

Monchamp Families in France, Canada, and the United States Since the Seventeenth Century

by

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MONCHAMP FAMILIES

(Italics indicate family line to Thomas G. Paterson)

- Antoine Monchan* (about 1615-before 1671) and Hélix Payan (before 1621-after 1671) (m. before 1641)
- Jean Monchan* (about 1640-????) and Isabeau Besset (1644-1704) (m. before 1665) See below
- Antoine Monchan (about 1641-1708) and Catherine Lashermes (about 1656-1710) (m. 1671)
- Jean Monchan (1675-1710) and Anne Gaigne (about 1686-????) (m. 1706)
- Antoine Monchan (1709-????)
- Marie Monchan (1682-before 1716) and Jacques Chambon (1681-before 1727) (m. 1710)
- 4 children
- Marguerite Monchan (1686-????)
- Jacques Monchan (1691-after 1716)
- Marie Monchan (1694-????) and Jean Maleysson (1693-before 1738) (m. 1727)
- 5 children
- Catherine Monchan (1697-????)
- Jean Monchan* (about 1640-after 1684) and Isabeau Besset (1644-1704) (m. before 1665)
- Antoine Monchan* (1665-1717) and Isabeau Masson (about 1670-1740) (m. 1692) See below
- Jean Monchan (1667-1719) and Catherine Lhoste (1688-1734) (m. 1706)
- 6 children
- Jean Monchan (1671-????) and Catherine Levet (before 1673-after 1717)
- Anne-Marie Monchan (1675-????)
- Catherine Monchan (1678-1739) and Vidal Chambon (1713-1746) (m. 1701)

Catherine Monchan (1681-????)
 Jacques Monchan (1684-????)
Antoine Monchan (1665-1717) and *Isabeau Masson* (about 1670-1740) (m. 1692)
 Claire Monchan (about 1693-1753) and *Mathieu Nicolas* (1689-1740) (m. 1711)
 15 children
 Jean Monchan (1700-1776) and *Marie Françoise Chièze* (????-after 1776) (m. 1733)
 Marie Monchan (1701-1737) and *Robert Bayle* (1680-1759) (m. 1721)
 12 children
 Vidal Monchan (1702-????)
 Antoine Monchan (1704-????)
 Catherine Monchan (1706-????)
 Pierre Monchan (1707-????)
 Jacques Monchan (1707-????) and *Louise Vincent* (????-????) (m. 1727)
 4 children
 Vidal Monchan (1709-????)
 Isabeau Monchan (????-????)
 Catherine Monchan (1711-????)
 Claire (Clère) Monchan (1713-1753)
 Marie Monchan (1714-????) and *Jean Jacques Morel* (????-????) (m. 1738)
André Monchan (1716-1764) and *Marie-Anne Fournel* (about 1720-after 1789) (m.
 before 1744)
 Marie-Magdeleine Monchamp (1744-????)
Blaize (Blaise) Monchamp (1745-1823) See below
 Pierre Monchamp (????-????) and *Marie-Anne Paulin* (????-????) (m. 1788)
 Françoise Monchamp (1789-????)
 Marie Madeleine (1791-????)
 Jean-Claude Monchamp (about 1753-after 1811)
Blaize (Blaise) Monchamp (1745-1823) and *Marie-Anne Ferrapie* (????-before 1811)
 (m. 1770)
 Andréas Monchamp (1772-????)
 Jeanne-Marie Monchamp (1773-????)
 Marie-Madeleine Monchamp (1775-????)
 Marie Monchamp (1777-????)
Jean-François Monchamp (1779-1855) and *Jeanne-Marie Perrel* (1786/1789-1861)
 (m. 1809) See below
 Pierre-Marie Monchamp (1781-1840) and *Marguerite Soumet* (1789-1868) (m. 1811)
 André Monchamp (1812-after 1868) and *Marie Vial* (????-????) (m. 1840)
 Antoine Monchamp (about 1814-1818)
 Jean Monchamp (1816-1817)
 Victor Monchamp (1819-????) and *Colombe Delolme* (1828-????) (m. 1852)
 Antoine Monchamp (about 1853-????)
 Felix Monchamp (about 1854-????)
 Marie Monchamp (about 1856-????)
 Marieanne Monchamp (1821-????)
 Jacques Monchamp (1824-after 1886) and *Marie-Thérèse Montagne* (1824-1858) (m.
 1850; 1st)

Pierre Monchamp (1851-1853)
 Pierre Monchamp (1853-????)
 Pierre Monchamp (1857-????) and Marie Delorme (about 1858-????) (m. before 1883)
 Jacques Monchamp (about 1883-????)
 Thérèse Monchamp (about 1885-????)
 Jacques Monchamp (1824-after 1886) and Jeanne Marie Bernard (about 1831-1860)
 (m. 1859; 2nd)
 Louis Monchamp (1860-????)
 Jacques Monchamp (1824-after 1886) and Rose Bardel (about 1828-after 1878) (m.
 1861; 3rd)
 Joseph Monchamp (about 1870-1878)
 Jean-André Monchamp (1782-1855) and Jeanne-Louise Perrel (about 1783-1847) (m.
 1805)
 Elizabeth Monchamp (1807-????)
 Jacques Monchamp (1810-????)
 Josephine Monchamp (1813-1815)
 Jean-Étienne Monchamp (1814-????)
 Jean-Étienne Monchamp (1818-1819)
 Jean-Claude Felix Monchamp (1826-1876) and Marie ??? (1824-????) (m. 1852)
 Jean-Marie Monchamp (1854-????)
Jean-François Monchamp (1779-1855) and Jeanne-Marie Perrel (1786/1789-1861)
 (m. 1809)
 Jean-Claude Monchamp (1817-1857) and Rosalie Jouve (1818-1856) (m. 1842; 1st)
 Marie Monchamp (1843-1843)
 Joseph Monchamp (1844-after 1932) and Marie-Rosalie Joubert (1851-1914) (m.
 1874)
 Marie-Rosalie Monchamp (1876-after 1932) and Claude Chalendar (1869-????) (m.
 1896)
 Joseph Chalendar (1896-after 1933) and Elise Marie Perrel (????-????) (m. 1933)
 Casimir-André Chalendar (1899-????)
 Jean-André Monchamp (1882-1916) and Marie Margerit (1890/1894-????) (m.
 1911/1914)
 Marie-Monchamp (1846-1876) and Jacques Faure (1840-after 1878) (m. 1865)
 Fanny Faure (1867-????)
 Marie-Anne Monchamp (1849-after 1887)
 Virginie Monchamp (1855-1856)
 Jean-Claude Monchamp (1817-1857) and Marie Liogier (1835-????) (m. 1857; 2nd)
 Jean-Claude Monchamp (1857-1895) and Rose Rocher (????-????) (m. ????)
Jean Monchamp (1820-1874) and Rose Faure (1827-1883) (m. 1853) See below
 Marie Anne Monchamp (1820-1882) and Jean Antoine Manet (1805-after 1886)
 (m. 1840)
 Marie Manet (1841-after 1866)
 Marie Anne Manet (1843-????)
 Marie Melanie Manet (1845-????)
 André Manet (1848-after 1882)
 Jacques Manet (1850-after 1881) and Marie Juge (about 1849-after 1881)

Antoine Manet (about 1874-????)
 Rosine Manet (about 1877-????)
 Marie Manet (about 1879-????)
 Marie Manet (1854-1876)
 Julie Manet (1858-????) and François Bessières (1855-????) (m. 1881)
 Unnamed masculine child dead at birth (1821-1821)
 Marie Monchamp (about 1823/1828-1902) and Louis Vernet (1832-1910) (m. 1858)
 André Vernet (1859-after 1910) and Sophie Giraud (1861-after 1910) (m. 1886)
 Louis Vernet (1886-1886)
 Marie Vernet (1888-after 1911) and André Barthélemy (about 1881-after 1911) (m. 1910)
 Marie Vernet (1860-after 1901)
 Jean-Claude Vernet (1863-????) and Rosalie Sue (1869-????) (m. 1892)
 Jean Vernet (1866-after 1932) and Marie-Elisa-Pauline Monchamp (1874-after 1895) (m. 1895)
 Antoine Vernet (1868-1932) and Pauline Monchamp (1874-1904) (m. about 1895; 1st)
 Marie Vernet (1896-????)
 Eugène-Étienne Vernet (1899-1982)
 Antoine Vernet (1868-1932) and Hortense Maurin (1886-after 1932) (m. 1905; 2nd)
 Antonia-Augusta Vernet (1907-1979)
 Unnamed masculine child dead at birth (1909-1909)
 Xavier Vernet (1911-1912)
Jean Monchamp (1820-1874) and Rose Faure (1827-1883) (m. 1853)
 Rosalie Monchamp (1856-1927) and Marie André Chabrier (1850-before 1927) (m. 1876)
Antoine Monchamp (1858-1939) and Virginie Ballon (1863-1929) (m. 1884)
See below
 André Monchamp (1863-1944) and Magdeleine Rosalie Gravy (1869-1915) (m. 1889)
 Maria Monchamp (1890-1890)
 Marie-Rosalie (1890-1891)
 Maria Monchamp (1891-1891)
 Gabrielle-Maria Monchamp (1893-1895)
 Joseph-Gabriel-Louis Monchamp (1896-1977) and Marie Margerit (1900-1984)
 Jean Monchamp (1937-1999)
 Marie-Josephe Monchamp (1936-) and René Teyssier
 Roland Teyssier (1961-)
 Franck Teyssier (1965-)
 Firmin Jean Monchamp (1899-after 1918)
 Marie Monchamp (1905-1905)
 Masculine child (1906-1906)
Antoine Monchamp (1858-1939) and Virginie Ballon (1863-1929) (m. 1884)
Jean Clément Monchamp (1884-1918) and Rachel Bibault (1892-1937) (m. 1907)
See below
 Maria Monchamp (1886-1950) and Louis Brouzes (1878-1960) (m. 1906)
 11 children

- Marie (Rosa) Monchamp (1889-1947) and Henri Chanel (1885-1946) (m. 1908)
Geneviève Chanel (1918-2011) and Jean-Paul Mailhiot (1917-1982)
10 children
- Rosalie Monchamp (1891-1956) and Eugène Chanel (1883-1967) (m. 1908)
Alixé Chanel (1936-) and René Bosc (1937-2005) (m. 1958)
Rolande Chanel (1936-) and Albert Bazin (1934-) (m. 1955)
8 other children
- Pierre-Jean-François Monchamp (1893-1969) and Hélène Badiou (1897-1994) (m. 1922)
Albert Louis Monchamp (1927-2013) and Simone Pelé (1932-) (m. 1951)
Rhéal Monchamp (1959-) and Rose-Anne Rheault (m. 1982)
3 other children
- Simone Monchamp (1937-) and William Tait (1938-2005) (m. 1966)
Nicole Tait (1968-)
William Tait (1972-)
2 other children
- Léoncie Monchamp (1896-1988) and Alphonse Badiou (1895-1958) (m. 1924; 1st)
Jeanette Badiou
- Léoncie Monchamp (1896-1988) and Samuel St. Laurent (m. 1966; 2nd)
- Noël Monchamp (1898-1977) and Germaine Monchalin (1905-1992) (m. 1922; 1st)
3 children
- Noël Monchamp (1898-1977) and Armandine Lafreniere (m. 1948; 2nd)
- Clémentine Monchamp (1903-1983) and Louis Monchalin (1903-1948) (m. 1928)
- Jean Clément Monchamp* (1884-1918) and Rachel Bibault (1892-1937) (m. 1907²)
- Louis Antoine Monchamp (1909-1965) and Claire Augusta Lee (1915- 997) (m. 1938)
- Jeanne Clara Monchamp (1913-2005) and William Anderson (1914-1993) (m. 1936)
Suzanne Virginie Monchamp (1910-2001) and Thomas Paterson, Jr. (1909-1997)
(m. 1934)
- Shirley Jeanne Paterson (1936-) and Billy Gilmore (1933-) (m. 1957)
Billy Graham Gilmore (1958-1958)
Jeanne Suzanne Gilmore (1960-) and Johnny Mac Brown (1956-) (m. 1979)
Michael Thomas Gilmore (1961-) and Charlene Mathis (1962-) (m. 1981)
- Thomas Graham Paterson* (1941-) and Elizabeth Cain (1941-) (m. 1958; 1st)
Thomas Graham Paterson, Jr. (1959-) and Kimberly Naviaux (1958-) (m. 1982; 1st)
- Thomas Graham Paterson, Jr. (1959-) and Janet Marie Panaro (1963-) (m. 1997; 2nd)
- Rebecca Virginia Paterson (1960-) and Timothy Putnam (1960-) (m. 1979)
Amy Elizabeth Putnam (1979-) and John Carlson (1976-) (m. 2010)
- Stephen William Cain Paterson (1968-) and Roberta Bloss (m. 1999; 1st)
- Stephen William Cain Paterson (1968-) and Chanthou Prak (1980-) (m. 2011; 2nd)
Avril Prak Paterson (2001-)

² 2nd marriage of Rachel Bibault (1892-1937) to Auguste Fix (1897-1969) (m. 1919), with one child, Raymond Fix (1921-1921).

Madelin Prak Paterson (2005-)
 Thomas Samnang Paterson (2013-)
Thomas Graham Paterson (1941-) and Holly Izard (1951-) (m. 1975; 2nd)
 Aaron Matthew Paterson (1979-) and Kathleen McMichael (1980-) (m. 2006)
 Colin Graham Paterson (1981-)

PERREL FAMILIES

Jacques Perrel (about 1616-1686) and Marie Gros (????-1671 (m. about 1640)
 Claude Perrel (about 1643-1709) and Françoise Richaud (????-1691) (m. 1672)
 Claude Perrel (1682-????) and Catherine Pestre (????-????) (m. 1707)
 Marie Perrel (1710-????)
 Jean-Claude Perrel (1715-????)
 Jean-Pierre Perrel (1717-1787) and Marie Jouve (????-1746) (m. 1735)
 Claude Perrel (1737-????)
 Pierre Perrel (1739-1817) and Jeanne-Marie Loubet (????-????) (m. 1766)
 Marie Perrel (1768-????)
 Claude Perrel (1770-????)
 François Perrel (1772-????)
 Jean-Claude Perrel (1775-????)
 Jean-Pierre Perrel (1778-????)
 Jean François (1741-????)
 Jeanne-Marie Perrel (1742-????)
 Marie Perrel (1745-????)
 Jean-Claude Perrel (1731-????)
Jean-Claude Perrel (1775-1821) and Antoinette Raymond (about 1765-1849) (m. ????)
Jeanne-Marie Perrel (about 1786/1789-1861) and *François Monchamp* (about 1775/1779-1855) (m. 1809) See above for *François Monchamp*
 Jean-Pierre Perrel (about 1796-1853) and Claire Besset (????-1841)
 Jean-Claude Perrel (1826-1905) and Rose Marcon (1832-1899)
 Jean-Marie Perrel (1870-1954) and Noémie Marcon (1875-1953) (m. 1898)
 Pauline Perrel (1913-1997)
 Jean-Claude Perrel (1805-1874) and Marie Charbonnier (1813-1859) (m. before 1843)
 Baptiste Perrel (1833-1877) and Martine Sabatier (1840-1923) (m. 1863)
 Jean-Claude Perrel (1864-1950) and Rosalie Monchalin (1866-1947) (m. 1891)
 Marcel Perrel (1911-1966) and Pauline Perrel (1913-1997) (m. 1935)
 Maurice Perrel (1947-) and Claude Dufaud (1946-) (m. 1970)
 Florence Perrel (1978-)
 Jean-Antoine Perrel (1808-1881)

FAURE FAMILIES

Jean Pierre Faure (????-????) and Marie Margerits (????-????) (m. ????)
Pierre Faure (about 1782/1788-1828) and Cécile Imbert (about 1796-1866) (m. 1823)
 Étienne Faure (1825-????)

Marie Rose Faure (1827-1883) and *Jean Monchamp* (1820-1874) (m. 1853)

BALLON FAMILIES

Clément Ballon (1824-1900) and *Marieannette Selveton* (1826-1874) (m. 1854; 1st)
 Clémentine-Marie Ballon (1855-1864)
 Marie Josephine Ballon (1856-????)
 Marie-Rose Ballon (1857-????) and *Jean Marie Daurel* (1847-????) (m. 1878)
 Marie-Virginie Ballon (1859-1859)
 Jean-Louis Ballon (1860-1880)
 Marie Ballon (1861-????)
Virginie Ballon (1863-1929) and *Antoine Monchamp* (1858-1939) (m. 1884)
Jean Monchamp (1884-1918) and *Rachel Bibault* (1892-1937) (m. 1907)
Suzanne Virginie Monchamp (1910-2001) and *Thomas Paterson, Jr.* (1909-1997) (m. 1934)
 Shirley Jeanne Paterson (1936-)
 Thomas Graham Paterson (1941-)
 Jean-Pierre Ballon (1864-1919)
Clément Ballon (1824-1900) and *Marie Jourde* (1845-1915) (m. 1882; 2nd)
 Louis-Jacques Ballon (1882-1965) and *Marie Loubet* (1876 -????) (m. before 1909)
 Unnamed masculine child (1909-1909)
 Pierre Ballon (1909-1940) and *Adrienne-Sophie Gouteyron* (1905-????) (m. 1932)
 Louis Ballon (1935-2008)
 Eugène-Louise (Marie) Ballon (1911-1986) and *Joseph Mercier* (1909-1978) (m. ????)
 Pierre Mercier (1943-2006)
 André Mercier ???? and *Georgette* ????
 Marie-Gabrielle-Hélène Ballon (1885-1885)

The Monchamp Family Zone in Haute-Loire, France

These pages chronicle the lives of my large Monchamp family, especially in France and Canada, over many generations. Most of my French relatives toiled as peasant farmers and laborers, but some worked as masons, millers, wheelwrights, shoemakers, and lacemakers. We begin with Antoine Monchan in the early seventeenth century, born either in the town (*commune*) of Saint-Pierre-Eynac or in the very nearby commune of Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, both in the department of Haute-Loire, present-day region of Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes,³ area of the Massif Central, in south central France. Auvergne straddles the wide tableland of the Massif Central (Central Plateau)—“the roof of France,” a huge mountain range

³ On January 1, 2016, the region’s name changed from simply Auvergne to Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, composed of the departments of Allier, Puy-de-Dôme, Cantal, and Haute-Loire.

with scenic volcanic relief, valleys, fields, lakes, rivers, and gorges.⁴ Haute-Loire, part of the Loire Valley, is one of 96 departments in France today.

Antoine Monchan, who was born about 1615 and died before 1671, is the first Monchamp identified thus far in available records as being in my family line. We move over time from Antoine, my and my sister Shirley's great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather, through other ancestors to our great-great grandfather Jean Monchamp (1820-1874), born in the village of Beaux, Yssingeaux, about whom we have considerable information. Then, we explore the life of our great grandfather Antoine Monchamp (1858-1939), born in the hamlet of La Chomette in Le Pertuis, also in Haute-Loire.

Antoine Monchamp married Virginie Ballon (1863-1929) in 1884. In 1895, they took the extraordinary step of migrating with most of their young family to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, Canada. Their son (also born in La Chomette), my grandfather Jean Clément Monchamp (1884-1918), made the transatlantic trip with them. Jean Monchamp married Rachel Bibault (1892-1937) in Lourdes in 1907. My mother, Suzanne Virginie Monchamp, was born to them in 1910 on their farm in that Canadian wheat-growing, prairie town. After her father's death in the 1918 flu pandemic and her mother's remarriage in 1919, Suzanne relocated, with Rachel, her new stepfather Auguste Fix, her brother Louis, and her sister Jeanne, to Oregon City, Oregon. There, in 1934, Suzanne married a man of Scottish heritage, Thomas Paterson, Jr. They had two children—my sister Shirley (born May 9, 1936) and me (March 4, 1941).⁵

The surname “Monchamp” (or its variants Monchan, Montchamp, Monchand, and Monchant) seems to have originated in the Auvergne region and likely referred at first to someone from the hamlet of Montchamp in the town of Laussonne, Haute-Loire, or from the town of Montchamp in the department of Cantal. The latter Montchamp is located near Cantal's border with Haute-Loire. The word “Montchamp” means mountain pasture, barren mountain, wasteland, or plateau. The mountainous terrain of the territory today resembles these descriptions. Montchamp (in Laussonne) sits 22.8 kilometers (km) (14 miles) and Montchamp (in Cantal) about 96.5 km (60 miles) from Le Pertuis and its village of La Chomette, where Monchamps lived in the nineteenth century.⁶ The various spellings of my family name shifted from one to another, depending on the priest

⁴ P.M. Jones, *Politics and Rural Society: The Southern Massif Central, c. 1750-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 8.

⁵ For Monchamps in France, Canada, and the United States, see my earlier book: Thomas G. Paterson, *You Must Remember This: Thomas Paterson, Jr., Suzanne Monchamp Paterson, and Their Many Families Through History* (Ashland, Oregon, 2011).

or public official who wrote the records or on Monchamps themselves, many of whom were illiterate.

A leading travel guidebook for France today describes the Massif Central and Auvergne as “one of the wildest, emptiest, and least-known corners of France,” a “protected landscape” and “deeply traditional.”⁷ A noted Scottish mountain-trail writer, in his book *Walks in Volcano Country* (1992), lauds Auvergne as a “region of wide open spaces and high country of grand tranquility”—a good place to “sooth jaded nerves.”⁸

One Englishman became so exhilarated after a trip through the region in the early twentieth century that he wrote a book about the Auvergnats, noting their “homely farms with great hearths and cupboard-beds”; their markets and “picturesque processions and dances”; and their traditional songs and stories. Frances M. Gosling also concluded that the Auvergnats were “kind, hospitable, with much of the Celtic charm and something of the French thrift and love of order.”⁹

His depiction contrasts with negative opinion expressed at the time by some French urban elites and officials, who shaped the country’s popular culture, that these people of the mountains, plains, and valleys were coarse, slow-witted, rude, “backward,” hostile to strangers, clannish, and even violent. Other images have acknowledged Auvergnats as noble, hard-working, and thrifty, even generous and resourceful, yet also cunning, stubborn, and sly. The region’s people spoke versions of Auvergnat, a dialect of the language Occitan. Advocates of a national French language stigmatized the language as that of the poor and uneducated.¹⁰

In Auvergne and Haute-Loire, many Monchamps, over the centuries, we know from available documents, lived in an identifiable, circumscribed locality. Birth, baptism, marriage, death, military, and census records, as well as cemetery

⁶ Pierre-Gabriel Gonzalez, *Dictionnaire des Noms de Famille en Auvergne* (Clermont-Ferrand: De Borée, 1997), p. 196; “Montchamp: Origins,” Geneanet.org; “Montchamp,” 43150 Laussonne, Haute-Loire, Auvergne, France,” Google Earth.

⁷ Lonely Planet, *France*, 10th ed. (Oakland, Cal.: Lonely Planet, 2013), p. 531.

⁸ Alan Castle, *Walks in Volcano Country* (Cumbria, U.K.: Cicerone Press, 1992), p. 13.

⁹ Frances M. Gosling, *Auvergne and Its People* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), p. ix.

¹⁰ Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Education and Identity in Rural France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 45-46; Christina Bratt Paulston, “Catalan and Occitan: Comparative Test Cases for a Theory of Language Maintenance and Shift” (Chapter 4), *Linguistic Minorities in Multilingual Settings* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994); Malcolm Greenshields, *An Economy of Violence in Early Modern France: Crime and Justice in the Haute Auvergne, 1587-1664* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), pp. 1-3, 42-43; André Fel and Guy Bouet, *Atlas et géographie du Massif Central* (France: Flammarion, 1983), pp. 64-66.

headstones, reveal that the Monchamp “family zone” constituted a small rural, agricultural area.

Historians tell us that, as late as the mid-nineteenth century in France, most country folk had limited contacts and communications beyond their village network. “Normally the range” of external contacts was “confined within a periphery” of about 25 km (about 15 miles).¹¹ One Monchamp generation after another resided, farmed, worked, courted, married, raised families, and died in such a concentrated family area. They lived within a few miles of one another in small towns marked by little villages and hamlets in “a self-contained rural society.”¹² Male or female, they wed spouses born in villages not far from their own birthplaces. Even when they relocated to another place, Monchamps went very short distances within the family zone.

The key towns in the Monchamp family area of Haute-Loire over time were Yssingaux, Le Pertuis, and Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. These communes ran on a basic line from Yssingaux in the north to Saint-Julien-Chapteuil in the south, with Le Pertuis in the middle—a total of just 17.3 km (10.75 miles). The distance from Yssingaux to Le Pertuis is 8.8 km (5.47 miles) and from Le Pertuis to Saint-Julien-Chapteuil is 8.5 km (5.28 miles). Several small hamlets or villages existed in these communes. Many of their narrow roads, stone walls, farm fields, and stone farmhouses with slate roofs are still evident today in the hilly, green countryside where winter snow blankets volcanic mountains.

To grasp the compact nature of this small family sector, we can travel with the Monchamps among their “face to face” Haute-Loire communities.¹³ A few examples follow. The distances cited above and below are driving distances by roads as reported on the website Google Earth. “As the crow flies” distances are shorter, and they can be researched on the website map-france.com.

Antoine Monchan (born about 1615) lived in Saint-Pierre-Eynac or Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. These two communes are separated by only 3.5 km (2.17 miles). Like his offspring, he was probably born in the hamlet of Neyzac in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. His son Jean (born about 1740) and Jean’s son Antoine (born 1665) were also born in one of these towns. In turn, Antoine’s son André Monchamp was born in 1716 in Neysac and baptized in Saint-Pierre-Eynac’s church. André married Marie-Anne-Fournel of Araules, a town 19.5 km (12.1 miles) from Saint-

¹¹ Roger Price, *A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987), p. 144.

¹² Greenshields, *An Economy*, p. 1.

¹³ Price, *Social History*, p. 169.

Julien-Chapteuil. They settled in, and had their children in, the commune of Yssingeaux, 9.1 km (5.7 miles) from Araules.

Continuing our brief tour of the compact Monchamp family zone: In 1770, André's son Blaise (Blaise) Monchamp was born in Yssingeaux's hamlet of Les Margots, on the outskirts of the city center. He married Marie-Anne Ferrapie in Yssingeaux's hamlet of Chamblanc, resided there, and then died in Yssingeaux's village of Chazeaux. In 1809, Blaise's son François Monchamp was born in Chamblanc. He married Jeanne-Marie Perrel in Bessamorel, a town which sits between Yssingeaux (5 km or 3 miles away) and Le Pertuis (4.6 km or 2.9 miles away). Jeanne-Marie was born in the 1780s in Saint-Julien-du-Pinet, 10.6 km (6.6 miles) from Le Pertuis and 6.5 km (4 miles) from Bessamorel. François's and Jeanne-Marie's children were born in various Yssingeaux villages, including Beaux.¹⁴ In 1840, their child Marie-Anne (1820-1886) married Antoine Manet of Monchaud, an Yssingeaux village 7.2 km (4.5 miles) from her Beaux birthplace.

In 1853, my great-great grandfather Jean Monchamp (1820-1874), then living in Chamblanc, married Rose Faure of La Chomette, a village in Le Pertuis.¹⁵ Jean and Rose settled in La Chomette, 13 km (8 miles) from Jean's birthplace in Beaux. In 1858, Jean's sister Marie (1823/1828-1902) married Louis Vernet of Dinamands, another Le Pertuis village, 6.1 km (3.8 miles) from La Chomette. In 1876, Jean's and Rose's daughter Rosalie (1856-1927) married Marie André Chabrier of Rosières, which sits 9.7 km (6 miles) from Le Pertuis. In 1884, in Le Pertuis, Jean's and Rose's son Antoine (1858-1939) married Virginie Ballon (1863-1929) of Le Pertuis. Her father Clément Ballon, born in 1824 in or near the commune of Le Vernet, was left as a foundling at a hospital nursery in Le Puy-en-Velay, 20.2 km (12.6 miles) from Le Pertuis. He eventually became an innkeeper near the town center of Le Pertuis.

Whichever location or whichever generation, Monchamps in my family line did not venture far outside their very compact zone. By foot, wagon, cart, mule, or horse—before the advent of railroads and improved roads in the mid-nineteenth century—they traveled minimal distances. They “lacked a general sense of the space around,” restricting themselves “to certain confines and corridors,” seldom leaving “*le pays*.”¹⁶ Besides family and church ties, weekend markets in the towns of Yssingeaux, Le Pertuis, and the large city of Le Puy-en-Velay, among others,

¹⁴ The commune of Beaux was created in 1845 from portions of Yssingeaux and Retournac. See below.

¹⁵ At that time a village of Saint-Hostien, 3.8 km (2.4 miles) away. La Chomette became part of Le Pertuis in 1852.

¹⁶ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1974* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 198.

connected them. In the markets, Monchamps joined their neighbors to buy, sell, talk, share information, and make acquaintances, some of which no doubt led to marriages.

The exceptions to the theme of a close-knit family zone from which Monchamps seldom strayed or departed are, first, compulsory military service that took some Monchamps from home, even overseas (Jean Monchamp in the 1840s and perhaps his son Antoine in the 1870s); second, exodus to cities to seek work in the latter half of the nineteenth century, facilitated by railways and road construction; and, third, emigration abroad (Antoine to Canada in the 1890s).

Gaul, Arverni, Vellavi, Roman Conquest, and French Feudalism

Hunter/gatherer humans migrated to France during the Paleolithic period (30,000-10,000 BC or BCE), but we begin this history of the Monchamps at a later time—with Gaul, a land that once included France, Belgium, Switzerland, and parts of Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, and that evolved over many centuries of wars and reconfigurations into the country of France. At least as early as the seventh century BCE, Celts from the Danube area of central Europe conquered native dwellers and settled Gaul. These Celtic Gauls spoke “Gaulish” and organized into competing tribes, perhaps 75 in number, each led by a king or chief. They created territorial boundaries and often went to war against one another. The Monchamps may have descended from the Arverni tribe and/or the Vellavi tribe.

The Celtic tribe Arverni occupied the Auvergne region. This tribe established its fortified “capital” on the plateau of Gergovia, south of present-day Clermont-Ferrand in Haute-Loire’s neighboring department of Puy-de-Dôme. This major Auvergne city is 144 km (89.48 miles) from Le Pertuis. The Arverni, at the center of Gaul, became empire-builders about the fourth century BCE, controlling land and trade routes, militarily subduing neighboring tribes such as the Aedui to their northeast, and becoming one of the most powerful Gaulish tribes. The Arverni also became expert in the crafts of iron, bronze, and pottery in a territory primarily rural and agricultural, with cereals and cattle central to the economy.¹⁷

Another very possible ancestral source for the Monchamps is the Celtic tribe Vellavi. This Gaulish tribe occupied the area known as Velay, an old Auvergne

¹⁷ John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, Cal.: ABC-CLIO, 2006), pp. 137, 804; Carl Waldman and Catherine Mason, *Encyclopedia of European Peoples* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2006), pp. 39-40; André-Georges Manry, *Histoire de L’Auvergne* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1974), ch. 3.

province consisting of the southeastern and central parts of today's Haute-Loire department. The Vellavi headquartered in the area of present-day Le Puy-en-Velay, very close to the Monchamp family zone. Yssingeaux is 28.2 km (17.5 miles) from Le Puy and Le Pertuis is 20.2 km (12.6 miles) from Le Puy. The Vellavi lived south of the Arverni and became a client people of the more powerful Arverni.¹⁸

In the second century BCE, Roman legions from present-day Italy began to whittle away at Gaul, bloodily defeating, subjugating, and coopting tribes. The Arverni lost a critical battle to Rome in 123 BCE and began to decline in power. In 58-51 BCE, General Julius Caesar conquered all of Gaul. In 52 BCE, the Vellavi had fought alongside the Arverni against Caesar's advancing forces. After Caesar attached Gaul to the Roman Empire, the Vellavi separated from the Arverni.

The Romans dominated and Christianized Gaul for five centuries. In the tradition of violence that beset the region, Germanic (Frankish) tribes from the Rhine Valley invaded Gaul in the fifth century. Roman rule collapsed and quarreling Frankish kingdoms emerged. In 843, by treaty, what we recognize as France took form.

During the medieval period from the tenth century to the mid-fifteenth century, and into the next three centuries, the people of France were subjected to feudalism—a system of power based on landed fiefdoms controlled by privileged lords or nobles (“Second Estate”). They built fortified castles and dominated the dependent peasants (or, people of the countryside) who cultivated the lords' lands. The lord (*seigneur*) was responsible for the defense of roads and military surveillance, and his fortified chateau took in refugees during times of war. He exercised legal justice, with the authority to condemn a person to death. The lord of the manor, as the economic center of the fiefdom, determined the use of the land and governed rivers, forests, and mills. He also selected local clergy.¹⁹

At the top of society stood the Catholic clergy (France's “First Estate”). Peasants or commoners occupied the social and economic bottom (“Third Estate”)—about 80% of the population. Most were landless and subservient to the lords. Villages took form as village folk clustered around a Catholic parish church and the lord's castle and land. These villagers developed a sense of order based on a regular calendar of planting and harvesting, religious festivities, and the nobles' rules and regulations.²⁰ Emerging was an infant bourgeoisie class that made its money in business and trade and began to acquire rural property.

¹⁸ “Tribes: Vellavi,” www.celtsite.com; Daithi Ohogain, *The Celts* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 128.

¹⁹ Jean Perrel, *Yssingeaux et le Pays des Sucs: du XIII au XVI siècle* (Yssingeaux: Michel Gigant, 1996), pp. 16-19.

The specific zone of the Monchamps in the medieval period, assuming as we do that they lived there then, lay in a *saltus*—a forested wilderness of largely uncultivated, lightly populated land. The commune Saint-Julien-Chapteuil is named after the lords of Chapteuil, who in the eleventh century invited Benedictine monks to create an abbey. A Romanesque-style church was built in the twelfth century. The Chapteuil castle, once a major fortress around which the town grew, has crumbled, but the church, after many changes over time, remains standing. Several villages and hamlets, including Neyzac, still exist in the surrounding countryside. As for the very nearby commune of Saint-Pierre-Eynac, the name honors the apostle Peter. A number of feudal castles, including one of the Eynac lordship, once dotted the region. Church Saint-Pierre remains open.

In the area of Le Pertuis, in the early thirteenth century, the Glavenas noble family began to develop “La Chaumette” and its environs. Fields were cleared of stones and roads were constructed; later, tolls had to be paid to *seigneur de Glavenas* for passage. About 1208, Lord Glavenas built a stone castle with a tower, chapel, and fortified house atop a rocky peak 970 meters high (3,182 feet) in what is now the commune of Saint-Julien-du-Pinet, a few miles from the village of La Chomette.

Glavenas invited Cistercian monks (Cisterciens de Mazan) to cultivate the soil. This religious order emphasized solitude and self-sufficiency. By 1217 the monks had established a *grange* (barn) as a center for their work. They also dug ponds to harvest fish and built small dams whose water powered their flour mill. The monks also proselytized in the area.²¹

In the late thirteenth century the Glavenas noble family attracted to the area another religious order, the black-robed monks of the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony (the Antoinnes). They opened a hospital to treat people afflicted with “Saint Anthony’s fire.” The building was painted red to signal to illiterate victims that they could seek pain relief inside. Although its cause was not discovered until 1670, this painful disease (ergotism) stemmed from poisoning caused by a fungus that infected rye cereals. Because rye was a staple crop of peasants and rye bread was central to their diet, they ingested the toxic alkaloids of the fungus. The

²⁰ Overviews of French history, including Gaul: Price, *A Concise History of France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Ernest John Knapton, *France* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971).

²¹ Jean Perrel, *Yssingeaux et le Pays des Sucs: des origines au XIII siècle* (Yssingeaux: Michael Gigant, 2000), pp. 54-58; “Histoire, Le Pertuis,” louis.chovet.pagesperso-orange.fr; Jean Perrel, “Le Pertuis, des origines au début du XX siècle” (transcribed “Presentation,” September 1989; provided by Louis Chouvet to TGP, January 2014); “Chapel Glavenas,” Diocese of Le Puy-en-Velay (catholique-le-puy.cef.fr/Notre-Dame-de-Glavenas.html).

convulsive form of the malady manifested itself in seizures and nervous disorders, such as contorting, twisting, and shaking. In the gangrenous type of ergotism, blood vessels contracted, intense heat built up in limbs, blisters formed, and rot invaded toes and fingers that became mummified.

Epidemics of the disease occurred every five to ten years in France during the medieval period. In 944, an outbreak killed 40,000 people in the country. The Antoines became specialists in amputations, but their potions of wine and soups and applications of ice also soothed the afflicted.²² It seems very likely that, over time, a Monchamp suffered the horrible disease and perhaps, given the proximity of the Antoines, even received help from the monks.

Over the centuries, the Glavenas lords had to share power with other quarrelsome nobles who were expanding their domains in the region. The Glavenas chateau fell into disrepair and lay in ruins by the early sixteenth century. Today, only the much-photographed Notre-Dame-de-Glavenas chapel survives, still nestled into huge stone outcroppings high above its surroundings. Other lords built castles in the area—besides Glavenas, Chapeuil, and Eynac, the lords Lardeyrol and Queyrières staked out territory. Their *chateaux* are crumbled ruins today. In the mid-fifteenth century, a *seigneur* built a castle (with chapel) in La Chomette, 6 km (3.7 miles) from the first Glavenas chateau. Royalists destroyed the La Chomette chateau and chapel during the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century. A 1773 map pictures “Chau [for Château] de Chomete” with a symbol for a castle.²³ In the nineteenth century, Monchamps lived very close to that spot (see below).

The Peasant World of the Monchamps

For centuries, rural peasant families of the Monchamp family zone in the Auvergne region, department of Haute-Loire, in the beautiful area of Velay, lived in valleys between dome-shaped, volcanic mountains (*sucs*). Woodlands and farmlands marked the landscape. The region’s climate of short, warm summers and long, cold winters and its volcanic soil were not always hospitable to farming. Most Monchamps were dependent, poor peasants or laborers who worked the land and

²² “Ergot of Rye” (www.botany.hawaii.edu); “Claviceps purpurea (Ergot)” (bioweb.uwlax.edu); Perrel, *Yssingaux du XIII au XVI siècle*, p. 46.

²³ Paroisse Saint Pierre, “Notre-Dame-de-Glavenas,” pr-yx.homily-service.net/chndglavenas.htm; “Barony of St Etienne Lardeyrol” (st.etienne-lardeyrol.pagesperso-orange.fr/baronnies.htm); Louis Chouvet to TGP, February 11, 2014; Jean Perrel and Gérard Desage, *Yssingaux et le Pays des Sucs: du XVI siècle à la Révolution de 1789* (Yssingaux: Michael Gigant, 2000), pp. 9, 11, 46, 49; “Extrait de la carte dite de Cassini vers 1773” (provided to TGP by Louis Chouvet in e-mail, January 11, 2014). The castle symbol for “La Chaumette” also appears on the map on the back cover of Perrel, *Yssingaux du XIII au XVI siècle*.

paid much-resented land-use and road fees to the lords, tithes to the clergy, and taxes to the king. Some worked as artisans—masons, millers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and wheelwrights. Some rural women became lacemakers.

Village people spoke (but could not read or write) a local *patois* (dialect) called Vellavien, a component of the Romance language Occitan and its regional dialect of Auvergnat (see below). From village to village, moreover, people spoke their own variants of Vellavien. To the Vellavien-speaking residents of Velay, French probably sounded like a foreign language. After the medieval period, with pressure from a more unified central government in Paris, regional and local dialects gradually gave way to French. (See below for languages, literacy, and education.)

Agriculture (grains) and livestock (cattle and sheep) anchored the economy. Every account of agrarian life emphasizes the hard, manual labor (“*la routine*”) required in the era before the machine.²⁴ Help came from oxen, mules, and horses. For generations into the nineteenth century, on nobles’ land and on their own small plots, peasants grew cereals, such as wheat, rye, barley, and oats, working the acreage by animal and human labor, including the sickle and scythe. Low stone walls marked property boundaries, kept livestock from wandering, and became the depositories for stones removed from fields. The walls were capped by flat stones leaning against one another.²⁵

Although the practice diminished decade after decade, communal grazing was practiced. Farm people cooperated during harvest and haying times, and because so many neighbors were related through marriage, they were basically assisting family. Exchanges of goods and services became common to village life.

Most village peasants, living in austere, sparsely furnished stone houses with a fireplace as the central feature, carefully tended their farmyard gardens of beets, cabbage, rutabaga, peppers, turnips, and lentils. Potatoes became popular in the eighteenth century. Peasant cooking featured bread and slow-simmering soups of herbs and vegetables. Green lentils, the “caviar of the poor,” and mushrooms joined the pot. Meat was reserved for special occasions.²⁶ Peasant families also made cheese. They raised fowl, pigs, rabbits, and goats. Their diet was “frugal and monotonous, consisting of bread and soup at most meals and very little meat,” an

²⁴ Stephen J. Russell, *Agriculture, Prosperity, and the Modernization of French Rural Communities, 1870-1914* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen, 2004), p. 41.

²⁵ Photograph of the walls on the website composed by a Le Pertuis historian: louis.chouvet.pagesperso-orange.fr. Also a June 2014 photograph by TGP.

²⁶ Perrel and Desage, *Yssingeaux du XVI siècle à la Révolution*, pp. 114-115.

expert on Auvergne cuisine has concluded.²⁷ Because some farmers grew vines in their yard, wine had a place on the table. Trees yielded apples, plums, cherries, pears, and chestnuts. Beehives provided honey. Forests of pine, beech, fir, aspen, maple, and spruce furnished fuel for heating homes and for cooking. Deforestation in the Monchamp zone became measurable from overcutting not only for fuel but also for making space for plantings and pastures.

Farm people moved about by two-wheel carts or pack animals, or they walked on roads that were nearly impassible during inclement weather. Footpaths and roads coursed around heaps of stones and dunghills in a series of small hamlets, one within walking distance of another. Winters were cold and snowy. Floods posed a threat and washed out roads, sometimes isolating rural folk for long periods. For example, in August 1741, high water destroyed all of the bridges in the Yssingaux region, in the Monchamp family zone.²⁸

Although little seemed to change in the countryside, the building of the “Grand Route Royale” in the 1750s “opened up” commerce and communications. The road went through the Monchamp zone, connecting Yssingaux with Le Puy. Because the improved road passed through Le Pertuis, it reoriented economic activity from Bessamorel and Saint-Hostien to Yssingaux and Le Pertuis. Toll gates gradually disappeared.²⁹ A century later railways (*chemins de fer*) began to expand in the region, easing travel in all directions (see below).

Women gave birth to children at home with the assistance of a family member or midwife. Babies were often baptized at the church the day they were born and were assigned first names at that time—usually names already popular in the family. About 1700, records show, the most common male names in the Monchamp zone were Jean, Antoine, Claude, Pierre, and Jacques. For females: Anne, Catherine, Marguerite, Françoise, and Marie. Monchamp mothers and fathers, generation after generation, gave their children such names. (See the list at the beginning of this report.) Infant mortality was frequent, estimated at 25 percent in the eighteenth century.³⁰ As late as 1876, when female life expectancy was 43 years, the infant mortality rate was 22 percent. Even as late as 1900, 15 percent of all babies born in France died before they reached age one.³¹

²⁷ Peter Graham, *Mourjou: The Life and Food of an Auvergne Village* (Totnes, Great Britain: Prospect Books, 2004), p. xv.

²⁸ Perrel and Desage, *Yssingaux du XVI siècle à la Révolution*, p. 67.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 65-70.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³¹ “Life Expectancy in France,” Institut national d’études démographiques, Paris, www.ined.fr; Abhijit Banerjee, “Long-Range Health Impacts of Income Shocks: Wine and Phylloxera in Nineteenth-Century France,” *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 92 (2010), 715.

The sick seldom if ever saw a doctor in the era before the French welfare state, although Yssingeaux's old hospital housed very ill elderly and dying patients, invalids, and foundlings (see below).³² Members of the religious communities also served people who suffered maladies. As late as 1891, when Le Pertuis's population stood at 1,119 people, no doctors, dentists, or public-health officers appeared in the census.³³

Implacable and Sinister Trilogy: Epidemics, Famines, and Wars

An “*implacable et sinistre trilogie*”³⁴ of epidemics, famines, and wars heightened the “precariousness of human life” for peasant folk.³⁵ First, the *peste*: In repeated plagues over the centuries, contagious bacterial diseases spread fast. The Black Death, 1347-1348, exploded from the fleas of black rats. The epidemic killed some 25 million people across Europe, including France and Haute-Loire. Many other plagues (smallpox, typhoid, and cholera) maimed France for centuries. Terrible times of pestilence came in 1448, 1481, 1520-1521, 1546, 1587, 1600-1616, and the late 1620s to 1631, the latter causing the deaths of as many as one million French people. Plagues recurred in 1644-1647, 1661, and 1668. In 1729-1733, another major epidemic swept France.³⁶

Bad weather, poor harvests, and food shortages also distressed people in the countryside, accentuating nutritional deficiencies. Massive famines repeatedly weakened, starved, and killed people in the Monchamp family zone. The famine of 1481-1482 sprang from exceptional storms that destroyed crops. In 1504, an extreme famine caused the death of animals from thirst. Groups of hungry people roamed, pillaging the countryside. A famine also struck the Auvergne region in 1515. Famines often came in the wake of harsh winters, such as in 1534-1535. In very cold 1630-1631, grain harvests fell short in France. The famine of 1640-1641 staggered the Massif Central. An epidemic followed the famine of 1649-1654. In

³² Based on a 1788 record. Perrel and Desage, *Yssingeaux du XVI siècle à la Révolution*, pp. 125-126.

³³ LN, 1891, Le Pertuis, p. 4, HLA.

³⁴ Perrel, *Yssingeaux du XII au XVI siècle*, p. 24.

³⁵ Price, *A Concise*, p. 19.

³⁶ Epidemics and famines: Greenshields, *An Economy*, p. 29; “Epidemics and Famines in France,” angeneasn.free.fr/epidemies.htm; “Histoire—Le Pertuis,” louis.chovet.pagesperso-orange.fr; Genealogical Society Poitevin, “Climate in Poitiers”; herage.org/histoire_climat4.htm; W. Gregory Monahan, *Year of Sorrows: The Great Famine of 1709 in Lyon* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993); Perrel, *Yssingeaux du XIII au XVI siècle*, pp. 6, 24-25; Hugues Imbert, *Histoire de Thouars* (Niort: Clouzot, 1871); Hervé Bazin, *The Eradication of Smallpox* (San Diego: Academic Press, 2000), ch. 1; Cornelius Walford, *The Famines of the World* (London: Stanford, 1879); Manry, *Histoire*, pp. 20, 457.

1660-1662, famine again left people vulnerable. In the late 1670s, cold winters hit Haute-Loire, including Le Pertuis, causing yet another famine. During 1693-1694, crop failures and food shortages after a rainy summer (floods) and frigid winter (freezes) killed about 1.4 million people in France.

The Great Winter and Famine of 1709-1710 struck with meanness across France. A drought preceded the cold winter. Rivers froze, as did liquids in household bottles. Corn fields, wheat crops, vineyards, and walnut and chestnut trees were destroyed. Domestic animals died en masse. Villagers took to the roads in search of food in cities, where they begged for bread and sometimes rioted against bakers and police. A case study of Lyon in east central France reveals that conception and marriage declined while mortality increased. Everywhere people suffered anemia (low red blood cells) and lethargy. Malnutrition led to disease and death. “The loss of hope ... must easily have crippled the very will to live,” writes one historian. He also points to the “psychological cost” of the famine: “The endless varieties of brain damage to old and young alike from fevers and lack of food, the agonizing decisions ... to feed one child and starve or abandon another.”³⁷ Estimates are that two million people died in the famines and related epidemics of the 1690s-1710s. More famines punished the people of France in 1739, 1784-1785, and 1788-1789.

For centuries, in Haute-Loire and all across France, people of the countryside became victims of plagues and famines. They faced devastating fluctuations in climate and frequent failed harvests. They had to bear poverty, hunger, undernourishment, psychological misery, and the ghastly deaths of family members, especially those of children. The catalog of climatic disasters, subsistence crises, and contagions that afflicted country folk is stunning. We have no way of knowing in which of these calamities Monchamps and their fellow family-zone villagers died, or which they simply endured and survived, but we can reasonably conclude that they could not have escaped all of them.

What is more, constant wars interrupted and endangered their lives. Maybe villagers had to billet soldiers who marauded their land or they themselves had to serve in the military. The 100 Years War against England (1337-1453) severely damaged France. During this long struggle between English and French royal families for control of the French throne, violent, armed, roving bands called *routiers*, made up of impoverished men supported by the English, ravaged the French countryside. These large gangs seized and looted towns, living off the land and terrorizing the peasantry. And, this plundering of villages took place during the Black Death. In the Monchamp family zone, in the period 1359-1365, menacing

³⁷ Monahan, *Year of Sorrows*, p. 152.

routiers ran wild. “Imagine the scenes of panic” in the area, the historian Jean Perrel has written.³⁸ The village of Montfaucon, lying 18.5 km (11.5 miles) from Yssingaux, was incinerated. In 1359, *routiers* scaled the walls of Le Puy, massacred inhabitants, and looted the town. In September 1384 Bessamorel was ravaged in a “*flambée de violences*.”³⁹

Warfare, violence, and destruction did not relent for the people of the French countryside, including Monchamps. In 1562-1598, during the French Wars of Religion, Catholics (backed by the king) and Protestants (Huguenots, generally supported by dissident nobles) clashed, each side receiving help from foreign sources. Battles engulfed Le Puy and Yssingaux. Estimates are that three million French people died, many in massacres. In the seventeenth century, France battled Spain in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). More wars followed, as kings endlessly strove to build empires and control European politics. King Louis XIV (1661-1715), when not building his grandiose palace of Versailles near Paris, was fighting one expensive war after another—against England and Spain (1688-1697) and against England (1701-1738). Another war against Austria erupted in 1733-1738. These conflicts bankrupted the government, which raised unpopular taxes. The peasantry paid a high price in all of these bloody imperial battles.⁴⁰

Peasants were burdened with payments (some in products) owed to three entities: The Roman Catholic Church (8-14 percent of crops), the royal government, and the nobles. Being left with only one-third of their income, country folk sometimes found it hard to feed their families. Peasants also grew to resent required work on roads, the housing and feeding of soldiers, and service in militias.

For rural, agricultural people such as the Monchamps, suffering the ills of the menacing trilogy, overarching trends persisted for centuries: feudalism; political and religious turmoil; fluctuating prices and uncertain economies; crop failures; taxes and tithes; indebtedness; wars; famines; plagues; malnutrition; childhood deaths; illiteracy; and dependency.

On the eve of the French Revolution, the 22-23 million peasants of France owned 35 percent of the land in their country. Nobles, numbering 350,000 persons, owned

³⁸ Perrel, *Yssingaux du XIII au XVI siècle*, p. 96.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, 95-96 (quotation, p. 26); Jonathan Sumption, *Hundred Years War* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), II, 726; Cathal J. Nolan, *The Age of Wars of Religion, 1000-1650* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2006), II, 746-747.

⁴⁰ Price, *A Concise*, pp. 68-71; Knapton, *France*, pp. 212-213.

20 percent. The *bourgeoisie* held 30 percent and the clergy (130,000) possessed 10 percent.⁴¹

The French Revolution and the Monchamp Zone

The triumph of the French Revolution that began in 1789, in the wake of a famine, ended the feudal system and the monarchy. Years of political strife, bloody civil war, foreign wars under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte (1799-1815), and economic uncertainty followed. Nobles saw their privileges revoked, and they had to pay taxes. Some lost their properties. Dues paid to the lords stopped. The power of clerics declined with the abolition of tithes and the shifting of marriages from church to civil affairs (such as town-hall registration). The sale of clerical property seized by the revolutionary government and the dispersal of some nobles' lands meant that some peasants, perhaps some Monchamps, could buy land parcels.⁴² By the end of the eighteenth century, scholars estimate, peasants came to own from 30 to 50 percent of France's agricultural land.⁴³

The people of Yssingeaux, Le Pertuis, and other communities in the Monchamp family zone participated directly in the French Revolution. Some people in the area embraced the revolution, at least at first, while others strongly opposed it. In the prerevolutionary spring of 1789, seeking to calm widespread discontent, King Louis XVI asked the three Estates to send lists of grievances (*Cahiers de doléances*) to the Estates General. Farm people across France, sharing power in the Third Estate with the bourgeoisie and urban workers, filed their complaints. One list, *Le Cahier de doléances de la Chomette*, was signed by men with the surnames Loubet, Faure, Monchalain, and Doutre, among others. No Monchamp signatures appear on the document, but these names represent relatives and neighbors of Monchamps.

The La Chomette statement specified the changes that peasants in the Monchamp family zone demanded. Like other countryside folk across the nation, they protested burdensome taxes and tithes that they could not afford in what they claimed was the poorest country in the world. They called for the abolition of road

⁴¹ Georges Chanon, "Le jacobinisme, du club des jacobinss aux société populaires," in Jacques Berlet *et al.*, *La Haute-Loire et la révolution française* (Les éditions du Roure, 1988), p. 84.

⁴² Liana Vardi, *The Land and the Loom: Peasants and Profit in Northern France* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 211, 216.

⁴³ Stephen Miller, "Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century France," *Journal of the Oxford University History Society* (2004), p. 16.

tolls and the nobles' right to charge such tolls. They decried the unfairness of the seigneurial system.

Probably a majority of the local population sought reforms but opposed the Revolution. Among the counter-revolutionary protestors were diehard royalists, opponents of the military draft, and Catholic priests and *béates* (see below) who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new Paris government. These groups faced exile, arrest, or death.⁴⁴ In 1791-1792, in Yssingaux, “royalists” fought “patriots” in the streets. A disappointing harvest in 1794, followed by a long, harsh winter in 1794-1795, added to the tumult of revolutionary France. One crisis grew deadly during the Revolution's Reign of Terror, when in April 1795, counter-revolutionaries from the mountains (including young men at odds with the draft) battled Republican troops moving between Le Puy and Yssingaux—the “Camp of Pertuis” episode.⁴⁵

Despite what happened at the national level, only minimal “revolutionary” change occurred at the village level. With political instability and wars all around them, country folk in the early nineteenth century changed less than any other social group, even with the legal termination of feudalism. Public officials still collected taxes and recruited soldiers under a mandatory conscription law, prompting draft-dodging. Overall, the agricultural sector of the French economy weakened. The “average” peasant did not improve his lot much over that of the eighteenth century. At most, he moved from “the level of misery to that of poverty.”⁴⁶

A major problem developed in the countryside with the accelerating subdivision or fragmentation of land: (1) Because of a law that required that equal shares go to heirs; (2) Because of population growth; (3) And, because of peasants' “eagerness” and “passion” to acquire their own land, even a very small tract.⁴⁷ The number of farms kept growing while the size of farms declined. Farms might consist of tiny parcels scattered here and there. Maps have revealed the patchwork of many long, slender strips of land and other odd shapes, contributing to inefficiencies in farming. The competition for land, intensified by speculators seeking profit rather than production, sent land prices beyond the reach of some peasants. During the Napoleonic Wars, in 1814-1815, moreover, Haute-Loire and its Le Pertuis-

⁴⁴ André Lanfrey, “Diocese of Le Puy and Haute-Loire,” *FMS Marist Notebooks: Marthes*, XIX (April 2008), 13-36 (www.champagnat.org).

⁴⁵ Kenneth Margerison, review of Gilbert Shapiro and John Markoff, *Revolutionary Demands* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), *H-France* (June 1999), www.h-net.org; “Histoire—Le Pertuis; Perrel, “Le Pertuis.”

⁴⁶ Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times* (New York: Norton, 1987), p. 222.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

Yssingeaux area had to endure occupation by Austrian troops who destroyed property, pillaged, and collected requisition payments.⁴⁸

For most peasant villagers, the core elements of church rituals, rhythms of agriculture, economic tremors, wars, hunger, extended families, infant deaths, and a landed elite with predominant power continued to define rural life. In short, the centuries-old “foundation” remained: Peasants produced most of the food but “received only a minimal share” of the production.⁴⁹ They earned a meager living while yearning for land of their own.

Such were the characteristics of life for rural, peasant folk in the Massif Central, Auvergne, and the Monchamp family zone in Haute-Loire for generations. We now turn to the specific history of my Monchamp family from the early 1600s into the twentieth-first century, placing Monchamps in their worlds of feudalism, revolution, military service, global wars, economic transformation, evolving language, education, and migration.

As noted earlier, the spelling of the family’s surname in records over time is inconsistent: Monchan, Montchan, Monchant, Monchat, Montchamp, and Monchamp are some of the variants. For the most part, “Monchan” is used in the seventeenth century. “Monchamp” becomes common in the nineteenth century. When different spellings appear in the same era, we will use “Monchamp.”

Antoine Monchan (about 1615-before 1671) and Hélix Payan (before 1621-after 1671) in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil

The loné-reaching Monchamp family story is based on available, legible, readable, and researchable records from the online Haute-Loire Department Archives, from genealogy websites such as Geneanet and Généal43, from commune archives, from individuals who have researched and created family trees, and from the names on memorial plaques, monuments, and gravestones.

Obstacles of varying degrees complicate our search for a full understanding of the Monchamps over centuries. Family trees and other compilations of family data are sometimes incomplete or conflicting, requiring us on occasion to speculate. Moreover, original documents until the nineteenth century were handwritten in ink

⁴⁸ Military Affairs (1800-1940), Archives départementales Haute-Loire, “First Abdication of Napoleon,” “Second Abdication of Napoleon,” “Occupation by Enemy Armies (Prefecture Fund, R8).”

⁴⁹ Beik, *Social and Cultural History*, p. 14.

that too often bled through the paper or became faint or faded. Sometimes the handwriting is so mangled that the reader is stymied. Some documents have torn, frayed, deteriorated, or suffered damage such that even enhanced images on on-line archives are difficult to decipher.

As well, some of the very earliest documents (seventeenth century) may not have survived because they do not appear on an online archive. For example, records for Saint-Pierre-Eynac do not exist on-line before 1641 and for Saint-Julien-Chapteuil before 1669, both communes where Monchans lived. In such cases, precise birth, marriage, and death dates cannot be verified until archival research is undertaken.

Researchers also learn that early records often do not identify occupations or ages. We can reasonably assume that the Monchamps, in their family zone, lived and worked on farms as laborers or perhaps as small landowners. Some may have been village craftsmen, such as shoemakers and wheelwrights, but in some cases we just cannot know from viewable sources.

Our chronicle begins with Antoine Monchan, my great-great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather. We cannot be exact about his life story, but we have some revealing information. He was probably born about 1615, given the possible birth dates of his children (see below).⁵⁰ We do not know at this writing the names of his parents, but it seems likely that they were born in the 1590s. Their baby Antoine may have been born in the village of Neyzac in the parish/commune of Saint-Pierre-Eynac or in the parish/commune of Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, both mountainous towns in the Monchamp family zone.

In the first French census, that of 1806, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil was the larger commune (1,210 people), with Saint-Pierre-Eynac about half that size (650).⁵¹ In the eighteenth century, Saint-Julien-de-Chapteuil's population numbered about 2,000 (not very different from today). I had the pleasure in June 2014 of sharing a traditional, delicious meal with members of the Chalendard family in the town.⁵²

Some confusion arises from the designation "Neyzac" in birth and other records for both Saint-Pierre-Eynac and Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, two communes (or

⁵⁰ Paul Meilland, "Histoire et Généalogies de la Famille Monchan-Payan" (Paul Meilland to TGP, January 31, 2016).

⁵¹ LN, 1806, for both communes, HLA.

⁵² See families list at the beginning of this report and references throughout for the names of Chalendards who married Monchamps. In 2014, I learned that the Challendards are also related to the Bérards, Bérard being my cousin Denis Bibault's spouse Geraldine's surname.

parishes) just 2.5 km (1.6 miles) from one another.⁵³ The village Neyzac is physically located in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil today. Perhaps the children born in Neyzac could be baptized in either parish, according to their parents' preference.

At some time before 1641, Antoine Monchan married Hélix Payan in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. She was born before 1621 to Sébastien Payan and Bonnaud Vidalle.⁵⁴ Because Antoine's son Jean (see below) was identified in a record as a *laboureur*, perhaps his father also occupied that position. *Laboureurs* ranked at the top of the peasant class. They were few in number. This so-called "rich" peasant owned some land; he owned a plough and animals (oxen or horses) to pull it, hiring low-wage farmhands to work the fields; he loaned for a fee his animals to other farmers; and he rented to others some of his land. He also paid, often in protest, higher taxes than other peasants.⁵⁵

Antoine and Hélix, when they were probably in their twenties or early thirties, had at least two children: Jean Monchan (born about 1640) and Antoine Monchan (born about 1641). Antoine's and Hélix's death dates have not yet been discovered, but he passed away before early January 1671, and she died after that date.

We will discuss in the next section their first son Jean, who is in my family line. Here, we discuss their second child, Antoine Monchan, born about 1641. He married Catherine Lashermeres, January 8, 1671, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. Researchers report that she was born about 1656 in that commune. Catherine's father was Sébastien Lashermeres.⁵⁶ Antoine (deceased) and Hélix (living) are recorded in the 1671 marriage document as Antoine's parents.⁵⁷

Antoine and Catherine had at least six children. The first, Jean Monchan, was born February 7, 1675, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. In 1706, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac, he married Anne Gaigne (born before 1686) and they had at least one child, Antoine Monchan, born June 14, 1709.⁵⁸ Catherine's and Antoine's second child, Marie Monchan, was born on September 30, 1682, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. She married Jacques Chambon on June 3, 1710, and they had four children.⁵⁹

⁵³ www.france.com; www.saintjulienchapteuil.fr.

⁵⁴ Paul Meilland Family Tree, "Payan," for Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, Geneanet.org; Meilland, "Histoire."

⁵⁵ Terence J. Byres, "The Landlord Class, Peasant Differentiation, Class Struggle..." *The Journal of Peasant History*, 36, Issue 1, 2009, 42; Timothy Tickett, *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 59.

⁵⁶ Pierre Vialatte Family Tree, "Hélix Payan," Saint-Pierre-Eynac, Geneanet.org; Family Tree of cperbet1, "Antoine Monchan," in "Hélix Payan," Saint-Pierre-Eynac, Geneanet.org; Pierre Grand Family Tree, "Payan," Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, Geneanet.org; Meilland, "Histoire."

⁵⁷ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1669-1698, p. 29, HLA.

⁵⁸ Family Tree eperbet1; Meilland, "Histoire."

⁵⁹ Catherine (before 1715), Jean (1716), Jacques (before 1727), and Elizabeth (before 1727). Meilland, "Histoire."

The third child of Catherine and Antoine was Marguerite Monchan, born September 16, 1686, also in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. Their fourth child was Jacques Monchan, born March 28, 1691. Their fifth child was another Marie, born January 14, 1694. On March 18, 1727, Marie married Jean Maleysson (born June 13, 1693) in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. They had five children.⁶⁰ The last child of Antoine and Catherine was Catherine Monchan, born July 17, 1697.⁶¹

Antoine Monchan, born about 1641, son of Antoine Monchan and Hélix Payan, and spouse of Catherine Lashermes, died June 21, 1708, in Saint-Julien Chapteuil's village of Saint-Marsal. The witnesses to his death were recorded as illiterate.⁶² Catherine Lashermes also died in Saint-Marsal, on March 27, 1710.⁶³

Jean Monchan (about 1640-after 1684), Isabeau Besset (1644-1704), and Family

Jean Monchan was the first child of Antoine Monchan and Hélix Payan. Jean was born about 1640, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil or Saint-Pierre-Eynac. Jean Monchan is my great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather. Before 1667, perhaps in 1665, he married Isabeau Besset.⁶⁴ Isabeau was born March 16, 1644, in the village of Bellacombe, commune of Yssingaux.⁶⁵ (This commune sits 18.6 km or 11.6 miles from Saint-Julien-Chapteuil.)

Isabeau's father Antoine Besset was born about 1600 in Yssingaux and died about 1649. He had considerable standing in his community. One researcher has identified him as a farmer (*cultivateur*).⁶⁶ But, Antoine Besset was more than that. At the time of the birth of another daughter in 1629, he was a "royal notary" of the noble families Chazaul and Chomouroux, handling their business matters, such as the sale and renting of their lands. He still held that position, as well as *greffier* (public record keeper) of Bellacombe, when Isabeau was born in 1744.⁶⁷ Isabeau's

⁶⁰ Grand Family Tree, "Henriette Payan." This tree suggests the 1710 birth date. The Maleysson children were Marie (1735), Marguerite (before 1736), Anne (before 1738), Jean Claude (????), and Suzanne (????).

⁶¹ Meilland, "Histoire."

⁶² Witnesses were Jean Barriol and Vidal (?). EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 73, HLA. The death year 1708 is listed in Meilland Family Tree, "Payan."

⁶³ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 86, HLA.

⁶⁴ Hervé Guillaumont Family Tree, "Payan" and "Jean Monchan;" Geneanet.org;" Violette Family Tree, "Antoine Monchan," Geneanet.org. These sources do not indicate the location of original documents.

⁶⁵ Another source (Bernard Sperry Family Tree, "Ysabeau Besset," Geneanet.org) gives Ysabeau's birth date as April 17, 1644, and her baptism as April 30.

⁶⁶ Loustalot-Gobert Family Tree, Geneanet.org.

⁶⁷ Sperry Family Tree, "Ysabeau Besset," *ibid.*; Arnaud Family Tree, "Ysabeau Besset," *ibid.*; abellem Family Tree, "Antoine Besset," *ibid.*

mother was Magdeleine Ollier, born in the village of Le Besset, Yssingeaux.⁶⁸ Her parents married before 1621 (birth year of their first child). Magdeleine was described then as a “*demoiselle*” (“young lady,” perhaps of noble or upper-middle-class status). Antoine Besset and Magdeleine Ollier had at least seven children.⁶⁹

Isabeau Besset’s spouse Jean Monchan became a *laboureur*, according to the birth record of his son Jean in 1671 (see above for a description of this occupation). Jean Monchan and Isabeau Besset had at least seven children: Antoine (born 1665); Jean (1667); Jean (1671); Anne-Marie (1675); Catherine (1678); Catherine (1681); and Jacques (1684).

The first child of Jean Monchan and Isabeau Besset, Antoine Monchan, was born June 6, 1665. He was my great-great-great-great-great grandfather. He will be discussed in the next, separate section.

The second child of Jean and Isabeau, Jean Monchan, was born December 19, 1667, in Neyzac. His parents took him to the Saint-Pierre-Eynac church for baptism. His godfather was Antoine Monchan and his godmother was Françoise Besset of Saint-Julien-Chapteuil.⁷⁰ Jean’s occupation was *manouvrier*, either a “jack-of-all-trades” or “handy man,” or a farmer who owned small acreage but hired himself out as a laborer.⁷¹ His life story ranks as atypical.

Jean married Catherine Lhoste (1688-1734) in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil on January 26, 1706.⁷² They had at least six children: Pierre (1708-1777⁷³); Jean (1709-1721); Claire (born April 15, 1712; Antoine, brother of Jean, was her godfather, and Isabeau Masson, Antoine’s spouse, was her godmother); she wed Joseph Delaigne [1714-1772]⁷⁴; Joseph (born May 21, 1714; his godfather was Joseph Lhoste and her godmother was Catherine Monchan⁷⁵); and Cécile (November 2, 1718-1768⁷⁶).

⁶⁸ EC, Yssingeaux, 1640-1644, Baptisms, p. 251, HLA; Arnaud Family Tree; abellem Family Tree, “Ysabeau Besset,” Généanet.org; Loustalot-Gibert Family Tree, “Antoine Besset,” Généanet.org.

⁶⁹ Loys (about 1621); Anthoine (about 1623); Jacques (about 1626; married January 20, 1651, in Yssingeaux, Antoinette Meyer); Catherine (about 1629 or 1632-1691; married September 30, 1649, Vital Loubet, about 1632-1702); Ysabeau (born April 27, 1629, Le Besset); and Catherine (about 1641). Sperry Family Tree, “Ysabeau Besset,” Arnaud Family Tree, “Ysabeau Besset,” Geneanet.org.

⁷⁰ Sylvanie Zahoual (family tree contributor, Geneanet.org) to TGP, January 23, 2016.

⁷¹ Delaigne Family Tree, “Jean Monchan.”

⁷² EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 57, HLA. Her father was Jean Lhoste; her mother was Cécile Faure.

⁷³ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 70, HLA (birth)

⁷⁴ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 98, HLA.

⁷⁵ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 110, HLA

⁷⁶ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 139 HLA.

Perhaps after the birth of Cécile in 1718, Jean Monchan and Catherine Lhoste divorced, an unusual, even unthinkable, event for parishioners in the Catholic Church in France in that era. In France, marriage had long been deemed indissoluble, a sacrament that stood as a foundation for the state and society. Only a rare judicial decree permitting separation could end a marriage, usually for reasons of domestic abuse or adultery. (A French law of 1792 made divorce permissible and legal, and hence more common.)⁷⁷

What happened next in the Monchan-Lhoste saga generated another shock in the Monchamp zone: Jean died by murder in the village of Le Fraisse in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil on June 29, 1719. Seldom does that type of death appear in records of the time. He was buried in the church cemetery.⁷⁸ Catherine Lhoste of Le Fraisse remarried to Pierre Dessalces (born April 22, 1687) on September 18, 1720, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. No Monchans served as witnesses at the church ceremony.⁷⁹ Catherine Lhoste died September 19, 1734. No Monchans are mentioned in the death record.⁸⁰ This story of marriage, children, divorce, murder, remarriage, and death must have occasioned considerable anxiety and disruption, if not astonishment or outrage, for members of the Monchan and Lhoste families.

We return to the children of Jean Monchan and Isabeau Besset. Their third child was another Jean Monchan, born in Neyzac and baptized October 17, 1671, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. Jean's father Jean was identified as a *laboureur*. The godfather was Jean Besset of Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. Jean Monchan married Catherine Levet. She was born in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil before 1673. Their son Claude Monchan was born November 7, 1694, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. Catherine died after May 1717.⁸¹

Anne-Marie Monchan was the fourth offspring of Jean and Isabeau, baptized January 12, 1675, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. Michel Monchan and Jeanne Moleyre were his godparents.⁸²

⁷⁷ "Divorce and Women in France," www.ohio.edu/chastain/dh/divorce.htm; Frédérique Ferrand, "Grounds for Divorce and Maintenance between Former Spouses," ceflonline.net.

⁷⁸ His name is spelled "Monchant" in the death record (EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 144, HLA). Another Jean Monchan died January 22, 1717, in Neyzac, Saint-Pierre-Eynac. The relationship is unclear. Pierre Grand Family Tree, "Ysabeau Monchan," Geneanet.org; Actes en ligne, Généal43.com., for Saint-Pierre Eynac; Delaigue Family Tree, "Jean Monchan," Geneanet.org.

⁷⁹ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 155, HLA; Meilland Family Tree, "Dessalces," Geneanet.org.

⁸⁰ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 299, HLA.

⁸¹ EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 228, HLA; Meilland Family Tree, "Levet," Geneanet.org; Actes en ligne, Généal43.com (Claude birth).

⁸² Michel Monchan was the godfather. Zahoual to TGP, January 22, 2016.

The fifth child of Jean and Isabeau was Catherine Monchan, born September 13, 1678, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. The godparents were Antoine Monchan and Catherine Payan of Araules.⁸³ Catherine married Vidal Chambon, November 3, 1701, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, and they had at least one child, Marie Chambon. Catherine died September 5, 1739, in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil.⁸⁴

Another Catherine Monchan was the sixth child of Jean and Isabeau. She was born October 22, 1681. Antoine Monchan of Neyzac was the baby girl's godfather.⁸⁵

The last child of Jean and Isabeau was Jacques Monchan, born August 23, 1684, in Neyzac. His godfather was Jean Monchan and his godmother was Magdeleine Besset of Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. The priest recorded the godparents as illiterate.⁸⁶

Jean Monchan's death date has not been pinpointed, but it occurred after 1684, because he was alive at his daughter's birth that year. Jean's wife Isabeau Besset died May 11, 1704, in Neyzac when she was 60 years old. She was interred in the church cemetery in Saint-Pierre-Eynac.⁸⁷

Antoine Monchan (1665-1717), Isabeau Masson (about 1670-1740), and Family in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil and Saint-Pierre-Eynac

Antoine Monchan, Jean Monchan's brother, was born June 6, 1665, in Neyzac, to Isabeau Besset and Jean Monchan (see above). Antoine was baptized in the Saint-Pierre-Eynac church. Payan (first name unclear) was the godmother; Jean Besset served as godfather.⁸⁸ Antoine Monchan is my great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather. Like his father Jean (see above), Antoine Monchan ranked as a *laboureur* (see above).⁸⁹ Land-owning peasant or not, most if not all of the Monchans, living as they did in rural communities without schools, were probably illiterate, lacking the ability to read or write.

Antoine Monchan married Isabeau Masson on February 18, 1692, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. She was born about 1670 and lived in the village of Monac in Saint-Front (less than 20 km or 12.4 miles from Saint-Julien-Chapteuil and about the same

⁸³ EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 285, HLA; Zahoual to TGP, January 22, 2016.

⁸⁴ Eperbet1 Family Tree, "Antoine Monchan," Geneanet.org; Fabre Family Tree, "Catherine Monchan," *ibid*.

⁸⁵ EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 304, HLA.

⁸⁶ Zahoual to TGP, January 22, 2016; Grand Family Tree, "Ysabeau Besset" Geneanet.org.

⁸⁷ Actes en ligne, Généal43.com., Saint-Pierre-Eynac, "Isabeau Besset;" Vialatte Family Tree, "Antoine Monchan."

⁸⁸ Cperbett Family Tree, "Besset," Geneanet.org; Pierre Grand Family Tree, "Ysabeau Besset," Geneanet.org.; Actes en ligne, Généal43.com, for Saint-Pierre-Eynac.

⁸⁹ Occupation noted in Meilland Family Tree and in death record of Isabeau Masson, Antoine's spouse (see below).

distance from Saint-Pierre-Eynac). Many Monchans resided in Saint-Front. Isabeau's father was Jacques Masson and her mother was Claire Masson, both born about 1650. Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Besset are recorded in the 1692 wedding record as the groom's parents.⁹⁰

Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson had 14 children. Some confusion derives from the reuse of given names and various researchers' family trees that present conflicting information. Because summary tables do not exist for communes until the early nineteenth century, moreover, laborious document-by-document research lies ahead to obtain full data. As best we can tell, the offspring of Antoine and Isabeau were: Claire (about 1693); Jean (1700); Marie (1701)Vidal (1702); Antoine (1704); Catherine (1706); Jacques (1707); Pierre (1707); Vidal (1709); Catherine (1711); Claire (1713); Marie (1714); André (1716); and Isabeau (????). The next to last child, André, is my great-great-great-great grandfather. His life will be explored in the next section.

Claire Monchan was the first child of Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson. She was born about 1693. On February 10, 1711, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac, she married Mathieu Nicolas, born June 3, 1689, in the hamlet of Bourgneuf, Neysac, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. They had 15 children, beginning with Étienne Nicolas on August 15, 1712, and ending with Pierre Nicolas on August 15, 1734.⁹¹ Their father Mathieu Nicolas died February 29, 1740, in Bourgneuf, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. The priest noted that the witnesses were illiterate.⁹² Mathieu's widow Claire Monchan died February 1, 1753, in Bourgneuf.⁹³

The second child of Antoine and Isabeau, Jean Monchan, was born March 28, 1700, in Neyzac, and baptized in Saint-Pierre-Eynac the next day. His godfather was Jean Monchan and his godmother was Catherine Monchan. Both were illiterate.⁹⁴ The 1700-born Jean married Marie Françoise Chièze (born in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil), April 18, 1733. Jean died in 1776 and she died after that year.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Actes en ligne, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, Généal43.com.; Grand Family Tree, "Besset;" Meilland Family Tree. One source, without documentation, gives the marriage year as about 1699 (Zahoual to TGP, January 23, 2016).

⁹¹ The 15 offspring were: Etienne (1712); Jean (October 6, 1714, in Neysac; Jean's godparents were Vidal Maleysson and Isabeau Masson; EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 112, HLA.1714); Jean (1716); Anne (1719); Marie (October 22, 1720, in Bourgneuf; her godfather was Jean "Monchant" and her godmother was Marie Nicolas; EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 156, HLA); Isabeau (1722); Françoise (1724); Jean (1726); Jeanne (1726); Robert (1727); Jacques (1729); Mathieu (1730); Claire (1730); Françoise (1732); and Pierre (1734). Pascal Agrain Family Tree, Geneanet.org; Serre Family Tree, *ibid*.

⁹² EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1738-1791, p. 21, HLA; Serre Family Tree, Geneanet.org.

⁹³ Actes en ligne for Saint-Pierre-Eynac, Généal43.com.; Zahoual to TGP, January 25, 2016; Nicolas Family Tree, "Claire Monchan," Geneanet.org; EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1738-1791, p. 146, HLA (death of Claire).

⁹⁴ EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 414, HLA.

⁹⁵ Zahoual to TGP, January 25, 2016; Zahoual Family Tree.

Marie Monchan was the next child of Antoine and Isabeau, born in 1701. She married Robert Bayle on January 16, 1721. He was born in 1680 in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. His sons Claude and Pierre, probably from an earlier marriage, attended the wedding. Both were recorded as illiterate. Jacques and Jean Monchan also witnessed the event. The name “Monhan” is signed on the marriage document.⁹⁶ Marie Monchan and Robert Bayle had 12 children.⁹⁷ Their last child was Pierre Bayle, born December 3, 1737, in Cordes, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, where the Bayle family lived. His birth led to tragedy. Three days after his birth, the baby boy died, on December 6. His mother Marie Monchan passed away soon after, on December 11, 1737, at the age of 36.⁹⁸ Her spouse Robert Bayle died on May 12, 1759, in Cordes, at the age of 78.⁹⁹

Vidal Monchan was the fourth child of Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson, baptized February 16, 1702. His godparents were Vidal Chambon of the village Saint-Marsal, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, and Catherine Monchan of Neysac.¹⁰⁰ Vidal’s brother Antoine, the sixth child, was baptized July 6, 1704, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. His godfather was Jacques Monchan.¹⁰¹ Next, Antoine Monchan’s and Isabeau Masson’s sixth offspring, Catherine Monchan, was born January 13, 1706, in Neyzac. Jacques Monchan and Marie Claire Monchan served as godparents. Both were illiterate.¹⁰²

The next two children (seven and eight) seem to have been born in the same year, according to researchers. Antoine’s and Isabeau’s son Pierre was born June 29, 1707, in Neyzac. Jacques and Claire were named godparents.¹⁰³ Another son, Jacques Monchan, was born in Neysac and baptized November 10, 1707. Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson are again identified as the parents. Jacques’s godmother was Claire Monchan. Jacques married, in Bessamorel, on January 14, 1727, Louise Vincent of that commune. Jacques and Louise had at least four children: Jacques (born 1727); Marie (May 7, 1729); Isabeau (1731); and Antoine (January 15, 1732).¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 158, HLA; Meilland Family Tree.

⁹⁷ Ysabeau (1721), Pierre (1723), Jacques (1724), Cécile (1726), Catherine (1728), Pierre (1729), Michel (1731), Claude (1733), Jeanne (1735), Claire (1736), Françoise (1736), and Pierre (1737). Agrain Family Tree, “Antoine Monchan.”

⁹⁸ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1698-1737, p. 323, HLA.

⁹⁹ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1738-1791, p. 210, HLA.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*; EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 422, HLA. Catherine Monchan served as Vidal’s godmother.

¹⁰¹ EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 434, HLA.

¹⁰² EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 440, HLA.

¹⁰³ Zahoual to TGP January 25, 2016.

¹⁰⁴ EC, Bessamorel, 1727-1771, p. 3, HLA (marriage); Cperbett Tree, “Besset;” Vialette Family Tree, “Antoine Monchan;” Zahoual to TGP, February 25, 2016; EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 511, HLA (Marie birth);

Antoine and Isabeau named their ninth child Vidal, who was born June 14, 1709. Jacques and Claire, Vidal's brother and sister, served as godparents. Without specifying names, the vicar who recorded the birth penned the word "*illiteres*."¹⁰⁵ Vidal was born in the time of the great famine of 1709-1710. We can speculate that this Monchan boy and his family experienced real hardship then.

Although there was already a Catherine in the family, Antoine and Isabeau named their tenth child Catherine as well. She was born in Neysac and baptized in February 1711. Marie "Monchant" was her godmother.¹⁰⁶

Next, Claire (or Clère) Monchan was born February 6, 1713, in Neyzac, and baptized in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. The godparents were Mathieu Nicolas and Clère Monchan, both of the hamlet of Bourgneuf, village of Neysac, commune of Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. Both were illiterate.¹⁰⁷ Claire died in 1753.

The twelfth child was Marie, born March 24, 1714, in Neyzac, with her godfather indicated in the document as Jean Monchan and her godmother as Isabeau Monchan. They were Marie's brother and sister. Marie Monchan married Jean Jacques Morel, November 25, 1738, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. At the time, her father Antoine was deceased, but her mother Isabeau was still living.¹⁰⁸

The next-to-last child of Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson, André Monchan, was born in Neysac and baptized November 3, 1716. Jean Monchan and Isabeau Monchan, brother and sister, were his godparents (see the next section for André).

We have no birth document for the last child, Isabeau Monchan, but her godparents were her siblings Marie (born 1714) and André (1716).¹⁰⁹

We close this section with the deaths of Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson, the parents of the 14 children above. Antoine Monchan died at his home in Neysac on January 22, 1717. The record reads that he was about 50 years-old, which approximates his birth year of 1665. He and his family attended the church in

Meilland Family Tree for "Monchan;" EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1732-1771, p. 9, HLA (Antoine "Montchant" birth).

¹⁰⁵ Zahoual to TGP, January 23, 2016.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 458, HLA (birth day is illegible).

¹⁰⁷ Actes en ligne, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, "Clère Monchan," Gèneal43.org.

¹⁰⁸ For Marie: EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1732-1771, p. 79, HLA; Tables Filiatives, Gèneal43.com.; Zahoual to TGP, January 25, 2016.

¹⁰⁹ Zahoual to TGP, January 23, 2016.

Saint-Pierre-Eynac. The record for Antoine does not mention his occupation, spouse, or other family members.¹¹⁰

Isabeau Masson, Antoine's widow, who apparently did not remarry after his death, passed away on February 13, 1740, in Neysac, parish of Saint-Pierre-Eynac. She was buried in the church cemetery in Saint-Julien-Chapteuil. The death record identifies Antoine as having been a *laboureur* (see above).¹¹¹ After his 1717 death, one can imagine that Isabeau faced challenges in her agricultural community to support her large family, many of whom were young children, although she no doubt received help from them and relatives. It is possible that some if not all of Antoine's land went to his male children. Yet, perhaps Isabeau inherited part or all of Antoine's land, working it with hired labor, or selling or renting some of it to sustain the family.

André Monchan (1716-1764), Marie-Anne Fournel (about 1720-after 1789), and Family in Yssingeaux

My great-great-great-great-great grandfather André Monchan, son of Antoine Monchan and Isabeau Masson, domiciled in Neyzac, was baptized November 3, 1716, in Saint-Pierre-Eynac. His godfather was his brother Jean Monchan and his godmother was his sister Isabeau Monchan.¹¹² Young André did not grow up with a father. Antoine had died January 12, 1717 (see above).

Probably in Yssingeaux, most likely in the early 1740s (their first child was born in 1744), André Monchan married Marie-Anne (or Marianne) Fournel. She may have been born on July 18, 1720, in the commune of Araules, although no birth record is included in the Haute-Loire on-line archives for her in that town. Her father's given name was Blaise, the same name André and Marie-Anne gave to their second child (their first son).¹¹³ Marie-Anne's possible birthplace of Araules is 9.7 km (6 miles) from Yssingeaux. Some records are missing or illegible; the date and

¹¹⁰ EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1641-1732, p. 472, HLA; Zahoual to TGP, January 23, 2016; "Anthoine Monchan," Saint-Pierre-Eynac, Actes en ligne, Généal43.com.

¹¹¹ EC, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil, 1738-1791, p. 20, HLA; Meilland Family Tree.

¹¹² EC, Saint-Pierre-Eynac, 1671-1732, p. 471, HLA. Transcription in Zahoual to TGP, January 25, 2016.

¹¹³ The family tree of abellem (Géneanet.org.) gives a birth date of July 18, 1720, in the village of Les Vestias, Araules, and lists her parents as Blaise Fournel (about 1686-1756) and Marie Pollin (1693-1766), who wed in Araules, June 27, 1716, according to Actes en ligne, Généal43.com, which reports some witnesses as illiterate. A less likely alternative identification: Although Marie-Anne Fournel's birth record remains elusive to researchers, a Marianne Fourel (not spelled Fournel) was baptized in 1720, in Pradaux, Saint-Hostien. Her father was Vidal Fourel and her mother's last name was Rioufrey (EC, Saint-Hostien, 1663-1727, p. 498, HLA), and they wed March 4, 1715, in Pradaux (EC, Saint-Hostien, 1663-1727, p. 239, HLA).

place of the marriage remains unknown. Yssingeaux marriage documents, for example, do not exist on the Haute-Loire Archives on-line website for the relevant years 1728-1746. A review of marriage records in Araules and Saint-Pierre-Eynac does not reveal their marriage details. We do not know André's occupation from any available record.

Still, we can imagine their wedding day as a typical one for village people. The church ceremony was solemn because marriage was a grand moment in their lives. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most partners (85-90 percent) lived less than 10 km (6.2 miles) from one another before they wed. They were often in their twenties, with men a couple of years older than their spouses. After the wedding, relatives and neighbors celebrated with food and dance.¹¹⁴

The new couple took residence in Yssingeaux. Census records, first assembled for the town in 1820, give us a view of the place where many Monchamps lived, worked, and died. In the early nineteenth century, the town counted about 6,000 in its population, with most of the people living in the city center near the church, fortified chateaux, and hospital (*hospice*). Other residents were spread throughout the commune's many farming villages and hamlets, including Chamblanc, Bellacombe, and Les Margots.¹¹⁵ In 1820, Chamblanc had 20 houses and 92 people, whereas Yssingeaux's population as a whole stood at 6,886. Les Margots had 21 houses with 111 people, and Bellacombe counted 11 houses and 41 residents.¹¹⁶ Les Margots, where André Monchan's children were born in the 1740s, sits 6 km (3.7 miles) from the town center of Yssingeaux (*ville*). The commune's old hospital and attached pharmacy, run by the Sisters of Immaculate Conception, relied upon funds from the Department of Haute-Loire and the city. In 1846, the hospital's population numbered 89 people, including the sick, elderly, and foundling children.¹¹⁷ In 1851 the number was 78.¹¹⁸ Perhaps some Monchamps became patients at this *hospice*.

Yssingeaux today has a population of about 7,000 and its *mairie* (town hall) stands at an elevation of 869 meters (2,851 feet). The city is surrounded by medium-sized volcanic mountains. The major highway RN88 today connects Yssingeaux with the

¹¹⁴ Perrel and Desage, *Yssingeaux du XVI siècle à la Révolution*, p. 111.

¹¹⁵ LN, 1831, Yss, HLA.

¹¹⁶ LN, 1820, Yss, pp. 1-5, HLA.

¹¹⁷ LN, 1846, Yss, p. 3, HLA.

¹¹⁸ LN, 1851, Yss, p. 3, HLA. About 100 patients were in the hospital in the early 1860s, according to Malègue, *Guide de l'étranger dans la Haute Loire* (Le Puy: Marchesson, 1866; a Google Book), p. 227.

large cities of Lyon and Toulouse. Dairy, cereals, and cattle remain important to the economy.¹¹⁹

André Monchan and Marie-Anne Fournel had at least four children in Yssingeaux: (1) Marie-Magdeleine (born 1744); (2) Blaize, or Blaise (1745), my great-great-great-great grandfather, who is discussed out-of-order below in a separate section; (3) Pierre (????); (4) and Jean-Claude (about 1753).

The first child of André “Monchaut” and Marie-Anne Fournel was Marie-Magdeleine, born May 30, 1744 in Les Margots, Yssingeaux. The godfather was her uncle Jacques “Monchaut” (André’s brother) of the village of Neyzac, Saint-Pierre Eynac, just about 17 km (about 10 miles) from Yssingeaux. The new girl’s godmother was Marie Barriol of Chamblanc.¹²⁰

Next came Blaize, on October 24, 1745 (see below). The third child was Pierre Monchan (birth date unknown). On September 20, 1788, when he lived in Chamblanc and worked as a day laborer, Pierre married Marie-Anne Paulin of Le Pertuis, in Le Pertuis. His father André is mentioned as deceased and his mother Marie Fournel is living. Pierre’s brother Jean-Claude, of La Besse, Yssingeaux, attended the wedding, as did Jacques Fournel of Les Margots, Yssingeaux. No birth dates or ages are recorded for any of them.¹²¹ Pierre and Marie-Anne had at least two children. The first, Françoise, was baptized September 6, 1789, in Le Pertuis, then part of Saint-Hostien. Jean-Claude is recorded as the child’s uncle and Marie-Anne Fournel of Chamblanc as Françoise’s grandmother.¹²² Pierre’s and Marie-Anne’s second child, Marie Madeleine, was born January 25, 1791, and baptized the next day in Le Pertuis. Jean-Claude, probably Pierre’s brother, served as a witness.¹²³

André Monchan and Marie-Anne Fournel also had a fourth child, Jean-Claude, perhaps born in 1753, because in 1811, when he attended the marriage ceremony of his nephew Pierre (Blaise’s son), his age was recorded as 58 (see below). Jean-Claude also witnessed the wedding of his brother Pierre in 1788 and the births of Blaise’s daughter Jeanne Marie in 1773, Pierre’s daughter Françoise in 1789, and

¹¹⁹ “Yssingeaux,” www.map-france.com/Yssingeaux-43200; www.yssingeaux.fr; pr-yxhomily-service.net.

¹²⁰ EC, Yss, 1736-1747, p. 260, HLA. Sylviane Zahoual (who posted a Geneanet family tree) generously provided a translation of the 1744 birth record (from Association Généalogique de la Loire) to TGP, January 18, 2016).

¹²¹ EC, Saint-Hostien, 1769-1788, p. 572, HLA.

¹²² EC, Saint-Hostien, 1747-1792, p. 490, HLA.

¹²³ EC, Saint-Hostien, 1747-1792, p. 519, HLA.

Pierre's daughter Marie Madeleine in 1791. His age at these events was not recorded.¹²⁴

André Monchan died at the age of 48 in May 1764. The names of his parents and his spouse were not reported in the Yssingaux death record.¹²⁵ Marie-Anne Fournel lived at least until September 1789, when she witnessed the birth of a grandchild, Françoise, the daughter of Pierre Monchamp, in Le Pertuis.

Blaize (Blaise) Monchamp (1745-1823) and Marie-Anne Ferrapie (????-before 1811) in the Village of Chamblanc

Blaize “Monchant,” the second child of André Monchan and Marie-Anne Fournel, was baptized October 24, 1745, in Les Margots, Yssingaux. The boy, my great-great-great-great grandfather, was likely named after his godfather Blaize Fournel. The newborn Blaize's godmother was his aunt (André's sister), Claire “Montchan” of the village of Bourgneuf, Saint-Julien-Chapteuil.¹²⁶

On February 27, 1770, in the village of Chamblanc, Yssingaux, Blaise (now spelled with an “s” rather than a “z”) married Marie-Anne Ferrapie, daughter of Jacques Ferrapie (who died before 1770) and Françoise Roche. Marie-Anne may have been born in the commune of Saint-Jean-de-Bournay, department of Isère, region of Rhône-Alpes, to the east of Haute-Loire. The marriage document records that Blaise's parents were André Monchant (deceased) and Marie-Anne Fournel (living).¹²⁷ The marriage document does not provide Blaise's age or occupation in the farming village of Chamblanc.

Blaise and Marie-Anne had at least seven children, probably all in Chamblanc: Andrés (born 1772); Jeanne-Marie (1773); Marie-Madeleine (1775); Marie (1777); Jean-François (1779); Pierre-Marie (1781); and Jean-André (1782).¹²⁸

¹²⁴ A birth record for Jean-Claude does not appear on the Haute-Loire Archives website, because the years 1748-1770 for Yssingaux are missing. A Jean-Claude Monchant, a farmer in La Besse, a village of Yssingaux, died January 27, 1813, but the death document does not report the names of his parents. Jean-Claude Monchant's spouse was Jeanne Pelissier. EC, Yss, 1811-1813, #48, p. 281, HLA.

¹²⁵ EC, Yss, 1746-1777, p. 297, HLA. The day of André's death/ burial in May 1764 is illegible.

¹²⁶ EC, Yss, 1736-1747, Baptisms, p. 325, HLA; Sylviane Zahoual Family Tree, Geneanet (from Association Généalogique de la Loire); Zahoual to TGP, January 18, 2016.

¹²⁷ EC, Yss, 1765-1771, p. 269, HLA; “Weddings: Yssingaux, 1730-1792,” Généal43.com.

¹²⁸ A valuable source for identifying Blaise's children is Claudette Bouchet, “Blaise Monchamp,” August 5, 2014 (sent to TGP from Le Pertuis, Haute-Loire) and her message of August 9, 2014, to TGP, which listed birth dates and locations on the on-line Haute-Loire Archives.

The first child, Andrés Monchamp, was baptized January 10, 1772.¹²⁹ The second child of Blaise and Marie was Jeanne-Marie Monchamp, born in Chamblanc, September 23, 1773. Claude Monchant was her godfather.¹³⁰ The third child was Marie-Madeleine, born in Yssingeaux, June 14, 1775.¹³¹ Marie, the fourth child of Blaise and Marie-Anne, entered the Monchamp world on June 7, 1777.¹³² Jean François became Blaise's and Marie-Anne's fifth child (my great-great-grandfather). His life will be described in a separate section below.

The sixth child of Blaise and Marie-Anne was Pierre-Marie “Monchant,” born in Chamblanc, Yssingeaux, on February 11, 1781. A maker of wooden shoes (*sabotier*), he married Marguerite Soumet on February 24, 1811, in Yssingeaux. Marguerite was born February 17, 1789, in that commune, to Antoine Soumet and Jeanne Bonnet.¹³³ Pierre's father Blaise attended the wedding and Blaise's brother Jean-Claude Monchant, 58 years-old (thus born about 1753), served as a witness. At the time of the marriage, Pierre's mother Marie-Anne Ferrapie was deceased. Pierre signed the marriage document with “Pirre Monchat.”¹³⁴

Pierre and Marguerite had at least six children in Chamblanc: André (1812); Antoine (about 1814); Jean (1816); Victor (1819); Marieanne (1821); and Jacques (1824). The first, André, was born January 18, 1812. As a 28 year-old farmer and living with his parents, he married Marie Vial, February 19, 1840, in Chamblanc.¹³⁵ By 1868 he had become a *propriétaire cultivateur*—a landowning farmer.¹³⁶ The second child was Antoine, born about 1814. He died at four on March 8, 1818.¹³⁷ The third child, Jean, was born February 8, 1816; he soon died, April 7, 1817.¹³⁸

Pierre and Marguerite named their fourth child Victor, born January 13, 1819. He became a landowning farmer in Chamblanc. On July 14, 1852, he married Colombe Delolme (born May 6, 1828), a proprietor from Queyrières, about 8 km (5 miles) from Yssingeaux. By 1856, they had three children: Antoine (age of 3);

¹²⁹ EC, Yss, 1771-1777, p. 6, HLA.

¹³⁰ EC, Yss, 1771-1777, p. 122, HLA.

¹³¹ EC, Yss, 1771-1777, p. 267, HLA.

¹³² EC, Yss, 1776-1777, p. 116, HLA.

¹³³ EC, Yss, 1868-1873, #214, p. 382, HLA.

¹³⁴ EC, Yss, 1811-1813, #113, p. 37, HLA (marriage).

¹³⁵ EC, Yss, 1835-1842, #22, p. 242, HLA.

¹³⁶ EC, Yss, 1811-1813, #36, p. 142, HLA. Pierre's occupation noted in his mother's 1868 death record (see below).

¹³⁷ EC, Yss, 1818-1820, #106, p. 20, HLA.

¹³⁸ EC, Yss, 1816-1817, #64, p. 22, HLA (birth); EC, Yss, 1816-1817, #114, p. 174, HLA (death). In the death record, François, a farmer of Chamblanc, is listed as a witness. He was Pierre's brother.

Felix (2); and Marie (3 months).¹³⁹ The fifth child of Pierre and Marguerite was Marieanne, born May 8, 1821.¹⁴⁰

The sixth child of Pierre and Marguerite was Jacques, born January 22, 1824. Tragic deaths marked his life. He worked as a *charron* (wheelwright) who built and repaired carts, wagons, wheelbarrows, dumping wagons (for road construction), and other means of transport that were equipped with wheels. Horses or oxen pulled the carts and wagons.¹⁴¹ On February 8, 1850, Jacques married Marie-Thérèse Montagne, born May 4, 1824. She was then residing with her father Pierre in Yssingeaux.¹⁴² Jacques and Thérèse (her name in records) had at least three children. Pierre was born November 28, 1851, in the village of Pompée, Yssingeaux. Jacques's brother André served as a witness who reported the birth to town hall.¹⁴³ The boy Pierre died in Pompée on February 27, 1853.¹⁴⁴ Jacques and Thérèse named their next child Pierre, born December 19, 1853, in Pompée.¹⁴⁵ The third child was also given the name Pierre, born November 28, 1857.¹⁴⁶ He married Marie Delorme (born about 1858) before 1883. They had two children: Jacques (about 1883) and Thérèse (about 1885). Pierre's mother Thérèse Montagne died November 18, 1858, at the age of 36.¹⁴⁷

Jacques Monchamp soon remarried, on April 28, 1859, to Jeanne-Marie Bernard, a *domestique* born about 1831. Domestic servants were usually young, unmarried house servants or farm hands hired by contract on a yearly basis. They depended on their employer for food and lodging.¹⁴⁸ They had a baby boy, Louis Monchamp, on March 10, 1860, in Pompée.¹⁴⁹ Within a month, Jeanne-Marie herself died at the age of 29, on April 4, 1860, in Pompée. Jacques's brother Victor reported the death to civil authorities.¹⁵⁰

Less than a year later, on June 27, 1861, the *charron* Jacques, living at Rue-de-Pompée, again remarried, to Rose Bardel (born about 1828). She was the widow of

¹³⁹ EC, Yss, 1818-1820, #388, p. 146, HLA (birth); EC, Yss, 1851-1860, Marriages, #46, p. 67, HLA; LN, 1856, Yss, p. 117.

¹⁴⁰ EC, Yss, 1821-1823, #21, p. 68, HLA.

¹⁴¹ "Les Métiers Lies a l'Agriculture," www.hieressuramby.fr/uploads/docs/metiers_ancetres.pdf.

¹⁴² EC, Yss, 1824-1826, #33, p. 12, HLA; EC, Yss, 1843-1850, Marriages, #23, p. 304.

¹⁴³ EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Births, #207, p. 57, HLA.

¹⁴⁴ EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Deaths, #32, p. 117, HLA.

¹⁴⁵ EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Births, #188, p. 204, HLA.

¹⁴⁶ EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Births, #207, p. 57, HLA.

¹⁴⁷ EC, Yss, 1858-1860, #177, p. 253, HLA.

¹⁴⁸ Tessie P. Liu, *The Weaver's Knot: The Contradictions of Class Struggle and Family Solidarity in Western France, 1750-1914* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 215; Price, *Social History*, p. 158.

¹⁴⁹ EC, Yss, 1858-1860, #39, p. 158, HLA.

¹⁵⁰ EC, 1851-1860, Marriages, #32, p. 348, HLA; EC, 1858-1860, #73, p. 344, HLA (death).

Vitre Calemare, who had died in 1857.¹⁵¹ The 1866 census reported that in the Rue-de-Lyon household of the wheelwright Jacques (40) lived Rose (38), with Pierre (13), André (12), Jean (11), Louis (7), and Jean Calemare (3 months).¹⁵² Jacques and Rose had at least one child, Joseph Monchamp, born about 1870. Joseph died at the age of eight years and two months on June 6, 1878.¹⁵³ In the census of 1881, Jacques (57), still a wheelwright, lived at Rue-de-Lyon with Rose (58) and his son Pierre (28, also a wheelwright). In the household, too, was Jean Monchamp, a 25 year-old wheelwright.¹⁵⁴ Although this Jean may be Jacques's son, born about 1856, no birth record yet has been located for him.¹⁵⁵

By the 1886 census, Rose Bardel had died, and Jacques, still occupied as a wheelwright but mistakenly recorded as 69 years-old (instead of 62), lived with his 26 year-old son Louis (listed as "André"), a tailor, and Marie Julian, perhaps Louis's wife and also a tailor.¹⁵⁶ By 1886, Jacques's son Pierre, still a *charron*, had married Marie Delorne and they had two children, Jacques (age of 3) and Thérèse (age of 1).¹⁵⁷ The 1824-born Jacques died after 1886.

To return to Pierre Monchamp, Jacques's father, once a maker of wooden shoes: Pierre died a farmer on April 8, 1840, in Chamblanc, at the age of 60.¹⁵⁸ His widow Marguerite Soumet died November 11, 1868, at the age of 79, at Rue-de-Lyon in Yssingaux. Her sons André and Victor reported her death to the town hall.¹⁵⁹

We return again to Blaise Monchamp and Marie-Anne Ferrapie. Their seventh child was Jean-André, born November 29, 1782.¹⁶⁰ On February 5, 1805, André wed Jeanne-Louise Perrel in Yssingaux.¹⁶¹ Louise (her name in records) was born about 1783. They had at least six children. The first was Elizabeth, born November

¹⁵¹ TD, Yss, 1843-1882, p. 179, HLA; EC, Yss, 1861-1864, #23, p. 233, HLA.

¹⁵² LN, 1866, Yss, p. 38, HLA. Although Pierre, given his age, seems to be Jacques's son with Thérèse Montagne, the relationship of André, Jean, and Louis are unclear at this writing. No birth records have been located for them. Jean Calemare is reported as 3 months-old, but Rose's husband Vitre died in 1857, well before the birth of this child.

¹⁵³ EC, Yss, 1874-1886, Deaths, #94, p. 186, HLA.

¹⁵⁴ LN, 1881, Yss, p. 20, HLA.

¹⁵⁵ A Jean Monchamp was born October 30, 1856, to Joseph Monchamp and Marie Brun. EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Births, #154, p. 414, HLA.

¹⁵⁶ LN, 1886, Yss, p. 31, HLA.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ The death record lists his name as Jean-Pierre, but his age and the mention of his spouse Marguerite confirm that this is Pierre-Marie. EC, Yss, 1839-1844, #90, p. 88, HLA.

¹⁵⁹ EC, Yss, 1868-1873, #214, p. 382, HLA.

¹⁶⁰ EC, Yss, 1779-1784, p. 324, HLA. Subsequent records are conflicted and incorrect about André's birth year. His age in the 1826 marriage record of his son Jean-Claude Felix is 47 (thus a birth year of about 1779). André's age in his 1855 death record reads 77 (thus born about 1778). See below.

¹⁶¹ The date in the Republican calendar appears to be 16 pluviôse 13, which converts to February 5, 1805 (TD, Yss, 1802-1842, p. 59, HLA). No record is available other than the listing in the decennial table, because the on-line Yssingaux records are missing the years 1804-1806.

7, 1807.¹⁶² Jacques, the second, was born January 9, 1810; he died a few days later on January 14. His father André was then a shoemaker.¹⁶³ Josephine, the third, was born January 15, 1813; she died May 15, 1815.¹⁶⁴ Jean-Étienne, the fourth child of André and Louise, was born September 8, 1814.¹⁶⁵ The fifth child was also named Jean-Étienne, born October 2, 1818; he died October 19, 1819.¹⁶⁶ André's and Louise's sixth child was Jean-Claude Felix Monchamp, born December 16, 1826.¹⁶⁷ Like his father, he became a shoemaker. On January 7, 1852, he married a Marie (last name missing, but identified as a *domestique*), born October 8, 1824. They had at least one child: Jean-Marie Monchamp, born December 23, 1854. Felix died at 50 on May 24, 1876, in Yssingeaux.¹⁶⁸

Louise Perrel—the mother of Elizabeth, Jacques, Josephine, the two Jean-Étiennes, and Felix—died on April 30, 1847, in Yssingeaux, at the age of 64.¹⁶⁹ When her husband André died on April 19, 1855, he was a shoemaker living in Yssingeaux. His son Felix reported André's death to the public official.¹⁷⁰

Blaise Monchamp died on August 7, 1823, in Yssingeaux's hamlet of Chazeaux. His age was recorded as 82, an uncommon longevity for a French person of that era. His 42-year-old son Pierre (see below) reported his father's death and age to officials at the town hall.¹⁷¹ Blaise's spouse Marie-Anne Ferrapie predeceased him. She died before February 1811 (the time of her son Pierre's marriage), but her death date has not yet been discovered.

Jean-François Monchamp (1779-1855) and Jeanne-Marie Perrel (1786/1789-1861)

The fifth-born child of Blaise Monchamp (Monchant) and Marie-Anne Ferrapie was Jean-François, born June 9, 1779, in the village of Chamblanc of Yssingeaux. The priest baptized the boy the next day in the parish church in Yssingeaux.¹⁷² François is my great-great-great grandfather. His name appears in records after his

¹⁶² EC, Yss, 1807-1808, # 387, p. 115, HLA.

¹⁶³ EC, Yss, 1809-1810, #25, p. 147, HLA (birth); EC, Yss, 1809-1810, #18, p. 145, HLA (death).

¹⁶⁴ EC, Yss, 1811-1813, #20, p. 273, HLA; EC, Yss, 1814-1815, #221, p. 201, HLA.

¹⁶⁵ EC, Yss, 1814-1815, #320, p. 91, HLA.

¹⁶⁶ EC, Yss, 1818-1820, #346, p. 88, HLA (birth); EC, Yss, 1818-1820, #340, p. 233 (death).

¹⁶⁷ EC, Yss, 1824-1826, #388, p. 377, HLA.

¹⁶⁸ EC, Yss, 1851-1860, Marriages, #4, p. 46, HLA; EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Births, #182, p. 271, HLA. EC, Yss, 1874-1886, #100, p. 92, HLA (death).

¹⁶⁹ EC, Yss, Deaths, 1845-1850, #86, p. 143, HLA.

¹⁷⁰ He was recorded incorrectly as 77 years-old. EC, Yss, Deaths, 1851-1857, #98, p. 238, HLA.

¹⁷¹ EC, Yss, 1821-1823, #240, p. 321, HLA.

¹⁷² EC, Yss, 1779-1784, p. 45, HLA.

birth without “Jean.” On September 30, 1809, François, a 30-year-old farmer in Chamblanc, married 20 year-old Jeanne-Marie Perrel in Bessamorel, a commune just 5.8 km (3.6 miles) from Yssingaux.¹⁷³ “Perrel” appears as “Peyrel,” “Perrell,” or “Perret” in records. The name derived from the hamlet of “Perel” in the commune of Araules near Yssingaux. Jeanne-Marie’s ancestors appear in records dating back to at least 1616, when her forebear Jacques Perrel was born.¹⁷⁴

Jeanne-Marie Perrel, born about 1786 (death record) or 1789 (marriage record), in the then village of Saint-Julien-du-Pinet in Bessamorel, was the daughter of Jean-Claude Perrel (1775-1821).¹⁷⁵ Her mother was Antoinette Raymond, who was born about 1765 and died July 9, 1849, in Bessamorel. Jeanne-Marie’s mother was a bobbin lacemaker (*denteleuse*), a women’s occupation in area villages (see below).¹⁷⁶ Jeanne-Marie had at least three male siblings: Jean-Pierre (born about 1796; died in 1853)¹⁷⁷; Jean-Claude (born in 1805 and died in 1874)¹⁷⁸; and Jean-Antoine (born March 10, 1808; died January 21, 1881).¹⁷⁹

François Monchamp and Jeanne-Marie Perrel had at least five children, whose stories will be told in sections below: Jean-Claude Monchamp, born in the hamlet of Chazalie, commune of Yssingaux, south of the town (1817); Jean Monchamp (1820), my great-great grandfather, born in the village of Beaux, north of Yssingaux center; Jean’s twin, Marie-Anne Monchamp (1820), also born in Beaux, Yssingaux; an unnamed masculine child, who died at birth (1821), in the hamlet of Chazaux (Chazeaux), Yssingaux; and Marie (1823/1828), who was no doubt born in Yssingaux, with the hamlet unknown at this writing, but perhaps Chamblanc (see below). In the 1820 census, Beaux, where Jean and Marie-Anne were born, included 39 houses and 197 people, and in the 1831 census, the same number of houses with 232 individuals.¹⁸⁰ The village began to build its own church in 1838. Perhaps François and family worshipped there.

¹⁷³ EC, Bessamorel, #18, pp. 33-34, HLA; ST to TGP, January 21, 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Jacques Perrell died in 1686. Some of the Perrel data provided by Maurice Perrel to TGP, February 29, 2016.

¹⁷⁵ A Jean-Claude Perrel died at the age of 67, December 10, 1821, in Bessamorel, but his death record does not indicate a spouse (EC, Bessamorel, #27, p. 160, HLA). A Perrel family tree, from the Mercier family in Le Pertuis (given to TGP in June 2014), provides a birth date of about 1765 for both Jean-Claude and Antoinette.

¹⁷⁶ Antoinette’s birth date is derived from her 1849 death record, which lists her age as 90 (EC, Bessamorel, 1841-1850, #16, p. 198, HLA). The second birth date is derived from her age of 80 in the 1846 census (LN, 1846, Bessamorel, p. 6, HLA). See below for other lacemakers in the family and the history of lacemaking.

¹⁷⁷ Jean-Pierre was 55 in 1849 when his mother died. A Perrel family tree (from Mercier), cited above, lists the 1853 death year. It names Jeanne-Marie’s siblings as Jean-Pierre (about 1796-1853) and Jean-Claude (1805-1870).

¹⁷⁸ Perrel to TGP, February 29, 2016. Jean-Claude married Marie Charbonnier (1813-1859). For Perrels after them, see the families list at the opening of this report.

¹⁷⁹ EC, Bessamorel, 1807-1827, #4, p. 18, HLA; EC, Bessamorel, Deaths, 1868-1895, #1, p. 52, HLA. Jean-Claude Perrel (age 52) and Antoine Perrel (age 40), farmers, reported his death.

¹⁸⁰ LN, 1820, Yss, pp. 1-4, HLA; LN, 1831, Yss, p. 2, HLA.

Beaux sat between Yssingeaux and Retournac. In the 1840s, Beaux's village leaders petitioned the two towns to cede territory and population to create the new commune of Beaux. The case made in the appeal gives us a glimpse of the place where François and Jeanne-Marie lived and their children were born a couple of decades earlier: "Too much distance" lay between Beaux and the towns, "requiring" a "two-hour walk," with the added "difficulty of the roads, streams, and ravines to cross, especially at times of floods and snow." These burdens and the "lack of administration" for the village impeded "civil actions." The Yssingeaux and Retournac councils approved the creation of Beaux on June 4, 1845. The new town counted 1,521 people.¹⁸¹ Today Beaux's population is 792 and the town is served by N88, the road which links Yssingeaux and Le Pertuis.¹⁸²

In the mid-to-late 1820s, certainly before 1831, François and family moved from Beaux or Chazaux to Chamblanc. About 9 km (5.6 miles) separate Beaux and Chamblanc in the Monchamp family zone. Chamblanc in 1831 numbered 18 houses and 86 individuals. François was a farmer, but apparently not a landowning one.¹⁸³ In the 1846 census for Yssingeaux (Chamblanc), François, still a farmer, Jeanne-Marie, and their daughter Marie (20) are listed in one household.¹⁸⁴ By 1851, François had become a landowning farmer. He lived then in Chamblanc with his *femme* Jeanne-Marie, his son Jean (who returned from military service a few years earlier; see below), and his daughter Marie (see below).¹⁸⁵ After a life of farming, Jean-François Monchamp died on December 31, 1855, in his Chamblanc residence, some eight months after his brother André passed away (see above). François's age at his death was reported as 80, thus suggesting that he was born about 1775, a date different from the 1779 in his marriage document and his birth record. Jeanne-Marie "Perrin" (Perrel) was described as a proprietor and farmer. Perhaps she inherited at least part of the farm and its land.¹⁸⁶

In the 1856 French census, Jeanne-Marie Perrel, age of 70, lived in Chamblanc with her daughter Marie Monchamp (36 years-old) and two young children. The first was Pierre Monchamp, age of nine, identified as a nephew. The second was "Marianne," a niece, age seven, perhaps the Marianne Monchamp born August 12, 1849, to Jean-Claude Monchamp, François's brother.¹⁸⁷ Their household was listed next to that of Victor Monchamp (38), a landowning farmer (son of Pierre

¹⁸¹ "Historical," "Beaux," www.beaux43.fr.

¹⁸² 2009 figure (www.insee.fr).

¹⁸³ LN, 1831, Yss, pp. 2, 124, HLA.

¹⁸⁴ LN, 1846, Yss, p. 124, HLA.

¹⁸⁵ LN, 1851, Yss, p. 158, HLA.

¹⁸⁶ TD, Yss, p. 228, and EC, Yss, 1851-1857, #237, p. 263, HLA.

¹⁸⁷ EC, Yss, Births, 1846-1850, #147, p. 257, HLA.

Monchamp and Marguerite Soumet), his wife Colombe (27), and their three children Antoine (3), Felix (2), and Marie (3 months).¹⁸⁸

In 1858, Jeanne-Marie Perrel attended the wedding of her daughter Marie Monchamp to Louis Vernet (see below). Jeanne-Marie “Perret” died November 23, 1861, in Chamblanc, at the age of 75 (suggesting a birth year of 1786). Her son Jean Monchamp (age 42, living in Chamblanc) and her brother Antoine Perret (age 53, a farmer) reported her death to town-hall officials in Yssingaux.¹⁸⁹

Jean-Claude Monchamp (1817-1857), Rosalie Jouve (1818-1856), and Tragedy

The first child of François Monchamp and Jeanne-Marie Perrel was Jean-Claude Monchamp, born in April 1817 in Yssingaux’s hamlet of Chazalie, a few kilometers south of the town and near other hamlets where Monchamps lived at one time or another, such as Chamblanc and Ollières. Family members or civil authorities failed to record the birth. An official follow-up in 1827 established the month and year (but not the day).¹⁹⁰ On February 7, 1842, as a 25 year-old farmer living in Chamblanc, Jean-Claude married Rosalie Jouve. She was born March 5, 1818, in Fouyères, a hamlet in Yssingaux. André Monchamp, age of 31, son of François’s brother Pierre and Jean-Claude’s cousin, attended the wedding. Three “Monchant” signatures end the document.¹⁹¹ Rosalie’s father died in 1830 and her mother in 1840.

Jean-Claude Monchamp and Rosalie Jouve had at least five children, with tragedy especially associated with their first, second, and fifth born. The five were Marie (1843-1843); Joseph (1844-after 1932); Marie or Mariette (1846-1876); Marie-Anne (Marieanne or Annette)(1849-after 1887), and Virginie (1855-1856).

The first child, Marie Monchamp, was born March 9, 1843, in Chamblanc. André Monchamp, age 30, joined Jean-Claude in reporting the birth to civil authorities.¹⁹² On October 10, 1843, at the age of 8 months, Marie passed away in Chamblanc. As

¹⁸⁸ LN, 1856, Yss, p. 117, HLA.

¹⁸⁹ EC, Yss, 1861-1864, #179, p. 33, HLA.

¹⁹⁰ Jean-Claude’s April 1817 birth date is noted on his death record (EC, Yss, Deaths, 1851-1857, #97, pp. 342, 375, HLA). His age and birth year vary in documents.

¹⁹¹ Jean-Claude, according to the 1853 marriage document for his brother Jean Monchamp, could not write (see below).The 1842 marriage: EC, Marriages, 1835-1842, #19, p. 337, HLA. André was born in 1812 (see above). In the document, he is identified as *frère du futur*.

¹⁹² EC, Yss, Births, 1841-1845, #88, p. 170, HLA.

was customary, the official document did not indicate how this child died. Her grandfather François Monchamp (noted as age 66) reported the death.¹⁹³

Although we do not know the cause of the child Marie's death, perhaps it can be explained in the context of the "Hungry Forties" in French history. Poor potato and grain harvests proved lethal throughout Europe, especially in the mid-to-late 1840s. Ireland and Scotland endured the worst, but in 1845 in France, a devastating blight reduced potato yields by 20 percent. Rye and wheat yields dropped 20 to 25 percent in 1846 after a summer drought. Potatoes, high in vitamin C, enriched diets, but they became harder to raise or buy. Poor cereal harvests drove up the price of bread. By 1847, wheat prices had risen more than 100 percent since 1844. Ten thousand French people died in the subsistence crisis and many more suffered from deficient nutrition. Conception and births declined.¹⁹⁴ The economic depression also unleashed a major political crisis—the Revolution of 1848.

Not only did the child Marie Monchamp die (in 1843) in that terrible decade of famine, but also Blaise's son Pierre-Marie Monchamp (in 1840) and André's spouse Jeanne-Louise Perrel (in 1847). The Monchamp family-zone decennial tables of deaths reveal that many other Monchamps and their relatives, young and old, also died in the 1840s.¹⁹⁵ Because we do not know the causes of these family deaths, we can only speculate that food shortages hastened the demise of those individuals who suffered hunger and malnutrition. Moreover, cold (such as the harsh winter of 1844) and heat (such as the very hot summer of 1846) weakened the old and young, who became more susceptible to disease.¹⁹⁶

Some historians have claimed that rural folk developed a "hard exterior shell" to protect themselves from the anguish of repeated deaths, especially of children.¹⁹⁷ Others have disputed the "hardened" thesis, calling it "condescending" to French families who suffered "great sadness."¹⁹⁸ Whatever the case, people like the Monchamps suffered grief.

¹⁹³ EC, Yss, Deaths, 1839-1844, #178, p. 305, HLA.

¹⁹⁴ Eric Vanhaute et al., "The European Subsistence Crisis of 1845-1850" (Helsinki: IEHC, Session 123, 2006), www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/papers3/Vanhaute.pdf.

¹⁹⁵ For example, Yssingaux death records (HLA) show that in the 1840s, besides Marie Monchamp, these Monchamps died: Magdeleine (1843); Jean (1843); André (1846); Marie (1846); Marie Anne (1847); Victor (1848); Pierre (1848); Jean (1849); Antoine (1849); André (1849); Pierre (1849); Philomène (1849); Marie (1849); Marie Ann (1849). Other Monchamps in Yssingaux died in the early 1850s: Jacques (1850); Jacques (1850); Jean (1851); Louis (1851); Marie (1852); Joseph (1852); Joseph (1852); Jean (1852).

¹⁹⁶ "Climate of Poitiers."

¹⁹⁷ Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth Century France* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 39.

¹⁹⁸ Monahan, *Year of Sorrows*, p. 144.

The second child of Jean-Claude Monchamp and Rosalie Jouve was Joseph Monchamp, born May 2, 1844, in Ollières, an Yssingeaux village.¹⁹⁹ André Monchamp of the hamlet of La Besse, his age reported as 34, joined Jean-Claude in reporting the birth. Joseph married 24 year-old Marie-Rosalie Joubert on September 22, 1875, in the village of Dinamands, Le Pertuis.²⁰⁰ She was born there September 4, 1851, to André Joubert, a farmer, who lived with the couple after the marriage.²⁰¹ In 1876 Joseph was a 31 year-old farmer in that village of 99 people; a total of 994 lived in all of Le Pertuis.²⁰² The 35 year-old Dinamands farmer Jacques Faure attended the ceremonies. He was the husband of Marie Monchamp, Jean-Claude's daughter (see below). Both of Joseph's parents (Jean-Claude and Rosalie) had died by the wedding (see below).

Joseph Monchamp and Marie-Rosalie Joubert had at least two children in Dinamands: Marie-Rosalie Monchamp (1876-????) and Jean-André Monchamp (1882-1916). Their first child was Marie-Rosalie Monchamp, born July 13, 1876.²⁰³ When she was 20 years-old, on February 17, 1896, she married the farmer Claude Chalendard, age of 27, born January 21, 1869, in Sardal, a hamlet in Le Pertuis very close to La Chomette. He was the son of Joseph Chalendard and Agathe Lamouilleeris, both deceased in 1876.²⁰⁴ Marie-Rosalie and Claude settled in Sardal, where they had at least two children: Joseph Chalendard, born November 18, 1896,²⁰⁵ and Casimir-André Chalendard, born March 28, 1899.²⁰⁶ Their mother Marie-Rosalie Monchamp died after 1932, as of this writing the last year for Le Pertuis on-line records.

Marie-Rosalie Joubert died in Dinamands on February 23, 1914, at the age of 63.²⁰⁷ Her spouse Joseph Monchamp was then alive, and he was still alive in 1932, according to on-line Le Pertuis death records.

A Pertuisien's Ordeal in the Great War: Jean-André Monchamp (1882-1916) and Verdun

¹⁹⁹ EC, Yss, Births, 1841-1844, #90, p. 255, HLA.

²⁰⁰ EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #6, p. 58, HLA. Jacques Faure, Marie Monchamp's spouse, attended.

²⁰¹ No mother is named. EC, Saint-Hostien, 1827-1856, #43, p. 338, HLA; LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 12, HLA.

²⁰² LN, Le Pertuis, 1876, p. 23, HLA. In 1881 Dinamands housed 64 people (LN, Le Pertuis, 1881, p. 1, HLA).

²⁰³ EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #191, p. 74, HLA (birth). Marie-Rosalie married, at age 20, Claude Chalendard (age 27), on February 17, 1896 (EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #4, p. 84, HLA). They had at least two children: Joseph (born about 1897) and André (born about 1899) (LN, 1901, Le Pertuis, p. 14, HLA).

²⁰⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #4, p. 84, HLA.

²⁰⁵ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #31, p. 77, HLA. A marginal note reports that Joseph married, in Le Pertuis, Elise-Marie Perrel, May 9, 1933.

²⁰⁶ EC, 1893-1902, #7, p. 143, HLA.

²⁰⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1914, #4, p. 3, HLA.

The second child of Joseph Monchamp and Marie-Rosalie Joubert, after Marie-Rosalie Monchamp, was Jean-André Monchamp, born October 31, 1882, in Le Pertuis. His father was then a landowner in Dinamands.²⁰⁸

Jean-André's name, called "André," appears on a plaque in the Le Pertuis church that honors local men who died in the First World War.²⁰⁹ His name is also etched on a Le Pertuis memorial that lists men from the commune killed in that war. André earned the epithet "*Mort Pour La France*." What happened in the Great War to the 34 year-old André from Dinamands that left many in Le Pertuis grieving?

Jean-André Monchamp was drafted into the military in the Class of 1902 (registration #1592), as were many other 20 year-olds under France's compulsory conscription.²¹⁰ On November 15, 1903, recorded as a mason, he was inducted into the Army's 16th Regiment of Artillery.²¹¹ This young man, standing 5 feet and 5 inches (one meter and 69 centimeters), became a *cannonier servant* (assistant gunner), very likely working on the firing of long-range, 75 mm field guns dragged into place by horses. On September 18, 1906, he went on leave from active service, entering the reserves. As a reservist, he participated in "exercises" with the 16th Regiment (May 21-June 12, 1909) and with the 53rd Regiment (March 2-27, 1912). Jean-André became a farmer who, in 1911, lived with his parents in Dinamands.²¹²

Between 1911 and 1914, André Monchamp married Marie Margerit. She is mentioned in his death record as Le Pertuis-born, but no age or birth date were indicated. There were a number of Marie Margerits in the region. Her family lived on the northern side of Le Pertuis. Another line of Margerits lived in the hamlet of Le Grand-Gourt.²¹³ After their marriage, André and Marie lived in Saint-Julien-du-

²⁰⁸ EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #24, p. 197, HLA (birth); LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 17, HLA.

²⁰⁹ Photograph in album from trip to France, June 2014.

²¹⁰ Information here and below on Jean-André's military career, death, burial, and monuments from: Tables et registres matricules militaires, Class of 1902," Monchamp," p. 126, #1592, HLA; Ministry of Défense, France, mémoire des hommes, "Monchamp," www.memoiredehommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr; Saint-Julien-du-Pinet (?), death record, #14 (provided TGP by Claudette Bouchet, August 5, 2014); "Pertuis (43-Haute Loire)," photograph of monument to war dead, list of names, and data for Jean-André Monchamp, www.memorial-genweb.org; and the well-researched and detailed study by Claudette Bouchet and Marcel Clastre, *Mon Village à l'Épreuve de la Guerre, 1914-1918: Le Pertuis* (August 2014).

²¹¹ In the 1901 census, at age 18, he had no profession. LN, 1901, Le Pertuis, p. 11, HLA.

²¹² LN, Le Pertuis, 1911, p. 11, HLA. This census incorrectly lists his birth year as 1884.

²¹³ Margerits moved into the wilderness area about 1640 and built a farmhouse and mill. In the 1750s, Jean Margerit and his family inhabited the Grand-Gourt property, and Margerits lived there without interruption until 1945. In the 1911 census, a Margerit family headed by François lived in Le Grand-Gourt (LN, Le Pertuis, 1911, p 15, HLA). The Grand-Gourt farmhouse is now occupied by the local historian Louis Chouvet and his family. Louis Chouvet to TGP, February 24, March 7, 2016.

Pinet, just 7.8 km (4.8 miles) from Le Pertuis. At the time of his death, they resided in Le Pertuis.

André's and Marie's lives changed dramatically in early August 1914 when France launched a huge military mobilization as Europe descended into the Great War. The Army called André back into active service on August 2. On August 3, Germany declared war on France. The next day German forces marched from Belgium into France. Jean-André joined the 53th Artillery Regiment, and by August 12 he was fighting directly against Germany. In the period of August 2-18 alone, across France, some 3,740,000 men were mobilized. The total for the war reached 8,410,000. France's population was about 41,000,000 (1911 figure).

One hundred-and twenty-one young men from Le Pertuis and its small villages, with a population of about 900, were mobilized in 1914.²¹⁴ Nine of them died in battle that year. In 1915, the military called another 32 Pertuisien men into service, including the son of André Monchamp (1863-1944), Joseph Monchamp (born in 1896),²¹⁵ and the son of Joseph Chalendard (1869-????) and Rosalie Monchamp, Joseph Chalendard (born in 1896). In 1915 alone, 15 young men from Le Pertuis were killed in the Great War—five of them from the Chazelle family which lived largely in the hamlet of Pascal. Mobilizations for Le Pertuis counted eight in 1916, six in 1917, and eight in 1918 (including Firmin Monchamp, the 1899-born son of André Monchamp and Rosalie Gravy).

To return to Jean-André Monchamp: On November 10, 1914, he reunited with the 16th Artillery Regiment, in its 41st Battery. He helped aim 75 mm field guns—antipersonnel weapons that could fire many rounds a minute—at German troops. The Germans shot back with high-explosive shells just as deadly. The German generals believed that they could win a “war of attrition with a vengeance.”²¹⁶ Casualties on both sides ran very high.

In the Battle of Verdun (February 21-December 18, 1916), the longest battle in World War I and a symbol to the French of the will to survive, the slaughter continued as German field guns bombarded the countryside near the old fortress town of Verdun in northeastern France. We do not know when André entered the battlefields around Verdun, but his 16th Artillery Regiment deployed there with

²¹⁴ The figure from the 1911 census is 901.

²¹⁵ Joseph Monchamp became a *grenadier* in the 64th Infantry Regiment of the 11th Army Corps, 41st Brigade. On May 2, 1917, he received a commendation for assaulting a German position on April 25, 1917, and he was cited for his consistent courage and volunteering for perilous missions. Document in Bouchet and Clastre, *Mon Village: Documents*, p. 36.

²¹⁶ J.M. Winter, *The Experience of WWI* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 88.

hundreds of artillery pieces in an effort to blunt German advances and lift the siege of Verdun. In early May 1916, German forces attacked the west bank of the Meuse River and captured a number of French-held sites. For months, millions of German shells blasted the Verdun region, reducing it to a “lunar landscape bereft of vegetable or animal life.”²¹⁷

On May 17, 1916, Jean-André Monchamp died violently on the battlefield in Bois des Hospices, Forêt Domaniale de Verdun, in the department of Meuse. An exploding shell tore into him. He was one of many casualties in the Battle of Verdun, which claimed at least 300,000 dead (about 161,000 French and 142,000 Germans). In today’s Google Earth calculations, André died about 570 km (354 miles) from his home in Le Pertuis. Jean-André is buried in Tomb 177 at the national necropolis (cemetery), in Haudainville, a few miles south from where he fell. In the end, the French repelled the German offensive. A memorial museum for Verdun’s tragic history has opened near his place of death, but, as an historian of the battle has written: “There is little to celebrate, and we wander its hills today only as pilgrims to a site of immense suffering.”²¹⁸

André was one of 16 men from his commune who died in battle in 1916 alone. In 1917 another four Pertuisien men were killed in combat and in 1918 nine more joined them in wartime graves. Le Pertuis suffered a total of 53 war dead in the years 1914-1918. Another six died after the war from battle wounds. Nine children were orphaned and seven wives were widowed. They were Jean-André’s relatives, neighbors, fellow Catholic parishioners, friends, and schoolmates. On June 17, 1923, the people of Le Pertuis, in dark dresses and suits, solemnly gathered and dedicated the monument on which André’s name appears.²¹⁹ Other Monchamps (some spelled Montchamp), from nearby towns, also died in the Great War.²²⁰

André’s military service and death illustrate France’s tremendous losses in the war of 1914-1918: 1,357,800 soldiers dead, 4,266,000 wounded, and 537,000 missing or taken prisoner. Total casualties amounted to 6,160,800, or 73.3 percent of the nation’s armed forces.²²¹

²¹⁷ Paul Jankowski, “World War I’s Iconic, Ironic Battle,” *New York Times*, February 21, 2016.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Photograph in Bouchet and Clastre, *Mon Village: Documents*, p. 41.

²²⁰ Among them were Félix Auguste Monchamp (April 3, 1892-August 20, 1914), Yssingeaux; Jean Marie Pierre Monchamp (August 27, 1897-October 12, 1918), Saint-Maurice-de-Lignon; Jean Pierre Monchamp (December 23, 1885-August 21, 1915), Saint-Julien-Chapteuil; Joseph Monchamp (October 9, 1876-December 16, 1916), Saint-Julien-Chapteuil; Auguste Monchamp (October 14, 1882-March 9, 1916), Saint-Pierre-de-Eynac; and Pierre Marie Monchamp (December 27, 1890-September 12, 1918), Yssingeaux. Data from “Died for France in the First World War” (www.memoriedeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr).

²²¹ “WWI Casualty and Death Tables,” www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources/casdeath_pop.html.

The French Ministry of War, on January 20, 1920, awarded Jean-André Monchamp “La Médaille Militaire,” signed by the commander of the 16th Artillery Regiment. The handwritten portion of the citation reads that Jean-André was an “excellent” gunner, “courageous” and “devoted,” who died at his combat post.²²²

Jean-Claude Monchamp’s and Rosalie Jouve’s Other Children

We return to the children of Jean-Claude Monchamp and Rosalie Jouve: After 1843-born Marie and 1844-born Joseph (see above), their third child was Marie (“Mariette”) Monchamp, born February 21, 1846. Her father Jean-Claude was then a 30 year-old farmer in Ollières, Yssingeaux.²²³ Probably soon after the deaths of her mother Rosalie (1856) and her father Jean-Claude (1857), Mariette moved to the La Chomette household of her Uncle Jean Monchamp and her Aunt Rose Faure (see below). The 1861 census noted that Marie resided in Jean’s household.²²⁴ Still living there, at the age of 19, on June 27, 1865, she married Jacques Faure of the village of Pradeaux (in records also spelled Pradeau or Pradaux), Saint-Hostien, 7.2 km (4.47 miles) from La Chomette. A farmer, he was 25 (born June 21, 1840).²²⁵ Relatives present were André Monchamp, a 58 year-old farmer, and Joseph Monchamp of Chazalie, the 21 year-old brother of Marie.²²⁶

Jacques Faure and Mariette Monchamp were listed together in the 1866 census for Le Pertuis.²²⁷ They settled in Dinamands, where Marie worked as a *denteleuse* (lacemaker).²²⁸ Lace-making ranked as a prominent occupation for women in the region. Dinamands sat only 21.4 km (13.3 miles) from Le Puy, the lace center for France (see below). Marie may have learned the craft from her Aunt Rose Faure when Mariette lived with her after Mariette’s parents’ deaths.

Mariette and Jacques had one child: Fanny (or Fanie), born August 7, 1867.²²⁹ At the age of 30, Marie Monchamp died in Dinamands on February 29, 1876, with no

²²² Document in Bouchet and Clastre, *Mon Village: Documents*, p. 13.

²²³ EC, Yss, Births, 1846-1850, #34, p. 10, HLA.

²²⁴ LN, 1861, Le Pertuis, pp. 11-12, HLA.

²²⁵ Several possible dates for his birth year, given the ages for him in various records: 1838 (1876 Le Pertuis census); 1840 (TD, Saint-Hostien, Le Pertuis birth record for daughter Fanny, and marriage document); 1841/1842 (1866 census); 1845 (death record of Marie Monchamp).

²²⁶ Jacques’s father was Louis Faure, who was present at the wedding, and Magdeleine ????, who died in 1864. EC,

²²⁷ LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA. Living with Marie and Jacques in 1866 was Marie-Anne Monchamp, age 18, Marie’s sister (see below).

²²⁸ So listed on her 1876 death record. See below.

²²⁹ Reported August 8. EC, Le Pertuis, Births, 1863-1872, #20, p. 41, HLA.

cause of death recorded.²³⁰ In the 1876 census for Dinamands (Le Pertuis), Jacques Faure lived with his daughter Fanny.²³¹ He remarried on July 23, 1878, to Rose Obrier (age 22).²³²

The fourth child of Jean-Claude Monchamp and Rosalie Jouve was Marie-Anne (or Marieanne or “Annette”) Monchamp. She was born August 12, 1849, in Ollières. Jean-Claude’s brother Jean, then a Chamblanc farmer, age of 29, confirmed the birth to civil authorities.²³³ In 1856, near the time of the deaths of her parents, Annette lived in Chamblanc with her Aunt Jeanne-Marie Perrel (wife of François) and her Aunt Marie Monchamp (daughter of François).²³⁴ By 1861, Marieanne had moved, residing then with her Uncle Jean Monchamp and Aunt Rose Faure in La Chomette. Five years later, in 1866, at the age of 18, Marie-Anne lived with her sister Mariette and Mariette’s husband Jacques Faure in Dinamands.²³⁵ Although as a young person her life was unsettled, Marie-Anne remained in the Monchamp zone, nurtured by many family members. She lived at least until 1887.²³⁶

The fifth child of Jean-Claude Monchamp and Rosalie Jouve was Virginie Monchamp, born December 22, 1855, in Chazalie, Yssingaux, where Jean-Claude farmed and resided at that time—a village of 29 houses and 110 people.²³⁷ About three months after Virginie’s birth, Rosalie Jouve died, on April 9, 1856, in Chazalie, at the age of 38. Jean Monchamp, identified as a farmer in Chazalie, age 36, reported the death.²³⁸ Perhaps the pregnancy and birthing of Virginie Monchamp had been medically complicated for Rosalie. Jean-Claude’s four children, Joseph (12 years-old), Marie (Mariette, 11), Marieanne (Annette, 8), and Virginie (Marie, 5 months) became motherless.

In the 1856 census, conducted shortly after Rosalie’s death, all four children lived with their father.²³⁹ But, on July 27 of that year, Virginie died in Chazalie at the age of six months.²⁴⁰ A farmer at the age of 40 surely needed help with parenting his three young children. On February 4, 1857, Jean-Claude remarried to 22 year-old

²³⁰ EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1873-1882, #7, p. 87, HLA.

²³¹ LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 12, HLA. Fanny is incorrectly recorded as seven years-old.

²³² EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #6, p. 125, HLA.

²³³ EC, Yss, Births, 1846-1850, #147, p. 257, HLA.

²³⁴ LN, 1856, Yss., p. 117, HLA.

²³⁵ LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA.

²³⁶ Marie-Anne does not appear in Le Pertuis records for marriages or deaths before 1887.

²³⁷ EC, Yss, Births, 1851-1857, #191, p. 349, HLA. For 1856 population: LN, 1856, Yss, HLA. In the 1851 census, too, Jean-Claude and his family lived in Chazalie (LN, 1851, Yss, p. 154, HLA).

²³⁸ EC, Yss, Deaths, 1851-1857, #56, p. 281, HLA. Jean may have lived in La Chomette, not Chazalie, at this time.

²³⁹ LN, 1856, Yss, p. 74, HLA.

²⁴⁰ EC, Yss, Deaths, 1851-1857, #117, p. 297, HLA.

Marie Liogier. She was born December 25, 1835, and at the time of the wedding lived with her father (Jean Liogier) and mother in Chazalie.²⁴¹

Within months of his marriage to Marie Liogier, Jean-Claude Monchamp died in Chazalie at the age of 40, on July 19, 1857.²⁴² His brother Jean stepped forward in this crisis, moving Joseph, Marie, and Marie-Anne into his household in nearby La Chomette, 5.1 km (about 3 miles) from Chazalie (see below for the 1861 census). Marie Liogier was pregnant at the time of her husband Jean-Claude's death. On November 29, 1857, in Yssingaux, she gave birth to a boy: Jean-Claude Monchamp.²⁴³ Young Jean-Claude went on to become a shoemaker and to marry Rose Rocher. On July 20, 1895, Jean-Claude Monchamp, son of Jean-Claude and Marie, died in Yssingaux's center, at Place du Foiral. He was 37 years-old.²⁴⁴

Jean Monchamp (1820-1874) and Service in the French Navy in Martinique

Here we take up the story of my great-great grandfather, Jean Monchamp, the brother of Jean-Claude Monchamp and son of the farmer François Monchamp and Jeanne-Marie Perrel. Jean was born in the village of Beaux, commune of Yssingaux, on December 25, 1820. Jean's twin sister Marie-Anne was also born on that Christmas day. The surname on the official record reads "Monchant." The public officer of Yssingaux registered the birth on December 27, 1820. Two witnesses who "did not know how to write" were present that day: Jean Pierre Delahaie, age of 45, resident of Yssingaux, and Jacques Fayolle, aged 50.²⁴⁵

For the years from Jean's birth in 1820 until 1841 we know little about his life, because necessary records are unavailable for research. For the Yssingaux census reports of 1820, 1826, and 1831, officials listed population totals for villages, but not individual names. And, after 1831, authorities did not conduct another census until 1846. Where Jean lived and worked from 1820 to 1841 remains unknown to us. Like most other village peasant children, young Jean probably did not attend school and may have been illiterate (see below). In 1841, the year he entered the military, Jean was a farmer who resided in Yssingaux (probably in Beaux).²⁴⁶

A military record detailed Jean's physical characteristics: He stood 1 meter and 760 millimeters (about 5 feet and 7 inches) and displayed a full face with a ruddy

²⁴¹ EC, Yss, Marriages, 1851-1860, #7, p. 263, HLA.

²⁴² Reported July 20. EC, Yss, Deaths, 1851-1857, #97, p. 375, HLA.

²⁴³ EC, Yss, Births, 1851-1857, #150, p. 488, HLA.

²⁴⁴ EC, Yss, 1887-1895, Deaths, #126, p. 350, HLA.

²⁴⁵ EC, Yss, 1818-1820, p. 374, HLA.

²⁴⁶ Royaume de France, Régiment d'Artillerie de Marine, Congé Définitif, December 30, 1847 (from ST).

complexion, ordinary nose, gaping mouth, dimpled chin, reddish hair and eyebrows, and blue eyes. Two scars marked his forehead.²⁴⁷

When Jean was 20 years-old, he was drafted into the French military as a member of the “class of 1840.” He served to the end of 1847. An 1818 French law had created a recruitment system based on coercion to staff the military. Men, when they turned 20 years of age, had to register with their communes, each of which had to fill a quota. A conscription lottery was held every year for eligible young men. Mayors drew numbers from an urn, with a low (“bad”) number meaning service. A high (“good”) number meant exemption. The law dictated that each draftee had to serve seven years of military service. But, the selectees could find a replacement or pay the French government 200 francs for an exemption. Jean Monchamp drew a low number and did not, or could not, buy an exemption. Mostly the poor filled the military.²⁴⁸

The recruitment system, seeking young men to maintain and defend French imperial interests abroad and to fight France’s many wars, drafted tens of thousands each year. Rural folk in particular resented conscription. Critics called military service *impôt du sang* (blood tax). Like others in villages, Jean may have disliked the requirement that took him away from family, farm, and work.

Jean entered the French navy as a second-class sailor (No. 5385) in a regiment of the “Artillerie de Marine,” on September 2, 1841. His “campaigns,” listed on a document titled “Congé Définitive” (Final Discharge), dated December 31, 1847, are difficult to decipher because of the very small and faint handwriting, but they appear to read: (1) August (?)11, 1842, on a named steam vessel (“vapeur”); (2) August 18 to September 27, 1842, on a corvette (“Lavour”[?]), a ship about 100 feet long intended for coastal duty; (3) September 28, 1842, assigned to service in Martinique, the French colony in the Caribbean; (4) September 1842 to January 22, 1847, in Martinique; (5) January 23 to March 11, 1847, on a named ship.

In the French Caribbean colony Martinique, Jean became a “cannonier servant” who assisted and supplied the gunner with ammunition. But, for his last four years on the island, Jean was “noticed” as “a very skilled and intelligent mason” who worked on the maintenance of the regiment’s buildings. As well, he always

²⁴⁷ Colonies occidentales—Martinique, “Direction d’Artillerie,” January 19, 1847 (from ST).

²⁴⁸ David M. Hopkins, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture: 1766-1870* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2002), p. 129; John Q. Flynn, *Conscription and Democracy: The Draft in France, Great Britain, and the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002), pp. 16-17; ST to TGP, November 5, 2012.

showed “courage and good will” in other work he was assigned.²⁴⁹ Jean may have been stationed at the seventeenth-century Fort Saint Louis, which guarded Martinique’s capital of Fort-de-France. Or, he could have been at Fort Desaix, another Fort-de-France fortress, which was under repair in the 1840s after the earthquake of 1839 and finally restored in 1848. Perhaps Jean applied his masonry talents to this restoration project.

Jean’s assignment in Martinique, over which France and Britain had long feuded, must have been quite a cultural and physical shock for the young man from a farm village in land-locked Haute-Loire, Auvergne, France. First, this sailor’s trip across the Atlantic in the age of sailing vessels probably lasted a month, with uncertain seas, certain sea-sickness, possible injuries (from splinters, for example), and diseases (perhaps scurvy—caused by a deficiency of vitamin C).

We can imagine what young Jean saw and felt during his years on the sugar-producing island. Travelers and writers in the nineteenth century chronicled their encounters with Martinique. They described a beautiful green, wooded landscape with palms, breath-taking sunsets, and the “flaming azure of the sea.” Volcanic peaks hugged by white clouds and separated by valleys towered over the harbors and the towns of stone buildings, forts, and plantations. The tallest mountain, Mount Pelée, could be seen from almost anywhere on the island. No more than a speck on a map, Martinique consisted of just 1,128 square km (436 square miles). The department of Haute-Loire, in contrast, was 5,000 square km (1,950 square miles). The island’s hot, humid climate stayed “stifling” and “debilitating.” Fevers, perhaps malaria and yellow fever, attacked people.

In the 1840s, this rain-drenched, tropical colony in the Lesser Antilles counted a population of about 10,000 whites and 150,000 blacks, the latter suffering the subjugation of slavery until 1848. Perhaps Jean heard the slaves sing on the plantations to the rhythm of a drum as they hoed and cut sugar cane. He may have visited the markets that sold mangoes, bananas, other fruit, and fish that looked like “piled bars of silver.” From harbors, ships transported sugar and rum to faraway destinations. Everywhere on the island the influence of Catholic missionaries could be seen—churches, chapels, crosses, and niches in walls with images of Christ. Such was the “world” that Jean inhabited when he lived on Martinique and worked in a fort. He did not have to endure a war.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ “Direction d’Artillerie,” January 19, 1847.

²⁵⁰ Descriptions and quotations from Lafcadio Hearn, *Two Years in the French West Indies* and *Youma*, in Hearn, *American Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 2009). Hearn lived in Martinique in the late 1880s.

On December 31, 1847, with the rank of first class, Jean ended his military service in Company 3, 13th Division of his artillery regiment, at the Brittany seaport of Lorient in France. He received his discharge paper, dated November 7, 1847. The document praised him for his honorable service under the French flag and noted that he departed the military unmarried and without an infirmity.²⁵¹

Jean Monchamp and Rose Faure (1827-1883): Life in La Chomette, 1840s-1874

After his honorable discharge from the navy, Jean returned to the Yssingaux-Le Pertuis area, rejoining his agricultural community and putting his masonry skills to work. In 1849, a record identifies him as a farmer in Chamblanc, then an Yssingaux village of about 30 houses and 130 people.²⁵² The Massif Central, Auvergne, and Haute-Loire to which Jean Monchamp returned presented him with a precarious economic and political setting in the “Hungry Forties.” For most of France, in 1846, summer drought had caused crop failures and higher prices for basics. A food crisis, especially in cereals, potatoes, and fodder supplies, sparked food riots. Although the harvests in 1847 proved better, public discontent with civil authorities mounted.

In the early nineteenth century, the French countryside experienced a large population growth, such that agriculture could not employ the growing number of laborers. Outmigration, especially to cities and later abroad, became a common feature. Because the urban demand grew for craftsmen such as masons, perhaps Jean, who had worked as a mason in the military, became a part of the seasonal labor exodus from farm to city.²⁵³

Political turmoil also stirred France in the 1840s, with protests directed against conservative ministries, a corrupt parliament, and limited voting rights. Some people expressed their anger by opposing military conscription. Some towns sheltered deserters. Some young men refused to register.²⁵⁴ In early 1848, just as Jean was reentering his homeland from Martinique, Paris erupted in marches and

²⁵¹ Regiment d’Artillerie de Marine, “Certificat de Bonne Conduite,” November 7, 1847 (from ST).

²⁵² At the time of his niece Marie-Anne Monchamp’s birth (see above). For population: LN, 1846, Yss, p. 4, HLA. Jean Monchamp does not appear in the 1851 census for Chamblanc (nor that for Le Pertuis). But, in 1853, when he married, he was identified as a resident of Chamblanc (see below).

²⁵³ Hugh D. Clout, *The Land of France, 1815-1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), p. 3; Gordon Wright, *Rural Revolution in France: The Peasantry in the Twentieth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 6, 8; Jones, *Politics*, pp. 6, 93.

²⁵⁴ Peter McPhee, *The Politics of Rural Life: Political Mobilization in the French Countryside, 1846-1852* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 50.

demonstrations. Revolutionaries barricaded streets. Many of the protesters were laborers who had lost employment during the decade's economic depression. Years of political tumult continued. Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte in 1852 headed the Second French Empire and calmed the unrest.²⁵⁵

Country folk (*les villageois*) in the Monchamp family zone in mid-century France underwent a transformation from landlessness to small land ownership.²⁵⁶ They were evolving from basically subsistence peasants, producing enough to feed themselves and trade for staples they needed, such as salt and oil, to some degree of self-sufficiency and more market-oriented, capitalist commodity production. Improved roads and railroads widened access to markets. Accompanying this evolution was increased use of machines, although, because of cost, mechanization transpired mostly on medium and large-sized farms.

The growth of land ownership, however, should not be exaggerated. Farms could be whole or a collection of separated or fragmented plots. More than half of farms in France constituted just one hectare (2.47 acres) or less in 1884.²⁵⁷ In the Monchamps' Haute-Loire, 32 percent of farms were 0-1 hectares and 34 percent were 1-5 hectares. Even with a surge in landowning in the early 1880s, most farmers—two-thirds—remained “small.”²⁵⁸ The overall picture for agriculture became bleaker in the second half of the nineteenth century. The rural population dropped. The late 1840s saw the all-time peak of France's rural population. Afforestation, especially in the 1840s-1870s, impinged on available land as a government program led to the planting of trees on land not covered by forest. The continued subdivision of land into smaller plots hurt productivity. And, communal grazing continued its downward spiral.

²⁵⁵ Peter N. Stearns, *The Encyclopedia of World History*, 6th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), pp. 454-456, 465-467.

²⁵⁶ Agricultural transformation: (1) Tina Jolas and Françoise Zonabend, “Tillers of the Fields and Woodspeople,” in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Rural Society in France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1977), pp. 126-151—based on Minot in Burgundy; (2) Clifton Johnson, *Along French Byways* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), pp. 17, 22, 96-97—an American who traveled in France around 1900; (3) Edward Maslin Hulme, *Wandering in France* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1941); (4) John W. Shaffer, *Family and Farm* (Albany: State University of New York, 1982)—on the Loire Valley to 1900; (5) Peter McPhee, *A Social History of France, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge, 1992); (6) Russell, *Agriculture*; (7) Annie Moulán, *Peasantry and Society in France since 1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); (8) Roger Thabault, *Education and Change in a Village Community, 1848-1914* (New York: Schocken, 1971)—based on Mazières-en-Gâtine, Deux-Sèvres; (9) Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.

²⁵⁷ Figures for 1884 show that 61 percent of farms were one hectare or less 26.5 percent were one to five hectares. McPhee, *Social History*, p. 222.

²⁵⁸ Figures for 1882. Jones, *Politics and Rural Society*, pp. 34-55.

In this evolving agricultural world, on January 26, 1853, Jean Monchamp married (Marie) Rose Faure. He was then a *cultivateur* (farmer) in the village of Chamblanc, Yssingaux. She was 26 years-old, *sans profession*, born January 7, 1827, in La Chomette, then a hamlet of Saint-Hostien. Although the marriage record reads that she was “without a profession,” she was in fact a lacemaker (*denteleuse*).²⁵⁹ Her parents Pierre Faure and Cécile Imbert had wed on November 6, 1823.²⁶⁰ Rose’s mother Cécile, born about 1796, attended the wedding. Rose’s father Pierre Faure, a farmer, did not. He had died on April 9, 1828, at 40 in La Chomette when Rose was a little more than a year old.²⁶¹ Rose had one sibling, a brother, Étienne, born March 20, 1825, in La Chomette.²⁶² The two offspring of Pierre and Cécile were raised by their mother, who remained on the family farm in La Chomette. At the age of 19, on March 16, 1846, Rose was admitted to the Congregation of the Très-Sainte Vierge, Parish of Saint-Hostien, Diocese of Puy.²⁶³ Rose resided with her mother in La Chomette at the time of the wedding.²⁶⁴

For the ceremony, Jean and Rose stood before the first deputy mayor in Yssingaux. As required, the “publications” of the planned marriage had been read in Le Pertuis on consecutive Sundays, January 9 and 16. Jean’s parents François Monchamp and Jeanne Marie Perrel consented to the marriage and attended the wedding. Witnesses were Jean Valentin (age 36) and Claude Valentin (29), farmers of Apilhac, Yssingaux; Pierre Monchalain, age 40 and a mason from Yssingaux; and Jean-Claude Monchamp, Jean’s brother, a 40-year-old farmer from Chazalie. After the “readings,” the parties and witnesses (except for the Valentins) “indicated that they could not write” and did not sign the record.²⁶⁵

After their wedding, Jean and Rose resided in the house where she was born—

²⁵⁹ See below for her lacemaking life. EC, Saint-Hostien, 1827-1856, #1, p. 2, HLA (marriage).

²⁶⁰ EC, Saint-Hostien, 1817-1826, p. 223, HLA. Cécile’s father was Étienne Imbert, a farmer.

²⁶¹ Pierre’s parents were Jean Pierre Faure and Marie Margerit. Pierre’s death was reported April 10 (EC, Saint-Hostien, Births, 1827-1856, #23, p. 17, HLA). Pierre’s age in 1827 at the time of Rose’s birth was recorded as 45 (thus born about 1782, in comparison to his death record of about 1788).

²⁶² EC, Saint-Hostien, 1817-1826, #38, p. 271, HLA. The 1846 census for Saint-Hostien gives his age as 22 (LN, 1846, Saint-Hostien, pp. 27-28), but no record has been located yet for his death.

²⁶³ “Concrècation de la Très-Sainte Vierge” (copy from Marie-Joseph Teyssier to TGP in June 2014 in Le Pertuis).

²⁶⁴ LN, 1851, Saint-Hostien, p. 59, HLA.

²⁶⁵ EC, Yss, 1851-1860, # 16, p. 94, HLA.

one of only three houses in La Chomette.²⁶⁶ That house may have been in the Faure family for generations.²⁶⁷ The dwelling was likely part of a small community that once surrounded a castle (*chateau*) built in the fifteenth century and then destroyed in the sixteenth century, with its location apparently still visible in the eighteenth century.²⁶⁸ Jean's and Rose's three children were born in that house: Rosalie (1856), Antoine (1858), and André (1864). (See below.)

An overview of the village of La Chomette appears in official records, local histories, and first-hand observations. La Chomette was one of about 20 villages in the mountainous, forested environs of Le Pertuis, a commune founded in 1852 after it separated from Saint-Hostien. La Chomette counted just one house with six people in 1806, and two houses with four people in 1820.²⁶⁹ In 1846 La Chomette had four houses, and in 1851 just three.²⁷⁰ The Le Pertuis Roman Catholic church that the Monchamps attended was erected in the 1840s, replacing an old chapel. Residents, including a mason, provided the labor.²⁷¹ The censuses for 1861 and 1876 reported that La Chomette still had only three houses and three households with 24 people. Le Pertuis had a population of 930 in 1861 (with 194 houses) and 994 (with 233 houses) in 1876.²⁷² Today the town hall of Le Pertuis stands at 1,028 meters (3,373 feet) above sea level with 430 residents (2010).²⁷³

To return to the Monchamp family after Jean and Rose married in 1853: The 1861 French census recorded a large extended family for Jean in La Chomette: Jean (age 40; farmer); Rose (35; his spouse); Cécile Imbert (60; Rose's mother); Rosalie (5; Jean's and Rose's daughter); Antoine (3; their son); Marie "Monchan" (16; niece of Jean Monchamp and daughter of Jean's brother Jean-Claude, who had died in

²⁶⁶ The 1856 death record for Rosalie Jouve (Jean-Claude Monchamp's spouse) reports that Jean Monchamp lived in Chazalie, but the census for that year and that village did not list him. Because Le Pertuis did not conduct a census in 1856, we cannot determine if he lived at the time in La Chomette. The 1861 death record for Jean's mother (Jeanne-Marie Perrel) mistakenly indicates that Jean lived in Chamblanc that year; he actually appears in the 1861 census for Le Pertuis (La Chomette).

²⁶⁷ In La Chomette, in May 1715, Pierre Dominique Faure was born; he was baptized on May 12 (EC, Saint-Hostien, 1663-1727, p. 440, HLA). On May 19, 1824, at 67, Jean Pierre Faure, a farmer and the son of Pierre Faure, died in La Chomette (EC, Saint-Hostien, 1817-1826, #52, p. 248, HLA). In 1851, one of the three houses in La Chomette was occupied by the farmer Antoine Faure (July 11, 1818-June 22, 1861), Marguerite Perbet, and their large family. Claude Monchalin (age 39; death, October 7, 1859, in La Chomette) and his family occupied the third house (LN, 1851, Saint-Hostien, p. 59, HLA). In 1886, Claude's son Claude (born June 7, 1841, in La Chomette) resided in La Chomette, probably in his deceased father's house (EC, Saint-Hostien, Births, 1827-1856, #29, p. 217, HLA; LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 25, HLA).

²⁶⁸ Conversation with Franck Teyssier, at the house, June 2014.

²⁶⁹ LN, 1806, Saint-Hostien, p. 1, HLA; LN, 1820, Saint-Hostien, p. 1, HLA.

²⁷⁰ LN, 1846, Saint-Hostien, pp. 27-28, HLA; LN, 1851, Saint-Hostien, p. 59, HLA.

²⁷¹ In 1904 the steeple or tower was added. "History of the Church of Pertuis," pr-yxhomily-service.net/pertuishistor.htm; "Notre église," louis.chouvet.pagesperso-orange.fr.

²⁷² LN, 1861, Le Pertuis, p. 19, HLA; LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 23, HLA.

²⁷³ "Le Pertuis," www.map-france.com/LePertuis; "The Town of Pertuis," www.annuaire-maire.fr.

1857); Marieanne Monchan (15; another daughter of Jean-Claude); and Joseph Monchan (18; son of the deceased Jean-Claude).²⁷⁴

The 1866 French census reported the La Chomette household of Jean “Monchant” as containing Jean (age of 45), Rose (40), and their children Rosalie (10), Antoine (8), and André (2). Jean-Claude Monchamp’s three children had moved elsewhere. Jean was no longer identified as a farmer. He was a “*maçon*” (mason). He probably did not abandon farming altogether and worked as both a mason and a farmer. Rose was a lacemaker (*denteleuse*).²⁷⁵ (See below for lacemaking.)

Jean Monchamp died November 30, 1874. His official death record, prepared on December 1, reported his age as 55. At that time, he was a farmer residing in Le Pertuis’s village of La Chomette with his spouse Rose Faure. The death document identifies Antoine Gravy as a witness, age 45, a neighbor and tenant farmer (*fermier*) of La Chomette. Another witness and neighbor (but in town, not in La Chomette) was André Chanel (age 30), the primary school teacher (*instituteur*).²⁷⁶ Because teachers lived in town and knew most villagers, town officials often called upon them to sign and witness birth and death documents.

After Jean’s death, Rose Faure moved out of the La Chomette house, at least for a time. In the 1876 census, she and her son André Monchamp lived in one household in the nearby village of Dinamands. But, when Rose Faure died on July 2, 1883, at 57, she once again resided in the ancestral home in La Chomette (see below).

In June 2014, I traveled to Le Pertuis and its villages with my cousin Denis Bibault of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, Canada, to meet Monchamp relatives and to study the history of my Monchamp ancestors.²⁷⁷ The area revealed a beautiful, green patchwork of farm fields, forests, and hills. Streams and gorges cut through the environment. Old two-story houses, crafted with thick, dark volcanic stones, intermixed with trees and meadows separated by rock walls. Dairy cows with horns and large dark spots grazed in picturesque countryside scenes. At the skyline, cone-shaped peaks (*sucs*) told the story of ancient volcanic activity.

In the center of the town of Le Pertuis I walked its narrow streets with their stone houses lining the way, and I toured the cemetery, *mairie* (town hall), school, and church—all with a sense of Monchamps around me. Monchamp relatives Marie-

²⁷⁴ LN, 1861, Le Pertuis, pp. 11-12, HLA.

²⁷⁵ LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA.

²⁷⁶ EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1873-1882, #18, p. 45, HLA.

²⁷⁷ Photographs in France trip album for June 2014.

Joseph Teyssier and her sons Franck and Roland (see below) generously welcomed me to their home in nearby Dinamands, cooked delicious meals, and provided documents and photographs of ancestors.

The Teyssiars also guided me through my great-great grandfather Jean Monchamp's and my great-great grandmother's Rose Faure's stone house in La Chomette, which sits uphill from that of their son Antoine, my great-grandfather. Jean's house in 2014 was shuttered and undergoing repairs. The thick-walled building is a two-story structure with four windows in the front and an "L" wing that may have been an attached barn with a large opening (now boarded) and a separate door. Evidence of Jean's expertise as a mason is evident in the stonework of a shed (perhaps an oven or a storage building).

Through inheritance, the Jean Monchamp-Rose Faure house and surrounding land passed to André Monchamp (son of Jean and Rose, born 1864) at some time between 1886 and 1901. Years later, Jean's and Rose's property transferred to André's children Joseph Monchamp (born 1896) and Firmin Monchamp (born 1899). Marie-Joséphé Teyssier (born 1936), daughter of Joseph, inherited the house. She has given it to her sons Franck (born 1961) and Roland (born 1965), who were in 2014 both school teachers in other towns.²⁷⁸

Jean Monchamp, Rose Faure, their son André Monchamp, and his wife Rosalie Gravy (see below) are buried in the family grave in Le Pertuis. Although the names etched on the substantial headstone with a cross at the top are no longer readable, Marie-Joséphé Teyssier and her sons identified the gravesite. In the cemetery, with awe and appreciation, I touched Jean's grave monument.²⁷⁹

Languages and the Question of Literacy for the Monchamps

In the nineteenth-century Monchamp zone, many villagers were illiterate, and even those who could speak and read French might not be able to write the language. In 1866, less than half of the young men drafted into the armed forces from Haute-Loire could read French.²⁸⁰ The Monchamps probably spoke some French but

²⁷⁸ Neither Roland nor Franck has married. Franck earned a master's degree in business (ST to TGP, November 4, 30, 2012, January 30, 2013). Information on property ownership from Franck Monchamp to TGP, February 7, 2015.

²⁷⁹ ST to TGP, November 30, 2012; TGP visit to the cemetery with Marie-Joséphé Teyssier, June 2014. Photographs in family album.

²⁸⁰ For literacy, Haute-Loire ranked low on the list of departments. *Statesman's Year-Book, 1871* (London: Spottiswoode, 1871), p. 59.

could not read or write it. Those Monchamps who served in the military, such as Jean and Antoine, were exposed to French. Their primary language, however, was not French, which at mid-century was to half of the people of France a “foreign language.”²⁸¹

French officials seeking to promote national unity could implore a school-age peasant child to speak the “mother tongue” as a patriotic duty. Yet, the speech of the “mother” in a rural household was not French, but rather a *patois*²⁸²—a particular local language with its own unique vocabulary, spellings, jargon, idioms, grammar, accents, and pronunciations differing from village to village, from commune to commune, “from one valley to another, from high ground to low, from one riverbank to the next.”²⁸³ Rural people, after all, did not travel far from their villages. So, they developed and nurtured their own localized speech. France had “a wealth of tongues.”²⁸⁴

Simone Tait, born in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, Canada, in 1937, has related that her Le Pertuis-born parents spoke the local *patois* to one another even after they migrated to Canada. Simone is the daughter of Pierre Monchamp (1893-1969; son of Antoine) and Hélène Badiou (1897-1994). Pierre was born in La Chomette and Hélène was born in L’Herm—two small villages 8.9 km or 5.5 miles apart in Le Pertuis.²⁸⁵

What was the source of the unique Le Pertuis *patois* of Jean, his son Antoine, and other members of the extended Monchamp family? The answer lies in the complicated history of languages in Roman-occupied Gaul, France, Auvergne, Haute-Loire, and Le Pertuis over the centuries.²⁸⁶ Such words as loaning, borrowing, blending, merging, imitating, meshing, melding, altering, breaking apart, and mutating help us explain the fluid evolution of language in France. The

²⁸¹ Moulin, *Peasantry*, p. 79.

²⁸² “Dialect” and “*patois*” are often used interchangeably in discussions of language, but here we separate them, with *patois* referring to the most local, popular, countryside language.

²⁸³ Weber, *Peasants*, p. 86

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²⁸⁵ They migrated to Canada in 1895 and 1912 respectively. ST to TGP, January 15, 2015.

²⁸⁶ My special thanks to Louis Chouvet and Marcel Clastre of Le Pertuis for explaining local language: Louis Chouvet to TGP, January 8, 12, 2015, and Marcel Clastre to TGP, January 2015. The discussion that follows is also based on Andrew Dalby, *Dictionary of Languages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Pierre Guiraud, *Patois et dialectes français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968); Glanville Price, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); French-American Cultural Foundation, “History of French Language” (www.discoverfrance.net); “Occitan Language,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (www.britannica.com); Paulston, “Catalan and Occitan”; “Occitan,” *Ethnologue* (www.ethnologue.com); Karl-Heinz Reichel, *Dictionnaire Général Auvergnat Français* (Create Éditions, 2005); M.F. Malval, *Étude des Dialectes* (Clermont-Ferrand: A. Vigot, 1877); Jules Gabriel De Vinols, *Vocabulaires Patois-Vellavien-Français et Français-Patois Vellavien* (Le Puy: Imprimerie Prades-Freydier, 1891).

Romans introduced and imposed Latin/Romance speech when they conquered Gaul (see above). A spoken Gallo-Latin language developed with many variations in different areas. When the Germanic Franks evicted the Romans, they added their speech patterns to the lingual mix in their new kingdom of Franci (hence France).

As France formed in the medieval period, two Romance languages came to prominence: In the northern part of the country, the *langue d'oïl* (French) and in southern France, the *langue d'oc* (Occitan). “Dialectalization” continued, however, as locals retained their indigenous speech habits while the two Romance languages became preeminent.

Occitan, a Romance language like Italian and French, was spoken in the Monchamp zone after the fall of the Roman Empire. Occitan was the language of everyday life, with six distinct dialects, each with its own regional speech peculiarities. Auvergnat was one of the Occitan dialects, and it was spoken in the Auvergne region, including the area known as Velay in the present-day department of Haute-Loire. Velay included Le Puy-en-Velay, Yssingaux (in Occitan: Sinjau), and Saint-Hostien.

The people of Velay, including the Monchamps, spoke an Auvergnat dialect called Vellavien. Even more, the peasant folk of Le Pertuis, like other villagers, spoke their particular *patois* of Occitan-Auvergnat-Vellavien. In short, many Monchamps most likely could neither read nor write French. They were thus tagged illiterate. But, they could speak a local, unwritten, orally-transmitted language that had evolved from and included competing elements of Gaulish, Latin, Frankish, Occitan, Auvergnat, and Vellavien.²⁸⁷ As late as 1886, one scholar has concluded, Haute-Loire ranked as an “entrenched” area of *patois*.²⁸⁸

French, nonetheless, became the language of France. As the central government expanded public-school education to spur French nationalism, and as literacy rates in French improved in the second half of the nineteenth century, regional dialects declined as more and more people were exposed to the “official” language. Paris officials sought to end linguistic fragmentation by deliberately suppressing dialects and *patois*. Young, rural villagers, moreover, caught up in the cascading migration

²⁸⁷ Examples: (1) In French, mother is *mère*; in Auvergnat, *mouère*; and in Vellavien, *maira*. (2) “A man had only two sons” is “*Un homme n'avait que deux fils*” in French, and in Auvergnat, “*Un òme aviá mas dos garçons.*” (3) Kiss is *baiser* in French and “*poutou*” in Vellavien. (4) Potato is *pomme de terre* in French and *trifole* in Vellavien. (5) Pig is *porc* in French and *caillou* in Vellavien. From Louis Chouvet (a Pertuisien), “Notre Langue,” <http://louis.chouvet.pagespro-orange.fr/langage.htm>; Alain Nouvel, *L'Occitan langue de civilisation européenne* (Montpellier, 1977), pp. 52, 55.

²⁸⁸ Weber, *Peasants*, p. 75 (map).

to cities for industrial jobs, adopted French in their own self-interest. As French became the language for business, litigation, and politics, it became necessary to learn the language as a step toward social mobility. Many young Frenchmen, moreover, became acquainted with French through military service. The orders that officers barked at draftees came in French.

Today, Occitan dialects and sub-dialects are spoken mostly by rural, elderly people. Scholars suggest that Occitan is a “threatened” language that has been “shamed” as the vulgar language of peasants and the uneducated, although ardent preservationists seek to safeguard and promote Occitan.²⁸⁹ In the Le Pertuis area only a very few people still speak Vellavien or the local *patois*.²⁹⁰

Learning and Education in Le Pertuis

Public education became the vehicle for installing French as the national, “official” language. The French revolutionary government, influenced by Henri Grégoire’s pamphlet, *Report on the Necessity and Means to Annihilate the Patois to Universalize the Use of the French Language* (1794), declared French the language of schools. Too busy with political intrigues, wars, and financial shortfalls, the central government did not implement the order for years.

In 1830 France began to build a national elementary school system, mandating that manuals had to be written in French and that classes had to be taught in French.²⁹¹ In 1850, when a law increased the role of the church in public education and sustained non-obligatory, paid schooling (with tuition exemptions for poor families), religious instructors (priests and nuns) taught most students. In 1871, France was 96% Roman Catholic. Catholic pupils usually stayed in school until they were 11 or 12 years old.²⁹²

An 1867 law gave communes subsidies to fund education, an 1881 law mandated “free” education, and an 1883 law made education mandatory and non-religious and required towns with more than 20 school-age children to maintain a school. French was required as the national language.²⁹³ Le Pertuis and nearby towns adjusted to these laws and expanded their educational systems.

²⁸⁹ Paulston, “Catalan and Occitan,” p. 47 (“shamed”); Le centre international de documentation Occitan in Béziers (www.locirdoc.fr).

²⁹⁰ Marcel Clastre to TGP, January 2, 2015.

²⁹¹ Isabelle Palad, “Historical Timeline of the French Language,” dualjuridik.org (2013).

²⁹² *The Statesman’s Year-Book, 1871* (London, 1871), pp. 56, 58.

²⁹³ Price, *Social History*, pp. 308-335

No history of schools and teaching in Le Pertuis exists, but various if incomplete documents, scholarly studies, and local remembrances provide us with enough information to sketch the educational setting for young Monchamps in the commune—especially for Antoine (born in 1858) and his children (beginning with his son Jean, born in 1884). Several “overlapping” opportunities for education existed for peasant village children in Le Pertuis in the nineteenth century.²⁹⁴ They included “learning by living”²⁹⁵; primary school teachers (*instituteurs* and *institutrices*); Catholic priests and nuns; religious/secular female *béates*, especially for girls; and the public school that opened in 1883.

Most village children first gained the skills and knowledge needed for everyday life by watching, listening, and helping—“learning by living.” Boys especially looked to their older family members and neighbors, who taught by example to predict the weather, use a particular plant, determine the best sowing and harvesting times, and understand local soil conditions. While boys learned to repair tools and to hunt and fish, girls learned to mend clothes, to bake, and to make lace. Boys especially adopted the peasants’ “rough-and-ready system of measurements” and accounting without putting pencil to paper. They used thumbs, fingernails, fists, armfuls, and feet, and made calculations in their head.²⁹⁶ In these ways, village children gained the essentials of a rural education.

Primary education teachers—*instituteurs* and *institutrices*—offered another opportunity for learning in rural France, including Le Pertuis. Although Le Pertuis did not open its public school building until 1883, the commune housed teachers (see below). Perhaps these teachers at first used a public or religious place for a classroom. Or, these teachers may also have been *béates* (see below). The census recorders may not have always distinguished between the two categories.

Usually paid meager wages and often inadequately trained, teachers faced a major seasonal obstacle: Farm children largely trooped to school only in the winter months—from about November to February. Even then attendance suffered because of sometimes impassable roads and shorter daylight hours. These teachers may also have been *instituteurs ambulants* who were hired by families for a few weeks in the winter to teach in their houses and shops, in on-site classrooms.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Heywood, *Childhood*, p. 65.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁹⁷ Heywood, *Childhood*, pp. 64-65; Thabault, *Education*, p. 68.

Even before the opening of the Le Pertuis public school in the town center, teachers regularly appeared in census and other records. In 1861, three teachers were registered in the census: Two in Le Pertuis (Marie Montchalin, age 29, and André Prunetage, age 52) and one in the hamlet of L'Herm (Marie Fayolle, age 40).²⁹⁸ For 1863-1869, Jean Pierre Chapuis was a teacher; for 1874, André Chanel; and for 1879, André Savit.²⁹⁹ In the 1866 census, no teachers are identified, whereas in 1876 three were listed: Two in Le Pertuis (Marie Savit, 45, and Agathe Rouen, 36) and one in the hamlet of Villevielle (Philomène Sabatier, 38).³⁰⁰ In 1883 Pierre-Louis Pichon taught in Le Pertuis.

In 1886, Le Pertuis had an *instituteur* (Vincent Teyssier, 28) and *institutrice* (Noémie Bruel, 24), a husband-and-wife team. Sophie Audier also served in the school in 1886. That year, as well, the village of L'Herm housed an *instituteur* (Anselme Convers, 32).³⁰¹ For all of these teachers, Le Pertuis's curriculum included the French language, "moral and religious instruction," reading, writing, weights and measures, arithmetic for "practical operations," and agriculture.³⁰²

Béates also taught Le Pertuis's children, in this case mostly girls. In the late seventeenth century, the Catholic Church began to send *béates* from Le Puy-en-Velay to neighboring villages to convert women and girls to the gospel and lacemaking (see below). These women constituted a lay group rather than a formal congregation or order of sisters. They were half secular/half religious, as one local historian has called them.³⁰³ They became widely prevalent in Haute-Loire. They were not nuns, but they dressed in a white cap, a black wool robe, and a black silk headdress. They could marry. As teachers and nurses, they embraced a mission to serve the poor, aid the sick and dying, help mothers during child birth, provide child day care, pass on lacemaking skills, improve literacy, instruct the doctrines of the church through the catechism, help prepare children for their first communion, and assist priests with services, including funerals.³⁰⁴

In village after village, local people built a special building for the *béates*. In 1772, Le Pertuis constructed such an "assembly" or "house of the blessed" for four *béates*. Over time, Le Pertuis residents opened three assembly houses: The one in

²⁹⁸ LN, 1861, Le Pertuis, pp. 4, 9, HLA.

²⁹⁹ "Instituteur," Généal43.com.

³⁰⁰ LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, pp. 2, 9, 10, HLA.

³⁰¹ LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, pp. 4, 5, 10, HLA.

³⁰² "Notre école," louis.chouvet.pagesperso-orange.fr.

³⁰³ Marcel Clastre, "Assemblée du bourg de Pertuis," January 2015. Mr. Clastre has generously shared with me his report on the *béates* and other Le Pertuis subjects.

³⁰⁴ Émile Rayot, "Béates," French Institute of Education, written in the 1880s (<http://inrp.fr/edition-electronique>); André Cremilleux et al., *Voyage au pays des béates* (France: De Borée, 2003).

Le Pertuis, another in the village of Villevielle, and the third in the village of L’Herm.³⁰⁵ Today the assembly in Villevielle still stands, restored, with a cross atop the slate roof at one end of the two-story volcanic stone structure.³⁰⁶ A *béate* lived in spartan accommodations on one of the two stories, with a box bed, table, chair, and wardrobe. Villagers supplied her with food and firewood. Saint-Julien-Chapteuil and Yssingeaux also built houses of assembly for the “ladies of instruction.”³⁰⁷

In 1866, the census reported one *béate* in L’Herm (Rose Nicholas, age 39).³⁰⁸ In the 1886 census, Philomène Sabatier (identified as an *institutrice* 10 years earlier) was listed as a *béate* in the village of Dinamands. Perhaps she joined the order of “The blessed” after 1866, or, some census takers simply thought the two designations were interchangeable, both meaning “teacher.”

As teachers, essentially operating schools, these devout women presented another opportunity, however limited, for country folk to gain basic education. During the day, “The Blessed” taught children (mostly girls, with some boys) the rudiments of reading and writing through rote memory. One critic claimed that the children “can read only the books they know by heart.”³⁰⁹ In the evening, the *béate* gathered families in evening prayer and singing sessions. Although the *béates* faded from the teaching ranks as public authorities required them to obtain certification by examination (which many of them refused to do) and as public schools multiplied, Le Pertuis, in 1886, still had one *béate* in the village of Dinamands.³¹⁰

Priests and nuns also assumed teaching roles throughout France. In Le Pertuis, although the evidence is limited, it seems that the Order of St. Dominic—the Dominican friars—taught for a time in Le Pertuis, perhaps in the 1850s.³¹¹ In 1886, the commune census reported five *religieuse* (nuns) living together in a household.³¹² They may have been teachers, too.

In the nineteenth century, French public-school education steadily expanded and literacy rates improved, although rural areas lagged behind urban centers. In 1837, France had 52,800 primary schools and in 1863, 68,800. By 1891, the number had

³⁰⁵ Marcel Clastre to TGP, February 10, 2015.

³⁰⁶ “Patrimoine photos,” louis.chouvet.pagesperso-orange.fr; TGP photograph of Villevielle house, June 2014.

³⁰⁷ Perrel and Desage, *Yssingeaux du XVI siècle à la Révolution*, pp. 30-31; www.yssingeaux.fr.

³⁰⁸ LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 6, HLA.

³⁰⁹ Rayot, “Béates.”

³¹⁰ Philomène Sabatier. LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 17, HLA.

³¹¹ Pierre Mandonnet, “Order of Preachers,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII (1911) (www.newadvent.org).

³¹² Marie Ranthony (age 48); Rose Grand (48); Amélie Olés (33); Léonie Bour (24); and Clémence Rogue (23). RP, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 9. HLA.

climbed to 81,200. An array of boys schools, girls schools, and mixed schools—public, Catholic, and independent—came to characterize France’s educational system. Secularization steadily increased. Lay instructors assumed more and more of the teaching. Enrollments in Catholic schools declined.³¹³

In 1866, for the nation as a whole, 30% of military conscripts were unable to read. By 1896, in all of France, only 7.5% of the young men examined on the conscription list could neither read nor write. By 1909, that figure had dropped to 3.2%.³¹⁴ By 1914 almost every French person could read and write in French. In short, literacy became the norm.

In their overlapping educational environments—learning by living, lay and religious teaching, and *béates* missionary work—the peasant children of Le Pertuis had some exposure to basic subjects and thus participated in the scholastic improvements measured over the nineteenth century. But, it seems unlikely that Jean Monchamp (born in 1820) received any formal schooling. The 1853 wedding document for Jean’s marriage to Rose Faure states that Jean and his brother Jean-Claude, among others present, could not write or sign their names.

Jean probably picked up some spoken French during his military service, as did his son Antoine. Antoine, born in 1858, did not go to school and could not read or write. His French Army record for the 1870s-1880s reports a “0” for “instruction” (see below). Moreover, his Manitoba, Canada, “last will and testament” of 1939, written in English, reads: “not knowing how to write, I have signed this testament with my mark, after it was read to me.”³¹⁵

Still, the name “Monchamp” (or a variant) is scrawled on some nineteenth-century French documents for births, marriages, and deaths. Antoine signed “Monchamp” on the death record of his mother Rose Faure in 1883, for example (see below). Such signatures did not represent literacy. Many uneducated and illiterate French persons learned only how to sign a surname on key documents.

Discovering the School of Jean Monchamp (1884-1918) in Le Pertuis, 1891-1895

³¹³ For trends, discussion of boys and girls schooling, and considerable data: Raymond Grew and Patrick J. Harrigan, *School, State, and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France—A Quantitative Analysis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

³¹⁴ *The Statesman’s Year-Book 1909* (London, 1909), p. 59; *The Statesman’s Yearbook 1913* (London, 1913), p. 786; *The Statesman’s Year-Book 1896* (London, 1896), p. 478.

³¹⁵ “Last Will and Testament of Antoine Monchamp,” November 22, 1939, Archives of Manitoba (copy from ST).

In education, Antoine's son Jean Clément Monchamp (1884-1918) surpassed his father Antoine and his grandfather Jean. The young Jean attended the Le Pertuis school in 1891-1895 before leaving for Canada at the age of 10½ years with his parents.³¹⁶

In June 2014, Le Pertuis's mayor Sébastien Masson escorted me and my cousin Denis Bibault through the school that shares an old three-story stone building with the town hall (*mairie*). The mayor opened a door on the second floor and pointed me to one side of the classroom, where, he remarked, the "boys" sat in the late nineteenth century. He urged me to sit at a desk and then speculated that it might have been where my grandfather Jean Monchamp sat during 1891-1895.

We took pictures. One photograph captured me at that wooden desk, pencil and paper in hand, as if I were Jean Monchamp. The town hall newsletter later printed other photographs of this encounter between New World and Old World as well as the story written by local historian Marcel Claistre, a Pertuisien who, with his partner Claudette Bouchet, kindly and sensitively had made many of the plans and arrangements for the Paterson-Bibault visit.³¹⁷ Titled "Deux cousins d'Outre Atlantique nous ont rendu visite," Claistre's piece accurately reported "*un moment d'émotion intense fut la visite de l'école*" ("A moment of intense emotion was the school visit").³¹⁸

In the town-hall council meeting room, Mayor Masson also handed me a volume titled *Registre Matricule: Instruction Primaire, Commune du Pertuis*, with entries beginning January 1, 1890. Jean Monchamp was listed as number 78 with his birth date of November 22, 1884. Also recorded was his father's name Antoine Monchamp, a *cultivateur* in La Chomette. The handwritten notes indicate that Jean entered the school November 2, 1891—when he was six (almost seven) years old—and that he exited on March 30, 1895. The staff made a copy of this original document for me.

In the record, the teacher wrote some "Observations": "*Feu de moyens—Frequentation presque nulle—El parti avec ses parents, chercher fortune au Canada.*" That is: "Few abilities—Attendance almost zero—He went with his

³¹⁶ Paterson, *You Must*, pp. 14-15.

³¹⁷ They or the Teyssiers arranged our housing in a typical stone farmhouse in Le Pertuis's hamlet of Fourcherie (3.6 km or 2.2 miles from La Chomette) owned by Marie-Jeanne Margarit. She lives in Yssingaux, but she joined us in visiting local sites, including the outdoor mill museum at Le Moulin du Pinard, La Varenne, Saint-Julien-du-Pinet (8 km or 5 miles from La Chomette), where Antoine Monchamp's grindstone wheel was displayed (see below).

³¹⁸ Copy in my album of the June 2014 trip to France. André and Georgette Mercier of Le Pertuis, relatives of my great-great grandfather Clément Ballon, sent the newsletter, February 2, 2015.

parents to seek his fortune in Canada.” Vincent Teyssier probably wrote these words, because he was the Le Pertuis *instituteur* in 1895. A well-known figure in the community, he was also the person town-hall officials frequently called upon to witness and sign birth and death records.³¹⁹ For example, he signed the 1900 death document for my great-great grandfather Clément Ballon, the father of Virginie Ballon, Antoine Monchamp’s spouse (see below).

While Teyssier’s comments about his pupil Jean Monchamp were not flattering, they seemed to be tinged with a sense of marvel about the boy’s migration to faraway Canada, a word the teacher underlined. Of course, on the matter of attendance, my grandfather fit a national characteristic, because most rural children attended school only when they were *not* working on their parents’ farm in the winter months. We might ask: If Jean rarely attended school, how could the teacher really judge his abilities?

In any case, Jean became literate from his schooling in Le Pertuis. The Canada census of 1901 tells us that Jean, then about 17 years-old, could read, write, and speak French.³²⁰ No evidence has been found that he continued his education in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, after early 1895 (see below).

Rose Faure and Village Lacemaking

The story of the grandmother of the school boy Jean Monchamp tells us a lot about how Monchamps lived and worked in Le Pertuis. Recorded as Marie Rose Faure, she was born January 7, 1827. On January 26, 1853, as noted, Rose Faure, at the age of 26, wed Jean Monchamp. She then resided with her mother Cécile Imbert in one of the three houses/households in La Chomette.³²¹ Two years earlier Rose was identified in a census record as a *denteleuse* (lacemaker).³²² She had many relatives, as the great number of Faures living in the area demonstrated.³²³

³¹⁹ Vincent Teyssier was born July 11, 1857, in Saint-Jean-de-Nay, Haute-Loire., about 40 km (about 25 miles) from Le Pertuis. He first appears in a record in 1886. He had two children with Noémie Bruel. Both of his spouses predeceased him. Vincent died March 15, 1929 (EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1929, #6, p. 3, HLA).

³²⁰ 1901 Census of Canada (data2.collectionscanada.gc.ca/1901 (listed as “Marchanp”).

³²¹ One house/household was that of Antoine Faure and included him, his wife Margueritte Perbet, and seven children. The other house/household, Claude Monchalin’s, had five members. LN, Saint-Hostien, 1851, p. 59, HLA.

³²² LN, 1851, Saint-Hostien, p. 59, HLA.

³²³ The Généal43 website and the Haute-Loire Archives website present extensive lists of Faures in Saint-Hostien, Le Pertuis, and Yssingaux.

In the 1846 census, the widow Cécile Imbert, listed as a 52 year-old farmer, lived with her son Étienne and her daughter Rose.³²⁴ Twenty years later, Cécile died, on April 2, 1866, in La Chomette. She was 70 years-old. In 1861 Cécile had lived with her son-in-law Jean Monchamp and Rose, and she probably died in their home five years later. Neighbors reported the death to authorities.³²⁵

Cécile's daughter Rose Faure, in the 1866 census, is recorded as a *denteleuse* in the Jean Monchamp household in La Chomette.³²⁶ By this time she had been working at least 15 years in the craft of *dentelle aux fuseaux* (bobbin lace).³²⁷ Lacemaking was a thriving and respected home industry in mid-century Haute-Loire, notably so in the Monchamp family zone, with its connection to the city of Le Puy-en-Velay, the center for lace in France. Le Puy-en-Velay is by road 20.2 km (12.6 miles) from Le Pertuis. Lacemakers worked in Le Pertuis's villages of Dinamands, La Chomette, and Beaux, in Rosières, and in Yssingaux, among many other locales in the nearby countryside. Yssingaux alone counted 265 lacemakers in 1792.³²⁸ In the Le Pertuis census of 1911, of the town's 901 people (458 of them female), no less than 111 lace-makers were counted.³²⁹

Denteleuses or *dentellières* were female, ranging from children to elderly widows. These village lacemakers crafted high-quality silk lace, perhaps both the natural-colored “blonde” and the black, at a marketable price. Paris coveted Le Puy laces and they became prized in international markets in England, Mexico, Spain, and other European countries.³³⁰ The villagers' beautiful creations of thin tissues with geometric, flowered, and other designs adorned caps, shawls, panties, wedding dresses, furniture, collars, ruffles, handkerchiefs, and necklaces. The handmade lace also draped altars, trimmed priests' robes, and covered dinner tables.

Lacemaking skills were passed down from generation to generation. Children received the craft of lacemaking as an “inheritance.”³³¹ “I was born in lace,”

³²⁴ LN, 1846, Saint-Hostien, p. 28, HLA.

³²⁵ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863-1872, #7, p. 179, HLA.

³²⁶ LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA.

³²⁷ When she gave birth to her daughter Rosalie in 1856, she was identified in the record as a lacemaker. Such was also the case in 1858, when her son Antoine was born. See below.

³²⁸ Perrel and Desage, *Yssingaux du XVI siècle à la Révolution*, p. 104.

³²⁹ Bouchet and Clastre, *Mon Village*, p. 6.

³³⁰ For lacemaking and lacemakers: David Hopkins, *Voices of the People in Nineteenth Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 214-229 (Google Book); Geneviève Trincal, *Les Denteleuses* (Clermont-Ferrand: Institut d'étude de Massif Central, 1993); Bobbin Lace Learning Center, www.ladentelledupuy.com; John F. Sweets, “The Lacemakers of Le Puy in the Nineteenth Century,” in Daryl M. Hafter, ed., *European Women and Preindustrial Craft* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Bury Palliser, *History of Lace* (London: Low, Son, & Marston, 1865); “Lace,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907), www.catholic.org/encyclopedia; Emily Jackson, *A History of Hand-Made Lace* (New York: Scribner's, 1900) (Google Book).

³³¹ Trincal, *Les Denteleuses*, p. 17.

remembered a village lacemaker in a region south of Haute-Loire. “My grandmother, my aunts, my mother, my sisters, friends and neighbors were all lace.” This child fell asleep to the clicking sound of bobbins, “the clatter” that was “more present than the song of the cricket. It was the soul of our house.”³³²

Monchamp family members, besides Jean’s wife Rose Faure, made *dentelle aux fuseaux*. Antoinette Raymond (1759/1766-1849), mother of Jeanne-Marie Perrel, François Monchamp’s spouse, was a lacemaker in Bessamorel.³³³ The death record for Jean-Claude Monchamp’s daughter Marie (1846-1876) identifies her as a *denteleuse*.³³⁴ Simone Tait’s mother Hélène Badiou (1897-1994), born in L’Herm in Le Pertuis, made lace—a talent she brought with her from France to Canada in 1912 when she settled there with her family. Hélène’s lacemaking pillow is on display at the museum in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba.³³⁵ My sister Shirley learned bobbin lacemaking on her own, using bobbins made by our father.³³⁶

In mid-seventeenth century France, through the promotional efforts of a Jesuit priest (François Regis), Le Puy began to grow as a major bobbin lacemaking center. Lace became the major commercial product in Haute-Loire from then until World War I. A government official reported in 1799 that Le Puy, Yssingeaux, and part of Brioude, all in Haute-Loire, “form one vast lace workshop, occupying all of the young girls and all the old or feeble women.”³³⁷ The French Revolution, with its anti-clericalism and emphasis on simple “patriot” clothing, hurt the lacemaking business. By the 1830s the industry had recovered, especially with the popularization of black lace and renewed interest in “fashion.” In Le Puy, a lacemaking school opened in 1838 and a lace design school followed in 1858. By the 1850s, 70,000 to 100,000 lacemakers were employed in Le Puy and its environs. Today the Museum of Lace Manufactures in Retournac preserves the history of lacemaking in Haute-Loire.³³⁸

Le Puy merchants often used intermediaries (*leveuses*) who journeyed to villages to distribute patterns and thread to lacemakers such as Rose Faure. On a regular schedule, these go-between dealers collected finished lace. The *leveuses* set the

³³² Learning Center, “Lace Puy,” Reports, “Mary Dentellière,” Chapter 1, www.ladentelledupuy.com.

³³³ LN, 1845, Bessamorel, p. 6, HLA.

³³⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1873-1882, #7, p. 87, HLA.

³³⁵ ST to TGP, December 18, 2013; EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #32, p. 7, HLA (Pierre); EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #26, p. 100, HLA (Hélène). Hélène’s father was Simon Badiou and her mother was Victorine Gravy. The Monchamps sponsored the Badiou family in 1912, and, in 1922, Hélène married Pierre-Jean-François Monchamp (1893-1969), son of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon.

³³⁶ Shirley Gilmore to TGP, April 2, 2014.

³³⁷ Quoted in Sweets, “Lacemakers,” p. 67.

³³⁸ www.cg43.fr.

prices they would pay, sometimes sparking disputes with the lacemaking women when the intermediary claimed defects and decreased payments. Some lacemakers carried their products to Saturday fair markets to sell directly to Le Puy merchants. Such marketing became easier with improvements in rural roads.

Contemporary reports and photographs help us imagine the lacemakers' world. They often worked in groups at a home or at a *béates* building (see above).³³⁹ In dresses and bonnets, they sat on stiff wooden chairs. Each *denteleuse* labored over a firm square pillow perched on her lap. To the pillow she tacked a pattern. She tightly wound silk thread around the ends of slender wooden bobbins. To work the lace, the *denteleuse* next gripped the bulbous ends of the bobbins. She manipulated the bobbins, in pairs, crossing them and twisting the thread around pins stuck into the pattern on the pillow. Over time the lacemaker's hands hardened and thickened.³⁴⁰

The pay was “niggardly” for this artful labor, wrote the French novelist George Sand in her 1860s book, *The Marquis de Villemer*.³⁴¹ A lacemaker in Haute-Loire might make 40 cents a day, reported a U.S. consul.³⁴² And, the pay was volatile, with lacemakers never quite sure what their handiwork would fetch. Yet, historians note that, despite public officials' descriptions of the income of lacemakers as just a “supplement” to family earnings, the income from lacemaking may have brought into the household as much money as that from farming, and certainly so in the winter.³⁴³ Lacemaking may have meant the survival of poor farming communities.

Religion and bobbin lacemaking became coupled. The church sought lace for vestments, of course. But, a moral argument that village lacemaking was appropriate “women's work” enjoyed popularity among the elite class, secular and clerical. The argument claimed that such work not only earned valuable money for the peasant families, but also kept mothers home and their children busy and under watch, away from evil temptations that lay outside the farmhouse.

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the black-robed *béates* taught the skills of lacemaking to villagers in “assembly” houses. Le Pertuis's was built in 1772.

³³⁹ For lacemakers working together, see many photographs, some from postcards, at “Old Postcards,” “The Dentellières,” Généal43.com; Learning Center, “Lace Puy,” Introduction.

³⁴⁰ Learning Center, “Lace at Home,” ch. 30.

³⁴¹ George Sand, *Novels: The Marquis de Villemer*, vol. XVII (Boston: Jefferson Press, 1900-1902), p. 93.

³⁴² 1908 figure. Other sources for earlier periods suggest a range up to 50 cents daily. William H. Hunt, “Commerce and Industries in France,” U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Consular Reports* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), pp. 66-67.

³⁴³ Sweets, “Lacemakers,” p. 69.

In the assembly houses, women and children gathered in evening meetings (*couviges*) to learn lacemaking techniques and produce lace. Their backs bent over, these hardworking, pious peasants recited prayers and sang songs to the sounds of constantly moving bobbins. For these *denteleuses*, singing served as education, because they repeated folklore stories. Overall, these women's lives were hard, and to some observers it seemed as if "their children are born solely to learn how to suffer," the lead character of Sand's book remarks disparagingly in an era when childhood deaths were common for peasant families.³⁴⁴

Lacemaking, as art, as painstaking work, as income, as education, as a source of pride, as religious commitment, and as family activity ranked high in the village lives of Monchamp women such as Rose Faure. The 1876 French population census, after Jean Monchamp's death, notes that the widow Rose (age 49) was living in a household in the village of Dinamands with her son André Monchamp (age 13). Her son Antoine, 18 years-old that year, is not listed.³⁴⁵ Although this census does not mention Rose's lacemaking, she no doubt continued in this work.

After a life of village lacemaking, child-rearing, farming, and widowhood, Rose Faure died on July 2, 1883, at 11:00 o'clock in the evening in La Chomette at the age of 57. The next day, her son, 25 year-old Antoine Monchamp of La Chomette reported her passing to Le Pertuis officials. Rose's death document confirms that her father was Jacques Faure and her mother was Cécile Imbert (but in this case spelled Joubert). The document is signed "Monchamp," perhaps by Antoine.³⁴⁶

Marie-Anne Monchamp (1820-1882), Jean Antoine Manet (1805-after 1886), and Family

We return here to 1820-born Jean's father François Monchamp and his mother Jeanne-Marie Perrel: Their third child, after Jean-Claude and Jean, was Marie-Anne Monchamp, born December 25, 1820. She was Jean Monchamp's twin sister, listed after him in the birth document. Marie-Anne was residing with her father ("Monchand") and mother ("Perret") in Chamblanc when, on February 5, 1840, in

³⁴⁴ Sand, *Marquis*, pp. 93, 260, 262.

³⁴⁵ LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 12, HLA. Another member of the very extensive Faure family with the same name "Rose Faure" appears in the Haute-Loire Archives with a death record dated January 28, 1876. Born in 1822, this Rose Faure was the daughter of deceased André Faure and Anne-Marie Crespe. This Rose, a housewife, was 67 or 64 years-old when she died. The 1876 Le Pertuis census listed this Rose as a lacemaker living with her daughter Virginie Celle in Dinamands. TD, 1802-1882, Saint-Hostien, #113, p. 32, HLA; LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 12, HLA; Généal43.com; EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #2, p. 86, HLA.

³⁴⁶ Also appearing as a witness was Pierre-Louis Pichon, 27, a teacher in Le Pertuis and a neighbor. The death record is dated July 3. EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #20, p. 17, HLA.

Yssingeaux, she married Jean-Antoine Manet. (His name appears as Antoine in subsequent records.) He was born September 22, 1805, to Jean Manet (born about 1778), a farmer, and Marie-Anne Fraisse (born about 1783).³⁴⁷ Antoine Manet was living with his parents in the hamlet of Monchaud (Montchaud) in Yssingeaux when he wed Marie-Anne. He was identified in the marriage record as a farmer, 15 years older than his new spouse.³⁴⁸

Marie-Anne Monchamp and Antoine Manet had at least seven Manet children, all born in Monchaud. The first was Marie, born April 1, 1841. Witnesses for public authorities included 63 year-old François Monchamp, the newborn's grandfather and Marie-Anne's father, and André Monchamp (age of 31), probably the son of Marie-Anne's uncle Pierre.³⁴⁹ The second child of Marie-Anne Monchamp and Antoine Manet was named Marie-Anne, born on September 14, 1843.³⁵⁰ The third child, Marie-Melanie, was born October 30, 1845.³⁵¹

The 1846 census lists three children living in the household of Antoine Manet and Marie-Anne Monchamp in Monchaud: (1) Marie, age of 4, surely their first born; (2) Philomène, age of 2, who must be their second born Marie-Anne, misreported by the census taker or called Philomène by her parents; and (3) Marguerite, age of 1, their third child Marie-Melanie, who may have been called Marguerite in the family or the census official made a mistake, a very common occurrence. Confusion obviously stems from the name "Marie" for all three children.³⁵²

The fourth child of Marie-Anne Monchamp (age 28) and the farmer Antoine Manet (43) was Jean-André, born March 3, 1848.³⁵³ Next for the parents was a son, Jacques, born July 10, 1850. He became a *boulangier* (baker).³⁵⁴ Jacques worked in this occupation in 1881, when he was married to Marie Juge and they had three children: Antoine (age 7); Rosine (4); and Marie (2).³⁵⁵

³⁴⁷ Jean Manet's birth date is suggested by his age of 68 in the 1846 census; Marie Anne Fraisse's age is recorded as 63 (thus born about 1783): LN, 1846, Yss, p. 64, HLA. The 1846 census also reports that Antoine had three siblings who lived with his parents: Jacques, Jean, and Augustine. His brother Jean-Claude, listed as 30 years-old, attended the 1840 wedding. He was born May 8, 1812, and living in Yssingeaux in 1840 (EC, Yss, #239, p. 199, HLA; Marcel Clastre and Claudette Bouchet to ST, February 2, 2014).

³⁴⁸ EC, Yss, Marriages, 1835-1842, #14, p. 238, HLA. Marie-Anne's birth day in this record is December 17.

³⁴⁹ EC, Yss, 1841-1845, Births, #58, p. 17, HLA.

³⁵⁰ EC, Yss, 1841-1845, Births, #207, p. 203, HLA.

³⁵¹ EC, Yss, 1841-1845, Births, #204, p. 367, HLA.

³⁵² LN, 1846, Yss, p. 65, HLA.

³⁵³ EC, Yss, 1846-1850, Births, #27, p. 153, HLA.

³⁵⁴ EC, Yss, 1846-1850, Births, #83, p. 313, HLA. His work is named in the 1858 marriage of his sister (see below).

³⁵⁵ LN, 1881, Yss, p. 29, HLA.

The sixth child of Antoine Manet and Marie-Anne Monchamp was another Marie, born March 23, 1854, in Yssingaux. A witness was Jacques Manet, the new baby's uncle and Antoine's brother.³⁵⁶ This Marie Manet died September 1, 1876, at the age of 22, with no indication in the death record of the cause.³⁵⁷ The 1856 census reports that the Antoine Manet household in Monchaud, Yssingaux, contained Marie-Anne Monchamp, Mariette (Marie, age of 15), Marie-Anne (13), Melanie (10), André, (8), Jacques (6), and Marie (2).³⁵⁸

Antoine's and Marie-Anne's seventh and perhaps last child was Julie Manet, born February 2, 1858. Julie, living with her parents in Rue-de-Rosières, Yssingaux, married François Bessières on May 18, 1881. He was born to Jean Bessières and Catherine Celle on October 27, 1855. François became a farmer in Yssingaux. Julie's parents attended the wedding and Julie's brother, the baker, served as a witness.³⁵⁹ Julie and François had five children.³⁶⁰

The 1866 census for Yssingaux listed the Manet household, with all seven children of Antoine and Marie-Anne included. Antoine was identified as a *fermier* (tenant farmer who rented land from others). André and Jacques are listed as farmers. Melanie (age of 20) and Marie (12) were lacemakers.³⁶¹

At some point after 1866, Antoine Manet and Marie-Anne Monchamp moved from Monchaud to Rue-de-Rosières in the core of Yssingaux, the hillside area of *ville cotaux*. This location was a city setting of 3,557 people in 592 houses, with narrow streets, shops, Saint-Pierre Church, hospital, and a town hall with a clock tower. Rue-de-Rosières was the largest community or district in the city, with 80 houses and 550 individuals. Among the 70 *banlieue* (suburbs) of villages and hamlets, with a total population of more than 5,000 people, was Monchaud, with only 14 houses, 15 households, and 19 people. Yssingaux thus had a total population of about 8,500 in 1866; in 2006 its population numbered about 7,500.³⁶² In Yssingaux in 1866, Marie-Anne lived 7 km (4.3 miles) from her brother Jean in La Chomette. We can imagine family gatherings, especially for births, marriages, and deaths, and cooperative farming with so many Monchamps close by.

³⁵⁶ EC, Yss, 1851-1857, Births, # 31, p. 234, HLA.

³⁵⁷ EC, Yss, 1874-1886, Deaths, #151, p. 152, HLA.

³⁵⁸ LN, 1856, Yss, p. 111, HLA.

³⁵⁹ EC, Yss, 1874-1886, Births, #30, p. 297, HLA.

³⁶⁰ Jean-Pierre (1882-1960); Antoine (1885-????); Eugène (1889-1949); Jean-André (1894-????); and an unnamed child, dead at birth (1897). "Family Tree Nizzamaga: Julie Manet," Généanet.org.

³⁶¹ LN, 1866, Yss, p. 111, HLA.

³⁶² "Discover," www.yssingaux.fr; LN, 1866, Yss, p. 145, HLA; www.map-france.com/yssingaux-43200; www.insee.fr.

In the 1881 census, Antoine Manet, in his seventies, was working as a shoemaker. He still lived with Marie-Anne Monchamp at Rue-de-Rosières.³⁶³ Their children had married, died, or moved on. The next year, Marie-Anne Monchamp died at the age of 62 on July 20, 1882, in Rue-de-Rosières. In the record, her parents François Monchamp and Jeanne-Marie Perrel are named. Marie-Anne's son Jean André Manet, a proprietor in Monchaud, reported his mother's death to the town hall.³⁶⁴ Her spouse Antoine Manet was alive at the time. At this writing his death date has not been pinpointed, but in 1886 he was living alone as a *rentier* (retired on a pension) in Rue-de-Rosières, Yssingaux.³⁶⁵

Lifeless, Unnamed, Masculine Monchamp Child (1821)

On the morning of November 22, 1821, the fourth child of François Monchamp and Jeanne-Marie Perrel was born “lifeless” in Yssingaux's hamlet of Chazeaux (or Chazaux). The child, “to whom no name was given,” was masculine. This tragedy was reported by François to the commune's civil authorities the next day and is documented in a birth record.³⁶⁶

Marie Monchamp (about 1823/1828-1902), Louis Vernet (1832-1910), and Family

Marie Monchamp was born at some point in the years 1823-1828, the fifth child of François Monchamp and Jeanne-Marie Perrel, who are mentioned in documents. We have records that list Marie's ages at certain times—1823, 1826, and 1828, but we have not yet discovered a birth record in the Haute-Loire Archives for either Yssingaux or Saint-Hostien. As in the case of her 1817-born brother Jean-Claude, her parents or officials simply may not have registered her birth.

The story only becomes detailed when, on January 20, 1858, Marie Monchamp of Chamblanc married the *cultivateur* Louis Vernet of Le Pertuis. The marriage record identifies her parents Jeanne-Marie Perrel (present) and François Monchamp (deceased) and describes her as a proprietor in Chamblanc. Jean Monchamp, her brother (age given as 37), attended the wedding, as did André Monchamp (age 48). At the bottom of the record appear the letters “Monchat” or “Monchan.” No age is indicated for Marie.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Incorrectly recorded were his age of 70 and her age of 65. LN, 1881, Yss, p. 31, HLA.

³⁶⁴ EC, Yss, 1874-1886, #124, p. 377, HLA.

³⁶⁵ LN, 1886, Yss, p. 40, HLA.

³⁶⁶ EC, Yss, Deaths, #352, p. 107, HLA; ST to TGP, March 15, 2013.

³⁶⁷ EC, Yss, Marriages, 1851-1860, #8, p. 300, HLA.

Marie's spouse Louis Vernet was born in the village of Dinamands, August 5, 1832, to André Vernet (a farmer; age 44 in 1832, 60 in 1846, and 73 in 1861, and thus born about 1786/1788) and Françoise Orsac (age 46 in 1846 and 59 in 1861, and thus born about 1800/1802). Louis had siblings, including Marthe (born about 1838) and Pierre.³⁶⁸ At the time of his marriage in 1858, Louis lived with his parents in Le Pertuis.

Marie Monchamp and Louis Vernet had at least five children. Their first, André Vernet, was born on January 17, 1859, in Chamblanc.³⁶⁹ André became a mason. He married Sophie Giraud (born in 1861), February 11, 1886.³⁷⁰ They had at least two children, both in Dinamands. The first, Louis Vernet, was born December 7, 1886, but he died nine days later. The second child, Marie, was born June 9, 1888.³⁷¹ She married André Barthélemy on January 13, 1910. They settled in Dinamands. Illustrative of the close familial connections in the Monchamp zone, appearing as witnesses to the betrothal were the farmer André Monchamp (age 27), son of Joseph Monchamp (born in 1844) and, in turn, the son of Jean-Claude Monchamp (1817-1857), and Antoine Vernet, the uncle of the bride.³⁷²

The second child of Louis Vernet and Marie Monchamp was Marie Vernet, born April 14, 1860, in Chamblanc.³⁷³ She is listed in the 1901 Yssingaux census as 40 years-old and living with her parents in Chamblanc, but her death record has not yet been discovered in on-line records.³⁷⁴

Their third child was Jean-Claude Vernet, born in Chamblanc, March 26, 1863. On October 26, 1892, when he was an *ouvrier au chemin de fer* (railroad worker) residing in Dinamands, he married 29 year-old Rosalie Sue, who was born in Bessamorel on January 3, 1869.³⁷⁵

³⁶⁸ EC, Saint-Hostien, #30, pp. 80-81, HLA; LN, 1846, Saint-Hostien (La Chomette), p. 27, HLA; LN, 1861, Saint-Hostien (Dinamands), p. 10, HLA.

³⁶⁹ EC, Yss, 1858-1860, #11, p. 74, HLA.

³⁷⁰ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #2, p. 80, HLA.

³⁷¹ EC, Le Pertuis, #30, p. 77, HLA; EC, Le Pertuis, #14, p. 87, HLA; EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #11, p. 112, HLA.

³⁷² EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #2, p. 150, HLA (marriage); LN, 1911, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA (Marie's birth in this census is incorrectly reported as 1887).

³⁷³ EC, Yss, 1858-1860, #65, p. 164, HLA.

³⁷⁴ LN, 1901, Yss, p.14, HLA.

³⁷⁵ Data on marriage record. EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #4, p. 220, HLA.

Jean Vernet was their fourth child, born March 11, 1866.³⁷⁶ He married Marie-Elisa-Pauline Monchamp on February 9, 1895. She was 29 years-old, born December 20, 1874, in the village of Chanalmard, Rosières, to Étienne Monchamp (born January 10, 1839, a farmer) and Philomène Journard (age 40).³⁷⁷ Jean Vernet died after 1932, at this writing the last year for checking death dates on the Department of Haute-Loire Archives website.

The fifth child of Louis Vernet and Marie Monchamp was Antoine Vernet, born August 1, 1868. His birth record reports Marie's age as 40 and Louis's as 36. Louis was then a *propriétaire* (land-owner) and a *meunier* (miller).³⁷⁸ Antoine married Pauline Monchamp (age 21, born in 1874) about 1895.³⁷⁹ Antoine Vernet (a farmer) and Pauline had at least two children in Dinamands: Marie, born May 19, 1896, and Eugène-Étienne, born March 8, 1899.³⁸⁰ Pauline Monchamp died October 17, 1904, in Rougeac, Rosières.³⁸¹ Antoine Vernet (age 37) remarried to 21 year-old Hortense Maurin of Dinamands on August 30, 1905, and they had at least three children.³⁸² He died September 29, 1932, in Le Pertuis.³⁸³

In the 1886 population census, the Vernet household in Dinamands included Louis (age 55 and a farmer); Rose (certainly Marie, age 60); Marie (27, daughter); André (27, son and a mason); Jean (22, a farmer); Louis (certainly Antoine, 18, son and a farmer); and Sophie Giraud (spouse of André and daughter-in-law).³⁸⁴

At some time between 1886 and 1901, as the census reports of those years indicate, Louis Vernet and Marie Monchamp moved to La Chomette. It is conceivable that they took residence in Antoine Monchamp's house after he departed for Canada in 1895.³⁸⁵ But, when Marie died September 25, 1902, she and Louis lived in Dinamands. She was 79 years-old, which calculates to a birth year of 1823. Marie's father is named in the record as François Monchamp and her mother as

³⁷⁶ Jean was drafted into the French military as a member of the "Class of 1886." His registration number was 1849. He did not have to enter active service because he had a brother (probably André) already in the military ("Class of 1886," #1849, Tables et registres matricules, HLA). EC, Yss, 1865-1867, #52, p. 65, HLA (Jean's birth).

³⁷⁷ EC, Rosières, 1873-1882, #66, p. 49, HLA (birth); EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #1, p. 59, HLA (marriage).

³⁷⁸ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863-1872, #29, p. 52, HLA.

³⁷⁹ Her parents were Antoine Monchamp and Philomène Servel.

³⁸⁰ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #12, p. 74, and #5, p. 142.

³⁸¹ EC, Rosières, 1903-1907, #23, p. 71, HLA.

³⁸² EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #8, p. 55, HLA. Antoine and Hortense had at least three children: Antonia-Augusta (born January 2, 1907); unnamed masculine child born dead (April 8, 1909); and Xavier (January 10, 1911-May 14, 1912). LN, Le Pertuis, 1911, p. 10, HLA; EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #1, p. 86, HLA (Antonia-Augusta); EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #6, p. 135, HLA (unnamed child); EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #9, p. 198, HLA (Xavier).

³⁸³ TD, Le Pertuis, 1913-1932, p. 7, HLA.

³⁸⁴ LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 17, HLA.

³⁸⁵ LN, Le Pertuis, 1901, p. 14, HLA.

Marie Perrel.³⁸⁶ Louis Vernet died in Dinamands on June 24, 1910, at the age of 78. Marie's and Louis's son Antoine Vernet, a 42 year-old farmer in Dinamands, reported his father's death.³⁸⁷

Rosalie Monchamp (1856-1927) and André Chabrier (1850-before 1927)

We next trace the lives of the children of Jean Monchamp (1820-1874) and Rose Faure (1827-1883). They had three children: Rosalie Monchamp (1856-1927); Antoine Monchamp (1858-1939); and André Monchamp (1863-1944).

Rosalie Monchamp was the first child of Jean and Rose, born October 15, 1856, in La Chomette, where her 36 year-old father Jean worked as a farmer and Rose, age of 28, was a lacemaker (see above for her lacemaking).³⁸⁸ On April 21, 1876, Rosalie married Marie-André Chabrier, a farmer in the hamlet of Le Chaud in the village of Rougeac in the commune of Rosières, 10.9 km (6.8 miles) from La Chomette, in the Monchamp family zone. André was born in what is now labeled Lachaud de Rougeac, on March 29, 1850.³⁸⁹

Rosalie and André had no children. But, from 1895 to 1905, in Lachaud de Rougeac, where they farmed, they took care of Rosa Monchamp, the young daughter of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon (see below).³⁹⁰ When Rosa's parents moved to Canada in early 1895, they left Rosa with her Aunt Rosalie and Uncle André. The "heartbreak" story is told later. Sometime in 1910, after she had relocated to Canada to join her parents, Rosa closed a message to her aunt in France with these touching words: "Your Rosa who loves you like her mother."³⁹¹

Rosalie Monchamp died February 13, 1927, in La Chomette, Le Pertuis. Thirty-one year-old Joseph Monchamp, a farmer in La Chomette (born in 1896 the son of 1863-born André Monchamp, in turn the son of 1820-born Jean Monchamp) reported her death to town-hall officials. Rosalie's spouse André predeceased her.³⁹² We can imagine the sorrow in Manitoba when Rosalie's brother Antoine Monchamp, his spouse Virginie Ballon, and their child Rosa Monchamp Chanel heard the news of Rosalie's passing.

³⁸⁶ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, Deaths, #16, p. 215, HLA.

³⁸⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #10, p. 157, HLA.

³⁸⁸ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852-1862, # 21, p. 34, HLA.

³⁸⁹ His parents were François Chabrier (born about 1816) and Marianne Pradines (born about 1826). EC, Rosières, 1873-1882, #8, p. 130, HLA; LN, 1851, Rosières, p. 47, HLA.

³⁹⁰ LN, 1901, Rosières, p. 27, HLA.

³⁹¹ "Heartbreak" in ST conversation with TGP, Newport, Oregon, June 29, 2011; Rosa's 1910 message on the back of a family photograph postcard (from ST).

³⁹² mairie.lepertuis@wanadoo.fr to TGP, July 20, 2012; EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1927, #5, p. 3, HLA.

André Monchamp (1863-1944), Magdeleine Rosalie Gravy (1869-1915), and Their Family

André Monchamp, Rosalie's and Antoine's brother and the third child of Jean Monchamp and Rose Faure, was born August 15, 1863, or July 17, 1864, in La Chomette.³⁹³ We discuss him out of birth order to allow us to end with the story of his brother Antoine, my great grandfather.

André, a farmer in La Chomette, married Magdeleine Rosalie Gravy, May 8, 1889, in Le Pertuis, just about when he completed a seven-year active French Army service in the Dragons, a mounted infantry unit.³⁹⁴ A formal photograph of him in uniform reveals a trim man with moustache, standing one meter and 660 millimeters (about 5 feet and 5 inches).³⁹⁵ Magdeleine (her name appears in records as "Rosalie") was born in the Le Pertuis village of La Chaud, January 4, 1869, to Pierre Gravy (who died in 1874) and Virginie Perrel (who attended the ceremony). Antoine Monchamp, a La Chomette farmer, witnessed the wedding.³⁹⁶

Rosalie Gravy and André Monchamp had at least eight children in La Chomette. Six of them died very young. The first, Maria, born February 3, 1890, died three days later.³⁹⁷ The second, Marie-Rosalie, was born December 2, 1890. At seven months old, she died July 14, 1891.³⁹⁸ On December 28, 1891, another daughter, named Maria, was born to André and Rosalie. This child lived only 15 minutes.³⁹⁹ They had another daughter, Gabrielle-Maria, born May 14, 1893, in La Chomette.

³⁹³ No birth record for André exists in the on-line Haute-Loire Archives, but a handwritten note on the side of the page where the record should have appeared reads that his birth day was July 17 in the year 1864 ("Act de notoriété de Monchamp André né 17-7-1864," EC, Le Pertuis, 1863-1872, p. 12, HLA). The Le Pertuis city hall, no doubt using this record, does not possess a certificate of birth but has reported to Thomas G. Paterson that the month was July and the year 1864 (Mairie of Le Pertuis to TGP, July 20, 2012). It is likely that Jean Monchamp either failed to report the birth to town hall or the clerk there forgot to enter the information soon after André's birth. Further, when André wanted to marry in 1889 (see below), he had to ask the magistrate of Saint-Julien and the court of Le Puy for identity papers, which, when issued, included the July 17, 1864, date, which was also included in the official Le Pertuis record of marriage (Claudette Bouchet to TGP, July 16, 2014; Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #9, p. 149 [marriage], HLA). On the other hand, other records report a birth date of August 15, 1863: His comprehensive military document as a member (#507) of the Class of 1883 reads as such (Classe de 1883, Montchamp, #507, p. 19, HLA). So does another military document: André's "Certificat de Bonne Conduite" for the 19th Regiment of the Dragons, September 20, 1888 (document from Marie-Joséphine Teyssier, June 2014). Finally, the 1911 census gives André's birth year as 1863 (LN, 1911, Le Pertuis, p. 16, HLA). When André's death record is released, we may be able to clarify his birth date.

³⁹⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #9, p. 149, HLA, and military documents cited above.

³⁹⁵ Photograph from Marie-Joséphine Teyssier, June 2014. Height in "Certificat" (1888).

³⁹⁶ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863-1872, #1, p. 57, HLA.

³⁹⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #5, p. 163, HLA.

³⁹⁸ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #23, p. 166, and #21, p. 206, HLA.

³⁹⁹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #25, p. 207, HLA.

When André reported the birth, his brother Antoine (age 35) served as a witness.⁴⁰⁰ Gabrielle-Maria died October 31, 1895, at two years-old.⁴⁰¹

André's and Rosalie's next child was Joseph-Gabriel-Louis Monchamp, born in La Chomette on July 2, 1896.⁴⁰² Another son, Firmin-Jean Monchamp, was born November 20, 1899.⁴⁰³ On March 23, 1905, Rosalie Gravy and André Monchamp had a daughter, Marie. She died three days after birth.⁴⁰⁴ An unnamed masculine child died at birth January 31, 1906 ("*enfant mort-né*"), at the Monchamp home in La Chomette.⁴⁰⁵

Rosalie Gravy struggled with pregnancies, child birth, and her health. At some time after 1907 and before 1915, Rosalie's nephew Jean Monchamp (son of Antoine) and Jean's wife Rachel Bibault (married in 1907) wrote to Rosalie and André from Canada. Jean and Rachel observed: "We worry much that you are always sick."⁴⁰⁶

In the 1901 and 1911 French census records, André Monchamp and Rosalie Gravy lived in La Chomette with their two surviving children Joseph (1896-1977) and Firmin (born 1899).⁴⁰⁷ Joseph Monchamp married Marie Margerit (born in 1900; died in 1984) and they had two children.⁴⁰⁸ The first child of Joseph and Marie was Marie-Joséphine, born January 9, 1936. She married René Teyssier and had two sons, Roland (born May 30, 1961) and Franck (born May 28, 1965) (see above). The second of their offspring, Jean Monchamp, was born December 29, 1937. He died in 1999. Jean had no children and lived for a time in Jean Monchamp's stone house in La Chomette.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁰ Recorded the next day. EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #10, p. 4, HLA.

⁴⁰¹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #16, p. 69, HLA.

⁴⁰² Reported July 3. EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #19, p. 75, HLA.

⁴⁰³ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #24, p. 147, HLA. Firmin had no children. A photograph of him as a young man and four other men in suits and sashes, perhaps members of a club, in album (from Marie-Joséphine Teyssier, June 2014).

⁴⁰⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, EC, 1903-1912, #3, p. 59; Mairie.lepertuis@wanadoo.fr to TGP, July 20, 2012.

⁴⁰⁵ EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1906, #1, p. 81, HLA.

⁴⁰⁶ Christmas message, Jean & Rachel Monchamp to M.A. Monchamp of La Chomette, no date, but after 1907 and before 1915. In possession of Marie-Joséphine Teyssier (of Lyon and Le Pertuis), daughter of Joseph Monchamp. She provided Simone Tait with a copy, who, in turn sent a copy to TGP in 2013.

⁴⁰⁷ The 1911 census counted 17 individuals in the village. LN, 1901, Le Pertuis, p. 14, HLA; LN, 1911, Le Pertuis, p. 16, HLA.

⁴⁰⁸ A gravestone in the Le Pertuis cemetery, which I visited in June 2014, bears the names of Joseph, Marie, and Jean Monchamp, among others (including Margerits). Photograph in album.

⁴⁰⁹ ST to TGP, January 30, 2013. Photograph in album of Marie Margerit, Joseph Monchamp, and Jean Monchamp (from Marie-Joséphine Teyssier, June 2014). Photograph of an elderly Joseph in album, from his daughter Marie-Joséphine Teyssier, June 2014.

Rosalie Gravy died April 30, 1915, in La Chomette, at the age of 46.⁴¹⁰ She is buried at the gravesite of Jean Monchamp (1820-1874) in the Le Pertuis Cemetery. No record of André Monchamp's death has yet been documented, but it was likely in 1944, at age 81.

Antoine Monchamp (1858-1939): Childhood and Military Service

Antoine Monchamp, brother of André Monchamp, sister of Rosalie Monchamp, and the second child of Jean Monchamp and Rose Faure, was born in La Chomette on the morning of October 31, 1858. Jean, recorded as a 36 year-old farmer in the village, reported the birth of his son to the public officer in Le Pertuis. Rose Faure was listed as 30 years-old.⁴¹¹

Antoine did not receive schooling as a child and could not read or write (see above and below). Many village children, their labor needed on their parents' farms, did not attend school at all or did so only seasonally, in the winter. Catholic clergy may have provided some instruction, and Le Pertuis did have some public school teachers before the public school opened in 1883. Antoine, because of his service in the military, most likely learned to speak some French. The language of his parents and village was a *patois* sub-dialect of Vellavien (see above).

As a boy, according to census reports, Antoine lived with his parents in 1861 and 1866 (see above). When his father Jean died in December 1874, Antoine, age 16, inherited part of Jean's land.⁴¹² The census for 1876 includes his mother Rose Faure and his brother André (age 13) in one household. Antoine's sister Rosalie had married André Chabrier in 1876 and had moved on (see above). This 1876 census does not include Antoine in Le Pertuis.⁴¹³ Perhaps Antoine, 18 years-old, was living in another commune or the census recorder simply failed to count him. But, he soon became a farmer in Le Pertuis.

In 1878-1879, identified as a farmer, Antoine was conscripted into the French army as a member of the "Class of 1878." He probably entered the military on July 1, 1879. His army record sketches a profile of him at that time: Standing 1 meter and 63 centimeters tall (5 feet and 3½ inches), he had gray eyes, a "wide"

⁴¹⁰ EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1915, #8, p.3, HLA; Bouchet and Clastre, *Mon Village*, p. 31.

⁴¹¹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852-1862, #27, p. 50, HLA. Manitoba Vital Statistics presents (on Antoine's December 27, 1939 death record), his birth date as November 1 (<http://vitalstats.gov.mb.ca>.)

⁴¹² Jean divided his land among his three children Rosalie, André, and Antoine. ST to TGP, March 15, 2010.

⁴¹³ LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 12, HLA.

forehead, an “oval” face, “round” chin, “strong” nose, chestnut (brown) eyebrows, and “average” mouth.⁴¹⁴

After France’s stunning defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, which severed Alsace and Lorraine from the nation and imposed a huge indemnity payable to Germany, the Paris government revamped its conscription system. Fueled by nationalism and vows of revenge against the Germans, an 1872 law required universal military service, reducing exemptions for the privileged, shortening the period of active duty, and lengthening reserve obligations. When a male turned 20 years-old, he became eligible for a military term of five years. Some conscripts could serve shorter tours of duty. For example, if a young man could prove through a test that he could read and write, he might be granted a furlough after one year. Exemptions were extended to teachers, clergymen, and some sons of widows. Antoine did not qualify for an exemption or a furlough. Deemed “fit,” Antoine was drafted into the “active” military with about 100,000 other conscripts from across France in his class.⁴¹⁵

For five years, Antoine served in the army infantry as #1765. Most draftees went into the “line” infantry, whose soldiers carried a nine-pound rifle with a sight, probably a Gras model 1874 M. 80—a single-shot, bolt-action weapon. Antoine’s available military records do not pinpoint the locations of his active service. He may have served abroad in France’s colonies—in Africa (especially Algeria, but perhaps also Tunisia, Senegal, and others), Southeast Asia (Vietnam), or the Caribbean (perhaps Martinique, his father’s navy assignment a generation earlier).

After his five years of active duty, on July 1, 1884, as required by law, Antoine transferred into “*la réserve de l’armée active*” for a four-year stint, posted to the army’s region of Le Puy. This reserve duty allowed him to return to Le Pertuis. He actually went home early, because on February 13 of that year he married Virginie Ballon in La Chomette (see below). During the four years of his reserve duty, Antoine completed infantry training exercises, spending August 25-September 21, 1885, with Regiment 105, and October 1-28, 1887, with Regiment 86.

⁴¹⁴ Antoine’s two military records on-line at the Haute-Loire Archives website: “Alphabetical Table of Military Records, Personnel Numbers,” Class of 1878, p. 19, HLA; Ministère de la Guerre, 13 Région, Subdivision du Puy, “Registre Matricule,” Classe de 1878, “Monchamp,” 1765, p. 281, HLA.

⁴¹⁵ More than 300,000 young men in each class were eligible. Figures for 1875 from *The Statesman’s Year Book, 1878* (London: Macmillan, 1878), pp. 69-70. No 1878-1879 data available. For the workings of the 1872 law that governed Antoine: *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68; Flynn, *Conscription*, p.18; Brian Bond, *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1998), pp. 23-35.

Next, on July 1, 1888, Antoine transferred to the Territorial Army stationed in his local military district. In the period May 20-June 21, 1891, he trained with the 101st territorial infantry regiment. On November 1, 1898, military officials transferred Antoine to the reserves of the Territorial Army for a six-year requirement. His “service” officially terminated on November 1, 1904 (“*date of libération du service militaire*”). Of course, after 1895, when he departed for Canada for permanent residence, his military responsibility or availability became a matter of paperwork, not service. We can wonder where French bureaucrats sent messages or directives to Antoine for his reserve service in the period 1895-1904, when he was farming in Canada. In any case, Antoine Monchamp was linked to the French army in some manner for a quarter-century.

The Antoine Monchamp-Virginie Ballon (1863-1929) Marriage and Her Innkeeper Father Clément Ballon (1824-1900)

On February 13, 1884, La Chomette-born Antoine Monchamp (recorded as age 25, but with no profession indicated) married Virginie Ballon (21 years-old), in Le Pertuis. Antoine was then a resident of La Chomette, just completing his obligatory military service. The “publications” requirement for three preceding Sundays had been met. By the time of the marriage, both Antoine’s father Jean Monchamp (1874) and mother Rose Faure (1883) had died. Virginie’s mother Marianne Selveton had also died (1874), but her father, Clément Ballon (age 60) attended the wedding. The signatures Ballon and Monchamp appear on the document. The mayor acknowledged four witnesses: a blacksmith, a local policeman, a seminary student from Le Puy, and a teacher.⁴¹⁶

Virginie Ballon (sometimes spelled Balon) was born March 15, 1863, in Le Pertuis.⁴¹⁷ Her father Clément (37), was then recorded as a grocer in Le Pertuis. Her mother Marianne was born March 30, 1826, in La Voute du Pertuis, a village in Saint-Hostien near the Le Pertuis center.⁴¹⁸ The spelling of Clément’s spouse’s surname is inconsistent in the records. For example, her birth record reads “Selveton,” but her death document reports “Severton.” Her given name evolved in the documents from Marianne (birth) to Marie (marriage) to Marieannette (death).

⁴¹⁶ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #6, p. 31, HLA. The four witnesses, in order, were H. Delouche, Pierre Leydrer, Camille Fladui (?), and Louis Richon.

⁴¹⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863-1872, #7, p. 3, HLA.

⁴¹⁸ Le Pertuis split from Saint-Hostien in 1852. EC, Saint-Hostien, 1817-1826, #32, p. 306, HLA (birth).

Clément's story is quite unique in Monchamp family history. He started life as a "foundling" ("*enfant trouvé*"), born November 25, 1824.⁴¹⁹ His mother and father remain unknown, their identities absent from official documents, as was the rule for the parents of foundlings (as distinct from the parents of "abandoned" children). His registration card notes that his mother lived in the town of Le Vernet, 20.5 km (12.7 miles) from the commune of Le Puy-en-Velay. In Le Puy, the bundled baby Clément was placed on a turntable (*tour*) in the wall of the hospital l'Hôtel Dieu and rotated into the interior.⁴²⁰

After the newborn child anonymously entered the Le Puy hospital, Catholic nuns gave him his first and last names. In his mother's town of Le Vernet, no "Balon" appears in birth, marriage, and death records for 1802-1882.⁴²¹ These nurses may have been Sisters of the Holy Sacrament.⁴²² They did not record *his* place of birth. Perhaps in the commune of Le Vernet, on the road to Le Puy, or in Le Puy itself? He joined about fifteen children *à la crèche*—in the nursery of the hospital. The rest of the low-capacity *hospice* accommodated about 50 patients. One doctor and one surgeon served the entire population.⁴²³ After several months the hospital sent Clément to a village and assigned foster parents to care for him. As was customary for foundlings, at age 12, Clément was apprenticed to a farmer, perhaps until he turned 25.⁴²⁴ He may next have served in the military.

⁴¹⁹ For a fuller discussion of Clément Ballon's life and family: Thomas G. Paterson, "From Foundling to Innkeeper: Clément Balon (Ballon) (1824-1900) and His Family" (February 2015).

⁴²⁰ Clément's birth record: EC, Le-Puy-en-Velay, 1824, #1015, p. 182, HLA, and DT, Le Puy-en-Velay, 1823-1842, p. 310, HLA. In the Decennial Table, Clément seems to have a middle name, which is illegible because of the handwriting. But no middle name, if that is what the writing represents, ever appears in other documents. The hospital admission register ("*Enfants trouvés ou abandonnés*") for Clément was described and provided by Antoine Rahon of the Haute-Loire Departmental Archives, to TGP, February 19, 2013. The register is located in Hospices du Puy, Q 1443, HLA.

⁴²¹ Decennial Tables, 1802-1882, Le Vernet, HLA.

⁴²² This "Hotel of God" was founded in the 12th century. In the 16th century, it served 300-400 abandoned children (Charles Guotjeannin, "Dix siècles d'activités hospitalières au Puy-en-Velay," review of exhibit booklet in *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie*, vol. 85, issue 316 [1997], pp. 432-434). Sisters of the Holy Sacrament congregation first arrived in Le Puy in 1646 (Daniel Hickey, *Local Hospitals in Ancien France* [Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1997], p. 142). In 1769, two sisters of this order worked at l'Hôtel Dieu. What happened after this date is unclear. The French Revolution and the early nineteenth century were "not conducive to the activity of the religious" in the hospital (archives@mairie-le-puy-en-velay.fr to TGP, January 15, 2015). Perhaps the Sisters of the Holy Sacrament returned to work for the poor at the hospital in the early 1820s. In 1825, not long after Clément entered the hospital, nine sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Trinity of Valencia arrived to care for the sick at l'Hôtel Dieu ("Un Personnel Dévoué," pp. 89-91, in the 1997 book, *Ten Centuries of Hospital Activities in Puy-en-Velay*, provided by Le Puy Mairie archives to TGP, January 15, 2015).

⁴²³ In contrast, the General Hospital in Le Puy-en-Velay housed 350 patients. For both Le Puy hospitals: Jean Merley, *La Haute-Loire de la fin de l'ancien Régime aux début de la troisième République (1776-1886)* (Le Puy: Cahiers de Haute-Loire, Archives départementales, 1974), p. 420.

⁴²⁴ For foundlings, nurseries, and their care: Rachel G. Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); "Discover the Story of a Foundling," Les archives de la Vendée, archives.vendee.fr.; and Katherine A. Lynch, *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

Clément Ballon married Marie (Marianne) Selveton (or Serveton) on May 9, 1854, in Le Pertuis.⁴²⁵ At that time, he lived in the town of Saint-Pierre-Eynac, in La Champ, a small hamlet about 7.4 km (5 miles) from Le Pertuis. His occupation was recorded in the marriage document as “*domestique d’écurie*,” an animal stable worker most likely employed at the town’s roadside inn.⁴²⁶

Clément Ballon and Marie Selveton had eight children in Le Pertuis: Clémentine-Marie Ballon, June 21, 1855–November 7, 1864⁴²⁷; Marie Josephine Ballon, October 10 1856–????⁴²⁸; Marie-Rose Ballon, October 5, 1857–????⁴²⁹; Marie-Virginie Ballon, May 14, 1859–May 17, 1859⁴³⁰; Jean-Louis Ballon, June 19, 1860–March 14, 1880⁴³¹; Marie Ballon, October 17, 1861–????⁴³²; Virginie Ballon, March 15, 1863–April 27, 1929⁴³³; and Jean-Pierre Ballon, November 14, 1864–December 9, 1919.⁴³⁴

By 1855, Clément was a farmer in Le Pertuis, and he farmed at least into October 1861 (based on the birth records of his children; see above). In early 1859, his spouse’s occupation was indicated as lacemaker.⁴³⁵ The 1861 census reports Clément as a farmer living in Le Pertuis with his wife Marie, daughters Clémentine, Marie, and Rosalie, and son Louis.⁴³⁶ When their daughter Virginie was born in March 1863, Clément was recorded as a grocer.⁴³⁷ At some point between 1861 and 1866 Clément became an innkeeper, a job, in essence, that he already knew from his work in Saint-Pierre-Eynac.

⁴²⁵ Marianne’s parents were Pierre Selveton (about 1793–October 24, 1847; EC, Saint-Hostien, 1827–1856, Deaths, #43, p. 251) and Marie Rioufreyt (born about 1797, and died January 5, 1862; EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, Deaths, #1, p. 212, HLA). Marie Rioufreyt (sometimes spelled Rioufrait) at the time of her death was a lacemaker and landowning farmer in La Voute du Pertuis.

⁴²⁶ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, #4, p. 93, HLA. Louis Chouvet to TGP, June 27, 2014, for photograph and description of the inn.

⁴²⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862 #6, p. 24, and 1863–1872, #25, p. 167, HLA.

⁴²⁸ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, #20, p. 34, HLA.

⁴²⁹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, #20, p. 42, HLA. When Marie-Rose was 21, she married Jean Marie Daurel of Retournac on March 19, 1878. He was born April 18, 1847 (EC, Le Pertuis, 1873–1882, #2, p. 123, HLA).

⁴³⁰ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, #6, p. 55 (birth), and 1852–1862, #6, p. 195, HLA (death).

⁴³¹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, #21, p. 64 (birth), and 1873–1882, #4, p. 167, HLA (death).

⁴³² EC, Le Pertuis, 1852–1862, #24, p. 74, HLA.

⁴³³ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863–1872, #7, p. 3, HLA.

⁴³⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863–1872, #33, p. 15 (birth), and EC, Le Pertuis, Deaths, 1919, #21, p. 6, HLA. The Ballon gravestone in Le Pertuis mistakenly reads that Pierre was born in 1865, but correctly reports his death year as 1919. When Jean-Pierre died he was a *marchand du vins* (wine merchant).

⁴³⁵ At the time of the birth of her daughter Marie Virginie (see below).

⁴³⁶ LN, 1861, Le Pertuis, p. 2, HLA.

⁴³⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1863–1872, #7, p. 3, HLA.

The census of 1866 for Le Pertuis listed the members of the Ballon household: Clément (age 40, an innkeeper); Marie Serveton (39, his wife); and their children Mélie (10, Marie-Josephine), Rosalie (8, Marie Rose), Louis (6, Jean-Louis), Marie (5), Virginie (4), and Pierre (2, Jean-Pierre).⁴³⁸

Virginie's mother Marie Serveton, who bore eight children with Clément Ballon, and who worked beside him in the Le Pertuis inn, died May 5, 1874, at the age of 47.⁴³⁹ Two years later, the 1876 census listed Clément Ballon's household as consisting only of him (an innkeeper) and his daughter Virginie (age 14).⁴⁴⁰

On January 11, 1882, Clément, at age 57, remarried in Le Pertuis.⁴⁴¹ His new wife, Marie Jourde, age of 36, was born March 19, 1845.⁴⁴² Soon after the wedding, Clément and Marie Jourde had a son, Louis-Jacques Ballon, born March 13, 1882, in Le Pertuis.⁴⁴³ Their second child, Marie-Gabrielle-Hélène Ballon, was born August 19, 1885. At the age of six weeks, Marie-Gabrielle died on September 30, when both Clément and Marie were identified as innkeepers. The cause of her death was not recorded.⁴⁴⁴

In 1886, reported the French census, Clément Ballon remained an *aubergiste* (innkeeper) in Le Pertuis. He was then 62. Marie Jourde was recorded as 41, Pierre Ballon as 22 (son from first marriage and a *cultivateur*), and Louis Ballon as 4. Marie was at this time a grocer (*épicière*). Pauline Oubrier (20) is also in the household at the inn as a *servante*.⁴⁴⁵

When I visited Le Pertuis in June 2014, Franck Teyssier, a Monchamp relative (see above), led me to a handsome, two-story stone house at an intersection of Le Bourg and N88, near the center of town. It was the inn once owned by Clément Ballon.⁴⁴⁶ Le Pertuis resident André Mercier, a descendant of Louis Ballon, and his wife Georgette Mercier, also provided information about the family and the inn.

⁴³⁸ LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 2, HLA.

⁴³⁹ She is "Marieannette" in the death record. EC, Le Pertuis, #11, p. 44, HLA.

⁴⁴⁰ LN, 1876, Le Pertuis, p. 4, HLA.

⁴⁴¹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #1, p. 201, HLA.

⁴⁴² EC, Saint-Hostien, Births, 1827-1856, #20, p. 286, HLA. Marie Jourde was the daughter of the farmer Jacques Jourde (born about 1800; died June 19, 1883) and Rose Delouche (born about 1810; December 6, 1875). Both died in Le Pertuis. EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #30, p. 67, HLA; EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #17, p. 20, HLA.

⁴⁴³ EC, Le Pertuis, 1873-1882, #7, p. 194, HLA.

⁴⁴⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #14, p. 66, HLA; CR, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #24, p. 52, HLA.

⁴⁴⁵ LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA.

⁴⁴⁶ TGP photograph (June 2014) and "Street View" at Google Earth.

Clément and Marie, it appears, not only rented rooms to travelers but also sold food and wine to locals and travelers alike.⁴⁴⁷

Clément Ballon, the foundling who became a stable boy, farmer, and innkeeper, died March 9, 1900, at 76, in Le Pertuis. His 1864-born son Jean-Pierre Ballon, *marchand de vin* (wine merchant) in that commune, reported his death and signed the record.⁴⁴⁸

The 1901 French census for Le Pertuis indicates that Clément's widow Marie Jourde (age 55) lived with her son Louis Ballon (age 19). For Marie's occupation the word "*néant*" (nothing) is penned on the document.⁴⁴⁹ The 1911 census lists Marie Jourde as a dressmaker ("*couturière*"), living alone.⁴⁵⁰ She died on November 29, 1915, in Le Pertuis. Her stepson, the wine merchant Pierre, age 51, reported her death.⁴⁵¹

Pierre Ballon (1909-1940): Casualty of World War II

After Virginie Ballon moved to Canada in 1895, she did not lose touch with her Ballon family in France. In the early 1900s, for example, she and Antoine Monchamp sent a postcard from Manitoba with "thinking of you" greetings to Clément's son, 1882-born Louis.⁴⁵² This Louis-Jacques Ballon, born on October 10, 1906, in Le Pertuis, married 30 year-old Marie-Marguerite Loubet (born October 12, 1876, in Le Pertuis). He was a 24 year-old farmer.⁴⁵³

Their first child, an unnamed boy, was born dead on May 17, 1908, when Louis was an innkeeper, most likely at his father Clément's former establishment.⁴⁵⁴ Their second child, Pierre, was born September 4, 1909. The wine merchant Pierre Ballon (age 45), son of Clément and brother of Virginie Ballon, and Vincent Teyssier (age 52), a public school teacher, served as witnesses.⁴⁵⁵ In the 1911 Le Pertuis census, Louis and Marie lived with their young son Pierre in the inn near the center of town. Louis's uncle Pierre lived with his spouse Marie Rioufrait (born

⁴⁴⁷ Conversation with the Merciers, June 10, 2014, in Le Pertuis.

⁴⁴⁸ EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #5, p. 176, HLA.

⁴⁴⁹ LN, 1901, Le Pertuis, #63, p. 5, HLA.

⁴⁵⁰ LN, 1911, Le Pertuis, #66, p. 5, HLA. Another Marie Jourde died on June 10, 1902, in the village of L'Herm at the age of 67, the daughter of André. This Marie was not Clément's wife (EC, #11, p. 214, HLA).

⁴⁵¹ EC, Le Pertuis, 1915, Deaths, #22, p. 6, HLA.

⁴⁵² Copies with signatures given to TGP by the Mercier family in Le Pertuis, June 2014.

⁴⁵³ EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #7, p. 78, HLA.

⁴⁵⁴ EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #15, p. 116, HLA.

⁴⁵⁵ EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #15, p. 125, HLA.

in 1867) just a few houses away.⁴⁵⁶ Louis and Marie also had a daughter, Eugénie-Louise (called Marie), born November 15, 1911.⁴⁵⁷

The 1909-born Pierre went to school for three years, farmed, and then became a *boulangier* (baker).⁴⁵⁸ In October 1930, as a drafted member of the Class of 1929, Pierre entered the French Army. His military record listed him at first as a *cultivateur* (farmer), but *boulangier* was inked on the page later. A military inspector described Pierre's hair as *blonets* (fair-haired or blond) and his eyes as gray. Pierre stood 1 meter and 68 centimeters (5 feet and 5 inches).

On November 1, 1930, Pierre boarded a ship for Morocco as a soldier in the 4th Regiment of the “*Tirailleurs marocains*,” an infantry regiment that was part of the French Army of Africa stationed in North Africa. “*Tirailleurs*” were marksmen, sharpshooters, or skirmishers who often advanced at the front of the troops. At the time, French forces, an army of occupation, fought to suppress Moroccan nationalists and tribal groups in mountainous and desert regions. By May 1, 1931, Pierre held the rank of “2nd classe Caporal.” He stayed in Morocco until August 29, 1931, when he returned to France via the Mediterranean Sea. Next, on October 15, although the handwriting of the official record is difficult to decipher, Pierre entered the Army Reserves.

On November 17, 1932, back in Haute-Loire, Pierre Ballon married Adrienne-Sophie-Marie Gouteyron (born June 5, 1905), the daughter of a butcher. They wed in Rosières. He is described in the wedding document as a *garçon boulangier* (baker's assistant).⁴⁵⁹ Pierre's (and presumably his wife's) address on August 11, 1933, was Rue de la Croix de Mission, in the small commune of La Fouillouse, department of Loire, in southwestern France, near the city of St. Étienne. La Fouillouse is 64.2 km (about 40 miles) from Le Pertuis. His military record shows that, on April 15, 1934, he reported to an infantry mobilization center. The word *nivellement* appears with his name, which probably means “alignment” or “leveling.” Perhaps this notation accounted for a routine visit simply to verify his personal information. He did not reenter active service at that time.

⁴⁵⁶ LN, Le Pertuis, 1911, p. 3, HLA.

⁴⁵⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1903-1912, #19, p. 166, HLA. Louis, his wife, and their young children Pierre and Marie are in an undated photograph received by TGP from the Mercier family in Le Pertuis, June 2014.

⁴⁵⁸ Pierre's military record, with details about his birth, residence, education, dates of service, campaigns, physical characteristics, death, and medals, is located at “Ballon, Pierre,” Registration #1363, Class of 1929, Tables et registres matricules militaires, HLA, sent by Antoine Rahon of the Haute-Loire Departmental Archives to Thomas G. Paterson, January 26, 2015. Pierre is listed by name only on p. 3 of the table for the Class of 1929 (HLA).

⁴⁵⁹ Her parents were Antoine Gouteyron (who died in 1962) and Marie Délifique (deceased in 1905). EC, Rosières, Marriages, 1932, #9, p. 6, HLA.

On June 8, 1935, Pierre Ballon and Adrienne Gouteyron had a child they named Louis.

In the late 1930s, like so many others in France, Pierre must have watched attentively as Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany militarized and Europe descended into crisis after crisis, on its terrible way to World War II. Pierre had to conclude that he would be called again to active duty if war broke out and that the costs to the nation and to him and his family would be high. As a boy born in 1909, Pierre probably had heard survivors of World War I (1914-1918) in Le Pertuis relate the "horror of war" at the front, and he may have read on the plaque in the church the names of the Pertuisien soldiers who had died in the Great War.⁴⁶⁰ A total of 59 from his town died during the war or shortly afterwards due to wounds (see above).

On January 25, 1939, Pierre visited or communicated with infantry mobilization center number 145. He received an individual call order. On August 27 he arrived at his corps for active service. On September 3, 1939, France and Britain declared war on Germany two days after German forces invaded Poland. On November 7, Pierre was assigned to *commis et ouvriers militaire d'administration* (COA), section 8. He was sent to northern France, to the area near the commune of Troyes, capital of the department of Aube, in the Champagne region of north-central France. Perhaps Pierre once again became an infantryman. Or, because of his experience as a *boulangier*, he may have been a breadmaking "food soldier," preparing loaves in a mobile bakery to feed his comrades. In either case, Pierre occupied the dangerous front lines, where German weapons did not distinguish between a foot soldier and a food soldier.

On May 16, 1940, Pierre Ballon was wounded during Germany's massive air and ground onslaught against northern France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxemburg. Two days later, on May 18, he died at a temporary hospital in the Beurnonville barracks of Troyes. "MORT POUR LA FRANCE" is written on his military record. Troyes is some 150 km (93 miles) southeast of Paris and about 500 km (311 miles) from Le Pertuis. Pierre's name is etched on the War Memorial in Le Pertuis. He was one of France's 567,600 war-related deaths in World War II, 217,600 of them military personnel.⁴⁶¹ In 1947 he was decorated with the Médaille Militaire for acts of bravery in action against enemy forces.

⁴⁶⁰ Moulin, *Peasantry*, p. 139 (quotation).

⁴⁶¹ The National WWII Museum (www.nationalww2museum.org).

After Pierre's death, his young son Louis was raised in Le Pertuis by his grandparents Louis Ballon (who died in 1965)⁴⁶² and Marie Loubet.⁴⁶³ Louis graduated from the local school and then went on to a technical school (Arts et Métiers) to gain training as a carpenter. In the military, Class of 1935, he worked in aviation. In 1956 he served in Cypress during the Suez Crisis. When he returned to civilian life, he became employed as a baker and later as a representative for a drug company. In 1960 he married Marinette Duchier. They had three children and eight grandchildren.

Louis spent his retirement years during May-November in a family house in Le Pertuis with his wife. They resided in the winter in an apartment in St. Étienne near Lyon. Louis Ballon, born in 1935, known to friends as Loulou, always kind and laughing, died in April 2008.⁴⁶⁴

Antoine Monchamp: Farmer and Miller in La Chomette

Our story now shifts back to Virginie Ballon and Antoine Monchamp: When Antoine's mother Rose Faure died in July 1883, he lived in La Chomette. He and Virginie probably began married life in 1884 in the La Chomette two-story stone house which still stands today just a few meters from his father Jean's house. Their first son, Jean, was born in November 1884 in that house. But, in July of 1886, Antoine's daughter Marie was born in Dinamands and he was recorded as a farmer in that Le Pertuis village. Antoine may have been farming and living for a time in Dinamands, perhaps with his father's sister (and Antoine's aunt) Marie (Rose) and her husband Louis Vernet.⁴⁶⁵

That year, 1886, in the French census for Le Pertuis, Antoine (age 28) was a *meunier* (miller) in La Chomette residing with Virginie (age 24) and their son Jean Clément Monchamp. Antoine also may have been farming on the land his father bequeathed to him. In 1886, the hamlet counted four houses, four households, and nine people. Antoine's three neighboring households were headed by farmers: Pierre Celle (age of 37), with his spouse Catherine Gravy (36) and their daughter

⁴⁶² Louis's death date on Ballon gravestone in Le Pertuis.

⁴⁶³ Obituary for 1935-born Louis Ballon in French newspaper clipping, April 24, 2008, translated by Simone Tait.

⁴⁶⁴ A funeral service was held in the church in St. Étienne la Terrasse. Newspaper obituary; "Pierre Ballon," by Thierry Sapin, Geneanet.org; ST to TGP, February 26, 2013, January 27, 2015. Half of the family house was owned by Pierre Mercier, the brother of André Mercier. Pierre died in 2006.

⁴⁶⁵ LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 17, HLA. See above for Marie Monchamp and Louis Vernet.

Marie Celle (7); Charles Aulagne (58), living alone; and Claude Monchalin, a 48 year-old with his 13 year-old daughter Marie.⁴⁶⁶

As early as 1886, near his house, Antoine erected a stone building for a mill to grind wheat (and perhaps other grains) into flour for the baking of bread.⁴⁶⁷ Creek water, dammed into a small pond, turned the wheel that powered the mechanism. He emptied bags of wheat into a hopper, which fed the grain between two millstones, crushing (milling) the grain. Antoine then sifted the flour and no doubt sent a quantity to market.⁴⁶⁸ In the period 1886-1889,⁴⁶⁹ or the early 1890s, a flood inundated Antoine's mill, ruining his venture. In June 2014, Frank Teyssier and I moved through high grass and bushes and down a ravine behind Antoine's house to reach the mill's location, where the creek had once been dammed. We saw the rock-wall remnants of Antoine's mill.⁴⁷⁰

Today, in the Le Pertuis area, a retired man with a strong sense of history and technical skill has collected old mill machinery in the Monchamp zone and reconstructed a working mill by a creek. He created an outdoor "museum" in a parkland setting. Called Le Moulin du Pinard, the mill and many pieces of equipment sit in La Varenne, in the town of Saint-Julien-du-Pinet, 6.6 km (4.1 miles) from La Chomette.⁴⁷¹ An iron rod from Antoine's mill supports a small bridge on the site. Antoine's grinding wheel leans against a building, surrounded by wildflowers. I visited this beautiful place in June 2014.⁴⁷²

The miller and farmer Antoine Monchamp fathered eight children with Virginie Ballon, five in France and, after 1895, three in Canada: Jean (1884); Marie (Maria) (1886); Rosa (Marie) (1889); Rosalie (1891); Pierre (1893), Léoncie (1896), Noël (1898), and Clémentine (1903). Their lives, especially the story of my grandfather Jean Clément Monchamp, will be chronicled in later sections.

Leaving France for Canada: The Setting for the Decision in the Early 1890s

⁴⁶⁶ LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 25, HLA.

⁴⁶⁷ Photographs of Jean's and Antoine's stone houses and remnants of the mill taken by ST and TGP.

⁴⁶⁸ "Moulin," louis.chouvet.pagesperso.orange.fr.

⁴⁶⁹ In the 1889 marriage record for his brother André, Antoine is a farmer, with no mention of a miller. See above.

⁴⁷⁰ Photographs in June 2014 France trip album. See also the video (with music) posted on You Tube: "St. Julien du Pinet (Le Moulin du Pinard) Realise par Fabrice Garnier" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zNKIB45_j-c).

⁴⁷¹ "The Mill Pinard," www.office-de-tourisme-des-sucs-aux-bords-de-loire.fr.

⁴⁷² Photographs of June 2014. Also photographs from ST to TGP, November 2, 2012. Another mill has been restored by Louis Chouvet at Le Grand Gourt, in Le Pertuis. See above for Chouvet, "Moulin."

Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon made a truly life-changing choice. In the mid-1890s, they and four of their five children joined millions of other Europeans who transplanted themselves to Canada and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, pushed out by troubled economic conditions and pulled toward opportunities in North America.

Migration was not for the timid, defeated, or weak, but rather for the ambitious, energetic, visionary, and persevering. Emigrants faced daunting tasks of leaving family and possessions, traveling across rough seas to foreign lands, and starting all over in every way imaginable, including the pressing need to make a living and learn a new language. They had to have a strong work ethic and an adventurous spirit. Migration was a self-selecting process. One scholar of the rural exodus of French farm folk has gone so far as to claim, not without controversy, that “the best people” departed.⁴⁷³

Why did Antoine Monchamp and his family make the momentous decision to “leap” from France to Canada?⁴⁷⁴ Historians investigate “push” and “pull” factors to explain emigration and immigration. Here we explore the Monchamps’ move in the context of agricultural changes and economic stress in France, Canadian government campaigns to attract settlers to the province of Manitoba, and French villagers’ unceasing yearning for land ownership and an improved life for their families.

First, the “push” pressures. The idea of “unwinding” helps explain them. What was holding people together in rural France was changing so much—was unwinding so much—that the observable decline generated for some individuals a feeling of freedom, including the “freedom to go away” and the “freedom to change your story.”⁴⁷⁵ The French economy, especially agriculture, to which the Monchamps were closely tied, was undergoing measureable, negative transformation in the late nineteenth century. The rural population hit an all-time high in the late 1840s and then steadily declined. One historian has called the period of 1870-1895 one of economic “slackness,” with grain prices falling about 40 percent. Peasant people endured “steady but slow decline.”⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷³ Henri Mendras, *The Vanishing Peasant: Innovation and Change in French Agriculture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), p. 1.

⁴⁷⁴ Henry Lewis Gates, Jr., in Public Broadcasting System, “Faces of America,” chapter 4, 2010.

⁴⁷⁵ This concept is developed in George Packer, *Unwinding: An Inner History of the New America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), p. 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Wright, *France*, pp. 344, 360.

Agricultural imports created unwelcomed competition for French farmers. The continued subdivision of land into smaller plots hurt productivity. Available jobs in rural communities shrunk and some villagers had to take seasonal jobs in cities. Outmigration to cities, especially for craftspeople, such as masons and carpenters, became more common as the chances for owning land and enjoying social elevation seemed to diminish. Moreover, the improving transportation infrastructure (roads and railroads) did not always meet high expectations for economic expansion, and, although accelerating mechanization on the farm seemed promising, it was expensive and not always suited to small farms. As well, machines began to hurt village lacemaking, which declined in the late nineteenth century as mill production undercut the *denteleuses*, depriving farm families of an important source of income.

Rural folk such as the Monchamps also experienced repeated depressions (1870s and 1890s), the banking crisis that began in 1882, France's notorious political instability, the military draft, and a national flu epidemic (1890). France's costly quest for empire and wars did not abate. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, French interventions in such distant places as Southeast Asia and Africa took French lives and strained the national budget. For some villagers, the military draft, which Antoine Monchamp experienced directly, remained odious.⁴⁷⁷

At the very time in the early 1890s when Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon were contemplating a move to Canada, French vineyards were suffering disaster. The Monchamp family zone stood (and still stands) low as a wine producing area. Haute-Loire and the Auvergne region often do not even earn a listing in the indices of major books on wine and certainly have never produced the highly-regulated and respected wines bearing the Appellation d'Origine label.⁴⁷⁸ Beginning in the late 1850s, infestations of powdery mildew and phylloxéra (aphid or root louse) began to contaminate and ravage French vineyards. Phylloxéra, "*malade de la vigne*," first struck Haute-Loire in 1878.

By the late nineteenth century, when so much else was troubling agriculture, Haute-Loire's wine production and its economy were undercut by phylloxéra and mildew plagues. From 1885 to 1912, phylloxéra essentially annihilated vineyards in the Auvergne region. Replanting programs were launched using U.S. vines

⁴⁷⁷ Clout, *Land of France*; Wright, *Rural Revolution in France*; Wright, *France*; Price, *A Concise*; Knapton, *France*; "Climate in Poitiers."

⁴⁷⁸ For example, Hugh Johnson and Jancis Robinson, *The World Atlas of Wine*, 5th ed. (London: Octopus, 2001) and Jancis Robinson, *The Oxford Companion to Wine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

resistant to the minute, root-eating lice, but the recovery went slowly and some observers tagged the area's wines "mediocre."⁴⁷⁹

Afforestation in Haute-Loire also helped push farmers such as Antoine Monchamp out of France. The French government instituted a program in the 1840s to restore denuded areas where trees had all but disappeared because of cutting and disastrous fires. Under this project, mountain ecology improved, but by the late nineteenth century the restoration encroached on Haute-Loire farmlands, making it harder for peasants to earn a living. More and more rural folk departed farms for urban work or sought better conditions abroad.⁴⁸⁰

Finally, in this discussion of "push" factors, the immediacy of the flooding of Antoine Monchamp's mill looms large. He faced personal disaster. Already aware of discouraging events and negative trends at the national level, he had to worry as never before about earning a good living to support his large family. Antoine joined other French citizens and neighbors in thinking that he might put these troubles behind him by starting anew abroad.

"Pull" factors also influenced Monchamp decision-making. When French people such as the Monchamps were experiencing negative rural trends and economic setbacks, letters sent from Canada to the "old country" and word-of-mouth stimulated interest in migration. Before 1895, some farmers from Le Pertuis and its environs had emigrated to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, Canada. In 1892, for example, Jean-Baptiste Monchalain and his family uprooted from the village of Les Granges, Le Pertuis, and moved to Lourdes. Les Granges sits only 240 meters (.15 miles) from La Chomette. Related Monchalains were longtime residents of La Chomette itself, including Antoine's close neighbor Claude Monchalain.⁴⁸¹ Claude, Jean-Baptiste, and Antoine surely talked about Jean-Baptiste's adventure abroad.⁴⁸² Another example: In 1893, Jean-Etienne Durand and his family from Le Pertuis's village of Le Vernet also departed for Lourdes. These settlers "acted as references

⁴⁷⁹ Gabriel Bayssat, *Evolution du Monde Rural de la Haute-Loire* (Le Puy: Bronze, 1955), pp. 50-54; "Ravages of the Phylloxera," *New Zealand Herald*, XV, (November 9, 1878), 8 (paperspast.natlib.govt.nz); "French Vintage of 1885," *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXXIV (January 22, 1886), 173 (books.google.com); Robinson, *Oxford Companion*, pp. 282-283; "Les vins d'auvergne" (paysdauvergne.fee.fr/vins.html); George W. Roosevelt, "Wine Harvest of 1886 [France]," *Commercial Relations of the United States: Reports from the Consuls* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), pp. 489-490 (for root-lice and "mediocre" tag).

⁴⁸⁰ McPhee, *Social History*, pp. 235-236; "Histoire," <http://assoc.pagespro-orange.fr/louis.chouvet>.

⁴⁸¹ The elder Claude Monchalain (born about 1818) appears in the 1846 census as occupying one of four houses in La Chomette (LN, 1846, Saint-Hostien, pp. 27-28, HLA). For La Chomette as well, his son Claude appears (age of 29) in the 1866 census (LN, 1866, Le Pertuis, p. 10, HLA) and again (age of 48) in the 1886 census as the neighbor of Antoine (LN, 1886, Le Pertuis, p. 25, HLA).

⁴⁸² Jean-Baptiste Monchalain died at age 65 on August 14, 1900, in Manitoba (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca).

and information sources for the benefit of those at home who were tickled by the moving itch,” an historian of Le Pertuis, Louis Chouvet, has written.⁴⁸³

The Canadian government, its province of Manitoba, transportation companies, advocacy groups, and Roman Catholic clergy also promoted migration to Canada through glowing advertisements and first-hand accounts of Western prairie-land successes that popularized images of frontier abundance, opportunity, bounty, “virgin” and “free” land, and more.⁴⁸⁴ Motives for this boosterism varied: Some promoters, such as railroads and shipping lines, hoped to make money; some nationalists wanted to advance Canada’s overall economy by developing its expansive lands; some religious leaders sought to build a stronger Catholic church in Canada to counter growing anti-clericalism in France; and some Canadians of French descent reached for a cultural balance between English speakers and francophone people by wooing more of the latter to Canada.

In the late nineteenth century, the government of Canada distributed in Europe hundreds of thousands of pamphlets in several languages in a “great advertising campaign” to “lure” settlers west.⁴⁸⁵ Manitoba itself maintained an office in Liverpool, the port from which many French emigrants left for Canada. The province also sent agents to Europe to extol prairie life and the availability of “free” homesteads.⁴⁸⁶ The Société d’immigration française, founded in 1887 and headquartered in Montreal, promoted migration to western Canada from French-speaking areas in Europe. The group’s secretary, M.A. Bodard, himself a French immigrant, served for a time as the Canadian government’s agent in Paris. Catholic Church clergy in Canada, seeking to expand their parishes, encouraged French priests to join them and provided funds for their travel and resettlement. The weekly newspaper *Paris-Canada*, founded by a Canadian in the 1880s, championed French migration to Canada.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ “Emigration,” “Go West Young Man” (louis.chouvet.pagespervo-orange.fr). Other names are listed on this website, which is based on a 1992 study by Jean Perrel, “De Haute-Loire en Amérique: Coureurs des bois et colons au Canada (XVII-XX siècle),” *Cahiers de Haute-Loire*. See also Maurice Perrel, “Du Pertuis à Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba ” (given to TGP in Le Pertuis in June 2014). Two of Antoine Monchamp’s children later married Monchalins: Noël married Germaine Monchalin and Clémentine married Louis Monchalin.

⁴⁸⁴ Such positive image-making represented a North-American phenomenon, also common in the United States, as explained in Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950) and David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

⁴⁸⁵ Bruce B. Peel, “The Lure of the West,” *Proceedings of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 5 (1966), 28 (jps.library.utoronto.ca).

⁴⁸⁶ William L. Morton, *Manitoba* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 252-253; Gordon D. Lewis and Lauren M. Laws, *Manitoba* (San Diego: Lucent, 2003), pp. 49-50.

⁴⁸⁷ Alan Anderson, “French Settlements,” *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan* (esask.uregina.ca); “French,” “Migration,” *Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999; Paul R. Magoci, ed.).

The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), whose trains transported immigrants to Manitoba prairie acreage and which also anticipated selling company land to them, championed “a true promised land” in Canada. “Who should emigrate?” asked an 1890-1891 CPR French-language brochure. The company’s answer: The “simple, peasant farmer.” Why? Because Canada had no taxes, no surcharges, no “fever” (perhaps a reference to France’s history of epidemics), and no “dangerous animals.” “Why stay in old Europe,” overburdened with taxes, population, and overpriced land which make it impossible to “establish his children around him?” Why work on land you do not own? And, on land “barely sufficient to feed the people who cultivate it?” Think of harvesting 4,000 bushels of wheat on 100 acres in western Canada. Bring your family, the booklet also advised, because a “man alone” will become “bored” and “anxious.” A wife at his side is “essential” to help overcome difficulties. Daughters will marry “soon” in a territory where men outnumbered women.

As for Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba (where the Monchamps settled), the CPR promotional literature highlighted access to markets through railway stations, especially the depot in Treherne, about 16.9 km (10 miles) away. The “well-watered” terrain was “undulating,” partly forest and partly prairie. Because of the proximity of the railroads, farmers could augment their income through timber sales—including oak and ash. Overall, Lourdes ranked as a “place of the future.”⁴⁸⁸

“Fruitful Manitoba,” read the colorful cover of an Agriculture and Immigration agency pamphlet that boasted: “The Best Wheat Land and the Richest Grazing Country Under the Sun” and “Homes for Millions” on 116,021 square miles. A Grand Trunk Railway of Canada pamphlet trumpeted that the company cooperated with transatlantic steamship companies serving the Liverpool-to-Quebec or Halifax lines and would transport immigrants to the “easily cultivated and rapidly productive” fields of Manitoba.⁴⁸⁹ Canada’s Agriculture Department conceded that Manitoba summers were “hot” and the winters “cold.” Nonetheless, “the cold is pleasant and bracing, and the snow ... is of the greatest benefit” to farmers. Winters “were at times severe,” but also “healthy and enjoyable.”⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ *Guide du colon: La laiterie, l'élevage, la culture et les mines dans le grand ouest du Canada* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1891; available at https://archive.org/details/cihm_06127). This 1891 publication was a reissue of an 1890 booklet sponsored by the Société d'immigration française (Montreal). Perhaps the Monchamps read or saw this brochure, or another: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Western Canada: How to Get There, How to Select Lands, How to Begin, How to Make a Home* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1894; available at https://archive.org/details/cihm_37315).

⁴⁸⁹ Archives of Manitoba, <http://manitoba.ca/cocoon>. The Manitoba pamphlet is dated 1892 and the Grand Trunk one is dated 1880.

⁴⁹⁰ Department of Agriculture, Canada, *The Statistical Year-Book of Canada, 1890* (Ottawa: Brown, Chamberlain, 1891), p. 8 (“CYB Historical Collection,” www.statcan.gc.ca).

We do not know exactly who in the Monchamp family zone heard about, saw, or read the widespread advertising literature, met with Canadian representatives abroad, or received messages from earlier emigrants, but Antoine Monchamp was probably one of them. Surely the fundamental message about “*la Terre Promise*” reached them from multiple sources.⁴⁹¹ “Can you imagine,” a Canadian historian has written, “what the words ‘The West’ suggested” to many Europeans? The words did not simply identify a geographical area; they “offered a new chance, a new life, a new freedom.” So, “in eagerly reading the pamphlets on the West, the prospective emigrant interpreted what he read in terms of his dreams and aspirations.”⁴⁹²

We can imagine that Antoine felt some trepidation over leaving his village and zone and his many family members, especially his brother André, his sister Rosalie, and, as we will see, his daughter Rosa. The tribulations of foreign travel, however, may not have worried him greatly, because he may have already experienced overseas travel as an infantryman in the French army (see above).

Still, Antoine knew that tough assignments lay ahead in Manitoba. The Monchalins and other emigrants had no doubt warned him that the difficult reality of “The West” did not quite match, at least initially, the sunny images of plenty from waving fields of wheat. New farms needed buildings, implements, animals, firewood, fences, vegetable gardens, water wells, wagons, sleighs, seed, and more. Many tasks had to be accomplished in challenging weather conditions—especially in winter’s snow storms and freezes—and by hand, oxen, and horse power.⁴⁹³

Another question faced the Monchamps: How much money would they need to start fresh in Manitoba? One promotional pamphlet, calculating five French francs as worth one Canadian dollar, emphasized how little capital was required to begin prairie farming and sowing in April. A Manitoba homesteader with 2,500 francs (500 dollars) supposedly would be able to cover most needs⁴⁹⁴:

⁴⁹¹ Perrel, “De Haute-Loire,” p. 251.

⁴⁹² Peel, “Lure of the West,” p. 29.

⁴⁹³ Local histories of towns in southern Manitoba, some near Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, detail the rigors of and obstacles to starting a farm in the late nineteenth century: Treherne Area History Committee, *Tiger Hills to the Assinboine* (Manitoba, 1976); Rathwell Historical Committee, *Twixt Hill and Vale: A Story of Rathwell and Surrounding District* (Rathwell: Rathwell Historical Committee, 1970); Holland History Committee, *Holland, Manitoba, 1877-1967* (Holland: Holland History Committee, nd); Haraldine Webb and Diana Vodden, *In Rhythm with Our Roots: A History of Manitou & Area* (Manitou: Manitou Centennial Book Committee, 1997); La Riviere Historical Book Society, *Turning Leaves: A History of La Riviere* (La Riviere: La Riviere Historical Book Society, 1979). These studies available at manitobia.ca/resources/books/local_histories.

⁴⁹⁴ *Guide du colon* (1890), pp 21-22.

Fee for homestead: 10 dollars (50 francs)
 Building materials for a house: 100 (500)
 Furniture, stove, beds, etc.: 50 (250)
 Two oxen: 120 (600)
 Cow: 30 (150)
 Wagon, plough, and harrow: 50 (250)
 Provisions for a family of five for a year: 100 (500)
 Tools, harness, and unexpected costs: 40 (200)

With such numbers, Manitoba no doubt looked affordable to Antoine, a property owner in Haute-Loire. He decided to take the risk of uprooting his family, making the difficult crossing of the Atlantic Ocean, and starting a farm in Canada. In short, renewal seemed attractive—and possible—after the apparent unwinding of agriculture in France.

Crossing the Atlantic, April 1895

In April 1895, Antoine (age 37), Virginie (32), Jean (10½), Maria (8), Rosalie (4), and Pierre (1) traveled from their small La Chomette village across three-quarters of France to reach the major port of Boulogne-sur-Mer, a major point of departure for transatlantic and English Channel voyages.⁴⁹⁵ Rosa Monchamp remained in France (see below). The six Monchamps departed Le Pertuis by a horse or oxen-pulled wagon loaded with their belongings. Some family items may have been placed in trunks or boxes and sent separately. The train station in Le Puy-en-Velay (19.7 km or 12 miles away) or that in Retournac (18.8 km or 11.7 miles away) may have been their destination. Perhaps Antoine's brother André, also a resident of La Chomette, drove the wagon to the railroad station.

A land-owning farmer, Antoine sold his mortgage-free house and land to cover transportation costs and farm land in Canada.⁴⁹⁶ He may have sold his property to Louis Vernet and Antoine's aunt, Marie Monchamp, who lived in one of six houses in La Chomette in 1901. Or, perhaps Antoine sold his estate to Marie Veysseyre, Antoine Celle, Louis Peynard, or André Vérot, owners of other houses

⁴⁹⁵ *France: Ports and Communications* (Surrey, Great Britain: Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division, 1942) IV, 28.

⁴⁹⁶ On December 28, 1894, "Le Conservateur des Hypothèques" in Le Puy signed a document declaring that no mortgage existed for Antoine (copy to TGP during his visit to Le Pertuis in June 2014). Franck Teyssier confirmed that Antoine "sold everything he owned." E-mail to TGP, February 7, 2015.

in the village in 1901.⁴⁹⁷ Antoine's brother André Monchamp, his spouse Rosalie Gravy, and their children lived in another La Chomette house, once that of Jean Monchamp (1820-1874). Today Jean's house belongs to the brothers Franck Teyssier and Roland Teyssier, sons of Marie-Josephe Teyssier (see above).⁴⁹⁸

At the time of Antoine's birth in 1858, railways were being built in Haute-Loire, eventually linking major cities and towns across the nation. Construction of railways in Haute-Loire, facing the major obstacles of mountainous terrain, gorges, and steep slopes, required numerous bridges and tunnels. But, by the late 1850s, tracks linked Saint-Étienne with Lyon and Bordeaux, and a line passed near Le Puy. Railways connected Clermont-Ferrand (Haute-Loire) and Paris. By the late 1860s, lines reached Brioude, and by the mid-1870s Le Puy had a line to other towns. In 1851, before the railroad, a trip from Le Puy to Saint-Étienne consumed about 12 hours. In 1865 the trip took about seven-and-a-half hours. Notions of distance changed dramatically as travel times shrunk, seeming to ease heretofore long, arduous travel and perhaps inviting travelers to accept the challenges of emigration—in the Monchamp case, to leave the family zone.

In 1890 a railroad line passed near Le Pertuis. Like Le Puy, Bessamorel and Retournac had train stations.⁴⁹⁹ When the Durands departed their village of Le Vernet in April 1893, they left by cart for Retournac, boarded a train, and then traveled to Paris and on to Liverpool, their English port of departure for Halifax, Canada.⁵⁰⁰

We can imagine that the Monchamp family traveled north by train from Retournac or Le Puy to Paris and then on to Boulogne, undertaking transfers at stations along the way, perhaps in Brioude, Saint-Étienne, or Clermont-Ferrand. Getting from Le Pertuis to Boulogne may have taken a couple of days, and with a young family, the trip surely was not easy. The Monchamps probably stayed a night or two in a Boulogne boarding house, because the shipping company advised emigrants to arrive early to put their paperwork in order. The six Monchamps anticipated an ocean journey of about two weeks.

In Boulogne, about mid-April 1895, the Monchamps, without Rosa, boarded a Holland America Line vessel, the *Maasdam*, a steamship of four masts and funnel. To the ship the Monchamps lugged six pieces of baggage, some of them perhaps

⁴⁹⁷ LN, 1901, Le Pertuis, p. 14, HLA.

⁴⁹⁸ Franck Teyssier to TGP, February 7, 2015. Photographs of 2015 in album.

⁴⁹⁹ For railroads: Merley, *La Haute-Loire*, pp. 378, 497-500; R. Caralp-Landon, *Les Chemins de Fer dans le Massif Central* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1959), pp. 22, 145, 327.

⁵⁰⁰ Perrel, "Du Pertuis."

trunks. No doubt they stuffed them with keepsakes, clothes, hats, food, such as bread and fruit, and more. Like other emigrants intending to obtain land in Manitoba, the “farmer” Antoine must have carried a sizeable amount of cash.⁵⁰¹

An old ship, the *Maasdam*, with a length of 429 feet, weight of 3,984 gross tons, and top speed of 14 knots, ran a regular sailing route from Rotterdam, The Netherlands, to New York, with a stop to pick up passengers in Boulogne. Aboard were Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Syrians, Greeks, and other nationalities. A number of French citizens, some of them farmers like Antoine, also took the journey. They were headed toward various places in Canada, including Duck Lake, Montreal, St. Claude, and Winnipeg. The ship could carry 1,010 passengers (800 of them in third class or “steerage”). On this transatlantic trip, just 333 passengers stepped aboard the *Maasdam*, 276 of them in steerage with the Monchamps.⁵⁰²

The Monchamps steamed out of Boulogne and headed through the English Channel to the Atlantic Ocean. Antoine and Virginie stayed with their small children in the noisy lower-deck steerage, the least expensive booking (about \$30 for an adult).⁵⁰³ In steerage, passengers were physically divided into groups that could not intermingle: single men; single women; and married couples and their children. The Monchamps slept on bunk racks, ate stews and soups at long tables, heated pots for tea and coffee from the pantry, used communal bathrooms, and most assuredly became seasick from the churning Atlantic Ocean. The ship’s management stocked a hospital for the ill, offering beef broth and medical care. In cramped quarters, privacy hardly existed for steerage passengers. The air became stuffy and smelly, because the ventilation system did not always exit the stench from toilets and vomit. Access to an open deck was limited.⁵⁰⁴

Canada was the Monchamps’ ultimate destination, but they first landed in New York on April 29, 1895. On that day, the *Maasdam* cruised into New York Harbor. The majestic, copper Statue of Liberty, a gift from France to the United States erected in 1886, towered before them.⁵⁰⁵ The ship docked at a pier at the southern tip of the island of Manhattan. Passengers were then ferried a short distance to Ellis Island, the premier U.S. immigration station that had opened just three years

⁵⁰¹ The original ship manifest appears on the Ellis Island website: “Passenger Search: Antonine [sic] Monchamp” (www.libertyellisfoundation.org/passenger.result) and also at www.ancestrylibrary.com.

⁵⁰² The *Maasdam* was built in 1871. Ship description and data in “Republic/Maasdam/Vittoria/Citti di Napoli 1871,” www.theshiplist.com.

⁵⁰³ Brandon Dupont et al., “Passenger Fares for Overseas Travel,” eh.net/eha/system/files/weissetal.pdf.

⁵⁰⁴ Al Cerrachio, “Ship Travel in Third Class,” www.cruisemates.com/articles/onboard/steerage.cfm; Borge Solem, “The Transatlantic Crossing,” “Steerage Passengers,” www.norwayheritage.com.

⁵⁰⁵ www.statueofliberty.org.

earlier. Between 1892 and 1954, 12 million people entered the United States through Ellis Island.⁵⁰⁶

The Monchamps, with thousands of other new arrivals, entered the Great Hall, a maze of iron-fenced rows through which they wound their way, documents and baggage in hand. They faced immigration officers and health inspectors. The processing could take three to five hours. Ellis Island officials sorted people into the “desirable” who could be admitted and the “undesirable” who would be sent back to their home countries.⁵⁰⁷ For many immigrants the experience was intimidating as well as tiring.⁵⁰⁸ The Monchamps passed inspection.

Settling and Thriving in Manitoba

From New York City, the Monchamp family journeyed by train some 1,600 miles to Manitoba. They may have ridden in the special “colonist cars” that the Canadian Pacific Railway designed for new immigrants.⁵⁰⁹ They likely traveled to Montreal, province of Quebec, and then west to Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba. In Winnipeg, they may have walked from the train station a short distance to Immigration Hall. There immigration agents inspected them, helped them fill out documents, and answered questions. They may have stayed in the building overnight to take advantage of free, short-term lodging with beds and bedding.⁵¹⁰

Antoine’s destination on the ship manifest is recorded as “Rathwell,” a Manitoba community along the tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian National Railway (the Canadian Northern Railway before 1918). Small Rathwell, largely English-speaking, was about 16.9 km (10 miles) north from the Monchamps’ ultimate goal, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. Lourdes was about 128 km (80 miles) southwest from Winnipeg.

The “farmer” Antoine and the Monchamp family actually detrained at Treherne, another English village along the railroad, just west of Rathwell and 25.6 km (15.9 miles) north of Lourdes. Their former Le Pertuis neighbor Étienne Durand met them at that station. They stayed with the Durand family for three weeks. Then, they spent time with Jean-Baptiste Monchalin (another Pertuisien the Monchamps

⁵⁰⁶ “Ellis Island—History,” www.ellisland.org.

⁵⁰⁷ Vincent J. Cannato, *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island* (New York: Harper, 2009).

⁵⁰⁸ First and second class passengers usually underwent a cursory examination on board, but third class (or “steerage”) passengers had to endure the longer inspection in the Great Hall. See “Ellis Island,” www.nps.gov/ellis.

⁵⁰⁹ Susan Hughes, *Coming to Canada* (Toronto: Maple Tree Press, 2005), p. 69.

⁵¹⁰ Robert Vineberg, *Responding to Immigrants’ Settlement Needs* (Springer Science, 2012), pp. 9-10.

knew well) in Saint Léon (22.8 km or about 14 miles south of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes). Antoine was searching for farmland to buy.⁵¹¹

Lourdes sits on the northeast slope of the Pembina Hills. The Monchamps first would have noticed a feature quite different from rugged, mountainous Haute-Loire: The Lourdes-area elevation has “little variation,” ranging from 430 to 525 meters above sea level (1476 to 1722 feet). In the early 1890s, from the hilltops, the Monchamps first viewed what today is described as “a magnificent prairie panorama”— a “landscape of rolling green hills and lush forests.”⁵¹²

The place where the Monchamps settled, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, experienced four waves of immigration in the late nineteenth century. The first wave, that of 1881-1891, included settlers from Quebec who sought escape from economic crisis in that province. The second wave of 1890-May 1891 consisted of some 40 French and Swiss immigrants seeking productive lands that Canada had promoted through advertising in Europe.

The third wave, 1891-1895, had a religious goal: The colonizing priest Dom Paul Benoît of the Canons Regulars of the Immaculate Conception led about 40 settlers in the spring of 1891 to Lourdes to found a Roman Catholic parish with a strict liturgy. Another 130 religious settlers, in six convoys, followed in the next few years. By 1892, more than 100 families lived in Lourdes.

Although Monchamps attended the Lourdes church as practicing Catholics—my mother Suzanne Monchamp was baptized by Dom Benoît in 1910, they did not migrate to the community in 1895 as part of Benoît’s mission. The Monchamps participated in the last wave of immigrants that came between 1895 and 1910 “on their own initiative, often in response to the government campaign or their correspondence with settlers already living in the region.”⁵¹³

Altogether, in the years 1880-1910, 1,029 immigrants of various nationalities settled in Lourdes. By 1910, the year my mother Suzanne Monchamp was born there, the population had grown to 1,247.⁵¹⁴ Today, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes is a

⁵¹¹ “Famille Monchamp,” in Antoine Gaborieau, *Un siècle*.

⁵¹² Denis Bibault and Paul Cenerini, *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes* (St. Boniface, Manitoba: Vidacom Publications/Les Éditions des Plaines, 2014), p. 5.

⁵¹³ Bibault and Cenerini, *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes*, p. 9; D.M. Lyon, “Notre Dame de Lourdes,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com (2013); Paterson, *You Must*, pp. 18-22; Maurice Dupasquier, “Benoît, Paul,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XIV (1998), www.biographi.ca/en/bio/benoit_paul_14E.html); “Les Débuts.”

⁵¹⁴ Settlers included people from France, Switzerland, Quebec, Luxembourg, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Jean Perrel, “De Haute-Loire en Amérique: Coureurs des bois et colons au Canada (XVII-XX siècle),” *Cahiers de Haute-Loire*

francophone, worldly community where English is also spoken and where the commitment to services for its citizens (about 700) and surrounding villages is strong.

After a few months in Manitoba, Antoine Monchamp bought 160 acres (a quarter section of land) situated in the southwest quarter of Section 34 in Township 6, Range 9 (SW 34-6-9). The land sat about three-and-a-half miles southwest of the village of Lourdes.⁵¹⁵ Unlike some other new settlers (“souls”), such as Charles Bibault in 1891, Antoine did not apply to the government for and did not take possession of an undeveloped homestead.⁵¹⁶ Instead, he paid cash (\$300) for his quarter-section to the homesteader Sébastien Hasenboehler. This 37 year-old German from Saint-Léon, Alsace, had moved with his wife Emilie and daughter Emily to Lourdes in 1891. Hasenboehler may have already developed and built upon the quarter.⁵¹⁷ Perhaps Antoine did not have had to clear the oak, maple, birch, and aspen trees that dominated the land, but, like other settlers, he most likely felled some trees for his heating and cooking and sold some as firewood in Treherne for shipment to Winnipeg to heat the province’s capital.

Why Antoine did not initiate the process to ownership of a homestead remains unknown. A homestead was “free” (except for a \$10 fee) after three years of improving the land. An interest-bearing “advance” of up to \$600 was also available for passage, subsistence, breaking land, and the purchase of horses, cattle, implements, seed grain, and more. He could also have exercised the option of buying the quarter-section homestead in just one year for the government price of \$3.00 an acre (or \$480).⁵¹⁸ Maybe the deal with Hasenboehler was just too good to pass up. Maybe a house and sheds already stood on Hasenboehler’s land. Maybe

(1892), pp. 250, 253-254; Bibault and Cenerini, *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes*, p. 10.

⁵¹⁵ SW 34-6-9 went to his son Pierre in 1933 (DB to TGP, January 22, 2008).

⁵¹⁶ In 1895, 2,608 homesteads (more than 400,000 acres) were registered in Canada. The largest groups holding homesteads were Americans (U.S.)(529) and British citizens (306). French citizens held 81 homesteads. Department of Agriculture, *Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1896* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1897), p. 53 (CYB Historical Collection, www65.statcan.gc.ca). The Bibault story is told in Thomas G. Paterson, “Bibault Families in France, Canada, and the United States Since the Seventeenth Century” (April 2016), available on-line: Manitoba Historical Society, MHS Resources: Personal Memoirs (<http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/memoirs/bibault.pdf>).

⁵¹⁷ Hasenboehler’s daughter Emily was born in Saint-Léon (south of Lourdes) in 1887 (Gaborieau, *Un siècle*). A son, Sébastien, at the age of two, died there April 14, 1886 (vitalstats.gov.mb). Hasenboehler took ownership of a homestead at SW 9-24-22 in the period August 9, 1894-April 22, 1895 (the required three-year improvement period having been satisfied). He took possession of another homestead at SW 34-6-9 on August 31, 1894. This quarter he sold to Antoine Monchamp sometime in the summer of 1895. On January 17, 1898, Emilie Jesselen, Sébastien’s wife, took possession of another homestead at SW 1-7-9 (“Western Land Grants (1870-1930,” Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca). The three Hasenboehler family members were listed in the 1901 Canada Census but not in the 1906 census for the Northwest provinces. Sébastien Hasenboehler may have been the Sebastien “Bochler” who died at age 53 on March 8, 1909, in Manitoba (vitalstats.gov.mb).

⁵¹⁸ Department of Agriculture, *Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1895* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1896), pp. 56-57.

gardens and even fields had been cleared, ready for planting. Perhaps Antoine was simply put off by the homestead paperwork and a debt on an advance. Or, he may not have liked the quality or location of the available homestead land in the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes region. The quarter-section at SW 34-6-9, after all, sat only about three miles from the Lourdes village. Finally, he obviously had more than enough money to cover all of his family and farm needs and to forego the immense start-up work required to launch his prairie farm. Three years later, demonstrating that they intended to stay in their new country, Antoine and his family became naturalized Canadian citizens.

In 1903, Antoine bought another quarter section, SW 33-6-9, which he sold in 1908 to his daughter Rosalie, spouse of Eugène Chanel. In 1913, Antoine purchased NE 3-7-9, about two miles from his original quarter.⁵¹⁹ A 1905 photograph of the Monchamp family captured mustachioed Antoine, Virginie, and their children standing before a simple, small, white, wooden two-story house on one of the quarters, most likely SW 34-6-9. About 1920, when Antoine and Virginie retired to the Lourdes village at the ages of 62/63 and 58/59, he bought a 10-acre property in the village (part of quarter NW 36-6-9).⁵²⁰ His children Pierre, Léoncie, and Noël continued to live in the house at SW 34-6-9. The property was listed under Pierre's name in 1933 and was transferred to Pierre's son Albert Monchamp in 1956.⁵²¹

With his purchases of three quarters of 160 acres each, Antoine came to own 480 acres. Ownership of a half section meant a farmer was "well-off." Three quarter-section owners were "considered rich."⁵²² Antoine Monchamp (1858-1939) and Virginie Ballon (1863-1929), Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes pioneers, courageously took the risk in 1895 to depart France. They impressively achieved in Canada what many French ancestors and village peasants had earnestly envisioned and sought but seldom obtained, generation after generation, century after century: A substantial and profitable farm of their own. Antoine managed to survive the

⁵¹⁹ Information on Antoine's (and other Monchamps') farms in DB to TGP, December 20, 21, 31, 2007, January 22, 2008; Rick Anderson to Paterson, December 26, 2007; "Famille Monchamp," Gaborieau, *Un siècle* (including lists of land owners and the years of ownership); DB to TGP, December 31, 2013; Antoine Monchamp's November 22, 1939, will (copy from ST).

⁵²⁰ In 1921 their daughter Clémentine (18 years-old) lived with them at NW 36-6-9. So did Eva Bostert (age 37) with her two daughters ("1921 Census of Canada," ancestry.ca). Clémentine inherited this property in 1939. About 1962, she sold it to her nephew Roland Brouzes, son of Maria Monchamp and Louis Brouzes. Roland sold it about 1974. DB to TGP, January 22, 2008.

⁵²¹ Albert married Simone Pelé (October 20, 1951). They had five sons. Albert farmed until 1981 when he moved to the village. Albert enjoyed hunting deer, gardening, fishing, and meeting with friends. He died February 9, 2013, and is buried in the Notre Dame Parish Cemetery. *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 12, 2013; Viviane Jamault, "Eulogy for Albert Monchamp," February 2013 (from ST). Gaborieau, *Un siècle*; "1921 Census of Canada."

⁵²² DB to TGP, December 21, 2007.

“severe epidemic” of wheat leaf rust that infected Manitoba farms in 1904, forcing farmers to plough under their crops and suffer debts.⁵²³ Antoine the farmer endured a number of harsh, devastating winters, such as those of 1907-1908 and 1923-1924. He prospered through all of these obstacles.

His “Last Will and Testament” of November 22, 1939, records that his estate was worth \$14,282.22 (including \$6,220.47 in cash). Antoine’s property, including SW 33-6-9, NE 3-7-9, the parcel at NW 36-6-9, and other small lots carried a value of \$5,134.00. His property was passed on to his children. He did not forget his son Jean’s children, Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne. Each of these grandchildren received \$200. Such was a way for Antoine to honor his deceased son.⁵²⁴

Virginie Ballon died April 27, 1929, at the age of 67. Antoine Monchamp passed away December 27, 1939, at the age of 81. They are buried side-by-side in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes under one “Père” and “Mère” headstone.

Antoine and Virginie never returned to France after settling in Manitoba, and Antoine’s siblings Rosalie and André never visited Canada.⁵²⁵ Virginie did not or could not attend her father Clément Ballon’s 1900 funeral or visit his cemetery burial site. Antoine and Virginie did not see their daughter Rosa for ten years, when she rejoined the family in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (see below). The universal story of emigration is thus not only one of success in beginning anew but also of wrenching familial separation.

The Eight Children of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon

We turn here to the children of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon, the first five of whom were born in France and the last three of whom were born in Canada.

⁵²³ Rathwell Historical Committee, *Twixt Hill and Vale: A Story of Rathwell and Surrounding District* (Rathwell: Rathwell Historical Committee, 1970), p. 339; Brett F. Carver, *Wheat* (Ames: Iowa: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 111 (quotation); *Canada Year Book 1904* (www.66.statcan.gc.ca), p. 171.

⁵²⁴ Pierre Bazin was the executor of the will. Antoine Monchamp bequeathed to his daughter Rosalie (wife of Eugène Chanel) the quarter section SW 33-6-9. The quarter section NE 3-7-9 went in equal shares to his daughters Rosa (wife of Henri Chanel), Clémentine (wife of Louis Monchalin), and Léoncie (wife of Alphonse Badiou). To his daughter Maria (wife of Louis Brouzes) he left \$5.00 (a small amount, writes Simone Tait, because Maria and Louis owed Antoine money). Antoine’s two sons Noël and Pierre received \$100 each (they had earlier received land). Antoine gave \$200 to each of Jean’s children (Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne). To Virginie Chanel, his granddaughter and wife of Albert Ronceray, he stipulated \$200 “for the services she has rendered me.” The remainder of Antoine’s estate was divided among his children in equal shares (including NW 36-6-9 and village lots which did not carry much value). ST to TGP, January 2008. Antoine Monchamp will provided by ST.

⁵²⁵ ST to TGP, December 7, 2013.

Jean Clément Monchamp, the first child, and my grandfather, was born November 22, 1884, in La Chomette, Le Pertuis. His life will be explored in a later section.

The second French-born Monchamp-Ballon child was Marie (called Maria), born July 16, 1886, in Dinamands, Le Pertuis. In 1906, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, she married Louis François Brouzes. He was born in the commune of Castelnau-de-Madailles, department of Aveyron, Mid-Pyrenees, France, on January 6, 1878. A laborer, Louis immigrated to Canada in March 1904, traveling from Liverpool to Quebec on the ship *Parisian*. Maria and Louis had 11 children.⁵²⁶ Maria died in April 1950 and Louis died in 1960, both in Lourdes, where they are buried.

The third child of Antoine and Virginie was Rosa (named Marie on her birth record). She was born October 30, 1889, in La Chomette.⁵²⁷ She remained in France in early 1895 when her parents and her siblings departed for Canada. Rosa was five years-old at the time.⁵²⁸ She moved into the household of her aunt Rosalie Monchamp and her spouse André Chabrier, a farmer in Lachaud de Rougeac, a village in Rosières, 10.9 km (6.8 miles) from La Chomette.

Rosalie and André had no children, and Rosalie was Rosa's godmother. Perhaps Rosalie, who must have become attached to the child, asked to keep Rosa, and Antoine and Virginie agreed to leave her behind in trusted hands.⁵²⁹ Could it have been that Rosa was sick at the time and could not travel? Perhaps the Monchamps, once settled in Manitoba, intended before too long to return to France to retrieve her. Or, perhaps another family emigrating from the Le Pertuis area could escort her to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes before too much time passed.

The decision to leave Rosa in France must have pained the Monchamps, because they were facing the ultimate question: Would they ever see her again? They

⁵²⁶ Maria's birth reported July 17 (EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, # 19, p. 73, HLA). Her birth date in the 1901 Canada census is July 15, 1885. She appears as "Marie" in "Marriages," vitalstats.gov.mb.ca. The 11 children of Maria and Louis Brouzes: Lucie (1906-1987); Henri (March 15, 1908-1940); Eugène (April 29 or June 9, 1910-1984); Berthe (August 30 or September 9, 1912-1955), who married Albert Ronceray; Louis (February 28 or May 9, 1915-May 10, 1990); Antoine (1916-1986); Clémence (May 8, 1918); Paul (June 13, 1920-1999); François (1922-1995); Denise (1928); and Roland (July 3, 1930-1999), who married Annoinette Badiou September 30, 1950. She died in 2001. Data from "Louis François Brouzes," Brouzes Family Tree, ancestrylibrary.com; Gilmore, "Descendants;" "1921 Canada Census," ancestrylibrary.com; "UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1891-1960," ancestrylibrary.com; gravestones in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (photographs of September 2015); vitalstats.gov.mb.ca; "Albert Ronceray," <http://passages.winnipegfreepress.com> (obituary, July 2008).

⁵²⁷ Rosa's birth was reported November 2 (EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #27, p. 140, HLA). Her birth date in the 1901 Canada census is listed as November 2, 1888.

⁵²⁸ LN, 1901, Rosières, p. 27, HLA (Rosa was reported as 11 years-old). Many other Chabrier family members lived in this village.

⁵²⁹ ST to TGP, February 12, 2010.

certainly did not forget her, because the 1901 Canada census, which reported all of the Monchamp family, included an entry for Rosa.⁵³⁰ The 1901 census taker had probably, simply, asked Antoine or Virginie for the names and birth dates of their children, and her parents identified Rosa as a family member. All told, what did Rosa think? We “can only imagine the trauma that [1895 parting] must have caused that girl.”⁵³¹

Ten years later, in May 1905, 15 year-old Rosa departed France for Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, to rejoin her Monchamp family. Under the “guardianship” of Camille Loubet (age of 45 and a farmer in the village of Les Granges, Le Pertuis, very near La Chomette) and his wife Leonore (Eléonore) (age 42), Rosa and the Loubets’ three children traveled on the ship *Philadelphia* from Southampton, England, to New York.⁵³² After eight days, on May 21, they reached New York and the stunning Statue of Liberty and passed through the immigration facility on Ellis Island. The Loubets and Rosa Monchamp then journeyed by train to Rathwell, a few miles from Lourdes.⁵³³ After a decade apart, Rosa reunited with her family in what must have been a very emotional day.

On November 25, 1908, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Rosa married Henri Chanel the same day that her sister Rosalie and Henri’s brother Eugène wed (see below). In April 1890, with his parents, brother Eugène (see below), and half-brother Jules Michel,⁵³⁴ Henri had sailed from France across the Atlantic Ocean as a seven year-old on the ship *Vancouver*.⁵³⁵ His father Claude-Marie Chanel had first explored the Lourdes area in an 1889 trip to Canada. On board the *Vancouver* in 1890 was Charles Bibault, from Vrères, Haute-Loire. He was beginning an exploratory trip to Lourdes. Charles and his family also settled in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁰ Under the spelling “Marchan” (www.bac-lac.gc.ca). Rosa’s birth date was recorded as November 1, 1888.

⁵³¹ ST to TGP, January 16, 2008.

⁵³² LN, Le Pertuis, 1901, p. 13, HLA (Loubets in Les Granges). The ship manifest indicates that the Loubets carried a sizeable amount of cash (he, \$450, and she, \$250). *Philadelphia* passenger list at www.ellisland.org.

⁵³³ The Loubets stayed a few weeks with the Monchamps. Antoine sold Camille a pair of oxen to help him cultivate a quarter section that Camille bought. Perrel, “Du Pertuis.”

⁵³⁴ Jules Michel was born Joseph Marie Antonin Michel on April 5, 1875, in Condal, to Joseph Paul Jules Michel and Julie Marie Besson (Condal, Naissances, 1875, # 8, p. 2, Saône-et-Loire Archives). His father died in 1876 (see below). Using the name Jules in Canada, he became naturalized in 1897 (“1901 Census of Canada,” www.bac-lac.gc.ca). Jules settled at SE 20-6-8 on a 158-acre homestead for which he received title on July 14, 1899 (“Land Grants of Western Canada, 1870-1930,” www.bac-lac.gc.ca). He went on to work for the railroad company in Cardinal. He died March 15, 1951, at the age of 76, a bachelor. He is buried in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (Gaborieau, *Un Siècle*, p. 375; photograph of gravestone, September 2015).

⁵³⁵ For the Chanel family: Gaborieau, *Un Siècle*, pp. 374-376; photographs of grave markers in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes church cemetery; Library and Archives Canada, “Passenger Lists, 1865-1922,” www.bac-lac.gc.ca.

⁵³⁶ For an extensive study on the pioneer Charles Bibault and his family: Paterson, “Bibault Families” (2016).

Henri was born October 21, 1885, as Eugène-Henri-Florentine Chanel, in the hamlet of Saint-Sulpice, Condal, Saône-et-Loire, region of Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, in east-central France.⁵³⁷ Henri's father Claude-Marie, a miller, was born October 22, 1826, in the town of Attignat in the department of Ain, region of Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, in eastern France. His mother Marie-Julie Besson was born June 24, 1846, in Condal.⁵³⁸

On September 27, 1897, Claude-Marie Chanel received title from the Canadian government for a quarter-section homestead at NE 20-6-8.⁵³⁹ Claude died April 19, 1907.⁵⁴⁰ His wife Julie Besson passed away on April 4 (or 23) in the same year.⁵⁴¹ Both are buried in the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes church cemetery under one gravestone.

Rosa and Henri farmed first on quarter-section NE 19-6-8. In 1916, according to the census report of that year, Henri and Rosa were farming in the village of Cardinal, 3.2 km (2 miles) south of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.⁵⁴² In 1921, they adopted their only child, three year-old Geneviève.⁵⁴³ She was born April 24, 1918, in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Her biological parents are not identified in available records, but Geneviève became a Chanel.⁵⁴⁴ In 1931 Geneviève was enrolled as a

⁵³⁷ Condal, Naissances, 1885, #18, p. 4, Saône-et-Loire Departmental Archives (www.archives71.fr). In the 1901 Canada census, Henri's birth date is recorded as September 17, 1884 (data2.collectionscanada.ca/1901).

⁵³⁸ Attignat, Births, 1826, #33, p. 10, Ain Departmental Archives (www.archives-numerisees.ain.fr). Ages and birth dates vary for Claude-Marie. The 1836 census for Attignat lists him as five, but he was 10 (État Nominatif des Habitants, 1836, Ain, Attignat, p. 21, Ain Departmental Archives, www.archives-numerisees.ain.fr/archives). In LN, 1886, Condal, p. 8, Saône-et-Loire Archives, he is listed as 55, but he was 60; Marie-Julie's age was correctly recorded as 40 (born in 1846). For Marie-Julie's birth document: Condal, Naissances, 1843-1849, #10, p. 23, Saône-et-Loire Archives. At the time she married her neighbor Claude-Marie in 1881, Marie-Julie was the widow of Joseph Paul Jules Michel (death, February 28, 1876; DT, Condal, Deaths, 1873-1882, p. 3). Joseph had previously been married to Jeanne-Marie Pachon (or Pochon), who died June 12, 1881, at 63 (LN, 1876, Condal, p. 15, and Condal, Deaths, 1881, #7, p. 2, Saône-et-Loire Archives).

⁵³⁹ In 1894, Henri, his brother Eugène, and their parents became naturalized citizens of Canada. "Land Grants of Western Canada, 1870-1930," www.bac-lac.gc.ca.

⁵⁴⁰ The Manitoba death record lists his age as 87 (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca). His gravestone lists his age as 88 (photograph, September 2015). He was actually about 81 (born in 1826).

⁵⁴¹ Julie's death record reports her age as 68 (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca). She was born in 1846, thus making 61 her age at death. Her gravestone reads that she died April 23 at 67 years -old (photograph, September 2015).

⁵⁴² The 1916 census records that the French-speaking Henri and Rosa could not speak English. Rosa could read and write French, but Henri could not. Library and Archives of Canada, "Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916," Cardinal, www.bac-lac.gc.ca.

⁵⁴³ Also living with Rosa and Henri in 1921 were a laborer and his wife. "1921 Census of Canada," ST to TGP, December 29, 2013.

⁵⁴⁴ Geneviève married Jean-Paul Mailhiot (born August 3, 1917, Gentilly, Quebec) and they had 10 children: Marcel Mailhiot (1948-1968); Gerard; Reine; Gilberte; Vivianne; Maurice; Lucie; Lucille; Laurette; and Paulette. In the 1960s-1970s the Mailhiots farmed in Dauphin, Manitoba. At some point, Geneviève (and perhaps Jean-Paul) moved to the province of Saskatchewan. Jean-Paul died March 12, 1982. Geneviève died at 93 on April 24, 2011, in the Wascana Grace Hospice, in Regina, Saskatchewan, and two days later was interred in that city's Riverside Memorial Park. When Geneviève died, she had 12 grandchildren and 12 great-grandchildren. "Mailhiot Family Tree," ancestrylibrary.com; "Canada Voters Lists, 1935-1980," *ibid.*; "Canada Obituary Collection," *The Calgary*

pupil at Saint-Louis School, located at NW 12-6-9. She was recorded as 12 years-old and one of 42 students in the one-room country school.⁵⁴⁵ Rosa Monchamp and Henri Chanel moved at some point after that year to St. Claude, 20.9 km (13 miles) from Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. Henri died in 1946 at the age of 61 in St. Claude. Rosa also died in St. Claude, on May 2, 1947. She was 58 years-old.⁵⁴⁶ Both are buried in the St. Claude Cemetery.

Rosa's sister Rosalie Monchamp was the fourth child of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon. Rosalie was born in La Chomette on September 17, 1891.⁵⁴⁷ On November 25, 1908, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, she wed Eugène Chanel. He was born Joseph-Marie-Eugène on April 6, 1883, in the hamlet of Saint-Sulpice, commune of Condal, department of Saône-et-Loire.⁵⁴⁸

Eugène and Rosalie acquired land in eastern Lourdes but sold it to move closer to the Monchamp farm. In 1908, Antoine sold the Chanels a quarter section at SW 33-6-9. They later settled on a half-section at 28-6-9, where Eugène constructed a large house in 1918 and 10 years later added a stable. In 1948 Rosalie and Eugène retired to the Lourdes village. They had 10 children, all born in Lourdes.⁵⁴⁹ Their first two offspring died very young: Marie Chanel (1909-1909)⁵⁵⁰ and Antoine-Eugène-Noël Chanel (1910-1915).⁵⁵¹ Their last two children were born as twins on

Herald, April 24, 2011, *ibid.*; *Leader Post* (Regina), April 23, 2011 (www.legacy.com/obituaries/leaderpost); Saskatchewan Cemeteries Project, Riverside Memorial Park Cemetery (www.rootsweb.ancestry.com).

⁵⁴⁵ Écoles francophone du Manitoba," *Recherches de Normand Boisvert, Société historique de Saint-Boniface* (shsb.mb.ca), vol. 2, "Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes" (PDF download).

⁵⁴⁶ *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 3, 1947, p. 27; Gaborieau, *Un Siècle*, p. 375.

⁵⁴⁷ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, #30, p.191, HLA. The 1901 Canada census lists Rosalie's birth date as September 15, 1891, but her gravestone reads September 17 (photograph, September 2015).

⁵⁴⁸ Condal, Naissances, 1883, #9, p. 5, Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire (www.archives71.fr).

⁵⁴⁹ The children of Rosalie Monchamp and Eugène Chanel: (1) *Marie Chanel* (1909-1909), see note below. (2) *Antoine Eugène Noël* (1910-1915), see note below; (3) *Yvonne Chanel*, born June 21, 1913 and died April 2, 1993; (4) *Joseph Chanel*, born May 24, 1916, and died September 16, 1984, in Somerset, Manitoba; (5) *Virginie Chanel*, born February 5, 1921; she married Albert Ronceray (born July 20, 1917, and died July 30, 2008); Virginie and Albert owned and operated the Somerset Hotel (Manitoba) for more than 40 years; they had three children: Diane (born 1945); Georges; and Sylvie; Virginie died October (September?) 18, 1981, in Winnipeg; (6) *Julie Chanel*, born December 16, 1921; (7) *Antoine Chanel*, born July 10, 1925, and died January 29, 1996, in Lourdes; (8) *Guy Chanel*, born July 6, 1930, and died March 3, 2011, in Lourdes; (9) *Rolande Chanel* (1936-); (10) *Alixé Chanel* (1936-). Sources for children: Alixe Bosc, "Descendants of Rosalie Monchamp " 2012; "Famille Chanel," in Gaborieau, *Un siècle*, pp. 374-376.; Gilmore, "Descendants;" "Virginie Chanel," Ronceray Family Tree, ancestrylibrary.com; Vital Statistics Manitoba (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca); "Eugène Chanel," Chanel Family Tree, ancestrylibrary.com.

⁵⁵⁰ Marie Chanel was born in November 1909. She died November 19, 1909. The Manitoba Vital Statistics website mistakenly lists her age as 25 (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca). Bosc, "Descendants."

⁵⁵¹ Antoine Eugène Noël Chanel was born December 23, 1910, and died April 4, 1915. Vital Statistics Manitoba gives his death day as April 3. He was four years and three months-old when he died.

May 3, 1936: Rolande Chanel⁵⁵² and Alixe Chanel.⁵⁵³ I enjoyed conversations with Alixe, Rolande, her husband Albert Bazin, and Alixe's son Paul Bosc, in Lourdes, on September 10, 2015. We talked about changes and trends in Manitoba agriculture over time, including aerial spraying. And, Albert copied some important Carnot School documents for me and my daughter Rebecca Putnam, who accompanied me. I shared information with Paul about his Chanel family.

Rosalie Monchamp Chanel died November 1, 1956, in Lourdes. Her spouse Eugène Chanel died April 15, 1967, also in Lourdes.⁵⁵⁴ Both are buried in the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes church cemetery.

The fifth child of Antoine and Virginie, Pierre-Jean-François, was born November 7, 1893, in La Chomette. Pierre married French-born Hélène Badiou (January 17, 1897), on October 25, 1922, in Canada. They had four children, including Simone Monchamp, born December 12, 1937, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. For the years 1933-1954, Pierre farmed on Antoine's original farm at SW 34-6-9. Pierre died January 23, 1969. Simone has described her father as a "quiet" man who loved farming and metal working.⁵⁵⁵ Hélène lived until January 20, 1994. They are buried in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² Rolande married Albert Bazin, who farmed in the Lourdes area. They had five children: Rhéal ; Jean; Daniel; Normand; and Bertrand (1958-August 12, 2015). "Bertrand 'Bert' Paul Bazin," obituary, McKenzies Portage Funeral Chapel (www.mckenzieportagefuneralchapel.com/obits/obituary.php?id=655261).

⁵⁵³ Alixe Chanel married René Bosc on July 19, 1958, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. He was born January 1, 1937, in Lourdes and attended school there. He had a long career in education as a teacher and administrator in Lourdes. Alixe and René had three sons born in Lourdes: (1) *André* Bosc (September 6, 1959); he married Pauline Savoie (born December 7, 1962) on June 1, 1985, in Winnipeg; they have four children: René Bosc, born May 12, 1989; Daniel Bosc, August 15, 1990; Rachèle, January 31, 1992; Denis Bosc, April 30, 1995; (2) *Paul* Bosc (December 27, 1961); he married Julienne Brémaud (born June 30, 1961) on July 5, 1986, in Ste. Agathe, Manitoba; he became a teacher; they have three children, all born in Winnipeg: Jacinte Bosc, born August 2, 1987; Julien Bosc, January 4, 1991; Chanelle Bosc, March 10, 1993; (3) *Joel* Bosc (October 4, 1965); he married Lois Dusessoy (born June 30, 1961) on November 12, 1988, in Winnipeg; they have three children: Pierre Bosc, born November 2, 1992; Diane Bosc, October 18, 1994; Chantale Bosc, September 16, 1998). René Bosc died after a battle with cancer, at age 68, on March 18, 2005, in St. Boniface Hospital, Winnipeg. He is buried in Lourdes. "René Joseph Bosc," obituary (March 20, 2005; Passages.winnipegfreepress.com); Bosc, "Descendants."

⁵⁵⁴ Bosc, "Descendants."

⁵⁵⁵ Conversation with TGP, Newport, Oregon, June 29, 2011.

⁵⁵⁶ Pierre's birth date reported as November 8 in EC, Le Pertuis, 1893-1902, #32, p. 7, HLA. Pierre's birth date is November 20, 1892, in the 1901 Canada census and November 1893 in the 1911 census. He went with his brother Jean to work in Welland, Ontario, during World War I. Pierre married on October 25, 1922 (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca). In 1933, he took possession of Antoine's farmhouse and land at SW 34-6-9 and kept it until 1954, when the property went to his son Albert. The farmhouse was eventually torn down (DB to TGP, January 10, 2013). In 1944 Pierre also owned quarter-section SE 34-6-9 (Gaborieau, *Un siècle*). Pierre and Hélène had four children: Andrée (1924); Solange (1925); Albert (March 15, 1927-February 9, 2013; he married Simone Pelé October 20, 1951, and they had five children, including Rhéal Monchamp, born in 1959; *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 12, 2013); and Simone (December 12, 1937), who married William Tait (October 14, 1938-March 8, 2005); they had two children, Nicole (1968) and William (1972). A farmer, Pierre died in Lourdes on January 23, 1969. Simone left Lourdes when she was 17 years-old. She earned, in Winnipeg, a college degree in education.

The last three children of Antoine and Virginie were born in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, after the Monchamps had moved from France to Canada in 1895. Their sixth offspring was Léoncie Monchamp (September 22, 1896-August 9, 1988). She married Alphonse Badiou (April 28, 1895-December 30, 1958) in 1924 and Samuel St. Laurent (1903-1987) in 1966. Léoncie and Alphonse adopted a child.⁵⁵⁷

The seventh child was Noël Monchamp (December 24, 1898-November 6 or 7, 1977). He wed Germaine Monchalin (April 27, 1905-1993) on February 25, 1922, and they had one girl and two boys. In 1948 he married Armandine Lafreniere, who died in 1990.⁵⁵⁸

The last child of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon was Clémentine Monchamp (January 29, 1903-March 7, 1983). She married Louis Monchalin (April 29, 1903-October 12, 1948) in 1928. They had three children. Both Clémentine and Louis are buried in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ Léoncie's birth date in the 1901 Canada census is September 1, 1895, in the 1911 census September 1898, and in the 1916 census 1897. She married on April 22, 1924. Alphonse Badiou was born in France and emigrated to Manitoba in 1910 ("1916 Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta," www.ancestrylibrary.com). An October 21, 1918, military document indicates that he lived in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, was single, age 23 years and 6 months, and that his mother was Marie Badiou. He was drafted into the Canadian military (regimental number 3349197) as a "defaulter" after being "apprehended." He was 5 feet 9 inches tall with brown eyes and a "dark complexion" ("Particulars of Recruit Drafted Under Military Service Act, 1917," "Soldiers of the First World War—CEF," Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca). Léoncie and Alphonse adopted Jeannette. In June 1966, Léoncie remarried to Samuel. She died in Lourdes, August 9, 1988.

⁵⁵⁸ Noël's Lourdes-born children: Marguerite (July 22, 1923-May 25, 1990); Armand (April 21, 1927-April 3, 2004); and Yves (Steve) (February 27, 1931). Noël's birth date in the official Manitoba record (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca) and in the 1901 Canada census is December 24, 1898. But, in the 1911 census, it is December 1900 and in the 1916 census is 1900 (census data at ancestrylibrary.com). In 1921 he lived with his brother Pierre and sister Léoncie and was identified as a farmer, living on his father Antoine's land at SW 34-6-9. Noël next farmed SE 4-7-9. At some point in the 1930s, Germaine separated from Noël, taking Marguerite with her, leaving the two young boys with Noël. In 1938 he moved with his sons to Somerset, about 27 km or 17 miles from Lourdes. By 1940, Noël lived in St. Boniface (Winnipeg) and worked as a truck driver. By 1945, he labored as a carpenter. In 1948 he married the widow Armandine Lafreniere, his housekeeper. By 1962 he was "retired." In his later years he invested in real estate, buying houses, fixing them up, and selling them for profit while keeping some as rentals. Noël died in St. Boniface, Manitoba, November 6 or 7, 1977. His wife Armandine died in 1990, also in St. Boniface. Noël's son Armand Monchamp married Helena Gunter in 1952 (one child, Raymond, born 1955) and Dorothy Dumas in 1973. Armand worked for Manitoba Hydro, 1950-1991. Sources: Gaborieau, *Un siècle*, p. 469; Gilmore, "Descendants"; vitalstats.gov.mb.ca (1st marriage); ST to TGP, August 22, 2015; for 1940, 1945, and 1962: "Canada Voters Lists, 1935-1980," ancestrylibrary.com; "Armand Monchamp," www.obituariestoday.com (April 7, 2004); "Descendants of Noël Monchamp," by Darcey Monchamp (to TGP via ST).

⁵⁵⁹ Clémentine's birth date in the 1911 Canada census is July 1903 and her gravestone reads January 29, 1903. She married on November 28, 1928 (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca). The children of Clémentine and Louis: Eliette (1929); René (1933); and Noella (1934). Gilmore, "Descendants."

Schools and Education in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes

Here we return to the question of the education of the Monchamp children. We discussed Jean Monchamp's schooling in Le Pertuis (see above). After the Monchamps departed France in 1895 and their family expanded, did Antoine's and Virginie's children attend schools in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes? The answer can only be partially addressed, because, although records for Lourdes schools exist today in private hands, public archives, and museums, they are incomplete.

It did not take long for new immigrants in Lourdes in the 1890s to establish schools. The new settlers sought a better life for their family through education and a continuation of the educational experience some had started for their children in France. At the same time, the determined and insistent priest Dom Paul Benoît, a significant force behind the growth of Lourdes (see above), pushed to create several schools in Lourdes to advance his religious purpose.⁵⁶⁰

When Lourdes residents were launching their educational system in the 1890s, a political storm swirled around the "Manitoba School Question." Debate centered on the issues of protecting religious minorities (such as Roman Catholics), sustaining French culture and language in a predominantly English-speaking province, and denying public funds to religious schools. Compromise came in an 1897 Canadian law (based on the Laurier-Greenway Compromise): If a rural school, like those in Lourdes, enrolled 10 Catholic students, a Catholic teacher would be hired. And, if at least 10 pupils spoke a language other than English, such as French, instruction would be in that language and English. This "bilingual system" existed until 1916. Also, religious instruction was permitted but restricted to 3:30 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.

Although Lourdes schools became "public" or "national" under the jurisdiction of the Manitoba Department of Education in Winnipeg and received provincial government grants, the schools remained, in essence, Roman Catholic schools, because the country schools came under the stern influence of Dom Benoît. For example, he would give the sacraments to a teacher only if he or she agreed to submit to the authority of the church. His schools placed significant emphasis on the teaching of religion. Manitoba education officials chose to turn a blind eye to such practices and kept the public grant money flowing.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰ Lourdes schools are described in detail and illustrated with photographs in Manitoba Historical Society, "Historic Sites of Manitoba" (www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites) and in "Écoles francophone du Manitoba," *Recherches de Normand Boisvert*, Société historique de Saint-Boniface (shsb.mb.ca), vol. 2, "Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes" (PDF download).

⁵⁶¹ "Manitoba: Education" and "Manitoba Schools Question," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2012), www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca; "The Manitoba Schools Questions: 1890-1897," *Manitoba: Digital Resources*

The first school, the village school—*Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes School* No. 690 at SE 1-7-9—was established in May 1892. In 1895, three nuns of the Chanoinesses régulières des cinq plaies du Saviour (Sisters of the Five Wounds of the Savior) arrived to assume teaching responsibilities.⁵⁶² The school building was erected in 1897 on Lourdes’s main street. A fire destroyed the school in 1909, but a new, two-story, brick facility with a cross standing tall at the top soon replaced it.⁵⁶³

One-room “country schools” also opened. They enrolled students through the eighth grade. Pupils walked or rode wagons and sleighs from their farms to the school houses. Most of the buildings followed a standardized design and unembellished construction mandated by the Manitoba legislature: wood frame, gable roof, compact dimensions (as little as 20-by-24 feet), small covered porch at the entrance, three windows on the long walls of both sides, and a wood stove. Some schools might have a room attached at the back for the teacher’s living quarters. An outhouse served as a toilet. The need for better lighting was always an issue.⁵⁶⁴ Many teachers were female who worked on one-year contracts. Turnover was high among them because many quit after marrying.⁵⁶⁵

The first country school in Lourdes was *Carnot School* No. 854, at the southeast corner of quarter-section SE 15-7-9. This school originated in August 1895 and welcomed its first pupils (23 in them) in January 1896. An 1896 photograph of the new building shows a white, wood-covered building topped by a bell tower. The structure housed not only the classroom but also a small extension at the rear which may have been the teacher’s lodging space.⁵⁶⁶ The 1906 Carnot annual report recorded that the school had 195 “teaching days,” that the teacher was paid \$400, and that 21 of 34 “school children resident in the district” attended.⁵⁶⁷ In May 1949, the school was moved from the southeast corner to the southwest corner of SE 15-7-9. After it closed in 1960 the local farmer Albert Bazin purchased the building and converted it into a private residence.⁵⁶⁸ Some Carnot records are preserved in the Saint-Claude and Area Archives (in the town of Saint-Claude, a

on *Manitoba History*; Dupasquier, “Benoît, Paul.”

⁵⁶² Founded in 1856 in France, this religious group devoted itself to charitable work and the education of young people. W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Canada*, II (Toronto: University Associates, 1948), p. 33.

⁵⁶³ Photograph in Bibault and Cenerini, *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes*, p. 31.

⁵⁶⁴ David Butterfield, “Public School Buildings of Manitoba” (www.gov.mb.ca).

⁵⁶⁵ “A Virtual Schoolhouse” (www.collectionscanada.gc.ca).

⁵⁶⁶ Gaborieau, *Un siècle*, p. 58.

⁵⁶⁷ “1906 Annual Report of the School Trustees for...Carnot.” Copies from Albert Bazin and Denis Bibault, *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes*, 2015-2016.

⁵⁶⁸ Conversation with Albert Bazin, September 10, 2015, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes; DB to TGP, December 22, 2012.

short distance from Lourdes), and in the Musée de pionniers et des Chanoinesses of the Notre-Dame Historical Society.⁵⁶⁹

After Carnot, *Saint-Adélard School* No. 912, at SE 28-6-9 (mid-south), was founded in December 1897 and enrolled its first pupils in 1898. A new school building went up in 1918. Several Monchamp children enrolled at this school over the years (see below). My cousin Simone Monchamp Tait (born in 1937), the daughter of Pierre Monchamp, attended Saint-Adélard.

In May 1898, *Saint-Louis School* No. 964, at the northeast corner of NW 12-6-9, opened as an entirely French-speaking country school. In 1908 it enrolled 53 pupils, with Alfred Loiselle as their obviously overworked teacher. In 1919 the school burned and was rebuilt on the same site. The building again burned in 1933 and an altogether new structure was constructed on the southeast corner of SE 12-6-9. That year the town of nearby Cardinal created its own school district and drew a number of Saint-Louis students to Cardinal School No. 2239.⁵⁷⁰

Next, in May 1900, *Pinkerton School* No. 1074 was established at quarter-section SE 18-7-9. Being close to Treherne, this school's student population was about half-English and half-French. In 1964 Pinkerton closed. Some of its pupils transferred to Treherne and others to the Notre-Dames-de-Lourdes village school. Some Pinkerton records have been deposited in the Saint-Claude Archives.⁵⁷¹

In April 1913 another country school began operations—*Jeanne d'Arc School* No. 1673, at the southwest corner of SW 30-7-8. This school took its name from the French martyr Joan of Arc. My cousin Denis Bibault, born in 1940, attended Jeanne d'Arc in the 1950s.

The Lourdes village school and most of the country schools merged in 1960, becoming the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Consolidated School. The country-school buildings were abandoned, torn down, or moved over the years. Today, monuments in the form of metal signs or plaques appear at the school sites. In September 2015, I visited the grounds of Carnot, Pinkerton, and Jeanne d'Arc, when I toured Lourdes with my cousin Denis Bibault to identify the lands and schools of my Monchamp and Bibault ancestors.

⁵⁶⁹ Denise Mangin, Prairie Spirit School Division, to TGP, September 23, 2015; "Historic Sites of Manitoba: St. Claude and Area Archives" (www.mhs.mb.ca); Colette Lesage, Société historique de Lourdes, to TGP, October 25, 2015 (museeen@mymts.net).

⁵⁷⁰ "Écoles francophone du Manitoba," pp. 523-531; "Historic Sites of Manitoba."

⁵⁷¹ Mangin (Prairie...Division) to TGP, September 23, 2015.

Some Monchamp children enrolled in the Saint-Adélard School, which was the school closest to Antoine Monchamp's (and later his son's Pierre's) farm at SW 34-6-9, about a mile-and-a-quarter away from the school at SE 28-6-9.⁵⁷² This school opened in early 1898. Because at that time Jean (born in 1884) was 14 years-old, it is very unlikely that he attended school in Lourdes. Jean could read, write, and speak French because he had gone to the Le Pertuis school (see above). Boys of Jean's age usually left school to work on family farms.⁵⁷³ The 1901 Canada census notes that he was not attending a school that year, when he was about 17 years-old.⁵⁷⁴

Jean's sister Maria (born in 1886) may or may not have gone to school in Manitoba, but she was literate.⁵⁷⁵ Her sister Rosalie, born in 1891, did go to school in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. From a 1906 Saint-Adélard register preserved by Simone Tait we have learned that Rosalie (age 15) sat as a sixth grader, at least for the month of January.⁵⁷⁶ Because records on Lourdes schools are incomplete or missing, it is unclear if Rosalie continued her formal education after 1906. But, according to the 1916 Manitoba census, she could read and write in French.⁵⁷⁷ Her sister Rosa (1889) did not arrive in Lourdes until 1905 (see above). No available documents record her as a pupil in Saint-Adélard. The 1916 census, however, reported that Rosa could read and write in French. She no doubt acquired such skills when she lived in Haute-Loire (see above).⁵⁷⁸

Pierre Monchamp (born 1893) sat in the third grade of Saint-Adélard in 1906, eventually earning a sixth-grade education from the country school. He could read and write.⁵⁷⁹ That year, at Saint-Adélard, other Monchamp children also studied: Léoncie (born 1896) was in the third grade and Noël (born 1898) was in grade one. Four years later, in 1910, the last-born (1903) of the Monchamp children, Clémentine, attended the first grade and her brother Noël ranked as a second grader.⁵⁸⁰ Noël, records in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba reveal, went to Saint-Adélard for the years 1906-1913.⁵⁸¹ Like his sisters Clémentine and Léoncie,

⁵⁷² ST to TGP, January 8, 2016.

⁵⁷³ ST to TGP, January 19, 2016; DB to TGP, January 18, 2016.

⁵⁷⁴ 1901 Census of Canada (data2.collectionscanada.gc.ca/1901).

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶ Register, St. Adélard School, 1906 (ST provided copy to TGP, January 19, 2016).

⁵⁷⁷ "Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916" (www.bac-lac.gc.ca).

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁹ ST to TGP, January 19, 2016; 1906 Register.

⁵⁸⁰ Saint-Adélard Register for 1910 (copy to TGP from ST, January 19, 2016); "Census...1916."

⁵⁸¹ Normand Boisvert, "École Saint-Adélard No 912, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (Manitoba), 1898-1960): Élèves," based on Archives provinciales du Manitoba (registres d'école), copy in the Lourdes museum and sent to TGP by Colette Lasage, April 1, 2016.

he learned to read and write in French.⁵⁸² Their teacher may have been French-born François Legéat, who taught at the Saint-Adélarde and Carnot schools in the early twentieth century. An admiring short biography of this educator has described him as “a strict and demanding teacher who, nevertheless, had a big heart.”⁵⁸³

Saint-Adélarde’s school day was probably very similar to that of the Carnot School’s. Carnot records show that pupils studied mathematics, history, geography (aided by a map pinned to a wall), literature, reading, spelling, music, and language. In the category of “Moral Training,” teachers emphasized the ten commandments and “moral principles.” In “Religious Exercises,” the teacher and students read the Bible every day. They closed each day with prayer.⁵⁸⁴

Jean Monchamp (1884-1918), Rachel Bibault (1892-1937), and Their Three Children

The first child of Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon, Jean Clément Monchamp, was born at home in La Chomette at 2:00 A.M. on November 22, 1884. His given names are those of his grandfathers Jean Monchamp and Clément Ballon (see above). The new child’s father Antoine, a 26 year-old farmer, reported the birth to the Le Pertuis town hall on November 24, with the 60 year-old innkeeper Clément Ballon as a witness.⁵⁸⁵

At 10½ years-old and after some schooling in Le Pertuis (see above), Jean Monchamp, in early 1895, moved with his parents to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes and entered the life of a prairie farmer on his father’s acreage. It is very unlikely that he went to school in Canada (see above).

On November 27, 1907, 23 year-old Jean married 15½ year-old Rachel Bibault. Her grandfather Charles Bibault was one of the “pioneers” in Lourdes history, arriving with his family from the French department of Deux-Sèvres in early 1891.⁵⁸⁶ Rachel, my grandmother, was born May 31, 1892, in Lourdes. Her French-born father Théophile Bibault (1864-1932) owned a homestead at quarter-section NW 16-7-9, where Rachel was born. Her French-born mother was Eugénie

⁵⁸² “Census...1916.”

⁵⁸³ “The First Pensioner” (copy from DB to TGP, January 18, 2016).

⁵⁸⁴ Carnot School, “Annual Report of the Board of Trustees,” and “Public School Daily Register for the Year 1906” (from Paul Bazin, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes).

⁵⁸⁵ EC, Le Pertuis, 1883-1892, p. 26, #23, p. HLA (birth). Jean’s birth date in the 1901 Canada census is November 22, 1883, and in the 1906 census his age is 22. A military record reports November 22 (“Tables et registres matricules militaires,” Class of 1904, #1166, p. 252, HLA).

⁵⁸⁶ See Paterson, *You Must*, and Paterson, “Bibault Families.”

Malécot (1869-1918).⁵⁸⁷ According to Rachel's birth certificate, no doctor was present, but Dom Benoît was at the farmhouse.⁵⁸⁸

Rachel attended the one-room country school of Carnot No. 864 at SE 15-7-9 (see above), about a half-mile from the property on quarter-section SE 15-7-9 that her father Théophile bought in 1900 and held until 1915.⁵⁸⁹ His farm yard was side-by-side with the school's yard. Rachel probably first enrolled at Carnot in 1898, when she was six years-old. The Daily Registers for 1906 reveal that Rachel, at age 14, was the only student in the 7th grade. She had a perfect attendance record until the end of July of that year. She did not attend for the rest of the year and probably never returned.⁵⁹⁰

In several photographs, an attractive Rachel appears small-waisted and slender, her face sculpted with high cheeks. The mustachioed Jean's rugged good looks are evident in his medium but strong build. He appears to have been a short person (like his father) compared to other men in the pictures. In a surviving photograph, a handsome Jean grips the reins of a stallion he appears ready to ride.

The wedding ceremony unfolded in the Lourdes Roman Catholic Church, where Dom Benoît served as the "informant." Jean's sister Rosa Monchamp and Arthur Poirier served as witnesses.⁵⁹¹ The Bibaults, Monchamps, and friends probably next gathered to celebrate, as was customary, at the home of the bride's family—in this case Théophile Bibault's and Eugénie Malécot's two-story, wood-frame house most likely at SE 15-7-9.

The first farm of Rachel and Jean, which they bought in 1907, was located at quarter-section SE 19-7-9 (160 acres). In 1912 they purchased another quarter-section of 160 acres at SW 11-7-9.⁵⁹² In 1915 they sold SE 19-7-9.⁵⁹³ Not long after

⁵⁸⁷ For her life: *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ Vital Statistics Agency, Manitoba (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca).

⁵⁸⁹ Manitoba Historical Society, "Historic Sites of Manitoba: Carnot School No. 854"

(www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/carnotschool.shtml) gives the location as SE 15-7-8, whereas the report, "Écoles francophone du Manitoba," pp. 501-503, indicates SE 15-7-9. The "Annual Report of the School Trustees" for 1906 identifies the Carnot location as SE 15-7-9 (copy from Paul Bazin, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, 2015).

⁵⁹⁰ For the history of Carnot: DB to TGP, December 21, 22, 2012; 1906 Carnot School, "Annual Report of the Board of Trustees," and "Public School Daily Register for the Year 1906" (from Paul Bazin, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes); Conversation with Paul Bazin, September 10, 2015, in Lourdes.

⁵⁹¹ An Arthur Poirier appears in the 1906 Canada census as 26 years-old, but no occupation is indicated (Library and Archives Canada, "1906 Census of the Northwest Provinces," p. 16 (www.bac-lac.gc.ca). The marriage document spells "Monchamp" as "Mautchamp," and "Bibault" is rendered as "Bibeault." Basic marriage information recorded in municipality of South Norfolk (vitalstats.gov.mb.ca, #1907-002353). Marriage certificate No. 754, Form 10, received from Vital Statistics, Manitoba.

⁵⁹² Rachel and her second husband Auguste Fix (see below) may have sold SW 11-7-9 in the early 1920s.

⁵⁹³ Gaborieau, *Un siècle*.

the start of World War I, French military authorities declared Jean a draft dodger (“*insoumis*”) because he had not answered their draft notice.⁵⁹⁴ In 1915 or 1916, Jean took work in Welland, Ontario, in a wartime steel factory that produced ammunition (see below).

Jean and Rachel had three children, all born in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.⁵⁹⁵ We will sketch the lives of the first (Louis) and third (Jeanne) here, and the second, my mother Suzanne, in later sections. Rachel gave birth to their first child, Louis Antoine Monchamp, on February 1, 1909.⁵⁹⁶ Ten years later, Louis moved to Oregon City, Oregon, with his siblings, mother, and his new stepfather Auguste Fix (see below). Louis married Clare Augusta Lee (1915-1997) and had five children, all born in Oregon. He attended college and became a medical technician. Louis died October 29, 1965, in Tacoma, Washington, from complications associated with his chronic, painful disease of muscular dystrophy.

Jean and Rachel’s third child was Jeanne Clara Monchamp, born December 22, 1913.⁵⁹⁷ She, too, moved to Oregon in late 1919 from Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes and settled with her family in Oregon City. On July 2, 1936, Jeanne married a man of Scottish descent, William (Bill) David Anderson (born January 20, 1914). He worked for 43 years at the paper mill in West Linn, across the Willamette River from Oregon City, especially tending the newsprint machines. They had a son, David Daniel Anderson, on July 1, 1942. After retirement, Bill Anderson died on December 12, 1993, in West Linn after being hit by a car when he was taking a walk. Jeanne died January 11, 2005, in nearby Gladstone. Both are buried in the Mountain View Cemetery, Oregon City, Oregon.

A Child Grows Up in Lourdes, 1910-1919: Suzanne Monchamp

⁵⁹⁴ As a member of France’s “Class of 1904,” despite having already moved to Manitoba in 1895, Jean was drafted in 1904 into the French military with registration number 1166. At first, he received an exemption under Article 50 of the French civil code (1889), which stated that a person who moved to another country before the age of 19 was excused from military service *if* he filed a claim for dispensation to a “court of revision.” Jean most likely did not submit such a document. He was French-born, moreover, and France insisted, under Article 17, that a person liable to military service did not give up his French nationality by moving abroad, even if he became a naturalized citizen of another country. In 1912 he was exempted from military exercises because he lived abroad, outside Europe. But, on February 16, 1915, noting that Jean lived in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, and that he did not respond to the general mobilization of August 1914, French military officials declared him a draft dodger. Not until October 1930 did French authorities close his military record book. Jean Monchamp’s military questions are detailed in “Tables et registres matricules militaires,” Class of 1904, #1166, p. 252, HLA.

⁵⁹⁵ The lives of Jean Monchamp, his spouse Rachel Bibault, and their three children (Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne) are detailed in Paterson, *You Must* and Paterson, “Bibault Families.”

⁵⁹⁶ Their children: Jeanne (December 31, 1939); Kathi (July 22, 1943); Davy Lee (February 26, 1945); Terry Lee (November 1948; he died shortly after birth on November 6, 1948); and Vicki (August 6, 1951). For Louis and his family: Paterson, *You Must*, pp. 192-197.

⁵⁹⁷ Her and her family’s lives are detailed in Paterson, *You Must*, pp. 197-200.

The second child of Rachel Bibault and Jean Monchamp was my mother, Suzanne Virginie Monchamp, born June 10, 1910, in their farmhouse at SE 19-7-9. Suzanne's birth certificate lists "Lamont" as the "doctor in attendance" and Father Paul Benoît as "informant."⁵⁹⁸ Fifty-two year-old Thomas Lamont was born in Scotland and lived with his family in Treherne village.⁵⁹⁹ Suzanne was baptized at the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Church on June 26, 1910, by the colonizing priest Benoît himself.⁶⁰⁰ This baptism must have been one of his last duties, because his Catholic order's superiors in Rome had removed him as the Lourdes parish priest on March 28. They had grown critical of the strict Benoît's repeated questioning of their "modern errors."⁶⁰¹

A picture of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes in the year of Suzanne's birth shows the church as the prominent structure in the town, which has a dirt main street, what appears to be a plank walkway on one side, and several houses and perhaps storage buildings. Gardens occupy the flat, almost treeless village, while poles, perhaps for electricity, line the main street.⁶⁰²

From her 1910 birth to her departure for Oregon in 1919, Suzanne mostly lived on farms, those of her parents and her Monchamp and Bibault grandparents. The rhythms of her life were dictated by an agricultural environment, farm routines, and religious activities.⁶⁰³ Her parents' house, if typical of others in the region, was a small two-story, wood-frame structure with a wood stove, an ice box, a well, and perhaps a water pump. No doubt, like other farm women, Rachel milked the cows (if they had any), tended the vegetable garden and prepared its bounty for storage, made and mended clothing, ironed with heavy flatirons, baked batches of fresh bread, and helped make the farm function in countless other ways. Perhaps she also managed the farm accounts. Her garden yielded an impressive array of vegetables, some of which were stored in the cool cellar dug in the basement: potatoes, rhubarb (also used to make wine), pumpkin (for both soups and pies), onions,

⁵⁹⁸ Vital Statistics, Manitoba, Registration No. 1910-06-007530..

⁵⁹⁹ Library and Archives Canada, "1901 Census" (www.bac-lac.gc.ca).

⁶⁰⁰ "Extrait de baptême," Paroisse de Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, dated March 21, 1938.

⁶⁰¹ Benoît's words in Dupasquier, "Benoît." His religious order was Canons Regulars of the Immaculate Conception. He retired to Saint-Léon (22.8 km or 14 miles away from Lourdes) and then moved back to France, where he died in 1915. In 1925, his remains were transferred to Lourdes, where a memorial celebrates him.

⁶⁰² Photograph, "Notre Dame de Lourdes," Archives de la Société historique de Saint Boniface, www.shsb.mb.ca/paysriel/decouvertes/md303-notre_dame_lourdes/md303-contenu.html.

⁶⁰³ For farm life and food: "Women in the West," "Immigration and Settlement: 1870-1919," in "Manitoba Life and Times," <http://manitoba.ca/cocoon/launch/en/themes/ias/6>; DB to TGP, February 6, 2008; Mary Kinnear and Vera Fast, *Planting the Garden* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1987), p. xvi.; Rathwell, *Rathwell*, pp. 111-113, 351.

cabbage, turnips, and carrots. The summer garden also yielded tomatoes and beans. Planted fruit trees produced apples.

Wild plants supplied sweet strawberries and raspberries, as well as sour chokeberries. One can imagine young Suzanne and her siblings picking berries as she wandered here and there in fields, marshes, and woods. Her father no doubt hunted deer and ducks. Wild areas also provided some medicines. The buds of black poplar trees when cooked with pork fat made a soothing healing ointment. Wild strawberry leaves could be made into a medicinal liquid that treated childhood diseases.

Burr oak firewood was used for heating. Coal was not available locally. The steam engines used at times of harvest were powered by oak, too. The kitchen wood stove burned poplar and aspen, a quick source of heat, but of short duration. For relief from hot temperatures in the summer, house windows were thrown open, only to let in the black flies. Goopy stickers and poison plates trapped some. Plentiful mosquitoes also pestered farm folk.

The Monchamp and Bibault families gathered together on occasion, perhaps after Sunday services, for special religious events, for family celebrations, and for picnics, perhaps with foot races, tugs of war, and football (soccer).⁶⁰⁴ Some group pictures show the women wearing light-colored, high-collar blouses and dark skirts or full dresses and the men sporting white shirts, ties, and suits. Three 1910-1911 group photographs that have survived include baby Suzanne in her grandmother Eugénie Malécot's lap while other family members pose outside of Théophile Bibault's house; in Rachel's lap at a family gathering; and in her father Jean's arms at a family event.

The young Monchamp children felt the excitement of the harvest season that began in September, a time when family, neighbors, and friends helped one another. A 1907 photograph taken on the farm of Antoine Chabbert, for example, demonstrates this team effort of "BEES," who moved from one ripe crop to another, farm to farm.⁶⁰⁵ In the photograph, about 20 people, men, women, and children, stand beside several horses and before many wagons loaded with the

⁶⁰⁴ For social activities in rural Manitoba: Morton, *Manitoba*, pp. 261-262.

⁶⁰⁵ Antoine Chabbert (born 1856 in Saint Laurent d'Olt, Aveyron, France; died October 1, 1921) and his wife Émélie Delpueche Chabbert (born 1859; died July 10, 1940), both in the picture, migrated from France to Manitoba in 1891. He received a homestead (NO 10-7-9) in 1893. They had four children: Louis (b. 1886-d. 1970), Émile (b. 1888), Auguste (b. 1890-d. 1958), and Jean (b. 1893). All four children are in the photograph. Jean married Claire Bibault, sister of Rachel. For the Chabberts, see "Famille Chabbert," in Gaborieau, *Un siècle*, pp. 371-372; "1891 Census of Canada," www.ancestrylibrary.com; Paterson, "Bibault Families."

grain crop. Jean Monchamp is perched atop a machine. Oats and barley became animal feed. The wheat went to market. A steam engine used to drive a stationary thrashing or “treshing” machine sits prominently in the scene. Farmers and hired hands shaped and stacked sheaves for drying into a “stook.” Pulled by two horses, the wagons (“racks”) would then carry these sheaves to the machine for thrashing. The machine blew left-over straw into a pile in the farm yard near the barn—to be eaten by cattle and horses in the winter months. Someone else owned the equipment, rented it for a fee, and took it from farm to farm. These harvest days became “good times for banquet-style feasts and story-telling.”⁶⁰⁶

Suzanne recalled staying at both the Bibault and Monchamp farm houses, especially enjoying the apples the Bibault grandparents kept in the dirt cellar and gave to her as treats on Sundays. Her sister Jeanne fondly remembered apples placed on the steps and the jumping on her grandmother’s feather bed.⁶⁰⁷ Suzanne said that she fought “like cats and dogs” with her aunt “Gaby” (Gabrielle), the source of the trouble usually being jealousy over which child got the most attention from Théophile Bibault. Suzanne thought her grandfather Bibault “strict.”⁶⁰⁸ She called her other grandfather, Antoine Monchamp, a “jolly” man.⁶⁰⁹

The Bibaults and Monchamps attended the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes parish church that Dom Benoît had founded. They went to church on Sundays for confessions and mass. The church also held numerous celebrations throughout the year, with processions, decorations on buildings, and special masses. These festive events were times of both social intermixing and religious devotion.⁶¹⁰

Suzanne took her first communion in June 1916 at the Lourdes church, according to what she wrote on the back of a souvenir of that special occasion, a 5 x 3-inch card printed in Paris, France. Until her death in 2001 she treasured this card—a painting of a bare-foot Jesus, chalice in hand, gently offering a communion wafer to a kneeling woman in robes and head veil. Another, smaller souvenir card for her communion is a “Prayer for Peace” by Pope Benedict XV. World War I was then raging, and the Catholic pontiff, “dismayed by the horrors” of “this fearful scourge,” appeals to Jesus, “our last hope” to “bring men together once more in loving harmony.” This little card, with a painting of Jesus releasing a dove over a

⁶⁰⁶ DB to TGP, December 21, 2007.

⁶⁰⁷ Rick Anderson, “Family History Notes” (in his possession, Portland, Oregon).

⁶⁰⁸ Suzanne Paterson to TGP, April 2, 1989.

⁶⁰⁹ Suzanne Paterson, June 16, 1977, interview with TGP, Storrs, Connecticut.

⁶¹⁰ Religious, farm, and town life are documented with photographs in an exhibit at the Musée des Pionniers et Chanoinesses in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. The photographs appear on-line at the Virtual Museum of Canada Community Memories Program (www.virtualmuseum.ca).

ravaged battlefield, she also kept until her death and is now preserved in a family album. Suzanne practiced as a devout Catholic.

Suzanne recalled that in the winter she sometimes accompanied her brother Louis to and from school over deep snow in a horse-drawn sleigh. Heated bricks and blankets helped fight off the cold. She remembered that subjects were taught in both English and French.⁶¹¹ All we know for sure about her Lourdes education is that Suzanne for a short time in 1916 attended the same school her mother did—Carnot (see below). Had Suzanne remained in Lourdes after her parents sold their quarter section at SE 18-7-9 in 1915 and had the family not moved to Welland, Ontario (see below) in 1915-1916, we can speculate that Suzanne would have gone to the Pinkerton School, less than a mile from that farm.⁶¹² Or, she may have lived in that period in Lourdes at Jean's and Rachel's other farm, at SW 11-7-9, which they bought in 1912 and which may or may not have had a house. If she resided at that property, she might have gone to the Carnot School, only a half-mile from that farm. No Carnot records for 1915 have been located in the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes museum. What is certain is that the Monchamps had moved to Welland by June 1916, because Jean, Rachel, Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne do not appear in the 1916 Manitoba census, whose collectors began to record data on June 1.⁶¹³

Records for the 1916-1917 school year, however, reveal that Suzanne Monchamp, age of 6, attended Carnot in the 1st grade—but for only two weeks in October of 1916. François Legeat was the teacher, and he earned a salary of \$780.00. Twenty-two pupils occupied the one-room school, including her aunts Claire Bibault (6nd grade, age 14), whose October attendance was nearly perfect, and Gabrielle Bibault (2nd grade, age 9), who missed half of her classes that month. For reasons yet unknown, Louis Monchamp did not sit with them at Carnot at that time. He might have been in Welland then. Registers for the years 1916-1919 do not record Suzanne's attendance at Carnot School except for that two-week period.⁶¹⁴ Maybe she was only on a two-week visit to Lourdes from Welland, Ontario, where she *was* going to school (see below).

The Monchamp Family in Wartime Welland, Ontario, 1915/1916-1918

⁶¹¹ Suzanne 1977 interview.

⁶¹² Pinkerton School records for the years 1912-1919 do not include Suzanne Monchamp's name. Suzanne Hird, Town of Treherne, to TGP, September 22, 2015.

⁶¹³ "1916 Census of the Prairie Provinces" (www.bac-lac.gc.ca).

⁶¹⁴ "Public School Daily Register...1916-1917," and "Annual Report for the Year Ending July 15, 1917," both Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Museum; Colette Lesage (Société historique de Lourdes) to TGP, October 26, 2015.

The years 1915-1919 became very unsettling for the three Monchamp children. First, Jean and Rachel sold one of their quarters (SE 19-7-9) in 1915 to Pierre Joseph and Victor Erkins (or Erkens). Perhaps Jean, Rachel, and their children then moved for a time to their other land at SW 11-7-9, stayed with their Monchamp or Bibault parents, or moved to Welland, Ontario (see below). In the 1916 Canada census, conducted in June 1916, Jean, Rachel, and the children did not appear in any household in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.

In 1915 or 1916, Jean went to the industrial city of Welland to work. His brother Pierre joined him for a time. Important to the war effort and home to the Welland Canal, the city sat about midway between Lakes Ontario and Erie. Wages ranked high during World War I, because Welland coveted laborers who could man its busy steel and munitions plants.⁶¹⁵ Jean Monchamp became an overhead crane operator, probably at the Page-Hersey steel mill. He worked seven days a week. Such employment in a strategic war industry exempted him from Canadian military service. Page-Hersey, located next to the Third Welland Canal, produced six-inch ammunition shells. Suzanne recalled that ammunition was what Jean's plant produced.⁶¹⁶

Suzanne mostly had good memories of Welland. Although Rachel and the three children may not have joined Jean immediately in Welland, they eventually did. They made several trips back-and-forth between Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes and Welland. In Welland they likely rented a small company-owned house located in row-after-row of different colored boxes, as Suzanne described them.⁶¹⁷

On Sundays she went to a Catholic church, St. Andrew.⁶¹⁸ She helped nuns prepare wafers, and she took catechism. She enjoyed her first communion there on August 11, 1918, when she received a "Souvenir de ma première communion," a small, 283-page book of prayers titled *The Catholic's Pocket Manual or Guide to Salvation*. Suzanne saved this remembrance for the rest of her life.⁶¹⁹ More, in her

⁶¹⁵ "1914-1918: Effects of World War I on the Canadian Economy," www.canadianeconomy.gc.ca.

⁶¹⁶ The Welland Public Library website lists Page-Hersey as the only steel mill that produced ammunition ("History of Industry," www.welland.library.on.ca); Suzanne 1977 interview.

⁶¹⁷ These houses may have been the "Cortage homes" built by Plymouth Cordage Company for its employees. The houses were sold to Page-Hersey, which moved them to Sixth and Seventh Streets with the intent to sell them to their workers. There is no evidence extant that Jean Monchamp bought a house. "Italians," "Ethnic History of Welland," www.welland.library.on.ca/industry/Ethnic.

⁶¹⁸ In 1926, St. Andrew was renamed St. Mary's. In 1939, during a trip east, Suzanne visited Welland. A photograph shows her standing on the steps of a brick church which matches the architecture of St. Mary's today. Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Catharine's, "St. Mary's, Welland, Celebrates 75th Anniversary," *Vineyard*, December 17, 2001, www.romancatholic.niagara.on.ca; *Evening Tribune* (Welland), May 21, 1960; Nora Reid (Welland Historical Museum) to TGP, January 8, 2008.

⁶¹⁹ Published in Lodnon, Canada, by *The Catholic Record*, in 1915.

surviving family collection are at least two dozen holy cards with images of Jesus and saints. These “souvenirs,” some given by nuns for good school or church work, reminded the children who carried them of the need for sacrifice and prayer. The colored cards and carry brief sayings, some in French and some in English. One 1916 card of a young Jesus with a halo was inscribed “a ma Chere petite Suzanne” by Tante (Aunt) Léoncie, her father’s sister. Another card, tattered from considerable handling, depicted Mary with a lamb; it is signed “Souvenir of Mother Mary Martha” for “Suzy Monchamp.”

Suzanne recollected an unpleasant stay at a Catholic “orphanage” in Welland. Her mother took Louis and Jeanne for a time to the Bibault farm in Lourdes and placed Suzanne in the facility. In a 1977 interview, Suzanne’s recalled that her father would come to visit the orphanage with a bag of oranges in hand—one for her and the rest for the nuns. Once he brought her a gift of a green wool scarf, which she treasured for decades. She slept in a room with several other children. Often served red cabbage for a meal, she came to dislike the vegetable intensely, especially after she found a worm in one serving.⁶²⁰

In Welland, Suzanne and her brother Louis probably attended Central Public School, which opened in 1912. A large, two-storied, brick building with a grand arched entrance, the school housed eight classrooms that could accommodate 40 pupils each.⁶²¹ The size, look, and experience contrasted dramatically with the small, one-room schools in Lourdes.

Before her father headed to work, she often sat with him for a breakfast of mush (cornmeal boiled in water to make a porridge). When not in school, at noon, she carried her “daddy’s” lunch box toward the steel mill, meeting him half way. She sat on his lap in the evening as he read the newspaper. In a 1918 photograph of Suzanne, Louis, and Jeanne in Welland, Louis is outfitted in a military uniform, typical for children in wartime. The girls are clad elegantly in white dresses and shoes, with bows in their hair and wide ribbons wrapped around their waists.

The Death of Jean Monchamp in the Flu Pandemic (1918) and Rachel’s Remarriage (1919)

⁶²⁰ Despite research, the location of this facility remains a mystery, although, according to one Welland source, “there was a place run by nuns at one time on Aqueduct Street.” Church Secretary, St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Welland, to TGP, January 15, 2008; Suzanne interview, 1977.

⁶²¹ Photographs of the building provided by the Welland Public Library. A surviving photograph of Louis’s 4th grade class may have been taken at this school. The description of the school is drawn from “Welland’s New Public School,” *Welland Telegraph*, August 13, 1912 (events.wellandhistory.ca).

Suzanne's mostly pleasant life in Welland, Ontario, ended abruptly in late October 1918. Her father Jean suddenly became sick and went to the hospital, where Dr. W.K. Colbeck attended him. Word of Jean's illness reached the Monchamps and Bibaults in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, where Suzanne was visiting her grandparents with her mother. Rachel hurriedly departed for Ontario, but by the time she arrived in Welland, Jean had expired in the hospital. Jean died from pneumonia after contracting the Spanish influenza virus, which may have originated in China and spread across the globe, including war-ravaged Europe. Troops returning from the Great War were likely carriers of the virus.⁶²²

When young Suzy heard the news, she was devastated. She had been "very close" to her father, whom she described as "wonderful" with a "good disposition," seldom getting mad or scolding.⁶²³

Jean Clément Monchamp's gravestone in Manitoba presents his death day as October 21, but the Ontario death document reports that this "laborer" died October 24.⁶²⁴ His gravestone gives his age as 35 years, but the death record reads 33. With a birth date of November 22, 1884, he was actually just about a month short of his 34th birthday.

The flu pandemic of 1918 ranks as the most catastrophic disease outbreak in recorded history. The virulent flu eventually infected one-fifth of the world's population and claimed some 50 million dead worldwide. It killed more people than World War I. Canada and the United States, especially in the fall of 1918, did not escape from the catastrophe. With a 1918 population of six million, Canada witnessed 50,000 perish in the pandemic, and at least 675,000 died in the United States. Whereas most flu viruses assault infants and the elderly, this serial killer largely attacked healthy young adults between the ages of 20 and 40.

Like people stricken everywhere, Jean Monchamp no doubt suffered a horrible death. Many people endured a mild flu, with cough, stuffy nose, and aching joints and muscle, and they recovered in a week, as Suzanne and Louis did. A good

⁶²²Studies of the pandemic: Dan Vergano of *National Geographic*, "1918 Flu Pandemic That Killed 50 Million Originated in China, Historians Say," January 24, 2014 (news.nationalgeographic.com); "Influenza" (www.the.canadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/influenza); Molly Billings, "The Influenza Pandemic of 1918" (February 2005; <https://stanford.edu/uda>); Margaret Munro, "Researchers Bring 1918 Flu Virus Back to Life," www.canada.com; "Influenza 1918," www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza/peopleevents; "Tragedy on the Home Front," Library and Archives of Canada, www.collectionscanada.ca/education/firstworldwar; CBC News Online, "1918 Flu Epidemic," www.cbc.ca/news/background/flu/fluepidemic.

⁶²³ Suzanne 1977 interview.

⁶²⁴ "City of Welland Deaths," p. 383, "Ontario, Canada Deaths, 1869-1934," ancestrylibrary.com. The death record names him "John." Photograph of gravestone in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.

number of the afflicted developed pneumonia, and many, like Jean, perished from the combination. People in essence choked to death with pulmonary edema. Lungs filled with blood, foam, and mucous. In great pain, victims gasped for breath, feeling as if they were drowning. Faces turned grey and puffy. Without therapeutic drugs, doctors and nurses could only prescribe rest and drink, such as a glass of warm milk, ginger, and soda.

Rachel accompanied Jean's body by train back to Lourdes. He was placed in a coffin and buried quickly in the churchyard with only a graveside service. Rachel returned to Welland to close out the rented house. Contemporary photographs of the family in black mourning dress reveal a saddened but stoic Rachel. Jean's children appear resigned and forlorn, with looks of uncertainty and anticipation.

Another tragedy soon struck after Jean's death. On November 10, Suzanne's grandmother Eugène Malécot Bibault, Rachel's mother, died at the age of 49 at her "abode" on quarter SE 2-7-9. The death certificate cites the same cause as that for Jean: "Pneumonia following an attack of Spanish influenza." Eight-year-old Suzanne was near Eugène's bedside that morning at 8:00 A.M.⁶²⁵ Eugène is buried next to her son-in-law Jean Monchamp in the Lourdes church cemetery.

Reeling from the death of her husband and her mother within a very short span, Rachel felt the need to remarry. She was following French tradition, wherein a young, widowed woman with children customarily remarried not long after the death of a spouse. Suzanne recalled that Rachel told her that Jean had left Rachel the sizeable sum of \$8,000 (a figure which may or may not have included the value of the quarter of land). Still, Rachel had three children to raise, a household to maintain, and property to manage.⁶²⁶

Rachel selected for her mate, Auguste Fix, whom she had come to know as a worker on her father Théophile's farm at NW 16-7-9. Auguste was identified in the 1916 census as a 29 year-old "servant" and "cultivateur" living in Théophile's household.⁶²⁷ Auguste was born March 3 or 4, 1887, in the town of Grendelbruch in the Alsace region of northeastern France, department of Bas-Rhin.⁶²⁸ In December 1916, a "laborer" and single, Auguste traveled from Lourdes to San

⁶²⁵ Province of Manitoba, "Medical Certificate of Death," November 12, 1918, Vital Statistics of Manitoba (copy in album with "Official Notice of Death"). The Manitoba newspaper *La Liberté* reported her death on November 13, 1918 (<http://manitoba.ca/cocoon/launch/newspapers/LLT/1918>; copy in album); Suzanne 1977 interview.

⁶²⁶ Suzanne 1977 interview.

⁶²⁷ The census was conducted in June. Claire and Gabrielle are also listed. Fix's name is spelled "Tisce" and Bibault is spelled "Bebsault" ("1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta," ancestrylibrary.com). Height is reported in "U.S. Border Crossings from Canada to U.S., 1895-1956," for Auguste's 1916 trip to the United States (ancestrylibrary.com).

Francisco, California, via Vancouver, British Columbia. He declared that he was carrying the good-sized sum of \$1,000 in cash “in his possession,” which suggests that he intended to stay or was scouting property to buy.⁶²⁹ Perhaps in this trip he also journeyed to Oregon City, Oregon, where resided Jack and Marie Charriere, whose family had long lived in Lourdes.⁶³⁰ Auguste did not speak English, but he did speak French.⁶³¹ Auguste did not remain in the United States, however. He returned to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes to continue working on Théophile’s farm.

On October 25, 1919, 32 year-old Auguste Fix and 27 year-old Rachel Bibault (“widow of Jean Monchamp”) married in the elegant Romanesque-style Cathédrale-de-Saint-Boniface, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba. In a beautiful setting, the Red River separates St. Boniface from Winnipeg, of which Saint-Boniface is now a part. The church is known as the mother church of Western Canada. The cathedral, the fifth at the site, was dedicated in 1906. Fire destroyed it in 1968, but the ornate façade of the old church, with its three round arches and stone walls still stands today, as I observed in a visit in early September 2015.⁶³² On the church marriage record, Rachel is identified as “Veuve [Widow] de Jean Monchamp.” She signed her name as “Rachel Fix (Bibault).”⁶³³

No group photographs of the wedding party have been located. But, Suzanne kept in her files until her death two formal pictures of the couple Rachel and Auguste. Mustachioed, blue-eyed, wavy-brown-haired, standing 5 feet, 7½ inches tall, weighing about 165 pounds, and of “dark” or “ruddy” complexion, Auguste is dressed in a vested suit with white tie and shirt.⁶³⁴ Bespeckled Rachel, several inches shorter than him, is wearing an ankle-length satin skirt topped by a matching tunic with extensive embroidery. A white lace-enhanced bib, collar, and cuffs complete her attire. She holds a cloth purse.

⁶²⁸ Auguste’s father was Charles Fix (born September 25, 1837, in the department of Lorraine) and his mother was Reine (?) Prevôt, both of Moyennmoutier, France (Déclarations de Citoyenneté, Alsace-Lorraine, 1872, Collection des Optants, ancestrylibrary.com). Auguste’s birth records report March 4 (Grendelbruch, TD, 1883-1892, Department of Bas-Rhin Archives, <http://archives.cg67.fr/>). His 1935 U.S. “Declaration of Intention” and 1942 Draft Registration Card indicate March 3. “Declaration of Intention,” No. 17400, November 27, 1935, “Selected U.S. Naturalization Records—Original Documents, 1790-1974, ancestrylibrary.com; Serial Number 102, “U.S. World War II Draft Registration Cards, 1942,” ancestrylibrary.com.

⁶²⁹ “Border Crossings: From Canada to U.S., 1895-1956,” ancestrylibrary.com.

⁶³⁰ They were of Swiss origin. DB to TGP, April 12, 2012.

⁶³¹ “1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta,” ancestrylibrary.com.

⁶³² “Mother Church of Western Canada,” History and Tourism, Saint-Boniface Cathedral”

(www.cathedralesboniface.ca); “St. Boniface Cathedral,” Canada’s Historic Places (www.historicplaces.ca).

⁶³³ Marriage record, M. 52 (“Auguste Fix et Rachel Bibault, Veuve de Jean Monchamp”), Paroisse Cathédrale, St. Boniface (copy provided by Pascale Dalcq, April 2012). Also, there is a brief entry in the church register (Julie Reid, Centre du patrimoine of the Société historique de Saint-Boniface to TGP, April 10,12, 2012).

⁶³⁴ Physical features and appearance in “Declaration of Intention,” 1921 and 1935; “U.S. Border Crossings, 1895-1956” (for 1916 trip; ancestrylibrary.com); and photographs in possession of Thomas G. Paterson.

The Auguste-Rachel betrothal was one part of a major family transformation. Rachel was getting a new husband. Her Monchamp children Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne had a stepfather they barely knew and soon came to dislike. And, all of them were about to depart for Oregon to live. Rachel's father Théophile, having lost his spouse to the flu pandemic, and his daughter Gabrielle (age 12) were preparing to leave for Deux-Sèvres, France, to reside there permanently.

At that wrenching time, Antoine Monchamp and Virginie Ballon must have suffered aching grief. They had to bury a young son after a tragic death—a hardworking, responsible, family man whose future looked bright. They had to wave farewell to three young grandchildren, Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne, wondering if they would ever see them again. (They did not.) But, Antoine never forgot his son or his grandchildren. Twenty years after Jean's death, Antoine left a part of his estate to Jean's offspring (see above).⁶³⁵

Relocation to Oregon City (1919) and Suzanne's American Life

Auguste (who dropped the “e” in his name), Rachel, Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne departed Winnipeg in late November or early December 1919 on a Canadian Pacific Railway train. In Winnipeg, the family probably paid their “head tax,” or immigration fee, and received the “Alien Certificates” required to enter the United States from foreign contiguous territory.⁶³⁶ Pulled by a steam locomotive, the Fixes crossed Canada to Vancouver, British Columbia. Perhaps they rode in a Pullman sleeper-diner car or in one of the so-called “emigrant sleepers,” which had cushioned seats, tables, and fold-down bunk beds.⁶³⁷ They steamed through Regina, Saskatchewan, and into Calgary, Alberta.

The train slowed as it chugged into the Canadian Rockies and through the steeply graded, and nearly a mile high, Kicking Horse Pass near Alberta's Lake Louise. At that point the train had carried them more than 960 miles. The travelers looked out from their passenger coach at beautiful, wind-swept, bitterly cold, snow-covered mountains. The Fixes moved slowly through several tunnels. They crossed bridges over Kicking Horse River and gradually worked their way down the mountainous

⁶³⁵ Antoine gave \$200 to each of Jean's children.

⁶³⁶ These certificates were handwritten on U.S. Immigration Bureau forms. “Certificates of Head Tax Paid by Aliens Arriving at Seattle from Foreign Contiguous Territory, 1917-1924” are located on microfilm at The National Archives, Washington, D.C. (www.archives.gov/genealogy).

⁶³⁷ Don White, Jr., *The American Railroad Passenger Car* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

slopes. After entering British Columbia, the train traversed Glacier National Park, dominated by ice flows and high peaks.⁶³⁸

The CPR train likely ended at Vancouver's Pier D, where the weary family boarded the CPR-owned *Princess Victoria*, a three-funnel steamer with a capacity of 1,152 passengers.⁶³⁹ That vessel carried them to Pier A in Seattle, Washington, where they disembarked on December 8 or 11.⁶⁴⁰ The Fixes surrendered their certificates to an immigration official in Seattle and probably submitted to the physical examination required for entry.

Next, the five headed on a train south (Great Northern, Union Pacific, or Northern Pacific) to Portland, Oregon. In Portland, they changed trains to a Southern Pacific "Red Electric" or to a local interurban electric service (Portland Traction Company or Oregon Electric). Their destination was Oregon City, about 15 miles from Portland.⁶⁴¹ With a population of 5,686, the city sat at the confluence of the Willamette and Clackamas Rivers, where timber and wood products industries flourished. As the crow flies, Winnipeg to Oregon City is a distance of 1,220 miles, but the Fixes surely traveled at least 1,500 miles by train before their journey ended and nine year-old "Susie Fix" became a resident of the United States, just before Christmas of 1919.⁶⁴²

Suzanne remembered in detail her arrival in Oregon City. Severe weather of extreme cold (in Fahrenheit, the teens and lower) and deep snow had just hammered Oregon. The worst snowstorm hit on December 10, when Portland recorded 17.5 inches.⁶⁴³ Suzanne recalled that when they disembarked from the

⁶³⁸ W. Kaye Lamb, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: Macmillan, 1977); Freeman Hubbard, *Encyclopedia of North American Railroading* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1981), p. 55; Pierre Berton, *The Impossible Railway: The Building of the Canadian Railway* (New York: Knopf, 1972), p. 467.

⁶³⁹ "Border Crossings: From Canada to U.S., 1895-1956" (ancestrylibrary.com). Photograph of Vancouver's Pier D: www.theshipslist.com/pictures/vancouver.htm. Photograph and description at "Canadian Pacific Railway Steamer *Princess Victoria*," Transportation Photographs, Digital Collections, University of Washington Libraries (<http://content.lib.washington.edu>).

⁶⁴⁰ For the Fixes, the notation "Month of Dec. 24th" appears on the Canadian list of "Alien Passengers Applying for Admission to the United States from Foreign Contiguous Territories." But, that date may be the day a monthly summary was compiled. Seattle is the arrival port "on or about" December 11, 1919, on August Fix's "Declaration of Intention," Case #0870, May 6, 1921, Intention/Naturalization, Oregon State Archives (<http://genealogy.state.or.us>). December 8 appears on his "Declaration of Intention," November 27, 1935," Selected U.S. Naturalization Records—Original Documents, 1790-1974," ancestrylibrary.com.

⁶⁴¹ For possible routes from Seattle to Oregon City: Gary Tarbox of the Northern Pacific Railroad History Association (nprhresarch@hotmail.com), Tarbox to TGP, January 11, 2008; and Hilding Larson of the Union Pacific History Society to TGP, January 10, 2008.

⁶⁴² She is "Susie Fix" on the immigration record: "Border Crossings: From Canada to U.S., 1895-1956" (ancestrylibrary.com).

⁶⁴³ Weather in December 1919: National Weather Service, www.wrh.noaa.gov/pqr/pastsnowstorms/snow/php. Also www.oregonphotos.com/Portland%20Cold.html and www.salemhistory.net/natural_history/weather_records.htm.

train the snow was stacked high around them.⁶⁴⁴ They walked from the Southern Pacific station to the nearby municipal elevator on Seventh Street. For free, and in just about three minutes, the elevator lifted people 90 feet from the lower (river) level of the city to the “bluff” or “hilltop” residential area. The elevator car ran on water power. Opening a valve connected to the city water system sent the car up, and when the valve closed, the elevator dropped. When Suzanne first visited Oregon City, however, the elevator was not working because of the frigid weather. So, the five travelers, weighed down by luggage, trudged up the steep wooden stairs to the bluff. “Friends” picked them up and brought them to their home, where they stayed for a time.⁶⁴⁵

The “friends” were the Charriere family. The 1919 “Alien Passengers” list notes that the destination of the Fix family was “Marie Charriere” of Oregon City. That is, Mary Charriere (April 30, 1893-September 17, 1966), Canada-born of Swiss parents, and her husband Jack (Irénée) Charriere (1887-1949), Swiss-born, and a paper mill worker.⁶⁴⁶ Their son Gabriel (born in 1914), lived with them on 16th Street.⁶⁴⁷ His parents had left Lourdes for Oregon City in 1906. Mary’s maiden name was Dupasquier; members of that family also lived in Oregon City.⁶⁴⁸ Mary was just a year younger than Rachel and surely she knew Rachel in Lourdes. Mary may have encouraged Rachel to move to Oregon.⁶⁴⁹ We can speculate further that during his 1916 trip to the United States, Auguste stopped in Oregon to visit with members of the Charriere, and perhaps Dupasquier, families. He would have had acquaintance with some of them in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes.

On January 2, 1920, soon after the Fix family arrived in Oregon City, the U.S. Census collected data. August Fix reported French as his mother tongue. The enumerator wrote “No” for him in the column asking whether the person was able to speak English. Rachel, Louis, Suzanne, and Jeanne all received a “Yes” in that category.⁶⁵⁰ August also told the census taker that he was a farmer who owned his own farm. In fact, at that time, he and Rachel were in the process of buying land. On January 15, 1920, they purchased 25.5 acres in Oregon City.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁴ Suzanne 1977 interview.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁶ “Oregon Death Index,” ancestrylibrary.com; “Social Security Death Index,” ancestrylibrary.com.

⁶⁴⁷ “United States Census, 1920,” familysearch.org.

⁶⁴⁸ “United States Census, 1940,” familysearch.org.

⁶⁴⁹ DB to TGP, April 12, 2012.

⁶⁵⁰ “U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1920 Census” (www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.htm). The 1930 census reported that August could speak English (www.ancestrylibrary.com).

⁶⁵¹ The cost was 10 dollars on the notarized document (Land Records, Book 159, pp. 634-635, recorded September 21, 1920, Clackamas County Clerk’s Recording Office, Oregon City). “By state law, something had to be written in the space for selling price, any amount...[T]he parties might not have wished the exact amount to be known.” (Judy Chambers, Clackamas County Family History Society, April 17, 2008, to TGP).

On March 18, 1921, Rachel, age 28, was admitted to the hospital for the birth of Raymond Fix. The baby boy came home, but, on March 20, he died.⁶⁵² The *Oregon City Enterprise* reported two days later: “Raymond Fix, two days’ old son of Mr. and Mrs. August Fix, died at the family residence at 121 Jefferson Street Sunday morning. A brief funeral service was held at the funeral chapel of Brady & DeMoss on Monday morning. Interment was in the Catholic cemetery.” Where Raymond is buried remains a mystery.⁶⁵³

For Suzanne, coming after the death of her father, the remarriage of her mother, taking on a stepfather she did not like, separating from her grandparents and other family members in Lourdes, an arduous trip from Manitoba to Oregon, and starting over in an unfamiliar environment and new school where only English was spoken, Raymond’s death became yet another unsettling experience in her young life. She never mentioned to her daughter Shirley and her son Thomas that she had had a baby brother.

As for August Fix, he was a “laborer” in May 1921.⁶⁵⁴ He and Rachel still owned more than 25 acres. But they lived in the city. August may not only have farmed his acreage but also worked elsewhere for wages. In early 1923, August and Rachel Fix bought a farm on Warner Parrott Road in Mt. Pleasant, a part of Oregon City. To pay for this property of about five acres they sold some of their land. And, some purchase funds also could have derived from the 1922 sale of the quarter-section that Rachel owned in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. Rachel’s sale of the Lourdes quarter may have earned the Fixes between four and five thousand dollars.⁶⁵⁵ The Fix family became poultry farmers, producing large quantities of eggs and chickens. Suzanne worked on the farm.

Suzanne attended Catholic and public schools in Oregon City.⁶⁵⁶ She did not complete high school because of her need to earn wages, including pay for house cleaning. She considered her stepfather abusive and, after her mother Rachel died

⁶⁵² Hospital certificate #60. Stan Clarke, “August Fix Family Research,” January 26, 2008, to TGP.

⁶⁵³ St. John the Apostle Cemetery in Oregon City has no listing of a burial for Raymond, and no marker exists there.

⁶⁵⁴ August Fix’s “Declaration of Intention,” Case #0870, 1921, Record Type: Intention/Naturalization, Oregon State Archives, <http://genealogy.state.or.us/detail.php?id=557432>.

⁶⁵⁵ Emmanuel Bibault paid \$4,400 for a quarter in 1919, for example. DB to TGP, January 26, 2008.

⁶⁵⁶ The lives of Suzanne and Thomas and their children are covered at length in Paterson, *You Must*. Shirley married Billy Gilmore (born February 18, 1933) in 1957 and they had three children: Billy Graham Gilmore (1958-1958); Jeanne Suzanne Gilmore (1960); and Michael Thomas Gilmore (1961). Tom married Elizabeth Cain (born 1941) in 1958 and they had three children: Thomas Graham Paterson, Jr. (1959); Rebecca Virginia Paterson (1960); and Stephan William Cain Paterson (1968). In 1975, Tom married Holly Izard (born 1951) and they had two children: Aaron Matthew Paterson (1979) and Colin Graham Paterson (1981).

in 1937, Suzanne seldom saw him. On November 2, 1934, she married the talented millwright, carpenter, and musician Thomas Paterson, Jr. (March 24, 1909-May 1, 1997), in Oregon City. “Tommy’s” parents Thomas Paterson (1883-1965) and Catherine Graham (1882-1945) were born in Scotland, immigrated to Canada and to Oregon in the early part of the century, and lived in Gladstone, adjacent to Oregon City.

When my parents resided in Gladstone, and my father worked as a carpenter in the Crown-Zellerbach paper mill in nearby West Linn, my mother gave birth to two children in Oregon City: Shirley Jeanne Paterson (May 9, 1936) and Thomas Graham Paterson (Tom) (March 4, 1941). We became part of the lively Scottish community in the Portland area. We had little or no contact with the French community in the area, although we interacted a great deal with the families of Suzanne’s Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes-born siblings Louis Monchamp and Jeanne Monchamp Anderson. Also, over the years, my mother corresponded by mail with Monchamps who remained in Manitoba, including her aunt Léoncie.

Rachel Bibault Monchamp Fix died of breast cancer in Oregon City on December 6, 1937. She was only 45 years-old. She is buried in St. John the Apostle Cemetery, Oregon City.⁶⁵⁷ August soon remarried on November 24, 1938, to Marie Rosset, another member of the francophone community in the Oregon City area.⁶⁵⁸ He died August 20, 1969.⁶⁵⁹

Sue and Tommy lived and worked over the years in Oregon, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Alabama, and California. On August 24, 1960, Suzanne proudly received a “Certificate of Citizenship.” August’s becoming a naturalized citizen in 1939-1940 apparently having had no effect on Suzanne’s citizenship status.⁶⁶⁰ Until 1960 she had to register each year as an “alien.”⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ Block 5, Lot 40, #B (www.interment.net/data/us/or/clackamas/stjohnapostle/stjohn). Rachel’s story in Thomas G. Paterson, “August(e) Fix and Rachel Bibault Monchamp Fix” (2012) and Paterson, *You Must*.

⁶⁵⁸ The *Oregon City Enterprise* of November 25, 1938, reported on the wedding. It seems unlikely that Rachel’s three children (Louis, my mother Suzanne, and Jeanne) attended the ceremony at St. John’s Catholic Church in Oregon City. There is no mention of them in the newspaper article. They may not have been invited. This absence is not surprising given the children’s difficult relations with August Fix and their strong negative feelings toward him. There is no mention of Rachel in the article, either, or of August as a widower.

⁶⁵⁹ He is buried in Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Gresham, Oregon (www.findagrave.com).

⁶⁶⁰ “Petition for Naturalization,” November 28, 1939, No. 14458 (“Selected U.S. Naturalization Records,” ancestrylibrary.com). In the 1940 U.S. census, August is recorded as a naturalized citizen (familysearch.org).

⁶⁶¹ “Certificate of Citizenship,” No. 8035101 (Petition No. 14833), issued August 24, 1960. She became a citizen the next day in ceremonies at the Hillsborough County Court House in Manchester, New Hampshire. She received a booklet signed by friends and family. Suzanne lived at that time with Thomas at 71 Water Street in Manchester.

Thomas Paterson, Jr., died of cancer in Grants Pass, Oregon, April 1, 1997, where they had retired after a life of music and work as a carpenter, cabinet maker, and builder of fiberglass boats and amusement park rides. Suzanne, Shirley, Tom, and Tom's daughter Rebecca Putnam placed his ashes in the ocean at Gold Beach, Oregon. That was his wish, because Gold Beach was one of his favorite places on the Pacific coast. A homemaker most of her adult life, Suzanne died of cancer on December 7, 2001, in Newport, Oregon. At her request, her ashes were scattered at the same spot in the Pacific Ocean, at the North Jetty, Gold Beach, where Tommy's ashes had been distributed on the water in 1997.

My parents' favorite song was "As Time Goes By," written by Herman Hupfield in 1931. The song became popular when several orchestras recorded it and the movie *Casablanca* (1942) featured it. Thomas Paterson, Jr., played this music in the 1930s when he sounded his saxophone in bands and orchestras. And, he played the love song on every sort of instrument for the rest of his life because Suzanne Monchamp Paterson embraced it as "their" song. I remember that my Dad played "As Time Goes By" on the organ for Mom in the 1990s. The lyrics included these lines⁶⁶²:

You must remember this
 A kiss is just a kiss, a sigh is just a sigh.
 The fundamental things apply
 As time goes by.

Moonlight and love songs
 Never out of date.
 Hearts full of passion
 Jealousy and hate.
 Woman needs man
 And man must have his mate
 That no one can deny.

It's still the same old story
 A fight for love and glory
 A case of do or die.
 The world will always welcome lovers
 As time goes by.

⁶⁶² "Reel Classics," www.reelclassics.com/Movies/Casablanca.

Explanatory Notes

This report of May 2016 (replacing previous editions) summarizes the history of the Monchamps and their families over generations in three countries. I wrote a family history book, *You Must Remember This: Thomas Paterson, Jr., Suzanne Monchamp Paterson, and Their Many Families Through History*, in 2011. Since then a great deal of new information has been discovered from the Haute-Loire Department Archives (France) website (www.archives43.fr) and other archives, census records, family members, libraries, town offices, museums, local historians, scholars, authors, universities, churches, funeral homes, Google Earth, genealogy websites, and historical societies. In short, this document expands and corrects the 2011 book. In June 2014, moreover, I visited the “Monchamp family zone” in the environs of Le Pertuis, Haute-Loire, France. I met relatives and local historians and made new friends, and I collected documents, stories, and photographs, now incorporated into this new edition. Also informing this edition is what I and my daughter Rebecca Putnam learned about our ancestors during a trip to Manitoba, Canada, in early September 2015, when we were warmly hosted by my cousin Denis Bibault and his wife Geraldine in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. My sister Shirley Gilmore’s descendants lists, based on considerable research, also provided vital data on the Monchamps and their families.

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This May 2016 edition relied on the generous assistance of many others. This report’s footnotes reveal that my research depended on the helping hands of many history-minded people. I especially thank the following individuals:

Simone Tait, my Monchamp cousin born in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, Canada, and now living in Surrey, British Columbia, Canada, whose knowledge of family history and passion to discover even more often guided this report. She gave me copies of precious Monchamp documents and translated and interpreted many old records. Having herself visited Le Pertuis, Simone helped me prepare for my June 2014.

Louis Chouvet of Nancy (Marainviller), Lorraine, and Le Grand Gourt (Le Pertuis), Haute-Loire, France, whose website on Le Pertuis I discovered early in my research on my Monchamp ancestors. This website presented an informative picture and history of the commune and its people over time. Louis pointed me to many sources of information, including studies by the late Jean Perrel (University of Clermont-Ferrand, Puy-de-Dôme). Louis has expertly and cheerfully answered my questions about local history. His website was damaged in 2014, but he has worked to restore some of it.

Marcel Clastre and *Claudette Bouchet* of St.-Étienne, Loire, and Le Pertuis, who deciphered and translated old French documents essential to following my line of Monchamps, who wrote a study of Le Pertuis and its people in the Great War, and who painstakingly arranged the itinerary for my trip to the Le Pertuis region. They invited me into your beautiful stone house in the town

in June 2014 for delicious meals and conversation. Marcel has assembled a major collection of local history documents and reports.

Maurice Perrel of Le Pertuis, whom I met in June 2014 during my trip and from whom I received a copy of a study he had written on the Pertuisiens who migrated to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba. I toured the lacemaking center of Le Puy-en-Velay with him. I also sat with Maurice around a long table one evening at Marcel Claistre's Le Pertuis home, where Marcel had gathered what I labeled the "History Society."

Marie-Josephe Teyssier (daughter of Joseph Monchamp) of Lyon, and Dinamands, Le Pertuis, who took Simone Tait on a tour of La Chomette to find Monchamp dwellings and the grave of Jean Monchamp, and later, in June 2014, guided me on a similar tour. Her generosity and fine meals of local dishes made the trip to Le Pertuis memorable. She handed me a going-away gift of a bobbin for lacemaking and a lace doily, because she knew that I had learned how important lacemaking was to the Monchamps, including my great-great grandmother Rose Faure. Marie-Josephe's sons *Franck Teyssier* and *Roland Teyssier*, now owners of Jean Monchamp's house, also directed me through Monchamp sites, including the place where Antoine Monchamp's mill once stood.

Denis Bibault, my cousin in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba, Canada, who has long helped me understand local history in national and international historical contexts and who accompanied me in June 2014 into the Monchamp family zone in Haute-Loire and into the Bibault family zone in Deux-Sèvres. He and his wife Geraldine were also wonderful hosts during my trip to Manitoba in September 2015 with my daughter Rebecca Putnam. This report reflects Denis's extensive knowledge, keen analytical mind, and drive to know and understand the past, French and Canadian.

Abbreviations in Footnotes

DB=Denis Bibault
 EC=État Civil (Registres paroissiaux et état civil)
 TD=Tables Décennales
 HLA=Haute-Loire Archives (on-line)
 LN=Listes Nominatives (population census lists)
 ST=Simone Tait
 TGP=Thomas G. Paterson
 Yss=Yssingaux

About the Author

I was born March 4, 1941, in Oregon City, Oregon, to Suzanne Virginie Monchamp (daughter of Rachel Bibault and Jean Monchamp, born June 10, 1910, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba) and Thomas Paterson, Jr. (born March 24, 1909 in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario). I earned my B.A. from the University of New Hampshire (1963) and my Ph.D. from the University of California,

Berkeley (1968). I taught at the University of Connecticut for 30 years, and now hold the title of Professor Emeritus of History. As of this writing, I also serve as Affiliate Professor of History at Southern Oregon University in Ashland, Oregon, where I live. I have authored or edited 16 books, including *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*; *Contesting Castro*; *On Every Front*; *Kennedy's Quest for Victory*; and *Meeting the Communist Threat*. I have also written college textbooks, including *A People and a Nation* and *American Foreign Relations: A History*. Besides the United States, I have lectured in Canada, China, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, New Zealand, and Russia, and I have traveled to France and Scotland in search of my family's origins and heritage. The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations elected me its president and honored me with the Graebner Award for "lifetime achievement." The Guggenheim Foundation and National Endowment for the Humanities have granted me research fellowships and the New England History Teachers Association recognized me with its Kidger Award for teaching and mentoring excellence. I am pleased to continue to mentor students and to research and write about my family's history in France, Scotland, Canada, and the United States.

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I welcome corrections and suggestions for improving this work.