

**“Information back then— There wasn’t much of it”:  
A Narrative Lineage of a McIntyre Family in Québec and Ontario,  
1773 to 1910**

The Kingston Penitentiary looms large in Canadian history. When it opened in 1835 it was the country’s first prison designed to rehabilitate—not just incarcerate—the nation’s felons.<sup>1</sup> Before it closed in 2013 it had housed some of the country’s most infamous criminals. Grace Marks, the convicted murderer and inspiration for Margaret Atwood’s *Alias Grace*, was imprisoned here in the 1840s, as were serial killers and rapists Clifford Robert Olson (in the 1980s) and Paul Bernardo (in the 1990s).<sup>2</sup> For those with no connection to the “Kingston Pen,” as it was popularly known, it evokes the thrill of true crime and pure evil. For those whose family members were incarcerated within its walls, it fostered secrecy and shame.

In 1846 a young French-Canadian named Joseph McIntyre was admitted to the Kingston Penitentiary to serve a three-year sentence. That part of his family’s history was not passed down from generation to generation. Nor were any other stories: the family’s flight from a remote Scottish island to a French-speaking colony on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean;<sup>3</sup> one ancestor’s military service at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham—a defining event in Canada’s history; a married couple’s move from their rural parish to a new life—apart from each other, and in separate cities. In more recent times, one family member lamented,

“Information back then— There wasn’t much of it.”<sup>4</sup> And yet, there was much information. There were published accounts, unpublished records, and the knowledge that others had about the family. But none of this was transmitted from generation to generation; all of it was unknown among descendants who grew up unaware of what brought their family to the present day.

*First Generation*

**1. Joseph<sup>1</sup> McIntyre** was born 3 October 1773 in the parish of Saint-François-de-Sales-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, Province of Québec,<sup>5</sup> and died 8 September 1809 in the parish of Saint Charles, Lower

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Taylor, “The Kingston, Ontario Penitentiary and Moral Architecture,” *Histoire social/Social History* 12 (November 1979): 385-408.

<sup>2</sup> *Wikipedia*, “Kingston Penitentiary,” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingston\\_Penitentiary#Notable\\_inmates](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingston_Penitentiary#Notable_inmates)), last edited 22 December 2023. All websites accessed 28 February 2024 unless otherwise noted.

<sup>3</sup> The province of Québec underwent significant political changes in the time covered by this report, which uses the English-language versions of the province’s historical place names while retaining French diacritical marks. Between 1763 and 1791 this geographic entity was formally called the Province of Québec; from 1791-1841, Lower Canada; and from 1841-1867, Canada East.

<sup>4</sup> Phyllis Whetham (deceased), interview by Mike Sainsbury, 4 May 2005; notes privately held by the author, [ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] Saskatoon, Canada. Phyllis was a great-granddaughter of Joseph and Maria (Cavanagh) McIntyre; see “Third Generation” in this report.

<sup>5</sup> Saint-François-de-Sales Parish (Saint-François-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, Québec), “Registre de St. François 1759-1774,” unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, “joseph MacKentyre” baptism, 4 October 1773; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path > Saint-François-de-Sales-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1733-1790 > [image 477 of 661](#). Image copies of many Québec Roman Catholic parish registers are available on Ancestry and FamilySearch. FamilySearch has been preferred because access is free (with registration) and image quality in most cases is superior. Also, Ancestry’s collection was filmed by the Institut Généalogique Drouin from second (but still original) copies retained by each parish’s courthouse; registers filmed by FamilySearch were retained by each parish. One Québec historian claims these parish copies are more likely to include optional information and are therefore preferred by historians and demographers; see Serge Gagnon, *Mariage et famille au temps de Papineau* (Ste.-Foy: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 1993), 193.

Canada.<sup>6</sup> He married **Angélique Gosselin** on 16 February 1795 in St.-Charles.<sup>7</sup> She was born 1 December 1773 in St.-Charles,<sup>8</sup> and died 23 November 1823 in St.-Charles.<sup>9</sup>

#### JOSEPH'S PARENTAGE

Joseph's parents are identified in his baptism record as "Rodriques MacKIntyre Ecossois and ... marie MacKnill his wife."<sup>10</sup> Joseph's surname has been

<sup>6</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, page 117, "joseph [M]aKentire" burial, 9 September 1809; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 401 of 437](#). Saint Charles hereinafter St.-Charles; likewise, "Saint" hereinafter "St." Subjects' names have been quoted exactly in notes to retain variability of letter forms and spelling.

<sup>7</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 4 April 1773 to 23 December 1795, p. 326, "joseph Macaneter et Angélique gosselin" marriage, 16 February 1795; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 187 of 437](#).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, "angel. Gosselin" baptism, 2 December 1773; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 11 of 437](#). When "Ibid." is used in this narrative it often refers only to the first element or layer in the preceding citation. In those cases, the element or layer following "Ibid." indicates where identical source information from the previous note ends and new source information begins.

<sup>9</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 10 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, p. 283, "ang<sup>ue</sup> gausCelin" burial, 24 November 1823; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 149 of 449](#).

<sup>10</sup> St-François (St.-François-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, Québec), "Registre de St. François 1759-1774," unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "joseph MacKentyre" baptism, 4 October 1773; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable

overwritten in the margin and the body of the text. The French-speaking priest, Pierre-Laurent Bédard, likely struggled to write the family's Gaelic surname and made a subsequent attempt (or two) as Joseph's father enunciated his surname for a second or third time as may be seen in figure 1.

<fig. 1 here>

Joseph's mother's surname, "macKnill," was not overwritten or otherwise corrected in the same record. Assuming Father Bédard read this entry back to Joseph's parents and received their approval, her surname was apparently McNeil (or variant spelling). It is also recorded as "macnill" in the record of her first husband's burial,<sup>11</sup> and as "m<sup>c</sup>nil" in a 1799 land transaction at which she was present.<sup>12</sup>

Joseph's father, Roderick McIntyre, died in the summer of 1776.<sup>13</sup> Eighteen months later his mother

images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-François-de-Sales-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1733-1790 > [image 477 of 661](#). All translations by author.

<sup>11</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Rodrique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre" burial, 11 August 1776; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796, [image 277 of 462](#).

<sup>12</sup> Québec, Montmagny, Actes de notaire, Jean-Baptiste Riverin, 1773-1808, "Échange Daniel Kenady et Ignace Patris," 7 October 1799; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1773-1808," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-Z9KC-Z>), [image 1886 of 3401](#); citing unbound pages 15 March 1797-9 November 1801, digital film # 8886770.

<sup>13</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Rodrique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre" burial, 11 August 1776; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796, [image 277 of 462](#).

married fellow Scottish immigrant Donald Kennedy.<sup>14</sup> From a very young age, therefore, Joseph's de facto father was Donald Kennedy. Joseph's biological parentage and his step-father's identity are both corroborated by his marriage record, which not only identifies Joseph as the son of the late Roderick McIntyre and Mary "Macline," but also identifies Donald (recorded as "Daniel") Kennedy as the groom's step-father.<sup>15</sup> In this record, Joseph's mother's surname is recorded as "Macline" not McNeil or a phonetic variant thereof.<sup>16</sup> His mother's surname was also recorded as

McLean in 1778 when she married Donald Kennedy,<sup>17</sup> and in 1806 when Joseph's brother John was remarried.

Based on these records, the case for either surname has equal merit. An autosomal DNA (atDNA) study would prove inconclusive because Mary's mother was reported to be a McIntyre. This would make it impossible to differentiate among her McIntyre descendants any segment of atDNA they may have inherited from her paternal McNeil or McLean side.<sup>18</sup> One researcher has argued that Mary was the sister of Rory "Honoré" McNeil—a tailor in Québec City—and Flora McNeil—the wife of Angus McIntyre.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of that research it may be safe to conclude that her surname was, indeed, McNeil. But her identity as Joseph's mother is clear: her name was Mary, her surname was probably McNeil, or possibly McLean, and she was the wife of Roderick McIntyre.

## JOSEPH'S LIFE STORY

A little more than a year before he was born, Joseph's parents left the island of Barra, Scotland for a new life in the New World.<sup>20</sup> The island's population was on the rise and in the wake of this increase, his parents likely saw emigration as a chance for land ownership and religious freedom.<sup>21</sup> The Protestant tackman of

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., "Daniel Kanady Écossois et marie macnill" marriage, 23 February 1778; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer >

Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796 > [image 287 of 462](#).

<sup>15</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 4 April 1773 to 23 December 1795, p. 326, "joseph Macaneter et Angélique gosselin" marriage, 16 February 1795; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch*

(<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures

1773-1812, [image 187 of 437](#). In this record, Donald Kennedy is recorded as Daniel Kennedy by the French-speaking priest, but Kennedy clearly signed his name "Donald." In addition to the confusion caused by French-speaking priests recording Gaelic surnames phonetically, there is also the challenge posed by the names Daniel and Donald which are "sometimes, but not always, interchangeable in Scotland, because Domhnall, the Gaelic version of Donald, may be Anglicised as Daniel." See Jeffrey Campbell, "Marriages in the 78th Regiment, 1757-1765," *S. Fraser 78th Regiment*, 1 November 2021 (<https://frasers78th.blogspot.com/2021/11/marriages-in-78th-regiment-1757-1765.html>), para. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Resolving the question of Mary's surname is beyond the scope of this history, but one scholar believes her surname was McNeil based on her possible kinship (as sister) to Rory (Honoré) McNeil. For this, see Denis Savard, "De l'île de Barra à la Baie des Chaleurs: le mystère des MacIntyre enfin dévoilé," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française* 65 (hiver 2014): 303-22, especially 311.

<sup>17</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from to 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Daniel Kanady Écossois et marie macnill" marriage, 23 February 1778; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796 > [image 287 of 462](#). Donald was living in Québec (City) and Mary was "of this parish."

<sup>18</sup> Savard, "De l'île de Barra," especially 311.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., specifically 310-12.

<sup>20</sup> Savard, "De l'île de Barra," 305-310.

<sup>21</sup> According to one unattributed source, "The population rose from 1150 in 1755, to 1604 in 1794." *Isleofbarra.com*, (<https://isleofbarra.com/cillebharra.htm>), n.d., para. 34. Of the population in 1755, 1,100 were "Papists" and 50 were Protestants, and the island had 230 "fighting men," see James Gray Kyd, *Scottish Population Statistics Including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), 59.

Boisdale—just north of Barra on the island of South Uist—had threatened his Roman Catholic tenants with non-renewal of their leases if they did not renounce their religion.

The nearness of this threat may have enhanced the prospect of a new life in a Roman Catholic colony not only for Joseph's parents, but also for other Catholics who left Barra and South Uist in May, 1772 as part of a colonization scheme championed by Captain John MacDonald of Glenalladale. MacDonald had purchased 20,000 acres in the British colony of the Island of Saint John (now Prince Edward Island) to establish a Catholic community populated by Scottish settlers. "This colonizing venture, which established the largest group of settlers in this British colony's early history, resulted in a decades-long process of chain migration that dramatically altered the composition of the colony's population."<sup>22</sup> The first wave of this migration arrived in the brig *Alexander* and made landfall in June, 1772. The passengers included not only Joseph's parents and older brothers Angus and John, but also three paternal uncles and a maternal uncle.<sup>23</sup> All of these family members, having just arrived on the Island of Saint John, would be on the move again before the end of the year.

Soon after their arrival the heads of these families signed an agreement to terminate their lease.<sup>24</sup> A year later, they were living hundreds of miles away on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River in the seigneurie of

Berthier in the parish of St.-François.<sup>25</sup> They may have re-embarked on the *Alexander* in the fall of 1772 when it sailed to Québec with Donald MacDonald, leader of their settlement, who traveled to Québec City that fall to replenish his colony's supplies before winter.<sup>26</sup>

Joseph's parents and the family members with whom they migrated had been in their adopted homeland on the St. Lawrence for about a year when Joseph was born on October 3, 1773.<sup>27</sup> He was the first of his extended family to be born in North America. As such, his birth must have been a momentous and joyous event for the whole family.

Despite the geographic and cultural changes his family endured, Joseph's early childhood in the parishes of St.-François (where he was born) and the neighbouring parish of Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Berthier (by the time he was three) was marked by the stability and security of a large extended family. The family could also find comfort and familiarity in Roman Catholic rituals and liturgy (including the Latin language of the mass) that would not have varied much from what they had known on Barra. Living nearby as Joseph grew up was an expanding family that included his tavern-keeper uncle Neil McIntyre,<sup>28</sup> his wife Mary (or Margaret aka

<sup>22</sup> Parks Canada, "Captain John MacDonald of Glenalladale (1742–1810)," 17 July 2017 ([https://www.canada.ca/en/parks-canada/news/2017/07/captain\\_john\\_macdonaldofglenalladale17421810.html](https://www.canada.ca/en/parks-canada/news/2017/07/captain_john_macdonaldofglenalladale17421810.html)).

<sup>23</sup> Savard, "De l'île de Barra," 306-8.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. This source includes an image of the document on page 308. The archives of Prince Edward Island does not have an original copy of this document, only a photocopy, see Jannah Toms (systems archivist) Prince Edward Island Public Archives and Records Office, ([archives@gov.pe.ca](mailto:archives@gov.pe.ca)), to Mike Sainsbury, email, 7 February 2024, "Re: Confirmation that item Acc 2664/156 exists"; McIntyre Kinship Determination Project File; privately held by Sainsbury, ([dnafamilyhelp@gmail.com](mailto:dnafamilyhelp@gmail.com)), Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Toms provided this item description: "Acc2664/156: Statement of obligation to Donald MacDonald by Neil Roderick and Angus McIntyre, John McMillan, and Angus McNeil of Barra. September 21, 1772. (Photocopy, hdw. [handwritten], 2 p., 35.5 x 21.5 cm.)"

<sup>25</sup> Land settlement in Québec was encouraged by a seigneurial system in which large tracts of land were ceded to seigneurs who, in turn, were responsible for ceding smaller lots to individuals. Seigneuries were often larger than church parish boundaries; conversely, some parishes spanned the boundaries of two or more seigneuries. For example, locations relevant to this family in the parish of St.-Charles were in the seigneuries of Beaumont and Livaudière.

<sup>26</sup> Savard, "De l'île de Barra," 309.

<sup>27</sup> St-François-de-Sales-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud Parish (Saint-François-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, Québec), "Registre de St. François 1759-1774," unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "joseph MacKentyre" baptism, 4 October 1773; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-François-de-Sales-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud > Index des baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1733- 1876 Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1733-1790, [image 477 of 661](#).

<sup>28</sup> *Quebec Gazette*, "Advertisements. District of Quebec. List of Persons who have obtained Licences to retail Liquors, in the Year 1781," no. 816, 26 April 1781, unnumbered page 3;

Brigitte), and their four children who were born in Scotland.<sup>29</sup> His recently wed uncle Angus (aka Ignace) McIntyre and aunt Flora (aka Florida, Fleurine, Claudine, and Geneviève) also lived in the area.<sup>30</sup> Angus and Flora's children were born in the parish of St.-Thomas between the early 1770s and the early 1790s before the family moved to Québec City where Angus worked as a tailor.<sup>31</sup> This, then, was the extended McIntyre family that settled in the seigneurie of Berthier before the turn of the nineteenth century. It was a community that already included many Scottish settlers—veterans of the 78th Highlander Regiment who remained in the Province of Québec after the Seven Years' War ended in 1764; many of whom settled in the Rivière-du-Sud region across the St. Lawrence from Québec City.<sup>32</sup>

Just as the newly arrived McIntyre family was settling into their new life in Berthier, an event occurred that must have been a terrible shock. Joseph's father, Roderick, died in 1776 at the age of thirty-five,<sup>33</sup> leaving

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accessed as "The Quebec Gazette - Google News," browsable images, *Google Books* (<https://news.google.com/newspapers>).

<sup>29</sup> Savard, "De l'île de Barra," 312-13.

<sup>30</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph Riverin, 1773-1808, "Vente par Jean Dambourges à Ignace M<sup>c</sup>Kinter," 30 October 1781; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1773-1808," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LV-WNQ>), [images 3112-3113 of 3412](#); citing unbound pages 23 July 1778-9 March 1782, digital film # 8886542. That document places Angus in the area. According to Savard, "the priests never correctly grasped Flora MacNeil's first name, who is successively called Florida, Fleurine, Claudine, and then once acculturated, Geneviève. . . ." Savard, "De l'île de Barra," 311.

<sup>31</sup> Savard, "De l'île de Barra," 310.

<sup>32</sup> Jeffrey Campbell, "Marriages in the 78th Regiment, 1757-1765," *S. Fraser 78th Regiment*, last updated 4 April 2024 (<https://frasers78th.blogspot.com/2021/11/marriages-in-78th-regiment-1757-1765.html> : accessed 6 June 2024).

<sup>33</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from to 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Rodrique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre ... epoux légitime de marie macnill. . . ." burial, 11 August 1776; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur- Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-

Mary with three young sons to support. Joseph himself was not yet three years old, his brother John (rendered *Jean* in French) was about fourteen,<sup>34</sup> and Angus (likewise rendered *Ignace*) was about ten.<sup>35</sup> As was typical for young widows in these circumstances, Mary soon remarried.

On February 23, 1778 she wed Donald Kennedy, a Scottish veteran of the 78th and 15th Regiments and, like her brother-in-law and cousin Neil McIntyre, a tavern-keeper in Berthier.<sup>36</sup> Their marriage required the approval of the vicar-general of the diocese of Québec,

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de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796, [image 277 of 462](#).

<sup>34</sup> This burial record states John was 79 years old; therefore, he was likely born around 1763.

<sup>35</sup> Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, (Québec, Québec), "Registre des Sepultures qui doivent être faites a l'Hotel-Dieu ... 1847 a 1857," folio 20, "Ignace McKintyr" burial, 15 June 1849; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>) > Québec > Hôtel-Dieu de Québec > Sépultures 1723-1857, [image 543 of 632](#). This burial record states Angus was 84 years old; therefore, he was likely born around 1765.

<sup>36</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from to 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Daniel Kanady Écossois et marie macnill" marriage, 23 February 1778; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796 > [image 287 of 462](#). Regarding Donald Kennedy's occupation, he is described as an *aubergiste* (tavern keeper or innkeeper) in some records, a *cultivateur* or *agriculteur* (farmer) in others; as a tavern keeper, he was granted annual licenses to sell liquor in Berthier in 1780 and 1781 (*Quebec Gazette*, 18 May 1780 No.768 information from index only; this month's issues unavailable in Google Books) and 26 April 1781, no. 816, unnumbered page 3; accessed as "The Quebec Gazette - Google News," browsable images, *Google Books* > (<https://news.google.com/newspapers>). Also granted licenses at that time were his cousin, Donald McKinnon (their relationship is noted in Donald Kennedy's 1778 marriage record), and his wife's deceased husband's brother Neil McIntyre. For the most succinct record of Donald Kennedy's military service see Jeffrey Campbell, "Private Donald Kennedy, 15th & 78th Regiments," *S. Fraser 78th Regiment*, 25 October 2017 (<https://frasers78th.blogspot.com/2017/10/private-donald-kennedy-15th-78th.html>).

which the parish priest had obtained twelve days earlier.<sup>37</sup> This level of ecclesiastical approval may have been required if Donald were a Protestant; just as likely, the approval may have been required because of Donald's uncertain marital status. At the time of his marriage to Mary, he had a fourteen-year-old son named Alexander Kennedy.<sup>38</sup> However, there is no parish record to indicate a previous marriage, or a previous wife's death, which would then have left Donald free to remarry.<sup>39</sup> A few months after he married Joseph's mother, Donald brought his son Alexander to Québec City and left him in the care of a master cooper to begin a five-year apprenticeship.<sup>40</sup> Also at this time, Mary and Roderick's son John, who was about the same age as Alexander, may have moved to Québec City to live with his uncle Angus and learn the tailor's trade.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> The marriage register indicates that liberty for Donald to marry had been granted on February 11, 1778 by Monseigneur de Rigauville but the Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec does not have a record of this. See Maude Leclerc, Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec, Québec, Québec, [(E-ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE),] to Mike Sainsbury, email, 8 January 2024, "Re: Demande d'image de document"; McIntyre Kinship Determination Project Research Files; privately held by Sainsbury, [(E-ADDRESS) & STREET ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

<sup>38</sup> There is also no record of Alexander Kennedy's birth in the area's parish registers. His age at the time is recorded in his apprenticeship papers; see Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Jean-Antoine Panet, 1772-1786, "Brevet d'apprentissage d'Alexandre Kenedy garçon," 2 May 1778; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1772-1786," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-B9M7-J>), [image 2053 of 3346](#); citing boîtes 6-11 (21 November 1776-10 March 1779), digital film # 8884459.

<sup>39</sup> Regarding marriages between soldiers of the 78th Regiment and local women, see Campbell, "Marriages in the 78th Regiment," *S. Fraser 78th Regiment*. This source indicates "approximately 50 Québec marriage records for men who served in the 78th Foot have been recorded in the book entitled, *Les premières familles anglo-canadiennes issues des mariages mixtes au Québec* (Marcel Fournier, 2001)."

<sup>40</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Jean-Antoine Panet, 1772-1786, "Brevet d'apprentissage," 2 May 1778; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1772-1786," browsable images *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-B9M7-J>), [image 2053 of 3346](#); citing boîtes 6-11 (21 November 1776-10 March 1779), digital film # 8884459.

<sup>41</sup> No apprenticeship record for John has been located, but fourteen was a typical age to begin a five-year apprenticeship;

The new couple and their children, minus Alexander and perhaps John, remained in Berthier until at least 1779 when Joseph's half-brother, Donald Kennedy, was born.<sup>42</sup> After that, there is no record of the family's whereabouts until 1789,<sup>43</sup> by which time they had moved from Berthier to the parish of St.-Charles along the Boyer River in the seigneurie of Beaumont where they would remain for the next few decades.

What prompted the move is unknown, but another Scottish immigrant—a merchant named Philip Munro—was living in St.-Charles as early as 1772.<sup>44</sup> Donald later purchased land in that parish from Philip's heirs, so the two men may have known each other and Donald may have relocated to St.-Charles through an economic or social connection with Munro.

As Joseph grew up in St.-Charles his mother may have told him about her earlier life on Barra. That life may have included the hard work of kelp processing, if

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the fact that he was a master tailor later in life and the lack of a formal apprenticeship agreement in Québec notarial records suggests he may have learned this trade from his uncle.

<sup>42</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from to 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Daniel Kanady" baptism, 25 September 1779; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796 > [image 296 of 462](#).

<sup>43</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Descheneaux, Pierre-Louis, 1781-1794, "Vente R<sup>Wm</sup> McKensie a Donald Kennedy," 1 April 1789; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1781-1794," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LC-79S1-C>), [image 1169 of 3006](#); citing actes no. 1732-2359 from 10 July 1788-28 June 1790, digital film # 8882839. No earlier notarial record has been found to record Donald Kennedy's purchase of land in St.-Charles while still resident to Berthier.

<sup>44</sup> Munro was already living in St.-Charles ("au lieu de la Rivière Boyer") in 1772 when he purchased land (which Donald Kennedy would later purchase from Munro's heirs) from Jean-Baptiste Custeau. See Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Jean-Antoine Panet, 1772-1786, "Vente par Jean B<sup>te</sup> Custeau ... au Sieur Philippe Munro," 23 November 1772; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1772-1786," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LF-ZG8X>), [image 203 of 3228](#); citing boîtes 1-6 (4 July 1772-21 November 1776), digital film # 8884458.

the livelihood of Barra's neighbors on the island of South Uist is any indication.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, his step-father Donald Kennedy perhaps told Joseph about his military service at the Siege of Louisbourg in 1758 and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759,<sup>46</sup> his return to Britain with the 15th Regiment in 1768, his subsequent return to the Province of Québec after his military discharge in 1769,<sup>47</sup> and his defense of Québec during the American invasion of 1775 when Joseph himself was only two years old.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Bill Lawson, "From The Outer Hebrides to Prince Edward Island & Wallace, Nova Scotia," *ElectricScotland*, n.d. (<https://electricScotland.com/history/canada/lawson1.htm>). Kelp processing was the main economic activity of the emigrants from South Uist who migrated to the Island of Saint John in 1772 with Joseph's family. For information about kelp processing at this time see Snapdragon Life, "The history of Scotland's kelp industry," *Jane's Journal*, n.d. (<https://www.snapdragonlife.com/news/blog/the-history-of-scotlands-kelp-industry>).

<sup>46</sup> For the regiment's history in this period see J. R. Harper, *78th Fighting Frasers in Canada: A Short History of the Old 78th Regiment or Fraser's Highlanders, 1757-1763* (Chomedey, Québec: Dev-Sco Publications, 1966). Kennedy's experience in this battle would have been traumatic and bloody. As the defeated French army retreated, Kennedy's regiment attacked them with broadswords. "Looking at the aftermath of the slaughter one eyewitness was appalled at the carnage. The Highlanders had 'made a havoc not to be described ... the bullet and bayonet are decent deaths, compared with the execution of their swords'. He stumbled across one corpse that had had its head removed with one blow from a broadsword." Dan Snow, *Death or Victory: The Battle of Quebec and the Birth of an Empire* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2009), 378; citing "Genuine Letters from a Volunteer in the British Service at Quebec," in Arthur G. Doughty and George W. Parmelee, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham*, vol. 23 (Quebec: Dussault and Proulx, 1901).

<sup>47</sup> For a summary of Kennedy's military service, including his relocation to England and return to the Province of Québec, see Jeffrey Campbell, "Private Donald Kennedy, 15th & 78th Regiments," *S. Fraser 78th Regiment*, 25 October 2017 (<https://frasers78th.blogspot.com/2017/10/private-donald-kennedy-15th-78th.html>). When Kennedy made this deposition he was either incapacitated or chose not to sign his name (he made his mark with an "X"); his residence in St.-Charles and the reported number of his children (four) establishes this is the correct individual.

<sup>48</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Jacques Voyer, 1798-1843, no. 45, "vente de Donald Kenedy pr. son procureur à Archibald Ferguson," 4 April 1803; accessed as

Based on Kennedy's traumatic military service, his access to alcohol as a tavern keeper,<sup>49</sup> and his later need for one and a half gallons of rum each year,<sup>50</sup> he may have used alcohol to soothe emotional distress. Being "ex-military," he was also, perhaps, a demanding task master. At sixteen, Joseph's tasks would have included work on the family farm and perhaps in the tavern that Kennedy had operated in St.-Charles since at least 1794. This was likely located in part of his own home on the main road ("*le chemin du Roi*") that ran through St.-Charles. It would have been a community gathering and drinking spot and a way-station for horseback riders

"Actes de notaire, 1798-1843," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSY6-P3VV-F>), [image 3140 of 3401](#); citing boîtes 6-11 (no 691-1213) 2 December 1801-17 May 1803, digital film # 8360051.

<sup>49</sup> In 1794 and 1796 Kennedy was described as an *aubergiste* [innkeeper or tavern keeper]. See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Vente par Louis Coté et Louise Munro ... a Daniel Kennedy," 1 August 1794; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-8X4X>), [image 2516 of 3420](#); citing unbound pages 7 October 1792-11 December 1795, digital film # 8886783. Also *ibid.*, "Vente par Aléxandre Paquet à Daniel Kennedy," 16 September 1796; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-89CN-K>) [image 579 of 3420](#); citing unbound pages 15 December 1795-21 February 1800, digital film # 8886784. Joseph's estate inventory includes a notebook listing 180 small debts, by name and location, that might have been a list of "bar bills" run up by the tavern's customers. See *ibid.*, "Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 21 July 1812, unnumbered pages 5 to 9; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-HR8C>) [image 883 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794. For a description of the notebook see *ibid.*, unnumbered page 10, [image 888 of 3403](#).

<sup>50</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Donation par Donald Kennedy et son épouse à Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 2 May 1804; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-49D7-H>), [images 544-547 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803-13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792. Obligates Joseph to supply step-father with 3 "*pots*" of rum each year. A *pot* was half an imperial gallon; see Alain Huetz de Lemps, *Histoire du rhum* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1997), p. 10.

traveling through the Boyer River valley from the village of St.-Henri to the St. Lawrence river.<sup>51</sup> It was an unconventional and, no doubt, fascinating place for Joseph to work and meet others from outside the small community in which he lived. But even without this tavern, and like many *habitant* families at that time, Joseph's family would have been more-or-less self-sufficient.

Once developed, the land met the family's basic needs: food, clothing, a house and firewood for the winter, plus some excess to sell or barter with at the market. With 20 cultivated arpents [about 17 acres], the couple would not have any surpluses. With 40 [about 34 acres], they would have a little, which was the case for most farming families. It was a simple life, but also a hard one involving manual labour from sunrise to sunset.<sup>52</sup>

Eighteenth-century farm families like Joseph's typically planted "equal amounts of wheat, oats, and peas and/or beans ... to ensure self-sufficiency." They might also have produced regular surpluses of wheat which could then be sold "to buy cloth, clothing, alcohol, tea and coffee, salt, tools, furnishings, and kitchenware."<sup>53</sup>

As the eighteenth century drew to a close and Joseph reached his twenties, he must have contemplated what his adult life would be like. His older brothers had been out of the family home for years and were living lives very different to his own rural existence. Donald's son Alexander was likely employed as a servant to Montréal fur trader John Ogilvy, hired in 1791 to navigate the waterways "in the upper or Indian Countries" west of

Montréal.<sup>54</sup> John was a tailor in Québec City,<sup>55</sup> and Angus was a furniture maker who might have been living further down the St. Lawrence River in the town of Matane.<sup>56</sup> Only his younger half-brother, Donald Kennedy, was living in St.-Charles (possibly with his parents) and therefore available to help with the farm and operate the inn.

### Marriage and family life

Soon after he turned twenty-one, Joseph married Angélique Gosselin in the parish church of St.-Charles. It was Monday, February 16, 1795.<sup>57</sup> Typically, the priest

<sup>54</sup> Montréal, Québec, Actes de notaire, John Gerbrand Beek, 1781-1822, no. 699, "Articles as an Indented Servant to Serve in the upper of Indian Countries for the term of five Years," 1 April 1791; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1781-1822," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-L3V7-2RVT>), [image 2447 of 3085](#); citing boîtes 3-9 (5 October 1786-10 October 1792) digital film # 8864165.

<sup>55</sup> For John's occupation in 1790 see his marriage record Notre-Dame-de-Québec, (Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from to 14 July 1789 to 31 December 1792, folio 84, "jean M<sup>c</sup>intyre & marie Charland" marriage, 9 November 1790; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Notre-Dame-de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1785-1792 > [image 373 of 576](#).

<sup>56</sup> Angus was a furniture maker (*meublier*) when he died in 1849. See Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, (Québec, Québec), "Registre des Sepultures qui doivent être faites a l'Hotel-Dieu ... 1847 a 1857," folio 20, "Ignace McKintyr" burial, 15 June 1849; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>) > Québec > Hôtel-Dieu de Québec > Sépultures 1723-1857, [image 543 of 632](#). An 1818 notarial act describes his place of residence as what looks like "Malonni au bas de Québec" but it could be "Matanne." See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Vente par Ignace M<sup>c</sup>Intyre a John M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 10 November 1818; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," *FamilySearch*, (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-W976-6>) [image 299 of 3402](#); citing unbound pages 14 July 1817-9 October 1826, digital film # 8886795.

<sup>57</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 4 April 1773 to 23 December 1795, p. 326, "joseph Macaneter et Angélique gosselin" marriage, 16 February 1795; accessed as "Canada,

<sup>51</sup> It is now Québec regional highway route 218 (R-218), known as *avenue Royale* as it passes through St.-Charles.

<sup>52</sup> *The French Canadian Genealogist*, "Le Cultivateur / The Cultivator," n.d. (<https://www.tfcg.ca/cultivator-old-occupation>)

<sup>53</sup> John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 4th ed. (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 84.

would read banns of matrimony at the end of Sunday mass for three consecutive weeks to ensure no one knew of any impediment to an upcoming marriage. In the case of Joseph and Angélique, they were married after the publication of only one bann, which had been read aloud at the end of mass the day before their wedding. Two other banns were not required thanks to a letter the priest had received from the bishop, Monsignor François Hubert.<sup>58</sup> Although both Joseph and Angélique were a few months past the legal age to marry without consent,<sup>59</sup> the marriage register notes that Angélique's mother and father both gave their consent. This might have been a condition of the bishop's dispensation reducing the number of banns required. This was, quite clearly, a hastily arranged marriage. In fact, Angélique was probably about five months pregnant—their first child, Joseph, was born four months later—so her condition might have been apparent. But her pregnancy alone may not have been the reason this marriage had been arranged on such short notice. If Angélique had only recently identified Joseph as the father, then her parents—in league with Joseph's parents and the parish priest—would likely have arranged this wedding as soon as possible after she identified the father.

Although Joseph and Angélique were both living in St.-Charles at the time of their wedding (likely in their respective parents' homes), by the time their first child was born they were living in the neighbouring parish of St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont.<sup>60</sup> There is no notarial record

of Joseph purchasing or renting any land in St.-Étienne around the time of his marriage, and given Joseph's status as a laborer, the couple may have been renting accommodation in St.-Étienne through an informal and undocumented agreement. They remained in St.-Étienne for the next few years—until at least the birth of their second child in 1798.

As 1798 began, Joseph and Angélique were expecting their second child. At the same time, Angélique's parents—now close to sixty years old—could no longer fully support themselves. Therefore, in March of that year, Angélique's brother Joseph agreed to provide for their parents in return for their land, which would become his after their deaths. This was a common method of land transfer among farm families in the Province of Québec.<sup>61</sup> As part of that “*donation*” agreement, Angélique received her portion of her parents' estate: £200 and a cow.<sup>62</sup>

This improvement in Joseph and Angélique's finances arrived at an opportune time. Their second and last child, Angélique (later known as Angèle), was born the following month.<sup>63</sup> Although the couple now had enough money to purchase their own property, there is no record of any land transaction by Joseph until five years later.

In the spring of 1803, Joseph—by then a resident of the parish of St.-Charles—purchased a piece of

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Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 482 of 499](#).

<sup>61</sup> Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 86.

<sup>62</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Quittance de droits légitimaires par Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intire et son épouse à Joseph Gosselin son beaufrere,” 18 March 1798; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-813F>), [images 1852-1853 of 3420](#); citing unbound pages 15 December 1795-21 February 1800, digital film # 8886784.

<sup>63</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), unidentified church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2149, “Angelique makatener” baptism, 15 April 1798; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 495 of 499](#).

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Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 187 of 437](#).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Province of Québec, “Cap. I, An ordinance for altering, fixing and establishing the Age of Majority,” *Ordinances made and passed by the Governor and Legislative Council of the province of Quebec, and now in force in the province of Lower-Canada* (Québec, Province of Québec: William Vondenvelden, 1795), 55; accessed as “Ordinances made and passed ... in the province of Lower-Canada,” browsable images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_02239/58](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_02239/58)).

<sup>60</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), unidentified church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2087, “Joseph Canadé” baptism, 10 June 1795; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish

undeveloped land in the adjacent parish of St.-Gervais for £75.<sup>64</sup> This might have been a hedge against a small inheritance rather than a place to live. Under the set of laws known as the Custom of Paris, which had been retained in the Province of Québec after the British took control, Joseph's parents' land would be divided equally among himself and his brothers after their parents' deaths—leaving portions too small to support self-sufficient farming.<sup>65</sup>

Alternatively, by purchasing this lot Joseph may have been planning for the future security of his own son, Joseph, who was by then about eight years old. “The transmission of land from one generation to the next was a central dynamic of peasant society [in the Province of Québec], especially since the Custom of Paris stipulated equal inheritance for all legitimate children.” To mitigate the effect of this law, “in areas where land was plentiful, farmers sought additional land concessions so that they could give land to their children when they married.”<sup>66</sup> The likelihood that this was Joseph's motive for purchasing the land is supported by the fact that it was on a less desirable fifth range (i.e., five rows of property up from the nearest river) and it was still undeveloped at his death.<sup>67</sup> Joseph and his young family were probably living with Joseph's parents in St.-Charles at this time, and Joseph was probably farming their land. By then, his parents were in

their fifties, and farming and innkeeping may have been too much for them to handle without Joseph and Angélique's help. This arrangement was formalized in 1806 when Joseph signed a *donation* agreement with his parents.<sup>68</sup>

In exchange for a newly constructed house, half his step-father's land, the use of half the barn, and the right to farm the land, Joseph agreed to care for his parents and provide them with an annual supply of flour, bacon, peas, salt, rum, lamp oil, firewood, shoes, shirts, tobacco, and spending money. Every two years he would also provide them with new outfits made from *étouffe du Pays*—the homespun woolen fabric typically used for *habitant* clothing.<sup>69</sup> And he agreed to provide a cow (that he would feed, but the products would belong to his parents), to help his parents when they were ill or infirm, to give them rides to church and back (specifically, “*en voiture*”—in a carriage) on Sundays and feast days (of which there were twenty),<sup>70</sup> and to pay half their burial costs.<sup>71</sup> All of these items except the lamp oil, firewood, and the cow would be reduced by half after either parent died. Once both had passed on, Joseph would receive the title to half their land and the house situated on his half of that land.

Joseph, not yet thirty years old, was now responsible for five dependents in three generations: his parents, his wife, and his two children. He may also have taken over the operation of Kennedy's inn. That establishment is not mentioned in the donation agreement, but in later years Joseph's estate included a set of accounts receivable

<sup>64</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Vente par Joseph Jealbert et son épouse à Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 25 June 1803; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-D9SS-G>), [images 2776-2778 of 3112](#); citing unbound pages 22 February 1800-30 September 1803, digital film # 8886784.

<sup>65</sup> For peasant land acquisition in Québec at this time, see Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 86.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 21 July 1812, unnumbered page 10, “Titres et Papiers”; accessed as *FamilySearch*, digital film # 8886794, image [881 of 3403](#) indicates the land was owned at his death, although he did not live there:

“L'Expédition d'un contrat de vente de la Prairie cy après inventorié par Joseph Jealbert et son épouse passé devant M<sup>c</sup>. Louise Turgeon notaire le vingt cinq Juin de l'année mil huit cent trois.”

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, “Donation par Donald Kennedy et son épouse à Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 2 May 1804; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-49D7-H>), [images 544-547 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803-13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792.

<sup>69</sup> Sylvie Giguère, “C'est notre histoire: Les étoffes,” *Québec Folklore* 1 (January-February, 2007).

<sup>70</sup> Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 94.

<sup>71</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Donation par Donald Kennedy et son épouse à Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 2 May 1804; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-49D7-H>), [images 544-547 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803-13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792.

from what would seem to have been from a tavern.<sup>72</sup> But despite any work required to help run that tavern, Joseph is consistently described as a farmer in documents throughout his life.

With little more than one hundred frost-free days in the area south of Québec City, Joseph and other farmers were busiest from spring until fall. Each spring, perhaps with help from his half-brother Daniel Kennedy, Joseph would sow peas, oats, and wheat and cut firewood for the coming year.<sup>73</sup> Angélique, typical of women of her place and time, “took care of children, cooked, cleaned, made everyday clothing, worked in the garden and orchard, and looked after livestock.”<sup>74</sup> Their livestock included a horse, an ox, some cows, and a few pigs.<sup>75</sup> The pigs, typically slaughtered in the fall, provided bacon and salted pork through the winter.<sup>76</sup>

When winter came, the rivers froze and snow covered the ground until the spring. Wintertime activities included threshing grain and cutting firewood. For

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., “Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” 21 July 1812; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-HRVZ>), unnumbered page 10, [image 888 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 88867994. Includes a description of a notebook (“cahier”) that contained a series of small debts and was titled something like “Le Petit d verre de Sinaurie” [The Seigneur’s Small Glass?].

<sup>73</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” unnumbered page 2, “Les animaux” and “Les grains Semés,” 21 July 1812; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-HPCC>), [image 881 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 88867994. The inventory records five minots of peas and five minots of oats apparently in storage (listed under “Les animaux”) plus five minots of wheat and four minots of oats sown.

<sup>74</sup> Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 89.

<sup>75</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” unnumbered page 2, “Les animaux” and “Les grains Semés,” 21 July 1812; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-HPCC>), [image 881 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 88867994.

<sup>76</sup> Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 91.

Angélique and other women in the community, winter was a time for carding and spinning wool, weaving, knitting, and making moccasins or shoes.<sup>77</sup> “Little labour, nevertheless, is carried on during the winter; the most part of the time being spent in the amusements of the country...”<sup>78</sup> For many in St.-Charles, those amusements would have included drinking and otherwise relaxing in the family’s tavern, which would have provided Joseph and his family with a rare source of winter income.<sup>79</sup>

After about ten years of marriage, at a time when his family was well established and his parents were well provided for, Joseph speculated on another piece of property. Under a land tenure system inherited from New France, large swaths of land were granted to individuals (*seigneurs*) whose responsibilities included ceding lots within their seigneuries to meet settlers’ demands and

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Pierre de Sales Laterrière, *A political and historical account of Lower Canada: with remarks on the present situation of the people, as regards their manners, character, religion, &c. &c.* (London: Marsh and Miller; 1830), 129; accessed as “A political and historical account of Lower Canada,” browsable images, *Canadiana* (<https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.36484/151>).

<sup>79</sup> That the inn was still in operation at this time is supported by the notebook that contained a list of 180 small debts, by name and location, that might have been a list of “bar bills” run up by the tavern’s customers. See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” unnumbered pages 5-9, 21 July 1812; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-HPCC>), beginning at [image 883 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 88867994. For a description of the notebook that contained these debts, including its attribution of these debts to something called “Le Petit d verre de Sinaurie,” [the seigneur’s small glass?] see *ibid.*, unnumbered page 10, [image 888 of 3403](#). A decade later, while living on the same property, Joseph’s wife’s second husband is described as an *aubergiste*, so he may have taken over the inn. See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1820-1825, “Bail a vie par Joseph Duquet a Joseph Couture,” 4 April 1822; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1820-1825,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-D9JF-H>), [images 589 to 591 of 3404](#); citing unbound pages 18 November 1820-10 September 1825, digital film # 8886804.

encourage growth in the colony.<sup>80</sup> In early 1806, the seigneur of Beaumont began ceding newly surveyed lots in the parish of St.-Michel, adjacent to St.-Charles. Joseph acquired one of those lots for seven pounds and six shillings.<sup>81</sup> Again, he was likely speculating with an eye to the future security of his two children because the family did not move to St.-Michel.

Sadly, about a month after this purchase, Joseph's mother died.<sup>82</sup> Under the terms of the 1804 donation agreement, the amount of several items he was required to provide was now halved. But life likely continued much as it had been: farming with his wife and raising their two children on the north side of the Boyer River in St.-Charles. In November, 1808 Joseph sold the land he had purchased in St.-Michel to his brother-in-law, Alexandre Paquet, for ninety-seven pounds.<sup>83</sup> This was only two and a half years after he had acquired the land for seven pounds, six shillings. The economics are difficult to fathom, but it certainly added to Joseph's increasing wealth. However, the investments he had

made to ensure his family's economic security may have cold comfort less than a year later.

In September, 1809, a month shy of his thirty-sixth birthday, Joseph died.<sup>84</sup> It was presumably a coincidence that his father had died at about the same age.<sup>85</sup> But whatever caused his death, it would have been a devastating loss for his family. Angélique was now a thirty-five year old widow with two children, aged about fourteen (Joseph) and eleven (Angèle). Joseph's untimely death also meant her father-in-law, Donald Kennedy, was left without his step-son to provide the food, clothing, money, and care that he had arranged through their donation agreement.

After this loss, Angélique remained in the family home. Her son, fourteen-year-old Joseph, must have taken on the extra work required to care for his aging step-grandfather and help provide for his mother and sister. Living next door, Donald Kennedy and his son Daniel may have helped Angélique care for and discipline her now fatherless children.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Seigneurial Regime* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1976).

<sup>81</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Concession par Messr. Chs. Joseph Deschenaux a Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire," 22 March 1806; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-49N8-9>), [images 2418-2420 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803-13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792. This was one in a series of documents that record lots ceded in the same location at the same time; image 2421 is an image of a concession to Jean Goulet that mentions the lot previously deeded to Joseph McIntyre.

<sup>82</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 3 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "marie MaCline" burial, 4 April 1806; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 371 of 437](#).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., "Vente par Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire à Aléxandre Paquet dit Lavale," 26 November 1808; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-89LV-Z>), [images 1047-1048 of 3401](#); citing unbound pages 13 June 1807-8 July 1811, digital film # 8886793.

<sup>84</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 3 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "joseph [M]aKentire" burial, 9 September 1809; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 401 of 437](#).

<sup>85</sup> Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse Parish (Berthier-sur-Mer, Québec), unidentified church register from to 8 January 1775 to 28 January 1788, unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "Rodrique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre ... epoux légitime de marie macnill" burial, 11 August 1776; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Berthier-sur-Mer > Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Bellechasse > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1710-1796, [image 277 of 462](#).

<sup>86</sup> An assumption is being made here that Daniel Kennedy lived with his father at this time. This is supported by his appearance as a witness at the marriage of Olivier Bétille who lived beside Donald Kennedy (as indicated by the description of Donald Kennedy's land in his 1804 donation agreement. See St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, p. 138, "Olivier Bétille et therèse Balin" marriage, 11 February 1800; accessed as "Canada, Quebec

Legally, Joseph's death loss triggered several events, and its repercussions would continue into the next generation. Under the Province of Québec's inheritance laws, Angélique was only entitled to half the estate (the *communauté de biens*) she held in common with her husband. Her children were entitled to the other half. To protect their inheritance rights, a court-appointed council of seven family members and friends nominated John McIntyre, the children's paternal uncle, as *subrogé-tuteur*.<sup>87</sup> This was a type of "sub-guardian" to help administer the estate and ensure the children's mother—now their sole legal guardian (*tutrice*)—made decisions in her children's best interest. In turn, Angélique had to arrange an inventory of her belongings, assets, and debts. Those belongings would then be "offered at a public auction under the supervision of a public officer who awards them to the strongest and last bidder."<sup>88</sup>

This inventory, however, was not drawn up for another three years and the public auction was likewise delayed. There was no need for an immediate inventory or auction because Angélique and her children remained

in their home with their belongings, and with her children's consent, these events could be delayed until such time as Angélique remarried.<sup>89</sup> This delayed the inevitable inventory and auction for a few years. But that day would come.

As a young widow it was unlikely Angélique would remain single for the rest of her life, especially with two children to raise. And so, in the spring of 1812, Angélique married Joseph Duquet. Ironically, it was this happy event—or rather, the threat posed by a second husband to Angélique's children's birthright—that triggered the inventory and the public auction that Angélique would now have to endure.

#### ANGÉLIQUE GOSSELIN'S PARENTAGE AND LIFE STORY

Angélique was born in the parish of St.-Charles on December 1, 1773 to Joseph Gosselin, a farmer, and his wife Charlotte Cloutier.<sup>90</sup> Angélique was one of nine children, of whom six lived to adulthood. Like her McIntyre in-laws, Angélique's family were newcomers to St.-Charles. Her paternal grandparents had migrated from St.-Étienne, about six miles to the north, and her mother was born about thirty miles downriver in St.-Pierre-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud. But unlike her first husband's family, which had arrived in Lower Canada

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Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 272 of 437](#). Daniel Kennedy signed as a witness. For Bétille's land adjoining Donald Kennedy's see Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Donation par Donald Kennedy et son épouse à Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire," unnumbered page 2, 2 May 1804; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-49D4-6>), [image 545 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803-13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792.

<sup>87</sup> Québec, Québec, Judicial guardianships, no. 10894, "Homol[ogue] de la tutelle des Mineurs de Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire," 26 September 1812; accessed as "Canada, Quebec, Quebec Judicial District, Guardianships, 1639-1930," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1399459>), path: Files > 1812-1813, no. 10860-11055, [images 236-242 of 1309](#).

<sup>88</sup> Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, "Fonds Cour supérieure. District judiciaire de Québec. Tutelles et curatelles," information page (<https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/66817>), para. 5. The administrative history of the fonds explains the process of settling a couple's *communauté de biens* after the death of a spouse to ensure the inheritance of any minor children.

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<sup>89</sup> Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 55. Explains the circumstances under which a delay was possible.

<sup>90</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, page 11, "angel. Gosselin" baptism, 2 December 1773; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 11 of 437](#). For her father's status as a farmer, see his burial record St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, folio 26, unnumbered entries in chronological order, "joseph Gosselin" burial, 22 July 1796; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 228 of 437](#).

the year before he was born, all but one of Angélique's ancestors in New France descended from seventeenth-century French colonists.<sup>91</sup>

On her baptismal record, Angélique's parents and godparents are described as "illiterates" ("illetterés").<sup>92</sup> This illiteracy—including the inability to sign one's name—was common in Lower Canada at the time where fewer than ten percent of peasants could sign their marriage contract.<sup>93</sup> In the Gosselin family this

<sup>91</sup> For Angélique's pedigree, see *Généalogie du Québec et d'Amérique française*, "Généalogie Angélique Gosselin," 2024, ([https://www.nosorigines.qc.ca/GenealogieQuebec.aspx?genealogie=Gosselin\\_Angelique&pid=604617](https://www.nosorigines.qc.ca/GenealogieQuebec.aspx?genealogie=Gosselin_Angelique&pid=604617)). Regarding that part of her ancestry that was not ethnically French, one of Angélique's third great-grandmothers was Euphrosine Madeleine Nicolet, the child of Jean Nicolet and a Native American woman who probably lived in what is now Ontario, possibly in the region of Lake Nipissing. For information about Euphrosine's background see Jacques Gagnon, "Les Nipissiriniens depuis Jean Nicolet," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 45, (2015): 75-79, para. 9. For genetic evidence of her mother's Native American ancestry, see the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) haplogroup and self-reported most recent common ancestor of FamilyTreeDNA user number 784349, who claims direct maternal descent from Euphrosine Madeleine Nicolet and whose mtDNA haplogroup is B2c, identified by the Quebec mtDNA group project as "Amérindienne." See FamilyTreeDNA, "Québec ADNmt / Quebec mtDNA - mtDNA Test Results for Members," n.d. (<https://www.familytreedna.com/public/QuebecmtDNAProject?iframe=mtresults>), p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, page 11, "angel. Gosselin" baptism, 2 December 1773; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 11 of 437](#). But her grandfather, Jean Gosselin, was able to sign his name. See St.-Pierre Parish (Saint-Pierre-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, Québec), "Registre de Baptêmes etc. 1727 aout 1728," folio 75, "joseph gosselin et charlotte cloutier" marriage, 4 November 1760; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Pierre-Montmagny > Saint-Pierre-du-Sud > Index 1727-1876 Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1727, 1728, 1748-1771, [image 347 of 457](#).

<sup>93</sup> Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 91-92; citing Allan Green, "The Pattern of Literacy in Quebec,

continued with Angélique. When she applied to the court to be named her children's legal guardian, she made her mark with a Christian cross.<sup>94</sup> Her first husband, Joseph McIntyre, had been equally unable to write or sign his name,<sup>95</sup> as was her second husband, Joseph Duquet.<sup>96</sup>

When they married in 1812, Joseph Duquet—twenty-six years old—was about twelve years younger than Angélique. In fact, he was closer to her son's age than her own. Given this difference in age and their differing stages in life, Joseph might have seemed an inappropriate choice as a provider for Angélique and her two children. However, Duquet's father had died young and left his wife and children a significant communauté de biens.<sup>97</sup> In this way, Duquet had inherited and sold a parcel of land for £750 seven years earlier, while still a minor, and received that money in 1809 after he turned

1745-1899," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11 (1978): 295-335.

<sup>94</sup> Québec, Québec, Judicial guardianships, no. 10894, "Homol[ogue] de la tutelle des Mineurs de Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire," 26 September 1812; accessed as "Canada, Quebec, Quebec Judicial District, Guardianships, 1639-1930," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1399459>), path: Files > 1812-1813, no. 10860-11055, [images 236-242 of 1309](#).

<sup>95</sup> For example, one contract states Joseph could "neither write nor sign" his name, see Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Vente par Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire à Aléxandre Paquet dit Lavale," 26 November 1808; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-89LV-Z>), [images 1047-1048 of 3401](#); citing unbound pages 13 June 1807-8 July 1811, digital film # 8886793.

<sup>96</sup> For Joseph's Duquet's illiteracy see the last page of Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1820-1825, "Bail à vie par Joseph Duquet a Joseph Couture," 4 April 1822; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1820-1825," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-D9JF-H>), [images 589 to 591 of 3404](#); citing unbound pages 18 November 1820-10 September 1825, digital film # 8886804.

<sup>97</sup> His father had died when he was about eleven. For his guardianship documents see Québec, Québec, Judicial guardianships, no. 10894, "Homol[ogue] de la tutelle des Mineurs de Gabriel Duquet," 18 September 1798; accessed as "Canada, Quebec, Quebec Judicial District, Guardianships, 1639-1930," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1399459>), path: Files > 1798, no. 8125-8294 > [images 996-1001 of 1220](#).

twenty-one.<sup>98</sup> Whether he still retained any of that money when he married Angélique three years later is unknown, but a year prior to his marriage he paid £48 for a small lot on the desirable first range on the Boyer River in the parish of St.-Charles.<sup>99</sup> Additionally, the loss of his own father at an early age (he was about eleven when his father died) was an experience he shared with his new step-children and it might have formed a foundation for his relationship with them.

Angélique's re-marriage triggered several legal actions. These actions would ensure her children received half the value of the communauté de biens she had shared with her first husband. These legal requirements would also cause a great deal of upheaval and conflict as a marriage's worth of belongings and property were either sold to others or divided among Angélique and her children.<sup>100</sup>

This approach to family inheritance may seem strange to those who live in jurisdictions with a "common law" model of inheritance in which the property of a married couple is inherited by the surviving spouse. But under the Custom of Paris children are entitled to half the communauté de biens accumulated by their parents. Therefore, three months after her marriage to Duquet, her brother-in-law John McIntyre commissioned an inventory of everything she and Joseph

had either owned or owed.<sup>101</sup> This documented the communauté to ensure Joseph and Angèle's inheritance before Duquet could take control of those assets.<sup>102</sup>

After this inventory, all the moveable goods would be sold at a public auction. Half the proceeds would be Angélique's, half would be set aside for her children when they turned twenty-one. If Angélique wanted to retain any of her household items, she was forced to buy them back at the auction.

Notices of the auction were posted on the doors of local churches a few days before the event.<sup>103</sup> At the auction, one hundred and seventy lots of household items, food, and animals were sold to the highest bidder. Of these, Angélique herself bought back eighty. Those items included a hutch, four tables, twelve chairs, a two-wheel cabriolet-type carriage (no doubt the "voiture" her late husband had used to take his parents to church and back), a horse, and two cows. The auction, with others bidding and driving up prices, must have forced Angélique to overpay in several cases. The horse, for example, had been valued at £30 the day before, but she paid £76 to get it back. Likewise, each cow was valued at less than £25, but Angélique paid £92 for one and £69 for the other. Most surprising was one of the

<sup>98</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Vente par Jos. Duquet à Paul Couture," 22 June 1805; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-49KY-Y>), images [1699-1701 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803 - 13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792.

<sup>99</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Vente par Paul Baillargeon à Joseph Duquet," 9 October 1811; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-HY2V>), images [438-440 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811 - 14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>100</sup> For an overview of this process see Jean-Philippe Garneau, "La tutelle des enfants mineurs au Bas-Canada: autorité domestique, traditions juridiques et masculinités," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 74 (Spring 2012): 11–35, para. 10; image copy, *Erudit* (<https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/haf/2021-v74-n4-haf06417/1081966ar>)

<sup>101</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 21 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H5LC>), [images 879-890 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>102</sup> Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, "Bases de données en généalogie: Recherche avancée - Inventaires après décès des districts judiciaires de Québec, de Charlevoix, de Beauce, de Montmagny et de Kamouraska, 1785-1955," February 2020 ([https://www2.banq.qc.ca/archives/genealogie\\_histoire\\_familiale/ressources/bd/recherche.html?id=INVENTAIRE\\_20170823](https://www2.banq.qc.ca/archives/genealogie_histoire_familiale/ressources/bd/recherche.html?id=INVENTAIRE_20170823)). The "Presentation" section describes how these documents fit within the legal process.

<sup>103</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Procès verbal de vente des mobil[iers] de la communauté de biens de Angélique Gosselin avec défunt Joseph McIntyre," 22 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H52X>), [images 891-897 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

children's beds. It was valued at £6, but she paid £37.<sup>104</sup> Despite the legal requirement to inventory and sell all community property and distribute the proceeds, Angélique had retained a piece of furniture that held her clothes, as well as her own bed with its mattress, two sheets, two bedspreads, a bolster, and two pillows.<sup>105</sup> Strictly speaking, she was not even entitled to this courtesy. She and Joseph had no marriage contract, in which a "préciput" clause typically allowed a surviving spouse to remove "their bed, clothes, and personal effects from the communauté before the inventory, division of inheritance, and payment of debts."<sup>106</sup>

In their thirteen years together, Angélique and Joseph had done well financially. The auction generated £1,738 for Angélique (minus the approximately £890 she paid to buy back items at the auction);<sup>107</sup> Joseph and Angèle were each entitled to £869, plus interest, when

<sup>104</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre," 21 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H5LC>), [images 879-890 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794. Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Procès verbal de vente des mobil[iers] de la communauté de biens de Angélique Gosselin avec défunt Joseph McIntyre," 22 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H52X>), [images 891-897 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, "Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre," 21 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H5LC>), [images 879-890 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>106</sup> Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 55.

<sup>107</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Procès verbal de vente des mobil[iers] de la communauté de biens de Angélique Gosselin avec défunt Joseph McIntyre," 22 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H52X>), [images 891-897 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

they turned twenty-one.<sup>108</sup> This did not include the value of the farm that the family presumably still occupied on the north side of the Boyer River in the parish of St.-Charles, nor the lot in St.-Gervais that Joseph had purchased in 1803.<sup>109</sup> An agreement regarding the distribution of those assets would not occur for another eighteen years, and even then a conflict between Angélique's children and her second husband would continue years after Angélique's death.

Angélique endured other domestic upheavals at this time in her life. In the summer of 1812, as all of these estate issues were underway, she was in the early stages of what would now be called a geriatric pregnancy; Angélique was thirty-eight when she and Duquet conceived a child in the early summer of 1812.<sup>110</sup> But what might have been a time for optimism and new beginnings gave way to sadness when Angélique's mother passed away in October of that year.<sup>111</sup>

For Angélique, a cycle of deaths and births was repeating itself in a devastating way. Her father had died two years after her marriage to Joseph McIntyre;<sup>112</sup> the

<sup>108</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Procès verbal de vente des mobil[iers] de la communauté de biens de Angélique Gosselin avec défunt Joseph McIntyre," 22 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H52X>), [image 895 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 30 December 1826, page 9, "Sophie Duquet" baptism, 31 March 1813; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 10 of 449](#). Assuming this child was a full-term birth she would have been conceived in the summer of 1812.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, unidentified church register from 4 April 1773 to 23 December 1795, page 180, "Charlotte Cloutier" burial, 18 October 1812; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 433 of 437](#).

<sup>112</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, page 117, Joseph Gosselin burial, 22 July

following year, her daughter Angèle was born.<sup>113</sup> Now, only six months after her second marriage, her mother had died and her next child was due the following year. While coming to terms with these events, her eighty-year-old father-in-law, Donald Kennedy, was still living next door and still in need of the food, clothing, fuel, and care that her late husband agreed to provide in exchange for the house and land she now occupied.

The daughter she had with Duquet was born in the spring of 1813; they named her Sophie.<sup>114</sup> Her father-in-law, Donald Kennedy, died in January, 1814 at the age of eighty-five. Although his death may have freed Angélique from a certain amount of caregiving, there was more sorrow in store. Her baby Sophie died that summer.<sup>115</sup> The next day, Angélique's brother-in-law and neighbor, Daniel Kennedy, also died.<sup>116</sup> The nearness of these deaths—in time and space—suggests there may have been a disease circulating in the area. In any case,

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1797; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 228 of 437](#).

<sup>113</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), untitled church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2149, “Angélique makatener” baptism, 15 April 1798; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 495 of 499](#).

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 30 December 1826, page 9, “Sophie Duquet” baptism, 31 March 1813; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 10 of 449](#).

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., page 37, “Sophie Duquet” burial, 9 July 1814; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 25 of 449](#).

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., page 37, “Daniel Kennedy” burial, 10 July 1814; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 26 of 449](#).

within the space of one day, siblings Joseph and Angèle had suddenly lost a one-year-old half-sister and a thirty-four-year-old half-brother.

Daniel Kennedy's death set in motion another estate inventory and public auction. In this case, the estate would be shared among Kennedy's maternal heirs, which included Angélique's two children. The conclusion of that process would take several more years, as would the settlement of the communauté de biens she had shared with her first husband. In the meantime, Angélique (now forty-four), Jacques Duquet (now twenty-eight), Joseph (now eighteen) and Angèle (now sixteen) continued to live in their one-storey, thirty-one by twenty-four foot home in St.-Charles. But it was only a matter of time before that home and the land it occupied would need to be divided between Angélique and her children.

Perhaps hoping for a new beginning, Angélique entered her minor daughter into a marriage contract with Étienne Brochu in the fall of 1815.<sup>117</sup> Étienne, a twenty-one-year-old farmer, was one of twelve children born to Joseph-Jean Brochu and Marie-Anne Poliquain of St.-Charles. The marriage contract, as was typical of these agreements, indicated that Brochu would marry McIntyre as soon as possible (“*la plutôt que faire se pourra*”). But there is no record that the couple had a church wedding and it seems most likely that the contract lapsed.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Mariage de Etienne Brochu Et Angèle McIntyre” marriage contract, 25 September 1815; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H93G-S>), [images 2605-2606 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>118</sup> The St.-Charles parish register was searched for any evidence of this couple's marriage between September 1815 and December 1816 but none was found; see St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 30 December 1826, pages 64 to 94; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [images 39 to 53 of 449](#). It would be several years before Angèle and Étienne each went on to marry others: Angele in 1819 and Étienne in 1823.

By 1818, Angélique's son Joseph was twenty-three and her daughter, Angèle, was approaching the age of majority. It was therefore time to settle matters regarding the division of the house and property. Before that happened, however, another estate of a much higher value was partially settled.

In 1818, Angélique received £2,989 in trust for her minor children.<sup>119</sup> This was their share of the estate (excluding land) left by their half-uncle, Daniel Kennedy.<sup>120</sup> Three years later, in 1821, Angélique and Joseph Duquet finally gave her son, Joseph, his half of the money owed him from his half-uncle Daniel's estate (£1,494) plus another £998 as his share of the items sold in the auction of his mother's and father's goods nine years earlier.<sup>121</sup> However, Angélique still needed to divide the family's house and land with her two children and (by that time) their new spouses.

In 1819, Angèle had married Québec City merchant Jean Frédéric Costin and left St.-Charles to live with him in Québec City.<sup>122</sup> The following year Joseph married

sixteen-year-old Marie Louise Lecours and remained in St.-Charles. The newlyweds likely lived in the family home with Angélique and Joseph Duquet.<sup>123</sup> The following year, all three couples finally agreed to share the family's thirty acres that straddled the *chemin du Roi* north of the Boyer River.<sup>124</sup> To do this, they agreed to divide the land into three approximately equal strips. Angélique and Joseph Duquet would own the lot furthest west, beside the farm of Jean Labrie. This was likely the lot that included the family home. The middle lot went to Angèle and her new husband. The third lot, which Joseph now owed, was adjacent to what had been Donald Kennedy's land and was now owned by his uncle, John McIntyre, who had relocated from Québec City.

If the division of their land was straightforward, the division of the family home was not. Even the notary who prepared the agreement seemed to question the advisability of the family's approach. The legal language and handwriting are difficult to fully understand and therefore translate. But it seems clear that a conflict between Joseph and his mother and step-father prevented them from living together without constructing physical barriers inside the house and creating a legal agreement to simply walk across each other's property. Although the notary warned that the house was nearly impossible to divide equally among family members, he drafted what became a very complicated house-sharing

<sup>119</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Compte de curatelle rendu par John M<sup>e</sup>Intyre aux heritiers de feu Donald [*sic*] Kennedy," 14 August 1818; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H942-C>), [images 2004-2006 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794. Although this set of documents is indexed as comprising actes from 1811 to 1817, this 1818 document was later attached to the 1812 procès-verbal as a record of how the money raised from the sale of the moveable goods within the communauté de biens was (finally) disbursed and received by Angélique and her children.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, Quittance par Jos. M<sup>e</sup>Intire fr[?] de Ang. Gosselin épouse de Jos. Duquet," 12 June 1821; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1811-1840," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-PL36>), [images 3218-3220 of 3345](#); citing boîtes 6-9, 15 July 1817-2 July 1821, digital film # 8884429. No record has been found to indicate Angélique's daughter, Angèle, received her share at this time. There has also been nothing to indicate why Angélique and her husband delayed this payment, given that Joseph was entitled to this money in 1816, when he turned twenty-one, and his sister's share was payable when she turned twenty-one in 1819.

<sup>122</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31

December 1826, pages 158-159, "jean frederic costin et ang<sup>que</sup> Mcyntire" marriage, 24 August 1819; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 87 of 449](#). There was one of three marriages in St.-Charles that day.

<sup>123</sup> Joseph's continued use of the kitchen and other parts of the family home, as described in the land and house sharing agreement (see next note) indicates he likely still lived in that home.

<sup>124</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, "Partage des immeubles de pendants de la succession de feu Jos. McIntyre," 12 June 1821; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1811-1840," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-P2PF>), [images 3221-3228 of 3345](#); citing boîtes 6-9, 15 July 1817-2 July 1821, digital film 8884429.

arrangement because the family “nevertheless agreed to share it as follows”:

Joseph McIntyre will have half the kitchen which will be shared by means of a partition going in a straight line from the middle of the frame [*the doorframe?*] on the north to the middle of the chimney, same for the living quarters, [and] in the cellar and attic. Then and in this case the said Joseph McIntyre will have to install a door to exit by the north side of the kitchen with the right to come and go by the north-east side of the house to return to his living quarters without causing any damage whatsoever ... ^ Sr. Joseph Duquet [will do something to] the floorboards on the floor of the attic[,] the wallboards of the cellar[,] and connect them[;?] and the kitchen partition [will be] in common ^^ and as to the rest of the living quarters in the said house, the said Sieur and Dame Costin [who were living in Québec City and therefore not affected by whatever happened in the house] agree to enjoy them [the home’s living quarters] conjointly with the said Sieur and Dame Joseph Duquet ^^ [And] as the said Sieur and Dame Joseph Duquet and Costin will not be able to get to the point that is on the river-side of the property, then and in this case they will have ^ ([they and their heirs and assigns in the future]) ^ the right to pass by the side of the lot issued to the said Joseph McIntyre to come and go on the point from time to time[,] and this without him [Joseph].<sup>125</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. To aid understanding and translation a professional transcription was obtained; see Marc Richard, transcriber, Société généalogique canadienne-française, [(info@sgcf.com)], to Mike Sainsbury, wtransfer, 30 January

In the fall of 1823, soon after this period of loss and conflict, Angélique became gravely ill. She was fifty years old. Either knowing or sensing she was going to die, she summoned a notary to her home and—from her sickbed—she dictated the terms of a will. In that will she left each of her children £100. The rest of her estate she left to her husband as a testament to the “good and sincere affections” she had for him.<sup>126</sup> Unfortunately, inheritance laws based on the Custom of Paris did not allow a wife to bequeath property inherited from her first husband to her second. That property should rightfully have passed, in equal measure, to her two children.<sup>127</sup> The stage was therefore set for additional conflict between Angélique’s children and their step-father in the years after her death.

Joseph McIntyre and Angélique Gosselin had two children:

- 2 i. JOSEPH<sup>2</sup> MCINTYRE, born 10 June 1795 in St.-Étienne,<sup>128</sup> died 10 September 1859,

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2024, “1821 Partage de McINTYRE, Joseph le 12 juin 1821.pdf” McIntyre Kinship Determination Project Research Files; privately held by Sainsbury, [(E-ADDRESS) & STREET ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

<sup>126</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1820-1825, “Testament de Dame Angélique Gosselin,” 14 March 1823; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1820-1825,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-D9L9-G>), [images 857-860 of 3404](#); citing unbound pages 18 November 1820-10 September 1825, digital film # 8886804.

<sup>127</sup> Yves F. Zoltvany, “Esquisse de la Coutume de Paris,” *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 25 (December 1971): 365-84, specifically 370; image copy, *Erudit* (<https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/haf/1971-v25-n3-haf2081/303092ar/>).

<sup>128</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), untitled church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2087, “Joseph Canadé” baptism, 10 June 1795; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* ([https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection\\_/1321742](https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/_/1321742)), path: Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 482 of 499](#).

- Québec.<sup>129</sup> He married Marie Louise Lecours on 30 October 1820 in St.-Charles.<sup>130</sup>
- ii. ANGÉLIQUE “ANGÈLE” MCINTYRE, born 15 April 1798 in St.-Étienne;<sup>131</sup> died 19 November 1844 in St.-Charles.<sup>132</sup> She was contracted to marry Étienne Brochu on 25 September 1815 in St.-Charles;<sup>133</sup> she married Jean Frédéric

Costin on 24 August 1819 in St.-Charles,<sup>134</sup> and separated from Jean Frédéric Costin on 18 June 1841.<sup>135</sup>

### Second Generation

**2. Joseph<sup>2</sup> McIntyre** (Joseph<sup>1</sup>) was born 10 June 1795 in St.-Étienne,<sup>136</sup> and died 10 September 1859 in Québec City.<sup>137</sup> He married **Marie Louise Lecours** on 30 October 1820 in St.-Charles.<sup>138</sup> She was born 27

<sup>129</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1858 to 30 December 1859, folio 77, S. 229, “Joseph McIntyre” burial, 11 September 1859; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Notre-Dame- de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1858-1865, [image 216 of 603](#). Hotel-Dieu, Québec, Registres des malades, page 429, “Joseph McIntyre,” died, 10 September 1859; accessed as “Registres journaliers des malades, 1689-1876,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-959D-P9>), [image 224 of 467](#); citing “Registre Journalier des Malades,” digital film # 4541989.

<sup>130</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, pages 191-192, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Kenter et marie Louise Lecours” marriage, 30 October 1820; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 103 of 449](#).

<sup>131</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), untitled church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2149, “Angelique makatener” baptism, 15 April 1798; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 495 of 499](#).

<sup>132</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 17 October 1843 to 16 November 1852, page 46, “Angele M<sup>c</sup>Kentyre” burial, 21 November 1844; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1844-1865, [image 28 of 504](#).

<sup>133</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Mariage de Etienne Brochu Et Angèle McIntyre” marriage contract, 25 September 1815; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H93G-S>), [images 2605-2606 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, pages 158-159, “jean frederic costin et ang<sup>que</sup> Mcyntire” marriage, 24 August 1819; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 87 of 449](#).

<sup>135</sup> District of Québec, Québec, Cour du Banc du Roi, Matières civiles en général, dossier no. 1000, “Ang. McIntyre, Demanderesse c. Jean Frédéric Costin Défendeur,” judgment rendered 19 June 1841; accessed as digital scan of dossier supplied on 6 February 2024 by Nancy Bélanger, Technicienne en documentation, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec à Québec.

<sup>136</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), untitled church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2087, “Joseph Canadé” baptism, 10 June 1795; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint- Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 482 of 499](#).

<sup>137</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1858 to 30 December 1859, folio 77, S. 229, “Joseph McIntyre” burial, 11 September 1859; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Notre-Dame-de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1858-1865, [image 216 of 603](#).

<sup>138</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, pages 191-192, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Kenter et marie Louise Lecours” marriage, 30 October 1820; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 103 of 449](#).

February 1804 in St.-Charles,<sup>139</sup> and died 1 April 1872 in St.-Charles.<sup>140</sup>

#### JOSEPH'S PARENTAGE

Joseph McIntyre was born in the parish of St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont on June 10, 1795 and baptised as the son of “joseph Canadé and Angélique Gosselin.”<sup>141</sup> Despite the use of “Canadé” as his father’s surname, his parentage and McIntyre surname are indicated by his marriage record which describes him as the son of “the late joseph McKenter [*sic*] and Angélique gauslelin [*sic*] ... his mother and father.”<sup>142</sup> The use of “Canadé” in his baptismal record stemmed from the fact that, from the time his father was three years old, he was raised by a step-father named Donald Kennedy. His father might therefore, and quite reasonably, have told the parish priest who recorded this baptism that his surname was Kennedy, and in this linguistic

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, page 24, “M. Louise Lecourt” baptism, 28 February 1804; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 355 of 437](#).

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from to 17 October 1843 to 16 November 1852, p. 204, “M. Louise Lecours v<sup>e</sup> de Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 3 April 1872; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1865-1876 > [image 107 of 192](#).

<sup>141</sup> St.-Étienne Parish (St.-Étienne-de-Beaumont, Québec), untitled church register from 8 January 1791 to 22 August 1798, folio 22, entry no. 2087, “Joseph Canadé” baptism, 10 June 1795; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 482 of 499](#).

<sup>142</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, pages 191-192, “joseph M<sup>c</sup>Kenter et marie Louise Lecours” marriage, 30 October 1820; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 103 of 449](#).

environment, “Canadé” was a reasonable phonetic French-language transcription of “Kennedy.” Confirming this step-father relationship, and thus the use of Kennedy as an alternate surname, Joseph’s parents, Joseph McIntyre and Angélique Gosselin, were married “in the presence of Daniel [*sic*] Kennedy step-father of the groom.”<sup>143</sup> Joseph’s parentage is further confirmed by the guardianship application made by his mother, Angélique Gosselin, who describes herself as the “widow of Joseph McIntyre of St. Charles” and names Joseph McIntyre as her son.<sup>144</sup> In her will, written eleven years later, Angélique bequeathed £100 to her son, Joseph McIntyre.<sup>145</sup>

#### LIFE STORY

Although he was born in St.-Étienne, Joseph grew up a few miles south in the parish of St.-Charles. In 1799, when Joseph was about four, his step-grandfather, Donald Kennedy, purchased a thirty-acre farm in St.-Charles, north of the Boyer River. This land was adjacent to a parcel of land he had begun acquiring in 1794 from the four heirs of Philip Munro, and that he finished acquiring in 1800. It was in these years,

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from 4 April 1773 to 23 December 1795, p. 326, “joseph Macaneter et Angélique gosselin” marriage, 16 February 1795; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 187 of 437](#). The French-speaking priest has written Joseph’s step-father’s name as Daniel but he consistently signed documents as Donald throughout his life; his son, however, signed as “Daniel.”

<sup>144</sup> Québec, Québec, Judicial guardianships, no. 10894, “Homol[ogue] de la tutelle des Mineurs de Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intire,” 26 September 1812; accessed as “Canada, Quebec, Quebec Judicial District, Guardianships, 1639-1930,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1399459>), path: Files > 1812-1813, no. 10860-11055, [images 236-242 of 1309](#).

<sup>145</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1820-1825, “Testament de Dame Angélique Gosselin,” 14 March 1823; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1820-1825,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-D9L9-G>), [images 857-860 of 3404](#); citing unbound pages 18 November 1820-10 September 1825, digital film # 8886804.

therefore, that Joseph's father moved his family to his step-father's newly acquired farm in St.-Charles.

This riverfront farm was on the north side of the Boyer River and bisected by the *chemin du Roi* that ran north-east from the village of St.-Henri. This was, and remains, a fertile area of low, rolling hills on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River. It included "some of the best cultivated land in the different concessions" in the seigneurie of Beaumont.<sup>146</sup> The Boyer River itself was only "about 30 paces wide and so obstructed by sand-banks, trees, &c., that the lightest canoe cannot pass."<sup>147</sup> Its aquatic life included toads, smallmouth bass, and fantail darter fish<sup>148</sup>—all of which must have been fascinating for nine-year-old Joseph—the age by which he was certainly living on this farm.<sup>149</sup>

Life for Joseph and his family was tied closely to the land and followed the seasons. Joseph would have helped his father and grandfather on their farms, which together comprised about seventy-five acres. That way of life continued until the harvest of 1809 when, unexpectedly, Joseph's father died. He was only thirty-five, and Joseph himself was only fourteen at the time.

Several family members would have helped the family in this time of need, but others were not available

<sup>146</sup> Joseph Bouchette, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1832), alphabetical entry: "Livaudiere or Descheneaux"; accessed as "A topographical dictionary of the province of Lower Canada," digital images, *Internet Archive* (<https://archive.org/details/topographicaldic00bouc/page/n187>), [image 187 of 378](#). The second page of the entry includes details for the parish of St.-Charles in the seigneurie of Beaumont.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, alphabetical entry: "Boyer"; accessed as *Internet Archives* (<https://archive.org/details/topographicaldic00bouc/page/n49/mode/1up>), [image 50 of 378](#).

<sup>148</sup> Parc riverin de la Boyer, "La Faune," n.d. (<https://www.parcdelaboyer.ca/la-faune/>), para. 2.

<sup>149</sup> That was the year in which his father agreed to take care of his parents in return for half his father's land in St.-Charles, see Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Donation par Donald Kennedy et son épouse à Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 2 May 1804; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-49D7-H>), [images 544-547 of 3409](#); citing unbound pages 30 September 1803 - 13 June 1807, digital film # 8886792.

or able to help. Joseph's step-grandfather, Donald Kennedy, was nearly eighty and therefore too old to help on the farm. However, Joseph's step-uncle, Daniel Kennedy, may have lived next door with his father, Donald Kennedy. And while Joseph's paternal uncles, John and Angus, lived elsewhere,<sup>150</sup> his maternal uncles Joseph Gosselin (in his mid-forties at this time) and Alexandre Paquet dit Lavallée (in his early fifties; first husband of his mother's sister, Charlotte Gosselin, who had died in 1794<sup>151</sup>) were both farmers in St.-Charles.

As the first winter after his father's death ended and the spring of 1810 arrived, it was inevitable that most of the farm work and responsibilities that would have been his father's fell to Joseph. At fifteen, he was now the main provider for his mother, sister, and (under the terms of the 1804 donation agreement)<sup>152</sup> his step-grandfather Donald Kennedy.

Joseph had to adapt to this new role; he may even have risen to the challenge of being a family provider at such a young age. But when his mother remarried in 1812 it re-cast Joseph as a minor child rather than the head of a family. Such a change in status and the arrival of a step-parent has the potential to cause conflict in any

<sup>150</sup> John was living in Quebec City; see, for example, Québec, Québec, Judicial guardianships, no. 10351, "Tutelle des Mineurs John McIntyre," 10 September 1810; accessed as "Canada, Quebec, Quebec Judicial District, Guardianships, 1639-1930," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1399459>), path: Files > 1810-1811, no. 10344-10218 > [images 57-60 of 1275](#). An 1818 notarial act describes Angus's place of residence as what looks like "Malonni au bas de Québec" but it could be "Matanne." See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Vente par Ignace M<sup>c</sup>Intyre a John M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 10 November 1818; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-W976-6>) [image 299 of 3402](#); citing unbound pages 14 July 1817-9 October 1826, digital film # 8886795.

<sup>151</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 4 April 1773 to 23 December 1795, p. 326, "Charlotte Gosselin" burial, 2 March 1794; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 172 of 437](#).

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

family. Perhaps even more so in Joseph's case because, when his mother remarried, it prompted the public sale of all the family's household items, farm equipment, and livestock.<sup>153</sup>

Everything that provided Joseph with a sense of home was "on the auction block" in the summer of 1812. Ironically, this was done to ensure he and his sister would receive their rightful inheritance from their father's estate, and that it was not compromised by any actions on the part of their new step-father. But it must have been distressing to see everything in one's childhood home offered up for public sale, and to watch as his mother outbid neighbors to buy back half the family's belongings.

Whether these events created conflict among family members is unknown. Ten years later, however, when the family home was divided among Joseph, his sister, and his mother and step-father, the way that was accomplished suggests the family dynamic was not harmonious.<sup>154</sup> This is also suggested by the legal process whereby Joseph's step-father, Joseph Duquet, was ousted from the family home a few years after Joseph's mother died.<sup>155</sup>

As Joseph settled into his new life with a new step-father—and two years after the wrenching public

auction of the family's possessions—another distressing event occurred. Joseph's step-grandfather and the family patriarch, Donald Kennedy, died at a reported age of eighty-five. His loss signaled the end of an era.

Donald Kennedy had been a laborer, a soldier, an innkeeper, and a farmer. His marriage to Joseph's grandmother ensured the material success of the McIntyre family at a time when their prospects were dire. His participation in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham helped determine the fate of a nation as it was largely on account of that battle that New France fell to the British. During Joseph's formative years, living beside his step-grandfather, Joseph was well placed to learn a lot from this man: about farm work and about life.<sup>156</sup> The old Highlander's death, which occurred less than five years after Joseph's father died, must have been felt as a severe loss.

Donald Kennedy left an estate with moveable goods valued at about £9,000.<sup>157</sup> This did not include his house and his farm adjacent to Joseph's family farm. However, neither Joseph nor anyone in his McIntyre family (i.e., his sister, mother, or uncles John and Angus) was entitled to any part of this estate because they did not descend from Donald Kennedy.<sup>158</sup> His sole known living heir was Daniel Kennedy—the son he had with Joseph's mother, Mary McNeil or McLean.

<sup>153</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Procès verbal de vente des mobil[iers] de la communauté de biens de Angélique Gosselin avec défunt Joseph McIntyre," 22 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H52X>), [images 891-897 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>154</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, "Partage des immeubles de pendants de la succession de feu Jos. McIntyre," 12 June 1821; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1811-1840," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-P2PF>), [images 3221-3228 of 3345](#); citing boîtes 6-9, 15 July 1817-2 July 1821, digital film# 8884429.

<sup>155</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Ruel, 1818-1863, "Cession et abandon par S[r]. J. Duquet a S[r]. J. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre et Angele M<sup>c</sup>Intyre épouse de J. F. Costin," 9 December 1826; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1818-1863," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H9X1-Z>), [images 2540-2542 of 3426](#); citing unbound pages 15 November 1824-8 September 1827, digital film # 8886798.

<sup>156</sup> Joseph and his sister could sign their names, but their mother and step-father could not; it is therefore a valid assumption that Donald Kennedy—living in such close proximity—taught this skill to his grandchildren.

<sup>157</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Compte de curatelle rendu par John M<sup>c</sup>Intyre aux heritiers de feu Donald [*sic*] Kennedy," 14 August 1818; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H942-C>), [images 2004-2006 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>158</sup> The Custom of Paris that applied in Lower Canada was clear on this point, and was further explained by Pothier, whose authoritative legal commentary on succession stated: "La parenté est donc une liaison entre deux personnes dont l'une descend de l'autre. . . ."; see Robert-Joseph Pothier, *Oeuvres de Pothier contenant les traités du droit français. Traité des successions, des donations testamentaires, des donations entre vifs, des substitutions, des propres* (Paris: Béchét aîné, 1825), 16; accessed as *Gallica*, (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6490779f/f26>).

Very little is known of Daniel Kennedy. He witnessed a neighbor's wedding in 1800,<sup>159</sup> he owed Joseph's father £14, possibly as an unpaid bar bill at the family tavern,<sup>160</sup> and six months after his father's death, on July 9, 1814, he died in St.-Charles at the age of thirty-four.<sup>161</sup> When he died, what had been his father Donald Kennedy's estate succeeded to Daniel's "uterine brothers," John and Angus McIntyre, and his nephew and niece, Joseph and Angèle McIntyre.<sup>162</sup>

Two years later, when Joseph turned twenty-one, he was entitled to receive approximately £900 from the 1812 sale of his parents' moveable goods,<sup>163</sup> along with

<sup>159</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, p. 138, "Olivier Bétit et therèse Balin" marriage, 11 February 1800; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 272 of 437](#). Daniel Kennedy signed as a witness.

<sup>160</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Inventaire de biens de la comm<sup>e</sup> de Angélique Gosselin avec Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre," 21 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H5LC>), [images 879-890 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>161</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 30 December 1826, page 37, "Daniel Kennedy" burial, 10 July 1814; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 26 of 449](#).

<sup>162</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, "Inventaire et vente des Biens de la succes[sion] de feu Donald [sic] Kennedy," 18 July 1814; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H9HF-X>), [images 1987-2003 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, "Procès verbal de vente des mobil[iers] de la communauté de biens de Angélique Gosselin avec défunt Joseph McIntyre," the "Compte Abrégé du Mobilier" is attached as page 5 of the document, 22 July 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903>

nearly £1,500 inherited from the sale of his uncle Daniel Kennedy's moveable goods.<sup>164</sup> This was more than enough to purchase a piece of land and begin an independent life in St.-Charles or the surrounding area.<sup>165</sup> His mother and step-father held this money in trust for him. But they did not transfer it until Joseph was twenty-six, by which time he was married and expecting his first child.

On October 30, 1820, at the age of twenty-five, Joseph married sixteen-year-old Marie Louise Lecours. Joseph's uncle, John McIntyre, and his step-father, Joseph Duquet, witnessed the event, as did Marie Louise's step-father, Jacques Letourneau, and her maternal uncle, Michel Lepage. The new couple probably lived in the family home with Joseph's mother and step-father.<sup>166</sup> But the following year Joseph and Marie Louise were expecting their first child; it would soon be time for them to acquire their own home.

[/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H52X](#)), [image 895 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, "Compte de curatelle rendu par John M<sup>e</sup>Intyre aux héritiers de feu Donald [sic] Kennedy," 14 August 1818; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H942-C>), [images 2004-2006 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794. The sale of moveable goods (£4,102) and the value of loans due to the estate (£5,702) minus debts (£573) and fees, etc. (£837) left £8,967 to be divided among three inheritors: Daniel's McIntyre half-brothers John, Angus, and the deceased Joseph, whose share would be shared between his children Joseph and Angèle. The land would be shared or sold at a later date.

<sup>165</sup> For example, in the month Joseph turned twenty-one, a contract of sale was concluded for a thirty-acre lot on the sixth range in St.-Gervais for £500. This was not a large lot, at it was probably treed, but Joseph had a legal right to more than four times this amount, and he had the youth required to clear the land and build a house; see *Ibid.*, "Vente par Jean Baptiste Tanguay a Benoit Bernier," 17 June 1816; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H9SG-4>), [image 2964 of 3403](#); citing unbound pages 8 July 1811-14 July 1817, digital film # 8886794.

<sup>166</sup> Donald Kennedy's vacant home on the adjoining property might have been available for their use.

In June 1821, five years after he turned twenty-one, Joseph finally received his inheritance.<sup>167</sup> His mother and step-father transferred the nearly £1,500 they had held in trust from his uncle's estate, and another £998 owed from his father's. On the same day, gathered in the family home, Joseph sat with his wife, his sister and her husband, and his mother and step-father, as a notary wrote an agreement whereby the family would finally share the land and the house.<sup>168</sup> Each couple (Joseph and his wife, his mother and her second husband, and his sister and her husband) received a third of the land. The house was physically divided to accommodate two families: Joseph and Marie Louise on one side, Joseph's mother and step-father on the other. (His sister, Angèle, lived in Québec City and therefore had no interest in the physical division of the family home.)

Two months after this agreement was reached Joseph and Marie Louise's first child, Marie Sophie, was born.<sup>169</sup> It must have been a full house and a long winter for the family; as soon as spring arrived Joseph purchased a small farm in another part of the parish—across the river from his mother and step-father.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, "Quittance par Jos. M<sup>e</sup>Intyre fr[?] de Ang. Gosselin épouse de Jos. Duquet," 12 June 1821; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1811-1840," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-PL36>), [images 3218-3220 of 3345](#); citing boîtes 6-9, 15 July 1817-2 July 1821, digital film # 8884429.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, "Partage des immeubles de pendants de la succession de feu Jos. McIntyre," 12 June 1821; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1811-1840," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LX-P2PF>), [images 3221-3228 of 3345](#); citing boîtes 6-9, 15 July 1817-2 July 1821, digital film 8884429.

<sup>169</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 220, "M<sup>e</sup> Sophie M<sup>e</sup>Kentyre" baptism, 21 August 1821; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 103 of 449](#).

<sup>170</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1820-1825, "Vente par René Pelechat a Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Intyre," 13 March 1822; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1820-1825," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-D9G4-2>), [images 572-574](#)

Thereafter followed a series of family events that made this a turbulent time in Joseph's life. His second child, Marie Louise, was born in January, 1823.<sup>171</sup> In November of that year his mother became ill and died.<sup>172</sup> Four months later, in March, 1824, their third child, Joseph, was born.<sup>173</sup> His household now included three children under the age of three.<sup>174</sup> This intensified Joseph's responsibility to ensure enough food and fuel for his growing family. So it may have been with an eye to future prosperity that Joseph purchased a second piece of land (for only £6 13s.) in a newly opened concession in the neighbouring parish of St.-Gervais.<sup>175</sup>

[of 3404](#); citing unbound pages 18 November 1820-10 September 1825, digital film # 8886804. See also Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Roger Lalièvre, 1793-1847, "Nicolas Allair et son Epouse a Joseph McIntyre," cession, no. 12036, 19 March 1822; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1793-1847," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSYX-H9JC-M>), [images 1652-1655 of 3358](#); citing boîtes 84-89 (no 11755-12276) 4 juin 1821 - 8 nov. 1822, digital film # 8360178.

<sup>171</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 10 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 262, "M<sup>e</sup>L<sup>se</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Kenter" baptism, 15 January 1823; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 139 of 449](#).

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283, "ang<sup>que</sup> gausCelin" burial, 24 November 1823; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1813-1843, [image 149 of 449](#).

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291, "joseph M<sup>e</sup>Kenter" baptism, 2 March 1824; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 153 of 449](#).

<sup>174</sup> "Lower Canada Census, 1825," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9396-MW7F-V>), entry for Jos M<sup>e</sup>Intyre, St.-Charles, Hereford, Lower Canada; citing p. 2, stamped page 200, household 166, "affiliate film number" C-717. Household enumerated as 5 members of the family, 3 children under 6 (i.e., Sophie, Louise, Joseph); 1 male 25-40 y married (Joseph); 1 female 14-45 y married (Marie Louise).

<sup>175</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Larue, 1788-1843, "Concession par Messire Deschenaux, a

Although Joseph and Marie Louise had moved from the land Joseph inherited north of the Boyer River, it was not surprising that they remained in their home parish. According to a contemporary source, French-Canadians “cling with pertinacity to the spot which gave them birth, and cultivate, with contentedness, the little piece of land which, in the division of the family property, has fallen to their share.”<sup>176</sup> In Joseph’s case, although he had left his “little piece of land” and moved to the other side of the Boyer River, he remained close to his birthplace. But a much more distant move was imminent.

On January 7, 1826 Joseph sold his land, house, barn, and stable.<sup>177</sup> Despite the fact that Marie Louise was about seven months pregnant with their fourth child—or perhaps because their growing family made the idea of wage-based employment more attractive than farming—Joseph and Marie Louise had decided to leave their small, rural parish—with its 373 households and 2,238 inhabitants<sup>178</sup>—and head upriver to the colony’s largest urban center—Montréal.

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Jos M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 25 November 1824; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1788-1843,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53L8-5G11>), [images 1910-1912 of 3272](#); citing unbound pages 2 August 1825-23 July 1827, digital film # 8885740. Describes Joseph as a farmer living in St.-Charles; two years later he is described at his daughter’s Montréal burial as a laborer.

<sup>176</sup> Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America or a Topographical and Statistical Description of the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada ... in Two Volumes*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1832), 404; accessed as *Google Books* (<https://books.google.ca/books?id=4J9fAAAACAAJ>).

<sup>177</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph Gosselin, 1825-1850, no. 52, “Vente par Sr et dame Jos. McIntyre au Sr. Th. Boulet,” 7 January 1826; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53L8-5G11>), [images 2147-2151 of 3398](#); citing unbound pages 27 December 1821-23 April 1827, digital film # 8885740.

<sup>178</sup> 1825 census of Lower Canada, Hereford County, St.-Charles, p. 4, household 166, Jos M<sup>c</sup>Intyre; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as “Lower Canada Census, 1825,” *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834346>), path: Hereford > St.-Charles > [image 3 of 6](#).

## Move to Montréal

Joseph and Marie Louise’s fourth child, Angélique, was born in St.-Charles on February 27, 1826. Three months later, their house and farm sold, Joseph and Marie Louise were on a steamboat heading upriver to Montréal.<sup>179</sup> “The arrival of steamboats on the Saint Lawrence in 1809 touched off a genuine revolution in water transportation of goods and people, and contributed to the development of Montréal commerce.”<sup>180</sup> For a young farming couple in Lower Canada in the mid-1820s, Montréal was a dramatic choice. At that time, its population was 22,540—ten times the size of St.-Charles—and it had overtaken Québec City as the “metropolis” of Lower Canada.<sup>181</sup> This growth was due, in large part, to the opening of the Lachine Canal in 1825. The canal was (and remains) a monumental engineering work that circumvented a set of rapids in the St. Lawrence between the island of Montréal and its south shore, making it possible for ocean-going ships to reach the Great Lakes.<sup>182</sup> The canal also led to an economic boom in Montréal because it “caused industry to build up gradually along its banks.

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<sup>179</sup> Canada, St. Lawrence Steamboat Company, 1826, “Quebec Steam Boats Company or Crew,” passenger list, unnumbered pages arranged consecutively by trip “upwards” or “downwards” (i.e., towards or from Montréal), “Continuation of 7th Upwards Trip - June 28, 1826,” right-hand page, No. 72, “Js. McIntyre”; accessed as “Canada, St. Lawrence Steamboat Company Passenger Lists, 1819-1838,” browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/3612/>), path: 1823-1826 > Quebec (May 14 - Nov 14, 1826 - Passengers, Freight, Fuel and Crew) > [image 32 of 123](#); citing St. Lawrence Steamboat Co., Vol. 23, Quebec, May 14 - November 14, 1826; McGill University Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections, MSS475. The fare per adult in this class was 5 d.; the 10 d. fare paid in this entry therefore indicates passage for two adults.

<sup>180</sup> Wayne Timbers, *The Development of Transportation in Montréal, 1820–1918*, 2002, p. 6 (<http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/pdf/eduweb/Ess.Transports.EN.pdf> : accessed 16 December 2023).

<sup>181</sup> Paul-André Linteau, “Montréal,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 17 October 2023, (<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/Montréal>).

<sup>182</sup> Wayne Timbers, *The Development of Transportation in Montréal, 1820–1918*, 2002, p. 3-4. (<http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/pdf/eduweb/Ess.Transports.EN.pdf> : accessed 16 December 2023).

Factories were located here for easy access to the maritime transportation network, taking advantage of the numerous small ports which served as loading and unloading zones.”<sup>183</sup> Joseph and Marie Louise found lodgings in the Montréal neighborhood of St.-Laurent.<sup>184</sup> For laborers, which Joseph had now become, there were many opportunities.<sup>185</sup> The economic draw of this burgeoning city was probably the impetus for the family’s move from farming to city life; neither Joseph nor Marie Louise had any siblings or other near relatives who moved to Montréal around this time.<sup>186</sup>

At some point, if not from the start, Joseph and Marie Louise’s children presumably joined their parents in Montréal.<sup>187</sup> But just as they were settling into their new urban life, more issues regarding the McIntyre property in St.-Charles needed to be settled, and sadness

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>184</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Ruel, 1818-1863, “Cession et abandon par S[r]. J. Duquet a S[r]. J. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre et Angele M<sup>c</sup>Intyre épouse de J. F. Costin,” 9 December 1826; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1818-1863,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H9X1-Z>), [images 2540-2542 of 3426](#); citing unbound pages 15 November 1824-8 September 1827, digital film # 8886798.

<sup>185</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1826 to 31 December 1826, folio 249, S. 702, “Angélique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 11 December 1826; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 259 of 777](#).

<sup>186</sup> The parish priest, Jean-Baptiste Perras, had a widowed sister who lived in Montréal around this time. But she had died the previous March, 1825, age sixty-six. See Notre-Dame Parish, (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1825 to 31 December 1825, folio 54, S. 124, “Joseph Perras” burial, 30 March 1825; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1823-1825, [image 570 of 792](#).

<sup>187</sup> Surviving steamboat passenger lists do not include an upriver trip for Joseph with enough others to indicate the family traveled there all at once. See “Canada, St. Lawrence Steamboat Company Passenger Lists, 1819-1838,” browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/3612/>).

struck. On December 8, 1826, six-month-old Angélique died in Montréal.<sup>188</sup> Joseph, however, was probably in St.-Charles at the time of his daughter’s death. The day after she died, he was present at a meeting in St.-Charles in which his step-father, Joseph Duquet, relinquished his claim to the ten-acre strip of land on what had been the McIntyre family farm. Duquet had received this land three years earlier as a bequest from his wife, and Joseph’s mother, Angélique Gosselin.<sup>189</sup> In turn, she had inherited the land from the communauté de biens she had shared with her first husband. But her bequest contravened inheritance laws that “prohibited spouses who remarried from transferring the property of their deceased spouse to their new spouse by gift or bequest and from alienating this property to the detriment of the children from their first marriage.”<sup>190</sup> In relinquishing the property, which Duquet had possessed for about three years, he said he had only taken possession of it through ignorance.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1826 to 31 December 1826, folio 249, S. 702, “Angélique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 11 December 1826; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 259 of 777](#).

<sup>189</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Ruel, 1818-1863, “Cession et abandon par S[r]. J. Duquet a S[r]. J. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre et Angele M<sup>c</sup>Intyre épouse de J. F. Costin,” 9 December 1826; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1818-1863,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H9X1-Z>), [images 2540-2542 of 3426](#); citing unbound pages 15 November 1824-8 September 1827, digital film # 8886798.

<sup>190</sup> Laura Cárdenas, “Married Couple, Single Recipient: Understanding the Exclusion of Gifts and Inheritances from Default Matrimonial Regimes,” *Canadian Journal of Family Law* 31, (2018): 1-54, specifically 35; image copy, Allard Research Commons (<https://commons.allard.ubc.ca/can-j-fam-l/vol31/iss2/1/>).

<sup>191</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Ruel, 1818-1863, “Cession par J. McIntyre a J. F. Costin,” 9 December 1826; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1818-1863,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H9F4-7>), [images 2546-2548 of 3426](#); citing unbound pages 15 November 1824-8 September 1827, digital film # 8886798.

In the same meeting, Joseph immediately transferred his half of the recovered land to his sister and brother-in-law who had relocated from Québec City and were now living in the home on the property.<sup>192</sup> That matter settled, the notary's work continued. He recorded a loan of fifty *piastres à l'Espagne* to Joseph from his brother-in-law, Jean Frédéric Costin.<sup>193</sup> This was equivalent to fifty American dollars, and Joseph repaid the loan five months later.<sup>194</sup> It was, perhaps, spending money for Joseph while in St.-Charles, where he perhaps remained for the winter. Certainly the St. Lawrence was frozen at that time of year, so if he returned to Montréal that winter, it was not by steamboat, but by the road along the north bank of the St. Lawrence. Even if he had left St.-Charles a day or so after these agreements were drawn up, the overland route to Montréal could take between four and six days,<sup>195</sup> which meant Marie Louise was left alone in Montréal to bury their six-month-old daughter, Angélique, on December 11, 1826.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., "Obligation par J. F. Costin favr.[?] J. M<sup>e</sup>Intyre," 9 December 1826; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1818-1863," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-H9V4-W>), [image 2544-2546 of 3426](#); citing unbound pages 15 November 1824-8 September 1827, digital film # 8886798.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., "Pardevant les Notaires Publics ... Sr. Joseph McIntyre demeurant en le fauxbourg Saint Laurent de la Ville de Montréal. . . ." quittance, 7 May 1827; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1818-1863," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LL-H9D8-G>), [image 2972 of 3426](#); citing unbound pages 15 November 1824-8 September 1827, digital film # 8886798.

<sup>195</sup> Léon Robichaud, "Vive le bateau à vapeur," *Sociétés et territoires*, 2019-2024 (<https://primaire.recitus.qc.ca/sujet/organisation/bas-canada-1820/content/vive-le-bateau-a-vapeur>). Claims "au temps de la Nouvelle-France, ça prenait entre 4 et 6 jours pour faire le trajet Québec-Montréal. Dans le journal le Mercury, on dit des bateaux à vapeur, qu'ils font le voyage entre Québec et Montréal en soixante-six heures (un peu moins de trois jours)." [In the time of New France it took between four and six days to make the trip from Québec to Montréal. In the *Mercury* newspaper it says steamboats made the trip between Québec and Montréal in sixty-six hours (a little less than three days).]

<sup>196</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1826 to 31 December 1826, folio 249, S. 702, "Angélique M<sup>e</sup>Intyre" burial, 11 December 1826; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www>

Once Joseph returned to Montréal, more sadness and another return to St.-Charles were in store. The couple's last child, Rosalie, was born in Montréal on August 20, 1827 and died five days later.<sup>197</sup> This second infant death may have led Joseph and Marie Louise to reconsider their move to Montréal. They left that city and returned to St.-Charles some time prior to January, 1831. In that month their seven-year-old daughter, Marie Louise, died and was buried in St.-Charles.<sup>198</sup> Later the same year, Joseph, his wife, and their two surviving children were living with Joseph's sister's family in the home on the family farm north of the Boyer River.<sup>199</sup>

[.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742](https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742)), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 259 of 777](#).

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., "Paroisse Notre-Dame Registre des Baptemes, Mariages, et Sepultures, 1827," folio 161, B. 748, "Rose MacKenter" baptism, 21 August 1827; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 436 of 777](#). Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), "Paroisse Notre-Dame Registre des Baptêmes, Mariages, et Sépultures, 1827," folio 167, S. 477, "M. Rosalie M<sup>e</sup>Intyre" burial, 29 August 1827; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 443 of 777](#).

<sup>198</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), "Registre pour S<sup>t</sup> Charles Rivière Boyer," church register from 16 January 1827 to 10 October 1843, p. 83, "M<sup>e</sup> Louise M<sup>e</sup>Kenter" burial, 30 January 1831; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 248 of 449](#).

<sup>199</sup> 1831 census of Lower Canada, Bellechasse County, St.-Charles, p. 5, unnumbered line 28, J. F. Costin; accessed as "Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1831," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834329>), path: Bellechasse > St.-Charles > [image 4 of 17](#). The household contains ten people of sexes and ages that match the composition of the families of Joseph and his sister Angèle; assuming Angèle's second daughter, Marie Angèle, died before 1831; no record found (to date) of her death or marriage.

### Hard times in St.-Charles

The family had fallen on hard times. Three of their four children had died, and Joseph had started to drink. He spent time, and money, in cabarets. He was physically and verbally abusive towards Marie Louise. His children witnessed this violence as their parents' marriage dissolved. His wife moved back home with her mother in St.-Gervais and petitioned the Court of King's Bench for a formal separation. By then, Joseph and Marie Louise had been living with (or taken in by) the parish priest, Jean Baptiste Perras. Their belongings were seized from the priest's home in anticipation of an auction to divide their value between Joseph and Marie Louise as part of a separation agreement. One year later, however, Marie Louise had not proceeded with her case.<sup>200</sup> Instead, she returned to Montréal where she lived separately from her husband until at least the early 1850s and possibly until the end of his life.<sup>201</sup>

Two years after his wife's petition for a separation Joseph was still in St.-Charles where he was working (or perhaps not working) as a laborer. His sister and brother-in-law seem to have taken him in, or at least taken care of him. To thank them "for the care they have provided and are still providing daily," he transferred ownership to them of his remaining strip of land, which was adjacent to theirs. In return, they paid him eighteen Louis and eighteen shillings, but this must have been below market value.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>200</sup> District of Québec, Québec, Cour du Banc du Roi, Matières civiles en général, 1794-1849, dossier no. 976, "M. L. Lecours c. Jos McIntire d. McKenter," séparation de corps et de biens, 5 May 1835; accessed as digital scan of dossier supplied on 6 February 2024 by Nancy Bélanger, Technicienne en documentation, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec à Québec.

<sup>201</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, Montréal, Queen's Ward, folio 1468, line 24, "Wid<sup>m</sup> McIntire," 11 August 1842; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as "Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Montréal > Montréal (à l'extérieur de la ville) > [image 531 of 583](#).

<sup>202</sup> Montmagny, Québec, Actes de Joseph Gosselin, "cession gratuite [transfert] Par Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre a Jean Fred: Costin," 5 April 1837; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1792-1826," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LV-M97L-N>), [images](#)

The following year, 1838, his minor daughter Sophie married local mason André Lemelin.<sup>203</sup> Their first child, an unnamed son, was born in St.-Charles on May 30, 1840 and buried the same day.<sup>204</sup> Soon afterwards, Sophie and André moved to Québec City where they had two more children, Marie Sophie in 1842,<sup>205</sup> and Andre in 1843.<sup>206</sup> Both survived to adulthood. But while his daughter was making a new life for herself in Québec City, his sister Angèle was enduring her own domestic difficulty.

In 1841 Angèle petitioned for and ultimately received a court-ordered separation of goods (*séparation*

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[3055-3057 of 3406](#); citing unbound pages 20 June 1832-9 October 1837, digital film # 8886375.

<sup>203</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), "Registre pour S<sup>t</sup> Charles Rivière Boyer," church register from 16 January 1827 to 10 October 1843, p. 306, "André Lemelin & Sophie M<sup>c</sup>Intyre" marriage, 2 October 1838; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843 > [image 362 of 449](#).

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, unidentified church register submitted to *greffe* for baptisms, marriages, and burials from 7 January 1840 to 31 December 1840, folio 9 *verso*, "un Enfant anonime d'André Lemelin" burial, 13 May 1840; accessed as "Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968," browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/1091/>), path: > Saint > St-Charles Bellechasse > 1840 > [image 10 of 25](#). Register specifies this child was a son who was born at home and died soon after; event not recorded in the register kept by the parish office.

<sup>205</sup> St.-Roch Parish (Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1842 to 30 December 1842, folio 75 *verso*, B. 303, "Marie Sophie Lemelin" baptism, 11 June 1842; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Saint-Roch-de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1841-1843 > [image 278 of 582](#).

<sup>206</sup> No baptism record located in St.-Roch or Notre-Dame parish registers (Québec, Québec). His 1872 burial record notes he was 28 years old; see St.-Roch Parish (Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1872 to 31 December 1872, folio 75 *verso*, S. 52, "André Lemelin" burial, 2 February 1872; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Saint-Roch-de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1870-1872 > [image 399 of 583](#).

*de biens*) from her husband because the debts he had incurred threatened the assets she had brought into their marriage.<sup>207</sup> The case was delayed by Costin's repeated failure to appear in court and Angèle's own delinquency—after her case succeeded—in paying a court-ordered amount owed to retain her property north of the Boyer River. Ultimately, Costin moved out of the family home in St.-Charles and Angèle remained there to raise their eight children.<sup>208</sup> Three years later, and still owing the debt she owed to retain her land, she died at the age of forty-six.<sup>209</sup>

### Québec City

In the early 1850s Joseph, now in his mid-fifties and abandoned by his wife, lived with his daughter and her young family in a rented home in the St.-Roch district of

Québec City.<sup>210</sup> This “was a working-class community without public lighting, water, or sewers until the second half of the nineteenth century. Although labourers worked in the nearby shipyards, many artisans worked in shops near their homes.”<sup>211</sup> That may have been true for Joseph, who worked as an “*empailleur de chaises*” (chair caner) from this point until the end of his life.<sup>212</sup>

Inexplicably, at a time when his wife had been living in Montréal for a decade—and claiming to be his widow—Joseph (or someone in his household) had her enumerated as both a non-member and an absent member of the family on that year's census.<sup>213</sup> The couple, perhaps reconciled, were together in Québec City in the spring of 1853 for at least the time it took to write their wills.<sup>214</sup> Joseph, described in his will as a

<sup>207</sup> District of Québec, Québec, Cour du Banc du Roi, Matières civiles en général, 1794-1849, dossier no. 1000, “Ang. McIntyre c. Jean Frédéric Costin,” séparation de biens, 5 June 1841; accessed as digital scan of dossier supplied on 1 February 2024 by Nancy Bélanger, Technicienne en documentation, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec à Québec. On August 7, 1841, having won her case in court, Angélique renounced the communauté de biens she shared with her husband and thereby protected the assets she had inherited from her father and step-grandfather through her half-uncle Daniel. See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph Gosselin, 1825-1850, “Renonciation par Angélique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre de la communauté qui a été entre elle & Jean f. Costin,” 7 August 1841; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1825-1850,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LJ-F99S-J>), [images 2470-2471 of 3408](#); citing unbound pages 12 October 1838-5 December 1842, digital film # 8885743.

<sup>208</sup> Costin has not been located on the 1842 census; returns for St.-Charles are missing and there is no evidence of him in the returns of Québec City. However, I have assumed after the separation of their community property, he moved elsewhere and Angélique remained in the home in St.-Charles which was now hers alone.

<sup>209</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 17 October 1843 to 16 November 1852, page 46, “Angele M<sup>c</sup>Kentyre” burial, 21 November 1844; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1844-1865, [image 28 of 504](#).

<sup>210</sup> “Canada Census, 1851,” database, *Library and Archives Canada* (<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1851/Pages/item.aspx?itemid=963108>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1794), St. John ward, Québec City, Québec County, Québec City, Québec; citing dist. 38, subdist. 558, p. 1664, “affiliate film number” C-1161.

<sup>211</sup> Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 143.

<sup>212</sup> His occupation is recorded in an 1850 lease and his 1859 hospital admission record, see: Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Michel Tessier, 1820-1863, no. 7112, “Bail Frns: Villeneuve à Jos: M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 20 April 1850; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1820-1863,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LJ-Z99C-T>), [images 1708-1710 of 3455](#); citing boîtes 50-54 (no 6586-7636) 12 February 1849-16 September 1851, digital film # 8885691. For hospital admission, see Hotel-Dieu, Québec, unidentified register, p. 408, unnumbered entry 4, “Joseph McIntyre,” admitted 14 May 1859; accessed as “Registres journaliers des malades, 1689-1876,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-9596-1W>), [image 208 of 467](#); citing “Registres des malades, 1 juin 1852 - 31 janv. 1866,” digital film # 4541989.

<sup>213</sup> *McLaughlin's Quebec Directory* (Québec: S. McLaughlin, [1856]), 118. “M<sup>c</sup>Intyre, Joseph, labourer, St. Marguerite, s. r. [St. Roch ward]”; accessed as *Canadiana* (<https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.38038/142>), [image 142](#).

<sup>214</sup> The grammar of Marie Louise's will is unclear regarding what might be her location of residence: “Marie-Louise Lecourt épouse de Sieur Joseph McIntyre ancien agriculteur, demeurant en la paroisse St. Roch. . . .” [Marie-Louise Lecourt, wife of Mister Joseph McIntyre former farmer, living in the parish of St. Roch. . . .]. St. Roch may refer to her husband because he is the last subject named in the preceding clause; but it presumably refers to her See Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Germain Guay, 1829-1887, no. 10168,

“former farmer” rather than a laborer, bequeathed his estate to Marie Louise, whom he described as his “beloved wife.”<sup>215</sup> On the other hand, Marie Louise bequeathed her estate to one of her grandchildren and did not mention her husband.<sup>216</sup> If Joseph and Marie Louise had reconciled at this time, it did not last long.

In May, 1859, Joseph was admitted to hospital in Québec City for an unrecorded illness.<sup>217</sup> He remained in the hospital for about four months until his death on September 1, 1859.<sup>218</sup> He was buried two days later in the Cimetière Notre-Dame-de-Belmont.<sup>219</sup>

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“Testament de Dme. M. Lse. Lecourt épouse de Sr. Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 10 June 1853; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1829-1887,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LZ-3PQG>), [images 2362-2363 of 2838](#); citing boîtes 44-47 (9225-10340) 1 avril 1851 - 8 nov. 1853, digital film # 8883157.

<sup>215</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Germain Guay, 1829-1887, no. 10169, “Testament de Sr. Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 10 June 1853; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1829-1887,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-53LZ-3LL2>), [images 2360-2361 of 2838](#); citing boîtes 44-47 (9225-10340) 1 avril 1851 - 8 nov. 1853, digital film # 8883157.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 10168, “Testament de Dme. M. Lse. Lecourt épouse de Sr. Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 10 June 1853; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1829-1887,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LZ-3PQG>), [images 2362-2363 of 2838](#); citing boîtes 44-47 (9225-10340) 1 avril 1851 - 8 nov. 1853, digital film # 8883157.

<sup>217</sup> Hotel-Dieu, Québec, unidentified register, p. 408, unnumbered entry 4, “Joseph McIntyre,” admitted 14 May 1859; accessed as “Registres journaliers des malades, 1689-1876,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-9596-1W>), [image 208 of 467](#); citing Registres des malades, 1 juin 1852 - 31 janv. 1866, digital film # 4541989.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429, unnumbered entry 10, “Joseph McIntyre,” died 10 September 1859; accessed as “Registres journaliers des malades, 1689-1876,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-959D-P9>), [image 224 of 467](#); citing *Registre Journalier des Malades*, p. 429, line 13, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” digital film # 4541989.

<sup>219</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1858 to 30 December 1859, *folio* 77, S. 229, “Joseph McIntyre” burial, 11 September 1859; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Notre-Dame-de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1858-1865, [image 216 of 603](#).

## MARIE LOUISE’S PARENTAGE AND LIFE STORY

Marie Louise was the last of ten children born to Ignace Lecours and Josephite Marie Lepage. The parish register records that she was born in St.-Charles on February 27, 1804, “of the legitimate marriage of Ignace Lecourt, farmer, and of Marie Josephite Lepage. . . .”<sup>220</sup> Her marriage register corroborates her parentage. It describes her as the “daughter of the deceased Ignace Lecours and Josephite Lepage, her mother and father.”<sup>221</sup>

Like her husband, Marie Louise suffered the early loss of her father. Ignace Lecours died before 1818, when Marie Louise was no more than fourteen years old.<sup>222</sup> In that year her mother married Jacques

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<sup>220</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1796 to 3 December 1812, page 24, “M. Louise Lecourt” baptism, 28 February 1804; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1773-1812, [image 355 of 437](#).

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, pages 191-192, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Kenter et Marie Louise Lecours” marriage, 30 October 1820; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 103 of 449](#).

<sup>222</sup> Her father wrote his will 14 Sep 1814, see Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, “Testament de ignace Lecour,” 14 September 1814; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1811-1840,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3L8-TCSJ>), [images 1106-1108 of 3363](#); citing boîtes 1-3 (21 May 1811-180 November 1814), digital film# 8884057. An Ignace Lecours was buried in 1815 but the register notes this man was “agé d’environs trente six ans. . . .” [aged about thirty-six years] whereas Marie Louise’s father would have been 64 years old. Nonetheless, this is the only burial for an Ignace Lecours that may refer to Marie Louise’s father. For the 1815 burial see St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 60, “ignace Lecours” burial, 20 July 1815; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 37 of 449](#).

Letourneau.<sup>223</sup> Letourneau was the recently widowed husband of Marie-Marthe Naud dit Labrie whose brother, Jacques, lived next to the McIntyre farm north of the Boyer River. It was perhaps through this connection that Marie Louise met Joseph. On the other hand, as a small rural parish, St.-Charles was the type of small farming community where this sort of connection between neighbors and families was common and practically inevitable.

In 1820, when Marie Louise married Joseph McIntyre in the parish of St.-Charles, she was living in the parish of St.-Gervais.<sup>224</sup> The distinction between the two communities was negligible and nearly arbitrary. The northernmost lots in St.-Gervais adjoined the southernmost lots in St.-Charles, and it was in that area—south of the Boyer River—that Marie Louise’s family lived.<sup>225</sup> More distinctive was whether one’s farm

was north or south of the river. The McIntyre farm was on the north; Marie Louise’s father owned two acreages on the south: one in the parish of St.-Charles and the other in the adjoining parish of St.-Gervais.<sup>226</sup>

Married at sixteen, Marie Louise was the mother of four children by the time she was twenty-two: Marie Sophie was born in 1821,<sup>227</sup> Marie Louise in 1823,<sup>228</sup> Joseph in 1824,<sup>229</sup> and Angelique was born on Marie Louise’s twenty-second birthday, February 27, 1826.<sup>230</sup> After the birth of her fourth child Marie Louise and her husband moved to Montréal where their fifth and last child, Rosalie, was born in Montréal in August, 1827. She was likely named after Marie Louise’s “infirm”

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/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3L8-TCSJ), [images 1106-1108 of 3363](#); citing boîtes 1-3 (21 May 1811-18 November 1814), digital film # 8884057.

<sup>226</sup> For a list of lands owned shortly before her father’s death, see Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, “Donation par Ignace Lecour et son Épouse faveur de Laurent Lecour,” 14 September 1812; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1811-1840,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3L8-THRF>), [images 1097-1105 of 3363](#); citing boîtes 1-3 (21 May 1811-18 November 1814), digital film # 8884429.

<sup>227</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 220, “M<sup>e</sup> Sophie M<sup>e</sup> Kentyre” baptism, 21 August 1821; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 118 of 449](#).

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, page 262, “M<sup>e</sup> L<sup>se</sup> M<sup>e</sup> Kenter” baptism, 15 January 1823; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 139 of 449](#).

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, page 291, “Joseph M<sup>e</sup> Kenter” baptism, 2 March 1824; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 153 of 449](#).

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, page 360, “Angélique M<sup>e</sup> Kenter” baptism, 17 February 1826; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 188 of 449](#).

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<sup>223</sup> Sts.-Gervais-et-Prottais Parish (Saint-Gervais-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1831 to 24 January 1845, folio 45 *recto*, “Maturin Labrie et Marie Josephthe Lepage” marriage, 3 November 1835; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saints-Gervais-et-Prottais > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1829-1845, [image 265 of 615](#).

<sup>224</sup> Her father had purchased a 3 x 30 arpent farm in the parish of St.-Gervais in 1800. See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Vente par Pierre Couture et son épouse à Ignace Lecour,” 25 July 1800; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-D9SV-Z>), [images 400-402 of 3112](#); citing unbound pages 22 February 1800-30 September 1811, digital film # 8886785. By 1810 some of this land had been transferred to Marie Louis’s brother Charles and in that year her father transferred another 3 x 10½ arpent portion to Joseph Morr. See Montmagny, Québec, Actes de notaire, Louis Turgeon, 1792-1826, “Cession par Ignace Lecour a Joseph Morr,” 6 October 1810; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1792-1826,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LL-8S9Z-L>), [images 2738-2740 of 3401](#); citing unbound pages 22 February 1800-30 September 1811, digital film # 8886785.

<sup>225</sup> Her father’s will specifies that he lives in St.-Charles “au sud de la Rivière Boyer. . . .” [south of the Boyer River]. See Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, “Testament de ignace Lecour,” 14 September 1814; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1811-1840,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:>

sister of the same name.<sup>231</sup> Sadly, Marie Louise's daughter Rosalie only lived for five days, and Marie Louise and her husband soon returned to St.-Charles.<sup>232</sup>

Once back in St.-Charles (if not before) Joseph became verbally and physically abusive towards Marie Louise, but she had limited options to escape her husband's alcoholic behavior and violence. Under the law, "alcoholism without violence was not sufficient reason [for a wife] to request a separation."<sup>233</sup> Marie Louise also experienced violence, but the archbishop of Québec, Joseph-Octave Plessis, described only two behaviors in a marital situation like this to justify a wife's separation from her husband:

"... adultery or mistreatment that would reasonably cause a wife's death or the loss of one of her limbs." The blows must be "murderous", according to a manuscript treatise from the end of the 1830s [note 69]. Civil law was no more comforting for wives. The jurist Robert-Joseph Pothier wrote: "A slap or a punch that a man gives to his wife, which could be a cause of separation between people of honest condition, will not be such between common people,

unless they [the mistreatments] have often been repeated."<sup>234</sup>

With limited options, Marie Louise moved back to her mother's home in St.-Gervais and in May, 1835 she petitioned the court for a legal separation (*séparation de corps et biens*) from her husband. One year later, she had not pursued her case, perhaps because, by that time, she had moved to Montréal, where she was living in 1842.<sup>235</sup>

If Marie Louise had moved to Montréal as early as 1836, she would not have been present at the marriage of her seventeen-year-old daughter, Marie Sophie, to André Lemelin in St.-Charles on October 2, 1838, or when that couple's first child—and Marie Louise's first grandchild—was born (likely stillborn) on May 12, 1840 and buried the next day.<sup>236</sup> These events would perhaps explain, in part, what appears to have been an estrangement between mother and daughter later in Marie Louise's life. When Marie Louise wrote her will in 1853, she named one of her granddaughters as her sole beneficiary; her daughter was not named at all.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 245-46; citing (note 69) Augustin Tessier, "Tracateur de matrimoine," unpublished treatise, 550; Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe.

<sup>235</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, Montréal, Queen's Ward, folio 1468, line 24, "Wid<sup>w</sup> McIntire," 11 August 1842; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as "Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Montréal > Montréal (à l'extérieur de la ville) > [image 531 of 583](#).

<sup>236</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register for baptisms, marriages, and burials from 7 January 1840 to 31 December 1840, folio 9 verso, "un enfant anonyme d'André Lemelin" burial, 13 May 1840; accessed as "Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968," browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/1091/>), path: > Saint > St-Charles Bellechasse > 1840, image 10 of 25. Register specifies this child was a son who was born at home and died soon after; the event was not recorded in the register kept by the parish office.

<sup>237</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Germain Guay, 1829-1887, no. 10168, "Testament de Dme. M. Lse. Lecourt épouse de Sr. Jos. M<sup>e</sup>Intyre," 10 June 1853; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1829-1887," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LZ-3PQG>), [images 2362-2363 of 2838](#); citing boîtes 44-47 (9225-10340) 1 avril 1851 - 8 nov. 1853, digital film # 8883157.

<sup>231</sup> The terms of her father's donation of land to her brother, Laurent, in return for his care of their aging parents, notes Rosalie's unspecified infirmity. Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, François-Xavier Lefebvre, 1811-1840, "Donation par Ignace Lecour et son Epouse faveur de Laurent Lecour," 14 September 1812; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1811-1840," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3L8-THRF>), [images 1097-1105 of 3363](#); citing boîtes 1-3 (21 May 1811-18 November 1814), digital film # 8884429.

<sup>232</sup> They were back in St.-Charles by January, 1831; see St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), "Registre pour S<sup>t</sup> Charles Rivière Boyer," church register from 16 January 1827 to 10 October 1843, p. 83, "M<sup>e</sup> Louise M<sup>e</sup>Kenter" burial, 30 January 1831; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 248 of 449](#).

<sup>233</sup> Gagnon, *Mariage et famille*, 245.

What is certain is that, by 1842, Marie Louise was living with her son Joseph—apart from her husband—in Montréal.<sup>238</sup> By leaving her husband Marie Louise was breaking the law. The civil code of Lower Canada was clear: “A wife is obliged to live with her husband, and to follow him wherever he thinks fit to reside.”<sup>239</sup> The Church was also against her. As recently as 1816, the bishop of Québec described the fate that awaited a wife who left her husband, or vice versa:

A wife cannot on her own authority separate from her husband, or a husband from his wife. If their separation is not mutually consented, the party who refuses to join the other must be denied absolution until they can show to their confessor an authorization from a civil judge, obtained in court, or permission from a superior in the church, to live separately.<sup>240</sup>

From the start of her new life in Montréal, Marie Louise therefore claimed to be a widow—a status that would have been acceptable to employers as she looked for work. But the search would not have been easy.

Widows who sought jobs in Montréal in this period were seeking work often in competition with children and unskilled males. Unless they possessed a skill that was in demand, they had little option but to take the worst-paying factory jobs or to work in the casual and irregular sphere of private service, shunned by men as “women’s work.”<sup>241</sup>

To increase her household income, Marie Louise’s son Joseph lived with her and was available to work. In Montréal at this time, most widows (whether in fact or in name only) had children, and as soon as those children were old enough to work “it was their contribution to the family economy that became crucial and that distinguished widows’ families from those with two parents.”<sup>242</sup> Marie Louise and her son Joseph rented a home in Montréal’s Griffintown near the Lachine Canal.<sup>243</sup> This working-class neighborhood was close to jobs in Griffintown’s “factories, metal workshops, breweries, printing plants, shipping companies and other industries.”<sup>244</sup> Those other industries included William Smith’s brickworks, about a block from Marie Louise and Joseph’s home, where Joseph worked.<sup>245</sup>

As French-Canadians in Griffintown at this time, Marie Louise and Joseph were unusual. It was a predominantly Irish neighborhood whose residents provided the cheap labor for Griffintown’s industries and

<sup>242</sup> Bradbury, “Surviving as a Widow,” specifically 152-53.

<sup>243</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, Montréal, Queen’s Ward, folio 1468, line 24, “Wid<sup>w</sup> McIntire,” 11 August 1842; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as “Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842,” *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Montréal > Montréal (à l’extérieur de la ville) > [image 531 of 583](#).

<sup>244</sup> Ville de Montréal, *Master Plan*, sec. 4.8.1, “Griffintown,” n.d. ([https://ville.Montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?\\_pageid=2762,3101117&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](https://ville.Montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=2762,3101117&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)).

<sup>245</sup> That Joseph was a brickmaker is noted, *inter al.*, on his marriage register. See St.-Antoine Parish (St.-Antoine-de-Longueuil, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1840 to 31 December 1846, folio 153 *recto*, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Inter Kennedy Et Elisabeth Lottridge” marriage, 30 October 1843; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Longueuil > Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1840-1846, [image 174 of 346](#). For the Smith family brickworks as Joseph’s place of employment, Joseph would later admit “The person from who [*sic*] he took the money [in fact, a cow, stolen from brick factory owner William Smith] owe’d him.” See Kingston Penitentiary, “Liberation Question Book,” book 2 being prisoners’ replied from 3 November 1845 to 8 May 1850, folio 238 *recto*, “Joseph Mac Intyre R. C.”; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-2002,” database with images, *Canadiana* ([https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t2002/352](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2002/352)), [image 352 of 424](#).

<sup>238</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, “Wid<sup>w</sup> McIntire,” 11 August 1842.

<sup>239</sup> Thomas McCord, *The Civil Code of Lower Canada*, (Montréal: Dawson Brothers, 1867), 27; accessed as “The Civil Code of Lower Canada,” browsable images, *Canadiana* (<https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.40178/96>).

<sup>240</sup> Gagnon, *Mariage et famille*, 237-38.

<sup>241</sup> Bettina Bradbury, “Surviving as a Widow in 19th-century Montréal,” *Urban History Review* 17 (February 1989): 148-60, specifically 151.

jobs related to shipping in the Lachine Canal.<sup>246</sup> The twenty-nine other households in their immediate vicinity included one hundred and forty three people, of whom eighty six (or 60%) were born in Ireland and another thirty-three (23%) were born in Canada and of British origin. Of the remaining residents, only Marie Louise and one other were born in Canada and of French origin.<sup>247</sup>

While in Griffintown, Marie Louise's life took a dramatic turn based on several events precipitated by her son. Joseph married in 1843, and although his bride lived across the river in Longueuil, the newlyweds likely lived with Marie Louise. That would have allowed Joseph to retain his job at the brickworks, and this arrangement would have continued after the birth of his daughter, Marie Virginie, in the spring of 1844. But soon after this child was born, Joseph's marriage dissolved. In 1845 Joseph was arrested for theft and remanded to the Montréal Prison where he transferred responsibility for his young daughter to Marie Louise.<sup>248</sup> Now forty-two years old, Marie Louise—estranged from her husband and daughter and physically separated from her son—was left without the income and assistance Joseph had provided in their shared household. She also became the primary caregiver (“both mother and father,” in the words of the custody agreement)<sup>249</sup> for her two-year old grandchild.

Despite these difficulties, Marie Louise remained in Montréal for the next decade. In 1848, perhaps with her four-year-old granddaughter in tow, she rented a house

on an unnamed street in the faubourg Ste.-Marie.<sup>250</sup> Something about this lease made the deal fall through—probably the price. Twelve days later she arranged a second lease on a nearby residence that cost fifteen pounds a year instead of twenty-one.<sup>251</sup> But unlike the first lease, which was for an entire house, she would now occupy only one side of a one-story house. Whether Marie Louise stayed in this location for more than a year is unknown.<sup>252</sup> But by 1852 she had moved out of the faubourg Ste.-Marie and was living in the St.-Laurent neighborhood that she and her husband had first moved to twenty-six years earlier.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., no. 6296, “Bail à loyer par Sr. Augustin Gadouri a Marie Louise Lecourt Ve Jos. M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” 1 April 1848; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1833-1881,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-532M-SS9C-B>), [images 1722-1725 of 3205](#); citing boîtes 20-22 (no 5908-6689) 1 September 1847-24 November 1848, digital film # 8876724. The house is on an unnamed street between Montcalm and Visitation. It was unnamed on an 1850 map, named rue Bonaparte on an 1872 map, and is now covered by the Maison Radio Canada and/or autoroute Ville-Marie.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., no. 6335, “Bail à loyer par Mr François Chef Vadeboncoeur a Marie Louise Lecourt veuve Jos. M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” 13 April 1848; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1833-1881,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R32M-SSW4-D>), [images 1868-1870 of 3205](#); citing boîtes 20-22 (no 5908-6689) 1 September 1847-24 November 1848, digital film # 8876724.

<sup>252</sup> Marie Louise is not listed in the 1848 Montréal directory; see Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Montréal Directory* (Montréal: Lovell and Gibson, [1848]); accessed as *Collection d'annuaire Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652179>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale (1842-1977) > 1840 à 1849 > 1848 > Montréal directory. She is not the Mary McIntyre living in a house on Colborne Avenue, listed on page 160 (image 148 of 240) of the 1848 directory. Nor is she listed in the same series of directories for the years 1849 or 1850. No directory was published in 1851.

<sup>253</sup> Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Montréal Directory*, (Montréal: Lovell and Gibson, [1848]), p. 161; accessed as *Collection d'annuaire Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652179>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale (1842-1977) > 1850 à 1859 > 1852 > Montréal directory > image 152 of 246. “M<sup>e</sup>Intyre, Mrs. Jos., Lagauchetière near St. Lawrence.” This would be the corner of present-day rue De La Gauchetière and boulevard Saint-Laurent.

<sup>246</sup> Golroo Mofarrah, “Griffintown,” (M.Arch., McGill University, 2009), 47; digitized as eScholarship@McGill (<https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/concern/papers/w9505077h>).

<sup>247</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, “Wid<sup>m</sup> McIntire,” 11 August 1842. Joseph was not one of the two “natives of Canada - French.” He was counted among the “natives of Canada - British” despite the fact that he was, ethnically, three-quarters French.

<sup>248</sup> Montréal, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph-Hilarion Jobin, 1833-1881, no. 5280, “Consentement de Joseph McIntyre a Marie Louise Lecour, sa mère, d'élever et prendre soin de sa fille,” 27 January 1846; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1833-1881,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R32M-MSXK-Z>), [images 3049-3051 of 3213](#); citing boîtes 17-19 (no 5313-5907) 13 February 1846-31 August 1847, digital film # 8876723.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

Marie-Louise had by then lived as a widowed woman in Montréal for at least a decade. In that time, the city's population had more than doubled,<sup>254</sup> and by the early 1850s Montréal was becoming an important industrial and transportation city. Knowing where in this growing city Marie Louise was living in 1852 is critical for placing her in the context of one of Montréal's most catastrophic events—The Great Fire of 1852.

The Great Fire of 1852 was a fire in Montréal that began on July 8, 1852, and left as many as 10,000 people homeless (at a time when the city's population was only 57,000) and destroyed almost half of the city's housing. The fire occurred at a time when the city's recently constructed reservoir, located at the site of today's Saint-Louis Square, was drained and closed for repairs. The first fire broke out at a tavern on St. Lawrence Boulevard and spread quickly, fanned by strong winds and hot, dry summer weather.<sup>255</sup>

Although she lived near St. Lawrence boulevard—site of the tavern that started the fire—Marie Louise might have narrowly escaped homelessness. Her address on Lagauchetière was a block from the area of most destruction, as shown on map 1.

<insert map 1 here>

Whether or not Marie Louise became homeless as a result of this fire, the disaster traumatized the city. Two

<sup>254</sup> Montréal's 1825 population was 22,000 and had grown to 58,000 by 1851. See *Historical Atlas of Canada Online Learning Project*, "The Canadian Population: 1825, 1851, 1871, 1891," n.p., n.d. ([http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolp/national\\_perspectives/population/unit\\_20/U20\\_intro.htm](http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolp/national_perspectives/population/unit_20/U20_intro.htm)).

<sup>255</sup> Jacques Gagné, researcher and compiler, "The Great Fire of 1852 in Montréal," 6 August 2020 (<https://genealogyensemble.files.wordpress.com/2020/11/great-fire-of-1852-in-Montréal-.pdf>).

neighborhoods were destroyed: the faubourg Ste.-Marie, where Marie Louise had previously lived, and the eastern half of her current neighborhood, the faubourg St.-Laurent. Many Montréal residents spent the first night outdoors. The next morning,

there was a fearful amount of suffering which no charity could immediately reach. Some thousands of the houseless had passed the night on the fields, and were even then grouped, each family around the wreck of their household goods, sweltering under the rays of an already burning sun. . . . This was the appearance of St. Lawrence Suburb—the portion invaded during the previous day.<sup>256</sup>

Weeks after this fire ravaged her adopted hometown, Marie Louise experienced another blow. Her ninety-two-year-old mother, Marie Josephthe Lepage Lecours Letourneau Lebrecque, died in St.-Charles.<sup>257</sup>

The Great Fire of 1852 and the death of her mother may have prompted Marie Louise's return to St.-Charles. She had also lost custody of her granddaughter,<sup>258</sup> so a return to her family, and the support they might provide,

<sup>256</sup> *Montréal Pilot*, "Pilot Extra, Montréal," 26 July 1852; accessed as "Pilot Extra, Montreal, Monday, July 26, 1852," digital image, *BAnQ numérique* (<http://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/1935249>).

<sup>257</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from to 17 October 1843 to 16 November 1852, p. 418, "Marie Joseph Labrecque" burial, 9 August 1852; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1843-1865, [image 216 of 504](#).

<sup>258</sup> By early 1852 Marie Virginie was living with her mother and family in Longueuil, see "1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia," database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/1061/images/e093-e002303374>), entry for Virginie "Laudrick" (b. 1841), Longueuil, Huntingdon, Canada East; citing dist. 17, folios 7, line 11, "affiliate film number" C-1122.

was perhaps the course she chose at this point.<sup>259</sup> What is certain is that, in the fall of 1853, she and her estranged husband were together again—at least for the time it took to meet with a notary in Québec City to prepare their wills. Marie Louise’s will did not mention her husband nor her children. Her sole inheritor was to be her granddaughter, Marie Virginie, and instead of appointing her husband as executor, she named her brother, Laurent.<sup>260</sup>

Whatever caused Marie Louise to ignore her husband in this way, it was not because they anticipated his imminent death. Joseph lived for another six years, dying in Québec City in September, 1859. Whether or not Marie Louise was present for either his death or his funeral, she was in Montréal one month later. In October, 1859, she sublet part of the house she was living in to a woman named Catherine Labelle—the widow (or so she claimed) of a cabinetmaker named Andrew Wagner.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>259</sup> It is uncertain whether Marie Louise is the “Mrs. McIntyre” living in a house in St. Edward lane in 1853; see Robert W. Stuart Mackay, *The Montréal Directory, New Edition, Corrected in May and June, 1852*, (Montréal: Robert W. S. Mackay, [1853]), p. 170; accessed as *Collection d’annuaire Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652179>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale (1842-1977) > 1850 à 1859 > 1853 > Montréal directory > image 158 of 258. “McIntyre, Mrs. house St Edward lane off Bonaventure.” There are no likely “Mrs. McIntyre” listings in the following year’s directory.

<sup>260</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Germain Guay, 1829-1887, no. 10168, “Testament de Dme. M. Lse. Lecourt épouse de Sr. Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 10 June 1853; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1829-1887,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LZ-3PQG>), [images 2362-2363 of 2838](#); citing boîtes 44-47 (9225-10340) 1 avril 1851 - 8 nov. 1853, digital film # 8883157.

<sup>261</sup> Montréal, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph-Hilarion Jobin, 1833-1881, no. 8879, “Bail a loyer par Marie Louise Lecourt Veuve Jos. MacIntyre à Catherine LaBelle Veuve Alexandre Wagner,” 3 October 1859; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1833-1881,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R32M-M5H>), [images 2501-2504 of 3005](#); citing boîtes 27-29 (no 8243-8998) 10 November 1856-31 December 1859, digital film # 8876727. The leased accommodation is in a house belonging to Mr. François de Beaudry. Searches in directories, parish records, notarial records and census returns for

By this time, Marie Louise was probably working as an embroiderer. As a working woman in Montréal, her status was becoming more common, certainly among her married counterparts. As the 1850s progressed “it became more and more frequent for married French-Canadian women to work outside the home.”<sup>262</sup> And by 1861, two percent of women in Montréal worked in the garment industry, either as in factories, or producing piece work in their homes.<sup>263</sup> In 1866, Marie Louise had moved again, this time to a multi-household residence in Isaac Alley.<sup>264</sup>

As an embroiderer she probably worked from home rather than in a factory.

Industrial work [in Montréal at this time] was most often carried out in factories; however, this was not the case for the clothing industry, in which varied conditions prevailed. On the one hand, there were several ladies’ clothing boutiques ... as well as a large number of fashion stores; on the other hand, seamstresses, workers or tailors, worked in private homes on a daily basis.<sup>265</sup>

Marie Louise did not stay long in Isaac Alley. Within a year or two she had moved to 135 rue Vitré<sup>266</sup> where

Catherine Labelle and/or her husband Alexander Wagner have been non-productive for these individuals.

<sup>262</sup> Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard, *Les femmes dans la société Québécoise: aspects historiques* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Boreal Express, 1977), 47.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>264</sup> *Montréal Directory, for 1866-67* (Montréal: John Lovell, 1867), 243; accessed as “Collection d’annuaire Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010,” database with images, *BAnQ numérique* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652501>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale (1842-1977) > 1860 à 1869 > 1867-1868 > Alphabetical directory > image 146 of 244.

<sup>265</sup> Lavigne and Pinard, *Les femmes dans la société Québécoise*, 45.

<sup>266</sup> *Montréal Directory, for 1868-69 ... Corrected to 24th June, 1868* (Montréal: John Lovell, 1868), 243; accessed as “Collection d’annuaire Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010,” database with images, *BAnQ numérique* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652179>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale

she was the only female head of household in a dwelling with eight male householders.<sup>267</sup> She remained there for the next three years. But by then, she may have become ill. In 1869 she revoked the will she had written sixteen years earlier,<sup>268</sup> but did not write a new one. And then she left Montréal, the city where she had spent half her life, and returned to St.-Charles.<sup>269</sup>

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(1842-1977) > 1860 à 1869 > 1868-1869 > Alphabetical directory > image 169 of 280. Marie Louise is living on rue Vitré, since renamed avenue Viger, at a location near the current Palais des congrès de Montréal.

<sup>267</sup>Ibid., 453; accessed as *Collection d'annuaire Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652179>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale (1842-1977) > 1860 à 1869 > 1868-1869 > Street directory > image 101 of 104. Identifies her location between St.-Charles Borromée and St.-Urbain streets. Occupants of 135 rue Vitré are: “Champagne J., shoemaker; Duchène Pierre, shoemaker; McIntyre Mrs. Mary, wid. Jos., embroiderer, r[ear]; Penny Augustus, cooper, r[ear]; Corbeil Stanislas, r[ear]; Car Thomas, commission agent; Jordeson C. C., mariner; Pagé, Adolphe, shoemaker, opp[osite]; Neveux dit Lacroix C., trader, opp[osite]”.

<sup>268</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Charles-Ernest-Ovide Belle, 1865-1874, no. 139, “Revocation de Testament par Dame Marie Louise Lecours,” 29 September 1869; accessed as “Québec, district judiciaire de Montréal, actes de notaire, 1865-1874,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9392-VZNJ>), [images 684-686 of 916](#); citing actes de notaire, no 1-200 (20 October 1865-26 January 1870), digital film # 4725355. In this document Marie Louise claims her husband (who had been a farmer, a laborer, and a chair caner) was a former teacher (“*instituteur*”). Marie Louise’s previous will, written in 1853, left all her goods to her granddaughter, Marie Virginie McIntyre. That granddaughter may have died and therefore prompted Marie Louise to revoke her 1853 will. Marie Virginie is last recorded in 1862 when she was discharged from the Asylum of the Good Shepherd in Québec City.

<sup>269</sup> She was living in St.-Charles at the time of her death in April, 1872, but she has not been located on the 1871 census; see St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from to 17 October 1843 to 16 November 1852, p. 204, “M. Louise Lecours v<sup>ve</sup> de Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 3 April 1872; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1865-1876 > [image 107 of 192](#). A search of the 1871 census index (*Ancestry*) for **anyone** enumerated in St.-Charles and born between 1800 and 1810 returned 97 results of which none were likely to be Marie Louise.

Now sixty-five years old, she may have needed care. But her return to St.-Charles was, in some ways, an unusual move. All of her siblings were dead except two brothers: Laurent, who had moved to St.-Lambert-de-Lauzon (about twenty miles southwest of St.-Charles) and Eloi, who lived in Ste.-Marguerite (about twenty-five miles in the same general direction).<sup>270</sup> Elsewhere, her children could not support her. Her son was living hundreds of miles away in Ontario with a new family. Her daughter, Sophie—who had probably been abandoned by her second husband—was being supported by her own daughter, also named Sophie, a twenty-eight year old woman who was separated from her husband but living as a widow and who was also supporting her ten-year-old daughter, also named Sophie, by working as a washerwoman in Québec City.<sup>271</sup> Marie Louise died in St.-Charles on April 2, 1872 and was buried the next day.<sup>272</sup>

Joseph<sup>2</sup> McIntyre and Marie Louise Lecours were the parents of five children:

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<sup>270</sup> For Laurent see “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1551612>), entry for Laurent Lecours (b. 1791), St.-Lambert, Lévis, Québec; citing dist. 154, subdist. F, division 1, p. 13, fam. 44, “affiliate film number” C-10352. For Eloi see “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1551612>), entry for Eloi Lecours (b. 1802), Ste.-Marguerite, Dorchester West, Québec; citing dist. 159, subdist. D, division 1, p. 14, fam. 54, “affiliate film number” C-10358.

<sup>271</sup> “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1551612>), entry for Sophie Roy (b. 1843), Jacques-Cartier, Québec, Québec; citing dist. 147, subdist. B, division 3, p. 66, fam. 277, “affiliate film number” C-10345. “Sophie Roy | 28 | laveuse | widow | could not read or write; Sophie Roy | 10 | attending school; Sophie Lemelin | 45.”

<sup>272</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from to 17 October 1843 to 16 November 1852, p. 204, “M. Louise Lecours v<sup>ve</sup> de Jos. M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 3 April 1872; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1865-1876 > [image 107 of 192](#).

- i. MARIE SOPHIE MCINTYRE, born 21 August 1821, St.-Charles;<sup>273</sup> married André Lemelin 2 October 1838 in St.-Charles;<sup>274</sup> died after 1871 in an unidentified location.<sup>275</sup>
- ii. MARIE LOUISE MCINTYRE, born 15 January 1823, St.-Charles;<sup>276</sup> died 29 January 1831, St.-Charles.<sup>277</sup>
- 3 iii. JOSEPH MCINTYRE, born 1 March 1824, St.-Charles;<sup>278</sup> died 2 November 1898, Orillia,

Simcoe County, Ontario.<sup>279</sup> He married (1) Elizabeth Lottridge on 30 October 1843 in Longueuil;<sup>280</sup> he married (2) Maria Cavanagh likely in the summer of 1855, probably in Simcoe County, Canada West;<sup>281</sup>

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 220, “M<sup>e</sup> Sophie M<sup>e</sup>Kentyre” baptism, 21 August 1821; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 118 of 449](#).

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., “Registre pour S<sup>t</sup> charles Rivière Boyer,” church register from 16 January 1827 to 10 October 1843, p. 306, “André Lemelin & Sophie M<sup>e</sup>Intyre” marriage, 2 October 1838; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 362 of 449](#).

<sup>275</sup> The last record found that includes her is “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1551612>), entry for Sophie Roy (b. 1843), Jacques-Cartier, Québec, Québec; citing dist. 147, subdist. B, division 3, p. 66, fam. 277, “affiliate film number” C-10345. “Sophie Roy | 28 | laveuse | widow | could not read or write; Sophie Roy | 10 | attending school; Sophie Lemelin | 45.”

<sup>276</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 262, “M<sup>e</sup> L<sup>se</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Kenter” baptism, 15 January 1823; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 139 of 449](#).

<sup>277</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), “Registre pour S<sup>t</sup> charles Rivière Boyer,” church register from 16 January 1827 to 10 October 1843, p. 83, “M<sup>e</sup> Louise M<sup>e</sup>Kenter” burial, 30 January 1831; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 248 of 449](#).

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 291, “Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Kenter” baptism, 2 March 1824; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>),

path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 153 of 449](#).

<sup>279</sup> “Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YV-W9CZ-9>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre, 2 November 1898, no. 19531; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>280</sup> St. Antoine Parish (Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1840 to 31 December 1846, folio 153 *recto*, “Joseph M<sup>e</sup>Inter Kennedy Et Elisabeth Lottridge” marriage, 30 October 1843; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Longueuil > Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1840-1846, [image 174 of 346](#).

<sup>281</sup> No marriage record has been located for this couple. Their first child was born in the summer of 1856, suggesting a latest marriage date of perhaps a year earlier. That they had a church wedding is a valid assumption. Maria’s father and brothers lived nearby; no church marriage would have been scandalous and extraordinary. Joseph and his wife were Roman Catholic but those marriage records for Oro Township are only consistently available after 1857. The church register that includes the 1859 burial of Maria’s father, James Cavanagh, does not include any McIntyre marriages or children’s baptisms. See Flos Mission, Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario), “D.O.M. Birth, deaths, marriages Records, for the mission of Flos”; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Flos Mission > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1854-1904. The register for the nearby West Gwillimbury mission begins in 1855 but its earliest marriage is in 1856, which is likely after Joseph and Maria’s presumed marriage. See West Gwillimbury Mission, Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario), “Register of the Roman Catholic Church of West Gwillimbury For Baptisms, Marriages & Deaths”; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, West Gwillimbury Mission > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1855-1857.

- iv. ANGÉLIQUE MCINTYRE, born 27 February 1826, St.-Charles,<sup>282</sup> died 8 December 1826, Montréal.<sup>283</sup>
- v. ROSALIE MCINTYRE, born 20 August 1827, Montréal,<sup>284</sup> died 25 August 1827, Montréal.<sup>285</sup>

### Third Generation

**3. Joseph<sup>3</sup> McIntyre** (Joseph<sup>1</sup>, Joseph<sup>2</sup>) was born 1 March 1824 in the parish of St.-Charles;<sup>286</sup> died 2 November 1898, Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario.<sup>287</sup> He

<sup>282</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 360, “Angélique M<sup>c</sup>Kenter” baptism, 17 February 1826; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 188 of 449](#).

<sup>283</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1826 to 31 December 1826, folio 249, S. 702, “Angélique M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 11 December 1826; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 259 of 777](#).

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, “Paroisse Notre-Dame Registre des Baptêmes, Mariages, et Sépultures, 1827,” folio 161, B. 748, “Rose MacKenter” baptism, 21 August 1827; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 436 of 777](#).

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 167, S. 477, “M. Rosalie M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 29 August 1827; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 443 of 777](#).

<sup>286</sup> St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1813 to 31 December 1826, page 291, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Kenter” baptism, 2 March 1824; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 153 of 449](#).

<sup>287</sup> “Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YV-W9CZ-9>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre, 2 November 1898, no. 19531; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

married first **Marie Elizabeth (aka Elisabeth) Lottridge** on 30 October 1843 in Longueuil, Canada East.<sup>288</sup> He married second **Maria Cavanagh** likely in the summer of 1855, probably in Simcoe County, Canada West.<sup>289</sup>

### JOSEPH’S PARENTAGE

Joseph’s parentage is established through a complex set of direct and indirect evidence that indicates the individual named Joseph McIntyre, who died in Orillia, Ontario in 1898, was born in 1824 in the parish of Saint-Charles, Lower Canada to Joseph McIntyre and Marie Louise Lecours. That evidence is derived as follows:

<sup>288</sup> St. Antoine Parish (Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1840 to 31 December 1846, folio 153 *recto*, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Inter Kennedy Et Elisabeth Lottridge” marriage, 30 October 1843; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Longueuil > Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1840-1846, [image 174 of 346](#).

<sup>289</sup> No marriage record has been located for this couple. Their first child was born in the summer of 1856, suggesting a latest marriage date of perhaps a year earlier. That they had a church wedding is a valid assumption. Maria’s father and brothers lived nearby; no church marriage would have been scandalous and extraordinary. Joseph and his wife were Roman Catholic but those marriage records for Oro Township are only consistently available after 1857. The church register that includes the 1859 burial of Maria’s father, James Cavanagh, does not include any McIntyre marriages or children’s baptisms. See Flos Mission, Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario), “D.O.M. Birth, deaths, marriages Records, for the mission of Flos”; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Flos Mission > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1854-1904. The register for the nearby West Gwillimbury mission begins in 1855 but its earliest marriage is in 1856, which is likely after Joseph and Maria’s presumed marriage. See West Gwillimbury Mission, Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario), “Register of the Roman Catholic Church of West Gwillimbury For Baptisms, Marriages & Deaths”; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, West Gwillimbury Mission > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1855-1857.

<table 1 here>

- **Self-reported birthplace.** In the 1861, 1871, and 1881 census returns, while living in Oro and Medonte Townships in Simcoe County, Ontario, Joseph stated he was born in Québec.<sup>290</sup> The 1891 census was the first to ask parents' birthplaces; Joseph reported his parents were also born in Québec.<sup>291</sup>
- **Age and year of birth.** If Joseph's birth province is easy to establish as a step towards determining his parentage, his age is not, as can be seen in table 1. His reported age varies too widely to help establish his date of birth. For example, on the 1871 census his age is recorded as thirty-three, for a calculated year of birth of about 1838.<sup>292</sup> But on his 1898 death registration his age is listed as seventy-one, for a calculated birth year of about 1827.<sup>293</sup>
- **Religion.** Joseph was a Roman Catholic in a predominantly Protestant area of Ontario.<sup>294</sup> This fact, along with his parents' birthplace in the Province of Québec—whose population was predominantly Catholic—suggests he might have been of French-Canadian heritage.
- **Candidate Search.** If he were born in Lower Canada of French-Canadian heritage and baptised as a Roman Catholic, there is only one candidate in two indexes of Roman Catholic church records in Québec: Joseph McIntyre (spelt “Mkenter”) born 1 March 1824 in St.-Charles to Joseph McIntyre and Marie Louise Lecours.<sup>295</sup>
- **Occupation.** In the 1840s, Joseph McIntyre who was born in St.-Charles was a brickmaker in

<sup>290</sup> “Canada, Ontario Census, 1861,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6BS>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing enumeration dist. 4, folio 53, lines 5-9, “affiliate film number” C-1073. “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-FM1>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1838), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 60, fam. 209, “affiliate film number” C-9964. “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist. 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. “affiliate film number” C-13251.

<sup>291</sup> “Canada Census, 1891,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/1192264:1274>), entry of Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Orillia Town, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 116, subdist. i, division 2, p. 33-34, fam. 174, (enumerated 8 May 1891), “affiliate film number” T-6368.

<sup>292</sup> “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-FM1>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1838), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 60, fam. 209, “affiliate film number” C-9964.

<sup>293</sup> “Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YV-W9CZ-9>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre, 2 November 1898, no. 19531; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>294</sup> In Oro Township had a population of 4,364 in 1871 of whom only 208 were Roman Catholic in an area that included 233 Congregationalists, 629 Wesleyan Methodists, 1,045 Church of England adherents, and 1,798 Presbyterians; see Canada, *Census of Canada, 1870-71*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1873), 114-17; accessed as “Census of Canada 1870-71 = Recensement du Canada 1870-71,” online publication, Government of Canada, (<https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.822965/publication.html>).

<sup>295</sup> A search of the index to the “Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968” (*Ancestry*) database produced this single candidate ( $n=45$ ) indexed as “Joseph Mckenter”; a search of the index of “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979” (*FamilySearch*) database produced no candidate ( $n=18$ ); at the time of this report, this latter index does not include records prior to about 1867. Search terms were `jos* m*n*t*r* + birthdate 1830 +/- 10 years`. See “Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968,” database with images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/1091/>) and “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>).

Montréal;<sup>296</sup> from 1881 to 1896 Joseph McIntyre of Oro and Medonte worked as a brickmaker.<sup>297</sup>

- **Residence in Montréal.** In 1846 Joseph McIntyre who was born in St.-Charles assigned responsibility for the care of his daughter to his mother, identified as Marie Louise Lecours. This parentage establishes the brickmaker of Montréal as the same person who was born in St.-Charles in 1824.<sup>298</sup>
- **Relocation to Ontario.** While a prisoner in 1846, Joseph McIntyre of St.-Charles was transferred from the Montréal Prison to the Kingston Penitentiary in Canada West (now Ontario) where he was released in January, 1849.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>296</sup> Joseph was a brickmaker at the time of his 1843 marriage; see St. Antoine Parish (Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1840 to 31 December 1846, folio 153 *recto*, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Inter Kennedy Et Elisabeth Lottridge” marriage, 30 October 1843; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Longueuil > Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1840-1846, [image 174 of 346](#).

<sup>297</sup> For Joseph’s occupation as a brickmaker in 1881 see “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. 340, “affiliate film number” C-13251. For 1896 see Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario, “Assessment Roll for the Municipality of Town of Orillia (North Ward) for 1896,” line 899; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>298</sup> Montréal, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph-Hilarion Jobin, 1833-1881, no. 5280, “Consentement de Joseph McIntyre a Marie Louise Lecour, sa mère, d’élever et prendre soin de sa fille,” 27 January 1846; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1833-1881,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R32M-MSXK-Z>), [images 3049-3051 of 3213](#); citing boîtes 17-19 (no 5313-5907) 13 February 1846-31 August 1847, digital film # 8876723.

<sup>299</sup> Canada, *Appendix to the Ninth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1850* (Toronto: R. Campbell, [1850]), Appendix R.R., “Return of Convicts, (Civilians,) discharged from the Penitentiary, &c.,” p. RR-[17], no. 1586, “Joseph McTyre [*sic*],” 19 January 1849; accessed as Appendix to ... of the Journals of the

- **Not living in Québec in 1852.** The first census taken in Canada West after Joseph’s release from prison was in 1852, but it is incomplete and the returns for Simcoe County (where later evidence suggests Joseph might have been living)<sup>300</sup> have not survived.<sup>301</sup> However, the Joseph McIntyre who was born in St.-Charles was enumerated on the 1852 census of Québec City as both a non-member and an absent member of his father’s family.<sup>302</sup> In that census he was recorded as a twenty-six-year-old son whose abode outside the family home was first listed as “inconnu” and then struck through and replaced with what looks like “Cernea.” This might be a phonetic French spelling of the town of Sarnia (then “Port Sarnia”), Canada West. But in any case, the record makes it clear that he was no longer living in Canada East.
- **Naming Pattern.** Joseph McIntyre of Oro Township, Simcoe County named his first daughter Mary Louisa; if he is the same Joseph McIntyre who was released from the Kingston Penitentiary in 1849, then he likely named his first daughter in honor of his mother, Marie Louise Lecours.<sup>303</sup>

Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. . . .” browsable images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_8\\_3/229](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_8_3/229)), image RR-[17].

<sup>300</sup> Simcoe County, Ontario, “Assessment Roll for the Township of Oro, Joseph Thomas Assessor, 1852,” p. 5, line 112, “Joseph McIntire”; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>301</sup> For a list of areas for which this year’s census returns are missing, see Library and Archives Canada, “Districts and Sub-districts: Census of 1851, Canada West (Ontario)” (<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1851/Pages/canada-west.aspx>).

<sup>302</sup> 1852 census of Canada East, Québec County, Québec City, folios 1664 and 1665, Joseph McIntyre (b. 1794); accessed as “1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia,” *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/1061/>): path > Canada East (Quebec) > Québec County > Québec City > [images 8666-8667 of 13774](#).

<sup>303</sup> Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Barrie, Ontario) unidentified church register with baptisms from 17 January 1858 to 23 June 1906, unnumbered p. 3, line 5, “Mary Louisa M<sup>c</sup>Entyre” baptism, 25 March 1858; accessed as “Canada,

- One Son’s Self-Reported French Origin.** Joseph McIntyre of Oro had a son, also named Joseph, who reported his ethnic origin as French on the 1911 census.<sup>304</sup> In later census years this same son reported his ethnicity as “Scotch” (1921)<sup>305</sup> and Irish (1931).<sup>306</sup> If he were the son of Joseph McIntyre born in St.-Charles in 1824, his father was three-quarters French and French was his father’s native language. In this case, any son might reasonably identify as being of French origin. But if Joseph’s father were *not* of French heritage, there would be no reason for him to report French as his ethnic background on the 1911 census.
- Conclusion.** A significant body of circumstantial evidence indicates that Joseph McIntyre who was born in St.-Charles in 1824, arrested in Montréal in 1845, transferred to the Kingston Penitentiary in 1846, and released in Kingston in 1849 is the same man who appears three years later in a tax assessment record in Oro Township.

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Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms 1858-1906 > [image 3 of 179](#). Unusually, Joseph named one of his sons Augustus; the key witness whose testimony led to Joseph’s arrest was named Augustin.

<sup>304</sup> “Canada Census, 1911,” database, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/8947/images/e080\\_e001977751](https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/8947/images/e080_e001977751)), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1873), Korah, West Algoma, Ontario; citing dist. 55, subdist. 14, p. 5, fam. 51, “affiliate film number” T-20365.

<sup>305</sup> “Canada Census, 1921,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/2009192:8991>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1871), Korah, Algoma West, Ontario; citing dist. 66, subdist. 12, p. 1, fam. 8, no affiliate film number.

<sup>306</sup> “Canada Census, 1931,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/10728144:62640>), entry for Joseph J. McIntyre (b. 1872), Korah, Algoma West, Ontario; citing dist. 93, subdist. 12, p. 7, fam. 57, no affiliate film number.

## JOSEPH’S LIFE STORY

Joseph’s earliest years were divided between his birthplace in St.-Charles, and the city of Montréal, where his parents moved in 1826 and might have remained until as late as 1831.<sup>307</sup> Before another ten years had passed, however, his mother left St.-Charles and returned to Montréal. Joseph’s father and sister remained in St.-Charles, but Joseph accompanied his mother to Montréal.

Joseph and his mother settled into a home on Catherine Street (now rue Shannon) in Griffintown.<sup>308</sup> This was a Montréal neighborhood where “the poor residents of the district ... provided manufacturers a ‘pool of cheap labour’, which quickly led to a boom of industries alongside the [Lachine] Canal.”<sup>309</sup> Joseph was one of those “poor residents” and he provided his cheap labor to William Smith whose brickworks were about a block away from Joseph’s home.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> His sister Angélique was born in Montréal in 1826, see Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 2 January 1826 to 31 December 1826, folio 249, S. 702, “Angélique M<sup>e</sup>Intyre” burial, 11 December 1826; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1826-1828, [image 259 of 777](#). For his sister Marie Louise’s burial in St.-Charles in 1831 see St.-Charles Parish (St.-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Québec), “Registre pour St charles Rivière Boyer,” church register from 16 January 1827 to 10 October 1843, p. 83, “M<sup>e</sup> Louise M<sup>e</sup>Kenter” burial, 30 January 1831; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-Charles > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures, 1813-1843, [image 248 of 449](#).

<sup>308</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, Montréal, Queen’s Ward, folio 1468, line 24, “Wid<sup>w</sup> McIntire,” 11 August 1842; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as “Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Montréal > Montréal (à l’extérieur de la ville) > [image 531 of 583](#).

<sup>309</sup> Golroo Mofarrah, “Griffintown,” (M.Arch., McGill University, 2009), 47; digitized as eScholarship@McGill (<https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/concern/papers/w9505077h>).

<sup>310</sup> Kingston Penitentiary, “Liberation Question Book,” book 2, entries from 3 November 1845 to 8 May 1850, folio 238 *recto*, “Joseph Mac Intyre R. C.”; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary

Brickmaking was labor-intensive and relied on men with various skills to work at each stage of the process. At sixteen, Joseph was likely employed in one of the least-skilled jobs, perhaps as a “walk-flatter.” This was the worker who carried clay in brick-sized portions from the pug mill to the molding table. But even this seemingly unskilled job had its own challenges. “One brickfield proprietor reported that this seemingly simple task ‘required great practise and nicety to give such a wedge-like form to each lump of clay as that the moulder can with one throw force it equally into all parts of the mould.’”<sup>311</sup>

William Smith’s son, also named William and also involved with the family brickmaking operations, lived across the river from Montréal in St.-Lambert where he farmed in relative wealth. In 1842 he owned more than two hundred acres in an area where the average holding was about ninety acres.<sup>312</sup> He also owned twelve cows.<sup>313</sup>

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: T-2002,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t2002/352](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2002/352)), [image 352 of 424](#). In this record Joseph indirectly identifies the Smith family brickworks as his place of employment when he admits, “The person from who [*sic*] he took the money [in fact, a cow, stolen from brick factory owner William Smith] owe’d him.” The Smith operation was the only brickworks in Griffintown at the time. It was established in 1816 on the site of present-day Wellington Street between Murray Street and Young Street. See Québec, Culture, Communication et Condition féminine, “Patrimoine archéologique des poteries, briqueteries, tuileries et fabriques de pipes au Québec,” ([Montréal]: Ethnocop, April 2009). The 1842 census identifies the location as “Scattered over field SW of Colborne Street.” See 1842 census of Lower Canada, Montréal, Queen’s Ward, folio 1469, line 5, “William Smith,” 11 August 1842; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as “Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842,” *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Montréal > Montréal (à l’extérieur de la ville) > [image 535 of 583](#).

<sup>311</sup> Watt, Kathleen Ann, “Nineteenth Century Brickmaking Innovations in Britain: Building and Technological Change,” Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 1990 (<https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/4248/>).

<sup>312</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, Huntingdon-Chambly, Longueuil, folio 2060, line 17, William Smith; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as “Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842,” *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Huntingdon-Chambly > Longueuil > [images 69-72 of 85](#). For land holdings see folio 2060, p. 5

<sup>313</sup> Ibid. For livestock owned, see p. 6.

Surprisingly, one of those cows would play a pivotal role in Joseph’s life.

Living close to Smith’s farm on the “Range along the River above the church” in St.-Lambert was tobacconist and farmer William Lottridge, his wife Marie Hébert, their twenty-two-year-old son François, and their five daughters who ranged in age from twenty-one to three.<sup>314</sup>

It was probably through Joseph’s connection with the brickmaking Smiths that he met his wife, Elizabeth Lottridge, William and Marie’s eldest daughter.<sup>315</sup> Joseph and Elizabeth had certainly met by the summer of 1843 when Elizabeth became pregnant with their child. It was probably this event that led to their marriage in Longueuil, a parish adjacent to St.-Lambert, at the end of October, 1843.<sup>316</sup>

Banns of marriage for Joseph and Elizabeth were read on successive Sundays in Longueuil and in Montréal and, hearing no impediment, the priest married them on October 30, 1843. By then, Joseph was living in Longueuil (according to the marriage register) so he had perhaps moved into the Smith home in St.-Lambert—just across the parish border from Longueuil. At twenty years old, Joseph was a minor; his mother therefore had to consent to the marriage. Elizabeth, however, was free to marry without consent; she was twenty-three. On the

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<sup>314</sup> 1842 census of Lower Canada, Huntingdon-Chambly, Longueuil, folio 2060, line 24, William Lottridge; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; accessed as “Canada, Lower Canada Census, 1842,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1834340>), path: Huntingdon-Chambly > Longueuil > [images 69-72 of 85](#). Another daughter would be born later in 1842 and their last child was born in 1845.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid. The Smith and Lottridge families were enumerated five households apart in the “Range along the river above the Church.”

<sup>316</sup> St.-Antoine Parish (St.-Antoine-de-Longueuil, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1840 to 31 December 1846, folio 153 *recto*, “Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Inter Kennedy Et Elisabeth Lottridge” marriage, 30 October 1843; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Longueuil > Saint-Antoine-de-Longueuil > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1840-1846 > [image 174 of 346](#).

couple's marriage register, Joseph's father is described (inaccurately) as deceased.

After their marriage, Joseph and Elisabeth moved to Montréal—most likely into the Griffintown home that Joseph had shared with his mother before his marriage. Joseph continued working in the Smiths' brickyard, and with a child on the way, the most economical living arrangement would have been to live with his mother while maintaining his job in the nearby brickworks. Joseph and Elizabeth's daughter, Marie Virginie, was born in May, 1844.<sup>317</sup> But the family's multi-generational living arrangement did not last for more than another eighteen months. By January, 1846, events would occur that led to Marie Virginie living with her grandmother, Marie Louise Lecours, rather than her own mother.

One Saturday morning in early November, 1845, the younger William Smith's wife, Ellen Cather, was in Longueuil chatting with a butcher named Jean-Augustin Viau dit Lesperance.<sup>318</sup> She happened to mention that one of her husband's cows—in particular, a yellow cow—had gone missing. The butcher was interested to hear this because just two days earlier a young man with blue eyes and fair hair tried to sell him a yellow cow for ten Louis, fifteen shillings (the equivalent of £60 15s).<sup>319</sup>

<sup>317</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1844 to 31 December 1844, folio 74 verso, B. 792, "Marie Virginie M<sup>e</sup> Intyie" baptism, 13 May 1844; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1844-1846 > [image 79 of 702](#).

<sup>318</sup> Québec, District of Montréal, Cour des sessions générales de la paix du district de Montréal, Matières criminelles en général, dossier 112, box January 1846, "Dominica Regina v. Joseph McIntyre" court docket; Archives nationales à Montréal. Docket includes the following uncataloged documents relevant to the case: "Deposition of Ellen Cathers," 10 November 1845; "Warrant of Arrest," 10 November 1845; "Deposition of Augustin Viau dit Lesperance," 11 November 1845; "Examen Voluntaire de Jos<sup>h</sup>. McIntyre," 11 November 1845. All facts in the following narrative of Joseph's crime are derived from these documents.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., "Deposition of Augustin Viau dit Lesperance," 11 November 1845. For Joseph's physical appearance see Canada, *Appendix to the Ninth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1850* (Toronto: R. Campbell, [1850]), Appendix R.R., "Return

The butcher suspected the man had stolen the cow, so he refused to pay for it; he kept it, nonetheless, butchered it, and sold the hide to a tanner in Montréal. From the butcher's description of this man, Ellen knew exactly who it was. It was Joseph McIntyre who, in her opinion, was "a man of suspicious character."<sup>320</sup> Not only that, but she had heard McIntyre was seen on the Smith property the day before the cow went missing.

That Monday turned into a busy day for Ellen Cather. First, she crossed the St. Lawrence River to Montréal to visit the Côte-de-Neiges tanner to whom the butcher had sold the hide. There she "found the skin of a cow which she identified and recognized to be the skin of the cow which was stolen."<sup>321</sup> She went straight from the tanner to the office of Joseph Belle, a Justice of the Peace on St. Lambert Street,<sup>322</sup> and reported all this. Belle immediately issued a warrant for Joseph's arrest.

Joseph was apprehended the next day. Given the chance to explain himself, his story was brief: "I am not guilty of the accusation brought against me. I bought the cow in St. Lambert from a man I don't know. I paid ten *piastres* for the cow which I sold to L'Esperance the Butcher."<sup>323</sup> But it is hardly credible that Joseph had

of Convicts, (Civilians,) discharged from the PENITENTIARY, &c.," no. 1586, "Joseph McTyre [*sic*] | [age] 22 | [height] 5 5½ | [complexion] pale | [eyes] blue | [hair] light brown," 19 January 1849; accessed as Appendix to ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. . . ." digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_8\\_3/229](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_8_3/229)), image p. RR-[17].

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., "Deposition of Ellen Cathers."

<sup>321</sup> Ibid.

<sup>322</sup> Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Montréal Directory for 1844-5*, (Montréal: Lovell and Gibson, [1845]), entry for Joseph Belle, p. 258; accessed as "Collection d'annuaires Lovell de Montréal et sa région, 1842-2010," database with images, *BANQ numérique*, (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3652377>), path: Montréal et sa banlieue > Série principale (1842-1977) > 1840 à 1849 > 1844-1845 > Business directory > image 59 of 67. Belle's office address, 12 St. Lambert Street, was on what is now boulevard St-Laurent in Old Montréal.

<sup>323</sup> Québec, District of Montréal, Cour des sessions générales de la paix du district de Montréal, Matières criminelles en général, dossier 112, box January 1846, "Dominica Regina v. Joseph McIntyre" court docket, "Examen Voluntaire de Jos<sup>h</sup>. McIntyre," 11 November 1845; Archives nationales à Montréal. Joseph's defense was written in French indicating

enough cash on hand to buy a cow from a stranger for £60.<sup>324</sup> What is more likely is that Joseph was owed, or believed he was owed, an equivalent amount in unpaid wages from his employer—and the cow’s owner—William Smith. In fact, this is the story Joseph gave three years later.<sup>325</sup> But if he had provided that defense at the time of his arrest, he would only have incriminated himself by admitting he did, in fact, steal the cow. Another possibility, given the odd circumstances of this crime, is that Joseph orchestrated his own arrest. The worst of winter was approaching, and he may have been so poor or otherwise distressed that he saw prison as a form of free room and board. As strange as this may seem, and “despite the harsh conditions [of the Montréal Prison], prostitutes and the homeless often sought imprisonment to escape exposure to the harsh winter, intentionally committing or threatening to commit crimes so as to be arrested.”<sup>326</sup>

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this is the language he spoke. For the conversion rate of one *piastre* to £6 and one *Louis* to £20 see Centre d’archives de Vaudreuil- Soulanges, “Quelques explications sur la monnaie,” n.d.

(<https://www.archivesvs.org/histo/lettres-fc/monnaie.html>).

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, “Deposition of Augustin Viau dit Lesperance,” 11 November 1845; Archives nationales a Montréal. The documents in the court docket do not indicate whether the butcher, who sold the hide, ever paid Smith for the cow.

<sup>325</sup> Kingston Penitentiary, Liberation Question Book, book 2 from 3 November 1845 to 8 May 1850, folio 238 *recto*, “Joseph Mac Intyre R. C.”; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-2002,” browsable images, *Canadiana* ([https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t2002/352](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2002/352)), [image 352 of 424](#). Joseph indirectly identified the Smith family brickworks as his place of employment when he admitted, “The person from who [*sic*] he took the money [in fact, a cow, stolen from brick factory owner William Smith] owe’d him.”

<sup>326</sup> Ian C. Pilarczyk, “The Law of Servants and the Servants of Law: Enforcing Masters’ Rights in Montréal, 1830-1845,” *McGill Law Review Journal* 46, 781-836, specifically p. 791, note 43; accessed as (<https://lawjournal.mcgill.ca/article/the-law-of-servants-and-the-servants-of-law-enforcing-master-s-rights-in-monreal-1830-1845>); citing M. A. Poutanen, “Reflections of Montréal Prostitution in the Records of the Lower Courts, 1810-1842” in Donald Fyson, Colin M. Coates, and Kathryn Harvey, eds., *Class, Gender and the Law in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth- Century Quebec: Sources and Perspectives* (Montréal: Montréal History Group, 1993), 108-109.

Whatever his motivation for stealing the cow in a way that nearly guaranteed his arrest, Joseph was held in the Montréal Prison pending his trial.<sup>327</sup> He was tried at the Court of King’s Bench session in January, 1846, found guilty of stealing the cow, and sentenced to three years in prison—a term which began on January 19, 1846.<sup>328</sup> Eight days later, Joseph summoned his mother and a notary to the jail and assigned legal responsibility for his daughter to his mother.<sup>329</sup> Under the terms of that agreement, his mother would “provide for the care and feeding of his daughter, aged approximately two years, baptised under the given and family names of Isabelle [*sic*] McIntyre, presently in the care of Marie-Louise Lecour of the said City of Montréal, widow [*sic*] of the late Joseph McIntyre. . . .”<sup>330</sup> The agreement does not

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<sup>327</sup> Québec, Montréal Prison, unidentified and unpaginated register, arranged by surname and then year, “McIntyre, Joseph,” 11 November 1845; accessed as “Registre d’écrou de la prison de Montréal, Mars 1841 à novembre 1866,” browsable images, *BAnQ numérique* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/4377038>), image 99 of 202.

<sup>328</sup> Canada, *Appendix to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1847* (Montréal: R. Campbell, 1847), Appendix N, “Provincial Penitentiary,” unnumbered page N-8, “Return of Convicts Received, &c.”; accessed as “Appendix to ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. . . .,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_6\\_1/272](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_6_1/272)).

<sup>329</sup> Montréal, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph-Hilarion Jobin, 1833-1881, no. 5280, “Consentement de Joseph McIntyre a Marie Louise Lecour, sa mère, d’élèver et prendre soin de sa fille,” 27 January 1846; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1833-1881,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R32M-MSXK-Z>), [images 3049-3051 of 3213](#); citing boîtes 17-19 (no 5313-5907) 13 February 1846-31 August 1847, digital film # 8876723.

<sup>330</sup> The fact that Joseph’s daughter, Marie Virginie, is named Isabelle in this document is inexplicable. There is no record of any other child being born to Joseph McIntyre and Elizabeth Lottridge. Later in her life, Marie Louise wrote (and later revoked) a will leaving the entirety of her estate to her granddaughter “Marie-Virgine”; see Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Germain Guay, 1829-1887, no. 10168, “Testament de Dme. M. Lse. Lecourt épouse de Sr. Jos. M<sup>e</sup>Intyre,” 10 June 1853; accessed as “Actes de notaire, 1829-1887,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R3LZ-3PQG>), [images 2362-2363 of 2838](#); citing boîtes 44-47 (9225-10340) 1 avril 1851 - 8 nov. 1853, digital film # 8883157.

mention the child's mother; Marie Louise alone is to "take care of his [Joseph's] little girl, raise, feed and care for her as she will see fit during his incarceration and the term of his imprisonment or at his pleasure, without, however, being able to demand from him any support or compensation, to which the said Marie Louise Lecour consents, since nothing is as important to her as to take the place of father and mother to this child. . . ." <sup>331</sup> Joseph's mother thereby assumed custody of this grandchild even though the child's mother was still alive. The fact that the girl was already in Marie Louise's custody before this agreement was drawn up suggests Joseph's marriage had broken down. It might also suggest an inability on the part of his estranged wife to care for the child—a situation that was certainly the case nine years later when mother and child were likely in Québec City. <sup>332</sup> But having transferred responsibility for the care of his child to his mother, Joseph began his three-year sentence.

<sup>331</sup> Montréal, Québec, Actes de notaire, Joseph-Hilarion Jobin, 1833-1881, no. 5280, "Consentement de Joseph McIntyre a Marie Louise Lecour, sa mère, d'élever et prendre soin de sa fille," 27 January 1846; accessed as "Actes de notaire, 1833-1881," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-R32M-MSXK-Z>), [images 3049-3051 of 3213](#); citing boîtes 17-19 (no 5313-5907) 13 February 1846-31 August 1847, digital film # 8876723.

<sup>332</sup> Elizabeth Lottridge died in Québec City in 1855; two years later her daughter was admitted to an institution in that city. For Elizabeth's burial, see Notre-Dame Parish (Notre-Dame-de-Québec, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1855 to 31 December 1857, folio 125 *recto*, S. 398, "Elisabeth Laudrick" burial, 29 July 1855; accessed as "Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Québec > Notre-Dame-de-Québec > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1855-1857 > [image 130 of 555](#). For Marie Virginie's admission to the Asile du Bon-Pasteur, see Céline Lacoursière (archivist), Les Sœurs du Bon-Pasteur de Québec, Québec (archivesbonpasteur@oricom.ca), to Mike Sainsbury, email, c. 2018, regarding the admission of Marie-Virginie McIntyre; privately held by author. Archivist's report: "Aucune inscription au nom de Virginie mais une inscription au nom de Elisabeth McIntyre: Père : John; Mère : Elisabeth Frederic; Née à Montréal; Arrivée à l'Asile Bon-Pasteur le 16 octobre 1857 à l'âge de 14 ans; Sortie le 15 mars 1862." Copy of this email no longer exists in author's digital files; information extracted from author's retained notes.

"Prison conditions in Montréal at this time were abysmal: overcrowding, vermin, inadequate heat, and diets of bread and water (except on Sundays and holidays, when meat was provided) were common fare." <sup>333</sup> Coincidentally, the week Joseph's sentence began a grand jury concluded its investigation of the prison. They found

the jail quite unfit for the classification and reclamation of prisoners; the apartments are all filled, the cells damp, chimneys and water-closets deficient, in one apartment eighteen men at work in a chamber fourteen feet by seventeen. They found a number of prisoners in the jail merely as an asylum for destitution, and also one lunatic who ought to be otherwise taken care of. They complain that parties are confined who ought to have been tried, and that there is no provision for the sustenance of debtors, not even bread, but they have to subsist on the charity of the other inmates. They recommended the building of a new jail, and the discontinuance of the licencing of low tipping houses. <sup>334</sup>

Fortunately, in some ways, Joseph was transferred to the Kingston Penitentiary in Canada West soon after his sentence began. <sup>335</sup> His new cell was smaller than the one he had occupied in Montreal, which had a vaulted ceiling and measured 8½ x 3½ feet; <sup>336</sup> in Kingston he was relegated to an 8 x 2½ foot area with a flat ceiling

<sup>333</sup> Pilarczyk, "The Law of Servants and the Servants of Law," p. 791 note 43.

<sup>334</sup> "The Grand Jury for the District of Montreal. . . ." *Montréal Gazette*, 21 January 1846, unnumbered p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>335</sup> Québec, Ministère de la Justice, Administration des prisons, unidentified and unpaginated register from April 1844 to April 1851, rows consecutively numbered, row 1119, "Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Intyre," 11 November 1845; accessed as "Registre d'écrou de la prison de Montréal, April 1844 - April 1851," browsable images, *BANQ numérique* (<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/4377022>), images 202-203 of 912.

<sup>336</sup> Luc Noppen, "La prison du Pied-au-Courant à Montréal: une étape dans l'évolution de l'architecture pénitentiaire au Bas-Canada et au Québec," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 3 (1976): 36-50, particularly 42 and (regarding the vaulted ceilings) 45.

height of 6' 7".<sup>337</sup> But unlike Montréal's prison, the Kingston Penitentiary—as the name implies—was meant to be a new kind of penal institution that emphasized a penitential approach to prisoner rehabilitation. In the words of Hugh C. Thompson, local member of the Upper Canada House of Assembly, it would be “a place to lead a man to repent of his sins and amend his life. . . .” But, Thompson added, even if the prisoner did not repent, “it is quite enough for the purposes of the public if the punishment is so terrible that the dread of a repetition of it deters him from crime. . . .”<sup>338</sup> This suggests that although the Kingston Penitentiary was intended as a place of rehabilitation, it had the potential to become a place of “terrible” punishment.

During Joseph's incarceration the penitentiary was overseen by Warden Henry Smith—a stern, some would say sadistic, disciplinarian. By 1848 conditions under Smith's management had become so bad an inquiry—the Brown Commission—was convened to investigate. At the time, the prison's chaplain lamented “much of the benefits of the Penitentiary system has [*sic*] been destroyed. . . .”<sup>339</sup> In its conclusions one year later, “the Brown Commission's report condemned Warden Smith's regime not only as a living hell but as a catalogue of such arbitrariness and injustice that ‘must have obliterated from the minds of the unhappy men all perception of moral guilt and thoroughly brutalized their feelings.’”<sup>340</sup>

<sup>337</sup> Kingston Penitentiary Museum, Kingston, Ontario, “The Original Cells” poster, n.d.

<sup>338</sup> C. J. Taylor, “The Kingston, Ontario Penitentiary and Moral Architecture,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 12 (November 1979): 385-408, particularly 386.

<sup>339</sup> Canada, *Appendix to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1849* (Montréal: R. Campbell, 1849), Appendix T.T.T.T., “Provincial Penitentiary,” No. 1, Chaplain's Report, 4 May 1849; accessed as “Appendix to ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_8\\_3/229](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_8_3/229)).

<sup>340</sup> Michael Jackson, “Prisoners of Isolation,” *Justice Behind the Walls*, website with expanded contents of Jackson's book of the same name (<http://justicebehindthewalls.net/book.asp?cid=7&pid=273>), section 02.1, page 3 of 9, para. 5; citing Canada, *Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct,*

Joseph was not named in either of the Brown Commission's two lengthy reports, although they did identify some prisoners as examples of the abuse suffered under Warden Smith and the keepers he employed. Joseph's punishments in prison were more mild than the egregious examples cited by the Brown Commission. In July, 1848 he was “punished for willfully cutting the lashing of the Scaffold, when taking it down without the advice of his Keeper. F. Little.” His punishment, which does not sound especially severe, was “2 meals Bread & Water.”<sup>341</sup> The next month he was “punished for laughing at table” and for this he received “1 meal bread and water.”<sup>342</sup> In November, 1848, Joseph and a prisoner named Robert Carroll were “punished for talking in their cells.” His punishment: “Bread and water.”<sup>343</sup> And in December, 1848, Joseph was “punished for being very stubborn when told to leave to door way of the Blk Smith Shop. [He] turned round and struck me [his keeper] on the arm with his shut fist.” For which he received “24 hours in Dark cell on bread and water.”<sup>344</sup> At this point Joseph was only a month away from liberation. The fact that he jeopardized his release by

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*discipline & management of the provincial penitentiary* (Montréal: Rollo Campbell, 1849), 189; accessed as “Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct, discipline & management of the provincial penitentiary,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_01285/2](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_01285/2)).

<sup>341</sup> Correctional Service Canada, Kingston Penitentiary, untitled punishment record book from 15 March 1848 to 28 July 1849 arranged by date, 21 July 1848, Joseph McIntyre; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-1943,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t1943/889?r=3&s=3](http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t1943/889?r=3&s=3)), image 889.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 August 1848, Joseph McIntyre; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-1943,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t1943/917?r=3&s=3](http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t1943/917?r=3&s=3)), image 917.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 November 1848, Joseph McIntyre; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-1943,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t1943/992?r=3&s=3](http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t1943/992?r=3&s=3)), image 992.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 December 1848, Joseph McIntyre; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-1943,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t1943/1014?r=3&s=3](http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t1943/1014?r=3&s=3)), image 1014, “affiliate reel number” T-1943.

striking his keeper may indicate a heightened level of anger or apprehension as his freedom drew near.

Joseph's prison term ended on January 19, 1849.<sup>345</sup> He received a fifteen-shilling traveling allowance (equivalent to \$2.50) and was turned out onto King Street—about one and a half miles west of Kingston's town center.<sup>346</sup> Three years earlier, the amount awarded to each liberated prisoner had actually been higher—one pound (\$3.33)—but even that had been considered “too small to defray the travelling expenses of any one, either to the Eastern or the Western extremity of the Province.”<sup>347</sup> So it is difficult to know how Joseph coped

with what the penitentiary's chaplain described as “the sad condition of the liberated Convict.”<sup>348</sup> The allowance might have covered the one hundred and seventy-five mile trip back to Montréal. But instead of returning to that city to reunite with his mother and daughter, he moved about the same distance in the opposite direction. How this came about is a mystery. But soon after Joseph's release, he may have befriended a young Baptist named Joshua Tuck.

Joshua, at twenty-nine years old, was four years older than Joseph. He was an English emigrant who may have served in Kingston's local militia between at least 1838 and 1839 and may then have remained in Kingston where he met Joseph ten years later.<sup>349</sup> Their meeting in Kingston is speculative, but what is certain is that by 1852 Joseph and a young man named Joshua Tuck had leased adjacent fifty-acre parcels of land on the fourth concession of Oro Township, Simcoe County.<sup>350</sup> Their land was a little under two miles north of “one of the most thriving communities in the early days of Oro”—the

<sup>345</sup> Correctional Service Canada, Kingston Penitentiary, untitled liberation book with interview responses from 3 November 1845 to 8 May 1850, p. 238, “Joseph Mac Intyre R.C.,” 18 January 1849; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-2002,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t2002/352](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2002/352)), image 352. This must be read in tandem with the standard set of questions, see Correctional Service Canada, Kingston Penitentiary, “Questions put to prisoners being released” [c. 1849]; accessed as “Kingston Penitentiary : T-2002,” digital images *Canadiana* ([https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_t2002/5](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2002/5)), image 5. For his discharge date and physical appearance see Canada, *Appendix to the Ninth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1850* (Toronto: R. Campbell, [1850]), Appendix R.R., “Return of Convicts, (Civilians,) discharged from the PENITENTIARY, &c.,” no. 1586, “Joseph McTyre [sic] | [age] 22 | [height] 5 5½ | [complexion] pale | [eyes] blue | [hair] light brown,” 19 January 1849; accessed as Appendix to ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. . . .,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_8\\_3/229](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_8_3/229)), image p. RR-[17].

<sup>346</sup> Canada, *Appendix to the Ninth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1850* (Toronto: R. Campbell, [1850]), Appendix R.R., “General Account of Disbursements at the Penitentiary, &c.,” January 1849, Joseph McIntyre; accessed as Appendix to ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. . . .,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_9\\_2/416](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_9_2/416)), image p. RR-[39].

<sup>347</sup> Canada, *Appendix to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1847* (Montréal: R. Campbell, 1847), Appendix N, “Provincial Penitentiary,” N-2, Report of the Chaplain, 30 November 1846; accessed as “Appendix to ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. . . .,” digital

images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_6\\_1/266](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_6_1/266)).

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>349</sup> For Joshua Tuck's birth in England, see “Canada, Ontario Census, 1861,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6Y1>), entry for Joshua Tuck (b. 1821), Oro, Simcoe, Canada West; citing enumeration dist. 4, p. 53 (stamped), line 3, “affiliate film number” C-1073. For his possible military service, see Great Britain, War Office and predecessors, “PAY LIST and acquittance Roll of the Capt Sander's Cr. of Militia attached to the 8th Proves Battalion, for ^ part of ^ the month of January 1839,” folio 307, line 38; accessed as “Canada, British Army and Canadian Militia Muster Rolls and Pay Lists, 1795-1850,” browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/3230/>), path: Muster Books and Pay Lists (Militia, Volunteers) > 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th Provisional Battalions (1838-1839) > [image 353 of 755](#).

<sup>350</sup> Simcoe County, Ontario, “Assessment Roll for the Township of Oro, Joseph Thomas Assessor, 1852,” p. 5, line 112, Joseph McIntire; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario. This is the first assessment roll that includes Joseph McIntyre in Oro Township. He is located on concession 5, SW ¼ of lot 6 and his age is listed as 21 (therefore born c. 1831). On this record Joshua Tuck is listed at line 111; his age is reported as 22 (therefore born c. 1829) but later records indicate he was born in Norfolk, England in 1819 and was therefore closer to 33.

village of Edgar.<sup>351</sup> This was the beginning of a new life for Joseph—an apparently peaceful period in contrast to his family’s history of conflict and domestic strife.

Oro Township is an area of rolling farmland similar to the land around St.-Charles where Joseph spent his childhood. The land he and Joshua Tuck leased was owned by Thomas David McConkey, a merchant in the nearby town of Barrie.<sup>352</sup> McConkey was later a Member of Parliament, in which capacity he helped draft legislation to grant free land to settlers in the Muskoka district north of Simcoe County. He therefore recognized the value of encouraging settlers to take up land and begin farming to improve their lives—and the province’s economy. In McConkey’s case, the land he leased to Joseph enjoyed a rapid and significant increase in value. In Joseph’s first year on the land its value rose twenty percent (to \$30) and almost as much again the next year.<sup>353</sup> In fact, the 1850s were a period of record growth in Canada’s economy.<sup>354</sup> Times were good, and by the mid-1850s the time had come for Joseph to remarry.

Joseph was still legally married to his first wife, Elizabeth Lottridge, but he had likely lost contact with her. And if he had maintained contact with his family in Québec after his release from prison, they, too, were likely unaware that by the summer of 1855 Elizabeth was living as a vagrant in Québec City where she died, on the Plains of Abraham, on Saturday, July 28, 1855, from “the excessive use of ardent spirits and exposure to the sun.”<sup>355</sup>

<sup>351</sup> Joanna McEwen, editor, *The Story of Oro*, 2d edition (Oro Station, ON: Township of Oro History Committee, 1987), 227.

<sup>352</sup> Andrew F. Hunter, *A History of Simcoe County*, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>353</sup> Simcoe County, Ontario, “Collectors’ Roll for the Township of Oro, 1853,” p. 5, line 117, “Joseph Mac Intire”; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>354</sup> O. J. Firestone, “Development of Canada’s Economy, 1850-1900,” in Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 222.

<sup>355</sup> Québec, Cour des sessions générales de la paix du district de Québec, Matières criminelles en général, dossier 9490, no. 104, stamped 94902, “An Inquisition . . . on view of the body of Elizabeth Laudrick,” 28 July 1855; accessed as digital scan of dossier supplied on 30 January 2024 by Nancy Bélanger,

By the same summer, Joseph had met seventeen-year-old Maria Cavanagh who lived nearby in Oro Township. Joseph was by now thirty-one years old, but at five feet, five inches tall, with blue eyes, fair skin, and light brown hair, he had a youthful look that allowed him to under-report his age throughout his life.<sup>356</sup> Maria lived with her seventy-one-year old father a quarter of a mile down the road.<sup>357</sup> This proximity is one way the couple might have met. Another would have been their attendance—as fellow Roman Catholics—at the church of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary in the town of Barrie, about twelve miles south. This is where Joseph and Maria presumably wed in the summer of 1855.<sup>358</sup>

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Technicienne en documentation, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec à Québec.

<sup>356</sup> For Joseph’s physical appearance see Canada, *Appendix to the Ninth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... Session, 1850* (Toronto: R. Campbell, [1850]), Appendix R.R., “Return of Convicts, (Civilians,) discharged from the Penitentiary, &c.,” no. 1586, “Joseph McTyre [*sic*] | [age] 22 | [height] 5 5½ | [complexion] pale | [eyes] blue | [hair] light brown,” 19 January 1849; accessed as Appendix ... of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_8\\_3/229](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_8_3/229)), image p. RR-[17].

<sup>357</sup> By 1861 her brother Patrick lived on the east half of lot 8, concession 4 in Oro Township, on land that their father had been granted prior to 1847. See Ontario, “Index to the Ontario Land Records Index,” microfiche 008, alphabetical entries from Canada Company to Chisolm [*sic*], Donald, includes the following entry: “Name of locatee: Cavanagh James, Residence | Township: Oro | Lot: E ½ 8 | Conc. : 4 | Date ID: 5- Sale - involves the Canada Company | Issue Date: 1847-01-22 | Transaction Type: Sale | Type FG: [included on microfilm MS 693 Reel 159] CL01 C1113 002 104.”

<sup>358</sup> There is no existing marriage record for this couple. Their first child was born in the summer of 1856, suggesting a latest marriage date of perhaps a year earlier. That they had a church wedding is a valid assumption. Maria’s father and brothers lived nearby; no church marriage would have been scandalous and extraordinary. Joseph and his wife were Roman Catholic but those marriage records for Oro Township are only consistently available after 1857. The church register that includes the 1859 burial of Maria’s father, James Cavanagh, does not include any McIntyre marriages or children’s baptisms. See Flos Mission, Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario) “D.O.M. Birth, deaths, marriages Records, for the mission of Flos”; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>),

The first of their twelve children, James Stephen, was born in the summer of 1856.<sup>359</sup> As the family grew they remained on the same land which, by 1860 was assessed at \$175—a far cry from the \$25 it was worth eight years earlier—but it was twenty-five dollars below the value that would have allowed Joseph to vote.<sup>360</sup> In

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path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Flos Mission > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1854-1904. The register for the nearby West Gwillimbury mission begins in 1855 but its earliest marriage is in 1856, which is likely after Joseph and Maria's presumed marriage. See West Gwillimbury Mission, Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario) "Register of the Roman Catholic Church of West Gwillimbury For Baptisms, Marriages & Deaths"; accessed as "Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, West Gwillimbury Mission > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1855-1857.

<sup>359</sup> James's birthdate is established through a combination of records. On the 1901 census he reported his birthdate as 25 July 1859, but that year cannot be correct because on the 1861 census he was listed as 5 years old and his sister, Mary Louisa, was listed as 4. See "Canada, Ontario Census, 1861," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6Y1>), entry for James McIntyre (b. 1856), Oro, Simcoe, Canada West; citing enumeration dist. 4, p. 53 (stamped), line 7, "affiliate film number" C-1073. There is direct evidence for Mary Louisa's birth in 1857; therefore, James was almost certainly born in 1856. This is corroborated by the 1931 census, in which he gives his age as 74. That census was taken on June 1, so if he indeed turned 75 in July, 1931 it would fix his birth year as 1856. Determining the day he was born presents other challenges. He reported it as July 25 (1859) in 1901 but his death notice says he was born on September 5, 1856. The information was probably provided by his son, Earl Dalton (Dalton), at whose home he died. Dalton may have had access to family papers that recorded his father's birthdate. In any case, from these two dates it seems certain that James was born in the summer. For the 1901 census, see "Canada Census, 1901," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSS1-LWMD-Q>), entry for James S. McIntyre (b. 1859), Tiny, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 113, subdist. M, polling sub-div. 3, p. 3, fam. 20, "affiliate film number" T-6496. For the 1931 census, see "Canada Census, 1931," database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/2312621:62640>), entry for James S. McIntyre (b. 1857), Barrie, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 151, subdist. 31, p. 8, fam. 98, no affiliate film number. For his death notice see *Barrie Examiner*, 11 February 1943, p. 3.

<sup>360</sup> Oro Township, "List of Voters, 1860," unnumbered pages with numbered entries that match that year's tax assessment

that year, three of the farm's fifty acres were under cultivation, ten were planted with crops, and two were under pasture. The remaining thirty-five acres were "Under Wood or Wild." Joseph had not learned to read or write, which placed him among the minority of Oro's residents of whom, in the late 1850s, between seventy and ninety-five percent could read and/or write.<sup>361</sup> His children, however, would get the education he never had.

By 1861 his first children were old enough to attend the newly built school about one and a half miles down the road in the village of Edgar.<sup>362</sup> Six years later, he and Maria had five children and the time had come to move to a home that could better accommodate their growing family. Additionally, Joseph was now able to purchase his own farm rather than continuing to rent Thomas McConkey's land. They moved; but not far.

In January, 1867, Joseph paid \$175 for the northwest quarter of lot seven, concession four in Oro Township. To secure this property Joseph borrowed \$75 from the seller, which he repaid in two years.<sup>363</sup> At that point, in January 1869, he immediately borrowed \$260 against the property from William Larkin of Oro. Joseph presumably needed all or part of this money for

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roll, no. "~~184~~", "~~McIntyre Joseph~~"; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario. Joseph's name has been crossed off the list; voters on rural property had to meet these requirements: 21 years of age, British subject, listed on an assessment roll as owner, tenant, or occupant of property valued at \$200 and generating annual revenues of \$20. Chris MacBain, Simcoe County Archives, to Mike Sainsbury, letter, 11 January 2018, reporting results of a search for Joseph McIntyre in land records held by the archives; Personal Correspondence, 2018; McIntyre Kinship Determination Project Files; privately held by Sainsbury, [ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

<sup>361</sup> McEwen, *The Story of Oro*, 67.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>363</sup> Simcoe County Land Registry, Abstract/Parcel Book, Simcoe (51), Oro, Book 219, 220, folio 175, Lot 7, Concession 4; cited as "Historical Books," database with images, *Ontario Land Registry Access* (<https://www.onland.ca/ui/51/books/44370/viewer/689635731?page=98>). Relevant entries on this folio include: instrument number 47509, bargain & sale, 2 January 1867, Robert Dickson Feather to Joseph McIntyre of Oro; instrument number 45685, mortgage, 12 January 1867, Joseph McIntyre *et ux.* to Robert Dickson Feather \$75; instrument number 51697, discharge of mortgage, 30 Nov 1868, Robert Dickson Feather to Joseph McIntyre of Oro.

livestock, building improvements, and/or farm machinery. Soon after this loan he owned a plough—which was not uncommon among his neighbors—and a fanning mill—which was less common.<sup>364</sup> He also owned a house, two barns or stables—possibly one of each—and fifty acres. By 1870 fifteen of those acres had been improved. One acre contained a garden or orchard. Four were given over to pasture for his two working oxen, two milk cows, one “other horned cattle,” two sheep, and one pig. Eleven other pigs had been killed or sold for slaughter that year—making Joseph one of the most productive pig farmers in the area. For cereal crops and other produce, however, his farm was not among the most productive. In 1870 he produced

- 12 bushels of oats,
- 20 bushels of peas, and
- 100 bushels of potatoes.<sup>365</sup>

By contrast, his more productive neighbor to the south (also on a fifty-acre lot) produced:

- 100 bushels of oats,
- 50 bushels of peas, and
- 200 bushels of potatoes.<sup>366</sup>

For turnip production, however, Joseph came out on top. He produced three hundred bushels to his neighbor’s two hundred.<sup>367</sup>

<sup>364</sup> “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-J2Z>), entry for “Schedule No. 3,” line 17, Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing “Schedule No. 3 - Return of Public Institutions, Real Estate, Vehicles and Implements,” dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 11, line 17, (keyed to Schedule No. 1, p. 60, line 12), “affiliate film number” C-9964.

<sup>365</sup> “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-JQJ>), entry for “Schedule No. 4,” line 9, Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing “Schedule No. 4 - Return of Cultivated Land, of Field Products and of Plants and Fruits,” dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 11, line 9, (keyed to Schedule No. 1, p. 60, line 12), “affiliate film number” C-9964.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, line 10.

<sup>367</sup> “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-FM1>),

Joseph continued farming in Oro for several more years. In January, 1874 he repaid the \$260 he had borrowed from William Larkin five years earlier, but immediately re-mortgaged the same property to the same person for the same amount.<sup>368</sup> By 1878, however, farming may not have provided the income Joseph needed for his growing family. His was never the most productive farm, and the physical nature of the work, the reliance on the seasons, and Joseph’s age (he was fifty-seven in 1881) may have prompted him to return to the wage-earning occupation of his youth.

In January, 1878 Joseph sold his property to his lender, William Larkin of Barrie, for \$500. That paid off the \$260 mortgage Joseph had secured from Larkin and provided at least \$240 cash. With the farm sold and cash in hand, the family were again on the move; this time to the adjacent township of Medonte, near the village of Hillsdale, where Joseph found work as a brickmaker.<sup>369</sup> He was one of forty-six men employed in ten

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entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1838), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 60, fam. 209, “affiliate film number” C-9964.

<sup>368</sup> Simcoe County Land Registry, Abstract/Parcel Book, Simcoe (51), Oro, Book 219, 220, folio 175, Lot 7, Concession 4; accessed as “Historical Books,” database with images, *Ontario Land Registry Access* (<https://www.onland.ca/ui/51/books/44370/viewer/689635731?page=98>).

<sup>369</sup> “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. 340, “affiliate film number” C-13251. The agricultural census is not available for 1881 to determine his property’s lot and concession number, but it was near or in Hillsdale. Others listed nearby on the census can be traced as Hillsdale residents in *The Union Publishing Co’s (of Ingersoll) Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Muskoka, Ontario, Simcoe, and Victoria for 1889*, vol. 4 (Ingersoll, ON: Publishing Co., of Ingersoll, [18889]), 246-47; accessed as “*The Union Publishing Co’s Farmers’ & Business Directory for the counties of Muskoka, Ontario, Simcoe, Victoria, Durham. . . .*,” browsable images, *Internet Archive* (<https://archive.org/details/unionpublishingc04unse/page/246/mode/2up>), image 246 of 372. For example: a man named John Lawlor lived on concession 1, lot 54 in Hillsdale and James Martin lived at concession 1, lot 56 in Hillsdale. Both are enumerated on page 73 of the 1881 census cited in this note. Isa McCreight is listed in the 1889 directory on concession 1, lot 56 in Hillsdale and was enumerated on page 71 of the same census.

brickmaking establishments in the Simcoe North district at that time; up from seven such establishments employing only twenty five a decade earlier.<sup>370</sup> It was, it seems, a growing industry in which Joseph could apply the skills he had learned decades earlier in Montréal.

In addition to Joseph's switch from farming to brickmaking and the family's move from Oro township to Medonte other changes were occurring in the family. Most significantly, by the time the family had moved to Hillsdale, Joseph's wife and eight of their nine children had left the Catholic church and had become Baptists.<sup>371</sup>

If it was Joseph who answered the census enumerator's questions in 1881, he responded as if all of his children—the eldest of whom were now young adults—still lived at home. But his eldest daughter, Mary, had married four years earlier and was living with her husband and their two sons in the nearby township of Essa.<sup>372</sup> And his second daughter, Ellen, had married the year before and was living in Hillsdale.<sup>373</sup> His remaining children—the ones who truly did still live at home—ranged in age from twenty-five years to seven months. But in

the next few years, most of them would also leave the family home.<sup>374</sup>

By the late 1880s Joseph was in his mid-sixties and still working as a brickmaker. Some time before 1891 the family moved to Borland Street in the town of Orillia. By then Joseph had joined his wife and several children by becoming a Baptist, directing the school taxes he paid to the public system rather than the so-called separate (i.e., Catholic) school board.<sup>375</sup> More significantly, he had learned to read and write.<sup>376</sup>

His last child, Stephen, died in 1892 and by 1897 only his three youngest children lived at home. In that year, Joseph had stopped working.<sup>377</sup> In fact, he had become ill and was diagnosed with stomach cancer—a disease that would claim his life one year later. Joseph died in Orillia on Wednesday, November 2, 1898 at a recorded age of seventy-one.<sup>378</sup> This was only a few years shy of his true age of seventy-four and the most accurate of any document he left during his time in

<sup>370</sup> Canada, *Census of Canada, 1880-81, Recensement du Canada*, vol. 3 (Ottawa: Roger MacLean, 1883), p. 338; accessed as “Census of Canada, 1880-81 =,” digital images, *Canadiana* ([https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_08063/352](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_08063/352)). For 1871 see Canada, *Census of Canada, 1870-71*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1873), 300; accessed as “Census of Canada 1870-71 = Recensement du Canada 1870-71,” online publication, *Government of Canada* (<https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.827965/publication.html>)

<sup>371</sup> “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. 340, “affiliate film number” C-13251.

<sup>372</sup> “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DWL3-7RQ>), entry for Mary Blackstock (b. 1856), Essa, Simcoe South, Ontario; citing dist. 138, subdist. F, division 2, p. 81, fam. 349, “affiliate film number” C-13250.

<sup>373</sup> “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. 340, “affiliate film number” C-13251.

<sup>374</sup> Teresa wed in 1882, James in 1885, John in 1894, Agnes in 1900. See complete list of Joseph and Maria's children later in this report.

<sup>375</sup> Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario, “Assessment Roll for the Municipality of Town of Orillia (North Ward) for 1896,” line 899; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>376</sup> “Canada Census, 1891,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/1192264:1274>), entry of Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Orillia Town, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 116, subdist. i, division 2, p. 33-34, fam. 174, (enumerated 8 May 1891), “affiliate film number” T-6368. All family members are now Baptist except Robert, who belongs to the Salvation Army. Joseph, at 60, is still a brickmaker. John is a shanty hand, Josephus is a blacksmith, and Robert is a saw mill hand.

<sup>377</sup> Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario, “Assessment Roll for the Municipality of Town of Orillia (North Ward) for 1896,” line 899; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario. *Ibid.*, “Assessment Roll for the Municipality of Town of Orillia (North Ward) for 1897,” line 817. The home was occupied by five people; most likely Joseph, Maria, Josephus “Joseph” (b. 1871 and married in 1900), Robert (born 1874 and married in 1901), and Augustus “Gus” (born 1880 and married in 1904).

<sup>378</sup> “Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YV-W9CZ-9>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre, 2 November 1898, no. 19531; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.” Record does not indicate whether Joseph died at home or in hospital, or where he was buried.

Ontario following his release from prison. He was buried the next day following a funeral service that likely took place at the Baptist Church on West Street not far from his Borland Street home.<sup>379</sup> His burial location is unknown.

Joseph McIntyre and Elizabeth Lottridge had one child:

- i. MARIE VIRGINIE “VIRGINIE” MCINTYRE, born 12 May 1844 in Longueuil,<sup>380</sup> no record of marriage; no record of death. In 1857, two years after her mother’s death, Virginie was admitted to the Asylum of the Good Shepherd in Québec City<sup>381</sup> which principally served as a half-way house for women who had been released from prison and had nowhere else to go.<sup>382</sup> She was still living there (as one of dozens of “*filles penitentes*” [penitent young woman]) in

<sup>379</sup> “Joseph McIntyre,” death notice, *Orillia Packet*, 3 November 1898, p. 3, col. 5.

<sup>380</sup> Notre-Dame Parish (Montréal, Québec), unidentified church register from 1 January 1844 to 31 December 1844, folio 74 verso, B. 792, “Marie Virginie M<sup>c</sup>Intyie” baptism, 13 May 1844; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Montréal > Notre-Dame > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1844-1846 > [image 79 of 702](#).

<sup>381</sup> Céline Lacoursière (archivist), Les Sœurs du Bon-Pasteur de Québec, Québec (archivesbonpasteur@oricom.ca.) to Mike Sainsbury, email, c. 2018, regarding the admission of Marie-Virginie McIntyre; privately held by author. Archivist’s report: “Aucune inscription au nom de Virginie mais une inscription au nom de Elisabeth McIntyre: Père : John; Mère : Elisabeth Frederic; Née à Montréal; Arrivée à l’Asile Bon-Pasteur le 16 octobre 1857 à l’âge de 14 ans; Sortie le 15 mars 1862.” Copy of this email no longer exists in author’s digital files; information extracted from author’s retained notes.

<sup>382</sup> Mireille Bergeron (archivist), Les Sœurs du Bon-Pasteur de Québec, (archivesbonpasteur@oricom.ca.) to Mike Sainsbury, email, 15 January 2023, “Re: 1857-1862: Elisabeth McIntyre”; McIntyre-Bronson Tree File; privately held by Sainsbury, (dnafamilyhelp@gmail.com), Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

1861,<sup>383</sup> but she left the following year.<sup>384</sup>

Although Virginie had been named her paternal grandmother’s sole beneficiary in 1853, her grandmother revoked that will in 1869 and did not write a new one,<sup>385</sup> which perhaps indicates Virginie had died before that date.

## MARIA CAVANAGH’S PARENTAGE AND LIFE STORY

According to her death registration, Maria (pronounced “Mariah”)<sup>386</sup> was born on June 26, 1838 and was the daughter of James Cavanagh and Mary De Lury.<sup>387</sup> The informant was her daughter, Agnes.

<sup>383</sup> “Census of 1861,” database, *Library and Archives Canada* (<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1861/Pages/item.aspx?itemid=2146249>), entry for Virginie McIntyre (b. 1843), Montcalm, Québec, Québec; no district or other locating information, “l’Asile du Bon Pasteur de Québec” handwritten along top of page, folio 3138, p. 3, line 6, “affiliate film number” C-1252.

<sup>384</sup> Céline Lacoursière (archivist), Les Sœurs du Bon-Pasteur de Québec, Québec (archivesbonpasteur@oricom.ca.) to Mike Sainsbury, email, 12 December 2018, “Re: Admission de Marie-Virginie McIntyre avant 1861?”; McIntyre-Bronson Tree File; privately held by Sainsbury, (mikesainsbury@shaw.ca), Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

<sup>385</sup> Québec, Québec, Actes de notaire, Charles-Ernest-Ovide Belle, 1865-1874, no. 139, “Revocation de Testament par Dame Marie Louise Lecours,” 29 September 1869; accessed as “Québec, district judiciaire de Montréal, actes de notaire, 1865-1874,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9392-VZNJ>), [images 684-686 of 916](#); citing actes de notaire, no 1-200 (20 October 1865-26 January 1870), digital film # 4725355.

<sup>386</sup> On the 1871 census her name is spelt “Moriah” and in 1881 and 1891 it is spelt “Mariah,” thus indicating the pronunciation. Her granddaughter, Mildred Maria McIntyre, was called by her middle name, Maria, and it was pronounced this way.

In the same way, Maria McIntyre’s first child’s name was Nina—pronounced to rhyme with “Ina” or “Dinah.” Kathleen Hughes (deceased), interview by Mike Sainsbury, 1987; notes privately held by Sainsbury, [ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 2024. Kathleen, a daughter of Mildred Maria (McIntyre) Swailes, spoke from personal knowledge when she related the pronunciation of these names.

<sup>387</sup> These are the parents named on her death registration. James Cavanagh can be corroborated, but Mary De Lury cannot, see “Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TX-Y>

Although Agnes did not know either of her grandparents (they both died before she was born) she lived near her mother at the end of her mother's life. That proximity may have supported frequent visits and conversations with her mother, during which Agnes might have received information—or had access to documents—related to her mother's parentage and birth.

The birthdate that Agnes reported is corroborated by Maria herself. On the 1901 census she gave her birthdate as either June 24 or 26, 1838.<sup>388</sup> Although her death registration had space for the decedent's place of birth, that information was not recorded. But on her daughter Mary Louisa's baptism register Maria said she was born in Penetanguishene.<sup>389</sup> Roman Catholic church records for St. Ann's parish in Penetanguishene exist from 1836, but Maria's baptism is not in that register.<sup>390</sup> A child named Marie Ann Cavanagh was baptised in Penetanguishene on September 1, 1840, but she was the daughter of Thomas Cavanagh and Mary Kearns.<sup>391</sup> Nonetheless, Penetanguishene as Maria's birthplace makes sense because her father, James, was a private in James Keating's regiment of commuted pensioners on

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SR3-3), registration image, Maria McIntyre, 30 July 1910, no. 19531; citing "Registrar General, Toronto."

<sup>388</sup> "Canada Census, 1901," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSS1-LWMX-X>), entry for Maria McIntyre (b. 1838), Orillia, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 113, subdist. A, polling sub-division 1, p. 11, fam. 110, "affiliate film number T-6496. The second digit of her birth day is difficult to read.

<sup>389</sup> Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ontario) unidentified church register bound at a later date, includes baptisms from 17 January 1858 to 23 June 1906, unnumbered p. 3, line 5, "Mary Louisa M'Entyre" baptism, 25 March 1858; accessed as "Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923," browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms 1858-1906 > [image 3 of 179](#).

<sup>390</sup> St. Ann Parish (Penetanguishene, Ontario), "Index of baptisms 1846-1914; Baptisms, marriages, burials 1835-1846 (extracted copies with indexes); Baptisms, marriages, burials 1835-1877; Confirmations 1855-1864," Family History Library microfilm 1305885. This microfilm has not been digitized by *FamilySearch* as part of their Ontario Catholic collection.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.* "Marie Ann Cavanaugh | [baptised] 1 September 1840 aged 1 month | d[daughter] of Thomas Cavanaugh [*sic*] and Marie Quelle [*sic*]."

garrison duty in Penetanguishene at about this time.<sup>392</sup> In any case, there does not seem to be a baptism record to establish the identity of Maria's parents in the place and time she herself indicated she was born.

Her father's identity is corroborated, albeit indirectly, by the witnesses at his burial. They included Maria's husband, Joseph McIntyre, and her father's neighbor, John Smith, who lived beside James Cavanagh's one-hundred acre farm, which was subsequently owned by Maria's brother, Patrick.<sup>393</sup>

Maria's mother is more of a mystery. Although recorded as "Mary De Lury" on Maria's death certificate, she had likely been dead for several decades.<sup>394</sup> Furthermore, the informant—Maria's daughter Agnes—would not have known her grandmother. Agnes was born in 1866 and her maternal grandmother had almost certainly died before 1861. But there is no burial record for anyone named either Mary De Lury (or variant) or Mary Cavanagh (or variant) in the area's existing Roman Catholic church registers or in Ontario civil death registrations, which began in 1868. Furthermore, De Lury is not a surname that appears in the areas where Maria and her father lived—Penetanguishene and Oro Township. Maria's brother, Thomas, was living near or beside a family

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<sup>392</sup> Great Britain, War Office, "Commuted Pensioners enrolled for Garrison duty at Penetanguishene May 1839 [to] July 1840," unbound folios arranged by month; accessed as "Canada, British Army and Canadian Militia Muster Rolls and Pay Lists, 1795-1850," browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/3230/>), path: Muster Books and Pay Lists (Militia, Volunteers) > Paris, Penetanguishene, Perth, Petite Cote, Plympton, Sarnia, Polto, Port Hope, Prescott, etc > [images 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 40, and 42 of 475](#); citing National Archives (UK), WO13, Militia and Volunteers Muster Books and Pay Lists, Canadian Militia and Volunteers, vol. 3702.

<sup>393</sup> "Canada, Ontario Census, 1861," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6RL>), entry for John Smith (b. 1821), Oro, Simcoe, Canada West; citing enumeration dist. 4, folio 52, line 44, "affiliate film number" C-1073.

<sup>394</sup> She does not appear in the 1861 census as Mary Cavanagh or any variant surname, see "Canada, Ontario Census, 1861," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1460164>) wherein searches for surname "cav\*" and "kav\*" in Oro and Medonte townships produced no likely candidates.

headed by a man named James Daley (recorded as “Dily”) in 1861.<sup>395</sup> But no records have been found to link that family with Maria Cavanagh.

Maria’s older siblings were all born in Ireland. Therefore, any of their baptisms might identify Maria’s mother—if, in fact, they shared the same mother. The best candidate for this search is Maria’s brother, Thomas, because his gravestone indicates he was born in Maryborough, County Laois, Ireland on July 2, 1827.<sup>396</sup> Maryborough’s baptism register includes an entry on July 8, 1827 for Thomas “Kavana,” the son of James “Kavana” and his wife, whose first name was Mary, but her last name is difficult to read. It is not De Lury or Dily because it does not end in a letter with a descending stroke. It looks like it might be Dillon or Dalton.<sup>397</sup>

<fig. 2 here>

Thomas’s mother, however, was not necessarily Maria’s mother. Maria was the only child in her family who was born in Canada, and she was born more than nine years after her next nearest (known) sibling, Patrick. It is therefore possible that their father, James Cavanagh, had another wife—Maria’s mother—who died in Canada sometime after Maria was born. At present, the best available evidence can only support the conclusion that Maria was the daughter of James Cavanagh and Mary [--?--].

<sup>395</sup> “Canada, Ontario Census, 1861,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DBT9-VTR>), entry for James Dily (b. 1824), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing enumeration dist. 5, folio 63, lines 4-8, “affiliate film number” C-1073.

<sup>396</sup> Find a Grave (<https://www.findagrave.com>), memorial page 99375352, Thomas Cavanagh (2 Jul 1827–5 Aug 1897), maintained by “Yandeau”; citing West Oro Baptist Cemetery, Oro-Medonte, Simcoe County, Ontario.

<sup>397</sup> Portlaoise (Maryborough) Parish (Maryborough, Ireland), unidentified church register of baptisms and marriages from 14 May 1826 to 4 February 1838 arranged in chronological order with unnumbered pages, “Thomas Kavana” baptism, 8 July 1827; accessed as “Catholic Parish Registers at the NLI,” browsable images, *National Library of Ireland* (<https://registers.nli.ie/>), path: Laois > Maryborough > Microfilm 042010/007 > [image 13 of 137](#).

Maria’s early life was spent in and around the British military garrison at Penetanguishene,<sup>398</sup> but by the time she was nine her father moved the family to a one-hundred acre holding in Oro Township just north of the village of Edgar.<sup>399</sup> From there, when Maria was about twelve years old, her brother John left Canada to work on the Erie Canal and, as one descendant rather ominously recorded, “He was never heard from again.”<sup>400</sup> Maria’s brother Patrick, however, remained in Oro, having inherited the family farm from their father.<sup>401</sup> Maria’s oldest sibling, Ann, was likely married a year or two after Maria’s birth and died when Maria was nineteen years old<sup>402</sup>—by which time Maria was married to Joseph McIntyre; they had one child and were expecting their second.

<sup>398</sup> Her father was paid as a private in the British military garrison at Penetanguishene from 1839 to 1840, see Great Britain, War Office, “Commutated Pensioners enrolled for Garrison duty at Penetanguishene May 1839 [to] July 1840,” unbound folios arranged by month; accessed as “Canada, British Army and Canadian Militia Muster Rolls and Pay Lists, 1795-1850,” browsable images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/search/collections/3230/>), path: Muster Books and Pay Lists (Militia, Volunteers) > Paris, Penetanguishene, Perth, Petite Cote, Plympton, Sarnia, Polto, Port Hope, Prescott, etc > [images 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 40, and 42 of 475](#); citing National Archives (UK), WO13, Militia and Volunteers Muster Books and Pay Lists, Canadian Militia and Volunteers, vol. 3702.

<sup>399</sup> Ontario, “Index to the Ontario Land Records Index,” microfiche 008, alphabetical entries from Canada Company to Chisolm [*sic*], Donald, includes the following entry: “Name of locatee: Cavanagh James, Residence | Township: Oro | Lot: E ½ 8 | Conc. : 4 | Date ID: 5- Sale - involves the Canada Company | Issue Date: 1847-01-22 | Transaction Type: Sale | Type FG: [included on microfilm MS 693 Reel 159] CL01 C1113 002 104.”

<sup>400</sup> Laura Cavanagh Mable, “Cavanagh,” in Joanna McEwen, *Kith ‘n Kin: Reminiscences, Biographies, Genealogies, Photographs Featuring Oro Township Pioneer Families* (Oro Station, ON: Corporation of the Township of Oro, 1978): 67.

<sup>401</sup> “Canada, Ontario Census, 1861,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6TK>), entry for Patrick Cavanagh (b. 1830), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing enumeration dist. 4, folio 52, line 36, “affiliate film number” C-1073.

<sup>402</sup> *Find a Grave* (<https://www.findagrave.com>), memorial page 97043590, Ann Hart (unknown–1857), maintained by “Yandeau”; citing Bethesda Congregational Church Cemetery, Oro-Medonte, Simcoe County, Ontario.

Maria's brothers, although raised by a Roman Catholic father, left that church to join the Congregationalist faith (her brother Patrick)<sup>403</sup> and the Wesleyan Methodist (her brother Thomas).<sup>404</sup> Maria would follow their lead. By 1881 she had become a Baptist, as had all of her children except Teresa, who joined the Presbyterian church, and Robert, who joined the Salvation Army.<sup>405</sup> Her husband, Joseph, remained a Catholic into the 1880s, but he joined Maria in the Baptist faith about ten years before his death in 1898.<sup>406</sup>

After her husband's death, Maria remained in the home they had shared on Borland Street in Orillia where she died on July 30, 1910.<sup>407</sup> She was seventy-two years old.

Joseph McIntyre and Maria Cavanagh had twelve children:

- i. JAMES STEPHEN MCINTYRE, born in the summer of 1856 in Oro Township, Simcoe

<sup>403</sup> "Canada, Ontario Census, 1861," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6TK>), entry for Patrick Cavanagh (b. 1830), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing enumeration dist. 4, folio 52, line 36, "affiliate film number" C-1073.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-X8V>), entry for Thomas Cavanagh (b. 1829), Medonte, Simcoe, Ontario; citing enumeration dist. 5, folio 63, line 2, "affiliate film number" C-1073. Thomas's religion is "W.M." or Wesleyan Methodist.

<sup>405</sup> "Canada Census, 1881," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. "affiliate film number" C-13251.

<sup>406</sup> "Canada Census, 1891," database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/1192264:1274>), entry of Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Orillia Town, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 116, subdist. i, division 2, p. 33-34, fam. 174, (enumerated 8 May 1891), "affiliate film number" T-6368. Indicates Joseph was a Baptist by 1891.

"Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YV-W9CZ-9>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre, 2 November 1898, no. 19531; citing "Registrar General, Toronto."

<sup>407</sup> "Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TX-YSR3-3>), registration image, Maria McIntyre, 30 July 1910, no. 19531; citing "Registrar General, Toronto."

County, Ontario;<sup>408</sup> married (1) Emma Louise Bronson on 15 December 1885 in Wyevale, Simcoe County;<sup>409</sup> married (2) Sarah Angeline Hunt Smith on 18 May 1916 in Watford, Lambton County;<sup>410</sup> died 31 January 1943 Wyevale, Simcoe County.<sup>411</sup>

<sup>408</sup> James's birthdate is established through a combination of records. On the 1901 census he reported his birthdate as 25 July 1859, but that year cannot be correct because on the 1861 census he was listed as 5 years old and his sister, Mary Louisa, was listed as 4. See "Canada, Ontario Census, 1861," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6Y1>), entry for James McIntyre (b. 1856), Oro, Simcoe, Canada West; citing enumeration dist. 4, p. 53 (stamped), line 7, "affiliate film number" C-1073. There is direct evidence for Mary Louisa's birth in 1857; therefore, James was almost certainly born in 1856. This is corroborated by the 1931 census, in which he gives his age as 74. That census was taken on June 1, so if he indeed turned 75 in July, 1931 it would fix his birth year as 1856. Determining the day he was born presents other challenges. He reported it as July 25 (1859) in 1901 but his death notice says he was born on September 5, 1856. The information was probably provided by his son, Earl Dalton (Dalton), at whose home he died. Dalton may have had access to family papers that recorded his father's birthdate. In any case, from these two dates it seems certain that James was born in the summer. For the 1901 census, see "Canada Census, 1901," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSS1-LWMD-Q>), entry for James S. McIntyre (b. 1859), Tiny, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 113, subdist. M, polling sub-div. 3, p. 3, fam. 20, "affiliate film number" T-6496. For the 1931 census, see "Canada Census, 1931," database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/2312621:62640>), entry for James S. McIntyre (b. 1857), Barrie, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 151, subdist. 31, p. 8, fam. 98, no affiliate film number. For his death notice see *Barrie Examiner*, 11 February 1943, p. 3.

<sup>409</sup> "Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y39P-4S2>), registration image, "Jas. S. McIntyre" and "Emma Brunson," 15 December 1884, no. 10628; citing "Registrar General, Toronto."

<sup>410</sup> "Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-LBLC-3VJ>), affidavit image, James S. McIntyre and Sarah Angeline Smith, 18 May 1916, no. 12330; citing "Registrar General, Toronto." Image of the marriage license appears as the previous image.

<sup>411</sup> "Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1949," database with images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/4105518:8946>),

- ii. MARY LOUISA MCINTYRE, born 27 December 27 in Oro;<sup>412</sup> married Joseph E. Blackstock 25 June 1877 in Barrie;<sup>413</sup> died 12 June 1887 of consumption in Oro.<sup>414</sup> By 1881 Mary and her husband had two young sons, but on the 1881 census she is enumerated as Mary McIntyre, single, living with her parents in Medonte Township.<sup>415</sup>
- iii. ELLEN MARIA “ELLEN” MCINTYRE, born 24 January 1860 in Edgar;<sup>416</sup> married James Humberston Firth on 14 July 1880 in Hillsdale, Simcoe County;<sup>417</sup> died 17 August 1932 in Barrie.<sup>418</sup>
- iv. JOSEPH EMMANUEL, born 30 December 30, 1861 in Oro;<sup>419</sup> died 10 February 1862 in Oro.<sup>420</sup>

registration image, James S. McIntyre, 31 January 1943, no. 33592; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>412</sup> Sacred Hearts (Barrie, Ont.) Unidentified and re-bound church register with baptisms from 17 January 1858 to 23 June 1906, unnumbered p. 3, line 5, “Mary Louisa M<sup>c</sup>Entyre” baptism, 25 March 1858; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms 1858-1906 > [image 3 of 179](#).

<sup>413</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y395-K67>), registration image, “John E. Blackstock” and “Mary M<sup>c</sup>Intyre,” 25 June 1877, no. 9937; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>414</sup> “Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1949,” database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/8946/images/onms935\\_4\\_9-0112](https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/8946/images/onms935_4_9-0112)), registration image, Mary Blackstock, 12 June 1887, no. 15748; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>415</sup> “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Mary McIntyre (b. 1858), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist. 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. 340, line 18, “affiliate film number” C-13251.

<sup>416</sup> Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish (Barrie, Ontario) unidentified church register bound at a later date, includes baptisms from 17 January 1858 to 23 June 1906, unnumbered p. 23, line 3, “Ellen Maria M<sup>c</sup>Entyre” baptism, 27 February 1860; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms 1858-1906 > [image 13 of 179](#).

<sup>417</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y395-QQF>), registration image, “James Humberston Firth” and “Ellen Maria McIntyre,” 14 July 1880, no. 10323; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.” This is a challenging record because it indicates Ellen married James Humberston Firth, a widower and a brickmaker, in 1880. The following year, however, she appears on the 1881 census as the wife of George (spelt “Jorge”) Hairsine Firth, a wheelwright, and her 1932 death notice records that she was the wife of George Firth, whom she married “about fifty years ago.” There is no death record for a James Humberston Firth in the Ontario Deaths database on *FamilySearch*. See “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-TGX>), entry for Ellen Firth (b. 1860), Medonte, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist. 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 68, fam. 325, line 18, “affiliate film number” C-13251.

<sup>418</sup> “Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1949,” database with images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/800171:8946>), registration image, Ellen Firth, 17 August 1932, no. 30808; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>419</sup> Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish (Barrie, Ontario) unidentified church register bound at a later date, includes baptisms from 17 January 1858 to 23 June 1906, unnumbered p. 49, line 7, “Joseph Emanuel M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” baptism, 30 January 1862; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms 1858-1906 > [image 26 of 179](#).

<sup>420</sup> Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish, Flos Mission (Barrie, Ontario), “D.O.M. Birth, deaths, marriages Records, for the mission of Flos,” unnumbered p. 32, burial no. 8, “Joseph Emanuel M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” burial, 12 February 1862; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1854-1904 > [image 19 of 63](#). The record notes that he was “aged one month ten days” and that he “died on the tenth day of January” and was buried “the same month,” but the numbered baptisms before and after occurred in February, which must therefore be the correct month.

- v. TERESA “TRESSIE” MCINTYRE, born 19 March 1863 in Edgar;<sup>421</sup> married Frederick Stanley Tilley (aka Tilly) on 2 June 1882 in Medonte Township;<sup>422</sup> died 1 April 1947 in Hillsdale.<sup>423</sup>
- vi. AGNES MCINTYRE, born 6 May 1866 in Edgar;<sup>424</sup> married David Tracy (aka Tracey) on 6 Nov 1900 in Orillia;<sup>425</sup> married Frank Branch on 5 April 1911 in Parry Sound, Parry Sound District, Ontario;<sup>426</sup> likely died after 1949.<sup>427</sup>
- vii. JOHN MCINTYRE, born about 28 February 1867 in Edgar;<sup>428</sup> married Matilda Elless on 25 December 1894 in Sundridge, Parry Sound District;<sup>429</sup> died 31 December 1936 in Morrin, Alberta.<sup>430</sup>
- viii. LYDA MCINTYRE, born summer 1869 in Oro;<sup>431</sup> died July 1870 in Oro.<sup>432</sup>
- ix. JOSEPHUS J. “JOSEPH” MCINTYRE, born April 1871 in Oro;<sup>433</sup> married Harriet Minerva

<sup>421</sup> Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish (Barrie, Ontario) unidentified church register bound at a later date, includes baptisms from 17 January 1858 to 23 June 1906, unnumbered p. 71, line 12, “Teresa M<sup>c</sup>Intyre” baptism, 26 May 1863; accessed as “Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760-1923,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1927566>), path: Simcoe > Barrie > Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary > Baptisms 1858-1906 > [image 37 of 179](#).

<sup>422</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y39R-9KL>), registration image, “Fredrick Tilley” and “Theresa McIntyre,” 2 June 1882, no. 10362; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>423</sup> “Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1949,” database with images, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/24665379:8946>), registration image, Theresa Babcock, 1 April 1947, no. 13962; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>424</sup> No baptism recorded at the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish (Barrie, Ontario). See “Canada Census, 1901,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSS1-L75R-Z>), entry for Agnes Tracey (b.1867), Orillia, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 113, subdist. A, polling sub-division 1, p. 72, fam. 115, “affiliate film number” T-6495. Records her birthdate as 6 May 1866.

<sup>425</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y399-ML1Q>), registration image, David Tracey and Agnes McIntyre, 6 November 1900, no. 16290; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.” Images of this two-page registration have been separated in this database and appear as images 1247 and 1249 of 1503.

<sup>426</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y399-SC3Z>), affidavit image, Frederick Branch and Agnes Tracey, 5 April 1911, no. 8562; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.” An image of the license appears as the previous image in this database.

<sup>427</sup> Her death registration has not been located in *Ancestry*’s “Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869-1949” database.

<sup>428</sup> No baptism recorded at the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish (Barrie, Ontario). See Pearle (McIntyre) Clarke, “The McIntyre Story,” in *Blooming Prairie: A History of Morrin and District* (Morrin, Alberta: Morrin and District History Committee, 1970), p. 86. Pearle was the daughter of John McIntyre and may have had access to family papers that recorded John’s birth date as February 28, 1869. That birth year is not possible because Lyda was born in July, 1869, as reported by her parents two years after her birth, and the year after her 1870 death at the age of one. A more likely year would be 1867 or 1868. The 1871 census is closest in time to his birth and records him as four, suggesting a birth in 1873. See “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-FM1>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1838), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 60, fam. 209, “affiliate film number” C-9964.

<sup>429</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y399-ML1Q>), registration image, John McIntyre and Matilda Elless, 25 December 1894, no. 8105; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>430</sup> Find A Grave (<http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 24 January 2024), memorial page 176372355, John McIntyre (1869-1936), maintained by “dianthus120”; citing Morrin Cemetery, Morrin, Strathmore Census Division, Alberta, Canada.

<sup>431</sup> “Canada Census, 1871,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-FP4>), entry for Lyda McIntyre (b. 1869), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing Schedule No. 2 “Nominal Return of the Deaths within the last twelve months,” dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 1, line 10, “affiliate film number” C-9964. “McIntyre, Lyda,” | 1 yr. old | R. Catholic | born in Ontario | died July [1870] | Disease: Intermittent Fever.” No baptism or burial recorded at the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish (Barrie, Ontario).

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>433</sup> “Canada Census, 1911,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-998W-SGZX>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1873), Korah, Algoma West, Ontario; citing dist. 55, subdist. 14, p. 5, fam. 51, “affiliate film number” T-20365. His birth month and year is reported as April, 1873. April may have been correct, but 1873 is too late because according to the 1881 and 1891 censuses he

- Snider on 13 August 1902 in Burks Falls, Ontario;<sup>434</sup> died 9 September 1958 in Sault Ste. Marie, Algoma, Ontario.<sup>435</sup>
- x. ROBERT “BOB” THOMAS MCINTYRE, born April 1873 in Oro;<sup>436</sup> married Edith May Horswell on 7 January 1901 in Toronto;<sup>437</sup> died 1960 in Beamsville.<sup>438</sup>

- xi. AUGUSTUS “GUS” CAVANAGH MCINTYRE, born in August 1880 in Hillsdale, Medonte Township;<sup>439</sup> married Florence (Flora) Elizabeth Dunn on 17 November 1904 in Toronto;<sup>440</sup> died 23 September 1934 in Toronto.<sup>441</sup>
- xii. STEPHEN MCINTYRE, born January 1886 in Medonte Township or Orillia;<sup>442</sup> died 24 June 1892 in Orillia.<sup>443</sup>

was about two years older than his brother Robert and therefore most likely born in 1871. Joseph J and Robert were reported as 10 and 8 years old, respectively in 1881, and 20 and 18 years old in 1891. For 1881 see “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. “affiliate film number” C-13251. For 1891 see “Canada Census, 1891,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/1192264:1274>), entry of Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Orillia Town, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 116, subdist. i, division 2, p. 33-34, fam. 174, (enumerated 8 May 1891), “affiliate film number” T-6368.

<sup>434</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y39B-1M3>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre and Harriet Minerva Snider, 13 August 1902, no. 13698; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>435</sup> Find A Grave (<http://www.findagrave.com>), memorial page 167517090, Joseph J. McIntyre (1871-1958), maintained by “germanroots”; citing West Korah Cemetery, Sault Sainte Marie, Algoma District, Ontario.

<sup>436</sup> “Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. “affiliate film number” C-13251. He is listed in his father’s household as 8 years old, indicating a birth year of about 1873. In 1911 his birthdate was recorded as April 1873, see “Canada Census, 1911,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-8987-L5JF>), entry for Robert McIntyre (b. 1873), Toronto, York, Ontario; citing dist. 126, subdist. 2, ward 3, p. 1, fam. 4, “affiliate film number” T-20411.

<sup>437</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y399-MXHW>), registration image, “Robert Thos. McIntyre” and Edith May Horswell, 7 January 1901, no. 1223; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>438</sup> Find a Grave, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com>), memorial page 219942831, Robert T McIntyre (1873–1960), maintained by “RRH1985”; citing Mount Osborne Cemetery, Beamsville, Niagara Regional Municipality, Ontario.

## CONCLUSION

None of this family’s dramatic and varied history was passed down to present-day descendants. One of Joseph and Maria (Cavanagh) McIntyre’s great-granddaughters had a strong interest in her McIntyre family history, but could only recall some surnames from

<sup>439</sup> His self-reported birth year on his marriage registration is 1880, see “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y391-BJR>), registration image, Augustus Cavanah [*sic*] McIntyre and Flora Elizabeth Dunn, 17 November 1904, no. 3622; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.” He is recorded as 9 months old on the 1881 census which “officially began” on April 4, 1881. If the family was enumerated that month, it indicates a birth month and year of August, 1880, see Canada Census, 1881,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. “affiliate film number” C-13251.

<sup>440</sup> “Canada, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y391-BJR>), registration image, Augustus Cavanah [*sic*] McIntyre and Flora Elizabeth Dunn, 17 November 1904, no. 3622; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>441</sup> “Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y3S2-X2W>), registration image, “Augusta’s [*sic*] C. McIntyre,” 23 September 1934, no. 5901; citing “Registrar General, Toronto.”

<sup>442</sup> *Find a Grave*, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com>): accessed 24 January 2024, memorial page for Stephen McIntyre (unknown–1892), maintained by “Yandeau”; citing St. Andrews and St. James Cemetery, Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario, Canada. Gravestone inscribed “Died June 24, 1892. Aged 5 years 6 mos.”

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid*.

that side of her family.<sup>444</sup> She knew nothing about her great-grandfather's criminal past or his family's earlier history in Québec. Another great-granddaughter was not even sure she had met her McIntyre grandfather—although it seems clear she had. “Do you remember your Grandfather McIntyre?” I asked. “When I was very young there was an older man who used to come to the farm. That was his name.” If that his name, then he was almost certainly her grandfather. But she only remembered him as a man whose surname was McIntyre. That being the case, his visits could not have brought much joy or many fondly remembered stories. In fact, when it came to family history, there was only silence. “Our family would always get the news someplace else,” she said. “It was a real mixed-up mess.”<sup>445</sup> This family's “mixed-up mess” persisted across three generations and included the trauma of geographic dislocation, untimely death, the horror of war, financial distress, alcoholism, marital violence, crime, and incarceration—all unknown to present-day descendants; until now.

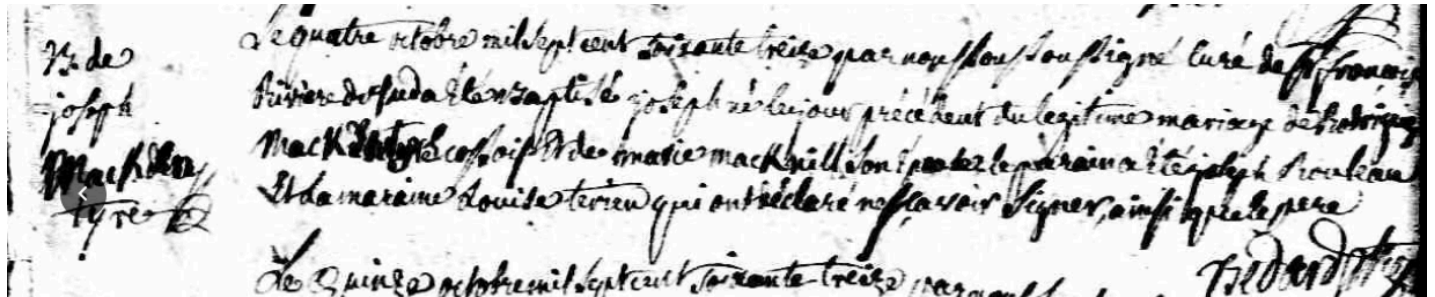
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<sup>444</sup> Kathleen (Swales) Hughes (2175 So. Coast Highway, Apt. #17, Laguna Beach, CA 92651) to Mike Sainsbury, letter, 5 July 1983; privately held by Sainsbury, [ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] 2024. The late Kathleen Hughes was a great-granddaughter of Joseph and Maria (Cavanagh) McIntyre.

<sup>445</sup> Phyllis (Swales) Whetham, interview by Mike Sainsbury, February 2007; notes privately held by the author, [ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE,] Saskatoon, Canada. The late Phyllis Whetham was a great-granddaughter of Joseph and Maria (Cavanagh) McIntyre.

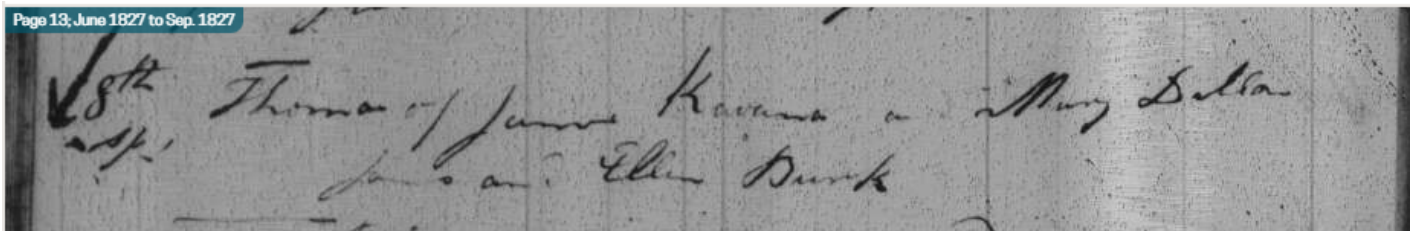
## Figures, Maps, Tables

**Figure 1.** Baptism register entry for Joseph McIntyre (1773) showing at least two attempts by the French-speaking priest to spell “MacKIntyre” in the margin and in the body of the record



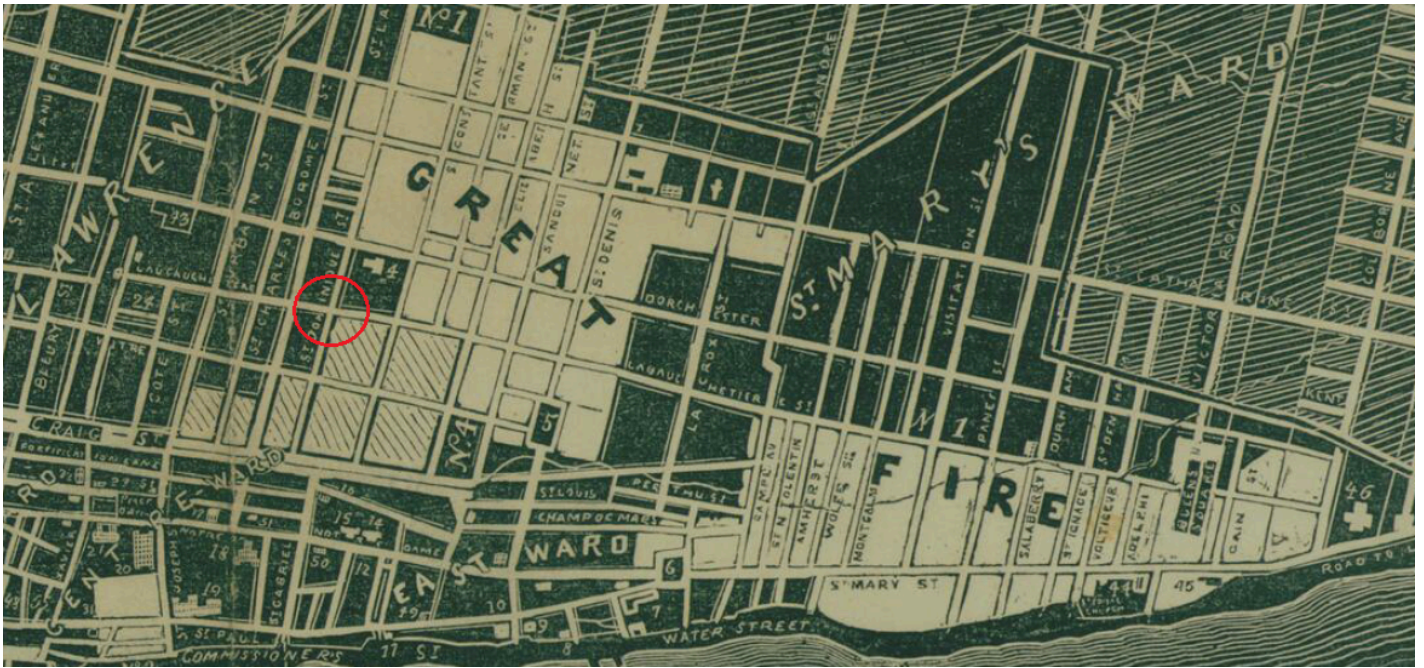
Source: St-François-de-Sales Parish (Saint-François-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, Québec), “Registre de St. François 1759-1774,” unnumbered pages, unnumbered entries in chronological order, “Joseph MacKentyre” baptism, 4 October 1773; accessed as “Canada, Quebec Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979,” browsable images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1321742>), path: Saint-François-de-Sales-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1733- 1790 > [image 477 of 661](#).

**Figure 2.** Baptism register of Thomas Cavanagh (1827-1897) indicating parents named James Kavana and Mary whose surname was perhaps Dalton or Dillon but not “De Lury.”



Source: Portlaoise (Maryborough) Parish (Maryborough, Ireland), unidentified church register of baptisms and marriages from 14 May 1826 to 4 February 1838, arranged in chronological order with unnumbered pages, “Thomas Kavana” baptism, 8 July 1827; accessed as “Catholic Parish Registers at the NLI,” browsable images, National Library of Ireland ([https:// registers.nli.ie/](https://registers.nli.ie/)), path: Laois > Maryborough > Microfilm 042010/007 > [image 13 of 137](#).

**Map 1.** Marie Louise Lecour's place of residence in Montréal at the time of The Great Fire of 1852 indicated with a circle



Source: Detail of *Montréal Pilot*, “Pilot Extra, Montréal,” 26 July 1852; accessed as “Pilot Extra, Montreal, Monday, July 26, 1852,” digital image, *BAnQ numérique* (<http://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/1935249>). The white area superimposed with the words “Great Fire” shows the extent of the 1852 fire. The cross-hatched blocks below the circle indicate the area of destruction in the fires of 1849 and 1850.

**Table 1.** Joseph McIntyre's reported ages from sources in Simcoe County, Ontario

Year of report	Source	Reported age	Calculated Birth Year
1852	Tax Assessment Roll <sup>a</sup>	21	1831
1855	Tax Assessment Roll <sup>b</sup>	27	1827
1861	Census <sup>c</sup>	30	1831
1871	Tax Assessment Roll <sup>d</sup>	40	1831
1871	Census <sup>e</sup>	33	1838
1881	Census <sup>f</sup>	52	1829
1891	Census <sup>g</sup>	60	1831
1896	Tax Assessment Roll <sup>h</sup>	67	1829
1897	Tax Assessment Roll <sup>i</sup>	68	1829
1898	Death Registration <sup>j</sup>	71	1827

<sup>a</sup> Simcoe County, Ontario, "Assessment Roll for the Township of Oro, Joseph Thomas Assessor, 1852," p. 5, line 112, "Joseph McIntire"; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>b</sup> Simcoe County, Ontario, "Assessment Roll for the Township of Oro, Duncan McKentay Assessor, 1855," p. 7, line 133, "Joseph McIntyre"; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>c</sup> "Canada, Ontario Census, 1861," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MQQR-6BS>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing enumeration dist. 4, folio 53 [stamped], line 5, "affiliate film number" C-1073.

<sup>d</sup> Simcoe County, Ontario, "Assessment Roll for the Township of Oro ... 1871," [Joseph McIntyre]; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario. Copy of this record no longer in author's files; author's notes state: "The 1871 Tax Assessment Roll gives his age as 40 (b. c. 1831), but the same year's census gives his age as only 33 (b. c. 1838)."

<sup>e</sup> "Canada Census, 1871," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6LJW-FM1>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1838), Oro, Simcoe, Ontario; citing dist. 42, subdist. j, division 1, p. 60, fam. 209, "affiliate film number" C-9964.

<sup>f</sup> "Canada Census, 1881," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-DBYS-RBT>), entry for Joseph McIntyre (b. 1829), Oro, Simcoe North, Ontario; citing dist 139, subdist. L, division 1, p. 72, fam. "affiliate film number" C-13251.

<sup>g</sup> "Canada Census, 1891," database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/1192264:1274>), entry of Joseph McIntyre (b. 1831), Orillia Town, Simcoe East, Ontario; citing dist. 116, subdist. i, division 2, p. 33-34, fam. 174, (enumerated 8 May 1891), "affiliate film number" T-6368.

<sup>h</sup> Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario, "Assessment Roll for the Municipality of Town of Orillia (North Ward) for 1896," line 899; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>i</sup> Orillia, Simcoe County, Ontario, "Assessment Roll for the Municipality of Town of Orillia (North Ward) for 1897," line 817; Simcoe County Archives, Minesing, Ontario.

<sup>j</sup> "Canada, Ontario Deaths, 1869-1937 and Overseas Deaths, 1939-1947," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YV-W9CZ-9>), registration image, Joseph McIntyre, 2 November 1898, no. 19531; citing "Registrar General, Toronto."