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Narratives and Identities in the Saint Lawrence Valley, 1667-1720

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May, 1999

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of doctor of philosophy.

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Narratives and Identities in the Saint Lawrence Valley, 1667-1720

Abstract

Using the techniques of microhistory, this thesis explores questions of construction of identity, and the relationship of narrative to identity. The thesis follows the lives of several residents of the St. Lawrence valley as they learn about the residents of New York and New England through business, marriage, adoption and trade in furs. Using case studies of seventeenth-century native and European individuals, as well as information from folklore, parish registers, letters and legal documents, movement in the border region between settled colonies is examined. A nominal index describes the origins of, and provides capsule biographies for, 694 residents of New France whose roots were neither in France nor in the native communities. An examination of these cases allows a comparison between personal choice and social constraint in a colonial context.

Récits et identités dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, 1667-1720

Résumé

Cette thèse pose des questions sur la construction de l'identité dans le contexte de la vallée du Saint-Laurent, ainsi que sur le rapport du récit à l'identité et ce dans l'optique de la micro-histoire. Utilisant les documents judiciares, les registres paroissiaux, la correspondance personnelle, ainsi que quelques légendes, elle examine notamment la nature et la signification des contacts qu'eurent quelques résidants précis de la vallée du Saint-Laurent avec des habitants des colonies de New York et de la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Ces contacts eurent lieu à travers les affaires, le mariage, l'adoption et le commerce de fourrure. De pair avec un index nominal décrivant les origines et biographies sommaires de 694 résidants Européens de la Nouvelle-France provenant ni de la France ni des communautés autochtones, l'étude de ces quelques parcours individuels permet d'abord d'esquisser les contours d'une frontière coloniale dont la perméabilité étonne. En outre, ces études de cas permettent d'entrevoir quelques traces d'une dialectique entre choix personnels et les contraintes sociales qui se sont élaborées dans ce milieu colonial.

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Narratives and Identities in the St. Lawrence Valley, 1667-1720

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PREFACE

The phenomenon of national boundaries poses an intriguing question. Margins exist because something else inhabits 'the center'. They exist far from that center, yet, in addition to being defined by the center, they help define it. They are both peripheral and necessary to the center. Boundaries help define a place for the center to be, and a setting or context for the center. Margins also hold and define the edge. Paradox is, then, the essence of a border. It is the dual and related qualities of being both marginal and necessary which animate border regions.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, geographic boundaries between New France and the British and Dutch colonies to the south were not fixed. There was a large undefined area claimed by both New England and New France, and controlled by neither. The area encompassed most of what is now Adirondack New York, some of Québec (excluding the centers of settlement in the Saint Lawrence valley), some of Ontario, Vermont, northern New Hampshire and northern Maine. It was, however, an area which was inhabited by, and which provided sustenance for, several major native groups, in particular the Iroquois and the Abenaki.

This is a region which I have inhabited for most of my adult life. It is a region whose people honor independence in all its forms. But it is also a region now bisected by a linear, no longer ill-defined, international border. The edges of empire, the margins of nationality, have become clearer over time. They are

well-depicted on maps, and well-known to residents.

However, as even a quick tour around the region reveals, geography is also an important determinant of the true edges of human possiblity. Swampy, mountainous and often cold, certain parts of the region remain uninhabited. Other parts such as flat fields, wide rivers, smaller streams and long lakes, are virtual highways. One such "highway" is the Champlain-Richelieu corridor, a waterway extending southward toward Albany. Even in an age that had no highways and no automobile, travel in a north-south direction beckoned in this part of the "border" region.

Some of those who traveled this north-south route in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were fur traders, natives, soldiers, priests, diplomats and captives. Of these, captives, soldiers, priests and diplomats left the best records of their travels, and of their impressions of the communities (villages, forts, hunting camps, towns and missions) that they visited. The record they left tells a story of life in this marginal region. These people were from many homelands. As today's travelers do, these travelers saw the borderlands through their own eyes. They recorded that reality, tempered, of course, by what their governor, king or deity wanted to hear. If their lives were long, they usually chose to settle on one side or the other of what is now an international border. How did they make that choice?

There are resources in some parts of this region that are not available in other parts. One of these resources, an active scholarly community, drew this researcher to Montréal from Calais, Vermont. However there are many other

resources which are more available in one part of the region or the other. Modern residents travel this region in search of a better price, a certain athletic team, a concert, a sense of renewal, an eight-point deer, or a pastoral -- or urban -- setting. Because of the ease of north-south travel, trips in a north-south direction are undertaken for many reasons. Relatively small price differences, or slightly more favorable taxes or regulations, or, for hunters, more accessible prey, can justify a trip across an international border.

As I have traveled north to pursue my studies, I have wondered about the lives of those who traveled the route before my time. What were priests pondering as they paddled up the Richelieu River? What occupied the minds of the Abenakis as they dug mussels in Missisquoi? What were captives' thoughts as they walked along Otter Creek? What were native fur traders thinking as they bundled furs for Albany? What worries, or hopes, did soldiers have as they approached Schenectady? What were residents of the French colony planning as they carried trade items home from Albany? When they engaged in trade, or marriage, or warfare, what languages did they speak?

The fact is, it is impossible to know for certain the inner thoughts of these early travelers. We can, however, approach their lives a little more closely. It is possible to determine who these people were, and to examine their patterns of travel. We can see, through marriage, adoption and diplomatic records maintained at the northern and southern extremities of the borderland (in the areas of Montréal and Albany) the nature of their relationships with others. It is these individuals, and the communities that they helped to build, that formed the

heart and spirit of this region. Bits of narrative sources assist here, showing the kinds of language these people used to communicate in cross-cultural settings. Astutely perceiving the benefits of their location, they began patterns of trade, and participated in patterns of war and defense, which characterized life in this region in the settlement period. The people of this "marginal" area helped define the pattern of missions and other land settlements in the region. The growth of mission communities was also fueled by a strong and evolving sense of identity. For instance, native understandings of the Sault St.-Louis mission included descriptions of what one could, or couldn't do there. Some Iroquois men resisted coming to the mission because they understood that no alcohol was allowed there, men could not have more than one wife there, and the interpretation of dreams, at least by natives, was forbidden there. By forming a sense of their identities, as individuals and as communities, these people anticipated the lines on the map which later became boundaries of all sorts: ecclesiastical, national, linguistic and ethnic.

However the process by which these borders crystallized was not apparent in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. More apparent in this period were the advantages of north-south trade. Hundreds of individuals and several families took advantage of the resources in one or another community in the region. Some sought furs, others luxury items. Some wanted information, some provided information. Some were employed to travel the region. Others found work at the other end of the region, far from home, in a community that spoke a different language from their mother tongue. Some

sought refuge. Some traveled as captives. Some attacked communities as soldiers; some came as diplomats.

The trade in this region, in other words, was not simply a trade in furs. It included a trade in currencies, trade in luxury items, trade in people, trade in credit, trade in information and trade in skills. Through such exchanges, paired with those related to war, mission work and diplomacy, the individuals in this region became very well-known to each other. They formed relationships with each other, and learned about the "foreign" culture to the north or south of them.

Their personal margins, that is, were not fixed. The edges of their possibilities as human beings were constrained by their energies and abilities, but were only periodically and ineffectively limited by outside forces. In this region, individuals juggled limitations on their activities imposed by Versailles, Montréal, Québec, Albany and Iroquoia. However, the constraints on their movements were mirrored by an array of possibilities. They had a wide range of choices for language, dress, settlement, sustenance, shelter, family affiliation and religious belief. Borders -- personal, communal and imperial -- were very much in flux in the period under study. Understanding and defining their own borders as individuals, families, and communities was, for these residents, a long process. Subject always to the overriding constraints of the time, such as a fledgling economy, persistent warfare, their own ideas about their roles in society, the identities of some of the residents of the French colony were, to a greater or lesser extent, in their own hands. Often they turned apparent disadvantage (such as a food shortage or a war) into an advantage (such as a quick trading trip

or the bartering of information). Marshalling their personal capacities to forge a life in this region was a significant challenge. The story of their travails and successes in this effort is a largely untold story.

A researcher is a hunter of sorts. Gathering bits of sustaining information around the region, I have attempted to patch together an image of the lives of the people in the border region. My respect and admiration for their energy, their choices and their dilemmas have only grown as I have encountered the complexity of their world.

INTRODUCTION

The edges of space -- geographic and social -- are defining features in the narratives of Canada's past. Boundaries between French and English territories, distinctions between nobility and peasants, differences between Québec and Montréal, divisions between Catholics and Protestants are subjects which have been explored by Canada's historians. There are, moreover, at least two major fault lines in the historical landscape of Canada: one internal, and one relating to the rest of the continent. The first is frequently understood as a linguistic divide: historians have developed at least two narratives of Canada's past, one generated by French-speaking historians, and another created by English-speaking historians. Though less the case in recent historical writing on New France, French- and English-speaking historians have often produced narratives of Canada's past that seem to enjoy few points of confluence. Historiographical reviews, moreover, persistently portray the literature as thus divided, enacting and defining the two traditions separately. Indeed the historical profession seems to expect such a division within its ranks.[1] Questions of personal and

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[1]See, for example, Serge Gagnon, Québec et ses Historiens de 1840 à 1920: la Nouvelle-France de Garneau à Groulx (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978), Quebec and its historians (Montreal: Harvest House, 1982) and Quebec and its historians: The Twentieth Century (Montreal: Harvest House, 1985) who addresses the work of French-Canadians; Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993 [1986]); Robert Bothwell, Canada and Quebec: One Country, Two Histories (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995) and Ronald Rudin, Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) who examines only

national identity are intricately linked to this historical dialogue, which in its most fractious moments appears to be more of a 'dialogue de sourds'. It is the assumption of the historical community as well as the public that this dual dialogue began with the Conquest of 1760. This premise is one of the few points of agreement between these two lines of thinking. Despite their differences, few historians of either tradition would disagree with Donald Creighton's decades-old assessment of the fault lines existing within early Canadian society: post-Conquest Canada, in his view, hosted two societies, "one almost exclusively French and the other predominantly English."[2]

A secondary fault line exists among the historians of the New World; it divides the historical traditions of the United States and Canada. The amorphous border between seventeenth-century New France and New England has been replaced in modern times by one which has shape and is charged with social as well as scholarly meaning. The social meaning of the region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be explored in Part Two of this thesis.

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the work of French-Canadian historians. This "single language" approach to historiography has some inherent problems; as significant works on New France have appeared in both languages. For examples of exceptions which attempt to address both traditions, see Catherine Desbarats, "Agriculture within the Seigneurial Regime of Eighteenth-Century Canada: Some Thoughts on the Recent Literature," Canadian Historical Review 73(1): 1-29 (1992); Allan Greer, The People of New France (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) and Thomas Wien's introduction to Vingt ans après *Habitants et marchands* Twenty Years Later, Sylvie Dépatie et al., eds., (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

[2]The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937), 2.

The present-day scholarly divide takes on many forms. It is the two scholarly communities' understanding of identity which is of interest to this discussion.

Situating themselves squarely in the embrace of postmodernist thought, historians south of the border have primarily been interested in the question of how individuals forge personal identities, which they describe as multivalent, shifting and self-determined. They have generated an explosion of research in this area in the past two decades. Reluctant to entertain postmodernist fracturing of their discipline,[3] Canadian historians' discussion of identity has taken a step in a quite different direction. Rather than addressing personal identities, the historical conception of "identity" in Canada is of collective identities which are limited and fixed. Even those historians who attempt to separate their discussion from twentieth-century concepts of "identity" in Canada find themselves constrained by a persistent historiographical as well as popular view of limited choices; it is a view of the past which borrows from the present, and a view of the present which builds on notions of past identity. According to R. Cole Harris, "Canadian values and ways" include the premise that separate and scattered islands of settlement allowed for development of separate social and cultural entities.[4] In this context, historians of Canada who address identity have

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[3]Marlene Shore, "'Remember the Future': The Canadian Historical Review and the Discipline of History, 1920-1995," Canadian Historical Review 76 (3): 456-62, 1995.

[4]See R. Cole Harris, "Maps as a Morality Play," in Joan Winearls, ed. Editing Early and Historical Atlases, 163-179, references are to 171 and 177; and Graeme Wynn, "Maps and Dreams of Nationhood," Canadian Historical Review 76 (3): 482-510, 1995.

developed a theory of "negative" identity.[5] This term carries two weights. First, it describes one aspect of the building of identity which colleagues outside of Canada have also explored with different results -- that identity is articulated as a result of contact with others. In a Canadian context, this implies a solidification into ethnic and linguistic groups, a stiffening of the edges of possibility, the creation of more impermeable boundaries, whereas, in an American context, identity is widely considered to be personally determined. Second, the term "negative" identity, construes identity as collective, and as formed in opposition to something else. This erodes the agency of the self in the determination of identity. While there may be many individual ways to "oppose" another group, the choices for identity are necessarily limited by such a premise.

The difference between these two interpretations does not divide neatly at the United States-Canada border. There is, however, a preponderance of American historians on one end of the scale, and Canadian historians on the other.[6] The gulf between the interpretations is wide, which makes this area of

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[5]Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "A World of Limited Identities," 95-114 in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., Colonial Identity in Atlantic World, 1500-1800 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Simon Langlois, Identité et cultures nationales: L'Amérique française en mutation (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995); J.M. Bumsted, "The Cultural Landscape of Early Canada," 363-92 in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., Strangers within the Realm (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

[6]There are notable exceptions: on the American side of the border, Jack Greene studies collective identities which he sees as reified and relatively static. On the Canadian side, those who have investigated personal identity and individuals often overlooked by historians include André Lachance who supervised a study of Les marginaux, les exclus et l'autre au Canada aux xviie et

inquiry problematic. Identity is collective in Canada. The topic is the hidden bear-trap of twentieth-century Canadian history. To historians from the United States, identity is personal: a concealed, ripe fruit -- one they are eager to sample.

The Champlain-Richelieu corridor is open to, but largely unexplored by, historians of both traditions. As such, it inhabits a scholarly liminality which mirrors its marginal status in the written histories of both New England and New France. Long left to wither as though it formed a useless appendage to the St. Lawrence River, Lake Champlain merits few lines in most histories of early Canada -- generally, one related to Samuel de Champlain, a second about smuggling furs to Albany, and a final one about battles during the Seven Years' War. Likewise, in many histories of New York and New England, Lake Champlain appears wholecloth in the 1750s, with the challenge by the English to French forts on her shores.

As will be demonstrated in the chapters to follow, the Champlain-Richelieu corridor bore significant traffic much earlier. The individuals in this region could be interpreted as changing in a syncretic process due to culture contact, or, alternatively they could be seen as solidifying their identities due to contact with

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xviiie siècles (Montréal: Fides, 1996) and Marcel Trudel whose monumental study of slaves in New France is published in his Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs propriétaires au Canada Français (Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1990). See also Ian Steele, Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) who looks at the life paths of the soldiers he studies, and John Bosher, The Canada Merchants 1713-1763 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

others. That is, in this liminal geographic area, the scholarly interpretation is open to historians from both traditions. This study will leave to others the complex question of collective identities in the border region. In an approach that presents as many challenges as opportunities, this study will attempt to look at the personal identities of residents of the St. Lawrence valley and travelers along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor using the theoretical framework modeled on their contemporaries in New York and New England.[7]

The scholar in this field is indebted to a host of others. Exemplary of the kind of seigneurial study which has enriched historians' understanding about residents of the St. Lawrence valley in the early years of the French colony is Louis Lavallée's 1992 study La Prairie en Nouvelle-France, 1647-1760.[8] This social history explored the establishment and growth of the riverine settlement, examining 6,000 records of land concessions, contracts, *engagements*, and judicial proceedings. In addition, Lavallée uncovered an important map which adds a new dimension to the ongoing court dispute over Jesuit land grants in La Prairie and Kahnawake. By definition, the study focused on the physical location of La Prairie, providing more detail on the families who stayed than on those who left or were "just passing through." Social groups, social and economic reproduction and parish organization were examined, alongside the lure of the fur

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[7]The text of Part Two will address a few residents of two communities on the northern end of the corridor; the nominal index, Appendix A, provides information about the entire St. Lawrence valley and other north-south routes.

[8]Louis Lavallée, La Prairie en Nouvelle-France, 1647-1760 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

trade in the *pays d'en haut.* As is customary for seigneurial studies, the book is filled with heavily quantitative information: percentages, charts and graphs. The sections on marriage and inheritance do provide some nominal information; Lavallée looks closely at marriage patterns, and names several families in this part of his work. He described endogamy as a major feature of marriage patterns in this study, noting that sisters from the same family often married brothers who were also from the same family, and cousins who followed similar patterns. The overall impression from this study is of a fairly closed and socially self-sufficient settlement. Partly because of the extraordinary documentation which exists at La Prairie, Lavallée was able to examine the development of what appears to be a cohesive community of French residents.

Missing from Lavallée's study, however, is a sense of the large nearby native community of the mission of St.-François-Xavier (Sault St.-Louis), which was, in fact, the original community of La Prairie. The mission separated from La Prairie, moving progressively upriver to its final location, Kahnawake, in 1716. This separation was never complete. A native village which in size rivaled the French population of La Prairie was established in the early decades of settlement a few hundred feet from the church. French residents employed natives in various capacities throughout the period, and, as the parish baptismal records indicate, adopted native babies. There were occasional intermarriages between these two groups, and frequent trade (particularly in medicines, cloth, liquor and furs) between them as well. For many years, the mission and La Prairie shared a single parish priest; in early years they worshipped side-by-side.

However in addition to obscuring the contact with native groups, Lavallée's work leaves contact with other non-French Europeans unexamined. As will be demonstrated, La Prairie and Kahnawake had frequent contact with Dutch and English individuals, whom they knew personally and with whom intermarriage was not unusual. In other words, the endogamy described by Lavallée should be understood as part of a system which also included marriages with spouses from far outside the community, even outside the colony.

Still, Lavallée's significant study is among the best of its genre, highlighting as it does the French residents of the St. Lawrence valley, and their social and economic reproduction. Neither is Lavallée alone in glossing "other," foreign or transient residents. Historians of New France have described the material conditions of existence in the colony and demography while leaving to the side questions of the effects of cultural contact with others. Still, these examinations of material conditions and demography provide some interesting clues about social contact. Louise Dechêne, in her magisterial and groundbreaking 1974 study of Montréal, Habitants et Marchands, generally ignores non-French Europeans. However, she provides a tantalizing thread about the wife of Montréal merchant Alexis Monière, Marie-Louise Zemballe. Despite her name, which sounds plausibly French, she was English, and hailed from the British colonies to the south. Marie-Louise's story, one which reveals much about the fabric of life in New France, is not further explored.[9]

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[9]Louise Dechêne, Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au XVIIe siècle (Montréal: Boréal, [1974] 1988), 440. The English version is Habitants and

These two socio-economic studies, premised as they are in the locations they study, notice but do not comment on the *va et vient* which was typical of both settlements. The framework of seigneurial studies, drawing from the French *Annales* tradition, privileges a view of the long term, material culture, economic trends and the effect of geography on history. The *Annalistes* preferred to leave both political events and personal biographies aside in their effort to explore major trends in history. Official documents and correspondence in the French regime cooperate nicely in this effort. Historians have at their disposal a wealth of land concessions, censuses, *aveux et dénombrements*, and notarized records. All of these assist in exploring the demographics and material culture of New France.

In the area of demographics, in particular, historians of New France are at an advantage in comparison to historians of other regions during the Early Modern period. The Catholic population of New France for the period under study, 1667-1720, reached about 21,400. Highest estimates for the number of immigrants to the colony are about 27,000 during the French regime. Many of these arrived, stayed one season (typically, until the last boat left in the Fall, or until the first one left in the Spring), and left. Others left in the years immediately following the Conquest.

Historians and demographers agree that natural growth was the major cause of population growth -- immigration from France was a trickle. By 1716 the

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Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal, Liana Vardi, trans. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 253.

population of Canada (that is, the St. Lawrence valley) was 20,530. In 1760, the population was about 75,000. The post-Conquest French population of the St. Lawrence valley, therefore, can be traced to about 10,000 immigrants, 5,207 of whom arrived before 1720. The focus on demography has led to precise counts of who came to New France and who left.[10] Little historical interest, however, has focused on the non-French residents of New France.

. Hundreds of the European residents of early Canada were not born in France. They came from the Netherlands, Spain, England, Turkey, or from other colonies -- including the British colonies in North America and the Caribbean. They were Germans, Swiss, Italians or Jersey Islanders. Their presence in Canada has been noted by genealogists and touched on by some studies, particularly those concerning genealogy or those detailing the contents of archives. The Historical Atlas of Canada, a respected reference source, mentions the presence of non-French Europeans, "[o]f some 9,000 Europeans who settled in the St. Lawrence valley before 1760, only about 350 were not French." Studies of the contents of archives also note the presence of "foreigners" in New

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[10]Hubert Charbonneau, La Population du Québec (Montréal: Boréal, 1973), 28; Hubert Charbonneau and Normand Robert, "The French Origins of the Canadian Population, 1608-1759," Historical Atlas of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1987]) 3 vols., v. 1 plate 45; Mario Boleda, "Trente mille Français à la conquête," Histoire Sociale/Social History, 1990, 23(45):153-77; Charbonneau et al., The First French Canadians (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993). Allan Greer, in The People of New France (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) does discuss "foreigners," see also his discussion of immigration, 12-19; Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal, 315. The 10,000 or so "founding immigrants" are those who brought along or bore children in the colony.

France.[11]

Similarly, many residents of New York were not Dutch, and many residents of New England were not English. Among the "foreign" residents of the Dutch and British colonies were persons from every country in Europe. Many French and French-speaking people took up residence in New England and New York, particularly after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. As will be seen below, some of the French in the British and Dutch colonies came to New York or New England not from France but from New France. No systematic examination of the social or cultural impact of the intraregional movements of individuals -- native, French and non-French -- on the society or culture of New France has yet been undertaken.

A close look at this region demonstrates that significant regional travel affected the colonial society on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Still, this travel raises more questions than it answers. The present study is an attempt to address the question of the extent, and meaning, of movement in the border region. In the process, the study examines the life choices of the residents of New France: it will examine the languages the residents used as they moved

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[11]Most researchers focus on the French population, note for example the title of Hubert Charbonneau's and Normand Robert's article "The French Origins of the Canadian Population, 1608-1759," Historical Atlas of Canada, v. 1, plate 45, as well as plates 33-35. See also André Vachon, Dreams of Empire (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1982) and Taking Root: Canada from 1700 to 1760 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1985), 119, for examples of items in the archives which remain largely uninterpreted. See also Marcel Fournier, Les Européens au Canada (Montréal: Éditions du Fleuve, 1989) and De la Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Nouvelle-France (Montréal: Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, 1992) for studies of non-French Europeans in Canada.

between cultural groups. It includes capsule biographies of 694 identified foreign-born European residents of New France before the year 1720.[12] These people are the most visible foreigners in New France, but the list is not intended to be exhaustive. The many slaves in New France, who have been studied by Marcel Trudel, are largely omitted from this list, as are most of those for whom only a first name, but little other information, is known. The individuals in the nominal index were often mobile after their arrival in New France. They formed part of a pattern of pan-regional movement through the amorphous "borders" of the colonial period.[13]

The study includes as well an attempt to understand how these individuals may have been viewed by the residents of the St. Lawrence valley settlements of La Prairie and Kahnawake. These two settlements are chosen for the wealth of

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[12]See Appendix A.

[13]The routes of travel were well-known to the Dutch and English as well as the French. See Donna Merwick, Possessing Albany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 294-95. For a description from the 1760s of this movement, see Frances Brooke, The History of Emily Montague (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961),127. For discussions of the differences between border zones, border regions and borderlands see Lauren McKinsey and Victor Konrad, Borderlands Reflections (Borderlands Monograph Series #1, 1989), 2-5; P.A. Buckner in Hornsby et al., The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction (Fredericton: Canadian-American Center, 1989); Clark Blaise, The Border as Fiction (Borderlands Monograph Series, #4, 1992), esp. 1-9. See also Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1992), 113-14. For a modern description of the patterns of travel in the northeast border region, see Howard Frank Mosher, North Country (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997)1, 21, 25 and *passim*; Roger Gibbins, Canada as a Borderlands Society (Borderlands Monograph Series, no. 2, 1989), 3; and, for an eloquent description of the effect of life in a border region further west on the formation of a young man, see Wallace Stegner, Wolf Willow (New York: Viking, 1963).

baptismal records, contracts, maps and illustrations which provide a portrait of riverine life in New France, as well as for the excellent secondary works which have addressed their history. La Prairie and Kahnawake are also well-situated as cross-roads for the traffic along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor, traffic which is well-documented at the southern end of that corridor, in Albany. Some immigrants formed relationships (marriage or adoption, social or business associations) with French residents of La Prairie or with the native residents of Kahnawake which can be traced through the record.

In the seventeenth century, residents of La Prairie and Kahnawake spoke more than twenty languages.[14] The mission settlement alone housed natives from many different language groups, including Abenakis, Nipissings, Hurons and Iroquois, as well as European captives and traders. The European population included Flemish, Spanish, Dutch and English, among others, who resided in La Prairie and Kahnawake. In the early decades of settlement, residents of these settlements included more linguistic and cultural groups than the two groups -- French and natives -- whom historians usually place in these settlements. The two settlements, which later became known as La Prairie and Kahnawake, eventually became fixed communities about fifteen kilometers apart. The present study spans the period during which the varied residents of the trading settlement of La Prairie came to view themselves as residents of Canada

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[14]Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle-France, 2 vols. (Montréal: Éditions Elysée, 1974), 1:180; Edward J. Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montréal: Messenger Press, 1922), 26-28.

(rather than colonists whose home was in Europe), and during which the residents of the mission settlement of Kahnawake, from many different native and European origins, became known as *agniers* or Mohawks.

Extrapolating from Appendix A, based on the numbers of individuals known only by a first name and not included in that index, an estimate can be forwarded as to the number of "foreign" residents of New France before 1720. As many as 800 or about sixteen percent of the immigrants who arrived in New France prior to 1720 arrived from European countries other than France, or from New World colonies.[15] They came as infants, as elderly, as young people, male

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[15]Le programme de recherche en démographie historique at the Université de Montréal has uncovered the origins and life patterns of most known immigrants to New France. The origins of some remain unknown. For a summary of the non-French immigrants, see Bertrand Desjardins, "Homogénéité ethnique de la population québécoise sous le Régime français," Cahiers québécois de démographie, 1990, 19(1):63-76. For Montréal, see Yves Landry, ed., Pour le Christ et le Roi: La vie au temps des premiers Montréalais (Montréal: Libre Expression, 1992), a richly-illustrated volume which includes a biographical index. Of about 480 *pionniers* (defined as those who were born elsewhere but who settled in the colony by 1680), and their non-pioneer spouses (some of whom were Canadian-born), 20 are listed as *origine inconnue*. Three are identified as of foreign origin. However, the present study demonstrates that after 1680 the number of "foreign" migrants to Montréal increased, see Appendix A. It is customary for researchers to confine their study to the French population of New France, usually addressed separately from the native population. Louise Dechêne examined the French and native populations in Habitants et Marchands, chapters 1, "La population indigène" and 2, "Le peuplement français"). A significant exception is the work of Marcel Trudel, who has compiled a nominal index of 4,902 slaves, both black and native, in Québec; his research extends past the Conquest to the early nineteenth century. Most of these were probably not French by birth. See his Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs propriétaires au Canada Français (Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1990). Another study of 'outsiders', albeit French outsiders, is John F. Bosher's The Canada Merchants, 1713-1763 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) which details the lives of non-Catholic merchants, some of whom resided in New France.

and female, slaves, indentured servants and free, educated and uneducated, skilled and unskilled, priests and Protestants. Because their ways of arrival in New France were varied (some came willingly, some were recruited, many were captives) they represent a cross-section of European, African and Caribbean cultures, rather than the recruitment of certain types of individuals. Perhaps most significantly, the majority of these non-French immigrants to New France had ties to other New World colonies. They left families, businesses and property in the British and Dutch colonies to the south to "migrate" to New France. This study concludes in 1720 because after that date the number of these immigrants increases, becoming unwieldy both for a nominal index and for narrative treatment. In addition, after 1720, the majority of immigrants did not settle, but rather made brief trading or military trips to Canada.

Since captives from New England form a significant portion of Appendix A, a brief review of their situations will provide context for their experiences. Civilian captives were generally taken by French militia and native soldiers in raids on New England and New York border settlements. Captives, who included women and children as well as men, were divided among the allies, marched northward, placed in canoes and paddled to Lachine, Kahnawake, Montréal, Québec, St. Francis and other St. Lawrence-region native or French settlements. Some roamed widely with native families. They were often adopted by native or French families, or bought by the French as servants. Some did not survive the journey north. Some lived for only a few months in Canada; others stayed for the rest of their lives. Their narratives, upon their return, became a veritable genre of early

New England memoir. Many such narratives reside unstudied in family attics; others were widely published. The published versions, in particular, reveal as much about the Puritans as they do about Canada. News about captives was also liberally disseminated by envoys from New York and New England who were sent north to ransom them.[16]

Taken as a group, the people in Appendix A represent, numerically at least, a significant portion of the immigrant population of the French colony. They arrived during the entire period under study. In addition, others arrived before 1667, and many more arrived from 1720 to 1760. Some settled and raised families in New France. In size, this "foreign" group rivals the group of 700 *filles du roi*, or women of marriageable age sent by the king of France to marry male settlers in New France.[17] The largest groups of male immigrants to New France, the soldiers sent to New France from France during times of war, arrived

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[16]The literature on captives is extensive. For good summaries, see James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) and "The White Indians of Colonial America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. series 32(1):55-88 (1975); Daniel Richter and Alden Vaughan, "Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605-1765," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 90(1980), 23-99; and June Namias, White Captives (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). For excerpts from captivity narratives, see Colin G. Calloway, North Country Captives (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992).

[17]Yves Landry, Orphelines en France, pionnières au Canada: Les Filles du roix au xvii e siècle (Ottawa: Leméac, 1992);Eccles, France in America (New York: Harper and Row, [1972] 1990), 81-83. About 1,200 solders arrived in New France before 1720. For details about the troops sent to the colony in this period, see Jay Cassel, "The Troupes de la Marine in Canada," 1683-1760, Ph. D. diss., University of Toronto, 1987.

in the 1690s and the 1750s. Unlike these two other significant groups of immigrants, the foreign-born immigrants came over about a century, as many as several hundred per year, but as few as one or two per year.[18] They established the roots of many *canadien* families. At least 196 foreign residents named in the index raised families in New France through marriage with a French spouse during the period before 1720. Some of these married twice, in two communities: they had a native spouse and a French spouse. Thirty foreign residents named in the index entered into more than one marriage with a French spouse. By 1750, at least 5,000 residents, or about ten percent of the population of New France, were descended from families with one or two non-French parents.[19] Appendix A includes a sampling of "foreigners" who, although they did not marry French spouses, married native spouses. The total number of foreigners who began families in native communities is much higher.

There is no evidence that these individuals were segregated from other residents of New France. Indeed, as will be seen below, they were involved in business arrangements; they were employed; they employed others; they were criminals; they traded furs; they became nuns or even mothers-superior. At least

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[18]At its peak, French immigration to New France was about 250 per year, in the 1660s and 1670s, see Greer, People, 15. For many years, immigration averaged about thirty to sixty individuals per year, Historical Atlas of Canada, vol. 1, Plate 45. For some years from 1690-1706, captives from New England totaled more than 100 per year.

[19]Greer estimates the population of New France in 1760 at 75,000, People, 19. In 1739, the date of the last census, the heartland of the colonies of New France, Canada, had a population of 43,264, Appendix Two, Table A, Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants.

twenty identified individuals received concessions of land (usually long after their arrival, see Appendix A); the vast majority were farmers. They formed part of the fabric of life in New France.[20] Their relations with other non-French Europeans indicate an interesting subset of life in New France, another network of patronage, debts and obligations. Yet these people are largely invisible in historical accounts of New France.

Most contemporary historical documents relating to the early history of Canada do not expressly describe this "foreign" population. Correspondence with the king and his ministers described the French subjects of the king. Censuses, if indeed they counted foreigners at all, sometimes failed to distinguish them from the general population. A significant trend toward the francization of names can be observed; this makes these persons almost impossible to spot in large nominal lists and in most notarial records. However, church records note converts and baptisms of children who were not born to Catholic parents. Lists of *abjurations*, particularly in the early eighteenth century, name those who have renounced their heretical faith (usually Protestantism).

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[20]This network has been noted by historians. Francis Parkman, The Old Regime in Canada, 467-68, quoted in Samuel Morison, ed. The Parkman Reader (Toronto: Little Brown, 1955); Donald Creighton, Commercial Empire, 8, 27-28, 32-34, 40; William J. Eccles, Essays on New France (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 17, 94; Thomas Elliot Norton, The Fur Trade in Colonial New York: 1686-1776 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), 123-129. Most historians, however, have declined to describe the effect of these networks. The English merchant community's "sudden comprehension" of the virtues of the northern trade routes after 1760 (Creighton, Commercial Empire, 23, 47) can be seen in a new light when the earlier close trading arrangements are contemplated.

Naturalization lists also describe individuals who were not born on French soil but who became subjects of the French king. Many of the "foreigners" listed in Appendix A, however, do not appear in any of these sources.

Attempts to summarize the effect these individuals may have had on the history of New France have been largely quantitative. Since many came to New France and died within a few weeks or months, or came and returned home within a year, historians have assumed that the impact of these individuals was historically negligible. They have been dismissed as marginal.

Many of these individuals were indeed marginal. They came, perhaps injured, to the St. Lawrence valley, and died a few days or months later. Others were born of English parents in Canada. Some arrived as orphans of a few months old and were adopted into French families. Individuals of all ages arrived, stayed a few days or weeks, and returned to Maine, Massachusetts or New York. These individuals could have had very little impact on the social formation of New France.

Others, however, married and settled in New France. A number of these "foreign" residents were naturalized and converted to Catholicism. Some engaged in business in New France, or took up residence in boarding houses. Others were employed as surgeons, carpenters, weavers or shipwrights. Some settled in native communities or missions. Likewise, some natives married and settled in French, Dutch or English communities.

Purpose of the study

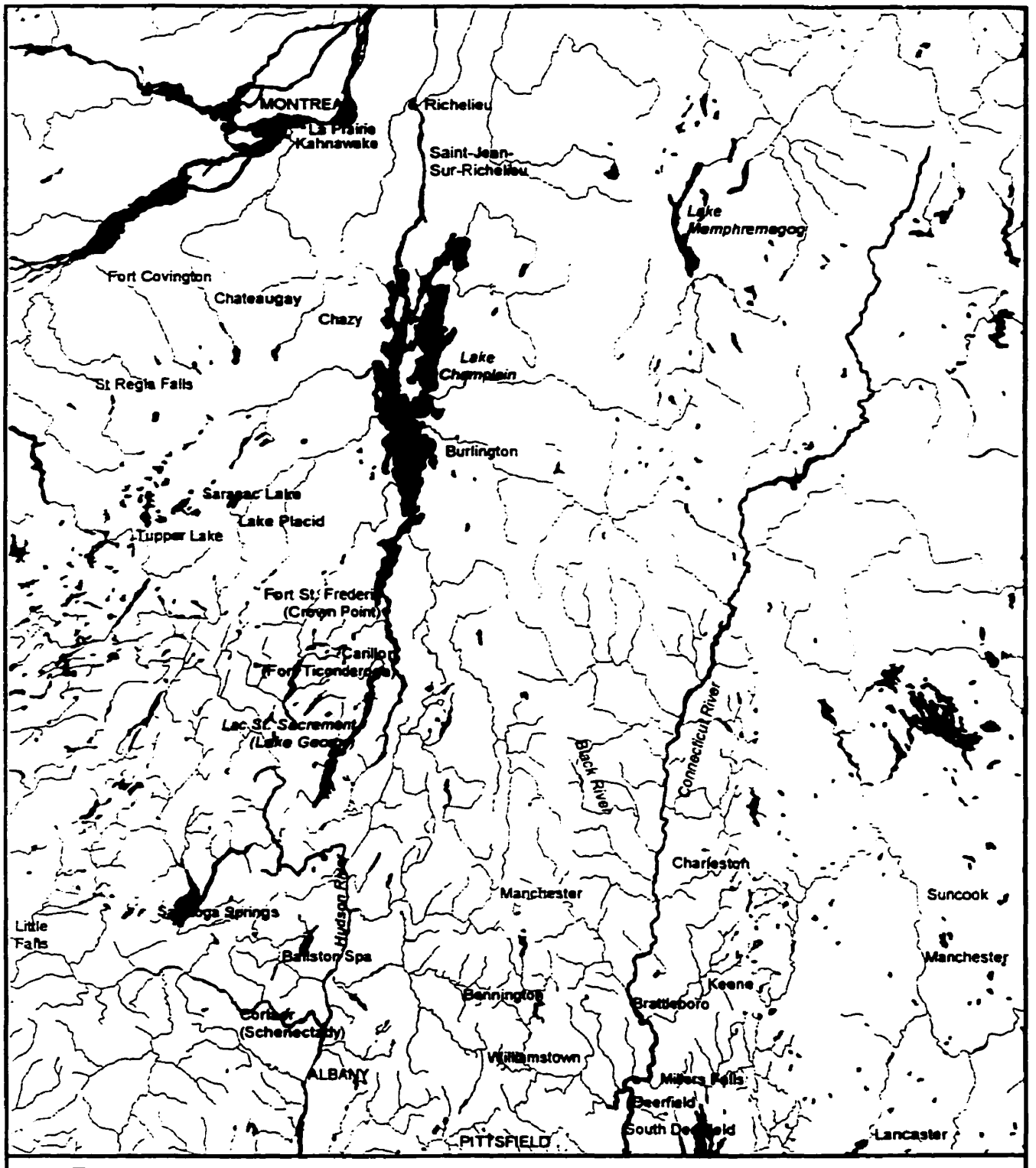
The geographic focus of this study is the heartland of the French colony, the settlements in the St. Lawrence valley. Within that large area, most examples will be drawn from the settlements of La Prairie and Kahnawake. The study investigates the "agency" of non-French Europeans in New France, that is, their role as agents or vital characters in the social and business life of New France. Like recent work on other border regions, this thesis is an attempt to relate, in detail, the kinds of relationships that residents and travelers in this region formed with each other.[21] The thesis of the present work is that non-French Europeans, through the narratives they told and the stories told about them, as well as though social and economic activity, had an impact on individuals, on families and on settlements in New France. This work will explore the narratives of a few individuals in the border region, the multiple and complex representations of personal identity they proffered, and the meanings accorded to them. The intent is to render this group of "historically invisible" residents of New France visible; to borrow a native metaphor, it is the intent of this study to "requicken" these individuals.

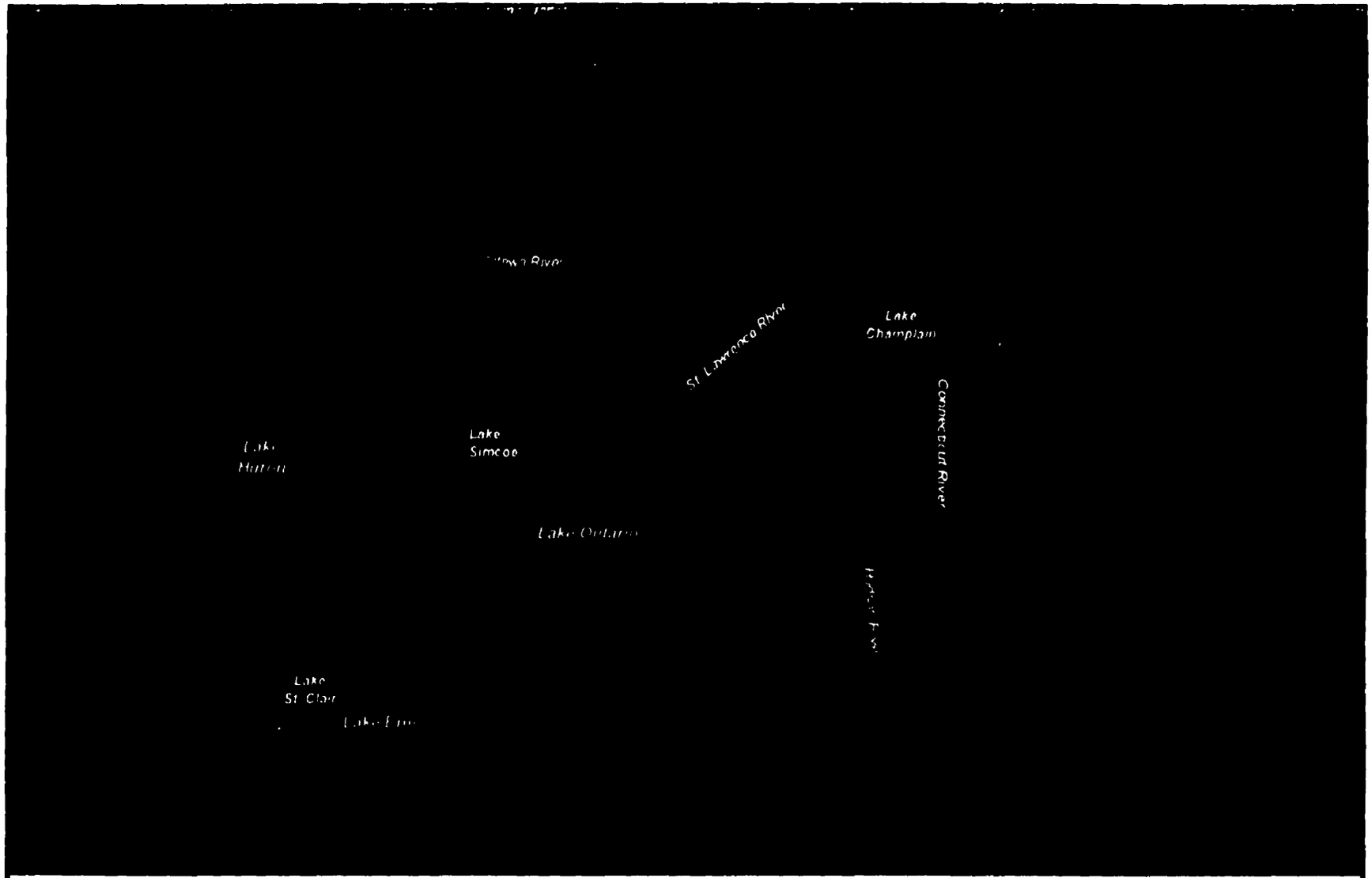
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[21]For studies which examine cultural change through culture contact in border regions, see Daniel H. Usner, Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1992); Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1992); Laurence Fontaine, Histoire du Colportage en Europe, XVe-XIXe siècle (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993); Richard White, The Middle Ground (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Peter Sahlins, Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

Part One provides a framework for the case studies to follow. It reviews current theories on the construction of identity, examines the methodology of microhistory with a particular emphasis on case studies, provides historical context for the concept of identity in early modern Canada and in native groups, and summarizes the nature and extent of population movement in the New World.

Part Two follows individual lives of those who moved in the border region. Using a case-study approach common to microhistorical research, it examines the lives of residents of the St. Lawrence valley which were intertwined with non-French residents' lives through trading relationships, marriage, inheritance, religious practices, adoption and debts. The opportunities for social exchange through social contact in the border region are demonstrated in examples from historical documents and, in the short interludes which frame the case studies, from folklore. These case studies examine, within the constraints of the sources, the formation of identities in the border region, and the development of mutually understandable languages -- languages of trade, war, religion and diplomacy -- which helped individuals express their identities. The conclusion poses questions about the development of mutually understandable languages and about the relationship of languages and narratives to identities in the Early Modern period. Appendix A, which is prefaced by a narrative overview, presents a summary of 694 of the foreign residents of New France before 1720, and demonstrates the range of choices executed in the St. Lawrence valley.


MONTREAL
La Prairie
Kahnawake
Richelieu
Saint-Jean-
Sur-Richelieu
Lake
Memphremagog
Fort Covington
Chateaugay
Chazy
Lake
Champlain
St Regis Falls
Burlington
Saranac Lake
Lake Placid
Tupper Lake
Fort St. Frederic
(Crown Point)
Carillon
(Fort Ticonderoga)
Lac St. Sacrement
(Lake George)
Black River
Connecticut River
Charleston
Manchester
Suncook
Saratoga Springs
Little
Falls
Hudson River
Ballston Spa
Manchester
Keene
Bennington
Brattleboro
Cohoes
(Schenectady)
Williamstown
ALBANY
Millers Falls
Deerfield
South Deerfield
PITTSFIELD
Lancaster
N
MAP 1: LA PRAIRIE - ALBANY AREA
25 0 25 Miles
Scale
Source: ESRI's Digital Chart of the World and ArcView Datasets



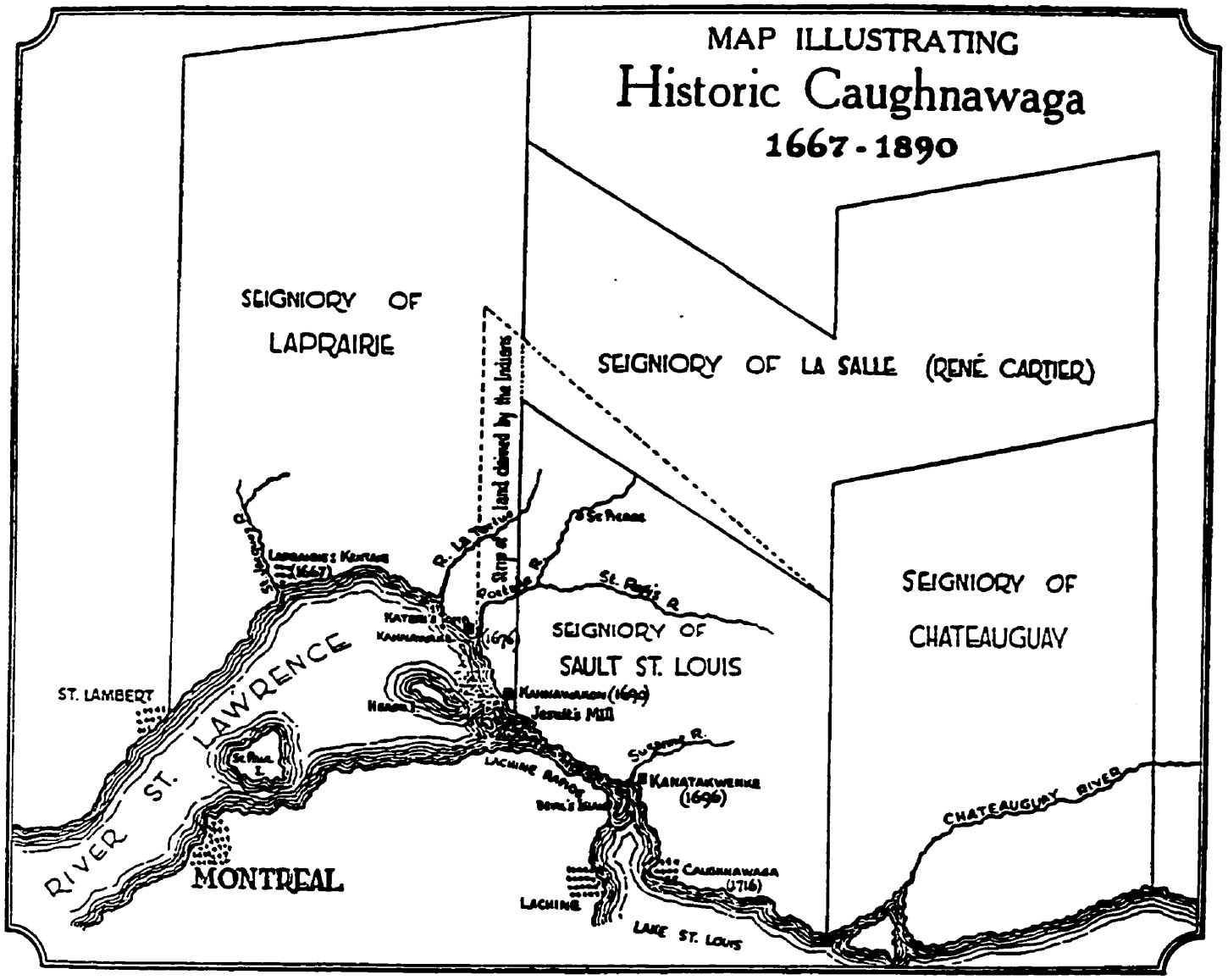
MAP 2: NEW FRANCE & ENVIRONS

50 0 50 100 150 Miles

Scale

Note: This map shows twentieth-century place names.

Source: ESRI's Digital Chart of the World and ArcView Datasets
c:\esrifgis\data\geofrance\hillshade.apr 5/10/98 David Healy



From Edward Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montreal: Messenger Press, 1922).

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE: PERSONAL IDENTITIES, COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

> Postmodernist thought has rendered it customary to regard the self as multivalent, porous, conflicted, and shifting -- implications that follow from the idea of a socially constructed self. . . It is a commonplace of postmodern or at least of post-structuralist thought that if a self exists at all it is discursively formed. The self is an ambivalent, multivalent, constantly reenacted social construction.[1]

The terms Kenneth Lockridge employs, "ambivalent, multivalent, constantly reenacted" are hallmarks of late-twentieth century American historical writing about personal identity. The concept of shifting identities and multiple meanings is a staple of the many case studies of identity which have appeared since 1980. As W. Jeffrey Bolster succinctly observed, in this view, "selves are made, not born."[2]

In counterpoint to the studies of a shifting, multivalent self-fashioned identity, is the recent reassertion of the importance of collective identities. Race, class, gender, nationality, occupation, language and ethnicity are some of the categories which are considered to be determinants of identity or even predictors

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[1]Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Colonial Self-Fashioning: Paradoxes and Pathologies in the Construction of Genteel Identity in Eighteenth-Century America," in Ronald Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 277 and 277n3.

[2]See Mechal Sobel, "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens," 163-205 and Jeffrey W. Bolster, "An Inner Diaspora: Black Sailors Making Selves," 419-448 (quotation is p. 446) in Hoffman et al., eds., Through A Glass Darkly.

of behavior, thought and affiliation. The relationship between personal identities and collective identities appears to be complex, often inchoate and, perhaps as a result, not fully understood by historians. This chapter will examine these two approaches to the topic of identity, and the gap, if any, between personal and collective identity.

Collective Identity, "Limited Identity"

A majority of historians would agree that most functional adult members of society (with the exception of perhaps the insane or those who cannot perceive choices and restraints) acknowledge constraints on their range of possible behaviors, thoughts and beliefs. Some argue that the social group, or collective, limits the range of possible identities. In Imperatives, Behaviors and Identities, historian Jack P. Greene finds that personal identity is linked to the social group's identity. Identity, according to Greene, is shaped by short-term and long-term economic and social goals, a commonly accepted concept of what a civilized society is, the collective experience or history that succcessive generations have shared in a location, and a sense of belonging to a corporate group. Greene's formulation places the reach and power of society's claim on individuals in the foreground of his analysis. For Greene, who examines colonial America, colonists in the New World had a "well-articulated definition of themselves," based on a "coherent corporate identity." According to Greene, colonists benefited from a "well-defined sense of themselves and their society and a

distinctive reputation by which they were known to the outside world."[3] This approach appears to be useful in addressing dominant groups in a society; however, the patterns and affiliations of groups such as slaves, women and minorities are often obscured by discussions of "coherent corporate identity."

Canadian historians and historical geographers have explored the nature of collective identity as well, with results which parallel those reached by Greene. In an essay describing the process of editing volume one of the Historical Atlas of Canada, R. Cole Harris observed that matters which appear to be straightforward historical and geographic "facts" are necessarily shaped by the editors of such reference works. Editors of the atlas knew they were creating a document which would "emphasize and eliminate" aspects of Canadian history and geography.[4] The atlas, for instance, considers identities separately: the Acadians, the native peoples, the French. It considers economies as distinct from each other, such as the fisheries and the fur trade of the *pays d'en haut*. It highlights the primacy and importance of the French settlements of Canada. Harris noted that the arrangement and content of the atlas were reflective of Canadian thought, which is itself structured by the theory that groups of people can develop in isolation, even when they are geographically near each other.

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[3]Jack P. Greene, Imperatives, Behaviors and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 14-16.

[4]"Maps as a Morality Play," in Joan Winearls Editing Early and Historical Atlases (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 163-179, quotation is p. 167.

"People in different pockets rarely mixed," he wrote, "and often hardly knew of each other . . . Economies were little connected. Different ethnic groups, protected by isolation in different settlements, had little enough to do with each other."[5] This is a description of "separate" identities.

Prompted by an unsettling debate about national identity in the 1960s, Ramsay Cook and J.M.S. Careless articulated a concept of "limited" identity, that is, identification with a region or ethnic group which is sub-national.[6] Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot are among the Canadian historians who have developed this idea further, and extended it to the beginnings of New France which they describe as a world of "limited identities." In 1987, Paquet and Wallot described the "negative identity formation" in Canada. They defined negative identity as "identity [built] in opposition to indigenous or other communities or metropolitan groups." J.M. Bumsted elaborated on the social islands described by Harris. In a 1991 essay, he commented on the "pockets" of settlement in New France. Bumsted noted that society in New France was allowed nearly a century (about 1672-1763) free from the major disruptions of massive immigrations. Such a hiatus, he noted "allowed cultural consolidation [which] was unusual in North America: it meant that Canadians were secure in their

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[5]"Maps as a Morality Play," in Winearls Editing Early and Historical Atlases, 163-179, especially 171, 177; Graeme Wynn, "Maps and Dreams of Nationhood," Canadian Historical Review 76(3): 482-510, 1995.

[6]Ramsay Cook, "Canadian Centennial Cerebrations," International Journal, 22 (3): 659-63, 1967; J.M.S. Careless, "'Limited Identities' in Canada," Canadian Historical Review 50 (1):1-10, 1969.

culture when they were forcibly added to the British Empire in 1763."[7]

Without explicitly addressing the concept of identity, historians, demographers, geographers, and economists studying the particular conditions of the French regime in Canada have also examined material constraints on individual behavior and choices. These can include such factors as lack of resources, a high or low infant mortality rate, low crop yields, disease or natural disasters. Historians such as Sylvie Dépatie and Tom Wien, for instance, have explored the effect of limited resources, in particular, a scarcity of labor, on the size of farms and the pace of the accumulation of land as well as of other property during the French regime. Along with others, they have observed at close range the interplay of the various economies of New France: fishing, sealing, fur, agriculture and trade in manufactured goods. The harvests, price and distribution of wheat, a mainstay of the colonists' diet, has been minutely chronicled by Louise Dechêne.[8] Donations to churches, seminaries and

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[7]Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Nouvelle-France/Québec/Canada: A World of Limited Identities," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds. Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 95-114, assert that a *canadien* identity can be discerned in the eighteenth century, 96-100, 111. For the concept of cultural isolation see J.M. Bumsted, "The Cultural Landscape of Early Canada," 363-92, especially 364-5 and 370 in Bernard Bailyn, ed., Strangers within the Realm (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

[8]Sylvie Dépatie et al. Contributions à l'étude du régime seigneurial canadien; (Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1987); Louise Dechêne, Le Partage des Subsistances au Canada sous le Régime Français;(Montréal: Boréal, 1994) and Bruce Trigger et al., eds., Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference (Montréal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987).

convents have been studied for their relation to the household economy and the economy of the colony. Overall, examinations of social, biological and material constraints sound a cautionary note concerning the emerging research about the "malleability" of personal identity.

The connection between collective and personal identities has been implicit in studies of physical border regions and the edges of social space.[9] Richard White, in his 1994 The Middle Ground, dissects native, French and English patterns in the *pays d'en haut*. He defines the "middle ground" as an arena of negotiation between populations where no single group can control the outcome of the negotiation. He provides examples of how individuals negotiated not only between the different groups in the *pays d'en haut*, but between social and cultural meanings as well. In this work, White does not address the concept of identity directly; the main "character" in his history is the middle ground itself. However, it is clear from his analysis that those individuals who could successfully negotiate between groups and between meanings became "brokers" of change. In a later essay, White employed his discussion of the middle ground to make explicit the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century notion of personal identity.[10]

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[9]See, for instance, Peter Sahlins, Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[10]Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and " 'Although I am dead, I am not entirely dead. I have left a second of myself': Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America," in Hoffman et al., eds, Through a Glass Darkly, 404-418.

Other historians have observed boundaries between groups to be critical as members strive for a sense of collective identity. Carla Freccero, for instance, found that "boundaries of community are often created by accusing those outside the boundary of the very practice on which the integrity of that community is founded."[11] In Behind the Frontier, Daniel R. Mandell notes the importance of social boundaries, particularly for minority groups, which "build ethnic distinctions between themselves and the dominant society."[12]

Still, as important as these social boundaries are, recent microhistories of the Early Modern period in Europe, which was, after all, the nursery for Canada's population, have shown the boundaries of possibility to be "porous and indistinct" and subject to alteration by marriage, trade, and ambition.[13] Social and cultural

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[11]Carla Freccero, "Cannibalism, Homophobia, Women: Montaigne's 'Des cannibales' and 'De l'amitié'," 73-83, (quotation is p. 74) in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, Women, "Race" and Writing (New York: Routledge, 1994); see also Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797 (London: Methuen, 1986), 85.

[12]Daniel R. Mandell, Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 196; a voluntary journey outside the community, (which the authors term "liminoid") seems to be important in establishing religious identity as well, see Victor Turner and EdithTurner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), especially 231-241.

[13]See, in this context, Jean E. Howard, "An English Lass Amid the Moors: Gender, race, sexuality and national identity in Heywood's The Fair Maid of the West," 101-117, (quotation is p. 101) who finds social movement despite the constraints of vertical status hierarchies and allegiance to a monarch in Tudor-Stuart England in Hendricks and Parker, eds., Women, "Race" and Writing, op. cit., note 11; see also Stephen Innes, Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) and Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783, (Chapel Hill:

change seems to happen by a syncretic process in these cases, where each side learns from the other. A number of studies of very different social groups have brought into question the earlier conception of an immobile *ancien régime* society. The mobility of some groups and individuals add to an emerging portrait of a society in France where the concept of identity may indeed have been more complex than historians had previously thought it to be. Certain European groups, notably tinkers, mummers, colporteurs, sailors, soldiers, healers, the pious and the sainted, dancers and portrait artists, among others, traveled constantly -- both geographically and personally -- in movements and shifting identities that appear complex, and, to historians, unpredictable.[14]

In an historiographical review of the practice of gender history in seventy-five years of articles published in the Canadian Historical Review, Joy Parr notes that studies which examine the "interim, expectant" qualities of identity "make historical the once presumed natural markings of national, racial, ethnic, and sexual difference and the truths that sustain the hierarchies of power," making "alarm bells sound" for historians who see collective identities as fixed.[15] The categories of collective identity of which Parr writes are quickly unraveled by

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North Carolina University Press, 1992).

[14]Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History (New York: Basic Books, 1984), especially 26; Laurence Fontaine, Histoire du colportage en Europe (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993); Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 17, 19, 49-50, 58, 95.

[15]Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," Canadian Historical Review 76 (3): 354-76, 1995, quotations are on pages 360 and 375.

studies of personal identity. These studies shake the foundational beliefs of many social historians. Indeed, historians of early Canada who examine representations of personal identity tend to avoid the term "identity," preferring instead terms like "*mentalités*" or "*solidarités*" which gesture toward the importance to collective groups of a certain way of thought, a certain set of affiliations, or a certain range of behaviors without singling out individuals.[16]

Examples of studies which could be expanded to include an examination of personal identity in early Canada include those of the practice of popular religion, economic histories, seigneurial studies and social histories. Because studies of popular religion explore the gaps between the control of the clergy and the actions of the populace, these studies could, in principle, examine the possibilities for the expression of individual identities. In her 1988 study, Marie-Aimée Cliche studied forms of religious expression such as processions, pilgrimages, wills and bequests in the town of Québec during the French regime.[17] She observed that popular religion was not entirely controlled by the clergy in New France, but was more tamed ("*apprivoisée*") than in France. Cliche contextualized the familiar examples of the observations of priests: unruly

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[16]For useful summaries of the progression of social history in Québec, which, however, do not directly address identity during the French regime, see Réal Bélanger, "Pour un retour à l'histoire politique," 223-41; Gérard Bouchard, "L'histoire sociale au Québec: réflexions sur quelques paradoxes," 243-69 and Andrée Lévesque, "Réflexions sur l'histoire des femmes dans l'histoire du Québec," 271-84 in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 51 (2), automne, 1997.

[17]Marie-Aimée Cliche, Les pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988).

behavior in church, disorder and drinking on feast days. She noted that some religious practices, especially the worship of local (and therefore new and unsanctioned) saints, a few cases of witchcraft, and the belief in miracles (survival at sea, cures, finding lost objects) were more self-directed than clergy-controlled. Cliche looked at the particulars of almsgiving, addressing such questions as who gave to which institutions, as well as when and how much they gave. The residents of Québec had a profound belief in the power of prayer; prayers were requested in ninety percent of the wills.

In short, Cliche found many examples of individual preference, actions and will within a relatively "tamed" colonial church. Particularly when the analysis is extended, as it is in her work, to the differences between popular religion in New France and in France, there could be scope for a discussion of the religious aspects of identity. Understanding of beliefs and practices might have been enriched by an examination of the effect of "forced" conversions (generally, in New France, from Protestantism to Catholicism) of ships' crews and soldiers, on religous practice. Did these individuals worship alongside their neighbors, or did they generally ignore the Church and popular religious practices? What about other new converts to Catholicism, or marriages between two individuals who had been raised in two different religious traditions? How was religious belief and practice transferred to the children of such marriages? Was "popular" religion a function, in part, of the religious dislocation so common to the Early Modern period?

Similarly, Louise Dechêne explored age at marriage, relationships

between husbands and wives, parents and children, business and personal arrangements between siblings, debt, inheritance, and the interplay of the fur trade with agriculture in her 1974 study of seventeenth-century Montréal, Habitants et Marchands.[18] The material presented in this prodigiously researched work is highly suggestive of aspects of personal identity in early Montréal. For instance, trips to the *pays d'en haut* are described as contributing to the family economy. How did such trips contribute to the social fabric of New France? What knowledge was gained on such trips, what affiliations were formed, what business or social arrangements were made with Dutch, native or English traders, leaders, officials or ministers, and what stories did these *coureurs de bois* tell on their return to the St. Lawrence? Here a focus on the economy has obscured other non-monetary "resources" available to the residents of the St. Lawrence valley.

Louis Lavallée's La Prairie en Nouvelle-France looked at the acquisition and improvement of land and at social and economic reproduction, but did not examine the cultural meanings ascribed to marriages, trading trips or business arrangements.[19] With a focus on land and settlement patterns in particular, seigneurial studies discount the importance of transients or those "just passing

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[18]Louise Dechêne, Habitants et marchands (Paris: Plon, 1974); reprinted (Montréal: Boréal, 1988). The English version is Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal, Liana Vardi, trans. (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[19]Louis Lavallée, La Prairie en Nouvelle-France, 1647-1760 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

through."

A recent book by historian Allan Greer, written as an introduction for students, does paint a portrait of the groups who peopled New France.[20] Greer reminds the reader of the many threads in the social fabric on the banks of the St. Lawrence, dividing the population into rural and urban; male and female; Canadians, Acadians and colonists of Louisiana; and French and others. In a chapter devoted to foreigners and native peoples in New France, Greer calls New France "a multicultural society," and details the interactions of the French colonists with natives, slaves, Huguenot traders and English prisoners. He suggests that these groups were not segregated from the general populace, and indeed that close and intimate relations between these groups and the French colonists were "not out of the question." Still, Greer discounts intermarriage in the St. Lawrence heartland, noting that it was far less prevalent than in the *pays d'en haut.* Perhaps because of the shortened format of an introductory textbook, Greer declines to discuss in detail the social effect of the inter-cultural contact he describes.[21]

In several essays in the collection Discours et pratiques de l'intime, edited by Manon Brunet and Serge Gagnon, the complexity of inner life is explored, revealing some information about patterns of reading and worship during the French colonial period, and examining one life story. The collection does not

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[20]Allan Greer, The People of New France (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

[21]Allan Greer, The People of New France, especially 82, 86-88.

concentrate on the early colonial period; it provides far more information about the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[22] This example stands out, however, against a general disinclination for finding social or cultural meanings in actions or texts. This preference can be attributed, in part, to the influence of the *Annales* tradition on historians writing about Canada in the last quarter of the twentieth century. This interdisciplinary approach, with a view toward the *longue durée*, or structural change over time, while it opens up a study of "*mentalités*," generally eschews the stories of individuals, politics and the descriptions of single events (such as revolutions) while focusing instead on major social, economic and even geological trends.[23]

Literature on personal identities often employs elements of biography and prosopography. Both forms of history are currently enjoying moderate return to favor after an *Annales*-inspired glossing of individual life stories. In an essay, David Hackett Fischer noted that combining prosopography with *histoire totale* "is the characteristic American form of *Annales* history."[24] In a Canadian context,

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[22]Manon Brunet and Serge Gagnon, eds., Discours et pratiques de l'intime (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1993) see especially Chantal Théry, "Marie de l'Incarnation, intimée et intime, à travers sa Correspondance et ses Écrits spirituels,"107-118 and François Melançon, "Façonner et surveiller l'intime: lire en Nouvelle-France," 17-45.

[23]Louise Dechêne, Le Partage; Brigitte Caulier, "Bâtir l'Amérique des dévots," Revue d'histoire de lAmérique francaise, 46 (1): 1992; Marie-Aimée Cliche, Les Pratiques de Dévotion; Thomas Wien, "Peasant Accumulation," Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1988; Sylvie Depatie et al., Contributions à l'étude du Regime Seigneurial Canadien.

[24] David Hackett Fischer, "The Braided Narrative" in Angus Fletcher, ed. The Literature of Fact, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 124.

however, such studies generally do not inquire about personal identity or reflections on the self.[25] Historians of Canada have engaged in biographical dictionaries and prosopography with mixed results. The best "dictionary," although it is much more than a simple list, is perhaps the monumental Dictionary of Canadian Biography. This multi-volume work, despite lacunae, is an invaluable source, and contains useful summary essays. Marcel Trudel's work on slavery in Canada is a uniquely detailed account, and is rich with potential research projects.[26] Examples which have been subject to more criticism include John Bosher's The Canada Merchants, 1713-1763 and Jean-Claude Dubé's Les Intendants de la Nouvelle France. These works address individual lives in terms of networks of patronage, exploring who was linked to whom by marriage, or by business partnerships. Bosher located and studied Huguenot merchants and their networks in Canada, demonstrating that the Huguenot influence was perhaps more pervasive than had previously been thought. The social and cultural meanings of such networks, or the individual relationships that built those networks, are not fully explored in these works. It is not their purpose to comb

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[25]As examples, see André Lachance, Crimes et Criminels en Nouvelle-France (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1984); Yves Landry, Orphelines en France, pionnières au Canada: Les filles du rois aux xvii e siècle (Ottawa: Leméac, 1992); Peter N. Moogk "Les Petits Sauvages," in Joy Parr, ed. Childhood and Family in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Alison Prentice, Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988).

[26]Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 13 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-) and indices; Marcel Trudel, Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs propriétaires au Canada français (Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1994 [1990] and L'ésclavage au Canada français (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1960).

the sources for a sense of "self" or introspection on the part of their subjects, but rather to point out that individuals aquired status, power or wealth through their associations with others.[27] The present study intends to build on these studies while addressing the difficulties such studies encounter by examining relationships at close range.

Essays in a volume entitled Les marginaux, les exclus et l'autre au Canada aux xviie et xviiie siècles, edited by André Lachance,[28] consider groups such as the aged, separated couples, natives or foreigners, and presents statistical information about each group. In an essay entitled "Les étrangers sous le Régime français," Hélène Grenier summarized her findings on roughly half of the nine hundred foreigners she finds in New France during the French regime, a number "qui est suffisant" she reminds the reader, "pour démontrer une présence étrangère beaucoup plus importante que celle soupçonnée jusqu'à maintenant," ("a number which is sufficient to demonstrate a much more important foreign presence than previously supposed"). In a section entitled "Identité" Grenier noted that some came against their will, others were willing migrants. Grenier examined origin, profession, manner of arrival, marriage patterns and how long the immigrants stayed in New France. In order to assess integration, Grenier looked at how many of the foreigners who settled in New

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[27]John Bosher, The Canada Merchants, 1713-1763 (New York: Oxford, 1989), and Jean-Claude Dubé, Les Intendants de la Nouvelle France (Montréal: Fides, 1984).

[28]André Lachance, ed., Les marginaux, les exclus et l'autre au Canada aux xviie et xviiie siècles (Montréal: Fides, 1996).

France died in Canada, concluded that the foreigner "n'est pas complètement isolé dans la société canadienne de l'époque," ("is not completely isolated in the Canadian society of the time") and provided some examples of individual life stories. She noted that in court cases, residents of New France often vouched for the honesty of their "foreign" neighbors. Grenier's overview could be extended, however, by an examination of the "*va et vient*" of some of the migrants and their families, and of the records on these individuals which exist in New York and New England.

In a concluding essay, Lachance counters the notion that such "*marginaux*" might have been a source of disorder. He observes that these groups were well taken care of by the institutions of the colony, and did not cause much of a social problem, though he concedes, at least for the separated women described, "il n'a pas été possible de bien cerner l'attitude de la société canadienne à son égard."[29]

Generally, historians of New France lament that the few extant narrative sources simply do not support a close examination of attitudes or inner thoughts. Even those who are privileged with enviable narrative sources, however, are disinclined to search for clues about identity. Joyce Marshall utilized rich narrative sources, however she wrote before the explosion of work about identity. Her 1967 book Word From New France: Selected Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation does not use Marie de l'Incarnation's prolific writings to explore her expression of

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[29]Lachance, Les marginaux, 285.

identity. Significantly, writing nearly three decades later, Chantal Théry does examine the tension between Marie de l'Incarnation's self-affirmation and self-effacement through her writings.[30]

Personal Identity, Multivalent Identity

If historians of New France have been reluctant to explore the concept of personal identity in an explicit manner, American historians, at least those writing since the late 1970s, have engaged heartily in this effort. As they place the notion of shifting identities in the foreground, they have begun chipping away at the concepts of race, class, gender and nationality as categories of analysis.[31] This philosophical stance is not an American aberration, however; it draws from deep tap roots in several different traditions, notably Swiss and French, which can be traced to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The

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[30]Chantal Théry, "Marie de l'Incarnation, intimée et intime, à travers sa Correspondance et ses Écrits spirituels,"107-118 in Manon Brunet and Serge Gagnon, eds., Discours et pratiques de l'intime.

[31]Regarding lives lived as narratives see Kenneth J. Gergen, The Saturated Self (New York: HarperCollins, 1991). See also Roy Porter,ed., Rewriting the Self (London: Routledge, 1997), especially Kate Flint Rose, "identity [is] produced -- through utterance, through writing, through performance," 156-166, (quotation is p. 166) and Lynda Nead "Mapping the Self," 167-185; Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, eds., Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woolf, eds., The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly; Jack P. Greene, Imperatives, Behaviors and Identities; Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds. Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period; Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy (New York: Methuen, 1982), 29, 78-138.

genealogy of the argument dates to Jacob Burckhardt, Renaissance in Italy and France's historian, Jules Michelet (1798-1874).[32] The works of sociologist Norbert Elias (b. 1897), The History of Manners, Power and Civility and The Court Society, examined the transition from social restraint to self-restraint, a line of thinking which emphasizes matters of personal will over collective restraints.[33] Psychology has been a major contributor to the study of identity. Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung and Erik Erikson broke new ground in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries by defining the sources of identity and examining the causes of behavior.[34] This work has generated a new branch of history, termed psychological history, which addresses the childhood development of individuals in history, examining such as experiences of attachment, trauma, and early loss.

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[32]Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1860]) and On History and Historians, H.R. Trevor-Roper, ed., (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958). See also Giovanni Levi,"On Microhistory," in Peter Burke, ed., New Perspectives on Historical Writing (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 98-103 and Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 4.

[33]The work of Peter Stallybrass and Allon White has further developed this thread. Late twentieth-century deconstructionists, including Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes and others have approached the same subjects, investigating the "construct" of the self. See Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986). For a discussion of the works of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault see Roy Boyne, ed., Foucault and Derrida (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), and Jan Goldstein ed., Foucault and the Writing of History (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

[34]C.J. Jung, The Undiscovered Self (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958); Erik H. Erikson, Identity and Life Cycle (New York: International University Press, 1959) and, for an overview, B.R. Hergenhahn, An Introduction to Theories of Personality, 2nd. ed., (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984).

These are then related to later behavior as adults, generally in the form of a biography. Unlike the present study, which focuses on the expression of identity, these studies focus on the roots of identity and the causes of behavior.[35] Twentieth-century anthropologists, particularly Clifford Geertz, James Boon, Mary Douglas, Jean Duvignaud, Paul Rabinow and Victor Turner share a conviction that "men are born 'unfinished animals,' " allowing the possibility that inner and outer forces shape identity after birth.[36]

A watershed study in this effort was published in 1980 by Stephen Greenblatt; virtually every subsequent historical work about identity is indebted to his pioneering Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare. In that work, Greenblatt observed that identity is fashioned "always, though not exclusively, in language." To Greenblatt, the self is expressed primarily in discourse, but, as he notes, actions also may contribute to the fashioning of the self.

In this work Greenblatt employed a case-study approach, which benefited from a review of his subjects' prolific writings, both public and private. As a result, he was able to interpret the texts, and by extension, the thoughts of his subject about the 'other'. In many cases, contact with the 'other' prompted a clearer articulation of self and identity. He also analyzed the lives and actions of his subjects, as well as their words. His subjects were not noble; nobility would

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[35]For the present study, the sources are not introspective enough to form conclusions about the psychological development of the individuals in question.

[36]Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 4.

have, in Greenblatt's view, fixed certain aspects of identity. Greenblatt preferred to look at the malleability of his subjects' identity; nobility did not serve his purpose.[37] According to Greenblatt, although most had contact with those in power ". . . all were in a position . . . to know with some intimacy those with no power, status, or education at all." In addition, he found that the individuals whose writings he examined:

> all embody, in one form or another, a profound mobility . . . (in most cases) this mobility is social and economic . . . (and in one case) a highly charged geographical and ideological mobility, a passage from Catholic priest to Protestant, from the Gloucestershire of his successful yeoman farmer family to London and then to Continental exile, from obscurity to the dangerous fame of a leading heretic.[38]

Greenblatt's subjects were "all displaced in significant ways from a stable, inherited social world, and they all manifest in powerful and influential form aspects of Renaissance self-fashioning."

Greenblatt's formulation allows the possibility that identity is malleable, molded primarily by verbal expression. The approach Greenblatt employed has been fruitfully adopted by biographers and literary critics. In the hands of

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[37]Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 9. It can be noted that nobility may not always preclude self-fashioning. In fact, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nobility itself was a form of self-fashioning. But nobility certainly adds another interpretive layer to the historian's work of uncovering identity. The example of Comte Louis Buade de Frontenac's intentionally imaginative diplomatic style, which included theatrical flourishes and dance and was intended to enhance his power and authority, is an example of "self-fashioning" by a member of the nobility.

[38]Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 7. The following quotations are drawn from the same volume, pages 6-9.

historians, the method -- with some adjustments for types of sources used, such as court records, drawings, wills -- has greatly enriched historical understanding about identity.

Since the publication of Renaissance Self-Fashioning, the concept that personal identity is "discursively formed" has become an historical commonplace. Personal identity, in this view, is formed in dialogue. This can include a narrative form of discourse with oneself, as in a diary. The notion of a "multivalent" personal identity, therefore, is predicated on a language and a group which understands that language.

What are the characteristics of such a group? Sociologist Emile Durkheim wrote that a community is not simply an assemblage of people, but rather a group's ideas about themselves. Similarly, for historian Peter Burke, a community is a group which shares meanings.[39] When personal identity is framed as shifting and multivalent, an inherent tension with received notions of collective identity arises. Discourse presumes language and one or more listeners or readers. Meaning, or more precisely, meanings must be elaborated in a way that communicates to others, that is, within a community which both understands a common language or set of symbols, and shares meaning about that language. Meaning is understood to be negotiated, or mediated, through language, other shared symbols (such as dress) and actions. Further, the group plays an active part in the "negotiation" over meaning.

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[39]Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 81.

Personal identity, then, presumes a collective, and some kind of collective identity; it presumes a group which shares meanings. These two "identities" -- personal and collective -- need not be identical. In some cases, the overlap between the two may be very slim.[40] Personal identity, while it must be believable to the community, is clearly not ossified. Historian Kathleen Brown, in a recent study of gender, race and class, notes that for the purposes of her study she:

> assume[s] that there exists no pure embodiment of these three analytic categories but that each is part of the identities and interactions of all men and women, whether one labels them English, African, or Indian . . . they are categories produced by relationships rather than things in themselves . . . I have conceptualized [the categories] as overlapping and related social categories.[41]

Being black, or transient, or a farmer, or a rogue was, in her view, a set of meanings developed in relationships with others, rather than a quality which existed either outside, or inside, the self. Personal identity is enacted within a specific social context.

Brown argues that the study of a few individuals can be a fruitful historical endeavor, and that the complexity of the Early Modern period and the difficulties inherent in trying to understand each individual life warrant a microscopic approach. The meaning of the identities of the individuals Brown studied, were

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[40]In rare cases, such as insanity, there may be no overlap other than, perhaps, the use of a common, if not mutually understood, language.

[41]Kathleen Brown, Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 4.

"fashioned in multiple, often overlapping arenas." Quantitative analyses, according to Brown:

> attribute perhaps too much historical causality to numbers rather than to culture . . . Even in small numbers . . . English women, Indians, enslaved Africans, and free people of color could have had an important impact on the changing definitions of English identity as well as on race and gender relations themselves.[42]

Most of the studies reviewed above express a similar tension: how to address large numbers of individuals in great detail without losing the larger historical significance of their stories. Some studies, like Les marginaux, employ a statistical presentation. Others, like Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's A Midwife's Tale, employ a close examination of a single person or a few individuals, present their analysis in narrative form, and claim broad conclusions from a limited number of case studies.[43]

Greenblatt also argued for a close look at individuals, and declined to see the figures he described as "typical" of their age:

> The closer we approach the figures and their works, the less they appear as convenient counters in a grand historical scheme. A series of shifting, unstable pressures is met with a wide range of discursive and behavioral responses, inventions and counterpressures.[44]

Indeed, Greenblatt's subjects could hardly be typical; they were prolific published

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[42]Brown, Good Wives, 5-7.

[43]Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812 (New York: Vintage, 1991).

[44]Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 8.

writers in an age when many individuals could not write and most could not read. They lived in a culture where most information was transmitted orally. In Greenblatt's view, the expression of personal identity changes a bit with each telling. The early modern world provided an arena for many retellings, replete as it was with migrations, conversions, and removals: large- and small-scale social changes which required the reframing of individual and master or national narratives. This view of personal identities as a "series of retellings" begins to disassemble received historical constructs of race, class, nationality and gender.

The work of Natalie Zemon Davis has been in the vanguard of the research about the multiple meanings of identity in the early modern world since the publication in 1983 of The Return of Martin Guerre, a story of imposture in early modern France.[45] In her 1995 study of Marie de l'Incarnation and two other early modern women, using some of the same sources Joyce Marshall employed, Davis explores in great detail the nature of identity in New France.[46] Thirty years after Joyce Marshall's work, Davis reinterpreted the same sources to shed light on Marie de l'Incarnation's sense of self. In an evocative passage, Davis described the sharing of physical space and even physical intimacy ("Marie

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[45]Natalie Zemon Davis, The Return of Martin Guerre (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). See also the intriguing example of Andrew Montour by James H. Merrell, "'The Cast of His Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," 13-39, in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly; for a discussion of persona see Greg Dening in the same volume, 159. For another study of imposture, see Steven C. Bullock, "A Mumper among the Gentle: Tom Bell, Colonial Confidence Man," William and Mary Quarterly, 55(2): 231-58, 1998.

[46]Natalie Zemon Davis, Women on the Margins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

. . . degreased the bodies of her 'savage' girls, but some of the grease got into her own pores . . .") between the native students and their European teachers.[47] Marie de l'Incarnation appears as a woman with faith, a will and a strong voice, who found parallels between her own self-determined nature and the social power of the native women she met in Canada. It could be argued that Marie de l'Incarnation was such an exceptional individual that the pattern of her life has few implications for understanding the texture of life in New France. This puzzle of a woman who was willing to leave a bereft son in order to share close quarters as well as knowledge with potential native converts, leaves the reader, at times, confounded. However, it is in trying to understand her uniqueness, and in reading through her text to see how she was received by contemporaries, that we begin to see New France not as historians have written about it, but as zealots, converts, merchants and laborers may have seen it.

Perhaps the most recent of the influential works about identity is the 1997 work quoted at the opening of this chapter: an anthology edited by Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika Teute and eloquently introduced by anthropologist Greg Dening, entitled Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America. The title itself is notable. The term "reflections" arises from a conceptual choice. The title acknowledges that the contributors' understanding -- what Dening terms their "dim perception" of their

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[47]Women on the Margins, 119-20, 132-33.

subjects -- is, and will always be, necessarily imperfect.[48] It also implies a certain humility: as humans we cannot expect to perceive and know perfectly. Certitude is not the goal in this pursuit, but rather a closer gaze leading to a fuller understanding of -- or even resonance with -- the subject.

As Dening notes, there is something of Wilhelm Dilthey's *verstehen* in this approach. In 1883 the German philosopher attempted a division of the approaches to academic disciplines. Scientists, he observed, stand outside their subjects, and try to explain them (*erklären*). In the humanities, the task is to understand (*verstehen*) from within. This kind of understanding is at the heart of works which explore personal identity.

Many of the essays in Through a Glass Darkly are case studies -- of a notary, a servant, a rogue, a member of the Virginia elite -- which ascribe meanings to the words and actions of their subjects. The authors find that personal identity, in these cases, appears to be slippery:

> The self is always on edge, always contingent, dependent on all the exchanges with otherness around. Identity is an appreciation that "I" am not now what "I" was then. . . .The quintessential feel of early America was [of threshold moments, limen]. It was in between, always in defining rather than definition mode, always on the edge of being something different. [49]

Fraught with both possibility and danger, the liminal state described here by Greg Dening creates the mental space for shape-shifting or changes in personal

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[48]Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, 347.

[49]Ibid., 2-3.

identity. Fixed personal identity, or corporate collective identity, was subject to tensions and lures from all sides in the America he describes. Dening argues that such articulations of self, which he styles as various forms of "signatures" or "self-inscribing," require a social space. Using collective identities as a kind of backdrop, the case studies in Through a Glass Darkly examine the personal signatures of unusual, even rare residents of the colonies. That is, they study persons who are "in" context, but not "of" that context.

Dening's goal was formidable. To introduce thirteen seemingly disparate essays no linear argument would do. One of Dening's previous works, The Death of William Gooch described two days of events and ritualized murder in the Pacific as a kind of drama. A masterful and lyrical writer, Dening chose similar metaphors, lightly and elegantly offered, to introduce each section of the collection. Each metaphor was related to theater: histories of self (theater as arena); texts of self (persona and performance) and reflections on defining self (the backdrop of the marchlands, the violent sea around the Americas, contrasted with what Dening calls "derring-do . . . cultural thespianism"). This metaphor explains the events by enhancing or even elaborating on them. For instance, the common experience of life is not "like" a theater; the scene in everyday life is not as controlled as a theater set; the characters are not as predictable or scripted. However, the metaphor of the theater with its emphasis on intention, both of the performer and of the "audience," holds the reader's focus on the cultural meanings inherent in the situations described. It moves away from a simpler account of action and reaction. This device manages to

weave an inviting thread through the essays to follow.

Dening's generous introductions to the sections of Through a Glass Darkly perform the task of a good playbill: heightening the reader's anticipation of the scene, characters and actions to come. The essays in Through a Glass Darkly describe a variety of "scenes" for "self-inscribing": a courtroom, a notary's office, a diary, dreams retold, descriptions of pain, docking areas or a valley in Ohio. These essays are concerned with the borders, boundaries or thresholds of identity, of self and of community.[50] They describe, in effect, the edges of community, the boundaries of self, the limits of narrative. But what do these essays really share? Do the authors work from a common theoretical base? Do the individual stories combine in any way to provide a better understanding of colonial America? Or are these simply thirteen "good tales, well-told"?

Examples from essays by contributors Mary Beth Norton and Donna Merwick will serve to demonstrate how, in uncovering the biographical details, the authors uncovered as well "patterns embedded in individuals' lives" which enhance the historians' sense of the meaning of colonial experience.[51] Both essays explore the colonists' understanding of the interplay, at times by congruence, at times by incongruence, between personal and collective identity.

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[50]Greg Dening, "Introduction: In search of a metaphor," in Through a Glass Darkly, 2. See also Victor Turner and Edith Turner on the importance of "liminal" activity in Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture, especially 1-39, and Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression. See also Greg Dening, The Death of William Gooch (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press,1995) especially 156-57.

[51]Through a Glass Darkly, viii.

One of the essays tells the astonishing story of Thomas(ine) Hall, a seventeenth-century person of ambiguous sex and gender, who passed as a male in the English army, and as a female in domestic work in colonial Virginia society.[52] Thomas(ine) claimed to be both man (Thomas) and woman (Thomasine). Her case so confounded the courts when they were asked to make a decision, that the final verdict allowed Thomas(ine) to acknowledge both identities, male and female, and required her to publicly demonstrate both, by wearing men's clothes with a woman's bonnet and apron. This single case has provided historians with a clearer picture of seventeenth-century Virginians' concept of sex and gender, and has yielded important new insights about Virginia society.[53] The story demonstrated the different kinds of proof required by men and women of Virginia on the nature of sex and gender. It shed light on the nature of power, not just judicial power, but authority within the society residing in males over women, slaves, children and "others," like Thomas(ine), below them. For instance, it demonstrated that Thomas(ine)'s gender was controlled, in part, by the masters s/he served. The first master bought Thomas(ine) as a man and sold her as female. This master identified Thomas(ine) as female because s/he

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[52]Mary Beth Norton, "Communal Definitions of Gendered Identity in Seventeenth-Century English America," 40-66, in Hoffman et al., Through a Glass Darkly.

[53]Mary Beth Norton, "Communal Definitions," in Hoffman et al., eds. Through a Glass Darkly, 40-66. For other interpretations, see Kathleen M. Brown, Good Wives, 75-80 and " 'Changed . . . into the Fashion of Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement," Journal of the History of Sexuality, 6:171-193, 1995.

had feminine skills and mannerisms. After examination, the second master, who bought her as female, decided s/he was male. In this, a group of women who conducted a physical examination of Thomas(ine) concurred. Clouding this decision was Thomas(ine)'s testimony that "hee had not had the use of the mans parte."[54] This testimony allowed the interpretation that because Thomas(ine) was not fully a man, he was, as though by default, a woman. Mary Beth Norton notes that, "it is certain that two distinct tests of sexual identity existed in tandem in early Virginia": the cultural and the physical.

Through Thomas(ine)'s unsettling story, we can see a general, and important, public and judicial acknowledgement that gender is culturally constituted.[55] One senses a sigh of relief as the court's decision placed social significance not on the actual definition of Thomas(ine) as male or female, but on the manner through which the servant's professed dual identity could be clearly communicated to the public: dress. Dress was a significant cultural marker in Europe and in the colonies during this period. This case, however, demonstrates the necessity of clothing as an outward marker of status and situation in the confusing world of early America; it helped to stratify individuals because "the geographic and social mobility inherent in colonization" threatened to make people "anonymous."[56]

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[54]Norton, "Communal Definitions," in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, 48.

[55]Ibid., 51.

[56]Ibid., 52.

Like the individuals studied by Greenblatt, Thomas(ine) is not "typical." The very basis of her story is the fact that she was extraordinary. Yet, a close reading of the record has revealed the sentiments of ordinary Virginia residents as well as town officials and judges.

Another example from this anthology is a case study from the seventeenth century: the examination of the suicide of Albany notary Adriaen Janse van Ilpendam in 1686.[57] Adriaen Janse van Ilpendam had been a notary during the transition from Dutch to English rule in that town. His craft, a craft of words, required him to change perhaps more than he was able. The few examples of his writings at the time indicate an effort to learn English notarial forms. But he was not particularly adept at this kind of learning. For instance, he began documents with the phrase, "In the name of God, Amen." As late as 1685, he signed his title as "Note Republic." In the new social and legal climate of Albany, citizens who knew both Dutch and English could prosper.[58] Individuals like Adriaen Janse van Ilpendam had to patch together a living with several different skills. Even though they held many part-time jobs, most of them suffered financially, and, one surmises, emotionally. His story illuminates the personal

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[57]Donna Merwick, "The Suicide of a Notary: Language, Personal Identity, and Conquest in Colonial New York," in Hoffman, et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, 122-53.

[58]Merwick contrasts van Ilpendam with Robert Livingston, whose star rose during this period, partly because he could conduct business in Dutch and in English.

struggles he had in common with other conquered peoples, and how a change in official languages in such a situation can affect an individual's sense of self. Historian Donna Merwick deploys the ambiguity in Albany -- resulting from the changes from Dutch to English as official language -- as backdrop of confusion for her insightful analysis. When she looks at the reasons for the suicide, she describes "a light fog that rolled in and became imperceptibly and threateningly thick . . ." She admits, too, that trying to understand the meaning of Janse's distress "is like trying to clutch handfuls of the surrounding fog in which he had to make his way."[59] Here the author and subject are suffering from similar confusions, a pervasive and ill-defined factor which pushed the subject to a desperate act, and through which the author still gropes. Merwick demonstrates that the 1680s were a time of "mangled words and attempted translations" in Albany and that the legal system was unfamiliar to Dutch notaries like Janse.[60] Merwick helps to clear the "fog" with an examination of the fall of her subject, and the rise of other notables. Still, she is most comfortable with a visual image for Janse's fate, concluding by picturing him as a remote and small character in a Brueghel painting.[61] This is history, however it is history which borrows from descriptive styles found in novels. In painting this portrait, Merwick has provided a better understanding of how certain individuals may have felt in a conquest of

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[59]Merwick, "The Suicide," op. cit., 139.

[60]Ibid., 143-146.

[61]Ibid., 153.

one colony by another.

The larger significance of these stories -- beyond their readability -- does not become clear until after the historian has invested considerable research and interpretation. More important personages are easier to examine; they appear frequently in the record. Situating these "common" individuals in their times is not a simple task, but it is dwarfed by the difficulty of teasing the story of their lives out of reluctant sources. These individuals appear only briefly in the record, sometimes by inference rather than by name. Few of these common people left a written record which could even be considered a partial memoir or diary. The study of Thomas(ine), for instance, relies on very little narrative by Thomas(ine); consequently, Thomas(ine)'s actions are considered, along with a written court record. The narrative interpreted by the historian is the very brief testimony by Thomas(ine), a few sentences at most. For studies of middle- or lower-class individuals in New World settings court records take on new importance as sources. Historians researching the lives of lower-class individuals have therefore paired words with actions to describe their identities. By exploring the gaps between language and other forms of expression (such as clothing, migration or affiliation), some historians of the individual have expanded the realm of Greenblatt's conception of "self-fashioning" to include non-literate subjects. This approach can bring to life the more "common" characters in history. Another feature of recent works is that they have integrated the concept of the self or identity with the concept of community norms: most studies now incorporate an examination of the community's role in the formulation and

expression of personal identity.

These studies also have methodological implications; they often describe historical method at close range, and as such, are a record that will interest future historians. The historical effort involved in reconstructing these lives becomes significant enough to require comment in the text and to become part of the story itself. Here is the merger of author and subject: the shared trials, the hidden truths. Resurrection of these historical characters borrows from the historian's zeal; these characters live on the page. They become, like any work addressed with passion, stories the historian is compelled to tell. Greenblatt describes the nature of his study as a relationship between the reader and the writers he describes:

> We respond to a quality, even a willed or partially willed quality, in the figures themselves, who are, we assume by analogy to ourselves, engaged in their own acts of selection and shaping and who seem to drive themselves toward the most sensitive regions of their culture, to express and even, by design, to embody its dominant satisfactions and anxieties.[62]

The studies often yield insights about society that are not available in other sources. More significantly, through these examples historians have raised questions about the period which would not be considered had they not taken a microscopic view: these studies can help historians articulate the differences between personal identities and collective identities.

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[62]Greenblatt, op. cit., 6.

Case Studies and Microhistory

> The unifying principle of all microhistorical research is the belief that microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved. . . . Phenomena previously considered to be sufficiently described and understood assume completely new meanings by altering the scale of observation. It is then possible to use these results to draw far wider generalizations although the initial observations were made within relatively narrow dimensions and as experiments rather than examples.[63]

Like many of his colleagues, Giovanni Levi sheds light on the methods of the microhistorian as a retrospective detective; he places theory in the background. Critics of this approach note that the theory behind the practice of microhistory is implicit and radical. Because the theory supporting this work is often hidden from the reader, these works are exposed to the criticism that they champion a leftist view (one which ignores national history) while purporting to "tell a good tale." Is microhistory, as some have suggested, mini-history -- destined to become marginalized and finally forgotten?[64]

When microhistory is used to explore personal identity, the most customary approach is that of a case study. Most case studies probing the nature of identity are situated somewhere between prosopographical studies and biographies. They do more than list names, but do not purport to be

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[63]Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in Peter Burke, ed., New Perspectives in Historical Writing (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992),93-113, especially 97-98.

[64]J. H. Elliott, quoted in Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe, The Millenium: A History of the Last Thousand Years (New York: Scribner, 1995), 15.

biographies.[65] They leave the major portion of their subjects' lives untouched. Often, these case studies examine a part of a person's identity, or a particular event in his or her life. Generally they draw on court records, drawings, wills, diaries and letters to investigate their subjects.

These histories are set against a background of national history but concern themselves with other threads in the narrative, threads generally lost in the building of national histories. Microhistorians:

> may focus, like [microhistorian] Giovanni Levi, on an individual, an incident or a small community as a privileged place from which to observe the incoherences of large social and cultural systems, the loopholes, the crevices in the structure which allow an individual a little free space, like a plant growing between two rocks.[66]

In a critical essay, Giovanni Levi called microhistory a kind of "experimental work" which has no body of established orthodoxy. According to Levi, this is due to the wide range of material covered by microhistories, and the narrow focus of each microhistory.[67] Levi describes microhistory as a genre that borrows from anthropology in "a search for a more realistic description of human behaviour." Microhistorians create histories with "thick description," often of

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[65]See Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woolf, eds., The Rhetorics of Life-Writing, 2-3.

[66]Burke, New Perspectives, 42; Giovanni Levi, Inheriting Power, Lydia G. Cochrane, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) and, also by Levi, "On Microhistory," in Burke, New Perspectives.

[67]Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in Burke, New Perspectives, 93.

individuals or singular events.[68] This means the historian "teases meaning" from documents which describe events.[69] Christopher Moore's Louisbourg Portraits, and John Demos's The Unredeemed Captive are two examples of in-depth explorations of the lives of early-modern individuals in New France which extend the description beyond prosopography, and have implications beyond the specific lives they describe.[70]

Microhistorians have, according to Levi, "great latitude in interpretation" as they set about their task of what Robert Darnton terms, "unravel[ing] an alien system of meaning."[71] Microhistories champion the view that "individuals constantly create their own identities"; they describe individuals who represent the "exceptional normal."[72] Natalie Zemon Davis noted that a case study, even of an imposter, yielded information about the "more common experience of [his] neighbors."[73] In addition, these studies humanize the events of the past, and provide readers with a handhold on an era. Although it is not possible to approach the period as these individuals did, or to fully recover their experience,

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[68]The phrase "thick description" was coined by anthropologist Clifford Geertz, see his Interpretation of Cultures, 3-31.

[69]The phrase is adapted from Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 6.

[70]Christopher Moore, Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982); John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

[71]Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, 5.

[72]Ibid., 94-109; and Burke, History and Social Theory, 42.

[73]Davis, Martin Guerre, 4.

understanding their paths and choices allows historians to perceive daily life more closely, and therefore to approach an individual's (rather than a nation's or a monarchy's) viewpoint.[74] As Levi notes, microhistorians reach for broader meaning from the examples they examine, "even the smallest dissonances prove to be indicators of meaning which can potentially assume general dimensions."[75] The aversion to theory of microhistorians like Levi, however, may have retarded the integration of their often popular work into mainstream historical trends. The predilections of the historians, and the small-scale nature of their subjects, makes theory seem cumbersome, and in some cases, unnecessary.[76]

Certain of the works mentioned in the previous sections of this chapter have been groundbreaking not only for what they reveal about identity, but for the new historical methods they employ; among these are Natalie Zemon Davis' The Return of Martin Guerre and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's A Midwife's Tale. Both studies allowed a fuller interpretation of village life, one in France, and one in early Maine, through the minute examination of hidden meanings embedded in public and private documents. In Martin Guerre, Davis was able to probe the

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[74]For the difficulties involved in trying to recover experience, and the "inherent instability in identities" see Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," Canadian Historical Review 76 (3): 354-76, 1995.

[75]Levi, "On Microhistory," in Burke, New Perspectives, 93 and 109.

[76]Levi, "On Microhistory," especially 93-95, and, also by Levi, Inheriting Power, especially 36-37; see also Clifford Geertz, Local Knowledge (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 5; Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre (New York: Basic Books, 1984) 3-7, begins with a premise about *mentalités* but declines to discuss method in detail.

bonds of family and to examine the ways identity was construed by early-modern French villagers, townspeople and court officials through an examination of judicial records. She used these records not to elucidate the workings of law in early modern France (although she explains the law as she relates the events) but rather to elucidate intimate relationships. In A Midwife's Tale, Ulrich explored the health, family life and economy of a village through the diary of Martha Ballard. In both cases, the documents employed by the authors were not newly discovered, but were significantly reinterpreted in order to pose new questions about early modern social structures.[77]

It is perhaps significant that in both of these studies, the activities and dilemmas of women, who appear rarely in the official records, were elucidated by this microscopic appoach. We learn that Martin Guerre's wife vacillated about the identity of her own husband, first deciding for love, and second for duty, to identify two different men as the man to whom she was married. We learn that the economic efforts of women contributed significantly to family income in rural Maine, and formed part of a wider barter economy of goods and services traded between households. Further, Ulrich demonstrates that in times of a husband's imprisonment for debt, women carried the economic and physical burdens of the household, and that extended families did not always function to the benefit of their aging (often female) members.

The popularity of some of these works has compelled practitioners to

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[77]Davis, Martin Guerre; Ulrich, A Midwife's Tale.

examine the theoretical and historical utility of microhistory. Within a decade of publication, each of these case studies became successful motion pictures, popularizing further the notion of history as "good story," validating the microscopic approach through public acclaim, and, in the case of A Midwife's Tale, documenting for the wider world the drama of the historian's search for the emotional truths among the trivial details of daily life.[78] Such popularization of historical scholarship has not been greeted with unqualified praise in the historical community, but it has been a factor in compelling that community to address the methodological and theoretical issues raised by microhistories.[79]

The use of historical imagination is explicit in many of these case studies, but it is perhaps most noticeable in John Demos's 1994 The Unredeemed Captive. This book is an evocative retelling of the story of Eunice Williams, arguably the most renowned of the eighteenth-century New England captives. Eunice was captured at Deerfield with most of her family and dozens of other townspeople in 1704; she was one of many captives taken to the Sault St.-Louis mission later known as Kahnawake. In this work, Demos specifies for the reader that he has reinvented parts of the story, which he sets apart from the rest of the work with textual clues.[80] Far from historical fiction -- the work is assiduously

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[78]Sarah F. McMahon, "A Midwife's Tale" Review of film, William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series, 55(3):, 470-472, 1998.

[79]Marlene Shore, " 'Remember the Future': The Canadian Historical Review and the Discipline of History, 1920-1995," Canadian Historical Review 76(3): 410-63, especially 459-62.

[80]The Unredeemed Captive, 17.

documented and uncovers some new information about Eunice and her husband -- parts of this work are almost equally far from verifiable historical fact. The Unredeemed Captive bridges fact and fiction by virtue of a monumental authorial effort and the complicity of a willing, even captivated, reader. Not surprisingly, the work has been a success in the popular press, while a reviewer has noted the vast difference between the style of this work and Demos's previous work on the colonial period.[81]

The criticism that such works encounter, however, may be more related to the narrow nature of their subjects than to their methods. Narrative historians acknowledge that they shape their subjects, including what fits in their plots, and excluding what does not contribute to their retelling. In the plotting of master narratives or metanarratives, including narrative national histories, some "history" is invented; much is excised. Since national histories cover a broad sweep, the readers, both professional and lay, expect that events and personages will be shaped. Motivations are intimated or explored outright; military battles are "refought" on the page under different circumstances, different strategies, different materiel. This "what if" version of history is not more factual than The Unredeemed Captive; yet these versions of events are indubitably considered "history." It is possible that they are considered "history" because as groups of people, as nations, we need them to be so. Nations require ideology; ideology requires roots. Historians have been ready to step into the breach by

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[81]Alan Taylor, review of The Unredeemed Captive, William and Mary Quarterly, Series 3, 52(3): 517-19, 1995.

constructing tales of national origin and meaning. Historical hunches, therefore, may be more palatable when they affect the fate of nations than when they speculate about the inner thoughts of a young, lonely captive. Arguably, we may not feel we require Eunice's story to define ourselves, but we do require our nation's story to situate ourselves in the world. That is, we support the myth-making that contributes to our sense of collective and personal identity. Demos's narrative, when construed narrowly as the story of one captive, or even one family, may not at first glance appear to be critical to an understanding of American, Canadian or native identity. Again, this may be an accident of geography and historical interpretation, which glosses social contact between colonists in the Champlain-Richelieu region as "trade," "war," or "diplomacy."

The work, however, extends far beyond biography or family history. A generous reading of this study paints a portrait of the many "societies" Eunice and her relatives inhabited, and the many meanings they ascribed to their actions. The Unredeemed Captive provides a fluid and detailed portrait of the border region between the British and French colonies in the early eighteenth century, a region largely forgotten in the national histories of both emerging nations.

Critics of studies such as this one note that the individuals studied are inconsequential to the flow of historical events. The questions posed and answered by these studies are so highly individualized that the results of these case studies are rarely incorporated into broader narrative histories. In some

cases, the questions may not be intrinsically interesting to historians, but rather have the appeal of antiquarian studies. That is, lacking a broader historiographical context, these case studies inspire historical interest from the general public, but little from the profession. Finally, the method of thick description based on often limited sources leaves these studies exposed to the criticism that they are the products of overfruitful historical imaginations.

This admittedly "experimental" body of work has grown over two decades to a substantial if still poorly synthesized assemblage of descriptions of multiple meanings, overlapping arenas, and fluid identities. The first American conference with microhistory as its sole topic is scheduled for 1999. This conference, and the rapid proliferation of microhistories and case studies, indicate a new direction for American historians, one the academic community sees as both problematic and highly charged with meaning.

Often, the case studies "lead us back with a chilling inevitability to the conclusion that Western culture has constructed the world by segregating the other on the basis of race, class, and gender."[82] In a study of the formation of genteel society in Virginia, centering on the writings and drawings of William Byrd II and of Thomas Jefferson's relative Robert Bolling, Lockridge explored the

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[82]To this list, at least for the period under study here, one would add religion. See Kenneth Lockridge, "Colonial Self-Fashioning: Paradoxes and Pathologies in the Construction of Genteel Identity in Eighteenth-Century America," 274-339 in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, quotation is p. 337. For a provocative discussion of a personage of ambiguous identity, see, in the same volume, James Merrell, " 'The cast of his countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," 13-39. Although these studies examine Western culture, all cultures use some form of classification to order their world.

notion that the identity of these individuals was created, in part, in response to a perceived 'other':

> What is at stake here is not the psychodynamics of a few individuals; it is the operation of an entire culture . . .These men were at once unusual and typical: unusually vulnerable, they nonetheless reflected strains felt in varying degrees by many of their peers. Unusually intense in their expressed misogyny and in their incessant mythmaking, they were nonetheless recognized by many, then and now, as leaders, precisely because the strains they so intensely epitomized were the strains of their gender, class, and time.[83]

These individuals were, in Lockridge's view, like tuning forks resonating with their times. Though they themselves were not "typical," their thoughts are indicative of broader patterns of thought, particularly of early American misogyny. These case studies have broader implications for understanding the eighteenth century, but also have implications for understanding our own era, and our own pasts. In an evocative restatement of Dilthey's philosophy of *verstehen*, or human understanding, Lockridge summarizes the import of his study. Lockridge finds these studies both require and inspire a kind of historical compassion:

> If we do not understand the sun toward which these colonials turned, the compulsions and twistings that could be evolving in the colonial setting and the peculiar ways gender entered into this system, we can never have a proper compassion for them, for their wives or their slaves, for ourselves, or for anyone else.[84]

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[83]Lockridge, in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, 276-77.

[84]Lockridge, in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, 276, 337 and 339.

Historians continue to examine the concept of identity, primarily by discovering what it is not. In the view of postmodernists, personal identity is not in the mind, the heart or the soul. Identity is not in the flesh. It is not genetically determined. It is not determined solely by language, family, or residence. It is not determined by education, it is not determined by sex. Identity is not determined by nationality, nor is it determined by profession.[85] Personal identity, while perhaps conditioned by all these factors, is understood to be constructed by the individual, in concert with his or her community. According to this line of thought, "I am who I say I am, if my community agrees."[86]

Defining "Identity"?

However, while these studies circle the notion of personal identity, most decline to define identity. Historians concur that "something" was happening to the self in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some contend that the self was "invented" with the Enlightenment. Theorists who attempt to fix a date for the invention of the self are met, however, by others who describe identity as integral

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[85]Certain microhistories and case studies have examined these questions in detail: Carlos Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worm: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, Natalie Zemon Davis, The Return of Martin Guerre, Fiction in the Archives (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987) and Women on the Margins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). See also Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., A History of Private Life, 3 vols., vol. 3 Passions of the Renaissance (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 207, 233-235, 309-325.

[86]Burke, Popular Culture, 115; and, regarding "everyday" narrative, identity and history, see Greg Dening, The Death of William Gooch, 158.

to the human condition, or by historians who reveal examples of ever earlier "selves."

Attempting to define identity is a task that falls somewhere between difficult and impossible; it is akin to trying to nail jelly to a wall. As rapidly as fixed nineteenth-century notions of identity have slipped away from historical discourse, an historically exact read of what identity is recedes into a shifting quicksand.[87]

Instead of defining identity, historians have settled for "reflecting" on identity. This is an effort which involves, in the deepest sense, understanding, and through that understanding, some shifts in worldview on the part of the historian. This endeavor is not undertaken lightly. Although it is arguably the historians who are prepared for an adventure who engage in this field, as a group they find the effort as unsettling as it is satisfying. Few historians are left unmoved by their personal encounter with individuals long dead. Theoretical issues seem to fade and shift in this field; and most paradigms, either well-worn or relatively modern ones, do not suit this endeavor for long.

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[87]For a critical examination of the concept of French identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Douglas Johnson, "When was the French Nation born?" 32-62 in Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter, eds. The National Question in Europe in Historical Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 36. France is considered to have come into being, that is, considered to be a political entity, either with the reign of Clovis (486), Charles the Bald (642), the treaty of Verdun (843), or the Revolution, (1792). Some historians would disagree with any of these dates. Fernand Braudel uses the term in the plural ("Frances") to describe the diversity of cultures which historians have studied as a unit, The Identity of France, vol. 1, History and Environment, Sian Reynolds, trans. (New York: HarperCollins, 1990 [1986]) 40, 375.

The reason for the failure of paradigms in this field is clear. The individuals encountered in close readings of their lives force a shift in the paradigmatic thinking of the historian: notions of collective categories threaten to erode. The historian emerges changed from the experience, and, like Donna Merwick, not entirely certain where the subject ends and the observer begins.

Quicksand makes most readers, and virtually all historians, queasy. It is an unlikely spot upon which to build a theoretical structure. Yet it is the nature of new-world encounter situations to appear as a set of shifting valences, a quagmire of oppositional and complementary forces, a "storm of people." Less a construct than a process, identity in this context is a moving -- and evolving -- target. Historians are both blessed and cursed with historical hindsight; from a twentieth-century perspective it is clear that individuals in the seventeenth-century New World were in the process of "becoming." Two questions arise. What were they? What were they becoming?

The simplest answer is that they were becoming members of nations. This process is the one which most political and military histories of this period have addressed. However, a doubt lingers about this assessment, as common sense allows the inference that seventeenth-century residents themselves did not envision the end result of their actions. If they thought about "who" they were, how would they have described themselves? In other words, if there was a change in process, for instance, from "early modern self" to "citizen of nation," how would they have described their early modern "self"? If they perceived the social quicksand, if they noticed a "process," what, indeed, did they think they

were becoming?

The term "construction of identity" implies a finished product, brought about by a self-initiated process. However during the seventeenth century, the process of self-definition was in constant flux in the New World, for virtually all groups. Dutch, Swedish, French, English and native peoples were, by contact with each other, changing incrementally in a syncretic process where each group learned from the other.[88] They were shifting their worldviews, their languages, their activities, their networks. If the process of construction of identity has a reified structure as its outcome, it was not, during the period under study, completed yet.

The inner thoughts of the residents of the St. Lawrence valley in this period are not recoverable. There is precious little self-reflective narrative which would describe the conscious -- or hint at the unconscious -- thoughts of these colonists. Their perceptions of their choices, however, can be dimly glimpsed through a fragmentary record. It is through some of these choices that their motivations are revealed. Far from full-blown autobiographies, the record yields tidbits, strands of grass in the shifting sands. These shards of information, considered cumulatively, raise questions about the emerging new-world identity in New France.

By looking at the border region, the case studies presented in Part Two of

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[88]For discussions of syncretic processes in culture contact situations, see Bruce Trigger, "Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects," 1-19 especially 11-15 and Francis Jennings, "A Growing Partnership," 21-34, especially 29-32, both in Ethnohistory 29(1); 1982.

this thesis will explore the social arenas which hosted "self-inscribing" in early-modern Canada by a young native convert, a diplomat and his wife, a renegade family and a fur trader. For the purposes of this study, a working definition of the self will be borrowed from Daniel C. Dennett: the self is understood to be the "center" of narrative gravity.[89] This is a definition with no fixed locale, a shifting "center" which changes with each telling. The Champlain-Richelieu corridor was an arena for many such "retellings" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although this activity was primarily oral, and primarily unrecorded, the fragmentary record allows an examination of the relationship of narrative to identity. Part Two of this study will examine the evidence on how a few individuals who traveled this corridor defined themselves.

As elusive as this "definition" of self may be, it involves certain assumptions which deserve further clarification. First, by privileging personal narrative, it allows the social space of which Dening wrote, for the carving of a new "signature" or path in the world. Second, it accommodates both the changes in personal narrative and the changes in self-definition that will be encountered in the case studies in Part Two. Third, it allows the acceptance of social restraints

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[89]The concept is borrowed from Daniel C. Dennett, who defines self as "a living body whose Center of Narrative Gravity it is," quoted in Mechal Sobel, "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens," in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 163-205, quotation is pages 201-202. See Daniel C. Dennett, Consciousness Explained (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991), 410-418, especially 418. Dennett notes that humans, by telling stories, "spin" a narrative, the existence of which posits a center, the self. For Dennett, the stories are the product of the self, not the source of the self.

by the individual as part of his or her personal or collective identity. Finally, it preserves the notion of "identity" as a continuing question mark, an emerging process rather than a product.

This study will pose questions about how personal identity is "constructed." Is it mostly public or mostly private? Does personal identity depend on voice? If an identity is not voiced, does it exist? What is the relationship of storytelling to identity? Finally, and of particular interest in the present study, what language does one use to communicate personal identity across cultural borders?

CHAPTER TWO: NARRATIVES AND IDENTITIES IN CANADA

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the common Western notion of identity was in flux. In literature, the novel was a new genre that allowed the narrative of a life to emerge. In addition, great strides were being made by the *philosophes* in articulating the "I" and defining the human condition.

However since most of the individuals studied below were not literate, it cannot be assumed that they had read novels or that they understood the discussions progressing in Paris salons about the rights of man and man's relationship to God.[1] Most French immigrants to New France were Catholic; but their understanding of the scriptures was limited both by their inability to read them and by the availability and educational level of their priests.[2] Theirs was an oral culture, a storytelling culture, a singing and dancing culture, and a devotional culture.[3] To borrow a term coined by Rhys Isaac, they lived in a "sung-and-told"

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[1]Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, Liana Vardi, trans.(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 269-272; Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 50; Daniel Gordon, Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), *passim*.

[2]Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, 260-278; Marie-Aimée Cliche, Les Pratiques de Dévotion (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988).

[3]See Conrad Laforte, Survivances médiévales dans la chanson folklorique (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981); Burke, Popular Culture, 53-63, 122-23; Manon Brunet et Serge Gagnon, Discours et Pratiques de l'Intime (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1992).

world.[4] In addition to their own stories and oral worlds, they heard the demands or commands of those above them in the social hierarchy -- albeit with greater or lesser willingness to comply. They were instructed in what to do by their masters, captains or "*seigneurs*" and then they either complained, found a way around the requirement, or did what they were told. Sometimes they managed to respond in all three ways.[5]

This chapter will provide evidence of the oral culture of New France and explore the creation of a new-world identity through narrative, that is, through the stories people told. The colonial constraints on identity, and the nature of identity in a border region of the St. Lawrence valley, and current scholarship on the nature of identity in native communities will be explored.[6]

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[4]"Stories and Constructions of Identity: Folk Tellings and Diary Inscriptions in Revolutionary Virginia," in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 206-237, quotation is p. 215. According to Isaac, neither storyteller nor the heroes of the tales she or he told constituted an 'introspective self'. They were, instead, vehicles for the story. See also Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy (New York: Methuen, 1982); Burke, Popular Culture, 146; and Edith Fowke, Folklore of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992).

[5] William Beik, Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Colin Coates, "Authority and Illegitimacy in New France," Histoire Sociale/Social History 22 (3):65-90, 1989.

[6]For the importance of storytelling in an effort to make, sustain and intensify social meanings, see Isaac, "Stories and Constructions of Identity," 208, op. cit., note 4. Isaac observes that storytelling creates a metaphorical space which allows the formation of a sustainable self. Kathleen M. Brown, Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 285, noted the formation of female identity through "gossip": conversation and interaction between women. According to Brown, "gossip . . . muster[ed] . . . women through speech," it ordered, valued and regulated conduct, like a "mustering" of men to be soldiers.

Oral Culture in New France

The nature of the oral culture of New France bears examination here. Of one thing historians are certain: stories were told in New France. New France was not only an oral culture, it was a storytelling culture. That is, narratives were related not by the printed word, but by individuals. It is not possible to ascertain what each resident said to neighbors about his or her life or about voyages away from home. No records exist which would provide this information. However it is possible to document that returning French prisoners and travelers did tell their stories. These stories generated a tremendous amount of interest, both in New France, in France, and in Jesuit missions on other continents.

Occasionally these stories were also told in the colonies to the south, and some of them survive in official records of New York or New England. In 1693, the intendant of New France, in a message intercepted by New Yorkers, recorded that:

> Seven or eight days after this Indian [Tarriha] had taken his departure, there arrived at Quebec a Frenchman named Saint Michel who had been two years a prisoner among the iroquois. Having been condemned by them to the stake, he preferred to expose himself to perish in the hours before the time fixed for his being burnt and, nearly naked, without food, arms or any thing else, he traveled more than two hundred leagues through the forest in twenty-five days, living on grass and roots.[7]

Another example occurs in the letters of Jesuit missionary Claude

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[7]E.B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York , 15 vols., (hereafter NYCD) 9:554, Saint Michel was interrogated, and provided information about Tarriha.

Chauchetière. Writing from Montréal to his brother Jean, who was also a Jesuit, in August, 1694, he passed on some news:

> On a appris par un françois que s est eschappé recemment des iroquois et qui fut pris quand on me mena à cataraKou il y a cinq ans, que le père Milet, captif depuis quatre ans aux iroquois et qui m'avait succédé au for de frontenaK ou il fut pris, est fort considéré des gens de son village; mais qu'il a bien a souffrir des gens des autres villages et des anglais, quoique le ministre nommé d'ollius qui parle bon françois ait bien soulagé ce père dans sa captivité.[8]

Writing from Montréal in September, 1694, Chauchetière related to Father Jacques Jouheneau in Bordeaux that several Christian Iroquois had been martyred by League Iroquois. The retelling of the story in New France was moving to both the storytellers and the listeners:

> Les françois que sont esclaves aux Iroquois son tesmoins oculaires de toute cette boucherie et ne peuvent nous raconter ces choses sans pleurer et sans tirer des larmes des yeux de ceux qui les escoutent . . .Les françois s'échappen tous les jours et viennent à Montréal. Les Iroquois en ont rendu 13 . . .[9]

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[8]"We have learned from a frenchman recently escaped from the iroquois, who was captured when I was taken to catarakou five years ago, that father Milet -- who has been four years a prisoner among the iroquois, and who succeeded me at fort frontenak where he was captured -- is highly esteemed by the people of his village; but that he has much to endure from the people of the other villages and from the english -- although the minister, whose name is d'ollious [Dellius], and who speaks french well, has greatly eased the plight of the father in his captivity." Reuben Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 vols., (hereafter JR) 64: 118-119.

[9]"The French who were slaves among the Iroquois were eyewitnesses of all this butchery, and cannot relate these things to us without weeping, and without drawing tears from the eyes of their listeners . . . The French are continually escaping, and coming to Montreal. The Iroquois have given up 13 . . . . ." JR 64: 144-145.

Chauchetière also may have learned about the outlying regions from his pupils; he taught mathematics to captains, navigators and soldiers, "one of my pupils is pilot on the ship which sails to the north."[10]

Returning French and traveling natives were regularly interrogated by the governor and intendant for information. However, we can infer that the official venue was not the only location in which they told their stories. They also told stories in taverns and in homes. The information related by returning travelers changed the perspective of those who heard it. These stories provided an opportunity for listeners to learn about the social mores of the Iroquois, the Abenakis, the Dutch, the English, the Tuscarora and other groups who traveled in Iroquoia. The listeners learned about captivity, torture and brave deaths. More than one young boy was inspired by these tales of adventure to try a voyage "*dans le pays d'en haut.*"

Evidence that stories were told emerges, then, from official documents,[11]

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[10]JR 64: 149.

[11]A good example is the governorship of Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre, see Pauline Dubé, ed., La Nouvelle-France sous Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre, 1682-1685, (Sillery: Septentrion, 1993) and AC, C11A, vol 6, f. 21-543. La Barre was typical of governors and intendants in his gathering of stories and interpreting them for the king, though perhaps because of his short tenure, a bit less adept at discerning truth from rumor in the stories.

from correspondence,[12] from the reports of Jesuits,[13] from notarized documents.[14] It can also be found in place names, stories of English captives and in folklore. The last three sources have been less thoroughly explored by historians and perhaps bear expanding here.

In addition to native toponyms, at least two place names tell of individuals who traveled from outside the colony to reside, permanently, in the colony. One is the Suzanne River, named for Tarriha's wife, the Iroquois convert who moved to the St. Lawrence.[15] The second is *coteau Jasmin*, named for English captive John Otis, whose sobriquet, Jasmin, became the name of the *coteau* he farmed in Saint-Joachim.[16] The existence of place names which refer to individuals who had traveled from great distances to settle on the banks of the St. Lawrence demonstrates that in their time and later, stories were told about them.

Evidence from captivity narratives also demonstrates that stories were told

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[12] Marie de l'Incarnation, Word from New France, Joyce Marshall, ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967) also Pierre-François Xavier [de] Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to North-America (Michigan: University Microfilms, 1966) and History and general description of New France, John Gilmary Shea, trans. 6 vols. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962 [1866-72]).

[13] JR vols. 1-73.

[14] The *inventaire des biens* of Jeanne Testard, where she tells the notary that her daughter is in New England, and the statements of Jeanne Cusson, who says each of her husbands has been *brulé par les Irokois* are examples of information about storytelling which is embedded in notarized documents. ANQM #2454, Deschambault 16 fevrier, 1698, and attached related documents Basset, 1698.

[15] See Chapter Seven.

[16] See Appendix A.

in New France. For instance, certain captives hear from French travelers that their family members (also captives) are healthy, imprisoned or ill. Envoys also gather information about captives, which was formalized in lists of those "remaining" in Canada.[17]

The examples from folklore are perhaps worth exploring further. The existence of a story in the twentieth century hardly guarantees that the story existed in the seventeenth century. Much closer analysis of the story is necessary to determine its origin and its provenance. However, within stories which have been determined to date from the seventeenth or the early eighteenth century are clues that listeners of that era gathered to hear stories. The most famous example, "Rose Latulippe" or "Le Diable à la danse" ("The Devil at the Dance"), provides the following information:

> It wasn't often that they had a dance at this house. But the reason, this year, was that young François, their son, had just returned from a great trip to a distant country with Captain Basile Droy. They had to have a feast for his arrival . . .Always at François C . . .'s home there'd be a great party the day after Twelfth Night. After supper a great many guests came.[18]

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[17]Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada, 2 vols. (Portland: Southworth Press, 1926); John Williams, Redeemed Captive returning to Zion (Springfield: H.R. Huntting, 1908). A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How in 1745-1747 (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1904) includes a diary of prison life and relates the stories that prisoners were told about those outside of prison.

[18]This version was collected in 1919 by Dr. C. Marius Barbeau whose informant was Dr. J.-E.-A. Cloutier of Cap Saint-Ignace, Montmagny County. The story was believed to have been gathered from several residents of l'Islet, most particularly from the octogenarian widow of Joseph Caron, see Edith Fowke, Folklore of Canada, 58-62. The story was another *légende*, or a story told as true.

As this story was "told as true" the setting needed some believable "anchors" to reality. The gathering described in this *légende*, a gathering for a homecoming, was repeated often in early New France. Indeed, *légendes* are more likely than other types of folklore to "reflect more closely the beliefs, traditions, and customs of the rural French Canadians."[19]

A later example which nonetheless demonstrates the kind of stories that were told is the letters of Élisabeth Bégon to her son, which dated from 1748-53. Embedded in these letters are many examples of Madame Bégon describing the *va et vient* of visitors and foreigners to Montréal. In fact, to judge from her letters, these foreigners were a major topic of conversation in New France.[20]

Stories were told, then, in New England, in New York and on the banks of the St. Lawrence to priests, to governors, in taverns and in families. Chauchetière heard stories from his pupils; recluse Jeanne Leber[21] heard stories from her visitors; Governor La Barre heard rumors from La Prairie. Children

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[19]Fowke, Folklore, 59. See also 11, 44-47, 49, 59 and, regarding the telling and retelling of the story of Jean Cadieux, 64-70 in the same volume. In another example of storytelling, Jean Cadieux's wife apparently later told others that she saw the Virgin Mary at the falls, 66.

[20]Nicole Deschamps, ed. Lettres au cher fils: Correspondance d'Élisabeth Bégon (1748-1753) (Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1972), see especially, for the first two-and-a-half months of extant correspondence, references to envoys and travelers from the south: 32-34, 37, 41, 46-47, 54, 60, 62, 66, 70, 72-73.

[21]On Jeanne, daughter of Jacques Leber, who lived the second half of her life with the Congrégation Notre-Dame in Montréal, see "Stories told for Truth," below.

captives heard stories from their captors. The soeurs de la Congrégation heard stories from their wards. In this way, travel in the border region transmitted information about various cultures to the residents of New France.

Social and material constraints on the formation of identity

The lives, and the emerging identities, of European residents of the St. Lawrence valley were not entirely "in their own hands." Colonists were not blank canvases, nor did they have complete freedom as architects of their own destiny. The residents of New France were necessarily confined by received ideas of status and gender.[22] They came from a hierarchical social organization.[23] In addition to these social constraints, the inhabitants of New France were subject to regulations about where they could be. To leave the colony was not permissible. Those who wished to embark on travel within the empire or travel to New England were required to obtain the governor's permission. Those who embarked on fur-trading trips were required to have *congés* or *permis*, granted by the governor.[24] They were also confined by intermittent scarcities of virtually

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[22]For a discussion of these concepts in the early modern New World, see Kathleen M. Brown, Good Wives.

[23]Burke, Popular Culture, 28-40, 176.

[24]Though, to be sure, the *congés* did not curb this traffic during the period under study. In official correspondence with Versailles, governors and intendants of New France frequently mentioned the "illegal" trade; by return correspondence they received directions on how to curb the flight of furs from the colony. See, for example ANQM AC, C11A vol. 2, 355-359v; vol. 6, 57-57v; 59-65; 81-92v; 106-114v; 116; 216-225; 370; 382-385 vol. 13, 441-442; vol. 14, 341-370; vol. 27, 3; vol. 41, 222-225, 399-413v; vol. 124, 36-40. Increasingly after 1700, judicial investigations in the colony addressed this problem, see ANQM TL 2, S. 7 nov. 1684; 1,TL 4, S. 1 034-2000 16 aout 1716 and 038-2270 4 nov. 1718.

every commodity except fear and faith. Like other colonists of the period, they faced periodic shortages of food items, oil, wine, cloth, fine goods, metal, containers, ships, carts, wheels, livestock, and, perhaps the most limiting of all, they lacked currency.[25] After the first few decades of clearing, they lacked nearby firewood and wood for construction. They faced brutal, bitter winter

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Occasionally the colonial budget included reimbursement for aspects of this borderland movement, for "Madame Perrot pour un habit de femme donné à un envoyé anglais pour sa fille" see C11A vol. 113 (1) 23-24 and for "170 livres à Jean Le Page, Poitiers du Buisson, Pierre Gautier qui étaient établis en Nouvelle-Angleterre, et pour leur donner le moyen de commencer un établissement . . ." see C11A vol. 113 (1) 92-133. Natives, however, were not required to carry permits for travel away from administrative centers, which made them employable in a role historians have generally termed "porters" in the Albany trade during this period, and later in the fur trade to the *pays d'en haut*. Their role was almost never restricted to that of "porter." They traded, formed or renewed social alliances, and gathered information during their trips.

[25]Louise Dechêne, Le Partage des Subsistances au Canada sous le Régime Français (Montréal: Boréal, 1994); W. Thomas Wien, "Peasant Accumulation in the Context of Colonization," unpublished dissertation, McGill University, 1988; André Lachance, La vie urbaine en Nouvelle France (Montréal: Boréal, 1987); Louis Lavallée La Prairie en Nouvelle France (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); R. Cole Harris, The Seigneurial System in Early Canada (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Raymond Douville and Jacques Casanova, Daily Life in Early Canada, Carola Congreve, trans. (New York: MacMillan, 1968); Yves Zoltvany, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1974) and Danielle Gauvreau Québec: Une Ville et sa Population (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Québec, 1991). For shortages which affected frontier warfare, see Brian J. Given, A Most Pernicious Thing (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994). The regulations the residents of New France faced, scarcities they endured, and their sometimes fractious ways were often mirrored in the colonies to the south. Labor was relatively more scarce in New France, however. See Stephen Innes, Labor in a New Land (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Donna Merwick, Possessing Albany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 291; Michael Kammen, Colonial New York (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 111, 141, 145, 159; and Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

weather and wet, insect-infested summers. In border communities as well as in some of the larger population centers like Montréal, they were under the threat of attack, particularly from the 1680s to 1713. These were limitations which in some cases, made mere survival in New France problematic. In other cases, the limitations proved fatal. The life the residents of New France had left in France was generally not one of ease. Food shortages were more acute in France than in Canada. Still, living as they had in France was not imaginable for most of the habitants, and some letters from France served to remind them of the life they had left behind.[26]

To balance the constraints of their lives, however, it is necessary to see the opportunities created by their geographical and historical situation. Material considerations determined, to a large extent, the possiblities available to the colonists. Shortages could be described to the King and more supplies could be requisitioned, even if they were not always sent. The grandeur, the expanse, the variety of the geography, and the flora and fauna of "kanata" could scarcely be communicated. The excitement of exploring a new river or stream, the exhilaration of the first ice out in the spring, the sight of barks traveling up the St. Lawrence with goods, immigrants and news, the thrill of impending diplomatic councils, the familiar yet exotic hymn-singing by native visitors or residents, the

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[26]André Vachon, Taking Root (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1982). One father wrote from France to his son in New France begging him to return home where he could collect his inheritance, Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, 25-26. See also William J. Eccles, The Ordeal of New France (Montréal: CBC International Service, 1966), 98-99.

glory of fall weather, the conviviality of a glass of wine or rum after a return to family or friends from a long, difficult journey, the sparkle of the day following a blizzard -- these were backdrops of the habitants' New World theater -- a theater the monarch would never attend.[27]

Identity in the borderland: Kahnawake, La Prairie and Albany

The residents of Kahnawake and La Prairie were particularly well-placed to take advantage of these aspects of their material lives. They lived in a border region.[28] Their location near the St. Lawrence River, the mouth of the Ottawa, and the Richelieu allowed frequent voyages and rapid returns home. It may be useful to note the conceptual borders of this large and ill-defined region. The heart of the region was the St. Lawrence valley, with settlements clustered, during the period under study, near the towns of Québec, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières. "Nearby," in this riverine culture, included small settlements upstream and downstream as well as across the river from these three towns and on

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[27]For contemporary descriptions see Henry Percival Biggar, ed., The Works of Samuel de Champlain, 6 v. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) v. 1, 138-57, v. 2, 77-78, 312; JR 55:33 For somewhat later descriptions see Frances Brooke, The History of Emily Montague (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), 19, 33, 40-43, 49, 50-51, 60, 64, 122-24,150, 161, 192-223. For evidence that residents of New France took this beauty for granted, see, in the same volume, 52. See also William J. Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 25.

[28]See Keith R. Widder, "Effects of the American Revolution on Fur-Trade Society at Michilimackinac," 299-316, in Jennifer Brown, et al., The Fur Trade Revisited (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), especially 300-302, 309, for a description of how individuals of different backgrounds can develop a common set of values and practices, and a web of personal relationships, all facilitated, in some cases necessitated, by trade.

nearby islands.

European residents of the riverine communities of the St. Lawrence sometimes ventured up tributary rivers, particularly the Saint-Maurice which flows into Trois-Rivières, the Ottawa and the Richelieu, which flowed from Lake Champlain. These areas were considered to be controlled by native peoples. No permanent European settlements were maintained in these areas during the period under study.[29] However, frequent trading trips and war parties meant that many of the colony's able-bodied males, including priests, governors and intendants, as well as some females, had opportunities to visit the regions upstream of Montréal. Many did so, reporting back to their employers, trading partners and to government officials about the native residents, topography and hazards of the route. It is likely that they related their stories to family members as well.[30] In fact, the trips seem to be undertaken by other male family members after the return of the first.[31]

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[29]By the 1740s, seigneuries had been granted along the shores of Lake Champlain, and a group of settlers accompanied by a priest, lived there. The inhabited lands clustered around the French forts on the lake, Carillon (Ticonderoga), built 1756-59, and especially St. Frédéric (Crown Point), which had a commander by 1731 and was settled in during that decade. The first baptisms of French children at Fort St. Frédéric were in 1732, 1734 and 1736; the first burial of a French resident was recorded in 1735. Settlement began in earnest in the late 1730s.

[30]Evidence that they did so comes from Marie de l'Incarnation, Pierre-François Xavier de Charlevoix, the writings of intendants, letters of missionaries, and folklore. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

[31]Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, 120; RAPQ 1920-21, 1921-22, 1922-23, 1929-30. See also Gratien Allaire, "Les engagements pour la traite des fourrures," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française (RHAF) 34(1): 3-26, 1980

The conceptual boundary of the settlement, therefore, was any area that could be safely traveled for peaceful trade from the riverine settlements on the St. Lawrence. Although French missions reached the heart of Iroquoia during this period (near Onondaga, New York) that area was considered "beyond the pale" and not part of "Canada." Residents of the St. Lawrence valley had difficulty, at times, defending the core areas of the region from attack. Early settlers had no illusions about their military might; attempts to subdue native groups by force or to attack the Dutch or English settlements to the south usually provoked horrible backlashes on the settlements of the colony. The "colony" in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century had no fixed border, but rather an alternately swelling and shrinking safety zone for activities like agriculture and trade.[32]

It is in this context that the region is best understood. It was a safety zone. The residents of the region were vigilant, hard-working, independent and courageous, alternately devout and impious; they were attempting to hold the

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and "Officiers et marchands: les sociétés de commerce des fourrures, 1715-1760," RHAF 40 (3):409-28, 1987.

[32]As will be seen below and in the appendix, New Englanders and New Yorkers had a similar conception of an expanding and contracting border or safety zone. As a result, many New Englanders and New Yorkers who were captured and believed they were taken to "Canada" really only reached what today would be upstate New York or northern Vermont, New Hampshire or Maine. When they were taken "to the French" they generally had reached a French settlement or at least a military camp or a mission, usually either Jesuit or Recollet. When they reached "French Indians" they were in the trading and hunting areas of natives who had been influenced by the French language or Catholicism, but not necessarily in an area that was then controlled by Québec or in land which is in present-day Canada.

center.[33]

If contemporary official correspondence largely obscures the importance of social exchange in the border region, contemporary maps demonstrate the geographic and economic importance of the geography of the Lake Champlain region.[34] An examination of contemporary maps reveals also the increasing knowledge of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu corridor in the period before 1720. Although some French cartographers were guessing at the dimensions of the lake, maps of this period generally show the lake to be much larger than its true dimensions (for comparison, see maps 1 and 2, pages 28-29). By the 1740s, the contours of the lake were well-known, and seigneuries had been granted along its shores.

In virtually all of the maps of the period (see pages 105-118), Lake Champlain is depicted as a much wider lake; in some, it is about a third the size

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[33]Their celebrated piety, and notable lapses from the devout behavior their priests and governors encouraged, can be seen as related, in part, to holding the center. They prayed for military victories, gave thanks for the safe return of soldiers or traders, but avoided priests when they saw an opportunity to extend trade into the hinterland. While on trading trips they were likely to seek refuge with the priests when their luck ran out or their enemies became numerous.

This notion of holding the center can be contrasted with the concept of an American frontier, a constantly advancing border region flanking the western settlements of the British colonies, populated by an expanding population of newcomers and second-generation settlers. Population figures for the two colonies help explain the different concepts of the frontier in the two colonies: by 1700 the patterns of settlement had diverged.

[34]For full references on these maps refer to the bibliography.

of Lake Ontario. In the Sanson map of 1662 (see maps 4 and 5), Lake Champlain is distorted; it is much wider and shorter than it is on modern maps (compare with maps 1 and 2, pages 28-29). Jaillot, in 1696 (see map 6), seemed to have little information about the lake, though it was depicted as large and heart-shaped on this map. Guillaume Delisle's 1703 map (see map 7), the best of its era, also shows Lake Champlain and Lac St.-Sacrement (Lake George) as enlarged. This map provides excellent detail on New York and Connecticut locations. This map was reprinted for over 150 years with some modifications; in later versions it appears that the southern shore of Lake Champlain and Lac St.-Sacrement fall within New England. In a miniature map of Canada published by Lahontan in 1703 (see map 8), Lake Champlain is enlarged, and linked to the Connecticut River by a short portage. In the 1744 Bellin map (see map 9), done by a French cartographer in Dutch, Lake Champlain is still enlarged, and its proximity to Portsmouth, New Hampshire is exaggerated. This map provides more detail on Lake Memphremagog than the others, indicating perhaps a broader understanding of the border region. Finally, the De Lery map of 1748 (see map 10) shows a much better known, and partially settled, Lake Champlain, with certain English features such as "[John] Lydius' fort" pictorially represented.

The 1748 map of the Ticonderoga region (see map 11) shows the many pathways that were known to traverse this region by mid-century. It shows one version of the derivation of the name of Fort Carillon, "carry-long." By comparison, the 1733 Popple map (see map 12 and illustration, map 13),

created in England, shows considerable detail about the French forts on the Richelieu River, and also enlarged versions of Lake Champlain and Lac St.-Sacrement. Later English and Dutch maps (see maps 14-17) generally reflect the growing imperial rivalry, showing borders disputes and areas of contested territory. The R. and J. Ottes map of 1755, (map 17) done in French by Dutch cartographers, for instance, shows New England's territory extending to the southern bank of the St. Lawrence River.

The early importance of the Champlain-Richelieu corridor is well-depicted on these maps. The conduit of north-south traffic, the Richelieu River, runs its 121-kilometer (75-mile) course entirely in Canadian territory. There are rapids between Chambly and St. Jean, but otherwise the Richelieu is easily navigable in the spring by large or small boats; there is only a 30-centimeter (one-foot) drop between the modern United States-Canada border and St. Jean.[35] Lake Champlain itself is 173 kilometers (107 miles) long, and, at its widest point, 19 kilometers (12 miles) wide. The lake is considered the spiritual center of the Abenaki world, but the Abenakis never effectively controlled the western shore, and may have had difficulty defending the area east of the lake at times.[36] La

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[35]In the summer and fall, small boats are needed for the shallow section from Chambly to Sorel. R. C. Harris, Historical Atlas of Canada, v. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plates 37, 38. See also Map 1.

[36]Maize cultivation, considered by archeologists to be evidence of Iroquois occupation or influence east of Lake Champlain, has been found at the Skitchewaug site on the Connecticut River in a site dated as early as 1100 (when distinctions between native groups which later became Abenakis and Iroquois are not fully understood) and at the Winooski site by 1440. Maize could have been cultivated by Iroquois captives of the Abenakis. See Michael J.

Prairie, which was the original mission site of Kahnawake as well (and a traditional hunting and fishing area for Abenaki and Iroquois groups) was situated at one end of a long portage between the St. Lawrence River and the Richelieu. This portage allowed travelers to avoid the rapids which were the only predictable natural hazard on this route to Albany.[37]

Ease of travel as well as proximity to Albany and Schenectady (active trading towns to the south), to Montréal (with its business sponsors of the fur trade, commercial arrangements, religious communities and taverns) and to the ever-vibrant Abenaki and Iroquois communities were material resources and advantages the residents of La Prairie benefited from and, in some cases,

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Heckenberger et al., "Early Evidence of Maize Agriculture in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont," Archaeology of Eastern North America 20:125-149 (1992); and National Historic Landmark Theme Study, Historic Contact: Early Relations Between Indians and Colonists in Northeastern North America, Robert S. Grumet, ed. Washington: National Park Service, 1992.

[37]The portage route was a well-worn native path which is now Route 104. Levasseur was quick to see the benefits of this route, which he called "a foot path which has long been used by the savages. Its only drawbacks are a series of short, gentle slopes, which are not, however, very numerous . . . It is a half a league longer than the route through Longueuil, but this is more than made up for by the ease with which it can be travelled," quoted in Cyrille Gélinas, The Role of Fort Chambly in the Development of New France, 1665-1760 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983), 25-26. Abenakis and Iroquois had contested this area, probably before or during the sixteenth century. Vermont Historic Preservation Plan (Montpelier: Division for Historic Preservation, September 1991), 11-1, 11-7. Colin Calloway, The Western Abenaki of Vermont (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 57, 61-65. The contest for area of influence, exacerbated by the violent conflicts between natives of southern New England and Europeans in the mid-seventeenth century, extended to the southern border of Vermont and New Hampshire in the 1660s, see Gordon Day, "Ouragie War," 35-50 in Foster et al., eds., Extending the Rafters. Champlain was told of fertile cornfields east of Lake Champlain, information since queried by Calloway, Western Abenaki, 59.

exploited to the limits of their energies.[38] For historians, the residents of the Champlain-Richelieu corridor provide an extraordinary opportunity to observe the emerging sense of the identity of some of the residents of New France in a characteristically New World setting.

Creative thinking in this region, an area which offered fair measures of both constraint and opportunity, involved huge risks and considerable discretion. Individual choices were indeed made, as will be seen below, by the residents of La Prairie and Kahnawake. It is clear that some of their stories were shared with others. Some of their choices were, however, not fully shared with their neighbors, their priests, their seigneurs or their governor. The consequences of their actions, likewise, could not be fully explained. Whether because they did not always relate their stories, or because their stories were not recorded, very little exists in the official records of their lives which chronicles these choices. The record is fragmentary, and often silent on the unorthodox ways that residents of these communities distinguished themselves, unless these ways contributed to the rise or the fall of New France. Official sanctions, like the closing of the western fur trade posts in 1696, probably encouraged both the Albany fur trade

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[38]For the frequent communications along this route see NYCD, especially 3: 512-536; 4: *passim* and 9: *passim*, JR, *passim* and C11A. For later evidence, see Frances Brooke, The History of Emily Montague, 103, 107, 171, 186. Understanding of this route and its early travelers has been assisted by archeology, see Bruce Trigger, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, v. 15, Northeast (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978),150-51; Dean Snow, "Iroquois Prehistory," 241-57 and Marianne Mithun, "The Proto-Iroquoians," 259-281 in Extending the Rafters; James B. Petersen, "Middle Woodland Ceramics" Vermont Archeological Society, 1980, 38-45; Pierre Bibeau, ARKEOS Rapport to the town of La Prairie, March, 1997.

and the secrecy about it.[39] The silence of official records in New France can also be interpreted as evidence that such activities were not fully explained, at least to the intendant or the priest, when the residents of La Prairie and Kahnawake returned to the St. Lawrence. Perhaps because of the difference between the worlds in which they traveled, such activities were not fully explainable. For these reasons, and perhaps for others as well, the individual choices made by the residents of communities of New France were not recorded. The aggregate effect of their experiences did not become part of the historical narrative about New France.

Some of the choices made by residents of La Prairie and Kahnawake included travel to the south. Therefore the narratives of their lives, their stories, are found in fragmentary form in the narratives of histories of New England and New York towns of the period. As unrooted or uprooted lives, they appear in the records and the histories of early communities like Albany, Schenectady and Deerfield.[40]

How these individuals constructed their personal identities is necessarily understood only imperfectly. The historical reconstruction of their identities is even more of a patchwork. Since none of them left diaries or letters, and only a few of them testified in courts or were described by contemporaries, their own

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[39]Norton, Fur Trade, 23-26. Some New York merchants kept their accounts using pseudonyms for their business partners, other merchants kept their dealings with native fur porters in separate parts of their ledgers.

[40]See maps 105-118, particularly the Delisle map, page 108.

perceptions of their choices must be inferred from fragments of narratives paired with records of their actions or movement in the borderland.

However, although the methods by which they constructed their identities can only be dimly observed, the fact that they did develop their own identities is clear from the record, where the term *canadien* (as opposed to *français*) appears more frequently as the eighteenth century progresses.[41]

The expression of identity in a Canadian context in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was consonant with the development of the concept in France at the time. Identity in New France was evolving toward a fuller and deeper sense of self as defined by a multiplicity of factors, including residence, affiliations, activities, speech, concepts, and beliefs. Assisted by an emerging objectivity about the self, and survivor of profound religious questions and subsequent dislocations during the reformations, the concept of identity was necessarily broadening (to include many aspects of the self) and deepening (or turning inward) during this period.[42]

The residents of the St. Lawrence valley would not have described the

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[41]For a discussion of the construction of identity in early New France, see Allan Greer, The People of New France (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), especially 64, 79 and 84. There is no clear indication, however, of the date by which the residents considered themselves to be "*Canadiens*." For a discussion of the controversial term *canadien*, which came into official favor in the early 1700s, see Gervais Carpin, Histoire d'un mot: L'ethnonyme canadien de 1535-1691 (Sillery: Septentrion, 1995).

[42]Kenneth Gergen, The Saturated Self (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 10-13; see the discussion of the development of an new corporate or collective identity in British colonies in Greene, Imperatives, Behaviors and Identities (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 13-16.

process in a similar way. It is doubtful that they were aware that they were part of a "process." Their actions, however, demonstrate that they conceived of many possible life paths, and nimbly executed their choices. They not only perceived choices which differed from those choices their parents had made, but they acted on them. They were in a very real sense breaking new social and cultural ground. In this effort, they had good models close at hand in the native communities.

Native "identity"

The sense of self or "identity" in native groups was necessarily different from the European trajectory at this time. Although too little is known about the concept of self or identity in native cultures, a few observations may assist in understanding the complexity of the topic. First, natives of Iroquoian and Abenaki traditions articulated through myth, ritual and story, their connection with the natural world and with particular entities in the natural world. Therefore, any sense of self was inextricably linked to the world around them and to their creation stories. Certain groups, including the Iroquois, also identified with certain animals, in social groupings known to historians and anthropologists as clans. Likewise, individuals who experienced dreams of animals believed that the animals carried a message for them, personally. If it is permissible to use the term "identity" in native contexts, it is only with an understanding that individual identity (including the inner self or soul, decision-making, and "will") was connected in important spiritual ways with the natural world and with beings in that world.

Secondly, the practice in some native groups, including the Iroquois, of

"re-quickening" individuals who had died, and according the dead person's role to a living "surrogate," meant that social and spiritual aspects of "identity" could be transferred from one individual to another.

Thirdly, the prevalent practice of adoption between native groups, including the Iroquois and Abenaki under study here, long predated the coming of Europeans. The practice was exacerbated by the warfare that Europeans waged with natives. It implies a transferable identity. Captives from other tribes became adoptees, who sometimes took the place of a deceased family member. They were adopted into families, assumed new names, and learned the customs of their captors, often assimilating so well that they did not wish to return to their own people when the opportunity to do so arose. Quite often their original identity was still remembered, even if their captivity occured when they were infants. This means that their adoptive family helped them retain their "memory," or more precisely, the story of their origins. Although the evidence about retention of culture and sharing between cultures is necessarily incomplete, such archeological evidence as the travel of certain styles of pottery, or of maize cultivation, may indicate that certain aspects of culture (if not identity) were retained in cross-cultural settings.

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, written records help to piece together a sense of native "identity." By this time, native groups in Eastern North America had encountered Europeans, providing an arena for the clarification of identity by both Europeans and natives and, for both populations, a context for a changing concept of identity. One indicator that the European

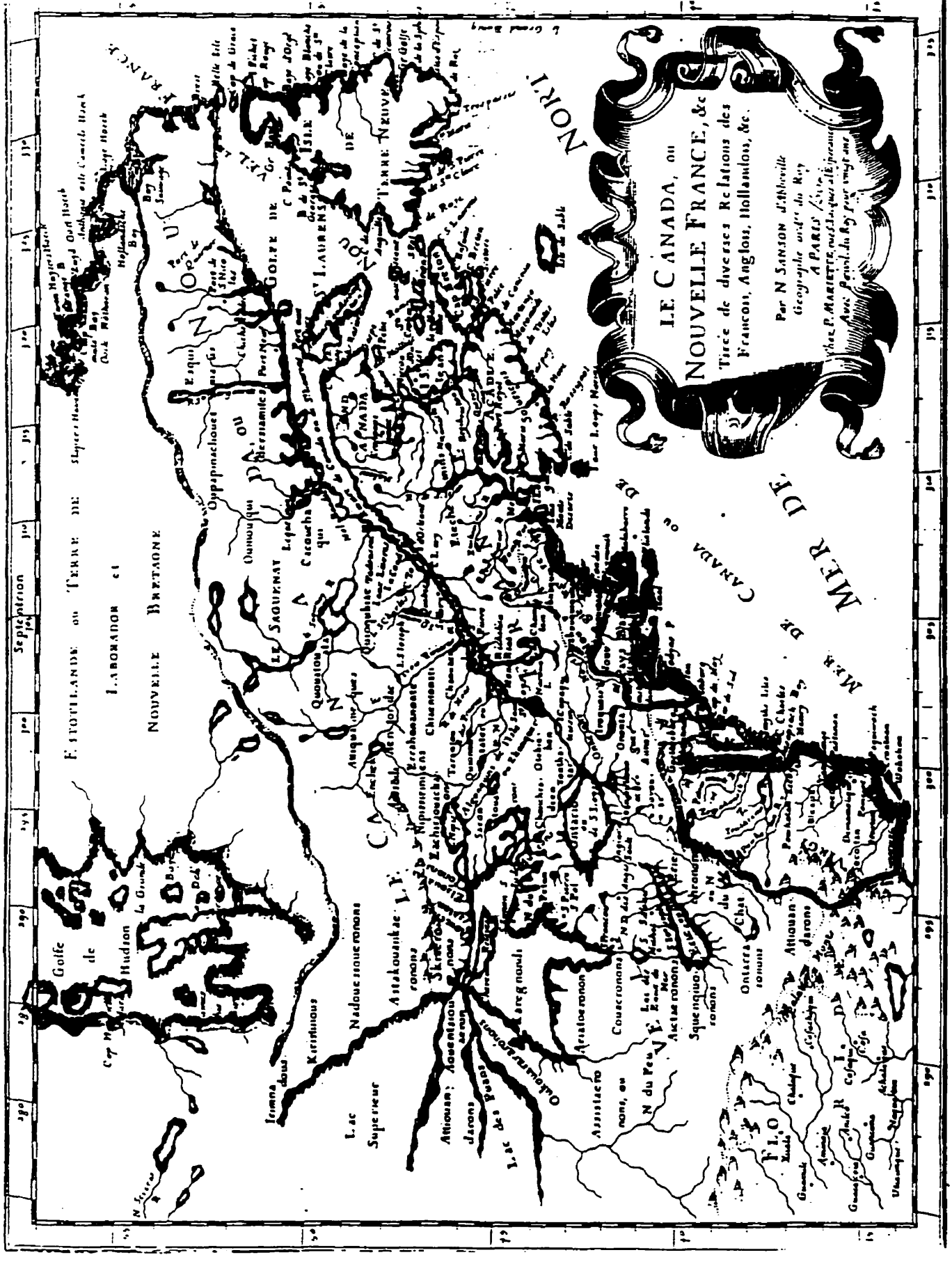
immigrants were aware of the concept of identity is the importance they placed on trying to determine the "identity" of native individuals they met. Their observations extended to matters of tribal origin, dress, manners, food, ritual and beliefs. The record is scanty on the self-conception of the native peoples. Much work remains to be done on natives' self-conception, work which has been greatly advanced through a case-study approach by recent scholars.[43]

Anthropologist Gordon Day tackled the topic of identity directly in his nuanced and detailed publication, "The Identity of the St. Francis Indians" which includes nominal information as well as information about the origins of individuals at St. Francis. The complexity of Day's analysis, however, signals that the question of identity for resettled native groups deserves further research.[44]

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[43]See, for instance, Natalie Zemon Davis, Women on the Margins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series 53(1):13-42, 1996; James H. Merrell, "'The Cast of his Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," in Hoffman, et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), Richard White, The Middle Ground (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and, by the same author, "'Although I am dead, I am not entirely dead. I have left a second of myself': Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America" in Through a Glass Darkly. Jean O'Brien Dispossession by Degrees and "'Divorced' from the Land" in Calloway, ed., After King Philip's War.

[44]Gordon Day, The Identity of the St. Francis Indians (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1981).


LE CANADA, ou
NOUVELLE FRANCE, &c.
Tirée de diverses Relations des
François, Anglois, Hollandois, &c.
Par N. SANSON d'Abbeville
Geographe ordre du Roy
A PARIS
Chez P. MARIETTE
Avec Privilege du Roy pour vingt ans
LABRADOR ET NOUVELLE BRETAGNE
MER DE CANADA OU
Golfe de Hudson
Lac Superieur
Lac des Puans
Lac Ontario
Lac Erie
Lac Huron
Lac Dauphin
Lac Alemipigon
Lac Nipissirinien
Lac Tracy
Lac Frontenac
Lac St. Louis
Lac St. Pierre
Lac St. Sacrement
Lac Champlain
Lac Orbacon
Lac Mantouhe
Lac Ouinipigon
Lac Assiniboels
Lac Ouinipegon
Lac Ouinipegon
Lac Ouinipegon

MAP 5



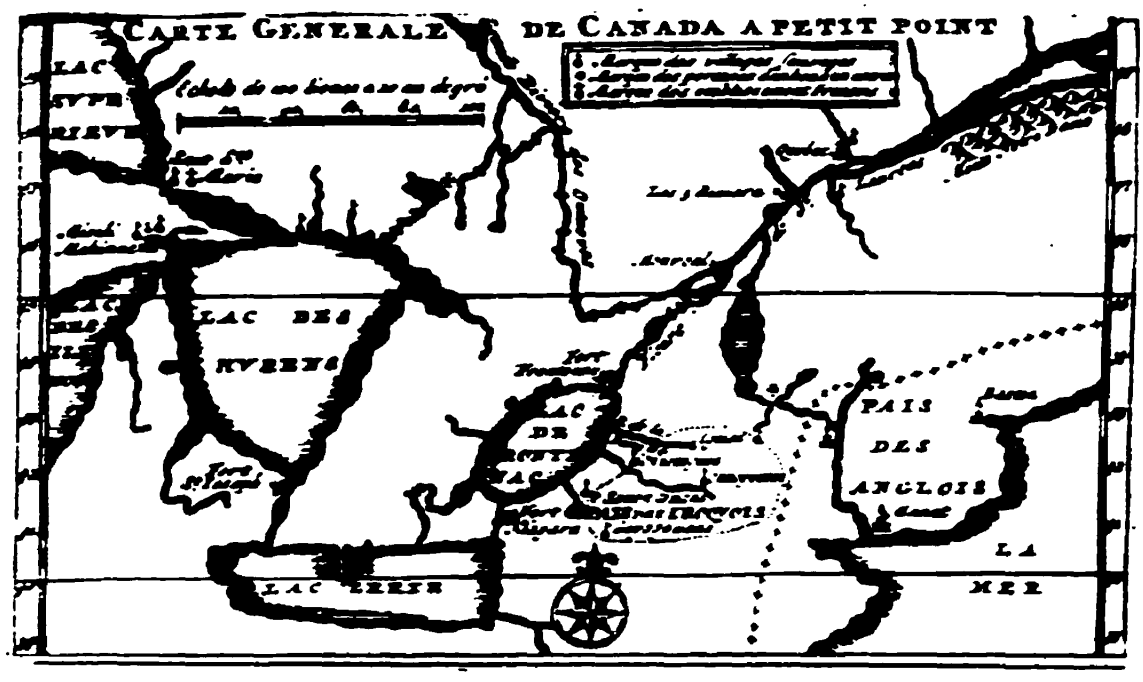
Sanson d'Abbeville, N. "Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France, &c. Tirée de diverses relations des François, Anglois, Hollandois, &c. Par N. Sanson d'Abbeville, géographe ordre du roy." à Paris chez P. Mariette, 1662, (detail).



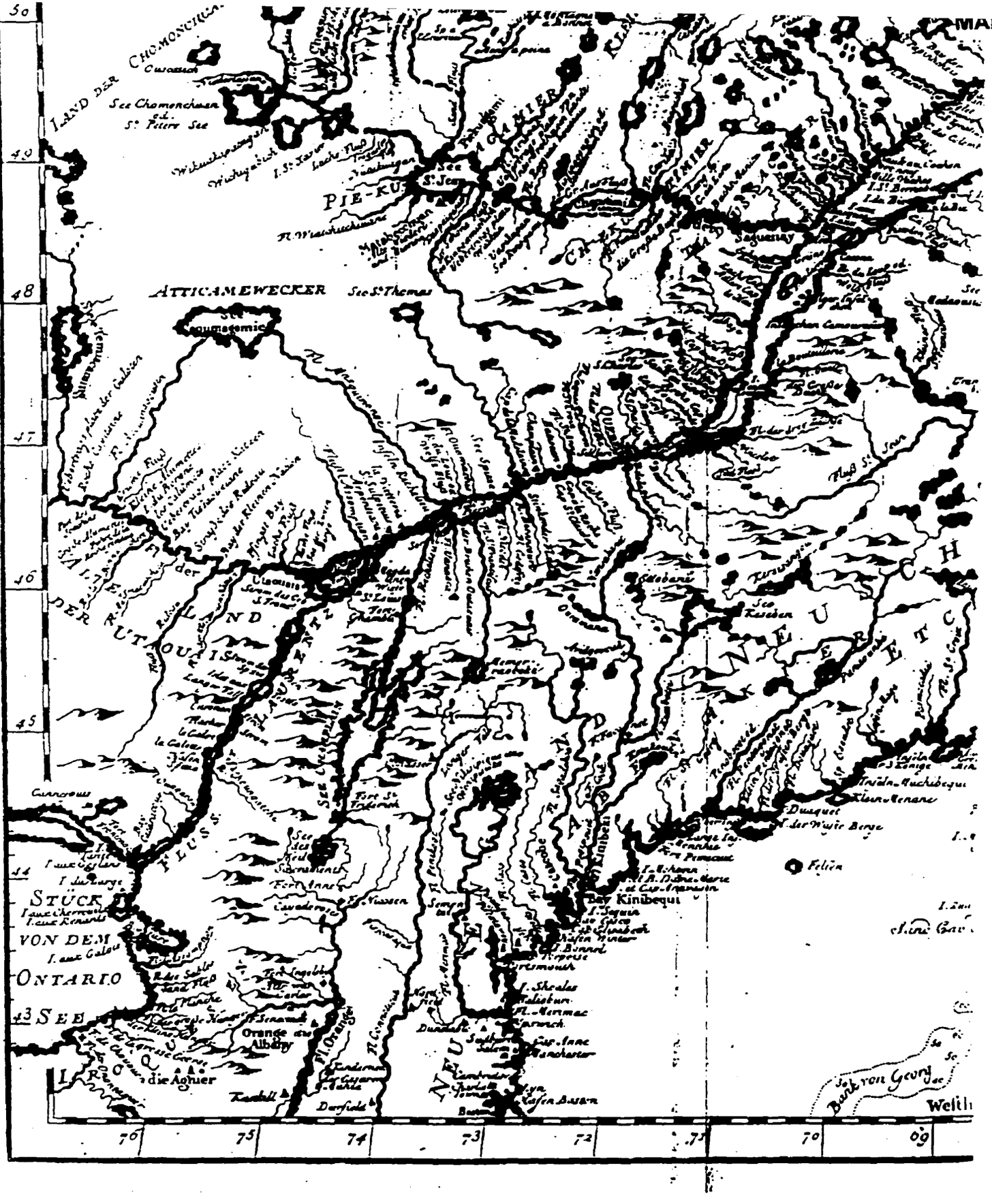
Jaillot, H. "Le Canada ou partie de la Nouvelle France dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, contenant la terre de Labrador, la Nouvelle France, les Isles de Terre Neuve, de Nostre Dame, etc. à l'usage de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne." Paris, 1696, (detail).



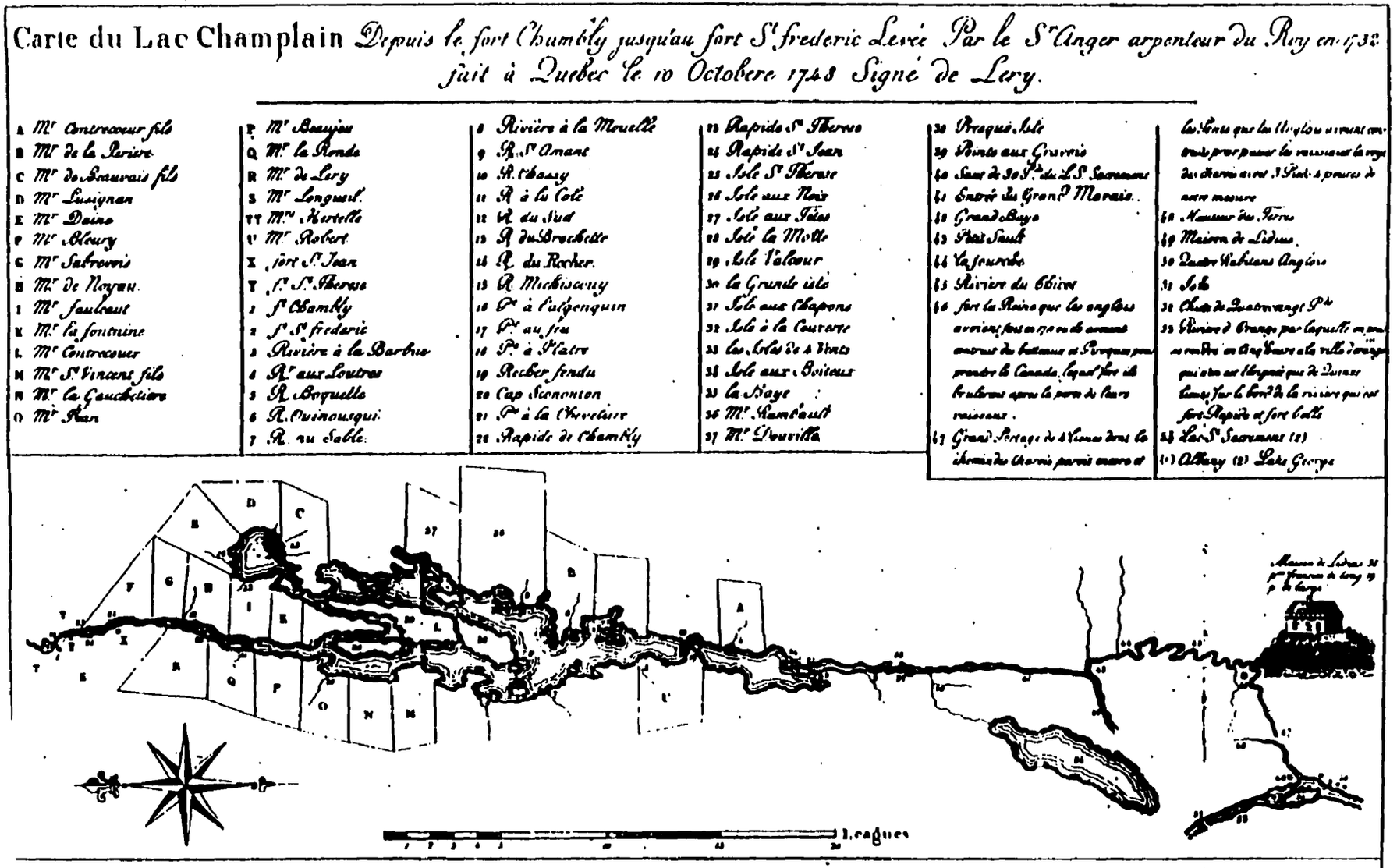
Delisle, Guillaume. "Carte du Canada ou de la nouvelle France et des découvertes qui y ont été faites. Dres[s]ée sur plusiers observations et sur un grand nombre de relations imprimées ou manuscrites." Paris, 1703, (detail).



Lahontan, [Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce] Baron [de]. "Carte Generale de Canada en petit point." [London ?], Globe, 1703; [Paris?], Angel 1703.



Bellin, N. "Karte fon dem ostlichen-stucke von neu Frankreich oder Canada." [Nuremberg?], 1744, (detail).

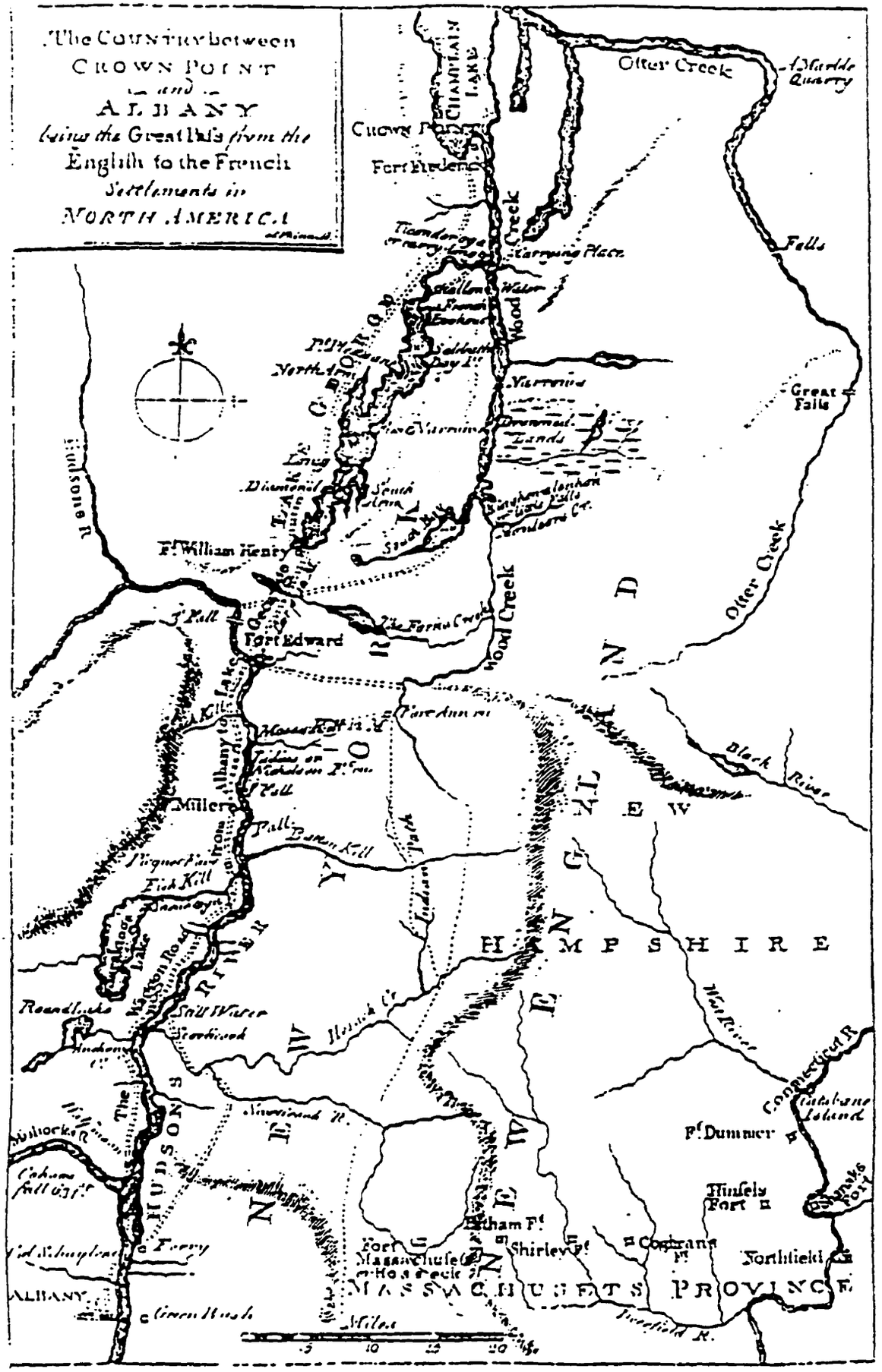


Map of Lake Champlain *from the fort Chambly to fort S.t frederic or Crown point, Survey'd by Mr Anger Kings Surveyor in 1732. Made at Quebec the 10 October 1748, Signed. de Lery.*

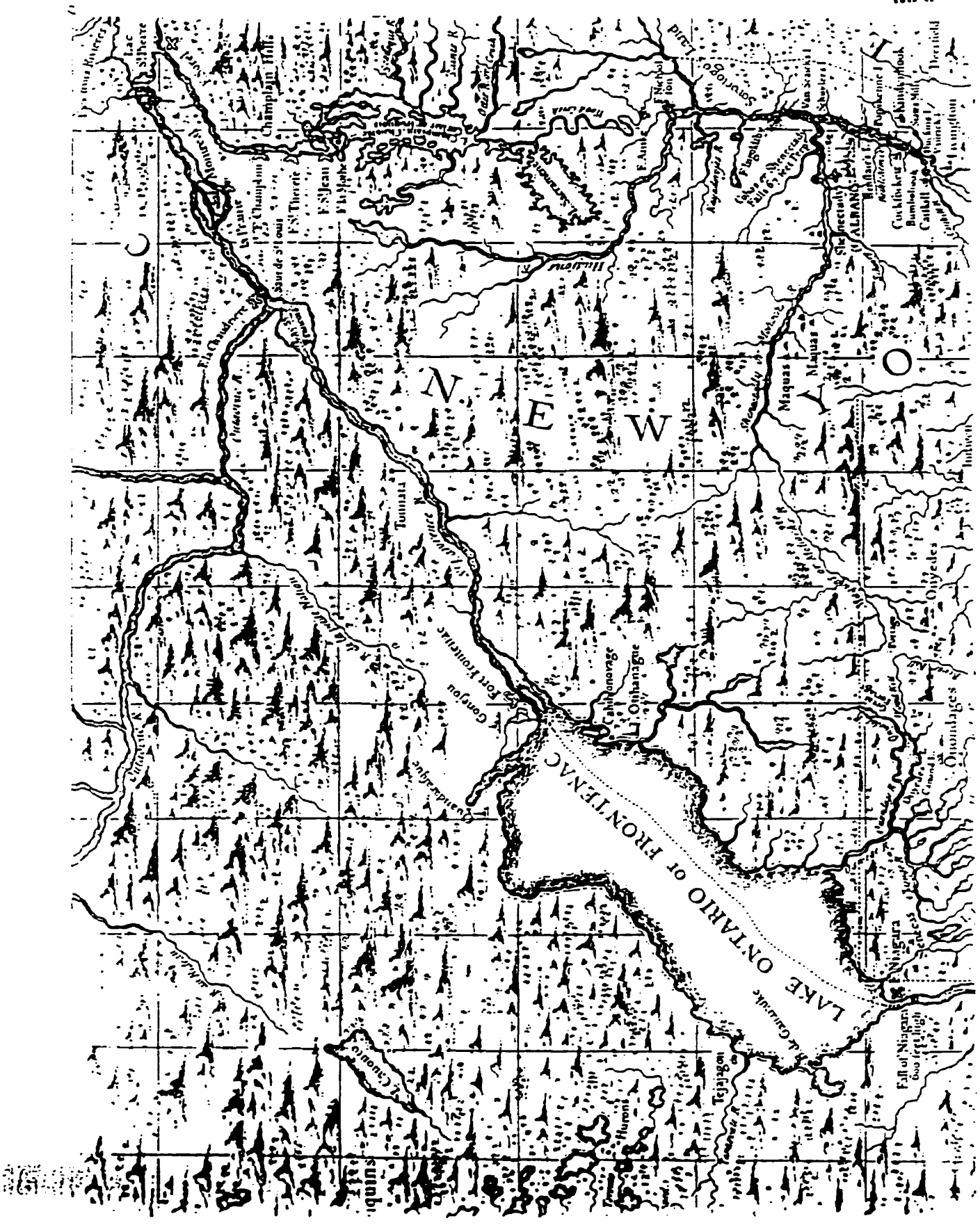
De Léry. "Carte du lac Champlain depuis le fort Chambly jusqu'au fort St. Frederic Levée . . ." ["Map of Lake Champlain from the fort Chambly to fort St. Frederic or Crown point, survey'd by Mr. Anger, King's surveyor in 1732. Made at Quebec the 10 October 1748."] Reissued, 1849, O'Callaghan's Documentary History of the State of New York, (detail).

MAP 10

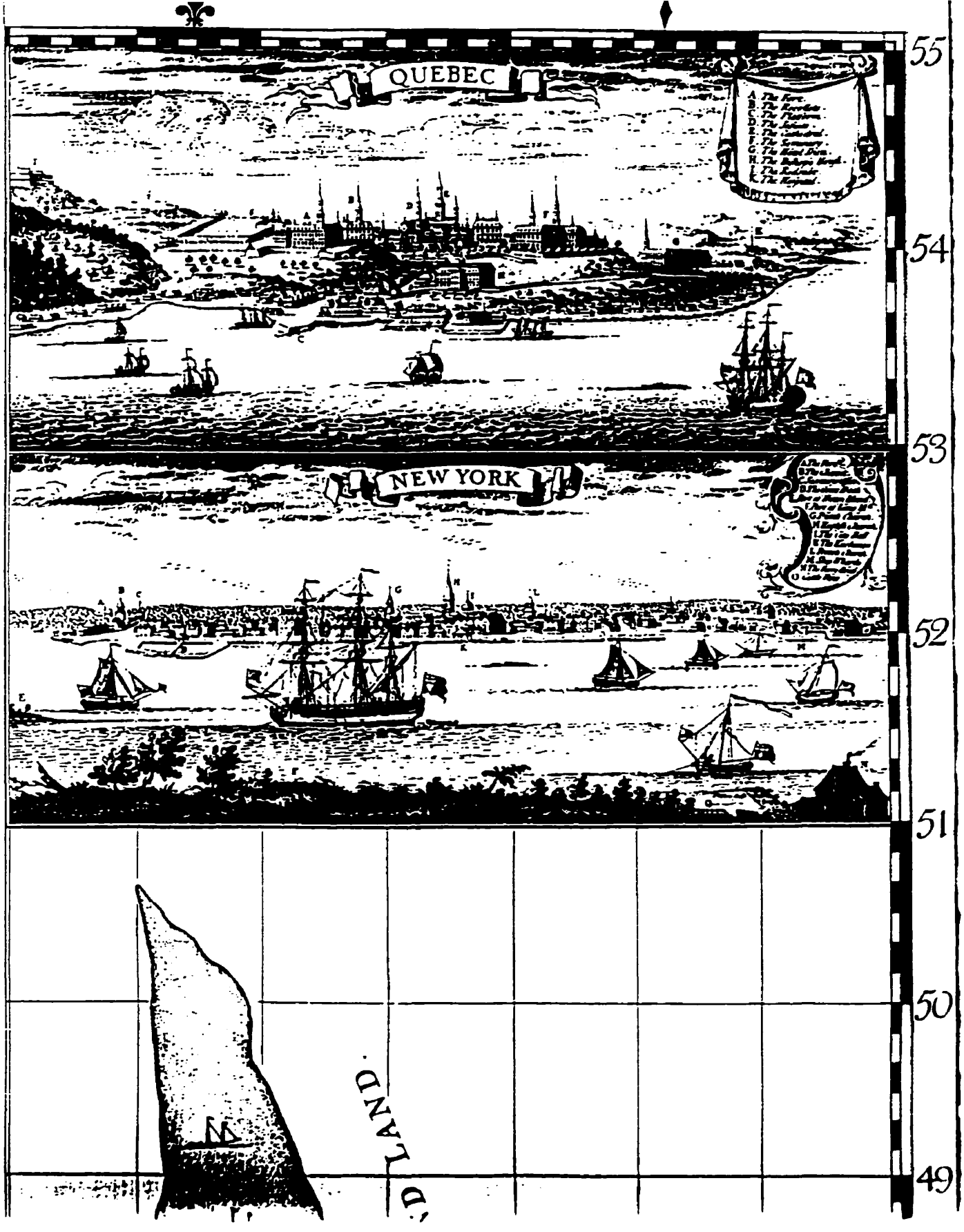
MAP 11



Phinn, T., sc., "The country between Crown Point and Albany being the Great Pass from the English to the French settlements in North America . . ." August 1758. Published in The Scots Magazine, v. 20. August, 1758.



Popple, Henry. "A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto." London, 1733. Facsimile published by Harry Margary, Lympne Castle, Kent, 1972. William Henry Toms, engraver, Clement Lemprière, cartographer, (detail).



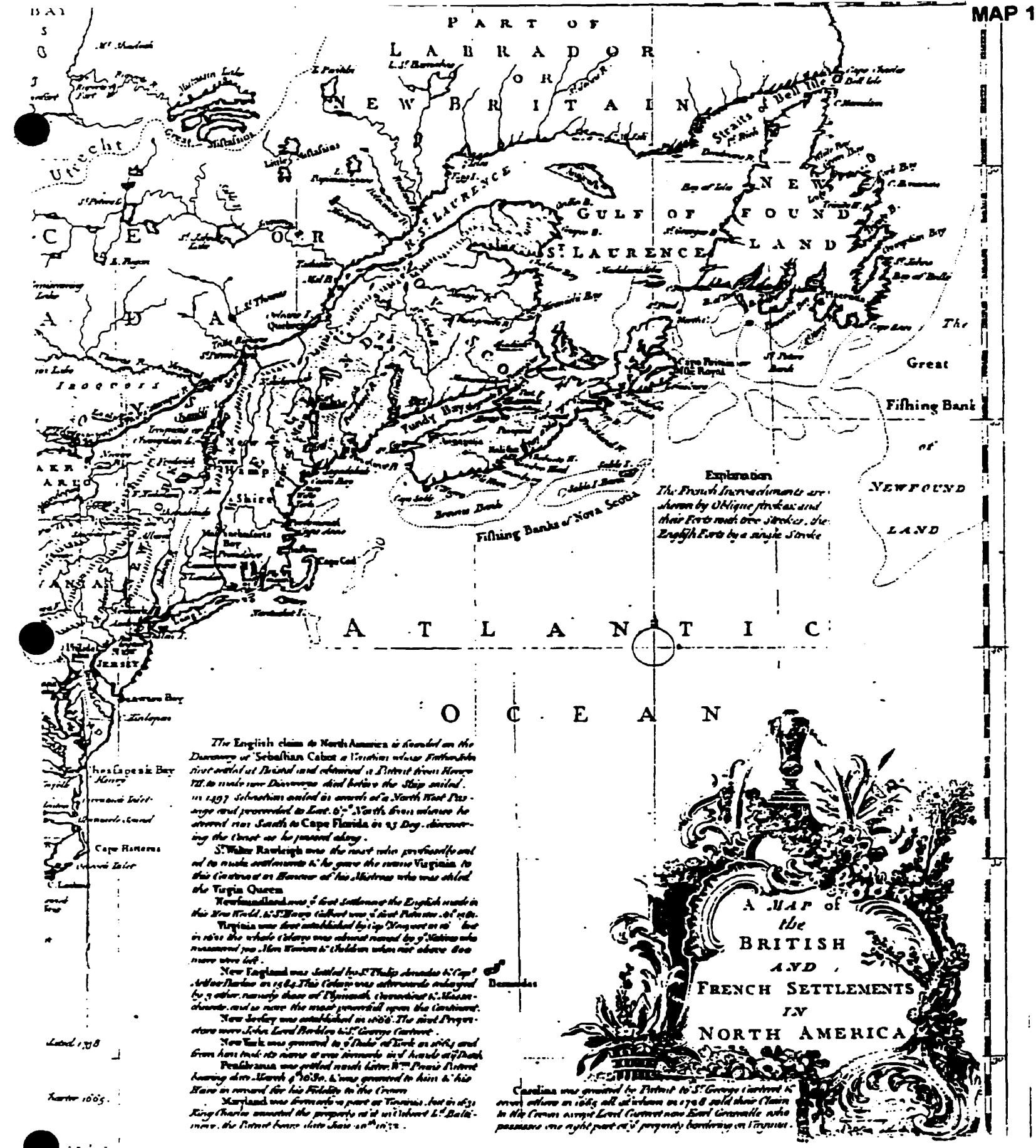
Popple, Henry. "A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto." London, 1733. Facsimile published by Harry Margary, Lympne Castle, Kent, 1972. William Henry Toms, engraver, Clement Lemprière, cartographer, (detail).



Rogg, Gottfried. "Accurata delineatio celeberrimae Regiionis Ludovicianae vel Gallice Louisianae ol' Canadae et Floridae adpellatione in Septemtrionali America descriptae quae hodie nomine fluinis Mississippi vel St. Louis . . ." Itinerariis consignata et in lucem edita cura et manu Matthaei Seutteri, Chalcog. Augustan [Augsburg, c. 1740]. Engraved by M. Rhein. (detail)



Tirion, Isaak. "Nieuwe kaarte van de Grootbrittanische volkplantingen in Noord America waar in tevens de Fransche bezittingen en de landen . . . Getrokken wit de beste kaarten van de Hr. Mitchell en anderen." Amsterdam, 1755, (detail).



Lodge, J. "A map of the British and French settlements in North America." [London? ca. 1755], (detail).



Ottens, R. and J. "Carte des possessions Angloises & Françoises de continent de l'Amérique septentrionale." ["Kaart van de Engelsche en Fransche bezittingen in het vaste land van Noord America,"] à Amsterdam chez R. et J. Ottens, géographes, [1755], (detail).

CHAPTER THREE: REGIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD

Movement in the European world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was continued, in traditional as well as in innovative ways, on the American continent. This pattern of movement seems particularly pronounced in border settlements such as La Prairie, Kahnawake, Schenectady and Albany.[1] These settlements have more in common with each other, despite the difference in regimes and in language, than each settlement had with its respective metropolis.[2] The nature of this movement meant that individuals came into frequent contact with others -- natives, Europeans, Protestants, Catholics,

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[1]The heterogeneity of the province of New York seems to have deep historical and historiographical taproots, see Michael Kammen, Colonial New York (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), xiii, xiv, 37, 61-62. 69. 75, 87, 112, 119, 127, 157-59 who characterized New York's early decades as a time of "unstable pluralism," 150. In this context, the settlement at Albany was seen by most historians as more homogeneous than the rest of the colony, 91. Albany, however, was not occupied by the Dutch to the exclusion of other nationalities.

[2]Probably because of the different historical narratives which structure historical thinking, historians and demographers have described Albany as heterogeneous and Montréal as homogeneous, despite the similarity of the diplomatic, agricultural, and commercial activities conducted in each town. See D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America vol. 1, Atlantic America 1492-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986),113, 123. The characterization is not unproblematic. As Meinig notes, the French population was not internally cohesive, and benefited from "a good deal of social mobility," 113-117, 264. Louise Dechêne also observed that Montréal residents were accustomed to seeing strangers on their streets, Habitants and Merchants (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 259. Contemporaries observed differences between New York and New England, as well. See Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), who contrasts a diverse New York with a homogeneous New England, 95. Thomas Elliot Norton, The Fur Trade in Colonial New York (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), summarizes the hostility between New York and New England, 129-130.

merchants and rogues. This kind of contact, as we have seen above, was conducive to the expression of identity.[3] In the context of border regions, this meant that being aware of difference helped foster an emerging sense of identity. Residents of the region, as well as travelers through the region, seem to have been cognizant of the risks and opportunities that the geographic setting allowed. Although trade with Albany was illegal for most residents, official sanctions did not appear to stop this movement.[4] They employed past patterns of movement and new patterns of trade and communication in their new setting. In other words, both conservative and innovative forces seem to have been present in this border region.[5] Individual patterns persisted in some cases, were initiated in others. These activities and choices of the inhabitants were often not fully visible to

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[3]Widder in Jennifer Brown et al., eds. The Fur Trade Revisited (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), notes that in western fur trade posts, groups maintained separate identities even when they lived in close proximity to each other, 300, but found common practices and values useful to trade, 300-309.

[4]For official sanctions concerning this trade, see Chapter Two, note 24.

[5]This is consonant with contemporary studies of other border regions. The patterns of exchange and assimilation were complex. Daniel H. Usner, Jr. Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) found that early Louisiana settlers of many different ethnic groups formed cross-cultural networks, although divisions between ethnic groups solidified later, when official pressure for production and trade was brought to bear on certain groups, 276-286. He also found that military service served as a venue for cultural interchange. In addition, practical considerations prevailed: the settlers needed the natives' food. Both Indians and traders, he found, "defied political boundaries," 85, 121, 196, 243, 250.

contemporaries or to historians.[6]

Religion and Identity

One prism through which contemporaries did view this movement is that of religion. Some 200,000 Protestants left France during the Counter-Reformation. New France was planned as colony which would accept only Catholics.[7] In an effort to construct an intentionally utopian community, Protestants were prohibited from immigrating to New France. Some Protestants came as merchants. Others migrated to the colonies of New England and New York. Their trans-Atlantic journeys to New York and New England meant that New France was accessible by foot.[8]

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[6]For descriptions of this travel, see Donald G. Creighton, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937), 32-33, 40; Alice Jean Lunn, "The Illegal Fur Trade Out of New France, 1713-60," Canadian Historical Association Report (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939) and Dévéloppement économique de la Nouvelle-France 1713-1760, Brigitte Monel-Nish, trans., 1986; and Norton, Fur Trade, 123-129. For movement within Europe and in the New World see Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America and Voyagers to the West (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), for efforts to control the movement, 20. For examples from the British and Dutch colonies, see D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America v. 1, Atlantic America 1492-1800, 105, 264-267 and Stephen Innes, Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 179-180 and *passim.*

[7]For the growth of the church in New France see Brigitte Caulier, "Bâtir L'Amérique des devots," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 46 (1): 1992; and Marie-Aimée Cliche, Les Pratiques de Dévotion (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988).

[8]See Susannah Johnson's captivity narrative, regarding "Mr. Labarree," who knew French, A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson (Springfield: H.R. Huntting, 1907). Allan Greer, The People of New France (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 14-15, observes that, for a time, there were more French-speaking individuals in New York than in Canada (but note, *pace* Greer, that not

An attempt to restore more peaceful relations, the Edict of Nantes, 1598, legislated tolerance of Protestant religious practices. Its revocation in 1685 reversed the policy. The charter which established New France, however, prohibited Protestants from settling there. In practice, Protestant residents were tolerated in small numbers as long as they did not engage in commerce.[9] They did not have full legal rights, however, until they converted and, if foreign-born, swore loyalty to the French king in a process called naturalization.[10]

The Counter-Reformation and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes did, however, encourage migration from France to other countries and colonies, including, in particular, New York. The New York Huguenot population was significant, and some Huguenots appear to have traveled north as far as Connecticut, Massachusetts, Schenectady and Fort #4 on the Connecticut River. This northward migration of Huguenot refugees to New York enhanced the opportunities for contact between the communities on the St. Lawrence and the French-speaking communities in the British colonies.

Although new and revived religions of the reformations encouraged

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all of those who spoke French in New York were Huguenots). See also Meinig, The Shaping of America, v. 1, Atlantic America, 251 and John Bosher, The Canada Merchants, 1713-1763 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[9]Many did so, however. Some did so away from official scrutiny, others as non-permanent residents and still others, via intermediaries.

[10]For a discussion of the graduated legal rights of foreigners in the colony see Hélène Grenier, "Les étrangers sous le Régime français," in André Lachance, ed. Les marginaux, les exclus et l'autre au Canada (Montréal: Fides, 1996), 209-44 especially 213-16.

introspection, religion was also a practical matter. In practice, a prohibition against Protestants in the colony proved problematic. Captains signing on crews and officers putting together a company of soldiers had to assure that their recruits were Catholic. If not, the recruits generally had to renounce the Protestant religion. Some captains and officers preferred this unity among their subordinates. They believed that God was on the side of the Catholics, and the presence of heretics would not help their cause. A crew of Catholics allowed for better chance of success in their ventures. Therefore, like many other "converts" of their time, the new arrivals in New France were sometimes recent converts to Catholicism, and were converts because their captain, or their officer, required it.[11]

As was noted above, despite the contemporary philosophical treatises to the contrary, religion for the common person in France was mainly a matter of location and practice in the seventeenth century. That is, one converted when one's duke or king converted, or when the community was overrun by the armies belonging to a different religion. This is not to say that religious faith was shallow,

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[11]See W. J. Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 26. The sincerity of these conversions is often questioned. The present study does not attempt to sort out "sincere" from "utilitarian" conversions. However it is worth noting that such distinctions are difficult to make in the present. Trying to determine the depth of an individual's faith in the past seems even more problematic. A more useful line of inquiry is to examine the actions of the individuals, to see whether they attended church, baptized their children or observed fast days. While in New France, most of the "converts" conformed to the Church's requirements as well as their neighbors did. Their actions were not cause for official censure. For the effects of conversion on converts and on the community, see Keith P. Luria, "Rituals of Conversion," 65-81 in Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse eds., Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), especially 73.

or unimportant. Indeed the persistence of some religious practices through the regimes of newer religions, and the popularity of local saints, attest to the resilience of popular custom and belief. But the sixteenth century had been a brutal one for all believers, and many families were split by happenstance between two religions, two duchies, or two emerging nations.[12] By odd circumstance, a new territory offered a new start. Many religious, ethnic and family groups, beleaguered in the Old World, were able to regroup in the New. [13]

Movement in the borderland

Movement was continual in the New World. By the end of the seventeenth century, for example, the population of New England was 90,000-100,000. Those who study the internal migrations in the New World have noted the complexity of the patterns, which are not determined solely by the nationality of the migrants, nor by geography. Meinig wrote of common geographical structure of New

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[12]Leslie Choquette, Frenchmen into Peasants (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 167-69.

[13]In Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds. Strangers within the Realm (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991),221; See Meinig, v. 1, Atlantic America, 50, 124-25. In Strangers, A.G. Roeber, "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us': The Dutch-speaking and German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," 220-283, noted that German-speaking groups which had been itinerant, ostracized or disparate in the Old World "eventually enjoyed a more unified experience in North America than they had known in Europe." According to Roeber, in contrast to the Germans, the Dutch, who were less numerous, were not able to unify in the New World except within larger towns, because, in addition to divisions created by internal tensions in the Dutch population, they were in small settlements isolated from one another, 222-23.

Netherland and New France but states that the Hudson was a more compact area, more densely populated in the lower reaches of the river than was the St. Lawrence. In the upper reaches of the Hudson there were only scattered settlements. By the mid-eighteenth century, the St. Lawrence was a continuous *côte* form of settlement. Manhattan was four times the size of Québec, and was better located than was Québec for Atlantic trade.

According to Bernard Bailyn, who studied early migration patterns to the British colonies, population movements within the region (and even outside the region and back to Europe) were "multitudinous and complex almost beyond description . . . mysterious and chaotic."[14] Bailyn sees the migration from Europe and within the New World as extensions of the migration within Europe of individuals, families and larger groups.[15] The Palatinate (in the Rhine region of Germany), he argues, was already a melting pot before its residents emigrated to the New World. According to Bailyn, "identity got lost" among all the movements. He provides an example of the French Protestants who left France for the Rhineland. They later settled on the Kennebec River in Maine. Their sponsors chose to refer to them as Germans "although they could not have been more French."[16]

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[14]Bailyn, Peopling, 18-19.

[15]Bailyn, Peopling, *passim*, Burke, Popular Culture, 99

[16]Bailyn, Peopling, 34. There was little advantage in being identified as French in the war-torn Kennebec River region of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. St. Lawrence valley border regions were not the only New World marchlands, the term could be applied to the Deerfield region, northern Maine,

Bailyn despairs of finding a sequential pattern to the movement within New England, and settles, instead, for a spiralling pattern, with each town evolving at a different rate, and affected by regional patterns (such as a seacoast economy, subsistence farming or bread basket commercial agriculture). Cities, he writes, served different functions in this movement:

> If London and the provincial English cities were graveyards, Boston was a nursery, Philadelphia was a human warehouse, and New York was a staging center for the distribution of immigrants into the far northern frontier. [Upstate New York was] a variegated dynamic world. No simple pattern seems to fit any part of it.[17]

In this connection, it might be reasonable to describe Montréal as another staging area, a dock -- with all the bustle and social complexity that the word implies -- for exploration and trade to the south, west, and north. In the 1680s there were 10,000 colonists in New France, but only about 1,300 in Montréal. For the years from 1668-1681, when the settlement and trade of Montréal were developing, Louise Dechêne uses the term "chaos" to describe the patterns of trade. She also notes that Montréal residents in the seventeenth century "came in contact with a large number of immigrants and took the comings and goings of strangers for granted." Allan Greer describes the New France of this period as "not

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and parts of Virginia during this period. A sense of marginality contributed to a "marchlands identity" which was explored in a study of colonial Virgina by Rhys Isaac, "Folk Tellings and Diary Inscriptions" in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly. According to Isaac, the juxtaposition of wild and uncontrolled nature (both within and outside the individual) with the intent of civilizing a new world, contributed to a unique, even a somewhat split, sense of identity.

[17]Bailyn, Peopling, 53-56, 58.

homogeneous." The words "variegated" and "dynamic" which Bailyn used to describe upstate New York, describe also the communities at La Prairie and Kahnawake, gateways of the borderland.[18] This multi-dimensional social activity produced many culture contact situations, far more than the "European versus the native," or "the French versus the English" of traditional historical narratives. By describing a "middle ground" in the *pays d'en haut*, Richard White has created a metaphor for accommodation between groups in culture contact situations when neither group could control the chain of events. Despite its limitations, the concept of the "middle ground" has been adopted by historians as a useful interpretive tool.[19] One scholar notes the set of terms historians have used to describe this contact: "scramble," "conglomeration," "amalgams," "new social types," "kaleidoscope," and "creative adaptations."[20]

Culture contact did not always produce accommodation, however. Bernard Bailyn, A.G. Roeber and others have found that certain groups, such as Quakers,

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[18]Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, 49, 91, 259; Greer, People, 76-79. Greer describes the "cultural borderlines" 78, but cautions against the assumption of assimilation through this "va et vient" activity, 79.

[19]Richard White, The Middle Ground (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). The metaphor, probably because it is a metaphor (that is, a symbol which is understandable to scholars from different disciplines), has become current in historical writings about the contact period. White oversimplifies, however, the differences among native groups, preferring, with stated reservations, to call them all Algonquians, and similarly discounts the differences among European groups. This allows him to structure each encounter as having two sides, and obscures the multi-dimensional contact of the period.

[20]Colin G. Calloway, New Worlds for All (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3-6, 192.

Dunkards, Amish, Mennonites, occultist groups, Puritans and utopian groups were able to coalesce and develop more in the New World than they had been able to in the Old. The dissenting religions came in great numbers to the New World. Huguenot families may have been able to regroup in New England and New York.[21]

Uncontained by traditional restraints, certain groups flourished. Life, Bailyn writes, was similar to life in Europe, "[b]ut everywhere there were strange distensions of familiar forms, and an outer boundary of primitivism that entered into the inner lives of a population growing ever more genteel, ever more stable and sophisticated."[22] Bailyn contrasts the growing gentility he observes with what newcomers to the borderlands might have perceived of as the dangers of life in the New World:

> All the borderlands bred strange forms of life . . . every section of the land, no matter how long settled and sophisticated had direct and continuous contact with the wilderness . . .[travelers and captives returned from the wilderness with tales and with] *stranger experiences they could never fully tell. . . .* Contemporary readers of those vivid tales, the more gripping because they told of fearful things that in fact happened to many hundreds of their contemporaries and that might happen to anyone in America, *must have incorporated the narrators' experiences into their basic perception of the world.* They must somehow have learned to live with the constant apprehension of

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[21]Bailyn, Peopling, 112-131; for Roeber, see note 13.

[22]Bailyn, Peopling, 127. Bernard Bailyn, in Voyagers to the West, 20, found that the pattern continued in British North America after 1760, when, he observed, "settlers defied all legal constraints." As late as the 1760s (a century after the English conquest of New Netherland), novelist Frances Brooke portrayed the Dutch as affronted by the English "intruders," The History of Emily Montague (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), 197.

extreme violence. . . [emphasis added].[23]

Bailyn surmises that stories told about borderland experiences influenced the listeners' perception of the world, and that some experiences would have seemed so strange that they could not be articulated. Even if Bailyn discounts the degree to which natives, and those such as traders who associated with them, may have been comfortable in the wilderness, his description illuminates the many spheres of activities travellers in the border region encountered. Because venturing beyond the settled colony on the St. Lawrence was illegal for most European residents of the St. Lawrence valley, telling stories about this travel was particularly dangerous. This sense of having travelled beyond the pale could have had an effect on storytelling in New France, particularly on storytelling about the illegal Albany fur trade.

Was New France socially homogenous?

Like dissenting Protestant groups who regrouped in America, it is possible that French Catholics, despite differences in language, may have been able to find in Canada a unity which was not possible in France. Certain historians have

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[23]Bailyn, Peopling, 116-129. Bailyn adds that , "they must have wondered, secretly, guiltily, about their own capacity to endure -- and to inflict -- degradation, humliation, and pain." Although this passage stresses the savagery and violence of the American frontier, the tales the travelers told expressed other observations as well. In addition to internalizing the violence of some contact situations, colonists understood other information from these stories, including mundane utilitarian details like routes and landmarks, and concepts of other cultures such as the description of a religious ceremony. See, "Stories, Reprise" and "Chapter Eight, Albany and Détroit," below.

developed this theme. For these historians, New France offered an opportunity, before the Conquest, for a pure French and Catholic culture. Even at the peak of French immigration to New France, however, only about 250 people disembarked in New France per year.[24] J.M. Bumsted, for instance, in Strangers, wrote that most of the 10,000 immigrants to New France came before 1672. By 1749 most Canadians were Canadian-born. The Canadian society, he wrote, was not disrupted by new migration from Europe. "Such a hiatus to allow cultural consolidation was unusual in North America: it meant that Canadians were secure in their culture when they were forcibly added to the British Empire in 1763." The cultural complexity for Canada came after 1760, as, in his view, prior to the Conquest "French Canada had been geographically limited, perhaps even isolated."[25] Bumsted allows for complexity in early British North America, after the Conquest, but only after the Conquest.[26]

Louis Lavallée, Louise Dechêne, Sylvie Dépatie and others have explored the question of whether society in New France was static before the Conquest.[27]

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[24]Greer, People, 15. The peak immigration years were the 1660s and 1670s; population growth after that was due largely to natural increase, and, as will be shown, migration from the south by land.

[25]J.M. Bumsted in Bailyn and Morgan, eds., Strangers, 370, 379 and 385.

[26]Bumsted in Strangers, 390.

[27]Louis Lavallée, La Prairie en Nouvelle France (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, op. cit., and Le Partage des Subsistances (Montréal: Boréal, 1994); Sylvie Dépatie, et al. Contributions à l'Étude du Regime Seigneurial Canadien (Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1987).

Dechêne, for instance, notes that colonists' regional backgrounds "merged in a new common experience."[28] Their nuanced answers, however, have not addressed the possiblity of others, of foreigners or of borderland movement, which altered the mix of residents of the côtes. Demographers have noted movements of the English into Canada after the Conquest, but not before.[29]

Demographic historians have not challenged the notion of cultural homogeneity presumed in earlier nationalist histories. On the contrary, their findings have served to confirm the unity of the French population of New France. This is due in part to the sources; the individuals under consideration changed their names frequently, which makes tracking their origins more like detective

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[28]Habitants and Merchants, 46.

[29]This glossing of the existence or effects of culture contact during the French Regime is a long historiographical tradition. Samuel de Champlain was probably born to Protestant parents, yet his Protestant background, and his life as a convert, were areas his biographer chose not to explore: Narcisse-Eutrope Dionne, Samuel de Champlain: Fondateur de Québec et père de la Nouvelle-France: histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages 2 vols. (Québec: A. Coté, 1891-1906), 1:5; 2:370. Adélard Desrosiers and Pierre Auguste Fournet, La Race Française en Amérique (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1911), 218, wrote that "L'émigration des Canadiens-Français dans les États-Unis de l'Est commença au lendemain même du traité de Paris" ("The emigration of French Canadians to the eastern United States began with the Treaty of Paris [1763]." My translation.) Desrosiers and Fournet did not overlook all activity south of the border, however. In the same work, 246, the authors point with pride to the French explorations into the Great Lakes region and beyond. Benjamin Sulte, Pages d'Histoire du Canada (Montréal: Granger, 1891) addresses the arrival of others, including Jews, after the Conquest, 402-432. Lionel Groulx explicitly excluded outsiders from his narrative, La Naissance d'une race (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1921). Insofar as later works have dealt with non-French residents, it has been as an attempt to include natives in the narrative of New France.

work. Unless one is looking for foreigners, they are easily overlooked.[30] The colonies to the south were likewise known to historians for their heterogeneity. D.W. Meinig wrote of the "homogeneity" of New France, and the "heterogeneity" of New York, which included blacks, Swedes and Germans, as well as Dutch and English.[31]

Meinig noted, however, the similarities between Albany and Montréal: "Albany was in general the counterpart and competitor of Montréal."[32] This is a tension which appears in the official sources and in the movements of individuals. Trading between Albany and La Prairie began at least as early as 1672.[33] The two poles, Montréal and Albany, were particularly well-matched for competition in the

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[30]For examples of name changes, see Appendix A.

[31]Meinig, The Shaping of America, v. 1, Atlantic America, 1492-1800, 113, 123-24, 129, 216-17, 222, 225. The port of New York was already an entry point for persons from all parts of the globe, some of whom filtered to northern settlements. Meinig notes that New Englanders became a new amalgam ("Yankees") by about 1750. They were, he observes, newly homogeneous. For an example of the diversity in Albany in 1650, see A.J.F. van Laer, ed., Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, v. 2, 1657-1660, (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1923), 217. See also Yves Landry et al., eds., Chemins de la migration, (Beauport: MNH, 1995); Leslie Choquette, Frenchmen into Peasants (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[32]Meinig, The Shaping of America, v. 1, 125-26. Like Montréal, Albany had nearby trading communities: Wiltwijck (Esopus, present-day Kingston) was founded in 1658 and Schenectady (known to the Iroquois and French as Corlaer) was founded in 1662, following a 1661 deed of land from the Mohawks to trader van Curler. "Corlaer" is an interpretation of the new owner's name, see Dean Snow, The Iroquois (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 118.

[33]JR 57:47, 95-97, 137.

1680s and 1690s.[34] In important ways, these two settlements mirrored each other.[35] The nature of their trade, the proximity of the native populations and the

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[34]Albany, known to contemporaries as Beverwijck, was a small Dutch trading town founded in 1624 on the upper Hudson River. It grew by accretion to a poorly supplied and unevenly defended palisade, Fort Orange, as an independent island of sovereignty enveloped by the patroonship of Renssalaerswyck. Its character was military, commercial and religious. Many natives lived there, they were employed making wampum in a factory associated with an almshouse built to accommodate indigent natives for the winter. Along with strouds (bolts of English cloth), wampum was the major item of trade from Albany to Montréal. The Dutch ceded New York, including Albany, to the British in 1664, but the English governors did not influence Dutch control of trade until the 1690s. See A.J.F. van Laer, Court Minutes of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, v. 3, 1660-1685 (Albany: University of the State of New York), 327, Michael Kammen, Colonial New York (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 73-84, Charlotte Wilcoxen, Seventeenth Century Albany (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1981), A Beautiful and Fruitful Place ([Albany]: New Netherlands Publishing, 1991), 336-347, Donna Merwick, Possessing Albany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and, by the same author, "The Suicide of a Notary: Language, Personal Identity and Conquest in Colonial New York" in Through a Glass Darkly. See also Norton, The Fur Trade, 121-51, especially 123-126, Paul Zumthor, Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1962), especially 132-92.

[35]Albany was recognizably Dutch, despite hosting many nationalities, and Montréal was recognizably French. Meinig, The Shaping of America, v. 1, notes the similarity between Montréal and Albany. Both were, in his view, frontier entrepôts, where bilingualism and a "trade pidgin" language were common, where many groups collided, and where sojourners, or temporary travelers, could be found, 246-267. He also notes the almost totally Dutch character of Albany (particularly in relation to the more cosmopolitan New York) and New Yorkers' self-conscious identity as being different from New Englanders', 125-28. Two groups of immigrants to the region are of particular interest: about seventeen French-speaking Protestant Walloons from Belgium, religious refugees to Holland later transplanted to New York, settled in the region by the 1660s. In 1709 Catholic German refugees, called Palatines (for the region of Germany from which they came) arrived in New York; by 1720 they settled near Albany at Schoharie. The similarities between the communities of Albany and Montréal are striking, including trade, defense, relationship with natives, the neighboring of refined and coarse lifestyles and the influence of religion on daily life. Located near the the nexus of three major native groups (the Mahicans, the Abenakis and the Iroquois), Albany, like Montréal, was well-situated to exploit the differences

mixing of several European and native language groups within the palisade are some of the similarities between these two communities. The period of time during which the two poles were vying for center of the trading world was, however, limited to this early period.[36] By the 1740s the population base and labor force of New York, New Jersey and New England had far outpaced the population of the St. Lawrence valley. The better furs were found far west and north of both settlements, a distance that French traders, more than their Dutch

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between these groups in an effort to maximize trade and minimize the necessity for defense. Independent traders sortied from Albany to Iroquoia, up the Mohawk river, often trying to buy furs before the downstream competition. The Dutch Reformed Church was the only community religious organization; the power and influence of its ministers became major arenas for controversy. Controlled by private Dutch trading companies, Albany retained an admirable independence even after 1664. Dutch was still the official and business language well into the 1680s, and was widely spoken even a century later. English governors never fully controlled political events in Albany, which was too distant from Boston to be effectively managed. By the 1650s there were about 4,000 settlers in Albany County, by 1737 there were 10,000. Internal divisions in Albany, notably the Leislerian rebellion, frequently split the community in two, and rivalries between families were legendary. Intermarriage of trading families helped to cement powerful alliances. Trading in Albany was raucous, while domestic life was orderly, even genteel. Many natives lived in Albany year-round as early as the 1680s. Alice P. Kenney, The Gansevoorts of Albany (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 1-20, 33; Stephen Bielinski, "How a City Worked," 122, and Huey, "Archaeology," 327, in A Beautiful and Fruitful Place.

[36]Trade along this route soared in the late-seventeenth and again in the early-eighteenth centuries. By some estimates, about half or two-thirds of the total quantity of beaver trapped in Canada was smugggled out illegally, via Albany or other sea routes, Lunn, "The Illegal Fur Trade," Canadian Historical Association Report, 65. War did not stop this traffic, which may have been used to generate currency and wampum from Albany. In 1710-1712, that is, before the peace of 1713, a large number of pelts -- one contemporary estimate of their value, perhaps high, was 400,000 livres -- passed through Chambly on their way to Albany. See Norton, The Fur Trade, 121-51.

and English counterparts, were willing to travel.[37]

Coming and Going

The "fortune of warr," wrote a beleaguered and isolated Robert Livingston of Albany in 1690, "is ticleish."[38] Livingston would know. He was trying to curry support for the defense of Albany from Connecticut and Massachusetts, without much success. In this 'ticklish' situation, government authorities, as well as individuals, gathered information constantly. To observe how this information traveled along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor, it will be useful to examine the record that remains for a three-month period in 1691.[39]

Most of the exchange of information along this corridor was probably

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[37]Donna Merwick, Possessing Albany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Charlotte Wilcoxen, Seventeenth Century Albany (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1981). For a recent biographical sketch (based on autobiographical information, a very rare source for this population) of a trader who took advantage of the routes of the *pays d'en haut* beginning about 1713, see Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Career of Joseph La France, *Coureur de Bois* in the Upper Great Lakes", 171-87 in Jennifer Brown, et al. The Fur Trade Revisited (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994). For the training that fur trader and founder of the North West Company Simon McTavish received in New York from William Johnson, see, in the same volume, Heather Devine, "Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the North West Company," 217-42.

[38]Robert Livingston to the government of Connecticut, April 11, 1690 in Joel Munsell, The Annals of Albany 10 vols. (Albany: Munsell, 1850-59) v. 7, 299.

[39]English and French calendars were maintained differently during this period. The English began their calendar year April 1. For the purposes of this review of the correspondence, the year will begin January 1 and end December 31. See Mark M. Smith, "Culture, Commerce, and Calendar Reform in Colonial America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. series, 1998, 55(4): 557-584.

personal, and does not survive in the record. Official correspondence as well as some references in that official correspondence to unofficial correspondence, conversations, notes and agreements, however, reveal the frequent nature of the transfer of information.

It was in 1691 that Peter Schuyler attacked La Prairie. The year 1691, however, was one which fostered little official communication: the New York governor, Henry Sloughter, arrived in March of that year and died suddenly in August. His replacement did not arrive until 1692. The lack of a correspondent necessarily hindered the communication from New France to Albany during this period. Nonetheless, the communication which survives mentions several trips in the corridor by Dutch, English, French and natives. Perhaps because the Dutch, the English and the natives were all trying to train the new administrator, but also because attacks (in both directions) were imminent, the record is rich for this three-month period. In some letters and negotiations, officials and natives describe and prescribe the exact methods to be used for transfering information.

One example of information gathered for an imminent attack was contained in the letter from Robert Livingston to Governor Sloughter, June 22, 1691. Livingston had examined some Indians "lately come from Canida" and sent reports to Sloughter, along with "some lres (letters) from thence [that is, from Canada] which we intercepted in the possession of the Indian that came last, who had engaged to deliver them as directed but was prevented."[40] Livingston had

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[40]NYCD 3: 781-83, 22 June, 1691.

also interrogated Symon Groot "who was given to one of the Indians by the praying Indians." Groot had been taken by the French and Indians, possibly at the attack of Schenectady.

By interrogating these travelers and prisoners, Livingston had gathered a wealth of information, including information about French attempts to stop the traffic to Albany. An Indian "coming from Canida" provided the following information. He:

> went thither with Lawrence[41] in the Spring and has brought 3 French praying Indians Squaes, one being his Sister; Says the 200 Cannoes are made, and the farr nations of the Ottawawaes and Diionondadoes to be arrived at Cadaraqui; that it is hard to get from Canida divers of the praying Indians being inclined to come hither, but strict guards kept by the French to prevent their departure. When this Indian and Squaes were gone [that is, had started their return journey to Albany], were followed by an Indian and warned not to goe towards the Sennekaes, and desired him to tell the Maquaes not to goe thither, since the French designed to distroy them and waite only for the Maquaes answer, which they promised in the Spring. The 3 Squaes were lateley at Mont Reall and see 4 barkes come from Quebecq full of goods that were come over with the 7 shipps from France, and see the good unloaden.[42]

The Maquas Indian named Taonnochrio whom Livingston interrogated, described "200 burch cannoes at Mont Reall" which he understood, from "his Aunt who is a dweller at Cachanuage [Caughnawaga or Kahnawake] and a Praying

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[41]Probably Lawrence, a Mohawk, known to the Dutch as Smits Jan. See Smits Jan "The Flemish Bastard", fl. 1650-1687 (he was of Mohawk and Dutch parentage), Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1:307-8. See also Munsell, Annals, 7: 262-265 for other examples.

[42]NYCD 3:781-4.

Indian Squae" that the French planned to attack Onnondaga and "30 praying Indians were ready to goe out the next day". The ships in Montréal carried "some thousand" men in addition to provisions. Taonnochrio added that Frontenac was at Québec.[43]

Tahonsiwago, "a Maquase come from Canida" reported that the "Sinnikaes, Cayouges and Onondages made an attacq on a fort below Mont Reall" thirteen days ago, that is, about June 7, 1691, "and designed to take the French unawares; but the Indians lost 5 men, and killed the Ensigne of the Fort" [Chambly?] and confirmed that the French planned to attack the Indians of upper New York, then Albany . He also stated that fifteen ships had arrived in Québec. Finally, he described that the French "has taken 2 Indian boys belonging to the family [of] Tariha, who is master of the Jesuite Milett prisoner at Oneyde" with the intention of exchanging the boys for Milet.[44]

Symon Groot, for his part:

> can say nothing as to the ships being come from France, having heard nothing of it. Confirms the news of the Cannoes makeing and their deisgne agst the Sinnekaes, as was divulged by the French. Says that provisions were very dear; the force of Mont Reall not 300 men, and about 50 men inhabitants and all, at Pearne [that is, La Prairie], where our people have their designe; the praying Indian Castle is very strong stockadoes, but have no more then 20 men in garrison of(?) the French.[45]

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[43]NYCD 3:781-4. Cachanuage is Kahnawake.

[44]NYCD 3:782-83; see discussion of Tarriha and Milet, Chapter Seven, below.

[45]NYCD 3:781-783.

A further enclosure informed Governor Sloughter that Abraham Schuyler had carried a message from Peter Schuyler that "all is ready, cannoes making and nothing but the Indians that they stay for, all ye men well and cheery" for the attack on La Prairie.[46]

In preparation for the attack Schuyler gathered as much intelligence as he could. During the approach and retreat, however, several natives deserted in small groups, allowing for the possibility that when they arrived at their destinations, they would describe the preparations they had seen. Schuyler suspected some of them warned the residents of the native mission of his approach. The natives, however, had already been sent out to spy by the French and had been spied themselves by the English, who saw their campfires at least twice during the approach. Large campaigns such as this one, the most devastating attack on La Prairie, both required and inspired the rapid transfer of information up and down the Champlain-Richelieu corridor.[47] War, or the retaliatory raids of this period, did not stop this traffic, and may, in fact, have encouraged it.

These excerpts give a sense of the kind of detailed information which was shared in this region. How frequently was this information transmitted? During certain periods, officials in Albany heard news from Canada more than once per

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[46]NYCD 3:781-4.

[47]See Evans Microprint, 632, Report of Peter Schuyler, reprinted in NYCD 3: 800-805.

week. As tensions heightened as they did in the early 1690s, residents and officials created a shorthand for their rising panic; they called news from Canada "dayly alarms."[48] However, embedded within each colony's internal correspondence is evidence of the kinds of information that traveled along the corridor, and of how that information was transferred. It was common to send natives or traders out on information gathering missions. In May, 1691, Frontenac complained natives had "kill[ed]two of the Frenchmen whom I had sent last year,"[49] and Champigny noted, "La Plaque an Indian . . . set out with some of his men from the Sault . . . to capture some English prisoners so as to obtain intelligence from them."[50] The same month Colonel Sloughter related news that the "Mohox Nation" is going to [that is, siding with] the French.[51]

In an address to the Five Nations, June 1, 1691, Sloughter said that he was well-advised of the French distress.[52] In their answer, the natives asked Sloughter to "send out scouts and be vigilent upon this River quite towards Canada" and complained that the Protestant Indians of New York have been

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[48]For a description of the frequency of travel and intelligence gathering along this route, see John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), especially 43-51 and 77-91.

[49]NYCD 9:495-96, Frontenac to de Pontchartrain, May 10, 1691.

[50]NYCD 9:497-500, M. de Champigny to M. De Pontchartrain, May 10, 1691.

[51]NYCD 3:768, Colonel H. Sloughter to the Committee, May 7, 1691.

[52]NYCD 3:774.

keeping correspondence with Canada "by letters" and "otherwise."[53] On June 4, 1691, in Propositions of Mohawks and other Indians to Governor Sloughter, the natives relayed a message from Laurence the Maquasse [Mohawk]. Laurence wanted an answer and advised the Governor to "send me word by a Squae if you dare not venter [venture] to send Agents." They also told Sloughter, "we deliver you a prisoner vizt Joseph Marks which we brought from Canada who was taken at Schenectady by the French and their Indians." They advise Sloughter that if he notices the enemy they hope he will "take a horse and send us word of it."[54]

On July 2, 1691, Robert Livingston related to Governor Sloughter the story of an attack by "French spies" on two men haying near Albany.[55] On July 11, 1691 Governor Sloughter related to the Governors of the Several Provinces that the Maquasse (Mohawks) and River Indians (probably Schaghticokes, who were a resettlement community made up of Mahicans, Abenakis and other natives) had marched to Canada.[56] The governors summed up the correspondence and "va et vient" on July 14, 1691, stating: "*there hath been such a frequent passage from Canida* to these townes up this river" that the towns -- Deerfield, Northfield and other settlements on the Connecticut River -- were, in their view, endangered.[57] In an August 6, 1691 letter from the Commander-in-Chief and Council of New York

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[53]NYCD 3:776.

[54]NYCD 3:777-79.

[55]NYCD 3:783-85.

[56]NYCD 3:785.

[57]NYCD 3:786, emphasis added.

to Mr. Blathwayt the New York officials relate the death of Sloughter. They then inform Blathwayt "the governor . . . was *dayly alarmed* with reports that the French intended a suddain invasion upon us."[58]

"Dayly" alarms is, of course, a formulaic statement for the frequency of the information that travelled in the border region -- a more correct assessment might be weekly or monthly. Still, the phrase allows the inference that the alarms were frequent enough to herald what residents considered a real threat of attack, and to prompt official and personal actions on the part of the inhabitants of Albany. These excerpts also demonstrate the many methods of transferring information along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor.

Narratives in the Borderland

A narrative of the captivity of two Dutch men who were captured separately but escaped together describes in detail their terror and their survival. Andries Casparus was captured in March, 1692[59] by natives, who, he said, were "ready to eat" him. He ran away to Monsieur Tonty and a man named "LaFree" (possibly "LaLiberté") who brought him to Canada. As a prisoner of the French, Casparus was tied for two days, ate bugs and "swan's eggs." Later, after being untied, he escaped with another Montréal area Dutch prisoner, Andries Cornelius Cloes van

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[58]NYCD 3:794-96, emphasis added.

[59]The testimony records this date as ?1691 (probably, 1691/2).

den Bergh. Their return to from the St. Lawrence region to Albany took 32 days.[60] As can be seen from this example, not all the movement in this region was intentional. However, it apparently generated narrative, or stories, which were told along the way and upon return home.

To what degree is identity determined by contact with an 'other'? To what degree is identity linked to the narrative about that contact? What language is used to describe identity? The literature reviewed in Chapter One, above, suggests that identity may be strengthened by contact with an enemy or an 'other'. But what happens when members of the "enemy's" group, live within the palisade? What happens when they marry, baptize and adopt; fight, love and trade, within the palisade? Where are the bonds the strongest, in family, or in roots? In business or in religion?[61]

These are questions which are generally considered to be "modern" questions, yet seventeenth-century versions of these questions faced the residents of the St. Lawrence valley daily. Residents of La Prairie and Kahnawake answered these questions for themselves. What stories did they tell? The answers can be glimpsed through a fragmentary record.

Most historians have viewed the settlement of New France as an extension

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[60]Evans Microprint 632, Early American Imprints, "Report of Andries Cornelius Cloese van den Bergh and Adries Casparus." The two men probably got lost on their way home, as the journey generally took less than two weeks.

[61]For a study of these questions in the Catalan region of the Pyrenées, see Peter Sahlins, Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

or distension of European patterns of land tenure. As a result, historical attention has surrounded the issues of seigneuries, land transfer, the pace of the clearing of land, types of crops cultivated and family size. When one examines individual lives in the North Atlantic region of the New World, instead of looking at population and land settlement patterns, new questions arise. In Bailyn's words, one sees "not the gradual re-creation of traditional forms but a new and dynamic process that was a central force in the peopling of America."[62] Expressed differently, if the historian's gaze focuses on land, settlement and land concessions, the energy expressed by individuals who moved often in the border region is obscured.

Scope of Study

The present work covers the period from 1667-1720. The study will examine the lives of several residents of (and some visitors to) the two St. Lawrence valley communities of La Prairie and Kahnawake. The persons listed in Appendix A provide evidence of regional movement near the St. Lawrence River valley, including movement into and out of Acadia and the St. John River area. This movement was not limited to peripheral areas, however. In fact, because of the vagaries of record-keeping, many of these persons appear in the index because

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[62]Bailyn, Peopling, 85. Bailyn notes that the greater availability of land in the New World, and the various backgrounds of immigrants, affected social patterns. For the dimensions of the changes Bailyn notes, see his discussion of settlement patterns, religious dislocation, and the changes in practice and meanings of tenancy and speculation patterns, 7-86.

they appeared in core St. Lawrence settlements of Québec town, Montréal or Trois-Rivières.

The choice to study the residents of the St. Lawrence valley region has been made for several reasons. The St. Lawrence valley occupies a central spot both in France's empire in the New World and in the historical tradition. This is the region that could be adequately governed from Québec, and therefore it is the region where the will of the king and his assistants could be implemented. In this context, Acadia and Louisiana, as well as the *pays d'en haut* are "beyond the pale." Also, many other regions in New France (Newfoundland, Acadia, Louisiana, Détroit, Ohio) are considered to be areas of contact between diverse peoples during virtually the entire history of the French Regime in the New World. It is not, therefore, unusual in these areas to encounter English or other non-European players on the "French" field.[63] However there is, among historians of the heartland of New France an assumption that the St. Lawrence valley region was primarily, even uniquely French in character. It is this proposition that part two of this thesis will explore.

The case studies presented in Part Two highlight the residents of two

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[63]D.W. Meinig, Atlantic America, 97-98. See John Bartlet Brebner, New England's Outpost (Hamden: Archon Books, [1927] 1965), George A. Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts, John Reid, "An International Region of the Northeast: Rise and Decline, 1635-1762" 10-25, in Hornsby, et al. The Northeastern Borderlands (Fredericton: Canadian-American Center, 1989), Naomi Griffiths The Acadians, 1973; A.J.B. Johnston Religion in Life at Louisbourg (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), Daniel H. Usner, Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1992), for interaction in these border regions.

riverine settlements, La Prairie and Kahnawake. A brief description of these settlements will help provide context for the case studies. La Prairie was settled in 1667 on the site of former hunting and fishing grounds of the Iroquois and Abenaki. Originally settled as a mission to attract native converts, St.-François-Xavier-des-Près [or St.-François-Xavier-des-Praiz], as the mission was known, hosted French settlers by the early 1670s, and was fortified with a wooden palisade in the 1680s.[64] Early settlers, Jesuits, Oneidas and French alike, shared one "cabane" or makeshift shelter. They worshipped together in one church. A rapidly growing native population of Oneidas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Abenakis, "Panis" and Hurons soon began to govern themselves, appointing leaders for religious affairs and leaders for warfare. For a variety of reasons, including depletion of soil, depletion of firewood, and the sale of liquor to natives by the French settlers, the mission site moved upstream in 1676. This was the first of several moves, the last being in 1716, to the present site of Kahnawake (in English sources, Caughnawaga), about fifteen kilometers upstream from La

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[64]La Prairie is alternately called La-Prairie-de-la-Magdalene, La-Prairie-de-la-Nativité, La-Prairie-de-la-Nativité-de-Notre-Dame and La-Prairie-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge. The settlement around the mission, in addition to its official name of St.-François-Xavier-des-Prés, was known as Kentake. The next site was known as Kahnawake (1676), the third site was called Kahnawakon, near the Suzanne River (1690), the fourth Kanatakwenke (1696) and the fifth and final site, Kahnawake (1716). The English called these sites Caughnawaga. The mission of St.-François-Xavier was named Sault St.-Louis, which was often shortened to "le Sault" or "au Sault," which the English wrote as "Oso." As will be seen, Albany had many names during this period, including Beverwyck, Beverwijk, Fort Orange. It was in the patroonship of Rensselaerwyck, in the colony of New Netherland. It was known to the English as New Albany, sometimes abbreviated as N.A. Schenectady was known as Corlaer.

Prairie.[65]

These moves were not uncontested; for instance, the mission took the parish name, chalices, and the bones of a revered native woman who was the founder of the settlement, over the protest of the residents of La Prairie.[66] The two communities stayed in close contact throughout the period under study, exchanging priests, herbal remedies, trading arrangements, liquor, and information. In addition, many "panis" from Kahnawake were taken in by La Prairie families, families from both settlements adopted babies from the other, and individuals from the two communities intermarried. One of the most famous stories of the interaction of these two communities involves Kateri Tekahkwitha and Claude Caron. Kateri, the "Lily of the Mohawks" was considered a model of piety in her own time (see Chapter Six), and Claude Caron was a pillar of the La Prairie parish. Several years after Kateri died, Claude fell deathly ill. A surgeon (possibly Antoine Barrois) tried to cure him, but decided that Claude was going to die. Claude made a vow to visit Kateri's grave, and was miraculously cured the next day, in an event that was considered to be a miracle.

These two communities -- prosperous, populated and vibrant -- were peopled by persons of many different backgrounds. At one time, the residents

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[65]The first *cabanes* were near the Rivière St.-Jacques. When a chapel was built a bit upstream the natives moved there, which they called Kentake. Kentake is near the current historic district of La Prairie.

[66]Gaétan Bourdages, La Nativité de La Prairie, 1667-1991 ([La Prairie]: Imprimerie J.J. Nantel, 1990); Henri Béchard, The Original Caughnawaga Indians (Montréal: International, 1976); Edward J. Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montréal: Messenger Press, 1922).

spoke over twenty languages.[67] Kahnawake's population rivaled the other two large settlements in Canada, Montréal and Québec.[68] La Prairie had an estimated population of 99 in 1673; by 1697 the population had tripled to 321. Population growth of the European settlement was moderate during these first dangerous decades.[69] The two settlements, handily located at one end of the portage between the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu, occupied the effective northern reach of the Iroquoian and Abenaki cultures. La Prairie and Kahnawake became arenas of contact between cultures, contact facilitated by a shared

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[67]Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle-France, 2 vols. (Montréal: Éditions Elysée), 1: 179-88; Claude Chauchetière, "Narration Annuelle de La Mission du Sault depuis La fondation jusques à l'an 1686," in JR 63: 141-245. Also JR, 55:32-34, 60:276; 63:180; Yvon Lacroix, Les Origines de La Prairie: 1667-1697 (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1981), 17-18.

[68]The population of Kahnawake varied widely, and was augmented seasonally by as many as 800 League Iroquois who came in the summer to visit, in the winter for food, and during times of diplomatic councils. Kahnawake's native population -- which hailed from many native groups -- was joined by French Jesuit missionaries, French and Dutch traders and about 200 French soldiers. Ten to 100 captives arrived each year from New England. Each captive was accepted into a family and raised as a family member. The numbers of captives increased in the early 1700s with raids on Deerfield and the Connecticut River region. By 1700 the predominant language at Kahnawake was Mohawk, and the estimated population (native, Jesuit, French and others) was 1,500-2,250. Generally, sources count only a portion of this population (Jesuits counted converts and *cabanes* (cabins); military strategists counted available warriors; native historians count the native population, or a portion of it). Québec had a population under 2,000 in 1700, Montréal's population was 2,161 in 1695. For estimates of Kahnawake's population (which are largely based on extrapolations from the number of warriors there), see Historical Atlas of Canada, v. 1, plate 47, Richter, Ordeal of the Longhouse, 188-198, 331n19, 355-356n60; JR 49:257-259, 61:53, 63:171-73.

[69]The population was 184 in 1681, and 285 in 1693. Lavallée, La Prairie, 36; Lacroix, Les Origines, 163.

interest in trade and survival.[70]

Within the St. Lawrence valley, the choice of two communities, La Prairie and Kahnawake, was also made for several reasons. First, these two localities cannot be considered separately, although many historians have tried. The history of La Prairie and Kahnawake is linked for at least the first fifty years of their existence. The communities continued to have interaction even after the final "remove" of Kahnawake to its present location in 1716. Their histories, the history of a French community and an Indian community, are a metaphor; their story is the story of two peoples side-by-side who, through historical events and the efforts of some of the best historians, have become more and more conceptually as well as physically separated from each other.

Both locations are endowed with a rich corpus of evidence. In comparison with most settlements of New France, these communities are goldmines for the historian. A few of the advantages of the choice of La Prairie and Kahnawake can be quickly summarized here. La Prairie has a virtually complete set of parish records for the period of this study, dating from 1670. These records have been recently indexed. Several maps as well as records of almost 40,000 land

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[70]Attacks sustained by, or launched from, these communities are richly described in Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV. See, for instance, 40, the description of Governor Daniel de Rémy, sieur de Courcelle's attempt on Schenectady in 1666, when, after leaving the French wounded in Albany and Schenectady for treatment, the soldiers retreated in the snow -- sixty of them froze to death before reaching the nearest French fort. Courcelles, an accomplished military leader, was governor of the colony from 1665-1672. See also Eccles' descriptions of the attacks and counter- attacks of 1690-1692; and Cyrille Gélinas, The Role of Fort Chambly in the Development of New France, 1665-1760 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983).

transfers survive for La Prairie. In addition, many contemporary writers, including Charlevoix, Lafitau, and Pehr Kalm gathered much of their information for their published works at La Prairie. Many authors of the Jesuit Relations lived at La Prairie. Several local notables, including Kateri Tekakwitha, the first local 'saint' among the Iroquois, and several famous fur traders lived at La Prairie. Others, including Beauharnois, Duchesneau, and Bishops Laval and Saint-Vallier visited La Prairie. These visits and famous residents were recorded by contemporary and later historians. Finally, there is an active local historical society at La Prairie which has sponsored and analysed archeological digs of the wooden palisade and stone fort surrounding the village.

Kahnawake is similarly fortunate, having more documents, and having received more historical attention than most missions. Although the parish records from the earliest years were destroyed by fire, Kahanawke's records are still the earliest surviving records of any Canadian Indian mission. In addition, Father Nau and many other missionaries recorded their impressions of Kahnawake in letters and in the Jesuit Relations. Since the Mohawks were the majority at Kahnawake (particularly after 1700), and since French imperial interests were closely linked with their ability to keep the Mohawks neutral, the mission was the subject of numerous memoranda by colonial and royal officials. French officials and clerics visited Kahnawake. These visits are well recorded, often from several sources. New York and Massachusetts officials, too, sent emissaries to Kahnawake, who reported back to their governors; some of these reports have survived. Father William Forbes, a priest at Kahnawake in the late

nineteenth century, was a historian whose work survives in manuscript at the parish archives. A cultural center at Kahnawake also collects studies on the mission and is a fruitful starting point for a historian working in this region. A local oral tradition persists at Kahnawake, which allows new histories of Kahnawake to include valuable information -- information which has often been excluded from historical narratives.

Other, more general records also exist, particularly the judicial archives for Trois-Rivières and Montréal, both of which had courts which heard cases from La Prairie and Kahnawake. New York and Massachusetts colonial documents and Canadian notarial records are a rich source for the region, as are the fonds "Biens des Jesuites" and the Fonds Faillon. Visual records include the drawings of Claude Chauchetière and contemporary maps by Catalogne, Franquet and others.[71]

Narrative sources include the Jesuit Relations, Charlevoix's multi-volume history of New France and the accounts of several traders and emissaries to the region. Many individual biographies of non-captives are described in publications on captives, including Emma Lewis Coleman's New England Captives Carried To Canada and Marcel Fournier's De La Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Nouvelle-France. Native viewpoints are expressed in diplomatic language through the councils of

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[71]E.B. O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, 15 vols; A.J.F. van Laer, ed., Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 2 vols. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1923) and Court Minutes of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1680-85 (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1932; Joel Munsell, Annals of Albany, 10 vols. (Albany: Munsell, Munsell and Rowland, 1850-1859).

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the transcripts of some of these speeches survive.

Other sources of information about these communities are captivity narratives. These are the stories told by women and men who were captured, often on the frontier of the New England or New York colonies, and taken to Canada.[72] Because they are some of the early first-person narratives which tell the stories of colonial women's lives, and have been of interest to historians as sources for women's history. Often, the captives survived the trek to Canada with their captors. They were then adopted or bought by others in Canada. Some of these captives chose to stay in Canada among the "papists." Many of the captives traveled through La Prairie or Kahnawake; some settled in these communities. When they returned to New England, many wrote or dictated stories about their captivity. Captivity narratives therefore provide some information about life in Kahnawake or La Prairie.

It should be noted, however, that this microhistorical study of Kahnawake and La Prairie allows a close examination of a region-wide phenomenon. These two communities are used as examples of the kinds of interaction which was common in many of the surrounding towns. Appendix A details the Canadian locations of many non-French residents of New France, with a heavy bias toward

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[72]In these narratives, "New France" is not named as a destination, although some captives were taken to colonies which formed part of New France but not part of Canada, such as Île-Royale. Captives traveling on foot generally knew they were being taken to "Canada," a location that included, at the time, many portions of what later became upstate New York as well as northern Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont.

the best colonial record-keeping centers at Québec, Montréal and Trois-Rivières. Often, however, they lived in other settlements en route, or after their sojourn in these larger centers. As a result, the parishes named in that index represent virtually all of the settled communities of New France during this period. The particular patterns described in Part Two of this thesis were prevalent in Sorel, Chambly, Lachine and Montréal, areas that both benefited and suffered from proximity to the Champlain-Richelieu corridor. In addition to this greater Montréal region, the entire borderland of the period, that is, from the Great Lakes region to the Acadian coastlines, was a porous and fluid zone of contact between peoples of many different origins.

Time Period

The year 1667 is chosen as the starting date for the study because it is the date of the beginning of settlement for La Prairie and Kahnawake. The ending point for the study, 1720, allows a look at the second generation of residents from these two settlements. By 1720, also, native couriers had almost completely replaced French traders in the Albany trade, although French migrants were still visible in Albany at that time. This ending date also allows the examination of the networks formed by settlers during peace (notably 1667-1669 and the Grande Paix of 1701, both of which were perceptible, if brief, respites from warfare) and war (particularly the raids of the 1690s and the War of the Spanish Succession, which ended with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713). In order to gauge the effect of cross-cultural contact on individual lives, a few families will be followed through

the late-eighteenth century.

Place Names

If naming is owning, at least in European view, then the names also of this region indicate a tussle over ownership.[73] Aside from the orthographic irregularities common to every location of the period, each neighborhood or community in the region has at least two names. Therefore it may be useful to expand on some of the names most frequently cited in this thesis.

La Prairie is also La Prairie de la Magdalene, and, in its early days, St.-François-Xavier or St.-François-Xavier-des-Prés (sometimes spelled -Praiz). Currently the parish is called La-Prairie-de-La-Nativité. Kahnawake is also Caughnawaga and Sault St.-Louis. Albany, New York is also called Beverwijck, and Fort Orange, it is located in the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. Schenectady was known as Corlaer.

A significant piece of the complex story of La Prairie and Kahnawake is the variety of locations that the community can claim. As an example, the location of La Prairie itself moved from an early location near the rivière St. Jacques to a bit upstream on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

To further complicate the picture, the name "Caughnawaga" was the name of the first castle on the Mohawk River in present day New York, founded long

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[73]For theories of European patterns of ownership, see Patricia Seed, Ceremonies of Possession (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Anthony Pagden, Lords of all the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

before La Prairie, but virtually abandoned after the founding of La Prairie. The name came with the converts, and Caughnawaga was reestablished on the St. Lawrence. References to Caughnawaga prior to about 1675 usually, therefore, refer to a different location entirely.

Later removals split the community of La Prairie in two parts, with the final locations being about 15 kilometers apart, in the present day locations of La Prairie and Kahnawake. Kahnawake was called The Sault (or, in English sources "So" or "Oso"), named for the St. Louis rapids nearby. After removing their community from La Prairie, the Kahnawake called La Prairie "Kentake" referring to the fact that it was the place from which they had moved. Later removals were called Kahnawake, Kahnawakon, Kanatakwenke and Caughnawaga (often spelled phonetically, particularly in English sources, such as "Conawaga" and other variations).

Albany was known as Beverwyck or Beverwijck. It grew by accretion to Fort Orange, enveloped by, but not part of, the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. Albany was known in some English sources as New Albany, or abbreviated to N.A. Albany was located in New Netherland, which was ceded to the English in 1664. It was never effectively merged with New England.

Names of Indian groups varied widely, and often observers were not aware of which group they were describing. Among the groups described as Iroquois were the Cayugas, the Oneidas, the Onandagas, the Mohawks and the Senecas. The French called the Mohawks "agniers," the Oneidas "onneiouts." Recent scholars have used the term Algonquian to describe a family of languages which

includes many non-Abenakis, including, for example, the Cree.

Finally most natives during this period took Christian names at baptism, and were known by nicknames as well. The French had several names, nicknames and titles, which were used interchangeably in the record. Dutch, English, native and French sources often used different names for the same individual. And some individuals probably consciously used aliases as they slipped from one cultural group to another. An example is the famous Greylock, who is ubiquitous in English sources of the period and practically invisible in the French sources.[74] These shifting names of people, groups and places are indicators that the story which was about to unfold in this region was complex.

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[74]Gordon M. Day, "Gray Lock," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 3, 265-67.

PART TWO

"STORIES TOLD AS TRUE"[1]

> This happened a very long time ago. The werewolves of that period were less disguised and more easily discernible; we don't see as many of them nowadays.[2]

The people of New France told two stories which, considered both separately and together, serve as a window to the case studies examined below. One was about nuns in a convent who had foreknowledge of wartime events. Another was about a bell.

The first concerns Soeur St.-Charles and Jeanne Leber, the famous recluse. Soeur St.-Charles was born Anne Barrois. She entered the Congrégation Nôtre-Dame in Montréal at a young age, and took her vows in the 1690s. She became the constant companion of the famous recluse of that community of religious women, Jeanne Leber. Jeanne was in fact her cousin. Anne was one of the few people to whom Jeanne ever spoke after her seclusion in a cell.

Jeanne was a member of one of the wealthiest families in New France, and as such she has been called New France's wealthiest daughter; her father was the prominent and successful Montréal merchant Jacques Leber. Jacques Leber visited Jeanne often (although he could only speak to her twice a year),

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[1]The title of this chapter is adapted from Edith Fowke, Folklore of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart), 174-75.

[2]From "Loup-Garou," in The Magic Fiddler and other legends of French Canada, Claude Aubry, ed., (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1968), 80.

and provided the women's religious community with generous donations. Jeanne and her companion Soeur St.-Charles were locally reknowned. They were visited by Catholic priests and by Protestant ministers. Jeanne took a particular interest in the spiritual lives of captives who converted to Catholicism.[3] After Jacques' death, Soeur St.-Charles and Jeanne Leber lived with the community until their deaths.

The most significant story about Soeur St.-Charles occured in 1711 when the English threatened to attack the French colony. Soeur St.-Charles and the famous recluse prayed to the Virgin Mary for protection. Jeanne learned through her prayers that the English would crash on the rocks off Québec. Soeur St.-Charles alerted Jacques Leber (*fils*) Sieur de Senneville that the English attack on Quebec would be thwarted. The story was told as an example of divinely inspired foreknowledge.[4]

The story of the bell is a story told and retold in Kahnawake. It is a story

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[3]Jeanne attended the 1696 baptism of Lydia Langley from her cell. Lydia's godfather, and probable ransomer, was Jeanne's father Jacques Leber. In December, 1705 Jeanne attended the baptism of Samuel Williams, son of Massachusetts minister John Williams. Jacques Leber was also Samuel's patron, host and godfather, Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada, 2 vols. (Portland: Southworth Press, 1926) (hereafter, NEC) 1:285-86, 2: 50. For visits from ministers, see E.M. Faillon, The Christian Heroine of Canada (Lovell, 1861), 112-115. See also Appendix A.

[4]For versions of this story, see Fonds Choquet, "Hebert/Leber" file, Société Historique de La Prairie de la Magdeleine (SHLPM). See also Drummond, La Vénérable Marguerite Bourgeoys; Marie Beaupré, Jeanne Leber: Première Recluse du Canada Français, (1662-1714) (Montréal: Éditions ACF, 1931), 147-154; and E.M. Faillon, L'Héroine Chrétienne du Canada or Life of Miss Leber (Montreal: Lovell, 1861), 135-140. For a good overview of the types of folklore in Canada, see Fowke, Folklore of Canada.

which historians have discounted as implausible, but which persists despite scholarly doubt.[5] During a winter massacre in 1704, the story goes, when over a hundred New England settlers were taken captive and over fifty others were killed in the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, native warriors also recovered a church bell. According to the legend, the bell, by rights, belonged to the attackers.

Kahnawake residents had bought the bell from France by gathering furs as donations; the bell had been intended for their chapel. However, the ship on which the bell had traveled, the "Grand Monarque" of Le Havre, was captured in 1701 by the British. The bell became part of the booty, and was later purchased in Salem, Massachusetts by residents of Deerfield for their church. Through their wartime actions, the native warriors of Kahnawake were bringing back to Kahnawake the bell that was rightfully theirs.[6]

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[5]The story first appeared in written form in E. Hoyt, Antiquarian Researches (Greenfield, Massachusetts: Ansel Phelps, 1824), 193-94. It is the subject of a poem by Mrs. Sigourney, (which describes the bell as belonging to St. Regis) and is included in several general histories, including Hough's History of St. Lawrence and Franklin counties. For discussions of the story, see David Blanchard, Seven Generations (Kahnawake: n.p., 1980), and Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, "Revisiting *The Redeemed Captive*," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 52(1): 40n172, 1997. This article was reprinted in Colin G. Calloway, ed., After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 29-71. For a modern reference in Kahnawake, see Kateri, "The 150th Anniversary of the St. Francis-Xavier Church in Kahnawke, Quebec, Canada," Number 185, Autumn, 1995, 23.

[6]Coleman, NEC, 1:23-24, Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, "Revisiting," Edward J. Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montreal: Messenger Press, 1922), 153-55.

These two stories are examples of the kinds of stories that were told on the streets of Montréal, by the hearth in La Prairie or in Kahnawake longhouses. Many sorts of stories, songs and rhymes were told. There were tall tales, and moralistic animal stories. There were children's songs and ballads. These were stories of a different sort, however. Folklorists call these stories "*légendes*" because they are told "as true." This means that the storyteller believed the story, and asked his listeners to enter with him into his believed world. They are examples of a vibrant oral culture which is largely lost to historians. But they are stories which provide intriguing clues. They help answer the question of how the residents of New France saw their world. They address topics such as war, strategy, motivation, economics and religion, that is, they address topics that historians struggle with as well.

These two stories help make sense of two different situations; these stories herald patterns, familiar to historians, of attacks and counter-attacks. In addition to military strategy, the events involved cross-cultural contact and understanding. The stories, using a storyteller's magic perhaps, turn luck and weather into divine intention, and massacre into vindication. They are, in this way transformative, and therefore, healing stories.

On the simplest level, each of these two stories links New France with the English colonies to the south. A nun cloistered in Montréal knows what will happen when the English attack Québec. A bell, intended for Kahnawake, travels to Deerfield instead.

Both stories, too, involve a sea disaster which significantly changes the

course of events. One ship that is lost is French, the others, a whole fleet, were English. Both stories also include warfare with the British colonies. One is about a failed naval effort, another is solved by a raid on a village. Both stories require knowledge on the part of residents of New France about the English colonies. Soeur St.-Charles' knowledge comes, we are told, from God, via the recluse Jeanne Leber. The native residents of Kahnawake learn, we are not told how, that the residents of Deerfield have bought the Kahnawake bell and are using it as their own. The residents of Kahnawake believe, according to one version of the story, that their bell has a voice, and that it "sings" for them. It belongs with them, and should not "sing" for the residents of Deerfield. By magical transference, the bell has a life and a voice, and both of these are Catholic. It should not "sing" or even ring for Protestants.

The nature and power of the sacred, too, plays a part in each story. Jeanne Leber's knowledge is a gift from God, and the anthropomorphized Kahnawake bell is a believer among "heretics."

Economic ruin is forestalled by the shipwrecks in the St. Lawrence; while the residents of the mission save themselves from serious economic loss (of the expensive bell), famine and social disintegration by recovering this symbol, or "voice," from the English.

These two stories are not the only *légendes* that were told in New France. They are, however, some of the few which have survived in some form into the late twentieth century. They are of interest because they address a dilemma that has faced historians of New France: what was the relationship --- economic,

military, religious -- between New France and New England? They raise, and answer, questions of economic, military, and religious connections between the two colonies.

They are also of interest because they provide clues to a different sort of understanding of that relationship than the answers generally provided by historians. As will be seen in the individual case studies examined in the following chapters, it is not merely storyteller's skill, but also echoes of Dilthey's "*verstehen*," or human understanding, that illuminates these stories.[7] For while we cannot recover historical experience, we can approach the inner lives of residents a little more closely through stories such as these.

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[7]For a discussion of legends, see Fowke, Folklore of Canada, 58-70. For more on the nature of storytelling in "sung-and-told" worlds, see Rhys Isaac, "Stories and Constructions of Identity: Folk Tellings and Diary Inscriptions in Revolutionary Virginia," 206-237, in Ronald Hoffman, et al., eds. Through a Glass Darkly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDY, ANNE LEBER AND ANTOINE BARROIS

. . . what matters most is only who you were to someone else.[1]

The story of Anne Leber and Antoine Barrois is primarily one of movement in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor. Seemingly unlikely travelers, they were perhaps forced into travel by unusual circumstances. Beyond the account of their comings and goings, however, lies another, mostly unvoiced story. These were the parents of a family which lived, literally, in two cultures in the late-seventeenth century, and whose members became familiar faces in the border region in between. They were, of necessity, finding new paths for their lives.

The narratives which describe this movement are fragmentary: court records (in both colonies), comments in a baptismal record, an inventory of goods, the testimony of neighbors. Most of these narrative sources were generated by those who knew this family well; in a few cases (such as the court record in Albany and the baptismal record) the family was present when the source was recorded.

Paired with the family's movements, however, these fragments hint at a flexible sense of identity for these residents of La Prairie. Their affiliations and alliances indicate that they perceived many choices, even in their straitened

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[1]Elizabeth Berg, Talk Before Sleep (New York: Random House, 1994), 145.

circumstances. The story which follows is complex -- it challenges received notions of life on the banks of the St. Lawrence river. In doing so, however, it reveals much about the relationships of narrative to personal and collective identity. After uncovering their movements, and the fragments of narratives which remain from their lives, it became clear that this kind of movement required explanation -- not just by historians, but by Anne and Antoine themselves. In some way, Anne and Antoine had to reconcile, for themselves and for their neighbors, the two worlds in which they operated: these two worlds could only be linked through narrative.

On November 6, 1683, Antoine Barrois of La Prairie appeared before the city councillors of Albany to request permission for himself, his wife Anne Leber and their six children to emigrate to New York. The family was represented by an Albany resident, Anthony Lespinard, who told the assembled notables that Antoine and Anne had lately brought their family from Canada, but that Antoine was not a runaway, and in fact, that they would be good settlers.

This family's appearance in front of the court of Albany, as their city council was known, was not unusual. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many families appeared in Albany, Esopus, and Schenectady having come "lately" from Canada. Many more individuals traveled back and forth between the St. Lawrence valley and New England or New York. Examples of other French families who traveled back and forth are Moise Dupuis and his family, the Poupard family, the Perrin family, the Lalande family and the Pothier

family. Many English or Dutch families including members of the Schuyler family, the Williams family and the Odiorne family also traveled in the border region. Jane Wannannemin, Suzanne and Tarriha, Kateri Tekakwitha are examples of native individuals who moved back and forth across the border.[2] As was the case with the other north-south routes which traversed Maine, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there was no physical "border," no "*frontière*" along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor between the French and English colonies. These residents would have seen few maps. Such lines as did exist on contemporary maps were so contradictory as to leave the traveler of the period bewildered about what territory the colony held.[3]

Even if a "border" did not exist, this region was not a "no man's land." Far from it. The "border region" was inhabited and traveled by individuals and families, priests and traders, soldiers and explorers of every stripe. Some, like the Abenaki residents of the border region, had been seasonal migrants for

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[2]For information on the French, English and Dutch families, see Appendix A. For native families, see chapters seven and eight. In addition to families, there were individual travelers, such as Bertrand and Charles Arnaud, Pierre Chevalier d'Aux (d'Eau), Charles LeMoyne, Jacques Leber, and, as will be seen below, Joachim Leber. There were literally thousands of families of Abenakis, Iroquois and other native groups who moved seasonally within the border region both before and after the contact period.

[3]While cartographers for the king claimed much of the territory in which Anne and Antoine traveled, most residents of the colony were, as noted in Part One above, specifically enjoined from such travel. One way to view the movement of Anne Leber and Antoine Barrois is as courageous renegades, avant-garde enactors of the same claims that re-formed the most ambitious French maps of the period, maps which claimed most of Iroquoia as French territory. For the overlapping claims of France and England to the border region, see maps, pages 113 and 116-18.

centuries. Other native groups, including the five nations of the Iroquois, were more sedentary, moving locations every fifteen years, when nearby firewood and land was depleted.[4] The natives' European companions on the footpaths had been migratory for only a generation or two. Still other Europeans aspired not to migrate in the region but to begin a mission, a community, a trading post or a fort -- a permanent marker on the land.

As can be seen from the capsule biographies in Appendix A, movement in some sections of the border region was as fluid as the waterways which enabled this travel. In this context, it is not surprising that the areas of the border region which hosted the greatest amount of movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the waterways: the Atlantic coast was the scene of fruitful sea traffic and privateering, particularly on the downwind route from Boston to Nova Scotia. The watery region of lakes and tributaries of northern rivers like the Penobscot River in Maine, and the St. Croix and the St. John rivers, which extended into present day Maine, was another region of migration. The third region travelers gathered in and sortied from was Coos or Cowass, on the the upper Connecticut River. This area connects, with some overland travel,

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[4]The Abenakis were divided into eastern and western Abenakis, distinguishable by separate but mutually understandable languages. Western Abenakis occupied the area that is now Vermont from at least 1600. Lake Champlain was the center of the western Abenakis' spiritual world. The Iroquois were, from east to west, Mohawks (keepers of the eastern door), Oneidas, Onondaga (keepers of the council fire), Cayugas and Senecas (keepers of the western door). See Colin G. Calloway, The Western Abenaki of Vermont (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990) and Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

to Lake Memphremagog, and, via the St. François River, to Sorel. A fourth region, and the one the present study will explore, was the Champlain-Richelieu corridor.[5]

Early New Englanders believed New England was an island. This was not simply a transference of mental geography from their home island in Britain, or from their watery refuge in Holland. It is a nearly accurate description. New England is in fact circled by water. The Atlantic coastline forms the eastern shore. The Long Island Sound frames the southern shore. The St. Lawrence seaway presents a northern coastline.[6] The Richelieu River, Lake Champlain and the Hudson River form the "west coast of New England." With one or two portages at the southern end of Lake Champlain, one reaches the tributaries of the Hudson River and from there, the Atlantic Ocean.

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[5]Virtually all of these routes were claimed by both colonies, see maps, pages 105-18. The easternmost and most profitable route was controlled by Boston and Québec, alternately, throughout the French colonial period. That route has received considerable attention from historians both of that region and of national and international trade. See John Bartlet Brebner, New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada (Hamden: Archon Books, 1965 [1927]; Naomi Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973). D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America, vol. 1, Atlantic America, 1492-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 273-74, describes the border region as falling within a "Greater New England" sphere of activity; see also George Rawlyk in Stephen J. Hornsby et al., eds., The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 45, part of the borderlands project monograph series. Graeme Wynn, in the same volume, calls Nova Scotia "a land of comers and goers," 68. The Canadian-United States border in the plains region was elegantly described by Wallace Stegner, Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier (New York: Viking, 1963).

[6]For eighteenth-century cartographers' versions, see maps, pp. 105-18.

Sailors could not actually circle New England in a single boat. Ocean-going vessels were necessary for the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Shallower draft river boats were necessary for some stretches of the Richelieu and the Hudson. But with a transhipment of goods and people from one vessel to another, travel between New England or New York and New France and "around" New England was possible and profitable.[7]

Most of the historical descriptions of the movement in the "border" region fall into several categories: military travel, fur trade travel, travel of potential converts, travel for diplomacy and the travel of civilian captives.[8] Historians have generally viewed this activity in the context of the contest for empire on the continent, and contemporary official reports tend to support this perspective.

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[7]AC C11A v. 6, f. 383vo, lettre au ministre, 12 juillet 1684. See also Pauline Dubé, La Nouvelle-France sous Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, 1682-1685 (Sillery: Septentrion, 1993), 19n43, 84-84, 93. New England and New York have been treated separately in the historical literature, although for a part of the period under study, they were united in one adminstrative unit, under Governor Andros of Boston. This study will follow the tradition of treating them separately, as a graceful union of these two mutually disdainful populations was never achieved.

[8]William J. Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965); Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada, 2 vols., (Portland: Southworth Press, 1926); Colin G. Calloway, The Western Abenakis of Vermont , op. cit., and, by the same author, North Country Captives (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992) and Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991); Alice Jean E. Lunn, "The Illegal Fur Trade Out of New France, 1713-60," Canadian Historical Association Report (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939); Thomas Elliot Norton, The Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1686-1776 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974); Bruce Trigger et al., eds., Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference (Montréal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987).

Both contemporary government reports and historians, therefore, treated this travel and migration as related to a less ambiguous territory, one where the lines on the map had become distinct and charged with meaning.

But how did individuals like Anne Leber, her husband and their children understand their trip to Albany? They explored the confines of their worlds. What were the parameters of that world? By what lights did they set their course? What did they use as guideposts and landmarks in the zone no one owned? How, indeed, did they navigate?

In the case of the Barrois family, family patterns before the 1683 court appearance prefigure this migration to Albany. Their movements after this date were influenced by this migration. The life paths of some of the children of this family were determined, to a large degree, by this early pattern of cross- "border," cross-cultural movement. They were beneficiaries of a porous "*frontière,*" a navigable waterway, and, as will be shown below, knowledge of the route.

The family member whose story best illustrates the pattern of family migration in the Champlain Richelieu region is the wife of Antoine Barrois: Anne Leber. Her story demonstrates migration routes and patterns of intermarriage for two generations. Anne Leber was born in France in 1656 or 1657, daughter and only child of the marriage of Françoise le François and

François Leber.[9] After her mother's death, Anne's father married Jeanne Testard. Anne's step-brother, Jeanne's first child, Joachim, was born in 1664 in Montréal. The family moved to La Prairie by August, 1672. In her first fifteen years, Anne had moved at least three times, one of those trips was a trans-Atlantic voyage. Anne, niece of the wealthy and influential merchant Jacques Leber,[10] was well-connected in the relatively small Montréal trading world.[11]

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[9]Because both Anne Leber and her daughter, Anne Barrois, will be discussed in this thesis, the mother will be referred to as "Anne Leber" (although she became Anne Barrois and later Anne Lootman) and the daughter as "Anne Barrois." For examples of references to other families who also traveled south, during the same period, see Pauline Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 97. For Joachim Leber, see below, 205-29. Anne Leber's mother was either Marguerite Lesueur or Françoise le François, see Cyprien Tanguay, Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes 7 vols. (Montréal: Éditions Élysée, 1975) 5:357; René Jetté, Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730 (hereafter Jetté) (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), 670, and, by the same author, Corrections et Additions (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1996), 3-4, 24; and James L. Hansen, "The Lootman/Barrois families," The American Genealogist, v. 66, n.1, 1-9, especially 4.

[10]Jacques Leber was one of the wealthiest men in Montréal. See Yves F. Zoltvany, "Jacques Le Ber," DCB 2:374-76. His independence emerged early in his life and seems to be characteristic of the man. In 1662 he was arrested for sedition because he advocated a fur trading plan that the Governor would not allow. See, in this regard, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901) (hereafter JR), 47:287-89 and 318n19. It is clear that this family worked together in business affairs. The exact nature of the arrangements is not immediately apparent. It appears that François Leber père (father of Anne and Joachim, and Jacques' brother) lived in Montréal for a number of years, boarding in various houses, including the house of "la veuve l'Ésperance, rue Place d'Arme." His son, François, apparently transported goods and money across the river from La Prairie to his father. While the younger François was away, which was often, a neighbor, Claude Caron, transported goods and money to François. In October, 1693 "Frs. Leber et Bourassa estoient détenus prisonniers aux Iroquouis Nos Ennemis" so Claude Caron again transported "deniers" to Sieur François Leber, see obligation 19 jan. 1697, and Fonds Choquet, SHLPM. If François Leber was

In 1672, at the age of about 16, Anne married Antoine Barrois in Montréal, and began raising a family in La Prairie.[12] François, Anne Leber's father, was away in Montréal much of her grown life. Anne lived near her stepmother, Jeanne Testard. However, except for Anne's marriage and the baptism of her first child, Jeanne and Anne never appeared at the same ceremony in the parish records. Anne's father, François, only appeared at Anne's wedding and at one baptism, in 1676. Unlike some of Jeanne's other children, Anne does not help provide for Jeanne in her old age. It is possible that the relationship between Anne and her stepmother was not close. Anne eventually leaves town owing a neighbor a large sum of money. Was the flight of Anne, Antoine and their children a completely spontaneous choice? Was the choice of destination

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a prisoner of the Iroquois in October, 1693, there is yet another Leber out of the colony, just a year after his brother was interrogated (see Chapter Five). François Leber, along with Guillame Boucher, was engaged by Claude Caron August 31, 1693, RAPQ, volume 10, 201. It is a possibility that residents of La Prairie sold liquor to the Indians in order to obtain hard currency, which was then transported to Montréal to settle debts or to loan to others, including the government. One example of Jacques Leber sharing resources (in this case, a boat which he agrees to buy) with the government is described in Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 100.

[11]Montréal had a population of 659 in 1666; 1,389 in 1681; about two dozen Montréal families were involved in trading, Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal (Montréal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1992),18, 43-45 and, in the same volume, Appendix Two, Table A.

[12]12 janvier, 1672, Montréal, Généalogie des Familles Fondatrices de la Seigneurie de La Prairie, 3 vols. (La Prairie: Viateur Robert, 1988). The marriage was witnessed by Jeanne Leber, who, at age ten, had learned to sign her name. Jeanne Leber, daughter of Jacques Leber, became a famous recluse later in life, see below.

random?

Antoine Barrois, born about 1640, was the son of a surgeon, and about sixteen years older than his young wife. Together in La Prairie they had six children, all of whom were baptized at La Prairie. Barrois was granted the title of *chirugien* (surgeon) in 1682.[13] He appears to have caused some consternation in official circles as early as the 1670s. Barrois is mentioned in Intendant Jacques Duchesneau's[14] letter to M. Seignelay,[15] Nov. 10, 1679, where the intendant complains that "several of the most considerable families in this country are interested in" trade in the Indian country. Duchesneau continues that even the Governor shares in their profits. Daniel Greysolon Du Lut [Dulhut or Du Luth], according to Duchesneau, shares his profits with the Governor and with "Sieur Barrois" his secretary "who has a canoe among his." In a letter meant to condemn the practice, Duchesneau adds "if Du Lut experiences difficulty in bringing them [beavers] along he will take advantage of the agency of foreigners."[16] The "foreigners" whom Duchesneau describes may be Dutch or

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[13]Rapport de l'archiviste de la province du Québec, (hereafter RAPQ) 1921-22, 137. JR 69: 307-309. Basset, 11 janvier, 1682.

[14]Duchesneau was intendant of New France from 1675-1682. Léopold Lamontagne, "Jacques Duchesneau de la Doussinière et d'Ambault," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 13 vols. and an index (hereafter DCB) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-), 1:287-90.

[15]Jean-Baptiste Colbert Marquis de Seignelay, minister to the king.

[16]E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York 15 vols. (hereafter NYCD) 9:131-6, RAPQ, 1921-22, 137; on "Du Lut," see Yves F. Zoltvany, "Daniel Greysolon Dulhut," DCB 2:261-64.

English traders from the colonies to the south. It appears that Antoine Barrois was part of a trading network that included Daniel Greysolon Du Lut, his wife Anne's uncle, the merchant Jacques Leber, and most likely Jacques' partner, Charles LeMoyne.[17] Jacques loaned 1,000 livres to Antoine Barrois "qui était attaché à son service."[18]

Antoine and Anne settled in La Prairie, a new Jesuit mission settlement across the river from Montréal. These were years of significant native migration to La Prairie -- Europeans and natives of many languages worshipped in one small bark chapel. Like their neighbors, Antoine and Anne were granted land which they began to clear and farm. Antoine Barrois exchanged several plots of land in La Prairie, accumulated some debts and sold land to Jean Cailloud in 1680.[19] In 1681 the family was farming about twelve arpents in La Prairie; they owned a gun and seven horned cattle.[20] That same year, Antoine may have

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[17]Céline Dupré, "Charles LeMoyne de Longueuil," DCB 2:401-3. LeMoyne was born in 1656 and died in 1729. Charles' wife, Claude-Élisabeth Souart was a niece of the Sulpician Gabriel Souart, the first parish priest of Montréal. She sponsored the baptism of many English captive converts. Charles' sister, Jeanne LeMoyne, was Jacques' Leber's wife.

[18]Fonds Choquets, 2.178, viewed at SHLPM, quoted from Frère Chanon et Peintre, 330. Jacques loaned money to many others, including his son, Pierre Leber, a talented painter. "Sieur Barrois" is listed as a tenant farmer on Île-St.-Paul, one of Jacques Leber's seigneuries. DCB 2:374-78, "Jacques Le Ber," by Yves Zoltvany, "Pierre Le Ber," by Jules Bazin. On Jacques Leber, see JR 47: 318.

[19]Fonds des Jésuites, Fonds Choquet, 2.178, SHLPM.

[20]André Lafontaine, Recensements annotés de la Nouvelle-France, 1666 & 1667 (Sherbrooke: [n.p.], 1981), 144. An arpent is about 5/6 of an acre.

practiced his skills as a surgeon in the case of La Prairie resident Claude Caron, who was close to death.[21] In 1682 Antoine sold land again to Étienne Bizaillon.[22]

On October 7, 1683 Antoine Barrois was prosecuted for selling liquor to the natives. Barrois apparently escaped from the colony at the same time that Philippe Jamy escaped from prison and fled south; they may have bribed the local law-enforcement officers not to pursue them. Montréal *majeur* Jacques Bizard, whose functions included law enforcement, was severely reprimanded by Governor Joesph-Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre[23] for this escape, and for his ineffective efforts to catch Antoine Barrois. At the inquest following this *fuite*, most of their neighbors indicated that only Barrois and Philippe Jamy and their families had escaped to "les flamands." The questions posed by Jean-Baptiste Migeon[24] at the inquest indicate that Migeon believed that Dutch and English traders had recently been to La Prairie. He asked Julien Laverty "s'il ne sait pas que les flamands que sont venus depuis peu et retournés N'ont point Emporté leś Castors." Migeon was probably right. Mathieu Fay[e] dit Lafayette told

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[21]Henri Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha (Kahnawake: Kateri Center, 1994), 160-161.

[22]Barrois signed this document, 16 nov. 1682, Maugue.

[23]Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre was governor of New France from 1682-1685. For Bizard, see Appendix A. Bizard's actions in this case formed part of a long series of conflicts between Bizard and the administrators of New France, dating back to the first governorship of Frontenac, see William J. Eccles, Frontenac: The Courtier Governor (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1959), 40-50.

[24]Migeon (1636-1693), who had arrived in the colony in 1665, was a lawyer, clerk and judge, and was allied in business with Jacques Leber and Charles Lemoyne. Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, "Jean-Baptiste Migeon de Branssat," DCB 1:508.

Migeon "les anglais qui sont venus depuis peu [étaient] retournés." Faye also indicated that he didn't know of any Chamby residents who had gone to the Dutch "cette année" which allows the inference that both interrogator and witness knew that in other years, they had. Turning suspicion toward the natives and away from his French neighbor, Jean Bourbon testified "qu'il En a vu plusieurs [sauvages avec des castors pour porter aux Flamands] tant de la montagne que de Ceux du sault de la prairie que portaient des Castors auxdits [aux dits] flamands Et ont rapportés des Marchandises." Several other neighbors gave essentially the same details, indicating that many families were implicated in the affairs and subsequent escape of Barrois, and that they colluded to avoid providing much information to the judicial inquiry. The records do not indicate whether Barrois received a fine.[25]

By the time La Barre put out a search party, Barrois, his wife Anne Leber, and their six children were en route to Albany.[26] They arrived in New York one

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[25]ANQM, TL2 Box 47, 7 octobre 1683; one neighbor did reveal that Barrois sold everything before his escape. See also Jan Grabowski, "The Common Ground: Settled Native and French in Montréal, 1667-1760," Ph.D. diss. Montréal, Université de Montréal, 257-58 and 330. Pauline Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 83, has the date as October 5. Philippe Jarny also escaped with his family, and was believed to be in New York. Other La Prairie families may have migrated to New York during this time. See Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 83-84.

[26]Pauline Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 83-84, 97. In 1683, Charles Le Moyne, *fils*, then 27 years old, son of Jacques Leber's business partner Charles Le Moyne de Longeuil, was recommended by de la Barre in a letter to Seignelay to replace Bizard about four weeks after this embarrassing *fuite*. De la Barre described Bizard as "un Suisse plongé dans le vin et l'yvrognerie inutile à tous services par la pesanteur de son corps" [a Swiss drowning in wine and drunkeness who is useless for any task due to the weight of his body (my translation)]. Note that Bizard's foreign origin has followed him. See Appendix

month after the trial, and two months after Thomas Dongan became Governor of New York.[27] These are the circumstances under which Anne Leber, aged about 27, her children, aged eleven to a few months, and her surgeon, secretary, criminal, renegade husband, Antoine, aged 42, arrived before the court, or the city council, of Albany. It was November; Anne Leber and her family were there to stay.

From their testimony before the court, we can glean a bit about their intentions. On November 6, 1683, Antoine, represented by Anthony Lespinard, appeared before the most important merchants of Albany.[28]

> Anthony Lespinard appears in court with a Frenchman, named Antho. Barwa, who came here last Monday, being the 5th of November, with his wife Annetje Lieber, and six children, and who requests permission to dwell here, having come here from Canada, but not having run away from there as a rascal or thief, as will be learned in the spring. He requests permission to stay here until he has an opportunity to buy a piece of land, Antho. Lespinard offering himself as surety for his good behavior and that he will not become a public charge.
>
> Was signed: Anthonie Lespinard[29]

A, and Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 98.

[27]ANQM, TL 2, Series 1, Box 47. Dongan was the first Catholic governor of New York, and the first anglophone governor to begin effectively regulating New York after the British conquered the Dutch in 1664.

[28]A.J.F. van Laer, Court Minutes of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1680-85 (hereafter Court Minutes, 1680-85) (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1932), 3: 396-8.

[29]van Laer, Court Minutes, 1680-85, 3: 398.

This testimony provides a wealth of detail about Antoine Barrois and Anne Leber. They had, first of all, found a sponsor within a few days of their arrival in Albany. The man who sponsored them, Anthony Lespinard, sponsored and vouched for many French residents who appeared in the court. Lespinard, of French origin himself, had lived in Albany for at least nine years (the name first appears in the New York record in 1670). He cultivated a network which included the French of Canada.[30] Lespinard knows the merchant members of the council are concerned about the cost of supporting paupers in Albany, and assures them the Barrois family will be hardworking.[31] He informs the council that Barrois wishes to purchase land, and implies that Barrois will be an industrious farmer. Finally, it is of interest to note that within five days of arriving in Albany, although "Antho. Barwa" is called "a Frenchman," his wife Anne Leber has become

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[30]For Lespinard's connections to Canada, see NYCD 3: 437, which describes his 1687 discussions with Denonville; and Index to Deeds, on Family History Center Microfilm #0466372, p. 4543-44 which describes that Lespinard learned of his inheritance from an uncle in Paris from "Father Volant in Canada." Lespinard was also an envoy to Canada, was imprisoned there, and escaped. For a biographical sketch of Lespinard, see Charles W. Darling, "Antoine L'Espenard, the French Huguenot, of New Rochelle, and some of his descendants," The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, 24: 3, July, 1893, 7-116, for his role as an envoy, see 100, for his imprisonment, 101. For his correspondence with missionary Jacques Lamberville, see Archives de la Société des Jésuites à St-Jerome (hereafter ASJ) #367; Archives Collège S. Marie (ACSM) A-11, p. 96 "Du Père Jacques Lamberville à M. Ant. Lespinard à Albany, 4 novembre, 1686."

[31]Albany already had built a poorhouse, which housed indigent natives who produced wampum beads. These wampum beads were one of the most valuable items New Yorkers could exchange for furs. See Thomas Elliot Norton, The Fur Trade in Colonial New York (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).

Annetje Lieber, her French birth almost completely obscured by the phonetic spelling of a (probably Dutch) scribe. It is tempting to see this spelling, as frustrating as it is for historians and genealogists, as one official's view of Anne's "identity" as malleable. However, at a minimum, the description does signal that marriages between French and Dutch spouses may have been recorded without comment by court scribes in this period.

The council decided to allow Anthony Barrois and his family to stay in Albany until they could receive orders from "the honorable governor general, to whom we shall write about it at the first opportunity."[32] The city councillors in Albany would wait until "the spring" to see whether he indeed plowed land and planted crops. Anthony Barrois apparently did remain in Albany, as "Antho. Baroway" testified again in July, 1685, a case in which Jean Liberté accused Jean Arémande of having "beaten, bitten and badly treated" him. In this case, which appears to be a dispute between two French residents of Albany, Antoine was called as a witness. He testified that "he heard the said Jean Arémande express contempt of the court, saying that he did not care what they did and he would knock the legs of Jean Libertee's cattle to pieces."[33] This dispute was typical of the matters which came before the court. Its significance for this study is dual: it illustrates that Antoine Barrois was allowed to stay in the Albany region and that he may have had contacts with other French residents there.

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[32]Minutes of the Court, 1680-85, 3: 398.

[33]Minutes of the Court, 3: 535-6. The dispute is also noted in Index to Deeds, 2: 665, July 3, 1685, Family History Center Microfilm #0464896.

Antoine, Anne, and their six children lived in Albany or vicinity for several years (possibly at Esopus, now Kingston New York, south of Albany).[34] In 1685 Antoine baptized a daughter, Anna, in the Dutch Reformed Church of Albany.

In reading the testimony of Anthony Lespinard, a few things become clear which were not clear from other documents. First, Antoine does not present himself as a surgeon. There is no evidence that he ever practiced his art in Albany, and this underscores the possiblity that like many other "surgeons" of his time, his title was bought but not earned. This conforms with an emerging portrait of Antoine Barrois as an acquisitive individual, concerned with improving his status and increasing his wealth.

Second, he has migrated with his family. It is likely, therefore, that this was not his first trip to Albany. The speed with which he found a sponsor also adds to the impression that he has been in Albany before, as does his stated intention to buy land -- which would be a rather hasty decision for a first-time visitor.

Third, his decisions in La Prairie in 1680 and 1682 take on a new aspect when the full record is clarified. He had sold land to Jean Cailloud, accepting, as

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[34]Anthony Barrois may have been arrested in 1685 or 1686, in connection with a suit by Francis Rumboult, see Peter R. Christoph, The Dongan Papers 2 vols. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 2:405, regarding "Antony of Esopus." Rumboult/Rumbout appears to be a large landowner in Dutchess County, xvi-xvii, same volume. Esopus, formerly farmed by Indians of the same name some of whom remained in the environs, was the breadbasket of New York. The community was also a source of soldiers in wartime.

part of the purchase price, a wagon. This suggests that Barrois was considering emigration. Traveling with six young children cannot have been easy -- it is possible that like many others, the Barrois family took the cart from La Prairie to St. Jean and then hired boats to take them to Albany. It is not straying too far from the evidence to note that their flight must have been assisted by one or two family members or neighbors, and observed by several others.

The proximate cause of this flight to Albany, however, was certainly Antoine's prosecution and impending sentence for selling liquor to the natives. The sale of liquor seems to have been a continuing pattern in his life; it was certainly one which would have been a useful way of gathering capital before his move.[35]

Fourth, Antoine's testimony in 1685 in the dispute between Jean Arémande and Jean Liberté was heard by both Pieter Schuyler and David Schuyler, two brothers who would come to know La Prairie and Kahnawake very well in the years to come as leaders of militia attacks, as ransomers of captives and as negotiators.

In addition to the baptism of his daughter and his testimony to the court in

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[35]It is possible that Barrois was assisted in his escape. It does not appear that La Barre actually allowed the escape, or that, initially at least, he knew the details of how it occurred. It appears that he did know that the major of Montréal, Jacques Bizard (see Appendix A), had refused to chase Barrois. It is also possible that the official reprimand was effected when the governor and intendant knew Barrois was far from reach; this would be a way to appear to crack down on liquor traffickers without harming the tenuous balance of the liquor and fur economies, official and private favors and the limited means available to residents to make a livelihood.

1685, Antoine Barrois is signaled in Albany in January, 1684, when, just two months after bringing his family there "not . . . as a rascal or thief" he accepted charity from the Dutch Reformed Church. Winter was a lean season in Albany; many natives gathered there for the winter and made wampum in the poorhouse factory, an activity which only partially alleviated the poor rolls of the settlement. Barrois was apparently out of resources and had found no way to support his family -- the trading season was several months away. Finally, in January 1687 he, along with Jean Baptiste de Poitier, sieur Dubuisson, took an oath of allegiance at the Mayor's Court at Albany.[36] These oaths were required frequently in settled towns, particularly after 1684 when the English attempted to administer the Dutch colony of New York which they had won in 1664. Uncertain of the loyalty and fighting force of the New York residents, a series of governors and their councilmen attempted to ascertain the residents' loyalty by requiring oaths. It was most practical to administer this policy in settled communities. The delay between his arrival in 1683 and 1687, when Antoine took the oath, indicates he was probably away from Albany or Esopus for part of that period, possibly trading in Iroquoia.

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[36]Hansen, "The Barrois/Lootmann Family," 1, 4. Poitier's record is linked with this family's record at two critical points: the oath of allegiance, and the later return of the Lootman family to the St. Lawrence valley. He was apparently an interpreter in New York, 1674-1699. From 1679 to 1696 he and his wife had five children born in New York. Two others, born 1671 and 1675 may also have been born outside the colony.

Narrative in the borderland

Antoine was a well-connected surgeon, sometime farmer, and a trader (in furs and liquors) to his European and native neighbors. To Governor de la Barre he was an outlaw, an embarrassing reminder of the disloyalty of his bailiff and the disorder of the colonists in general. To the Dutch he was a potential settler who had the distinct advantage of understanding French. Antoine could not, and did not, relate the same narrative in Albany as he had in La Prairie. In La Prairie he used the language of trade; in Albany he expressed a desire to settle -- an occupation that included, for most residents, petty trade on the side. We have no record of agricultural activity or land ownership on his part in New York, and the fact that he was able to delay taking an oath of allegiance for four years indicates he may have been absent from settled areas for part of that time. There is no record that the Albany court ever discovered more about Antoine Barrois' background; they dealt with many transients of uncertain lineage, in addition to many criminals. Although no record exists of the story he told to the neighbors he left behind in La Prairie (or the ones who helped him and his family abscond),[37] he had to reconcile the two poles of his life, Albany and La Prairie, with his story. At a minimum, his former neighbors would have learned that he had not been punished as a criminal in Albany. Though we have little direct evidence of how Barrois accounted for his own movements and activities, there

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[37]His neighbors were questioned at an inquest; their answers were so uniform as to be considered rehearsed and possibly in collusion with each other to divulge few details, ANQM TL2, Series1, Box 47, 7 octobre 1683.

is, in short, much indirect evidence in this border context, that such accounts, or narratives, were malleable. His skills as a trader, knowledge of the routes and languages and familiarity with networks of French traders, *coureurs de bois* and native porters would have made him an asset in Albany; a shady background may have been overlooked by officials if he could prove useful to authorities there.

"Deserting" from the French colony, as a soldier or renegade, may not have consigned individuals to a lonely wilderness death, but rather, in this case at least, may have opened new possiblities for employment or immunity from prior offenses. As we have seen, it was not only criminals who chose this route. Itinerant French traders passed through Albany frequently. Occasionally, women and children travelled there too. By traveling with him, Anne's story was necessarily linked to his, and shifted with her move to Albany. With her remarriage to a man named Lootman, it was about to shift again. They were breaking away from the best efforts of the colonial authorities to constrain them. They were not alone.

Although perhaps more dramatic than some journeys or migrations in this period, the movement of the Anne Leber and her husband to Albany was not uncommon. Several families, and many more individuals, took the Champlain-Richelieu corridor in both directions as part of planned, forced or hurried migrations.[38] Others used one of the three more easterly routes described

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[38]Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 93.

above. They traveled by ship, by barque, by canoe, and on foot through the amorphous watery borderland. Some intended to take a journey. Others intended to migrate. Some sought refuge. Others were captives.

From the 1660s to 1720, more than 500 individuals journeyed north to the St. Lawrence valley. About a hundred of these individuals made several trips to Canada. Others, Europeans of all nationalities, arrived in Canada from across the ocean, or from other colonies, particularly, Terre Neuve or Newfoundland.[39] A rough estimate of the number of individuals who traveled from the St. Lawrence valley to the Albany, Deerfield or Boston regions between the 1660s and 1720 would be about two hundred.[40] They appear frequently in the early records of these communities. In New England or New York they met English, Dutch, Swedes and other Europeans, as well as French Huguenots and other French migrants. In the mix were Cape Verde Islanders, Caribbeans, Africans and Turks.

As can be seen in Appendix A, the early settlement in the St. Lawrence valley was a product, in part, of both kinds of migration: the movement of Europeans, Caribbeans and others to New France, and the pan-regional or

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[39]See Appendix A which lists 694 of the most visible of these migrants to New France.

[40]This rough estimate is based on reviews of nominal lists in the New England and New York colonies and on case studies of La Prairie. Though a small community of about 30 families, La Prairie sent at least ten identified individuals to Albany in the time period under consideration. La Prairie was more likely than other communities on the Saint Lawrence to send migrants south. However, migrants to New England and New York came from many such small communities, as well as from Montréal and Québec.

borderland movement of families and individuals. This borderland movement also affected the populations of the communities of New York and New England, but particularly of Schenectady, Albany, Esopus, Deerfield, Rye, Casco and Boston, as well as native settlements and re-settlement areas such as Coos, Schagticoke, Squakig and Penobscot.

This movement has generally been understood by historians as "travel related to fur trade", or more simply, "smuggling." However as can be seen by the examples provided here and in Appendix A, the motivations for and consequences of this travel were far more nuanced; personal and family motivations appear to be significant reasons for travel during this period. The travel was extensive and frequent enough to have consequences large and small, both in individuals' lives and in the progress of empire.[41] A few examples, three of which are of little-known individuals, two of which are examples of people prominent either in their homeland or later in New France, will help to demonstrate the complexity of the patterns which emerge.

Eight-year-old John Carter's childhood changed in 1704 when the French and Indians attacked Deerfield. He was taken captive with a brother and a sister; the rest of their family was killed. The siblings were taken to Kahnawake. John lived there for a few years. He was ransomed by Jacques Vaudry of Point-aux-Trembles. In 1718 he married Marie Courtemanche at Rivières-des-Prairies.

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[41]For a discussion, see below, pages 286-310.

John became a farmer, and John and Marie had seven children. In the records of the colony, he appears as Jean-Joseph Charetier or Chartier. Within about a decade and a half of his arrival, he is indistinguishable in the record from other residents. Tracing Jean-Joseph Chartier back to his roots requires knowing where he came from in the first place; otherwise he blends in to what appears to be a homogeneous population. In 1727 the family moved to Saint-Antoine-sur-Richelieu. He died there in 1772.[42] John is an example of a young captive from the English colonies who was apparently incorporated into life in New France, first in native and then in European settlements.

Moïse Dupuis was born in 1673 in Québec and raised at Saint-Augustin-de-Maure and at La Prairie. Moïse may have been involved in the fur trade as a young man. He was never issued a permit for travel.[43] He may have been a soldier; however, since no muster rolls exist for Canada in this period, and he is not mentioned in accounts of military engagements, that possiblity cannot be confirmed. He was linked to large fur trading families, however.[44] Moïse may

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[42]Marcel Fournier, De la Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Nouvelle-France (hereafter NANF) (Montréal: Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, 1992), 112; NEC 2:71-73; Jetté, 236.

[43]RAPQ, 1929-30.

[44]His older brother René (b. 1671) had a permit in 1695. René had married in 1694, and settled in La Prairie where he and his wife eventually had twelve children. Duchesneau listed a Dupuy as trading with Dulut, see also Yves Zoltvany, "Daniel Greysolon Dulhut," DCB 2:261-64. René was captain of the militia at nearby La Tortue in 1730. One of René's sons was an *engagé* in the fur trade. Two other Dupuis family members in the region had permits, Louis

have been among the French who attacked Schenectady in 1692.[45] He seems to have remained in Schenectady, either as a trader, a wounded soldier or as a prisoner, long enough to find a spouse. In the 1690s he married Marie-Anne-Louise Christiansen[46] "dans le pays des Flamands." This exogamy, or marriage outside the group, contrasts with the endogamy noted by Louis Lavallée in his study of La Prairie.[47] Moïse moved, with a young daughter, to Canada, settling in La Prairie about 1699. Marie-Anne-Louise was probably Dutch and nominally Protestant, though the Dutch Reformed Church could not support a minister in Schenectady during this period.[48] When Marie-Anne-Louise moved to La Prairie she was baptized in Montréal.[49] Since at the time of her baptism her marriage was not revalidated, it is possible that they were married by a Catholic priest.[50] At least one, perhaps three, of the couple's nine children were born outside New

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Dupuy (of Chateauguay and La Prairie) and Nicolas Dupuy embarked on both legal and illegal trips Jetté, 391; RAPQ (1929-30) 200, 202, 204.

[45]This theory is advanced by Marcel Fournier, NANE, 113-14; Moïse would have been seventeen years old at the time of the attack.

[46]Marie-Anne-Louise had been born in Schenectady (known to contemporaries as Corlaer) in about 1675.

[47]Louis Lavallée, La Prairie en Nouvelle France (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 144-159.

[48]She may have been the daughter of Christiaan Christiaase and Maritie Ysbrantse Elde, of Holland, Fournier, NANE, 113.

[49]On 12 juillet, 1699. It is likely that the Sulpicians considered her New York marriage to be valid, Fournier, NANE, 113. It is possible, but not likely, that Marie-Anne-Louise's family had been Catholic.

[50]Fournier, NANE, 113.

France, although most of them were baptized at La Prairie.[51]

Most of Moïse's children maintained a residence at La Prairie, or married spouses from La Prairie families. One daughter married a man who had been an *engagé* in the fur trade.[52] Marie-Anne-Louise became a French citizen in 1710.[53] Moïse and Marie-Anne-Louise died in La Prairie, in January and October 1750, respectively.[54] Moïse is an example of a man who traveled the border region, married outside the colony, and returned to live on the banks of the St. Lawrence with a Dutch wife who eventually became a French citizen.

Jane Wannannemin was probably of Mohegan (Loup) background. Her parents had lived either in the praying town of Natick, Massachusetts, or the refugee community of Squakig (Northfield, Massachusetts). She and her husband John Mamusk or Mamusko had lived in coastal and riverine New England after the migration of natives away from Natick toward Medfield. They were captured by Sowati, a Sault (Sault St.-Louis) Indian, in 1695 near Deerfield, Massachusetts. Jane was baptized as Jeanne in Montréal in 1698. Her godmother was fellow captive Martha Mills Grant, who had been captured in Maine in 1690. Jane lived in Montréal and later with Indians from Sault-au-

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[51]Jetté, 391.

[52]Nicolas David, Jetté, 313.

[53]Fournier, NANE, 113.

[54]In January and October 1750, respectively.

Recollet.[55] Jane, therefore, converted twice, once to Protestantism and once to Catholicism. At least two interpretations are possible for her conversions and migrations. Jane could be seen as someone whose trajectory was typical of the uneven patterns of affiliation with European groups by natives -- as one who approached, and took distance from, European settlements. Alternatively, Jane could be seen as a creative individual who forged an unusual life path. Jane was "anglicized," became a refugee from the failing communities of "Praying Indians," was captured, then was incorporated into the franco-native communities surrounding Montréal, all in the span of one lifetime. One has the sense that she made decisions in order to survive and prosper as best she could in a series of difficult situations. She was not alone.

Dutch trader Johannes Schuyler of Albany was both an attacker and a negotiator on the banks of the St. Lawrence River. He and his brothers, Pieter, Abraham and Myndert were virtually constantly in motion throughout the region.[56] Johannes led the successful 1690 raid on La Prairie; Pieter led the disastrous 1691 attack of the same town. Pieter led the Albanians' counterattack in 1693 after the French, using local militia as well as French and native soldiers,

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[55]NANF 218 and 170-71; NEC 1:300-301 and 186-87.

[56]Johannes was often at odds with his influential sibling, Pieter (in English sources, Peter), who became the leader of the "anti-Leislerian" faction in Albany in the 1690s, and in the first decades of the eighteenth century, mayor, Indian Commissioner and governor. Abraham led the 1690 attack on Chambly. John David Krugler, "Peter Schuyler," DCB 3:587-89; John H.G. Pell, "Johannes Schuyler," DCB 3: 586-87 and "Peter Schuyler," DCB 2:602-4.

commanded by Louis-Hector de Callière[57] devastated three Iroquois "castles." Johannes and Pieter were engaged in cementing regional alliances in the 1690s.[58] Myndert maintained long-term ties with La Prairie.[59] In addition to trips in New England, Johannes made frequent trading and negotiating trips to the banks of the St. Lawrence.[60] At least two of these were made in the late 1690s; one was an attempt to ransom captive Eunice Williams from Kahnawake. After the Deerfield raid of 1704, Johannes Schuyler and his brothers were the ransomers of choice. They were considered the best negotiators for the most desperate situations with the Kahnawake. Johannes was in Kahnawake, for instance, in 1707 and 1713. Johannes did not speak Iroquois languages, and was not always successful in retrieving captives. When he tried to retrieve Eunice Williams, he needed two interpreters (proposals were translated from Dutch to French to Mohawk, answers from Mohawk to French to Dutch) and

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[57]Governor of Montréal from 1684-1698 when he was appointed acting governor of the colony after Frontenac's death. To gain the appointment, he sent an envoy by way of Albany to the king, outwitting his rival, Vaudreuil. Yves F. Zoltvany, "Louis-Hector de Callière," DCB 2:112-17.

[58]Johannes traveled to Springfield, Massachusetts in 1693 to discuss a murder case in which natives were being held. Pieter's/Peter's correspondence and travels in the 1690s indicate he was trying, often unsuccessfully, to curry support from New England colonies for an attack against New France, and for better defenses for Albany.

[59]28 aout 1725, Raimbault, P. "Obligation de François Leber et Marie Anne Magnan, son épouse, de la seigneurie de La Prairie de la Magdelaine, à Mynders Sihuyler, de Albani en la Nouvelle Angleterre."

[60]Norton, Fur Trade, 121-151; in this account Johannes is known by the anglicized "John."

used priests as conduits into the community.[61] However it is more than likely that he recognized by sight several captives from Schenectady whom he had known personally.[62] In 1725, the Schuylers were still in business with the Lebers.[63] As late as 1756 Pieter Schuyler of New Jersey owned a house in the town of Québec.[64] Johannes and his family and their descendants are examples of large powerful families which traveled the Champlain-Richelieu corridor for political, as well as economic gain, and who accrued personal relationships, and enmities, along the way.

Esther Wheelwright was about seven years old when she was captured in Wells, Maine in 1703. She lived for several years with the Indians, probably Abenakis, during which time she was baptized. In 1708 she was given to the Ursulines in Québec. After working in Montréal and Trois-Rivières, she decided to remain in Canada. She took her vows in 1714. In December, 1760, she

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[61]John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 101-108.

[62]Further evidence of the involvement of the Schuyler brothers in St. Lawrence life is the appearance of the surname "Schuyler" in the mid-eighteenth century, in Lachine, La Prairie's twin community across the river. Whether a Schuyler actually fathered a child at Lachine, or whether the name was taken as a nickname or honorific, this indicates that "Schuyler" was known on the banks of the St. Lawrence. "Schuyler" was also an Oneida surname in Iroquoia by the end of the eighteenth century.

[63]See note 59, above.

[64]Fonds Choquets, 2:178; NEC 2: 337. For networks of merchants see The Livingston Indian Records 1666-1723, Lawrence Leder, ed. (Stanfordville: Earl M. Coleman, 1979); Sir William Johnson Papers; NYCD; NYHM.

became the mother superior of the Ursulines, a post she filled from 1760-66 and again from 1769-1772. She died in Québec in 1780.[65] Esther, raised Protestant, was rapidly incorporated into native and then religious communities in New France.

None of these examples is "typical." But among them are signaled most of the major patterns of movement in the region. Many of these patterns are evident in the Leber-Barrois-Lootman family movements, and in the case studies below (chapters five through eight). These include:

1. Intermarriage;
2. Captivity leading to marriage, adoption[66];
3. Conversion from one faith to another;
4. Fur trade travel or other travel leading to marriage, debt;
5. Travel for refuge;
6. Joining a religious institution;
7. Conducting personal business while engaged in official business.

From this brief description of the lives of some of the travelers in the borderland, it is clear that the activities of the fur trade were only one of many reasons for individuals to travel these north-south routes. The patterns which can be

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[65]NANF 224; NEC 1:425-35;Jetté, 1134.

[66]Sometimes the captivity was at sea or related to a shipwreck, see Esther Sozeau, Appendix A.

demonstrated in the case of the family of Anne Leber and Antoine Barrois are intermarriage (Anne Leber and Hillebrant Lootman, see below), captivity (Joachim Leber), conversion (Hillebrant Lootman), fur trade travel leading to marriage, debt or other business arrangements (Antoine Barrois) , travel for refuge (Antoine Barrois), joining a religious institution (Anne Barrois, *fille*) and conducting personal business while engaged in official business (Jacques Leber).

What stories did this family tell? What stories would Anne Leber, or John Carter, or Moise Dupuis have told of their lives? What meaning did they accord to their stories? What unity would they have given to their patterns? What language did they use to tell their stories? They could not have told the same story in Albany as in La Prairie; in Montréal as in Schenectady. Somehow they had to make sense of the ambiguous divide between colonies and between religions. How did they do this? The complexity of those stories is indicated by the life paths of two other members of the Leber family, Anne Barrois, daughter of Anne Leber, and Joachim, Anne Leber's brother.

Anne Leber, "Anna" Barrois, and the return to Canada

In 1685 Antoine Barrois ("Antoine Barroe") baptized a daughter, "Anna," in the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany.[67] Anna's father had died by 1689, when her

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[67]The mother's name was not recorded, as is typical of these records during this period. Munsell, Annals, 2: 150. The baptism was witnessed and sponsored by Jannetje Crygier and Albert Rykman. Rykman was frequently a sponsor during the years 1685-1692. The baptisms are not dated; this one

mother remarried a Dutch man named Hillebrant Lootman.[68] When "Anna" emigrated to New France, seven or eight years later, she was known as "Anne" Barrois. She had been sent to the Congrégation Nôtre Dame in Montréal for education, where she was confirmed (September 8, 1693 in Nôtre Dame de Montréal) and trained.

Anne was generally known, by the nuns and subsequently, by her biographers, to be the daughter of Antoine Barrois. This well-trained convent girl, who later became a nun with the Congrégation Nôtre Dame, had been raised in a Protestant community. There was no Catholic priest for hundreds of miles, except at the Jesuit missions in Iroquoia. Her early Catholic education was the information about the faith provided by her parents and neighbors. Her

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occurs about halfway through the baptisms listed for 1685. This "Anna" is Anne Barrois, the future Soeur St.-Charles .

[68]Hillebrant Lootman m. Anna Elbur, wid. of Antoine Barroa, "living under the jurisdiction of N.A. [New Albany]" December 20, 1689. Index to Public Records, New York County of Albany, "grantors", Vol. VIII viewed on microfilm at the Family History Center. #0017508, p 5; also #464899. Lootman's first and last names are variously spelled, including Hillebrant/Elbriand/Elbrain/Helibriand/ Hellebrandt/ Albrin/Albren/ Herbrant/Willebrant/Willibrord and Lootman/Lotman/ Lodtman. He may have been born in Esopus ("Iope" in French) in 1662, see Jetté, 744. He appears in the New York records as early as 1680, in a dispute with Jan Andriessen Dow regarding wages, [A.J.F. van Laer,] Court Minutes 1675-84, p. 4710, April 6, 1680. Hillebrant apparently had two brothers, "Jno." and "Jury." In 1687, he failed to appear to take an oath of allegiance to England, in Ulster County,New York, Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, New York Historical Manuscripts (hereafter NYHM) (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 91-94. Hillebrant was apparently litigious, often suing over wages or other items owed to him or being sued for work done poorly; in 1695 he pled guilty to assault. Hansen, "The Lootman/Barrois families," v. 1, 6. "Esopus" which is one place Jeanne Testard named as a residence for her daughter, Anne and her new husband, is in Ulster County, NYHM, 343.

knowledge of French was acquired in a polyglot community where Iroquois, Dutch and English predominated. Yet her unorthodox start is not noted by biographers and historians[69] who seem not to notice that she was born and raised on foreign soil, among "heretics." How might she have described herself?

The Canadian records are instructive on this point. Anne Leber's new husband Hillebrant (or Elbriand) Lootman (or Lotman), is virtually consistently referred to as "flamand" meaning "Dutch." For years, Lootman was almost always recorded by notaries and priests, as "flamand." By contrast, and by virtue of her subsequent history, Anne Barrois is assumed to be French and Canadian. Her baptism in a Catholic church is assumed by both her contemporaries and by historians, even when no record of such a baptism exists.

This points up a phenomenon worth noting. This distinction could be termed the "maintenance of identity." It appears that a non-French resident is so identified in the French record for his entire life, unless a name change obscures his origin. Often a burial record will mention that the deceased was "flamand" or "dit l'Espagnol." However for a French resident, the record both specifically and indirectly assumes a French identity, whether born on the soil of imperial France or not. That is, for someone of French parentage, identity is assumed to be not foreign, no matter what the circumstances. But for someone of foreign

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[69]Étienne-Michel Faillon, L'héroine chrétienne du Canada ou vie de Mlle. LeBer (Villemarie: Soeurs de la Congrégation Notre Dame, 1860), 224-37;Marie-Henriette [Lemire-Marsolais], Histoire de la Congrégation Notre-Dame (Montréal: [Maison Mère], 1910-1970, 10 vols., 5:217-24; Marie Beaupré, Jeanne LeBer (Montréal: Éditions ACF, 1939), 147-54.

parentage, there is no amount of living on French soil that changes the original fact. Generally, unless a person was an official or a priest, a sobriquet such as "dite la suisse" followed the name. Hillebrant Lootman's sons, perhaps sensing this, took the name "Barrois" as a second surname, confusing genealogists and historians for generations to come.[70]

Anna (known in Montréal as Anne) Barrois probably traveled north with a member of her extended family; it is likely that she was accompanied by her sister, Marie-Anne, who was five years older.[71] As she would have required some instruction, and perhaps even some language training, before confirmation, she probably was not confirmed as soon as she arrived in Montréal. She probably

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[70]See Hansen, "The Lootman/Barrois families," American Genealogist, v. 1-3, pp. 1-9, 88-92, 169-75.

[71]It is unlikely that her father, who was both a well-known personage and considered a fugitive in Canada, made the journey with her. Antoine, in any case, was presumed dead by the time Anna was three-and-a-half years old. It is possible that one of her older brothers (Philippe was twenty years old in 1692) or her mother, or Anthony Lespinard, who also sent his children to Montréal for education, made the journey with her. It is also possible that one of her mother's brothers, perhaps Joachim or François, or her mother's uncle, merchant Jacques Leber, traveled to Albany and took her back to Montréal on their return.

Joachim was in Albany in late 1692, and François and Jacques were in Iroquoia, upstream of the Dutch/English settlements (perhaps a day's travel from Albany or Esopus) in 1693. The timing of any of these trips indicates the possibility that Anne traveled north with a resident of the St. Lawrence valley on one of their trips to Albany or Iroquoia. If she were not accompanied by a family member, she could have been accompanied by a priest returning to Montréal. She may have returned with her mother's uncle, Jacques Leber, though this possibility is less likely as Jacques was in charge of a fast-moving raiding party. It is also possible that she was placed on a ship in Esopus, and traveled by boat from Esopus to Manhatte and on to Port Royal, Québec and Montréal. The most likely possibility is that she traveled with one of the many Leber family members who traveled the Champlain-Richelieu corridor. But there were many possible routes.

arrived between April and August, 1693, for she was confirmed in Montréal that September. She decided to become a nun, and took the name Soeur St.-Charles. Her vocation was to serve her famous relative, the recluse and master embroiderer Jeanne Leber, a role she filled from 1695 to Jeanne's death. In this role, she became a conduit for information, and stories, to and from the recluse.[72] Later in her life, she wrote notes on Jeanne Leber's life for the Sulpician M. Belmont's biography of her aunt.[73]

From the brief details we have of her life, some of the characteristics of the life of those who split their years between New York and Montréal can be observed. She had family members in both locations who looked after her. While in Albany, her parents had conformed enough with the customs of the Dutch to baptize her in a Protestant Church and to allow her name to be "Anna." In Albany, her parents had virtually no choice; if they wished to baptize her, it would be done by a Protestant, unless a Jesuit were traveling through. If they traveled to Iroquoia, they could have found Jesuit missionaries to baptize their children.

When Anne reached the age of reason, she returned for instruction to Montréal, a town and a culture she was likely never to have seen. Like many of the young New England captives, she came alone, without her parents, and was

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[72]For more on the stories Anne Barrois told, see "Stories told as True" and "Stories told as True, Reprise." Jeanne Leber spoke only to her father Jacques, to her spiritual advisor, and to Anne Barrois.

[73]Jacques Mathieu, "François Vachon Marquis de Belmont," DCB II:641-42. Belmont wrote *éloges* of several of the early priests and nuns in Montréal.

incorporated into a religious community. She ended her days in a settlement different from the one into which she was born. Her knowledge of French culture would have been transferred to her from her parents in her early years, but she would have had no sense of broader French society, and no experience with Catholic institutions. She seems to have adapted, as a young girl and an adult, to community life as a *religieuse*. Her life is an example of how an individual, through contact with another culture, can adapt. Her life, like her mother's, does not fit into the implicit collective identities ascribed by historians to the inhabitants of the St. Lawrence region. The movement of entire families to Albany for settlement rather than for trade, the baptism of a future nun of the Congrégation in a Protestant church, the marriage of a French widow to a Dutch man -- these kinds of activities simply do not accord with traditional historical understandings of life in the French colony.

Those around Anne also learned and adapted. They had to teach her French terms, her letters, the catechism, aspects of their devotion and daily life which she could not have known in Albany. Indeed, they were models for her of the nature of female religious life, as young Anne had never known any nuns in the first eight years of her life. It is likely that she was considered by her family as a gift to the church and to God. She was the marker of their continuing devotion and faith, and the atonement for her father's transgressions in Montréal. Anne herself cannot have known the complexity of her role. But her immediate status within the community speaks of a social importance that was more significant than her young age and unorthodox upbringing would suggest or

require. Here too her family connections seem to be significant. Anne's participation and education were of interest to her uncle Jacques Leber; he donated 200 livres per year for Anne's upkeep for as long as he lived.[74]

What stories did she tell of her childhood in Albany? Anne may have related to her schoolmates and mentors a few details of her life in Albany and her journey northward. In this way, within the Congrégation, some details of life were shared across cultures. In this way, too, she and her fellow students and teachers, helped shape her life story.

Anne's brothers and sisters followed her journey northward in 1699, appearing for baptism with Anne Leber and Hillebrant Lootman in that year in La Prairie. It is not straying too far from the record to imagine a reunion of Anne with her mother and siblings that year at the convent. What mixture of Dutch, English and French did they speak at this reunion? The family settled, at least temporarily, in La Prairie. Anne remained with the Congrégation until her death.

Like Anne Leber in her travel south, the young Anne Barrois in her northward travel was not unique; many other children, most of whom were English, did the same. They were incorporated into religious communities in New France, into trading communities, into missions, or into families. The communities or families they joined each learned a few details about life to the

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[74]Abbé E.M. Faillon, The Christian Heroine of Canada: Life of Miss LeBer, (Montréal: Lovell, 1861), 145-46. Faillon provides the interesting information that Jeanne spoke with Jacques Leber twice a year.

south and the nature of the journey. Certain families in New France had contact with many of these young travelers, and had opportunities to learn from them about the advantages, and disadvantages, of life in New England or New York. Among these communities or families are the Ursulines of Québec, the Lemoyne family, the Leber family, the Moreau family, the Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, Lachine, Kahnawake, Saint-François, and La Prairie. Some of these families developed networks with the "newcomers" which lasted for decades, including intermarriage, adoption and business arrangements. These arrangements and *parenté* necessarily altered their practical experience of "nationhood" or "loyalty" in this period. For instance, Anne Leber traveled south to Albany with a French man, her husband, who eventually took an oath of allegiance to New York. She then traveled north to La Prairie with a Dutch man, her husband, who had refused to take an oath of allegiance to New York. This family also seemed to access basic religious activities wherever they landed.

The family life of Anne Leber was inextricably entwined with the lives of New Yorkers. Chapter Eight will demonstrate that these liaisons lasted several generations. However Anne, her daughter Soeur St.-Charles and her half-brother, Joachim, were not the only residents of New France whose lives were so affected. As detailed in Appendix A, many travelers, willing or unwilling, young and old, native or English or Dutch, married, had a profession and raised children in New France. Some, like celibates Anne Barrois and, as will be seen in Chapter Six, Kateri Tekakwitha, lived the rest of their lives, died and were buried in New France. Others married, forming new families.

Marriages as cultural mixers

R. Cole Harris has noted that marriages in the early colonial setting were "powerful cultural mixers." Travel and migration along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor prompted many such cultural mixes. The marriage of Anne Leber to Hillebrant Lootman occured on December 20, 1689. In 1697 Lootman was listed as a resident of Albany county, with himself, "one woman and three children" in his household.[75] Hillebrant and Anne had more children, but the records of their baptisms in the Albany vicinity do not survive. It seems certain that Anne communicated with her stepmother, Jeanne Testard, or perhaps visited her. By 1698 Jeanne Testard, Anne's stepmother, knew that Anne had remarried, and knew where Anne was residing (in one document she says Nouvelle Angleterre -- technically correct as New England and New York had been united after 1664, and, more assiduously governed as a unit after 1684; in another, she says "Esopus") and knew the name of Anne's husband as "Elbrain." It seems clear that Anne's return to New France in 1699 was related, at least in part, to her knowledge that her mother was dividing Anne's deceased father's estate. To have such knowledge, Anne must have received a communication of some kind

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[75]Joel Munsell, The Annals of Albany 10 vols.(hereafter Annals) (Albany: Munsell, Munsell and Rowland, 1850-59), 9: 81-89. Note: this is an extraordinary entry. He is the only one, of over a hundred heads of household, who is listed by only one of his two names. All others are listed by surname and first name. Also, a notation on the list identifies him as a Papist. Other people listed who were French or were identified as French were "Jan Rosie," "Pieter Villeroy" and "Jan Van Loon." It would appear that Anne's older children had moved out of the household, or perhaps to Iroquoia or the Great Lakes region, or back to New France. The Albany officials took testimony from Jan Rosie in 1688; he was an interpreter and envoy to Canada, Annals, 7: 278-79.

from Canada.[76]

In 1699, when the Barrois-Lootman family returned to La Prairie, the Iroquois alliance with the English was collapsing. Suspicion of foreigners was on the rise in New York, and restrictions on their privileges, especially the privilege to carry a gun, were frequently enacted. Perhaps Anne Leber, Hillebrant Lootman and their family decided to retest the waters in New France. Iroquois peace with New France appeared to be, and indeed was, imminent. Anne Leber stood to gain from an inheritance from her father. In 1698, Hillebrant Lootman was involved in a suit against trader Johannes Schuyler, the Dutch resident of Albany described above, a suit which Lootman lost.[77] As in 1683, in 1699 personal motives combined with opportunity to encourage a move by this family.[78] What stories did Anne tell in La Prairie after a sixteen-year absence, four more children and a new, Dutch, husband?

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[76]Request and *Inventaire des Biens*, Jeanne Testard, Basset 16 fév[rier] 1698, ANQM, number 2454.

[77]Annals, 2nd edition, 3:31-332, May 10, 1698, Mayor's Court held in Albany. Johannes Schuyler proved to the court that he had paid 52 pieces of eight (for poultry and cattle sold him by Lootman) to Peter Schuyler "by plaintiff's order." This sale looks like the beginning of a planned emigration to Canada, where the family arrived the following Spring.

[78]There is a marriage for Dec. 8, 1763: Margaret Barroway to Jacobus Pearson, in New York state, E.B. O'Callagahan, Marriage Licenses previous to 1784 (Albany: Weed Parsons, 1860), 7: 499. One of Anne's sons, Charles Barrois, born 1678, married Aaltie Roeloffse Van Der Werker in Albany, June 7, 1707, Fournier, NANE, 105 and Appendix A, "Barrois." Another son, Antoine, was godfather at the Montréal baptism of the daughter of two English captives in 1706. See also Jonathan Pearson, Contributions to the Genealogies of the First Settlers of Albany, 7; Jetté, 53.

Coming and Going

This "va et vient" movement is typical of the life patterns of some individuals and families in the border region of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[79] Some of these journeys were not undertaken solely, or even principally, as part of the fur trade. As can be seen in the examples above, trips were undertaken for many reasons, and sometimes for more than one reason. Virtually all Albany residents were considered, both by their contemporaries and by historians, to be petty traders in furs. But with furs they, along with the residents of St. Lawrence riverine settlements, carried messages, money, promises, as well as oranges, candlesticks or silverplate. The relationships between individuals in this region were many-layered and complex. They traveled to pay a debt, to borrow money, to make a trade, to carry a message, to divulge a war plan or to see a loved one. They traveled, as Anne Leber did, to collect an inheritance. When the entirety of this "va et vient" is contemplated, it becomes clear that messages and information were traveling virtually constantly on this route, as well as on the eastern route from Québec city to Maine and Massachusetts, often via one of the ports in Nova Scotia. It is reasonable to conclude that important messages could be carried back and forth between the colonies in a matter of a week or two. This made communication with New England and New York far more efficient than communication with the ports of France. These two routes, the east (Québec to Boston and New York) and the west (Montréal to Albany) circled the

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[79]Norton, Fur Trade, 121-151; Thomas E. Burke, Schenectady (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

"island" of New England. The Boston Post Road connected Albany and Boston by land. Regular shipping traffic connected Albany to New York City and Boston, as well as the riverine route from Montréal to Québec. These routes were "information highways" of the early colonial period. They were employed by persons of all rank for all reasons.[80]

Individuals who traveled this route learned from those whom they met en route and the people they met at both ends of the journey. They told their stories at Montréal and Albany, as well as at places in between. Contact between cultures was producing the changes characteristic of border regions. These changes were demonstrated in dress (such as the *canadienne* style of dress noted by contemporaries[81]) and outward customs. The changes were also producing a familiarity with other religions and governments in a decidedly new-world context. The simplest path for women was to baptize their children in the local church, wherever the children happened to be born. For a family which was growing and moving, such choices were unavoidable. Decisions to baptize a child in the church of the "opposite" faith which would have been life-threatening during the wars of religion in Europe, became almost commonplace for borderland travelers. Viewed another way, popular faith (for instance, in baptism) outweighed fear of worldly or heavenly retribution from the "wrong"

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[80]For examples of information carried along these routes see Appendix A.

[81]In 1707, when the husband of New England captive Hannah Eastman came to Trois-Rivières to ransom her, he was dressed in the Canadian style. She, perhaps because of her clothing, was unrecognizable to him; see Appendix A.

choice. Fear of not conforming in a foreign colony may have outweighed fear of the spiritual consequences of conforming.

Similarly, the smoothest path for men was to swear allegiance to the colonial jurisdiction in which they lived (and, necessarily, to the monarch who supported that administration) or, alternatively, to "vote with their feet" by moving out of the reach of colonial authorities or to another colony.

These changes were mediated, in part, through language, generally activity-specific languages which were mutually understandable. Using again the definition of the self as the "narrative center of gravity," what words did these travelers use to spin their tales? To maintain a plausible identity in the borderland, a person had to use languages that were understandable at both ends of the route, even if the stories told in either locale were, of necessity, slightly altered. Four major types of languages developed in this region during this period: trade pidgin, religious language (including symbols) and the languages of the linked activities of war and diplomacy. Antoine's life path indicates a familiarity with the language of trade. Anne Barrois learned to use religious language. Joachim Leber, Anne's brother, whom we will encounter in the following chapter, manipulated the language of warfare.

CHAPTER FIVE: CASE STUDY, JOACHIM LEBER

> [W]e felt as uncertain as the drainage about which way to flow. . . Like the pond . . . we could flow into either watershed, or into both simultaneously, but we never confused the two.[1]

If identity is expressed largely through language, then language becomes particularly important for individuals carving an identity in cross-cultural settings. To be sure, these individuals spoke different languages: Dutch, Iroquois, French, Abenaki. But within these corporate languages were subsets of language, which were sometimes called jargon or lingua franca, which allowed communication across standard language and cultural barriers. To explore the relationship between language, narrative and identity we can turn to the choices of Anne Leber's brother, Joachim Leber, who moved as a child with his parents from Montréal to La Prairie.

Young men, particularly when they are in the middle of an illegal activity, are difficult to track. It is certain that some young men left these communities and never returned. Such, apparently, was the case with a man named Jacques Guitaut. Guitaut received a concession at La Prairie. He had, apparently, a daughter but no living wife. He left the daughter with nuns, probably the Congrégation Notre Dame.[2] He may have planned to pay for his land with furs.

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[1]Wallace Stegner, Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier (New York: Viking, 1963), 8, 84.

[2]Maugue, 23 March 1678, *Inventaire.*

In any case, he departed in 1674 but had not returned by 1678. At this date he was presumed dead.

The voyages and (perhaps undocumented) returns of Guitaut signal the pattern which was to engage several men, and occasionally, families, at La Prairie for the next 175 years. This pattern is absence, due to engagement -- either legal or illegal -- in trade with Indians, Dutch and English. One can gather from the record that those left on the banks of the St. Lawrence awaited the return of these traders, often for years. For most of those who did not return, it is difficult if not impossible to trace their route. They could have, in fact, traveled up the Ottawa, or to Lake Superior, or only as far as a few miles upstream. There were probably some who arrived in other communities in the colony (either Indian or French) and never returned to La Prairie. Some may have arrived in Indian, English or Dutch communities to the south and stayed there, marrying, changing their names and religion. Others may have taken a boat to another part of the colony, to another colony or back to Europe. These who did not return, however, would not have significantly affected the flow of information to La Prairie. Quite simply, the narrative of their lives would not have been well-known. Their absence would be noted, of course, and perhaps was a cause of mystery or fear to the remaining residents of La Prairie who contemplated similar voyages. But they did not return to tell their tale, and as such were not an active part of the evolving community of La Prairie.

There were some who did return, and who, by doing so, drew the attention of officials in Montréal. In 1681 Frontenac wrote to the King describing "certain

individuals, who resort among the Indians . . .[convey] Beaver to Orange by a place called Chambly." Frontenac notes that the "Loups (Mahicans) and Iroquois of the five nations . . . have pursued trade to Orange for a long time by means of those of their tribe who have settled at Sault St. Louis," near Montreal, "which is, as it were, their entrepot for this traffic." He informed the king that he sent guards to Chambly to keep the French from imitating the Indian trade to Orange.[3]

Other young men from La Prairie returned each year, or even more often. These include members of some of the oldest families in La Prairie, such as the Leber, Roy, and Deniau families.[4] Often, in these families, one or more members worked in alternation or together as a team in the fur trade. One example of this frequent trading activity by a young unmarried man is Joachim Leber.[5] Joachim is of particular interest because he, probably against his will, left for historians a narrative record.

Joachim Leber was born early in 1664. He was baptized on June 10, 1664 at Notre-Dame-de-Montréal as Joachim-Jacques Lebert.[6] He was the eldest son of François Leber and Jeanne Testard. By 1672, as a young boy of about eight, he had moved with his parents and older step-sister, Anne, to La

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[3]NYCD 9: 145-7, 2 nov. 1681.

[4]For details of *congés*, see the Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1921-1922 (hereafter, RAPQ), 189-223.

[5]Yvon Lacroix, Les Origines de La Prairie (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1981),132-6; Louis Lavallée, La Prairie en Nouvelle-France (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 35.

[6]Jetté, 670.

Prairie.[7] Joachim worshipped with the Indians of the mission at La Prairie until 1676 when the native mission moved the first time, to the place called Kahnawake, at the mouth of the Portage River. He may have had an opportunity to learn native languages at the mission during the 1670s. Too young to be a soldier for Prouville de Tracy during the raid of Iroquois villages in 1666, he would have been privy to the tales told by the soldiers who returned from this mission and settled at La Prairie.[8] He also would have heard the stories told by returning *coureurs de bois* in his youth. It is difficult to ascertain exactly what Joachim knew about the route, the Iroquois, the Dutch or the fur trade, but it is clear that unless he was deaf (and later events demonstrate that he was not) he had many opportunities to learn about things which would fascinate a growing boy.

It is possible that Joachim went along on trips to the Iroquois or Ottawa when he was as young as fifteen or sixteen years old, either as an assistant to the Jesuits or as a helper for older *coureurs de bois*.[9] His brother François may have been a fur trader.[10] The first recorded contract for Joachim's services, however, was in May, 1685, when Joachim was 21 years old. He was paid the

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[7]Lacroix, Les Origines, 173.

[8]Léopold Lamontagne, "Alexandre Prouville de Tracy," DCB I:554-57. De Tracy was born in 1596 or 1603; he was about 62 when he led destructive raids against four Mohawk villages.

[9]Lacroix, Les Origines, 134n153.

[10]He was believed to be a prisoner of the Iroquois in 1693. Maugue, Claude Caron, 1697; Basset 2439, 11 novembre, 1697; Fonds Choquet, 2.178 viewed at SHLPM.

same wage as a 30-year-old *engagé*, which indicates that the contractor, Claude Grizonneau (Greysolon),[11] knew that Joachim was experienced. Joachim was engaged, with others, to go to the "8ta8ats" (Ottawas).[12] Three years later, in 1688, he and François Bourassa were hired by René Legardeur de Beauvais.[13] Two years later, in 1690, he was hired with "Pierre Bourdeau, Andre [André] Babu, Francois Bourassat" again by Legardeur, this time to go to "Missilimakinac." [14]

Joachim was about twenty-seven years old when he contracted to go to Michilimakinac -- a longer trip which often took more than one year depending on weather conditions and good, or bad, relationships with the Indians. It seems that he came home from this trip. Following Leber in the parish records, we find that in January 1692 at La Prairie he married a widow, Jeanne Cusson. Jeanne had two children by a previous marriage with Jean Bareau/Brelau.[15] The records show that Joachim attended a baptism in February, 1696. Joachim died, perhaps in 1696, perhaps as part of an Indian raid. Jeanne testified that Joachim

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[11]Yves F. Zoltvany, "Claude Greysolon de la Tourette," DCB II:261. Claude was Daniel's brother. He commanded trade posts in the *pays d'en haut*, grew wealthy in the fur trade in the 1690s and returned to France.

[12]Bourgine, 6 Mai, 1685, RAPQ 1929-30, 195; Yves Zoltvany, "Daniel Greysolon Dulhut," DCB 2:261-64.

[13]Adhémar, 27 juin, 1688, RAPQ 1929-30, 196; on Legardeur see also Nora T. Corley, "Augustin Legardeur de Courtemanche," DCB II: 383-384.

[14]Adhémar, 11 mai, 1690, see also Fond Choquet, Barrois, 2.178.

[15]Jean had died in August, 1690, with 24 others as a result of Iroquois attack, see below. He also was probably the one, of the same name, who was scolded, by a priest, for selling liquor to the Indians at La Prairie, 1673.

had been "brulé par les Iroquois."[16] Jeanne had a child during the summer of 1696, perhaps by the man who was to become her third husband in the fall of 1696, and with whom she would have several more children.[17]

The exact details of Joachim's life are difficult to discern. Though the record of Joachim's life in New France is scanty, a few patterns emerge. Joachim had all the training necessary to be a valued employee in the fur trade, by virtue of growing up in La Prairie. He probably understood at least a few words of Iroquois or Algonquian, and it is very possible that he was bilingual. His uncle was the wealthy Montréal merchant Jacques Leber, brother of Joachim's father François. This family connection opened opportunities for employment for Joachim -- indeed several members of this extraordinary family are found among the *engagés*, as well as in leadership positions in their parish.[18]

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[16]Adhémar, 8 novembre, 1696, *Inventaire des biens* Jean Breslau. Lacroix, Les Origines, 63n83, suggests that Joachim's death occured on August, 29, 1695, at the same time as that of Matthieu Faye, 54 years old and his son Andre Faye, 17. If Joachim was in attendance at a baptism in February, 1696, as the parish records indicate, then he died sometime later, probably between February and November, 1696.

[17]But cf. Jetté, 670. Despite excellent parish baptismal records, Michelle's baptism is not recorded in La Prairie, and no record of her baptism has been found. Her mother and she later attempted to prove she was Joachim's daughter, probably for reasons of inheritance. If she were, she may have been born outside the colony, perhaps in the New York region. Fonds Choquet, "Lebert," 7.

[18]For Jacques Leber, see Chapter Four, note 10. His network of trade connections spread from Albany to the ports of France. He seems to have operated without fear of official reprisal. It is a possibility that residents of La Prairie sold liquor to the Indians in order to obtain hard currency, which was then transported to Montréal to settle debts or to loan to others, including the government. One example of Jacques Leber sharing resources (in this case, a

It is very likely that he was away from La Prairie during the August, 1690 attack, led by Johannes Schuyler, on La Prairie which left 25 dead. He was also not at La Prairie during the August 1691 attack by Peter Schuyler and some Mohawks which left fourteen dead.[19] If he was in Iroquoia, as plans for these attacks were developed, he may have heard about them. The time which elapsed between his recorded engagements is about two to three years leaving time, depending on how far he went each time, for a short illegal trip in between engagements.

Like many of his contemporaries, Joachim married when he was a relatively old fellow, at about the age of twenty-nine.[20] Also, like many of his contemporaries, he married a woman who had been married before, and who had children. He seems to have acquired little -- there is no mention of belongings. He and Jeanne baptized no children, indicating, among other

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boat which he agrees to buy) with the government is described in Dubé, La Nouvelle-France, 100.

[19]These attacks were the most famous sustained by La Prairie. In 1690, habitants Jean Duval, Jean Barreau and Jean Bourbon were killed, along with five soldiers. Habitants Mathieu Faye and his wife, Marguerite-Françoise Moreau, were taken captive by the Iroquois. Claude Aumart was captured and burned. Mathieu Faye and his wife escaped and returned to La Prairie four years later. Most of the bodies retrieved from the scene of the 1691 battle of "La Fourche" were not identifiable, but Jean-Vincent LeBer (dit la Rose), son of Jacques Leber, was one of the dead, Jetté, 670. Lacroix, Les Origines, 62-63. A memorial monument marks the spot of this battle, on Route 104 in La Prairie.

[20]Average age of marriage for males in New France in this period was 26.8, while in Montréal the average age of marriage for males was 28.6. Women married younger, at 21.9 for New France, and 21.0 in Montréal. Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 51.

possibilities, that he was absent from La Prairie for much of the time between their marriage in January, 1692 and his demise in 1695 or 1696.[21]

Joachim's life, even though short, was affected in important ways by proximity to Iroquoia. First, he had the opportunity to learn the language and perhaps the habits of the Indians he lived with as a young boy. The stories he heard as a boy would have told him more. Second, he travelled several times on fur trading business, or, as shall be seen, as a captive, far into native territory. Third, he married the widow of a man who was killed by the Iroquois. Fourth, he was closely related to several others active in the fur trade, including his brother, François, who was, in 1693, a prisoner of the Iroquois and most particularly his uncle, Jacques Leber, who had favored status among the Onondaga.[22] Fifth, he was, at least according to his wife, captured and killed by the Iroquois.

There is, however, another source on Joachim. It is a source which tells us much about the other side of his life, away from the notaries, the priests, and even away from his fellow *engagés*. Joachim was alone, and perhaps rather

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[21]Jeanne Cusson tried to claim some of Francois Leber's inheritance for her daughter, see *Inventaire des biens* Jean Breslau, Adhémar 8 nov. 1696, and *Inventaire des biens de Communauté*, Jeanne Testard, Basset dit Deslauriers, Benigne, 16 mars 1698. If Michelle was Joachim's daughter, he may never have met her, as she may have been born the year he was a prisoner of the Dutch, and his presence at La Prairie is not documented with certainty after that date. Michelle received a concession of land at Chambly in 1714. She is described in the record as the granddaughter of François Leber.

[22]Like his partner, Charles LeMoyne, who had been captured by the Iroquois in 1655, Jacques Leber was captured by the Onondaga, adopted by them and was given the charge of one of their youth. He appears to have acquired stature with the Onondaga, and was revered by them. See below.

desperate, when he was interrogated by Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York, at Albany, on October 4, 1692. Fletcher had been Governor of New York for only two months when he conducted "The Examination of Joachin Lebert, a French Man of Canada, and Native of Mont Royal, taken before his Excellency . . . at Albany the 4th of October, 1692."[23]

The scene in Albany was one of high alert. It was near the end of the raucous trading season. The fur trade at Albany had been in serious decline since 1690 and the Albany merchants complained that they must have access to more furs from the Great Lakes region. There had been open warfare in the St. Lawrence region between Sault Indians and League Iroquois since about 1691.[24] These skirmishes and battles included Europeans on both sides. It is possible Joachim was taken captive in one of these small raids or in a larger battle. It is also possible he was on a simple trading trip to Albany when he was taken. There may have been a secretary or scribe assisting the governor, and whoever brought Joachim in for interrogation (a jailor or an Indian or a soldier?) may have been standing to one side. Nearby was a workhouse where impoverished Iroquois lived and made wampum. Licensed and illegal taverns and bars conducted a brisk business within earshot. But Joachim, probably a captive, was

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[23]Evans Microcard 632, American Antiquarian Society.

[24]Gretchen Green, "A new people in an age of war," Ph.D. diss., Williamsburg, College of William and Mary, 1991, 135-9.

in Albany to be interrogated.[25]

Fletcher's report follows:

> That he lived at Prerie de lay Magdelain. That it is 60 leagues from Mont Royal to Quebeck. That Mr. de Cellier (de Calliere) is Governour of Mont Royal. That there is 2,200 men carrying Arms in his Government, souldiers and Inhabitants. That the Town of Mont Royal is inclosed with Stockagoes [stockadoes or stockades]. That there is 53 pieces of Canon, Brass and Iron, eight Companies of Suldiers, unequal in number, 50 men being the most.
>
> That the Fort of Magdelaine contains 23 families, 400 men in Arms, 2 pieces of Canon, and 5 Patteraroes.[26] There is 200 men in the Indian Fort called Canawagne.[27] That there is ten Men of War arrived at Quebeck, from France, laden with Amunition, & that he saw the said Ships. That he hath been taken 43 days, and says, that the day before his being taken he being at Mr. Cellier's house,[28] he saw a Canow arrive there from Mr. LeCount,[29] sent to Mr. Cellier to demand the Collers of deeds,[30] which are usually presented at the concluding a Peace, the

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[25]On seventeenth-century Albany, see Donna Merwick, Possessing Albany,1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Charlotte Wilcoxen, Seventeenth Century Albany: A Dutch Profile (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1981); A Beautiful and Fruitful Place ([Albany]: New Netherlands Publishing, 1991) and the publications of the Colonial Albany Social History Project.

[26]A patteraro was a portable cannon.

[27]Caughnawaga or Kahnawake.

[28]Governor of Montréal Louis Hector de Callières. Callières was governor of Montréal from 1684-1698 and governor of New France from 1698-1703, during which time he concluded the 1701 peace with the Iroquois, JR 63: 303; Yves F. Zoltvany, "Louis-Hector de Callière," DCB 2:112-17.

[29]Governor of New France from 1672-1682, and again from 1689-1698, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. See W. J. Eccles, Frontenac: The Courtier Governor (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965) and "Louis de Buade de Frontenac et de Palluau," DCB 1:133-42.

[30]Belts of wampum which sealed agreements.

> which occasioned him to say there was Ambassadours coming to treat a Peace.
>
> Upon the Objection made, That there could not be So many People as (?) He saids, that the two Frenchmen were sent to York some time since, being ?now at Canada, did inform Mr. LeCount, that the English had assembled all their Nations, with a design upon [g?] Canada, which obliged Mr. Le Count to raise all the ?men he could possible,which was that Number he said. And says, he knows nothing more.[31]

This document provides some information about Joachim Leber's continued activity, information which is missing from the French record. He seems very knowledgeable, and perhaps he understands English, for there is no indication of an interpreter nor any fumbling of answers or misunderstanding of questions. The specifics are remarkably accurate. For instance, Joachim was a native of Montréal, but was living in La Prairie. Joachim has adopted the language of warfare (weapons, defensive and offensive capability) in this situation; it is a language his interrogators expected and understood. Joachim may have had other options, such as remaining silent, asking for the assistance of his relatives, in particular his half-sister Anne Barrois Lotman, or inventing another tale for why he had been captured. With the frequency of travel and intelligence-gathering in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor however, false information was easily detected. Most of the extant testimonies indicate that prisoners provided accurate if sometimes sketchy information.

What details can be learned from his testimony? Since Joachim's family

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[31] Early American Imprints, 1639-1800 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1967-1974), Evans Microcard 632.

was well-connected it is entirely possible that he visited with and dined at the home of the Governor of Montréal; his uncle Jacques Leber had a home adjacent to Callières' home in Montréal.

Had Joachim seen ships in Québec? Ten men of war? Possibly. Did he go often to Québec? The distance is about 175 miles; Joachim's estimate of the distance is accurate. No road yet linked the two cities, but the habitants and traders traveled by boat. As a young *engagé* and sometime *coureur de bois* however, Joachim's patterns probably included visits to La Prairie, business arrangements and obtaining supplies in Montréal, and upriver trips to the Great Lakes or to Albany. Québec would be an unprofitable and lengthy detour, and there is no evidence that he ever was there. A more typical route for this information would have been word of mouth, which was the fastest. Communication was frequent between Québec and Montréal, and between Montréal and La Prairie. His wife was from Cap de la Madeleine, near Trois-Rivières, half-way between Montréal and Québec. It is possible that communication with his wife's family would have informed him with certainty of "ten Men of War."

Joachim's estimates of the defense capabilities of New France, while not believed by Fletcher, were fairly accurate. In 1689 the French forces in New France were consolidated into twenty-nine companies of fifty men each. In 1699 the number of men per company was reduced from fifty to thirty, probably due to the difficulty commanders experienced in keeping their companies at full strength; in this the financial strain these forts placed on the colony's finances

was a significant factor.[32] The men defending La Prairie were probably soldiers billeted there. These soldiers were distributed throughout the St. Lawrence valley. There were 1,418 regular soldiers in New France in 1688.[33] Soldiers were also billeted at Sault St.-Louis. The record indicates that Frontenac sent 600 militia, Indians, and regular soldiers to Mohawk territory in 1693, just one year after Joachim testified in front of Governor Fletcher.[34]

Joachim's narrative moves from the defense of his home town to the wartime capability of Sault St.-Louis. Like most of his superiors, he thought of the mission as a recruiting ground for the defense of New France.

Joachim also has news of a peace. Though not specific, he implies that it is a peace which will strengthen the defense of New France. Warfare between League Iroquois (mostly non-Christians) and Sault residents (some of whom were ardent Christians, others of whom at least tolerated the presence of the Jesuit priests among them) had been constant since December 1691. By 1692 La Prairie was a garrison town, with soldiers billeted there from other parts of the colony. The attacks and counterattacks were reaching intolerable levels. Individuals sometimes refused to fight if they did not know the exact targets. It

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[32]Cyrille Gélinas, The role of Fort Chambly in the Development of New France, 1665-1760 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983),15 and Jay Cassell, "Les Troupes de la Marine in Canada," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987.

[33]Gélinas, Fort Chambly, 15.

[34]Green, "A new people," 141-2. For details on troop strength see Jay Cassel, "The Troupes de la Marine in Canada," Ph.D. diss., 1987, Appendices B, C and E.

was not uncommon for individual soldiers, particularly native soldiers, to ask the names of individuals in the opposing party before commencing to fight.[35] A peace with the Iroquois was in fact imminent, following Canada's devastating raids on the Iroquois in 1690 and 1691. An Oneida, Tarriha, approached Frontenac in June, 1693 to propose peace. Frontenac's frenetic pattern of trade, warfare and tough diplomacy was bearing fruit, and perhaps in his recent travels Joachim Leber had heard rumblings of this.[36]

In general, then, Joachim's story is both accurate and precise. He appears to have been traveling without a permit, or to have been, as he would have it, captured near a settlement. It seems likely that he was engaged in some private illegal trading in upper Iroquoia when he was captured. This possiblity is strengthened by the fact that the governor did not ask Joachim the purpose of his travel, or why he was traveling without a permit. He may have been a captive of a native group. It is also possible that he had been or would be tortured and tested for adoption by the native group that captured him.[37] He may have returned to La Prairie and later died at the hands of the Iroquois, although the exact timing of his travels is impossible, at this distance, to trace.

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[35]Green, "A new people," 130-9.

[36]Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 172ff. It is possible that Joachim Leber was the "french man" who was returned by Tarriha to Frontenac in Montreal in the Spring of 1693. Regarding Tarriha, see Chapter Seven, below.

[37]If an Albany resident brought a captive into the court for questioning, the resident was generally named in the record. No individual is named in the case of Joachim Leber. This supports the possibility that he was captured by natives.

Joachim Leber is an example of a young man raised at La Prairie whose life, at least as much of it as we can reconstruct, was centered around the fur trade. There is no evidence of significant agricultural activity on his part. He did not help support his mother, though other neighbors and a younger brother did.[38] He did not receive a concession, and can be documented in Iroquoia or New York in 1685-1690 and 1692. As a part of the fur trade he traveled to Montréal, to the Ottawas, to Michilimakinac, and, perhaps under force, but likely more than once willingly as well, to Albany. Yet, if we believe the testimony of his wife, who had two husbands meet similar ends, this proximity to the natives did not save him from a violent death at the hands of "les Irokois."[39]

He had no children, and perhaps knew of his wife's liason with the man who was to become her third husband. Joachim's burial was not recorded in New France. It is entirely possible that he remained in Iroquoia, traveled further into the *pays d'en haut*, or changed his identity and traveled to another colony. It is not possible to know for certain how or when he ended his days.[40]

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[38]Jeanne Testard, *Inventaire des biens*, Basset, 16 mars 1698 and 16 février 1698, ANQM 2454.

[39]*Inventaire des biens*, Jean Breslau, Adhémar 8 nov. 1696.

[40]Many life stories in New France ended in mystery, like Joachim's. See Greer, People, 24. The number of drownings, relative to the population -- even a riverine population which did not swim -- seems extraordinary. See Yves Landry and Rénald Lessard, "Les causes de déces aux xviie et xviiie siècles d'après les registres paroissiaux québecois," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française 48(4): 509-526, note that men died more frequently from accidents than from disease. For women the situation was reversed. Drownings accounted for more than half of the accidents recorded.

For scholars of Canadian history, Joachim's life is more familiar than Anne's. Joachim is a resident of New France whose journeys are related to the fur trade. His testimony is a rare narrative source from an individual in a population where narrative sources are almost non-existent. This was the story he told, probably under duress, to the officials in Albany. What story would he tell in Michilimackinac? In La Prairie? In Montréal? Surely, it would not be the story recorded by the Albany court officials. Joachim's narrative, however truthful, was situational. It was tailored for the -- very uncomfortable -- situation in which he found himself. As a means of survival, he had learned to use the language of war and diplomacy in telling his story; this was the language his interrogators wanted to hear. Arguably, he had little choice about what to say in this context. It is reasonable to assume that any fairly competent young man in his situation would have offered information about battle readiness in New France. As a source about Joachim's identity, or self, this narrative is not introspective. However, it provides considerabe information about his knowledge, his language, his affiliations and his understanding of his environment.

His activity at the time of his capture is critical to interpreting his narrative. If he was taken captive at or near La Prairie, for instance, while tending a crop, he could relate his account similarly in Albany and, later, in Montréal upon his return. If he was trading illegally, providing information to the Albany officials in return for some other consideration, or engaging in traitorous activity, he could not have provided the same account in both places. On his return he would

readjust his narrative to his situation. His narrative and perhaps, as a result, his sense of his place in the world, would shift a bit with each retelling.

In addition to the existence of his narrative, there is another remarkable "coincidence" about this testimony. What is extraordinary about his involuntary appearance before the court in New York is the timing. Joachim appeared alone in the court in the region where his stepsister, Anne, had been living for nine years. It is worth underscoring that he did not, in his testimony, mention his family members, and did not ask for assistance from his half-sister or her husband. In the following year, perhaps while Joachim was still in New York, his brother François and his uncle Jacques Leber were both in Iroquoia. Jacques, in fact, had just been given an Iroquois youth in exchange for his son Jean/Jacques Leber dit La Rose who had died defending La Prairie.[41] Four members of this family: Anne, Joachim, Jacques and François were in the New York region during one twelve-month period. At first glance it would appear that some members of the family might be engaged in activities which endangered the lives of other members. Their goals and intentions were different, but were their goals related?

It is difficult at this distance to say, but it appears likely, and later events support the possibility, that these members of the Leber family were assisting each other in their journeys, trade and settlement in Iroquoia and New York.

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[41]Evans Microprint 632, "Report of Peter Schuyler"; E.M. Faillon, Héroine Chrétienne du Canada ou Vie de Mlle. LeBer (Villemarie [Montréal]: Soeurs de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, 1860), Gretchen Green, "A New People", 140-44. NYCD 9: 577-80. For adoptions, see also Peter L. Cook, "Les voies de douceur et d'inspiration," unpublished master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 1994, 145.

Knowledge of passable routes, prices of furs, and news about the arrival or departure of a new governor or Protestant minister were vital to travel, settlement and trade in this region. This is the kind of knowledge that Anne Barrois, Joachim Leber, François Leber and Jacques Leber would have gleaned from their time in Iroquoia or New York, and would have been able to pass on to other family members or trusted associates. It also appears clear that information about raids, counterraids and preparations for war could travel easily along this "information highway." For instance, Anne Leber was in New York in 1690 and 1691 when plans for the attack on her home community were made. Her stepmother, stepbrothers and stepsisters still lived in La Prairie. It is likely that Anne knew of these plans. Did she attempt to warn the residents of La Prairie? Did anyone else? Did any warnings arrive at La Prairie? It is hard to know for certain. It does seem clear that members of this family, a family which spanned and peopled the Albany fur trade route, a family which knew, intimately, both poles of that route, sorted information and choices constantly. The narratives that they told about their lives were necessarily complex and malleable -- tailored for each situation.

This simple story, Joachim Leber, engagé, François Leber, engagé and prisoner, Anne Leber wife and mother, and Jacques Leber, their uncle, a merchant, ends where it began, in the village of La Prairie. It also moves from La Prairie to Albany, to the castle of the Onondagas, and to major affairs of state. However it describes these events not by following official correspondence, but

rather by following the movement of individuals.

The "fate" of the Leber family in the 1690s begins to look more sculptured, less arbitrary, in light of the information provided by linking the New York records with the records from the St. Lawrence Valley. Many of the other members of this family lived at La Prairie: Joachim's mother Jeanne Testard, his wife Jeanne Cusson. These residents of La Prairie knew and perhaps spoke of the absence of their family members. It is certain that the members of this family were concerned about the well-being of other family members in the difficult first years of the 1680s and 1690s. The story of this family was taking critical turns during these decades.

Narrative and Identity, Anne, "Anna" and Joachim

The early 1690s were pivotal years for this family, years which required a shaping of their family story for themselves, for their neighbors and for government officials. They were pivotal years for the border communities of La Prairie and Schenectady as well. In addition to the travels of Anne, Joachim and their uncle Jacques mentioned above, Anne's stepbrother, Joachim's brother François, was believed to be a captive of the Iroquois in 1693.[42] This is the decade when the worst attacks took place on La Prairie. With the presence of Anne, Joachim and Jacques in Albany, and of François in Iroquoia, these attacks take on a new dimension. In addition to the question raised earlier about

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[42]Claude Caron, Maugue, 1697.

whether one part of this family may have warned another about impending attacks, are other questions. With rumors flying, as they often did in both Albany and La Prairie, what choices faced Anne? Did she ask the attackers to spare certain houses? To carry a message? Similarly, if Jeanne Testard knew her son Joachim and her stepdaughter Anne and her husband were in Albany, what choices faced her as she heard rumors about attacks on "*les Anglais*"?

The two examples of Joachim Leber and the family of Anne Leber point out three other aspects of the effect of contact between French residents of La Prairie and the English or Dutch: the importance of family networks, the importance of oral communication, and the lack of written records about such contact in New France.

First, they were in the same family. Certain families appear to have had more contact with New York and New England than others, and the extended Leber family appears to be one that had much contact with New York fur trading networks.

Second, neither Anne nor her step-mother could read or write. During the seventeenth century La Prairie did not have a schoolmaster or a teacher, so it is unlikely that Joachim could read or write, either. Therefore it was either through written messages composed by someone who wrote, or through trips like that of Joachim, or others from La Prairie, that Anne heard of the death of her father, or that her mother, Jeanne, was informed of the remarriage of Anne to a man named "Elbrain." The dearth of surviving written material in the Albany records signals that it was largely oral information, stories, which this family sorted

constantly in their decisions about travel and protection.

Third, it appears that the interlude that the Barrois family spent in New York went almost completely unrecorded in the French records. Jeanne Testard's *inventaire des biens*, memos about Barrois' escape, a complaint from Claude Caron about tasks he had to perform in François Leber's absence, and a note in the baptismal records of La Prairie de la Magdalene are the only signs of the sixteen-year absence of an entire family.

A final and not inconsequential note about the movements of the Leber family during the years from 1683-99: one of Jacques Leber's sons fought as a soldier at the 1691 battle of La Fourche defending La Prairie -- Jean/Jacques Leber dit La Rose died there.[43] In 1693 Jacques Leber travelled as part of the military campaign "of 300 Canadians, 100 soldiers and 230 Indians that attacked the Mohawks in their own territory" against the Iroquois.[44] He wrote an account of this campaign which he sent to France with his son. During this campaign Jacques Leber went to Lac Saint-Sacrement (Lake George). Jacques' account relates that an Indian gave him one of his own sons in exchange for Jacques' son (probably Jean/Jacques dit La Rose). Jacques' native "son" apparently could not keep up with the group -- he was, according to Leber, laden down with

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[43]Yves Zoltvany, "Jacques Le Ber," DCB 2: 374-76; Fonds Choquets, Leber; see also Bulletin de Recherches Historiques 1927, October, 1931, a "La Rose" died in 1690, too. See Lacroix, Les Origines, 62-63, n79.

[44]Zoltvany, ibid., 375.

things given him, possibly by women. Because he lagged behind he was killed, but Leber's report is unclear about the identity of the adoptive boy's killer. He could have been killed by English or Indians.

Jacques Leber's account is, in part, an apology for this death of one charged to his care, a death which could have had serious repercussions.[45] However the fact that the natives remembered, three years following the death of his son in battle, to repay a debt to him by giving him an adoptive son, indicates a strong and lasting relationship between Jacques Leber and the Onondagas.

In 1694, Jacques Leber's kinship with the Iroquois was described by Teganissorens at a council between Iroquois and Frontenac. During the discussions, Teganissorens,[46] an Onondaga diplomat and leader, announced, and confirmed with a wampum belt, that the Iroquois had adopted "Sieurs de Longueil [Longueuil] and de Maricourt in the place of Monsieur Le Moyne, their father, as our children, and M. Lebert as our brother . . . They will have nothing to fear whenever they visit us, and will be received when sent by you."[47] Jacques Leber was honored on both sides of the Atlantic; he was ennobled in 1696 by Louis XIV. In 1706, following the death of Jacques Leber, the Onondagas paid

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[45]Evans Microprint 632, "Report of Peter Schuyler"; Gretchen Green, "A New People", 140-44.

[46]He is called Decanesora in English records.

[47]NYCD 9: 577-80. The Iroquois also adopted the English, see, for instance, NYCD 3:775, May-June 1691. Le Moyne died in 1683.

homage to him as was customary to do for French heads of state.[48]

The purpose for this long digression is to pose a question. Of what significance is it, if any, that Jacques Leber, Anne Leber, François Leber and possibly Joachim Leber,who, after all, was interrogated in October, 1692, and perhaps had to spend the winter in Albany or Iroquoia, were all within a few miles of each other in 1693, with the most powerful of the three, Jacques, apparently endangering the others' lives? Jacques apparently, also, at this time in his life and others, cemented relationships with Iroquois, probably Onondaga, who could affect or even threaten the lives and fortunes of those who lived in Albany, or indeed in La Prairie.

They may have been responding to changes in the fur trade market. As has been observed, the Albany fur trade collapsed in the years 1689-1692. The Commander in Chief Governor Henry Sloughter, who arrived in the colony in March 1691, found, in August, 1692, the Indians "weary of Warr and all the Outsettlements forsaken . . . [I found Indians] very difficult and much inclined to a peace; however with great industry I have reclaimed them" in New York's service, as allies. In September, 1692, his replacement, Benjamin Fletcher, found "decay of trade" and "poverty of the people" at Albany. By March, 1694, the Dutch

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[48]Cook, "Les voies de douceur," unpublished master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 1994, 145.

observed, the "Indians are staggering."[49]

The presence of at least three and possibly four members of the Leber family in Albany in 1693 could be due to several factors. The most likely possible explanation is that the Leber family was attempting to increase their profit margin in a collapsing fur market by selling more furs in Albany and returning to New France with more currency and more imported goods to sell.[50] It is also possible that Jacques planned to take advantage of his participation in the military campaign in order to attempt to rescue or ransom Joachim or François, or to find

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[49]E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New-York, April 9, 1691-September 27, 1743 (hereafter Journal of the Legislative Council) (Albany: Weed Parsons, 1861), 18-19. Richter, Ordeal, 166-89. Generally, the term staggering was used in this period to mean "wavering," in this case, between the English/Dutch and the French. A crisis of major proportion was building on all sides of this conflict, and retaliations between the League Iroquois and the native residents of Kahnawake became fierce. Frontenac's efforts at negotiation also intensified during this period. The decay of trade in New York was only one manifestation of a province in trouble. New York could not afford to garrison soldiers on their frontiers. They did not pay them regularly; they were ill-fed and ill-clothed. Because they couldn't find new recruits, they did not release the soldiers when their tour of duty was finished. Soldiers were deserting in dangerous numbers. Residents were also deserting. Entire families were leaving to settle in Connecticut or Pennsylvania. Stricter laws were enacted against "foreign" residents, who were not allowed to own arms. The residents resented the taxes necessary to support an army, and opposed the levy both in the political arena and by not paying. Young men ran away from the province because they feared conscription. New Yorkers resented the religious views of the Pennsylvanian Quakers who, for religious reasons, refused to engage in war. In October 1694, the New York soldiers were described as cold, starving, naked and barefoot. Journal of the Legislative Council, 45-94.

[50]Journal of the Legislative Council, 45-94.

Anne Leber.[51]

The presence of many members of the extended Leber family in Iroquoia in 1693 adds another layer of interpretation, for their stories were brought home not only to La Prairie and Montréal, but were told also in Albany and at the council fire in Onondaga. As signaled by the example of Joachim Leber, the language used to describe one's purpose was necessarily tempered and adapted by the stories told and by the settings in which they were told. The language Joachim used to mediate his identity in the dangerous border region was the language of warfare.

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[51]Possibly in order to inform Anne of her father's illness: François Leber *père*, died May 19,1694, virtually simultaneously with Teganissoren's affirmation of kinship with his "brother," Jacques Leber. François, *fils*, may have also been a prisoner of the Iroquois in 1693. The younger François Leber, son of Jeanne and François, brother of Joachim, was kept a prisoner of "les Iroquois Nos Ennemis" in 1693. His status as a prisoner was probably not voluntary. However, in what appears to be a family pattern, rather than a series of unfortunate coincidences, this captivity is one more experience outside the French community for this family (Claude Caron, 1697, Maugue).

CHAPTER SIX: CASE STUDY, KATERI TEKAKWITHA[1]

Tekahkwitha: Who walks groping for her way[2]

Joachim Leber spoke in the language of warfare. Another useful language for mediating identity in the border region was that of Christianity. Christianity provided a set of symbols charged with meanings. Those who learned to employ the language were allowed to participate in rituals. These rituals, which were a kind of "language" themselves, enhanced the meaning of the Christian prayers and lessons by engaging all the senses. Among world religions, Christianity was the first truly "universal" religion; it was open to all who believed -- the poor, women, newcomers, even rogues, should they wish to repent their ways. In this way, Christianity crossed social boundaries, altering the fabric of society in significant ways. One native individual who was attracted to Christianity and who learned its language was Kateri Tekakwitha of the St.-François-Xavier

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[1]For a review of the literature on Kateri and how Jesuit biographers used, lived through and even "created" Kateri, see K. I. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," Ethnohistory 40(2): 277-306, 1993 and Richard Xavier Evans, "The Literature Relative to Kateri Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks, 1656-1680," Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques 46: 193-209, 241-55.

[2]Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 7. The spelling of her name in the title (and in this quotation) is one of several. I have chosen to spell her name "Tekakwitha" as it is the spelling employed in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

mission.[3]

The scholarship surrounding the phenomenon of the first native new world saint has been considerable, and has accelerated in the past half century with the emergence of new perspectives on native history. The persistence of Christianity in present-day native communities has also contributed to an interest, both scholarly and lay, in Kateri as a symbol. Further, Jesuit writings about Kateri have been used to study Jesuit attitudes and beliefs. The focus of the present chapter will be on what contemporary writings and *vitae*, or biographies, about Kateri, tell us about her movement, her life and her language. The goal of this effort is to approach, as closely as possible, the life and self-image of this young traveler in the border region.

Kateri Tekakwitha, the most renowned native woman of her era, left an indelible mark on her own time and on ours.[4] Both the Jesuit missionaries and her neighbors considered her to be an unusual, extraordinarily spiritual -- and determined -- young woman during her lifetime. Reluctantly at times, eagerly at others, Jesuit priests recorded the marvelous events attributed to the veneration

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[3]Located in Kateri's time between the present-day communities of La Prairie and Kahnawake, the St.-François-Xavier mission would be called Sault St.-Louis and eventually, Kahnawake.

[4]She continues to be a topic of scholarly research, see K.I. Koppedrayer's 1993 article, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin"; David Blanchard, "To the other side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahanawake, 1667-1700," Anthropologica 24: 77-102, 1982; Allan Greer, "Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha," 138-159, in Sylvie Dépatie et al., eds., Vingt ans après Habitants et Marchands Twenty Years Later (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998) and his forthcoming book on Kateri.

of Kateri.

The literature on Kateri as an individual and later as a local saint who attained veneration and beatification three centuries after her death, is, by definition, voluminous. The scholarly research involved in the beatification process -- which is the penultimate step before canonization in the Catholic Church -- has resulted in the assemblage of primary documents about Kateri in the Positio . . . Katharine Tekahkwitha.[5] Most of this literature is didactic in nature; it is designed to teach both the faithful and to bring novices to the faith. Summaries can be found in Henri Béchard, "Tekakwitha, Kateri," in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography[6] and in the more recent Kaia'tano:ron, Kateri Tekahkwitha by the same author.[7] Three *vitae*, or saint's lives, have been written: Claude Chauchetière, La Vie de la Bienheureuse Catherine Tegakouita dite à Present la Saincte Sauvagesse, 1695; Pierre Cholenec, La Vie de Catherine Tegakouita, 1696; and Nicolas Victor Burtin, Vie de Catherine Tekakwitha, Vierge Iroquoise.[8] Reuben Thwaites, editor of The Jesuit Relations

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[5]Positio . . . Katharine Tekahkwitha ([Vatican]: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanus, 1938), (hereafter Positio). Local and worldwide veneration of Kateri is not sufficient for the next step; further significant miracles attributed to Kateri will need to be certified by the Vatican before she can be canonized.

[6]Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 13 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), (hereafter DCB) 1: 635-36

[7]Kaia'tano:ron, Kateri Tekahkwitha (Kahnawake: The Kateri Center, 1994).

[8]Claude Chauchetière, La Vie de la Bienheureuse Catherine Tegakouita dite à Present la Saincte Sauvagesse [1695](Manate [Manhattan]: La Presse Cramoisy de Shea, 1887); Pierre Cholenec, Vie de Catherine Tekakwitha Première Vierge Irokoise [1696] typescript ASJCF 277.1092 K19C; and Nicolas

and Allied Documents[9] includes much information and correspondence about Kateri; other Jesuit correspondence as well contains numerous references to Kateri.[10] Kateri's story interested antiquarians in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[11] There are, in addition, recent popular publications and books for children, as well as a magazine devoted to the worship of Kateri, which began publication in 1948.[12] The earlier sources describe, through the Jesuits' eyes, Kateri's life and the observed miracles which followed her death. The later sources generally summarize her life and describe the veneration of Kateri. The most historically reliable written documents about Kateri's life are the two contemporary *vitae*, by Cholenec and Chauchetière, and the Jesuit

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Victor Burtin, Vie de Catherine Tekakwitha, Vierge Iroquoise (Québec: Leger Brousseau, 1894).

[9]Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. 1896-1901), (hereafter JR), especially vols. 59-63.

[10]Most Jesuits who knew Kateri wrote about her, particularly after her sanctity became known among them. This was done as written testament to her life, and also to associate their own names with hers in history. As a result many of her contemporaries among the Jesuits formed, or at least wrote and spoke about, part of her story, including brothers Jacques (1641-1710 or 1711) and Jean de Lamberville (1633-1714), Jacques Frémin (1628-1691), Jacques Bruyas (1635-1712), Jean Pierron (1631-1700), Pierre Cholenec (1641-1723) and Claude Chauchetière (1645-1709).

[11]See, for instance, Ellen H. Walworth, The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha, The Lily of the Mohawks (Buffalo: Peter Paul and Brother, 1891) and Juliette Lavergne, La vie gracieuse de Catherine Tekakwitha (Montréal: Fides, 1934).

[12]See, for example, F.X. Weiser, Kateri Tekakwitha (Caughnawaga: Kateri Center, 1977); Henri Béchard, Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha (Kahnawake: Kateri Center, 1978); Lawrence G. Lovasik, Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1981); and the quarterly, Kateri, published by the Kateri Center at Kahnawake.

correspondence of the period. Several letters as well as the notes for Chauchetière's *vita* were written within two years after her death, by individuals who lived at the Sault St.-Louis mission or in Iroquoia while she was there. Therefore it is through letters and histories written by those who lived with her, and knew her well that we can attempt to understand Kateri. In the seventeenth century common people like Kateri, especially those whose activities did not land them in court, are rarely better documented.

Some researchers have observed that Jesuits "created" Kateri for their own purposes.[13] By this they do not mean that Kateri herself did not exist, but rather that her saintly identity was contrived by the missionaries. Others have noted that her fame was spread widely, in an apparently intentional manner, throughout Jesuit missions worldwide.[14] One scholar has noted that her "Christian" activities could be viewed as continuations of traditional Iroquois practices.[15] All three approaches appear to discount the conversion and faith of Kateri as secondary to the manipulation of Kateri's story, to the hold of tradition on Kateri's daily activities or even to the "creation" of Kateri as a saintly presence.

This activity of "creation" is common to hagiographies of the period for all local "saints." The purposes of hagiography, by the seventeenth-century a well-developed literary trope, were many and complex. Virtually all were written as

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[13]K.I. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin," 277-306.

[14]Allan Greer, in Vingt ans après, 1998.

[15]David Blanchard, ". . . To the Other Side of the Sky," Anthropologica 24: 77-102, 1982.

didactic pieces -- the faithful were expected to be reinforced in their faith, and heretics converted, by the stories contained in the *vitae*. Some other common reasons that these works were written were to impress religious superiors, to link one's life with the purported "saint," to take credit for conversion or instruction of the individual or to record a vignette of local history. Often, the priest was the only individual in a settlement or village who could write, and the only one who could read. It was therefore an effort at recording that did not have immediate ramifications in the surrounding settlement, but might be sent to a larger ecclesiastical center and disseminated from there. The priests' writings must be used with caution. Like all others who left written records then, and like those who do so now, the missionaries had motives for what they wrote which must be taken into account. However, the fact that the authors were Jesuits should not eliminate them as sources on Kateri's life.

Many such *vitae* remained in manuscript form until the nineteenth or even late-twentieth century and were never widely disseminated. The dissemination of writings about Kateri was effected rapidly after her death; this indicates a powerful support for her stories, and for the Jesuits who wrote them, by their superiors in Québec and France. The missionaries who lived at the Sault St.-Louis mission themselves acknowledged that they began their veneration the day she was buried. There is no question that the Jesuits employed the details of Kateri's life to support their cause in New France; this is a fruitful area of research of interest for the study of religious texts, the dissemination of those texts, and the worldwide Jesuit culture. However, the local cult of Kateri was also

considerable, and began a few weeks after her death. In fact, French and native residents observed the first miracle within hours after her death: her poxed face became clear and beautiful. Therefore, individuals who indeed did not read these *vitae* or correspondence, and who could not have done so, were moved to greater piety, and were, in some cases, purportedly healed by their knowledge of and prayers to Kateri.

It is significant that the worshippers at Kateri's grave included both French and native Christians. Although recent scholarship has questioned the nature of native conversion to Christianity, activities such as those described surrounding the death of Kateri are evidence that some shifts in religion and worldview were noticeable in native missions in the early years. As James Axtell reminds us, in arenas of culture contact, "those who bend to live are also possessed of courage."[16] In cultural contact situations, mutually understandable symbols, like those provided by Christianity, become effective mediators of cultural and personal change. Probably because she (and her confessors) ably manipulated Christian symbols and language, worship of Kateri has been an arena for contact between Christian Europeans and natives ever since. She appears to have been, and was described to be, a vehicle for mutual understanding.

It is not possible to recover completely an individual's experience of the past, that is, the past as lived. It is, however, possible to approach Kateri's words

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[16]James Axtell, "Some thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," Ethnohistory 29(1): 35-41 (1982), quotation is p. 37.

and actions a little more closely.[17] The approach employed in the present work is to attempt to recover Kateri's words and actions; what kind of language did she use? True, Kateri was illiterate. She left no diaries or letters. The sources on Kateri are the missionaries near her. In this, however, the sources on Kateri are no less trustworthy than the sources on many early Christians. We know Charlemagne, for instance, from the biographies written about him. Charlemagne himself never really learned his letters.[18] Many early saints are known only by the *vitae* written about them by others. It is necessary, therefore, to read through the Jesuits' words to approach Kateri's actions and words, in order to see how she constructed her identity, and how she expressed or described her new "self." The purpose of this effort is to attempt to breathe new life into the memory of person whose humanity and faith have become obscured by the scholarly use of her as a symbol of what appears (from a twentieth-century perspective) to be the desperation of the Europeans who served at Christian missions. In other words, the focus of the present work is to look more closely at Kateri herself, rather than to use her story as a way of understanding the Jesuits.

Two events in particular will be examined: Kateri's refusal to desist her extreme penance, and her desire to form a nunnery. These events illustrate

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[17]For the difficulties inherent in recovering past experience, see Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," Canadian Historical Review 76(3): 354-76, 1995.

[18]Two Lives of Charlemagne. Lewis Thorpe, trans., Betty Radice ed., (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).

Kateri's resistance to the Jesuits. This approach is not without problems, particularly for an individual like Kateri, who seems to be unusually mute and unexpressive in most circumstances. Using contemporary documents, this study will examine Kateri's life, conversion to Christianity, and self-determined aspirations to become a nun as examples of constructed identity. For, as even those who claim that the Jesuits "created" Kateri acknowledge, "[s]he chose to live a life that to some degree resembled the one her Jesuit confessors appropriated for their biographies of her . . . Somewhere [in those biographies] is Kateri herself."[19]

Kateri was born in 1656 in the first Kahnawake, that is, in Iroquoia, on the Mohawk river. Her story became one of the most inspirational stories in the Jesuit annals. Her life, however remarkable, also helps to illustrate certain patterns of migration and alliance, which were typical of the period, and is a good example of a seventeenth-century "constructed" identity.

Her mother was an Algonquin who had been baptized at Trois-Rivières and raised among the French as a Christian. She may have understood some French. Probably while traveling with her family, Kateri's mother was captured in warfare and taken as a slave to Iroquoia. At the Mohawk village of Ossernenon[20]

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[19]Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin," 294.

[20]Near Auriesville, New York. By the mid-1600s, traditional forms of capture were accelerated due to warfare, Gordon Day, The Identity of the St. Francis Indians (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1981), 25.

she married one of the chiefs. Kateri's father was an Iroquois who had not been converted to Christianity. Jesuit missionaries were unable to convert most of the Mohawks in Iroquoia during the 1640s and 1650s, though some previously converted Hurons lived among the Iroquois as captives. Father Simon Le Moyne made several trips to visit them in 1655-59. They were also visited by fathers Jacques Frémin, Jacques Bruyas and Jean Pierron.[21]

Kateri was therefore the product of a marriage between a Christian and a native of traditional beliefs. Her parents came from two different native groups, and spoke two different languages. Within one generation, her family had migrated from the St. Lawrence region to Iroquoia. She and her parents had early contact with French captives and Jesuit missionaries. Her mother had also known residents of New France, and perhaps the *religieuses* of Montréal or Trois-Rivières.

In 1660, when Kateri was four years old, the village was ravaged by a smallpox epidemic; Kateri's mother and younger brother were killed and Kateri herself was nearly blinded by the epidemic. When her father died, either that year or soon thereafter, she was taken in by an uncle who was actively hostile to the message of the Jesuits.[22]

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[21]Father Simon Le Moyne (1604-1665) arrived in Canada in 1638. He traveled to and from Onondaga (near Syracuse, New York), and had a friendship with the Dutch minister in New York, Jan Megapolensis. He was given an Iroquois name. He died in New France. See JR 14: 288; JR 71: 157, Léon Pouliot, "Simon Le Moyne," DCB, 1:460-462. Edward J. Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montréal: Messenger Press, 1922), 44, also 52-53.

[22]Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 22-23, 107-109.

She was converted in 1675 after instruction by the missionary Father Jacques de Lamberville.[23] Against the wishes of her adoptive uncle, Kateri left the Mohawk River for the mission at St.-François-Xavier (now at the first location called "Kahnawake" in Canada, see map, page 30) in 1677. There she found the Sodality of the Holy Family, which united a small group of pious converts. Kateri arrived during the period of the greatest piety at the mission. Yet her piety stood out among the others'. Cholenec wrote:

> on peut dire d'elle avec vérité qu'elle n'a pas été novice dans l'exercice de la vertu; qu'elle y a été savante dès le commencement, et qu'elle n'y a eu d'autre maître que l'Esprit-Saint, tant elle courut à grands pas à la perfection.[24]

Kateri and some other young women from St.-François-Xavier visited Montréal. There they saw the Hôtel-Dieu and the work of the *hospitalières*, French Augustinian nuns who tended the sick. They were inspired by the model provided by these *religieuses*, and wished to form a native convent. This proposal was rejected by Father Frémin of the mission, although it appears that at least one native woman was accepted as a nun by the *hospitalières*.[25]

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[23]Jacques Lamberville arrived in Canada in 1674, he died at Sault St.-Louis in 1711 or 1712; JR 60: 320-321; 71:154.

[24]"It can be said truthfully that she was never a novice in the practice of virtue . . . that she learned in this regard from the very beginning and that she had no other master than the Holy Spirit, so rapidly did she stride toward perfection," translated by Béchard, Kaia'tano:ronKateri Tekahkwitha, 91. Quotation, Cholenec, Vie de Catherine Tekakwitha, 13.

[25]Cholenec, Vie, 38; Lettre du P. Claude Chauchetière, 14 octobre 1682, copy, #4023, p. 121-134, viewed at ASJCF St-Jérome; Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 111-13.

A native woman named Anastasia, who had known Kateri and her mother in Iroquoia, began to advise Kateri.[26] Kateri apparently was pressured by her Iroquois relatives at the mission to marry, but she continued to resist this step. Cholenec relates that Kateri and he were in a field when she told him, without hesitation:

> Ah! Mon Père . . . je ne saurais m'y rendre, je hais les hommes, j'ai la dernière aversion pour le mariage; la chose n'est pas possible.[27]

She began to craft her life around her idea of Christian devotion, including virtually constant prayer, attendance several times per day at mass, and self-mortification which included wearing a painful belt, flagellation and exposure to the elements. Kateri's health was fragile, and her spiritual advisors, including Pierre Cholenec, required that she moderate her penance, which they felt was extreme. She lived at the mission for three years before her death in April, 1680.[28]

At the time of her death, her biographers noted which prayers she said, and that she cast out the devil. They related her final words. Among these were her response to Cholenec's last questions about whether she had ever lost her

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[26]Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 90-107.

[27]"Oh, Father, I couldn't [marry]; I hate men; I abhor the idea of marriage; it is simply not possible,"[my translation], Cholenec, Vie, 37.

[28]JR 59:315-16; JR 62: 177, 275-77; JR 63: 139-145. Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 111-126, 143.

virginity (to which she replied no). Finally she encouraged her "sister" with whom she had prayed and performed penitence, assuring her that heaven was pleased with the life she was leading, and that she must have courage:

> Je sais bien, ma soeur, ce que je dis, je sais aussi le lieu d'ou vous venez et ce que vous y avez fait; allez, prenez courage, soyez sure que vous êtes agréable aux yeux de Dieu et que je vous aiderai auprès de lui.[29]

Although it is scanty, the narrative record allows the interpretation that Christian prayers, Christian symbolism, and the soul's journey through purgatory to heaven had become the language Kateri used to fashion her Christian identity. It was a language that she used to bridge the difference between the two cultures in which she had lived. Both the native culture into which she was born and the mission culture of Christian prayer where she ended her days were subject to dislocation during Kateri's life. Neither was static or homogeneous; in fact, to all but the most able cultural brokers, both societies would have seemed confusing; they were in constant flux, with religious, social, political and economic changes all in process at the same time.[30] Hence, Kateri's "choice" of a Christian identity,

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[29]" . . . My sister, I know very well what I am saying. I even know where you came from just now, and I can assure you that all you do is well done and most agreeable to Our Lord. Take courage and continue to persevere . . . I shall repay you in paradise, I promise! . . ." Cholenec, Vie, 65; Translation, Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 151-152.

[30]For an example of an able cultural broker who nonetheless was unable to create the community he envisioned, see James H. Merrell, " 'The Cast of his Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly, 13-39. See also Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701," Journal of American History 75: 40-67 (1988) and Nancy Shoemaker, Negotiators of

and of the language of Christianity to express her identity, was only one choice among many on a confusing field, but it also served to simplify the ambiguity which engulfed Kateri and her neighbors.[31]

Kateri's tomb drew many believers to pray for cures. This activity is a good example of the long-lasting links between La Prairie and Kahnawake. For instance, Cholenec related that in 1681:

> Claude Caron, habitant de la Prairie de la Madgeleine . . . se mourrait . . . [the priest] le trouva réduit à l'extrémité par une violente oppression de poitrine après une troisième rechute . . .

Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women (New York: Routledge, 1995), 49-71. Women were often the first converts missionaries recorded and often it was women who greeted the return of the missionaries to the missions in Iroquoia; some women served as proselytizers to their husbands, JR 63: 140-245, see also Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686," Ethnohistory 32(1): 1-16, especially 3, 9; but cf. Carol Devens, Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 29 and Karen Anderson, Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France (New York: Routledge, 1991) who find evidence of women's resistance to Christian teachings.

[31]See Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686." When the mobility of missionaries and native groups in this period is contemplated, it becomes clear that natives were choosing Catholic settlements over the Protestant praying towns offered by the English or the Dutch Reformed ministers offered by the Dutch. This northward migration was prompted by war and pressure on agricultural land in southern New England, but it had as its terminus the Catholic mission settlements of New France. The migration of New England and New York native peoples northward in this period amounts to voting with their feet. For migration northward, see Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. 1, Plate 47; for native reflection on their choices in this period, see James P. Ronda, "'We Are Well As We Are': An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. Series 34(4): 66-82 (1977) .

Claude was close to death, and his doctor gave up hope. Cholenec related that all around Claude expected him to die. Chauchetière, who served the mission and the "*circonvoisins*" visited Claude Caron. Claude promised to sponsor three masses for Kateri. Soon he was able to get out of bed, slept well, and his stomach felt better. He began to talk, and even astounded his neighbors by going to church.[32] The salient feature of this and other "cures" is not the nature

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[32]"Claude Caron, *habitant* of la Prairie de la Magdeleine . . . was dying . . . [the priest] found him reduced to the most serious condition by a terrible pressure in the chest after a third collapse . . ." Cholenec, Vie, 72-73, quote, 72 [my translation]. The "doctor" may have been Antoine Barrois, Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 160. Others whose cures or miracles were reported included a majority of French names. René Fortin, two months old was cured of night terrors in 1681. François Joseph Le Noir Rolland, three years old, was cured of not being able to walk, "*percules*," [perhaps *perclus*, stiff joints or rheumatism] in 1689. In 1692 Marie Matour, 22 years old, was cured of postpartum illness; in 1694 her daughter Marie was cured and in 1696 her son Jean was cured.

In 1694 François Roy, who was seventeen, and Jacques Paré, seven, were cured. Jacques was close to death, accepting no food or drink. In 1695 two babies were cured: Louis Nepveu, three months old, had gall all over his body; François Dubois, 13 months, was also cured. In 1696 Charles Cardinal, one year old, was cured. Positio, Documenta, 131-132. Some of these cures were related in a letter from Petri Remy to Cholenec, 1696. In 1696 Jacques de Lamberville reported the cures of more famous residents of New France, and attributed these to the intervention of Kateri. These included Monsieur de Champigny, intendant, Du Luth, a prominent trader and soldier, and a Sulpician missionary, Monsieur Joseph Sere de la Colombière. JR 65: 31-33. Jacques de Lamberville reported in 1696: "Les Paroisses entieres y viennent en procession Solemnellem[en]t au jour annuel de son decez pour rendre graces des divers effets de sa protection. Pour guerir Les maladies queles remedes ordres. ne soulagent point on avale dans de l'eau ou dans du bouillon une peu de la poussiere de son tombeau." ["Entire parishes come (to the church wherein her Body lies) in Solemn procession on the anniversary of her death, to give thanks for the various results of her protection. To cure the diseases that ordinary medicines cannot relieve, they swallow in water or in broth a little dust from her tomb."] JR 65: 30-31. As far away as Québec, miracles were attributed to Kateri, see Marie-Aimée Cliche, Les pratiques de dévotion (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988), 31.

of the miracles, nor the diseases, nor the "cures." These are matters of faith, not history. These examples do, however, serve to provide a record of relationships between Kahnawake and the people of La Prairie, and, in particular, the relationship between Kateri, the cult of Kateri, and the French and native residents of the region. They also indicate devotion to Kateri's memory which existed prior to, and separate from, the written documents about her life.

Kateri had died in April, 1680 at the age of 24. Sixteen years later the residents of La Prairie and the surrounding region remembered her and credited many cures to Kateri, and to their veneration of her. Kateri's life inspired others to extreme forms of devotion.[33] Her grave, moved at least three times, became a site of pilgrimage.[34]

In 1694 Chauchetière wrote about the veneration of Kateri, describing the devotion to her that was shared by the natives and the French:

> Je prie le R. P. Recteur du novitiat de faire dire un pater et un ave et trois [fois] le gloria patri a ses novices . . .C'est une dévotion qui est icy parmi les Sauvages et françois qui vont au tombeau de Catherine, enterrée dans l'église du Sault, quand ils veulent obtenir de Dieu quelque grace . . . Je l'ay commencé des [sic] le jour de son enterrement . . .[35]

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[33]JR 63: 217-19.

[34]P. Claude Chauchetière, Receuil de ce qui s'est passé depuis le decès de Catherine, 1683 or 1684, ACSM A11, ASJCF #351; JR 63: 241; Burtin, Vie, 63-66, 73. Her bones were later moved with each removal of Kahnawake, and remain at the St.-François-Xavier church in Kahnawake. Her skull was taken to St.-Regis in the mid-eighteenth century, Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 256, but was destroyed by fire when that church burned.

[35] "I beg the Reverend father rector of the novitiate to have his novices say a "pater," an "ave," and the "gloria patri" three times . . . . .This is a devotion

By his own admission, Chauchetière began treating Kateri's memory as spiritually significant "dès le jour de son enterrement." He also kept a notebook of his prayers, impressions and "miracles" attributed to Kateri during the first year after her death. Still, he expresses reluctance to disseminate information about her, writing that he kept some of the events to himself, and said nothing to others.

According to Chauchetière, devotion to Kateri was actively practiced by both the French and the natives. The veneration of Kateri has continued, apparently uninterrupted, to the present day; this is clearly an individual who has gained more power and acclaim in death than she could have hoped for in life.[36]

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practiced here among the Savages and the french, who go to the tomb of Catherine, who is interred in the church of the Sault, when they wish to obtain some favor from God. . . I began [saying a "pater," an "ave" and a "gloria patri"] the day of her burial . . ." JR 64: 154-55.

[36] In 1843 a procession of Kahnawake and La Prairie residents replaced a cross on the bank of the river, near the entrance of the Rivière du Portage, where Kateri prayed, Burtin, Vie, 65. The mission receives hundreds of native and non-native pilgrims a year, publishes a journal and records miracles attributed to Kateri.

The piety Kateri demonstrated was matched only by the agony of the time in which she lived. As a result, the martyrdom of natives was seen as integral to the story of Kateri's life. Significantly, the memory of these "martyrs" has been overshadowed by that of Kateri. Several native martyrs are described by Burtin, Vie, 77-87. One was seized in August, 1690 while hunting, and taken to Onondaga. Another, taken in 1692 while fishing in Châteauguay "ou demeurait son second mari, vertueux chrétien" she was taken one-quarter of a *lieue* from the village of Sault St.-Louis to Onondaga. Another was taken to Onondaga in 1693 about one-quarter of a *lieue* from Sault St.-Louis. Another, for whom no date is provided, was apparently martyred by Mohawks. His name was Etienne Aonwentsiatewet. See also Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 158-198.

Kateri's piety was an extraordinary example for her neighbors and others. Her devotion provided energy and purpose to the Jesuit missionaries and to the mission. However her short life, partly because it is so well-documented, provides the historian with provocative example of how a seventeenth-century native woman of mixed descent constructed her own unique identity. The concern, for this study, is not whether she had a gift from God. As mentioned above, that is a matter of faith. What can be usefully addressed is: how she used that gift; how she sculpted the life she was given. What language did she use to communicate her idea of her 'self'?

Despite the fact that she was the daughter of an Algonquin Christian mother, and was provided with Christian instructions by her priests, Kateri's knowlege of Christian piety and saints cannot have been extensive. She may have received some information about Christianity from Christian Hurons and Algonquins living among the Mohawk as captives. She was perhaps inspired by the example of the *hospitalières* of Montreal. Her understanding of Algonquin or Iroquois religious worldview was probably also limited, considering her childhood

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The cult of Kateri has unified the church and community in times of upheaval, as Burtin wrote in 1894: "Nous aimons à ésperer que dans ces temps ou la Juiverie liguée à la franc-maçonnerie d'une part, le fanatisme protesttant de l'autre travaillent avec tant d'ardeur à arracher à l'Église l'ame des jeunes génerations sauvages par les écoles protestantes ou athées, Dieu permettra au temps opportun la glorification de Catherine Tekakwitha pour rattacher de plus en plus a l'Église catholique les Sauvages du Canada et pour les sanctifier en mettant sous leurs yeux un si admirable modèle de toutes les vertus," 73. Burtin noted that in the 1890s, despite widespread defections from the church elsewhere, only a few residents of Sault St.-Louis had left the Church's teachings, Burtin Vie, 73-74.

was a period of ravaging epidemics in Iroquoia. Her Algonquin mother died when she was four; her Iroquois father died about the same time, and she herself was virtually blinded at the same age. Her poor eyesight made leaving the longhouse difficult, and may have limited her religious or ritual activities.[37]

The uncle with whom she lived after the death of her parents hated the Christian priests and their native converts. Nonetheless, she would have been exposed to Christianity in Iroquoia from about the age of eleven (1657). In 1672 the teachings of missionaries fathers Bruyas and Boniface began to have their effect. In short, it is not likely that Kateri had a deep understanding of either Christian, Iroquois or Algonquin traditions by the time she began to re-form her life, as a Christian, at the age of about nineteen.[38]

At several points in her life we can see glimpses of Kateri. Kateri was stubborn, in ways which the Jesuits condoned (such as opposing her pagan uncle) and in ways they did not. The most useful way to separate Kateri from the Jesuits' narratives about her is to observe closely moments in her life when she opposed the Jesuits' advice. There are two. The first is when, as part of a group of pious women, who observed nuns in Montréal, she returns to the mission with the intention of founding a nunnery. The second is when Kateri persists in extreme and secretive self-punishment or penance, against the advice of her spiritual advisors.

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[37]DCB 1:635-36.

[38]Béchard, Kaia'tano:ron Kateri Tekahkwitha, 57-70.

Precious few indications of what Kateri actually said have come down to us. Indeed, for someone so minutely described, it is notable that few of her words were recorded by her many biographers. She often appears as a mute person might, except for her constant prayers and orisons. One of the few windows we have to her speech is when she wanted to form a nunnery on "Île-aux-Herons"[39] in the St. Lawrence River. The group of women at the mission, who already formed a women's religious society, perhaps along the lines of such groups in Iroquoia, were determined to start a nunnery.[40] Along with other women, Kateri pleaded for permission from the missionaries at Kahnawake. This was refused by Père Frémin who provided several reasons for his decision. He told the women that their faith was too new, that their plan was too unusual, that the island was too far from the mission village and that they would be visited by young men traveling to and from Montréal.[41] Significantly, Frémin followed his decision with a discussion with Catherine about marriage. He told her that "Dieu lassoit a la liberté de chacun de se marier ou de ne se marier pas," a response which pleased Kateri.[42] Already the women were calling each other "soeurs" (sisters) and were grouped in a religious community within the mission which one

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[39]Île au Héron.

[40]See David Blanchard, "To the other side of the Sky," who discusses residences for virgins and a tradition of virgins residing together in Iroquoia, 94.

[41]Chauchetière, La Vie, 114-117.

[42]Ibid., 117, spelling modified for clarity.

chronicler called "[une] espece de monastère" (a kind of nunnery) complete with rules:

> . . . elles ont promis à Dieu de ne se vestir jamais de leurs habits de parade . . . elles s'entraident dans les champs les unes les autres; elles s'asemblent pour s'animer à la vertu . . .[43]

An indication that the women considered themselves separate from the rest of the mission occurred when Kateri queried another woman about the place for women's worship in the new chapel. Kateri, accompanied by these women, had specifically requested that a special section be set aside in the new church for the women, although apparently at the same time she noted that she might not be worthy to enter the temple of God. In a suitable blend of biblical references and abject humility which imitated the language she heard from Jesuits, she was reported to have said:

> . . .il est vrai . . . que cette chapelle de bois n'est pas ce que Dieu demande le plus de nous; mais bien nos âmes pour y demeurer et en faire des temples; il est également véritable que je ne mérite pas d'entrer dans ce temple matériel moi qui est [ait?] chassé Dieu si souvent de mon âme et je mérite au contraire d'en être chassée a mon tour avec les chiens.[44]

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[43]". . . they promised God they would no longer wear their fancy clothes, they help one another in the fields, they gather to inspire themselves to virtue . . . (my translation)," Lettre du P. Claude Chauchetière, 14 octobre 1682, #4023, ASJCF, p. 128.

[44]"It is true, this wooden chapel is not the most that God asks of us; [He also asks] for our souls, to live in and in which to make temples; it is also true that I do not deserve to enter into this physical temple, as I have so often chased God from my soul; I deserve instead to be chased out of here myself with the dogs," Cholenec, Vie de Catherine Tekakwitha, 33-34 [my translation]. For Chauchetière's version, see Chauchetière, La Vie, 111.

This small group of women, which Jesuit historian Henri Béchard terms "Kateri's band," continued to worship together daily, participated in penance, and moved from activity to activity together. These are also the women who circled her deathbed and to whom she spoke her last words.

Extreme forms of penance were not condoned by the Jesuits during this period, but Cholenec's efforts to halt Kateri's self-flagellation failed. Often with a partner, she engaged in several forms of life-threatening penance, including flagellation, exposing herself to winter cold, and sleeping on a bed of thorns. In penance she was unstoppable.

In both cases, the Jesuits recording Kateri's life admitted their own failure. In the first, they admitted that Kateri was able to form a community within the mission, one over which they had little control. In the second, they admitted that the penance in which she engaged, and which they had unsuccessfully attempted to prohibit, was at least partially responsible for her early death. Jesuit training taught the missionaries to accept responsibility; indeed, an exaggerated and self-serving humility dominates most of these accounts. However, there is no reason the missionaries would have "invented" failure for themselves. They would have had even less reason to report an "invented" failure to their superiors. As can be seen from the dismal record of native conversions during this and later periods, the Jesuits had plenty of failure to account for without creating more.

Jesuits did not "create" Kateri,[45] and they were at pains to control her.

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[45]That they wrote about her and embellished her story (and theirs in the process) is certain. Some expressed some reluctance about recording events as

Her "construction" of her life of piety was largely self-created. She worshipped secretly, and performed penance in secret. Her devotion was usually one step ahead of the "guidance" of her Jesuit teachers. In what appears to be a traditional Iroquois pattern, she sought guidance from other Iroquois women. She became a model Christian "*dévote*," with few models to follow herself.

Kateri died at age 24. Her Christian identity was barely five years old. Yet it is the Christian nature of her life which lives in the memories of her followers. In five short years, at a relatively young age, and hindered by handicaps that might have halted the ambitions of a less determined young woman, Kateri transformed her belief and practice into activities worthy of imitation and veneration.[46]

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they occurred, unwilling to accept their own observation as valid (see the story of the chapel at Kahnawake which blew down in a storm). One reason the literature about Kateri is contradictory is that many of the Jesuits missionaries wanted to attach themselves to her piety, and to accurately record events and "miraculous" occurrences, without appearing to "create" her sanctity. Some of the priests suppressed the narratives of others (see Allan Greer, "Kateri Tekakouitha," in Dépatie et al., eds., Vingt ans après). It should be noted that hagiographies are always the product of their authors, and vary in their adherence to provable historical fact. For the most comprehensive historiographical review to date, see K. I. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," op.cit., 1993 and Allan Greer's work on Kateri, forthcoming.

[46]JR 63: 223, 229, 197-99, 241; JR 64: 125, 155. Natalie Zemon Davis observes that Iroquois women may have found a public voice through Christianity which, according to Davis, was "denied" to them in traditional Iroquois oratory, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period (New York: Routledge, 1994). Iroquois women, however, had considerable chance to express themselves to the clan in matters of when to go to war, what to do with captives, when to move the longhouses, and how to cultivate and distribute grain, all of which were the purview of women.

Kateri was not the beneficiary of the new expressions of the self in seventeenth-century Europe, and far too little is known about the relation of self to community in seventeenth-century native contexts.[47] The research seems to indicate that for the natives, "self" was considered to be part of a corporate identity, a family group and clan, and in turn, part of the universe, linked by myth, ritual and story to the surrounding world. The frequency of capture and adoption within the native groups, and the Iroquois practice of bestowing the identity of a dead relative on a new one, or on a newcomer (known as "re-quickening") add another layer of complexity to understanding the relation of self to community in native settings. However, it is clear that by transferring from one group to another, from one location to another, from one religion to another, and from one social pattern to another, Kateri was in a liminal, and therefore relatively uncertain, even dangerous, situation. Her determination becomes more remarkable when received notions of Kateri's place in the world are considered.

Kateri Tekakwitha's life provides an extraordinary example of the "self-creation" of a native Christian woman. This example also invites historians to

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[47]See Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jean M. O'Brien, Dispossession by Degrees: Indian land and identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and, by the same author, " 'Divorced' from the Land: Resistance and Survival of Indian Women in Eighteenth-Century New England," 144-161 in Colin Calloway, ed., After King Philip's War (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997); see also, in the same volume, Ruth Wallis Hendon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau, "The Right to a Name: Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era," 114-143.

reflect on the power of a "constructed identity." Her path in life was not predetermined by her place of birth, the ethnicity of her parents, her difficulties in childhood, her physical or mental limitations, her language or her culture. Wise adults, watching her as an infant, could not have predicted the path her life would take.

Self-determined, adamantly self-directed, guided by inner, priestly and holy light, Kateri transformed a human life into a saintly one. She accomplished what her contemporaries considered a miracle, with few resources, at a young age, and without formal training. Despite some questions about her chastity (reservations which were more important to the Jesuit hagiographers than to their native converts) those who knew her, both Europeans and natives, largely agreed about the meaning of her life and death. Kateri fashioned an identity; her community accepted -- and later exalted -- her identity. Christianity provided, in this case, a set of mutually understandable symbols, that is, a common language. These were symbols which she was adept at manipulating so that their meanings, and the meaning of her life, could be understood by persons from two very different sets of cultures: European and native. It is impossible to read accounts of the worship of Kateri's memory without sensing that in addition to being useful to the Jesuits, Kateri's story was a compelling parable of New World contact, a story of borderland encounters. Of many alternative narratives for her life, Kateri chose a Christian narrative, and used Christian symbols, prayers and language to express her self.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CASE STUDY, TARRIHA

"I was generally called 'Genherontatie,' 'The dead or dying man who walks.' "[1]

Finding language that was mutually understandable was critical to the lives of Tarriha, his wife Suzanne and the Jesuit Pierre Milet. The language they chose was the language of diplomacy. As diplomats, their efforts have been described in a recent work on native diplomatic history. This study, like other diplomatic histories, describes Tarriha in terms of the effectiveness of his message. It answers questions such as, "Was he an able diplomat?" They have also been described in a biography of Milet.[2] The present study is concerned with how Tarriha, his wife and Pierre Milet built identies and alliances in the border region. They successfully used the diplomatic principles of consensus and personal authority to underscore their understandings with each other and with the Oneidas. Tarriha's life, and the fragments of narratives that survive from his life, demonstrate the difficulty of establishing and maintaining identity in the sometimes chaotic, often dangerous, border region. The case study of Tarriha also demonstrates the possibilities of transformation through contact with an

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[1]Pierre Milet in Reuben Gold Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 73 vols. (hereafter JR) (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), 64: 85.

[2]Daniel Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), and Daniel St-Arnaud, Pierre Millet en Iroquoisie au XVIIe siècle. Le sachem portait la soutane (Sillery: Septentrion, 1998).

'other'.

Tarriha, also known as Tegahoiatiron, or, in the English records, Atarhea, was an Oneida diplomat. He was often the spokesman for three or more Iroquoian groups.[3] The Oneidas' northern trade ranged from their homeland in Iroquoia to the St. Lawrence valley.[4] By the 1660s, the Oneidas were composed mostly of their captives, largely Hurons and Algonquins. In 1668, Father Bruyas reported that two-thirds of the Oneidas were Hurons or Algonquins.[5] The group absorbed many other smaller groups including Mahicans, Stockbridge Indians, Pequots and Narragansetts, most of whom were refugees from wars with the English colonists in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Thus, the community itself was an arena for "culture contact."[6]

The evidence indicates that Tarriha and his family traveled the Champlain-Richelieu corridor often. For instance, as will be described below, sometime before 1691 two of Tarriha's sons were taken by the French; they were held until

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[3]JR 64: 92-92; E.B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York 15 vols. (hereafter NYCD) (Albany: 1853-1887), 9: 579.

[4]Bruce G. Trigger, ed. Handbook of North American Indians (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-1988), Northeast, (hereafter Handbook, Northeast), 15: 481-82.

[5]JR 51: 123.

[6]Handbook, Northeast 15: 481-82. For a description of daily life and material culture of the Iroquois, see Dean R. Snow, The Iroquois (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 129-30.

at least 1693.[7] Acting as a diplomat for the Oneida, Tarriha initiated peace discussions with Frontenac in 1693.

The Jesuit missionary Pierre Milet lived with and was adopted by Tarriha, Tarriha's wife Suzanne and their family for several years. Milet, born 1635, had been a missionary to the Oneidas since 1672. He was imprisoned by the Oneidas in 1689, in retaliation for the 1687 betrayal of the Iroquois by De Denonville[8] who had captured the Iroquois delegates and sent them as prisoners to France.[9] Milet thought he was marked for death, and the Iroquois did not decide his fate for several days. He received considerable assistance from an Oneida woman, whose Christian name was Suzanne or Susanna. Suzanne eventually adopted him and gave him an honorific title, Otasseté.[10] Suzanne,

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[7]Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 351n34; NYCD 3: 783; Edward J. Devine, Historic Caughnawaga (Montréal: Messenger Press, 1922), 112-16. One of the boys may have been Tarriha's nephew, see Henri Béchard, "Tareha," DCB, 1: 633-34.

[8]W.J. Eccles, "Jacques-René Brisay de Denonville," DCB II:98-105. Denonville (1637-1710) was governor general of the colony from 1685-1689.

[9]"Pierre Milet," DCB, vol. 2. Although Milet had not known of the plans to kidnap the Iroquois, and was unjustly accused by them of complicity with the Governor, the Iroquois had reason to question the motives of the missionaries. Communication was frequent between the missions and the governor or monseigneur (superior), and often included diplomatic advice, or news from the officials at Albany. See, for example, lettre de Jean Lamberville à M. de la Barre, 13 juillet 1684, ACSM A11, ASJCF #360.4; lettre de Jean Lamberville à M. de la Barre, 28 aout 1684 ACSM A11, ASJCF #360.7; and lettre de Mgr. de Québec au P. Millet, 6 mai 1690 ACSM A11, ASJCF #371. For Milet's account of his captivity see lettre de Pierre Millet, 6 juillet 1691, ASJCF #463.

[10]JR 64: 81-83.

whom Milet described as a pious woman, was married to Tarriha. Milet remained in captivity until 1694; Tarriha's family were his captors for most or all of that time.[11]

Milet and other captives formed part of a long cultural tradition among the Iroquois of adoption in order to replace dead members of the group. Most of the raids the Iroquois participated in during this period where captives were taken were also "mourning wars," initiated to cover the dead, or replace dead members of the group. Mourning wars were authorized by the women of the group, as part of a grieving process which was designed to "dry the tears" and "open the throats" of the mourners. The group allowed full acknowledgement of the grief of the mourners and full participation by the community members in the process of healing. This renaming, a "requickening" of which Milet was the beneficiary, gave him the spirit, as well as the social identity of the individual he replaced.[12]

Milet credits Tarriha with defending him in 1689 when the English tried to incite other Oneidas against him:

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[11]Milet came to Canada in 1668 and died there in 1708, see JR 64: 275; 71: 131. For the narrative of his capture and kind treatment by the family of Tarriha and Suzanne, see JR: 64: 66-107, especially 81-93 and 276n13. There is some confusion of identity in the early part of Milet's captivity. A woman alternately identified as Suzanne, Gouentagrandi and Manchot's wife later is identified as Tarriha's wife. Suzanne's Oneida name may have been Gouentagrandi, see JR 64: 101, 105, or Gouentagrandi could be a different individual but cf. Richter "Ordeal of the Longhouse," unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1984, 261-265. See also NYCD, 3, 783. Milet was captured at Fort Frontenac in 1689, two years later he wrote a letter to "some missionaries in Canada" describing his captivity. See also ASJCF #460 for a summary of Milet's experiences from 1689-1703.

[12]Richter, Ordeal of the Longhouse, 32-40.

> si vous auez [avez] la guerre auec [avec] les francois battez vous bient a la bonne heure, mais ne chargez pas a tort Celuy qui nous appartient & dont les affaires sont distinguées de celle de la guerre.[13]

Tarriha's wife, Suzanne, also defended Milet, and in this case, appeared to take the lead in his defense, using a subtle combination of personal testimonial, moral authority and a refusal to fear the written word. Suzanne asked Milet to write a note to the English at Albany. The note concerned goods which an Iroquois man wished to buy from an English friend there. According to Milet, the English:

> voulant profiter de cette occasion pour me perdre monterent Incontinent a cheual [cheval] pour aller plus promptement raconter a toutes les nations Irroquoises que Iauois [j'avais] escris de force, mauuaises [mauvaises] choses[.][14]

Suzanne retorted:

> sont cela les mauuaises affaires quon vous a Escrittes. Cest moy qui les ay fait Escrire. Et Ie scay quil nest fait mention la dedans que de telles choses. Il faut que Vous ayez L Esprit bien mal fait de dire tant de mensonges, de faire si longtems parler un meschant billet dont Je Scay le Contenu & de decrier ainsy un pauure [pauvre] Infortuné . . .

Milet adds succinctly "Elle leur ferma la bouche pour cette fois," (She shut their

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[13]"If you are at war with the french, fight them as much as you like; but do not bring false charges against a Man who belongs to us, and whose business is very different from that of war." JR 64: 95-95.

[14]"The English . . .wishing to use this opportunity for my ruin, At once mounted their horses to go promptly and report to all the Irroquois nations that I had written very bad things."JR 64:92-95.

mouths that time).[15]

Apparently Tarriha and Suzanne's defense of their adoptee was effective. From that incident on, they defended him against the English and other Iroquois. Milet's symbolic value to all parties grew as his days in captivity extended into years. Governor Fletcher warned the five nations in 1692:

> To conclude, I must tell you, that I doubt there is some false Brother among us, who keeps intelligence with our Enemies, concealing their designs, and exposing ours; if you have one French man among you, he will be true to his Country by betraying you . . .

The following day, four sachems of the five nations reported to Governor Benjamin Fletcher in Albany:

> we do [?] to make a narrow enquiry as soon as we come into our Country, about the French prisoners who we suspect may betray us: we have had two bouts with the Onedys [Oneidas] about the Priest Milet that is among them, and we intend to try the third time.[16]

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[15]" 'Is this,' She said, 'the bad things that have been Written to you? It was I who made him Write them there, And I know that he mentions only such and such things in it. You must have a very badly formed Mind to tell so many lies, to make all this long talk about a wretched note, of which I know the Contents, and to slander in this way a poor Unfortunate man.' "JR 64: 93-95.

[16]Evans Microprint, 632, "Speech of Benjamin Fletcher to Indians, Albany State House, 25 February, 1692,"; "Proposals made by four of the Chief Sachims of the five Nations to . . .Benjamin Fletcher in Albany the 26th of February, 1692." On February 25, Sadeganaktie, the Onondaga diplomat who responded to Fletcher ("we are all one heart") did not respond directly to the charge of harboring a spy. Since only four of the five tribes were represented the following day, and since the message delivered on February 26 showed disunity between the Oneidas and the other four nations, it is likely that the Oneida diplomat was missing from the second session. See also Evans Microprint, 702, "An account of the Treaty . . ." August 15-21, 1694.

Milet, for his part refused to be sent back to Québec or to Albany, even when the diplomatic pressure (mostly from the English, but also from the French and occasionally, from other Iroquois) for him to leave the Oneida was intense.[17]

Tarriha appears in the records of both New York and New France as a spokesman or diplomat during the 1690s.[18] The French considered him to be an ally. However, in a turnabout that indicates the complexity of life on the borderlands during this period, two of his sons were captured by the French in 1691.

In June, 1693, Tarriha traveled to Québec and surrendered a French prisoner in exchange for one of his boys. He tried to negotiate a peace with Louis Buade de Frontenac, governor of the colony.[19] However Frontenac wished

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[17]JR 64: 93-105. These passages were written by Milet while he was still in captivity. From his description and from the New York official's obsession with ousting him, it is clear that his currency was rising among the Oneidas. His hosts turned their home into a grotto for worship, and provided feasts to bring people together in his honor and for his benefit. They also provided him with wampum so that he could effectively negotiate. Using persuasion rather than weapons, they defended him against both the English and against other Iroquois many times. For details of his adoption, see Richter, "Ordeal of the Longhouse," unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1984, 259-65.

[18]Tarriha is the speaker, for instance in 1693, NYCD 9: 566, 553-54; see also Henri Béchard, The Original Caughnawaga Indians (Montreal: International, 1976), 140-41.

[19]W.J. Eccles, "Louis de Buade de Frontenace et de Palluau," DCB 2: 133-142. Frontenac, governor general of the colony, was born in 1622 and died in 1698 in Québec. In 1698 the news of the Peace of Ryswick ending the War of the League of Augsburg came to Frontenac from Albany via envoys Peter Schuyler and the minister Godfrey Dellius,140.

to see representatives from each tribe, and in particular, Teganissorens.[20] Frontenac was both wrong and right. Tarriha told Frontenac that he represented "the three principal families [clans] of Oneida" or, according to another version, "he came on behalf of his family and a portion of his village." However, he never represented all of the Iroquois, and he no longer represented the majority of the Oneidas. A contemporary, a Frenchman who had been a captive of the Iroquois and had escaped to Québec one week after Tarriha's conference with Frontenac, confided to Frontenac, "although [Tarriha] was acting in good faith . . . his adherents were not considerable."[21]

Tarriha's attempts were sabotaged even before he returned to Iroquoia from Canada by both the English and anglophile Iroquois. A letter sent via Tarriha from Frontenac to the captive Father Milet was intercepted and read by the English, providing them with valuable intelligence about the strength and intentions of Frontenac.[22]

Humiliated by the failures of the English to attack New France, beaten by the devastating French raids of the 1690s, shunned by Frontenac and by the

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[20]Richter, Ordeal, 176-77; Béchard, Original Caughnawaga Indians, 140-41. The prisoner was perhaps Saint-Amours, see Henri Béchard, "Tareha," DCB 1:633-34; Saint Amour was taken prisoner four years earlier (about 1688) at Point-aux-Trembles. He had been living with the Oneidas, NYCD 9: 565. On Milet's capture, see JR 64: 67. Many French prisoners were kept in Tarriha's village, see JR 64: 83.

[21]NYCD 9: 553-54; Béchard, Original Caughnawaga Indians, 140-41.

[22]Richter, Ordeal, 178; Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 113-16; Handbook, Northeast 15: 481.

French king, weakened by epidemics, having lost important leaders to sickness and warfare, the League Iroquois were being forced to choose sides in a conflict that appeared to have no clear winners. Tarriha and his francophile position within the Iroquois League were losing ground. Teganissorens, an advocate of a neutralist stance, began to take the diplomatic stage in the mid-1690s, and the neutralist faction within the League increased in influence, numbers and persuasive powers.[23]

The Iroquois couldn't agree to travel in concert in order to negotiate with Frontenac. As a result, in an effort to establish peaceful relations between their European neighbors, the council of the Iroquois sent Tarriha back to Frontenac in September 1693. The message: an invitation to Frontenac to send an envoy to peace talks in Albany. This was a plan which could have altered the course of the many violent conflicts to follow. Tarriha arrived with one woman envoy and no other delegates. Frontenac, so careful with his own personal power, had a nose for weakness. He must have sensed in Tarriha's small envoy that the Iroquois were divided, or that they were actively engaged in alliances with the English.

Frontenac was enraged that the other Iroquois diplomats had ignored his request, and furious at the request of the Iroquois and English that he send his envoys to the negotiating table with the English. Frontenac, a colonial governor, felt it was below him to negotiate with Benjamin Fletcher, a mere provincial

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[23]Snow, The Iroquois, 134; Richter, Ordeal, 178-213.

governor. In addition, peace with the Iroquois included an alliance with the Iroquois against the English. Frontenac did not desire, nor was he authorized to negotiate, peace with the English. Frontenac refused Tarriha's invitation.[24]

Tarriha's efforts were assisted by other envoys. In February, 1694, an envoy of League Iroquois tried to negotiate with the mission residents at Kahnawakon and with Frontenac. They were greeted by the Governor without welcome, and told to send a complete delegation which included Teganissorens in "two moons." In May 1694, Teganissorens and eight other delegates finally arrived to negotiate with Frontenac. They requested that the King of France and the King of England be included in the peace negotiations, a proposition that Frontenac rejected. Tarriha and two Oneida diplomats arrived the following November, after the release of Milet. Frontenac's rage boiled again, this time toward Tarriha. Milet, however, defended Tarriha to the governor, in light of the good services Tarriha had performed for the priest during his captivity. In the years to come, Suzanne, Tarriha and Milet settled at the mission at the Sault St.-

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[24]Richter, Ordeal, 179-80. Frontenac did give Tarriha wampum belts to carry back to the council with his refusal, and another invitation to come to Montréal to forge an alliance. Alliance for trade and war, rather than a peace agreement, was Frontenac's vision of the ideal relationship between New France and the natives. Peace was an unlikely hope in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in any event, due to the wars between England and France. Peace at the turn of the century, if even attainable, would have unleashed a flood of traders and natives moving furs to Albany, and returning with goods. It might have encouraged out-migration of entire families from New France to New York/New England, or from New England/New York to New France. Preparations for warfare promoted this activity, warfare itself limited this activity.

Louis rapids.[25]

The bonds established between Milet, Tarriha and Suzanne were to outlast Milet's captivity. After his final negotiating trip to see Frontenac, Tarriha left Oneida to settle permanently in the mission, which was then located at Kahnawakon. Charlevoix records that Tarriha's family, captors of Father Milet, returned with him to New France as converts when the Oneida released Milet from captivity. Suzanne, Tarriha's wife, a convert, moved with the mission residents to the new mission, Kanatakwenke, opposite Devil's Island in 1696. She was baptized by the mission priests, probably in 1695 or 1696. She lived in the mission until her death, probably in the second decade of the eighteenth century.[26]

Tarriha lived at the mission until he died, although it is hard to imagine that he did not travel back and forth to Iroquoia during his later years. In 1696, a French campaign destroyed the major Oneida village. Milet, an old man by 1695, spent some time in Québec and some in Iroquois missions, including Kahnawake, until his death.

Tarriha, according to Oneida orators, lived until the time of Vaudreuil

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[25]ASJCF #460, as late as 1700 Milet requested to be allowed to return to Iroquoia to continue his mission. His request was refused; see also, Henri Béchard, "Tareha," DCB 1:633-34; Richter, Ordeal, 177-182, 350-52, Devine, Historic Caughawaga, 113-116. The mission was probably at Kentake.

[26] Richter, Ordeal 352n52; Charlevoix met her in 1708, Charlevoix, Histoire, 2: 135; Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 114. The Suzanne River is named for her. Milet was a missionary at Sault St-Louis from 1697 to 1703. He wrote to Rome requesting the Father General to find room in the prayers of the Jesuits for Tarriha and Suzanne, ASJCF #460, lettre, 10 aout, 1700.

(Governor, 1703-1725), and, according to his biographer, "always proved himself an ally of the French."[27]

Tarriha's life involved negotiating the borders between Iroquoia and the European colonies of Albany and the St. Lawrence Valley. An able and trusted spokesman, he was selected to deliver one of the most difficult messages of all to Frontenac. Arguably, in two years of intensive negotiation, it was the message delivered in September 1693 which most enraged Frontenac. The border affected Tarriha's family in intimate and lasting ways, as the capture of two of his sons by the French indicates.[28] He kept several French prisoners in his longhouse and in his village. His wife was a leader who evinced moral authority. She also gave Milet the hereditary title she could bestow. By doing so she protected and empowered both the Jesuit and the French cause for a critical five-year period. Tarriha and Suzanne stood up to the English, as well as to some Iroquois, under extraordinary pressure to release their prestigious captive.

Tarriha seems to have attempted to live in Oneida as long as possible, but moved to the mission at the Sault when it was clear that the French did not want peace with the English. As was typical in these situations, it was Tarriha's wife who converted to Christianity first; the date of Tarriha's conversion is uncertain. But like Anne Leber, in the late 1690s Tarriha chose life on the St. Lawrence

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[27]Henri Béchard, "Tareha," DCB 1:633-34.

[28]It is possible that the English, in concert with their anglophile Iroquois allies, actually assisted the French in this capture in order to weaken the position of Suzanne and Tarriha who defied them in 1689 when they defended Milet.

River, rather than in New York or Iroquoia.

Tarriha carefully sustained an increasingly tenuous French loyalty. He opposed extraordinary pressures from other Oneidas, other Iroquois, and from the English and Dutch traders. His sense of his own ability to sculpt his own life as well as other events formed part of his authority as an orator and diplomat. His sense of agency in the world helped provide him with the personal stamina to play the diplomatic card with Frontenac which could have changed the course of events. This action was taken either because Tarriha had already lost following among his people, or, at the very least, the action was taken at great cost to his prestige in the view of both the French and the natives. In other words, his diplomatic bent, and possibly his loyalty to Milet, cost Tarriha a considerable asset in native communities: prestige. Like Kateri, Tarriha was between communities, between cultures, in a liminal state, for much of the period during which he appears in the record.

Milet, Tarriha and Suzanne built a loyalty for each other that provided stability for the dangerous times in which they lived. Each saved the lives of the others using personal moral authority when partisan concerns threatened to dominate the day. Their mutual loyalty was an ingredient in their personal integrity and sense of survival in difficult times. The language these individuals employed includes strong statements linking their lives to the lives of the other two -- the essence of Iroquois diplomatic language. The story of each life includes the intertwining of three life stories. By "contact with an 'other' " they had stiffened their resolve and carved new identities: uniquely "New World"

identities. In this case, contact with an 'other' did not simply strengthen a pre-determined sense of self, it transformed the sense of self. By professing loyalty to each other in the diplomatic language of authority and consensus, they changed the course of their lives. It is perhaps fitting that in tumultuous, dangerous times, and despite personal risks they took, each of the three lived to a ripe old age.[29]

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[29]Milet died in 1708 in Québec at the age of 73; Charlevoix saw Suzanne in 1708 in Kanatakwenke, though she lived many years after that, Devine, Historic Caughnawaga, 114, and Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 6 vols. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), 2:135; Tarriha, according to oral records, lived into Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil's governorship, which began in 1703, Henri Béchard, "Tareha," DCB 1:634.

"STORIES TOLD AS TRUE," A REPRISE

The residents of New France attempted, in ways large and small, formal and informal, to make sense of their borderland environs. They attempted to pull together the strands of their complex social world. The stories of Soeur St.-Charles and the Kahnawake bell are two ways that they "braided" their history, incorporating French, English and native truths into a coherent narrative. In each of these stories, an event critical to the history of New France was transformed.

In 1711 a storm became divine intention, communicated to ease the anxieties of a terrified populace. Anne Barrois was the one who passed along the bad news to Jeanne Leber, and who later passed along the good news to the wider world. Anne had, of course, been raised among "*nos ennemis*" and had opportunities for frequent contact with family members who had news from, or who had actually traveled to, *les anglois* or *les flamands*. The story accords to her and to the recluse Jeanne Leber a special knowledge of the abilities of the English, of the weather, and of God's will, both affirming both Anne's piety and her origin as well as Jeanne's interest in captive converts from among *"nos ennemis."* As events turned out, Captain Walker's fleet was dashed on the rocks in a storm. Three thousand British troops drowned. Albany's land attack on Montréal never materialized; it withered after the bad news from Québec arrived in New York. The foundering of these ships, the deaths of the British, and the bounty of British naval stores which washed ashore to a grateful populace were attributed to the prayers of Jeanne Leber and the many other residents of Ville-

Marie, as Montréal was known, including Anne Barrois, who joined her aunt in prayer.

For the Kahnawake bell, the separation of many families, both native and English, was addressed by the "adoption" -- or recapture -- of a bell which had a voice and belonged at home. The distress caused by many war losses, on both sides, the horror of the massacre, was transformed into an eighteenth-century New World version of a Crusade to recapture a sacred object now stranded among the heretics. The Deerfield attack had cost native lives as well, and was initiated, in part, to cover the Iroquois dead from previous raids and attacks. The massacre had affected all of the listeners. Many of the listeners had been captured themselves or watched their relatives die in the massacre or en route to Kahnawake. The story of the bell shifts the focus of the listener from the raids and deaths to a higher and justified mission. It transforms loss into gain, famine into gratitude, and bloodshed into a necessary martyrdom. It affirms that the Kahnawake residents knew details about life in the Massachusetts border towns, and that their goals in warfare were specific and considered.[1]

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[1]For another story which reweaves history into a more coherent tapestry, see the story of the girl who survived the St. Francis raid, whose granddaughter returned to Deerfield in the nineteenth century to relate the end of the story. Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, unpublished paper delivered at Native American conference, Providence, Rhode Island, Sept. 1996. See also Haefeli and Sweeney "Revisiting *The Redeemed Captive*" in Calloway, ed. After King Philip's War (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 29-71 esp. 32, 53. For a scholarly effort to integrate oral and written records into a coherent narrative, see, in the same volume, Ruth Wallis Herndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau, "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era," 115-143 esp. 118-123.

In "Stories," above, it was noted that these stories address economic, military and religious concerns. These concerns were those of the governors, intendants and priests of New France. Their annual narrative reports to the king, or, in the case of the Jesuits, to their superiors, address these issues repeatedly and at length. Almost entirely hidden from view, both in the reports and in the stories, are the related social considerations. Particularly invisible in the reports are the social concerns which connect residents of New England to residents of New France. Embedded in the stories, however, are some hints about liaisons between the residents of New England and the residents of New France. In the story about Soeur St.-Charles and Jeanne Leber, their knowledge about the outcome of the naval battle came from God. But where did they learn about the approach of the British ships? Who told them, and why? In the story about the bell, a listener might wonder, "How did we know where our bell was? Who told us? Had someone seen it? Why did God not carry the bell to us? What language did the bell speak? What language did she sing?" The answers to these questions led to the actual, historical relationships between the residents of New England and New France. The bell, particularly in the anthropomorphized version of the story, is a symbol replete with meaning, a symbol for the adopted and displaced children in both colonies who spoke different languages from their mother tongues, who had most frequently forgotten their mother tongues, and who worshipped in churches their parents had never seen. The story of the bell codifies the many-layered social relationships in the borderland. In a comforting way it dries the tears and opens the throats of the bereaved. The bell itself plays

a part in the necessary healing. Through its daily singing in Kahnawake the bell awakens the children's distant memories of voices of loved ones now silent, in short, of home. The long life of the story, and the vibrancy of the bell incorporate the captives' "social death" at capture into a living, singing and vibrant tradition of loss and renewal.[2]

Stories are for telling. These stories are told to this day, almost 300 years after the first tellings. These stories, however, in addition to being good tales, are healing stories which weave together the many threads of life in New France. Acknowledging piety as a motivation and a strength, confirming the cultural meaning of native raids, recognizing the English as a significant but well-understood threat, affirming French and native military victories over the English, and noting the transfer of goods and ships from the English to the French, these stories, in their own day, made sense of a complex world. In the late twentieth century these stories, paired with those of individuals who roamed the ill-defined borderland, help illuminate the texture of life in New France.

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[2]For other stories related to native captives, see "The Wampum Bird" and "Thunder Boy" in tehanetorens, Tales of the Iroquois (Rooseveltown, New York, Akwesasne Notes, 1976). For a discussion of the derivation of the story of the Kahnawake bell, see David Blanchard Seven Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka (Kahnawake: 1980) and Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, "Revisiting *The Redeemed Captive*," op. cit. Most historians discount the story of the bell as "fictitious," see Haefeli and Sweeney, 40n172. For a fascinating story of a *voyageur* who "finished" his narrative, see the story of Jean Cadieux, Edith Fowke, Folklore of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 64-70.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ALBANY AND DÉTROIT

un homme reviendra
d'en dehors du monde . . .[1]

During the early 1700s the greatest area of population expansion in New France was Détroit. As demonstrated in chapters four through seven, the identities of some individuals, formed in a cross-border setting, were articulated through the activity-based languages of trade, war, religion and diplomacy.[2] These particularized languages and the individuals' sense of themselves as able negotiators of boundaries in the border region made them ideal candidates for another migration. Their skills (in languages, in personal networks, in knowledge of trading practices and marital customs) served them well in the push westward. To follow the progeny of Anne Leber, Antoine Barrois and Hillebrant Lootman is to see the effect their experience in Albany had on their later life choices. Like Montréal, Albany and the New York region were staging areas for forays to the Great Lakes region. Some of those who returned from Albany to the banks of the St. Lawrence parlayed their experience and their linguistic skills into useful commodities in the search for western furs.[3] As for the parents, Anne Leber

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[1]Gaston Miron, "Pour Mon Rapatriement," L'homme rapaillé (Montréal: Éditions Typo, 1996), deuxieme édition.

[2]For other examples of families which were active in the borderland, see Appendix A, especially Lepage, Petit, Poupart, Perrin, Poitiers and Sargent.

[3]In addition to the progeny who went to Détroit, three remained or eventually settled in the New York region: Catherine, Charles and Antoine. On

returned to the Montreal region, living in La Prairie and Senneville. Antoine Barrois died, probably in New York. Hillebrant Lootman, for his part, was baptized in November, 1699, in Montréal. After living in La Prairie and Montréal, Hillebrant may have moved back to New York or to the Great Lakes region or Ohio. He was presumed dead before his sons' marriages in 1717.[4]

Charles and Antoine, see below. Anne and Antoine's first daughter, Catherine Barrois, was born in 1674 in La Prairie. She married Mathieu Bovie or Boffie (probably Beaufils) in New York. Her new husband may have been employed by Jacques Leber. Mathieu is prominent in the court records of Albany, but the portrait is not flattering. He was in debt, promised his assets to more than one creditor, and was sued by several of them. In 1684 the court summoned Mathieu for attempted murder. The court noted that he was involved in a relationship with a negress named Pey, with whom he had two children. He wished to purchase his lover (for 50 or 60 beavers) but her owner, Jacob Sanders, would not sell her. He then threatened that if he could not buy her, he would obtain a poisonous root from the woods and poison himself and Pey on Sanders' doorstep. During the trial for attempted murder of Pey, it was determined that Mathieu had tried to convince some of the black servants of Albany to run away with him to Canada. Some four years after the court proceeding (about 1689), Mathieu married Catherine.

A daughter was baptized in 1690, followed by nine others. The baptismal records tell the stories of regional travel. The first child was baptized in Albany; records are scanty for the next two, but they were probably baptized in New Jersey. The fourth in New York, the fifth in Albany, the sixth and seventh in Schenectady, the eighth through the tenth in Albany. As in the other families, the spellings of their names vary; for instance, Cathryn "Barrove" and Matthys "Bofie" baptized their fifth child, a daughter, Mary, in the Dutch Church in Albany in 1699. Other than a three-year stint in New Jersey and Brooklyn, this family roamed within the corridor, baptizing children in Albany and Schenectady, and living for a while at Canastigonie. One of their sons, Antoine, married a member of the Dutch Van der Werken family. See A.J.F. van Laer, Court Minutes of Albany (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1932), 3:381-83, 390-94, 480-81, 526-28; James L. Hansen,"The Lootman-Barrois Family,"(hereafter Hansen) The American Genealogist, v. 2, 89-92; Joel Munsell, The Annals of Albany 10 vols. (Albany: Joel Munsell, Munsell and Rowland, 1850-59) 3: 83.

[4]A Hilbrant Lootman is on a muster roll in Ulster County, New York in 1711; Second Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York, Albany, 1897, p. 441-42. Marcel Fournier, De la Nouvelle-Angleterre à la

The first son of Anne Leber and Antoine Barrois, Philippe, was eleven when the family moved to Albany and twenty-seven when they returned to the St. Lawrence in 1699.[5] In his late teens at the time of his mother's remarriage, he apparently began trading in Iroquoia or the Great Lakes region on his own, from his New York home. Philippe probably did not return with his family, but was employed by his mother's uncle Jacques Leber in Kaskaskia, in the Illinois region, in the first decades of the eighteenth century. He apparently never married[6]; he died in Kaskaskia in 1722, at the age of forty-nine.

A step-brother, Jean-Baptiste Lootman, born in 1691 in "Iope" (Esopus, New York), apparently did not return with the family in 1699. No notation of his baptism occurs in the record, but some time later he did travel to New France as he married Marie-Madeleine Cardinal in April,1717 in Montréal, one month before his brother, François Lotman, married Marie-Anne Sauvage in Montréal. Baptismal records help trace the movements of these families. Both marriages produced children; before the year was out, each had baptized a daughter. Jean-Baptiste and his wife had three children (one of whom died in infancy) who were baptized in Montréal before 1721. François and his wife had a child in 1717 who was baptized in La Prairie.

Nouvelle-France (hereafter NANF)(Montréal: Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, 1992), 165-66; Jetté, 744.

[5]Jetté, 53

[6]It is likely that he had an informal liaison or a marriage with a native, perhaps Catholic, woman there, see Richard White, The Middle Ground (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 66-69.

By the year 1722, however, both couples, probably with their children, were in Détroit. Jean-Baptiste and Marie-Madeleine had two children whom they baptized in Détroit. By 1726 Marie-Madeleine (and perhaps Jean-Baptiste) were in Montréal and children were baptized there in 1726 and 1727. By 1730 they lived at Sault St.-Louis, on land which they later abandoned to return to Détroit, where they baptized a son at Kaskaskia in 1732.

Between 1722 and 1730, François and Marie-Anne baptized four children in Détroit. Four more children were born of this marriage.[7] In 1734 François Barrois (probably François Lootman dit Barrois) was headed for Détroit for a military effort.[8] François Lootman was counted in Détroit in the census of 1750. By mid-century, two members of the family had moved southwest of Détroit. In 1740, the year of his death, Jean-Baptiste was a royal notary in Cahokia.[9] In 1752 another Barrois was a notary in Caskaskias (Kaskaskia).[10]

In addition to Catherine Barrois,[11] her brothers Charles and Antoine Barrois remained in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor. Charles, known in Dutch

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[7]Fournier, NANE, 165.

[8]Letter addressed to Jacques Leber, Sieur de Senneville, son of Jacques Leber, merchant from M. Faure, curé de St.-Sulpice, AC 1905 XLIII--Détroit. Letter summarized in Fonds Choquet, SHLPM. 2.178.

[9]Tanguay 2:131.

[10]Fonds Choquets, SHLPM, 2.178. These communities were located on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.

[11]For details about Catherine's life, see note 1.

records as Carel, settled in Schenectady.[12] Charles' Dutch wife was Aaltie Roeloffse van der Werker, of Albany; they had married in Albany on June 7, 1707.[13]

Antoine Barrois, *fils*, was born about 1684 while the family lived in the New York region. He arrived in La Prairie for baptism with two step-brothers (François Lootman -- probably between one and seven years old -- and Pierre Lootman, seven months old), his mother Anne Leber, and his step-father Hillebrant Lootman in 1699. This fifteen-year-old was old enough to remember his life in New York. When asked whether he had ever been baptized, he answered "baptisé aux pays des flamans" to which biographers have added "au canton Onneiout, rivière des flamands (with the Oneidas, on the Dutch river)."[14] Antoine became a clerk to M. Leber, was the godfather to a captive in 1706, and was a sponsor at a baptism in 1708.[15] After that time (two years after the death of Jacques Leber -- Antoine's uncle, patron and employer) he disappears from the record. He may have moved to Schenectady to join his older brother Charles and nephew Antoine Boffie.

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[12]A move perhaps facilitated or necessitated by the death of Jacques Leber, who was buried in November, 1706 in Montréal, Jetté, 670.

[13]Pearson Genealogy of the First Settlers of Albany, 7. A son of Anne Leber's daughter Catherine Barrois (Charles' sister) and her husband, Mathieu Bovie (Beaufils?), named Antoine, born in 1707 in Albany, married Catherina Van der Werken of the same family. See Hansen, v. 2, 91-92.

[14]Fonds Choquet, SHLPM 2.178

[15]Hansen, v. 1, 5.

Young men are difficult to track. But the sons of Antoine Barrois and Hillebrant Lootman are particularly difficult to find in the record. For regardless which of Anne Leber's husbands was their father, they took the name "dit Barrois."

Historians have become understandably confused about the origins and life paths of residents of New France because they did not take into account the possibility that ordinary citizens might have migrated to New England or New York, or married someone from those colonies. For instance, Reuben Thwaites, in a lengthy and tentative note in the Jesuit Relations attempts to sort out the identity of the wife of a Détroit fur trader named Robert Navarre. Robert married Marie Lootman dit Barrois, in 1734. The couple had nine children. Marie was related to Willibrord Lootman, he notes. But historians disagree about "Willibrord's" origin. One claims he was sent to Canada as a general agent of the Company of the West Indies in 1665, another that the agent was a different gentleman altogether. Tanguay lists Willibrord as a son of Antoine Barrois, but then Thwaites notes a genealogy that would make Willibrord a grandson of Antoine Barrois. Finally Thwaites tries to make sense of the record:

> The name of this family is a good illustration of the confusion and actual changes which are encountered in the records of French-Canadian families . . . The Lootman family, migrating from Holland to the province of Berri, received the sobriquet le Berrois (corrupted to Barrois). Removing to Canada, Lootman was usually dropped; but it appears again in the Detroit branch as Lothman, but in various combinations -- Lothman dit Barrois

(corrupted to de Barrois), and Barrois-Lothman.[16]

A simpler solution presents itself when the migration of Anne Leber and Antoine Barrois is contemplated. As has been shown, Hillebrant was not known as "Barrois" or "Berrois" while in New Netherland. He was known as Lootman. It was after his marriage to Anne and the family's return to La Prairie that his sons began to use the name "Barrois."[17]

This "confusion" of which Thwaites writes, is a historical problem. Thwaites is both characteristically cautious in this note and uncharacteristically uncertain. The genealogists he consulted, interested in the French roots of French families in New France, could not clarify the problem or find a solution.

The difficulty of interpreting "dit Barrois" without the knowledge of a New York migration for this family affects more, however, than family history. The "dit Barrois" sobriquet tells a story of a woman with two marriages, who raised her children in two cultures, who arranged for their education in two different systems, and who probably spoke at least two languages. It provides a link between the "illegal" but profitable Albany trade and the legal but problematic trade with the *pays d'en haut*. Certainly the "dit Barrois" family had the

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[16]Reuben Gold Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 73 vols. (hereafter JR) (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), 69: 307-308n68. The elipsis reads: " -- changes well explained by Denissen in Burton's Cadillac's Village, pp. 41-43."

[17]Robert Navarre may have married the daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lootman dit Barrois and Marie-Madeleine Cardinal. Jean-Baptiste was the son of Hillebrant (Willibrord) Lootman dit Barrois and Anne Leber. Jetté, 744.

experience to do well in the multi-lingual world of Détroit. The prevalence and the success of the first generation of this family in the Détroit fur trade signals the possibility that Anne Leber and her family lived in or traveled to the Great Lakes region during their sixteen-year stay in the New York area. The Barrois name continued in the Great Lakes region until at least the end of the eighteenth century.[18]

Other Lebers with a connection to the family migrated to the Great Lakes region included Michelle Leber, daughter of Jeanne Cusson (Joachim Leber's widow). Michelle married Pierre Pepin, who was "garde magasin du roi au fort Chambly" in 1714.[19] He became a voyageur in 1721. The family, which by now included two children, moved west about 1721. A third was baptized at Fort St. Joseph des Illinois about 1722. Michelle and Pierre had four more children, all of

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[18]Though not all as wealthy merchants. For the descendents of Jean Baptiste Barrois and Madeleine Cardinal, at least three of whom married and had children in the Détroit region, see Hansen, v. 3, 172. One son, Bonaventure, born in 1724, was listed as "a prisoner among the English" in 1760. For the children of François Lootman and Marie-Anne Sauvage, at least of five of whom married and had children in the Détroit region, see, in the same issue, 174-75. See also, Denissen's French Families. An individual named Barrois may have traveled to the Illinois country in Louisiana province, see Fonds Choquet, 2.178 which mentions a deposition before Simonet in 1754.

[19]Michelle may have been Joachim Leber's daughter, or may have been Jeanne Cusson's daughter, born a few months before her marriage with her third husband. Michelle used both Cusson and Leber as surnames and claimed an inheritance from Jeanne Testard. She received a concession at Chambly when she married in 1714. One of Jeanne Cusson's sons by her third marriage married back into the Leber family in La Prairie: Ange Guérin married Marie-Anne Leber, daughter of Joachim's brother François, in 1729. See Jetté 670, 537-538, 895.

whom were born in La Prairie, 1723-1728.[20] François Leber, brother of Anne Leber, also traveled to Détroit. Many other La Prairie names occur in the record of Détroit, including Roy, Detaillis and Deniau.[21]

The Leber-Barrois-Lootman family occurs in the patchy record several times, both on the Champlain-Richelieu corridor in the seventeenth century, and in the *pays d'en haut* Great Lakes region in the eighteenth century. The record raises the question of the education of the children in this family. Their prominence as notaries and clerks (Jean-Baptiste Lootman and Antoine Barrois, *fils*) argues for some childhood education in letters. Their mother, Anne Leber, could not read or write. Jacques Leber (their uncle) wrote, though his spelling was idiosyncratic. Antoine Barrois (father of Antoine) could sign his name and was a *chirugien*. Antoine had died, however, between 1687 and 1689, when his son Antoine was only four, and would not have been able to educate him.[22]

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[20]Jetté, 895.

[21]An examination of extended families in La Prairie leads to some connection to the fur trade for most of them. See Jacques Deniau dit Destaillis, *engagé* ouest 7/4/1688, Jetté 331; the Jean Deniau family in Montreal, four of five sons went west 1688-1694, Jetté 330; one daughter had three children who went west Jetté, 624-25; Caron family, Jetté, 200-201. Note the connections between the Poupard, Deniau and Bisaillon families, Jetté, 330-32; and the connections between the Roy, Poupard, Perras, Perrin and Lemaistre families, Jetté, 896-97, 941-42. See family of Pierre Roy, a servant of Jacques Leber, whose son Jacques married Marthe-Marguerite French, captive from Deerfield, in 1711, four other sons were in the fur trade, Jetté, 1018-1019. See also JR 69: 306-310, and RAPQ 1920-1921. For a discussion of endogamy in La Prairie, see Louis Lavalleé, La Prairie en Nouvelle-France, 1647-1760 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[22]Antoine Barrois was no older than five when his father died. Jean-Baptiste, of course, was not born until 1691, after his mother married Hillebrant

Hillebrant Lootman could not sign his name, he could not have educated Jean-Baptiste. Jean-Baptiste Lootman and Antoine Barrois most probably were educated in their letters in the Albany region perhaps with the schoolmasters or tutors hired by the Dutch. They could have been educated by priests in Iroquoia. Either way, they were probably fluent in three or four languages (French, English, Dutch and Iroquois) by their late teens, and ideally suited for the fur trade work in the Great Lakes region.

It is very difficult to discern, at this distance, the meanings these individuals accorded to their movements. It is possible, however, to note that several of the families which thrived in the (illegal) Albany fur trade, and which intermarried with the Dutch, became active in the Détroit region one or more generations later.

Not all marriages between French and Dutch spouses resulted in a move west, however. Other French-Dutch marriages which originated in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor included Moise Dupuis and Marie-Anne-Louise Christiansen who lived for at least some of their marriage in La Prairie. Charles Barrois and his wife Aaltie Roeloffse van der Werker settled in Schenectady.[23] Another example is that of Marie Poupart and Hendrik Roeloffse van der Werker who settled in Half Moon. Another couple, Antoine Boffie (Beaufils) and

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Lootman. Philippe could have been educated by his father. However Hillebrant's signature appears on no records in New France, indicating that he may not have been literate.

[23]Fournier, NANF 105.

Catharina van der Werker, settled in the Albany area. Although they did not travel to Détroit, they remained in the corridor. They appeared to remain close to fur trade routes and to the natives, French and Dutch who traveled them.

The Perthuis family is another family from the Montréal region (Pointe-aux-Trembles) which parlayed connections with travel to the south to the trade to the west. Pierre Perthuis had come to Canada as a soldier in the Carignan-Salières regiment. He was an *engageur* to the west in 1695. His son, Pierre Perthius, born in 1686, never married or settled in New France. He apparently traveled to western Massachusetts. He had an illegitimate child with Marie-Angélique Bouteiller, Pierre, who was born in Longeuil in 1709 and died the same year. By the time the child was born, his father had died in Deerfield, Massachusetts.[24] Two of Pierre's sisters married boys from the Caron family; three sons of these couples entered the fur trade.[25]

Pierre's younger brother, born in 1691 and also named Pierre, married[26] in 1713 in Montréal, and, after the birth of at least one child and the death of his wife, remarried[27] and moved to Détroit with his family where seven more children were born and baptized between 1720 and 1730. This Pierre was also an

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[24]Jetté, 902-3. The reason for his travel to Deerfield is not known.

[25]Jetté, 199-200. On August 10, 1699 the two men, Claude and Vital Caron engaged "Joseph, panis de nation" as a servant.

[26] He married Angélique Caron, a marriage which was the third link between these two families.

[27]His second wife was Marie-Catherine Mallet, they had two children before moving to Détroit, one of these, perhaps, en route. Jetté, 902-903.

engageur to the west from 1718-1726, and a fur trader. His place and date of death is not recorded.

These examples demonstrate that the Leber-Barrois-Lootman family was not unique in their pan-regional movements during this period. It should be noted that this movement is not limited to the western fringe of the colonial settlements on the St. Lawrence. Boston was also a destination for French colonists; the eastern and sea routes hosted significant traffic to Boston, especially in the 1700s.[28] Stepping back a bit from the complex list of births, baptisms, marriages, and employment, it is clear that the Leber-Barrois-Lootman family which conducted illegal trading in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor later became prominent in the fur trade posts of the Great Lakes region and beyond. It is possible that wealth accmulated in the Albany trade was applied toward migrations to the *pays d'en haut*. More importantly, the skills acquired in borderland communities like Albany, Esopus, Schenectady, Chambly, St.-Jean, Kahnawake or La Prairie prepared these individuals for valuable work in a borderland society where many cultures, languages and traditions collided. The influence of the Leber-Barrois-Lootman family in the *pays d'en haut* is noticeable

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[28]See appendix A, see also the captivity narratives of John Gyles, William Pote, and the narrative of Nehemiah How, who describes the origins of prisoners as they arrive in New France. See the writings and descriptions of Jesuit missionary Pierre Rale. For a later example of a man who used his knowledge of New England and New York, and of Indians, and a marriage in Montréal to turn a life of debt into a life of plenty with moments of both roguery and prestige, see "John Lydius," DCB 4: 488-90.

as late as the 1770s -- some ninety years after the Barrois family migrated to New York.[29]

It is also clear that this family was involved in every aspect of life in the borderland: intermarriage, education in a foreign colony, religious ambiguity and conversion, notarial work, clerical work, travel and migration, intelligence gathering or disseminating, diplomacy and warfare. They were adept at the particularized languages that each of these roles required. If identity is always mediated in a combination of language and actions, it was the discourse of the borderland that enabled the formation of these migrants' identities. Their roles in this region were not circumscribed by profession or by stature or by wealth or poverty. Their roles were affected by, but not limited to, trade in furs. These were multi-talented individuals. They were multi-lingual, and they were well-versed in at least three different cultures. Finally, this migration included women and children. Often, when male members of this family traveled west, to other colonies or to fur trade posts, their wives and children went with them.

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[29]Hansen, v. 3, 172-75.

CHAPTER NINE: BORDERLAND DISCOURSE, BORDERLAND IDENTITY

As can be observed in the case studies presented above, those who traveled and migrated through the borderland left fragments of narratives about their lives. The examination of these fragments shows that they generally fall into one of four categories: trade, warfare, religion or diplomacy. These groupings occur primarily because of the nature of the sources. Not coincidentally, they are the topics that concerned officials in Albany and Montréal. However the activity-based languages that these travelers used allowed the construction of an identity that was understandable on both sides of the "border." Certainly these individuals could not tell the same story in Montréal as they did in Albany. But for their own sense of personal coherence, of identity constructed through narrative, these stories had to be comprehensible as a whole. In addition, the traveler's stories and his or her actions together composed the "identity" of the individual. It was necessary for the stories and actions to be consonant, or, at a minimum, for the stories to explain the actions.

Identity requires, in the words of Rhys Isaac, "a duly acknowledged place in the master narratives . . . [of a] society's history."[1] These individuals shaped events in the border region as others shaped the dual -- French and English -- historical narratives of New France. In the formulation of those narratives, where

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[1]Rhys Isaac, "Stories and Constructions of Identity: Folk Tellings and Diary Inscriptions in Revolutionary Virginia," 206-237, quotation is p. 206 in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

do these families fit? Do they have a "duly acknowledged place"? Since their own narratives describe trade, war, religion and diplomacy, did those narratives help define the meta-narratives of New France?

For the topics of trade, war and diplomacy, the inevitable conclusion is that although these three topics were included in the master narratives, the activities of these particular families were not included in those narratives. For the topic of religion, however, there is some overlap between the activities of these families and the master narratives of New France. There are several reasons for this "overlap." First, the examples of the story of the bell of Kahnawake and the shipwreck in 1711 are stories which remained vibrant largely because they were used as object lessons about piety. In addition, the records of convents and churches have retained the stories of some of the borderland travelers. Why would these stories have been "remembered" through religious discourse?

One of the most compelling of the particularized languages which developed in contact situations was that of religion. Religious discourse (such as prayers and arguments) and religious activities (such as baptism, marriage and donations) may have provided for many the overarching unity necessary to the formation of identity in a shifting, dangerous world. Religion also required outward signs of behavior, and "renaming" through baptism, which communicated a newcomer's membership in unambiguous language. The captives from New York and New England, as well as other "foreigners" in New France, are good examples of the role that religion played in assimilation. Their

sponsors or hosts in the St. Lawrence valley were also engaging in a discourse of considerable import.

Like other examples highlighted in the preceding chapters, the marriage of Jacques Denoyon and Abigail Stebbins demonstrates the power of early colonial marriages as "cultural mixers," the kinds of family considerations that motivated movement in the border region, and the long-term nature of the social ties between New England and New France. It also demonstrates the importance of religious activities in the process of assimilation.

At first glance Jacques appears to be a person who cared little for family duties. However both partners in this marriage retained remarkable ties to family despite almost constant pan-regional movements. Jacques Denoyon was born in 1668. He was engaged in the fur trade, but he was unable to repay his creditors. He was fractious; in one 1698 incident he was involved in a fight with a merchant where both were wounded.[2] After accumulating bills in several establishments in Montréal, he fled to New England and settled in Deerfield. He married Abigail Stebbins[3] there on February 14, 1704. The marriage was performed by Pastor John Williams in the local meeting house. Just two weeks

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[2]ANQM, TL4, Series 1, 005-0257, Jacques DeNoyon v. Gilles Papin, 3 janvier 1698. Later the same year, Jacques was a witness in another case of assault; he stated his age as 28.

[3]Her surname is also spelled "Stibbins" and "Stebbens." Jacques had been a sergeant with Alphonse de Tonty, René Jetté, Dictionnaire généalogique des familles de Québec (hereafter Jetté) (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), 336, and may have begun in 1700 to ally himself with the English, see Jean DeNoyon, NYCD 4:797.

later Deerfield was attacked by French and native soldiers. Along with other Deerfield residents, Jacques Denoyon of Trois-Rivières and his wife were carried "captive" to Canada.[4]

The irony of the situation could not have escaped Jacques' notice. One biographer has described this journey as "an all expenses paid honeymoon, an event [Denoyon] would have gladly missed."[5] Denoyon and his wife were treated well, and on their arrival in New France they were freed. They settled in Boucherville where Abigail, now "Marguerite," bore eleven children from 1704-1724. Jacques was often absent, but apparently he returned often to Boucherville. He could not support his family; his wife eventually requested and received a "*séparation des biens*" so that his debts would not be hers. In 1711 captive-turned-nun Esther Wheelwright was the sponsor for the baptism of one of "Marguerite's" daughters, Dorothée. Jacques-René, the couple's oldest son, was sent to Deerfield to live with his grandparents in 1714, when he was about ten years old. He may have returned with Abigail's father, John, and her mother, Dorothy Alexander Stebbins, when they were freed from captivity in New France that year.

Abigail's twelfth child signals another pattern; Marie-Anne was born in

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[4]Jetté, 336; DeNoyon was one of at least three French men in Deerfield at the time of this attack. Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada 2 vols. (Portland: Southworth Press, 1926) 1: 126, 427; 2: 34-35, 118-24, 125, 127

[5]Dictionary of Canadian Biography 3:493-94; Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada 3:534-35.

February 1726 in Deerfield, Massachusetts. She was baptized nine months later in Boucherville.[6] Abigail (Marguerite) sent her oldest son to be raised in Deerfield, and, twenty-two years after she was taken as a captive from Deerfield, Abigail returned to her hometown. Her return to Deerfield was perhaps timed to collect her inheritance; her father John Stebbins had died in December, 1724. After her sojourn south Abigail returned to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Why? Even though Abigail had been taken captive and "carried" to New France as an adult, and even though her husband was not a fine provider, Abigail returned to New France to rejoin her children, and to baptize Marie-Anne. Both Jacques and Abigail maintained family connections for decades after their migrations away from their respective homes, and for Abigail, at least, religious observances seemed to provide a structure that she wished to continue.

Religious symbolism as borderland discourse

About thirty percent of the foreigners who arrived in New France converted to Catholicism. This percentage is even higher if individuals who arrived sick and died soon after are discounted. Children who were baptized, certainly, were not making a choice. However among the adults, the ceremony carried different meanings.

Because these individuals left few narrative sources, it is impossible to know the meanings these ceremonies held for them. The records which remain

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[6]Jetté, 336.

are the church records, which are of course canted toward those who attended church, attended baptisms, married in the church and sponsored others in these ceremonies. It is important to note that conversion does not imply any particular piety; a few converts became criminals, forgers or wife-beaters. Far more, however, farmed, operated sawmills, were coopers, shoemakers or weavers -- contributing children, labor and skills to the growth of New France. The prevalence of conversion and baptism in this population, and the fact that their hosts were often their sponsors, indicates that some of these converts were encouraged by their hosts to convert or to be baptized. For some, this was a practical and required step before marriage. For others the Church served as a comfort in a dangerous chaotic world. Many converted Protestants, about 128 of the 700 records examined, continued to baptize their children in the Church decades later. To an outsider in the 1740s, these families were probably indistinguishable from their French neighbors.

Some of the fur traders or merchants who were prominent in borderland movement took an extraordinary interest in the captives. The captives became commodities, tokens of wealth and of piety. In addition to their own interest in religious activities and institutions, they were frequently utilized as religious symbols.[7]

Many captives were ransomed from the Indians by well-meaning French individuals of all stations in life. Often, they were employed as servants. Most

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[7]For names of sponsors, many of whom were prominent individuals including the intendants and governors of New France, see Appendix A.

likely this involved working for a family in return for room and board. Some, however, were ransomed by wealthy individuals and placed in good homes, where it was expected they would eventually convert to Catholicism. Some were given directly to religious institutions as servants or pupils. Between 1660 and 1760 about 75 young girls were given to convents for education. At least ten of them became Catholic nuns.[8] When these or other captives converted, wealthy individuals often attended their baptisms. Wealthy individuals also sponsored the baptism of native people. Prominent among these are Jacques Leber and his wife Jeanne Lemoyne. For instance, in a five year period, Jeanne Lemoyne and Jacques Leber witnessed or were the godparents at five native baptisms including the baptism of Jeanne Aorenne (probably Warren) [daughter of Robert Aorenne and Ganichioungoude] May 24, 1668. They signed at the baptism of Marie-Louise Miscouabimises, daughter of Miscou Micsouabimises and Marie Madeleine August 11, 1671. They signed for the baptism of Françoise Oukitakette, November 18, 1671. Jacques Leber and Jeanne Leber attended the baptism of Charles Tokachiongden on May 5, 1673. Jacques attended the baptism of Jeanne Gayenta, October 3, 1673.

Jacques Leber ransomed, hosted, or sponsored at baptism a number of captives, and had influence in the lives of many more. The record relates that Leber had a direct hand in the fates of Lydia Longley or Langley, Jean Lahaie or Lahey, John Stilson, Samuel Williams, Grizel Warren Otis, Clement Adams, Mary

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[8]For details, see Coleman, New England Captives 2: 387-405 and Appendix A.

Odiorne Batson, and possibly Elizabeth Price Stevens. His partner Charles Lemoyne (de Longueuil) had a direct hand in the fates of Thomas Hurst, Elizabeth Hurtado, Abigail Kimball?, Abigail Nimbs, Margaret Otis, Grizel Warren Otis and Elizabeth Price Stevens.

As a further indication of the meaning of these conversions, it is important to note that recluse Jeanne Leber witnessed the conversions of Lydia Longley or Langley (who later became Soeur Sainte-Madeleine) in 1696 and of Samuel Williams in 1705. Samuel Williams' conversion held particular significance as he was the son of John Williams, the famous and vituperative Deerfield minister who publicly lamented the (as he saw it) forced conversion of each of his captive children. Jeanne also received the occasional foreign visitor, usually to witness the extraordinary piety of her life. In 1698 "two English gentlemen" visited her, one of whom was a minister who, according to the story, later converted to Catholicism.[9]

Conversions of natives and foreigners were imbued with meaning for the residents of New France. They were potent symbols. They could be viewed as the "spoils" of war. They were booty who became commodities in the religious economy of the borderland. Their Catholic education and conversion added psychological and symbolic value to their role as "booty." The conversions were universally seen as voluntary in New France (only New England ministers questioned the validity of these conversions) and the later lives of the converts

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[9]John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

indicate that often they were practicing Catholics for the rest of their lives. Of those who remained in New France, the vast majority baptized their children in the church.

The fact that "heretics" were choosing to return to the true faith had enormous psychological and symbolic value. The numbers of native baptisms recorded in the Jesuit Relations and elsewhere indicate that the education and conversion of natives, too, was pregnant with meaning for the French. There is no doubt that Leber and Lemoyne ransomed many captives because they could. They had the means to do several times what other families in New France could only afford to do once or twice. However when captives converted to Catholicism, wealth was not directly a cause. This perceived (yet internal) shift in worldview validated the beliefs and the cause of men like Leber and Lemoyne.

The appearance of prominent men like Leber and Lemoyne at baptisms was good for the captives, but it was also good for Leber, Lemoyne and the French colonial effort in the New World. The presence of prominent men at these baptisms vastly expanded the importance of the event as well as dissemination of news about the events to Leber's and Lemoyne's extended family and business connections. It was, in effect, the equivalent of a broadside in colonial New England. The presence of prominent personages at these baptisms broadcast events in symbolic language, events which spelled, in an unambiguous way, victory for the French. The (unverifiable) story about the conversion of the Protestant minister who visited Jeanne Leber carries an identical message: the French cause is a just cause.

The "gifts" of converts to the Church and to God, the "gift" of pupils to the Ursulines, or of servants to the Hospitalières or Congrégation also accrued spiritual benefits to the donors. These individuals would, once trained, perform God's work in the New World. Although it would be stretching the evidence to say that these "gifts" were Leber's and Lemoyne's atonement for illegal trading in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor, it is this kind of gift, given frequently, which would keep their names on the list of good, pious parishioners.

A connection can be observed between the activities of these two men in trade, warfare, negotiation and native affairs and their frequent "gifts" to the church (and loans to the government). There is no doubt, again, that these two sets of activities were enabled by the wealth of Leber and Lemoyne. These men are ubiquitous in the record because they were active in virtually every aspect of life in the city of Montréal and in life in the borderland. In New France, there were several individuals whose names were "M. Leber." However, when "M. Leber" appears in a document, it virtually always refers to Jacques -- he needed no first name to be recognized. But were their church activities more than "noblesse oblige"?

As much as men like Joachim, Antoine Barrois, Tarriha and Moise Dupuis and women like Anne Leber, Kateri and Suzanne chose their life paths, they were also participants in a confusing, often dangerous world. They contended with appeals for help and appeals for intelligence. They disseminated information and liquor. They decided when, where and with whom to trade. They had to decide to whom they could tell their stories. They defended

communities against attack by their own kind. They contended with native loyalties, clan affiliations, debts and friendships, as well as complex family ties. The institutions of the Church appear to have enormous signficance to these individuals; baptisms of one's children were sometimes reasons for a journey of several weeks. Parish organization must have seemed comforting to adults who returned after several years in New England or New York. The rituals that marked the year, the prayers and service of the nuns, the affairs of the Sulpicians, the lectures of the Jesuits were the bulwarks of a known world which differed considerably from the world of the footpaths along the Champlain-Richelieu corridor, where one might meet, literally, anyone.

The Montréal church and religious institutions were the polar opposite of a Protestant community like Albany. By merely existing, they were spiritual and symbolic markers. As institutions, they were the steady opposites of life in a chaotic and shifting borderland.

Jacques Leber's frequent appearance in church, and his visits to Jeanne Leber could indicate the importance of faith in his life. Not all residents of the borderland held the church in such esteem, yet visits to church before an expedition (to ask God's blessing) and after an expedition (to give thanks for a safe return) were not uncommon. However, although the depth of personal faith is not a knowable fact, the public effect of private acts of devotion by prominent individuals cannot be overlooked.

The particularized languages that developed in the border region of the Champlain-Richelieu corridor enabled families and individuals to mold a

borderland identity. It appears that families like the Leber-Barrois-Lootman family and the Denoyon-Stebbins family functioned better in borderland regions than they did in the growing trade centers of Montréal and Québec. Certainly they had gained skills useful in border regions. These families seemed, in second and third generations, to move further and more permanently into border regions, rather than back to Montréal.

The significant counterpoint to this outward movement is the Church. The Church appears to be a magnet for return to the St. Lawrence, particularly for parents of unbaptized children, for young girls sent to be educated and for wealthy traders. The Church also played a role in the assimilation of natives and captives to life on the banks of the St. Lawrence; assimilation which was, however, a syncretic process where each side adapted as a result of contact. Church rituals appear to draw these families back to the St. Lawrence, while most other factors, including their sense of themselves as competent residents of the borderland, drew them away.

CONCLUSION

> Unfortunately, there was one small difficulty with Sojourner's choice of a homestead. . . Since the Kingdom River drains north, toward the St. Lawrence, though by a circuitous and at times even contradictory route, he erroneously assumed that he had already reached Canada and sanctuary when in fact he'd fetched up instead in northern Vermont . . . Not, you understand, that such a trifling technicality as a line on a map mattered a whit to the old expeditionary once he'd made up his mind to stay put. By the time Sojourner finally figured out where he actually was, the Revolution had been over for several years. . . And by then he did not have the slightest intention of lighting out again for Canada or anyplace else, though for three generations afterward his descendants marched in the Independence Day parades in Kingdom Common wearing bright scarlet coats and carrying the Union Jack.
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> [The border] streched through five generations of . . . family life like a five-thousand-mile umbilical cord to the past, along which he had sojourned all his life. . . [it] existed only on paper but represented all the geographical and historical continuity he had ever known. [1]

Border regions breed choices. Sometimes these decisions appear strange, particularly in historical retrospect. The word "outlandish," meaning astonishing, derives from the Old English *ütland*. The Old English word also forms the root for the modern German word for foreigner, *Ausländer*. Beyond remarking on the surprise such foreigners provide for historians reading the record, what other perspectives can history offer on these "astonishing" individuals? As R. Cole Harris observed, the first colonial marriages were "powerful cultural mixers" and

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[1]Howard Frank Mosher, Northern Borders (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 6 and Disappearances (Boston: David R. Godine, 1984), 102.

the marriage of their offspring "stirred the brew further."[2] Eighteenth-century traveler John Lawson would have agreed. Noting marriages and sexual liaisons between traders and native women, he observed "this Correspondence makes them learn the Indian Tongue much the sooner, they being of the French-man's Opinion, how that an English Wife teaches her Husband more English in one Night, than a School-master can in a Week."[3] Marriage is a profound teacher, and the spouses of non-French residents learned, through marriage, about their spouses' language and culture. For those French residents who married "foreigners" the opportunity for cross-cultural understanding about habits, foods, customs, beliefs and thought was considerable. French spouses did not "become English" and New Englanders did not "become French." A new amalgam occurred in these families, practical for the time and a solid base for the future of *Canadiens.* By building and operating a family farm, these mixed couples, like their French neighbors, helped to feed their families and clear land for their children. They did not appear, however, to forget the culture from which they had come. Mary Storer, a Wells, Maine captive of 1703 married, had eight children in Boucherville and Montréal. She wrote letters to her New England relatives, at least fifteen of these letters have survived. In 1733 she wrote to her brother when he questioned her right of inheritance, "we are al the same blode

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[2]R. Cole Harris, "The Simplification of Europe Overseas," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67 (1977) 469-83, quotation pages 472-73.

[3]Quoted in Colin Calloway, New Worlds for All (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 174.

you can not denie it."[4] Thirty years after her forced migration to New France, she was asserting her membership in the family from which she came. For his part, Jean Gauthier dit Saint-Germain, her husband, corresponded with Mary's New England relatives as well. No longer asking for inheritance, he wrote and inquired about family events (births, marriages, deaths). In doing so, he left a written record of what his marriage with Mary had been like. In a 1748 letter relaying the news of her death, he called Mary "ma tres chère femme," and added:

> Depuis trente neuf ans que nous avons été ensemble nous avons fait un ménage D'Ange et navons jamais eu aucune difficulté.[5]

Jean assures his brother-in-law, Ebenezer Storer:

> vous pensée bien mon chere frere que cette Mort ma jetté dans une grande affliction. Mais il faut nous Soumetre a la Volonté de notre Createur c'est lui qui m'avoit donné une des meilleur femmes du Monde . . . il me l'a auté [otée?] il est le maître que Sa Sainte volonté Soit faite.[6]

Jean unites his own bereavement for his wife, feelings he imagines Mary's

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[4]Massachusetts Historical Society, Storer family correspondence, 19 avril (aout?) 1733.

[5]"For thirty-nine years that we were together, we had a marriage made in heaven, and we never had any trouble," [my translation]. Massachusetts Historical Society, Storer family correspondence, 20 mars, 1748; see also Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada, 1:418-20; and Mary Storer, Appendix A.

[6]"You will understand, my dear brother, that this death caused me great pain But we must Submit to the Will of our Creator it is he who gave me one of the best women in the World he took her from me he is the master, may his Holy will Be done," [my translation], Massachusetts Historical Society, Storer family correspondence, 20 mars 1748.

brother shares, under the will of 'notre Createur' -- a common deity for two men of different religious practices. Jean believed his God had given him one of "the best wives in the world," high praise for an English "captive" in Canada. This correspondence continued for at least seven years after Mary's death, with the two brothers-in-law corresponding about family events (births, marriages and deaths) until April, 1754, the eve of the Seven Years' War between the English colonies, where Ebenezer Storer lived, and the French colony, where Jean Gauthier dit Saint-Germain lived. It is a rare, but perhaps telling, record of family alliances which spanned colonial divides.

Through the lens of microhistory, we can observe mixed couples in New France baptizing their children in the church and attending their weddings. By 1750, when many more New Englanders appeared in New France, most of the early mixed couples were indistinguishable from their neighbors. Visitors saw homogeneity.[7] The long-term trend appears to be toward syncretism, the creation of a decidedly New World version of French Catholic society. How did these individuals tell their stories?

In the case of Anne Leber and most of the captives, there are very few points of intersection between their personal narratives and either of the two

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[7]The Canadian example is reminiscent of Samuel Eliot Morison's description of "homogeneity" in New England: "The seventeenth-century stock completely absorbed its eighteenth-century accretions, both English and non-English . . . But the race was not Anglo-Saxon, or Irish. It was Yankee, a new Nordic amalgam on an English Puritan base: already in 1750 as different in its character and its dialect from the English as the Australians are today. . . Religion and climate, soil and sea, here brewed a mixed stock of new people." Samuel Eliot Morison, Maritime History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 21.

traditional national narratives of New France. Although Anne Leber had many alternative narratives from which to choose, none of them included struggling hard on her plot of land. Likewise, counterfeiter Jean Lahaie was neither loyal British subject nor a hard-working colonist. Iroquois diplomats Suzanne and Tarriha were not waging war alternately on the British and the French. These individuals were not simply exceptions to the "stereotyped" views of French, English and natives at the time. They formed families, networks and alliances which changed the course of events in their parts of the world.

It appears that the understanding that French residents of the St. Lawrence valley had of the colonies to the south was more extensive than previously acknowleged. Primarily through the "powerful cultural mixer" of marriage, but also through travel, stories, adoption, and through contact with "foreigners," residents of settlements like La Prairie, like their native counterparts in Kahnawake, acquired a working understanding of, and in many cases, a familial connection with, New York and New England. An example of this learning is adoption of words from another language. When Jesuit Jean de Lamberville wrote to de la Barre in August, 1684, he employed a Dutch term that apparently both men already understood: "L'arrivée de Mr. LeMoyne a bien rejouit nos bourgmestres qui lui ont fait bien des amitiés."[8] The English made the same kinds of linguistic adaptations, calling Fort Carillon by an equally apt name,

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[8] "Mr. LeMoyne's arrival pleased the burgmeisters [Dutch city-dwelling merchants] who showed him much kindness, [my translation]"; Lettre de Lamberville à M. de la Barre, d'Onnontagué, 28 aout 1684, ACSM a11, ASJCF #360.7.

"Carry-long"[9] and calling Comte Frontenac "Mr. le Conte."

Several conclusions can be drawn about the historically "invisible" people who moved in the borderlands, and about their effects on the French and native settlements along the *côtes*:

1. Travel and migration during this period was not all related to the fur trade, nor was it undertaken only by 'fur traders'; families migrated. Travel was undertaken for personal, family and religious reasons as well as for business.

2. Individual life paths often included a conversion from one religion to the other. Protestant individuals baptized their children in Catholic churches, and Catholics baptized their children in Protestant churches. Piety expressed in one community can be seen as being a result of a liminal experience in another.

3. "Foreign" residents of New France sometimes returned "home" to visit or collect inheritance, sustaining social networks between the two colonies. "Foreign" residents of New England and New York sometimes traveled to New France to collect their inheritance.

4. At least 240 marriages before 1720 were formed by "foreigners" with French

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[9]Map 11, page 112.

spouses. These French spouses learned about other cultures through the assimilation that marriage permits and encourages. The descendants of these marriages, raised by parents from two cultures, recognized their dual heritage, sometimes returning to the home of their "foreign" parent to collect inheritance.

5. "Foreign" residents were often identified with a name that indicated their heritage, such as "dit l'Espagnol." This is one way the wider community in New France learned of, and articulated the "foreign" origin of some of the settlers.

6. Stories were told about travel to Iroquoia. By listening, friends and family learned about Albany, Deerfield, Schenectady and Iroquoia.

7. Personal allegiances were sometimes forged which changed the course of individual lives in native and European communities.

8. Information traveled efficiently on the "information highways" of the day, allowing officials and individuals to assess the benefits and risks of travel, trade, or military engagements.

9. Descendants of these and later marriages with New Englanders and New Yorkers had compelling family reasons, including inheritance, to remain in North America after the Conquest rather than returning to Europe.

Geographers and other social scientists have noted the nuances of social change due to social contact. Social contact usually engenders social change, although not in the same way in each situation. For instance, not all information and behaviors are transmitted from one culture to another at the same pace. Practical or technical knowledge is the most easily transferred between cultures. Techniques which are useful are quickly adopted by another culture. Behaviors which are an external marker of status or difference (such as accents and dress) are also among the kinds of behaviors that change quickly in a contact situation. One outward marker is a name, and, as can be seen from Appendix A, personal names did change with speed and frequency in this culture contact situation. The mother tongue is lost more slowly, and bedrock religious beliefs may be almost untransferable.

However, a "founding group" even if small in number can have extraordinary cultural tenacity, under certain circumstances. They can establish a "viable, self-perpetuating society" which determines the later social and cultural geography of the area.[10] It is possible that the residents of New France experienced some social change due to social contact. Assimilation of foreigners into the colonial society on the banks of the St. Lawrence probably occurred in large part due to the institutions present there, particularly the Church. The Church required the kind of outward behaviors that allowed

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[10]D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America, v. 1, Atlantic America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 220-222; Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1992),13 (quotation).

identification with the culture, such as baptism, marriage and attendance at mass. Further study would be required to demonstrate the pace and pattern of social change in New France. It is reasonable to conclude that through marriage with "foreign" spouses, each partner learned about the other's culture. And although there are at least two "master narratives" of New France, one generated in a French-Canadian historical tradition, and the other in the English-Canadian historical tradition, both narratives exclude the possibility of foreign Europeans in New France before 1760. In other words, both traditions would agree, with Donald Creighton, that the French and the English populations were almost totally separate in the early years following the Conquest. This work has addressed Creighton's premise of exclusive French and English populations by examining opportunities for dialogue which occurred well before 1760. This means that the nuances of the transference or the tenacity of cultural traits during the early colonial period have been obscured by the master narratives themselves.

For native communities, narrative persists in oral tradition. Narrative binds together the various threads of the history and genealogy of these communities. Productive arenas of culture contact for centuries, the native groups had more experience with adoption and "requickening" than did their European neighbors. They were more adept at incorporating "outsiders" into their families and into their oral histories. By 1700 many of the native groups under study had been forced to choose allegiances -- not all were probably as fruitful as Tarriha and Suzanne's allegiance with Milet. Not all of these decisions were as well recorded

as Kateri's. However, every choice, fruitful or not, recorded or unrecorded, was a further opportunity for social and cultural exchange, an invitation to a liminal, sometimes dangerous, existence. As Richard White found in his study of the *pays d'en haut*, these choices did not simply involve "choosing" between the French and the English, they also involved negotiating the differences between cultural meanings.

However with historical hindsight, it is possible to see the long-term consequences of some of these personal and family decisions. After the American Revolution, the border region was transected by a conceptual frontier between territories.[11] By 1800, both native groups and some European families had made decisions which would affect their descendants for generations; they chose one side, or the other, of the border between British North America and the new republic to the south.

"Self-crafting in the colonial context," notes Kenneth Lockridge, "could be a terrible task."[12] Can the identity of a group of people be any less complex? Language, particularly mutually understandable activity-based language appears to be critical to the expression of identity in a border region. The languages used

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[11]Some parts of the border in the northeast were not surveyed until the 1870s. For a fascinating discussion of a nineteenth-century bid for independence in this ill-defined border region, see Daniel Doan, Indian Stream Republic (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997).

[12]Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Colonial Self-Fashioning" Paradoxes and Pathologies in the Construction of Genteel Identity in Eighteenth-Century America," 274-339, (quotation is p. 322) in Hoffman et al., eds., Through a Glass Darkly.

by Anne Leber, Anne Barrois, Joachim Leber, Tarriha and Kateri helped to forge personal identities and to link them with their context. In this way, the particularized languages of the border region helped form collective identities as well. Stories, also, can bind together seemingly disparate threads into a coherent whole. Folklore, or, as the residents of the St. Lawrence would have known it, *les histoires* or stories, filled the gap and became the memory, as well as the history, of Lower Canada particularly for the period between 1760 and 1850. The residents witnessed and enacted considerable mobility during the French colonial period, and were likely to move off their *terre* for many reasons, including compelling personal and family reasons.

"Our memory," wrote Verena Stolcke, "is like a broken mirror":

> It does not reflect the world as it was, but our fragmented, partial, even personal reconstruction of it. Something similar occurs with history. History is, in a way, a matter of perspective, and perspectives, in turn, are matters of values and politics. But precisely because of the fractures in the mirror of history we are also able to rearrange its fragments, seeking for those that were lost, and thus to recover the previously omitted or excluded from received accounts of historical events.[13]

Joachim could not tell the same story in La Prairie or Montréal as he had told in Albany. Each story contained a piece of the last, and a new piece. Reconstructing "identity" from this assembly of funhouse mirrors is a difficult task. Folklore appears to preserve, in somewhat altered forms, notions of identity in

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[13]Verena Stolcke, "Invaded Women: Gender, race, and class in the formation of colonial society," Walden Browne, trans., 272-286 (quotation is p. 272), in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds. Women, "Race," and Writing (New York: Routledge, 1994).

the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century St. Lawrence native and European settlements. The reflections of the "funhouse mirrors" can be glimpsed through stories about the Kahnawake bell, or the 1711 victory over "*les anglois.*" If narratives describes identities, oral histories are the true gems for those seeking the roots of identity. Still, the retold stories obscure as much as they reveal. Many questions remain about how the residents of the St. Lawrence valley viewed their world.

Like identities, narratives are malleable. While oral culture provided the "literature" for French Canada, the stories did not remain static. In contrast to *les histoires*, narratives of national history have obscured the non-French roots of settlement in the heartland of Canada, and obscured the stories of movement and settlement of the borderlands. Residents themselves may have obscured these stories as well. The narratives that survived, which described dual poles of religious strength in the New World and war with the colony to the south, became the narratives -- French and English -- of national identity. As we have seen, the story of New World religious rivalry included, in somewhat altered form, stories of captive residents of New France. The story of war with the colony to the south did not include the stories of families of borderland travelers.

What are the implications of these shifting mirror images for historical understanding? The individuals highlighted in the preceding chapters are both almost tangible and frustratingly elusive. It appears that master narratives and personal identities do not always intersect perfectly. In some cases, they hardly intersect at all. In the case of early settlement on the banks of the St. Lawrence,

there is much dissonance when the grand narratives and the individual stories are juxtaposed.

For historians, the import of the fragmented narratives of these lives is clear. The influence of social networks on both sides of the "border" deserves further study. New England and New York archives contain a goldmine of information about daily life in early Canada. The role of inheritance and other family concerns in determining mobility would be a fruitful area of research. Finally, the narratives of the "terrible task" of self-crafting in the Champlain-Richelieu corridor both require and inspire historical compassion.

Abbreviations

ANQM	Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal
ASJCF	Archives de la Société des Jésuites du Canada-français
ASJCF Roch	Fonds Rochmonteix
ASJCF ACSM	Archives du Collège Sainte-Marie
NYSLA	New York State Library (Albany)
NYSA	New York State Archives
SHLPM	Société Historique de La Prairie de la Magdeleine
SHLPM Choquet	Fonds Choquet, Société Historique de La Prairie de la Magdeleine
JR	Reuben Thwaites, ed. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), 73 vols.
NYCD	E.B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds. Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 15 vols. Albany: 1853-1887.
CNDM	Archives de la Congrégation Nôtre-Dame de Montréal
DCB	Dictionary of Canadian Biography
DBC	Dictionnaire biographique du Canada

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C11A
C13A
C11F

ASJCF Archives de la Société des Jésuites du Canada-français, Jesuit correspondence

ASJCF Fonds Rochmonteix

ASJCF ACSM Archives du Collège Sainte-Marie, Jesuit correspondence

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APPENDIX A

OVERVIEW OF NOMINAL INDEX

About eight hundred non-French Europeans came to the St. Lawrence valley before 1720.[1] Of these, a nominal index of 694 has been prepared which sketches the immigrants' and travelers' lives in New France. These can be considered the most visible of the "foreigners" in New France. Taken as a group, this group of early immigrants to New France presents an intriguing profile.

They arrived in various manners. Seven of the individuals listed in the data base came as *filles du roi*,[2] twenty-four came as soldiers serving the King of

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[1]Several researchers have attempted to list them all. Each list, including Appendix A, which is limited to those who came to the St. Lawrence valley, is incomplete. Marcel Fournier, Les Européens au Canada estimated that 1,500 non-French Europeans came to Canada before 1765. His list included 922, pp. 12, 265. This list, by definition, does not include captives from New England. In De la Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Nouvelle-France the same author lists 456 other individuals, mostly captives from New England and New York who migrated to New France, from 1675 to 1760. Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives Carried to Canada, traced New England residents who were captured and taken to Canada during the colonial period, or who claimed they were. She found and traced over 1,600 individuals, many of them young children. Even this, the largest of the lists, omits migrants from New York and other areas outside New England. The figure of eight hundred for the period before 1720 is a conservative estimate. Omitted from Appendix A, for example, are many envoys, diplomats, ransomers and businessmen who traveled frequently from Boston or Albany to Montréal or Québec. Also omitted are many individuals who became incorporated into native communities, and many individuals from New York. As a result, Appendix A is a sample of the most visible of the non-French Europeans in New France, but is not intended to be comprehensive.

[2]Anne-Marie Vansegue, Marguerite Ferron, Marie-Anne Bamont, Catherine De Lalore, Marie-Françoise Dubié, Marie Allence, Barbe Duchesne. See also, Yves Landry, Les Filles du Roi, who lists about thirty-eight of the *filles du roi* as of unknown origin.

France,[3] at least seventeen came as "prisoners of war" -- captured usually in sea battles or shore raids.[4] Hundreds came as civilian captives of the wars with New England and New France.[5] At least three came as government officials;[6] others served the Governor or Intendant of New France in official capacities after they arrived in New France.[7] Five came as priests; one as a nun.[8] About eleven became nuns after their arrival in New France; two of those became mother superiors.[9]

The most common occupation for these individuals in New France was

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[3]Gaspare-Balthasar Adhémar, Augustin Alonzo, Germain Aubry, Jean Beaulieu, Joseph Bellecour, Jean-Baptiste Bondy, Antoine de Crisafy, Thomas de Crisafy, Marc-Antoine Donadieu, Jean Baptiste Lesage, Charles Lemaire, Jean-Jacques de Gerlaise, Pierre Villeday, Jean Geaux, Saint-Jean de Bayonn, Pierre Salvail, Jean-Baptiste Riel, Barthélémy Sibiron, André Badel, Sébastien de Villieu, Martin Faller, André Manfert, Bernard Karesquil, Jacques Lepage, Jean Fol, Antoine Darigrand, François Freté, Jean Houssy.

[4]See, for example, Charles Steward, Esther Sozeau, Isaac Ruff, Jacques Longchamp, Jean Langlais, Jean Barlow, Denis Byrne, James Guillaume, Thomas Jeffry, Azariah Jenkins, Thomas Jordan, Joseph Price, Jean Waters, Jean Willen, Christophe Wood, Guillaume White, Richard Taylor.

[5]Marcel Fournier, De la Nouvelle-Angleterre a la Nouvelle-France, Emma Lewis Coleman, New England Captives.

[6]Jacques Bizard, François Risme, Octave Zapaglia.

[7]Robert Poitiers, James Stilson, Jacques-Joseph Cheval, Samuel Hill.

[8]Louis-Michel de Vilermaula, François-Joseph Bressani, Philippe Pierson, Bonaventure Eylson were priests when they arrived, Théodore Godefroy d'Herbery was ordained in Québec in 1689; Mary Sayward was a nun before she came to New France.

[9]Esther Wheelwright, Mary-Ann Davis, Sarah Davis, Marie-Anne Davis, Anne Barrois, Marie Irwin, Dorothy Jeryan, Lydia Longley, Ruth Littlefield, Marie-Angélique Poitiers, Mary (Adelaide) Silver.

probably farming, although the record only specified farming as an occupation for forty-two of these immigrants.[10] Many of the immigrants lived in areas where farming was the major activity of all the residents; most residents of even larger towns such as Montréal and Québec had gardens and livestock. Twenty are recorded as having received a concession or sub-fief.[11] The record also indicates that many were servants during part or all of their stay in New France. Other occupations are also represented: four were ship captains;[12] seven were navigators;[13] three were fishermen;[14] seven were sailors;[15] one was a *calfat* (caulker); one was a portmaster; one was a shipbuilder; one located masts for

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[10]Joseph Stebbins, Jacques Trud, Mary Storer, Katharine Steven, John Stebbins, Abigail Stebbins, Adonijah Rice, Jeanne Poitiers, Joseph-Thomas Ouilem, Richard Taylor, Jean Terme, Claude Thomas, Jean-François Vertefeuille, Pierre Villeday, Sébastien de Villeu (seigneur), Jean-Baptiste Weber, Elizabeth Corse, Deborah Cole, Jean Dumontet, Tècle-Cornelius Aubry, Jean Langlais, Jean Lahaie, Louis Lavallée, Thomas Jeffry, Jean-Baptiste Hoc, Daniel Sergent, Joseph Serran,Thomas Stillet, Richard Taylor, André Badel, Joseph-Abel Barbe, John Carter, André Clément, Jean Daigle, Jean-Louis Dicker, Pierre Moller, Hannah Parsons, Martin Pirez, Jeanne Poitiers, Josiah Rising, Abigail Nims, André Robidoux.

[11]Nathaniel Otis, John Otis, Josiah Rising, Abigail Nims, Abigail Stebbins, Jacques Trud, Jacques Bizard, John Carter, Pierre Cosme, Jean Daigle, Nicolas Dubray, Mathias Farnsworth, Joseph Fry, Thomas Hurst, Aaron Littlefield, Emmanuel Lopez, André Loup. Pierre Salvail, Hannah Parsons and Sébastien de Villieu had seigneuries.

[12]Jean Abraham, Thomas Moore, Abel Olivier, Jean Outland.

[13]Jean Daigle, Jean-Baptiste Defond, Daniel Fisk, Abel Olivier, JeanRodrigues, André Loup, Barthélémy Rosa.

[14]Jean Baptiste Defond, Thomas Pisk, Philippe Zémard.

[15]André Robidoux, Jean Girard, François Martin, François Grenaille, Antoine Nonne, Joseph Price, Jean Rodrigues.

the King's navy.[16] Twelve worked as carpenters;[17] two were blacksmiths or smelters;[18] three were coopers;[19] two were masons or stoneworkers.[20] Seven were shoemakers;[21] three were tailors;[22] one was a wigmaker;[23] two were weavers.[24] Two kept taverns;[25] three made voyages west as *voyageurs* or *engagés*;[26] six were merchants;[27] many were traders.[28] One was a roofer; five

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[16]The caulker was Clément Lesieur, the shipbuilder was Jean Thomas, the portmaster was Jacques-Joseph Cheval, Samuel York located and cut masts.

[17]Joseph-Daniel Maddox, Philip Huntoon, Edward Hall, Jacob Gilman, Johathan Haynes, Joseph Haynes, Léonard Créquy, Nathaniel Otis, Jean Reid, Germain Villiard, George Gray, Thomas Sawyer.

[18]Jean Bizet and Pierre Dubry.

[19]Nathaniel Otis, Jean Edmunds, Clément Lesieur.

[20]Charles Poupart, Georges Steims.

[21]Joseph Bartlett, Joseph Greenhill, Nathanial Otis, Samuel Price, André Spénard, William Taylor, Jean Willen.

[22]Jean Poupart, Jacques Trud and Jean Vanuel.

[23]Jacques-Joseph Cheval.

[24]Thomas Beecraft, James Adams.

[25]Jacques-Joseph Cheval, Margareth Edmunds.

[26]Pierre Cosme, Jean Poupart, Jean-François Vertefeuille, William Longpré, Martin Faller.

[27]Hugues Cochran, John Nelson, John Alden, Jean-Baptiste Defond, Pierre Cosme, Jean-Baptiste Demeulles.

[28]Abigail Kimball, Jean Lalande, William Longpré, Jean Poupart, Hendrik-roeloffse van der Werken, Joseph Watson, Eunice Williams.

were sawyers.[29] One was a spinner; one was an artist, a painter and sculptor of church interiors.[30] One was a notary; three were interpreters.[31] One was a doctor.[32] One was an executioner.[33] One was a gunsmith.[34] Many became farmers or hunters in native communities,[35] at least two became chiefs.[36]

Several also were involved in trades by marriage. For instance, Margareth Edmunds married a tavern keeper, and probably assisted in the business, possibly running it after his death.

At least 221 foreigners married in New France and most of these raised families in New France. Several married *filles du roi.*[37] Some 150 of the ones

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[29]The roofer was François Hennet, the sawyers were Jacob Gilman, Edward Hall, Philip Huntoon, Elias Sawyer and Thomas Sawyer.

[30]The spinner was Josephine Littlefield, the artist was Jean Jacquiez.

[31]The notary was Jean-Baptiste Lotman, the interpreters were Mary Ann Jordan, Joseph Kellogg and Jean Lalande.

[32]Thimothé Sulivan.

[33]Guillaume Wilding.

[34]Charles Trafton.

[35]William Longpré, Mary Harris, Jonathan Hoyt, Anne Lord, Stephen Otis, Marie-Madeleine Stimouni, Marie-Anne Tsiosenniha, Eunice Williams, Samuel York, Jane Wannannemin, Hannah Bradley, Abigail French, William Lucas, Mary Field.

[36]The chiefs were Zacharie Tarbell and Timothy Rice. Hundreds joined native communities for longer or shorter periods of time, for details on some of these see Tarbell, Rice, Eunice Williams.

[37]See Antoine Berthelet dit Savoyard. Yves Landry notes that about 43 percent of the first marriages of the filles du roi were between spouses who did not speak the same language or patois, Les Filles du Roi, 159-160.

who married lived in New France until their deaths. Another 100 died in New France but did not marry in New France.

About 370 were incorporated into community or parish life in New France through several rituals. Fifty-four were recorded as having renounced their Protestant faith. One hundred and forty-five either were Catholic when they arrived or probably renounced their Protestant faith. This includes individuals who married in the Catholic church, although no record exists of an abjuration, and those who worked for religious orders as assistants or laborers. One hundred and fifty were baptized; ten were confirmed. One hundred and ten were naturalized; they became subjects of the King of France.[38]

It is important to recognize that these actions did not universally imply loyalty, stability or even intention. Naturalization did not mean these individuals remained in New France. For example, at least ten of the individuals who were naturalized returned to New England within 24 months after their naturalization. Often the record of a baptism, or attendance at a baptism, is the single occurrence of a name in the record of New France.

These individuals had sponsors, godmothers, godfathers, hosts and hostesses, employers and ransomers. Their names occur in the record paired with many of the families of New France. Some influential residents of New France appear to have had many interactions, or particularly close relationships,

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[38]Several individuals appear in the record for more than one of these rituals. For instance, some abjured their faith, were baptized and were naturalized.

with several different captives or foreigners. One priest in particular, Henri-Antoine de Meriel, took an interest in, and spent some of his private wealth on, converting the captives. The diatribes and sermons of Protestant ministers Cotton Mather and John Williams aside, it is reasonable to assume, and in some cases, the record indicates, that many New England families, who were mostly Protestants, were grateful to the Catholic priests and families who took their young children in, fed them, housed them and educated them. In these cases concern for family members overrode religious differences. French adoptive families were often generous to the captives. Nicolas Pinault ransomed and adopted young Elizabeth Weber of York. When she married, he gave her a gift of 800 livres. Two families who were closely involved in the lives of several "foreign" residents were the LeMoyne family[39] and the Leber family.[40] Governors and intendants were regular hosts and employers of these foreign residents. The same officials also interrogated the captives for information.

Some were rogues, or became criminals when they arrived in New France. Among these are Pendleton Fletcher and James Adams, who were accused of making counterfeit card money in 1704, and Jean Joublin and John

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[39]See Thomas Hurst, Elizabeth Hurtado, Abigail Kimball?, Abigail Nimbs, Margaret Otis, Grizel (Marie-Madeleine) Warren.

[40]See Lydia Longley or Langley, Jean Lahaie or Lahey, John Stilson and Samuel Williams. Samuel Williams, for his part, then ransomed Jonathan Barrett. For another individual who appears to be connected with several captives, see Pierre Moreau (Pierre Péré) dit La Toupine or La Taupine (the tawny); JR 59: 175, 314-5n44, JR 64: 141, 278-9n23. Pierre is associated with Jean Bouillet, who married Marie-Anne LeMoyne, daughter of Charles LeMoyne, and later became the Governor of Trois-Rivières.

Lahaie, who were also accused in 1714 of making counterfeit card money. Joseph Langeron was accused of stealing. John Nelson was sentenced after bribing others to carry information to Boston. Two were involved in domestic disputes: Thimothé Sulivan was accused of beating his wife and children, and Jean Terme was killed by the husband of his paramour.

About 200 lived for some time in Québec, about 300 lived for some time in Montréal. Other communities also hosted these residents for shorter or longer periods of times. Those who came from New England or New York spent time in native communities; some lived out the rest of their days with these communities. Two, Jane Wannannemin and her husband, were natives raised in New England, captured there and brought to New France. About 30 were probably of French heritage, but had lived outside France until their capture or migration. Many were from fringe areas of autonomous or French-expatriate cultures in Europe (Flanders, Palatinate, Jersey Isles, Savoie) and moved several times within two generations before settling in New France. A few were born in New France, had migrated to New York or New England until their capture, and were brought, sometimes to their discomfit, back to the communities which they had left.

Residents of New France interacted with these individuals in many ways. For instance, some ransomed them from the natives, and placed them in homes as domestic servants. Others employed these individuals in their homes or businesses. Many offered charity to those in prison, visiting them frequently and to give money, food and clothes. Residents of New France were godparents, sponsors, and witnesses at baptisms and marriages of these individuals. Some

residents married these foreign immigrants; others entered into business arrangements with them.

The individual stories of these migrants provide a window into migration and settlement patterns in New France. Some of the stories are extraordinary. They demonstrate a fluidity, and a personal flexibility, that places them outside the majority of cases. Pierre Cosme, Flemish fur trader of La Prairie who eventually received a concession in Détroit, married Élisabeth Moreau in 1717, daughter of Mathieu Faye and Marguerite-Françoise Moreau. Mathieu was the man from La Prairie who was captured twice by natives: once with his wife, and once with his son. From the stories of several dozen women it is clear that each lived in several cultures (native, French and English) during her lifetime, and visited back and forth across the "border" between the colonies.[41] Several men also parlayed their cross-cultural understanding into positions of importance.[42] Jean-François Vertefeuille was ransomed by a fellow captive who had become an *habitant*, Thomas Stillet; captive Samuel Williams ransomed Johnathan Barrett. Certain individuals were named for their origin or for their experience.[43]

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[41]Marie Lepage, Jeanne-Marguerite Lepage, Mary Storer, Rachel Storer, Abigail Stebbins, Elizabeth Price, Hannah Swarton, Jane Wannannemin, Esther Wheelwright, Eunice Williams, Espérance Du Rosaire, Rebecca Kellogg. Regarding Anne Barrois, see Chapter Four.

[42]Samuel Hill, Samuel York, John Lahaie, John Gyles, Zacharie Tarbell, John Tarbell, Jean-François Vertefeuille, Martin Kellogg, Joseph Kellogg, Jacques Lepage, Jean-Baptiste Lotman.

[43]Canada Waite, French, Langlais, Langlois, dit l'Espagnol. In the 1740s, see the example of Captive Johnson, daughter of a captive, born en route to Canada. Being named for their origin or residence was also common practice

One, John Otis, who was known as "Joachim," is memorialized by a place name in New France.

There are several factors which affect these numbers. Priests and nuns who came to New France from Europe were never "naturalized" even if they had been born in a country other than France. Most likely their ordination included an oath of fealty to the King. Likewise soldiers who were Protestants before they became part of a regiment, probably renounced their faith as a matter of course on joining a regiment. Prisoners of war usually renounced their faith within a few months of their arrival in New France, probably an indication that they had less choice than voluntary immigrants in this matter, and perhaps an indication that they were imprisoned in New France.

Some of these foreigners married foreigners from their own countries. An example is the German couple Sarah Cosscold and Edmund Ledle. Many New England captives married each other either in New France, or in New England after their return. Thirty of these individuals married more than one French spouse. One, Joseph Haynes, married four times in New France.

Many of the foreigners who came to New France as young children learned their trades as they were growing up. In some cases, these trades made them more valuable residents of New France. It is difficult to discern exactly how they learned their trades, but there are examples of trades learned both from

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among the French in New France. Sometimes the practice obscured, rather than described, their place of birth. See several men (two of whom were soldiers), named Laprairie, LaPrairie, or dit Laprairie, Jetté 652, 694. See also Inventaire des Greffes, vol. 1, 281.

their hosts (Samuel Price learned his trade from Jean Fourneau, who ransomed him) and from other foreigners.

Those with a trade which was useful to the colony were rarely forced to abjure their religion and were rarely naturalized. They were sometimes given land. Skilled tradesmen were in demand in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Atlantic world, and probably because they were lured from other colonies, they were generally accorded favors, sometimes offered land, and were allowed liberties.[44] For instance, there is some evidence of a social association of shoemakers in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Montréal, most of whom were foreign-born.[45]

Readers of the data base will note that most English women who arrived in New France after their marriage are listed by their married names. For marriages of two French spouses performed in an English community, or marriages between two English spouses in New France, the bride is also listed under her married name. Certain wives had married so frequently, or so soon before or after their arrival in New France, that both their maiden names and

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[44]For a discussion of the demand for skilled craftsmen in the Atlantic British colonies, see David Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America: An economic analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 134-40. For craftsmen who were accorded favors, see Nathaniel Otis (who learned his several trades in Canada), and tailor Jacques Trud.

[45]See William Taylor, Samuel Price, Joseph Greenhill, Nathaniel Otis. These individuals attended the baptisms and marriages of each other's children, see NEC 1.

married names are listed, for clarity. French wives who married in France or New France are listed by their maiden names. The reason for this distinction is that English married women are more easily traceable in English records using their married names, and in French records women are listed by the surname they were given at birth. For examples of the francization of names, see Abigail Cursinwhitt. Researchers are advised to scan the list of "other names" when seeking more detail on any individuals in the index. The index holds particular interest for the history of women; baptismal records indicate the complexity of migration patterns.

The index benefits from the thorough research of others, particularly Québec and New England genealogists.[46] Categories which are underrepresented are captives and migrants from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, migrants to native communities, and some who traveled frequently such as envoys, diplomats, ransomers and traders. Individuals like the men in the Schuyler family filled all these roles; they are not represented in the index.

The index is limited to the period under study, that is, before 1720; an index comprising the later years, 1720-1760 would show a different picture. After 1720 the number of transients in New France increased, in part due to larger-scale warfare. Also, people like the Schuyler family of New York and New Jersey had more and more private business dealings with residents of New France in the later period. For instance, Peter Schuyler of New Jersey owned a

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[46]Coleman, New England Captives, Fournier, De La Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Nouvelle-France and Les Européens, Jetté, DCB.

house in Québec in the mid-1700s.

The index demonstrates the wide variety of migrants to New France. Many had little or no impact on the society of New France. Certain individuals, however, easily located by the length of their biographies in the comments section, became enmeshed in the texture of life in New France.

Key to the Nominal Index

Name: The most commonly used name. For English wives, this is the married name.

Other Names: Frequently used in the sources.

Location: Settlement in New France where the individual's presence was recorded.

Dates: Dates the individual can be documented in New France.

Origin: Last place of residence.

Source:

NANF De la Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Nouvelle-France, Marcel Fournier

LE Les Européens, Marcel Fournier

Jetté Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec, René Jetté

NEC New England Captives Carried to Canada, 2 vols., Emma Lewis Coleman

H&M Habitants and Merchants, Louise Dechêne

FR Les Filles du Roi, Yves Landry

Comment: This section contains a capsule biography of individuals.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
-----, "Nègre"		La Prairie?	1718	Albany (Orange)	ANQM TL 4, S 1, 4 nov. 1718	This person had been brought from Albany by Philippe You de La Decouverte.
-----, "a mulatto"	muletto, molatto, melatto	Québec	1704-1708	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:369-70	He was ransomed by New England ransomer and envoy John Sheldon for "40 pieces of 8s 8d at 17d weight" which he was to repay Sheldon.
-----, Gahenrawagon		Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, Kahnawake	?1706-1734 or later	New England	NANF, 135; NEC 2:387	Her birth name and place of birth are unknown. However in 1734 at her baptism at Kahnawake, her date of birth was given as 1705. She had most probably been captured as an infant or small child.
-----, Marie-Anne-Eustache		St.-Francois Ile-Jésus	1716-1717	New England	Jetté, 580	She was born about 1698 in New England. She was baptized in 1704 St.-Francois Ile-Jésus, she was raised by Louis de Piercot, who may have ransomed her from the Indians. She married Gabriel Hunault in St.-Francois in 1716. She died after giving birth to their first child, who also died.
-------, Augustin-Rolland-François		Québec	1717-1730 or later	Boston, Massachusetts	NANF, 230	He was born about 1711. He was taken prisoner by the Illinois in 1717, and brought to Québec several years later. He was baptized in Québec in 1730; his godfather was Rolland Tessier.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
-------, ***Charles-Étienne***		Québec	between 1704 and 1710-1711 or later	New England	NANF, 231	He was born about 1688. He was taken prisoner by the French and Indians between 1704 and 1710. He was baptized in 1711; his godfather was Charles Beaumont, and his godmother was Marie-Anne de Grandville.
-------, ***François***		Ancienne-Lorette	1704	Massachusetts	NANF, 231	He was only about two weeks old when he was taken captive, or he could have been born en route to Canada. He died at the age of six weeks in April 1704 at the mission of Ancienne-Lorette.
-------, ***François-Philippe***	Phillips	Québec	1690- 1696 or later	New England	NANF, 231	He was taken captive by Indians and probably lived several years with his captors. He was baptized in 1696; he was employed as a servant by his godfather, Anoine-François Ruette d'Auteuil, sieur de Monceaux. His godmother was Marie-Françoise Viennay-Pachot.
-------, ***Jean***		Saint-Famille, Ile-d'Orléans	1700-1707 or later	New England	NANF, 232	He was taken captive by the French and Indians between 1700-1707. He lived with Pierre Gaulin. He died in Québec in 1707.
-------, ***Jean-Baptiste***		Saint-François-du-Lac	1700?-1703	New England	NANF, 233	He was born in 1698. He was taken prisoner by French and Indians at an unknown date. He was baptized at Saint-François-du-Lac in 1703, his godfather was François-Xavier Gamelin dit Launière and his godmother was Marie-Madeleine Gamelin.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
-------, ***Jean-Baptiste***	Giness	Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré	1696-1700 or later	near Boston, Massachusetts	NANF, 232	He was born in 1683. In 1696 he was taken prisoner by the French and Indians. He was ransomed by Jean Barret de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, where he was baptized in 1700.
-------, ***Jean-François***		Saint-Anne-de-Beaupré	1700?-1704	New England	NANF, 233	He was taken prisoner in New England. In 1704 he was a godfather at the baptism of Monique Meunier, daughter of François Meunier and Angélique Jacob.
-------, ***Joachim***		Québec	1715	New England	NANF, 233	He was taken prisoner by the French and Indians. In 1715 he was baptized in Québec.
-------, ***Joseph***		Québec	1713-1716	England or New England	NANF, 234; Jetté, 1147	He was born in 1699. He was a servant of Québec merchant, Pierre Emard.
-------, ***Louis***		Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Château-Richer?	1693-1700 or later	near Boston, Massachusetts	NANF, 234	He was born in 1685. He was taken prisoner by the Abenakis of Acadia. He was ransomed by Étienne Vaux dit Sylvain de Château-Richer in 1699. He was baptized in 1700; his godfather was Étienne Vaux and his godmother was Rosalie Simard. He may have been taken captive with John Otis (see this name).
-------, ***Louis-Gabriel***		Québec	1696-1705 or later	New England	NANF, 234-35; NEC 2: 394	He was born about 1690, and captured between 1696 and 1704. He was perhaps ransomed by Gabriel Gosselin and Louise Guillot. He was baptized in 1705.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
-------, ***Marie***		Mont-Louis	1699	New England	NANF, 235	She was born in 1684. She lived with Jean Gagnon and Jeanne Loignon.
-------, ***Marie***		Québec	1703	New England	NANF,235; NEC 2:393	She was born in 1679. She was taken captive by French and Indians. She was ransomed by Jean-Baptiste Brassard and Jeanne Quelvé. She died in Québec in 1703.
-------, ***Marie-Anne-Rachel***		Québec	1706-1708	England, New England	NANF, 235; NEC 2:391; Jetté, 1143	She was born about 1703, and was captured as a young girl. She was baptized in 1706. Her godfather was Jean Brassard and her godmother was Marguerite Choret. She died in Québec in 1708.
-------, ***Marie-Josepthe***		Québec	1690-1693 or later	New England	NANF, 236; NEC 2: 393; Jetté 1143	She was born in 1683. She was captured by the French and Indians and taken to New France, where she lived with Pierre Groleau and Marie-Madeleine Gobert. She was baptized in 1693 along with Hannah Duncan (see above); she may have been Herster Sayard (see this name).
-------, ***Marie-Louise***		Québec	1716	New England	NANF, 236; Jetté, 1147	She was born in 1686. In 1716 she was a servant in the home of Martin de Lino, merchant of Québec.
-------, ***Marie-Élisabeth***		Québec	1689-1690	New England	NANF, 235; NEC 2:393; Jetté, 1142, 1143	She was born in 1678. She was captured in New England. She was ransomed by Toussaint Dubeau, master cobbler of Québec. In 1690, she was baptized on the day she died in Québec.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
-------, Pierre		Trois-Rivières	1700-1706	England or New England	NANF, 236	He married an Algonquin woman named Marie-Michelle. They baptized a son, Arnaud-Pierre at Trois-Rivières in 1706.
-------, Thomas		Champlain	1713	England, New England	NANF, 236	He was a witness in the 1713 marriage of Jean Dubois and Antoinette Limousin in Champlain.
-------, Étienne		Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré	before 1703-after 1704	New Jersey?	NANF, 231	He was born about 1690. He said he was from a place called "Jade." He apparently arrived after an attack of French and Indians. He was baptized in 1703 at Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré; he was a servant in the home of his godfather, Étienne Lessard.
Abraham, Jean		Hudson's Bay, Québec	1689-1692	London, England	Jetté, 1; LE, 81.	Captain of a ship, he was captured at the age of about 38 in Hudson's Bay. He renounced his faith in 1690 in Québec. He died in Québec in 1692
Adams, Catherine	Ford	Montréal	1703-1706	Wells	NEC 1: 399-401	She was the wife of James Adams (see this name). She and her husband worked for Pierre le Gardeur de Repentigny. They lived in the house where fellow captive Hannah Sheldon of Deerfield lived. Catherine delivered a child, Clement, who was baptized in 1704. Clement died two days later. She delivered another child, Clement, in 1705.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Adams, Clement		Montréal	1704	Wells	NEC 1:401	He lived only two days. His godfather was Jacques Leber, his godmother was Agatha de Nere, de Repentigny's wife.
Adams, Clement		Montréal	1705	Wells	NEC 1:401	The second son of James and Catherine Adams born in captivity, he lived only a few months. Sponsors at his baptism included Robert de Portier and Marie Élisabeth Rocbert. Captive Samuel Williams attended his funeral.
Adams, James		Montréal	1703-1705 or 1706	Wells, Maine	NANF, 101; Jetté, 3; NEC 1: 398-401	He was captured with his wife in the attack on Wells, Maine. He was a weaver in the service of Agathe de Saint-Père. The couple had two sons in New France before they were exchanged. One son died in Montréal in 1704 and the second died, also in Montréal, in 1706. Adams was accused, along with Jean Berger and Pendelton Fletcher (another captive) of making counterfeit card money in 1704. He and his wife (Catharine Ford Adams) were ransomed from the Indians by Pierre Gardeur of Montréeal.
Adams, Mercy	Marie-Ursule, Mistrot, Mestré	Montréal, Saint-François-du-Lac, Yamaska	1694-1728	Oyster River, New Hampshire	NANF, 101; NEC 1:266-267; Jetté, 369	She was captured at the age of twenty. She was ransomed from the Indians by Charles Plagnol and his wife Therese Audrendron. She was baptized in 1697 in Montréal. Her godfather was Pierre Lamoureux, her godmother was Marguerite Seigneuret. She married Charles Dubois of Brisebois in 1704 at Saint-François-du-Lac. Claude Pinard and Labonté Losière attended the wedding. She was naturalized in 1710. They had nine children from 1705 to

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						1726. She died in Yamaska in 1728.
Adhémar, Sieur de Lantagnac, Gaspard-Balthasar		Québec, Ile-Royale, Montréal	1712-1756	Monaco	LE, 82; Jetté, 3; DCB III:5	He was born in 1687, and came to New France as an officer in the troupes de la marine. In 1720 he married Geneviève-Françoise Martin de Lino. They had nine children; six survived infancy. One of his children was cared for by the family of Charles Flibot, Ile-d'Orléans. He died in 1756 in Montréal.
Adresse, Jean		Québec	1689-1693	England, New England	LE, 82	Captured in New England at the age of about 14, he became a servant in the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec, and was also hospitalized there in 1693.
Alden, John (III)		Québec	1691	Boston (taken at sea)	NEC 1: 70, 214-219	He was traveling with his father, John Alden Jr., and was held captive, but with his father, was released within a short time.
Alden, John, Jr.	Aldin	Québec	1691-?	Boston (taken at sea)	NEC 1: 70, 214-219	He was a merchant of Boston, son of John Alden of Plymouth. He attempted a prisoner exchanges in the 1690s. He and his ship were captured at sea; his son John, Edward Tyng and John Nelson were all aboard. He may have lost considerable merchandise, too, when his ship was captured.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Alexander, James		St. John River	1690	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1: 196-200	He was tortured with John Gyles by Cape Sable Indians.
Allen, Marie-Françoise	Éleine	Québec	1704-1710	New England	NANF, 102	She was captured in New England at about twelve years old and may have lived with Indians for a time; she became a servant at the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec, and died there in 1710. She may have been related to Sarah Allen.
Allen, Sarah		Montréal region	1704-1706?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 64	She was about sixteen when captured. She was ransomed and died in Deerfield in 1715.
Allen, Sarah	Alyn, Alleyn, Édeline, Hlène, Sire, Marie-Madeleine-Hélène Sire	Kahnawake, Montréal, Bellevue, Saint-Anne-Bout-de-l'Ile, Ile-Perrot, Saint-Joseph-de-Soulanges	1704-1764	New England	NANF, 102-3; NEC 1: 127; Jetté, 635	She was captured at age about twelve. She lived in the home of Jean Quenet of Bellevue, where she was baptized in 1705. She married farmer Guillaume Lalonde dit Lespérance in 1710. The couple had ten children, nine of whom survived infancy. She died in 1764.
Allence, Marie		Trois-Rivières	1669-1673	Flanders	FR, 269-70, Jetté, 1063	She came as a fille du roi. In 1669 she married Louis Tardif at Ameau (Trois-Rivières). The couple lived in Trois-Rivières, where, in 1670, they had one child. She left New France in 1673.
Allis, Abigail		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Allis, Mary		Montréal region	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:64-65	She married fellow captive Nathaniel Brooks when she returned.
Alonzo, Augustin	Alonze, Alonce	Lachine	1684 or 1687 to 1709	Spain	LE, 83, Jetté, 11	He was a soldier in the troupes de la marine. He married Catherine Renusson in 1689 in Lachine. The couple farmed there. He died, in the same place, without progeny in 1709.
Alwin, William		Québec	1710	England, New England	NANF, 103	He was hospitalized at the Hôtel-Dieu in Québec in 1710.
Arms, John		Kahnawake, Montréal, Québec	1709-1710	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 128-30	He was thirty years old, married, and a soldier. He was taken in an attack on Deerfield in 1709. He was exchanged by Vaudreuil in an attempt to get de Verchères, held in prison in Boston, released. Massachusetts would not release de Verchères (he was being held for Eunice Williams), so John was expected to return to Canada, which he did not. He requested soldier's pay and expenses (including buying his own ransom for 100 livres) from the General Court of Massachusetts; in 1716 he received six pounds and later, a pension. Of his time in Canada he wrote that he suffered "Dificult surcomstance both in Canada, being there a wounded prisener & stript of all my clothes, I could get none out of ther magasend but was fourst to by them with my one [own] money having Credit with a gentleman there."(NEC 2:130)

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Arnold, Jean		Québec	1710-1713	England	LE, 85	Captured in Acadia or Newfoundland, and was taken to Québec. He was naturalized in 1713.
Aubry, Tècle-Cornelius	Aubrenan, Aubry dit Thècle, Brennen	Québec, Ile-Sainte-Thérèse, Lachenaie	1660-1687	England or Ireland	LE, 87; Jetté, 28	Perhaps captured by the Iroquois in 1660 or 1661, he became a servant of André Demers. He also became a farmer. He married Jeanne Chartier in 1670 in Québec; the couple had seven children. Jeanne was a fille du roi.
Aubry, dit Larose, Germain	O'Brien	Montréal	1710-1723	Ireland	LE, 87; Jetté, 28	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine, Compagnie de Repentigny. He was naturalized in 1710. He died in Montréal in 1723.
Aubé, André	Obey, Andrew, dit Langlais	Berthier-sur-Mer, Ile-aux Grues, Saint-Vallier	1695-1753	Schenectady, New York	NANF, 104; Jetté, 24	He probably was a captive of the raid on Schenectady. He was baptized at Ile-aux-Grues in 1699. He was naturalized in 1710. He married Geneviève Fradet in 1715; they had at least seven children. He died in Saint-Vallier in 1753.
Austin, Mary	Osten, Haustein, Hasting, Hastin	La Valterre, Montréal	1692-1755	York, Maine	NEC 1: 221-232	She was about eight years old when she was captured. She married carpenter Etienne Gibau or Gibault in 1710, probably after renouncing the Protestant faith. Fellow captive Freedom French of Deerfield attended the wedding. The couple had nine children, five of whom survived to maturity. She died in Montréal in 1755. Fellow captive Marie-Joseph Sayer attended one of the baptisms of Mary's children; an Englishman named Maddox (see Joseph-Daniel Maddox) attended

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						another.
Badel, dit Lamarche, André		Québec, Lachine	1665-1711	Geneva, Switzerland	LE, 89, Jetté, 40	He was a soldier. In 1671 he married Barbe Duchesne, a Swiss woman. He became a farmer; the couple had eight children.
Baker, Thomas		Montréal region	1704-1705	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 65-66	He probably lived with natives. He was caught during a failed escape attempt and ransomed by a French man. He later escaped with Joseph Petty, Martin Kellogg and John Nims. He became an envoy.
Bamont, Marie-Anne		Montréal, Repentigny	1673-1708	Flanders (Belgium)	FR, 273, Jetté, 838	She came as a fille du roi. In 1673 she married Vincent Morisseau. The couple lived in Repentigny, and had ten children. She died in 1708 in Montréal.
Banister, Jean	Banistor	Québec	1709-1713	England	LE, 89; NEC 1:129	He was captured in a French attack on Saint John's, Newfoundland. He was naturalized in 1713.
Barbe, Joseph-Abel	Beard, Buard, Bear	Point-aux-Trembles, Longue-Pointe, Rivière- des-Prairies, Contrecoeur	1699-1729	London, England	LE, 89; NEC 1:123; Jetté, 44	A farmer, he married Marguerite Desjardins in 1699. They had eight children, three survived infancy. He was naturalized in 1710. In 1729, after Marguerite's death, he married Isabelle LeGardeur. His date and place of death are not known.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Barlow, Jean		Québec	1708-1709	England	LE, 90	He was a prisoner of war in 1708 at the age of 33. He renounced his faith in 1709.
Barnes, Elizabeth		Québec	1691-1699	Rye, New Hampshire	NEC 1: 209	She returned to New England on the Province Galley.
Barnes, John		Québec	1708-1709	England	LE, 90	He was a prisoner of war in 1709 at the age of 22. He renounced his faith in 1709.
Barrett, Jonathan		Montréal	1712	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 131	He was a soldier, taken with William Sanford (see this name); he was ransomed by Samuel Williams (see this name).
Barrois, Anne		Montréal	1699-1768	Albany or Esopus, New York		Born in Albany, she was baptized in a Dutch Reformed Church there. She was confirmed in Montréal and took her vows as Soeur St.-Charles. She was the handmaiden of recluse Jeanne Leber. See "Stories," "Stories, A Reprise," and chapters 4, 5 and 8.
Barrois, Antoine	Lothman, Barroa, Barroway	La Prairie, Montréal	1699-1708	Esopus, New York	NANF, 105; Jetté, 53	Son of Antoine Barrois, he returned with his mother and stepfather to La Prairie (see chapters 4, 5, 8 and 9). He was godfather of a captive in 1706, when he was M. Leber's clerk. He moved to Schenectady, New York in 1708. See Lootman.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Barrois, Charles	Barroe, Barroa, Barroway, Lothman	La Prairie	1699-1708	Esopus or Albany, New York	NANF, 105	He was the son of Antoine Barrois and Anne Leber. He may have returned as a young man with his mother and stepfather and siblings to La Prairie (see chapters 4, 5, 8 and 9; see also Lootman and Barrois) in 1699. He married Aaltie Roeloffse van der Werken in Albany in 1706 or 1707 and moved to Schenectady before 1708. Aaltie may have been the sister of Hendrik Roeloffse van der Werken (see this name).
Bartholomew, Abigail		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-32	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Bartlett, Joseph		Chambly, Montréal, Sault-au-Récollet	1708-1712	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1:358-60	The son of a shoemaker, he was an eighteen-year-old indentured servant when he was taken captive from the home of Simon Wainwright. He traveled with Abenakis to Lake Winnepesaukee on to Lake Champlain and finally to Chambly, where he met other captives. He was taken to Montréal where he was interrogated by the governor, then taken to Sault-au-Récollet. He was adopted by an older native woman, and met former captives, now nuns, from New England. He was sold as a servant to M. Delude; while not working, he made shoes. Father Meriel brought him an English bible and took him to mass. He attended the burial of captive William Taylor and the marriage of captive Elizabeth Hurst. He was ransomed and returned via Lake Champlain.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Batson, Clement		Sorel	1703-1704	Cape Porpoise, Maine	NEC 2: 3-8, Jetté 54	He was the son of Mary (Odiorne) Batson. He died a few months after his birth.
Batson, John		St. François?	1703-1705	Newcastle, Maine	NEC 2: 3-8	He was taken at Black Point two months after his wife and children were taken. He died in captivity before 1705. (See Batson, Mary and John; Stilson)
Batson, John	Badson	Sorel, Montréal	1703-1708	Newcastle, Maine	NANF, 105; NEC 2:6-7)	He was three years old when he was captured, along with his mother and sister at Cape-Portoise (Cape Porpoise) by Indians. All three were ransomed by Antoine Pascaud. After the 1704 death of his father, his mother married James Stilson. In 1708 John, his sister, his mother, his step-father and his half brother returned to New England. See Stilson, Batson.
Batson, Marie-Marguerite	Mary	Sorel, Montréal	1703-1704	Cape Porpoise, Maine	Jetté 54, NEC 2: 3-8	Daughter of Mary (Odiorne) Batson, she was baptized in 1704, at the age of seven, see John Batson, James Stilson.
Batson, Mary Odiorne	Badson, Odiorne, Odehorne, Baston, Anne, Hannah	Sorel, Montréal	1703-1708	Piscataway, Cape Porpoise, Maine	NANF 105-6, 175; NEC 1: 179, 2: 3-8, Jetté 54, 1057	Her husband was captured two months after his family was taken. Her son, John, and a daughter, Mary, were taken prisoner with her. Another son was born later that year; he died in 1704. She was ransomed by Antoine Pacaud, for whom she was a servant. She renounced Protestantism and was baptized in 1705; her godfather was Jacques Leber. Her husband died in 1705. She married James Stilson, a fellow captive from Cape Porpoise, in

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						the same year. Mary was present at the deathbeds of Abigail Turbet (Montréal, December 1705) and Esther Jones (1705 or 1706) (see these names). In 1708 she returned to New England with her son John, a new daughter, and her husband, as part of a prisoner exchange. See Stilson, John and Marie-Marguerite Batson.
Beaman, Hannah		Montréal region	1704	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 66	She had been the schoolteacher in Deerfield.
Beaman, Simon		Montréal region	1704	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 66	
Bean dit O'Neil, Cornelius	Beau, Yousbin, Oneil	Québec	1709-? 1733	Ireland	LE, 91; Jetté, 60	A prisoner of war, he married Marie-Charlotte Palin in 1713. The couple had twelve children, eight of whom died before reaching maturity. Cornelius died in Québec before 1734.
Beaucours, Anne		Québec	1704	France, New England	NANF 106; Jetté, 629	She migrated with her husband Daniel Laforge (see Laforge) to New England, where they had a child in 1701. They then traveled to Québec, where they baptized a child in 1704, then went back to New England.
Beaulieu, Jean		Québec	1692-1693	Flanders	LE, 92; Jette, 69	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. He died in Québec in 1693, at the age of 28.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Bedford, Susanne	Betfer, Botfaire, Betefer, Suzan	Québec, Lachenaie, Pointe-aux-Trembles	1649-1678	England	LE, 92; Jetté, 577	She was born in 1630 or 1631. She was a widow of Jean Serne, an English merchant, whom she married in England. Jean never came to New France. In 1659 she was confirmed by Bishop Laval. She married Mathieu Hubou des Deslongchamps, an armurier, procureur fiscal for Montréal. The couple had nine children, most of whom survived, and four of whom married in New France.
Beecraft, Thomas	Burrost, Buraff	Montréal	1708-1714	England, New England	NANF 106; LE, 92-93; NEC 1:129 and 2: 92-93, 403	At the age of twenty-nine he was captured by French and Indian troops and brought to Montréal. He renounced his faith in 1709, and was naturalized in 1713. He married fellow captive Elizabeth Hurst in 1712 in Montreal. The couple had two children before they returned to New England in 1714. He became a weaver. Thomas and his Massachusetts-born wife were both naturalized.
Belding, Daniel		Sault Saint-Louis, Montréal	1696-1698 or later	Deerfield	NEC 2: 37-38	He was captured with his family. He worked as a servant to the Sulpicians.
Belding, Nathaniel		Sault Saint-Louis	1696-1698	Deerfield	NEC 2:37-38	He worked for the nuns, probably either the hospitalières or the Congrégation Notre Dame. He returned with Schuyler and Dellius, the minister from Albany, probably in June 1698.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Bellecour, Joseph		Montréal	1710	Limerick, Ireland	LE, 93; Jette, 80	He was a soldier with Laforest's company. He died in either 1701 (Jetté) or 1710 (Fournier) in Montréal
Benelis, ------	Bianis, Bennassis	Trois-Rivières	1693-1704	York, Maine	NANF, 107	He and his wife, Madeleine, were captured by Abenakis in York, Maine. They lived for a while with the Abenakis, then were ransomed by a Trois-Rivières resident, perhaps Jacques Labadie. They had at least one child, and may have returned to New England in 1706.
Benelis, Madeleine	Bianis, Bennasis	Trois-Rivières	1693-1704	York, Maine	NANF, 107	She and her husband were captured by Abenakis in York, Maine. They lived for a while with the Abenakis, then were ransomed by a Trois-Rivières resident, perhaps Jacques Labadie. They had at least one child, and may have returned to New England in 1706.
Benson, Guillaume	William	Québec	1690-1691	London, England, New England	LE, 93; Jetté, 84	He was captured by the French in a raid in New England. He died in Qubec in 1691.
Berthelet dit Savoyard, Antoine		Montréal, Côte-des-Neiges	?1690s-1755	Switzerland	LE, 94, Jetté, 92	He married Jeanne Chartier in 1701, they had at least six children. Jeanne was a fille du roi. After Jeanne's death he married Madeleine Daudelin. He died in Montréal in 1755.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Bigelow, John		Montréal	1705-1706	Lancaster, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 310-313	He lived in Marlboro, Massachusetts with his wife and children. He was about thirty years old when he was captured in Lancaster. He was sold to the French. He was hospitalized in Montréal. He wrote a letter to his wife and received a letter in return in 1706.
Bizard, Jacques		Montréal, Québec	1672-1692	Switzerland	LE, 96; Jetté, 111; DCB	He was an aide to Governor Frontenac. He became major in Montréal. He married Jeanne-Cécile Closse in 1678 in Montréal; the couple had five children. He renounced Protestantism in 1678; he received a concession in the same year. He was naturalized in 1687. He died in 1692 in Montréal.
Bizet, Jean		Montréal, Lachine, Québec	1685-1734	London, England	LE, 96; Jetté, 111	He came as an apprentice blacksmith. He married Catherine Quenneville, with whom he had a child. After Catherine's death he married Catherine-Louise Gros. With Catherine-Louise he had eight children. He died in Québec in 1734.
Bondy, dit Laverdure, Jean-Baptiste		Québec, Varennes	1699-1720	Rome, Italy	LE, 98; Jetté, 125	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. He died in Québec in 1720.
Brackett, Abigail	Gabrielle-Louise Braquil, Marie-Louise Braquit, Braquette, Brake, Brakie, Braquet, Breakie	Québec	1691 or 1695-1746	Piscataway, Sandy Beach near Rye, New Hampshire (in French sources "Pescadouet")	NANF, 108; NEC 1:209-214; Jetté 1023	At the age of either nine or twelve she was taken by the Abenakis as a prisoner at Sandy Beach (now Rye, New Hampshire). She lived with the Indians for a while, and then was ransomed by Nicolas Pinault, a Québec merchant, and given to the Ursulines. She became a servant for Michel-Francois Laroche, a

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Québec baker. In 1715 she married Pierre Roy dit Léveillé, of Paris, in Québec. The couple had one or two children who died as infants. Abigail, perhaps accompanied by her husband, went to New England in 1727 when her father died in order to claim her inheritance. She died in Québec in 1743 or 1746.
Brackett, Keziah	Kasia, Cisia	Québec?	1691-1695	Sandy Beach (Rye, Newcastle)	NEC 1: 209-214	Most of her extended family was killed in several attacks in the region spanning fifteen years.
Bradley, Hannah	Heath, Bradberry	Québec	1704-1706	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 346-349	Hannah had been captured in 1697 but although she remained with the Abenakis at Norridgewock, she did not travel to Canada. In 1704 she was captured and taken to Cowasuck/Cowass; one of her children was killed in the attack. She had a child that winter, and began planting corn with her captors. At Cowass she met fellow captive Stephen Williams and other captives. Attacked by French and native, probably Iroquois, soldiers, they fled north. Her mistress' family was plagued by famine and disease. Eventually her native mistress died and a priest she had known in Norridgewock arranged her sale to a French family for 70 livres. Her husband, traveling with John Sheldon, ransomed her in 1706. Tradition states that the ransomers carried a gift of snuff from the governor of Massachusetts to the governor of Québec.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Bragdon, Abiall		Québec?	1703-1711 or later	York	NEC 1:243-44	Her mother and siblings were killed. She was still missing in 1711.
Bragdon, Sarah	Masterson, Braginton	Québec?	1692-1699 or later	York	NEC 1:243-44	She returned by 1703. She was killed that year in an attack at her home along with two children. Abiall, her daughter, was taken captive.
Bressani, François-Joseph		Québec, Trois-Rivières, Huronia	1642-1650	Italy	LE, 100-101; DCB I: 128-29; Jetté, 168	He was born in 1612 in Florence. He was a Jesuit priest with missionary duties in Trois-Rivières and Huronia. He was captured by the Iroquois in 1644 and given to the Dutch at Fort Orange. He returned to New France via Europe. He continued his missionary work 1645-1649 and returned to Italy in 1650. He died in 1672 in Florence.
Brissac, Joseph		Québec	1696	Germany	LE, 101	He was baptized in Québec in 1696.
Bronson, Marie-Charlotte	Bronjon	Québec	1703-1710	New England	NANF, 110; NEC 2: 394; Jetté, 1143	At the age of eleven she was taken prisoner in New England by Indians. Once ransomed, she was educated by the Ursulines. She was baptized in about 1706 in Québec, at the age of about fourteen.
Brooks, -----		Montréal region	1704-?	Deerfield	NEC 2: 66-67	A child, he was taken with his father and mother; his mother was killed en route. His father was ransomed and went to New England. He returned to Canada in 1707 to ransom this child, without success. See Brooks.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Brooks, -----		Montréal region	1704-?	Deerfield	NEC 2: 66-67	A child, taken with his father and mother; his mother was killed en route. His father was ransomed and went to New England. He returned to Canada in 1707 to ransom this child, without success. See Brooks.
Brooks, Mary	Marie-Claire	Montréal	1704-1710	Deerfield, Massachusetts, New England	NANF, 110-111; NEC 2:67	She was seven years old when she was taken prisoner at Deerfield. She was ransomed by François Le Verrier de Rousson, who employed her as a household servant. In 1705 she was baptized. Her godfather was Joseph de Fleury, her godmother was Charlotte de Fleury, wife of Le Verrier de Rousson. She was naturalized in 1710.
Brooks, Nathaniel		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 66-67	He was taken with his wife (who was killed en route) and children. He was ransomed by John Sheldon. He returned the next year in an unsuccessful effort to ransom his children.
Burn, Jacques		Québec	1712	Ireland	LE, 103	He was a prisoner. He renounced his faith in 1711.
Burt, Benjamin	Bert	Varennes, Québec	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 111; NEC 2: 68-69; Jetté, 92	He was taken prisoner in the raid on Deerfield with his wife, Sarah Dekdubsa Burt. The couple were taken in by Christophe Dufrost de la Jemmerais. They had two children, one in April, 1704, named Christophe for their host, and another, named Seaborn, in 1706, while they were on a ship for Boston, as part of a prisoner exchange. After

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Dufrost's death, Dufrost's wife married Thimothé Sulivan (see this name).
Burt, Christopher		Varennes, Québec	1704-1706	Deerfield	NEC 2: 67-69	He was baptized in Varennes in 1704. See Benjamin and Sarah Burt.
Burt, John		Québec?	1704-1706	Deerfield	NEC 2:68-69	He was Benjamin Burt's brother, and was ransomed in 1706. Another brother, David, was in Schenectady for the attack of 1690 and may have been killed or captured there.
Burt, Sarah Dekbubsa	Belding, Belvin	Varennes	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 121; Jetté, 92; NEC 2:68	She and her husband were taken in the attack on Deerfield in 1704. They lived in Varennes under the protection of Christophe Dufrost de la Jemmerais. They returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1706. The couple had one child in New France, who was named after their host, and another while on shipboard on their return to New England. See Benjamin Burt.
Byrne, Denis		Québec	1711	Ireland	LE, 103	He was a prisoner of war taken by the French in the St. Lawrence Gulf. He was naturalized in 1711 or 1712.
Cardinal, la nommée		Saint-François-de-Sales, Ile-Jésus	1700?-1722	Ireland	LE, 105	She was born in 1652; her arrival date is not known. She died in Ile-Jésus in 1722.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Caroll, Jean-Baptiste		Lavaltrie	1710-1713	Ireland	LE, 105	He arrived as a captive. He was naturalized in 1710.
Carter, Ebenezer		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 73	He was five when he was captured. He was brought back to Albany, probably by Schuyler. He was visited by his sister Mercy Carter's sons (see Mercy Carter).
Carter, John	Chartier, Charetier, Jean, Jean-Joseph	Sault Saint-Louis, Point-aux-Trembles, Rivière-des-Prairies, Saint-Antoine-sur-Richelieu	1704-1772	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 71-72; Jetté, 236; NANF, 112	He was about nine years old when he was captured. His mother and four siblings were killed. His brother, Samuel, twelve, and his sister Mercy, ten, were taken with him to Sault Saint-Louis, where he lived for a while. He was naturalized in 1710. He declined a chance to return home in 1714. Jacques Vaudry of Point-aux-Trembles ransomed him. He received a concession in 1718 and married Marie Courtemanche in Rivière-des-Prairies the same year. Marie-Françoise French, a fellow captive, was a witness. The couple farmed, and had at least seven children. He was baptized in 1724. He received more land in 1725 and 1734. In 1727 the family moved to Saint-Antoine-sur-Richelieu. He returned to Connecticut to collect an inheritance in 1736 and again in 1751, when Ephraim Williams suspected him of being a spy. He died at Saint-Antoine-sur-Richelieu in 1772.
Carter, Mercy		Sault Saint-Louis	1704-1750 or later	Deerfield	NEC 2: 69-73	She was ten years old when she was captured. She married in Sault Saint-Louis. Two of her sons returned to Deerfield as boys. In 1751 they went via Albany (possibly with one uncle, John

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Carter) to Norwalk, Connecticut to visit their uncle Ebenezer Carter.
Carter, Samuel		Montréal region	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:71-73	Family tradition relates that he drowned crossing the St. Lawrence river ten years after he was captured.
Cass, Abigail	Kess, Kest	Montréal	1703-1705	Cape-Porpoise, Maine, New England	NANF, 112; NEC 2:8-9; Jetté, 617	She was taken prisoner by Abenaki; her husband was killed in the attack. Her home is alternately spelled Kirparpers and Cape-Portoise in the French record. Father Michel Barthélémy ransomed her and brought her to the Hospitalières of Montréal. She died there in 1705, at the age of 31.
Catlin, John		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:73-74	He was about seventeen; most of his family was killed in the attack or on the journey. Tradition states that he lived with a priest in Canada.
Catlin, Ruth		Montréal region	1704-1707	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 73-74	She was about twenty years old; most of her family was killed in the attack or on the journey (see John Catlin).
Cauchon, Marie	Rachel	Québec, Charlesbourg	1695-1717	New England	NANF, 112	She was about eight years old when she was captured. She lived with Indians for a few years until she was ransomed by Joseph Fleury de la Gorgendière, a Québec merchant, who employed her as a servant. Later she moved to Charlesbourg. She died in Québec in 1717.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Champagne, -----		?Saint-Augustin	?1720-1733	Sweden	LE, 107	He is mentioned as deceased in the record of his wife's death in 1734.
Charby, Guillaume	Cherby, Chearby	Saint-Laurent (Ile-d'Orléans), Québec, Charlesbourg, Montréal, Lavaltrie	?1710-1757	England, New England	LE, 107-108, Jetté, 227	He arrived as a captive from the English colonies. In 1721 he married Marie-Anne Milet. The couple had six children, four of whom survived. He died in Lavaltrie in 1757.
Cheval, Jacques-Joseph	dit Chevalier, Saint-Jacques	Saint-Laurent, Montréal	1720-1757	Belgium	LE, 108; Jetté, 245	A perruquier (wig-maker) and cabaretier (tavern-keeper) who became port master and, in 1749, hussier (bailiff) of the Conseil Supérieur of New France. He married Marie-Renée Cousineau in 1725. The couple had several children. After Marie-Renée's death, he married Genevieve Leduc. He died in 1757 in Montréal.
Christiansen, Marie-Anne-Louise	Christiason, Christiane, Christiaanse	Montréal, La Prairie	1699-1750	Corlaer (Schenectady), New York	NANF, 113-114; Jetté, 391	She married Moise Dupuis and settled in Schenectady. The couple had nine children. She died in La Prairie in 1750.
Clark, -----		St. François?	1690-?	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:200-201	She married an Indian and did not return to New England.
Clark, Agathe	Clerque	Québec	1702	England or New England	NE/NF, 32	She was a student with the Ursulines in Québec.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Clark, Elizabeth		Québec	1690	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:200-201	She was captured with her mother. She was ransomed by Frontenac; she boarded in Québec and returned to New England with Phips.
Clark, Elizabeth		Québec?	1690	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1: 200-201	Her husband died in the attack; she was captured with at least three of her children. She died in Canada.
Clark, Isaac		Québec?	1690-?	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:200-201	Born about 1666, his father was killed in the attack; he was taken with his mother and three sisters.
Clark, Martha		Québec	1690	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:200-201	She was captured with her mother. She was ransomed by Frontenac; she boarded in Québec and returned to New England with Phips.
Clark, Rebeckah		Québec?	1690-?	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1: 200-201	She was sold to a French family, family history relates that she did not return and refused ransom.
Clement, Edward	Clements	Québec	1708-1713	England	LE, 110; NEC 1: 128; Jetté, 258	He was living in Newfoundland when he was captured by the French at the age of about 22. In 1709 he renounced his faith. In 1710 he married Catherine Gauthier in Québec. In 1713 he was naturalized.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Clesson, John		Kahnawake, Montréal, Québec	1709-1711	Deerfield	NEC 2: 131	A twenty-six year old soldier, he was sent from Canada to France with Mehuman Hinsdale (see this name). In 1711 they returned to New England via Saint Malo, London and Rhode Island, arriving by 1712.
Clément, André	dit l'Allemand	Saint-Augustin	1720-1748	Austria	LE, 109-110; Jetté, 258	A farmer in Saint-Augustin, he married Marie Gaboury in 1720.
Cochran, Hugues	sieur de Floridor, Coquerane	Québec	?1684-1689	Scotland	LE, 110; Jetté, 262	A merchant, he renounced his faith in 1685 and married Marie-Ursule Philippeau the same year. He died in Québec in 1689, at the age of 26.
Cole, Deborah	Colle, Coal, Cout, Marie-Madeleine	Montréal, Boucherville	1703-1744	Beverly, Massachusetts, New England	NANF, 114-114; NEC 2: 13-15; Jetté 262, 1041	She was four years old when she was taken with her mother, Sarah Randall, see below, and two sisters in the attack on Saco, Maine, in New England. Jacques Leber was her godfather when she was baptized in December, 1703 in Montréal. The family was taken in by Pierre Boucher of Boucherville. In 1715 she married Simon Séguin, a farmer. The couple had nine children. Deborah died at Boucherville in 1744.
Cole, Mary	Coal, Colle, Marie-Thérèse	Montréal, Boucherville, Varennes, Verchères	1703-1761	Beverly, Massachusetts	NANF 115; NEC 2:13-14; Jetté, 1009	See Deborah Cole. Mary was two years old when she was captured. In 1718 she married Pierre Rougeau dit Berger. The couple lived in Varennes, and had six children. Mary died at Verchères in 1761.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Coleman, ----- (child)		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Coleman, Sarah		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1: 131-36	She was a child of about four when she was captured. (See Obadiah Dickinson)
Cooper, Mary	Coupart, Marie-Françoise	Québec	1691-1695	York, Maine, New England	NANF, 116; NEC 1:231-232	Captured at the age of six in the attack on Saco, Maine, she was given to the family of François Sauvin of Québec. She returned to New England in 1695, part of a prisoner exchange. Her father was perhaps Walloon ("ye Walloone"), Philippe Coupart.
Corse, Elizabeth	Esther, Casse, Coss, Coxe, Cas, Marie, Isabel, Élisabeth	Montréal, La Prairie	1704-1766	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 116-117; NEC 2: 73-77; Jetté, 384, 823	Captured at Deerfield at about eight years of age, she was taken to La Prairie, where she lived with the family of Pierre Roy and Catherine Ducharme. In 1705 she was baptized in Montréal, her godfather was Gilbert Maillet, her godmother was Catherine Ducharme. In 1712, at the age of about 15, she had an illegitimate child; she married Jean Dumontet dit Lagrandeur, 53, a Frenchman from New England, the same year, in La Prairie. Jean was English. The marriage was attended by Clement Lerizer de Laplante, Pierre Roy and Jacques Roy. The couple lived in La Prairie, where they had eight children. After Jean's death, she married Pierre Monet dit Laverdure in 1730. Martha French, wife of Jacques Roy, attended the wedding. That year, her brother attempted to bring her back to New England. The couple lived in La Prairie, where Elizabeth had eight more children, for a total of 17, before her

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						death in 1766.
Cosme, Pierre	dit Saint-Cosme	Montréal, La Prairie, Détroit	1717-1740s or later	Belgium	LE, 112, Jetté, 272	Pierre lived with his parents in France for a few years before emigrating to New France in 1717. He was a merchant and a voyageur (1718-1725) to western posts. In 1717 he married Élisabeth Faye (Faille) of La Prairie, in La Prairie. She was the daughter of Mathieu Faye and Marguerite-Françoise Moreau. The family lived for four years in Montréal before returning to La Prairie. In 1737, after his wife's death, Pierre obtained a concession at Détroit. A few years later, after a stay in Montréal, he and his children moved to Détroit.
Crisafy, de, Antoine		Québec, Montréal, Trois-Rivières	1684-1709	Italy	LE, 114-115; Jetté, 294; DCBII:162-63	From a noble Sicilian family, Antoine was a military officer. He and his brother, Thomas, exiles in France, were sent to New France as captains of a company of the troupes de la Marine. He became lieutenant du roi in 1697, and in 1698 he was made a chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis, France's highest military honor. In 1700, he married Marie-Claire Ruette d'Auteuil, daughter of Ruette d'Auteuil, attorney general for the conseil souverain. In 1703 he became governor of Trois-Rivières, where he died in 1709.
Crisafy, de, Thomas		Montréal	1684-1696	Italy	LE, 115; Jetté, 294; DCB II: 163	See Antoine de Crisafy. A Knight of Malta, his military skills were highly regarded in New France. He died in Montréal in 1696.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Crony, Jean	dit Saint-Jean	Québec	1709-1710	Ireland	LE, 116	He was captured in Acadia or Newfoundland. He was naturalized in 1710.
Créquy, Léonard		Québec	1677-1711	Germany	LE, 114; Jetté, 291	A carpenter, he married Marie Lefebvre in a marriage that was annulled within a year. Then he married Catherine Trefflé. The couple had five children; one survived. He died in 1711 in Québec.
Cummings, Stephen	Étienne Camane	Québec	1706-1743	Dunstable, Massachusetts	NANF, 117-118; NEC 1: 329-330; Jetté 193	He was four years old when he was captured by Indians in the attack on Dunstable. He lived for several years with the Indians. In Québec he was both a laborer and a servant. In 1723 he married Catherine Rancin. The couple had four children. After Catherine's death, he married Angélique-Barbe Dubreuil. With his second wife he had six children. He died between 1741 and 1743 in Québec.
Cursinwhitt, Abigail	Louise Cousmouette, Carson, Coursin, Cochenouette, Aabigail Coursin, Corsonouit, Cosmouet, Cochmoite	Trois-Rivières	1689-1704	Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 118; NEC 1: 141-65; Jetté, 505	She was six years old when she was captured by the Abenakis in the attack on Cocheco (Dover) near York. Abigail may have been related to Cornelius Carson of Dover. She was baptized in Canada in 1690. She was ransomed by a man named Dehennot and taken to Trois-Rivières. In 1701 she married Nicolas Gladu dit Cognac. The couple had two children. Abigail died at Trois-Rivières in 1704. For the treaties, treachery, raids and counterraids in the region of Dover (Cocheco), beginning in 1676 when over one hundred Indians were hanged or sold into slavery, see

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						NEC 1: 137-42.
Daigle, Jean	dit l'Allemand	Charlesbourg, Québec	before 1668-1699	Austria or Germany	LE, 117	He was born in 1651 or 1659; he arrived in New France before 1668. In 1674 he acquired land at Charlesbourg. He cleared his land and farmed it; he was also a navigator. In 1668 he renounced his religion; in 1676 he was confirmed by Bishop Laval. 1685 he married Marie-Anne Proteau. The couple had seven children. George Steims (see this name) of Switzerland and his wife attended the wedding. Jean died in Québec in 1699.
Darigrand, Antoine	dit Legardeur	Québec	1693	Spain	LE, 118	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. He was hospitalized in Québec in 1693.
Darling, Grace	Dalain	Québec	1689-1695	Penobscot, Maine	NANF, 119; NEC 1: 172-173; Jetté, 401	She was captured by Abenakis with her husband, Denis Higman, in the attack on Pemaquid. They lived with the Abenakis at Penobscot for three years before being ransomed by the French. The couple had at least one child in New France. In 1695 she and her husband were sent to Boston via Port-Royal.
Dasylva, Pedro	dit le Portugais, De Lacive, Pierre Dasvila	Québec, L'Ange Gardien, Beauport	before 1673-1717	Portugal	LE 119; Jetté, 308	He married Jeanne Greslon. The family lived in Beauport and Québec and had fourteen children. He died in Québec in 1717.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Davis, Helen	Marie-Françoise Darvass, Dawass, Helenne. Dauis, Da Wass	?St.-François-du-Lac?, Québec	1704-1710	Jamaico (West Amesbury), Massachusetts	NANF, 119; NEC 1:365	She was taken by Abenakis at the age of about thirteen in the attack on West Amesbury in 1704. For four years she lived with Indians, until she was bought by Robert Drouard, a Québec merchant, and given to the Ursulines. She was baptized there. She was naturalized in 1710. She died in Québec in 1710.
Davis, Marie-Anne	Marie-Anne Davis de Saint-Benoit, Soeur Saint-Benoit	Québec	1694-1749	Oyster River?	NEC 1:269; DCB III:167-68	She was a nun with the Ursulines, and was instructed by Père Sébastien Rale, probably among the Kennebec/Abenaki Indians. Her birth name is not known, but she seems to keep her surname, Davis. Although her first name is similar to Mary-Ann Davis's (see this name), this does not appear to be the same individual. Their names as nuns are different, and they died on different dates.
Davis, Mary-Ann	Mary-Anne, Soeur Ste-Cécile	Saint-François-du-Lac, Québec	1694-1761	Oyster River (Durham), New Hampshire	NANF, 119-120;NEC 1:268-70; Jetté, 313, 1143	There are many young female members of the Davis family in the records. Most seem to be named Sarah or Mary Ann, and several became nuns. This Mary-Ann was taken by the Abenakis at the age of about six and kept at the mission at St.-François-du-Lac. She was ransomed by father Vincent Bigot and given to Pierre Dupont, a Québec merchant. She studied with the Ursulines. She was baptized in 1699. She may have worked with the Hospitalières. She took her vows (probably as a hospitalière) in 1711. She worked in the Hotel-Dieu in Québec until 1746 and died in Québec in 1761.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Davis, Sarah		Québec?	1694-before 1702	Oyster River	NEC 1:268-270	She was about seven years old when she was captured; she returned before 1702. Most of the Davis family was killed in the attack.
Davis, Sarah	Desvice, Marie-Anne, Fargisse; Soeur Saint Benoit	Québec	1690-1749	Casco Bay, Maine	NANF, 120; Jetté, 313; NEC 1:268-69	She was about twelve when she was taken in the attack on Casco Bay by René Robineau de Portneuf and some Abenakis. She lived with Indians at Sault-de-la-Chaudière for two years before being ransomed by Father Jacques Bigot. She was placed with a family in Québec (perhaps Pierre Bénac, a Québec merchant). She was baptized in 1692. She took her vows with the Ursulines in 1701, and took the name Soeur Saint-Benoit. She died in Québec in 1749.
Davis, Sylvanus		Québec	1690	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1: 201-202; DCB II:172	He was taken (by Abenakis?) to Québec in a 24-day voyage by foot and canoe. The group suffered from low provisions ("Indian corns and acorns -- hunger made it very good & God gave it strength to nourish"). He was given an audience by Frontenac, lived in "the chateau" and was exchanged later that year for a French officer. He returned with Phips to New England.
De Kierk, Marie	Deker, Dequier	Québec	before 1718 - 1725 or later	Germany	LE, 121; Jetté, 630	She married Denis Laigneau in Québec in 1718. They had six children, three of whom survived. Denis was an officer of a compagnie de détachement of the troupes de la Marine.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
De La Providence, Louise-Angélique		Québec	before 1692-? 1695	New England	NANF, 121; NEC 2:393	She was probably a child when captured, as her home and name remain completely unknown. Her name indicates that she was probably baptized.
De Lalore, Catherine		Sorel	1671-before 1694	England	FR, 300-301; Jetté, 39	She came as a fille du roi. In 1671 or 1672 she married Louis Badaillac dit Laplante at Sorel, where the couple settled. They had eight children. She died between 1690 and 1694.
Deblé, Anne-Marie	dit Collerot et Fourche	Kaskaskias	?1720-1725	Germany	LE, 120; Jetté, 533	She was born in 1686.She married René Grudet in 1725 in Kaskaskias. René was a roofer ("couvreur").
Defond, Jean-Baptiste	dit Rodrigues	Acadia, Port-Royal, Plaisance (Newfoundland), Québec, Louisbourg	after 1700-1733	Portugal	LE, 121; DBC 2: 607	He was a merchant and a fisherman. He married Anne Le Borgne in Port-Royal in 1707. He became a navigator (pilote du Roy). He died in Québec, 1733.
Delbec, Pierre	dit Joly, Joly (as a surname)	Québec, Sorel, Berthier, Ile-Dupas	1670-1721	Flanders	LE, 122; Jetté, 604	He probably arrived as an engagé; he married Geneviève Tessier in 1673. Geneviève was a fille du roi, and after 1730, a midwife. They had ten children; six survived. He became a farmer, and died in 1721 at Ile-Dupas.
Demeulles, Jean-Baptiste	Desmeules	Québec, Newfoundland	1680-1733	Netherlands	LE, 124; Jetté, 329	He came to New France in 1680 with his mother (see Marie Vanneck). He married Marie-Louise Roussel in Québec in 1708. He formed a partnership in Newfoundland in 1709,

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						and lived there for five years. He died in Québec in 1733.
Denbow, Peter	Denmore, Dinsmore	St. Francis?	1694-after 1699	Oyster River, New Hampshire	NEC 1:271	He returned to Oyster River and was on the poor rolls of the town in 1751.
Derenom, Jean	Dornon	Québec, Kaskaskias	1708 or 1709-before 1735	Ireland	LE, 124-5; Jetté, 326	He came to New France as a prisoner of war. He was naturalized in 1710. In 1713 he married Marguerite Joly; the couple had several children. They lived in Québec and Kaskaskias, where Jean died in 1735.
Derry, Deliverance		Québec?	1694-before 1697	Oyster River	NEC 1: 271-72	She, along with her husband and one child were taken in an attack which killed all but one of their children. Her husband died (perhaps of wounds, he doesn't appear to have been killed by his captors) in captivity. She returned from Canada, married and petitioned twice for her first husband's property. Son John returned from Canada as the second petition was being considered. She thought her son was dead, and was attempting to claim the entire estate for herself. This is one of several cases of relatives returning (either to Canada or to the British colonies) to collect their share of an inheritance in the nick of time, indicating that lines of communication were efficient between New England and New France, and that town officials and others communicated information to Canada or to New England.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Derry, John, Jr.	Joseph	Québec?	1694-1699	Oyster River	NEC 1:271-72	He returned to Maine in 1699, probably to collect his share of his father's estate. (See Deliverance Derry)
Derton, George		Québec	1690	England	LE, 125	He came to New France as a prisoner of war, perhaps captured at Hudson's Bay. He was hospitalized in Québec in 1690.
Deviss, Charles	Danis, Devé, Desuc, Davis	Québec	1708-1736	England	LE, 126-127; Jetté, 351	He came as a prisoner of war. He renounced his faith in 1709, and was naturalized in 1713. He married Jeanne Savary in 1713; the couple had ten children, seven of whom survived infancy. He died in Québec in 1737.
Dicker, Jean-Louis	Dicaire, Diguère	Montréal, Lac-des-Montagnes, Saint-Laurent, Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'Ile.	?1698-1744	Newfoundland	NANF, 122; Jetté, 351	He was from Newfoundland. He was perhaps captured from a coasting vessel? He was nine when he was captured by Indians. He was taken to Montréal where he was ransomed by Louis-Thomas de Joncaire. In 1706 he was baptized, in 1710 he was naturalized. He was perhaps a servant of the Sulpicians. In 1720 he married Marie-Suzanne Lorrain. The couple farmed at Riviere-des-Prairies. They moved to Saint-Laurent, then to Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'Ile. They had at least ten children. Jean-Louis died in Montréal in 1744. He was present at the baptism of one of Mathias Farnsworth's daughters, 1715.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Dickinson, Obadiah		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36; Mass. Archives 60, 205.	Obadiah was taken with many others in a raid of River Indians (Housatonic or Hudson) on the settlements of Hatfield and Deerfield. This was part of a larger migration of Massachusetts Indians towards Canada. Seventeen were captured, and about eighteen others were wounded or killed. The Indian families of the raiding warriors had lived near the settlements of Hatfield and Deerfield for a number of years. The Indians moved to Sorel, where two captives were "pawned to Frenchmen for drink; the Remainder of them were in the Woods." French soldiers and two Massachusetts envoys accompanied the captives back to Albany in May, 1678. Obadiah was captured with one of his children and several other children.
Dickinson, child		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1: 131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Dijz, Emmanuel		Québec	1676	Portugal	LE, 127	He attended a baptism of the son of Martin Pirez (see this name) in 1676.
Dixon, Robert		Québec	1708-1713 or later	England	LE, 128	He came as a prisoner of war. In 1710 he renounced his faith; in 1713 he was naturalized.
Dolloff, Abigail	Dollar, Margaret	Montréal? Kahnawake?	1710-1715 or later	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:372-73	She was about four years old when she was captured in 1710 with two sisters (see Sarah and Margaret Dollof). The girls lived with Indians and were ransomed by their father before 1718.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Dolloff, Margaret	Dollar	Montréal? Kahnawake?	1710-1715 or later	Exeter, Massachusetts (New Hampshire)	NEC 1:372-73	She was six years old when she was captured with her sisters (see Abigail and Sarah Dolloff). She was ransomed from the Indians by her father before 1718.
Dolloff, Sarah	Dollar	Montréal? Kahnawake?	1710-1715 or later	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:372-373	She was eight years old when she was captured with two sisters as they went from school to the garrison. She returned by 1718, having been ransomed by her father, with the intervention of Schuyler and a "French gentleman," from the Indians with whom she lived. (See Margaret and Abigail Dolloff.)
Donadieu, Marc-Antoine				Netherlands	LE, 128, see Bédard, 97	He came as a Dutch soldier in a company of the troupes de la Marine.
Drew, Lydia	Drue, Dreu, Dreux, Lidia, Mathis, Marie-Anne	Batiscan, Sault-de-Rivière-Chaudière Québec	1707-1740 or later	Oyster River or Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 123; LE, 130; NEC 1:253-54, 279-80; Jetté, 360	She was taken by Abenakis at Oyster River when she was almost thirteen years old and taken to Sault-de-la-Chaudière. She was ransomed by François Dumontier. She was taken to Québec, where she was baptized in 1709. She was naturalized in 1713. She returned to Oyster River where she married Francis Mathers or Mathes in November 1720. She may have returned to New France, as a Lydia Drew Mathis or Mathes married Étienne Lafond in Batiscan in 1732 (Pollet, 24-02-1732).

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Drew, Tamsen	Damson	Québec?	1694-1698?	Oyster River	NEC 1:272-73	Tamsen was taken to Norridgewock. Tradition relates that a child born to her (perhaps in the winter of 1694-95) was killed by her captors, "because she could not care for it." She may have seen or lived in a group of Indians which included Bomazeen. She was baptized in Canada. After her return she was reunited with her husband, the two lived together into old age, and had 14 more children.
Drew, Thomas		Québec?	1694-1695	Oyster River	NEC 1:272-73	Thomas' father was killed in the attack, along with most of his siblings. One brother escaped, but was killed by Indians in another attack three years later. Thomas and his wife, Tamsen (see Tamsen Drew) were separated, Thomas was taken to Canada, probably to Québec. He was baptized in Canada.
Du Rosaire, Espérance		Québec	1668	Brazil and Portugal	LE, 133; Jetté, 741-42	She was born in Brazil (Brésil) and baptized in Portugal. She married Simon Longueville in 1668.
Dubié, Marie-Françoise		Québec	1671	Belgium	FR, 308, Jetté, 248	She came as a fille du roi. She contracted for marriage with Jean Chevaudier dit Lépine in an agreement that was annulled.
Dubois, Christophe	Christopher Wood	Québec	1705 or later-1712 or 1713	Oyster River	NANF, 123; NEC 1:258	He was taken by the French and Abenaki between 1705 and 1709. He attended the wedding of Edward Fletcher and Abigail Willey (see these names) in 1710. He returned to New

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						England on a prisoner exchange in 1712 or 1713.
Dubois, Prisque	Wood	Ile-d'Orléans	1714 or before-1715 or later	England	NANF, 124; Jetté, 369	In 1714 he married Marguerite Senelé. They had one child.
Dubray, Nicolas	dit Laplume	Tremblay, Boucherville	1667 or so-1715	Belgium	LE, 131	He was born in 1638, he came to New France between 1667 and 1669. He was a farmer in Tremblay, where he was granted a concession in 1675. He married Marie Lefebvre in 1690 but the marriage was annulled in 1691. He died in Boucherville in 1715.
Dubry, Pierre	dit Laverdure	Québec	1654	Belgium	LE, 132	He was a smithy or smelter ("fondeur"), and was hired by Antoine Grignon in 1654 to work for Jacques Maheux of Québec.
Ducas, Jean-Baptiste		Québec, Lauzon	1708-?	England or New England	Jetté, 372	He was born about 1671, and was baptized in 1708 in Lauzon. In 1715, seven days after their first child was born, he married Marie-Louise Decaruel. They had seven children.
Duchesne, Barbe		Québec, Montréal	1671-1710	Switzerland	LE, 132; Jetté, 40	She was a fille du roi. She married André Badel of Switzerland. They had eight children, at least five of whom married. She died in Montréal in 1710.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Dumontet, Jean	dit Lagrandeur	La Prairie	?1709-1729	France, New England	NANF, 124; NEC 2:73-77; Jetté, 384.	In 1712 he married Elizabeth Corse (a captive from New England) in La Prairie. The couple farmed there, and had eight children. Jean died there in 1729.
Duncan, Hannah	Marie-Catherine, Danquin, Danquine, Dunkin, Denkyn	Québec	1692-1727	Billerica, Massachusetts	NANF, 125; NEC 1:303-304; Jetté, 258-59	She was about ten when she was taken by Abenakis to New France. The rest of her family was killed in the attack. She was ransomed by the French, and baptized. In 1709 she married Claude Cliche, a carpenter, in Québec. In 1710 she was naturalized. The couple had five children, two of whom lived to marry. Hannah died in 1728 in Québec.
Dunn, Mary	Done, Marie-Catherine	l'Islet/Rivière-Ouelle, Saint-Roch-des Aulnaies	?1700-1735	near Boston, Massachusetts	NANF, 125-26; Jetté, 364, 834	She was taken to an Indian village where she lived for a few years. She was baptized as Marie-Catherine. She married Mathurin Dubé in 1724. After his death she married Mathurin Morillon in 1728. Both of her husbands were farmers. Both marriages were childless. She died in Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies in 1735.
Dupont, Louise-Marguerite		Québec	1703-1706 or later	New England	NANF, 126; Jetté, 1143	She was ransomed by Pierre Dupont; her birth name is unknown.
Durell, Benjamin	Durrell, Dudy		1703-?	Cape Porpoise, Maine	NEC 2: 9-10	He was young when taken with two sisters. They may have remained in Canada. His father was a Huguenot from either Jersey or Guernsey.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Durell, Rachel	Durrell		1703-?	Cape Porpoise, Maine	NEC 2: 9-10	See Susan and Benjamin Durell.
Durell, Susan	Sarah, Durrell		1703	Cape Porpoise, Maine	NEC 2: 9-10	She was young when taken with two siblings; they may have remained in Canada. Her father was a Huguenot. Family tradition states that she married a French man. See Benjamin and Rachel Durell.
Eastman, Hannah	Grenn	Trois-Rivières	1704-1707	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 349-350	She was captured in an attack during which her child was killed. She lived with Abenakis at Lake Ossipee; then she moved to the oxbow at Newbury, Vermont. Later they moved to Trois-Rivières, where a French woman helped her escape. She remained, perhaps in Trois-Rivières, where she saw her husband "dressed as were the Canadians" who had come to find her. At first he didn't recognize her. Later they walked home.
Eastman, Joseph		Montréal region	1704-1707	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:78	He was nineteen; his captivity lasted three years.
Edeme, Marie-Madeleine	Edesme, Edem	Québec	1693-1694	England, New England	LE, 134	She was a captive of the Indians. She was hospitalized in Québec in 1693 and 1694.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Edgerly, Joseph		St. Lawrence Island	1694-1706	Oyster River	NEC 1: 273-74	He was about seventeen years old when he was captured. Most of his family died or was captured in the attack; two sisters lived in captivity in Indian communities in Maine before they returned to the colony. Joseph had contact with at least two other captives: Zebediah Williams and a captive taken in Newfoundland. He may have had contact with Reverend John Williams, Zebediah's father. Reverend Williams described Joseph in his famous "The Redeemed Captive." Joseph probably lost his English during his captivity. He returned to Boston on the brigantine "Hope" in November, 1706.
Edmunds, Jean	Jean-Baptiste, Baptiste, Edmunds, Edmon, Aidmont, John Battis, Emon, Edmond	Québec	1695-1715	Ireland, Pemaquid (Maine)	LE, 134; NEC 2:391-92; NANF 126-27; Jette, 401	He emigrated from Ireland to New England about 1692 and married Mary Kelly about 1693. Along with a young daughter they were captured by French and Abenakis in 1695 and taken to New France. They had at least four children in New France. Jean, a cooper, was naturalized in New France. He died in 1715 and was buried in Québec. Mary died in 1741 in Québec.
Edmunds, Margareth	Marguerite, Esmons, Haymond, Edond, Remond Baptiste, Battis	Québec	1695-1741	Pemaquid, Maine	NANF, 127; NEC 2:391-92; Jetté, 401	She was an infant of about seventeen months when she and her parents (Jean and Mary (Kelly) Edmunds) were captured by French and Abenakis. She was baptized in 1695. In 1712 she married Joachim Marec, a tavern keeper (cabaretier). They had four children. In 1719 Joachim drowned in the St. Lawrence River. Margareth married Pierre Depoix dit Parisien, a shoemaker, in 1721. Margareth and Pierre had six children. By 1744 Pierre had become a

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						tavern keeper. Margareth died in Québec in 1741, less than two months after her mother. She may have operated the tavern, particularly after her first husband's death.
Edmunds, Mary Kelly	Duelle, Kélé, Kilet, Quelet, Quelay, Kelley, Kelly, Marie	Québec	1695-1741	Ireland, near Pemaquid, Maine	LE, 172; Jetté, 401; NEC 2:391-92; NANF, 153	In New England, Mary (Kelly) married Jean (Baptiste) Edmunds (see this name) of Ireland in 1693. With a young daughter, they came to New France as captives 1695, and lived in Québec where they had several more children. Marie died in Québec in 1741.
Eliot, Enoch	Alliot	Québec	?1707-1712	Oyster-River, New Hampshire	NANF, 127	He was probably taken in 1707 by French and Abenakis. He boarded with a Madame Langlais. He may have known Edward Fletcher (see this name): an "Alliot" attended Fletcher's wedding to Abigail Pitman Willey in 1710.
Emerson, Judah	her maiden name was Davis	St.-François-du-Lac?	1694-about 1699	Oyster River	NEC 1: 274	She was married to Captain Samuel Emerson. She was ransomed by a "Mr. Morrill" for two shirts, one of which he took off his back. She may have returned to Portsmouth. Local tradition relates that her husband believed her dead and was in Portsmouth arranging his second marriage when he met a friend in a bar who, on a wager, took him to meet his wife.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Eustache, Marie-Anne	dite Eustache	Saint-François at Ile-Jésus	1703-1717	New England	NANF, 128; Jetté, 580	She was probably captured by French and Indians in New England; her name and place of origin are not known. She was quickly ransomed by Louis Odet De Piercot, a military officer. She was baptized in 1704. She marrried Gabriel Huneault, a master cooper, in 1716. In 1717 Marie-Anne died after the birth of a son.
Eylson, Bonaventure		Cap Santé, Chambly	1690-1716	England	LE, 136; Jetté, 408	He came to New France as a Récollet in 1690. He was at Cap Santé in 1706. From 1707-1708 he was at Chambly. He drowned accidentally at Chambly in 1716.
Faller, Martin	dit Briasch, dit Brissac	Québec, fur posts	?1689-? 1693	Germany	LE, 137	He came to New France as a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. He became a voyageur. He made a will in 1692.
Farly, Antoine		Newfoundland, Québec, Montréal	1709 or before-before 1720	Ireland	LE, 137, Jetté, 412	He was a prisoner captured in Newfoundland. In 1710 he married Marie Bastien. The couple had one son. Antoine died before 1720.
Farnsworth, Mathias	Phaneuf, Fanef, Franeth, Faramont, Claude	Sault-au-Récollet on Ile-Montréal, Rivières-des-Prairies, Saint-Antoine-sur-le-Richelieu	1704-1773	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 128-29; NEC 1:290-92; Jetté, 909	He was about fourteen when he was taken in the attack on Deerfield. He lived with Indians in Sault-au-Récollet until he was ransomed by the Sulpicians in 1706. He worked for the Sulpicians and was naturalized in 1710. In 1711 he was granted a concession at Rivières-des-Prairies. In 1713 he married Catherine Charpentier. They had twelve children. He died at Saint-Antoine-sur-R

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						ichelieu in 1773.
Ferron, Marguerite		Neuville	1671-1706	Belgium	FR, 313	She came as a fille du roi. In 1671 she married Guillaume Bertrand. He was a servant in the home of Ruette d'Auteuil. The couple had eight children. She died in 1706 in Neuville.
Field, John		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:78	He was about four; he was captured with his mother and sister. He returned with his mother in 1706 (see Mary Field and Mary (Bennett) Field).
Field, Marguerite	Filde, Filis, Frinche, Sergent	Kahnawake, Montréal	1704-1741	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 129-30; NEC 2:78-80; Jetté, 1045	She was about three years old when she was captured. Marguerite is her baptismal name; her birth name is not known. She lived for 21 years with Mohawks, probably at Kahnawake, where she was baptized. She was ransomed by the French. She married Jean Serré dit Léveillé, a soldier in Portneuf's company. The wedding was attended by several soldiers and militia members, including Jacques Roy, Jean Roman dit sans crainte, Antoine le Jeune dit sans remission and Jean-Baptiste Queneville. They had eleven children. She died in Montréal in 1741.
Field, Mary		Montréal region mission	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 78	She was about seven. She married an Indian ("Walahowey"?), and became a Catholic. She visited her family in New England, and may have been a trader.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Field, Mary Bennett	Bennett,	Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 78	She was captured with a young son and daughter. She returned with her son in 1706.
Fisk, Daniel	Joseph, Joseph-Daniel Fisk	Beauport, Québec	1708-1738	?Lynn, Massachusetts or elsewhere in New England	NANF, 130; NEC 1:129; Jetté, 422	He was taken prisoner at the age of about ten to fourteen by the French and Indians in about 1708. He became a navigator. He abjured his religion in 1710, and was baptized the same year. He married Louise Savaria in 1712. They had two children. In 1713 he was naturalized. He died in Québec in 1738.
Fletcher, Edward	de Fletcher, Flécheur, Flechier, Deflecheur,Edouard	Québec	1708-1713	England, New England	NANF, 130-31; NEC 1:257-8, 128; Jetté, 422, 1134; LE 140	He was taken to Canada about 1708, and renounced his religion in 1710. In the same year, he married Abigail Marie-Louise Pitman Willey, from Piscataway, another captive. In 1713 he was naturalized. He and his wife may have been sent to New England on a prisoner exchange in 1713.
Fletcher, Pendleton		Saint-François-du-Lac, Montréal	1697-1704	Saco, Maine	NANF, 131; NEC 2:15-16	He was about thirty-one when he was taken prisoner by the French and Abenaki at Saco. He lived at the Saint-François-du-Lac mission for several years. Along with Jean Berger and fellow captive James Adams, he was accused of creating counterfeit card money in Montréal in 1704.
Fol, Jean		Sillery, Québec	1691	Ireland	LE, 141	He was a soldier.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Foote, -----		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1: 131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Foote, -----		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Foote, Mary		Sorel	1677	Hatfield	NEC 1: 131-36	Mary Foote was killed in captivity. (See Obadiah Dickinson)
Ford, Katharine	Catherine Ford	Montréal	1703-1705	Wells, Maine	NANF, 131	She was taken captive with her husband, James Adams, at Wells in 1703. Her husband was accused of making counterfeit card money in 1704. She and her husband were returned to New England in 1705. They moved to Deerfield.
French, Abigail		Kahnawake	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 87	She lived to adulthood in the Iroquois mission.
French, Freedom	Freinche, Fern, Daveluy, Marie-Françoise	Montréal	1704-1757	Deerfield	NEC 1: 115, 125-27, 231; NEC 2: 34, 71-87; Jetté, 443, 311.	She was about twelve when she was captured by French and Indians at Deerfield. She was ransomed by Jean-Jacques Lebé, a Montréal merchant. She was baptized in 1706, and naturalized in 1710. Her godfather was Louis Thomas de Joncquaire; her godmother was Lebé's wife, Françoise LeMaitre. She married mason Jean Daveluy dit Larose in 1713. Charles Guillemin, Jean Roy and Paul Daveluy attended the wedding. The couple had eleven children.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
French, Martha	Marthe-Marguerite, Frenche, Inn, Frens	Montréal, Saint-Laurent	1704-1762	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 133-34; NEC 1:83-87; Jetté, 443, 1022	She was eight years old when she was captured in the raid on Deerfield. She lived for two years with an Indian group, then was ransomed by Montréal merchant Antoine Pacaud. She was given to the Congrégation Notre-Dame. In 1707 she was baptized. Her godfather was Clairambault d'Aigremont, her godmother was Marguerite Bouat. In 1710 she was naturalized. She married weaver Jacques Roy dit Saint-Lambert in 1711. Jacques of the son of Pierre Roy of La Prairie, in whose house fellow captive Elizabeth Corse lived. Jean Bouillet de la Chassaigne, Alphonse de Tonti, Pierre Roy and Clement Lerizy attended the wedding. Fellow captive Elizabeth Corse, Martha's cousin, lived with Pierre Roy's family. The couple had ten children. After Jacques' death she married Jean-Louis Ménard, a weaver. With her second husband, Martha had three children, for a total of thirteen. Her grandson, son of Marie-Louise Ménard, became Joseph-Octave Plessis, bishop of Québec. Two of her sons visited western Massachusetts in 1751. She died in Montréal in 1762.
French, Mary		Montréal region	1704-before 1711	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 80-82	She was seventeen when she was captured with her family.
French, Thomas		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 80-81	He was the father of a family who were all captured. His wife and infant son were killed en route.

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French, Thomas, Jr.		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 80-82	He was about fourteen and the oldest son of Thomas French (see this name); he returned in 1706.
Freté, Marie-Marguerite Poitiers		Montréal, Saint-Laurent	1699-1748	Esopus	NANF, 134; Jetté, 444	She was born in Canada but traveled with her parents to Esopus when she was under a year old. She married François Freté in New York and returned to New France in 1699 where she died in 1748. This couple had six children, the first born in Esopus (see Freté, Poitiers).
Freté, François	Ferté dit Lamothe	Montréal	1699-1734	France via Esopus, New York	NANF, 134; Jetté, 444	He was born in 1668, near Niort in France. His route to New France is unclear. He may have arrived in New France as a soldier in the Carignan-Salières regiment, or as a Huguenot who settled in New England or New York. In about 1696 he married Marie-Marguerite Poitiers in Esopus, New York. In 1699 they emigrated to New France with their young son. In 1699 François renounced his faith. The couple had five more children in New France. Their marriage in Esopus may have been conducted by Father Hans, as it was not revalidated in Montréal. François died in 1734 in Montréal.
Freté, Jean-Baptiste	Ferté dit Lamothe	Montréal, Saint-Laurent	1699-after 1734	Esopus, New York	NANF, 134; Jetté, 444	Born in 1697, he was François Freté's son (see this name). He was baptized in New York and again, in 1699, in Montréal. He lived with his parents until 1706, when he appears to be in Saint-Laurent.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Fry, Joseph	André?, Fray, French, Franche dit Laframboise	Montréal, Pointe-Claire	1695-1750	Kittery, Maine	NANF, 135; NEC 1: 383-388; Jetté, 441	About fifteen years old when he was taken in the attack on Kittery in 1695, he lived for eleven years with an Indian group near Montréal. In 1707 he married Thérèse Varin, a marriage which was later annulled. In 1710 he was naturalized. He was a farmer. In 1713 he married Louise Bigras. He received a concession of land from the Sulpicians betwen Lachine and Pointe-Claire. The couple had twelve children. He died at Pointe-Claire in 1750.
Fry, Richard	Pré, Dupré dit Richard	Trois-Rivières	1705-1765	Newfoundland	NANF, 135; Jetté, 445	He was taken in the attack on Newfoundland by Auger de Subercase. He worked in the service of Michel Godefroy De Linctot at Trois-Rivières. In 1708, he renounced Protestantism; in 1723 he married Louise Pothier. They had four children. He died at Trois-Rivières in 1765.
Gallucia, Daniel	Galusiah, Galichon, Galluschq	Montréal	1706	Jersey Isle, then Dunstable, Massachusetts	LE, 145; NANF, 136; NEC 1:328-29; Jetté, 460	He was taken prisoner at Dunstable. His daughter was killed in the attack. He was hospitalized at the Hôtel-Dieu in Montréal where he renounced his "independent" religion. He died in 1706 in Montréal.
Geaux, Jean	dit l'Irlande	Saint-Laurent, Sainte-Geneviève, Montréal	?1712-1734	Ireland	LE, 146; Jetté, 482-83	His parents have French names and may have been of French origin. They lived in Ireland. He came as a soldier in the troupes de la Marine. He married Jeanne Verret in 1723. The couple lived in Sainte-Geneviève and Montréal; they had no children. He died in Montréal.

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Gerlaise, De, Jean-Jacques	dit Saint-Amand	l'Ange-Gardien, la Rivière-du-Loup en haut (Louiseville)	1665-1722	Flanders	LE, 147; Jetté, 489	He came as a soldier. In 1667 or shortly thereafter he married Jeanne Trudel. Jean-Jacques and Jeanne were some of the first settlers in the Rivière-du-Loup en haut. They had nine children. He died there in 1722.
Gerrish, Sarah		Québec	1689-1690	Cocheco (Dover), New Hampshire	NANF, 136; NEC 1:144-45	She was taken captive at the age of seven in 1689 by the Abenakis. She spoke English, French and Abenaki. She was taken in by the Hôtel-Dieu and baptized about 1690. She returned to New England in a prisoner exchange after the English were defeated at Québec.
Gill, Rosalie James	Rosalie James	Saint-François-du-Lac	1707-?	New England	NEC 1: 361-65	She married fellow captive Samuel Gill, the couple had five children.
Gill, Samuel	Joseph	Saint-François-du-Lac	1697-1758	Salisbury, Massachusetts	NANF, 136-37; NEC 1:361-65	He was about ten years old when he was taken prisoner by the Abenakis. He was raised at Saint-François-du-Lac. He became an interpreter, and married Rosalie (?James), a fellow captive. They had five children. He died at Saint-François-du-Lac in 1758. His children and grandchildren petitioned in 1768 in an attempt to locate their New England relatives. One of his sons became a chief. His grandsons attended the Hanover, New Hampshire Wheelock school for natives (forerunner of Dartmouth College).

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Gillett, John	Gillit	Montréal, France, England	1696-1698	Deerfield	NEC 2:36-27	He "worked as a servt [servant] to ye Nuns at their Farm," perhaps at Lac St. Joseph. He was sent as a prisoner to "old ffrance" and then to England, where he lived "by the Charitie of Some English Marcts [merchants]." He returned home without money or a change of clothes.
Gilman, Andrew	Killman, Kilman	Chambly	1709	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 371-72	He was nineteen; he returned to marry in New England.
Gilman, Jacob	Gillman	Montréal	1710-1713	Kingston, New Hampshire	NANF, 137; NEC: 1, 374-75	He was taken prisoner in the attack on Kingston with Philip Huntoon.
Gilman, Jacob	Killman	Montréal	1710	Kingston, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 374-75	After he built a sawmill near Montréal, he was allowed to return to New England.
Gilman, Jeremiah	Killman, Kilman	Chambly?	1709	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 371-72	Two of three stories told about him, including a contemporary written account, say that he was burned by the Indians. Martin Kellogg buried him.
Girard, Jean	Gérardin dit Deraine	Québec, Charlesbourg, l'Ancienne Lorette	1693-1725	Netherlands	LE, 148-49; Jetté, 500	He was a sailor. He married in 1693 in a marriage that was quickly annulled. In 1694 he married Dorothée Rancin in Québec. When she died in 1702, she left him with six young children. In 1704 he married Catherine Bourret in Charlesbourg. The couple lived in Québec and l'Ancienne-Lorette. They had nine children. Jean died in

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						l'Ancienne-Lorette in 1725.
Glasher, Mary	Glasser	Québec?	1697-1698?	Lancaster	NEC 1:308	She returned on the Province Galley.
Godefroy d'Herbery, Théodore		Québec, Ile-d'Orléans, Sante-Anne-de-Beaupré	1689-1727	Germany	LE, 149	He was ordained a priest in Québec in 1689. He served several parishes, and died in 1727.
Goodwin, Mehitable	Mehetabel, Esther; Hitobel Goodin, Marie Esther Gouden	Montréal	1690 (March)-1695	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1:182-86	She was captured with her husband. The couple was separated in Canada. She worked for Madame de la Nauguiere /la Naudière; she was baptized in Montréal in 1693. She was ransomed in 1695.
Grant, Martha	Smith, Grant, Mills	Saint-François-du-Lac, Montréal	1690-1698	Salmon Falls	NANF, 170-71; NEC 1:186-87	She was born Martha Mills, married first James Smith and, after his death, Christopher Grant. She and her son (John Smith) were taken in the attack on Salmon Falls by Abenakis. Her husband was killed in the attack. She was ransomed by Jean Crevier, and baptized in 1693. She returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Gray, George		Saint-François-du-Lac, Montréal, Québec	1689-1702	Kittery, Maine	NANF, 137-38; NEC 1:379; Jetté, 525; ANQM TL 4, S1, 23 dec. 1702	He was taken by Abenakis in 1689 at the age of about fourteen. He probably lived with the Abenakis; he was baptized at St-François-du-Lac in 1691. He was ransomed by Jean Crevier, whom he served as a servant. He lived with Philippe Robitaille and Philippe's wife, fellow captive Madeleine Warren. He

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						had fellow captive Paul Otis as a friend. He helped build a canal, was apparently a carpenter, was in debt, and was building a house when he died "in the woods" near Montréal in 1702.
Greenhill, Joseph	Grechill, Greenill, Grennill, Grenil	Montréal, Québec, Batiscan	1708-1743 or earlier	England, New England	LE, 152; Jetté, 525; NEC 1: 129, 2: 82; NANF 138	He was taken prisoner by the Abenakis in 1708, when he was about twenty-two years old. He worked as a shoemaker in New France. In 1709 he renounced the Anglican religion. In 1711 he married Marie-Louise Paille in Montréal. He was naturalized in 1713. The couple moved to Québec and later to Batiscan; they had four children. They may have returned to New England after 1718.
Grenaille, François		Québec	1670	Portugal	LE, 152	He was a sailor. He was confirmed by Bishop Laval in 1670.
Grothoin, Jean		Québec	1708-1709	England, New England	LE, 153	He was captured in New England. He renounced his faith in 1709.
Gueret, Anne	Garret	Québec	1690-1695	New England	NANF, 139	She was hospitalized at the Hôtel-Dieu in Québec in 1693.
Gyles, John		Meductic	1689-1698	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1: 167-72	He was about twelve years old when he was taken in an attack in which his father died. His mother and sisters were taken to Penobscot and released. One brother was captured, escaped and was recaptured; he was tortured and died at Penobscot in 1692. John was taken by a Maliseet to Meductic (Lower

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Woodstock, New Brunswick). He was sold to a French couple, with whom he lived for three years. This couple had already bought, and freed, two other English captives. In 1696, while his French master was in France, the English attacked. John assisted his mistress in return for his freedom. His adoptive father gave him the money for passage to Boston, where he arrived in 1698. He understood native languages, and was respected by the Indians. He became an interpreter, trader and guide.
Gérault, Antoine	dit Violette	Rivière-Saint-Jean	1643	Switzerland	LE, 147	He was hired to work for Charles de Saint-Étienne.
Hall, Edward		Montréal?	1704-1705 or later	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:369-70	He built a sawmill for the French and felt that, as a result of this, he was well treated, and allowed the liberty of hunting. One day he and a fellow captive from Exeter, Samuel Mighell (see this name), "resolved to hunt for home." They traveled for three weeks living on "lily roots and the rind of trees." Edward pushed on to Deerfield after Samuel stopped from fatigue and hunger. Deerfield men returned to rescue Samuel.
Hammond, Joseph	Hamands	Québec	1695	Piscataway, Maine	NEC 1: 388	He was ransomed by Frontenac and returned home the same year.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hammons, Patience	Marie Françoise, Hammond, Hamons	Québec, Montréal	1705-1714	Eliot, Kittery, Maine	NEC 1: 388-89; NANF, 140; Jetté, 556	She was about seventeen years old when she was captured by Abenakis. She lived with them for about two years. She was taken to Québec and then to Montréal, where she was baptized in 1707. Her godfather was François le Verrier; also present was his wife, Charlotte de Fleury, representing Louise Douare de Bondy. She was naturalized in 1710. She returned to New England in 1714.
Hanson, Elizabeth	Handson	St.-François-du-Lac?	1689	Cocheco (Dover)	NEC 1:146	Her fate is unknown.
Harmon, Johnson		Québec, Montréal? Chambly	1710-1711	Winter Harbor (near York)	NEC 1: 247-50	He was about thirty years old when he was captured. He returned via Chambly and Albany as part of an effort by Vaudreuil to ransom one of his officers from Boston. He later served as an interpreter and officer in New England's wars against the French and Indians.
Harris, Mary		Kahnawake	1704-1756 or later	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 87-88	She was about nine when captured; she lived and married at the Iroquois mission. She may have traveled to Ohio. Two of her children visited Connecticut in 1744.
Hasting, Samuel	Hastinger, Joseph	Cap-Saint-Ignace, Côte-de-Beaupré	1704	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 141; NEC 2:88	He was one of the soldiers sent to Deerfield to guard against attack. He lived with an Indian group before being ransomed by the French. He was baptized and renounced Calvinism in 1706 (apparently in that order, he was gravely ill when baptized). In 1710 he

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						was naturalized. In 1712 he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Haynes, Jonathan	Joseph, Hains, Hins, Hind, Hayes, Ains	Cap-Saint-Ignace, Saint-Thomas	1696-1745	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NANF, 141; NEC 1:340-42; Jetté, 553	He was eleven when he and his brother and father were taken captive by Abenakis in 1696. For more than ten years he was raised by the Abenakis in northern Maine. When he left that group, or was freed, he traveled to New France and requested naturalization, which he obtained in 1710. In 1712 he married Marie Pauzé. He was a carpenter. They had at least eight children.
Haynes, Joseph	Hains, Hins, Hind, Hayes, Ains	Côte-de-Beaupré, Québec, Sainte-Foy	1696-1756	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NANF, 141-42; NEC 1:340-42; Jetté, 552	He was about seven when he and his brother and father were taken captive by Abenakis. His father died in captivity. He was raised by the Abenakis and baptized. In 1706 he was sent to New France. He was a laborer. He married Marguerite Marois in 1710. He was naturalized in 1710, a few months after this marriage. The couple had five children before her death in 1717. He married Dorothée Lessard in 1718. They had five children before her death in 1724. In 1726 he married Marie-Françoise Pinel. They had two children before her death in 1726. He became a master cabinet-maker (menuisier) and married Catherine Migneron in 1732. With Catherine he had ten additional children. He died in Québec in 1756, having had a total of twenty-two children. He may not have encountered his brother again, who lived at Montmagny on the south shore of the Saint Lawrence River.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Haynes, Mary	Hains, Ains	Québec	1696-1697	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1:340-41	She was nineteen when she was captured with her family. Family tradition states that she lived with the Abenaki in Pennacook for a winter and then was sold to the French. She was ransomed with "a hundred pounds of tobacco carried north on a hand-sled."
Heard, Hannah	Ann, Anne, Herde, Herd dit Provost, Herd dit Prévost	Montréal, Pointe-Claire, Bout-de-l'Isle	1692-1750	York, Maine	NANF 142-43; NEC 1:221-34; Jetté, 250-51, 1034	She was about eleven when she was captured at York (Maine) January 25, 1692. From Cocheco, she may have been visiting York at the time of the attack. This raid was probably conducted by Abenakis, Mahicans and Schagticoke Indians. She lived with Indians until she was ransomed by Pierre Prud'homme, master-armorer, for whom she was a servant. In 1694 she was baptized. In 1705 she married weaver Sébastien Cholet. She was naturalized in 1710. The couple had eleven children. Freedom French, another captive, was godmother of one of her children. In 1730, after the death of Sébastien, she married Claude Sancart dit le Petit Picard. She died in Pointe-Claire in 1750.
Hennepin, Louis	Antoine	Saint Lawrence River valley; also Louisiana, Québec	1675-1681	Belgium	LE, 158-59; Jetté, 564	He was a Récollet priest who travelled with de La Salle.
Hennet, François	dit Sanschagrain	Ohio, Fort-de-Chartres	1720?-1746	Switzerland	LE, 159	He may have arrived in New France as a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. Before 1723 he married Marie-Anne Charpin, in Ohio. He became a roofer in Fort-de-Châtres, where he died in

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						1746.
Higiman, Dennis	Hegeman, Egman, Higgiman, Denys	Québec	1687-1695	Long Island, New York, then Pemaquid, Maine	NANF, 143; NEC 1:172-73; Jetté, 401	He was perhaps Dutch. He and his wife were taken captive at Pemaquid in 1687 and taken to Penobscot, a large settlement of Eastern Abenakis. After three years there, they were ransomed by the French and taken to Québec where they baptized a son, Joseph. In 1695 they returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange. See Grace Higiman and Joseph Egman.
Higiman, Grace	Hegeman, Darling, Gres, Dalain, Egman	Québec, Port Royal	1689-1695	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1:172-73	She was taken by a large group of Eastern Abenakis to Penobscot, where she lived with a master named Eskeon for three years. The Indians took her to Québec, where she was given room, board, and necessities, as well as the liberty to work. She lived in Québec, probably with her husband, for two and a half years, during which time she had a child. She left Québec in 1694 and returned to Boston by sea via Port-Royal in 1695. See Dennis Higiman and Joseph Egman.
Higiman, Jane	Higgaman	Sr.-François-du-Lac	1689-1695 or 1699	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1:172-73	She was recorded as "yett in the Indians Hands in [1699]."
Higman, Joseph	Higiman	Québec	1693-1695	Pemaquid, Maine	NANF, 143, NEC 1: 172-73, Jetté, 401	The son of Grace and Dennis Higiman (see these names) he was born in captivity and baptized in Québec. He returned to New England with his parents in 1695.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hill, Abiah	Abiel, Abigail, Abihail	Québec	1703-1706	Saco, Maine	NEC 2: 17-19	She was taken with her husband (see Ebenezer Hill).
Hill, Ebenezer		Québec	1703-1706	Saco, Maine	NEC 2:17-19	He and his wife and child were taken from Saco. A daughter, Dorothy, was born in Canada. Another son, conceived in Canada but born in Portsmouth after their return, was named Ebenezer but was called, when he became older, "the Frenchman."
Hill, Elizabeth		Québec	1703-1706	Wells	NEC 1:399-401	She and her husband and children were taken, they were ransomed in 1706 (see Samuel Hill).
Hill, Elizabeth		Québec	1703-1706	Wells	NEC 1:399-401	She was taken in an attack with her parents and a brother; younger siblings were killed because they could not make the journey (see Samuel Hill).
Hill, Samuel		Québec	1703-1706	Wells	NEC 1: 399-401	He was perhaps about five years old, younger siblings were killed in the attack because they could not make the journey (see Samuel Hill).
Hill, Samuel		Québec	1703-1706	Wells	NEC 1:401-403	He was captured with his wife and children. He was used as an envoy to Boston in 1705 but returned later that year to take his family and other prisoners home.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hinsdale, Mary		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 89	She was taken with her husband, Mehuman. A child born on the voyage home was baptized in Boston.
Hinsdale, Mehuman	Isdein, Hinsdell, Menhuman, Mehumain	Québec, l'Ange-Gardien	1704-1706 and 1709-1712	Deerfield, Massachusetts then Hatfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 143-44; NEC 1: 89-90	Mehuman was the first child born in Deerfield, it is possible that his father was Jewish. He was captured twice. The first time he was captured at Deerfield with his wife, Mary. Their only son was killed in the attack. Mehuman's father, grandfather and two uncles were also killed (at Bloody Brook). A son, born in captivity, was later baptized in Boston. Mary died in 1706, either in Canada or in New England. Mehuman returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1706. In 1709 he was bringing a load of apple trees from Northampton when he was captured by two Indians in Hatfield North Meadows. He was taken to Sault Saint-Louis where he ran the gauntlet and then was interrogated and imprisoned. He witnessed a marriage at the home of Pierre Trudel. He was returned to New England via France and England in 1712. He attempted to ransom other captives.
Hoc, Jean-Baptiste	dit Jolicoeur, Hoche, Houé, Houay, Ohé, Ouhé, Jolicoeur	Point-aux-Trembles, Montréal	before 1700-1741	Ireland	LE, 160; Jetté, 573	He arrived in New France as a soldier. In 1704 he married Élisabeth Olivier. He was naturalized in 1710. The couple began farming in Montréal, and had six children. Jean-Baptiste died in Montréal in 1741.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hollon, Jean		Montréal	1709-1713	Ireland	LE, 162	He arrived as a prisoner of war from English territory. He was naturalized in 1710.
Holsworth, Abel		Québec	1709-1713	England	LE, 162; Jetté, 570	He arrived as a prisoner of war, possibly from Acadia. He renounced his faith in 1713. He married Jeanne Durand in 1713, a marriage that was annulled the same year.
Honybin, Joseph		Cap St.-Ignace	?1720-1721	New England	NANF, 144	He was in New France by January 3, 1721, when he was a godfather at a baptism at Cap St.-Ignace.
Hostin, Mary	Marie Élisabeth, Élisabeth-Élisabeth, Austin, Osten, Haustin, Astin, Haustein	Québec, Montréal	1692-1755	York, Maine	NANF, 144-45; NEC 1: 230-31; Jetté 494, 1143	She was about four years old when was taken in the January 25 attack on York by Abenakis. She was raised in an Abenaki settlement in Maine for two years. In 1694 she was ransomed by Jean-François Hazeur. She was baptized in 1694. In 1710 she married Étienne Gibault, cabinet maker (menuisier), the couple lived in Montréal and had nine children. Étienne went west often after 1735. Mary died in Montréal in 1755.
Houssy, Jean	dit Bellerose, dit l'Irlande	Chambly, Québec	1655-before 1674	Ireland	LE, 163-4; Jetté, 574	He arrived as a soldier, and married Marguerite Provilieu in Québec in 1672. She was a fille du roi. In 1669 he was confirmed at the fort at Chambly. He also had an illegitimate child (or second marriage?) in 1674. The child's mother was Marie Grandpart.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hovey, James	Havy, Houey	Québec	1707-1712	Malden, Massachusetts	NANF, 145; NEC 2:397-98; Jetté, 559	He was about eight years old when he was captured at Malden. He spent two years with the Abenakis. He was ransomed in 1709, perhaps by François-Mathieu Martin de Lino, a Québec merchant. In the same year, he was baptized. He was part of a prisoner exchange in 1712 or 1713, when he returned to New England.
Howe, Elizabeth		Québec? St. François?	1692-1696	Marlboro, Lancaster	NEC 1: 306-307	She was seventeen at the time of her capture. Although she lived in Marlboro she was visiting her sister in Lancaster. She was taken with one of her nephews. Her sister, an older woman who boarded with them and three of her sister's children were killed. After she returned to Massachusetts she married and had five children. Her New England neighbors observed that she maintained certain native customs (such as sitting on the floor) and also that she never recovered from the shock of her captivity.
Hoyt, Abigail		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 91	She was captured with many of her children, her husband was killed.
Hoyt, Jonathan	Johnathan	Lorette	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 82, 2:34,91; Calloway 1997, 56-59	Jonathan was captured with his family when he was about fifteen. Massachusetts envoys saw Jonathan in Québec selling vegetables with his native master, and redeemed him, against the master's will. Jonathan may have had Huron Thaovenhosen as his master. Thaovenhosen visited Jonathan often after Jonathan returned to Deerfield.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hoyt, Sarah		Lorette	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 91	She married fellow captive Ebenezer Nims at Lorette.
Hudson, Elizabeth		Québec?	1697-1698 or later	Lancaster	NEC 1: 308-309	She was thirty-nine when she was taken.
Hudson, Joanna		Québec?	1697-1698 or later	Lancaster	NEC 1: 308-309	She was thirty-seven when she was taken.
Huggins, Margaret		Trois-Rivières, Montréal	1704-1706 or later	Pascomuck (East Hampton), Massachusetts	NEC 1: 318-322, NANF, 145-46; NEC 1: 321-22; Jetté, 579	She was seventeen years old when she was taken by Abenakis at Pascomuck/Pascamack, near Northampton, Massachusetts. She may have been a domestic to Esther Jones (see this name). Captive Stephen Williams saw her at Coos. She was later taken to St. François, (where she lived at the native mission for three years), Trois-Rivières and Montréal. She was baptized in 1706 in Montréal. She was ransomed that year by Antoine de Crisafy, governor of Trois-Rivières. It is not known whether she returned to New England or remained in New France.
Hull, Elizabeth		Montréal region	1704-1707	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 112	She was about sixteen.
Huntoon, Philip		Montréal?	1710	Kingston, Massachusetts	NEC 1:374-75	He was captured with Jacob Gilman (see this name). Together they built a sawmill to buy their release.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hurst, Antoine Nicolas		Montréal?	1704-? 1710	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:92	He may have been exchanged in 1710.
Hurst, Ebenezer	Ebenezer-Antoine-Nicolas, Huss, Hust	Montréal	1704-1713	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 146; NEC 2: 97; Jetté, 585	He was about five years old when he was taken with his mother and siblings. He was ransomed by Jacques Charbonnier of Montréal. He was baptized in 1705. His godfather was Antoine Adhémar, his godmother was Marie Falmy. He was naturalized in 1710. In 1713 he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Hurst, Elizabeth	Huss, Hust	Québec, Montréal	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 147; NEC 2, 92-93; Jetté, 72, 585	She was the second oldest of six children taken into captivity with their mother in the raid on Deerfield. She was about sixteen years old. She lived with Indians for five years. She renounced her religion in 1709, and was naturalized in 1710. She married fellow captive Thomas Beecraft in 1712. The couple had two children in Montréal before returning to New England in 1714.
Hurst, Hannah	Hust, Marie Kaiennonni	Sault-au-Récollet, Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Oka)	1704-1721 or later	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 147; NEC 2: 96	She was about eight when she was captured with her family. She appears to have become assimilated into Mohawk culture. In 1710 she was naturalized, in 1712 she was baptized at Sault-au-Récollet. Her godmother was Marie Ka8ennaienni. The next day she married Michel Anenharison. Attending the wedding were Martin Tiok8anekane, Louis Tehorontisati and Philippe Tekara8eron. Her brother Thomas was at the mission twelve days before the wedding, and heard the bann (announcing an impending wedding).

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Soeur des Anges (fellow captive Mary Sayward) assured the priest that Hannah had often told her that she wished to live with the natives. The couple had at least one child. Her date of death is not known.
Hurst, Sarah		Montréal?	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:92	She was taken at Deerfield as a child with her mother and siblings. She was redeemed before 1710. She was named after her mother, also a captive. See Sarah Jeffreys Hurst.
Hurst, Sarah Jeffreys	Marie-Jeanne, Jeffreys, Gefferis, Guefferis	Montréal	1704- 1713	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 150;NEC 2:91-92	Sarah Jeffreys Hurst, 37, was the mother of the Hurst children. The youngest of her six children taken captive, Benjamin, two years old, was killed en route. She lived with Indians for a few months and then was taken to Montréal. She was baptized in 1705, naturalized in 1710. She married fellow captive Guillaume Perkins the same year, and was exchanged in 1713. Shoemakers Joseph Greenhill, Joseph Poupart dit La Fleur and Louis Price attended the wedding, along with Jacques ---? dit la Violette.
Hurst, Thomas	Hust, Huss, Hase	Sault-au-Récollet, Nôtre-Dame de Lorette, Montréal, Rivière-des-Prairies	1704-1742	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 147-48; NEC 2:93-96; Jetté, 585	He was about fourteen when he was captured with his family. He spent several years with Indians. He was baptized in 1706, naturalized in 1710. The sulpicians taught him a trade and loaned him money to purchase and furnish a home. His godfather was Jean-Baptiste de la Chassaigne, his godmother was Marie Élisabeth Le Moyne. He appears to have been

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						connected with the Charles Le Moyne family. In 1716 he married Marguerite Thibault dit Léveillé, the Sulpicians agreed to forgive his remaining debt provided he stayed in the country. His wife died the same year. Thomas received his concession from the Sulpicians on Rivière-des-Prairies before 1716 (perhaps as early as 1711) and another in 1721. In 1718 he married Francoise Rouleau. The couple had six children. He died in 1742.
Hurtado, Elizabeth	Élisabeth, Fortado, Fortatoe, Hortado, Louise	Montréal	1690-1695	Salmon-Falls, Maine	NANF, 148; NEC: 1:188-89; Jetté, 583	Elizabeth's father was Portuguese, her mother English. She was baptized in 1692 in Montréal, when she was about nine years old. She appears to have been connected with the Le Moyne de Maricourt and Claude Pothier families. She may have been the first captive baptized in Montréal.
Huré, Pierre	sieur de Fontenelle, Pierre Fontenelle	Québec	before 1699-1737	Belgium	LE, 164	He came to New France as an "engagé, " and later became a soldier. He died in Québec in 1737.
Hussey, James	Hazy	Kahnawake, Montréal	1695-1706 or later	Esopus, New York	NANF, 148-49; Jetté, 585	He was taken during the attack on Schenectady (Corlaer). He lived at Kahnawake for several years. He married Catherine Juillet in 1702. His date of death is not known.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Hutchins, Enoch		Sorel	1705-1706	York, Maine	NEC 1:391-93	He was sent back to Maine, and did not recognize his brother William (see this name) when William returned twenty-six years later.
Hutchins, Hopewell		Sorel	1705-1706	York, Maine	NEC 1:391-93	She gave birth to a daughter in Sorel and returned to Maine with her two younger sons, Thomas and Enoch.
Hutchins, Thomas		Sorel	1705-1706	York, Maine	NEC 1:391-93	He was sent back to Maine, and did not recognize his brother William (see this name) when he returned twenty-six years later.
Hutchins, William	Hatchin, Guillaume, Hatchin, Nicolas	Sorel, Batiscan, Montréal	1705-1733	York, Maine	NANF, 149; NEC 1: 391-93; Jetté, 559	He was about twelve when he was captured and taken to Canada with his mother, who was pregnant. After giving birth, she returned to New England. He was baptized in 1708, and lived with Nicolas Duclos, seigneur of Batiscan. In 1710 he was naturalized. He returned to Kittery (where his mother had remarried) in 1733. As his father had died, he attempted to claim his share of his father's estate, a claim that was contested in court by his brothers, who did not recognize him, or did not choose to. His mother identified him as her son by asking him questions to which only he would know the answer, apparently not recognizing him, either. Eventually, he proved his identity, and received his inheritance.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Irwin, Marie	Mère Conception	Québec	1657-1687	Scotland	LE, 164; Jetté, 586	She emigrated from Scotland to Dieppe in Normandy, where she took her vows. She arrived in New France as an Hospitalière. She died in Québec in 1687.
Jacquiez, Jean	dit Leblond, Jacqueze, Jacques, Jacquiers	Montréal, Trois-Rivières, Yamaska, Sorel	1712-1723	Flanders	LE, 166; Jetté, 589	He was a painter and a sculptor. His work was done in the church of the Ursulines at Trois-Rivières, the church at Yamaska, and perhaps other locations in Montréal and Sorel. In 1715 he married Marie-Catherine Guillemot. He died in Montréal in 1723.
Jamare, Marie		Québec	before 1656-1657 or later	Flanders	LE, 166; Jetté, 399	She married Pierre Duval in 1656 in Québec. He drowned there the following year.
James, Guillaume	William, dit Langlais, Jacques, Gemes, Jems, Degemes, Jamesie	Newfoundland, Montréal, Chateauguay, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Oka, Rivières-des-Prairies	1697-1722	England	LE, 166; Jetté, 590	Captured at Baie Verte in Newfoundland, he was taken to Montréal, where he lived with Sulpician Léonard Chaigneau. In 1703 he married Catherine Limousin. They had eight children. He was naturalized in 1710. He died in Rivières-des-Prairies in 1722.
Jeanne, Edward	James, Jean Edouard	Québec	1690-1694	England (New England?)	LE, 167	He may have arrived with Phips in 1690.
Jeffry, Thomas	Geoffroy, Jeffrey	Québec, Charlesbourg	1709-1727	England	LE, 168; Jetté, 597	A prisoner of war, he arrived in 1709 or 1710. He renounced his faith in 1712, he was naturalized in 1713. He married Jeanne Salois in 1712. Of seven children, two survived. He became a

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						farmer in Charlesbourg.
Jenkill, Marguerite-Renée	Geanque	Montréal	1719	New England	Jetté, 1129	She was of English origin. She married Charles-Michel Villiers in New England in 1718 or before. He had been in Montréal in 1709. They moved to Montréal and baptized a son in 1719.
Jenkins, Ann		St. François du Lac?	1694-1695	Oyster River	NEC 1: 275-76	Her husband and mother-in-law and one child were killed. She was captured with three children. She lived with Indians, traveling during the winter with a small group. Her master Bomozeen sold her to Waxaway. After her return she remarried, and her new family was attacked by Indians in 1708.
Jenkins, Azariah		Québec?	1694-1711 or later	Oyster River	NEC 1: 275-76	His name appears on a list of prisoners in 1711.
Jennings, Hannah		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1: 131-36	She had a child while in captivity, whom she named Captivity Jennings (see Obadiah Dickinson).
Jennings/Gillet, child		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Jennings/Gillett, child		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Jeryan, Dorothy	Mère Saint-Joseph	Saint-François-du-Lac, Québec	1708-1759	Boston and Haverhill, Massachusetts	NANF, 151; NEC 2: 389-90; Jetté, 598	When she was about four years old, she was taken by Abenakis at Haverhill, and lived with them at Saint-François-du-Lac. She was baptized there before 1719. She was ransomed by Père Aubéry in 1719, and given to the Ursulines of Québec. She took her vows in 1722 as Mère Saint-Joseph. She died in Québec in September, 1759.
Jones, Esther	Ingheston, Ingersoll	Montréal	1705	Northampton, Massachusetts	NANF, 149-50; NEC 1:318-321; Jetté, 586	She was forty years old when her husband and two children were killed, and she was taken captive, in the attack on Poscomuck and Northampton. Captive Stephen Williams saw her in Coos. She was ransomed by the Jesuits and taken to the Hôpital-Général in Montréal. She renounced her religion there and died in 1705.
Jones, Jean-Baptiste	Joan, Ducas, Duca	Québec, Lauzon, Saint-Laurent, Ile-d'Orléans, Saint-Joseph-de-la-Pointe-de-Lévis	1706-1768	New England	NANF, 152; Jetté, 372	He came to New France by 1706, and was bought by Joseph Delestre. He was baptized in 1708. Using the name Jean-Baptiste Ducas, he married Marie-Louise Carufel in 1715. The couple had nine children. He died in 1768 in Saint-Joseph-de-la-Pointe-de-Lévis, at the age of either 97 or 100.
Jordan, Deborah	Bickford	Saint-François	1703-1706	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2:25-30	She was captured with her husband Jeremiah Jordan (see this name). She returned after three years. Their two young children were cared for by friends until her return. Her husband's return took many more years, during which time she thought she was a widow.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Jordan, Dominicus, Jr.		Trois-Rivières	1703-1723	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2: 25-30	He was about twenty years old when he was captured in an attack in which his father was killed, and his mother (Hannah Jordan, see this name) and his five siblings (Samuel, Mary Ann, Elizabeth, Hannah and Nathaniel, see these names) were taken captive along with his father's brother and his wife (see Jeremiah and Deborah Jordan). He eventually escaped and returned home.
Jordan, Elizabeth		Saint-François, Trois-Rivières	1703-1706?	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2:25-29; 147-51	See Dominicus Jordan, Jr. She was thirteen when she was captured along with many members of her family. She was ransomed, and returned to marry another who had been captive, Humphrey Scammon (the younger, see this name). The eldest of their eight children, Mary, was visiting Scarborough in 1723 and was captured there. She was taken to Trois-Rivières. After Elizabeth's death in 1734 Mary married Louis- Joseph Godefroi de Tonnancourt in Trois-Rivières, had four children and died in Canada.
Jordan, Hannah		Saint-François	1703-1706?	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2:25-30	She was ten years old when she was taken in an attack where most of her family was captured, see Dominicus Jordan, Jr.
Jordan, Jeremiah	Gabriel?	Saint-François, France	1703-1713?	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2: 25-30	He was forty when he was captured in an attack during which most of his extended family was captured or killed. With him were captured his wife Deborah, his brother's wife and her six children (see Dominicus Jordan, Jr.).

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						He lived with the Indians and also went to France. He was not recognized on his return and had to show scars on his chest to prove his identity. He was known as "French Jeremy."
Jordan, Mary Ann	Arabella, Marie-Anne, Jordain	Saint-François, Trois-Rivières	1703-1761 or later	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2: 25-30; 147-51	She was about sixteen when she was captured with most of her family (see Dominicus Jordan, Jr.); she was taken by the Abenakis. She lived with Madame de Boulanger de Saint-Pierre and later with M. de Tonnancour who had married her niece, Mary Scammon, who had been taken captive in 1723. Mary Ann was an interpreter. She was naturalized in 1737. She probably died in Canada.
Jordan, Nathaniel		Saint-François	1703-1710 or later	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2: 25-30	He was about seven years old when he was captured with most of his family (see Dominicus Jordan, Jr.).
Jordan, Samuel		Trois-Rivières	1703-1710	Cape Elizabeth	NEC 2: 25-30	He was nineteen when he was captured with most of his family (see Dominicus Jordan, Jr.); he lived for six years with the natives and for one year with the French. He returned with a native woman, Molly Mun, as a guide. Natives visited him often after he returned. He became an interpreter.
Jordan, Thomas	Jourdain, Jardin	Québec, l'Ancienne-Lorette	before 1702-before 1730	Ireland	LE, 170; Jetté, 609	He probably arrived as a prisoner of war. He married Anne Fontaine in 1702. Of ten children, three lived. He was naturalized in 1710.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Joublin, Jean		Montréal	1714	England	NEC 1:207	He was a prisoner of war. He was accused of making card money with Jean Lahaie (see this name) in 1714.
Karesquil, Bernard	Carestille	Lachine, Montréal	1684-1690 or later	Spain	LE, 171; Jetté, 617	He came as a soldier. He married Jeanne Guitelle, the couple had two children.
Kellogg, Joanna		Sault Saint-Louis	1704-1720 or later	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:100-101	She was eleven when she was captured. She married a Sault Indian and had at least seven children. She returned to Wethersfield, Connecticut several times to visit her brother Martin. One contemporary source noted she was married to sachem Hendrich/Hendrick.
Kellogg, Joseph		Saint-Nicolas	1704-? 1713	New England	NANF, 154	He was a servant of Joseph Jérémie in Saint-Nicolas. He was baptized in 1706. He may have returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange. He was probably not a sibling of the Kellogg family of Deerfield.
Kellogg, Joseph	Kallogg	Sault Saint-Louis	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 153; NEC 2:99-100; DCBIII:324-26	He was about twelve when he was captured. He learned Iroquois and French while living with the Indians. He left the mission in 1706. In 1710 he was naturalized. He also traveled that year with French and native explorers to the Mississippi River. He served as an interpreter for the French until 1714, when accompanied by his brother, Martin, he returned to New England. He became commander (1726-1740) and a trader at Fort Dummer (on the

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Connecticut River), where he recognized and traded with natives he had known before. He also attempted to ransom other captives, and made frequent trips to New France. He served New England armies as an interpreter and died in 1756 near Schenectady in the attack on Oswego. Of his time in New France he reported "I travelled two & fro amongst the French and Indians" learning "the French language as well as those of all the tribes of Indians I traded with, and the Mohawks, & had got into a very good way of business: So as to get Considerable of monies . . .& handsomely to support myself & was under no restraint at all." (NEC 2:99)
Kellogg, Martin, Jr. (Junior)	Kelcock	Sault Saint-Louis	1704-1705 and 1708 - 1710?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC: 2:97-99	He was about seventeen at the time of the raid on Deerfield. He was his father's son by a first marriage to Anna Hinsdale. He escaped with Joseph Petty in 1705. He was recaptured in 1708 while scouting near Cowass, in the upper Connecticut River. He was taken to Sault Saint-Louis where he lived in native lodging (tradition calls it a wigwam) with fellow captive Joseph Bartlett. Martin Kellogg already understood Iroquois, and he learned French as well. He sought and received compensation from the General Court for his captivity and "public service" -- probably interpreting, locating captives and scouting. He later housed and cared for Indian boys who were being educated at the Hollis School in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Kellogg, Martin, Sr. (Senior)		Montréal?	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:97	He was the father of the Kellogg family of Deerfield. His wife and eldest daughter were not captured in the attack, but a five-year-old child was killed. Martin, Sr. and four of his children were captured. Martin Sr. was ransomed in 1705 or 1706 and returned to New England.
Kellogg, Rebecca		Sault Saint-Louis?	1704-1729	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 101-102	She was eight years old at the time of the raid on Deerfield. She refused to return to New England when her brother came to ransom her. She agreed only reluctantly and insisted on having two native men accompany her. She had been baptized in Canada. She married, her husband was a teacher at the Stockbridge School, she became an interpreter there. At the end of her life she lived at the Indian village of Ouquaga (Windsor, New York) rather than in New England. She died there in 1757.
Kellogg, Samuel		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1: 131-32	He was eight years old, the oldest of thirteen children captured in this raid (see Obadiah Dickinson).
Kerklass, Peter	Pièrre	Montréal	1692-1695	Schenectady (Corlaer)	NANF, 154; Jetté, 617	His parents were possibly Dutch. He was captured in the attack on Schenectady. He was ransomed by Marguerite-Renée Denis, a widow, for whom he worked as a servant. He was baptized in 1694. He returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Key, Abigail	Kay, Keyt, Kess, Jenkill, Geanqui, Quee, Marguerite-Renée	Trois-Rivières, Montréal	1690-1751	Piscataquis, Maine	NANF, 154; NEC 1: 189-90; Jette, 735	She was young when she was taken captive by the Abenakis, with whom she lived for two years. She was ransomed by René Godefroy, who employed her as a servant. In 1693 she was baptized. In 1705 she married Charles-Michel l'Hullier/Lhuillier dit Chevalier. She was naturalized in 1710. They had four or five children.
Key, John		Québec?	1690-1695	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1: 189	The father of this family, he was ransomed in 1695.
Key, John, Jr.		Québec	1690-1695	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1: 189	He was ransomed along with his father in 1695.
Kimball, Abigail	Kemball, Trenbal, Tombal, Marie-Louise, Zemballe	Québec, Montréal	1697-1721	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NANF, 155; NEC 1:344; H&M 1992, 97, 253; Jetté 713; DCBIII:379	She was about eight years old when Haverhill was attacked. She lived with Indians for several years, and was baptized. In 1710 she was naturalized. She lived with the Ursulines at Québec. In 1715 she married fur merchant Jean-Alexis Lemoyne de Monière. He went west several times from 1710-1730. The couple had four children. Abigail conducted much of Jean-Alexis' business in his absence. She died in Montréal in 1721. For more on her life in Montréal, see Dechene, Habitants and Merchants, 1992, 97, 253 and 416n87.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
L'Homor, John		Saint-Joseph-de-la-Pointe-de-Lévis	1704-? 1713	New England	NANF, 155	His birth name is not known.
Ladd, Daniel		Québec	1698-1699	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1:345-46	He was twenty-two when captured by Abenakis in an attack during which his father was killed. He was tortured for an escape attempt. He later came to Québec and returned home on the Province Galley.
Laforge, Bonaventure		Québec	1702-1704 or later	York, Maine	NANF, 156	He was an infant when his parents took refuge in Québec. He was baptized in 1704.
Laforge, Daniel		Québec	1702-1704 or later	France, York Maine	NANF, 156; Jetté, 629	He may have been a Huguenot. When war was declared between France and England he and his family took refuge in New France.
Lahaie, Jean	dit Hibernois, Lehait, Laza, Laha, John Lahey, de la Haye, Leahy, Lehait dit Hibernois	Québec, Montréal, Côte St.-Laurent, Lachine	1690-1738	Ireland, New England?, Corlaer (Schenectady) New York	LE, 174; NEC 1:124-25,182n, 204-208; NANF, 156; Jetté, 631	He was baptized a Catholic in Ireland, professed the Puritan religion for a while (probably in New England) until, in 1690 he was taken prisoner by the French at Corlaer (Schenectady), where he lived among the Dutch. He was an employee or servant of a "M. le ber, Merchant, of Montréal" (Jacques Leber). He renounced his Protestantism in 1696. In 1697 he married fellow captive Mary Swarton (see this name), the couple had thirteen children. Jean became a farmer. The family lived in Côte Saint-Laurent, Montréal and Pointe-Claire, where Jean died in 1738. With an Englishman named Jean

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Joublin (see this name), Jean "la Haye" was accused of forging card money in 1714. He was imprisoned for what contemporaries considered a "long" time (perhaps several months? See birth records of his children, in 1711, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1717) before his trial. Many of Jean Lahaie's children were sponsored by other captives at their baptisms, including Adelaide (Marie) Silver of Haverhill, Margareth (Christine) Otis of Dover and Freedom French of Deerfield. Freedom may also have lived with Jacques Leber, and his wife was her godmother at her baptism, (NEC 2:81-83). (See Christine Otis, Freedom French and Adelaide Silver). This story appears to show a network of captives from New York/New England in Montréal, and some connection to the Leber family and to counterfeit money.
Lalande, Jean	De Lalande	Montréal	Intermittently beginning 1696, in residence 1707 or 1708-1732	France, New Jersey	NANF, 157; Jetté, 634	He was probably from France, and was perhaps a Huguenot. He appears to have maintained a residence in New Jersey simultaneously with being employed by Jean Turpin, a Montréal merchant. He was an interpreter. In 1708 he moved with his wife, Élisabeth Perrin, and children to Montréal. He was baptized in the Lake Champlain region (at Missisquoi?). He attended the wedding of Abigail Pitman Willey and Edward Fletcher in 1710. In 1721 their house was one of those burned in a large fire (see Perrin, Poupart, Lalande).

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Lalande, Jean	De Lalande	Québec, Montréal	1707 or 1708-1724	New Jersey	NANF, 157; Jetté, 634	He came with his parents, and was perhaps baptized in the Lake Champlain region. He married Élisabeth Gareau in 1719. His house was burned in 1721. This couple had four children. He died in New France before February 1724.
Lalande, Marie-Anne	De Lalande	Québec, Montréal	1707 or 1708-1739	New Jersey	NANF 157-58; Jetté, 165, 634	She came to New France with her family, she was perhaps baptized en route. In 1711 she married Pierre Brassard dit Deschesneau, shoemaker. They had eleven children. She died in Montréal in 1739.
Langeron, Joseph		Québec	1688-before 1701	Turkey	LE, 176; Jetté, 644	He arrived as a servant about 1688. In 1691, he married Marie-Madeleine Galarneau. He worked as a servant for François Pain, a tavern keeper (cabaratier) in Québec. He was accused of stealing and was sentenced to be flogged. He appealed the sentence. He was hospitalized many times late in his life, and died before 1701.
Langlais, Jean		Québec	1692-1693	Scotland	LE, 177	He was possibly a prisoner, and was hospitalized in 1693.
Langlais, Jean	Langlois, Jean-Baptiste	Château-Richer, Québec	1689-1748	Maine, New England	NANF, 158; NEC 2:396, Jetté, 645	He came to New France as a prisoner of the Abenakis, his birth name and parents are not known. He lived with the Indians for a few months. He was ransomed by Noel Gagnon of Château-Richer. He was baptized in 1691. In 1707 he married Anne Ratté. He became a farmer and was naturalized in

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						1710. In 1710, after Anne's death, he married Thérese Darbe. He had at least six children.
Langlais, Louis-Philippe	dit Sérien, Sargent	Lauzon, Riviere Ouelle	1700-1723	Barbados	Jetté, 645	He was taken by the Abenakis in war and sold to the French. In 1700 he was baptized, in 1710 he was naturalized. In 1718 he married Marguerite Lavoie, the couple lived at Riviere Ouelle and had four children.
Lavallée, Louis	Vallée	Québec, Nicolet, Sorel, Trois-Rivieres	1668-1676	Belgium	LE, 177; Jette, 666	He arrived as an "engagé." In 1673 he married Madeleine Rioult/Rou. The couple had at least two children.
Lawlor, Catherine	De Lalore	Sorel	1671-before 1705	England	LE, 178; Jetté, 39	She married Louis Badaillac dit Laplante, the couple lived in Sorel and had eight children.
Ledle, Edmond Jr.	Edmund	Québec	1690	Germany	LE, 179; Jetté, 682. Not in NEC	Either in England or New England, he married Sarha (Sarah) Cosscold of Germany. In 1690 the couple buried a child. They were perhaps captives.
Ledle, Jean-Baptiste		Québec	1690	Germany	LE, 112; Jetté, 682	Son of Sarah Cosscold Ledle and Edmond Ledle, he was baptized at about two years old, in Québec. He died two-and-a-half months later.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Ledle, Sarah Cosscold	Sahra, Ledle	Québec	1690	Germany	LE, 112; Jetté, 682	Sarah stated that she was English in July of 1690 and German in September of the same year. She came to New France with her husband, Edmond Ledle. The couple had one son, born perhaps elsewhere, and baptized at age two in Québec.
Lemaire, Charles	Lemers dit Saint-Germain	Lachine, Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes	?1704-1751	Ireland	LE, 180; Jetté, 703	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. In 1707 he married Clémence Rapin, and the couple lived in Lachine. They had eight children. He was captain of the militia there. He was naturalized in 1710. After his wife's death, he moved to Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, where he died in 1751.
Lepage, Jacques		Montréal	1700-1713	New Jersey	NANF, 160; Jetté, 715	He arrived with his parents. He was baptized in 1700.
Lepage, Jacques		Québec, Montréal,	1665-1670 and 1700-1706	France, New Jersey	NANF, 159-60; Jetté, 715	He may have been a Huguenot. He arrived with the Carignan regiment. In 1669 he was confirmed at Québec. In 1670 he left New France to settle in Perth Amboy, New Jersey and in New York. He married Madeleine David, who had been born in Sorel but traveled to New England with her parents in 1677. In New York and New England they had four children. In 1697 they baptized a daughter in a French Protestant church in New York. In 1700 they emigrated to New France, where they had four more children. He died in 1706.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Lepage, Jeanne-Marguerite		Montréal, Détroit	1700-after 1730	New Jersey	NANF, 160; Jetté, 497, 715	She arrived with her parents, and was baptized in 1700. In 1713 she married Simon Gilbert dit Sanspeur et Sanscrainte. The couple had three children in Montréal before moving to Détroit, where three more children were born.
Lepage, Madeleine David	Lepage	Québec, Montréal	1700-1715	New France, New England	Jetté, 715, 942	She was born in Sorel but migrated to New England with her parents. She married Jacques Lepage about 1683 in New England (see this name). The couple had four children before migrating to New France in 1700, where they had four more children. After Jacques' death, she married Jean Poussard. She had no children by her second marriage.
Lepage, Marie		Montréal, Détroit	1700-1726 or later	New Jersey	NANF, 160; Jetté, 60, 715	She arrived with her parents. In 1706 she married François Beauceron. In 1708 or 1709 the couple left for Détroit; François perhaps died en route as there is no further mention of him. Marie had a child with Étienne Verron in 1709. She had another child in 1714, in Montréal. She returned to Détroit in about 1717, and married Joseph Vaudry, who was in the fur trade. He may have been part Abenaki, his parents were from Saint-François-du-Lac. The couple had five children.
Lepage, Susanne		Montréal	1700-1708	New York	NANF, 161; Jetté, 715	She arrived with her parents. She was baptized in New York, in a French Protestant church, in 1697, and again in Montréal, in 1700. She died in Montréal in 1708.

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Lesage, Jean Bernardin	dit Piédmontais	Point-aux-Trembles, Québec, l'Assomption	1684-1748	Italy	LE, 182; Jetté, 721	He was probably a soldier with the troupes de la marine. In 1686 he married Marie-Barbe Sylvestre. He died in l'Assomption in 1748.
Lesieur, Clément		Beaumont, Québec, Saint-Michel-de-Bellechasse	1713-1759	Jersey Isle	LE, 182; Jetté, 723	He came to New France as a caulker. In 1716 he married Marie-Charlotte Drapeau. The couple had five children. He worked for Pierre Fortier, "tonnelier." Clément died in 1759 at Saint-Michel-de-Bellechasse.
Levistone, Sarah		Québec?	1695-1711 or later	Billerica	NEC 1:304	Five siblings and a grandmother were killed in the attack. Sarah was about eleven years old when she was captured.
Lewis, Mathieu		Québec	1709	England	LE, 183	He was a prisoner of war. He renounced his faith in 1709.
Leyter, James	Lorey, Jacques	Québec	1710-1713 or later	New England	NANF, 161	He was taken by French and Indians about 1710. He was naturalized in about 1713. He may have returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Littlefield, Aaron	Lightfil, Lidfril, Litrefile, Littlefiver, Pierre-Augustin, Peter. Litrephil	Boucherville, Saint-Mathias, Chambly	1703-1761	Wells, Maine	NANF, 162; NEC 1: 403-409, Jetté, 737-38	With his sister Ruth, he was taken in the attack on Wells. He was about nine years old. He was given to the priest at Boucherville, who employed him as a servant. In 1704 he was baptized, in 1710 he was naturalized. At his baptism, his sponsors were Pierre Boucher and Charlotte Denys. In 1717 he married

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Geneviève Brunel, the couple had six or seven children. The marriage was witnessed by Joseph-Daniel Maddox (see this name), of England. Littlefield engaged in a lengthy court process in 1738 to recover his inheritance in Maine, which was denied by a lower court because he was a "papist." He received a concession in Chambly. He died in Saint-Mathias in 1761.
Littlefield, Josephine	Archange, Bourgeois	Saint-Marcel	1703-1720 or later	Wells, Maine	NEC 1:409-410	Captured when young, she refused to return to New England. She may have married into the Bourgeois family of Saint-Marcel. A spinning wheel belonging to her was donated to the Chateau de Ramezay in Montréal.
Littlefield, Josiah		Québec, Montréal	1708-1709	Wells, Maine	NEC 1: 435-37	He was captured and lived with the natives for a while in Norridgewock, then taken to Québec and Montréal. He wrote a letter home, asking to be part of a prisoner exchange. Then he escaped, to be recaptured in the "wilderness" by "a canady Indian" who sold him to a native resident of Norridgewock. Again he wrote home, asking for provisions so he could buy his freedom. He was the subject of considerable effort as he was a miller and builder who was highly valued in Wells. However the governor of Massachusetts balked at direct ransom requests, vowing never to "buy" prisoners. He was rescued (perhaps with private funds or provisions) and returned to be killed in the forest two years later by Indians.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Littlefield, Ruth	Lidrefil, Angélique, Marguerite	Montréal	1703-1732	Wells, Maine	NANF, 162-163; NEC 1: 409; Jetté, 738	With her brother, Aaron, she was taken prisoner by French and Abenakis, when she was about five years old. She lived with the Abenakis for about twelve years. She was baptized during that time. She was taken to Montréal about 1718 or 1719, where she joined the nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu as a lay sister, and took the name Soeur de Saint-Coeur. She died in Montréal in 1732.
Lomax, Elizabeth	Lamax, Lamarre, Lamos, Lamasce, Lamaxe	Montréal	1707-1737	Oyster-River, New Hampshire	NANF, 163-64; NEC 1:280; Jetté, 878	She was about nine years old when she was taken by Abenakis. They brought her to Montréal where she was ransomed by Étienne Robert. In 1707 she was baptized, in 1710 she was naturalized. In 1721 she married shoemaker Joseph Parent. The couple had at least three children. After his death, she married carpenter Jean-Baptiste Jetté in 1735. She died in 1737 in Montréal.
Lonchamp, Jacques		Québec	1709-1710	Ireland	LE, 183	He was a prisoner from the English colonies.
Longley, John	Augary	Québec	1694-1698 or later	Groton	NEC 1: 283-85	He was twelve years old when he was captured with two siblings, one of whom died en route, the other was Lydia Longley (see this name). His parents and five siblings were killed. He spent four years in captivity, including some time in Canada, and some time as a servant to Madockawando. He also related that he asked his captors (probably eastern Abenaki) for permission to return to his father's barn to release the sheep so they would not

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						starve. He promised to return. His captors agreed, and he kept his promise. When he was finally ransomed he refused to return to New England; he was taken by force. The natives called him John Augary.
Longley, Lydia	Lydie Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine, Langley	Montréal, Ile-d'Orléans	1694-1758	Groton, Salmon-Falls, Massachusetts	NANF, 164-65; NEC 1:285-286; Jetté, 741	She was taken by Abenakis in 1694, when she was about twenty years old. Her parents were killed, her brother, John was taken with her, along with a sister who died enroute. She was ransomed by Jacques Leber, and given to the Congrégation Notre-Dame in Montréal. In 1696 she was baptized. She took her vows in 1699 as Soeur Sainte-Madeleine. She may have been mother superior of a community on Ile-d'Orléans in 1733. She died in Montréal in 1758. See John Longley.
Longpré, William	De Lompré, Allard dit Lompré, Longley, William (as a surname)	Montréal, Pointe-aux-Trembles	1703-1761	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 164; Jetté, 741	He was probably taken in the 1703 attack on Deerfield. Taken into captivity by the Abenakis, he may have been baptized while he lived with them. "Longpré" is a name given to him by the Indians. With the Indians, he participated in the fur trade for several years. In 1720 he married Catherine Bleau, the couple had ten children. He took at least one voyage west in 1721. He died at Pointe-aux-Trembles in 1761.
Lootman, François	Albrin, Barrois, dit Barrois, Lothman, Lotman	La Prairie, Détroit	1699-1750 or later	Esopus, New York	NANF, 165; Jetté, 744	He arrived with his parents (see chapters 4, 5 and 8). He was baptized in 1699. In 1717 he married Marie-Anne Sauvage. In 1720 the family moved to Détroit, they had eight children.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Lootman, Hillebrant	Albrin, Barrois, Jean-Baptiste, Hillebrant, Lothman, Helibriand, Elbriand, Willibrord, Lotman	La Prairie, Montréal, Great Lakes region?	1699-1717	Esopus, New York	NANF, 165-66; Jetté, 744	He was of Dutch descent. He and his wife, Anne Leber, brought their children to La Prairie and Montréal in 1699. See chapters 4, 5 and 8. He was baptized in 1699.
Lootman, Jean-Baptiste	Albrin, Barrois, Lothman, Lotman	La Prairie, Montréal, Détroit, Cahokia	1699-1740	Esopus, New York	NANF, 166; Jetté, 744; JR 69: 307-308n68	He arrived in La Prairie with his family. He was baptized, probably in 1699. In 1717 he married Marie-Madeleine Cardinal. About 1720 or 1721 they moved to Détroit where they stayed until at least 1726. They had seven children, two of whom were born in Détroit. He returned to Montréal, and perhaps other regional locations before returning to Détroit in 1730. Later he moved to Cahokia, where he was a notary. He died there in 1740 (see chapters 4, 5, 8 and 9)
Lootman, Peter	Albrin, Barrois, dit Barrois, Lothman, Pierre, Lotman	La Prairie	1699-1708	Esopus, New York	NANF, 166	He was an infant when his parents moved to La Prairie. See chapters 4and 5. He was baptized in 1699. He died in La Prairie in 1708.
Lopez, Emmanuel	dit Madère	Charlesbourg, Québec	1666-1686	Portugal, possibly from Madeira Island	LE, 184; Jetté, 742	He received a concession from the Jesuits and became a farmer. He married a fille du roi, Marguerite Renaud in 1667. After her death, he married Jeanne Lerouge in 1675. Emmanuel died in 1686. Of seven children, six died as infants, the seventh lived until the age of eighteen.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Lord, Anne		Québec?	1689 or later-1710	New England	NANF, 165	She was a prisoner of the Indians, where she married 8abaphon Hollet dit Laviolette before 1710. In 1710 she was naturalized.
Loret, François		Trois-Rivières	1651 or earlier-1652	Austria	LE, 184; Jetté, 742	He died in Trois-Rivières or Québec in 1652 at the age of eighteen.
Lougee, John		Québec	1710	Exeter, New Hampshire	NEC 1: 373-74	He was taken to Canada, then sent to England. He returned to Exeter by 1716.
Loup, André	dit le Polonais, Wolf (signature)	Québec, Bellechasse	1687-1719	Poland	LE, 185; Jetté, 754	A navigator, he married Marie Steims in 1687. He drowned in 1719.
Lucas, William	Simon (as a first name)	Québec?	1704-1713	Saco, Maine	NANF, 166; NEC 1:19	He was taken prisoner at the age of about 37 and lived with Indians, during which time he was baptized. In 1713 he was naturalized. He returned to New England in 1713 as part of a prisoner exchange.
Léveillé, René		Trois-Rivières	1690-1699	New England	NANF, 161; NEC 2: 395	He was taken prisoner by Abenakis in about 1690 when he was young, his birth name is not known. He was baptized in an Abenaki settlement. He was ransomed by Monsieur de Tonnancourt, who employed him as a servant. He died in Trois-Rivières in 1699.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Maddox, Joseph-Daniel	Maddon	Montréal	1709-1754	England	LE, 190; Jetté, 749	He was taken prisoner in Newfoundland. He worked on the seminary's farm as a "journalier" (day laborer) at Ile-Jésus. He later worked as a master cooper and carpenter. He renounced his faith in 1709, and was naturalized in 1713. In that year he also married Marie Jetté. They had one child. After her death, he married Anne-Louise Lacelle in 1715. Of the eight children of this marriage, two survived. He attended a baptism of captive Mary Austin's child. He died in Montréal in 1754.
Manfert, André	dit Saint-André, Minfret, Manfraide	l'Ancienne-Lorette, Québec	?1713-1721	Italy	LE, 192; Jetté, 760	He probably came as a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. He married Dorothée Girard in 1716, the couple had two children. André died in 1721 in Québec.
Martin, François		Québec	1710	Portugal	LE, 194	He was a sailor who died in Québec in 1710.
Mattoon, Philip		Montréal region?	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 102	He was about twenty-four, his wife and infant child were killed in the attack.
Mattoon, Sarah		Montréal region	1704-1711	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:102	She was about seventeen, she was captured with her brother Philip (see this name).

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Mighell, Samuel	Miles, Mighill, Myalls	Montréal	1704-1705 or later	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 369-70	He escaped for home with Edward Hall (see this name), nearly dying enroute.
Milberry, Dorothy	Milbury	Québec	1692-1699	York	NEC 1:234	She returned on the Province Galley.
Mitchell, Joseph	Joseph Michel	Saint-François-du-Lac	1689-1695	New England, perhaps near York, Maine	NANF, 171; Jetté, 808	He was taken prisoner by the Abenakis, he was baptized in 1691 while he lived at Saint-François-du-Lac. He returned to New France as part of a prisoner exchange in 1695.
Miville, Pierre	dit Le Suisse	Lauzon	1649-1669	Switzerland	LE, 200; Jetté, 817	Pierre left Switzerland to live in France about 1627. He married there, and had six children. He and his wife, Charlotte Maugis, moved to New France in 1649 with some of their children. He died in Lauzon in 1669.
Moller, Pierre	dit l'Allemand, Molleur, Moleur, Molle, Meseray	Beaumont, Québec	1668-1729	Germany	LE, 200-201; Jetté, 820	Pierre arrived as an engagé. Later he became a farmer, and married Jeanne Guenneville in 1671. Jeanne was a fille du roi. After her death, he married Élisabeth Maranda. He was confirmed in 1681 by Msgr. de Laval. He died in Beaumont in 1729.
Montaye, Philippe-Joseph	Montass	Montréal	1709-1713 or later	Jersey Isle	LE, 201-202; Jetté, 825	In 1709, when he was fifteen, he and his mother (see Jeanne Tourgis) were captured at Port-Grave, Newfoundland. They were taken to Montréal. He became a servant to Jacques Testard. He was baptized in 1708, and naturalized in 1710.

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Moody, William	Moodey	Chambly	1709	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:370-72	He was taken to Chambly, recaptured by men from Deerfield, probably on the Richelieu, captured again by Indians and killed.
Moore, John	Jean-Baptiste, Moire	Batiscan	1689 or later-1695	New England	NANF, 171; Jetté, 820	He was taken as a boy by French and Indians. In about 1694 he was ransomed by Alexis Marchand, who employed him as a servant. He was baptized in 1694. He was part of a prisoner exchange in 1695 or 1698.
Moore, Mary	More	Québec?	1692-after 1694	York	NEC 1:234-35	She may have died in Canada.
Moore, Thomas	Maure	Québec, Ile-d'Orléans	1689 or 1690-1724	England	LE, 202-203; Jetté, 826	A ship captain, he was captured by the French in Hudson's Bay. He renounced his faith in 1690; and married Jeanne Lemelin the same year. In 1706 he bought the "La Marie" (a boat). They had seven children. He died on Ile-d'Orléans in 1724.
Moore, William	More	Québec?	1692-after 1711	York	NEC 1: 234-35	He was believed to be in Canada in 1711.
Morrell, Peter		Québec?	1690	Fort Loyal(Portland), Maine	NEC 1:202-203	

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Moulton, Abel		Québec?	1697-1698?	York	NEC 1:245-46	He drowned before or during 1699.
Muzzey, Benjamin	Muzzy, Mazy, Masy	Québec	1707-1764	New England	NANF, 172; NEC 2: 398-99, Jetté, 788	He was taken by Indians, and ransomed by Joseph Fleury de la Gorgendière, who employed him as a servant. He was baptized in 1709, at the age of about nineteen, and naturalized in 1710. In 1712 he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Nason, Richard	Naasson	St.-François-du-Lac, Montréal region	before 1695-after 1710	Kittery/Berwick	NEC 1:381	He lived with the Indians, probably Abenakis, at St.-François-du-Lac. He was bought by a French family, whose daughter he married. He was naturalized in 1710 and family tradition states that he lived to old age.
Nason, Richard	Neilson, Ritchot	Saint-François-du-Lac	1675-1710 or later	Berwick, Maine	NANF, 172-73; NEC 1:381	He about eight years old when he was taken in 1675 at Sturgeon Creek, near Berwick. He was raised with Abenakis, and married either a French or Indian woman in 1675. He was naturalized in 1710.
Nason, Sarah		Québec?	1694-1700	Berwick, Maine	NEC 1:382	She was about six years old when she was captured. She lived with natives, and returned by ship.
Neal, Amy	Nell, Amie	Québec?	1694?-1699	Berwick, Maine	NEC 1:383	She returned by 1699.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Nelson, John		Québec	1691-1698	Boston (taken at sea)	NEC 1:214-219	He had hosted and released French prisoners in Boston, including "Meneval, " an officer. He was captured at sea with Colonel Edward Tyng and John Alden. He claimed rights to much of Acadia from an old land grant. He bribed two Frenchmen to carry intelligence he gathered in Québec during his captivity to Boston, accompanied by two Englishmen and two Dutchmen. Later, when the French discovered his actions, he was sent to France to prison along with Tyng and Alden (see these names). He returned to New England via England in 1698.
Nicolas, André	dit l'Italien	Québec	1703	Italy	LE, 205; Jetté, 848	He died in Québec in 1703.
Nims, Abigail	Nimbs, Touatogouach, Marie-Élisabeth, Naim, Raizenne, Rising	Montréal, Sault-au-Récollet, Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Oka)	1704-1747	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 173; NEC 2:107-12; Jetté, 963	She was three years old when she was taken prisoner, along with her brother Ebenezer and her mother. Her mother was killed en route. She was adopted by a chief of the Bear clan, and given to an Indian named Ganastassi at Fort-de-la-Montagne, Montréal. Her Indian name was Touatogouach. She was baptized in 1704, and raised by Mohawks. Her godmother was Marie-Élisabeth Le Moyne de Longueuil. In 1715 she married Josiah Rising, also a captive (see this name). The couple lived near Montréal where they had eight children. One of their daughters, Marie-Madeleine, became a nun with the Congrégation. A son, Simon, became a priest. Another daughter, Marie, became a nun with the Congrégation and later mother superior. A son married the daughter of another captive. The family

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						received a concession in Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes. Several granddaughters became nuns. The land granted in 1720 remained in the family into the 20th century, when a descendant was named Rising Raizenne. Abigail died in 1747 at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Oka). Her godmother at her baptism was Marie-Élisabeth Le Moyne de Longueuil.
Nims, Ebenezer		Lorette	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:102-103	He was about seventeen, he was captured with his mother and sister, Abigail, many other members of the rest of the family were killed in the attack. His mother was killed enroute. He married fellow captive Sarah Hoyt at Lorette. They had a child just before their return to New England.
Nims, John	Nimes	Montréal region	1703-1705	Deerfield	NEC 2:38-39	He was taken a year before his sister Abigail and brother Ebenezer (see these names); he escaped with fellow captives Joseph Petty, Thomas Baker and Martin Kellogg. Their journey to Deerfield, with a stolen canoe, took about three weeks; they arrived "weak and faint" from exertion and starvation. In 1712 he returned to Canada with Samuel Williams (see this name) to try to ransom Abigail.
Nonne, Antoine		Québec	1691	Portugal	LE, 207	He was a sailor.

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Oakman, Marie-Louise	Abigail, Hocman, Hoar, Whove	Québec	1703-1713	Black Point, Scarboro, Maine	NANF, 174; NEC 2:24-25; Jetté, 570	She was about forty-six years old when she was taken captive at Black Point. She lived with the Indians for many years. She was ransomed, perhaps by Louis Laporte de Louvigny. Her baptism was sponsored by de Louvigny and Marie Renée de St. Romain Dumeny. She was recorded as the widow of a man named Hoar. She renounced Protestantism in 1709, in 1713 she was naturalized. She returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1713.
Oicbac, Jean Baptiste	Wickby?	Trois-Rivières	1690-?	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1:191	He was about three-and-a-half years old when he was captured. He was baptized in Trois-Rivières in September, 1690.
Olivier, Abel	Oliver, Abel (as a surname)	Québec	1713-1768	England	LE, 208; Jetté, 857	He was a navigator and ship captain, captured by French ships. He converted to Catholicism before 1718. In 1718 he married Madeleine Lefebvre. He was naturalized in 1739. He died in Québec in 1768.
Olops, Jean		l'Ancienne-Lorette?, Charlesbourg?	1713-1715 or after	Ireland	LE, 209	He married Marie-Catherine Bourret about 1715. He may have been captured in the English colonies.
Omos, Augustin		Québec	1690-1698	New England	NANF, 175	He was taken captive in New England, and sold as a servant to a Québec family. His birth name is unknown

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Ordway, Joanna	Jeanne-Françoise, Ordaway, Oardaway, Wardaway, Ardaway	Bécancour, Montréal	1704-1713 or later	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NANF, 175-76; NEC 1:350-352; Jetté, 857	She was taken by Abenakis in the attack on Haverhill. In 1706 she had the child of Bernard Suetaregonset, an Abenaki who had been one of those who attacked Haverhill. She was attacked by soldiers from Deerfield in 1707. Joanna was baptized in 1710 in Montréal, as was another child. Their sponsors included Marguerite Renée Denys, Marguerite Philippe de Muis and François le Verrier. She was naturalized in 1713.
Otis, Grizel (Warren)	Ouaren, Warin, Marie-Madeleine, Kresek, Grizalem, Margaret	Montréal	1689-1750	England, Dover, New Hampshire in New England	LE, 258-59; NEC 1: 143-163 and elsewhere; Jetté, 858, 999; NANF 219	She was of Scottish and Irish ancestry, born in Berwick. She and her daughter, Christine, and two of her husband's children from a previous marriage (see Otis) were captured by the French in New Hampshire in 1689. Her husband died in the attack. She became a servant in the home of Paul Lemoyne de Maricourt in Montréal. In 1693, when she was baptized, her godfather was Jacques Leber. In 1693 she married master cooper Philippe Robitaille. In 1710 she was naturalized. The couple had five children. She died in Montréal in 1750.
Otis, John	Hotesse, Othey, dit Langlais, Jean-Baptiste, Jasmin	Saint-Anne-de-Beaupré, Saint-Joachim, Baie-Saint-Paul	1689-1760	Cocheco, Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 176; NEC 1:156-58, Jetté, 858	He was about nine years old when he was taken captive with his family. His father was taken captive and then killed. John spent several years with the Indians, according to tradition he was "hideously tortured," and was later kept by an older Indian woman at Beaupré who was good to him. He was ransomed by Jean Baret in 1696, who hired him as a servant. He was baptized at Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré in

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						1700. In 1702 the priests of the Seminary of Québec hired him to work at the farm at Saint-Joachim. He was given land both there and in Baie-Saint-Paul. The name Jasmin was added to his name (and later to his son's name), and the land in Saint-Joachim which he farmed was known as le coteau Jasmin into the twentieth century. He married Cécile Poulin in 1703, the couple had two children. In 1713 he was naturalized. In 1732 he moved to Baie-Saint-Paul where he became manager (contremaître) of the Seminary's farm. In 1733 he married Marie-Françoise Gagné. The couple had six children. He died at Baie-Saint-Paul in 1760.
Otis, Margareth	Othey, Otesse, Hotesse, Otes, Christine	Montréal	1689-1714 and 1722	Cocheco, Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 176-177; NEC 1:149-154; Jetté, 55, 858	She was only a few months old when she was taken captive with her family. Her father was taken prisoner and then killed. She lived for several years with Indians. She was then ransomed by Paul Lemoyne de Maricourt and given to the nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu in Montréal. In 1707 she married Louis Beau dit Laviolette. In 1710 she was naturalized. The couple had three children. Louis died about 1712. In 1714 she decided to return to New England with captain Thomas Baker, who was an interpreter for envoys from New England seeking to ransom captives. She left her children in Canada, as the governor would not let her take them. She married Thomas in about 1715, probably in Brookfield, Massachusetts. The couple had six children. In 1722 she returned to Montréal to retrieve her children, without success. She died in Dover in 1773.

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Otis, Nathaniel	Hotesse, Paul, Hole, Oatis	Saint-François-de-Sale au Sault-de-la-Chaudière, Montréal, Saint-Laurent, Québec	1689-1730	Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 177-78; NEC 1:159-64; Jetté, 571	He was about six years old when he was taken with his brother Stephen; their father, Stephen Otis was killed. Nathaniel lived several years with Abenakis, where he was baptized. He was ransomed by the French, and taken to Montréal in 1700, probably as a servant of the Sulpicians. He received a concession from the Sulpicians at Saint-Laurent in 1701. He was naturalized in 1710. He was by trade a cooper and a carpenter when, in 1710 he married Elizabeth Weber (see this name), a fellow captive. He worked as a shoemaker and cooper in Montréal, where they had several children, three of whom survived infancy. After Elizabeth's death, he married Marie-Madeleine Toupin. After her death he married Marie-Anne Caron in 1728. They had two children. He died in 1730 in Montréal.
Otis, Rose	Rozotty, Otheys, Hotesse, Françoise	Beauport, Charlesbourg	1689-1729	Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 178-79; NEC 1: 154-56; Jetté, 933	She was about twelve when she and her brother were taken captive. She lived with Indians for several years and was baptized. In about 1693 she was ransomed and worked as a servant for a Beauport family. In 1696 she married Jean Poitevin dit Laviolette. The couple had twelve children. In 1710 she was naturalized. She died in 1729 in Québec.
Otis, Stephen	Hotesse, Otheys, Joseph, Joseph-Marie	Saint-François-de-Sales	1689-1702 or later	Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 179; NEC 1:158	He was about seven at the time of the attack. His father, Stephen Otis, was killed. Stephen (the younger) was baptized during his early years with the Abenakis or Hurons. He appears to have married Louise Weber dit Harel,

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						sister of Elizabeth Weber, and a fellow captive (see this name). They had at least two children. They probably continued living with the Abenakis.
Ouglie, Marie-Madeleine	Owen	Québec, Charlesbourg	1690-1698	New England	NANF, 179-80; NEC 2:393; Jetté, 1143	She was taken captive when she was about seven years old. Her birth name is not known. She was baptized in 1695. She may have been a servant in the household of Jean Poitevin and fellow captive Rose Otis (see this name).
Ouilem (William), Joseph-Thomas	dit Thomas	Boucherville	1684?-1743	Jersey Isle	LE, 210; Jetté, 860	At the age of two he was captured by the English. In 1696 he was recaptured by the French at Plaisance, Newfoundland. He was cared for by M. Montbrun of Boucherville, and was taught how to farm. In 1715 he married Angélique Verronneau, the couple had six children. He died in Boucherville in 1743.
Outland, Jean	Outhlas, Outelas	Québec, Acadia	1690-1697	England	LE, 210-211; Jetté, 860	He was a ship captain for the Hudson's Bay Company who was taken prisoner by d'Iberville in Hudson's Bay in 1690. In 1692 he married Françoise Denis. The couple had three children. Jean died near Port-Royal in 1697, leaving three children by his marriage to Françoise, and three in England by a previous marriage.

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Ovard, Christophe		Sainte-Foi(Foy?)	1714	England, New England	LE, 211; Jetté, 861; NEC ??	He may have been a captive from New England. In 1714 he married Marguerite Dubois.
Paine, Bethia	Bethiah	Québec?	1692-1699	York, Maine	NEC 1: 235	She returned on the Province Galley.
Parker, Mary		Québec?	1692-after 1699	York, Maine	NEC 1:235	She was about sixteen years old when she was captured.
Parker, Mehitable		Québec	1692-1699	York, Maine	NEC 1:235	She was about eight years old when she was captured. She returned to New England in 1699, possibly on the Province Galley.
Parker, Phineas		Québec?	1694-1698	Groton, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 287	He was taken when he was about seven years old, his parents and most of his siblings were killed in the attack. He returned in 1698, by ship.
Parker, William		Québec?	1690-? 1691	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1: 203	Sylvanus Davis saw him in captivity.
Parsons, Hannah	Tsiosenneco	Montréal, Québec	1703-1763	Wells, Maine	NANF, 180; NEC 1:410-413	She was about two years old when she and her mother (see Hannah Wheelwright Parsons) were taken captive. She lived for years with the Indians; in 1704 she was baptized at Sault-au-Récollet as Catherine Tsiosenneco. After this time her mother returned to New England. In 1713 she was naturalized. In 1729 she married

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						Claude-Antoine Bermen. The marriage was witnessed by Pierre de Lestage, Marie-Joseph-Esther Sayer (a fellow captive and Hannah's cousin). The couple lived in Montréal and later in Québec; they had ten children. The oldest daughter became a nun with the hopitalières in Québec. Claude-Antoine, a military officer, was often absent in military campaigns. He died at Québec in 1761. She had inherited her husband's seigneury of La Martinière on his death. She sold it to James Murray and emigrated to France.
Parsons, Hannah Wheelwright	Wheelwright, Parson, Whellwright, Anna-Catherine	Montréal, Sault-au-Récollet	1703-1706	Wells and York, Maine	NEC 1: 410-413; NANF, 224-25	She was captured with one or two of her daughters, including Hannah Parsons (see this name), in York, where they had gone from their home in Wells after an attack on their house there. She was about twenty-three. Her husband, William Parsons, was killed in the attack. She was baptized, probably at an Indian mission. She attended the baptism of her daughter Hannah at Sault-au-Récollet in 1704. She witnessed the wedding of Elizabeth Price (see this name) in 1706. She is not the sister of Esther Wheelwright, although they were probably related. She was ransomed in 1706 and was one of the captives returned to New England with envoy John Sheldon.
Parsons, John	Persan, Jean	Québec	1692-after 1695	York, Maine	NANF, 180; NEC 1:235-36; Jetté, 880	He was about fifteen years old when he was taken captive in an attack during which his father died. He was baptized in Québec in 1693. In 1695 or later he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Parsons, Mercy	Marcy	Québec?	1692-after 1711	York	NEC 1: 235-36	She was probably very young when she was captured.
Pawling, Matthew		Kahnawake? Montréal?	1690-1694	Wells	NEC 1:399	He was a soldier who was taken in Wells. He may have been a prisoner of the Iroquois. He was released in a prisoner exchange, and, with Nicholas Smith, traveled home via Albany. They were provided with a map and compass by the French.
Pears, Richard	Pearse	Montréal	1709-after 1713	England, St. John's, Newfoundland	LE, 213; Jetté, 886; NEC 1:128	He was established at St. John, Newfoundland. He was captured by the French and taken to Montréal, where he lived with M. Moreau. He renounced his faith in 1709, was baptized in 1710 and was naturalized in 1713.
Perkins, William	Perrin, Guillaume	Montréal, Québec	1709-1713 or after	England, Newfoundland	LE, 214; Jetté, 896; NEC 2:92-93; NANF, 181	He was captured at Fort-Saint-Jean in 1709. In 1709 he was hospitalized at the Hôtel-Dieu in Québec. In 1710 he was present at the naturalization of Robert Dixon. In 1710 he married Marie-Jeanne Jefferies (see Sarah Jeffreys Hurst) who had been captured with her children at Deerfield. The couple returned to Deerfield after 1713.
Perrin, Elizabeth	Élisabeth	Montréal	1707 or 1708-1736	Perth-Amboy, New Jersey	NANF, 181; Jetté, 634	She was the daughter of two residents of New Jersey (named Perrin and Hubert) who may have been French. She was baptized in Holtbridge by Father Juillet in 1683. She married Jean Lalande, a French man who had settled in New Jersey. The couple lived in Amboy and Hillwater near the Poupart

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						family, the two wives were sisters. They had at least four children. In the winter of 1707-1708 René Poupart and his wife, Elizabeth's sister, were killed. Elizabeth and Jean Lalande took the five Poupart children, along with their own, to Canada in 1707 or 1708. They moved to Montréal, where she died in 1736.
Petit, Charles-Marie		Montréal	1700	Esopus, New York	NANF, 182; Jetté, 906	He came from New York with his parents as an infant. He was baptized in 1700.
Petit, Jean		Montréal	1699-1710	France, York Maine, Esopus New York	NANF, 182; Jetté, 906	He came to New England perhaps after being captured at sea. He married a French woman [in York], Esther Sozeau (see this name), about 1697. The couple moved to Esopus, New York, to be with a French community there. They moved to New France in 1699. Esther died in 1700 after childbirth. Jean married Isabelle Chartier at Pointe-aux-Trembles in 1703. The couple had four children. He died in 1710 in Montréal. His widow married Pierre Roy in 1711.
Petty, Joseph		Montréal region	1704-1705	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 113	He escaped with Thomas Baker, John Nims and Martin Kellogg with a stolen canoe (see these names) and returned to Deerfield "weak and faint" from exertion and hunger.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Petty, Sarah		Montréal region?	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 113	She was taken with her husband Joseph, who escaped from Canada to Deerfield. She probably returned in 1706 or 1707.
Philips, Joseph	Philippe	Cap-Saint-Ignace	1704-1706	New England	NANF, 182	He was captured as a boy of about fifteen years old. He renounced his religion and was baptized in 1706. He was employed as a servant by Marie-Élisabeth Dumeny de Vincellotte.
Philips, Philippe	dit l'Irlande	Montréal	1709-1712	Ireland	LE, 215	He was probably a prisoner of war. He was naturalized in 1710. He died in Montréal in 1712.
Pierson, Philippe		Québec, La Prairie, Sillery, Lake Superior	1666-1686	Belgium	LE, 215; Jetté, 915	He was ordained a priest in 1669 and served in La Prairie, Sillery, and western missions.
Pilsbury, Jacob	Jacques	Québec	1709-1713	New England	NANF, 183; NEC 1:127	His real name, town of origin and parents are unknown. He renounced his religion in 1711. In 1713 he was naturalized, and returned to New England the same year.
Pirez, Martin	Lepire, Henne dit le Portugais, Pire	Québec, Charlesbourg	1670-1711	Portugal	LE, 216; Jetté, 924	He came as an engagé. He then became a farmer, and married Françoise Dufaye in 1674. Françoise was a fille du roi. They had five children. He died in Charlesbourg in 1711.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Pitman, Abigail (Willey)	Pilman, Pittement, Welles, Marie-Louise	Montréal, Québec	1689-1713	Piscataquis, Oyster River, Maine	NANF, 183; NEC 1:255-258; Jetté, 422, 1134; LE	She was about thirty-two years old when she was captured with her three daughters (whose last name was Willey, see this name) in the raid on Oyster River. She had charged her husband, Stephen Willey, with spouse abuse in 1683. She lived for several years with the Indians, where she was baptized. By 1692 she was a servant for and lived with Hector de Callières, governor of Montréal. In 1698 she went to Québec. She was naturalized in 1710. She married Edward Fletcher (see this name) in October of the same year. The couple returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1713. Her daughters stayed in New France.
Pitre, -----	Pitts	Trois-Rivières	1698-99	New England	NANF, 184; Jetté, 925	His real name is unknown. He died at Trois-Rivières in January, 1699.
Pitre, Pierre		Montréal	1661	Holland or New York	Jetté, 925	He died in the woods, possibly near Montréal, after escaping from the Iroquois.
Plaisted, Abigail	Plestre, Pleirted, Plastre	Québec	1689-1690	New England, possibly Wells or Salmon Falls	NANF, 184	At the age of about twelve, she was captured with her brother William, (see William Plaisted), perhaps in Wells or Salmon-Falls. She returned to New England in 1690.
Plaisted, Mehitable	Marie-Esther, Pleirted	Montréal	1690-1695	Salmon Falls	NANF, 184; NEC 1:185-86; Jetté, 928	She was about twenty years old when she and her husband were captured at Salmon-Falls. She was taken to Québec where she was ransomed by Madame Tarrieu de Lanaudière, who

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						employed her as a servant. She was baptized in 1693. She returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1695. When her husband returned to New England they rejoined, and had several children.
Plaisted, William	Plestre, Plestred, Plastre	Québec	1689-1690	Wells or Salmon Falls	NANF, 184-85	He was about three years old when he was captured with his sister. He was returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1690.
Plympton, John		Sorel	1677	Deerfield	NEC 1:131-36	He was burned by the Indians. (See Obadiah Dickinson)
Poitiers, Guillaume	Dubuisson	Kaskaskias, Montréal, Ile-Saint-Jean, Port-Lajoie, Acadie, Champlain	1699-1735	Esopus, New York	NANF, 185; Jetté, 933	He was born (about 1674?) on Staten-Island (in what is now Richmond, New York) of French or Canadian parents who had married in Québec in 1670. His parents moved to New York in 1674, where his father was an interpreter for the English and the Dutch. He was baptized there by a missionary. The family moved to Esopus in 1695, where there was a French community. In 1699 the family returned to New France. As an officer in the Troupes de la Marine, he went to the Ohio valley. About 1718 he married Marie Apeckicouasta, an Indian woman. After her death, he left their two children with the Indians and returned to Montréal. In 1728 he married Jeanne-Philippe de Catalogne. In 1729 they moved to Ile-Saint-Jean, where his brother Robert lived, and then to Port-Lajoie. They had two children. He died in Acadia before June, 1735.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Poitiers, Jeanne	Dubuisson	Montréal	1699-1715	Staten Island, Esopus	NANF, 186; Jetté, 72, 933	She was born on Staten Island of French or Canadian parents (see Guillaume Poitiers). She came to New France in 1699 with her family. In 1700 she married François Becquet dit Saint-Sauveur. The couple farmed in Montréal and had six children. Jeanne died there in 1714.
Poitiers, Louis	Dubuisson	Montréal	1699-1715	Esopus	NANF, 186, Jetté, 933	At the age of about three he came to New France from New York with his family. He died in Montréal in 1715.
Poitiers, Marie-Angélique		Montréal	1699-1745	Staten Island, Esopus	NANF, 186; Jetté, 933	She came to New France from New York with her family. In 1705 she was a nun at the Hôtel-Dieu in Montréal. She died there in 1745.
Poitiers, Robert	Dubuisson	Montréal, Ile-Saint-Jean, Louisbourg, Port Lajoie	1699-1744	Staten Island, Esopus	NANF, 186-87; Jetté, 933	He came to New France with his parents at the age of about seventeen. He became a royal "fonctionnaire" or employee in Montréal in 1703. In 1707 he married Marie-Charlotte Arnaud. She died in 1708 after bearing a child. In 1722 he was named assistant to the intendant at Ile-Saint-Jean. After living at Louisbourg, he resided at Port-Lajoie. After the death of his brother, Guillaume, he took care of his sister-in-law and their two children. He died at Port-Lajoie in 1744.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Polling, Mathieu		Québec	1690-1691	England	LE, 217	He was captured either in the Gulf of St. Lawrence or in New England. He was a servant at the Hôtel-Dieu. He renounced his faith in 1690.
Pomroy, Joshua		Montréal region?	1704-1706?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 113	He was 29 years old. His wife was killed on the march, his sister Lydia was captured with him.
Pomroy, Lydia		Montréal region?	1704-1706?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 113	She was nineteen years old, and was taken with her older brother, see Joshua Pomroy.
Potet, Jean	dit Lafortune	Rivière-Saint-Jean	1643-1646?	Switzerland	LE, 218	He was an engagé.
Poupart, Charles	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Montréal, Détroit	1707-1761	Hill Water, near Albany, New York	NANF, 187; Jetté, 941-42	He was born in New York of French parents. He came to New France as a boy of about nine, after the death of his parents (see Marie Perrin, Jean Lalande). He was baptized in 1708. He was a master mason when he married Agnès Brazeau in 1719. They had eleven children. She died in 1742. In about 1760 Charles went to Détroit, where he died in 1761.
Poupart, Clothilde	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Québec, Verchères	1707-1779	Hill Water, New York	NANF, 187-88; Jetté, 930, 940-41	She was born in New York, and came to New France at the age of about eight after the death of her parents (see Marie Perrin, Jean Lalande). In 1725 she married Jean Pognot dit Paiement. They had one child who died. She died at Verchères in 1779.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Poupart, Jean	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Montréal, Détroit	1707-1793	Amboy, New Jersey, Hill Water, New York	NANF, 188; Jetté, 941	He was born in New Jersey, his parents moved to Hill Water New York shortly after his birth. He came to New France at the age of about eleven after the death of his parents (see Marie Perrin, Jean Lalande). His mother, Marie Perrin married René Poupart in 1695 in Amboy, New Jersey, where she had been born. The couple had one child there before moving to Hillwater, where four more were born. During the winter of 1707-1708 Marie and René were killed under unknown circumstances. Their children were brought to New France by Jean Lalande and his wife Élisabeth Perrin, Marie's sister. See Lalande, Poupart and Perrin. In 1718 Jean, who was then a tailor, married Marguerite Poudret. They lived in Saint-Laurent, where they had ten children, few of whom survived. In 1738 the family moved to Détroit, where Jean became a merchant and a voyageur. He died in Détroit in 1793.
Poupart, Madeleine	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Montréal	1707-1788	Hill Water, New York	NANF, 188-89; Jetté, 941	She came to New France at the age of about three after the death of her parents (see Marie Perrin, Jean Lalande). In 1708 she was baptized. She lived in Montréal, and never married. She died there in 1788.
Poupart, Marie	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Montréal	1707-1710	Hill Water, New York	NANF, 189; Jetté, 941, 1113	She was born in New York about 1686. She moved with her parents to New Jersey, then, after her father's remarriage, back to New York. She married Hendrik-Roeloffse Van Der Werken (see this name) in Albany in 1707. Later that year, after the death of her father and step-mother (see Marie

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Perrin, Jean Lalande), the couple moved to Montréal, where they revalidated their marriage in 1708. They had two children before moving in about 1711 to Halve-Maan (Half Moon, near Albany) where Hendrik-Roeloffse had been born. They had three more children there. Her date and place of death is not known.
Poupart, Paul-Clément	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Montréal	1707-1708	Hill Water, New York	NANF, 189; Jetté, 941; NEC 2:92	He came to New France at the age of about eighteen months after the death of his parents (see Marie Perrin, Jean Lalande). He was baptized in 1708. He may have returned to New York with his step-sister, Marie Poupart.
Poupart, Élisabeth	Poupard, dit Lafleur	Montréal, Verchères	1707-1754 or later?	Hill Water, New York	NANF, 188; Jetté, 234, 941	She came to New France at the age of about seventeen after the death of her father and step-mother (see Marie Perrin, Jean Lalande). In 1713 she married Charles Charron dit Larose. In 1717 the couple moved to Verchères. The couple had ten children. Between 1737 and 1742 Charles made several voyages west. He died in 1754, her date and place of death is not known.
Price, Elizabeth	Stevens, Praisse, Priser, Élisabeth	Montréal	1704-1716	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 190; Jetté, 436; NEC 2: 113-116	She was captured at Deerfield at the age of about nineteen, four months after she had married Andrew Stevens, an Indian. Her mother and husband were killed in the attack. She lived with the Indians for a few months before being ransomed and given to the nuns at the Congrégation Notre-Dame in Montréal. She may have been ransomed by Brother Pierre Leber. In

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						1705 she renounced her religion and was baptized as Marie-Elizabeth Stevens, her godmother was Marie-Elisabeth Lemoyne. In 1706 she married Jean Fourneau dit Brindamour, a soldier and later a shoemaker. Master tanner Jacques de Lanaud, cooper Philippe Robitaille husband of captive (Grizel Warren Otis), carpenter Jacques La Selle, Noel Le Sage and fellow captives Samuel Williams, Hannah Parsons, Marie Esther Sayer, Christine Otis and Catherine Denkyin (see Hannah Duncan) attended the wedding. In 1710 she was naturalized. The couple had six children. She died in 1716 in Montréal.
Price, Joseph		Québec	1692-1694	Boston, Massachusetts	NANF, 190	He was a sailor, who was captured. He died in Québec in 1694.
Price, Samuel	Louis	Montréal	1704-1712 or 1713	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 192; NEC1: 126; 2:35, 92, 113-116	He was captured, along with his sister Elizabeth (see Elizabeth Price), at the age of about eight. He lived with the Indians, where he was baptized. He was probably ransomed by shoemaker Jean Fourneau, with whose family he lived. In the Fourneau family, he learned to be a shoemaker. In 1710, he was naturalized. He returned to New England in 1712 or 1713 as part of a prisoner exchange.
Pitre, Pierre		Montréal	1660-1661	Netherlands	LE, 217; Jetté, 925	He died in the woods of Montréal after escaping from the Iroquois.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Rand, John	Rain, Jean-Baptiste	Kahnawake, Montréal	1691-1699	Isle of Shoals, Maine, and Sandy Beach, (Rye, New Hampshire)	NANF, 192-93; NEC 1: 211-214	He was from Great Island near Peskatakoué (Piscataway); he was captured at the age of about ten, and spent several years with the Indians, perhaps at Kahnawake, where he was probably baptized. He died in Montréal in 1699.
Rand, Remembrance		Québec	1694-1711	Oyster River	NEC 1:275-76	She was named as a prisoner in 1711.
Rand, Samuell		Québec?	1694-1695 or later	Oyster River	NEC 1: 75, 254,276	He was a young boy, taken with his sister Remembrance in an attack during which his parents died.
Randall, Sarah	Randlat, Élisabeth-Catherine Raldalt	Montréal, Boucherville	1703-1705 or 1706	Saco, Maine	NANF, 193; NEC 2: 14-15; Jetté, 262	She was taken prisoner in August, 1703, along with two daughters, (see Deborah and Mary Cole, above). She and her daughters were ransomed by Pierre Boucher who employed her as a servant. She renounced her religion, and was baptized in April 1704, two days before the birth of a third daughter. She and her baby returned to New England in 1705 or 1706. Her two older daughters stayed in New France.
Reed, ?(Mrs.)		Québec?	1690-1691	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1:191	She died in Braintree in 1691.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Reed, John	Johnathan	Québec	1690-1695	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1:191	He was ransomed in 1695.
Reid, Jean	Ride, Riday, Ris, Reed, Read	Montréal, La Prairie, Longueuil, Lachenaie, Saint-François -de-Salle, Terrebonne, Boucherville, Chateauguay	1710-after 1742	Scotland	LE, 222; Jetté, 985	He was taken captive either in Acadia or New England. He was naturalized in 1713. He married Catherine Primeau/Primot in La Prairie in 1714. He was a carpenter who moved around the region, the couple had ten children.
Renaud, Jean	dit Langlais	Charlesbourg, Québec, Montréal	1708-1730	England	LE, 222-23; Jetté, 977	He was a captive taken either in New England or Newfoundland. In 1710 he married Marguerite Charbonneau. They had at least ten children.
Rice, Adonijah		Montréal or environs	1704-1716 or later.	Marlborough	NEC 1: 324-25	He was about eight years old when he was captured with his brother Asher and two cousins. He was given the Indian name "Asaundugooton." He may have been ransomed by the French. Family tradition states he married a French woman, then a Dutch woman, and became a farmer north of the Saint Lawrence.
Rice, Asher		Kahnawake?	1704-1708	Marlborough (Westborough)	NEC 1: 324	He was about ten years old when he was captured with his brother Adonijah and two cousins. Twenty-seven years after his return to New England he recognized Ontasaga, a Kahnawake chief, as one of his captors, when Ontasaga went to Deerfield for peace talks.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Rice, Silas	Jacques Tannhahorens	Kahnawake	1704-1779	Marlborough	NEC 1: 324-25	He was about nine years old when he was captured with his brother, Timothy, and two cousins. He lived at Kahnawake; his father visited Canada in 1707. Silas married Marie Tsiakohawi or Tsionnakwannen. His name was Jacques Tannhahorens ("he splits the door"). They had at least five children, one of whom (Atonwa Aronhiowonen) had a daughter who married captive Eunice Williams's grandson, Thomas (see Eunice Williams). Atonwa was a chief. Silas died in 1779.
Rice, Timothy	Jacques (Sak) Oseronkohton	Kahnawake	1704-1748 or later	Marlborough	NEC 1: 324-27	He was about seven years old when he was captured with his brother, Silas, and two cousins. He was a clan chief in Kahnawake, and married Catherine Osennenhawe. The couple had one child. He traveled often for negotiations and trade to Albany and New England, and visited his home in Marlborough. He had forgotten his English. His father visited Canada in 1707.
Richet, Louis	Ritchett	Québec	1703-1708	New England	NANF, 195	His name and origin are not known. He was captured about 1703. He was ransomed by Jacques Bernier, maitre de barques at Québec. In 1708, he drowned in the Saint Lawrence River.
Ricker, Noah	John, Richard, Riccor, Ricard, Jean-François	Québec	1706-1713	Cocheco (Dover) New Hampshire	NANF, 195-96; NEC 1: 164-165; Jetté, 1143	His father was killed in the battle of Cocheco. He and his mother, Judith, were taken captive, he was about twelve. His father was Mathurin Riccor or Ricard, from the Jersey Islands He was given to the seminary at Québec. He was baptized in 1707. In 1710 he

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						was naturalized. He returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1712 or 1713.
Ricosse, Samuel	Ricosse, Emmanuel	Saint-Jean, Ile d'Orléans	1717 or before-1719 or 1720	New England	NANF, 196; Jetté, 985	He probably came to New France as a result of a French and Indian raid in New England, and may have lived some time with the Indians. He married Anne-Charlotte Choret in 1717. The couple had one daughter before his death (he died between April, 1719 and November, 1720).
Riel, Jean-Baptiste	dit l'Irlande, Reel, Le Rell, Carrol	Québec, Sorel, Ile-Dupas, Lavaltrie, Saint-Sulpice	1696-1727 or later	Ireland	LE, 224; Jetté, 985	He traveled first to France, where he enrolled in the troupes de la Marine. In 1704 he married Louise Coutu, the couple had 14 children. He was naturalized in 1710.
Rishworth, Mary	Rushworth, Risworth, White, Sayward, Hull, Pleisted, Marie-Madeleine, Pleistead	Montréal	1692-1695	York, Maine	NANF, 196-97; NEC 1: 236-239; Jetté, 1039	She had survived three husbands (hence her many surnames) and was married to the fourth, James Plaisted, when, in 1692, at the age of thirty two, when she was captured, at York, with her two daughters, Hester and Mary Sayward (see these names). Her husband was killed in the attack. She lived with Abenakis for a time before being ransomed by Catherine Gaschet who employed her as a servant. She was baptized in 1693. In 1695 she returned to New England with ransomer Matthew Cary. She attempted to ransom her daughters, without success.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Rising, Josiah	Ignace, Raizenne, Raisin, Shoentakouani	Sault-au-Récollet, Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, Oka	1704-1771	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 196; Jetté, 963; NEC 2: 107-109	He was about ten when he was captured at Deerfield. He was raised by Indians, and baptized at Sault-au-Récollet in 1706. In 1715 he married Abigail (Élisabeth) Nims (see this name), another Deerfield captive at Sault-au-Récollet. The couple moved to Oka, where they received a concession and farmed. They had eight children. He died at Oka in 1771. In the twentieth century, one of his descendants was given Josiah's surname as a first name: Rising Raizenne.
Risme, François	Rutac	Ile-d'Orléans	1665-1666	Switzerland	LE, 224	He came as "garde du vice-roi M. de Tracy." He may have known Jean Terme (see this name).
Ritchot, James	Jacques, Ridechot, Nason, Richard	Saint-François-du-Lac, Yamaska	1689-1729	New England	NANF, 197; Jetté, 987	He was about ten when he was captured by Abenakis. In 1691 he was baptized, in 1703 he married Élisabeth Dubois. The couple had eleven children. They moved to Yamaska in 1724, where he died in 1729.
Robidoux, André	dit l'Espagnol	Québec, La Prairie	1664-1678	Spain	LE, 226; Jetté, 996	He came as an engagé for Eustache Lambert. He was also a sailor. In 1667 he married Jeanne Denot. They had five children. He became a farmer in La Prairie, and died there in 1678.
Rodrigues, Jean	Rodrigue	Cap-Rouge, Québec, Beauport	1667-1720	Portugal	LE, 227; Jetté, 1002	He came as an engagé. In 1671 he married Anne Leroy. Anne was a fille du roi. The couple lived in Beauport where they had five children. Jean was a navigator and sailor.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Rogers, Daniel		Québec?	1695-1711 or later	Billerica	NEC 1:304-305	He was twelve years old when he was captured.
Rogers, Marcy		Québec?	1695-1711 or later	Billerica	NEC 1: 304-305	She was ten years old when she was captured.
Root, John		Sorel	1677-1678	Deerfield	NEC 1:131-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Roper, Ephraim, Jr.		Québec? St. François?	1697-1699?	Lancaster, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 309	He was about twelve when he was captured. He returned after the Province Galley returned to New England. This is an example of a family affected twice by capture, as many were. His father had been the only man who had escaped from the attack on Mary Rowlandson's home in 1676. His wife was killed in that attack. He had remarried, both he and his wife and a daughter were killed in the 1697 attack.
Rosa, Barthélémy	Rose	Charlesbourg, Québec, Montréal	1714-1749 or later	Italy	LE, 228-29; Jetté, 1007	A navigator, he married Marie-Anne Dasylva in 1714. The couple had eleven children.
Ross, James		Québec?	1690-1695	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:203-204	This was his second captivity, he had been captured with his family in 1676. During this captivity he was injured. He returned to New England with Cary, where he married fellow captive Sarah Ferguson.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Ruff, Isaac		Québec	1709 or earlier-1713 or later	England	LE, 231	He was captured either in the Gulf of St. Lawrence or in Acadia. He renounced his faith in 1709, and was naturalized in 1713.
Rugg, Hannah		Coos? Kahnawake?	1697-1698	Lancaster	NEC 1: 309	By 1698 she had "gon to Albanie."
Russell, Samuel		Sorel	1677	Deerfield	NEC 1:131-36	He was eight years old, the son of Philip Russell. Samuel's parents had both been killed in the raid on Hatfield the same day. He was killed in captivity, (see Obadiah Dickinson).
Russell, Thomas		Québec	1708?-1711 or later	Wells	NEC 1: 437	He had been wounded and was in the hospital.
Saint-Jean de Bayonn, -----		Québec	1697-1698	Spain	LE, 232	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine.
Salvail, Pierre	Salvaye, Saluaye, sieur de Trémont	Sorel, Iles-Saint-Pierre	1665-before 1689	Italy	LE, 232, Jetté, 1032	He came with the régiment de Carignan. Around 1673 he married Catherine Roy or Leroy. Catherine was a fille du roi. He became seigneur of the Iles-Saint-Pierre. He died before 1689.
Sanders, Elizabeth		St. François?	1689-1699 or later	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1: 172-73	She was recorded as still with the Indians ten years after her capture.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Sanford, William		Montréal	1712	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 131	He was a soldier. He was taken with Jonathan Barrett (see this name) and ransomed by Samuel Williams (see this name).
Sawyer, Elias		Montréal, Chambly, and environs	1705-1707	Lancaster	NEC 1: 310-312	He was about about sixteen when he was captured. He was sold by the Indians to the French. He stayed an extra year in Canada to demonstrate how to operate the sawmill his father built. He apparently fell in love with a young native woman; he promised to return and marry. She gave him a plate as a token. He never returned to Canada.
Sawyer, Thomas		Kahnawake? Montréal, Chambly	1705-1706	Lancaster	NEC 1:310-311, 375	He was about fifty-six when he was captured. He was a blacksmith, and had a sawmill, where he and two other men were captured. Local tradition relates that he was narrowly saved, by a priest, from being burned at the stake. He was taken to Montréal where where he offered to build a sawmill in return for his freedom. He told the governor that he had seen three good sites for mills on the "River Chamblee." He built one, and his son Elias (see this name) stayed an extra year to demonstrate how to operate the mill. Several other mills were built in Canada according to Thomas Sawyer's model.
Sayer, Mary	Sawyer	Québec	1703-1706	Wells, Maine	NEC 1:413	Her husband and children were killed in the attack. Ebenezer Hill, a captive from Saco, wrote home from Canada that she was well. She probably returned in a prisoner exchange, and was baptized

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						"upon profession of [Protestant] faith" in the Wells church.
Sayward, Herster	Hester, Sayers, Marie-Josephte, Sayeres, Esther	Montréal, Berthier, Longeuil	1692-1770	York, Maine	NANF, 200; NEC 1: 240-243; Jetté, 725, 1040	She was about seven when she was captured with her mother and sister. They lived with the Abenakis, where she was baptized. She was taken to Montréal, where she was given to the nuns of the Congrégation Notre-Dame. In 1710 she was naturalized, against the requests of her mother who wanted her to return to New England. In 1712 she married Jean De Lestage, a merchant, who was in partnership with Antoine Pascaud. Pascaud and his wife, Marguerite Bouat, were sponsors of many captives. Herster and Jean had two children who died before adulthood. After the death of her husband in 1743, Herster entered the Congrégation as a perpetual pensioner/boarder. Her sister, Mary (see this name) had worked with the Congrégation from about 1700 until her death in 1717. Herster died while living with the Congrégation in 1770.
Sayward, Mary	Sayers, Soeur Marie-des-Anges, Marie-Geneviève	Montréal, Sault-au-Récollet, Québec	1692-1717	York, Maine	NANF, 200; NEC 1: 239; Jetté, 1040; DCB II:601	She was about eleven when she was captured with her mother and sister (see Sayward and Rishworth). She lived with Abenakis for a time before being ransomed and given to the Congrégation Notre-Dame in Montréal. She worked as a servant and perhaps from 1700-1717 as a nun. She worked in Montréal, Québec, and in several missions, including the Sault-au-Récollet mission, where there were many captives.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Scammon, Elizabeth		Saint-François?	1703-1704	Saco, Maine	NEC 2:20-21	See Humphrey Scammon.
Scammon, Humphrey		Saint-François?	1703-1704	Saco, Maine	NEC 2: 20-21	This was the son of Humphrey Scammon and Elizabeth. See Humphrey Scammon.
Scammon, Humphrey		Saint-François?	1703-1704	Saco, Maine	NEC 2: 20-21	He was taken from his ferry dock, along with his wife and two sons.
Scammon, Samuel		Saint-François?	1703-1704	Saco, Maine	NEC 2: 20-21	He was about fourteen when he was captured with his family. See Humphrey Scammon.
Seager, Henry, Jr.		Montréal and "Indian Town" nearby	1706-1707	Groton	NEC 1:292-93	A brother and a companion were killed when he was captured. Henry was a young soldier, probably about sixteen.
Searls, Elisha	Michel, Sarls, Searle, Sears	Montréal	1704-1722	Pascomuck (East Hampton) Massachusetts	NANF, 202; NEC 1: 318-23; Jetté, 1040	He was about eight years old when he was captured by French and Abenakis. His father and three siblings were killed. His mother was tomahawked and left for dead en route (she recovered). He lived with the Abenakis for a year before being ransomed by Jean-Baptiste Céloron, sieur de Blainville, who employed him as a servant. In 1705 he was baptized, in 1710 he was naturalized. He may have traveled to the Mississippi River. In 1722 he returned to Northampton (near Pascomuck) with some Indians, probably Abenakis to claim his inheritance. Since his relatives didn't recognize him, and he had lost his

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						English, he walked on a pair of stilts to prove his identity. He decided to stay in Northhampton.
Searls, Marie-Madeleine-Hélène	Sire, Searle, Sears	Montréal, Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'Isle	1704-1705	New England	NANF, 202	She was about twelve years old when she was captured, her origin is not known. She lived with Indians until she was ransomed by Jean Quenet, Montréal merchant and controller/comptroller of the king's farms (contrôleur des fermes du Roi). She was baptized in 1705, and may have returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1706.
Sellwood, Jean		Québec	1709	England	LE, 237	He was probably a prisoner of war captured in Newfoundland. He renounced his faith in 1709.
Senter, Samuel	Jean-Baptiste-Alexandre, Sentar	Beaubassin, Montréal	1694-1698	New England, probably Maine	NANF 202; NEC 2: 394-395; Jetté, 1045	He was about fifteen when he was captured by Abenakis. He lived with them for two years before being ransomed by Alexandre Leneur, sieur de Beaubassin. In 1696 he was baptized in Montréal, his godmother was fellow captive Martha (Mills) Grant (see this name). In 1698 he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Sergeant, Daniel	Langlais, Serien, Sergeant, Louis-Philippe	Montréal, Rivière-Ouelle	1703?-1728	Worcester (Quinsigamond), Massachusetts	NANF, 199; NEC 1: 312-17; Jetté, 645	He was about five years old when he was captured with his mother, brothers and sisters. His father was killed during the attack, his mother was killed a short time after her capture. He lived for a while with the Indians, until he was ransomed by Robert Poitiers, sieur

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Dubuisson (see this name). He was baptized in 1707 and naturalized in 1710. He moved to Riviere-Ouelle, where he married Marguerite Lavoie in 1718. The couple farmed, and had four children. In 1726 he visited New England and returned to New France. He died before August, 1728.
Sergeant, John		Kahnawake? Montréal?	1703?-1715 or later	Worcester (Quinsigamond), Massachusetts	NEC 1: 312-17	He was captured with siblings (see Daniel Sergeant), he probably lived at Kahnawake or near Montréal. He probably also learned native languages as he was later employed by Joseph Kellogg, traveling several times to Canada as an envoy. He received land near Fort Dummer (near Charlestown, New Hampshire).
Sergeant, Martha		Montréal? Kahnawake?	1703?-1710 or later	Worcester (Quinsigamond)	NEC 1: 312-17	She was captured with siblings (see Daniel Sergeant), she carried her younger sister part of the way. Their father had been killed in the attack, their mother shortly thereafter. She spent some time with Indians, possibly Iroquois or Squakig.
Sergeant, Mary	Serjent		1703?-1728 or later	Worcester (Quinsigamond)	NEC 1: 312-17	She was captured with siblings (see Daniel Sergeant).
Sergeant, Thomas		Montréal?	1703?-before 1715	Worcester (Quinsigamond)	NEC 1: 312-17	He was taken with his siblings in an attack on their home in which their father was killed (see Daniel Sergeant). Their mother was killed en route.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Serran, Joseph	dit l'Espagnol	Sault-Saint-Louis, Lachine, La Prairie	1677-between 1715 and 1718	Spain	LE, 238; Jetté, 1045	He came as an engagé. In 1680, he was at Sault-Saint-Louis. In 1684 he married Marguerite Viard in La Prairie, where the couple settled as farmers. They had six children. He died between 1715 and 1718.
Shed, Zechariah		Québec?	1695?-1711 or later	Billerica	NEC 1: 305	He was ten years old when he was taken.
Sheldon, Ebenezer		Kahnawake	1704-1706?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 116-18	Ebenezer was twelve. His Kahnawake hosts visited him often in Deerfield.
Sheldon, Hannah	Chapin	Montréal	1704	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 116-18	She had married John Sheldon, Jr. Her husband ran for help and was not captured. Her family name was Chapin, she was about twenty-three. See Mary and Remembrance Sheldon.
Sheldon, Mary		Kahnawake	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 117-118	She was sixteen, and either was lame or became lame on the journey. She lived with a native family, her "squaw mother" visited her often after her return to Deerfield. Her father, John Sheldon, was responsible for traveling several times to Canada to ransom captives. See Hannah and Remembrance Sheldon.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Sheldon, Remembrance		Montréal region	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 116-18	He was eleven. See Mary and Hannah Sheldon.
Shepley, John		St. François?	1694-1698	Groton	NEC 1: 287-88	He was about sixteen years old when he was captured. He returned to Groton where he resisted an Indian attack in 1704.
Short, Mercy		Québec	1690	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1:192-93	Her parents had been killed in the attack, along with several of her brothers and sisters. She was taken to Canada with about five siblings, most of whom appear to be untraceable. She returned the same year of her capture to New England. Her later situation (she was cursed by an accused witch, Sarah Good, who was later executed at Salem; Mercy later died of seizures) inspired Cotton Mather to compare the dangers of captivity to the dangers of New England life.
Short, Richard		Québec	1690-1695 or later	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1: 192-93	He was taken with several siblings, see Mercy Short.
Shoudom, Thomas	Shouldom	Québec	1708-1724	England	LE, 239; Jetté, 1046	He was a war captive from the English colonies. He worked as a day laborer. He renounced his faith in 1709, he was naturalized in 1713. In 1716 he married Madeleine l'Homme.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Sibiron, Barthélémy	dit l'Espagnol	Montréal	1687-1688	Spain	LE, 239; Jetté, 1046	He was a soldier with the troupes de la Marine.
Silver, Mary	Adelaide, Silve, Soeur Saint-Joseph, Sylver, Marie	Montréal	1708-1740	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 352-58, NANF 213-14, Jetté, 1048	She was fourteen years old when she was taken in the attack on her family. a "M. Dupuy" of Québec carried her most of the way to Canada, as she couldn't walk. She lived for a year and a half with the Indians before being given to the Congrégation Nôtre-Dame in Montreal. She was baptized in 1710, sponsored by Rigaud de Vaudreuil and Charlotte Denis. She was naturalized in 1710. That same year she joined the sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu, she took her vows in 1712. She refused her mother's efforts to get her to return to New England, tradition states that she tried to convert her mother to Catholicism. Her spiritual guide was Father Henri-Antoine de Meriel, who converted many captives. She began to teach and convert captives after his death. She died in 1740 and was buried in the convent church.
Skait, -----	Scate, Skeath	Montréal region	1697-?	Lancaster	NEC 1: 309	His parents were killed in the attack.
Slew, Leonard		Québec?	1703-1711 or later	Portland, Maine	NEC 2: 31	He was from Beverly, and had recently moved to Purpooduck, which is now South Portland.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Sluc, Marie-Élisabeth	dite Saint-Luc, Sleg, Slew	Québec	1703 or 1704-1706	New England, probably Massachusetts, New Hampshire or Maine	NANF, 204; Jetté, 1143	She was born in Salem, Massachusetts, but her parents and birth name are not known. She was taken captive at the age of about fourteen by the French and Indians, and lived with Indians for a time before being ransomed. It may have been Étienne Landron, Québec baker and merchant, who ransomed her and employed her as a servant. In 1706 she was baptized. She returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1706.
Smith, John	Jean-Baptiste	Montréal	1690-1698	Salmon Falls or Berwick, Maine	NANF, 204; NEC 1: 187-188; Jetté, 1053-1054	He was taken prisoner with his mother (Martha Grant, above) at the age of about five. He lived two years with the Indians before being ransomed by Jean-Baptiste D'Ailleboust, a Montréal merchant. In 1693 he was baptized. In 1698 he and his mother returned to New England.
Smith, Martin		Montréal region?	1693-1698	Deerfield	NEC 2:35-36	He returned to Albany with Peter Schuyler. His wife was on trial in 1698 in Springfield, Massachusetts for the murder of her illegitimate baby; she was convicted and hanged.
Smith, Mary	Smirthe	Québec	1689-1690	New England	NANF, 204-05; Jetté, 1053	Her origin is unknown. She was taken prisoner by the French and Indians, brought to New France where she was hospitalized. She died in Québec in 1690.

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Smith, Nicholas		Kahnawake? Montréal?	1691-1694	Wells, Maine	NEC 1:399	He was exchanged in a prisoner exchange. He may have been a prisoner of the Iroquois. He and a fellow captive, Matthew Pawling, walked home via Albany -- the French provided them with a compass and map.
Solingue, Jean-Adam		Montréal?, Kaskaskias?	1696	Belgium, New York	LE, 241; Jetté, 1054	In about 1696 he married Marie Delisque in New Netherland (New York). His wife died in Kaskaskias in 1725.
Sozeau, Esther	Sauseau, Sozo, Saureau, Suzeau	Pointe-aux-Trembles	1699-1700	France, York, Esopus, New York	NANF, 205; Jetté, 906	She was a Protestant born in Marennes, France who renounced her religion before boarding a ship for Martinique with her aunt and perhaps her future husband. She landed instead at York, Maine, perhaps as a result of the capture of her ship by an English ship. After a period of captivity, she married Jean Petit (see this name) in 1697. The couple moved to Esopus, where they had a child, Charles (see this name). In 1699 the family took refuge in New France. She died at Pointe-aux-Trembles in 1700.
Spénard, André	Spennert	Québec	before 1690-1717	Germany	LE, 242-43; Jetté, 1056	He came to New France as a shoemaker. In 1690 he married Marie-Charlotte-Thérèse Arnaud. He died in Québec in 1717.
Squire, Elizabeth	Élisabeth, Squère, Sqvouere, Marie	Ile-d'Orléans	1689-1698	Dover, New Hampshire	NANF, 205-206; NEC 1: 75, 144 Jetté, 1057	She was about two years old when she was taken prisoner by the Abenakis. She spent several years with them. She was ransomed by Jean Létourneau, a tailor. She was baptized in 1695. In

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						1698 she returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Stackpole, John	Stagpole	Québec?	1710-1712	Saco, Maine	NEC 2: 21-22	He may have been captured twice, once in about 1710 and once in 1725.
Stebbins, Abigail	Marguerite, Stebbens, Stroberer, Stibbins, De Noyon, Denoyon, Gabrielle, Stebe, Sterees	Boucherville	1704-1740	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 206-207; NEC 2: 118-24; Jetté, 336, 1057	She was born in 1684 at Deerfield. In February 1704, she married Jacques De Noyon, coureur de bois, who had established a trade at Deerfield beginning about 1700. A few days after the wedding, Deerfield was attacked by French and Indian soldiers. Because Jacques was French, the couple and some members of the bride's family were freed upon arrival in Canada. The couple lived in Boucherville. In 1708 Abigail was baptized in Montréal. Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, governor general of New France, was her godfather, her godmother was Marguerite Bouat. She filed a complaint against her husband in 1708 and received a séparation des biens later that year. This allowed her to buy land in her own name which, even if her husband incurred debts (which he did) could not be taken away from her. In 1708 she acquired land at Boucherville. In 1710 she was naturalized. In 1714 her son René was sent to Deerfield, he stayed, and became Aaron Denio. In 1719 she returned to Deerfield to visit her parents, and returned to Canada. She may have gone south again in 1723. In 1725 she took another trip by canoe to New England where she gave birth in February, 1726, to a daughter, Marie-Anne De Noyon (see this name) in Deerfield who was baptized later that

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						year in Boucherville. Abigail died in Boucherville in 1740. With Jacques De Noyon she had twelve children.
Stebbins, Dorothy Alexander	Dorothy Alexander, Stebbins	Montréal	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 102; NEC 2: 118; Jetté, 1057.	She was from Newton, Massachusetts. She and her husband and several of their six children were captured in the 1704 raid on Deerfield. Two of their children, John and Samuel, went back to New England. She was taken to Montréal, where she lived with her husband and four children. One, Thankful-Marie-Louise married Adrien Legrain in Chambly, 1711. A son, Joseph, stayed in Canada. She returned to New England in 1714. She died in Newton, Massachusetts after 1733.
Stebbins, Ebenezer	Stebbens, Ebenezer-Jacques-Charles, Stibbins	Boucherville	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 207; NEC 2: 126-27; Jetté, 1057	He was nine years old when he was taken captive with his siblings and parents. He lived with his sister Abigail Stebbins (De Noyon) (see this name) at Boucherville. He was baptized in 1708, and naturalized in 1710. His godfather was Jacques Charles de Sabrevois, his godmother was Jeanne Crevier.
Stebbins, John	Stebbens, Stébenne, Steben, Stibbins	Kahnawake, Montréal	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 207-08; NEC 2: 118; Jetté, 1057	The eldest brother of the Stebbins family, he had moved to Deerfield about 1680, and married Dorothy Alexander of Newton, Massachusetts the same year. Along with at least three of their children, John and Dorothy were captured in 1704. They lived for several years with Indians before arriving at Montréal in 1708. In 1714 John, Dorothy, and John Jr. returned to New

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Stebbins, John Jr.		Montréal region	1704-1714	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 118-24	Son of John Stebbins, he was about nineteen years old. He returned to New England with his father.
Stebbins, Joseph	Stebbens, Stibbins	Montréal, Chambly, Saint-Mathias	1704-1753	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 208; NEC 2: 127-28; Jetté, 1057	He was about five when he was captured with his parents and siblings. He may have been baptized with the Indians. He lived with his parents in Montréal, and stayed in New France when they returned to New England. He married Marguerite James dit Langlais [or Marguerite Sanssoucy] in 1734. The couple farmed, and had at least four children. He died at Saint-Mathias in 1753.
Stebbins, Thankful	Stebbens, Stobbon, Louise-Thérèse, Stebbene, Stemen, Steben, Stibbins	Chambly, Boucherville	1704-1729	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 208-09; NEC 2: 125-26; Jetté, 700, 1057	She was twelve when she was captured with her family. She was ransomed by Jean-Baptiste Hertel de Rouville (leader of the Deerfield attack) in 1706. She was baptized in 1707 at Chambly; Hertel was her godfather, her godmother was Made[leine?] de Perigny. In 1710 she was naturalized, and in 1711 she married in Boucherville Adrien Legrain dit Lavallée, a militia captain. Joseph Maillot and Jacques De Noyon attended the the wedding. The couple had eleven children. Thankful died in 1729 after childbirth, probably in Chambly, where she is buried.

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Steims, Georges	Stems, Staim, George	Québec, Charlesbourg	1667-1685 or later	Switzerland	LE, 243; Jetté, 1057	He was a stoneworker. In 1669 he married Marie Pérodeau. Marie was a fille du roi. They had four children, one lived to marry. Georges was confirmed in Québec in 1681. Marie was accused of adultery in 1682.
Steven, Katharine	Stevens, Stephen, Nestinues, Marie-Françoise, Estivs, Nestius, Nestyus, Stiv	Québec, la Canardière	1689-1741	Pemaquid (Woolwich), Maine	NANF, 206; NEC 1: 173-175; Jetté, 869	She was about twelve when she was taken captive. She lived for several years with the Abenakis in the borderland and in New France. She was adopted by Indians named Nestyus and Marie Meray. She did not remember her birth parents' names. She was ransomed by Nicolas Pinault, a Québec merchant, who employed her as a servant. In 1697 she married Jacques Paquet, a farmer. The couple had thirteen or fourteen children. In 1710 she was naturalized. She was probably baptized during her time with the Abenakis.
Steven, Samuel	Estivs, Nestyus, Nestius		1689-?	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1:173-75	See Katharine Steven, probably the sister of Johnathan and Samuel. Johnathan and Samuel were either taken with Katharine, as infants. Katharine married a man named Jacques Paquet in Québec in 1697 and raised a family of fourteen children there. She died there in 1741. Samuel Stevens had not returned to New England by 1695.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Stevens, Johnathan	Estivs, Nestyus, Nestius		1689-?	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1:173-75	See Katharine and Samuel Steven, Johnathan was taken as an infant. Johnathan had not returned to New England by 1710.
Stevens, Samuel	Stephens	Montréal?	1709	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 371-72	He returned to New England.
Steward, Charles		Québec	1708-after 1713	England	LE, 244	He was probably a prisoner of war captured in the English colonies.
Stillet, Thomas	Stilet, Tilet	Trois-Rivières, Nicolet	1708-1731	England	LE, 244-45; Jetté, 1057; NANF 217-18	He was taken prisoner in 1708 or 1709. In 1710 he renounced his faith. In 1710 he married Marie-Madeleine Prévost. He became a farmer in Nicolet. In 1713 he was naturalized. After Madeleine's death, he married Louise Daneau in 1730. He died in Nicolet in 1731. He ransomed another captive (see Vertefeuille), and employed him on his farm in Nicolet.
Stilson, James	Jacques dit le Tilly, du Tilly	Montréal region, Batiscan, Trois-Rivières	1689-1708	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1: 175-179, 2: 3-8; Jetté, 198; NANF 209-210	He was about eight years old when he was taken prisoner by French and Abenakis with his sister Mary (see Mary Stilson). His father died in the attack. His mother, Margaret (Gould) Stilson, was captured and released in perhaps in 1695. He and his sister lived for several years with the Abenakis, during which time he was baptized. He lived in Batiscan for a few years, then traveled to Montréal where he worked as a commis in the magasins du Roi. In 1705 he married fellow captive Mary Batson (see this name), probably in the

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Montréal region. She had two children from a previous marriage (see Batson). Her first husband died in captivity. The notables who attended James' marriage to Mary included her sponsor Marguerite Bouat, wife of Antoine Pascaud, merchant; Sieur du Buisson; Sieur Tibierge, armorer of the king; Jean Thomas, ship carpenter, Michel le Pailleur Royal Notary. When they had a child, Marie-Anne Stilson (b. August 2, 1706) in 1706, the baptismal record shows Antoine Barrois, was the child's godfather, he was the clerk of M. Leber. Marie Anne Lemaitre de la Moille (Lamoille?) was the godmother. In 1708 they returned with three children to New England, probably to Newcastle, as part of a prisoner exchange.
Stilson, John			1689-?	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1:123, 175, 176	He may have been captured with his mother and siblings (see James Stilson) but his later fate is unknown.
Stilson, Margaret		Québec?	1687 or 1689-1699	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1: 175-7	She was about ten years old and later told the story of her capture to neighbors. She said she lived in Canada for twelve years. She returned to New England by 1699.
Stilson, Margaret Gould		Québec	1687 or 1695	Pemaquid, Maine	NEC 1: 175-79; Hannah Swarton's "Narrative"; NANF, 209-10	She was the mother of four, captured with her children in a canoe on the Muscongus river. Her husband died in the attack. She worked with fellow captive Hannah Swarton in the intendant's house, probably as a servant to Madame de Champigny. She returned to New England in 1695.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Stilson, Mary	Stilsours, Flisson, Marie-Madeleine	Québec	1689-1768	Pemaquid	NANF 209-210; NEC 1: 177-78; Jetté, 198	She was about six years old when she was captured with her brother James (see above). She lived with Indians for six years before being separated from her brother. She was ransomed by Madame de Champigny, wife of the intendant of New France, with whom she may have lived for a while, as her mother (see Margaret Gould Stilson) was a domestic there. She was baptized in 1695. In 1702 she married Jean Baptiste Cardinet dit Chevalier, a wigmaker and surgeon. Her brother attended her wedding. In 1710 she was naturalized. The couple had sixteen children, at least six of whom died young. Mary died in Québec in 1768.
Stimouni, Marie-Madeleine	Thimouny	Québec	1689-1692 or later	?Maine	NANF, 210; NEC 2:393; Jetté, 1142	Her name and origin are not known. She was taken from New England in about 1689, when she was at least four years old. She was raised with Indians in the Québec region. She was baptized in 1692. She may have lived out the rest of her life in the Indian community.
Stockwell, Quentin		Sorel	1677-1678	Deerfield	NEC 1:132-36	(See Obadiah Dickinson)
Storer, Mary	Marie, Storrer, Storrar, Stozer, Gaultier, Gauthier, Storir	Boucherville, Montréal	1703-1747	Wells, Maine	NANF, 210-11; NEC 1: 413-20; Jetté, 478, 1057	She was about eighteen years old when she and her cousins were captured by French and Abenakis. She was ransomed by the Boucher family of Boucherville. She was baptized in 1704. Her baptism was sponsored by Niverville (son of Pierre Boucher) and Claire Francoise Chavet. In 1708 she married Jean Gauthier dit Saint-G

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						ermain. She was naturalized in 1710. They had eight children. She corresponded with her mother and brother in New England, and may have received money from them. Two of her cousins, Rachel and Priscilla Storer, were also captives, and also married and had children in New France. Mary visited her parents and relatives in New England in 1725, accompanied by Theodore Atkinson (an envoy from Boston), Jean-Baptiste Daguilhe (Priscilla Storer's husband) and Esther Sayward. In 1733 she made efforts to obtain her share of her father's estate, writing her brother, "we are al the same blode you can not denie it." She died in Montréal in 1747. After her death, her husband continued to correspond with her New England relatives until 1754, the eve of the Seven Years' War. When he wrote to her brother of the death of his "chere femme," her husband described the marriage, "Depuis trente neuf ans que nous avons été ensemble nous avons fait un menage D'Ange et navons jamais eu aucune difficulté" and his wife, "une des meilleur femmes du monde."
Storer, Priscilla	Marie-Priscille, Story, Priscilla-Marie, Marie prissil Sertori, Storrer, Dageuil, Daguilhe	Montréal	1703-1768	Wells, Maine	NANF, 211; NEC 1:413-25; Jetté, 299, 1057	She was nineteen years old when she was captured by French and Abenakis at Wells with her sister and cousin. She lived with Indians for a while before being ransomed by Pierre Lacougnier dit Lacroix or Pierre Lanequet, who employed her as a servant. She was baptized in 1705. Marie-Anne Legras and Pierre Lacougnier or Lanequet were her sponsors. In 1710 she was naturalized. In 1711 she married Jean-Baptiste Daguilhe, a sergeant and

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						merchant. The marriage was witnessed by Henri Jules Le Fouriner/(Fournier?), Louis Hector Le Fournier, François Oger dit La Fleur, Pierre Picart and Marie "Storey," the bride's cousin. They had ten children. Her husband was an envoy between Albany and Montréal, carrying letters for governors of both governments. One of her sons participated in the raid on Fort Massachusetts (in western Massachusetts) in 1746. She died in Montréal in 1768.
Storer, Rachel	Stora, Rachel-Marie-Françoise, Bargee, Bergee, Storrer, Stozer	Québec	1703-1709 or later	Wells	NANF, 211-12; NEC 1:413-25, 2:391; Jetté 86, 1057, 1143; DCB II:54	She was captured with her sister and cousin (see Mary and Priscilla Storer) when she was about sixteen years old by French and Abenakis. She lived for several years with Indians. She was ransomed by Pierre Houssart, Québec merchant. She was baptized in 1706. Jacques Le Vasseur de Nerey and Marie Françoise Achille Chaveneau were her sponsors. She married soldier Jean Berger, a Montréal decorative and portrait painter, the next day. Two portraits attributed to Jean are those of Zacharie-François Hertel and Jean-Baptiste Hertel in McGill University's McCord Museum in Montréal. (The Hertel family were leaders of many raids on New England settlements.) Two children died in childbirth. Jean allegedly beat an apothecary, Claude de Saint-Olive, was jailed along with Edward Fletcher and James Adams (see these names), released, then composed and sang a song ridiculing Saint-Olive and the judges. For this offense, he was banished, and he and his wife went to New England around 1709. The couple can be traced to

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						Boston, where Rachel was known as Rachel Bergee in 1729. She inherited money from her father that year.
Stover, Joseph	Stouer	Montréal	1705-1713	York	NANF, 212; NEC 1:246-47; Jetté, 1057	He was married with four children when Abenakis attacked York. His wife was killed, the children escaped initially but were eventually captured. Joseph was ransomed by an Abenaki named Françoise Domitille. He was baptized in 1707, naturalized in 1710, and returned to New England in 1713. In 1706 three of his children were released and returned to New England via Port-Royal.
Strong, Samuel		Longueuil, Montréal	1711-1712 or later	Northampton	NEC 1: 333-35	His son was killed in the attack. He wrote a long letter to his wife in 1711, trusting his fate to God. Local tradition relates that he returned, unannounced, to the full meeting-house in Northampton on a "Lecture Day."
Sullivan, Thimothé	Sullivan, Timothy	Québec, Neuville, Montréal, Varennes,	1717-1749	Ireland, New England	LE, 247; Jetté, 1058	He came to New France from New England as a doctor and surgeon. In 1720 he married Marie-Renée Gauthier. In 1724 he was naturalized. In 1724 he became médecin du Roi. He worked at the Hôtel-Dieu in Montréal, which was managed by his daughter-in-law (belle-fille), Marguerite D'Youville. He was accused of beating his wife (and children?). He died in Varennes in 1749.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Swarton, Hannah	Joanna, Ebal, Soarre, Shiard, Shaken, Souarten Sowarten, Schouarden Souard	Québec	1690-1695	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:204-206	She was taken with her four children, her husband (perhaps a French-speaking Jersey Islander) was killed in the attack. The captives were divided at Norridgewock; she was placed with fellow captive John York. Her native mistress was a Catholic who had been raised in an English community at Blackpoint (Casco Bay). Sent by her mistress to beg for food, she boarded briefly with a French family before venturing to Québec to request ransom. She was counseled in this action by a French man and an English man, as well as by her hostess. She was cared for by the intendant's wife and then by the hospital. Although her native master and mistress tried to get her back, she was paid for by the intendant's wife and employed as a servant. She had regular conversations with Colonel Edward Tyng and merchant John Alden (see these names) and with fellow captive Margaret Stilson who was employed in the same house. She wrote (or more likely, dictated) a famous account of her captivity.
Swarton, Jasper		Québec	1690-1695	Fort Loyal(Portland) , Maine	NEC 1: 204-206	He was five years old when he was captured. He returned to New England with his mother.
Swarton, Mary	Swarden, Souart, Souard, Soarre, Shaken, Souarten, Schouarden, Marie-Madeleine	near Trois-Rivières, Québec, Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Montréal, Saint-Laurent, Pointe-Claire	1690-1740 or later	Casco Bay (Falmouth), Maine	NANF 212-13; NEC 1: 206-07; Jetté, 631	She was about twelve when she was captured by French and Abenakis at Casco Bay. She lived with Abenakis in the region of Trois-Rivières. She was baptized in 1695 at Cap-de-la-Madeleine. In 1697 she married fellow captive John "Lahey" (see Lahaie). She was naturalized in 1710. The couple

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						had thirteen children. She died, probably in New France, between 1740 and 1749.
Tarbell, John		Kahnawake, St. Regis	1707-?	Groton	NANF 213-14; NEC 1:293-97	Born in 1695, he was eleven years old when he was captured with his brother Zacharie. He lived at Kahnawake and St. Regis and married a native woman, (see Zacharie Tarbell).
Tarbell, Sarah	Sarah-Marguerite	Lachine, Montréal	1707-1712	Groton	NANF, 213-14; NEC 1: 293-97; Jetté, 1062	She was ten years old when she and her brothers were taken by French and Abenakis while they were picking cherries. She was ransomed by the Congrégation Nôtre-Dame de Lachine. She renounced her religion and was baptized in 1708. She was naturalized in 1710. She returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1712. Her brothers (see Zacharie and John Tarbell) lived in the native communities at Kahnawake and later St. Regis.
Tarbell, Zacharie		Kahnawake, St. Regis	1707-?	Groton	NANF 213-14; NEC 1:293-97	Born in 1700, he was captured with his brother, John. He lived at Kahnawake and St. Regis and married a native woman. One or both of the Tarbell brothers became chiefs. In 1739 they revisited Groton. They were offered land and money to resettle in New England. They refused. They often traded at Albany. Zacharie may have married Marie Madeleine Kauerote (d. 1779 at Kahnawake).

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Taylor, Andrew	Tailleur, André	Québec	1689-1705 or later	Saco?	NANF, 214; NEC 2:392; Jetté 1061	He was about twenty-three when he was captured, perhaps in Maine. He lived with the Indians for a short while before being ransomed by Jean Bouin of the séminaire of Québec, where he was a servant. In 1691 he renounced his religion. It is not known if, when or how he returned to New England.
Taylor, Rebecca		Montréal	1704-1705 or later	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:366-69; NANF 214-15	She was taken to Montréal. A probably apocryphal story relates that her native master, Samson, tried to hang her. According to her story, Bomazeen intervened and saved her life. She returned to New England before 1720.
Taylor, Richard	Taillard	Sainte-Anne-de-la-Perade, Saint-Joachim, Ile-Jésus, Terrebonne Saint-Vincent-de-Paul	about 1708-1743	England	LE, 249; Jetté, 1065	He was a captive of war in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. In 1712 he married Marie Bolduc and became a farmer. The couple had three children. In 1743, after Marie's death, he married Madeleine Deguiel. He died at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in 1743.
Taylor, William	Guillaume-François	Montréal	1704-1712	Exeter, Massachusetts	NEC 1:366-69; NANF 214-15; Jetté, 1065	He was about thirteen when he was taken in an attack during which his father, a master ship carpenter, was killed and his mother was also captured (see Rebecca Taylor). He lived with the Indians for a while before being released to Claude de Ramezay, the governor of Montréal, in about 1705. He was a servant of Claude de Ramezay. He was a shoemaker in Montreal. He converted to Catholicism and was baptized in 1706, he was naturalized in 1710 and died in 1712. His godfather was Francois Clairambault d'Aigremont, his

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						godmother was Catherine de Ramezay. Jacob Gilman, John Wedgewood and Joseph Bartlett signed the register at his funeral.
Tekenihatie, Louis		Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes	1717?-?	New England?	NANF, 215; NEC 2: 387	He was born in 1707 and probably came at a young age to an Indian mission, where he was raised. His origin is unknown. In 1727 he married Marthe Kesennagon, probably an Amerindian, at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes.
Terme, Jean	dit Le Suisse	Ile-d'Orléans	1662-1665	Switzerland	LE, 249; Jetté, 1066	He received a concession. In 1665 he courted Marguerite Boileau, wife of Jean Serreau. Jean Serreau shot him "sur la grève de l'Ile-d'Orléans" in 1665.
Thomas, Claude		Québec, Charlesbourg	1693-1761	Dover, New Hampshire	Jetté, 1079-80; NANF 161-62, 215	At the age of about twelve, Claude Thomas was captured, probably by Abenakis from Trois-Rivières, with his mother, Hannah Lezard in New England (see this name). She was hospitalized and returned to New England, he stayed in New France. He may have been of the Catholic faith before his arrival in New France. He married Marie-Anne Villeneuve in Charlesbourg in 1706, where the couple farmed. They had at least thirteen children. He died in Charlesbourg 1761.
Thomas, Hannah Lezard	Lega, Leza	Québec	1693-1695	New England	NANF, 161-62	At the age of about twenty-seven she was taken captive with her son, Claude Thomas, then about twelve years old. They appear to have been captured by Indians from the Trois-Rivières region.

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						She was returned to New England in 1695, but her son remained in New France.
Thomas, Jean		Lauzon, Montréal	1693-1720	England, New England	LE, 250; Jetté, 1079	He was taken prisoner in New England. He renounced his faith in 1695. In 1695 he married Anne Duquet. He was naturalized in 1710. A master shipbuilder, he worked at Lauzon for several years. The couple had eight children in Montréal. He died there around 1720.
Thomas, Joseph		Batiscan	1694	New England	Jetté, 1079	He was born about 1686. He was baptized in Batiscan.
Thomas, Joseph		Boucherville	1698	Jersey Isles, Plaisance	Jetté, 1079	He was born in 1684 in the Jersey Isles, captured by the English at two years old, and recaptured by the French at Plaisance about 1697. He was baptized in Boucherville.
Thomas, Joseph	Tome	Batiscan	1689-1712	New England	NANF, 215-16; NEC 1: 254; Jetté, 1079	He was only a few months old when he was captured. He was ransomed by Joseph Trottier sieur Desruisseaux, a merchant. In 1694 he was baptized. He may have been returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Thomas, Marguerite		Québec, Château-Richer, L'Ange-Gardien	1655-1699	Belgium	LE, 251; Jetté, 1096	In 1655 she married weaver Jean Trudel. They had eleven children, nine of whom lived to marry. She died in L'Ange-Gardien in 1699.

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Tibbets, Nathaniel	Tibs		1705-1711	Cocheco (Dover), New Hampshire	NEC 1:165	He probably died between 1711 and 1717, as his wife remarried in 1717.
Tical, Pierre	Tiquel	Québec	1709-1710	Belgium	LE, 251; Jetté, 1081	He married Marie Thivierge in 1709.
Tielle, Alexandre	Tile	Québec	1676	Germany	LE, 252	He was hospitalized in Québec in 1676. He renounced his faith in 1676.
Toothaker, Margaret		Québec? St. François?	1695-?	Billerica	NEC 1: 305	She was twelve years old when she was taken. Her aunt and mother had been accused of witchcraft in Massachusetts, her aunt had been hanged for the offense.
Tourgis, Jeanne	Montaye	Montréal	1709-1713	Jersey Isle, Newfoundland	LE 201-202; Jetté, 825	She and her son (see Montaye) were captured in Newfoundland. She returned to France.
Tozier, Elizabeth	Tozer		1690	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1: 193-95	She was taken with her husband, Richard Tozier, Jr. She was baptized in Montréal in 1693, at about 40 years old. Local tradition relates that she was captured three times.
Tozier, Richard	Tozer		1690	Salmon Falls, Maine	NEC 1:193-95	His father and a brother were killed in the attack. Local tradition relates that Richard's father was captured twice. Richard, Jr. was in captivity for a few months.

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Trafton, Charles	Strafton, Trafin, Trafveton, Charles-Marie, Louis-Marie	Québec, Montréal	1693-1712	York, Maine	NANF, 216; NEC 1:244-45; Jetté, 1087; LE, 252	He was about twelve years old when he was captured by French and Abenakis. The Abenakis gave him to Governor Louis-Baude de Frontenac, governor of New France. He became a gunsmith. He was baptized in 1694, and was probably naturalized in 1710. He returned to New England in 1712 as part of a prisoner exchange.
Trud, Jacques	Trut		?1656-after 1665	Switzerland	LE, 253	He was a friend of Jean Terme's (see this name). He received land in Sainte-Famille de l'Ile-d'Orléans in 1663. He may have been a tailor.
Tsiosenniha, Marie-Anne		Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes	1720-1727 or later	New England or New York	NANF, 216; NEC 2: 387	Her origin is unknown. She was taken to a native community in the region of Montréal. In 1727 she married Louis Tekfnihatie (Tiook8anown) a Mohawk of Oka.
Turbot, Abigail	Turbet, Cass, Kess	Montréal	1703-1705	Cape Porpoise, Maine	NEC 2: 8-9	She was baptized in December, 1705 and died the same month. Witnessing her baptism were fellow captive Madeleine Warren; New Jersey resident Jean Lalande was an interpreter for her last rites. Mary Odiorne Batson was at her deathbed. See Jean Lalande and Mary Batson.
Tyng, Edward	King	Québec	1691-1694	Boston or Casco?(taken at sea)	NEC 1: 214-219	A colonel, he had been appointed governor of Port Royal but was greeted with hostility by both settlers and natives and was returning to Boston when he was captured. His wife, Elizabeth Clark (see this name) was a prisoner taken at

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						Casco in 1690 and lived in Québec. He may have met her there during his captivity (see Hannah Swarton). He died in prison in France before 1694.
Uso, Jean		Québec	1694-1710	England	LE, 253	He was hospitalized in 1694, and naturalized in 1710. He left New France after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht.
Van Der Werken, Hendrik-Roeloffse	Henry Rocloffe, Van De Werkan	Montréal	1707-1710 or later	Halve Maan, (near Albany) New York	NANF, 216-17, Jetté, 1113	Of Dutch parentage, he was raised in New York. At the age of about twenty-four he married, probably in a Protestant church, Marie Poupart (see this name). In the winter of 1707-1708 the couple left New York with the children of René Poupart and Marie Perrin. Their own first child was baptized in 1708 in Montréal. In August of the same year, Hendrik renounced his religion. In December, the couple's marriage was revalidated in the Catholic Church. A second child was born in Canada before this couple returned to Halve Maan, sometime before 1712.
Vanderdyke, Joseph	dit Gatebois, Vandandaigue	Québec, Beaufort, Charlesbourg	1671 or before-1725	Belgium	LE, 254; Jetté, 1112	In 1678 he married Louise Chalifou. He died in Charlesbourg, 1725.
Vanebs, Jan Baptist	Van Eps, Evrard, Joseph-Evrard	Montréal	1695-1698	Schenectady (Corlaer)	NANF, 217; Jetté, 1113	He was captured by Indians during the attack on Corlaer (Schenectady). He was given by them to Jean Bouchard, intendant of New France. He may have been a servant. He was baptized in 1696. He left New France with a prisoner exchange in 1698.

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Vanneck, Marie	dit Sophie, Vane, Vance, Vannech	Québec, Chambly, Contrecoeur	1681-1707	Netherlands	LE, 254; Jetté, 637, 849	She was born in 1652. She married Edouard or Edward Scott, a merchant, in Europe. He died in the Antilles. Following his death she came with her son Jean-Baptiste Demeulles (see this name) to New France. She may have arrived in New France via Albany. She arrived in January, 1682. In 1682 she married merchant Eustache Lambert dit Dumont. After his death, she married Louis De Niort. They had no children. He left for France, and she obtained a "separation." She died in Québec in 1707.
Vansegue, Anne-Marie	Phanseque, Phanaque, Vansègue	Montréal, Ile-Jésus	1673-1722	Germany	LE, 254-55; Jetté, 720, 197	She was a fille du roi. In 1673 she married Hubert Leroux, a fur merchant. The couple had three children. After his death she married Gabriel Cardinal, who was employed traveling west in the fur trade. She died on Ile-Jésus in 1722. By her first marriage she had three children, by her second marriage she had one child.
Vanuel, Jean	Vandre dit Latouche, Manuel	Acadia, Rivière-Saint-Jean	1638-1646?	Switzerland	LE, 255	He was a tailor, employed first by Pierre Desportes to go to Ile-du-Cap-Breton and next by Charles de Saint Étienne to go to Rivière-Saint-Jean.
Vaucel, Claude	Vanals (signature)	l'Ancienne-Lorette	1716	Netherlands	LE, 265	He may have been born of Huguenot parents in the Netherlands. In 1716 he renounced his faith and "[fit] sa communion."

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Vertefeuille, Jean-François	dit Langlais	Nicolet	about 1708-1764	New England	NANF, 217-18; Jetté, 1122; NEC 2:395	His birth name and residence is unknown. He was about sixteen years old when he was captured by French and Abenakis. He lived with Abenakis for a few years after his capture. He was ransomed by fellow captive turned habitant Thomas Stillet (see this name) who employed him on his Nicolet farm. He was perhaps naturalized in 1713. In 1722 he married Marie-Marguerite Dupuis, Stillet's stepdaughter. He took trips west in 1726 and 1727. The couple had fifteen children. He died in Nicolet in 1764.
Vilermaula, de, Louis-Michel		Montréal, La Prairie, Lachine	1697-1718	Switzerland	LE, 256; DCB III:649	He was a Sulpician priest. He went to La Prairie in 1702, and established the Congregation Notre-Dame there in 1705, then established a school for girls in Lachine. He was recalled in 1718 and expelled from the order.
Villeday, Pierre	dit Laviolette	Montréal, Québec, Charlesbourg	before 1698-1716	Spain	LE, 256; Jetté, 1128	He came as a soldier with the troupes de la Marine. In 1698 he married Renée-Charlotte Voisin. After her death, he married Marie-Anne Proteau, widow of Jean Daigle (see this name). They had three children. He farmed in Charlesbourg until 1712, when he moved back to Québec, where he died in 1716.
Villiard, Germain		Québec	1718-after 1744	Germany	LE, 256-57; Jetté, 1129	He was a carpenter, engaged for three years to work in New France. In 1721 he married Marie-Françoise Guillot, the couple had five children before her death. In 1743 he married Angélique Renaud.

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Villiers, Louis		Montréal	1719	New England	Jetté, 1129	He was the son of Marguerite-Renée Jenkill (see this name) and Charles-Michel Villiers, of New England.
Villieu, de, Sébastien	sieur de Daudeville	Saint-Antoine-de-Tilly	1665-1674	Italy	LE, 257	A career soldier, he came to New France in 1665 with the Carignan regiment. He was naturalized in 1668. He returned to France and brought his wife and two children to New France in 1670. One child died in Québec, the other returned when the family returned to France in 1674. Villieu was given a seigneury in Saint-Antoine-de-Tilly.
Vile, Elisabeth		Québec	1693-1694	England, English colonies (New England?)	LE, 257-58	She was taken captive in the English colonies. She was hospitalized twice in Québec.
Waite, -----		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	She was a child. (See Obadiah Dickinson)
Waite, -----		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC 1:131-36	She was a child. (See Obadiah Dickinson)
Waite, -----		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield	NEC: 131-36	She was a child. (See Obadiah Dickinson)

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Waite, Martha		Sorel	1677-1678	Hatfield, Massachusetts	NEC 1: 131-36	She had a child while in captivity, whom she named Canada Waite.
Wallis, Elizabeth		Québec?	1703-1711 or later	Portland, Maine	NEC 2: 31	She was captured in a raid during which many were killed.
Wannannemin, Jane	Jeanne	Montréal, Sault-St.-Louis?, Sault-au-Récollet	1695-1698 or later	Squakig (Northfield), Massachusetts	NANF, 218; NEC 1:300-301	Her parents were perhaps of Natick or Squakig, and she mentioned that they were Loups (Mohegans). She and her husband John Mamusk or Mamusko had lived in coastal and riverine New England after the migration of natives away from Natick toward Medfield. She may have lived on Deer Island in the bay (Boston harbor?). They were captured by Sowati, a Sault Indian (probably from Sault St. Louis), in 1695 either near Deerfield or near Squakig. She was baptized in Montreal in 1698, and lived in Montréal and later with Indians from Sault-au-Recollet. Her godmother was fellow captive Martha (Mills) Grant (see this name).
Ward, Elisha		Montréal?	1709-1711 or later	Worcester	NEC 1: 317	He was twenty-three years old. He was carrying mail on the Post Road from Marlborough to Hadley when he was captured.
Warner, Ebenezer		Québec	1704-1706 or later	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:128	His wife was killed in the attack. He returned before 1714, when he took a trip to Canada to seek his younger daughter, Waitstill.

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Warner, Sarah		Québec	1704-1706 or later	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 128	She was four, she probably returned with her father (see Ebenezer Warren).
Warner, Waitstill		Kahnawake?	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 128	She was three, she was taken with her parents and sister, Sarah. Her mother was killed on the march. She never returned.
Waters, Jean		Québec	1708-1709	England	LE, 259	He was a war captive captured in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. He renounced his faith in 1709.
Watson, Hannah	Elizabeth, Austin, Sterman, Hesseman, Anne, Beard, Kent, Anne Hesemenne	Québec?	1694-1702	Durham, Oyster River, New Hampshire	NEC 1:276-78; NANF, 219-20	Hannah Watson and her son (see Joseph Watson) were captured, her husband and the rest of the family were killed in the attack. She requested reimbursement for her expenses while she was in Canada, including two pounds ten shillings "to a french man who promised to redeem my son therewith." She relates that she had to buy clothing when she "came naked out of Captivity."
Watson, Joseph	Houatsan, Ouatsenne, Joseph Robert, Oisten, Robert (as a surname), Ouatson, Ouetsin	Trois-Rivières, Montréal	1694-1749	Oyster River, Pescataquis, Dover, New Hampshire	NEC 1: 276-79; NANF 219-20; Jetté 994-95	He was about fourteen when he was captured with his mother in an attack where his father and the rest of his siblings were killed. He lived for several years with Abenakis near Trois-Rivières. He was ransomed by Étienne Véron, a merchant in the same town. He was baptized at Trois-Rivières in 1697. His godfather was Étienne Veron, his godmother was Marie-Joseph Jutra. He married Marie-Magdeleine Demers in Montréal in 1711. Attending the

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						marriage were Robert Demers, Pierre Pibaran, René Colet and Marien Taillandier. They had one child. Joseph was a merchant. In 1717, after Marie-Magdeleine's death, he married Angélique Bénard Carignan in Boucherville. They had three children, one of whom, Angélique (born in 1718), married Joseph Baby. Their house burned in June 1721, Joseph's wife Angélique died a few months later. He died in 1749 in Canada.
Weber, Barsheba	Wabert, Bathsheba, Marie	Québec	1710-1730 or later	York, Maine	NANF, 220; NEC 1:250-51; Jetté, 1031, 1134	She was taken prisoner at the age of about eight by French and Indians. She lived with the Indians, probably Abenakis, for several years before being ransomed by a French family in Québec. She was baptized in 1714. In 1720 she married Joseph Saleur in Québec. The couple had six children, two survived childhood.
Weber, Elizabeth	Wabert, Webber, Élisabeth	Québec, Montréal	1703-before 1721	York?	NANF, 220-21; NEC 1: 159-64, 2:394; Jetté, 571, 1134, 1143	She was about twelve years old when she was captured by Indians and ransomed by Nicolas Pinault who adopted her as his daughter. She was baptized in 1704, her godfather was Pierre Moller dit l'Allemand (see Moller) and her godmother was Marie-Thérèse L'Allemand. In 1710 she was naturalized. Later that year she married fellow captive Nathaniel Otis (see Otis). Nicolas Pinault gave the bride a gift of 800 livres. The couple lived in Montréal and had seven children. She died, perhaps in Montréal, between 1719 and 1721.

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Weber, Jean-Baptiste	Ouabard dit Langlais, Hubbard	Cap-Saint-Ignace,	1704-after 1763	New England	NANF, 221; NEC 2:396; Jetté, 858-59	He was about thirteen when he was taken by French and Indians. He spent several years with the Indians, during which time he was baptized. He married Hélène Compairon in 1730. The couple farmed, they had no children.
Weber, Joseph	Ouabar dit Langlais, Oueberk, Hubbard, Webster, Joseph-Philippe, L'anglois	Cap-Saint-Ignace	1703-1756	New England	NANF, 221-222; NEC 2: 396; Jetté 858	He was from New England, perhaps from the Boston area, of parents perhaps named Webster. He was about thirteen when he was captured; he lived with the Indians for a while before obtaining his liberty. He may have renounced his religion in 1706. He married Marie-Charlotte Guillet in 1725. They had seven children. He died at Cap-Saint-Ignace in 1756.
Wedgwood, John		Montréal	1710-1712	Exeter, New Hampshire	NANF, 222; NEC 1: 372-73	He was taken prisoner by French and Indians. He was present at the burial of fellow captive William Taylor. He returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange by June, 1712.
Wells, Luke		Québec	1704	Exeter, New Hampshire	NEC 1:367	He was twenty-three when he was captured.
Wentworth, Elizabeth	Élisabeth, Wintworth, Isabella	Boucherville	1690-1695	Salmon Falls	NANF, 223-24; NEC 1: 193-95; Jetté, 1134	She was thirty-seven when she and her husband were captured; her husband appears to have been released after a few years. She lived with Indians for about four years before being ransomed by Pierre Boucher who employed her as a servant. In 1693 she was baptized. In 1695 she returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.

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Wheeler, Tabitha		Montréal region?	1697-?	Lancaster	NEC 1: 310	Her husband had been killed in 1695.
Wheelwright, Esther	Whellwright, Marie-Joseph, Mère de l'Enfant-Jésus,	Montréal, Québec	1703-1780	Wells, Maine	NANF, 224; NEC 1: 425-35; Jetté, 1134	She was about seven years old when she was captured. She lived several years with Indians, probably Abenakis, during which time she was baptized. In 1708 she was given to the Ursulines in Québec. After working in Montréal and Trois-Rivières, she decided to live in Canada. She took her vows in 1714. In December, 1760, she became mother superior of the Ursulines, a post she filled from 1760-1766 and from 1769-1772. She died in Québec in 1780.
Wheelwright, Hannah	Parson, Anna-Catherine Whellwright	Sault-au-Récollet	1703-1706	Wells, Maine	NANF, 225; NEC 1:410-13	She was probably related to Esther Wheelwright (see this name). She was captured at Wells with one or two daughters at the age of about twenty-three, her husband, William Parsons, was killed in the attack. She was baptized, probably at an Indian mission. She attended the baptism of her daughter (Esther?) at Sault-au-Récollet in 1704. In 1706 she was ransomed and was one of the captives returned to New England with envoy John Sheldon.
White, Guillaume	Jacques	Québec	1709	England	LE, 260	He was captured in Acadia or Newfoundland. He renounced his faith in 1710 and was naturalized in 1713.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Whiting, Samuel	Whitting	Québec, Montréal	1709-1712	Billerica or Dunstable, Massachusetts	NANF, 225; NEC 1: 330-32	He was forty-six years old when he was captured by Abenakis. He may have warned Governor Vaudreuil of the English plan for an invasion of the St. Lawrence and provided information about the readiness of the New England colonies for war. Several captives were released with him in 1712, on the condition that they never fight in a war against New France. Like many other captives, he demanded reparations (in his case, ten pounds) for his captivity in Canada from the General Court of Massachusetts. He died of smallpox about sixteen months after his return to Massachusetts.
Whitticer, Abraham	Whittaker, Whittiker	Québec	1691-1701 or later	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1:339, 344	He was about eight years old when he was captured.
Wickby, Jean-Baptiste	Oicbac	Québec	1690-1695	York, Maine	NANF, 225; NEC 1:191	His birth name is not known. He was taken prisoner at the age of about two by the French and Abenakis, and ransomed, perhaps by Claude Jutras dit Lavallée of Trois-Rivières. He was baptized in 1690, and, at the age of about eight years old, he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange.
Wilding, Guillaume		Québec	1709-1713	England	LE, 260	He was captured in Newfoundland in 1709. He was "bourreau de métier" (he was an executioner). He renounced his faith in 1709, and was naturalized in 1713. He returned to England after the Treaty of Utrecht.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Willen, Jean	Willis, Houlet, Hillet, Ouellette	Québec, Batiscan, Pointe-aux-Trembles de Québec(Neuville)	1708-after 1734	England	LE, 260-261; Jetté, 1134	He arrived as a prisoner captured in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence or Newfoundland. A soldier, and then a shoemaker, he married Louise-Catherine Larchevesque in 1710. He renounced his faith in 1710 and was naturalized in 1713. The couple had 11 children. In 1733, after Louise-Catherine's death, he married Geneviève Papillon.
Willey, -----	Willis, Ouelli	Québec	1689-after 1710	Oyster River	NEC 1: 255-61	She was baptized in 1693, may have married a Vildaigre of Québec, and in 1697 became a lifelong pensioner at the Ursulines convent of Québec. In 1710 she was naturalized.
Willey, Elizabeth	Élisabeth, Vlie, Willis, Welley	Québec	1689-1695	Oyster River	NANF, 222; NEC 1:260	She was taken prisoner with her mother (see Abigail Pitman) and sisters at Oyster River by the French and Abenakis. She lived with Abenakis for a while, during which time she was baptized. She returned to New England with a prisoner exchange in 1695.
Willey, Mary	Abigail? Willis, Ouellis, Vlis, Rollis, Marie, Welley, Wellis	Québec	1689-1776	Oyster River	NANF, 223; NEC 1: 255-62; Jetté, 20, 898, 1134; DCB IV:172-73	She was about nine when she and her sisters were captured (see Abigail Pitman) and lived several years with Indians before being ransomed. In 1702 she married Charles Arnaud, menuisier (carpenter). The couple lived in Québec. After his death, Mary married Pierre Perrault in 1704. The children born of this marriage did not survive. She was naturalized in 1722. After Pierre's death, she married Barthelémy Cotton, chapelier (hatter) and inspector of the Compagnie des Indes, in 1741.

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						He may have used her money to begin a new business (tile kiln) in that year. The couple lived near the Jesuit College in Québec. They had no children. She died in Québec in 1776.
Willey, Mary	Willis, Vuillis, Vlis, Welley. Ouillis	Montréal, Québec	1689-1703	Oyster River (Durham), New Hampshire	NANF, 222-23; NEC 1:255-60; Jetté, 678, 1134	She was about thirteen years old when she was taken with her mother, Abigail Pitman (see this name) and perhaps with other sisters. She was baptized in 1692 in Québec. She was given to Governor Frontenac who gave her to the hospitalières in Montréal. She was a tourière (doorkeeper) for the Sisters of St. Joseph in Montréal. In 1698 she married Jean Lecompte in Québec. The couple had three children, two of whom survived childhood. She died in Québec in 1703, six months after the birth of her third child.
Williams, Esther	William	Montréal	1704-1705	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 51-52	She was about thirteen when she was taken captive (see John Williams). She was hospitalized when she arrived in New France, and returned to New England with envoy John Sheldon in 1705.
Williams, Eunice	William, Marguerite, Margarett, Maria, 8aongote, Gon'aongote, Aongote, 8aon,got, Gannensten-hawi	Sault Saint-Louis	1704-after 1781	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 54-63	She was a girl of seven years old when she was taken captive (see John Williams). She was raised at Sault-St.-Louis, baptized and married François-Xavier Arosen, sometime before 1713. She had three children, two of whom married. She refused many personal appeals by envoys including her father, the Schuylers, other ministers and government representatives, to return to

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						New England. She visited New England in 1740, 1741, 1742 and 1761. She died in 1785. Fifty years later her descendants gathered near Deerfield for prayer services and trade. The bibliography on Eunice is extensive. For a recent compilation, see John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive.
Williams, John	William	Chambly, Saint-François, Montréal	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 226; NEC 2: 39-64	The minister at Deerfield, he and his family were captured by French and Indians. A black female slave of the Williams household was killed in the battle, along with two of the children. His wife and another slave died en route. Williams and five children were taken to Canada. He was forty years old at the time of his capture, and his physical hardship, as well as his spiritual journey, are detailed in his much-published narrative. He was ransomed from the Abenakis by Vaudreuil and returned to New England in 1706. He made personal attempts before he left Canada, and after, to remove his children from Sault Saint-Louis.
Williams, Samuel	William	Senneville? Montréal	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 227; NEC 2: 49-51; Jetté, 1134	He was fourteen years old when he was captured (see John Williams). He lived with Indians for a few months. He was ransomed by Montréal merchant Jacques Leber (father), Sieur de Senneville, who employed him as a servant. He was taught French by Father Meriel. He was baptized in 1705 at the Soeurs de la Congrégation in Montreal so that recluse Jeanne Leber, Jacques' daughter (and perhaps Anne Barrois as well) could be present. His godfather was Jacques Leber, his

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						godmother was Marguerite Bouat. He returned to New England with his father in 1706. He was later an envoy and interpreter.
Williams, Stephen	William	Chambly, Sorel, Saint-François, Québec	1704-1705 or 1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 52-53	He was eleven years old when he was captured (see John Williams). He lived with the Indians for several months, traveling up the Connecticut River to Cowass, Chambly, Sorel and St. François. He wrote a narrative of his captivity. Like his father, he became a minister in New England.
Williams, Warham	William	Montréal	1704-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 63-64	He was about four when he was taken captive (see John Williams). He was ransomed by a Montréal woman, and returned with his father to New England.
Williams, Zebediah	Williams	Québec, Ile St.-Laurent	1703-1706	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NANF, 227; NEC 2:38-39	He was about twenty-nine years old when he was taken captive, he died in Québec in 1706. His father had been killed in another attack.
Wilton, John		Montréal region	1704-?	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2:128	He was a soldier.
Windler, Marie-Anne	Winder, Ouidech, dite Langlaise, dite l'anglaise	Saint-Anne-de-la-Pérade, Lachine	1697-1769	New England	NANF, 227-28; Jetté, 212, 980; ANQM, TL 4, S 1, 9 avril 1716	Her birth name is not known. She lived for a few years with the Indians, during which time she was baptized. She was ransomed by Guillaume Delormier, who employed her as a servant. In 1708 she married Joseph Riberville, another of Delormier's servants. In 1716 she was

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						accused of leading a "vie scandaleuse." They had five children. After Joseph's death, she married Claude Cécire, they had four children. She died in Lachine in 1769.
Wood, Christophe	Dubois?	Québec	1709-1713 or later	England	LE, 262-263; NEC 1:258	He was captured in 1709 in Acadia or Newfoundland. He may have attended the wedding of Abigail Pitman (see this name). He renounced his faith in 1710, he was naturalized in 1713. He returned to England after the Treaty of Utrecht.
Wood, Susannah	Eastman	Québec	1697-1699	Haverhill, Massachusetts	NEC 1:345	She was twenty-four when captured in an attack during which her husband and only child were killed. She returned on the Province Galley in 1699. Family tradition states that she was captured a second time in 1708 or 1709, but escaped.
Woodbury, Nicholas	Woodberry	Trois-Rivières, Saint-François	1712-1720	Wells	NEC 1: 437-38	He had been a impressed into the military in New England, and was a soldier when he was captured. He became a servant to an "old squaw," probably an Abenaki. He was seriously injured by a cut in the leg which left him lame. His father made attempts to ransom him (at a cost of fifty pounds), but after nine years of captivity he finally bought his own freedom with thirty-two pounds. The governor of Massachusetts intended to use him as "an interpreter of the Indian languages."

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
Woolcot, John		Kahnawake	1708-1715 or later	Brookfield, Mass.(Quabog)	NEC 1: 332-33	He was about twelve or fourteen when he was captured. He lived at Kahnawake until he was ransomed. After his return to New England he was killed by Indians in a hunting incident on the Connecticut River in 1728.
Wright, Judah		Montréal region	1704-1706 or later	Deerfield, Massachusetts	NEC 2: 128	He was a weaver and a soldier, he returned to Massachusetts.
Wroman, Barent	Vrooman, dit Baruc, André	Montréal	1690-1698	Corlaer (Schenectady)	NANF, 228; Jetté, 1134	He was about twenty-three when he and his brother were taken prisoner. He was perhaps of Dutch heritage. He was ransomed by Constant Lemarchand, who employed him as a servant. He was baptized in 1694. In 1698 he returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1698.
Wroman, Wouter	Vrooman, dit Baruc, Jean-Baptiste	Montréal	1690-1698	Corlaer (Schenectady)	NANF, 228-29; Jetté, 1134	He was about twenty-six when he was taken prisoner with his brother (see Barent Wroman). He was ransomed by Jean-Baptiste Migeon, a Montréal merchant, who employed him as a servant. In 1693 he was baptized. He returned to New England as part of a prisoner exchange in 1698.
York, Samuel		Québec?	1690-1700	Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine	NEC 1:208-209	He was perhaps a boy of about ten when he was taken in an attack during which his father was killed. His brother, John, was killed by his (probably Abenaki) captors on the way to Canada (See Hannah Swarton). Samuel appears to have grown up hunting with the Abenaki and later was employed by

NAME	OTHER NAMES	LOCATIONS	DATES	ORIGIN	SOURCE	COMMENT
						the French, as a cutter of masts for the French navy. He apparently was a messenger in Iroquoia and Albany.
Young, Rowland		Québec?	1692-1695	York	NEC 1:243	He returned in 1695.
Zapaglia, Octave	sieur de Ressan	Québec	1665-1670	Italy	LE, 263; Jetté, 1137	He came as a secretary to governor de Tracy. In 1668 he married Anne Guillemot dit Duplessis. They returned to France in 1670.