CHAPTER EXCERPT FROM

THE WOMEN OF VILLE MARIE:
Pioneers of Seventeenth-Century Montréal

NINETEEN

THE LACHINE MASSACRE, 1689

By the mid-1680s, the two decades of relative peace that had followed the 1666 defeat of the Iroquois were coming to an end. Warriors of the Iroquois Confederacy, supported by English colonists in New York, were becoming ever more daring in their attacks on the French settlements along the Saint Lawrence River. The inhabitants of these villages became increasingly concerned that Iroquois war parties might strike at any time.

In the spring of 1685, Louis-Hector de Callière, then governor of Ville-Marie, was determined to improve the fortifications on Montréal Island and undertook construction of a wooden palisade around the settlement of Ville-Marie. Over the winter the governor ordered all inhabitants of the town and adjacent country to cut down and bring in great stakes, fifteen feet tall, to fortify the town. Six hundred men took part in this effort. The palisade was thirteen feet high with bastions and gates erected at strategic points. The governor had a new citadel built, as the original fort, constructed by Maisonneuve, had long since fallen into ruin and was finally demolished in 1682 or 1683. Callière also required all males over the age of fourteen to have a firearm. He forbade tavern keepers and others to buy or trade them, or for the courts of justice to seize them.[1]

In the summer of 1685, Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, arrived in the colony as the newly appointed Governor-General of New France, accompanied by eight hundred soldiers from the Troupes de la Marine. Two years later, an additional eight hundred troops were sent to the colony.[2] Denonville, a veteran soldier, was given authority to subdue the Iroquois by whatever means he deemed necessary. In 1687, Denonville mounted a campaign against the Seneca, the strongest and westernmost nation of the Iroquois Confederacy. Denonville's army of two thousand men, including First Nations allies from Kahnawake and La Montagne, made its way to Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. There, under the guise of an invitation to a feast, Denonville seized a group of friendly Iroquois who were on good terms with the French at the fort. Denonville had been ordered by the French Minister of the Marine to send prisoners of war to France to work in the galleys. To comply with this order, Denonville sent his Iroquois prisoners to Québec and then on across the Atlantic.[3]

This betrayal and deception outraged the other Iroquois at the fort. Denonville justified his actions by asserting that he believed details of the French military campaign would be communicated to relatives among the belligerent Seneca. Shortly after, the troops under Denonville marched into hostile Seneca territory. While they did not engage the Seneca in battle, they mercilessly destroyed villages and crops. Denonville considered this sufficient to impress on both the Iroquois and New Englanders that the French had the means to hold and protect the territory they claimed for France.[4]

Within weeks of Denonville's attack, there was a gathering of the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy to plan their response. Denonville was warned that there was an invasion in the works but refused to believe the reports. In the aftermath of his assault on the Seneca homeland, the Iroquois had been quiet and the inhabitants of Montréal Island were unaware of any imminent danger.[5]

The Iroquois exacted their revenge some two years later in August 1689. A party of about fifteen hundred Iroquois crossed Lake Saint-Louis and stole onto the west end of Montréal Island after dark on the night of August 4, under the cover of a severe summer thunderstorm. Soldiers in the nearby forts had not detected their approach in the blackness and pelting rain. The dogs failed to identify that anything was amiss. No one rang the bell, as was customary, to alert villagers of the impending danger. The Iroquois scattered into small groups and surrounded the cottages in the settlement at Lachine. Shortly before dawn they attacked, filling the early morning air with the sounds of war whoops, screams, and terrified cries. Bullets whizzed and tomahawks flew, cutting down anyone trying to escape. The assailants set homes ablaze, reducing them to smoke and ash, and slaughtered the livestock. Chaos and confusion reigned among the soldiers and settlers, who were caught completely off guard. Many villagers lost their lives, while even more were taken prisoner. The event came to be known as the Lachine Massacre.[6]

The victorious Iroquois retreated into the woods a short distance away to celebrate and indulge in a drunken orgy, fueled by stolen spirits. Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, then acting governor of Montréal, and his men responded shortly to the attack, coming across cabins still in flames and scattered blackened bodies, charred beyond recognition. However, the orders from Denonville were to stay on the defense and not to risk anything, so the soldiers withdrew. The next day, a detachment from Fort Rémy comprising fifty soldiers and thirty Indigenous allies joined Vaudreuil's soldiers. By this time, the Iroquois had sobered up and fiercely attacked the outnumbered men under French command, and most were killed or taken prisoner. The rest of the French troops and terrified settlers retreated to the forts or behind Ville-Marie's fortified walls. Iroquois warriors had the run of the island, inflicting death and destruction everywhere before they retreated to their own country in the fall of that year.[7]

Louis de Baude de Frontenac, who replaced Denonville as Governor of New France, visited the site of the massacre soon after. In a report written on November 15 of that year, he wrote: "They burned more than nine miles of territory, sacking all the houses as far as the very doors of [Ville-Marie], carrying off more than one hundred and twenty men, women and children, after having massacred more than two hundred others, who were either brained, burned or roasted, some being even devoured, while the wombs of pregnant females were laid bare to snatch their infants, and other atrocities committed of a shocking and unheard of nature."[8] It was an exaggeration, no doubt, but his words reflected the horror felt by the French throughout the country.

In fact, most of Lachine's villagers survived the massacre. The Iroquois had not attacked the garrisons of the three nearby forts, Fort Rolland, Fort Rémy, and Fort La Présentation. They left the part of the village above Fort La Présentation untouched.[9]

The Indigenous village of Kahnawake, across the river from Lachine, was also unharmed. Kinship ties were strong between these Indigenous and members of the Iroquois Confederacy. Some questioned their loyalty to the French. After the massacre, the residents of Kahnawake were relocated to a site within the walls that surrounded Ville-Marie. This was allegedly to afford them protection but also to separate them from their kin in the Iroquois Confederacy. Unfortunately, brandy was readily available and resulted in an epidemic of drunkenness and dissolute behavior. After nine months, the Indigenous were allowed to return to the Jesuit mission at Sault Saint-

Louis.[10]

It would be some time before an accurate account of the damage could be established. Lachine in 1685 was a settlement of some 375 inhabitants located on the west end of Montréal Island. The census records of 1692 show that the population at Lachine decreased to 270. Fifty-six of the seventy-seven houses in Lachine were destroyed. Later historians believe that twenty-four villagers were killed on the spot. Somewhere between seventy and ninety men, women, and children were taken prisoner. Of these, many were eventually released and returned. They were part of prisoner exchanges that occurred between 1694 and 1700 in efforts to reestablish peace between the French and the Iroquois. However, some forty-two captives never made it home.[11]

Five years after the massacre, the remains of twenty-four of the victims were recovered and solemnly buried on blessed ground in the little cemetery at Sts-Anges-de-Lachine on October 28, 1694.[12]

Among those slain or captured in the attack were former soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment and young women who had come to the colony specifically to marry. Some victims had come in the recruitments of 1653 and 1659. Many had suffered more losses than just those on that fateful day in August.

Pierre Barbary *dit* Grandmaison and Marie Le Brun had wed in Montréal on February 24, 1668. He was a captain in the Carignan-Salières Regiment, and she was a *Fille du roi* who had arrived in the colony the previous summer. The family had been living in Lachine since 1677. Marie had birthed ten children, but by August 1689 she and her husband had already buried five of them. Pierre, the couple's second child, was born in May 1672 and lived less than twenty-four hours. Marguerite, born in 1675, and Philippe, born in 1679, both died before the Census of 1681. Then in 1689, four-year-old Anne and her two-year-old brother Jean suffered severe burns in an accident. They died and their parents buried them on April 28, just a few months before the Lachine massacre and a month before Marguerite, the couple's youngest child, was born on May 31, 1689.[13]

On the morning of August 5, 1689. Pierre and Marie were in their cabin with three of their children, likely still in their beds. Their twenty-year-old daughter Marie-Madeleine was living nearby with her second husband, André Danis *dit* Larpenty.[14] Also living nearby was their sixteen-year-old daughter. She, too, had been christened Marie-Madeleine and had married Pierre Jamme *dit* Carrière on February 21, 1689, not quite six months before the assault.[15]

Then came the Iroquois attack on the village. André Danis was killed in the assault. In the melee and confusion, the rest of the family was taken captive. Pierre Barbary and Marie Le Brun "*mort en captivité,*" probably not long after their capture. The fate of André Danis' wife, Marie-Madeleine, is unknown. Apparently, Marie-Madeleine Barbary and Pierre Jamme *dit* Carrière were separated in captivity, then released and reunited about 1700.[16] Pierre Barbary, twelve years old when he was taken captive, was also released about that time and married Marie-Françoise Pare in 1701.[17] It is assumed that eight-year-old Françoise and her infant sister, Marguerite, either died or remained in Iroquois captivity as their fate is unknown. Sadly, only two of the ten children of Pierre Barbary *dit* Grandmaison and Marie Le Brun are known to have survived and produced descendants.[18]

Françoise Nadreau also had a tragic life. Like so many of the young women who came to New France seeking a husband, she had been orphaned before she emigrated. She was just short of her fourteenth birthday when she married Michel Louvard *dit* Lesjardins in September 1658. He was a miller who had sailed from France in the recruitment of 1653. In June 1662, four years after their marriage, he was killed on the doorstep of his cabin by what was presumed to be marauding

Indigenous in the area. Françoise, still childless, married Michel André *dit* Saint-Michel in June 1663. This couple eventually had ten children, nine of them girls. In 1673, daughter Catherine had been accidentally strangled in a tragic accident on their homestead in Ville-Marie.[19] The family was living in Lachine by 1678, where the last three children were born. Their daughter Petronille had married just four days before the Iroquois assault. The couple, along with three of their daughters and one grandchild, were among those never found and presumed killed in the massacre at Lachine. Marguerite is the only one of the ten children of Françoise Nadreau and Michel André *dit* Saint-Michel known to have survived and produced descendants. Undoubtedly, she was taken prisoner in the Lachine Massacre and held captive for some ten years before her release. Marguerite André was twenty-five when she married François Vinet *dit* Larente in Montréal in 1701. The couple had two children before the death of François, not yet twenty-three, in Lachine in January 1703 during the smallpox epidemic that struck the colony that year.[20]

Jeanne Merrin arrived in Canada on November 16, 1653 on board the *Saint-Nicolas* as part of the big recruitment that year. Jeanne married three times and all three weddings took place at Notre-Dame de Montréal. She espoused Éloi Jarry *dit* Lehaye on November 9, 1654. Jeanne and Eloi had three children when hostile Iroquois captured and killed Eloi in 1659. Her second marriage was to Henri Perrin and took place on July 18, 1661. Henri and Jeanne had five children before his death sometime between 1669 and 1672. On June 20, 1672, Jeanne married René Moreau *dit* Dubreuil and this couple had two children.[21]

By 1689, four of the daughters of Jeanne Merrin had married and were living with their families in the vicinity of Lachine. Her sons Jean-Baptiste Jarry *dit* Lahaye, Henri Jarry, Mattieu Perrin *dit* Garao, and Gabriel Perrin had also moved to Lachine or would do so in the following years. Clemence Jarry, her oldest daughter, survived the attack, along with her husband André Rapin and five children, the youngest being not yet four months old. Another daughter Michelle Perrin, her husband Jean-Baptiste Gourdon *dit* Lachasse, and their six children also survived the massacre.[22]

Jeanne's daughter Marie Perrin and her husband Vincent Alix *dit* La Rosée, a forty-year-old soldier from the Carignan-Salières Regiment, were not so fortunate. They died in the massacre along with three of their children: Catherine, age eight, Gabriel, age six, and two-month-old Jean-Marie. Ten-year-old Marie and two-year-old Suzanne were taken prisoner and released between 1695 and 1700. Marie Alix married Simon Guillory on April 30, 1696. Suzanne appears in the parish registers of Lachine on April 15, 1706, when she is listed as godmother to Suzanne Picard.[23] Suzanne Alix did not marry until 1722, when she was thirty-five.[24]

Jeanne's daughter Barbe Perrin had married René Huguet in Lachine in mid-October 1680. The couple had three children. The youngest child died in January 1689, before he was four months old. Twenty-two-year-old Barbe was abducted that ill-fated morning in August, along with five-year-old André and three-year-old Anne-Françoise, her two remaining children, and taken to an Iroquois village in upper New York.[25]

Barbe Perrin spent some five years in captivity in Iroquois country. When she was released in 1694, she was pregnant and had a two-year-old daughter with her. Thierry-Pierre Laurin, another French captive, had fathered both children.[26] Marie-Anne Laurin, born among the Iroquois of northern New York on November 1, 1692, was baptized on July 27, 1694.[27] Barbe gave birth to a son named Jean in Montréal on December 13, 1694. However, the infant died the next day. Of the two children taken captive with Barbe, André Huguet died in captivity. Anne-Françoise Huguet, eight years old in the summer of 1694, remained with her Indigenous family.[28]

Barbe's husband, René Huguet, had somehow survived the massacre at Lachine in 1689, but two years later, in the early morning hours of June 26, 1691, Iroquois ambushed and killed him as

he worked in his wheat fields at Lachine. René's brother-in-law, Jean-Baptiste Gourdon, also lost his life that morning. Both had come to New France as Carignan-Salières soldiers and had married and settled at Lachine. Also killed in the attack were Jean Guignard, a laborer, and four soldiers from Fort Rolland who were serving as armed guards for the men in the fields.[29]

On December 31, 1696, Barbe Perrin married Jacques Larrivée *dit* Delisle. By 1704, the family had moved to Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, a little community at the western tip of Montréal Island. Barbe Perrin maintained a connection with the First Nations people in the vicinity, standing as godmother to three children of the Nepissingue and Mississauga Nations in 1705. In 1711, she served as godmother to two more Indigenous children. Perhaps she was honoring her own daughter who remained with the Iroquois.[30]

Michelle Perrin, the wife of Jean-Baptiste Gourdon and sister of Barbe Perrin, had just given birth to her seventh child the day before her husband's death in the Iroquois attack in 1691. She was not yet thirty and was left with a half-dozen young children to raise, all under the age of fourteen. Michelle did not marry again until fourteen years had passed. On April 16, 1705, she married Louis-Jean Denis, a master blacksmith. This couple had one child.[31]

Marie-Marthe Thibaudeau was the only surviving child of Mathurin Thibaudeau and Catherine Avrard, who had emigrated from Marans in the recruitment of 1659.[32] Marie-Marthe was born at Ville-Marie on February 21, 1661, and wed Jean Boursier *dit* Lavigne on April 9, 1673, when she was twelve years old. In August 1689, Marie-Marthe was living in Lachine with her husband and children. Madeleine, their eleven-month-old infant, was killed on the spot in the massacre. Alexandre, Barbe, Marie-Anne, and Marie-Jeanne were taken captive and released after ten long years in captivity. The other members of the family vanished, and it is presumed they were among those who suffered death at the hands of Iroquois warriors that tragic morning in August 1689 or shortly thereafter.[33]

By all appearances, the French who survived captivity and returned to their settlements got on with their lives. Most of the women married and raised large families. They left no record of the years spent in captivity. An account by a captured English woman provides some insight into what French, as well as English captives, experienced.

Mary Rowlandson, the wife of a minister, was captured by hostile Iroquois in a raid on Lancaster, Massachusetts in February 1676 during Metacom's Rebellion, also known as King Philip's War. This was a war waged by the First Nations of New England against the English colonists. King Philip was the adopted name of Metacom, a Wampanoag chief. Mary spent eleven weeks with her captors before being released. Following her liberation, she wrote about her experiences in captivity. Her memoir was first published in 1682 under the title, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God: Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.*

On the day of the raid, Metacom and fifteen hundred men descended on the town of Lancaster, Massachusetts. Mary witnessed the brutal slaughter of family and friends. Her home was put to the torch and reduced to ashes. Mary, a son, and two daughters were taken captive. Although she was told by her captors that her husband had been killed, he was spared because he was away on business. Mary's six-year-old daughter Sarah died in captivity a week after capture. Mary was separated from her older son and daughter, although she could occasionally visit them.

Mary wrote that the captors and their captives were almost constantly on the move. Every few nights, if not more often, they moved to a new place to elude the English militia or to conduct raids against other English habitations. The treatment Mary experienced from her Indigenous master alternated between kindness and cruelty. She was permitted to ride on horseback with her daughter

on her lap part of the time in the flight away from the English. Her captor decided where she would sleep. There were nights spent clasping her sick child on snow-covered ground with no protection from the cold. At other times Mary could sleep next to a warm fire in her master's wigwam. Occasionally, he cast her out and she found shelter in the wigwam of another First Nations family who mercifully took her in to share their space.

What and when she ate depended on the whims of her master. There were days with no nourishment other than sips of cold water. Mary consumed with pleasure food she would have found repulsive before her capture. She and her abductors ate what they could scrounge along the way: roasted groundnuts, the flesh of bear, deer, or horse. Sometimes she received a little corn, a handful of peas, or a small amount of wheat. On the rare occasion when she was given her fill, her hunger was so constant and intense that no amount of food could satisfy her cravings. Mary's captors appreciated her skills in sewing so she made garments and exchanged them for small amounts of food or tobacco.[34] There was seldom sufficient food, but what little there was sustained them so that they did not starve to death.

Mary's captors slapped her, threw ashes in her face, and threatened her with blows to the head. She witnessed women shot to death or killed with the blow of a tomahawk. Mary suffered physical and verbal abuse from her abductors; however, she experienced no sexual assault. In the First Nations villages and when they were traveling, men, women, and children all slept together under various circumstances, "and yet not one of them ever offered the least abuse of unchastity, to me in words or action."[35]

Compassionate women in Boston ransomed Mary Rowlandson for twenty pounds at the end of eleven weeks in captivity. Mary's two oldest children also gained their freedom.

Many of the French settlers at Ville-Marie and the neighboring communities had come to New France in 1665 or later. They had not experienced the terror of attacks by hostile Iroquois warriors such as those suffered by settlers who had come in the first twenty years of settlement. Denonville's attack on the Seneca Nation in 1687 and the Iroquois retaliation at Lachine two years later were the beginning of another series of attacks carried out by French, English, and Iroquois against each other. Life on the frontier would be seriously disrupted.

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[1] Lahontan, *New Voyages*, 88; Atherton, *Montréal under the French Régime*, 279.

[2] In 1685, Intendant de Meulles invented what became known as card money to pay the soldiers. There were few French coins in circulation in the colony. Beaver skins and wheat were legal tender. However, these did not satisfy all needs in conducting business. An ordinary playing card was used, whole or cut into halves or quarters. On the card was written the word "bon" followed by a specific amount of money. The card was signed by the intendant with his seal affixed to the card. This new money was then countersigned by the clerk of the treasury. (Atherton, *Montréal Under the French Régime*, 276)

[3] Eccles, "Brisay, Marquis de Denonville," *DCB*. Of the thirty-six Iroquois sent to France, only thirteen returned (Eccles).

[4] Eccles, *The French in North America*, 103-105; Atherton, *Montréal Under the French Régime*, 285-286.

[5] Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 117.

[6] Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 118-119.

[7] Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 120-124; Zoltvany, "Rigaud de Vaudreuil," *DCB.*

[8] As cited in Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 119.

[9] Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 119-120.

[10] Green, *A New People*, 53-54; Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*, 71.

[11] Eccles, "Brisay de Denonville," *DCB.*
[12] Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, 126-128. PRDH burial record dated October 28, 1694, in the parish of Sts-Anges-de-Lachine, linked to scanned image at Genealogy Québec.
[13] PRDH Family records, with linkages to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec. Census record #98189.
[14] In 1684, Marie-Madeleine Barbary married Jean Tillard. He died of a fever in January of 1688. Their only child had died in 1687 at the age of nine months. (PRDH Family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec)
[15] PRDH Family records, with linkages to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec.
[16] Eventually Marie-Madeleine Barbary and Pierre Jamme *dit* Carrière had seven children, all born after 1700. PRDH Family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec.
[17] Pierre Barbary and Marie-Françoise Pare went on to have twelve children. PRDH Family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec.
[18] PRDH Family records, with linkages to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*."
[19] Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and the Congregation*, 53-55.
[20] PRDH family records; with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*." The burial record of François Vinet *dit* Larente states he died "in his bed of a malady," strongly suggesting it was the smallpox that had struck the colony that year. Marguerite André *dite* St Michel married Jean-Baptiste Dubois Brisbois the following year. This couple had seven children, all of whom grew to adulthood and married, as did the two children of Marguerite's first marriage.
[21] Jeanne Merrin died and was buried on December 8, 1711 in Montréal. She had birthed a total of ten children with three husbands. (PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec)
[22] PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec. By 1689, Clemence Jarry had already lost four children at birth or as young children. Clemence Jarry and André Rapin had a total of eleven children. Michelle Perrin and Jean-Baptiste Gourdon *dit* Lachasse went on to have a seventh child, born in 1691.
[23] PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec. The researcher Hélène Lamarche omits Marie Alix in the list of captives taken in the Lachine Massacre (Lamarche "*Les Victimes*.") Marie Alix and Simon Guillory had eight children, four of whom grew to adulthood and married.
[24] In November of 1722, Suzanne Alix married François Desnoyers *dit* La Jeunesse. The couple had five children, but only the youngest would grow to adulthood and marry. Suzanne died at Rivière des Prairies in 1761 at the age of seventy-four. (PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*")
[25] PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*."
[26] Thierry Pierre Lorrain had been taken captive by the Iroquois about 1691. At the time he was married to Marie Mathon Labrie and had two young daughters. After his release he returned to his wife. The couple had eight more children (PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*.")
[27] Marie-Anne Thiery's baptism record, dated July 27, 1694, states that she was born out of wedlock (*fille naturelle***)** on November 1, 1692 in the "*chez Onontagues*," or Onondagas, one of the Iroquois Five Nations (PRDH baptism record #211018, with link to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec).
[28] PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*." In 1697, Barbe Perrin requested that the court appoint a guardian to defend the interests of her daughter Anne-Françoise. Despite her mother's efforts, the girl chose to remain with her Indigenous

captors. (BAnQ, Fonds Juridiction royale de Montréal, "Tutelle de l'enfant mineur, encore esclave chez les Iroquois, de feu René Huguet…" dated March 5, 1697. Record No. TL4, S1, D200.)

[29] PRDH burial records, linked to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Girouard, *Le Vieux Lachine*, 46. On their church burial record is the notation: "*Tué par les iroquois au matin, une demi-heure après le soleil levé, en allant chercher son blé*."

[30] PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec. Three children were born to Barbe Perrin and Jacques Larrivée *dit* Delisle. In all, Barbe Perrin gave birth to eight children, four of whom survived to adulthood. The last time Barbe appears in parish or court records was in September 1713, in a case involving François Lamoureux and the sale of alcohol to individuals of the First Nations (BAnQ record # TL4, S1, D1483).

[31] PRDH family records, with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec.

[32] It was originally believed that Mathurin Thibaudeau and Catherine Avrard had also died in the Lachine Massacre; however, Mathurin had died before September 14, 1687. Catherine Avrard was listed as a patient at the Hôtel-Dieu in Québec on February 10, 1690 (Larmarche, "Les Victimes").

[33] The surviving Boursier children all married. Marie-Anne Boursier was the first to marry in 1699. Her sisters Barbe and Marie-Jeanne married in 1703. Alexandre, the oldest of the surviving children, married in 1710 (PRDH family records with links to scanned parish records at Genealogy Québec; Fichier Origine; and Lamarche, "*Les Victimes*")

[34] French and English women as well as First Nations women smoked pipes on occasion.

[35] Mary Rowlandson, *Narrative of the Captivity*, 70.