

My Relatives at Fort St. Joseph: French? Indian? Some Important Interconnections

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Historians and archaeologists who have never done a close analysis of the religious records for Fort St. Joseph (now Niles, Michigan) usually assert that the fort was populated by **French** men married to **Indian** women. This is a pure guess that cannot be supported by the surviving Church registers of the fort.¹ In fact, these records mention only three **French-Canadian** men with Indian wives, two in the French period and the other in the British period. I distinguish here between men who had come directly from France and French Canadians, those born in Canada, because the society of New France had been in existence for more than 100 years before the religious rites that survive (from 1720 to 1773) at Fort St. Joseph were recorded.

In 1773, during the British period, **Jean Roc Morin** “native of [originally from] St Roc government and diocese of Quebec son of *Jean Bte morin* and of *Marie Pelletier* his father and mother” married on 22 March “**therese a potawatami by nation**” who had been baptized at the fort at the age of about forty on 1 March 1773. Their marriage legitimized their two sons, born in 1769 and 1772 when no priest was present; the boys were supplied baptism on 21 March 1773 by visiting priest Father Gibeault. Another of the French Canadians in the French period, **Jean Baptiste Baron** (Legér and Marie Anne Beaudon/Baudon)² and his wife, **Marie Catherine Ouékioukoué** (formerly Sagatchioua), an Illinois, are documented there between 1727 and 1734 only. They had children baptized at the fort, and Catherine served as godmother more than once. They relocated to Cahokia, where Catherine died in 1745 and Jean Baptiste in 1756.³

The second French Canadian, the most well-known example of a French Canadian married to an Indian wife present at St. Joseph, is **Jean Baptiste Réaume**,⁴ who had married the Indian **Simphorose OuauouagoKoué**. Their daughter, a **Marie Réaume**, signed a baptism record on 8 March 1729 as godmother for Joseph, son of “*Jean baptiste Baron voyageur* from the parish of *boucherville* at present established at this post, and of *Marie Catherine deKiouKoué* married to each other before a representative of the Church.” Baron, as mentioned above, is the other French Canadian with an Indian wife cited in the register for a few years in the French period. The officiating priest in 1729 was Father Chardon, who, like Jean Baptiste Réaume, had also just arrived from Baie des Puants, known as La Baye, now Green Bay, Wisconsin; it is Father Chardon’s only entry in the register. No religious records survive for La Baye in his time there.⁵ Jean Baptiste Réaume and Simphorose had married about 1715, precise date and place

¹ All references to the St. Joseph Register are from pages photocopied from Family History Library microfilm #1294977. An earlier version is on #1018092. These records are also available in digital format at Ancestry and were formerly (before 2013) available at FamilySearch, at which time I copied digital images. The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 1926-27, (MVHR) translated and published version of the register available at the Glenn Black website is not totally reliable, both in its translations and in the identifications of the persons present at the fort. *Programme de recherche en démographie historique de l’Université de Montréal* online (hereafter PRDH) documents other vital records mentioned: www.genealogy.umontreal.ca.

² PRDH Couple #25746.

³ For deaths in Caskaskia, see Marthe Faribault-Beauregard, *La population des forts français d’Amérique (XVIIIe siècle)*, Vol. 1 (Montréal: Éditions Bergeron, 1982), 207.

⁴ There is no evidence the Marie Madeleine Réaume ever had any contact with these Réaume children, whether they were siblings or cousins. The record at St. Joseph that identifies the daughter of Jean Baptiste names her only “Marie”. Jean Baptiste had recently arrived from the mission at Green Bay to serve as interpreter at Fort St. Joseph when *La Baye* was abandoned.

⁵ See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)* online for Jean Baptiste Chardon’s biography by Joseph Cossette: “Chardon remained 32 years in the region, living as a rule at Baie-des-Puants until 1728. In turn he visited the Foxes, Menominees, Mascoutens, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Miamis. In 1711 he stopped at the post on the St Joseph River, temporarily replacing Father Claude Aveneau*, who was worn out through illness. In 1721

unknown; but, although Jean Baptiste Réaume served briefly as interpreter at the fort of St. Joseph, most of the couple's life together appears to have been lived at La Baye. No firm evidence exists that Simphorose ever lived at St. Joseph. The marriages to French Canadians of two of their Réaume daughters, Marie Joseph (could she have been the *Marie* of 1729?) and Susanne, were recorded not at St. Joseph but at Michilimackinac. They are said to be residents of La Baye in the 1746 and 1747 marriage records.⁶ Jean Baptiste Réaume also had a son, named **Jean Baptiste Réaume fils**, who married in about 1747, but his mother has a different name on his marriage contract, as will be seen in a later reference.

The Marie Réaume of the 1729 baptism recorded by Father Jean Baptiste Chardon has been a subject of controversy. For a long time, Marie Réaume was believed to be the daughter of Jean Baptiste's brother **Robert Réaume** and his wife, **Élisabeth / Isabelle Brunet dite Belhumeur**,⁷ **Marie Madeleine Réaume**, who married, first, **Augustin Larchevesque** 13 September 1731, two years after the baptism at St. Joseph, but at Michilimackinac. The marriage survives on the partially-obscured and hand-copied summaries from an original source that is no longer extant.⁸ After Larchevesque's death, she remarried to **Louis Chevallier** in 1752 at St. Joseph. Marie Madeleine Réaume's birth or baptism records, however, have not survived; but she would not have been allowed to marry in the Church without evidence of her baptism. Whoever her mother and father were, the Marie Madeleine Réaume at St. Joseph lived within the religious and legal system of New France. Her marriage contract with Louis Chevallier was written on 28 April 1752 "Before us [*p. du jaunay*] missionary priest of the Company of Jesus now present at St. Joseph [Niles, MI] and acting as *curé* [parish priest]...." The contract was deposited "*pour minute* [as the original] with *danré deblanzÿ*," as stated in a codicil "made and passed at the said Montreal, *Étude* of Danry, one of the notaries, the fourth of August of the year Seventeen hundred fifty-three" and signed by *St pé* and the notary *ADhemar* [with *paraphe*]. It had been delivered to "Reverend Father Jean Saint Pé, missionary priest of the Company of Jesus, Superior of the Montreal residence" so that he could see to its formal registration. The contract also acknowledges Louis's and Madeleine's child Louis, born at St. Joseph before the marriage was solemnized.⁹

If she is the daughter of Simphorose, no Indian name for Marie Madeleine is known. Instead, she repeatedly identified herself as (and was cited as) wife or widow of her French-Canadian husbands. (See examples below.) She and her Larchevesque children (often named *Larche*) and their children appear

Father Charlevoix encountered him at Baie-des-Puants.... In 1728 Chardon was no longer living permanently at the post at Baie-des-Puants, which was burned by Constant Le Marchand* de Lignery on his return from his expedition against the Foxes, and little is known about the missionary's activities until 1733." Cossette was unaware of the St. Joseph Register. No religious records written during the time Chardon was at La Baye have survived.

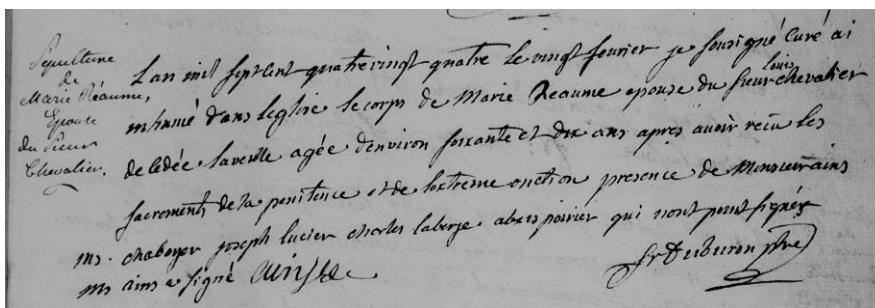
⁶ Jean Baptiste and his Indian wife *Symphorose* [*sic*] had two daughters who married at Michilimackinac and lived in the Green Bay area, and a son, also Jean Baptiste. Suzanne Réaume, m. Charles Joseph Personne 1 July 1747; and Marie Joseph Réaume m. Jean Baptiste Jourdain, 1746, both marriages at Michilimackinac, with the brides from "La Baye". PRDH and photocopies from FHL microfilm #0865224, "Ancien registre ... de Michillimakinac 1695-1821." Hereafter *Ancien registre*. These two records are part of the original entries, complete with signatures. His son's mother's name is not given as Simphorose on his marriage contract. See footnote 28. A Judith Réaume, mentioned only once in a summarized record, was baptized 27 June 1725 at Michilimackinac; her fate is unknown.

⁷ Marthe Faribault-Beaugard had identified Marie Madeleine Réaume as daughter of Robert Réaume in *La population des forts français d'Amérique (XVIIIe siècle)* (Montréal: Éditions Bergeron, 1982), Vol. I. Faribault-Beaugard acknowledges in her introduction that she sometimes made identifications based on her personal research without indicating when or why she does so. No known records identify the parents of Marie Madeleine Réaume. Until recently, PRDH also identified her father as Robert. A revision identifying Jean Baptiste as her father was made on the basis of James Paquette's research. See PRDH Individual #74861, accessed July 2013.

⁸ *Ancien registre*. All known transcriptions and translations of this register, whether hand-written and filmed or digitized, or published, suffer from inaccuracies when the original is consulted.

⁹ Photocopy from the Québec archives, now Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ). PRDH #339227.

often in the St. Joseph religious records. She was resident and gave birth to children there from about 1731 until her forced removal by the British with her second husband and some of her family in 1780. She then returned to the mother colony; served as godmother on 21 November 1783 at St-François-de-Sales (Île-Jésus)¹⁰ for a granddaughter given her name, Madeleine, daughter of Madeleine Larchevesque, widow of Louis Pascal Chevallier,¹¹ brother of Louis, and Madeleine Larchevesque's second husband, François Marcotte. Marie Madeleine Réaume died in Varennes on 19 February 1784, said to be 70 years old. She was buried 20 February 1784 inside the church,¹² an honor not granted to everyone. I will not, in this article, document the many references to this family in the St. Joseph register, but the Larcheveque children married into the French community.¹³



[In the margin] *Sépulture de Marie Réaume, Epouse du Sieur Chevalier*
L'an mil septcent quatrevingt quatre le vingt fevrier je sousigné Curé ai
inhumé dans leglise le corps de Marie Reaume epouse du Sieur [above the line: Louis] chevalier
decedée la veille agée denviron soixante et dix ans apres avoir reçu les
sacrements de la penitence et de l'extreme onction presence do monsieur ains
ms. [messieurs] chaboyer joseph lucier charles laberge alexis poirier qui nont point signés
mr [monsieur] ains a signé [signed] ainse fr duburon p^{re}

[In the margin] *Burial of Marie Réaume, Wife of Sieur Chevalier*
 In the year seventeen eighty-four the 20th of February I undersigned pastor have
 buried in the church the body of **Marie Reaume** wife of **Sieur** [above the line: **Louis**] **chevalier**
 deceased the day before about seventy years old after having received the
 sacraments of penance and of extreme unction [Last Rites] in the presence of **Monsieur ains**
 misters **chaboyer** [,] **joseph lucier** [,] **charles laberge** [,] **alexis poirier** who did not sign
 mister **ains** signed. [signed] **ainse** fr duburon p^{re}

¹⁰ PRDH #684815.

¹¹ PRDH Individual #222333 for Marie Madeleine Larchevesque.

¹² PRDH Individual #74861 and image from FamilySearch: Quebec, Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979, Varennes, Sainte-Anne-de-Varennes, Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1693-1789, Image 2175 of 2390. Laberge and Poirier appear at many burials and may be *bedeaus* (sextons) of the parish. For Ainse, see DCB online article by David A. Armour on “AINSSE (Ainse, Hains, Hins), JOSEPH-LOUIS (Louis-Joseph), interpreter and fur trader; b. 1 May 1744 in Michilimackinac (Mackinaw City, Mich.), son of Joseph Ainsse, a master carpenter, and Constante Chevalier, daughter of Jean-Baptiste Chevalier [thus sister of Louis]; m. 6 Oct. 1775 Marie-Thérèse Bondy in Michilimackinac; d. 12 March 1802 in Varennes, Lower Canada. ... When he returned to Michilimackinac on business in the spring of 1780, the new lieutenant governor of the post, Patrick Sinclair, dispatched him to Fort St Joseph along with Nissowaquet* to bring Chevallier and the other residents to Michilimackinac” Notice that he also signed Marie Madeleine’s burial record.

¹³ See Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001, for her chapter on Marie Madeleine Réaume. She actually writes: “We know very little about these individuals,” “a jumble of names difficult even to sort out.” Yet she insists on page 49: “mixed ancestry offspring such as Marie Madeleine [Réaume] came increasingly to resemble their indigenous kin rather than their French relatives.” I strongly disagree. She does not mention the ancestry of the families related to me that I feature in this article.

As I am a descendant of Robert Réaume and his wife, Élisabeth / Isabelle Brunet *dite* Belhumeur directly, twice, Marie Madeleine Réaume is either my distant aunt, through the marriages of Robert's children **Marie Judith Réaume** and her husband, **Jacques Lalande**, and also **Nicolas Marie Réaume** and his wife **Marguerite Berloin**;¹⁴ or she is my cousin, if she is truly the daughter of Robert's brother Jean Baptiste. Thus, whether Marie Madeleine Réaume (Madame Larchevesque and Madame Chevallier) is the daughter of Jean Baptiste or of his brother Robert (or of any of the other Réaume brothers: Maurice, Simon, René, Jacques, Michel, or Pierre, sons of René Réaume and Marie Chevreau,)¹⁵ she is my relative. There were, however, other residents and visitors at the fort who, without any question, descended from female Indians who had married, in the Catholic church, to French and French-Canadian men.

These marriages, however, occurred in 1657, resulting in the descendants of **Marie Mitéameg8K8é**,¹⁶ Algonquin, and then, from a marriage in about 1671, for the descendants of Marguerite **Pigarouiche**, probably Algonquin. Both of these Catholic marriages were contracted years before Fort St. Joseph came into existence. Marie Mitéouamegoukoué, as her name has been standardized on PRDH, and her French husband, **Pierre Couc dit Lafleur de Cognac**, are very definitely my direct ancestors through their daughter **Madeleine Couc** who married **Maurice Ménard**, an interpreter in the Ottawa language who worked mainly at Michilimackinac. Another of Marie's daughters, **Marguerite Couc**, some granddaughters, one grandson, and some great-grandchildren can be documented at Fort St. Joseph in the surviving registers. A descendant of Marguerite Pigarouiche's marriage to Pierre Lamoureux *dit* St Germain united with a descendant of Marie Mitéameg8K8é, making the resulting children also my relatives by marriage.

It should be easy to understand, therefore, that when I study the records at St. Joseph, I am doing family history! I am also documenting the complex interactions over the years among the descendants of early Catholic French and Indian mixed marriages. These descendants moved freely within the societies of Indians, French and French Canadians. It is important to note, however, that the children of any Catholic marriage between a French person and an Indian were considered to be French and entitled to all of the religious and legal benefits (and responsibilities) of such a marriage. Despite the many references to descendants of these mixed marriages, my study shows that almost all of the others present at St. Joseph, were, however, French or French Canadian, men and women alike. (See the names cited in the following records.) If any French or French-Canadian men married to Indian women lived at the fort, they were not recorded in the religious records.

These are the descendants of Pierre Couc *dit* La Fleur de Cognac and Marie Mitéouamegoukoué who were at Fort St. Joseph, followed by citations of their presence at religious acts there:

Pierre Couc dit La Fleur de Cognac (Nicholas & Élisabeth Templair). Born abt. 1627 Cognac, Aunis, France. Married 16 April 1657, Trois Rivières, New France, Canada, **Marie Mitéouamegoukoué**, Algonquin. Born abt. 1631 Algonquin Nation.

¹⁴ PRDH Family #7672. This Marie Judith was born 6 November 1707 at Lachine and married in 1726. A mysterious *demoiselle Reaume* served as godmother at Fort Pontchartrain for Jean, son of *Jean Baptiste gouyeau* and of *Marie La Rose*, on 3 November 1722; she was unable to sign. (Ste. Anne de Detroit register) Robert's and Jean Baptiste's brother Pierre Réaume married at Detroit before the birth of his first child, named Marie Thérèse Judith, on 10 January 1723. PRDH #14261. Was the baby named after her godmother? Had this *demoiselle*, whoever she is, traveled to assist her uncle and his wife, Marie Estève, when the child arrived? Could she have been the same woman as the 1729 *Marie Réaume*, godmother at St. Joseph? Or is she another daughter of this Réaume family?

¹⁵ PRDH Family #1951.

¹⁶ The /8/ represents the sound /ou/ or /w/ before a vowel.

Daughter of Marie Mitéouamegoukoué: Marguerite Couc dite La Fleur, thus my distant aunt. Born 1 June 1664 Trois-Rivières. Married (1) **Jean Fafard dit Maconce** before 1686-12-31;¹⁷ married (2) **Michel Massé** before 1705-12-31 *Pays d'en haut*.¹⁸ Present at St. Joseph as godmother:

17 April 1721, for “a son of *Sieur* St. Ange [Robert Groton, *dit* St. Ange], sergeant in the troops, and of Élisabeth Chorel his father and mother married [to each other, his second marriage] from the parish of Ville-Marie in Canada to whom was given the name *francois Marie*.” The Godfather was *Louis Grotton* son of the said *Sieur* St. Ange [from his first marriage] and the godmother Marguerite *Kouk* [*sic*] wife of *Sieur* Massé voyageur. It is possible but unproven that her two Massé daughters, Françoise and Geneviève, were also there with their parents.

30 August 1722 for “Marie Joseph. daughter of *albert bonne* and of *Mariane Ferron* married in the eyes of the church,” godmother Marguerite *Kouk* wife of *Sieur* Michel Massé voyageur.

30 August 1722, for “the son of *la Verrue, Abnakis* [*sic*] living at the river St Joseph, about two years old”

18 October 1722 for “the son of the widow *mich8ac8e* about six months old”

2 May 1723 for “Marie joseph daughter of *Sieur Estienne De Villedonné* captain of a company of the marine detachment and at present commanding for the king in the said post of the river St Joseph and of *Dame Francoise Roussel* native of [originally from] *Kebec*”

Granddaughter of Marie Mitéouamegoukoué: Susanne Ménard (Maurice & Madeleine Couc, thus my distant aunt). Born 21 June 1706, Boucherville.¹⁹ Married before 29 November 1726,²⁰ Gabriel Bolon, a soldier. Present (at various times between 1726-1759) at St. Joseph:

30 November 1726, baptism of daughter Susanne, born the 29th

23 April 1728, baptism of daughter Marie Louise, born the 22th

1st of (unclear) 1730, baptism of a son, name unclear

25 November 1730, godmother for Susanne Baron, daughter of Jean Baptiste and Marie Catherine Ouekeoukoué of the Illinois nation

21 June 1738, godmother for her nephew Louis François Ménard. See also below.

21 June 1738, baptism of daughter Marie Marguerite, born 22 March; godmother, *Charlotte Robert Jeanne*, wife of François Ménard, Susanne’s brother

31 January 1740, baptism of “*hypolite francois beaulon*, son of gabriel *beaulon* and of susanne *Mainard* [variant spellings] his lawful wife,” godfather the baby’s uncle. (This record is inserted in the register out of chronological order.)



gabriel baillon françois menard marie madelene Larche

24 April 1740, baptism of daughter Susanne, born 19 January (it is unknown whether the first daughter Susanne had died); godmother, the baby’s sister, Marie Louise Bolon (12 years old)

29 October 1743, godmother for *susanne Esther des hestres*, born in October

1 May 1752, godmother for one of three sisters, daughters of *pierre mekabekanga*, about 15 or 16 years old

¹⁷ See my extensive work on the Couc / Montour families. The further activities of this family cannot be summarized here.

¹⁸ According to PRDH. The very early records for Fort St. Joseph are missing, as are some of the early records for Fort Pontchartrain, now Detroit, Michigan. Marguerite and her husband Michel Massé, as well as her Fafard children, are documented in the registers of Ste. Anne de Detroit in the earliest years. Their marriage could have occurred at either place.

¹⁹ At the time of her birth, her father was accompanying a Jesuit who was returning to Michilimackinac to rebuild the mission that the Jesuits destroyed there by fire the previous year. They traveled knowing that Fort Pontchartrain had been the scene of the fracas among the Indians in June of 1706. This voyage of Maurice is well-documented. Cadillac sneers at it. The colonial correspondence mentions it. And Maurice returned with some Ottawa who were to explain to Vaudreuil the outbreak of violence at Fort Pontchartrain.

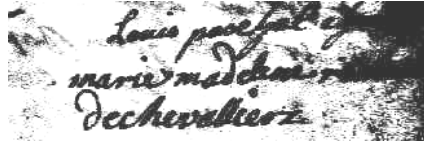
²⁰ Family of Maurice and Madeleine, PRDH #5378. A record in the copied section of the *Ancien Registre* of Michilimackinac lists a marriage of a “Gabriel B... [the rest is obscured]” on 7 January 1726.

9 April 1752, Susanne Ménard's daughter Susanne Bolon, godmother for Louis Dumay, born 13 June 1751

15 April 1752, Susanne, wife of *Sieur* Bolon, godmother for Marguerite, "a convert sufficiently instructed and desiring [baptism] for a long timer, a *panise* by nation about thirty five years old"

22 April 1752, Susanne's husband, Gabriel Bolon, godfather for an Ottawa woman about 45 years old, also a convert "sufficiently instructed," *pi8ssik8e*, who took the name of Marie

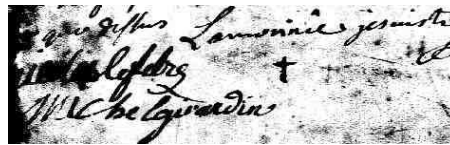
23 April 1753, baptism of *Louis du may* legitimate son of *Jacques du may* and of *marie magdelaine chevaille* his wife [sister of Louis Chevallier]," born 3 February 1753 and "baptized [the French word is *ondoyé*]²¹ the same day by Gabriel Bolon in the proper manner as he testified to me before witnesses." This baby had Louis Paschal Chevallier and the wife of Louis Chevallier, Marie Madeleine Réaume as godparents. Both godparents signed, Marie Madeleine as *marie madelene reaume dechevalliers*.



Louis paschal chevaller and *marie madelene reaume de chevalliers*

16 May 1755, Susanne Ménard's daughter Susanne *Boslon* [variant spelling] godmother for "marie anne daughter of marie La feuillade and of Souigny le duc," one year old. Susanne made her mark. Susanne and "marie La feuillade," granddaughter of Marguerite Couc, are cousins.²²

16 May 1755, Susanne Ménard's daughter Susanne *Boslon* godmother for Michel Girardin with godfather Nicolas Lefebre, who both signed. Susanne "made her usual mark, not knowing how to sign"



Nicolas lefebre and Susanne's mark is a cross +

21 January 1756, Susanne Ménard's daughter Susanne Bolon godmother for Joseph Dumay with Joseph Porlier Benac as godfather²³

26 May 1758, Susanne Ménard's daughter Marguerite *Boslon*, godmother for the three-year-old daughter of Bourassa's slave and of *Marie Panise*, "married together"

21 January 1759, baptism of "*felicite St germain* legitimate daughter of *Pierre st germain* at present *Habitant* of this *poste* and *felicite javillon* his wife godfather *francois Longval* godmother *susanne boslon* the said infant born 17 January 1759." Susanne Bolon is a cousin of this mother, Félicité Javillon *dite* La Feuillade, wife of Pierre Lamoureux *dit* St. Germain. See below.

Grandson of Marie Mitéouamegoukoué: François Ménard (Maurice & Madeleine Couc, thus my distant uncle).²⁴ Present at St. Joseph:

²¹ Gabriel Bolon's action is an example of *ondoyement*, emergency baptism, usually performed when a priest is not present. When the child or individual could be taken to a church, a priest then "supplied" the usual ceremonies and rites of the sacrament of Baptism, such as anointing with holy oil, covering with a white cloth, abjuring the devil and all his pomp, and naming godparents who would be responsible for the spiritual development of the baptized.

²² The precise identity of "Marie" is unknown. I do not believe she is Félicité Javillon *dite* La Feuillade, but more likely a sister. "Souigny le duc" is either the husband of Susanne Ménard's cousin, Françoise Massé, daughter of Marguerite Couc and Michel Massé, or, more likely, François's son, Pierre *dit* Souigny *fils*, by her husband, Pierre Leduc *dit* Souigny. If so, this is another descendant of the Pierre Couc marriage. See #PRDH #149715 Montréal. In the reconstructed census of St Louis for 1776, there is a Souigny, with a daughter, Marie Anne Souigny. See Cliff G. Venier, "Pierre Leduc *dit* Souigny, *fils*," *MHH*, January 2012.

²³ Note: this is a correction. The MVHR wrongly read the godmother as "Porlier's wife". See my ongoing work on Joseph Porlier Benac, who later resided at Detroit and in Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan).

²⁴ François Ménard's brother, Antoine Ménard, on 27 Mai 1725, was in a society composed of Nicolas Antoine Coulon *Ecuier sieur* de Villiers, officier dans les troupes du détachement de la marine, Commandant pour le Roi au poste de la Rivière St. Joseph, sieur Jean-Baptiste Fauché, and himself, voyageurs, who were going to trade at the

21 June 1738, his wife, Charlotte Robert Jeanne,²⁵ wife of François Ménard, godmother
 21 June 1738, François Ménard identified as interpreter at the post; baptism of his son Louis François, born
 5 June 1737; godmother, the baby's aunt Susanne Ménard

Lusignan François menard

31 January 1740, baptism of “hypolite francois beaulon, son of gabriel beaulon and of susanne Mainard [variant spelling] his lawful wife,” François Ménard godfather, the baby's uncle, signed (This record is inserted out of chronological order.)

29 June 1741, Charlotte Robert, wife of *Sieur francois mainard*, interpreter, godmother for Amable Larchesveque, born ca. 27 July 1740

29 June 1741, baptism of Charles Joseph, son of *Monsieur francois mainard* interpreter at the post of the River St Joseph and of *Charlote janne robert*, born 27 June 1740; godmother, *Marie magdelaine reäume* wife of *sieur augustin Larche* [variant spelling for Larchesvesque] residing in the said post.” She signed *mariemadelenelalarche*, identifying herself as wife of Augustin Larchesvesque. Godfather, Charles Benoist.

Charles Benoist Marie madelene Lalarche

24 March 1742 (Holy Saturday), three baptisms, including Pierre, son of François Ménard and his wife, born 25 November 1741 at the River St. Joseph. Godmother was *Mde. madelaine de villiers* wife of *Mr. marin de la perriere*. François Ménard signed. See this record below.

Marguerite Couc's Fafard Children, Grandchildren, and Great-grandchildren at St. Joseph:

Granddaughter of Marie Mitéouamegoukoué, Marguerite Couc's Daughter Marie Fafard, and her husband, Louis Metivier,²⁶ master carpenter

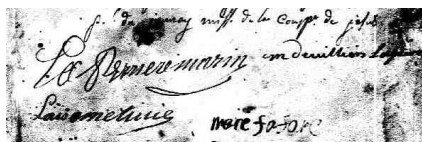
5 June 1745, godparents for the baptism of a Miami, Mekabik8nga, 50, and a Miamise named *madelon*, about 50, who were also married that day. Both Louis Metivier and “Mare fafar” signed.²⁷

poste of St. Joseph for three years, so he, too, was present there. “Société entre tous à ce présents, pour aller au poste de la dite rivière & y faire le commerce pendant trois années consécutives, etc.” E.Z. Massicotte, “Répertoire des engagements pour l'ouest conservés dans les Archives Judiciaires de Montréal (1670-1778),” *Rapport de L'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1929-1930* (Québec: Rédempti Paradis, 1930), 1072). Hereafter RAPQ.

²⁵ PRDH Marriage #123847, 13 August 1736, daughter of Jean Jeanne (his father was Robert Jeanne, thus the addition of the name Robert) and Antoinette Marier dite Ste Marie.

²⁶ 12 juin 1741, Engagement [hiring contract] de Louis Mestivier à Claude Marin, sr De la Périère et Compagnie pour aller à la rivière St. Joseph. Étude Blanzly.

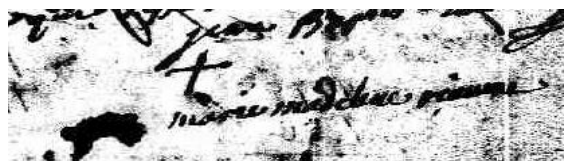
²⁷ This *Marie* is Marie Madeleine Fafard, another daughter of Marguerite Couc. She and her husband, Louis Metivier, were involved in a legal case in support of Marguerite Fafard, their sister, concerning an inheritance dispute with the family of deceased Jean Baptiste Turpin, Marguerite Fafard's husband. Some documents, which I have, are in the Kaskaskia Papers.



La Periere morin mdevilliers sa femme Louis metivie mare fafar

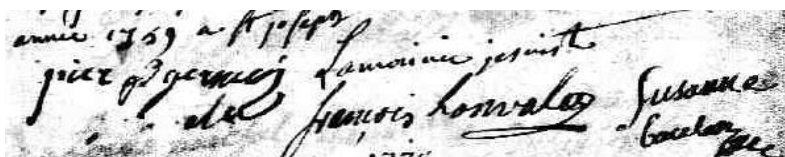
Great-Granddaughter of Marie Mitéouamegoukoué, Granddaughter of Marguerite Couc, daughter of Marie Anne Fafard and Louis Javillon dit Lafeuillade:²⁸ Marie Angélique Félicité Javillon dite La Feuillade, wife of Pierre Lamoureux dit St. Germain, grandson of Marguerite Pigarouiche, Algonquin. For his ancestry and this couple see the summary below. The Lamoureux dit St. Germain children of this couple thus have Indian ancestry in the maternal and the paternal lines.

13 July 1755, baptism of “Marguerite st germain legitimate daughter of pierre st germain and of marie javillon ditte la feuillade, his wife, ... of the parish of montreal but at present habitants [inhabitants] ... of this poste.” The priest identified the godmother as marie magdelaine reaume veuve de feu Larche et femme de Louis Chevallier: widow of deceased Larche and wife of Louis Chevallier. She signed mariemadelene reaume.



18 March 1757, baptism of “Marie magdaleine St germain, daughter of Pierre St germain habitant of this Poste and of felicite javillon

21 January 1759, baptism of “felicite St germain legitimate daughter of Pierre st germain at present Habitant of this poste and felicite javillon his wife godfather francois Longval godmother susanne boslon the said infant born 17 January 1759” Susanne Bolon, a cousin of the mother, signed as did the father and godfather.



pier st germin françois Lonvale Susanne baulon

19 August 1768 (in the British period), baptism of Charlotte, born June 1762, daughter of “pierre St Germain and felicite chavignon [alternate spelling for Javillon] godmother anne St Germain.” The father, Pierre, signed. The priest performing this and other religious rites in 1768 and also in 1773 is Pierre Gibault, vicar general of the Illinois, who visited St. Joseph in these two years. No other priest was present there in the years after 1760, thus the rituals were performed and recorded for events that had occurred since the last priest was present.

19 August 1768, baptism of Marguerite St. Germain, born 5 January 1764

19 August 1768, baptism of Francois St. Germain, born 27 June 1765²⁹

19 August 1768, “Marie” St. Germain godmother for Louis Normand, born 5 February 1765

²⁸ See PRDH # 340222, marriage contract *Jean Baptiste Reaume fils & dam^{le} felicite Chavillon*, notary *janvrin Dufresne*, “written in *quartier St. Joseph* at the home of *jean goureau d^{it} LaCouture 1747* the 3rd day of September.” I have a copy. Jean Baptiste’s mother on this record is called *dame Marieanne Thomas*, but PRDH identifies her and links her with *Symphorose Ouaouagoukoue. Marianne Chavillon d.^{ie} Lafeuillade*, Felicité’s mother, signed the record *M Fafar*. Marie Anne Fafard married Louis Javillon dit Lafeuillade before 1723-04-15, PRDH #38115. Chavillon is an alternate spelling. Present as a witness was Pierre Lamoureux St Germain, future husband of Felicité Javillon Lafeuillade: PRDH Individual # 99062, married before 1758. Marie Anne Fafard and her husband died at Detroit.

²⁹ This record does not appear in the MVHR version.

I also have relatives present at Fort St. Joseph who have no Indian ancestry at all. A most interesting one is **Madeleine Coulon de Villiers**, daughter of Nicolas Antoine Coulon de Villiers *Ecuyer, Lieutenant des troupes, commandant pour le roi le poste de la Riviere St. Joseph*, and **Angelique Jarret de Verchères**, sister of **Madeleine de Verchères**. Madeleine Coulon de Villiers is thus the niece of this famous Madeleine de Verchères who defended the Fort of Verchères in 1692.³⁰ Madeleine Coulon de Villiers's first husband was **François Lefebvre Duplessy Fabert** the younger. (He had an older brother with the same name!) After his death, she remarried in 1737, **Claude Marin de La Perrière**. She was godmother for two of the three baptisms that occurred on 24 March 1742:

In the year seventeen hundred forty-two the twenty-fourth of [March] **Holy Saturday**,³¹ I baptized solemnly [*une panisse*, therefore] a female panisse belonging to **Mr de Quindre** whom I had sufficiently instructed who took the name of ma{??} and I baptized *sous condition* [in case the previous emergency baptism, *ondoyement*, was flawed] according to [the rites] of Holy baptism **antoine Caesaire** legitimate son of **mr. Louis caesaire de quindre ecuyer** actually residing at this post and of **francoise marianne Belestre** his [*epouse*, wife, in the margin] and [also baptized] **pierre** son of **francois menard** interpreter at this post and **charlotte jeanne** [*sic*] **robert** his wife ...[the *panisse*].....about fifteen [years] old godfather [of the *panisse*] was **pierre le[piney?] devilliers** cadet in the troops and godmother **M^{de} françoise marianne Belestre** spouse of **de quandre**. The godfather of **Antoine Caesaire**, born on ... September seventeen hundred forty-one, was **Sr nicolas antoine coullon de villiers** lieutenant in the troops and commandant for the King at this poste and the godmother **M^{de} madelaine de villiers** wife of **mr. marin de la perriere**. The godfather of **pierre** [Ménard] was **Mr. Pierre lepiné du villiers** and the godmother **m^{de}. madelaine de villiers** wife of **mr. marin de la perriere**. The said child born the twenty-fifth November seventeen hundred forty and one. These have signed here with me. Done at the post of the St. Joseph River 24 March 1742 [signed] **pierre du jauney** missionary of the company of Jesus

The image shows a close-up of a handwritten document, likely a baptismal record. The text is written in cursive and includes several names: 'Louis de Quindre', 'Francois Menard', 'lepiné de villiers', 'm^{de}. madelaine de villiers', and 'pierre du jauney'. There are also some numbers and dates visible, such as '24' and '1742'.

³⁰ Angélique and Madeleine Jarret de Verchères are daughters of François Jarret de Verchères, half-brother of André Jarret de Beauregard, the direct paternal ancestor of my maternal grandmother. See André Vachon's biography of Marie-Madeleine Jarret de Verchères, *DCB Online*.

³¹ This is an example of a catechumen being baptized within the liturgical season of Easter, a not uncommon ritual.

[signed] *Coulon de Villiers*
Louis Dequindre françois Menard
lepiny de villiers
villiers de la perrier [Madeleine Coulon de Villiers] *Belestre Dequindre* [Françoise
Marianne Belestre, Madame Dequindre]
fame de menard charlot roberjan [wife of François Ménard, Charlotte Jeanne dite Robert]

I reproduce this record because, coming together in this one entry is a relative of mine with no genetic link to Native Americans (Madeleine Coulon de Villiers); François Menard, an interpreter of Indian languages, whose grandmother was an Algonquin; a Native American who was a slave or servant of a French-Canadian family; two traders and their wives, all French Canadian;³² the commandant of the fort and his son, a cadet in the troops of the marine; and a Jesuit priest from France.

The material culture or artifacts being unearthed in the archaeological dig at the site of Fort St. Joseph have provoked the following questions: Are the objects French? Are they Indian? Perhaps it is not quite so simple. More than 100 years of experience had been shared by the French and the Indian Nations by the time of the first surviving entry in the register of St. Joseph. (If other religious events occurred there earlier, their documentation has been lost forever.) Eighteenth century New France, even its outposts, should not be compared solely to France, the mother country, to determine whether an artifact is “French” or “Indian”. French-Canadian inhabitants had developed a distinct society that included aspects of European and Native cultures, just as Indians adopted European material culture and social and religious values. The exchange went in both directions. That each of my relatives at Fort St. Joseph could move freely within these societies, using the material culture and values of each, surely testifies to this fact. In the process, they were creating a world unlike either of the founding cultures.

Names of some descendants of Native Americans recorded in the registers of Fort St. Joseph are bolded

The **children** of Augustin Larchesveque and **Marie Madeleine Réaume**

Pierre Couc *dit* Lafleur de Cognac & Marie MitéouamegouKoué (Algonquin)

Madeleine Couc & Maurice Ménard

granddaughter **Susanne Ménard** & Gabriel Bolon and their children

grandson **François Ménard** & Charlotte Jeanne *dite* Robert

Pierre Couc *dit* Lafleur de Cognac & Marie MiteouamegouKoue

daughter **Marguerite Couc dite Lafleur** & Jean Fafard *dit* Maconce

Marie-Anne Fafard *dite* Maconce & Louis Javillon *dit* Lafeuillade

grandaughter **Angélique Félicité Javillon dite Lafeuillade** & **Pierre Lamoureux dit St. Germain**

daughter **Marie Madeleine Fafard** & Louis Metivier

Pierre Lamoureux *dit* St Germain & Marguerite Pigarouiche (Algonquin)

François Lamoureux *dit* Saint Germain & Marguerite Ménard (cousin of Maurice Ménard)

grandson **Pierre Lamoureux dit St. Germain** & **Angélique Félicité Javillon dite Lafeuillade**

(The children of this marriage have Native American ancestry through both father and mother)

³² One reference to their partnership is found at BAnQ: Cote: TL4, S34, P668: 13 juin 1745 Montréal. “Enregistrement d’une permission accordée par Charles de Beauharnois, gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France, le 10 juin, à Pierre Cardinal, d’un canot et neuf hommes, pour porter à [Claude] Marin [de Laperrière] et [César Dagneau] De Quindre, les marchandises pour la traite au Poste de la Rivière St-Joseph, des provisions.” Permission granted by the governor of New France 10 June 1745 to Pierre Cardinal for one canoe and nine men to carry to Marin and De Quindre merchandise for trade at the Post on the St. Joseph River, and provisions.