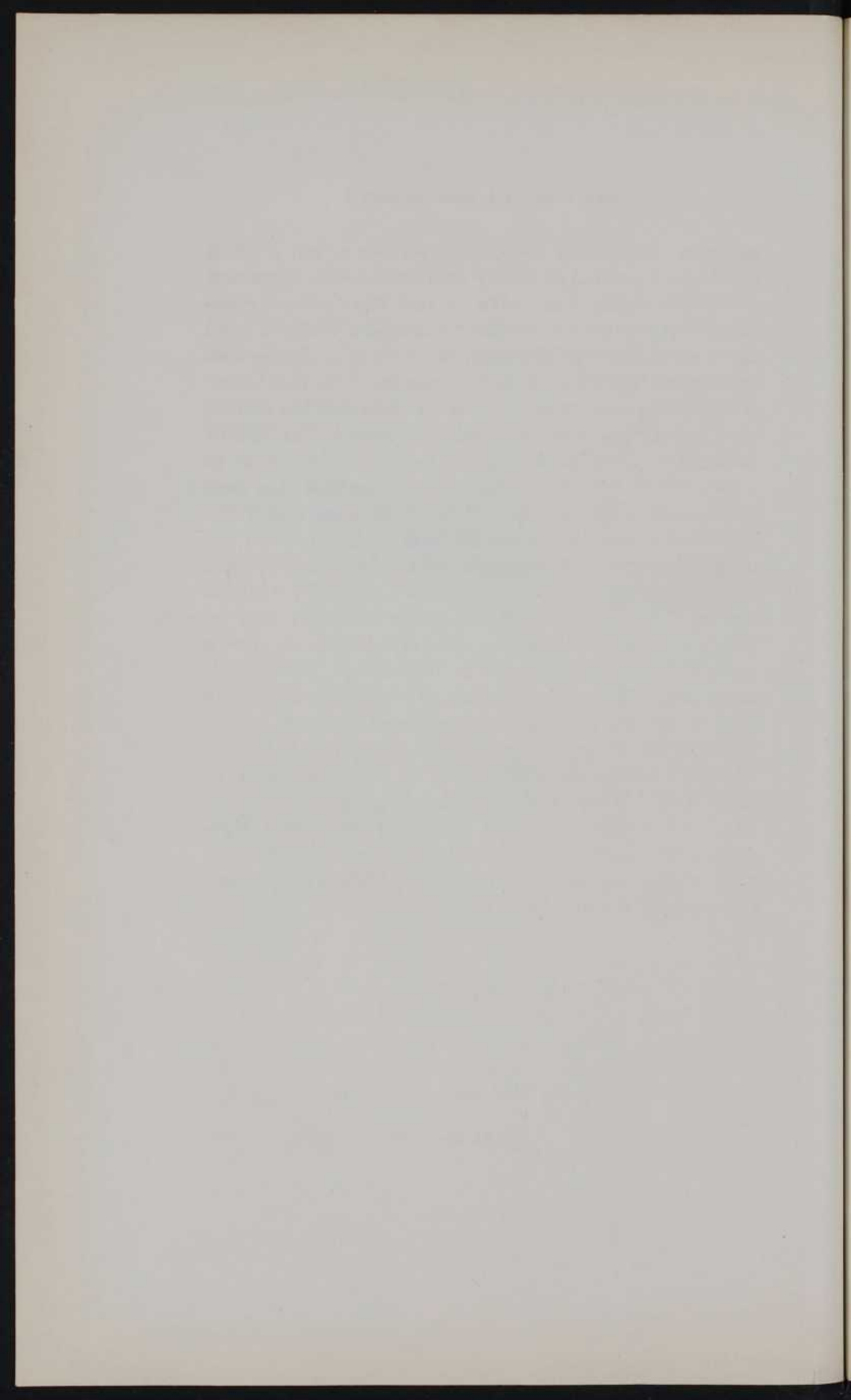
(98) Bull. Rech. Hist., Vol. XVI, p. 45; 1910.

(99) Registres de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Quebec.

an entry of January 25th, 1746, we learn that a small child was admitted in a very sorry state. His name was Clude Ambleton. The entry carried the following extraordinary note: « who asks to be called French, aged eight years, born in Montreal of an English father and an English mother who died in our hospital. His father after having remarried at Three Rivers left his second wife and a child and returned to England. The King's procurator, after having given the little Ambleton to a habitant who took so little care of him that Monsieur l'Intendant withdrew this child from him, and when half dead from misery he sent him to the hospital for us to take care of him, where we are to look after him as a « poor charge with board » of Monsieur l'Intendant and of the King's Procurator, with the hope that he will prove useful either to the Hôtel-Dieu or for a farm if he has talent ». With this entry the « Hamilton » family fades from Canadian history. It is strange that, in all the entries made in the records of Hamilton's yearly visits to the hospital, he is entered as an Irishman except in this one entry recording that he abandoned his boy and left « for England ».

On December 22nd of this year another « Irlandois », Jean Dolin (100), aged 21, was cared for. He was most probably John Dolan or John Dillon. What became of him nobody knows.

(100) Registres de l'Hôtel Dieu de Quebec.



Chapter VIII

IRISHMEN TREATED IN THE HOSPITALS AND IRISH NAMES FOUND IN THE CENSUS OF NEW FRANCE

THE hospitals have proved a mine of historical information, for Irishmen were not more free from accident, wounds in battle or contagion than were any others. The Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec, which owed its birth to La Duchesse d'Aiguillon, has kept admirable records. Madame d'Aiguillon was the niece of Cardinal Richelieu who, on the death of her husband, Antoine de Beauvoir, Marquis de Combalat, who died in battle, desired to become a nun. She was but eighteen years of age at the time. She entered as a novice in the « Carmel of Paris » but the Queen and her uncle the Cardinal, forced her to desist. However on August 16th, 1637, a contract was signed between her and the Hospitalières of l'Hôtel-Dieu of Dieppe (101). This Order must not be confounded with the one administering the Hospital at Montreal. It is the

(101) « Esquisses » — Historical pamphlet published by the Religious of the Hôtel-Dieu.

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Hôtel-Dieu of Laflèche which was established there, through the efforts of M. de la Dauversière. These are totally different foundations.

Amongst the patients treated at the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, Irishmen and Irish names turn up in the most unexpected places. Each soldier's name is followed by his *nom-de-guerre*, or war-name by which the man was known to his companions and many of these have crept so firmly into the nomenclature of the province that the original and real name of the bearer has been completely forgotten. Not only soldiers bore these aliases. Many citizens also had their pseudonyms as well as those that they inherited from forefathers, and many of our great men of Canada have acquired their greatness and position under names that would never have been recognized upon the soil of France.

There is for instance, amongst those who bear strange names, the case of a soldier aged eighteen who was known as Antonin Gier,, dit « Prêt-à-boire de Bourgogne ». Evidently this bibulous lad was famed amongst his comrades for his liking for Burgundy. These added « descriptions » did not escape the Irishmen serving with the French. Most likely many a good Irish name has become lost in the meshes of some peculiarity by which the bearer became known (102).

At this time slavery was still in vogue in Canada, but not to any great extent. The Intendant had a slave named Télémaque. This poor black-man appears several times in the records, described as « Nègre de M. l'Intendant » and « residing at the palace ». Télémaque must have suffered much from the rigors of Canada's

(102) All names given here are taken from the Registers of the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital at Quebec.

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winters, for he was always sick and his name keeps turning up in the hospital records for upwards of ten years.

« An Irishman from the King's shipyards » but who bore a name that had a particularly Scottish lilt was Jean Maclour. He is called « un Irlandois du chantier ». He entered the wards on September 24th, 1747. This appears to be a very distorted rendering of some Irish name which is difficult to recognize. There are several other entries of a man merely described as « Jean Irlandois ». He was admitted on November 13th of the same year and is shown several times under this guise. It is not unlikely that all these entries refer to this same person and that the nun who kept the records abandoned the name Maclour as not being an adequate equivalent for his original Irish name. Poor Maclour seems to have gone down in the world, for the last time his « name » appears, which is three years later, we find that « Jean Irlandois » is from the « Ménagerie » or the poor house.

There was a sailor admitted in January 1748 who is not shown as a prisoner of war, but whom we might judge as having belonged to the French Naval Service. His name is given as Louis Carcté, « Matelot anglais ». This was most certainly an Irishman whose name was Carty or McCarty.

In 1749 and 1750 several Irish patients were received for treatment who were men of peace — a rare calling amongst men of their nationality in New France. On November 20th, 1749, « Jean Dévenne » « an Irishman from the shipyards » entered for medical care. His real name was probably John Devine and on the day following he was joined by Antoine Amel « un

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irlandois » — Anthony Hamill — also an Irishman who was employed by Monsieur Pean and on the 30th of the same month he was joined by another of his compatriots, a Pierre Lenis, « an Irishman », evidently Peter Lenny, before he left his native Ireland and on December 28th, still another Irishman, Alexandre Danchy joined them and whose real name was probably Dancey.

On the 8th of October, 1749, an Irish civilian, named Pierre de Lanis, « un irlandois », died in the hospital. He was probably Peter Delaney when he left his native land. And on the same date a daughter of Erin entered. She is merely described as Héléne, « femme irlandaise », — Helen the Irishwoman.

There was an Irish « cannonier » manning the guns of Quebec's fortifications and on September 1st, 1748, he took sick for « Patrice Paure dit St-Patrice, irlandois » became a patient. This master of gunnery, Patrick Power « called St. Patrick » hardly required to be labelled an Irishman, but we lose contact with him when he recovers.

Monsieur d'Youville's Company had two Irishmen in it. Pierre Paul Ouelson (Wilson), dit Robert, though born in New England was a soldier in the French Service and he entered for treatment on June 20th, 1748, also John Moylan dit Jolicoeur, of the same Company applied for admission in December of the next year.

There is an interesting entry of a man described as a sailor of English nationality. As he is not inscribed as a prisoner of war he must have been serving on a French ship. He is Jacques Semite who received medical care on September 8th, 1749. Semite is an amus-

ing way of rendering Smith, but it appears so in the records.

We now come to some of the most interesting records of all. These are the hospital entries of a number of soldiers belonging to «M. de Karrer's Company», and all are described as Swiss. Neither this Company nor its Commander are mentioned in the forty odd volumes of the «Bulletins de la Société des Recherches Historiques» in which mention is made of almost every thing connected with Canadian history. Neither are they shown in the «Rapports des Archives» which are equally vast.

Such an entry is the record of May 3rd, 1748, telling us that George Magis «d'Irlande», «Swiss», became a patient. George McGee of Ireland, a Swiss, was at first sight intriguing. Then on September 7th, 1748, there is an entry of Joannes Davis of Ireland, aged 20, a Swiss, and January 10th, 1749, Jean Michel Rion, this time described as being from «Angleterre», a Swiss, was a patient there. It seems exceedingly exaggerated to describe John Michael Ryan as an Englishman and a Swiss, but that is how we find him. So also is Pierre Majon spoken of. He is undoubtedly Peter Meegan and neither English nor Swiss. John Coman is likewise described. Richard Dalkan is just called Swiss. Christopher Limery, who was no doubt an Irishman is cut from the same cloth.

There are dozens of names of soldiers of this Company who are described in this way without any regard for the part of the world from which they hailed — you find such examples as these:

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Joseph Riter from Rochefort, « Swiss »
Christian Brun from Danmerq, (Denmark), « Swiss »
Lamet Alfacot from Spain, « Swiss »
Jacque Andreffent of Flanders, « Swiss »

There are numerous others of the same sort, yet all these names are entered between 1747 and the first half of 1749.

The eight great regiments which came to New France with de Montcalm did not arrive till almost ten years later and the name of de Karrer is naturally not to be found. The solution of the riddle is very interesting. There was a famous regiment known as the « Régiment de Karrer » raised in 1719 by agreement between the Swiss Cantons and the King of France (103). It was known as a Swiss Regiment and its Colonel was François Adam, Chevalier de Karrer. It was sent to Louisiana and to Cape Breton where it served at Louisbourg. It was recalled to France and served in the Isle de Ré. From these entries at the Hôtel-Dieu it would appear that a detachment or a Company had been left behind and had been sent to Quebec where it remained till 1749. All entries bearing the names of men belonging to it disappear completely in that year. It is strange that this body of troops, small though it may have been, has been ignored so completely in our military history. Unlike the line regiments it wore a red tunic and would correspond today to the French Foreign Legion.

(103) Susane, L., — op. cit., Vol. V, p. 363, Section 1432.

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In 1759 the Irish patients in the hospital had one of their own race to look after them and he was known as Pierre « l'Irlandois », so our « Irishman Peter » became a « domestic in the wards ».

Monsieur de Lusignan's Company had its Irish quota. David Berid, « un irlandois », became a patient on January 8th, 1751. His name was probably Barry or Berry and Leonard Davis followed him a few days later.

Henry Gillesport who was undoubtedly Henry Guillespie got sick on November 3rd, 1751, and sought solace there. On January 13th, 1752, a Pierre Richmond, « a soldier of France », was treated there. It is unlikely that he was an English man. He must have been either Irish or Scotch. On the 20th of the same month, Thomas Doat, an Irish prisoner of war held at Quebec, entered the hospital and a week later, a man named Barnabé also described as an Irishman and a prisoner of war, joined him. On the 3rd of February, 1752, another Barnabé is entered but this time he is just described as coming from Ireland. If it is the same man he is no longer a prisoner, he may have renounced his English allegiance and assumed that of France as did so many of his fellow countrymen.

A Michel Cofin, a real « Irlandois » came for treatment a few days later. He returned to the hospital several times when he was entered on the registers as Michel Cofet « of Ireland », aged 27 years. His real name was probably Cofey. In April of that year another patient whose name we only know to have been Jean, and called an Englishman, was admitted. At the same time another man also said to have been English, a Thomas Chaudon aged 72, was inscribed as a patient.

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On April 25th there is an interesting entry. This is of a soldier belonging to the company of Monsieur de Lanaudière and who bears the strange name of Sans-Chagrin but whose nationality is entered as Irish. He is shown only under his nom-de-guerre, and his real name is not given.

May the 8th brought a new patient. He appears upon the pages as Roberge, aged 25, employed at the King's Foundries and coming from London. The man's name was probably Robert. It does not appear likely that Roberge could have been the name of his family. An Englishman permanently employed in New France would be most uncommon and besides, no name that could in any way be taken for his appears amongst the foreigners who sought naturalization. Later in the month another Londoner applied for admission to the hospital, his name is given as Michel Valtar and his inscription shows him as an English deserter. The man's name was probably Michael Walter and this Christian name would indicate his Irish nationality as well as the fact that he had deserted from the English Service and sought haven amongst Britain's enemies.

On May 25th, a real French-Irishman applied for treatment, he was also a « Sans-Chagrin ». This time he was a French soldier named Jean-Baptiste Miphi dit Sans-Chagrin and a « native of Ireland ». Miphi is probably meant to be Murphy. With his nom-de-guerre of « Sans-Chagrin » — « Without Sorrow » he must have been a carefree fellow.

Another Irishman of the same sort arrived about the same time. He was also a French soldier and was serving in Monsieur de Lanaudière's Company. His name appears in the records as Jean Rigordon — his

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nom-de-guerre was « dit la Lune » and he came from Ireland. He was an Irishman named Riorden, called « The Moon ». How he acquired this alias is hard to tell but it is certainly original.

Jean-Baptiste Seguin looks to the unobservant to merely be an ordinary Frenchman. He was also a French soldier, a corporal in Monsieur de Fonville's Company — but his nom-de-guerre was « dit l'Irlande » and he came from Ireland. In another hospital entry he is described as a « drummer ». At this same time, another Irishman was admitted, he is simply shown as Stevine, an « Irishman ».

A soldier of fortune was Robert Simon. He was a member of Monsieur St-Pierre's Company but he is entered as an Englishman. He is found several times in the records, but by degrees his name changes and in the later entries is shown merely as Robert Anglois and finally we find that Robert Anglois, of Monsieur Dumas' Company, abjures his Protestant religion. He had changed not only his country and his belief, but even his name. There is a similar case in that of Samuel Darte, dit Bel-rose, who was a drummer in Monsieur de La Martiniere's Company, whose nationality is also given as English and who was admitted on April 7th and after having abjured his English creed he died a Catholic two days later.

There appears to have been at the convent at this time a little nun who was deeply interested in the faith in which her patients cast off their earthly fetters. At this period there is entered after several names of patients who died, and who were not of French nationality, the information whether they died « après

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abjuration et muni des Sacrements » or merely « sans abjuration ». These additions to their records are all made by the same person, in a fine gothic handwriting. Evidently this religious woman desired to record the success or sorrow that her missionary efforts brought forth.

At this time, there were several Englishmen treated, such as Benjamin Ouate who worked for Jean Guay — his name was probably Watt, and with him was Jacob Erance, an English prisoner.

But Jean Laterin dit Pontchartrin, a soldier in Monsieur de Lanaudière's Company, appears on the scene, but his nationality is given. He was an Irishman. And on the 7th of June, Lenny Guilespy from Ireland, a volunteer soldier in the army of France named Guillespie, entered for medical care.

In 1754, on October 5th, we find a patient named Thomas Glainé, an Irishman. This was Thomas Glaney and with him was another of his compatriots, one Charles Squenillé « un Irlandois ». This name may have been a distorted form of Connelly. At this time there was a strange entry made. It was that of a sailor, named Guillaume Underland from Scotland who sailed the seas under the flag of France.

On April 5th, 1755, a young man from the seminary became sick and was admitted. Although he is described as an Englishman, such description is without doubt an error. He is Jean Conet. This youth was almost certainly John Kenny. An Englishman would hardly be found studying for the priesthood in New France at this period.

On May 5th, 1755, there was a Denis Candiana, a prisoner of war and an Irishman. This name is terribly

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distorted and if we were not told that he was Irish, we could not divine it.

An Irishman appears on May 17th with his name almost intact, he is Pierre Linche, who was working in the shipyards, « les chantiers » and who was a native of Ireland. With him was another compatriot, but he was a prisoner of war, his name was Charles Kennedi (Kennedy).

The year 1756 was a disastrous one for both the hospital and the city. It was in this year that a scourge believed to have been typhus broke out. It came ashore with the troops.

In the spring of this year a ship of the King's Navy, « The Leopard », sailed up the St. Lawrence; it was a new ship of sixty guns. It carried amongst its passengers the Marquis de Montcalm, and was the transport for two very famous Regiments, the « Royal Roussillon » and « La Sarre ». Its Commander was a Monsieur de Gomain who held the rank of Lieutenant de Vaisseau in the French Navy. It left Brest in early April and dropped anchor opposite Quebec on the thirtieth of May. Most of the crew and many of the soldiers were very ill and had to be rushed ashore and placed in the hospital.

There is the journal of the French naval officer which gives a vivid picture of this calamity. Unfortunately his name is not known but the journal tells us the following:

« The ship arrived in a very forlorn state, almost all on board were laid low including its passengers, attacked by some form of a little-known disease. It was attributed to filth, and this infection, as was admitted by the officers themselves, was not helped by the

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negligence of those in charge who failed, even on one single occasion, to have the place where all the refuse was deposited, cleaned and scraped.

All the troops had been closed below decks throughout the voyage and never went on deck during bad weather and many of them suffered from sea-sickness while Monsieur Gomain lacked firmness and did not exact enough from his officers.

A great dread settled over the city and in order to stamp out the danger, the ship was condemned by a court of Admiralty to be disarmed and burnt at Quebec, notwithstanding the fact that it was perfectly sound».

The journal goes on to say — «the disease which had attacked the crew and troops on board «The Leopard» began to cause grave alarm at Quebec. When my ship sailed from there, half the nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu were already infected by it, and many persons died each day. The dreaded disease appeared to spare no one. The Regiments of «La Sarre» and «Royal Roussillon» were badly hit and two of their officers had already died».

Monsieur de Gomain, the captain of the ship, died on June 19th and Monsieur de Rominville died on June 9th at the Hôtel-Dieu. On the next day, Jean Basnet, the Quartermaster, joined them in death and a long list of dead follows.

Amongst these victims we find a foreigner, they inform us that he was an Englishman. His hospital record tells us that on May 11th, 1756, Guillaume Mattox, «un Anglais», a sailor of «The Leopard», passed from this earth.

In 1756 the Hôtel-Dieu was still under reconstruction in order to repair the damage that the fire of

the previous year had left in its wake. The workmen hurried to complete the nuns' quarters. In no time the hospital was filled to such an extent that Monseigneur Pontbriand, the Bishop, gave orders that the church was also to be used to receive the sick. During 1757 and 1758 the plague had accounted for seven hundred dead, 399 of whom soldiers and 209 were sailors, while the others were citizens of Quebec city (104).

In the registers there is an entry of a Joseph Dogane, also spelled at another date as Dygen, who worked for Monsieur Dupart. His name was most likely Duggan. He is followed by a fighting Irishman, a member of Monsieur de la Corne's Company, his name was François Farolle dit Bellefins. This is a strange disguise for a man named Farrell.

There was a woman patient named Elizabeth Ouliame, whose nationality was given as English — this is likely a corruption of some Irish name; could it be William or Williams or some other name of Irish origin?

Jean-Baptiste dit «Demilivre» was a soldier in Monsieur de Lanaudière's Company who is described as an «Irishman». Demilivre is a strange alias for an Irishman, «Half-pound» hardly fits one of his race.

There are a great many Irishmen to be found amongst the English prisoners, but as there is no evidence of their having settled in the Colony, they have no place in these notes. Such names as O'Neil, Lynch, Connell, Clark, Butler, Doherty, Carraghan, Roch, Felin (Phelan), O'Malley, Redmond, Murphy, McCarthy and Dolan, are but a few. Some of these as we

(104) Gosselin, Abbe A. — *L'Eglise au Canada depuis Mgr. de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête*, Québec, 1914, Part III, p. 474.

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have seen, entered the French Service through the Irish Company, but as colonists we have nothing to prove their stay.

On February 24th, 1757, a Guillaume de Maillé, «an Irishman», a sailor on a frigate, came to the hospital. This appears to have been a phonetic rendering of the name O'Malley. Another Irish sailor entered there in September of that year, this name was Bartholemy Dolan but he died two days later.

The Irish Company in the French Service had at this time taken form and two members of it were treated in July. One was Daniel Dan whose name we find on the roster of its soldiers, the other was Jean Devesse. He does not appear upon the list of those who sailed for France but he is described as a member when he entered the Hôtel-Dieu.

In 1758, there was a Bartholemy Chaez amongst the sick. This may have been an Irishman named Shea or it may be an old French name which we no longer meet. In May of this year an Irish sailor named Guillaume Laimont was taken care of. Had this man not been described as «un Irlandois» it would have been difficult to have pictured him as such.

The records of 1758 show that there was great sickness amongst the sailors, however on July 7th, Etienne Mahay, the second mate of «Le Brillant», aged 47 and coming from St-Malo was admitted. This is not a French name, and it appears to me to be a corruption of an Irish one.

On August the 4th, Peter Onfraiss became a patient. He was not a prisoner of war, and although his nationality is given as English, one might suspect that he was an Irishman named Humpherries.

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The death of Patrisse Quélés, of « Ireland », aged 80 and employed at the seminary took place on November 24th. Patrick Kelly was far from home when he died, but the fact that he had reached that age and was in the permanent employ of the priests shows that he was a bona-fide resident of Quebec.

The régiment de « La Sarre » had an Irish soldier in its ranks named Alexis Carielle, aged 21 and he is entered in the hospital registers as an « Irlandois ». Alexis was a man named Carroll and bearing that name, he probably came from Tipperary. The Régiment de Guyenne had its Irish representative in Michel Pierre Patrissant, aged 20 — what this was originally we can only guess, but his inscription shows him to be from Erin.

There must have been a poor Irish beggar in Quebec at this period for the record shows that « un Irlandois pauvre » named Jean Bouglais, aged 42, took his place amongst the patients on February 26th, 1759.

Amongst the nuns themselves at the Hôtel-Dieu two names stand out. One was Soeur St-Charles. Her name was Marie Irwin, she was professed at Varnes at the age of 31, and she arrived from France on the 29th of June, 1657. Later there was Soeur St-François-Xavier. Her name was Marie Boone, she was born in London and she entered the convent in 1783 at the age of 20 (105).

The census of 1681 (106) gives us a few interesting lights on the people. The Colony was still very young but the population had already reached well over three

(105) Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec.

(106) Sulte, B. — Histoire des Canadiens Français, Vol. V, pp. 52-90.

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thousand. On close examination one is impressed by the numbers of the children. At least half of the habitants were in their early years. The families were very large and another thing strikes one, it is the fact that in so many instances the father was so much older than the mother. So much so is this the fact that one is led to believe that many of these were second marriages for the head of the house. Many of the children were too close in age to the wife of the « Patron » to have been her own.

At the seignory of Champlain, Etienne Pezard de la Touche, aged 57, had as his wife Madeleine Muloy (107), aged 45. There is also to be found a Pierre Paradis married to a Jeanne Milloy (108). Is this the Irish name so common in every Irish community, or is it a phonetic rendering of a French name such as Millois or something of a similar sound? It appears to be an Irish name for anything similar amongst the names in the Colony that might be taken for it is rarely, if ever, encountered.

At St. François there was a Pierre Couque (109). We have seen this name already given as Irish and a corruption of the name Cook. Pierre Cooke was 57 and his wife was Marie « Sauvagesse » aged 50. In the census of Quebec of 1666, one name is to be found that is intriguing. It is that of Ann Convent (110), a widow of a man named Maheu. Father Woulfe, the great authority on Irish names, gives « Convey » another form of Conway and derived from the Celtic O'Conmaig and

(107) Sulte, B. — op. cit., Recensement de 1681, Vol. V, p. 62.

(108) Ibid., Vol. V, p. 85.

(109) Ibid., Recensement 1667, Vol. IV, p. 70.

(110) Ibid., Recensement 1666, Vol. IV, p. 53.

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O'Conmeada. This is about the earliest census extant and available for study.

In the Census of 1686, in the Seigniory of Beau-bassin lived Roger Quessy (111) (or Kuessy) « un Irlandois » aged thirty-five who was married to Marie Poirier and had five children, two guns, eighteen cattle, six sheep, eight pigs and eight arpents of arable land. The man is described as an Irishman and the name is probably a derivative of Casey.

The Census of the Government of Quebec for 1762, the year before the Treaty of Paris, gives us two Irish names. Living at St-Joseph near that city was Charles Maheny (Mahony) with a wife, two sons and two daughters, while at St-Augustin (112), the widow of Ambrose Macardy (McCarthy) was living with her two daughters (113).

The Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal has not been so fortunate in preserving its old records as has been its sister in Quebec. Fire has been cruel to it for it has been almost destroyed three times and today little is available of its registers that antedate the British Conquest. The entries of civilian patients that are still intact, date from 1770 only. Its contribution to this particular story of the Old Regime is lost forever. However there is one book that has escaped destruction, it contains the names of the soldiers of the French Regiments who were treated there between 1756 and 1757.

These entries were made under the headings of Regiments and Compagnies. They were not excep-

(111) *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

(112) *Rapports de l'Archiviste*, 1925-26, Government Census of Quebec — 1762, p. 61.

(113) *Ibid.*, p. 96.

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tionally well kept and much was left to chance. If perchance the soldier was a foreigner, his nationality was not shown as in the Quebec records and one has, in many instances to hazard a guess as to what the name might really be, basing one's decision on the phonetical sound of the entry.

Some are undoubtedly Irish, others may have been. One of the earliest entries is that of a soldier in Monsieur de Laas' Company who was sick for four days in July 1755. His name was Rillé dit l'Amérique (114). He appears several times in the records and was without doubt an Irishman named Reilly. A similar entry in the same year was that of a soldier in the Régiment de Languedoc. He was Claude Laforty. He was in the wards from July till October and his name also appears frequently, sometimes under other spellings, but there is no variant which could be taken for the French form of Laferté.

In the following year a soldier of Monsieur de Cormier's Company of the Régiment de Guienne who bore the Irish name of Macabe dit Marien remained in hospital for four days during October and the Régiment de Béarn was also represented by a man named Vincent Briam. One might believe this to be an attempt at O'Brien and not intended for the French name of Brien which would have been spelled correctly in the entry.

The Régiment de Languedoc had a sick soldier named Etienne Farel dit Jolicoeur, he appears in other entries as Farelle. This name has already been found in the Quebec registers, the entry being François

(114) Registers of the Hotel-Dieu de St-Joseph Hospital at Montreal (all names of soldiers on this list are taken from these records).

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Farolle dit Bellefontaine. In all the variants of the name, few travel far from the original Farrell.

In June 1756 there was a soldier named Rian dit Jolibois. The name Ryan appears frequently and seems to have been a popular one in the French Army.

1757 was perhaps the year in which most soldiers were admitted. There was the usual name of Moran, a sergeant in M. Douglas' Company of the Régiment de Languedoc, but this name is always questionable. And there is Jérôme Daffy dit St-Jérôme in the same regiment. Jerome Duffy appears frequently in the hospital registers under this guise.

There were two Russells in the wards at the same time during the month of September. Antonin Rousel and Paul Rouselle. This name has already appeared more than once in the Quebec registers described as «Irlandois». It must also be borne in mind that there was the well known family of pure French origin, Roussell de Présville but whose members were entirely of officer standing. It is most probable that there were men of this name of both French and Irish origin in the Colony at this time. There were also during March and April, Carr dit St-Jean of the Régiment de Guienne and David Schiels dit David of Monsieur de Manchedon's Company of the same regiment.

An interesting entry of one François Magloire who spent the month of March in a sick bed. This seems to be a phonetical rendering of the name Maguire. Some French Canadians in the country parts of the Province, to this day, pronounce Maguire in this fashion.

1758 had also its Irish soldiers in the Hôtel-Dieu, for the Régiment de Béarn had its patient, a Daniel

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Sempo dit Béarn. This is certainly not a French name and even his nom-de-guerre, is not of the usual kind for he has simply assumed the name of his regiment. He is likely to have been an Irishman named Semple. François Hacket of the same regiment was with him at this time as well as Louis Cross dit St-Germain.

Dillan dit Dominique appears again many times and an unusual entry is that of Louis de Carty who was unwell in October. This is probably meant for McCarty. The «de» seems substituted for the «O» and the «Mc» in some French records, which, after all, is what it means. The Régiment de Béarn had also Pierre Maganna who was cared for during the month of April. This was most probably an Irishman named McKenna and there was also a Joseph Carbré who was taken ill during February and March. This Irish soldier, Joseph Carbray, is easy to recognize. André Cariol dit Celerose of the Régiment de Languedoc spent October 1759 there. This same name is described as Irish in the Quebec records and he was without a doubt Andrew Carroll.

In 1759 Pierre Dillan appeared again but with him he had as a companion, one who was often sick. He was Jean Macarie dit Laprade. Was he John McKerry or McGarry? He often came to the hospital wards. A Francis Murphy of the Regiment de Guyenne also turned up for treatment but they entered him as «François Muphi». In the Quebec entries the name is spelled «Miphi» and is described as Irish.

1760 brought the French Regime to a close and the records end with the advent of the English. There are but few entries that are of interest to us after this, but Daniel «Quilmeure» spent August in the sick

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ward. He would probably have been better recognized as « Gilmour » or « Kilmer ».

« Un nommé Elé » spent January and February with the nuns. His real name was most likely Healy. Jean-François « Café » dit Sansquartier, Grenadier, was one way of hiding the identity of John Francis Cofey, called « Withoutquarter », Grenadier. « Café » has been shown before as an Irish name and it is not hard to divine its national origin.

Amongst the nuns themselves there were two who were not of French nationality. They were both English. Soeur Adelaide Silver (115) was a native of England. The hospital records tell us that she is supposed to have come to Canada with the families of English soldiers, one of which her father appears to have been, yet her mother remained behind in England. Converted to Catholicism by the Reverend Henri Antoine de Mériel de Meulan, she entered the Hôtel-Dieu in 1710. She was then seventeen; she is said to have become a fervent missionary amongst her compatriots established in the country during the wars of the Spanish Succession.

This opens a new field of research for the war was still on. Canada was not itself an active theatre of operations, but nevertheless at its close France had to cede to England, Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland.

There must have been many English prisoners brought to New France during this campaign, for the Treaty of Utrecht which was signed on April 11th, 1713, and brought it to a close, contained a clause which

(115) Soeur Mondoux — Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal. Premier Hôpital de Montréal. Montreal, 1942, pp. 262, 266.

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called for the return of all prisoners-of-war of all sides, but the King of France exacted that it should provide that all English prisoners who had become Catholics during their captivity should enjoy the complete liberty of remaining in Canada on the signing of the treaty itself and would be free from any violence or coercion with regard to their returning to England. There were certainly many Irishmen in the English Army at this time and it might be judged most probable that many of our Irish settlers, through their Catholic affiliation took advantage of this privilege and remained as colonists.

There are records to which we may apply for confirmation of this theory. They are to be found in the « *Correspondance Générale*, Vol. 91 » (116).

In this correspondence there is a letter which the Minister in Paris wrote to Monsieur Hocquart who was the Intendant from 1731 till 1748 which tells him (117) — « If the Irish Catholics who are in Canada desire to remain I have no objection to permitting them ». Unfortunately Monsieur de la Galissonnière had not the same ideas as Monsieur Hocquart on the question of new settlers. The new colonists as a whole did not prove tractable to the French Authorities and Messieurs de la Galissonnière and Bigot wrote to the Minister in Paris on September 28th, 1748, the following: « We have followed your instructions with regard to the Irish Catholics who wished to remain in the country, but Catholics though they be, the great part of

(116) *Correspondance Générale*, Vol. 92, Public Archives of Canada — Lettre de Messieurs de la Galissonnière et Bigot au Ministère, 28th September, 1748.

(117) Gosselin, Abbé, A. — op. cit., Vol. II, p. 7.

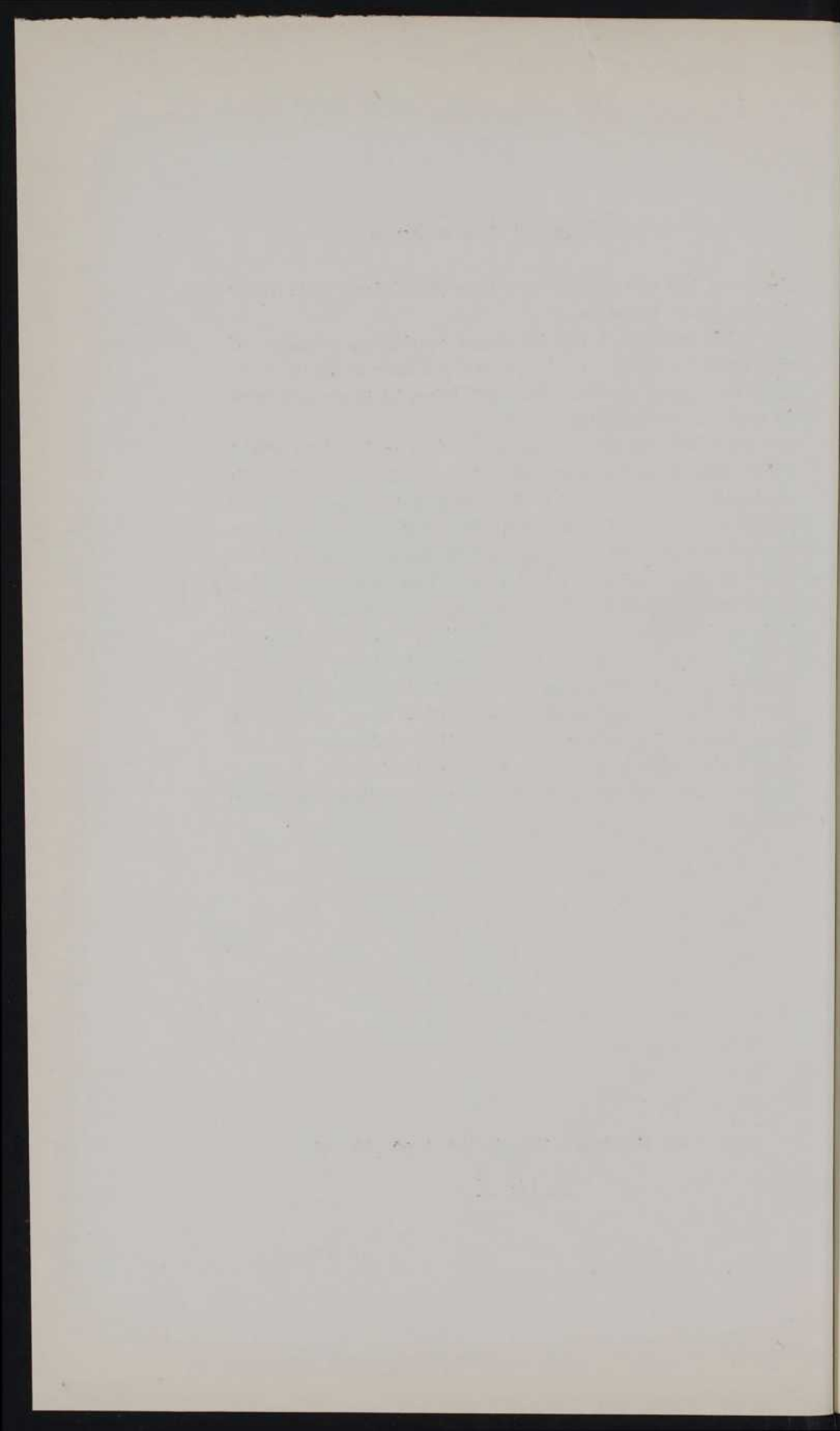
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them are bad subjects from whom the Colony will never derive much benefit ».

This is not a complimentary testimony to some of the Irish settlers, but it proves without a doubt that they were in New France in sufficiently large numbers to merit consideration.

Another foreign nun was Marguerite Littlefield (118) whose name had been distorted to the French equivalent, «Lidrefield». She entered as a lay-sister under the name of Soeur Angélique. At the age of two she had been kidnapped by the Indians and was taken care of by Christians, whether they were Christian Indians or French is not recorded. The fact of her kidnapping would make one believe that she was of New England origin. She was taught by the Jesuit, Father Joseph Aubry and entered the Hôtel-Dieu in 1719 at the age of twenty. Her brother appears to have established himself at Boucherville which would indicate that she had restored contact with her family. There were no Irish names amongst these pioneer women.

(118) Soeur Mondoux — *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 206, 286.



Chapter IX

THE PUPILS OF THE URSULINES

THE very foundation of the Colony of New France was based on a Feudal idea. The creation of Seigniories tended to reproduce in the New World a social system, similar to a certain extent to that in vogue in the Mother country. The structure was based upon an aristocratic ideal and a territorial nobility. This necessitated the transplanting of gentle and noble blood from the Mother Country to her new daughter beyond the seas, it also had as a result the creation of a purely Canadian nobility and aristocracy of the deep new soil of Canada. It was only natural to expect such a result for, as the colony grew, new seigniories were granted amongst those born in the country but brought up in the same customs and traditions as the first seigniorial gentry.

The seignior was most often from the Officer Cadre of the oldest and most gallant regiments that came into the Canadian woods to conquer the savage,

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extend the fur trade towards the West and keep the English to the South in check.

To supply a school for the daughters of these gallants, the Religious of the Ursulines opened a convent in Quebec in the year 1642. Small girls, bearing the proud names of the officers of the Carignan soon tripped through its hallways or learned to read and count at the knees of these black robed women. The list of the pupils attending the convent from 1687 to 1700, reads like the Roll of the King's Officers. Their names are to be found in the titles of all the Seigniories that lie in the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu Valleys.

This convent was the gathering place for the children of this gentry of Old France which had sought fortune and freedom in the new land. These children of the seigniors grew to adolescence in the knowledge of their cast, but their lives were but little different from those of their contemporaries. They had also settled in the great forest, they had had to suffer the hardships of the ice-bound winter and the heat of summer, yet they had in their veins the best blood of a gallant country, but it was a freer, more romantic and reckless blood than that, that flowed in the land that lies between Manche and Mediterranean. Their fathers had come to fight and had remained to rule as well as to colonize.

These daughters of France were there, but there were also others, others of a different nationality and a different outlook, children whose fathers had come from Islands across the English Channel. It is only legitimate to expect that some daughters of Dark Rosaleen should have entered these Portals, but there

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are no records extant of them. The lists of the pupils tell us of these strangers, even before the year 1700, but they enlighten us in no way. In one record of this time we find that three English lasses were to be found amongst the students, but their names are not given. Later we find that Marie-Catherine «une anglaise» has been a pupil; that Marie-Françoise is likewise of the same nationality and that Mademoiselle Elizabeth was also a daughter of Albion. The record closes with the note that there were also «deux Demoiselles Anglaises dont nous ignorons le nom». All names, other than French names, have been lost and forgotten. There was one other child, she could hardly be called a stranger. She is a little girl called Louise, «la petite Louise», described as «une Sauvagesse». How did this free child of the forest live amongst these daughters of the elite of New France (119)?

Does this disguise of «Anglaise» that covers Marie-Catherine or Marie-Françoise secretly hide some daring Irish romance or were they really subjects of a British King? Were they simple English girls or did their dreams go back to another mist-draped Island that lies in the West Atlantic? They could have been flaxen haired lithe-limbed creatures from the Surrey Downs, or were they blue-eyed raven haired daughters of Galway with a dash of the Armada in the tilt of their heads, or did they ring with the carefree, careless laugh of Tipperary's Galtees, or perhaps prim lasses from Kerry or had their baby eyes first peeped upon a forest, not of pine and hemlock, but on a forest of masts and spars that stood in the Cove of Cork?

(119) Les Ursulines de Québec depuis leur Etablissement, pp. 485-490.

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The records tell us nothing of their history, but it is most unlikely that the daughters of New England, who, with their Puritan primness, looked with superstition and suspicion on all that Rome offered, would fane have entered such portals of Popery.

Little Louise (120), the Savage, seeped in the lore of the deep woods, she also would have much in common with her Irish sisters. She knew too well the history and the power of the Thunder-God or the dreadful vengeance of the Windigo and was not the great Manitou but another name for the Sun-God of the Ancient Gael, and were not the fairies and the spirits, that peopled these two worlds so far removed, the same? The wood-gods of the Micmacs that lived in every tree and every flower and flowed in the swift clear waters of the northern streams, were they so far apart from the sprites and lepricons of a Gaellic people?

No records exist either of what happened to these « Anglaises », or to our « petite Sauvagesse ». The romance that surrounds their mystery is lost. We know not whether these girls from the British Isles, be they Irish or otherwise, were absorbed into the life of the Colony or perhaps slipped back into the English lands to the South. If they were Irish, it is likely that they married into the families of New France and that this blood now flows in the veins of our Quebecers of today, and did little « Louise the Savage » return to the wigwam or the long-house and lose the courtly culture of the convent in the daily chores of an Indian's squaw, or did she also become the help-mate of some gentilhomme and grace the table of some manoir? She prob-

(120) Les Ursulines de Québec depuis leur Etablissement, p. 490.

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ably had the choice. It was for her to decide if her papoose should first lisp a prayer in the language of the Louis' or begin his life with a war-hoop of the woods. Their secret is locked in the History of the Convent.

During the siege of Quebec many soldiers of both sides were brought to the Ursuline Convent for treatment, but the treatment was not administered by the nuns themselves so no records exist of the names of those admitted. The only evidence which we have of their attendance are the accounts which were submitted to the English authorities for payment and the copies of the receipts given for the monies which they received. During the siege, the Convent was in an exposed position and most of the nuns took refuge in a more secluded place.

The Hospital-General is also sorrowfully lacking in historical material. Though standing from the early years of the Colony, it never had the importance of the Hôtel-Dieu. It was administered by nuns of the same order, but it was used for other purposes than the medical attendance of the sick. For a time it served as a home for the mentally troubled. No records appear to have been kept, save a few burials in the little cemetery which adjoins it. However, after the Conquest, it became the hospital for the English Troops, and from 1768 on, the entry of English soldiers has been carefully preserved, even by companies and supplies a fund of information on the formation of these units. The number of Irish names is really remarkable but these are not the Irish that interest us now, and for our present study, these records are completely barren.

THE PUPILS OF THE URSULINES

It must be borne in mind that all the story which these voluminous archives of the hospitals tell us, is the story only of those Irishmen who were sick or wounded. From this it is right to judge that there must have been many others who never required the care of the nuns, but went their way through history and left no written trace of their passing. They would probably have been more numerous than those whom we have met in the records. Therefore we have a right to feel that there were many others who played a silent role in the development of the country.

Chapter X

ENTER THE ENGLISH

1760 brought to a close a period of Canadian History, which for romance, daring and chivalry is not equalled in North America. The flag of France had been lowered and the blood-red tunics of the English now walked the winding streets of the old city. A new language was being heard and new faces were mingling with Habitant and Seigneur.

Irish names were becoming more numerous. Many Irishmen wore English uniforms and in this year Governor Murray established his « Military Council » — « le Conseil Militaire ». Amongst its members he placed a Captain Edmond Malone (121). Here we have a son of Erin on the first governing body of the New Regime.

Most historians tell us that the first Notary Public to be appointed in the Colony, under English rule, was Edward William Gray (122). He received his com-

(121) Bull. Rech. Hist., 1926, Vol. XXVI, p. 345.

(122) Ibid., 1914, Vol. XX, p. 220; 1919, Vol. XXV, p. 227; 1922, Vol. XXVIII, p. 237; 1923, Vol. XXIX, pp. 108, 109.

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mission from General Murray on October 2nd, 1765. Really, there were two before him whose commissions antedated his, for the first Notarial Patent was given by Governor Gage in 1762 and it was accorded to an Irishman named John Burke (123) who was actually practising his profession in 1763. According to a deed drawn up by Mazères, the Attorney General, Burke rented an orchard at the foot of Mount Royal for a period of four years from 1764, with all buildings thereon, from Marguerite Raimbault, wife of Pierre Boucher de Boucherville, and the rental was to be « 150 piastres as well as three barrels of apples and one barrel of cider ».

His Notarial Patent was shortly followed by another. It was issued by Governor Murray on July 19th, 1765. It was granted also to an Irishman. His name was Richard McCarthy (124). Where Richard McCarthy came from we do not know but on arrival he established himself at Chambly. Later he moved to Montreal and took up his residence on St. François-Xavier Street, near the Seminary of St. Sulpice. There he lived for three years, and he married Ursule Benoit. He died in 1770, and his archives are deposited at Joliette, Québec. So Edward William Gray was in reality third on the list of notaries under the New Regime.

Three years after the capitulation, an Irish school-master made his appearance at Quebec. He was Patrick McClement (125) who opened his institute of learning on September 1st, 1765. Many Irish had made their homes in Canada by the time of the American Revolu-

(123) *Ibid.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 237, Vol. XXIX, pp. 295, 326.

(124) *Bull. Rech. Hist.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 237; 1922.

(125) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 141; 1897.

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tion, and their names were appearing almost daily and on all sides. A Monsieur Hingan had become parish priest of l'Islet and Cap Santé and Irishmen were infiltrating into the Colony in many places. But we are now stepping beyond the limits of these notes.

France had taken sides with the colonies in rebellion. Lafayette and many French officers had arrived to help Washington and thereby revenge themselves against the English. The recruiting of foreign military experts to help the colonists was in vigour and there is a very amusing record of a correspondence between the French Ministry and the Americans on this subject. In the « Paris papers », preserved in the State Documents of New York, the following letter is to be found. It is from Barbue Dubourg and is addressed to Benjamin Franklin (126). It was dated from Paris on June 10th, 1776; it goes on to say: « numbers of good officers are offered to me on every quarter who ask nothing better than to enter the service of the Colonies. I regret that I have nothing to promise, especially to two young Irish Officers, the Messieurs Geoghegan, one of whom I have known long, has been during the last two wars A.D.C. to a general officer, now Marshall of France, whom I value highly. He has a brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel of Calvary but I think him capable of everything. His cousin has shown himself more advantageously still. When only a captain in India, he found himself at the head of a little army, all the superior officers being absent for good reasons, when he had the good fortune, after a well-managed march to

(126) American Archives, Correspondence and Proceedings, 4th Series, Vol. IV, p. 775.

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triumph over the English at —. You will readily judge that these two expect to be made general officers».

These Irish lads, the Messieurs Geoghegan, certainly did not lack ambition. They would be generals or nothing. There is no record of their having been accepted by the new land that was being born, so they probably had to use their talents to advantage elsewhere.

Another item of interest to Irishmen is a note in the «British Papers of Wisconsin» in which we find that Lord Edward Fitzgerald (127) was stationed in Halifax with his regiment in 1788, and in that year he made a trip to what is now Wisconsin. This was just ten years before the fateful 1798 when he joined the Rebellion in Ireland and fell mortally wounded, a rebel against his King.

By 1765, the Irish in Quebec had become sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently conscious of their nationality to organize a St. Patrick's Day celebration. The Quebec Gazette of March 21st, 1765, gives us an excellent account which reads as follows (128):

«Last Sunday, being the feast of St. Patrick, Patron of Ireland, the Chief Justice of the Province with other officers, civil and military, gentlemen and merchants of this ancient loyal kingdom attended divine service in the church of the Recollets, where the Reverend Dr. Brooke, Chaplain of the garrison, preached a sermon suitable for the day, on the duty of praise and thanks which we owe for the National Blessings and National Benedictions. The text taken

(127) *The British Regime in Wisconsin*, Publication of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1935, pp. 203, 204.

(128) *Bull. Rech. Hist.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 63; 1918.

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from Isiae XLII — 12, « That they give glory to the Lord and make known their praises through the Isles ». After that they went to the tavern at the « Sign of the Sun » where a meal was prepared after which they drank toasts of loyalty and zeal for the country and on Monday, at the fair, they gave a ball and a cold collation to the gentlemen and ladies in the Concert Hall, and all was conducted and brought to a close in both places with appropriate gaiety », etc. This great celebration appears to have been organized by the men of the garrison. Rev. Dr. Brooks was the Church of England Chaplain and the Church of the Recollets which was badly damaged during the siege became the site of the present Anglican Cathedral. There must have been many Irishmen in the ranks of the English Regiments to make such a celebration possible so soon after the capitulation.

After the Conquest, the Church of the Recollets was used for Anglican devotions. Beside the church was the Garden and Convent of the Recollet Fathers. These were located in front of the Chateau St-Louis, where the Chateau Frontenac now stands, on an extent of ground that reached to the Convent of the Ursulines. The Church and Monastery of the Friars were destroyed by fire on September 6th, 1796, and the ruins of the buildings were demolished to their foundations. On the extinction of the Order, a site on this land was granted for the construction of the Church of England Cathedral. This was completed in 1804. The courthouse was also built on the southern portion of these grounds.

It was in the crypt of the Recollet Church that the governors of New France were buried, Frontenac, Callières, de Vaudreuil and la Jonquière were placed there

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and after the fire, their ashes were translated to the crypt of the Cathedral of Quebec.

The picture of Old Quebec soon changed. New faces were seen everywhere. A new tongue was heard and new uniforms moved within its storied walls. The English merchant appeared amongst the Seigniors and the townfolk while the guns of Britain rattled on its cobbled hills as they were drawn to new mounts high upon the rock.

New battles were to be fought against a new enemy. Other colonists revolting against their Motherland would appear before the mouths of its cannon, and other sons of the Gael would man the battlements but clothed in the red of England. A few years later, another Irishman, Montgomery, was to lead the attack against the Citadel but only to die upon the face of the cliff.

The « lillies of France » had sailed away and the entwined crosses of England and Scotland flew from the mast above the city for the French Regime was over.

The Irishmen of the Old Order had mingled their blood with a chivalry that had gone and now their children lived in the land as members of the race that had founded New France. Their names had undergone much change. Like their blood they had become Gallicised and would hardly be recognized by their kin across the seas.

The history of their origin was soon to be forgotten. The tales of Irish hearths and Irish halls, the stories of Irish battles or of Irish hopes were to be buried deep down in the rich black soil of Canada. Their children born in the new land would never know

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of Maeve or Columbkil or of Brian Beromihe or of Tara, of Strongbow, of the Geraldines or of Cromwell with his bloody sword or of King Billy himself on his fat white horse or of Jamesie Stewart who ran so fast, of the famine or of Redmond or the Four Courts or of Eire. These were destined to be forgotten or unknown and in their place would come new legends, for the tales of the St. Lawrence were soon to replace the story of the Gael.



MELIOT BROS
SANS-LE-BOULANGER

SAINT-PIERRE
MONTPELLIER

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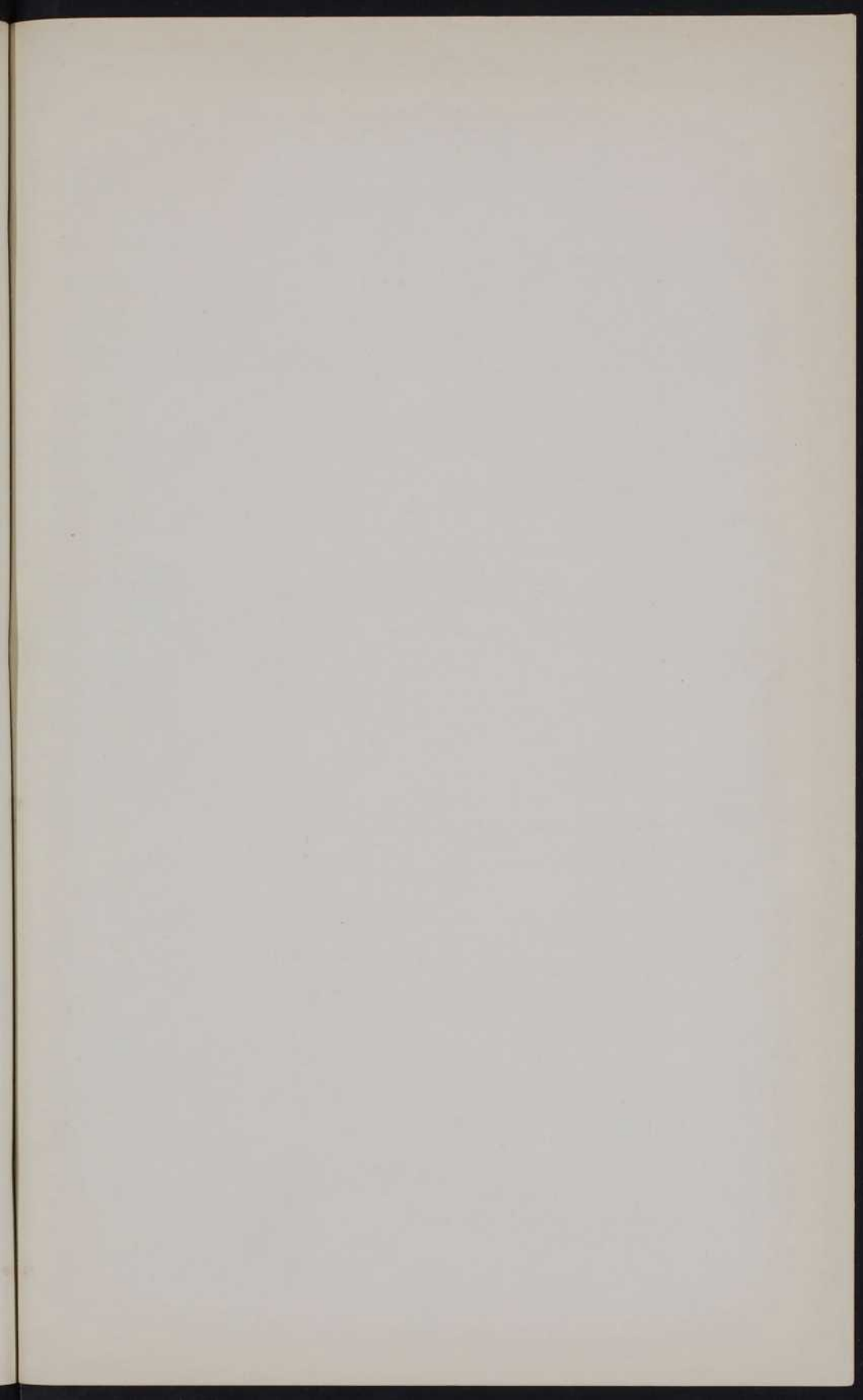
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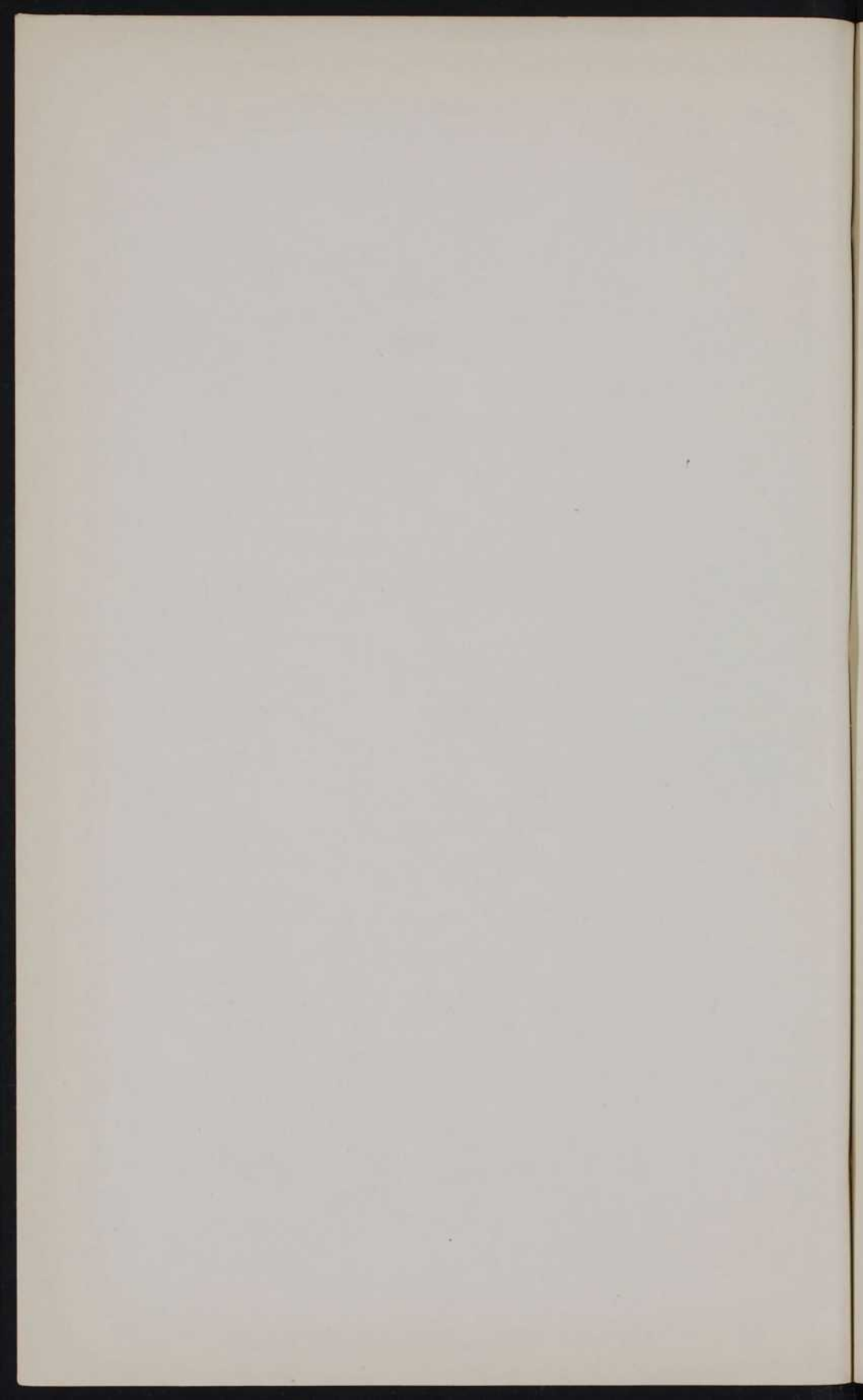
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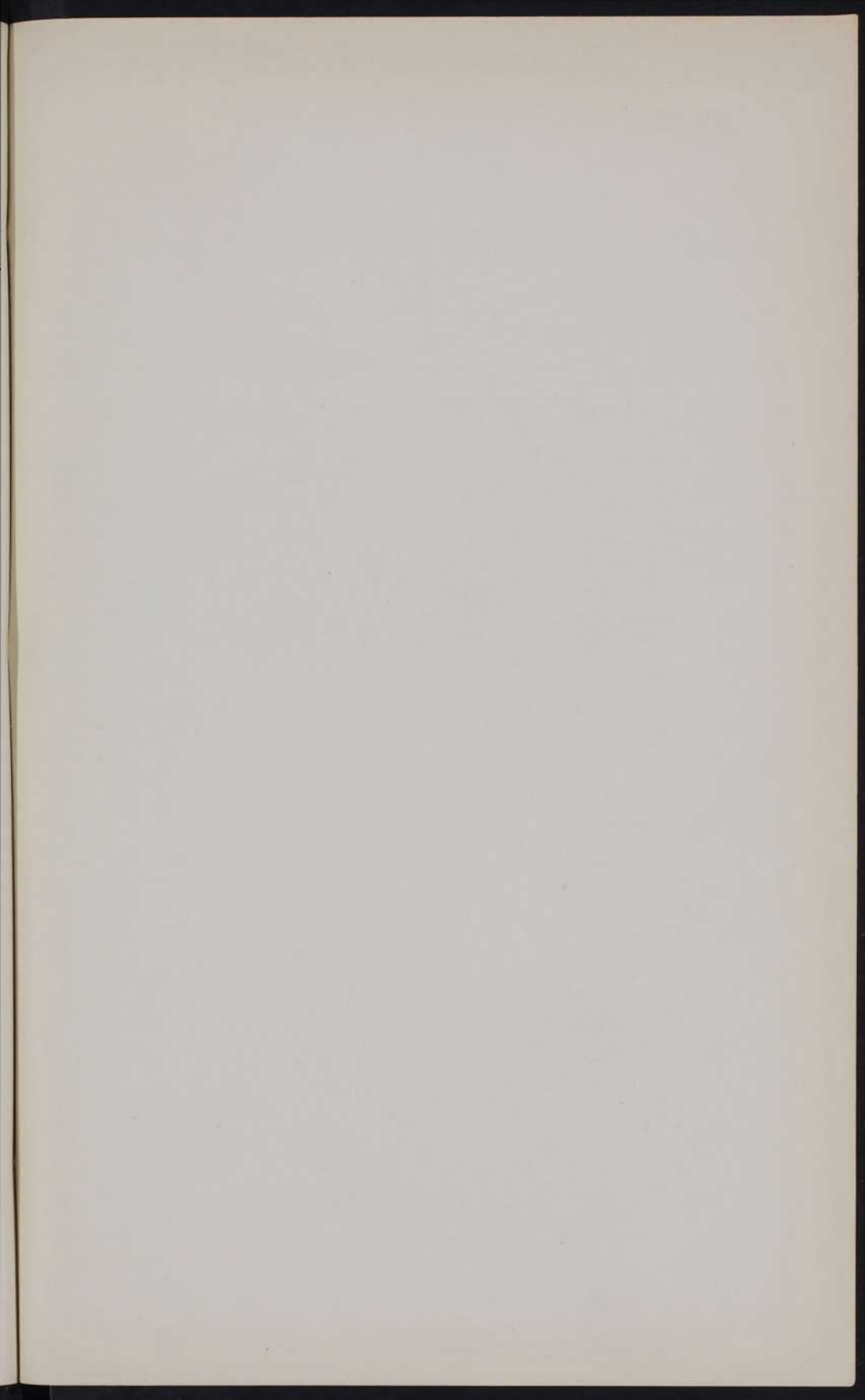
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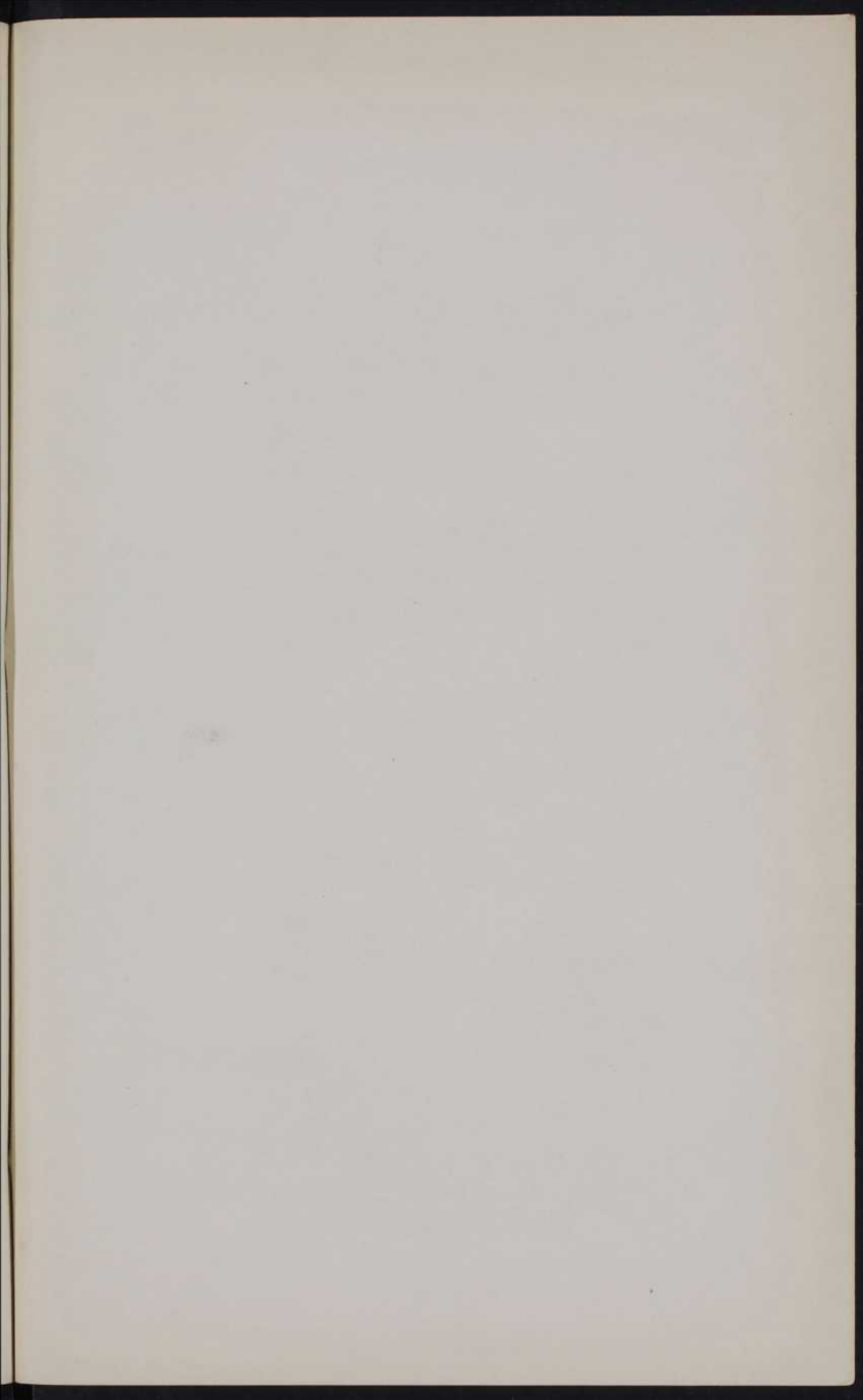
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Williams	14-101
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Willis	78
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Youville, Mde d'	20-21

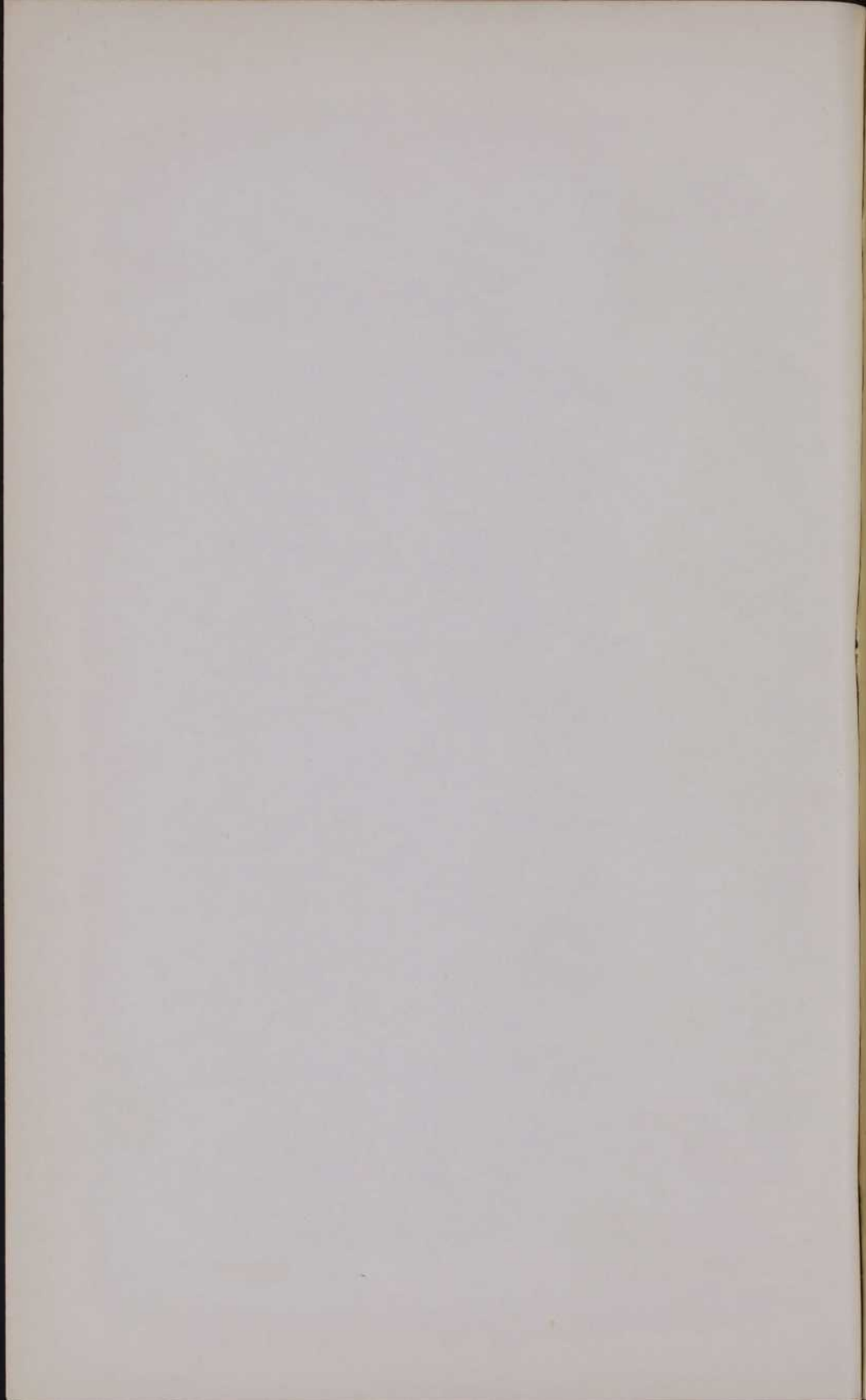


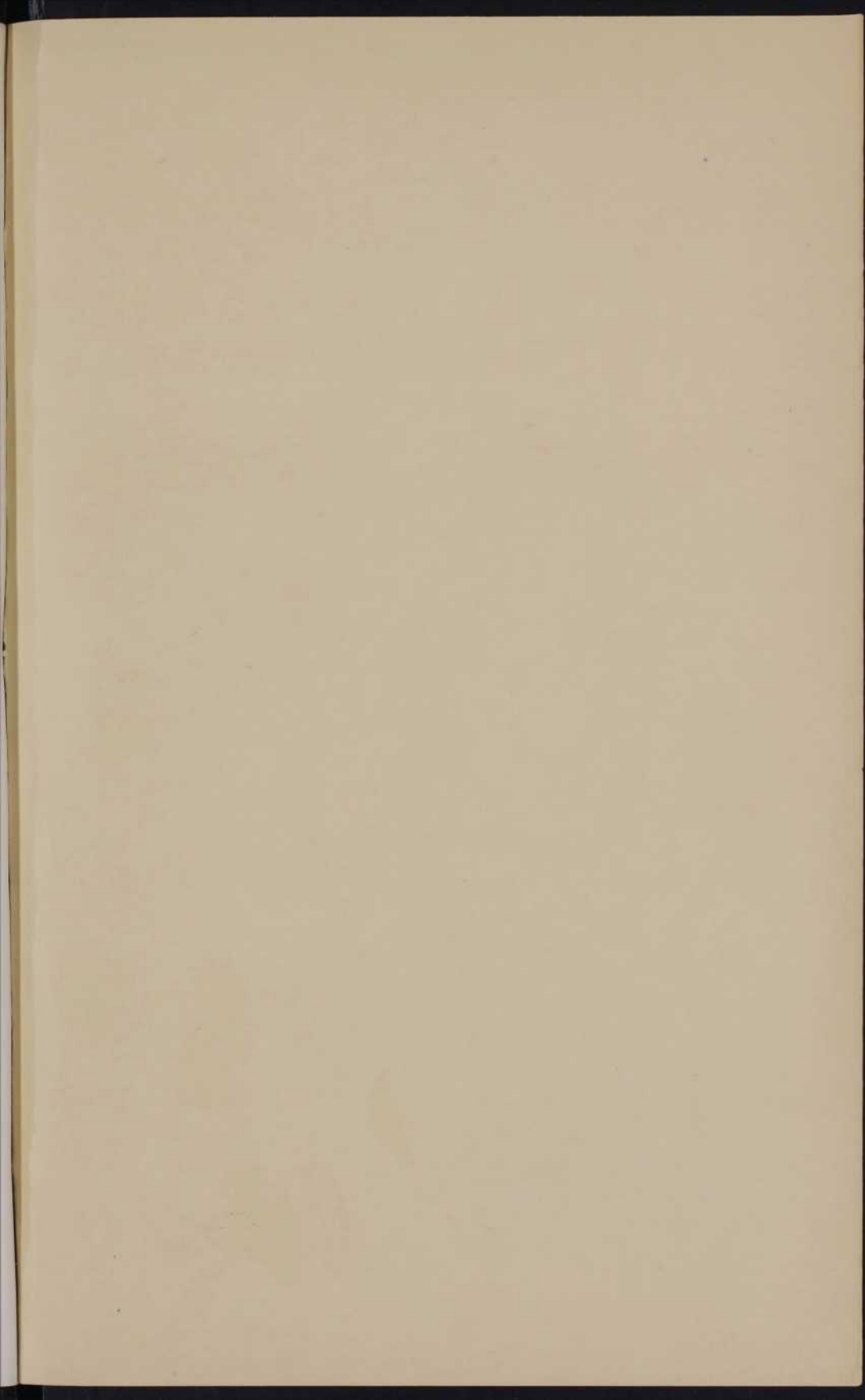




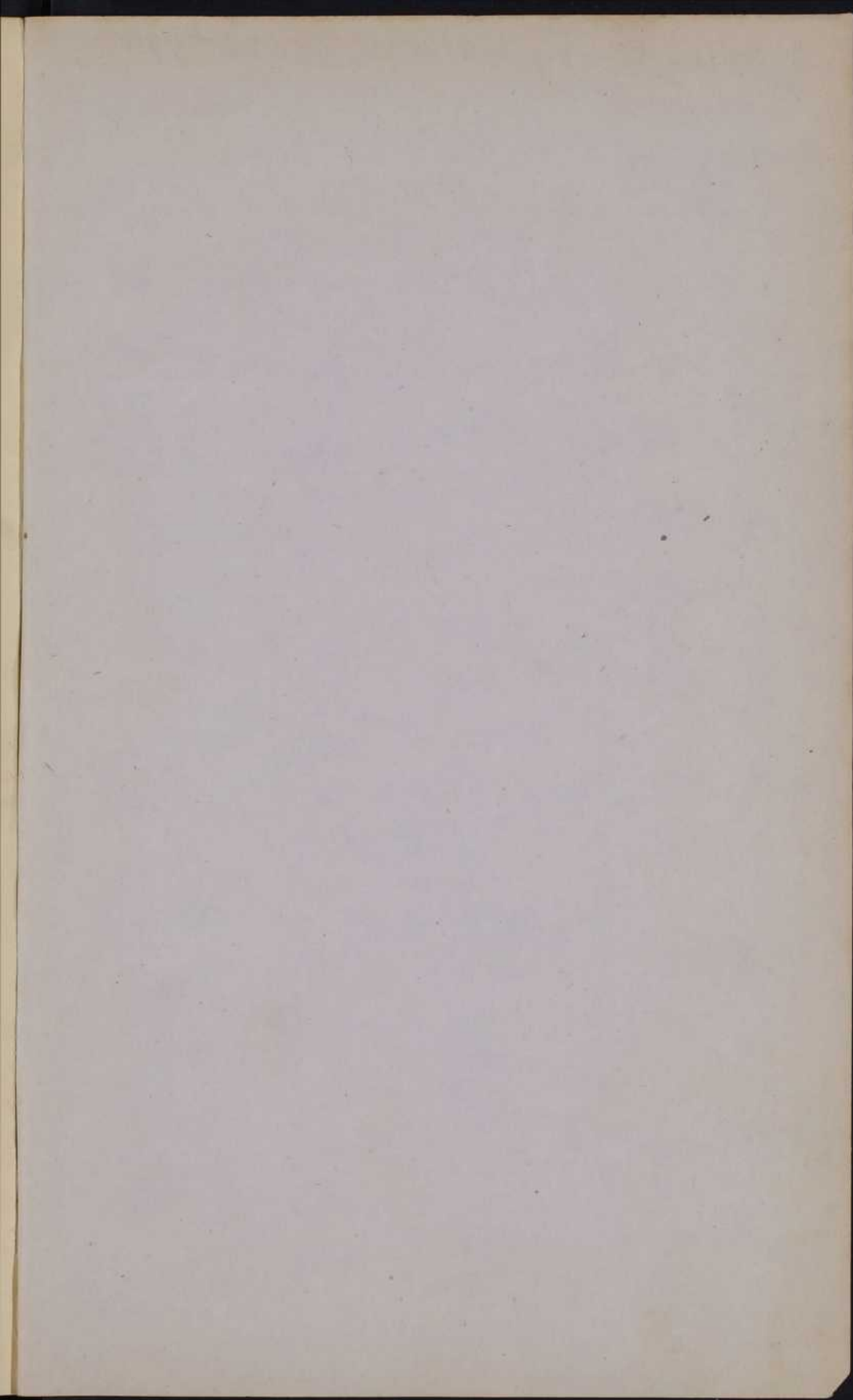


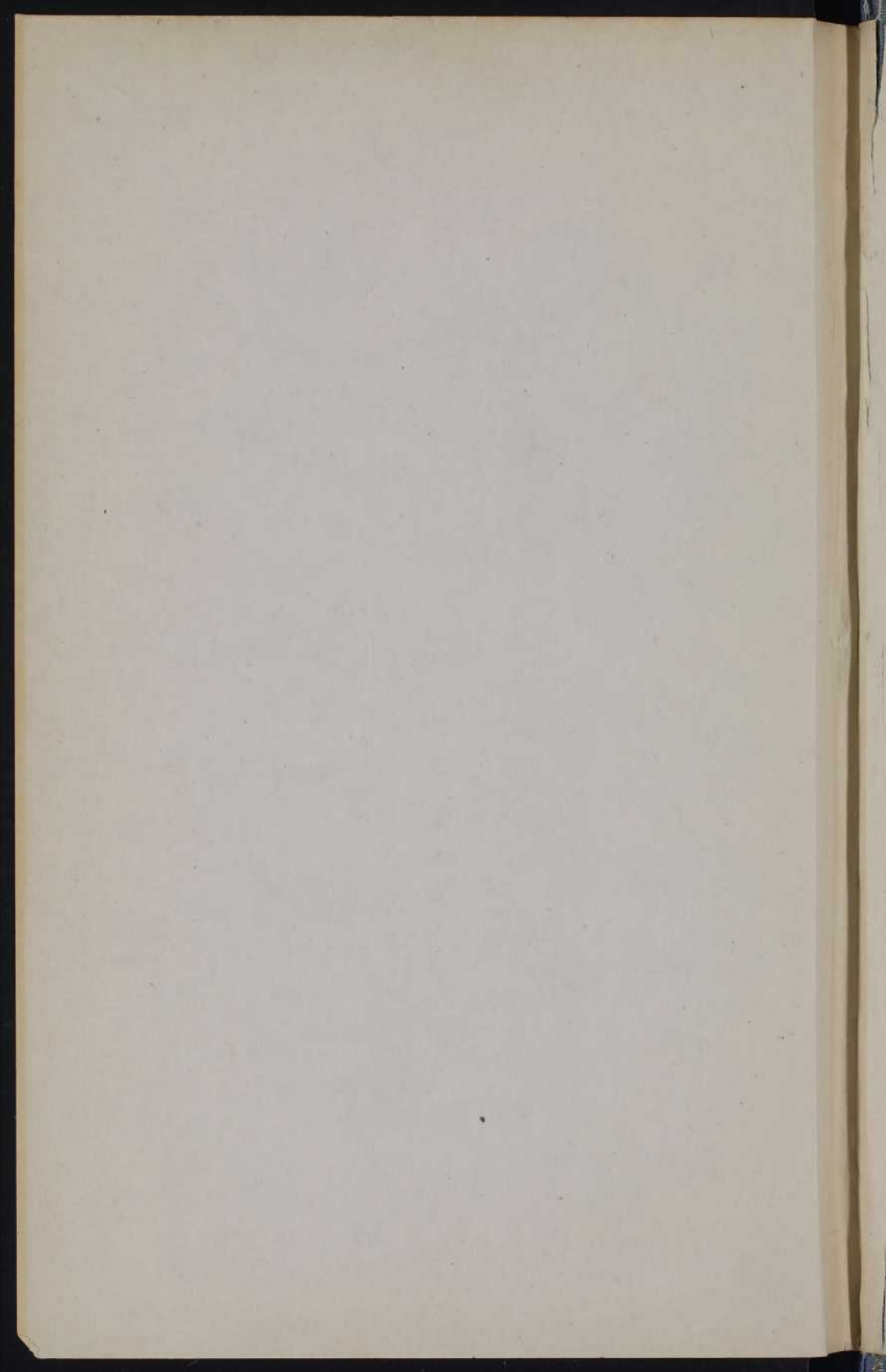


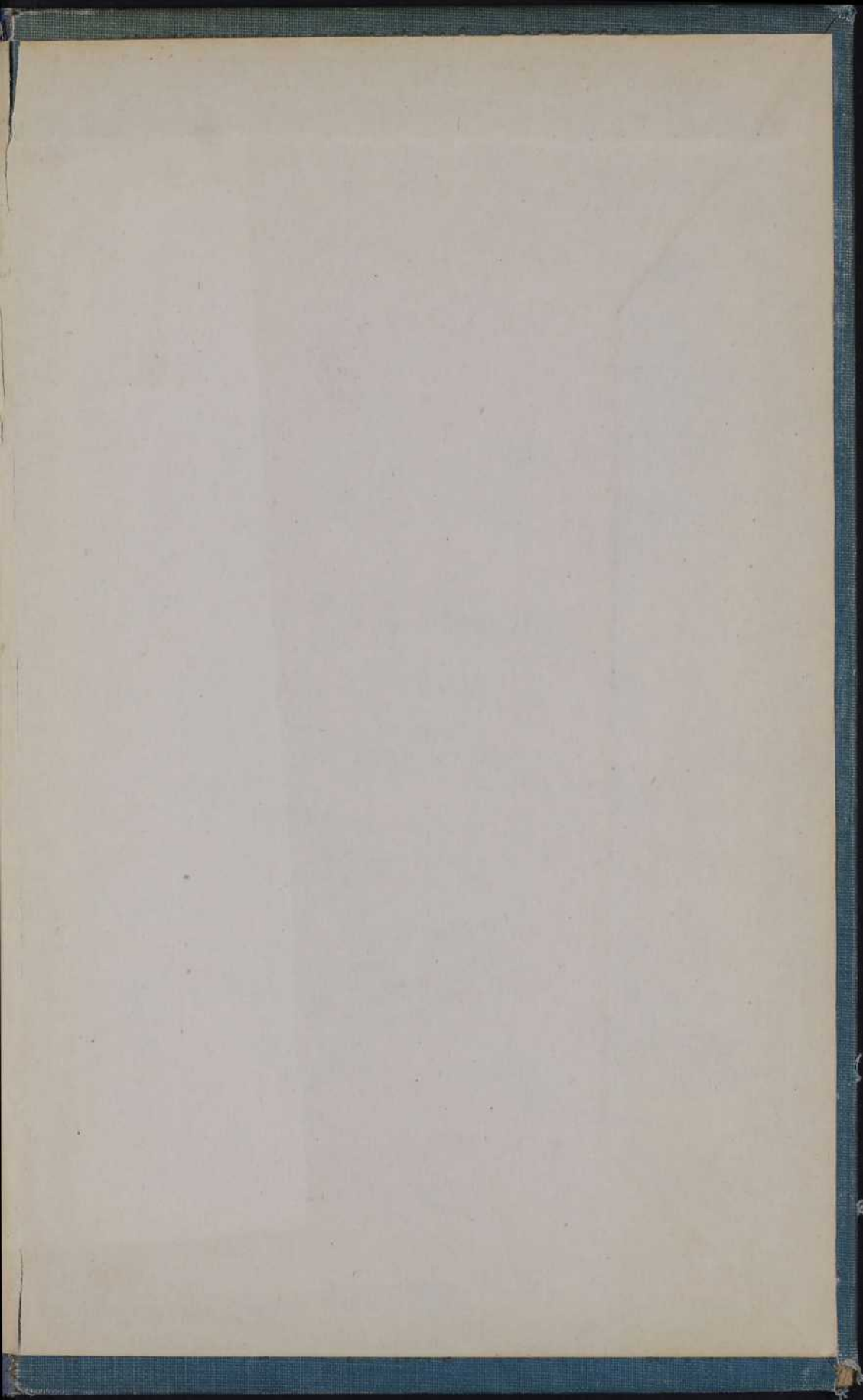












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