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18th CENTURY FRENCH DRUMMING

by

MARGARET FORTIER

OFFICERS OF ISLE ROYALE (1744) -
ACCOMMODATIONS AND BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES

by

A.J.B. JOHNSTON

(1977)

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PARKS CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN
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INDIENNES ET DU NORD

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Preface

Although references to drummers stationed at Louisbourg have been included, this report deals more generally with 18th century French drumming than with the drummers of the Louisbourg garrison. Little information on the drummers of the Troupes de la Marine has been found, making it necessary to place much reliance on sources detailing the service of the French infantry in fortified places. The music appended to the report has been provided by George P. Carroll, a noted expert on 18th century military music. The original source and exact date of composition of much of this music is, unfortunately, unknown.

Numerous details of exercises and ceremonies in which the garrison took part are, in this report, at variance with those provided by Victor Suthren in his "Les Troupes de la Marine de Louisbourg" due to the examination of additional source material.

Introduction

The drum, with its solid tone audible above other sounds, possesses the unique quality among musical instruments to regiment the movements of large numbers of men. For this reason it served for centuries as the chief instrument of the military for conveying orders to the soldiery from their superiors both in their garrisons or camps and in battle, for according honors to men of high rank, for paying last respects at military funerals, and for issuing official pronouncements.

Brought to Europe by the Turks during their invasion of the continent in the middle ages, the drum first appeared in France when the English army under Edward III captured Calais in 1347.¹ Thoinot Arbeau, in 1588, published Orchesographie, a treatise on dance, in which he described the usefulness of the drum for marching purposes, noting that "if three men are walking together and each of them wishes to go at a different rate ... they will not be in step ... That is why, in a military march, the French have employed a drum to beat the rhythm according to which the soldiers must march, all the more because the majority of them are no better exercised in this than in any other branches of the military art."²

Elaborating on the same theme, Marshal Saxe declared in 1757 that there was nothing

more common, than to see a number of persons dance together during a whole night, even with pleasure; but, deprive them of music, and the most indefatigable amongst them, will not be able to bear it for two hours only; which sufficiently proves, that sounds have a secret power over us, disposing our organs to bodily exercises, and, at the same time, deluding, as it were, the toil of them."

Any music set to common or triple time, Saxe added, would help them march. Even those with no ear for music could not help but be affected by the sounds

because the movement is so natural, that it can hardly be even avoided: I have frequently taken notice, that in beating to arms, the soldiers have fallen into their ranks in cadence, without being sensible to it, as it were; nature and instinct carrying them involuntarily; and without it, it is impossible to perform any evolution in close order ...³

It was not only in marching that the drum proved useful, however. M. de Guignard, in L'Ecole De Mars published in 1725, wrote that the French had imitated "Etrangers, avec lesquels nous avons servi dans la derniere Guerre" and placed a drummer in the quarters of each regiment so that sergeants and corporals might be summoned quickly to receive their orders. This, he declared, "est beaucoup plus commode pour ces commandemens extraordinaires, que celle qu'on avoit avant cela, qui étoit de crier, A l'ordre, ou d'aller de chambre en chambre, ce qui retardoit de beaucoup l'exécution."⁴

The importance of the drum as a military instrument gave prominence to those who played it. The qualities expected of a drummer during the reign of Mary Tudor in England certainly far exceeded anything expected of the ordinary soldier of the day. He was to be

faithful, secret and ingenious, of able personage to use their instruments and office of sundry languages: for oftentimes they be sent to parley with their enemies, to summon their forts or towns, to redeem and conduct prisoners, and divers other messages ... If [they] should fortune to fall into the hands of the enemies, no gift nor force should cause them to disclose any secrets that they know. They must oft practise their instruments, teach the company the sound of the march, alarm, approach, assault, battle, retreat, skirmish, or any other calling that of necessity should be known. They must be obedient to the commandment of their captain and ensign, when they shall command them to come, go or stand, or sound their retreat or other calling.⁵

Francis Markham, in 1622, noted that the fife was "only an instrument of pleasure ... and it is to the voice of the Drumme the soldier should wholly attend ... [it] being the very tongue and voice of the Commander..." The drummer had to be careful not to sound an incorrect beat, since such an error could cause a whole army to perish in battle. The soldier, for his part, had to "be diligent and learn all the beating of the Drumme..." Agreeing that the drummer should be a man of many accomplishments, Markham added that no one should "strike or wound the drummer as he is rather a man of peace than of the sword, yet he is a man of valour and courage, his place is at the Captain's heels even in the middle of the battle ..."6

Among the perquisites, at least during the 16th century, which may have come to drummers because of their special status was lodging in the better establishments. In a work published in 1582, Luis Gutserres de la Vega reported that the "'best Inne or lodging is to be provided [sic] for the Captain, and the seconde is likewise to be given to the Auncient bearer [Ensign], and the Sergeant of the bande [Company], next unto them must be lodged the Drumme-plaiers and the Fluite.'"7 Such privileges in lodging for drummers had disappeared by the middle of the 18th century, if indeed they had ever existed in the French service. There was, however, one highly visible indication of the French drummer's importance: his uniform was elaborately trimmed with the king's livery.

A surgeon serving in the American Revolution, Dr. Thacher, wrote the following in his journal in June of 1781:

A splendid world is now open to our view, all nature is in animation - the fields and meadows display the beauties of spring, a pleasing variety of vegetables and flowers perfume the air, and the charming music of the feathered tribe delights our ears. But there is a contrast in music. What can compare with that martial band, the drum and fife, bugle-horn and shrill trumpet, which set the war-horse in motion, thrill through every fibre of the human frame, still the groans of the dying soldier, and stimulate the living to the noblest deeds of glory? The full roll of the drum, which salutes the commander in chief, the animating beat, which calls to arms

for the battle, the reveille, which breaks our slumber at dawn of day ... and the evening tattoo, which commands to retirement and repose; these form incomparably the most enchanting music that has ever vibrated on my ear.⁸

While a trifle overstated and florid for modern tastes, Dr. Thacher's remarks serve to point out the effect the sound of the drum could have, even on someone who experienced it quite regularly. The "animating beat" of the drum was one of the sounds most familiar to the inhabitants of 18th century Louisbourg. Though directed primarily at the garrison, the drum beats served the civilian population as well by signaling such things as the opening and the closing of the gates and the publication of ordinances. These beats must also have reassured the townspeople of the military presence there to protect them. Much time and effort has been expended to recreate visually life in the fortress. Equal care should be taken to duplicate one of the most important sounds of life in the community.

Drums

The sizes and types of drums used over the centuries in different countries has varied considerably. The rope-tension snare drum used at Louisbourg went through its share of changes over the years. In 1588 Arbeau described the "drum used by the French, and familiar enough to everyone," as being a "hollow wooden cylinder about two feet and a half in length, closed at each end with parchment skins fixed with two bands, about two feet and a half in diameter, and bound with cords so that they are as tight as possible ..."¹ Since both ropes and heads were attached to the same hoops, tension on these drums was very low. This, combined with the heavy sticks which were used and the thickness of the drumheads, would have created many difficulties for the drummers, especially in the execution of the long roll. "It is feasible," states James Blades in his Percussion Instruments And Their History, "that if a roll of any length was required, single strokes were used, a large drum producing a note of sufficient length to cover possible deficiencies in the roll."²

Increased tension of the drum was made possible by the introduction of a "flesh hoop" around which the skin was folded, and a separate "counter hoop" through which the ropes were strung. The rebound of the sticks made possible by the increased tension "may well have led to the wider use of the long roll produced by a double beat from each hand ..."³ Control of this roll - "the foundation of Drum beating"⁴ - is the "hallmark of a side drummer ... By this he is judged ..."⁵ Though the drums at Louisbourg had counter hoops for the ropes, the tension of their heads and the clarity of the rolls often must have left much to be desired due to the extreme humidity of the climate. On a wet, foggy day, as the skins become limp in the dampness, it is still almost impossible to get the sticks to rebound properly on the heads.

The 18th century French snare drum was made of brass or wood, the latter being either oak or walnut "fort mince, plié & courbé en forme de cylindre." It was as high as it was wide; this dimension not usually exceeding two and a half feet because of the difficulty in finding skins - most commonly sheep or goat - of sufficient size to cover anything bigger. Le Dictionnaire Universel François Et Latin, published in 1743, mentions that when it was said that "la peau du loup sur un tambour assourdit, ou fait crever la peau de mouton, c'est une fable, car on n'en a jamais fait de peau de loup. On n'en fait point non plus de peaux d'âne, quoique le peuple le croie & qu'il dise que l'âne est battu pendant sa vie & apres sa mort." Whatever their origin these skins were stretched on flesh hoops and tensed by means of counter hoops through which were strung ropes running from one hoop to the other around the drum. The ropes were tightened by means of "petits cordes, courroies ou noeuds mobiles ..." The bottom head of the drum, the snare head, was crossed by a cord of catgut which was also stretched and was called the snare of the drum. There were only two snares on a drum, formed either by doubling one long cord or afixing two smaller pieces of catgut. The snares were "fixé d'un bout sur le cerceau, & de l'autre il passe par un trou, au sortir duquel on l'arrête avec une cheville, qui va en diminnant comme un fosset ou cône." Tension of the snares was increased or decreased by tightening or loosening this bolt.⁶

The tension of the snares is as important as the tension of the drumhead. The strokes on the upper or batter head produce air waves inside the drum shell. These waves are communicated to the snare head and the snares themselves, changing the character of the air waves and doubling the number of vibrations. The snares must "lie evenly on the vellum and be tensioned to produce a crisp and immediate response from the stroke on the batter head." Snares that are too tight choke the tone, while those that are too loose will not respond to the strokes on the upper head.⁷

The drums ordered for the drummers of the Compagnie Franche de la Marine at Louisbourg were painted blue and sprinkled with Fleurs de Lys. The number of snares ordered for the drums indicates that there were only

two snares on a drum, and the skins were goat rather than the preferred sheep. In 1733 "peau de parchemin" was requested for the drums, but in 1741 and 1752 goat skin of good quality was stipulated.⁸ Just prior to the second siege, Prévost asked that good calf skin replace the goat skin for the drums, and that the drums themselves be "grandes et fortes."⁹

Many illustrations of 18th century French drummers depict the drums carried quite high, almost to the chest, and at an angle which causes the drum to rest under the drummer's left arm. Other pictures suggest the more natural placement of the drum at the waistline, slightly to the side and balanced on the left leg. Since it is much more comfortable to have the drum in this position, it is likely that it was the one most often adopted, particularly on long marches. A drum hung too low on the drummer cannot be struck with the proper force, so this must be guarded against. Proper placement of such a heavy instrument is essential to prevent its quickly becoming a burden to the drummer. This is reflected in a manuel for the teaching of drumming published in Paris in 1833, which cautioned the instructor to see to it that the pupil did not support his drum against a tree or against a wall.¹⁰

The condition of the drums was the responsibility of each drummer. The Côte Militaire states that drummers of the French militia would be paid and kept in linen and shoes on condition that they maintain their drums and drumsticks.¹¹ And, drummers of the infantry were to receive a daily allowance from their captains for maintaining their drums, slings and sticks, and making any necessary repairs.¹²

Drum Calls

Since it was through the sounds of the drum that the officer in charge communicated with the troops, there evolved a series of beats, each of which regulated the pace at which the men should advance - or retreat - on a march or in battle, or indicated that certain activities should take place. Some of these beats held more than one meaning, and it was incumbent upon the soldier to be able to recognize not only the beat itself, but also its meaning at the particular time it was being sounded. Any soldier who did not know the various signals would not be able to follow orders. While this is undesirable in itself in any military unit, it could lead to utter confusion on a march or parade, or rout and retreat in battle. It is likely, therefore, that the soldiers, especially new recruits, were exercised in marching and evolutions to the accompaniment of the drum. As Simes indicated in his Guide For Young Officers: "It is necessary that recruits should be instructed to know the sounds and beatings of the drum before they are dismissed from the drill ... as they are thereby taught to march and perform their exercise, manoeuvres, &c. It is also very proper to teach them every other sound and signal."¹

In 1748 M. D'Hericourt, in Elemens De L'Art Militaire, wrote that the preparatory commands given by the major "à voix ordinaire" were sometimes taken by the soldiers to be the commands themselves because of distance, a contrary wind or misunderstanding of terms. The use of the drum for rendering commands eliminated this problem. For this reason, D'Hericourt declared, "il est très-utile d'accoutumer les Troupes à faire toutes les manoeuvres au son du Tambour & suivant les batteries affectées à chacune."² And, according to a 1755 ordinance of the king on infantry exercise, the "Tambours seront exercés à marcher de même que les Soldats."³

Although each country had its own set of drum beatings, the types and names of the calls varied little from one country to another, since the duties of the soldiers in all armies were much the same. Some calls were, of course, used more frequently than others, but each had its own purpose, which had to be recognized by the troops and clearly conveyed by the drummers. In discussing the duties of the tambour major, D'Hericourt noted that besides all the French drum beats, he should be familiar with all of those used by neighbouring states; "une chose très-utile à la guerre."⁴

(For music to all the following calls see Appendix A)

L'Assemblée

As the name suggests, this call signified that the troops should assemble and hold themselves ready. There were different occasions on which this call would be sounded:

- 1 On a day that the infantry was scheduled to march or exercise, the drummers would beat either La Générale or Le Premier (Aux Champs), depending on whether all or part of the garrison was to turn out. At the time appointed - perhaps a half hour later - they would sound L'Assemblée, whereupon all the officers and non-commissioned officers would take their places and assemble their companies. Roll would be taken, inspection held, and arms and equipment checked. Officers were instructed to go to the head of their companies to prevent anyone from escaping during the movement of the troops from the camp or garrison.⁵
- 2 La Garde having been sounded, all the drummers would assemble on the Place D'Armes one hour before the new guard was to take its posts. Led by the tambour major, they would leave from there and make a circuit of the town while beating L'Assemblée together. Upon reaching the end of the circuit, they were to separate and go, still beating, to the place where the detachments from their regiments would leave for the guard.⁶
- 3 On a march, a column of infantry would re-form itself if the drummer played L'Assemblée.⁷

- 4 The infantry were to form a column of attack when, after two single strokes followed by a roll, the drummer beat L'Assemblée.⁸
- 5 In a camp, the guard was ordered to take its post each morning when they beat L'Assemblée, except on days they were to march.⁹
- 6 On days when artillery practice was to be held, L'Assemblée would be sounded one half hour after the call at break of day.¹⁰

La Générale

Under normal circumstances the sound of La Générale in French camps and garrisons would have been an unusual occurrence since its use was restricted to two extraordinary occasions. On days when the entire garrison was to exercise or march, La Générale was sounded in place of the reveille beating, La Diane, to signal the soldiers to make ready to depart or drill. Officers would immediately position themselves so as to ensure that no soldier used the general commotion as a cover to take his leave, which, says Bland, "the French Soldiers would frequently do, were it not for this precaution."¹¹

La Générale also served as a call for all to take arms. At such times its beating was unscheduled, and would warn the soldiers to proceed promptly to their assigned places, while the officers in charge would go immediately to the commander to receive their orders. Because of the serious implications of this call, commanders of fortified places were instructed "battre la générale à l'improviste, soit de jour ou de nuit, pour juger de l'effet de la disposition générale ordonnée ... & de la promptitude des troupes à l'exécuter."¹²

Drummers were warned not to begin their practice sessions with La Générale because of the effect this unexpected beating of the call would have on the troops.¹³ Except in the event of an alarm, for which La Générale would be sounded, the drums were not to be heard during the night.¹⁴ And, one of the first things to be done upon the arrival of troops in a new place was to designate "un lieu ou plusieurs, ... dans lesquels les troupes auront à se rendre en cas d'allarme, de feu, ou de Général battue à l'improviste."¹⁵

The sound of La Générale was heard by the citizens of Louisbourg in December of 1744 when drummers under armed escort marched through the town announcing the mutiny of the soldiers of the Swiss Kerrer unit and the Compagnies Franches de la Marine.¹⁶ In all likelihood it was heard as well with the landing of the New Englanders in 1745 and the British in 1758.

La Diane

La Diane was the name of the reveille beat sounded daily at daybreak to awaken the soldiers, except on days when they were to march, exercise or break camp. The precise hour for the sounding of the reveille was ordered by the major, the ordinances stating simply that the drummer of the guard should mount the parapet "au point du jour" and beat La Diane.¹⁷ According to D'Hericourt, the drummers would continue to beat for a quarter of an hour during which the soldiers of the guard would put themselves "enhaye reposés sur leurs Armes ..." The officer would then order the sergeants and corporals to the rampart to listen and see if anything was happening outside the walls, and send for the keys to open the gate.¹⁸ La Diane may also have been used to salute an officer on his saint's day or upon being received into a regiment.¹⁹

La Fascine Or La Bréloque

The only reference to La Bréloque in the ordinances came in the 1753 regulations for the service of the infantry in the field which stated that after the guards had been posted in the morning, the drummer of the piquet²⁰ of the first battalion on the right should beat La Bréloque. All the other drummers of the piquets would join in to serve notice that the streets of the camp should be swept to within 30 paces of the stacks of arms.²¹ This ties in with its use as explained in Ecole De Mars: that is, to advise the workers when it was time to start work, stop to eat, or quit for the day.²² The name La Fascine, the least used of the two, probably originated with soldiers being dispatched to construct

fascinés (a kind of defence made from bundles of branches). It was later applied to any type of work to be done.

Additional meanings are given by contemporary dictionaries, but how far back these usages go is not known. Both Larousse and Wilcox's French-English Military Technical Dictionary define La Bréloque as the drum signal for the breaking of ranks, as well as a mess call.²³ These uses of the beat were most likely derived from its earlier employment to tell the workers when they might break to eat and when they were dismissed for the day.

In Ecole De Mars it is also mentioned that Le Bréloque was used to indicate when mass or prayers were about to be said.²⁴ There is another drum beat, La Prière, to serve this purpose; its use would create less confusion.

La Charge

La Charge was the signal for the soldiers to march "le pas redoublé."²⁵ In 1588 Arbeau described the charge in his treatise declaring that as they approached the enemy, the soldiers would close ranks and become "one mass, making themselves a strong & solid rampart." All the while, the drummer beats two quavers [eighth notes] in a quick duple rhythm derived from the metrical foot which the poets call the Pyrrhic [a foot of two short syllables used in war-songs], and the soldiers advance, keeping the left foot forward all the while and putting it down on the first note of the Pyrrhic. And on the second note of the Pyrrhic, they place the right foot behind and near to the said left foot, so as to form a buttress. And leaping and dancing thus, they commence the fight, as if the drum wished to say: dedans dedans dedans.²⁶

Le Rigodon

A dance named for a 17th century maître de danse, Le Rigodon was also a military drum beat which signaled a direct hit during target practice.²⁷ It is not known when this military usage began; no 18th century reference to it has been found. The French Rigodon d'Honneur dates back to Napoleon's time - if not later - but it is much too elaborate and difficult a drum beat to have served simply to signify a bull's eye.²⁸

L'Ordre

Once the gates were closed at night, the major would order the drummer of the guard stationed at the Place D'Armes to beat L'Ordre. At this the designated officers, sergeants and corporals would gather to receive their orders and the password.²⁹ This procedure was changed in 1768; the orders were then given after the guard had been posted and the password was given following the closing of the gates. L'Ordre was to be sounded on both occasions.³⁰

Le Ban

Le Ban was essentially a device to command attention, and upon hearing it there can be no mistaking its purpose. The call was used on many occasions when the authorities wanted to ensure the attention of the soldiers and/or the civilian population. Except in the case of an alarm, there was never to be any assembly or publication by sound of bell, drum or trumpet of which the commander had not been given previous notice, even if it were a "ban de police civile" requested by the civilian magistrates.³¹

Among the military uses of Le Ban were:

- 1 To announce ordinances of the king or of the commander;³²
- 2 To announce the sale of the effects of a deceased officer following the inventory;³³
- 3 To announce the reading of a sentence following a trial;³⁴
- 4 To announce the regulations to be observed by the garrison following their arrival in a town or fortified place. Immediately upon their

- arrival, the troops were to line up en bataille facing the corps de garde, and the commander or town major of the place would order the drummer to beat Le Ban. At this time soldiers were warned against committing acts of violence, theft or disorder in the houses, gardens or environs. They were told where they would be lodged if there were no barracks. Officers were prohibited from changing the soldier's lodging without permission and were made responsible for any damage or disorder caused by the men of their command. Civilians were instructed on their conduct with regard to the soldiers and were told what to do if the bans were not obeyed.³⁵ On setting up a new camp, the infantry were acquainted with regulations concerning hunting, fishing, gambling and other things which had to be observed in "les camps de guerre." To these instructions were added the punishments which would be inflicted if the orders were not obeyed;³⁶
- 5 To receive a new officer into a regiment or battalion. The drummers would be ordered to beat Le Ban before the company which the officer was to join. The officer would face the men, who held their arms "convenables à la Charge," and, after the drumming had ceased, he would raise his hat at the same time as the commander received him by saying: "De par le Roi, Soldats vous reconnoîtrez M ... pour votre Capitaine, ou pour Lieutenant de la Compagnie ... & vous lui obéirez en tous ce qui vous ordonnera pour le service du Roi en cette qualité." When someone of higher rank - a colonel, lieutenant colonel, or major - was to be received, three concentric circles would be formed: the first by the captains and other lower officers, the second by the sergeants, and the third by the drummers. The officer to be received would enter the center of the circles, where they would be introduced. At this time the commander would say messieurs instead of soldats in addressing the group;³⁷
- 6 To award decorations or medals to soldiers;³⁸
- 7 To warn those watching not to object to the punishment of a soldier who was being made "passer par les baguettes" - a punishment brought to France by the Swiss and other foreigners - under pain of receiving the same sentence;³⁹

8 To warn tradesmen or "ni autre quel qu'il soit, sur peine d'etre pendu & étranglé, ait à se presenter aux dites Montres ..." for any reason other than serving a term with the band.⁴⁰

Le Drapeau or Au Drapeau

As the name indicates, this call was used to render honors to the flag. However, through its connection with the colors, Le Drapeau became part of the routine followed in several basic activities of the French infantry, and would probably have been sounded even if no flags were present.

On days when all or part of the troops were to take arms, exercise or break camp, Le Drapeau was the third in a series of calls sounded to bring the men to readiness (following La Générale or Aux Champs and L'Assemblée).⁴¹ At this signal - when they were to decamp - "les Soldats prennent leur Armes; chaque Fourriers charge du Faisceaux & du Manteau d'Armes, les Compagnies se mettent en haye sans déborder la place où étoient les Faisceaux; les Sergens marquent les rangs."⁴² It was stipulated in 1768 that not more than two hours should pass between the sounding of La Générale or Aux Champs and Le Drapeau.⁴³

After assembly and inspection, the troops preparing to march or exercise would await the arrival of the colors, which would be heralded by the beating of Le Drapeau. The ensigns of the battalion or regiment would assemble and place themselves in rank before the piquet and behind the captain. The sergeants who would serve as their guard would march behind the ensigns, and all the drummers, except for two who remained with each battalion, would form themselves into several ranks behind the piquet with their drums on their shoulders and the tambour major at their head. Led by the captain, this group would proceed to the place where the flags were kept, one drummer only beating Aux Champs. They would put themselves en bataille opposite the door of the building where the flags were housed, and orders would be given for the soldiers to fix bayonets and present arms. They would remain thus while the ensigns and sergeants went to get the flags. When the flags emerged, the sergeants would remove their hats, the captain and lieutenant of the piquet would render

a hat salute, and the drummers would align themselves in front of the piquet. The orders to carry arms and to march having been given, the flags would be taken to where the battalion or regiment was assembled, all the drummers beating Le Drapeau. The piquet would take its place, passing along behind the battalion, while the drummers would remain on the right. As soon as the ensigns and the piquet had taken their places, the major would order the drummers to cease beating, and the soldiers to remove the bayonets from their guns.⁴⁴

Le Drapeau was sounded following the blessing of new flags being put into service, and it was employed on a march or in a marching exercise to signal the troops to form themselves en bataille.⁴⁵

L'Appel or Le Rappel

L'Appel was a simple beat, probably akin to the ruffle in the British tradition of drumming. At least its usage in the French service seems to have been very similar to the ruffle's in the British.⁴⁶ In French ordinances and military writings there are frequent references to the drummers being ordered to "call," appeler. This, it is presumed, refers to a particular drum beating although often no formal title is given. However, the patterns of use is such that it can only be taken to mean a particular signal. Among the uses of L'Appel were:

- 1 To reassemble the troops. This is the most common definition of this beat, but most sources do not elaborate on the circumstances under which it would have been used.⁴⁷ It is stated in Ecole De Mars that it was a good idea for officers and soldiers to practice returning to their positions after a charge or encounter with the enemy had left them in disarray. To this end the major would order the ranks to go off in different directions. After having marched them around in this manner for a time, he would order the drummers to call, at which sound the men would re-form. During this exercise, the drummer would remain near the major.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly the same procedure was followed under actual battle conditions;
- 2 To render honors to lieutenant generals, maréchals de camp, governors of provinces, general officers attached to the Corps du Génie, and captains commanding naval squadrons;⁴⁹

- 3 To demand the capitulation of a place held under siege;⁵⁰
- 4 To close ranks once the troops were assembled;⁵¹
- 5 To announce an exercise was to take place or to bring one to a close;⁵²
- 6 To order those about to take guard duty to draw up en bataille, and their officers to go, spontoon in hand, to their posts;⁵³
- 7 To signal that part of a column was not able to follow those ahead or was forced to stop for some reason. L'Appel would be sounded by the drummer marching at the head of the battalion which was halted. The drummers of each of the other battalions would take up the call until it reached the front of the column. When movement was able to start again, the drummer of the stalled battalion would sound Aux Champs, the others relaying it to the front as before;⁵⁴
- 8 To warn that a column of march was proceeding too quickly for those behind to keep up. When the troops marched by companies, all the drummers, with three exceptions, would march 30 paces ahead of the battalion. One drummer would remain with the piquet, one with the Company of Grenadiers, and one with the flags. One drummer would beat Aux Champs during the entire march; the forward drummers rotating this duty. If the head of the column was moving too quickly for the rest to maintain their ranks at the proper distances, the captain of the piquet would order his drummer to sound L'Appel. The two other detached drummers would echo this call until the one at the head ceased to beat Aux Champs. When those behind had regained their distances by continuing to march while those in front halted at the silence of the drums, the detached drummers would sound La Marche. On hearing this signal the drummer at the head would begin again to beat Aux Champs and the column would move on;⁵⁵
- 9 To signal the drummers of all the regiments in a camp that it was time to sound La Retraite. L'Appel would be sounded by the drummer of the brigade quartered in the center of the camp;⁵⁶
- 10 To signal the last opportunity to enter or leave a fortified place before the gates were closed for the night.⁵⁷

Aux Champs or Le Premier

Aux Champs was an all-purpose march for occasions when the troops were to proceed en avant, pas ordinaire.⁵⁸ It did, however, have other uses some of which were not related to marching.

- 1 When only part of a garrison or camp was to take arms, exercise or march, Aux Champs would be sounded in place of La Diane as the reveille beat. At these times it was known as Le Premier;⁵⁹
- 2 When a commander wished to slow a column marching double time, he would order the drummer to sound Aux Champs. At this signal the soldiers of the first section would take four more paces at double time and then slow to pas ordinaire. The second section would change pace immediately on hearing Aux Champs and the third would march "au petit pas" for the distance of four paces;⁶⁰
- 3 When a regiment arrived at the place where exercises were to be held, the major would call for them to close ranks. The drummer would beat Aux Champs and the troops would march for some distance to allow room for the whole body to form itself en bataille;⁶¹
- 4 When honors were rendered to the Blessed Sacrament, the king, members of the royal family - when the king was not present- or anyone deserving a guard with colors such as Princes of Blood, legitimized princes or marshals of France, Aux Champs would be sounded;⁶²
- 5 When the gates of a fortified place were being closed for the night, the drummer of the guard would sound Aux Champs;⁶³
- 6 When an armed troop passed the front or rear guard of a camp with drums beating, the drummer of the guard would sound Aux Champs;⁶⁴
- 7 When a regiment arrived at a place it would be met by the major or aide-major who would receive them and lead them to the Place D'Armes. They would proceed there in good order, the drums beating Aux Champs;⁶⁵
- 8 When a body of soldiers entered a place with drums beating the drummer of the guard before which they passed would sound Aux Champs;⁶⁶
- 9 When a criminal was brought to the place of execution, Aux Champs would be sounded;⁶⁷
- 10 When a detachment was to mount the guard it would march from its quarters to the place of assembly with their drummer beating Aux Champs. It

would be sounded again as the new guard filed past the governor of the place to be reviewed before taking their posts;⁶⁸

11 When a detachment would go to get the flags prior to an exercise or march, one drummer would beat Aux Champs.⁶⁹

La Retraite

Although La Retraite was the signal to cease combat or withdraw in battle, this use of the call received almost no attention in the 18th century French ordinances and military treatises.⁷⁰ Widely discussed, however, was its employment as the warning on board ship, in camps or in fortified places that the activities of the day were about to be brought to a close. The ceremony of the Retraite was elaborated in great detail, and the tasks to be carried out following the sounding of La Retraite in the evening were enumerated at length.

La Retraite is often translated mistakenly as "The Tattoo," a call and ceremony in the British and, later, in the American armies. There are many similarities between the two, but "in France the ceremony which [corresponds to] 'Tattoo' has ever been called the 'Retraite.'" There were in the British tradition two distinct ceremonies utilizing two different calls which took place every evening, though the distinctions between them often become fuzzy in the writings of the day. It was not until the 19th century that they were clearly differentiated.⁷¹

In British garrison towns - they rarely used the Tattoo when encamped - the drummers would beat the Retreat at sunset, a half hour before the gates were to be closed, as a warning to those still outside the walls to return. The Tattoo, on the other hand, was heard at a fixed time every night, usually at 10 P.M. in the summer and 8 or 9 P.M. in the winter. The drummers would make a circuit of the town to notify the soldiers to return to their quarters. This was a totally different drum beat than the one sounded earlier. The Tattoo also signified the closing of all beverage houses and other public establishments to civilians and soldiers alike. Hence the explanation that the word itself came from the "seventeenth century Dutch slang for 'say no more,' 'ease,' or 'stop.'

Tap-toe ... was also used by the Dutch to say 'put the tap to.'"⁷² Another possibility for the derivation of the word was offered by James in his Military Dictionary where he defined "tatou" as a kind of hedge-hog which takes cover under its scaly coat in time of danger, and declared that it was "not improbable but our word tap-too or tattoo has been taken from this term, signifying a notice given to go under cover, or into quarters."⁷³

The French also beat La Retraite at sunset to announce that the gates were soon to be closed. The same call, however, was sounded by all the drummers after the gates were secured and orders had been given. No specific time for its sounding was stipulated in the ordinances, but D'Hericourt stated that it was at 7 P.M. from November through February, at 8 P.M. during March, April, September and October, and at 9 P.M. from May through August. This was known as the Retraite Générale of the garrison, and within an hour of its sounding, all soldiers were to be in their quarters or barracks. Any found wandering the streets were to be placed under arrest. To ensure that all had returned, three rolls would be executed by the drummer after which roll call would be taken.⁷⁴

Aside from the prohibition against public disorder after the Retraite, it did not affect the civilian population. Public houses were given until the tolling of the bell at 10 P.M. to conduct their business. This was termed the Retraite Bourgeoisie, and once it went into effect, no one was allowed on the streets without a lantern, torch or candle. Rounds of the various guard posts were to be made immediately after La Retraite, and except for this, there was to be no movement along the ramparts until day-break.⁷⁵

In camps, soldiers were to return to their tents after the sounding of La Retraite, roll was to be taken, vivandiers were to stop selling drinks, "filles de mauvais vie" and other suspect persons were to be arrested, all fires and lights were to be extinguished, officers of the piquets were to be relieved, inspection of the arms by the new officers of the piquets was to be held, and the flags were to be folded and put away.⁷⁶ On board ship, sergeants were to count heads and make certain that the men were at their posts. Due to the danger presented by fire on a ship, a prohibition against smoking would go into effect with La Retraite, violators to be placed in irons with a ration of bread and water for three days.⁷⁷

La Garde

La Garde was sounded daily three hours before the new guard was to be mounted, so that preparations could begin. All the drummers would assemble a half hour or an hour before for an inspection by the tambour major.⁷⁸ It would seem that prior to 1750 the call was to be sounded at 12 P.M. in the winter with the guard taking its posts at 3 P.M., and at 1 P.M. in the summer with the guard being mounted at 4 P.M.⁷⁹ The Ordonnance Du Roi of 1750 gives the sounding of La Garde at 8 A.M. during summer and winter, with the mounting of the guard at 11 A.M.⁸⁰ In 1768 it changed again; this time to 9 A.M. for La Garde and 12 P.M. for the guard change during summer and winter. However, any place suffering from extreme heat was permitted to sound the call at 7 A.M. and mount the guard at 10 A.M.⁸¹

No music has as yet been found for La Garde. Until music of the period is uncovered it would seem proper to use L'Appel for this purpose.

La Prière or La Messe

The soldiers would be called to prayers or mass by this call or by La Bréloque.⁸²

L'Enterrement

L'Enterrement would be sounded at military funerals on drums covered with black serge.⁸³

La Marche

The march usually, if not always, referred to in the ordinances and writings of the period was Aux Champs. It possessed a very stable, basic beat which met all the requirements of a good march as outlined in Arbeau's Orchesographie.⁸⁴ There were, however, other marches which may have been employed by drummers, especially on long marches, to break the monotony.

In his Encyclopedie, Diderot claimed that since the "troupes françoises ayant peu instrumens militaires pour l'infanterie hors les fifes et les tambours, ont aussi fort peu marches, & le plupart très-mal faites..."⁸⁵ His view was shared by Marshal Saxe who stated that the march "according to the present practice, is accompanied with so much noise, confusion and fatigue, to no manner of effect..."⁸⁶ The poor state of the march had been noticed in the 17th century in England where a royal warrant issued in 1632 declared that "'the ancient custome of nations hath even been to use one certaine and constant forme of March in the warres, whereby to be distinguished one from another. And the March of this our nation ... was through the negligence and carelessness of drummers, and by long discontinuance so altered and changed from the ancient gravity and majestie thereof ...'" It has been contended that the "inattention of the fundamental drum beats prompting the issue of the royal warrant, was due to the addition of the pipe and the fife."⁸⁷

While Aux Champs must be considered the primary march rhythm, there are alternatives in two Marches des Mousquetaires which might be substituted during extended periods of marching.

Les Batteries Préparatoires

Prior to beating Aux Champs or any other call during a march or marching exercise, a drummer would signal by means of rolls, strokes or combinations of the two the direction in which the troops were to go or the evolution which they were to perform. Aux Champs, sounded without any preparatory beats, would indicate that the soldiers were to advance en avant. Only one drummer would perform the preparatory beats; the others joining him after the strokes to signal the start of the march itself were given.⁸⁸

1 roll - announced movement to the right	}	All
2 rolls - announced movement to the left		Followed
1 roll plus 2 strokes - battalion to break by <u>demi-rang</u> to the right		By
2 rolls plus 2 strokes - battalion to break by <u>demi-rang</u> to the left		<u>Aux Champs</u>

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| 1 roll plus 3 strokes - battalion to break by
<u>tiers de rang</u> to the right | } | |
| 2 rolls plus 3 strokes - battalion to break by <u>tiers de rang</u> to the left | | |
| 1 roll plus 4 strokes - battalion to break by platoon to the right | | |
| 2 rolls plus 4 strokes - battalion to break by platoon to the left | | |
| 1 roll plus 5 strokes - battalion to break by sections to the right | | |
| 2 rolls plus 5 strokes - battalion to break by sections to the left | | All |
| 1 roll plus 1 stroke - entire battalion to make a <u>quart de conversion</u> to the right | | Followed |
| 2 rolls plus 1 stroke - entire battalion to make a <u>quart de conversion</u> to the left | | By |
| 3 rolls plus 1 stroke - double the divisions | | <u>Aux</u> |
| 4 rolls plus 1 stroke - triple the divisions | | <u>Champs</u> |
| 2 strokes plus 1 roll followed by <u>L'Assemblée</u> - form a column of attack | | |
| 2 strokes plus 1 roll followed by <u>La Retraite</u> - form a column of retreat | | |
| All drums silent - all to halt | | |

Additional Drum Signals

- 1 When the troops were assembled for an exercise, the major would say: "Prenez garde à vous, Bataillon, ou Bataillons, on va faire l'exercise." He would then order the drummer to beat one stroke at which all the officers and sergeants would remove their hats with their left hand and make a demi-tour à droite. L'Appel would then be ordered, and all the officers and sergeants would move to new positions.

- 2 When the exercise was finished the major would order a roll to advise the troops to take the places they had occupied at the beginning of the exercise.⁸⁹
- 3 A half hour before the assembly of the new guard, three rolls would be sounded to notify those who would form the guard that the lieutenant or sub-lieutenant would conduct an inspection.⁹⁰
- 4 When a new guard, having been inspected and assembled, was to march toward their posts, the major would order the drums to roll "qui servira d'avertissement; puis il sera donner un coup de baguette, pour faire serrer les rangs à la pointe de l'épée; & lorsqu'il faudra les faire défiler, ce sera lui qui leur dira (Marche)."⁹¹
- 5 Before the soldiers would leave their quarters in the morning, a roll would be sounded to warn the men that roll call was to be taken.⁹²
- 6 A half hour after La Retraite was sounded in the evening, the drummer would perform three rolls in the barracks or quarters to signal that roll call would again be taken.⁹³
- 7 In a camp, when drummers of several battalions were to beat together along the front of the encampment, the drummer on the right - where the most senior battalion was usually situated - would strike three blows on the drum. Each drummer in turn would do likewise. As soon as all the drummers had responded, all would begin to sound the required call together.⁹⁴

Signals For The Drummers

According to the 1755 ordinance for the exercise of the infantry, the major would signal the drummers to sound a particular call by motioning with his sword:

Rolls - the sword would be waved in a circular motion; most likely to the right for one roll, to the left for two.

Strokes - sword moved to indicate the number desired.

Aux Champs - sword raised, point up, arm extended to the height of the shoulder.

Le Drapeau - arm extended, wrist turned inward, the sword crossing the major horizontally at the height of the cravate.

La Charge - sword directly before the major, point forward, arm extended.

L'Appel - sword on shoulder.

La Retraite - sword passed across behind the back.

L'Assemblée - sword held perpendicular to the ground, point down, arm extended before him at the height of the cravate, and wrist turned downward to the inside.

Cease Drumming - a great coup of the sword toward the ground without raising it.⁹⁵

Honors

The honors which were to be rendered to members of the royal family or high-ranking military officers were detailed in both ordinances and military manuals. The regulations were divided into two categories: the first dealing with the composition and behavior of the guard due such personages, and the second specifying the actions required of the guards before whom the dignitaries might pass.

There would have been few occasions in Louisbourg's history, at least prior to 1745, on which honors would have been in order since visits by those possessing sufficient rank to warrant them were rare. A new governor taking up his post was entitled to honors upon his arrival, but unless he was of high enough rank, his ordinary comings and goings would not have been heralded by a guard or drums. During the 1750s, both the governor, Comte de Raymond, a field maréchal, and the engineer, Louis Franquet, a brigadier general in the Corps du Génie, would have been accorded a guard with honors.¹ When commanders of lesser rank passed a Corps de Garde, the officers and soldiers of the guard would put themselves en haie without arms to demonstrate that they were at their appointed posts.²

Honors were also appropriate on certain religious occasions. When the Blessed Sacrament was being carried past a guard post, the officers and soldiers were to present arms without bayonets, place their right knee on the ground, remove their hats and place them either on their left knee or on the guard of their swords, and the drummer would beat Aux Champs. During processions in honor of the Blessed Virgin or the Saints, the officer of the guard "fait prendre les Armes pour la sûreté du Poste: on ne bat aux champs que dans le cas où il y auroit un Détachement commandé pour cette cérémonie, & on n'y bat que lorsqu'il passe vis-à-vis le poste; les honneurs n'ont lieu pour qui que ce soit qui assiste à cette cérémonie."³

The following list details the composition of the guard which would have been accorded the various ranks.⁴

Rank	Guard	Colors	Drums
King	Not indicated	yes	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Dauphin - when the king was not present	50 men of <u>Les Gardes Françaises</u> with a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, and a sub-lieutenant	yes	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
<u>Enfants de France</u> - when the king was not present	Same as for the Dauphin	yes	Beau <u>Aux Champs</u>
Princes of Blood	50 men commanded by a captain with other officers	yes	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Legitimized Princes of France	Same as for Princes of Blood	yes	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Marshals of France	Same as for Princes of Blood	yes	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Lieutenant Generals commanding the army	Same as for Princes of Blood	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
Lieutenant Generals commanding under another	30 men commanded by a lieutenant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
Lieutenant Generals commanding in the provinces	30 men commanded by a lieutenant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
<u>Maréchals de Camp</u> commanding a body of troops	30 men commanded by a lieutenant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
<u>Maréchals de Camp</u> commanding under another	15 men commanded by a sergeant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u> but do not remain with guard
<u>Maréchals de Camp</u> commanding in the provinces	15 men commanded by a sergeant	no	Do not beat
Brigadiers of the Infantry commanding a body of troops	15 men commanded by a sergeant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
<u>Officiers Généraux</u> of the <u>Corps du Génie</u> charged with visiting the fortifications or artillery	30 men commanded by a lieutenant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>

Rank	Guard	Colors	Drums
Governors of Provinces who were <u>Officiers Généraux</u>	30 men commanded by a lieutenant	no	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
Brigadier Generals commanding in a province	10 men commanded by a corporal	no	Do not beat

Guards in camps or in fortified places were instructed "prendre les armes dès qu'elles voyent quatre ou cinq hommes venir à elles. Si après les avoir fait reconnoître, il se trouve qu'il y ait quelqu'un à qui les honneurs sont dûs, ils le recevront suivant sa dignité ..." ⁵ No honors were to be rendered at night after La Retraite had been sounded, and in camps guards were warned not to give knowledge to the enemy of the passage of general officers by rendering honors to them which might be distinguished by the drum beats. ⁶

Rank	Occasion	Duty of Guards	Drums ⁷
Princes of Blood	Visit another prince, Marshal of France or general officer for whom a guard has been posted	Take up arms and put themselves <u>en haie</u>	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Legitimized Princes	Same as above	Same as above	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Marshals of France	Same as above	Same as above	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Any of above	Pass the guard at the head of a camp, or in a fortified place passes gate or guard-house	Same as above	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Lieutenant Generals commanding the army	Same as above	Same as above	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Lieutenant Generals commanding under another	Same as above	Same as above	Do not beat
Lieutenant Generals commanding in the provinces	Same as above	Same as above	Do not beat
<u>Maréchals de Camp</u> commanding a body of troops	Same as above	Same as above	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>

Rank	Guard	Colors	Drums
<u>Maréchals de Camp</u> commanding under another	Pass the guard at the head of a camp, or in a fortified place passes gate or guardhouse	Take up arms and put themselves <u>en haie</u>	Do not beat
Governors of Provinces who are general officers	Passes gate of a place or before a guardhouse	Same as above	Do not beat
Admiral commanding the navy	Passes ships	Take up arms "dans les corps de garde posés sur les vaisseaux ou plateformes flotantes dans le port"	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Vice Admiral commanding in absence of Admiral	Same as above	Same as above	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Lieutenant Generals commanding in the port	Same as above	Same as above	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>
Any of above	Board a ship	Take up arms and put themselves <u>en haie</u> on the bridge	Beat <u>Aux Champs</u>
Captain who commands a squadron	Boards a ship	Take up arms and put themselves <u>en haie</u> on the bridge	Beat <u>L'Appel</u>

Mounting The Guard

Prior to 1750 the guard, which was changed once every 24 hours, was mounted at 3 P.M. in the winter and at 4 P.M. in the summer. Three hours before the new guard was to assume their posts, the drummers would beat La Garde to notify those scheduled for this tour of duty to keep themselves available. All the drummers would assemble two hours later on the Place D'Armes, and from there they would make a circuit of the town beating L'Assemblée as a signal to those who would compose the new guard to gather for inspection. Having completed the circuit, the drummers would separate and go, still beating, to the place where members of their own company who were forming part of the new guard would assemble.¹

At the sound of the drums all officers and soldiers who were to mount the guard were to proceed immediately to their assembly points. Following the preliminary inspection, they would march, to the sound of Aux Champs, to "la petite Place, ou la Place d'Assemblée" - in the case of Louisbourg it was most likely the terreplein of the Bastion du Roi - where they would rendez-vous with those from other companies who would be part of the guard. According to Ecole De Mars, signboards (écriteaux) imprinted with the names of the various guardposts, whether inside or outside the walls, would be in place around the area, and all soldiers would place their weapons near the signboard for the post to which they were assigned. Upon the arrival of the major, each individual guard was inspected to see that it contained a sufficient number of men and that they were well armed. The major would also make sure that each soldier had at least six cartridges in his cartridge box.² The ordinance issued in 1750 altered this procedure slightly by stipulating that the "Il sera mis des inscriptions sur le mur, dans le lieu désigné pour l'assemblée des escouades, afin d'indiquer l'endroit ou chacune devra se tenir." On

their arrival the men were to "y seront mis en bataille, le dos tourné au côté où seront mises les inscriptions." An inspection was to ensue after which each detachment, having made a demi-tour à droite and presented arms, would go "poser son fusil au-dessous du nom du poste dont elle devra-être."³

The major's inspection completed, he would form the guard together and march it to the Place D'Armes, all the drums beating Aux Champs. He would march at their head to the right of the officer of the first guard, usually the one destined for the Place D'Armes guardhouse. The drummers would march half between the second and third rank of the head; the other half between the second and third rank of the tail. Once at the Place D'Armes the drums would be ordered to sound Le Drapeau, and the guard would form en bataille with the drummers to their right. To prevent anyone from approaching the guard, half the sergeants would march ten paces forward, while the other half marched ten paces to the rear. They would form "en haye à égale distance," facing the soldiers. The guard thus formed, the major would dispatch a sergeant to inform the governor that the guard was ready for his inspection.⁴ In the French service the governor and all senior officers were obliged to attend this ceremony each day that the guard was mounted.⁵ Upon the arrival of the governor, the major would ask his permission to order the guard to file off. This granted, the troops would form in a column either by guard detachments one after another or all together by a quart de conversion. According to the 1750 ordinance the major would then order the drums to roll in order to warn the guard that they were about to leave for their posts. The drummer would next give a single stroke on the drum at which the guard would "faire serrer les rangs à la pointe de l'épée ..." ⁶ At the command Marche, all the drums would again beat Aux Champs, and the guard would march off, separate and go toward their assigned posts. The drummer designated to go to a particular post would march to the right of the other members of his guard and continue to beat until their arrival at the Corps de Garde. Those drummers who were not part of that day's guard would continue to beat on the Place D'Armes until the last of the detachments had left. They would then be led back to their quarters by the tambour major or the most senior among them.⁷

As the new guard drew near the post it was to assume, the officer commanding the old guard would order his drummer to beat Aux Champs and would draw up his men en haie, with their arms before the Corps de Garde and with their backs to the building. The officer would place himself a few paces in front of the men centered in line with the door of the guardhouse. The drummer would stand near the officer, while the sergeant would be to the left of the guard. When the new guard arrived, the one being relieved would march forward four paces and make a demi-tour à droite. The new guard, when its first rank was three or four paces from the line formed by the old guard, would file "homme par homme" to occupy the space that the others had vacated. The two guards being drawn up facing each other - the new guard now having its back to the Corps de Garde - the formalities of the changing of the guard would take place. Following the handing over of instructions (consignes) by the retiring officers, sergeants and corporals to those relieving them, the caporals de consignes of the old and new guards would inspect the guardhouse while the caporals de pose would see to the sentry change. The sergeants, corporals and sentries who were being relieved would rejoin the rest of the old guard and prepare to leave. The drummers of both guards would sound Aux Champs as the old guard marched off toward the Place D'Armes to be dismissed; the drummer from the new guard stopping when the old guard was no longer in view. On their arrival at the Place D'Armes, the major would make certain that no one was missing, and then the officers would order the corporals to conduct each member of his detachment to his quarters.⁸

When the old guard had left, the officer of the new guard would order his men to march, commanding them to halt when they had reached the place the old guard had occupied before their departure. They would then make a demi-tour à droite, present arms and march forward. The first soldier would place "son Fusil comme au premier tems d'enjoue, & le porte au ratelier des Armes ..." The others would follow suit.⁹

Exercising The Troops

On days when exercises were to be held, La Diane was replaced as the reveille call by La Générale or Aux Champs depending on whether all or part of the garrison was to participate. The time for the beating of the second call, L'Assemblée, was set by the commander, and while it would not have been scheduled too long after the first call, it could have been as much as an hour or an hour and a half after the sounding of the reveille at sunrise.¹

At the sound of L'Assemblée the officers would gather their companies before their quarters to call the roll and conduct an inspection, ensuring that each soldier was fully equipped. L'Assemblée was also the signal for the commanders and other senior officers to take their positions for the exercise. Once all the troops who were to exercise had been brought together, the flags were retrieved. Their arrival before the assembled troops was signaled by Le Drapeau. If there were no colors to be brought, it is likely that the call was used to notify the soldiers to prepare for the exercise. The interval between the beating of L'Assemblée and Le Drapeau would depend on the amount of time needed for the troops to assemble, pass inspection and form themselves for the exercise. It would have been determined by the commanding officer and could have been as much as a half hour.²

When the troops had been drawn up to march, the drummers were located to the right and left of the column between the second and third ranks, the tambour major at the head of the drummers on the right. The exercise of a single company would find the drummer to the right of the men. When the drums were ordered to beat Aux Champs, those who were to be exercised would proceed to the place where the maneuvers were to be conducted, the ranks marching at a distance of one pace from each other.

Sufficient space would be maintained between the different units so that they might put themselves in four ranks en bataille on the exercise field. The troops having arrived and formed en bataille, the drums would sound Le Drapeau, and the units would make a quart de conversion to the left or right depending on the direction from which they had entered the area. As this was being executed, the drummers would place themselves in two ranks to the right and left of the first rank of soldiers.³

All made ready, the major would announce: "Prenez garde à vous, Bataillon ..., on va faire l'exercice." The drummer would give a single stroke on the drum at which all the officers and sergeants would remove their hats with their left hand and, all, except the sergeants of the front, would execute a demi-tour à droite. The drums would then sound L'Appel and the officers and sergeants would proceed to new positions; the sergeants of the front advancing 50 paces before the battalion to ensure that no one was able to embarrass the front, and the officers and "sergens de la queue" forming three lines in the rear - the lieutenants and ensigns four paces, the captains eight paces, and the sergeants 12 paces behind the last rank of soldiers. All the drummers would then go, still beating, to the center of the line where they would be reunited, facing each other. They would form one rank by making a quart de conversion to the right or left as required and would march to the major. On reaching his position, the drummers would break to the right and left by a demi-conversion and range themselves behind the major in one rank. Once they were in position, the major would order the drummers to cease L'Appel, and the officers and sergeants would make a demi-tour à gauche so as to face the troops. They would replace their hats and remain resting on their spontoons and halberds in silence until the exercise was completed.⁴

At the conclusion of the exercise the major would order a roll of the drums to advise the officers and sergeants to take the places they had occupied at the beginning. This was followed by L'Appel at which all officers and sergeants would march to their original positions, again holding their hats in their hands until the cessation of the drumming. The drummers would return to their earlier positions by going first to the center of the battalion, and there dividing to the right and left in order

to take up their places on the flanks. They would continue to beat until ordered to stop by the major.⁵

Although the ordinance declared that the commands for a firing exercise might be given by voice or drum, the strokes which would have been used to command such an exercise by drum beats were not given. According to Bland, the British service employed a combination of ruffles, rolls and flams, but how this compared with French practice is not known.

Marching

According to the 1755 ordinance for the exercise of the infantry, there were three kinds of march: marche en ligne droite, marche en ligne oblique, and marche circulaire. In the course of the most commonly performed marche en ligne droite three different paces might be employed: petit pas which was a pace of one pied, pas ordinaire, a pace of two pieds, and pas redoublé, where the distance of two ordinary paces was covered in one second. The distance of the pace, whether petit pas or pas ordinaire, was measured from one heel to the other, and the duration of both paces would be one second or 60 paces per minute.¹ The two pieds length of the pas ordinaire was mentioned by Arbeau in 1588, and it was still the norm in 1774 when the Instruction ... Pour Régler Provisoirement L'Exercice De Ses Troupes D'Infanterie was issued.² The duration of the pace altered between 1755 and 1774 however, the Instruction stating that the pas ordinaire was to be 80 paces per minute, and the pas redoublé 140 per minute. Soldiers were to be exercised to be able to attain a speed of 160 pas redoublé per minute in "mouvements de conversion."³ The marche en ligne oblique was used to arrive at a destination by marching "le plus ou le moins d'obliquité de la ligne." The pace for this kind of march was set at 18 pouces from heel to heel. The marche circulaire was used to execute a quart de conversion.⁴

The reason for the march always beginning on the left foot was discussed by Arbeau in his treatise. Most men, he stated, "are right-footed, and, as the left foot is the weaker, if it should chance to hesitate for any reason, the right foot would immediately be ready to support it." In order that the soldiers might regain the proper step, the march rhythm was to include rests of sufficient duration for them to recognize whether the right or the left foot was to be on the ground. If someone led with

the right foot and did not correct the situation, Arbeau continued, the "soldiers would knock one against the other when they closed up [as they approached the enemy], and would hinder one another by thrusting forward the shoulder on the side of the foot put down ..." The drum beat repeated over and over again, would give ample opportunity for the footing to be corrected.⁵

The following are some of the marching maneuvers which might have been ordered in an exercise or on a march. Most apply to larger armies than would have been found at Louisbourg before 1745, but they have been included to demonstrate the role of the drummers on a march or exercise.

- 1 Whenever a regiment or battalion would form en bataille, all the drummers on the right would place themselves in two ranks to the right of the first rank of soldiers, and those on the left would form similarly to the left of the first rank.
- 2 When the drummers beat La Charge, the soldiers were to march le pas redoublé.
- 3 When there was not enough room for a body of troops which had been marching in open ranks to form en bataille, the major would order the officers at the head to march in le petit pas until further ordered, and the drummers would sound L'Appel. At this signal, the first ranks of each division would continue to march pas ordinaire, while the other ranks would close on the first by pas redoublé. When the ranks had thus been closed, the major would order the drums to beat Aux Champs, and all the divisions, except the first, would march by pas ordinaire until they had proceeded far enough for them to form en bataille. This they would do when the drums beat Le Drapeau.
- 4 In order to slow a column of march from pas redoublé to pas ordinaire, the drummers would cease to beat La Charge and begin Aux Champs. At this the soldiers of the first section would take four more paces at pas redoublé before switching to pas ordinaire. Those in the second section would begin le pas ordinaire as soon as the drums beat Aux Champs, and the third section would march at petit pas until they had before them a distance of four paces.

- 5 When a column was to march to the right or left, the major would indicate the direction to be taken, and the soldiers would face that way. The drummers on a designated side would begin to beat alone, those on the opposite side beating with them only after the soldiers had turned in the proper direction.
- 6 In order to exercise the troops as to how to divide themselves following an encounter with the enemy, the major would order the soldiers, haut les armes, to halt. He would then order by voice that the section ought to separate, or he would order a drum roll by the two drummers on the flanks of the column; one of whom would hold himself on the right flank of the second section, while the other would remain on the left flank of the third section. The first section would then continue facing en tête; the second would face to the right, and the third would turn to face left. Next the major would either say "marche" or the drums would beat Aux Champs, and the first section would march le pas ordinaire or remain piéd ferme depending on what was ordered. The second section would march to the right, and the third to the left. If La Charge was sounded instead of Aux Champs, the sections would march by le pas redoublé.
- 7 When forming a column of retreat, the drummers would move by le pas redoublé, putting themselves in a file at the center of the column between the officers and the sergeants who would be serre-file. The drummers would remain "en dehors aux angles de la tête & de la queue de la colonne."⁶
- 8 If the drummers beat Aux Champs without any preparatory rolls, the battalion would march en avant.
- 9 If the drummers give two "coups de rapel" the ranks would close, the first remaining firm. Similarly, each division would do the same thing en colonne.
- 10 In order to execute a demi-tour à droite or à gauche the drummers would beat La Retraite. Instead of using rolls to indicate direction, they would employ un coup double (flam) to signify right, and two coups doubles for the left.⁷

Evening Activities

The process of securing a fortified place for the night began with the tolling of the bell in the belfry at sunset, the exact time having been ordered by the commander. This was the signal for the drummers of the guards at the gates to mount the parapets and there beat La Retraite as a warning to those inside and outside the walls that the gates were soon to be shut and would remain so until daybreak. Permission to begin the lock-up procedure was requested of the governor by the capitaine des portes who would then distribute the keys to the two soldiers from each guardpost who were waiting at the door of the governor's residence. The keys were kept in "un coffre de bois ferré" in labeled leather pouches, and included those necessary to lock such things as posterns and casemates, as well as the gates. The soldier from each guard who was unarmed would receive the keys for that post and be escorted back to the Corps de Garde by the other, who was armed.¹

While the soldiers were getting the keys, the officer of the guard would send a sergeant and four soldiers to the first barrier "avec ordre d'examiner encore plus soigneusement dans le reste du jour" any persons who approached the barrier. The lockup would begin with the arrival of the capitaine des portes at the first gate to be closed, usually the one facing enemy territory. At his approach the members of the guard would present arms and put themselves en haie to the right and left of the gate. The capitaine des portes would ask the officer of the guard if he were ready to begin to lock the gates. They, along with the town major, who was to be present at the lockup, would go to the first barrier. The drummer would then sound L'Appel as a last warning for those wishing to enter or leave. As soon as they began to secure the first barrier, the drummer would beat Aux Champs, and he would continue to do so on the rampart until all the

gates and other doors within the jurisdiction of that guard had been locked. Having locked the first barrier, the party would retreat to the main gate raising bridges and fastening gates as they went. As he passed any detachments stationed outside the walls at outer defences such as demi-lunes, the major would give the mot de ralliement - which he had received from the commander an hour before - to the officers in charge.²

When this had been completed, the captain of the guard would examine to see that all was well at his post, and the capitaine des portes would move on to the other gates of the city. The soldiers of the guard would put down their arms, and the corporal would call the roll in the presence of the officer. If any additional sentinels were to be posted for the night this would be done. Those not standing watch would then enter the Corps de Garde where they would spend the night in silence so that they might hear the "Sentillelle qui est devant les Armes, y annonce, du tout ce qu'il voit ou entend ..." ³ As each gate was closed and locked, the keys would be returned to the commander's residence. A soldier from the first guard to have completed the lockup would stand guard over the keys until relieved by a soldier of the next guard, and so on until the return of the capitaine des portes who, after being assured no keys were missing, would place them in their chest.⁴

All the gates having been secured and the keys returned, the major would go again to the governor to receive any orders to be carried out that night or the next day. The major would also receive the mot de l'ordre (one of two mots du guet or passwords given each night in order that the guard might challenge, and in turn recognize, those making the rounds). Prior to the closing of the gates, the mot de ralliement, usually the name of a city, was distributed so that it might be given to the officers commanding detachments outside the main walls. The mot de l'ordre, a saint's name, was given to the sergeants only after the gates had been locked, never before.⁵

After leaving the governor, the major would go to the Place D'Armes where he would command the drummer of the guard to beat L'Ordre. A sergeant and a corporal from each company and from each guard would assemble on the Place D'Armes to receive the night's orders and the password. The major

would cry: "Sergens à l'Ordre," and they would form a circle according to seniority. The corporals would form a second circle a few paces from the sergeants, facing outwards with their guns on their shoulders in order to prevent anyone from approaching the circle. The tambour major would stand between the sergeants and corporals. Inside the circle would be the town major, the aide-major, any other officiers-major, the caporal du consigne "du corps de la place" - who would carry a lantern - and the corporal who would have the "registre de la garde des rondes."⁶

The major would begin by designating any detachments which were to prepare for a march, and naming the officers who would command them. When a sergeant would hear the name of an officer of his company, he would say: "on l'avertira." Following this, the major would give the number of guards which were to be mounted the next day and the officers who would command them; the sergeants responding as before. Next he would name those who were to make the rounds that night. As an officer was named, the sergeant from his company would step forward and draw a marron⁷ from a sack held by the major. This would indicate the time at which he ought to begin his rounds, and the major would add to this tallies for each of the guardhouses he would visit on his route.⁸

When these and any other orders the governor wished to impart had been given, the major would again cry: "à l'Ordre." This was the signal that the password was to be revealed. The sergeants would take off their hats at the same time as the corporals would drive back anyone who was too near the circle. The major would then disclose the password, beginning with the officers inside the circle, by whispering it in their ears. He would muffle his voice by removing his hat and holding it close to their heads as he whispered. After the officers had received the password, the major would whisper it in the ear of the first sergeant in the circle, who would pass it on to the one next to him, and so on around the circle until it returned to the major. If a mistake had crept in along the way, the process would be repeated until the word came back to the major as it had been given.⁹

The major would then dismiss the cercle générale, and immediately the sergeants of the guard would go and report faithfully to the officers of the guards everything that had transpired in the circle. The remaining

sergeants of each battalion or regiment would form a "cercle particulaire" to receive any orders that pertained to them alone, following which they would report to the officers of their companies. As soon as the circles had dispersed, all the drummers would assemble and prepare to go, beating La Retraite, on a circuit through the town such as they had made before the mounting of the guard. This time they were notifying the soldiers that it was time for them to return to their quarters.¹⁰

According to an ordinance of 1691, they would begin La Retraite or the retraite générale of the garrison at 8 P.M. from All Saints Day (1 November) until Easter, and at 9 P.M. from Easter to All Saints Day.¹¹ In 1748 D'Hericourt put the time at 7 P.M. from November through February, 8 P.M. during March, April, September and October, and 9 P.M. from May through August.¹² At the appropriate time the drummers would leave the Place D'Armes to make the circuit, and upon its completion they would separate and return, still beating, to their companies' quarters. Commanders were permitted to designate certain places where La Retraite should be sounded. If any such places were ordered, certain drummers would proceed to those areas rather than returning to their quarters. When the companies' quarters or these other positions were reached, the drummers would stop beating and go, in silence, to their own barracks.¹³

The patrols would begin to police the streets as soon as the drums began to sound La Retraite. Anyone, civilian as well as military, who was creating a disturbance was to be arrested. Any soldier not on patrol duty who was on the streets one hour after the beating of La Retraite was to be placed in the Corps de Garde until the next day. If any soldier was found in a cabaret after the curfew had passed, he would be arrested, and the cabaretier fined. Inside the barracks roll call would be taken, and the names of any who were not present would be reported. No one, except for those making the rounds, was to be on the ramparts once La Retraite was sounded. At 10 P.M. the bell would signal the retraite bourgeoisie after which public houses were to be closed and people on the streets were required to carry torches, candles or lanterns.¹⁴

Feu De Joie

On occasions such as an important victory over the enemy, the king's birthday or the birth of an heir to the throne, the governor of a place might be ordered to celebrate with a feu de joie and the singing of the Te Deum. He would convey his order to members of the clergy and the principal magistrates, and the day for the celebration would be set, the usual time for such activities being at sunset. On the appointed day the entire garrison would take arms with the soldiers lining the ramparts as the governor and other leading personages made their way to the church on foot. Inside the church the governor would "se met sur un prié-Dieu qui lui est préparé comme pour le Roy, dont il represente la personne dans cette occasion ...". As the celebrant would entone the Te Deum, the bell would be rung to signal the artillery which would immediately begin a discharge by salvos. When the artillery fired its last round, the soldiers on the ramparts, ranged en haie on the banquette, would fire their muskets, by volleys also. The drums would be beating, and all would cry: "Vive le Roy." This would all be done three times. When the Te Deum and other prayers had ended, the governor and others inside the church would go to the Place D'Armes or wherever the celebration was taking place, and prepare for the principal feu de joie. He would illuminate one side of the area beginning with his torch while the magistrates would light the other. As the torches were lit, the artillery and muskets would be fired for the last time.¹

Drummers In The Garrison

Besides the drummer or drummers attached to each company, there was, for the regiment or garrison as a whole, the position of tambour major. Belonging to no company in particular, the tambour major held the same authority over the drummers as sergeants did over the men of their companies. He was responsible for ensuring their attendance on guard duty or at other occasions for which they were required, for overseeing the condition of their quarters and equipment, and for instructing them in the drum beats necessary on marches and for the performance of the various evolutions. He was to be familiar not only with the calls used in the French service, but also with those in use in neighbouring countries. He was, according to an ordinance of 1768, excused from guard duty and rounds, and was to march at the head of the drummers when they marched together.¹

The position of tambour major, long established in the infantry, was introduced into the Compagnies Franches in 1732, but did not become established in Louisbourg until 1741. The 1732 ordinance provided that the tambour major would be part of no one company, that he would receive a monthly pay of 18 livres, and that his uniforms would bear the grand livrée du Roi.² Louisbourg's commissaire-ordonnateur, François Bigot, wrote in October of 1741 that Governor Duquesnel had found it necessary to augment the number of drummers in each company of the Compagnies Franches by one, bringing the total to 16, and had established the position of tambour major "pour les contenir." The governor believed that there would be no objection to this step since the only cost to the king would be the uniform, and since it was required for the good order of the service.³ An ordinance in 1749 which dealt with the strength of the garrison in Isle Royale again set the pay of the tambour major at 18 livres.⁴

For the better discipline of the drummers, they were billeted together, apart from their companies, near the quarters of the tambour major. His lodging was to be on a par with that provided for sergeants, while drummers received the same as the soldiers.⁵ The ordinance of 1768 listed furnishings to be provided for these quarters: a bed for two with a straw mattress or a feather bed, depending on the rank, a wool blanket, a bolster (traversin), sheets every 20 days, two chairs or a bench, a table, a fireplace and a candle.⁶ In camps the drummers were to have their tents ten paces from the kitchens which in turn were ten paces "du fond des bataillons." At the arrival of a regiment or a battalion in a town, the municipal officers were to see to it that all the drummers of the infantry were "au centre du quartier qu'occupera le bataillon ou régiment."⁷

The Côte Militaire stipulated that the daily ration for the French and foreign infantry, including drummers, was to consist of 24 ounces of bread "cuit & rassi, entre bis & blanc," one pint of wine "mesure de Paris & du crû du lieu," or one pint of cider or beer, and one pound of meat, either beef, veal or mutton "au choix de l'Etapier." The tambour major received a double ration of victuals.⁸ While mentioned in the ordinance governing the infantry in encampments, it is likely that in fortified places as well, drumming practice was held at the hour that the drummers "ont coutume de s'assembler pour diner & pour souper."⁹

The early assertions that the drummers should be sufficiently versed in foreign languages to parley with the enemy is borne out by the 18th century ordinances. Each mention the procedure to be followed if an enemy drummer presented himself at the gate or at the head of a camp. According to the ordinance of 1750, he was to be blindfolded by the guard of the advance posts and led to the commander of the place without being permitted to stop at any point along the way or speak to anyone.¹⁰ In 1768 the ordinance required that enemy drummers should be held at the Corps de Garde while word was sent to the commander who would immediately send an officier-major to question him as to why he had come. The drummer would not be allowed to enter the place further or converse with anyone.¹¹

By an ordinance of 1551 soldiers were constrained not to parley "ne avoir conversation à Trompette, Tabourin ni autre de Ennemies," without permission from his superior officer.¹²

Drummers were to mount the guard with the captain of their company. If, however, their captain was not part of that day's guard, the drummers were to draw lots for their postings in the same manner as the soldiers. Each captain was to give two sols per day to his drummer, or one ration of bread when it was being furnished to the troops, in return for the drummer's maintaining and repairing his drum, sling and sticks. The king was to provide the two sols to each of the drummers of the militia when they were assembled.¹³

One regulation, issued in 1680, would seem to indicate that the drummers had not always maintained the high level of behavior expected of them. All trumpeters and drummers - French or foreign - were forbidden to demand "& exiger à l'avenir dans l'étenduë du Royaume, sous quelque pretexte que ce puisse estre, les cinq sols que quelques-uns d'eux ont cy-devant exigez des moulins près desquels ils passent, ... à peine des Galeres [to them and to those] qui lui donneront mainforte pour les recevoir." Any officers who failed to prevent such extortion were to be "cassez & privez de leurs charges."¹⁴ At least the absence of mills in Louisbourg would have had the salutary effect of preventing its drummers from succumbing to this temptation.

It was noted in Ecole De Mars that when a drummer of a company found himself the most senior soldier, he was able to assume the place of the "Anspecade vacante."¹⁵ No one was able to prevent his moving into the vacant position on the grounds that his first function was to drum. While this had caused numerous arguments, the drummer always won his case.¹⁶

Drummers In Louisbourg

Aside from the details of their uniforms which are well documented,¹ there is little specific information available on the drummers stationed in Louisbourg. In 1745 there were 21 drummers included in the garrison - 16 belonging to the Compagnies Franches de la Marine, one to the Canoniers-Bombardiers, and four to the Swiss Karrer Regiment.² There were five guardposts within the walls for which drummers were required at all times - the Corps de Garde of the Place D'Armes, the Porte Dauphine, the Porte de la Reine, the Porte Maurepas, and the Corps de Garde de la Place near the Pièce de la Grave. Allowing for those who would have been detached outside the walls, drummers and soldiers alike would have been required to stand guard once every three days. In addition, all drummers were to attend the daily changing of the guard and evening retraite. While these duties might have cut into their ability to earn extra pay by working on the fortifications or in town, it is likely that they also sought to augment their salary, which was already slightly higher than the ordinary soldier's. Prior to 1741, when there were only from six to ten drummers in the garrison, such outside work was probably all but impossible for them.³ It is probable that the drummers would have possessed a somewhat elitist attitude; their specialized knowledge, their separate quarters in the barracks, and, especially, their impressive uniform adorned with the livrée of the king providing them with a sense of superiority over their fellow soldiers.

Compagnies Franches de la Marine

At the establishment of the Compagnies Franches in 1690, a company consisted of 100 men including two drummers and one fifer. The numerical composition of the companies as specified by the ordinances of the king varied considerably in the succeeding years, with the number of drummers per company fluctuating in proportion to the number of men.⁴

1690	100 men	2 drummers	1 fifer
1697	50 men	1 drummer	1 fifer
1702	90 men	2 drummers	1 fifer
1713	50 men	1 drummer	0 fifer
1715	35 men	1 drummer	1 fifer
1719	45 men	1 drummer	0 fifer
1725	30 men	1 drummer	0 fifer
1727	- called for 50 men, but varied between 30 and 60. When 60 there was to be one drummer and one fifer.		
1733	80 men	2 drummers	1 fifer
1736	60 men	1 drummer	1 fifer
1739	80 men	2 drummers	1 fifer
1748	50 men	-----	-----
1755	100 men	2 drummers	1 fifer
1759	50 men	1 drummer	1 fifer

Although the ordinances called for two drummers and one fifer per company in 1733 and again in 1739, there was only one drummer per company in Louisbourg, and no fifers at all.⁵ In 1741 Bigot informed the Minister of the Marine that Governor Duquesnel had seen fit to increase the number of drummers to two per company, bringing the total to 16, since the previous number had proved insufficient.⁶ With 70 men per company, this also made for a better proportion of soldiers to drummers.⁷

Besides increasing the number of drummers, Duquesnel established that year the post of tambour major and designated one fifer to serve all eight companies.⁸ Prior to this time, despite the provisions of the ordinances that there be one fifer per company (except for the years 1719-27), there had not been any fifers in the Compagnies Franches at Louisbourg. From 1741 until 1758 there was never more than one fifer for all the companies.⁹ It was the custom of the infantry to have one fifer per regiment and one drummer per company of 50 men, and it was this practice which seems to have been followed by the Troupes de la Marine in Louisbourg.¹⁰ None of the ordinances specify the duties of the fifer, a fact which seem to indicate that the opinion offered by Arbeau in 1588 that those who play fifes "play them as they please, and it is sufficient for them to keep

time with the sound of the drum," still summed up their position vis-à-vis the drummers.¹¹ All that is known is that the fifer was to be dressed, paid and treated in the same manner as the drummers.¹²

Canonniers-Bombardiers

The ordinance which established the Compagnie des Canonniers-Bombardiers in Louisbourg in 1743 called for 30 men including one drummer.¹³ In 1750, 20 men, one of whom was a drummer, were added to bring the total number in the company to 50 and the number of drummers to two.¹⁴ The pay received by the Canonniers-Bombardiers was set in 1743 at 25 livres per month, the same as a bombardier but 5 livres more than a canonnier.¹⁵ How the drummers were used in the artillery is not known, the only reference to them appearing in the Côde Militaire to the effect that on days when artillery school was to be held the drums should sound Le Premier at daybreak, followed by L'Assemblée one half hour later. This last was to take place before the barracks or in some other suitable place.¹⁶ It was the custom in Louisbourg to hold such artillery practice on Sundays in the Demi-Bastion Princesse.¹⁷

Swiss Karrer Regiment

The initial Swiss contingent sent to Louisbourg in 1722 contained 30 men with one drummer, but by 1744 there were 143, including four drummers.¹⁸ According to an ordinance of 1683 the drums were to "à la française, à toutes les gardes qui se seront dans les places où il y aura des Corps & Compagnies Françaises avec des Corps & Compagnies Etrangères en garnison, même lorsque les Gardes seront commandées par des Officiers de Corps Etrangers."¹⁹ However, in 1748 D'Hericourt stated that when the French were mixed with foreigners in a guard, the French "ont la droite: si l'Officier commandant cette Garde est étranger & qu'il ait un Tambour de son Régiment, il en fait battu la marche."²⁰ Whenever all the drummers would march as a body, the Swiss or other foreign drummers were to form separately behind the French drummers.²¹ St. Ovide wrote in 1732

that Cailly, senior Swiss officer, had informed him that the Swiss drummers ought to be permitted to beat à la Suisse when a Swiss officer mounted the guard. Although St. Ovide insisted that this was contrary to the king's ordinance, Cailly declared that Colonel Karrer had forbidden him to mount the guard any other way. Until the question could be resolved, St. Ovide excused the Swiss officers from the guard.²² Upon receipt of St. Ovide's letter, Maurepas wrote to Karrer, that the governor had no basis for declaring that the Swiss drummers of his regiment should beat the French march when they mount the guard with officers of their nation. He had ordered St. Ovide, he said, not to press the subject any further until a decision had been received from Karrer.²³ Presumably, if there had not been a change in the regulation, the colonel was willing to ignore the ordinance if the Minister of the Marine was, and the Swiss at Louisbourg could have been permitted their own style of drumming. Just what the differences were between the French and Swiss drumming is not known. Arbeau mentioned that while the French usually beat a march which consisted of five quarter notes followed by three quarter rests, the Swiss beat one which had three quarter notes, a quarter rest, another quarter note, and three more quarter rests.²⁴ Since this was an insignificant difference, considerably more must have been involved.

Militia

The Côte Militaire contains several provisions for the regulation of the militia in France. According to this, each captain was to select from among his men those he considered most capable of filling the positions of non-commissioned officers and drummer. Non-commissioned officers, soldiers and drummers in the militia would join for a period of four years, and drummers would receive, by an ordinance of 1726, the sum of 5 sous 6 deniers for every day they were called out, 6 deniers being deducted to maintain them in linen and shoes.²⁵

Biographical Information

Personal information about drummers is scarce. The names of only two of Louisbourg's corps of drummers have emerged thus far, and one of these was a tambour major. The drummer was Jérôme Letellier dit Lavolenté, unable to sign his name, who testified in a trial in 1743. He unfortunately gave no other biographical facts about himself.²⁶ On the other hand, Pierre Boziac, the tambour major, was not only literate, but was able to earn extra money - 12 livres for two months - by teaching dancing.²⁷

Appendix A. Music Sheets For 18th Century Drum Calls

L'Assemblée I

The musical score consists of ten staves. The first staff begins with a common time signature (C) and contains a series of eighth notes. The second staff continues with eighth notes. The third staff also features eighth notes. The fourth staff includes a 3/2 time signature and contains a triplet of eighth notes. The fifth staff continues with eighth notes. The sixth staff begins with a common time signature (C) and contains eighth notes. The seventh staff continues with eighth notes. The eighth staff continues with eighth notes. The ninth staff contains a single eighth note followed by a double bar line. The tenth staff is empty.

L'Assemblée II

Musical score for L'Assemblée II, featuring a drum roll section. The score is written in bass clef with a 7/8 time signature. It consists of four staves of music. The first three staves contain a melodic line with various rhythmic values and accents. The third staff includes a bracketed section labeled "1/4 Drummers Roll." The fourth staff concludes the melodic line with a double bar line. Below the first four staves are seven empty staves for accompaniment.

Seven empty musical staves for accompaniment, arranged vertically below the main score.

La Générale

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "La Générale". The score is written on a page numbered 55. It consists of two main parts: a bass line and a treble line. The bass line is written in a 6/4 time signature and begins with a bass clef. The treble line is written in a 6/4 time signature and begins with a treble clef. The treble line includes a section labeled "1/4 drummers Roll" which is indicated by a bracket and a horizontal line above the staff. The score is written in a style that appears to be a first draft or a working manuscript, with some ink bleed-through and a few corrections. The piece concludes with a double bar line. Below the main score, there are several empty musical staves, suggesting that the score is part of a larger manuscript or a page from a book.

La Diane

The musical score for 'La Diane' is written in bass clef with a 6/8 time signature. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 6/8 time signature, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, some beamed together, and includes a repeat sign. The second staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic patterns and includes a repeat sign. The third staff concludes the piece with a final cadence. The notation includes various note values, beams, and phrasing slurs.

Seven empty musical staves are provided below the main score, each consisting of five horizontal lines, intended for accompaniment or further musical notation.

La Fascine Or La Bréloque

The image displays a musical score for the piece "La Fascine Or La Bréloque". It consists of five staves of music and four empty staves below. The first staff is in bass clef with a 6/4 time signature. The second, third, and fourth staves are in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. The fifth staff begins with a treble clef and a 6/4 time signature. A bracket above the third staff is labeled "1/4 drummers Roll." The music features various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are also some markings below the notes, possibly indicating fingerings or breath marks. The score concludes with a double bar line on the fifth staff.

La Charge

Musical notation for 'La Charge' in bass clef, 3/4 time. The first staff contains four measures of music with notes and stems, and a fermata over the final note of each measure. The second staff continues the melody for three measures and ends with a double bar line. Below the first two staves are seven empty staves.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Le Rigodon D'Honneur

The musical score is written on ten staves, organized into three sections: A, B, and C. Section A (staves 1-4) begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. It features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, accented with slurs and dots. Section B (staves 5-7) includes a repeat sign and contains handwritten annotations: '6' and '1/2' above the first staff, and '1/2', '6', '1/2', and '6' above the second staff. Section C (staves 8-10) starts with a treble clef and a common time signature, continuing the melodic pattern. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of the final staff.

Le Rigodon D'Honneur (con't)

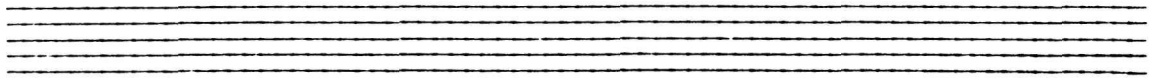
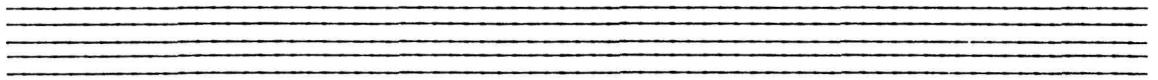
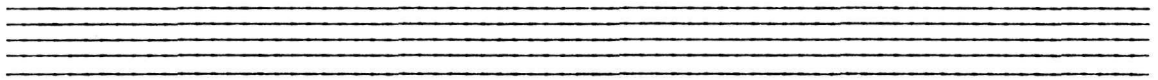
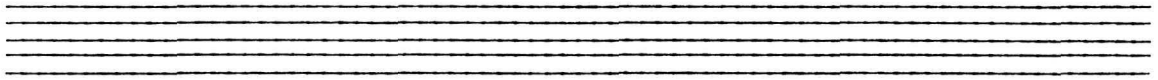
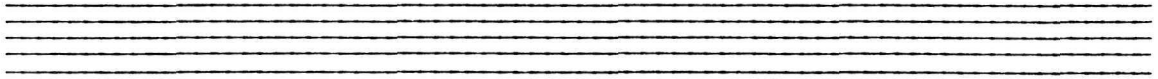
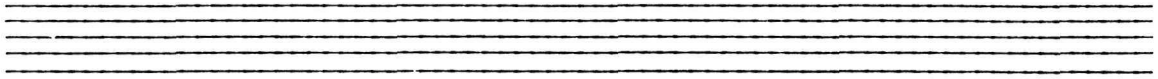
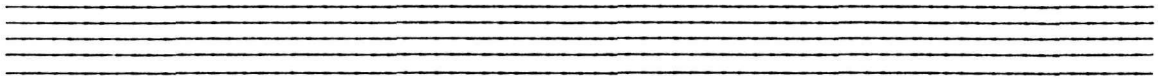
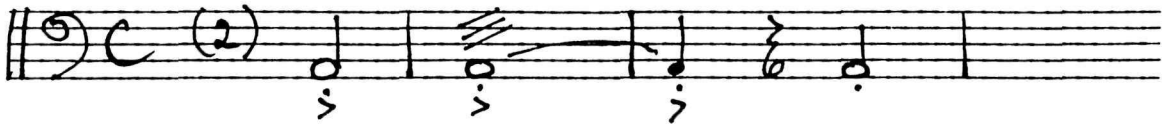
Musical score for 'Le Rigodon D'Honneur (con't)'. The score consists of eight staves of music. The first two staves are a single melodic line. The third staff begins with a 'D' time signature. The fourth and fifth staves are a pair of staves, likely representing a two-part setting. The sixth and seventh staves are another pair of staves. The eighth staff is a single melodic line. The notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and various ornaments such as 'x' marks above notes and 'o' marks below notes. Phrasing slurs are used throughout the piece.

Empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

Empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

Empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

L'Ordre



Le Ban

The musical score for 'Le Ban' is written on four staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes with accents. The second staff is marked '14 drummers Roll.' and features a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The third and fourth staves continue this rhythmic pattern. The piece concludes with a double bar line on the fourth staff.

Seven empty musical staves are provided for additional notation or performance instructions.

Le Drapeau Or Au Drapeau

Handwritten musical score for 'Le Drapeau Or Au Drapeau'. The score is written on four staves. The first staff begins with a bass clef and a 4/4 time signature. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with stems pointing down. A fermata is placed over the final note of the first staff, with a '9' written above it. The second staff contains a section labeled '1/4 Roll' with a bracket above it. The third staff continues the melody and includes a fermata with a '9' above it. The fourth staff shows the beginning of a new phrase and ends with a double bar line. Below the fourth staff are seven empty staves.

L'Appel Or Le Rappel

Musical staff with bass clef and 7/4 time signature. It contains two measures of music with eighth notes and accents.

1/4 drummer Roll.

Musical staff with treble clef and 7/4 time signature. It contains two measures of music with eighth notes and accents, followed by two measures with a slash and a dot.

1/4 drummer Roll.

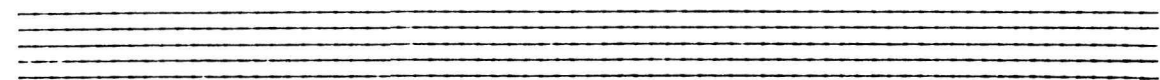
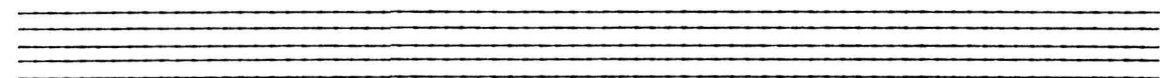
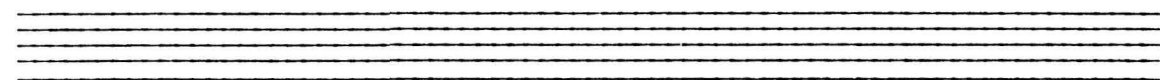
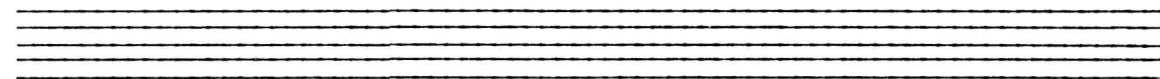
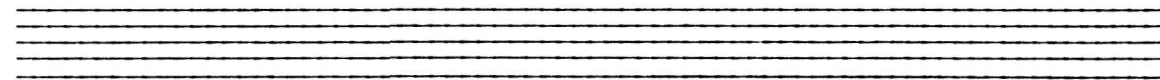
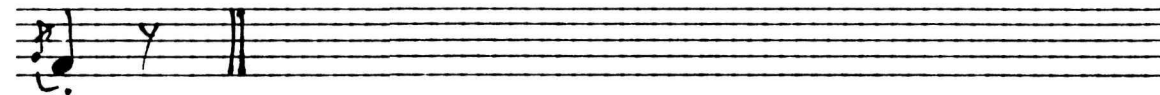
Musical staff with treble clef and 7/4 time signature. It contains three measures with a slash and a dot, followed by two measures with eighth notes and accents.

Aux Champs Or Le Premier

1/4 drummers Roll.



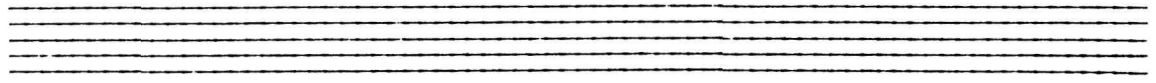
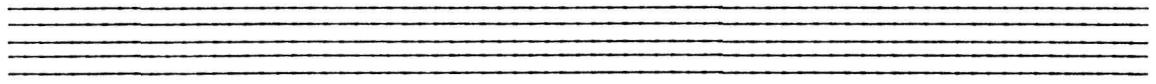
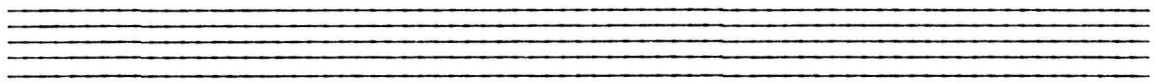
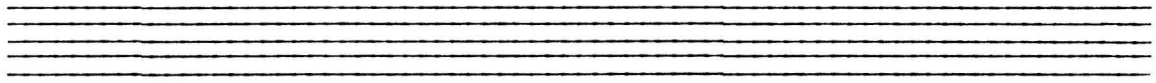
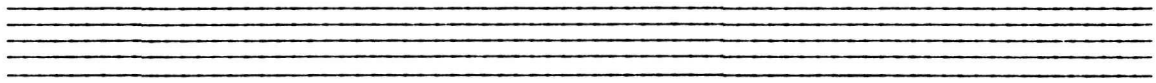
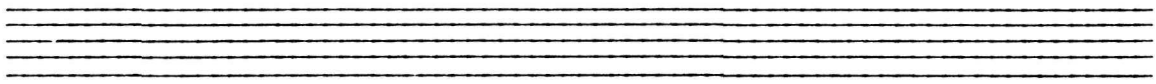
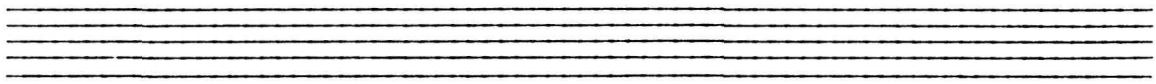
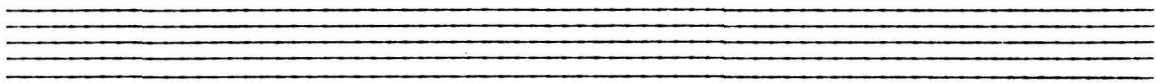
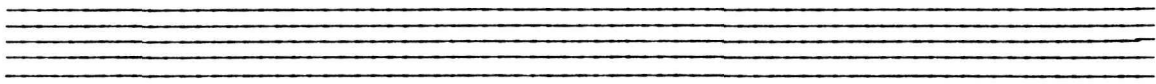
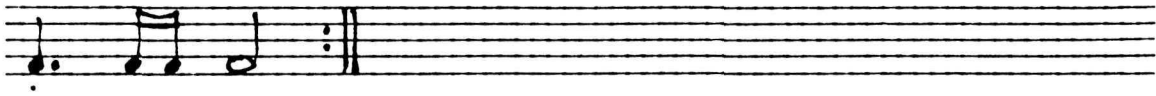
1/4 drummers Roll.



La Retraite I

The musical score consists of ten staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The music is written in a single melodic line with various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The notation includes many notes with dots above them, possibly indicating accents or specific articulation. The second staff continues the melody with a similar rhythmic pattern. The third staff features a more complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The fourth staff continues the melody. The fifth staff has a bracketed section labeled "Sn drummers Roll." above it, indicating a specific drumming pattern. The sixth staff continues the melody. The seventh staff features a more complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The eighth staff continues the melody. The ninth staff features a more complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The tenth staff continues the melody.

La Retraite I (con't)

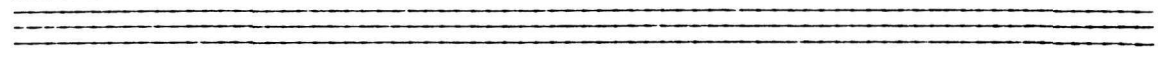
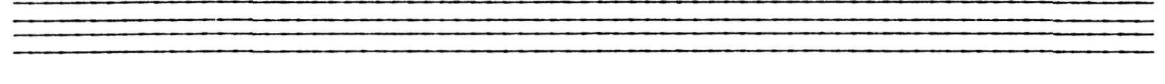
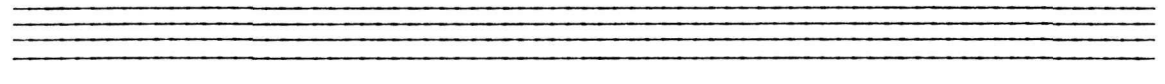
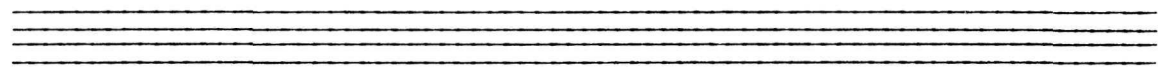
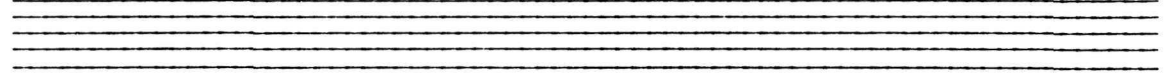
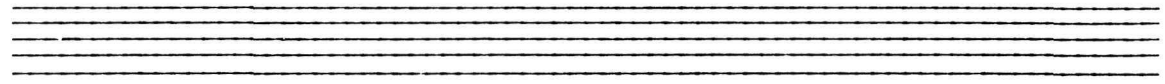
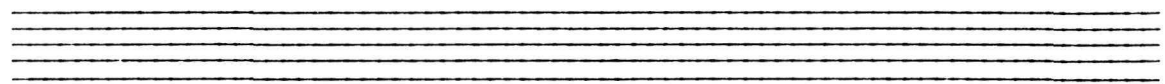
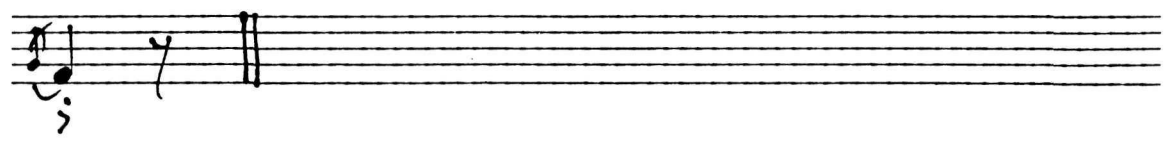


La Retraite II

Musical score for 'La Retraite II'. The score consists of four staves. The first staff begins with a bass clef, a common time signature (C), and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains a melodic line with various rhythmic values and articulation marks. A measure number '9' is written above the first measure. The second staff continues the melody and includes a section marked '1/4 Roll. 9'. The third and fourth staves continue the melodic line. The score concludes with a double bar line.

Five sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically on the page.

La Prière Or La Messe



L'Enterrement

1st Drum 1 2nd drum 1

3rd drum 1 4th drum

Detailed description: The image shows two staves of musical notation for drums. The first staff is labeled '1st Drum' and '2nd drum'. It contains four measures. The first measure has a quarter note with an accent (>) and a fermata. The second measure has a whole rest. The third measure has a quarter note with an accent (>) and a fermata. The fourth measure has a whole rest. The second staff is labeled '3rd drum' and '4th drum'. It also contains four measures. The first measure has a quarter note with an accent (>) and a fermata. The second measure has a whole rest. The third measure has two eighth notes with accents (>) and fermatas. The fourth measure has a whole rest.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

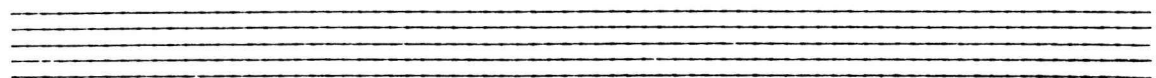
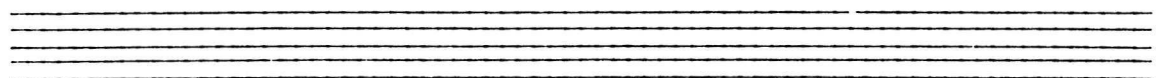
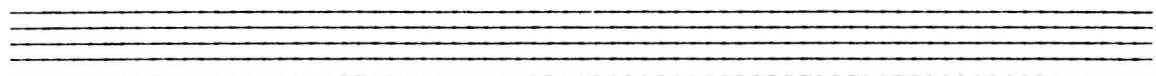
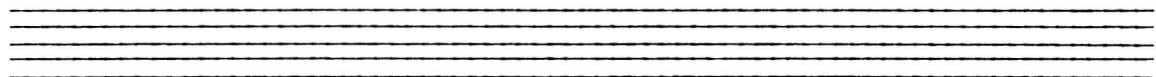
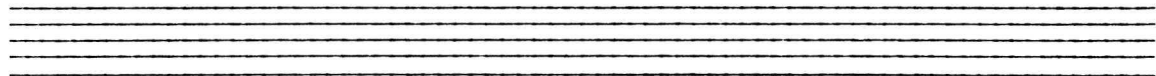
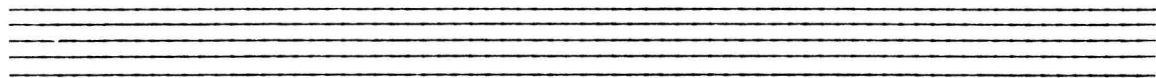
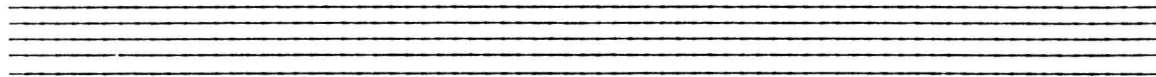
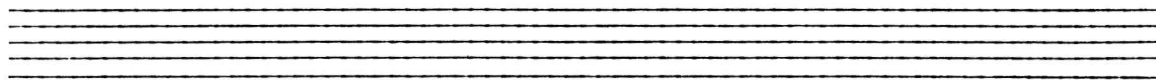
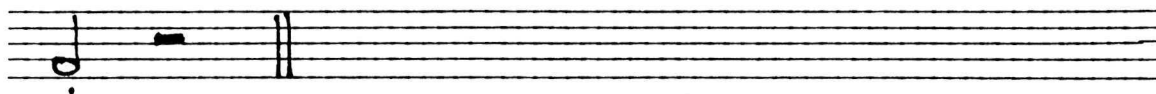
An empty musical staff with five lines.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

An empty musical staff with five lines.

Marches Des Mousquetaires



La Marche Française

Musical score for "La Marche Française" on page 72. The score consists of nine staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The music is written in a single melodic line. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are several rests throughout the piece. The score concludes with a double bar line on the ninth staff. The remaining two staves at the bottom of the page are empty.

Endnotes

Introduction

- 1 M. de Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, Tome 1 (Paris, 1725), pp. 694-95; Robert Goute, Le Tambour D'Ordonnance, Vol. 1 (Domont, France, 1956), p. 3.
- 2 Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, Translated by Cyril W. Beaumont, (New York, 1925), p. 27.
- 3 Field-Marshal Count Saxe, Reveries or Memoirs Upon the Art of War (London, 1757), pp. 16-17.
- 4 M. de Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 265.
- 5 Ralph Smith, quoted by James Blades, Percussion Instruments And Their History (London, n.d.), pp. 214-15. [Taken from xeroxed excerpts. No publication date available].
- 6 Francis Markham, Five Decades and Epistles of Warre (1622), quoted in Blades, Percussion Instruments ..., p. 217.
- 7 Luis Gutserres de la Vega, "Compendious Treatise entituled De re militaire ..." (1582), quoted in Henry George Farmer, Handel's Kettledrums and other Papers on Military Music (London, 1950), p. 12.
- 8 James Thacher, Military Journal of the American Revolution (Hartford, 1862), quoted by George P. Carroll in notes for "The Band of Musick" and "The Fifes and Drums," a recording of 18th century music published by Colonial Williamsburg.

Drums

- 1 Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, p. 25.
- 2 James Blades, Percussion Instruments ..., pp. 211-12.
- 3 Ibid., p. 212.

- 4 Samuel Potter, The Art of Beating the Drum, (1815), reprinted by George P. Carroll, Williamsburg.
- 5 James Blades, Percussion Instruments ..., p. 372.
- 6 Diderot, Encyclopedie ou Dictionnaire Raisonne Des Sciences, Des Arts Et Des Métiers (hereafter cited as Encyclopedie), Tome XV, (Neufchastel, 1765), p. 875; Trévoux, Dictionnaire Universel François Et Latin, Tome 6 (Paris, 1743), p. 46.
- 7 James Blades, Percussion Instruments ..., p. 370.
- 8 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 14, fol. 222v., Le Normant, "Etat des vivres, habillement et munitions nécessaires pour la colonie de l'Ile Royale pendant l'année 1734," 19 octobre 1733; *ibid.*, Vol. 24, fols. 173v.-74, Bigot, "Etat des vivres, habillements et munitions nécessaires pour la colonie de l'Ile Royale pendant l'année 1742," 11 octobre 1741; *ibid.*, Vol. 32, fol. 185v., Prévost, "Etat des vivres, munitions et marchandises nécessaires pour la Subsistance et l'habillement des troupes de la garnison de l'Isle Royale, Subsistance des habitans de l'Acadie réfugiés en la ditte Isle et a l'Isle St. Jean, pour garnir les magasins du Roy, pour les Besoins du Service et des Batteries de Louisbourg pendant l'année mil Sept cent cinquante trois," 24 octobre 1752.
- 9 *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, fol. 119, Prévost, "Etat des vivres, munitions et marchandises nécessaires des troupes de la garnison de l'Isle Royale Subsistance des habitans réfugiés de l'Acadie et établis sur la dite isle et sur L'isle St. jean pour garnir les magasins du Roy pour les differents besoins du service de sa Majesté et pour les batteries de Louisbourg pendant L'Année mil sept cent cinquante huit," 30 septembre 1757.
- 10 Marguery, Theorie Pour Apprendre a Battre Aux Tambours (Paris, 1833), Article 2; Potter, The Art of Beating the Drum, pp. 2-3; P.J.F. Girard, Traité Des Armes (Paris, 1737), p. 110; Marbot et Noumont, Costumes Militaires (London, n.d.), Plates 69, 227 and 122, [Taken from xeroxed excerpts. No date available]; Maurice Toussaint et J.E. Alex Curt, Uniformes Des Régiments Français De Louis XV A Nos Jours (Paris, 1945), p. 18; J. Vichot, "Variations Sur Le Tambour," Neptunia, No. 4, 4e Trimestre, 1970.

- 11 Côte Militaire Ou Compilation Des Ordonnances Des Roys De France Concernant Les Gens De Guerre (hereafter cited as Côte Militaire), (Paris, 1728), Vol. 2, p. 239.
- 12 M. D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire (Paris, 1748), Vol. 1, p. 51.

Drum Calls

- 1 Thomas Simes, The Military Guide For Young Officers (London, 1781), p. 196.
- 2 M. D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 195-96.
- 3 Ordonnance du Roy Sur L'Exercise De L'Infanterie (Paris, 1755), p. 25.
- 4 M. D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 51.
- 5 Ordonnance Du Roy Sur L'Exercise De L'Infanterie, pp. 35-38; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 462-63; Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 668; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 84; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs & Lieutenans-Généraux des Provinces, les Gouverneurs & Etat-Majors des Places, & le Service dans lesdites Places (Arras, 1750), p. 106; Ordonnance Du Roy Sur le Maniement des armes de l'Infanterie Françaises & Etrangers (Paris, 1750), pp. 1-2.
- 6 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 258.
- 7 Ordonnance Du Roy Sur L'Exercise De L'Infanterie, p. 136.
- 8 Ibid., p. 159.
- 9 Ordonnance du Roi, Portant Règlement sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne (Paris, 1753), p. 26.
- 10 Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 44.
- 11 Humphrey Bland, A Treatise of Military Discipline (London, 1759), pp. 84-88 and 240; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 84; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 462; Ordonnance Du Roy ... L'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 108-09; Ordonnance du Roi Pour régler le Service dans les Places & dans les Quartiers (Metz, 1768), pp. 190-91; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome XV, pp. 874-75; Simes, Military Guide, p. 196.

- 12 Ordonnance ... Pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 108; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 106; Ordonnance ... Sur l'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 35; Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 668 and 695.
- 13 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 61.
- 14 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 64.
- 15 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 213.
- 16 Allan Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale." Typed Manuscript, Fortress of Louisbourg, p. 53.
- 17 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 64; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 113; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 28; Ordonnance ... Pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 86.
- 18 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 113.
- 19 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 695-96.
- 20 A piquet was a "detachment or party holding itself in readiness to turn out at a moment's notice for any duty whatsoever, or for duty other than duty by roster, e.g. for an extra-ordinary guard ..."
The ordinance of 1753 stipulated that when a battalion left its quarters to go into the field, a piquet of 48 soldiers and a drummer, commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, a second or sub-lieutenant and two sergeants should be formed. Cornelius De Witt Willcox, A French-English Military Technical Dictionary, (Washington, 1917), p. 326; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 29.
- 21 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 57.
- 22 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695.
- 23 Paul Augé, Larousse Du XXe Siècle en Six Volumes, Vol. I (Paris, 1928), p. 852; Willcox, A French-English ... Dictionary, p. 52.
- 24 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695.
- 25 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 95, 137, 147 and 160.
- 26 Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, p. 42.
- 27 Larousse Du XXe Siècle ..., Vol. 5, p. 1094; Willcox, A French-English ... Dictionary, p. 398.

- 28 Robert Goute, Batteries de la Garde Impériale (Charnay-Les-Macon, 1964), pp. 14-15.
- 29 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 69-70; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 48-49; Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 265.
- 30 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 88-89.
- 31 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 139-40; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 108.
- 32 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695.
- 33 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 131.
- 34 Ibid., p. 235.
- 35 Ibid., p. 88; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 12; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 16-17.
- 36 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 220.
- 37 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 141-42.
- 38 Larousse du XXe Siècle ..., Vol. 1, p. 540. There is no 18th century source for this use of Le Ban, but it would be in keeping with its other functions to have it sounded for the awarding of decorations, etc.
- 39 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 656.
- 40 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 180.
- 41 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 83-84; Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., p. 4; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 107 and 190; Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 668.
- 42 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 83-84.
- 43 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 190.
- 44 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 41-43; Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 3-4.
- 45 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 260 and 737-38; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 165-67; Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 46, 103, 147 and 158.
- 46 Bland, A Treatise of Military Discipline, passim.
- 47 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 258; Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 158; Larousse Du XXe Siècle ..., Vol. 1, p. 286.

- 48 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 650-51.
- 49 "Code des Armées Navales Reglements De Marine Sous Louis XIV et XV Avec Ordonnance Du 15 avril 1689." Histoire Générale de la Marine (Amsterdam, 1758), p. 229; Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 298-302; Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 665; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 98-99; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 112-17; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 167; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 172-75.
- 50 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695.
- 51 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 158.
- 52 Girard, Traité des Armes, p. 124; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 258 and 267; Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 10-11 and 29.
- 53 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 36-37.
- 54 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 119-20.
- 55 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 24.
- 56 Ibid., p. 57.
- 57 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 269.
- 58 Ibid., pp. 644, 662 and 695; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 196-98; Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 137, 139, 147 and 158.
- 59 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 362; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 83; Ordonnance Du Roy Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 106; Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 35; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 107; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome XV, p. 874.
- 60 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 137.
- 61 Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., p. 8.
- 62 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 362; Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 298 and 302; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 98; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 110-12; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 120 and 166; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 170-72.

- 63 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 269; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 105; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 64; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 85.
- 64 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 28.
- 65 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 14.
- 66 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 65; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 56-57.
- 67 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 162; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 168.
- 68 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 261.
- 69 Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 3-4; Ordonnance ... Sur l'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 41-43.
- 70 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695.
- 71 Farmer, Handel's Kettledrums ..., pp. 29-30; Carroll, "The Fifes and Drums."
- 72 Ibid.; Bland, A Treatise of Military Discipline, p. 170; Simes, Military Guide, p. 116.
- 73 Charles James, Military Dictionary in French and English (London, 1810).
- 74 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 269-75; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 65; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 101-07; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 61-79; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 83-94 and 146.
- 75 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 273-75; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 106-08; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 77-78; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 94.
- 76 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 660; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 57-60; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 29-34.
- 77 "Code des Armées Navales ...," p. 246.
- 78 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 258; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 54 and 137.

- 79 Ibid.; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 94.
- 80 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs..., p. 32.
- 81 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places..., pp. 54 and 137.
- 82 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 995; Marguery, Theorie Pour Apprendre A Battre Aux Tambours, Article 15.
- 83 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 133; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs..., p. 123; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 176; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 176.
- 84 Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, pp. 27-29.
- 85 Diderot, Supplément A L'Encyclopédie ..., Tome III, p. 847, (Amsterdam, 1777).
- 86 Saxe, Reveries ..., p. 15.
- 87 Blades, Percussion Instruments ..., p. 218.
- 88 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 157-60. D'Hericourt gives slightly different signals for breaking a battalion by demi-rang, quart de rang, demi quart de rang and company. See Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 196-98.
- 89 Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 9-10.
- 90 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 138.
- 91 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 39.
- 92 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 134.
- 93 Ibid., p. 146.
- 94 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 667-68.
- 95 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 160-61.

Honors

- 1 Diary of M. de Surlaville, Major of the Troops, 3 August 1751 - 18 August 1751, quoted in Hutchison et al, "An Ordinary Soldier," Report of Fortress of Louisbourg; Fred Thorpe, "Louis Franquet," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. III (Toronto, 1974), p. 229; J.S. MacLennan, Louisbourg From Its Foundation To Its Fall (London, 1918), p. 332.

- 2 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 106.
- 3 Ibid.; pp. 103-04; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 362; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 110-11; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 168.
- 4 Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 298-304; "Code des Armées Navales ...," p. 229; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 97-100 and 105-15; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 111-18; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 120 and 166-71; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 172-76.
- 5 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 665; Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 302; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 170.
- 6 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 89.
- 7 Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 298-304; "Code des Armées Navales ...," p. 229; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 105-15; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 118-23; Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, pp. 120 and 166-71; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 172-76.

Mounting The Guard

- 1 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 258-59; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 93; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 32.
- 2 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 259-60.
- 3 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 35-36.
- 4 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 260-61; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 94-96; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 38; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 56-66.
- 5 Ibid.; Bland, A Treatise of Military Discipline, p. 189.
- 6 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 39.

- 7 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 261; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 39; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 60.
- 8 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 262-63; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 95-97; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 42-47.
- 9 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 97.

Exercising The Troops

- 1 Ordonnance ... Sur l'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 35-38; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 462-63; Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 668; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 84; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 106; Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 1-2.
- 2 Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 3-11; Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 61-93.
- 3 Ordonnance ... Sur le Maniement des Armes ..., pp. 3-11, The 1755 Ordonnance differs in a number of details. The one closer to the period required for Louisbourg has been described.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

Marching

- 1 Ordonnance ... Sur l'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 94.
- 2 Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, p. 28; Instruction Que Le Roi A Fait Expédier Pour Régler Provisoirement L'Exercice De Ses Troupes D'Infanterie (Versailles, 1774), p. 20.
- 3 Instruction ... Pour Régler Provisoirement L'Exercice ..., pp. 20-22.
- 4 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, p. 94.
- 5 Arbeau, Orchesography, pp. 27 and 39.
- 6 Ordonnance ... Sur L'Exercice De L'Infanterie, pp. 103 and 136-49.
- 7 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 197.

Evening Activities

- 1 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 269; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 61.
- 2 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 270; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 50-51; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 91; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 102-03.
- 3 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 270; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 103.
- 4 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 64-65.
- 5 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 270-71; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 104; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 91; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome X, p. 764; Willcox, A French-English ... Dictionary, p. 281.
- 6 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 270-71; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 104; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 91; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome X, p. 764.
- 7 A marron was a "metal disk showing the hour for making the rounds." It was "dropped into receptacles prepared for the purpose, by the officer on guard, on making rounds, and thus serving as a check in the performance of the duty." Willcox, A French-English ... Dictionary, p. 265.
- 8 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 271-72; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome X, p. 764.
- 9 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 271-72; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome X, p. 764; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 56-57; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 91.
- 10 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, pp. 271-72; Diderot, Encyclopedie, Tome X, p. 764; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 56-57; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 91.
- 11 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 64.
- 12 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 106.

- 13 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 273; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 106-07; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 72; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., pp. 93-94.
- 14 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 273; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 108; Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 65; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., pp. 77-78; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 94.

Feu De Joie

- 1 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 268.

Drummers In The Garrison

- 1 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 51; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 50.
- 2 Gabriel Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes de la Marine 1622-1792 (Paris, 1893), p. 85; A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 104v., Bigot à Ministre, 19 octobre 1741.
- 3 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 104v., Bigot à Ministre, 19 octobre 1741.
- 4 A.M., A1, Article 81, pièce 33, Ordonnance Du Roy, 28 mars 1749.
- 5 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 20; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 149.
- 6 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 24.
- 7 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 12; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 28.
- 8 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 83-84 and 87-89.
- 9 Ordonnance ... sur le Service de l'Infanterie en Campagne, p. 61.
- 10 Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 57.
- 11 Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 77.
- 12 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 275.

- 13 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 51.
- 14 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 123.
- 15 Anspecade was a non-commissioned officer of the infantry who was below a corporal and acted as his assistant. M. L'Admiral, Le Petit Dictionnaire Du Tems, Pour L'Intelligence Des Nouvelles De La Guerre (Paris, 1747), p. Li.
- 16 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 684.

Drummers In Louisbourg

- 1 Gilles Proulx, "Etude Sur Le Costume Militaire A Louisbourg," Typed Manuscript, Fortress of Louisbourg.
- 2 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 104v., Bigot à Ministre, 19 octobre 1741; *ibid.*, FlA, Vol. 34, ff. 174-75v., "Etat du fonds necessaire pour la premiere moitie du prix de l'habillement des Troupes Entretenu par Sa Majesté a l'Isle Royale pour l'année prochain 1744 de la fourniture du S Jacques framery munitionnre Général des vivres de la marine Suivant le marché passé le 1743," 5 novembre 1743; *ibid.*, C11B, Vol. 27, ff. 81v.-82, "Etat du fonds a Remettre au Port Rochefort pour le parfait payement du prox du Grand habillement qui a été fourny dans les magasins de cet arcenel par Le Sr. Jacques Framery Munitre Général des Vivres de La Marine pour Les troupes de l'Isle Royale, Sur Les fonds des Companies de la presente année 1745," 10 décembre 1745; *ibid.*, Vol. 26, ff. 236-38, Ordonnance Pour Etablir une Compagnie de Bombardiers Et Canoniers pour Le Service de l'artillerie des Batteries de Louisbourg, 20 juin 1743; Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale," p. 16.
- 3 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 71, "Detail de la garde des postes à l'isle Royale," 19 octobre 1741; *ibid.*, Vol. 26, f. 237, Ordonnance pour Etablir une Compagnie de Bombardiers ..., 20 juin 1743; A.M., A1, Article 81, pièce 33, Ordonnance du Roy, 28 mars 1749; Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale," pp. 42-47.

- 4 Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes ..., pp. 80-89; A.M., Al, Article 50, pièce 36, Ordonnance du Roi, 8 octobre 1715; Ibid., Article 57, pièce 70, Ordonnance du Roi, 1 octobre 1719; Ibid., Article 81, pièce 33, Ordonnance du Roi, 28 mars 1749.
- 5 A.N., Colonies, FlA, Vol. 21, ff. 78-78v., "Etat des vivres Munitions et Marchandises a Embarquer Sur la flutte du Roy le Dromadaire pour porter et Remettre a l'Isle Royale aux Ordres de M Soubras Commissaire de la Marine Ordonnateur au dt Lieu sur les fonds des Sept Companies, fortifications, presents aux sauvages de la presente année 1719," 2 avril 1719; Ibid., Vol. 25, f. 28, "Etat des vivres, habillements et munitions necessaires pour la Colonie de Isle Royale en l'année 1726," 1726; A.M., Rochefort, 1E, Vol. 117, f. 270, Maurepas à Beauharnois, 30 septembre 1732; A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 14, f. 222v., Le Normant, "Etat des vivres, habillement et munitions nécessaires pour la colonie de l'Ile Royale pendant l'année 1734," 19 octobre 1733.
- 6 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 104v., Bigot à Ministre, 19 octobre 1741.
- 7 A.M., Al, Article 81, pièce 33, Ordonnance du Roy, 28 mars 1749.
- 8 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 104v., Bigot à Ministre, 19 octobre 1741.
- 9 A.M., Al, Article 81, pièce 33, Ordonnance du Roy, 28 mars 1749; A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 32, ff. 183-85v., "Etat des vivres ...", 24 octobre 1752; Ibid., Vol. 37, ff. 117-20v., "Etat des vivres ...," 30 septembre 1757.
- 10 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 695; Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, pp. 461-62; D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol, 1, p. 174.
- 11 Arbeau, Orchesography, p. 42.
- 12 A.M., Al, Article 81, pièce 33, Ordonnance du Roy, 28 mars 1749; A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 23, f. 104v., Bigot à Ministre, 19 octobre 1741; Ibid., Vol. 32, ff. 183-85v., "Etat des vivres ...," 24 octobre 1752; Ibid., Vol. 37, ff. 117-20v., "Etat des vivres ...," 30 septembre 1757.

- 13 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 26, ff. 236-38, Ordonnance Pour Etablir une Compagnie de Bombardiers, 20 juin 1743.
- 14 Ibid., Vol. 91, f. 326, Ordonnance Portant Augmentation de la Compagnie, 10 avril 1750; *ibid.*, Vol. 37, ff. 117-20v., "Etat des vivres ...," 30 septembre 1757.
- 15 Ibid., Vol. 26, f. 237, Ordonnance pour etablir une Compagnie de Bombardiers ..., 20 juin 1743.
- 16 Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 44.
- 17 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 22, pp. 43-46v., Bourville à Bigot, 20 octobre 1740.
- 18 Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale," p. 16.
- 19 Côte Militaire, Vol. 1, p. 462.
- 20 D'Hericourt, Elemens De L'Art Militaire, Vol. 2, p. 93.
- 21 Guignard, L'Ecole De Mars, p. 259; Ordonnance Du Roy, Concernant les Gouverneurs ..., p. 76; Ordonnance ... pour régler le Service dans les Places ..., p. 93.
- 22 A.N., Colonies, C11B, Vol. 12, f. 267v., St. Ovide à Maurepas, 15 novembre 1732.
- 23 Ibid., B, Vol. 56, f. 327v., Maurepas à Karrer, 30 décembre 1732.
- 24 Arbeau, Orchesography, p. 39.
- 25 Côte Militaire, Vol. 2, pp. 238-40.
- 26 A.N., Colonies, Outremer, G2, Vol. 187, f. 36, Testimony of Gérome Letellier, 11 août 1743.
- 27 Ibid., Vol. 203, dossier 361, Testimony of Pierre Boziac, mai 1755.

Glossary

BANDER UN TAMBOUR. To brace or tense a drum
 BATTRE LE TAMBOUR. To beat the drum
 BRUIT DE TAMBOUR. Drumming
 L'APPEL. The call
 L'ASSEMBLEE. The assembly
 L'ECOLE DES TAMBOURS. Drumming practice
 L'ENTERREMENT. The burial
 L'ORDRE. Order
 LA CAISSE DE TAMBOUR. The frame or barrel of a drum
 LA GENERALE. The general
 LA MARCHE. The march
 LA PEAU DE CHEVRE. Goatskin
 LA PEAU DE MOUTON. Sheepskin
 LA PRIERE. The prayer
 LA RETRAITE. The retreat
 LE COLLIER. The sling
 LE DIANE. Reveille
 LE DRAPEAU. The flag
 LE FLA or LE COUP DOUBLE. The flam
 LE PAS. The pace
 LE ROULEMENT. The roll
 LE TAMBOUR. The drum or the drummer
 LE TAMBOUR-MAITRE. The drum corporal
 LE TAMBOUR MAJOR. The drum major
 LES BAGUETTES DE TAMBOUR. The drumsticks
 LES BATTERIES. The drum beats
 LES CERCEAUX DE TAMBOUR. The drum hoops
 LES CERCLES DE TAMBOUR. The flesh hoops

LES CORDES DE BOYAU. Catgut for snares
LES CORDES DE TAMBOUR. Ropes of drum
LES NOEUDS DE TAMBOUR. The ears of the drum
LES PEAUX DE TAMBOUR. The skins or heads of a drum
LES RUDIMENTS. The rudiments
LES SOLDATS. The soldiers
LES TIMBRES DE TAMBOUR. The snares of the drum
LES TIRANTS DE TAMBOUR. The braces (ropes) of the drum
LES VERGETTES DE TAMBOUR. The counter hoops of the drum
UNE CHIVILLE DE TAMBOUR. Snare bolt

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Preface

This report was undertaken initially to determine where the officers in the Isle Royale garrison were living in 1744. As research into the officers' accommodations progressed I acquired more and more biographical information on the officers themselves, information which I thought might some day prove helpful to interpretive staff in the park. Hence, I decided to add a second chapter to the report which provides brief summaries of the lives and military careers of each of the officers in the garrison in 1744.

There are two comments which need to be made at the outset. First, the available evidence on the accommodation of many of the officers, particularly the junior officers, is often far from conclusive. As a result the report contains a good deal of speculation on where they might have been residing in 1744. I hope that the interpretive staff at the Fortress of Louisbourg find such speculation useful but I caution them to remember that it is no more than speculation and not based on "hard" evidence. Second, although the report does not provide an analysis of family ties among the officers, the existence of extensive connections should be apparent to all. Louis du Pont du Chambon, for instance, had four sons and three nephews serving as officers in the garrison of which he was lieutenant de roi. Similar situations existed for a number of other officers. To cite just one more example, capitaine Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoux's relations in 1744 included younger brother, Michel Rousseau d'Orfontaine, step-father, Charles-Joseph Dailleboust, and brothers-in-law, Michel de Gannes de Falaise, Robert Duhaget and Francois le Coutre de Bourville, all officers. Although we are unlikely to learn what influence such family connections had on promotions, assignments, discipline and the day-to-day operation of the fortress, their impact may well have been considerable.

Officers (1744) - Accommodation

Staff Officers

Although the governor of Isle Royale was ultimately responsible for the military preparedness of the garrison at Louisbourg, day-to-day responsibility for the smooth functioning of the fortress fell to the staff officers. It was their duty, in conjunction with the governor, first to assign and then to monitor the most important garrison routines. Throughout most of the period from 1714 to 1745 there were three officers on the general staff at Louisbourg: the lieutenant de roi (second in command to the governor), the major de la place and the aide-major. According to T.A. Crowley the senior position of lieutenant de roi gradually "acquired the characteristics of an honorary post" while the major de la place and aide-major were "more active members of the general staff. The two officers acted in tandem and little distinction was made between their duties." Being responsible for military discipline and garrison life they were given, by royal decree (1718), superiority over the company captains.¹ The workload of the staff officers was demanding. To assist them in the performance of their numerous duties junior officers were selected from the garrison and attached to their staff to act as garçons-major. By 1740 there was at least one; during the siege of 1745 there were definitely two.

At the beginning of 1744 the lieutenant de roi at Louisbourg was Francois Le Coutre de Bourville, a French-born former naval officer. He had held the position since March 1730 after serving as major de la place for 12 years. By 1744 he was approaching 74 years of age and considered too old to fulfill his position adequately. Accordingly, on 1 April 1744, Bourville was retired with a pension of 1,200 livres, and Louis du Pont du Chambon was appointed in his place. Like Bourville at the time of his promotion to lieutenant de roi of Isle Royale, du Chambon had previously served as major de la place at Louisbourg, from 1733 to 1737. Du Chambon

held the position of lieutenant de roi at Isle St. Jean from 1737 until his appointment at Louisbourg.

The other staff officers in 1744 were Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle, major de la place since 1741, and George-François de Boisberthelot, aide-major. The garçon-majors in 1745, and probably also in 1744, were Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot and de la Pérelle fils, both enseignes en pied.² They are discussed in this section rather than in the sections on the compagnies franches because it is not known from which companies they were drawn.

Lieutenant de Roi - François Le Coutre de Bourville (retired 1 April 1744)
In 1744 he was more than likely living in his two-storey house on Lot A, Block 12.

For a period of 26 years François Le Coutre de Bourville occupied the two most prominent ranks in the Louisbourg garrison, major de la place (1718-30) and lieutenant de roi (1730-44). Moreover, "at different intervals he ... served six years in all as acting governor."³ One would therefore expect that his living quarters reflected the prestige of his high status within the community. Certainly the concession he was granted in 1722 was extremely generous, over one-half of Block 12, a lot measuring 132 pieds by 174 pieds, for a total of 22,968 pieds quarrés.⁴ During the mid-1720s Bourville rented a house on this property to a jardinier named Surgère for 400 livres a year.⁵ Bourville himself appears to have been living at the time in a small piquet house on Lot C, Block 33.⁶

It seems that Bourville's marriage to Marie-Anne Rousseau de Villejoux in January 1729 prompted him to improve his accommodation in Louisbourg. His new wife was the daughter of the late Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoux, a captain of one of the compagnies franches, and Marie Josephe Bertrand. As a consequence of Bourville's marriage he acquired family ties to two other officers in the garrison: to his wife's brother, Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoux fils, then an enseigne, and to his wife's new step-father, Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust, then a lieutenant.⁷ Following Bourville's marriage he began construction of a new house on the large tract of land

he owned on Block 12. By November 1730 he was able to report that he had built a fine two-storey stone house on his concession which might serve as an example to others interested in building. He referred to the house as "une decoration et une Embellissement a la nouvelle ville de Louisbourg."⁸ In December 1730 Bourville sold his piquet house and property in Block 33 to a sergeant in the Karrer Regiment for 1,300 livres,⁹ presumably to help offset the cost of construction of his new stone house on Block 12. There is a reference to Bourville residing in 1732 in a small apartment on the first floor of the barracks,¹⁰ but this may have been only an interim arrangement. It seems likely that from the early 1730s until Bourville's departure from Louisbourg in 1744 he, his wife, their two daughters and the family servants lived in their stone house on Lot A, Block 12. As the household was small by Louisbourg standards, considering the size of the residence, it may well be that there were persons staying in the house other than the immediate family. For instance, both brothers of Bourville's wife were officers in the garrison in 1744 and might conceivably have been living there. A second possibility might be the family of Louis du Pont du Chambon (see below).

The house on Lot A, Block 12 was eventually sold to a menuisier named René Leforestier during the second French occupation by Charles Dailleboust, acting on behalf of Bourville's widow in France.¹¹

Lieutenant de Roi - Louis du Pont du Chambon (appointed 1 April 1744)

His residence in 1744 is unknown; one possibility might be Bourville's stone house on Lot A, Block 12.

There is surprisingly little information about where Louis du Pont du Chambon lived at Louisbourg, in spite of the fact that he served there for over two decades. Like Bourville, he was given a very generous concession in the town, Lot B on Block 12.¹² Between du Chambon and Bourville they divided in half the ownership of the entire block. Yet, unlike Bourville, it does not appear that du Chambon ever built upon the concession. In 1735 he was reported to be living on Rue St. Louis. Five years later, while he was the lieutenant de roi on Isle St. Jean, he was said to be living in Louisbourg on Rue des Remparts.¹³ In neither reference was a

precise location given. Another inconclusive piece of evidence is a reference to a 1750 property transaction on Block 38 in which a du Chambon is named as the owner of Lot A on the eastern section of the block.¹⁴ It is not known which du Chambon was being referred to when the lot was acquired or whether the du Chambon in question had ever lived on the property.

In light of the fact that du Chambon did not return to Louisbourg from Isle St. Jean until the spring or summer of 1744 and that there is no record of him purchasing a house or renting accommodation at that time it would seem that he and his family either moved into a house previously acquired in the town or stayed with friends or relatives. It is interesting to note that the 1744 bordereau does not list du Chambon among the officers for whom the state was renting houses, or portions of houses, in 1744.¹⁵ Obviously he made his own arrangement. The possibility exists that du Chambon and his wife and family might have moved into Bourville's stone house on Block 12. As noted above, the Bourville household was small and soon to return to France, while the two-storey house was commodious. Bourville and du Chambon had known each other for years (indeed from 1733 to 1737 Bourville had been du Chambon's immediate superior) and it may be that the two officers made some private arrangement whereby the new lieutenant de roi was able to live in the house of the one who had just retired and was returning to France. To be sure, du Chambon would have required a residence of the size and quality of Bourville's stone house if he wished to live in a manner appropriate to his rank and comfortable for his large household (it numbered 12 in 1734). A final piece of evidence which helps to support the idea that du Chambon might have moved into Bourville's house in 1744 is that the 1734 census listed their two families one after the other, although it is known that du Chambon was not living on the neighbouring lot. It may well be that the two families were both living in Bourville's house in 1734.¹⁶

Major de la Place - Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle (appointed 1741)

In 1744 he owned a house on Block 17, Lot B, but apparently was living at state expense in the residence of Michel Hertel de Cournoyer on the western section of Block 21, Lot A.

In 1720 Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle, then a lieutenant, was conceded the property in Block 17 where he later built a house for his wife, Françoise-Charlotte Aubert de la Chesnaye, and growing family.¹⁷ Although the one-storey house (approximately 37 pieds by 24 pieds) must have become somewhat crowded by the mid-1730s when there were eight people in the de la Pérelle household including four children and two servants,¹⁸ the family remained in the house for most of the period to 1745. Neither de la Pérelle's promotion to capitaine in 1730 nor his advancement to major de la place in 1741 caused him to alter his living quarters.

The only occasion when de la Pérelle appears to have resided elsewhere was during 1744. In May of that year English prisoners, captured by the French at Canso and from ships intercepted off the coast, began to arrive in Louisbourg. The prisoners had to be lodged and the authorities certainly did not have enough space in their prisons to accommodate all of them. By the summer months the English prisoners probably numbered around 400. One of the storehouses rented as a temporary prison was the magasin de la Pérelle which stood alongside his house on Lot B, Block 17. Possibly it was recognized as an inconvenience to live so near to the prisoners of war, because accommodation was found for de la Pérelle, and presumably the rest of his household, in another location in town at the expense of the French government. By November 1744, two months after most of the prisoners were transported to Boston, 250 livres had been paid to Michel Hertel de Cournoyer to accommodate de la Pérelle in the former's house on Lot A of the western section of Block 21.¹⁹ Following the departure of most of the English prisoners from Louisbourg in the fall of 1744 de la Pérelle probably returned to his house on Block 17.

Aide-Major - George-François de Boisberthelot (appointed 1742)

His residence in 1744 is unknown; he was probably living with one of his wife's relatives or in a house owned by one of them.

No evidence has been found to indicate where George-François de Boisberthelot was living during the 1730s and 1740s. During the 1720s, when he was a young enseigne, he may well have lived with his uncle, Jean-Maurice Josué de Boisberthelot de Beaujours (lieutenant de roi at Louisbourg

from 1717 to 1722 and then from 1723 to 1730) and aunt, Françoise Aubert de la Chesnaye, in their charpente house on Lot E, Block 20. That house was sold in 1730 to the Soeurs de la Congrégation, at which time Boisberthelot's uncle moved to Trois Rivières where he became governor.²⁰ George-François de Boisberthelot himself remained in the garrison at Louisbourg from 1730 until the 1745 capitulation, becoming lieutenant of one of the compagnies franches in 1732 and then aide-major with the rank of capitaine in 1742.²¹ In October 1730 Boisberthelot married Jeanne Degoutin and possibly moved in with his wife's relatives. A year after the marriage Jeanne Degoutin's widowed mother divided the property she owned on Block 21 among her three daughters. Jeanne Degoutin received Lot A on the eastern section of the block, property upon which she and lieutenant Boisberthelot subsequently built a small charpente house. In September 1734 they sold that property and house for 900 livres to Pierre Boisseau.²² It is not known where they moved after they sold that lot but it was probably into one of the houses owned by a Degoutin relative. In 1744 the Boisberthelot family included six children, so it is likely that wherever they were living they occupied close to a floor of a house.²³

Garçon-Major - Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot, enseigne en pied (appointed by 1740)

In 1744 he was living in a one-storey charpente house on Rue Royale; Lot C in Block 16.

Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot purchased the house on Lot C, Block 16 in March 1733, two months after his marriage to Marie-Magdelaine Bottier dit Berrichon. The previous owner was capitaine Charles Joseph d'Ailleboust who had had the house constructed sometime between 1729 and 1733. Loppinot, his family (which grew to eight children by 1745) and their servants lived in this house until the events of 1745 forced them to leave Louisbourg. During the second period of French occupation of Louisbourg, Loppinot sold the house to another fellow officer, Gabriel-François Dangeac, when he himself acquired the de la Plagne house on Lot E, Block 16.²⁴

Garçon-Major - de la Pérelle fils, enseigne en pied (appointed by 1745)

Probably Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle (see the section on him in Part II). In 1744 he was probably living with the other members of his family

in the house owned by Michel Hertel de Cournoyer on Block 21 (see section above on his father, the major de la place). Other possibilities include the barracks of the king's bastion or the de la Pérelle house on Block 17.

Compagnie de Canoniers-Bombardiers

This company was not formally established until 1743 although the need for trained artillerymen was identified several years earlier.²⁵ In 1735 Governor St. Ovide had two soldiers selected from each of the compagnies franches to be given special training by a master gunner. The men chosen in this manner remained attached to their companies but were given an extra 6 livres a month to compensate them for learning to work the guns when they might otherwise have been earning extra money labouring on the construction of the fortress. It was not until 1739 that the first steps were taken to create an artillery unit at Louisbourg which would be completely separate from the other companies. Following the establishment of an ordnance school in the barracks and the arrival of a number of experienced artillerymen from France, a company of canoniers-bombardiers was at last set up officially on 1 January 1743. On 1 May Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie, the senior artillery officer in the colony, was named captain of the new company while Louis-Félix Vallée was promoted to lieutenant. The rest of the company was to consist of two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, 13 canoniers and 12 bombardiers. With an "ideal" strength of only 30 men the canoniers-bombardiers were the smallest of the ten companies in the garrison; the "ideal" strength of each of the eight compagnies franches being 70 men, while that of the detachment of the Karrer Regiment was, by the 1740s, 150 men.

According to Louis du Pont du Chambon, the commander of the French forces at Louisbourg in 1745, the canoniers-bombardiers acquitted themselves well during the first siege. In his words, Captain Sainte-Marie and Lieutenant Vallée "se sont dignement acquittés de leurs devoirs ainsy que tous les Canoniers de cette Compagnie et ont donné des marques de leur Vasseur."²⁶

Capitaine - Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie (appointed 1743)

In 1744 he was renting accommodation somewhere in Louisbourg.

An entry in the bordereau for 1744 states that 200 livres was expended during the year to "la veuve Jacauli pour idem du S^r S^{te} Marie ...," with the "idem" apparently referring to "le loyer de sa Maison qui Servy a loger."²⁷ "La veuve Jacauli" was undoubtedly Anne Melançon, mother of Sainte-Marie's wife and widow of Thomas Jacau, former maitre cannonier at Louisbourg. The location of the Jacau house has not yet been determined but Capitaine Sainte-Marie, his wife (Jeanne François Jacau), and their two small daughters probably stayed there throughout the year.

While Sainte-Marie lived in town at state expense he did own property and a house outside the fortress walls. In 1723 his father, Jean-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie, who was at the time a captain of one of the compagnies franches, was granted two concessions at Louisbourg, one on "la Pointe de l'Est" (Rochefort Point) and one along "la Grande Grave."²⁸ The evidence is scant but either Sainte-Marie père or his son Philippe-Joseph (the father died in 1730) had a house constructed on the Rochefort Point property by 1745 and probably many years before. During the first siege a detachment of men was sent outside the walls, via the Maurepas Gate, to bring back as firewood the piquets surrounding the jardins of Sainte-Marie's house and one other on the point.²⁹ Sometime later in the siege the house itself was burned after nearby fortifications were set on fire "pour Empecher aux Enemis Lapproche de la place."³⁰

Following his return to Louisbourg after the colony was restored to France, Sainte-Marie complained that he and his father had served in the military for a combined total of 80 years and yet neither had been granted property within the fortress walls, notwithstanding repeated requests for such a concession. His bitterness over this matter was exacerbated by the expensive rent (1,000 to 1,200 livres) which one had to pay in 1753 "a peine peut on etre Logé un peu convenablement." Apparently giving up on the idea of being conceded land in the town he requested compensation for "la maison que javois avant la guerre, a la pointe a Rochefort." The property he wanted was situated "sur le bord de l'Etant pres de la Batterie de la piece de la grave vis a vis la maison appartenant aux heritiers de

feu M.^e Berichon qui est meme tout couvert d'eau."³¹ It is not known at this time whether or not he was granted this lot.

Lieutenant - Louis Félix Vallée (appointed 1743)

In 1744 he was apparently living in a charpente house on Lot A, Block 31.

In contrast with the experience of his superior officer, Sainte-Marie, Louis Vallée was given generous land concessions in the town of Louisbourg. Between 1735 and 1743 he was granted three separate concessions so that by the end of 1743 he owned all of the property on the western section of Block 42.³² Vallée seems to have chosen not to build on this block perhaps because of its relative remoteness from the wealthier sections of town where most of the other officers lived. In December 1741, six months after marrying Marie-Joséphé Le Large, Vallée and his family (his first child had been born in October 1741) obtained possession of Lot G on Block 19, a property which was quite small (2,232 pieds quarrés) but which contained a house, storehouse and fence.³³

The Vallée family lived on Lot G, Block 19 for less than two years when they exchanged it in December 1743 for a house and much larger piece of property, Lot E on Block 31. This lot (7,200 pieds quarrés) was more than three times the size of the property on Block 19. Former owners of the concession included Michel de Gannes de Falaise, captain of one of the compagnies franches, and Bernard Muiron, contractor for the construction of the fortifications of Louisbourg. Louis Vallée obtained the lot from Alain Legras, maitre menuisier, and his wife, Jeanne Severy, by agreeing to pay 700 livres in addition to exchanging property and houses. The charpente house on Block 31 into which the Vallée family moved was only a few months old as it had been constructed by Legras and Severy sometime after they obtained possession of the land from Bernard Muiron in February 1743.³⁴ As there does not appear to have been any further property transactions involving Louis Vallée until the second period he and his family were probably living on Block 31, Lot E throughout 1744. With the birth of a second son on 10 June 1744 there were three children in the family.

When Vallée returned to Louisbourg in 1749, still as lieutenant of a company of canoniers-bombardiers, he soon disposed of the property he had acquired during the first period on Block 42. In three transactions

between September 1750 and August 1751 he sold his concessions to separate buyers. Two lots without any buildings went for 130 livres each, while the largest property, which also included a house, sold for 2,000 livres.³⁵

Karrer Regiment

A detachment of the Colonel's Company of the Karrer Regiment served in the garrison at Louisbourg from 1722 to 1745.³⁶ The initial contingent sent from Rochefort in May 1722 numbered only 50 but by 1724 the size of the detachment had been increased to 100. An ordonnance of February 1726 prescribed three officers and four sergeants in the 100-man contingent at Isle Royale.³⁷ That goal was not always reached and there were often only two Karrer officers in the garrison during the 1720s and 1730s. In 1741 the "ideal" strength of the detachment was raised to 150 men. At that figure the men of the Karrer Regiment formed between one-fifth and one-quarter of the total garrison strength at Louisbourg.

During the first few years the Karrer Regiment served at Louisbourg the unit was desperately short of officers. The only officer to accompany the 50 soldiers sent to Isle Royale in 1722 was an enseigne named Berthelot. The following year a sous-lieutenant, Dupar , was assigned to the detachment but enseigne Berthelot seems to have returned to France that same year.³⁸ The shortage of Karrer officers prompted Governor St. Ovide to complain that "il n'y a qu'un seul officier pour commander Cinquante hommes, ce qui cause une infinit  de difficult s ..." ³⁹ In June 1724 a lieutenant en second, Baron de l'Esperance, embarked from Rochefort to become upon his arrival, the senior officer of the Karrer Regiment in Louisbourg. For the next two years de l'Esperance and Dupar  were the only Karrer officers in the garrison, in command of approximately 100 enlisted men. At last in 1726 Karrer officials in France provided additional officers for the detachment at Louisbourg. By the end of the year a capitaine-lieutenant, Louis-Fran ois de Merveilleux, and a sous-lieutenant, Thevenot, had come to Isle Royale while de l'Esperance had been promoted to lieutenant. With the return to France of Dupar  that same year it meant that there were finally three officers in command of the 100-man unit. This was reduced to two

again in early 1728 when Thevenot went to France on congé, and never returned to Isle Royale. One can only imagine the frustrations felt by capitaine-lieutenant Merveilleux and lieutenant de l'Esperance over the next few years as they attempted to command the 100 or so men beneath them. Both men returned to France in the early 1730s; Merveilleux not to return and de l'Esperance on a congé that lasted two and one-half years due to a prolonged illness. One probable effect of the shortage of Karrer officers was that the sergents in the detachment were given more authority and responsibility than was the case with the sergents in the compagnies franches where there were generally four officers for 50 to 70 men.

After Merveilleux returned to France in either late 1731 or early 1732 he was replaced by a new capitaine-lieutenant, François-Joseph Cailly. Throughout all of 1733 and most of 1734 Cailly was in much the same situation as his predecessor had been in, with only one other officer, sous-lieutenant Enecker, to assist him in commanding the unit. Late in 1734 enseigne surnumeraire Rasser was posted to Louisbourg, while in the summer of 1735 lieutenant de l'Esperance returned from his lengthy congé. As a consequence there were four Karrer officers in the garrison for most of the next three years, a figure which would not be equalled again for any length of time until late 1742 when the detachment numbered 150 men. The ratio of officers to men dropped in November 1738 with the death of lieutenant de l'Esperance and then again in late 1739 when lieutenant Enecker went to France on congé, leaving Cailly and Rasser temporarily as the only Karrer officers in Louisbourg. By the end of the following year there were again three officers commanding the detachment, Cailly, Enecker and a new enseigne surnumeraire named Felber. Rasser had returned to France for a congé.

In June 1741 two separate contingents of the Karrer Regiment left the port of Rochefort bound for Isle Royale. In charge of a group of ten soldiers was enseigne Rasser, returning from his congé of six months, while a lieutenant Gabriel Schonherr headed the other party comprised of 50 men. Their arrival in Louisbourg brought the number of Karrer troops in the colonial capital to approximately 150. Several months after this augmentation to the strength of the detachment, capitaine-lieutenant Cailly

was called back to France and retired from service for claiming excessive authority over his troops.⁴⁰ He left Isle Royale in late 1741 and in January 1742 the recently-arrived Gabriel Schonherr was promoted to capitaine-lieutenant of the 150 Karrer troops. Throughout 1742 he was assisted in his command by lieutenant Enecker and enseigne Rasser. Sometime late in the year 17-year old Louisbourg-born Charles-Sébastien de l'Esperance, the son of the former lieutenant in the Karrer Regiment became enseigne surnumeraire in the detachment. Since 1735 he had been attached to the Karrer Regiment in Isle Royale as a cadet.⁴¹ His promotion at this time perhaps represented a recognition on the part of the Karrer administration in Rochefort of the need for four officers to command the 150 soldiers in the Louisbourg garrison. For a short period in 1743 there were actually five officers, when enseigne Dahuty was sent out from Rochefort. That situation did not last long, for in November 1743 lieutenant Enecker left the island to return to the Colonel's Company stationed at Rochefort. The four remaining officers, capitaine-lieutenant Schonherr, enseigne Rasser, enseigne Dahuty and enseigne surnumeraire de l'Esperance stayed in Louisbourg until after the capitulation of the fortress in 1745 when they all returned to Rochefort and the Colonel's Company stationed there.⁴² During the siege the officers and men of the Karrer Regiment were posted along the loop-holed wall between the Brouillan Bastion and the Princess Demi-Bastion. The acting French commandant, Louis du Pont du Chambon, reported that the Karrer officers "m'ont parû tous bien assidus à leur poste, jour et nuit afin de n'etre point Surpris de L'Enemy."⁴³

Capitaine-Lieutenant - Gabriel Schonherr (appointed 1742)

In 1744 he was probably living in rented accommodation, possibly in a house belonging to Louis Delort on Block 14.

Sometime between late 1743 and March 1745 Gabriel Schonherr obtained ownership of a house on Lot B, Block 45. The evidence is somewhat unclear but it is known that in December 1743 a soldier in the Karrer Regiment named Jacob Christ, who had owned a house on Block 45 since 1727, was indebted to Schonherr for 1,500 livres which the capitaine-lieutenant had loaned him for the construction of a charpente house on the block. By

March 1745, at the latest, Schonherr owned the house and property in question (Lot B, Block 45) perhaps obtaining it from Christ because the latter had found himself unable to repay the loan. Even if Schonherr had obtained possession of the house in 1744 it is unlikely that he would have been living there that year; in December 1743 Christ had agreed, with Schonherr's consent, to rent the house and property for one year to a Gilles Lemoine.⁴⁴

In an account of the December 1744 mutiny enseigne Rasser stated that at one point during the uprising he went to consult with Schonherr, who was sick in bed at the time, "Chez mon commandant."⁴⁵ Regretably, there is no indication in Rasser's account as to the location or nature of Schonherr's accommodation.

The final piece of evidence which might relate to Schonherr's living quarters in 1744 is contained in the bordereau. Schonherr is one of several officers mentioned in the bordereau for that year for whom the state was renting space in the town. In his particular case it is difficult to tell whether the 150 livres that was paid to Delort fils was expended to provide the capitaine-lieutenant with personal accommodation, as was the case with a number of people in preceding entries, or to acquire the use of a storehouse for supplies belonging to the Karrer Regiment, as was stated in the entry immediately above the one referring to Schonherr.⁴⁶ The idem in the Schonherr entry should imply the latter interpretation, but the fact that the very next entry repeated the idem and yet referred to a rental arrangement for "Sr Sabatier Cadet Ecrivain de la marine," who would not have had anything to do with storehouses for the Karrer Regiment, casts some doubt on that interpretation. It is possible that an error was made in writing up the bordereau and that what was meant to be indicated was that Schonherr, like the other officers listed in this section of the bordereau (Sainte-Marie, de la Pérelle, and the officers on Isle St. Jean), was being provided with personal accommodation; in his case, in the house of Louis Delort on Block 14, Lot C.

Enseigne - Jean-François Rasser (appointed 1738)

In 1744 he may have been living in the barracks of the King's Bastion.

Enseigne Rasser was the first officer on the scene during the 1744 mutiny. One of the accounts of the mutiny referred to him as "l'officier suisse qui y couche," with the "y" referring to the "fort" or barracks area. It is possible that Rasser was only sleeping in the barracks because he was on duty the night of the mutiny but the use of the present tense suggests that his regular sleeping quarters were found there.⁴⁷

Enseigne - Dahuty (appointed late 1741 or early 1742)

His residence in 1744 is unknown; he may have been staying in the barracks of the King's Bastion.

Enseigne Dahuty joined the detachment of Karrer troops at Louisbourg sometime toward the end of the summer of 1743. There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate where he lived at any time during the two years he spent on Isle Royale. For the want of a better suggestion it seems possible, if not probable, that Dahuty was given accommodation in the barracks on his arrival and that he was living there in 1744.

Enseigne-surnuméraire - Charles-Gabriel Sébastien de l'Espérance (appointed 1742)

In 1744 he was more than likely living with his widowed mother in the house on Block 38 belonging to the heirs of the late Gabriel Dangeac.

The first seven years of de l'Espérance's life in Louisbourg were likely spent in a house his father (Charles-Léopold Eberhard de l'Espérance) and mother (Marguerite Dangeac) had built on Lot A of the eastern section of Block 32. Shortly before de l'Espérance père returned to France on what was to become a two and one-half year congé in late 1732 he sold this house to his newly-arrived superior in the Karrer Regiment, capitaine-lieutenant Cailly. It is not known where the de l'Espérance family was lodged after their return to Louisbourg in the summer of 1735. Following the death of de l'Espérance père in November 1738, however, Charles-Gabriel-Sébastien, his mother and the other children of the marriage appear to have moved in with their Dangeac relatives, in a charpente house on Lot E, Block 38.⁴⁸

From late 1738 to 1741 lieutenant Gabriel François Dangeac fils, his wife and children, his widowed mother, widowed sister (veuve de l'Esperance) and two de l'Espérance children were living at Port Dauphin where Dangeac was posted.⁴⁹ The identity of the two de l'Espérance children is not known but it seems unlikely that Charles-Gabriel-Sébastien would have been with his mother at Port Dauphin. He had become a cadet in the Karrer detachment in 1735 and probably stayed in Louisbourg, either living in the barracks or in the house of an officer in the garrison. When lieutenant Dangeac and his numerous dependents returned to the capital in late 1741 or early 1742, the 17-year old cadet de l'Espérance probably moved in with the family in their house on Lot E, Block 38, although there is no firm evidence for that contention.⁵⁰ Certainly his desire to be with his mother was a strong motivating factor with him (in 1753 he successfully petitioned the minister of the marine to allow him to join one of the compagnies franches at Louisbourg so that he could be with his mother). Thus, it would have been quite consistent for him to have joined the Dangeac household in 1742 and have stayed there until the fortress capitulated.

Compagnies Franches de la Marine

The first French troops to garrison Isle Royale were soldiers of the compagnies franches de la Marine. From 1713 to 1722, when the first contingent of the Karrer Regiment arrived in Louisbourg, soldiers of the compagnies franches comprised the entire garrison at three locations on the island, Louisbourg, Port Toulouse and Port Dauphin. Even after the arrival of the Karrer troops in the capital, soldiers drawn from the compagnies franches stationed at Louisbourg continued to form the only garrison at the smaller settlements. As the years went by the number of compagnies franches troops assigned to Isle Royale increased steadily so that by 1741 their "ideal" strength stood at 560, a marked improvement over the 350 men posted to the island in 1718. In 1744 the officers and men of the eight compagnies franches posted to Louisbourg accounted for approximately three-quarters of the soldiers in the fortress garrison.⁵¹

As Allan Greer has pointed out, each of the compagnies franches was "fairly autonomous." A captain "commanded the company, administered its affairs and was responsible for its welfare. He did not belong to a company; rather the company belonged to the captain and was named after him." He was assisted in his duties by a lieutenant, who would take command if the captain were absent. Normally there were also two junior officers in each company, an enseigne en pied and an enseigne en second.⁵² With four officers to command a company with an "ideal" strength of 70 men the compagnies franches presented quite a contrast to the Karrer Regiment at Louisbourg, where from late 1743 to 1745 there were four officers commanding 150 men.

Promotions for the officers of the compagnies franches were based on a combination of factors, of which seniority and meritorious service were usually the most important. But on occasion other factors apparently took precedence. For instance, on 1 April 1744, the most senior company captain in the garrison, Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny, retired from service because of old age and failing health. One would have expected that the senior lieutenant, Gabriel François Dangeac, would have been named to replace him. Instead, the appointment went to François-Nicolas Chassin de Thierry who had been made a lieutenant five years after Dangeac's promotion to that rank. However, by the time the captaincy of what had been Rousseau de Souvigny's company became available it had probably already been decided to send Gabriel Dangeac to command the small detachment at Port Dauphin for a year, which left François-Nicolas Chassin de Thierry and Louis de Coux as the senior lieutenants in the garrison.⁵³ The deciding factor in making a selection may well have been that Chassin de Thierry was a son-in-law of the retiring Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny.⁵⁴ Unfortunately Governor Duquesnel's recommendation of Chassin de Thierry for the position made no mention of the reasons why he should be promoted, describing him only as a "Lieutenant et bon sujet."⁵⁵

Where the garrison duties inside the walls of the fortified town of Louisbourg appear to have been shared between the compagnies franches and Karrer Regiment, the manning of the two key harbour fortifications, the Royal and Island Batteries, was left entirely to the compagnies franches.

Commencing in the 1730s a different company was posted to the Royal Battery each year, with the assignments being made in the fall. It has not yet been determined which company was posted to the Royal Battery in the summer of 1744 although we know Chassin de Thierry's company was stationed there in the fall of 1744. In the spring of 1744 the commandant, Duquesnel, decided to increase the size of the detachment at the Island Battery to include four officers on a rotating basis. A different captain was to be assigned to the fortification each month while the lieutenants and enseignes detached there were to be changed every 15 days. This staffing procedure was in effect from April to November 1744.⁵⁶

There were three locations outside of Louisbourg where soldiers from the compagnies franches were garrisoned. The smallest garrison (seven or eight men) was at Port Dauphin. In the summer of 1744 the officer in command there was Gabriel Dangeac, the lieutenant from the company of Claude-Elizabeth Denys de Bonnaventure. It was toward the end of April 1744 that the minister of the marine approved the recommendation that Dangeac relieve enseigne Louis du Pont du Chambon de Vergor who had been commanding the detachment.⁵⁷ The commandant of Port Dauphin received a 300 livres gratification. The detachment assigned to Port Toulouse was larger than that at Port Dauphin but still small (about 25 men).⁵⁸ Pierre Benoist, the lieutenant from Robert Tarride Duhaget's company, was the officer in command there during 1744 and in 1745 until forced by the enemy to evacuate and return to Louisbourg.⁵⁹ The largest detachment outside Louisbourg was on Isle Saint-Jean where 40 men were normally posted.⁶⁰ In 1744 there were two officers at the island posting, a lieutenant and an "officier subalterne" of unspecified rank.⁶¹ The identity of these two officers has not been established definitely but the lieutenant was probably Louis de Coux and the subaltern officer Joseph du Pont du Vivier, an enseigne en pied at the time. De Coux's dossier personnel states that he served on the island from 1737 to 1745, acting as the commandant when lieutenant de roi du Chambon was absent.⁶² In 1744 with du Chambon's departure for Isle Royale, lieutenant de Coux was more than likely once again acting as the interim commandant. The subaltern officer referred to in the bordereau is thought to have been Joseph du Pont du Vivier because

it is known he was posted to the island detachment in 1745 and as an enseigne en pied at the time he would have been subordinate (hence the description subalterne) to the new lieutenant.⁶³

i) Compagnie de Rousseau de Souvigny/Chassin de Thierry:

Capitaine - Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny (retired April 1744)

In 1744 he was probably living on Lot E, Block 15 in a house facing Rue Royale:

At one time Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny owned a total of 15,844 pieds quarrés of land on Block 15, more than half of the property on the block.⁶⁴ The concession was extremely large (Lots C and E) with long frontage on both Rue St. Louis (113 pieds) and Rue d'Orleans (117 pieds) and a relatively small frontage on Rue Royale (43 pieds). A reference in a 1736 court case to Rousseau living on Rue Royale would seem to indicate that his house was placed facing that street.⁶⁵ French plans from 1730 do not show any houses on Rousseau's concession which would fit that description but English plans drawn during the occupation do. In the absence of more reliable evidence it would seem that sometime after 1730 but before 1736 Rousseau had a house constructed on Lot E facing Rue Royale, as shown on Plan 746-8a.⁶⁶ In 1731 there was at least one other house on the concession belonging to Rousseau as one was being rented to a Pierre Pont, who to Rousseau's great annoyance kept pigs on the premises.⁶⁷

Following the death in 1732 of Rousseau's wife, Jeanne St. Etienne de la Tour, portions of the concession on Block 15 were distributed among the three children of the marriage, Pierre Jacques Ange, Marie-Josophe and Marie-Charlotte.⁶⁸ The property and houses on Block 15 which were distributed when the estate was settled appear to have been on the southern and western sections of the concession. Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny seems to have maintained ownership of at least Lot E where, as mentioned above, he may have been living in 1736. As there are no references to Rousseau acquiring, selling or simply owning property in Louisbourg after the 1730s, the evidence suggests that in 1744 he was still living on Lot E, Block 15.

Capitaine - François-Nicolas Chassin de Thierry (promoted April 1744, previously lieutenant of the same company)

In 1744 he was apparently living on the southwest corner of Block 15.

Without doubt it was Chassin de Thierry's 1734 marriage to Marie-Josephe Rousseau de Souvigny, one of his captain's daughters, that brought him ownership of property on Block 15. The first reference to him owning land in Louisbourg is in September 1741 when he and his wife sold, for 2,500 livres, a charpente house and surrounding property (around 2,000 pieds quarrés) on Rue St. Louis to a Pierre Lambert. The land and building had come into Marie-Josephe's possession after her late mother's estate had been distributed among the three Rousseau children.⁶⁹ The same day that the above transaction was completed Chassin de Thierry and his wife purchased from her brother, Pierre Jacques-Ange Rousseau de Souvigny (enseigne in his father's company, of which Chassin de Thierry was the lieutenant), a charpente house on a corner lot of more than 4,500 pieds quarrés. This new property contained 63 pieds frontage on Rue St. Louis and 73 pieds on Rue d'Orleans; it was located immediately to the south of the lot sold to Pierre Lambert and the purchase price was 4,000 livres.⁷⁰ In the fall of 1743, two years after acquiring the above house, lieutenant Chassin de Thierry subdivided the lot and sold the house and over half the land to a merchant named Cantin Lelievre for 4,000 livres.⁷¹ The lieutenant retained property on the southwest corner of Block 15 (28 pieds on Rue St. Louis by 73 pieds on Rue d'Orleans) and it was probably in a house on that land that he and his family were living in 1744. We know that towards the end of the 1745 siege an important meeting with a representative of the besieging forces was held in Thierry's house.⁷² That house was likely located on the southwest corner of Block 15. Certainly an English map of Louisbourg drawn up in 1746 shows a house located on the land retained by Chassin de Thierry in the fall of 1743.⁷³ The final piece of evidence is that in 1752 a new charpente house was built on this property which had one end "Joint a la vieille Maison," quite possibly referring to the house in which Chassin de Thierry and his family were living in 1744-45.⁷⁴

Lieutenant - François du Pont du Chambon (promoted April 1744)

Chassin de Thierry's promotion to capitaine in April 1744 created a vacancy at the rank of lieutenant in his own company. That vacancy was filled by the appointment of François du Pont du Chambon, formerly enseigne en pied in the company of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin.⁷⁵

It is not known where this young officer was living in 1744. He may have been staying with his parents (see section above on Louis du Pont du Chambon), in the barracks or in some private household in Louisbourg. There are no references to this young, unmarried officer (32 years old in 1744) owning or renting accommodation in Louisbourg during the period to 1745.

Enseigne en pied - probably Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot (appointed 1737)

The accounts of the 1745 siege do not identify anyone as serving as enseigne en pied in Chassin de Thierry's company. The explanation is undoubtedly because the enseigne in question was serving elsewhere or in some other capacity. In 1738 the enseigne en pied in Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny's company was Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot,⁷⁶ so it seems likely that he still served in that capacity in 1744. In 1745 he was one of two garçons-major in the fortress. His accommodation in Louisbourg is discussed above in the section on staff officers.

Enseigne en Second - Pierre-Jacques Ange Rousseau de Souvigny (appointed by 1738)

In 1744 he was probably living with his father on Lot E, Block 15.

The only property which this junior officer seems to have owned in Louisbourg was the lot on Block 15 which he inherited from his mother and sold to his brother-in-law, François-Nicolas Chassin de Thierry, in September 1741.⁷⁷ Given that he appears to have been unmarried and without property in 1744 and that his father was an aged widower with failing health, it is quite possible that he was staying in his father's house to keep him company and assist in any way he could. As discussed above, this house is thought to have been located on Lot E, Block 15, facing Rue Royale.

Pierre-Jacques Ange Rousseau de Souvigny died during the 1745 siege.

ii) Compagnie de Dailleboust:

Capitaine - Charles Joseph Dailleboust (appointed 1730)

In 1744 he was probably living in a house on Lot A, Block 14.

During the 1720s when Charles Joseph Dailleboust was a lieutenant he was granted land first on Block 17 (Lot C) and later, after that concession reverted to the crown, on Block 31 (Lot C).⁷⁸ On neither property did he erect a house. In January 1729, at the age of 40, Dailleboust married for the first time and in the process acquired land on the northeast corner of Block 16. The marriage was to Marie Josephe Bertrand, widow of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin, a former captain in one of the compagnies franches in Louisbourg. Sometime between 1729 and 1733 the couple had a house erected on their property on Block 16.⁷⁹ Then in the spring of 1733 the property they owned on Block 16 was subdivided into two lots (Lots B and C) and sold (along with a house on each lot) to buyers for a total of 6,000 livres.⁸⁰ Following the sale the Dailleboust family moved two blocks to the east along Rue Royale to Lot A on Block 14, where they appear to have remained until forced to evacuate in 1745. This property on Block 14 had 102 pieds frontage on Rue Royale and 90 pieds along Rue Dauphine, a total of 9,130 pieds quarrés.⁸¹

Judging by those plans which indicate building locations in the town it appears that there were two houses on Lot A, Block 14 before the Dailleboust family acquired possession of the property; one which faced Rue Dauphine and one which faced Rue Royale.⁸² References to Dailleboust living on Rue Royale seem to indicate that the captain and his family lived in the latter house, situated on the northeast corner of the property.⁸³ A plan drawn during the English occupation of the fortress (846-8a) shows a third house located in the Dailleboust lot. It is entirely possible that this third house was built on the property between the mid-1730s (the date of the last French plan showing houses in the town) and 1745; certainly Dailleboust owned three houses in Louisbourg by 1745. When he returned to the fortress in 1749 as lieutenant de roi it was reported that he had to live in one of the king's buildings as all three of the houses he owned before the siege were ruined.⁸⁴

Lieutenant - Louis de Coux (appointed 1737)

During 1744 de Coux was the interim commandant on Isle Saint-Jean and living in accommodations rented at state expense.

De Coux was stationed at Isle Saint-Jean during the period 1737-44 in which Louis du Pont du Chambon was lieutenant de roi there and in 1739 he married one of du Chambon's daughters, Anne, in Port La Joie. With his father-in-law's departure in 1744 lieutenant de Coux became the senior officer in the island garrison. According to bordereau for 1744 the state rented accommodation for the lieutenant of the detachment for 250 livres in 1744.⁸⁵

Enseigne en pied

The individual occupying this position was not identified in any of the 1745 siege accounts, because he was serving elsewhere or in a different capacity. Dailleboust's enseigne en pied may have been Joseph du Pont du Vivier, serving on Isle Saint-Jean, or Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle, who was acting as a garçon-major in 1745.

Enseigne en second - Eurry de la Pérelle (appointed after 1738)

In 1744 he was probably living with the other members of his family in a house owned by Hertel de Cournoyer (see section above on his father, the major de la place).

There is no evidence to indicate that enseigne Eurry de la Pérelle owned or was renting accommodation in Louisbourg separate from his parents. (See the section in Part II on de la Pérelle fils, garçon-major, for a brief discussion of the difficulties involved in identifying the de la Pérelle children).

iii) Compagnie de de Gannes:

Capitaine - Michel de Gannes de Falaise (appointed 1730)

In 1744 he was living in a house on the southern half of Lot A, Block 17.

The land upon which Michel de Gannes eventually built his house was originally conceded to Jean-Baptiste de Couagne, one of the engineers in

Louisbourg. Following de Couagne's death in 1740 Captain de Gannes acquired Lot A for 6,000 livres and rented the house de Couagne had lived in (on the northern half of the lot) to Michel Rodrigue, a Louisbourg merchant. Around 1742 de Gannes had a house constructed on the southern half of the lot. De Gannes and his family moved into this new house some-time later and were living there throughout 1744 and 1745.⁸⁶

Lieutenant - Jean d'Espiet de Pensens (appointed 1736)

In 1744 he was more than likely living in the house owned by his brother, Pierre-Paul d'Espiet de la Plagne, on Lot E, Block 16.

The only evidence which indicates where Jean d'Espiet de Pensens was living in Louisbourg at a given point in time is a reference in a 1740 court case which placed the bachelor lieutenant in his older brother's house on Block 16. As his brother Captain d'Espiet de la Plagne was in France at the time, the arrangement may have been only a temporary measure, although the large size of the house (two storeys, measuring approximately 50 feet by 30 feet) combined with the relatively small size of the de la Plagne household (in 1740 there was Madame de la Plagne, an infant and a slave) certainly would have made it possible for Jean d'Espiet de Pensens to live there after his brother's return. Even by 1744 there were only three children in the family. Moreover, there appears to have been very close ties among d'Espiet relatives which would tend to support the idea that Jean d'Espiet stayed with his brother's family. To cite just two examples: the house itself had been inherited in 1738 by de la Plagne from his bachelor uncle, Jacques de Pensens, and then when de la Plagne did not return to Louisbourg in 1749 Jean d'Espiet de Pensens himself lived in the house for over a year. In September 1750 Jean d'Espiet, then a captain, sold the property and house to Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot, capitaine aide-major, for 10,000 livres.⁸⁷

Enseigne en pied - Joseph Sevinacq de Bellemont (appointed after 1738)

His residence in 1744 is unknown. He might have been living along Rue Toulouse, staying with a fellow officer somewhere in town, or living in the barracks.

The only evidence which has been found concerning Joseph Sevinacq de Bellemont's living quarters in Louisbourg is a vague reference made in September 1740 to "son domicile rue Toulouse."⁸⁸ There were fewer than ten private houses along that street, all of which have been studied in depth by the authors of reports on Blocks 1, 2, 16 and 17. None of the authors record having found evidence of Bellemont renting accommodation from any of the owners. That suggests, assuming that the enseigne was actually living on Rue Toulouse as stated in September 1740, that he was either staying at one of the two inns on Block 2 or that he had made arrangements, but not a contract, to have a room or two of his own in one of the other houses along the street, perhaps that of a fellow officer as his closest friends seem to have been officers.⁸⁹ Even if such speculation was correct, of course, there is no evidence to suggest that Joseph Sevinacq de Bellemont was still living on Rue Toulouse in 1744. By that time he could easily have moved from his domicille of 1740, perhaps even into the barracks. In addition to the uncertainty over Bellemont's accommodations at Louisbourg it is also not known when he came to Isle Royale, whether or not he was married nor anything about his subsequent career in the compagnies franches.

Enseigne en Second - Amable-Jean-Joseph Came de Saint-Aigne (promoted April 1744)

His residence in 1744 is not known. He might have been staying in the barracks or in a household in town.

Amable-Jean-Joesph Came de Saint-Aigne appears to have resided in the town from 1737, when he became a cadet, until forced to evacuate in 1745. There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate where he lived. Therefore, he either lived in the barracks or made arrangements to stay in the town, possibly with the family of an officer. St. Aigne (as he was commonly referred to) remained a bachelor until 1748, when he married at Québec. After his first wife died he married, in 1752, a daughter of Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot (aide-major at the time) and Madelaine Boitier.⁹⁰

iv) Compagnie de Duvivier:

Capitaine - François du Pont Duvivier (appointed 1737)

In 1744 he was probably living in a charpente house facing Rue Royale located on the southern section of Lot B, Block 4.

François du Pont Duvivier was the oldest of the three Duvivier brothers serving as officers in the garrison in 1744. Born at Port Royal, François and his brothers left Acadia in 1713 when their father, an officer in the compagnies franches, was assigned to the expedition which founded Louisbourg. The father died in 1714 but his widow and the Duvivier children stayed on in Louisbourg, living in a piquet house on Lot B, Block 4 for the next few years.

Although the family stopped residing on Lot B in 1719 the veuve Duvivier retained ownership of the property until 1736. In that year she sold the land and the old piquet house facing Rue du Quay to a Louisbourg merchant named Louis Jouet for 2,500 livres. Sometime later on the day of the sale her son, François du Pont Duvivier and Louis Jouet formed a partnership "which provided for the sale of the southern part of Lot B for 1,250 livres [which Duvivier paid to Jouet] undoubtedly a condition of the original purchase." The following year Duvivier began construction of a charpente house on this southern portion of Lot B. The foundation of the new house encroached on the concessions on Lots A and C, thereby precipitating several years of quarrels and legal entanglements with the neighbours. In the end Duvivier's arguments prevailed, or to put it more accurately, his influence prevailed and Lot B was awarded a total of 514 pieds quarrés of land which had formerly belonged to his neighbours.⁹¹

In 1744 the charpente house on Lot B, Block 4 was probably, but not definitely, home to both François du Pont Duvivier and the small family of his partner, Louis Jouet. As Duvivier was a bachelor it is possible that this house might also have provided accommodation for the small family of his brother, Michel du Pont Duvivier. In addition to the house on Block 4, François du Pont Duvivier also owned a storehouse in Louisbourg which was used in 1744 "pour y loger les prisonniers de Guerre,"⁹² referring to the English prisoners captured in the raid on Canso and in privateering encounters at sea.

Lieutenant - Louis le Neuf de la Vallière (appointed 1743)

In 1744 he was probably living in a two-storey charpente house facing Rue Toulouse, on Lot D, Block 16.

Lot D on Block 16 came into the possession of the de la Vallière family in 1736, when Michel le Neuf de la Vallière purchased the property from fellow officer Jacques de Pensens. The purchase price was 11,000 livres for which de la Vallière acquired a two-storey charpente house and two, two-storey stone storehouses. The house and one of the storehouses were being leased by de Pensens at the time of the sale. In 1740, Michel le Neuf de la Vallière died and the property passed to his heirs, one of which was Louis le Neuf de la Vallière, the oldest son in the family. De la Vallière fils was likely living in the house before his father's death and probably continued to live there after 1740 as the head of the household. The other members of the household in the summer of 1744 were likely to have been Louis le Neuf de la Vallière's pregnant wife, Marie-Charlotte Rousseau de Souvigny (daughter of the company captain who retired in April 1744), a year and a half old daughter, several brothers and sisters and whatever servants were attached to the family. In the spring of 1744 Louis le Neuf de la Vallière was sent to France carrying confidential packets concerning the outbreak of hostilities in the colonies.⁹³

Enseigne en Pied - Louis du Pont du Chambon de Vergor (appointed 1743)

His residence in 1744 is not known. He was perhaps living in the barracks or in whatever accommodation his father, Louis du Pont du Chambon, had in the town.

There are no references to this junior officer owning or renting accommodation in Louisbourg in the period to 1745. This absence of evidence and the fact that he did not marry until several years later tend to suggest that he was probably living either with his family or in the barracks.

Enseigne en Second - Michel Rousseau d'Orfontaine (appointed 1739)

It is not known where this officer was staying in 1744. He might have been living in the barracks or in a house owned by a relative.

Like the junior officer above there is no evidence to suggest that Michel Rousseau d'Orfontaine owned or was renting property in Louisbourg in the period to 1745. As he was an unmarried 29-year old enseigne in 1744, without a large income, he was likely staying either in the barracks with other junior officers or with some family in town. If it was the latter case the most likely residences were capitaine Charles Joseph Dailleboust's on Block 14 (Michel's widowed mother had married Dailleboust in 1729) or that which it is thought his older brother (capitaine Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoux) constructed on Block 34.

v) Compagnie de Bonnaventure:

Capitaine - Claude-Elisabeth Denys de Bonnaventure (appointed 1737)

In 1744 he was possibly living in a house on Lot D, Block 33.

Claude-Elisabeth Denys de Bonnaventure was conceded Lot D on Block 33 in 1729, 12 years after he had come to Isle Royale as a 16-year old cadet.⁹⁴ To judge by a plan of the town drawn in the mid-1730s (N.D. 89), Bonnaventure did not erect a house on the property in the first five or six years he owned the lot. However, a building is shown on the southwest corner of the lot on several plans (745-24, 746-4, 746-8a) drawn during the English occupation, suggesting that Bonnaventure had a house constructed there sometime during the late 1730s or early 1740s. Unfortunately none of the written evidence mentions the existence of a house in Lot D, Block 33. References in 1742 and 1752 confirm that the property was still in capitaine Bonnaventure's possession on these dates, while there is a reference in June 1757 to the corner of Bonnaventure's house being on the Rue de l'Etang,⁹⁵ which would be consistent with the early plans showing a house located on the southwest corner of Lot D, Block 33. While the evidence is far from conclusive, in 1744 Claude-Elisabeth Denys de Bonnaventure was probably living in a house constructed on Lot D, Block 33.

Bonnaventure remained unmarried until 1748 (when he married his cousin, Louise Denys de la Ronde at Quebec), so family considerations were not likely to enter into his decisions about accommodation in the period to 1745.

Lieutenant - Gabriel François Dangeac (appointed 1732)

In 1744 he was living in Port Dauphin where he commanded the small detachment. In Louisbourg he was part owner of a house on Lot E on the western section of Block 38.

In the spring or early summer of 1744 lieutenant Dangeac took command of the small detachment at Port Dauphin. The assignment was a familiar one for him as he had been commander there from 1738 to 1741. During the earlier posting Dangeac had taken his family and other dependents (such as the widow de l'Espérance) with him to Port Dauphin. In 1744 he probably left them in Louisbourg because it had been stipulated that he was only to serve there for one year. The bordereau for 1744 states that 750 livres were paid to a Sr Vergor for the rent of lodgings for the commanding officer (Dangeac) and soldiers of the Port Dauphin detachment.⁹⁶

Enseigne en Pied - de Renon (appointed 1741)

The first names of this officer have not been determined but he was probably the son of Anne Desgoutins and Michel du Pont de Renon, an officer in Acadia and then on Isle Royale until his death in 1719.⁹⁷

De Renon's residence in 1744 is unknown; perhaps he was staying with relatives or in the barracks.

As with so many of the junior officers in the garrison at Louisbourg, very little is known about this enseigne. If he was the son of Michel du Pont de Renon and Anne Desgoutins, as is almost certainly the case, he would have had a number of prominent relatives in Louisbourg with whom he might have been staying in 1744. Louis du Pont du Chambon (lieutenant de roi) was an uncle while François du Pont du Vivier, Michel du Pont du Vivier de Gourville and Joseph du Pont du Vivier were all cousins. On the other side of the family his mother had remarried in 1724 Michel Hertel de Cournoyer (appointed capitaine des portes in 1744) and de Renon might have been residing in Cournoyer's residence on Lot A on the western section of Block 21. Other possibilities for his living quarters include the barracks of the king's bastion or an informal rental arrangement in the house of someone to whom he was not related. Neither de Renon's age nor marital status are known.

Enseigne en Second - de Caubet (appointed 1743)

The first names of this officer are not known at this time.

His residence in 1744 is unknown; perhaps he was staying in the barracks or renting somewhere in town.

All that is known about this junior officer is that he was made enseigne en second in May 1743 at which time he was either 30 or 31 years of age. He served in the 1745 siege with the rest of Bonnaventure's company and returned to Isle Royale as an enseigne en pied after the island was restored to France. De Caubet was promoted to lieutenant in April 1750.⁹⁸ Nothing is known about his living quarters, marital status or whether he had any relatives in the town.

vi) Compagnie de d'Espiet de la Plagne:

Capitaine - Pierre-Paul d'Espiet de la Plagne (appointed 1737)

In 1744 he was undoubtedly living in a two-storey house on Lot E, Block 16.

Until 1738 Lot E on Block 16 was set aside as a government garden under the jurisdiction of the governor. In 1738 Governor St. Ovide obtained personal possession of the property, which he relinquished shortly thereafter when he left the colony. St. Ovide's cousin, Jacques d'Espiet de Pensens, then obtained the lot but died later in 1738. De Pensens was not married, so the property (including the two-storey house de Pensens had had constructed) was inherited by his oldest nephew, Pierre-Paul d'Espiet de la Plagne, capitaine of one of the compagnies franches in the garrison. Until the capitulation of the fortress in 1745 de la Plagne, his wife Marie Charlotte de Lort, their four children, whatever servants they had and probably de la Plagne's younger brother, lieutenant Jean d'Espiet de Pensens, lived in the house.⁹⁹

Lieutenant - Michel du Pont du Vivier de Gourville (appointed 1742)

His residence in 1744 is not known. One possibility is that he was living on Rue du Port.

There are only two references indicating where Michel du Pont de Gourville was living during the period to 1745, both of which place him near the harbour.

In 1736 he was staying in a house on Rue du Quay, while four years later he was said to be living on Rue du Port.¹⁰⁰ As these two street names were occasionally used interchangeably during the 1740s it is possible that the officer was living in the same location at both dates.¹⁰¹ As for his residence in 1744, by which time he was married to Marie-Joséphé Gautier and had three children, there is no indication. The family may well have been living at the Rue du Port address (or Rue du Quay as it had been called earlier) where Gourville had been residing in 1740. Another possibility is that he resided in the house on Block 4 belonging to Gourville's bachelor brother, François du Pont du Vivier.

Enseigne en Pied

The accounts of the 1745 siege do not identify anyone serving as enseigne en pied in de la Plagne's company. It is unlikely that the position was vacant. In 1745 the enseigne in question was probably serving elsewhere (as was Joseph du Pont du Vivier, who was on Isle Saint-Jean) or in some other capacity (such as de la Pérelle fils who acted as one of the garçons-major during the siege).

Enseigne en Second - François du Pont du Chambon de Mézillac (appointed 1743)

In 1744 he was probably staying either with his parents or in the barracks.

There are no references to this junior officer owning or renting accommodation in Louisbourg during the period to 1745. Being quite young (he turned 24 in October 1744) he probably resided either with his parents (his father was lieutenant de roi) or with some of the other junior officers who are thought to have lived in the barracks.

vii) Compagnie de Duhaget:

Capitaine - Robert Tarride Duhaget (appointed 1738)

In 1744 he owned a large two-storey house on Lot C on Block 17, but may have been living on Rue de l'Estang.

Lot C, Block 17 was conceded to Robert Duhaget in June 1730, a month and a half after he was promoted to lieutenant in one of the compagnies

franches. The property had originally been conceded to another officer in the garrison, Charles Joseph Dailleboust. Except for vegetable gardens that might have been established on the lot, the property sat undeveloped for the next six years. Apparently not until 1737 did Duhaget commence construction of a house on the concession. In September of that year he married Marguerite Rousseau de Villejouin, the daughter of a former company captain and the sister of one of Duhaget's fellow lieutenants, and they apparently moved into the commodious residence Duhaget had built. The early years of the marriage proved to be childless and beginning in 1741 at least a portion of the house was rented as lodgings for Antoine de Paul Sabatier and as the office of the Bureau de Controle. There is a possibility that Duhaget and his wife might have moved out entirely at the time as there is a September 1741 reference to Duhaget living on Rue de l'Estang several blocks away from the house on Block 17. By 1740 Duhaget's brother-in-law, Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin owned property on Rue de l'Estang and it may be that Duhaget and his wife were living with the Villejouin household from 1741 (see the section below on Villejouin). In any case the reference to Duhaget living on Rue de l'Estang, combined with the rental of at least a portion of Duhaget's Block 17 house as lodgings and office space, indicates that Robert Duhaget and his wife might not have been living in their Block 17 house in 1744.¹⁰²

Lieutenant - Pierre Benoist (appointed 1738)

In 1744 he was living in Port Toulouse where he commanded the detachment. In Louisbourg he owned a house on Lot C, Block 2.

Pierre Benoist spent both 1744 and 1745 at Port Toulouse, presumably with his family.¹⁰³ It is not known whether or not his house on Rue Toulouse was rented during his absence, although that would certainly be a possibility. In 1724, before his first marriage, Benoist had four other officers lodging with him, for which he was paid 250 livres. As Benoist and his family seem to have been in Port Toulouse from 1742 to 1745 it is conceivable that the house on Block 2 was rented at least part of the time to some of those officers in the garrison for whom we have no indication as to where they were residing. The Benoist house on Block 2 suffered severe damage during the siege and "could hardly be occupied" when the family returned to Louisbourg in 1749.¹⁰⁴

Enseigne en Pied

Although there is no one identified in this position in the 1745 siege account it is highly unlikely that the position was vacant. The junior officer in question may have been serving elsewhere or he might have been acting as garçon-major during the siege.

Enseigne en Second - Jean-Baptiste-Ange du Pont du Chambon¹⁰⁵ (appointed 1741)

In 1744 he was probably staying in the accommodation of Louis du Pont du Chambon.

There is no evidence whatsoever indicating where this junior officer was residing at Louisbourg. He was probably living in his father's household but may have been staying in the barracks or in some private household.

viii)Compagnie de Rousseau de Villejouin:

Capitaine - Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin (appointed 1739)

In 1744 he was possibly living in a charpente house on the southeast corner of Lot E, Block 34.

During Villejouin's early years in Louisbourg he would have lived with his parents (Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin and Marie-Josephe Bertrand). It is not known whether or not he continued to live with his mother after she remarried in 1729 (when she married Charles Joseph Dailleboust) but it seems likely. He had by that time been granted two concessions (Lots A and B) on Block 31, but plan 730-2 does not indicate any houses constructed on these properties. He probably lived on Block 16 with his mother and Dailleboust until they sold the property in the spring of 1733. In January 1733 he married Anne Angelique de Gannes de Falaise and they probably moved with the rest of the Dailleboust-Villejouin family to a house on Lot A, Block 14.¹⁰⁶ (See the section above on capitaine Dailleboust).

In April 1740, while Villejouin was aide-major in the garrison at Louisbourg, he was conceded Lot E (10,350 pieds quarrés) on Block 34. A year and a half later he sold the northern half of the lot to Pierre Derieux,

a maitre tailleur, for 300 livres.¹⁰⁷ Villejouin retained the southern half of Lot E, which had 115 pieds frontage on Rue de l'Estang, until April 1745 when he sold it to Pierre Andre Carrerot. Unfortunately, the document recording that transaction has not survived to confirm whether or not there was a house on the lot in which Villejouin and his family might have been living in 1744. Certainly when Carrerot's widow sold the property in 1754 there was a charpente house on the lot.¹⁰⁸ If one can judge by English plans of the fortress drawn in 1746, there were two houses on Lot E, Block 34; one on the northern portion sold to Derieux in 1741 and one on the southern section retained by capitaine Villejouin. Assuming there was a charpente house on the lot in 1744, were Villejouin, his wife and five children living in it? As usual the evidence is only circumstantial. By the early 1740s at the latest the growth of the Villejouin and Dailleboust families (five and three children respectively plus, undoubtedly, a few servants) had likely been such to suggest to each officer that it might be best to separate their households, which had been joined together since 1729 when Dailleboust married Villejouin's mother. Moreover, as of April 1741, Villejouin was a capitaine of his own compagnie franche, equal in rank to his step-father, and he may have wished to possess his own house as an indication of his increased status. While this is all speculation the concession to Villejouin of Lot E on Block 34 in 1740, his promotion to capitaine in April 1741, the sale in October 1741 of half the property (perhaps to obtain money to finance the construction of a house) and the existence of a house in the correct location of a 1746 plan, tend to support the idea that he and family might have been living in 1744 in a house on the southeast corner of Block 34.

Lieutenant - Saint-Etienne de la Tour (appointed 1742)

This officer was probably Pierre-Charles de St. Etienne de la Tour, only son of Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour, a former officer in the compagnies franches, and Angélique Loreau. He is not to be confused with another resident of Louisbourg, his cousin, Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour, who first married Marie-Anne Peré and then Joseph Dugas' widow, Marguerite Richard. Pierre Charles appears to have remained a bachelor.

In 1744 Saint-Etienne de la Tour was probably living with his widowed mother, Angélique Loreau on Rue d'Orleans, possibly in Block 23.

In 1714 Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour, an Acadian-born lieutenant in the compagnies franches was posted to Isle Royale. With him came his wife, Angélique Loreau and their only child. Sixteen years later, in March 1730, de la Tour was promoted to capitaine. He died the following year.¹⁰⁹ Four years before de la Tour's death he was conceded Lot A on Block 20, a property which he quickly sold to a nephew of the same name, Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour.¹¹⁰

De la Tour's widow continued to live in Louisbourg after his death in 1731. The 1734 census records that there were two other persons in her household at that date; a servant and a son over 15 who was in military service. This son seems to have been named Pierre Charles as that is the name of the only de la Tour officer recorded in the parish records between 1732 and 1745.¹¹¹ In one reference Pierre Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour is described as an enseigne de compagnie; in the other he is identified as an enseigne en pied.¹¹² Both of these references were in the late 1730s; in June 1742 he was named to become a lieutenant.¹¹³

Pierre-Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour's accommodation at Louisbourg is not known but it seems more than likely that he was living with his widowed mother throughout the 1730s and 1740s. The fact that he was her only child, that he was apparently unmarried, that there is not a single reference to him renting or owning property of his own in town and that his mother claimed to have some difficulty affording to live in Louisbourg after her husband's death, all tend to support that contention.¹¹⁴ The house which the veuve de la Tour occupied in Louisbourg is known to have been somewhere on Rue d'Orleans near the Maurepas Gate.¹¹⁵ During the 1745 siege the house was apparently burned deliberately as it was considered "prejudiciable à la fortification." When Isle Royale was restored to the French in 1749 she sought to be compensated for the loss of her house. If, as the veuve de la Tour maintained, her house was destroyed because of its proximity to the fortifications near the Maurepas Gate then it was probably located on Block 23. It was likely in this house that lieutenant Pierre-Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour was living in 1744.

Enseigne en Pied - Michel de Merville Dangeac (promoted April 1744)

In 1744 he was probably living in the charpente house located on Lot E of the western section of Block 38 owned jointly by himself, his older brother (lieutenant Gabriel François Dangeac), his sister (Marguerite Dangeac, widow of the de l'Esperance who had been a lieutenant in the Karrer Regiment) and his widowed mother (Marguerite Bertrand).

The only references to Michel de Merville Dangeac owning property in Louisbourg are those which pertain to the property on Lot E, Block 38 which he and the other members of his family appear to have owned jointly following the death of Dangeac père in 1737.¹¹⁶ Since Michel de Merville had part ownership in the house and extended family relationships were common in the Dangeac family (see the sections above on Gabriel François Dangeac and Charles-Gabriel-Sébastien de l'Esperance), he was more than likely living on Block 38 in 1744. He probably acted as interim head of the household that year as his older brother was posted to Port Dauphin.

Michel de Merville Dangeac appears to have remained unmarried throughout the period to 1745.¹¹⁷

Enseigne en Second - Louis Loppinot de la Fresillière (appointed 1742)

In 1744 Louis Loppinot might have been living in a house on the only property he seems to have owned in Louisbourg (Block 37, Lot C).

Unlike his older brother, Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot, Louis Loppinot was not often mentioned in property transactions in Louisbourg. The only time his name appears in the records dealing with the town's real estate is in connection with Lot C on Block 37, a piece of property which he was originally conceded in May 1728 (at which time he was probably a sergent) and still owned in September 1735 (at which time he was a cadet).¹¹⁸

According to French plans of the town (N.D. 89, N.D. 24, 730-2) no buildings were erected on this lot (4,860 pieds quarrés) during the early 1730s.

A plan drawn during the first English occupation of the fortress (746-8a), however, clearly shows one and possibly two houses on what appears to be Lot C, Block 37. As there is no record of the property passing out of Louis Loppinot's hands between 1735 and 1745 it is likely that the house shown on the plan was one that he had constructed sometime during that

decade. Certainly, by the 1740s he was probably beginning to feel the need for more spacious accommodation than wherever he had lived during the 1730s. In slightly less than six years of married life following his 1738 marriage to Marie-Josephe Seigneur, Louis Loppinot de la Fresillière had fathered six children. This fact, combined with his promotion to a junior officer rank in the 1740s, may well have prompted Loppinot to erect a house on his Block 37 property as is shown on the 1746 plan.

Officers (1744) - Biographical Summaries

Staff Officers

Lieutenant de Roi (until April 1744) - François Le Coutre de Bourville (ca. 1670-1758 or earlier)¹

Ca. 1670 - Born near Rouen, France, son of François Le Coutre de Bourville and Elisabeth Faustin.

1690-1718 - Entered French naval service as a midshipman in 1690. Over the next 28 years "he participated in 21 expeditions, 16 in wartime and took part in a total of 11 actions."

1718 - Appointed major de la place, for Isle Royale; Bourville's first land appointment.

Summer of 1719 - Arrived in Isle Royale.

December 1721 - Named to the Order of Saint-Louis.

October 1722 - Conceded land at Louisbourg, Lot A on Block 12.

January 1729 - Married Marie-Anne Rousseau de Villejouin, daughter of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin and Marie-Josephe Bertrand.

March 1730 - Promoted to lieutenant de roi at Louisbourg; subsequently commanded colony during absences of governor.

April 1744 - Retired with 1,200 livres pension.

Late 1744 - Returned to France with wife and two daughters.

1758 or earlier - Died in France.

Lieutenant de Roi (after April 1744) - Louis du Pont du Chambon (1686-1775)²

January 1686 - Born in Sérignac, France (province of Saintonge) on 1 January; son of Hugues du Pont du Vivier and Marie Herauld.

May 1702 - Entered military as an enseigne, in Acadia.

May 1704 - Promoted to lieutenant.

April 1709 - Married Jeanne d'Entremont at Port Royal. A number of children were born of this marriage, but apparently only one at Louisbourg - Charles François Ferdinand in November 1734.

- January 1714 - Posted to Isle Royale.
- July 1720 - Promoted to captain of one of compagnies franches.
- March 1723 - Made commander of detachment at Port Dauphin.
- June 1730 - Became chevalier of Order of Saint-Louis.
- June 1733 - Promoted to major de la place at Louisbourg.
- June 1737 - Made lieutenant de roi of Isle Saint-Jean.
- April 1744 - Upon retirement of Bourville, du Chambon returned to Louisbourg to become lieutenant de roi of Isle Royale.
- November 1744 to 1745 - After death of Governor Duquesnel, du Chambon became the interim commander of Isle Royale. He was in command of the fortress throughout the 1745 siege. Returned to France after the siege.
- March 1746 - Retired from military life with 1,200 livres pension; resided in native province of Saintonge.
- August 1775 - Died in France on August 22.

Major de la Place - Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle (ca. 1691-1747?)³

- 1691 - Born in France; one source says born in Paris, while another says originally from former province of Normandie. Son of René Eurry de la Pérelle and Marie Dumoulin.
- 1705 - Named as enseigne in one of the compagnies franches; had been a cadet.
- 1713 - Transferred to Isle Royale following signing of Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1714 - Promoted to lieutenant.
- 1718 or 1719 - Married Françoise-Charlotte Aubert de la Chesnaye (1697-1784), daughter of an important negociant at Quebec. De la Pérelle and de la Chesnaye were to have eight children, all born at Louisbourg.
- 1730 - Made capitaine of one of the compagnies franches in the Louisbourg garrison.
- 1732 - Commandant of detachment on Isle Saint-Jean.
- 1736 - Named as chevalier of order of Saint-Louis.
- 1741-45 - Promoted to major de la place at Louisbourg in 1741, in which capacity he served until the fortress capitulated in 1745. Returned to France following the siege.

1747 - Fauteux states that de la Pérelle was killed aboard Le Rubris during naval combat on 14 May 1747. H.P. Thibault says that he died sometime between 1768 and 1776.

Aide-Major - George-François de Boisberthelot (dates unknown)⁴

Date and place of birth are unknown. This de Boisberthelot was the nephew of Jean-Maurice Josué du Boisberthelot de Beaucours and François Aubert de la Chesnaye.

May 1723 - Letter of appointment making Boisberthelot an enseigne en second at Louisbourg was signed at Versailles.

March 1730 - Promoted to enseigne en pied, according to letter of appointment dated at Versailles.

October 1730 - Married Jeanne Degoutin at Louisbourg. First child of marriage born the day after the wedding. Six other children were born at Louisbourg before 1745.

June 1732 - Letter of appointment making him a lieutenant was signed at Versailles.

June 1742-1745 - Promoted to aide-major in June 1742, in which capacity he acted during the siege of 1745.

1745-46 - He died sometime shortly after returning to France. By February 1746 he was referred to as dead.

Garçon-Major - Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot (ca. 1704-65), enseigne en pied.⁵

Ca. 1704 - Born at Port Royal, son of Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot and Jeanne Doucet.

1716 - Began military service, probably as a cadet.

May 1730 - Made enseigne en second of one of the compagnies franches at Louisbourg.

January 1733 - Married Marie-Magdelaine Bottier dit Berrichon (1717-79). Twelve children were born to the marriage.

1734 - In charge of a detachment building a road from Louisbourg to the Mira River.

April 1737 - Promoted to enseigne en pied.

1745 - Acted as one of two garçons-major on du Chambon's staff during the siege. Following the capitulation of the fortress he returned to France with the other inhabitants.

1746-49 - In France worked to recruit new soldiers for the troops of the Ministry of Marine; commanded some of the Isle Royale troops stationed near Rochefort. On 1 January 1747 he was promoted to aide-major.

1749 - Became aide-major of garrison at Louisbourg, with rank of capitaine.

1753 - Fauteux states that Loppinot "fit fonction de major à Louisbourg à partir de 1753," but other sources do not confirm that.

April 1754 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis.

1758-64 - Served in 1758 siege at Louisbourg, then returned to France.

In 1763 he was the commandant at Rochefort for the troops from Cayenne. Retired from military service on 1 May 1764 with 1,200 livres pension.

February 1765 - Died at Rochefort on 22 February, after 49 years of service.

Garçon-Major - de la Pérelle fils, enseigne en pied⁶

Probably Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle (1719-46)

The exact identity of this junior officer is not known for certain. According to the parish record file the major de la place, Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle, had five sons living in Louisbourg in 1745 whose ages ranged from 13 to 26. One was enseigne en second in Dailleboust's company while another who was at the rank of enseigne en pied, acted as garçon-major during the siege. Neither individual can be identified with absolute certainty, but it seems likely that the more senior enseigne was de la Pérelle's oldest son, Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle (born in 1719). The enseigne en second may have been Charles-Josué Eurry de la Pérelle (although Fauteux states that he did not become an enseigne until 1747). These appear to be the only sons of de la Pérelle père who pursued a military career (or rather the only ones for which I have been able to find evidence) and the career of the latter, as given by Fauteux, makes him a likely candidate to have been "Eurry de la Pérelle" listed as enseigne en second in Dailleboust's

company. Almost by default it appears that the older de la Pérelle, Jean-François, was at a higher rank and therefore the one who acted as garçon-major.

1719 - Jean-François born in Louisbourg, son of Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle and Françoise-Charlotte Aubert de la Chesnaye.

August 1737 - Listed in an entry in the parish records as an "enseigne."

This is the first reference to him in military service although he probably had been a cadet during his earlier years.

October 1738 - Listed as enseigne en second in one of the compagnies franches, the one of which his father was capitaine.

1740-43 - There are two references in the parish records to him which describe him simply as "enseigne de compagnie" without indicating which rank of enseigne.

1745 - Probably was the de la Pérelle who acted as garçon-major during the siege.

1746 - Died in this year according to one source.

Compagnie de Canoniers-Bombardiers

Capitaine - Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie (ca. 1710-78)⁷

Ca. 1710 - Born at Plaisance, son of a French-born officer in the garrison there, Jean-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie and Marie Anne de Tour de Sourdeval.

January 1714 - Father comes to Louisbourg as company captain, accompanied by wife and young Philippe-Joseph.

May 1728 - King approved that Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie be awarded the next enseigne en second position that should become vacant in a Louisbourg company.

March 1730 - Sainte-Marie referred to as a cadet in letter from king instructing governor to make Sainte-Marie enseigne en second, filling vacancy created when Catalogne promoted to enseigne en pied. Jean-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie died 25 March 1730.

- May 1730 - One source states that Sainte-Marie became enseigne en pied on 6 May 1730.
- June 1732 - Letter from king still referring to Sainte-Marie as cadet requesting governor to make him enseigne en pied.
- March-April 1739 - Married Jeanne Françoise Jacau, one of the daughters of Thomas Jacau, a maitre canonier in Louisbourg. Three weeks after his marriage Sainte-Marie was promoted to lieutenant.
- November 1739 - Governor de Forant chose Sainte-Marie to lead the separate unit of artillerymen being set up at Louisbourg, subject to approval of the project being given by the Minister of Marine. For the next three years Sainte-Marie busied himself with organizing and directing the activities of the artillery group. In recognition of the fact that so much of Sainte-Marie's time was taken up by the gunnery school and other organizational problems, the Crown awarded him a gratuity of 300 livres to offset the income lost by his not being able to operate a canteen like most of the other officers.
- May 1743 - Five months after the canoniers-bombardiers were officially established at Louisbourg, Sainte-Marie was promoted to captain of the new company on 1 May.
- 1745 - Sainte-Marie and the canoniers-bombardiers served in the siege. Sainte-Marie's house on Rochefort Point was burned during the siege.
- 1749 - Returned to Isle Royale as captain of the first artillery company.
- March 1749 - Awarded the cross of the order of Saint-Louis on 1 March.
- January 1751 - His first wife having died, he remarried at Louisbourg Angelique Carrerot, daughter of Philippe Carrerot and Thérèse Gauthier, on 31 January. They were to have six children between November 1751 and September 1757.
- 1758 - Sainte-Marie and his artillery company served in the second siege..
- 1762 - After the fall of Louisbourg he was sent out to Saint-Dominique.
- 1765 - Sainte-Marie was promoted to lieutenant-colonel d'artillerie and retired shortly thereafter with a pension of 1,800 livres.
- 1778 - Died at Charente, France.

Lieutenant - Louis-Félix Vallée (1711-not before 1775)⁸

- 1711 - Born at Paris, son of François-Madeleine Vallée and Laurence Casselle. His father was trained in the engineering sciences, including surveying and hydrography.
- 1723 - François Vallée, his wife and Louis-Félix came out to Isle Royale after Vallée père was exiled from France as partial punishment for misdemeanors committed in France. François Vallée's crimes in France did not prevent Louis-Félix from entering into military service at Louisbourg at the age of 13 "par Ordre du ministre de la marine." None of the sources give Vallée's rank upon entry into the service; he is simply described as a volontaire.
- 1735-39 - Louis Vallée travelled to Rochefort where he began serving as a volontaire in "la Compagnie des Bombardiers." He spent five years at Rochefort being instructed in the art of artillery. One can only speculate that Vallée was selected in Louisbourg for this training because of skills he possessed in mathematics and other sciences related to artillery which he had learned from his father.
- 1739 - Vallée returned to Louisbourg to, as he put it, "Instruire un détachement de Cannoniers Bombardiers." This was the year in which serious efforts began to establish a separate artillery unit at Louisbourg and it is very likely that Vallée was sent back to Isle Royale to assist Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie in planning for and organizing the new company of canoniers-bombardiers.
- 1741 - Married Marie-Josephe Le Large on 8 June.
- 1742 - Referred to as a maitre canonier in one source. In his own recounting of his career he claimed that he was made lieutenant of the artillery company during 1742. This must have been an unofficial promotion for the official listing of promotion dates for the lieutenants at Isle Royale makes no mention of any promotions or appointments awarded to Vallée before 1743.
- 1743 - Vallée was referred to as a lieutenant d'artillerie on the birth register. On 1 May he was formally promoted to lieutenant of the company of canoniers-bombardiers.

- 1744 - Participated in an attempt to capture Annapolis Royal. Under Captain Bonnaventure he commanded a detachment of canoniers "avec les munitions de guerre."
- 1745 - Served in the siege along with the rest of company.
- 1746-48 - In France, Vallée and a detachment of canoniers-bombardiers from Isle Royale worked to re-establish batteries along the Charente River, just south of Rochefort. In 1747 he was captured by the English during a naval combat.
- 1749 - Returned to Isle Royale as a lieutenant.
- 1752 - Vallée and a detachment of canoniers-bombardiers worked at constructing roads on Isle Royale to improve communication between settlements.
- 1754 - Promoted to capitaine on 1 April. Made a tour of the island for the governor and commissaire-ordonnateur to report on grain production.
- 1758 - Served in siege; during the initial stages Vallée and his company were sent to command batteries which had been constructed on Gabarus Bay.
- February 1760 - Made a chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis on 8 February.
- 1762 - Like Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie, Louis Vallée was sent out to Saint-Dominique towards the end of the Seven Years' War. He spent 18 months in the garrison there.
- 1763 - Posted to Cayenne in French Guiana where he was named captain of the first company of canoniers-bombardiers there.
- 1768 - Still at Cayenne, Vallée was awarded a commission to become a major in 1771. Perhaps in 1771, but definitely at some date after 1768, he became major de la place at Cayenne.
- 1775 - Vallée's dossier personnel was drawn up in 1775 in which it was stated that he was currently in his fifty-second year of service without interruption. The author of the dossier judged that Vallée "a donné en diverses occasions des marques de son Zèle et son intelligence, qu'il a rempli les fonctions de la majorité avec beaucoup d'exactitude Et qu'il est très susceptible des graces du Roy."

Karrer Regiment

Capitaine-Lieutenant - Gabriel Schonherr (dates unknown)⁹

- 1723 - In August "Schonherr le jeune" was serving as an enseigne in the Colonel's Company of the Karrer Regiment at Rochefort. Later that year he was promoted to premier sous lieutenant of the Second Company in which his older brother was serving as lieutenant en second. The Second Company was posted to Martinique but it does not appear that the younger Schonherr ever went out to the island.
- 1724 - In a review of the Karrer Regiment drawn up in July, Schonherr was listed as still in Rochefort and on a 6-month congé which commenced in May of that year.
- 1726-30 - Back with Colonel's Company at Rochefort as sous lieutenant.
- 1731-41 - Referred to as a lieutenant for the first time in review drawn up in October 1731. Remained with Colonel's Company at Rochefort until sent out to Isle Royale.
- 1741 - Embarked for Louisbourg in June taking 50 soldiers with him to bring the size of the detachment in the garrison to 150.
- 1742-45 - Promoted to capitaine lieutenant on 24 January 1742, three weeks after his predecessor Cailly was retired from the service. Remained at Louisbourg until after the capitulation of the fortress, at which time he returned to Rochefort and rejoined the Colonel's Company there. In April 1745 Schonherr was granted permission by Maurepas to return to France because of his bad health. He was unable to go as the fortress was besieged before the permission arrived at Louisbourg. During the siege Schonherr was attached to his Karrer troops posted along the loopholed wall between the Princess Demi-Bastion and the Brouillan Bastion.
- Religion - Gabriel Schonherr seems to have been a Roman Catholic as he acted as a godfather to a soldier in the Karrer Regiment who converted from Calvinism in March 1745.

Enseigne - Jean François Rasser (dates unknown)¹⁰

1734 - Rasser's name first appears on a December 1734 list of Karrer officers at Louisbourg where he is described as an enseigne surnumeraire.

1736-37 - In France on congé from late 1736 to June 1737 when he embarked for Isle Royale.

1738 - Late in the year Rasser was made enseigne en pied.

1740-41 - In France on congé from late 1740 to June 1741 when he embarked for Louisbourg.

1744 - Played a prominent role in attempting to quell the December mutiny.

1745 - Served in the siege along the loopholed wall with the other Karrer troops.

Religion - Jean François Rasser apparently was a Roman Catholic as on two occasions he acted as a godfather in a baptismal ceremony; first in a 1738 conversion of a soldier in the Karrer Regiment and second in a 1741 baptism of a son of Michel de Gannes, captain of one of the compagnies-franches.

Enseigne - Dahuty (dates unknown)¹¹

1736-41 - Listed as an enseigne surnumeraire in Colonel's Company of Karrer Regiment at Rochefort.

1741-42 - Made enseigne en pied, probably in late 1741; described as such in January 1742 review of Karrer Regiment. Still in Rochefort.

1743-45 - Embarked for Isle Royale in July 1743. Served in garrison at Louisbourg until after capitulation of fortress when he returned to Rochefort with the other Karrer officers. During the siege he was posted along the loopholed wall between the Brouillan Bastion and the Princess Demi-Bastion.

Religion - Like the other three Karrer officers in Louisbourg in 1744 enseigne Dahuty appears to have been a Roman Catholic. In April 1745 he acted as godfather to a soldier in the detachment who converted from Calvinism.

Enseigne surnuméraire - Charles-Gabriel Sébastien de l'Espérance (1725-91)¹²

- 1725 - Born at Louisbourg on 1 December, son of Charles-Léopold Eberhard de l'Espérance, a lieutenant in the Karrer Regiment, and Marguerite Dangeac. His mother's two brothers, Gabriel François Dangeac and Michel de Merville Dangeac, were both serving as officers in the compagnies franches by the time de l'Espérance fils was promoted to enseigne surnuméraire in the Karrer detachment.
- 1735-42 - Cadet in detachment of Karrer Regiment.
- 1738 - De l'Espérance père died at Louisbourg in November.
- 1742 - Named enseigne surnuméraire of detachment at Louisbourg.
- 1745 - Returned to Rochefort and Colonel's Company of Karrer troops after capitulation of the fortress. During the siege he served with the rest of the regiment along the loopholed wall between the Brouillan Bastion and the Princess Demi-Bastion.
- 1748 - Promoted to enseigne en pied in Karrer Regiment at Saint-Dominique.
- 1753 - De l'Espérance requested permission from the Minister of Marine to go to Isle Royale where his mother was living.
- 1754 - Came out to Isle Royale as a lieutenant in a French company.
- 1758 - Presumably participated in defence of Louisbourg during siege.
- 1763 - Promoted to capitaine d'infanterie on 1 January; serving at the time on the French islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. His uncle, Gabriel François Dangeac was governor of the colony.
- 1768 - Made commandant of Miquelon on 1 August.
- 1770-73 - Admitted as chevalier in order of Saint-Louis on 1 July 1770; succeeded his uncle as governor of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon in 1773.
- 1775 - Brevet to promote him to colonel issued on 4 April.
- 1778-79 - Returned to France after English burned Saint-Pierre. Upon arrival in France the king awarded him "Le grade de Brigadier et un traitement de 4000^{fr}."
- 1783 - Received orders to return to Saint-Pierre and Miquelon to become governor again.
- 1784 - Promoted to "brigadier d'infanterie."

1785 - Returned to France.

1788 - Made maréchal de camp.

1791 - Died 5 January leaving behind an invalid wife and three children.

Religion - Was baptised a Roman Catholic in 1725; after his father's conversion in 1731 both parents were Catholic.

Compagnies Franches de la Marine

i) Compagnie de Rousseau de Souvigny/Chassin de Thierry:

Capitaine (until April 1744) - Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny (dates unknown)¹³

Born in France, probably at Blois, son of Gabriel Rousseau, sieur de la Gorre et de Villejoin, and Marie Baudron.

June 1706 - Was serving as an enseigne in the garrison at Plaisance.

1714 - Passed from Plaisance to new French colony of Isle Royale. Promoted to lieutenant in May; married Jeanne de Saint-Etienne de la Tour, widow of Jacques Pontif, during the year.

March 1730 - Promoted to capitaine of one of the compagnies franches.

August 1732 - Rousseau's wife died.

April 1736 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis.

April 1744 - Retired with pension of 1,200 livres; returned to France later in the year. Year of his death is not known.

Capitaine (after April 1744) - François-Nicolas Chassin de Thierry (? - 1755)¹⁴

Born at Versailles, France, son of Nicolas de Chassin, billeting officer for the king's household, and Charlotte Thierry.

1717-18 - Came to New France for the first time in 1717 as a cadet. Returned to France the following year.

1719-26 - Posted to Louisiana as a sous-lieutenant in 1719. After suffering from a serious illness in 1725 he returned to France in 1726.

1730 - Posted to Isle Royale where he served as an enseigne en pied.

1732 - Governor Saint-Ovide "charged him with supervising the annual assembly of the Indians of Nova Scotia and Ile Royale," a duty which he carried out to the governor's satisfaction.

- December 1734 - Married Marie-Joseph, one of the daughters of Pierre-Rousseau de Souvigny and the late Jeanne de Saint-Etienne de la Tour. Six children were born to Chassin de Thierry and his wife.
- 1737 - Promoted to lieutenant in his father-in-law's company.
- April 1744 - On the recommendation of Governor Duquesnel, Chassin de Thierry was promoted to capitaine of the company previously commanded by Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny.
- 1745 - During the early stages of the siege Chassin de Thierry and his company were posted to the Royal Battery. When it was abandoned in mid-May the company was assigned to the Dauphin Demi-Bastion, where it remained until the fortress capitulated in late June.
- 1746-49 - Presumably in France.
- 1749 - Returned to Louisbourg, still at rank of capitaine.
- April 1754 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis.
- October 1755 - Died at Louisbourg. Widow was awarded a pension of 200 livres to help raise their six children.

Lieutenant (until April 1744) - François-Nicolas Chassin de Thierry (? - 1755)
(See the section immediately above for his biographical summary)

Lieutenant (after April 1744) - François du Pont du Chambon (1712-65)¹⁵

- March 1712 - Born in France at Sérignac in the province of Saintonge on 22 March 1712. His parents were Louis du Pont du Chambon, lieutenant de roi at Louisbourg in 1744, and Jeanne Mius d'Entremont.
- May 1730 - Made enseigne en second in one of the companies on Isle Royale on 8 May.
- April 1737 - Promoted to enseigne en pied on 1 April.
- 1744-45 - Promoted to lieutenant on 1 April 1744. Returned to France after events of 1745.
- 1749 - Promoted to capitaine on 1 May 1749; returned to Louisbourg that year.

October 1750 - Married at Louisbourg on 12 October, Marie-Josephe d'Entremont, widow of Jean-Baptiste de Couagne. She was a first cousin of François du Pont du Chambon and a special dispensation was given to permit them to marry.

April 1755 - Admitted into order of Saint-Louis on 1 April.

1758 - Returned to France after the capitulation of the fortress.

1764-65 - Retired on 1 May 1764 and died in Saintonge during 1765.

Enseigne en pied - probably Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot (ca. 1704-65)

(See the section above on the garçons-majors of the staff officers where a summary of this officer's career is given).

Enseigne en Second - Pierre-Jacques Ange Rousseau de Souvigny (? - 1745)¹⁶

Neither the date nor location of Pierre-Jacques Ange Rousseau de Souvigny's birth is known. In the 1734 census he is described as being under 15 years of age and in Canada. His father was Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny (the captain who retired in April 1744) and his mother Jeanne St. Etienne de la Tour (who died in 1732).

Little is known about Pierre-Jacques Ange's military career. By 1738 he was listed as an enseigne en second in his father's company. He was still at that rank in 1745 when he died during the siege of Louisbourg.

He does not appear to have been married.

ii) Compagnie de Dailleboust

Capitaine - Charles Joseph Dailleboust (1688-1761)¹⁷

December 1688 - Born in Montréal, eldest son of Pierre Dailleboust d'Argenteuil and Marie-Louise Denys de La Ronde. Sometime during his youth he became a cadet in the compagnies franches in Acadia.

Winter 1708-09 - As a cadet accompanied his father on an expedition led by Saint-Ovide against the English forts at St. John's, Newfoundland.

- 1710-11 - Commissioned as an enseigne in July; present at the French surrender of Port Royal to Francis Nicholson. Passed to Rochefort after capitulation of Acadian capital. Returned to the colonies in the fall of 1711, arriving at Québec in October.
- 1714 - Transferred to Isle Royale.
- July 1720 - Promoted to lieutenant on 2 July.
- January 1729 - Married Marie-Josèphe Bertrand, widow of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouxin on 16 January, thereby becoming the step-father to two men who would be officers in the garrison at Louisbourg in the 1740s, Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouxin fils and Michel Rousseau d'Orfontaine. Dailleboust's marriage to Marie-Josèphe Bertrand produced three children.
- May 1730 - Named capitaine of his own company on 8 May.
- Spring 1733 - Dailleboust and his wife subdivided their property on Block 16, sold both lots and apparently moved to Block 14.
- 1745 - During the siege Dailleboust and his company were initially posted to the Island Battery, commanding the entrance to the harbour. In mid-June Dailleboust replaced capitaine Michel de Gannes de Falaise at the Pièce de la Grave Battery while the latter officer took command of the island fortification. When the fortress capitulated Dailleboust handed over the act of surrender to Admiral Peter Warren. Dailleboust left Louisbourg in 1745 on one of the last ships for Rochefort. In mid-September he was awarded the cross of the order of Saint-Louis for the services he had rendered during the siege. Marie-Josèphe Bertrand, Dailleboust's wife, died sometime between 1745 and 1749.
- May 1747 - Captured by the English during a naval engagement off the coast of France. Taken to England as a prisoner but returned to France later in the year.
- 1749-54 - Returned to Louisbourg in July 1749 as lieutenant de roi; subsequently acted as commandant on several occasions when the governor was absent. In April 1754 he was appointed lieutenant de roi at Trois-Rivières.

1755-60 - Left Louisbourg in 1755 to take his appointment at Trois-Rivières. The following year he was appointed lieutenant de roi at Montréal, where he stayed until the city capitulated in September 1760. While at Montréal, Dailleboust remarried at the age of 70. His second wife was Françoise-Charlotte Alavoine, whom he married in January 1758 and who subsequently gave birth to two sons.

October 1761 - Dailleboust died in France on 13 October.

Lieutenant - Louis de Coux (? - 1766)¹⁸

The year of de Coux's birth is not known. He was born in France, the son of Paul de Coux and Anne de Griniac, probably at Duhaute in the parish of Ségur, archbishopric of Limoges.

May 1730 - Named enseigne en pied on 8 May.

1732-36 - Posted to Isle Saint-Jean for three years, then returned to Isle Royale in 1736.

1737-45 - Promoted to lieutenant on 1 April. According to his dossier personnel he returned to Isle Saint-Jean in 1737 and remained there until 1745. On 13 January 1739 he married Anne du Pont du Chambon, a daughter of the lieutenant de roi on the island. With lieutenant de roi du Chambon's departure for Louisbourg in 1744 de Coux became the senior officer in the small garrison.

1745 - Returned to Louisbourg where he served in the siege. During the fighting he was temporarily assigned to Chassin de Thierry's company serving at the Dauphin Demi-Bastion. He was injured in that location and taken to a hospital set up in the casemates. After recuperating he rejoined Dailleboust's company. Following the capitulation of the fortress he was deported along with the others to France.

1747-48 - Returned to Canada in 1747; in 1748 detached to Isle Royale to make preparations for return of French.

March 1749 - Promoted to captain on 1 March.

1751 - Married Marguerite-Henriette, a daughter of the late Charles-Léopold Eberhard de l'Esperance and Marguerite Dangeac. She died in 1758 at Louisbourg.

- 1753-57 - Commandant at Port Dauphin. He was awarded the cross of Saint-Louis on 1 April 1755.
- 1758-60 - Served in second siege and taken to England. Following an exchange in 1759 de Coux passed to France. In 1760 de Coux was one of the officers on an expedition to Canada. His ship ran into bad weather and never completed the voyage. Returned to France.
- 1764-65 - Retired with a 600 livres pension in 1764 due to "son Grand age et Sa Mauvaise santé." He died in 1765.

Enseigne en pied - identity unknown

This position was not likely vacant but the individual occupying that rank in the Dailleboust company was either serving outside of Louisbourg in 1744-45 or serving in the capital in some other capacity.

Enseigne en Second - Eurry de la Pérelle¹⁹

Perhaps Charles-Josué Eurry de la Pérelle (1723-79)

See the discussion above in the section on de la Pérelle fils, garçon major, for an explanatory note on the difficulties involved in precisely identifying the de la Pérelle children. The summary here is based on the work of Aegidius Fauteux who stated that this officer was not made enseigne en second until 1747. If so, the Eurry de la Pérelle described in the siege accounts must have been another child of the major de la place.

1723 - Born at Louisbourg, the son of Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle and Charlotte Aubert de la Chesnaye.

1737 - Became a cadet.

1747-48 - Named enseigne en second on 1 January 1747; enseigne en pied on 15 February 1748.

1750 - Promoted to lieutenant on 15 April.

1759 - Appointed capitaine on 1 January.

1764 - Serving in Guyana. Around this time he married for the first time.

1776 - Named as a chevalier of order of Saint-Louis.

ca. 1779 - Died.

iii) Compagnie de de Gannes

Capitaine - Michel de Gannes de Falaise (1702-52)²⁰

May 1702 - Born at Port Royal, son of Louis de Gannes de Falaise and Marguerite Le Neuf de la Vallière.

May 1719 - Appointed as an enseigne in Canada.

May 1725 - At Isle Royale promoted to lieutenant on 29 May.

1730 - Named as captain of his own company on 8 May; married Elisabeth Catalogne on 21 November.

1745-46 - Participated in the siege, first at Pièce de la Grève Battery and then at the Island Battery. Returned to France following the capitulation and in September 1746 was awarded the cross of Saint-Louis.

1749 - Returned to Louisbourg and was named major de la place on 1 May.

1752 - Appointed lieutenant de roi at Trois-Rivières on 1 April but was unable to take up the post, dying in Louisbourg on 23 October. He was buried beneath the chapel of the King's Bastion Barracks.

Lieutenant - Jean d'Espiet de Pensens (ca. 1703 - ?)²¹

ca. 1703 - Born in France at Aignan, archbishopric of Auch. Son of Pierre d'Espiet de Pensens and Marie Lusarey.

May 1727 - Made enseigne en second on 16 May.

May 1730 - Promoted to enseigne en pied on 8 May.

March 1736 - Named lieutenant on 20 March.

1745 - Served in siege with rest of de Gannes' company; returned to France after the capitulation of the fortress.

January 1747 - Promoted to captain of his own company on 1 January.

April 1754 - Retired from military service on 1 April. Awarded a pension of 400 livres. Made a chevalier of order of Saint-Louis the day of his retirement.

The date of Jean d'Espiet de Pensens' death is not known.

Enseigne en pied - Joseph Sevinacq de Bellemont (dates unknown)²²

Very little is known about this junior officer other than that he arrived in Isle Royale sometime during the 1730s. He served first as an enseigne en second in du Vivier's company before being promoted, sometime after 1738. Neither Bellemont's parents, date or place of birth nor the year in which he died are known. During the first siege he served with the rest of the de Gannes company, first at the Pièce de la Grave Battery and then at the Island Battery. Nothing is known about his military career after 1745.

Enseigne en Second (until April 1744) - Michel de Merville Dangeac (? - 1759)

This officer is discussed below in the section on the Rousseau de Villejouin company, the company of which he was made enseigne en pied in April 1744.

Enseigne en Second (from April 1744) - Amable-Jean-Joseph Came de Saint-Aigne (dates unknown)²³

The date of Saint-Aigne's birth is not known but he was born in la Bastide d'Armagnac in the diocese of Aire, Gascogne, France. His parents were François Came, sieur de Saint-Aigne, and Marie-Anne Grenier de Caumale.

1737 - Cadet in the Louisbourg garrison.

April 1744 - Appointed enseigne en second in de Gannes' company.

1745 - Served in the siege with the rest of the company. Deported to France with all the other French residents of Isle Royale following the capitulation.

January-March 1747 - Made enseigne en pied on 1 January according to one source, on 1 March according to another source.

January 1749 - Married Madelaine-Louise Aubert de la Chesnaye at Québec on 13 January.

April 1750 - Named lieutenant on 15 April.

June 1752 - His first wife having died, Saint-Aigne remarried at Louisbourg on 18 June, Louise Charlotte, daughter of Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot and Madeleine Boitier.

May 1757 - Promoted to capitaine on 1 May.

1758-60 - Presumably served in second siege and then returned to France. Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis on 8 February 1760.

The dates of Saint-Aigne's retirement from military service and death are not known.

iv) Compagnie de Duvivier

Capitaine - François du Pont Duvivier (1705 - ?)²⁴

April 1705 - Born at Port Royal on 25 April, son of François du Pont Duvivier and Marie Mius d'Entremont.

August 1718 - Serving as garde-marine at Rochefort.

July 1719 - Appointed enseigne at Isle Royale on 11 July.

May 1730 - Promoted to lieutenant on 25 May.

June 1732 - Made aide-major with the rank of capitaine on 16 June.

April 1737 - Named capitaine of his own company on 1 April.

1744-45 - In 1744 he commanded the successful attack on Canso and then served as one of the leaders in the unsuccessful expedition against Annapolis Royal. In 1745 he was in France on a cong  and hence did not serve in the siege. Made a chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis on 17 May 1745.

1747 - Retired from military service.

April 1750 - Rejoined the military and was named lieutenant de roi of Isle Saint-Jean on 1 April. Appears to have remained in France and never gone out to the colony.

July 1753 - Retired from service for the second and final time on 20 July with a pension of 1,200 livres.

There is no indication that Duvivier ever married. The date of his death is not known.

Lieutenant - Louis Le Neuf de la Valli re (1713-87)²⁵

1713 - Born at Plaisance, son of Michel Le Neuf de la Valli re and Ren e Bertrand.

1725 - Accepted as a cadet.

March 1730 - Made enseigne en second on 25 March, detached to Port Toulouse.

March 1736 - Promoted to enseigne en pied on 20 March, detached to Port Toulouse.

- September 1739 - Married at Louisbourg on 20 September, Marie-Charlotte, daughter of Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny and Jeanne de Saint-Etienne de la Tour.
- May 1743 - Promoted to lieutenant in Duvivier's company on 1 May. Because of absence of Duvivier he had acted as the commandant of the company since 1737.
- 1744 - Involved in expedition to Canso and Annapolis Royal.
- 1745-49 - As Duvivier was absent in France during 1745, de la Vallière was in charge of the company during the siege. The company was posted at the Maurepas Bastion throughout the siege. When the fortress capitulated he was sent back to France.
- 1747-48 - Came out to Canada.
- 1749-50 - Received orders in Québec to go to Isle Royale for retaking of colony by the French. On 15 April 1750 he was promoted captain of his own company.
- 1750-57 - Posted to Isle Royale. Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis on 16 May 1756.
- 1758 - Served in second siege, during which he was injured. Detained in England for seven months and then transported to Rochefort.
- April 1760 - Sent from France to lend assistance to Canada. Involved in the Battle of the Restigouche, from which he escaped carrying packets from the French generals in Canada to the Minister.
- 1764-65 - Named major commanding the troops at Cayenne on 1 May 1764; promoted to lieutenant de roi in 1765.
- 1773 - Received a brevet for lieutenant-colonel on 6 June.
- 1785 - Awarded a pension of 4,000 livres.
- 1787 - Appears to have died during the year.

Enseigne en pied - Louis du Pont du Chambon de Vergor (1713 - ?)²⁶

September 1713 - Born on 20 September at Sérignac in Saintonge, France, the son of Louis du Pont du Chambon and Jeanne Mius d'Entremont.

- April 1737 - Made enseigne en second on 1 April.
- May 1743 - Promoted to enseigne en pied on 1 May.

1744-45 - Participated in 1744 raid on Canso. During the siege of 1745 he served at the Demi-Bastion Dauphin and Pièce de la Grave Battery; was injured twice during the conflict. Returned to France after the fortress capitulated.

March 1749 - Named lieutenant on 1 March.

April 1750-51 - Promoted to capitaine of his own company on 1 April. With the assistance of the intendant of Canada, François Bigot, Vergor obtained a transfer to Québec in 1751, where he continued as a captain.

May-July 1752 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis on 15 May; married Marie Josephte Riverin at Québec on 8 July.

1754-55 - At Versailles he received orders to take command of Fort Beauséjour. Was the commander at the fort in 1755 when it was besieged and captured by the English. Passed to Canada where he continued active military service.

1757-59 - In 1757 and 1758 he carried out assignments in Canada contributing to the defence of the colony. In 1759 he was in charge of the detachment guarding Anse au Foulon at Québec, the location where the English landed and climbed to the Plains of Abraham. After the fall of Québec he returned to France. Appears to have retired from military service in 1759.

1761-75 - Living in Anjou in 1761; in 1775 he was in Saintonge, the province of his birth.

Enseigne en Second - Michel Rousseau d'Orfontaine (ca. 1715-87)²⁷

ca. 1715 - Born on Isle Royale, probably at Louisbourg, ca. 1715; son of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoux and Marie-Josephte Bertrand.

1732 - Serving as a cadet on Isle Royale; attached to several detachments pursuing deserters.

April 1739 - Made enseigne en second on 1 April.

1744-45 - Participated in the 1744 expedition against Annapolis Royal; during the 1745 siege he served with the rest of Duvivier's company at the Maurepas Bastion. Following the capitulation of the fortress he was deported to France.

- 1747-48 - Commissioned as an enseigne en pied on 1 January. Later that year he embarked with the de la Jonquière expedition destined for Canada. Captured and imprisoned in England for six months. When released he returned to Rochefort where he worked at recruiting soldiers for Canada.
- March 1749 - Promoted to lieutenant on 1 March and ordered to go to Louisbourg.
- 1750-58 - Named capitaine of his own company on 15 April 1750. Detached to Isle Saint-Jean where he remained until 1756 when given permission to return to France to recuperate from his illnesses. While en route from Louisbourg he was captured in July 1756 by an English ship and sent to England where he stayed for the next nine months. In 1757 he was released and while returning to Isle Royale was captured for the second time, this time being detained for seven months. During 1758 he was released and went to France rather than Isle Royale due to his poor health.
- February 1760 - Made a chevalier of order of Saint-Louis on 8 February.
- 1761 - Given a recruiting assignment at Rochefort.
- 1768 - Retired due to illness; accorded pension of 800 livres.
- 1787 - Died in France.

v) Compagnie de Bonnaventure

Capitaine - Claude-Elizabeth Denys de Bonnaventure (1701-60)²⁸

- June 1701 - Born at La Rochelle on 22 June, son of Simon-Pierre Denys de Bonnaventure and Jeanne Jannière.
- 1717 - Came out to Isle Royale as a cadet.
- July 1720 - Named as enseigne en second on 2 July; posted to Isle Saint-Jean until 1724 when he returned to Isle Royale.
- May 1730 - Commissioned lieutenant on 25 May.
- April 1737 - Appointed aide-major with rank of capitaine on 1 April.
- April 1738 - Named as capitaine of his own company.

- 1744-45 - Commanded a sea force in the 1744 expedition against Annapolis Royal; in 1745 he and his company were stationed from the Maurepas Bastion to the Brouillan Bastion. Returned to France following the capitulation of the fortress.
- 1747-49 - Married his cousin, Louise Denys de la Ronde at Québec on 25 November 1747. On 7 February 1748 he was appointed acting major of the Isle Royale companies in Canada. He was made a chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis on 22 February. In 1749 Bonnaventure and his wife moved to Louisbourg.
- 1749-54 - Detached to Isle Saint-Jean, first as acting major and commandant and then from 1 April 1751 full major commanding on the island.
- 1754-58 - Named lieutenant de roi at Louisbourg on 1 April 1754. Remained in this position until the capitulation of the fortress in 1758. Returned to France in poor health.
- May 1760 - Died at Rochefort.

Lieutenant - Gabriel François Dangeac (1709-82)²⁹

- January 1709 - Born at Plaisance on 20 January, son of Gabriel Dangeac and Marguerite Bertrand.
- May 1723 - Named enseigne en second on 1 May.
- May 1730 - Appointed enseigne en pied on 8 May.
- June 1732 - Promoted to lieutenant on 16 June.
- December 1735 - Married Geneviève La Fèrre on 31 December.
- 1738-41 - Served as officer commanding the detachment at Port Dauphin; his family lived with him there.
- 1744-45 - Returned in the spring of 1744 to be commandant at Port Dauphin; brought back to Louisbourg in 1745 to serve in the siege along with the other officers and men of Bonnaventure's company in the vicinity of the Brouillan and Maurepas Bastions. Deported to France after the capitulation of the fortress.
- January 1747 - Named capitaine of his own company on 1 January; served in Canada before returning to Isle Royale.
- 1751-56 - In Port Dauphin area with his company performing work on roads and other duties. On 24 March 1754 he was awarded the cross of the order of Saint-Louis.

- 1758-60 - Presumably served in the second siege of Louisbourg. In 1760 he was in command of the losing French forces at the Battle of the Restigouche, after which he returned to France.
- 1763-73 - Named governor of remaining French possessions in North America, the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, on 23 February 1763. He held that appointment until his retirement in 1773 when his nephew, the Baron de l'Espérance, succeeded him.
- 1780-82 - Became brigadier d'infanterie in 1780 and died in France on 9 March 1782.

Enseigne en pied - de Renon (dates unknown)³⁰

There is very little information on this officer other than his promotion dates for the period 1732-50. He is thought to have been the son of Michel du Pont de Renon, an officer in the compagnies-franches de la marine in Acadia and then Isle Royale, and Anne Desgoutins.

June 1732 - Named enseigne en second on 16 June.

April 1741 - Promoted to enseigne en pied in April 1741.

1744-45 - Participated in the expedition against Annapolis Royal in 1744; during the 1745 siege he served with the other officers and men of Bonnaventure's company in the vicinity of the Brouillan and Maurepas Bastions.

January 1747 - Commissioned as a lieutenant on 1 January.

April 1750 - Made a capitaine of his own company.

Enseigne en Second - de Caubet (ca. 1712 - ?)³¹

There is very little information on this officer other than his promotion dates for the period 1743-50.

ca. 1712 - Born; location not known.

May 1743 - Appointed enseigne en second on 1 May.

1744-45 - Participated in the expedition against Annapolis Royal in 1744; during the 1745 siege he served with the other officers and men of Bonnaventure's company in the vicinity of the Brouillan and Maurepas Bastions.

April 1750 - Promoted to lieutenant at Isle Royale.

vi) Compagnie de d'Espiet de la Plagne

Capitaine - Pierre-Paul d'Espiet de la Plagne (dates unknown)³²

The date of this officer's birth is not known. He was a native of Aignan, archbishopric of Auch, a son of Pierre d'Espiet de Pensens and Marie Lusarey. Two brothers of Pierre-Paul served as officers in the Isle Royale garrison, one of whom, Jean d'Espiet de Pensens, was a lieutenant in the de Gannes company in 1744.

1723 - Appointed enseigne at Isle Royale, presumably enseigne en pied.

May 1730 - Promoted to lieutenant.

April 1737 - Named capitaine of his own company.

April 1739 - Married Marie Charlotte de Lort, daughter of Guillaume de Lort and Charlotte Gauthier, on 23 April.

1745 - D'Espiet and his company served in the siege from the Princess Demi-Bastion to the Porte de la Reine. Deported to France following the capitulation.

1747 - Awarded the cross of Saint-Louis; retired from military service.

Lieutenant - Michel du Pont du Vivier de Gourville (1710-65)³³

April 1710 - Born at Port Royal on 2 April, son of François du Pont du Vivier and Marie Mius d'Entremont. He had two brothers in the Isle Royale garrison of 1744, an uncle and four cousins.

March 1730 - Appointed enseigne en second on 26 March.

March 1736 - Named enseigne en pied on 20 March.

September 1737 - Married Marie-Josephte Gauthier, daughter of Nicolas Gauthier and Marie-Allain. Wedding at Louisbourg on 15 September.

June 1742 - Promoted to lieutenant on 1 June.

1745 - During the siege he served with the other officers and men of d'Espiet's company at the Princess Demi-Bastion and from there along to the Porte de la Reine. Following the capitulation of the fortress he was deported to France.

1749-50 - Presumably returned to Isle Royale in 1749. On 15 April 1750 he was promoted to capitaine in charge of his own company.

1758 - Returned to France following the siege.

February 1760 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis on 8 February.

1764-65 - Retired from military service on 1 May 1764; died in 1765.

Enseigne en pied - identity unknown - probably Joseph du Pont du Vivier (1707-60)³⁴

This position was not vacant but the individual occupying that rank was either serving outside of Louisbourg in 1745, and hence was not mentioned in the accounts of the siege, or was serving in some other capacity. The individual who was most likely the enseigne en pied in this company was Joseph du Pont du Vivier, a brother of the officer above. In 1738 du Vivier held that rank in d'Espiet's company and there is no record of his being transferred to another company between 1738 and 1745. The reason he was not mentioned in accounts of the company's performance during the siege is that he was not in Louisbourg but detached to Isle Saint-Jean. The following biographical sketch is provided on the assumption that Joseph du Pont du Vivier was enseigne en pied in d'Espiet's company in 1744.

November 1707 - Born in Acadia on 12 November, a son of François du Pont du Vivier and Marie Mius d'Entremont. In 1744 he had two brothers serving as officers in the Isle Royale garrison.

June 1732 - Appointed enseigne en second on 1 June.

April 1738 - Named enseigne en pied on 1 April.

1745 - Appears to have been the only officer left on Isle Saint-Jean in 1745.

January 1747 - Commissioned lieutenant on 1 January.

1749-50 - Returned to Isle Royale when the colony was restored to France. Promoted capitaine of his own company on 15 April 1750. Later that year, 24 October, he married Marie-Josephte Le Borgne de Belle-Isle, widow of Jacques-Philippe-Urbain Rondeau.

1760 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis on 8 February. Died during the year.

Enseigne en Second - François du Pont du Chambon de Mézillac (1720 - ?)³⁵

October 1720 - Born at Louisbourg on 8 October, son of Louis du Pont du Chambon and Jeanne Mius d'Entremont. He was a cousin of the two officers immediately above.

May 1743 - Appointed enseigne en second on 1 May.

1745 - Served in the siege in Louisbourg along the fortifications from the Princess Demi-Bastion to the Porte de la Reine. Deported to France after the fortress capitulated.

January 1747 - Made enseigne en pied on 1 January.

April 1750 - Promoted to lieutenant in April 1750.

February 1756 - Named capitaine of his own company on 15 February.

1758-69 - Presumably served in the second siege of Louisbourg, after which he returned to France. Married Marie-Geneviève Hertel de Beaulac, the widow of a fellow officer, Michel Merville Dangeac, on 18 December 1760. Served at Saint-Dominique as a capitaine until he retired in 1769.

July 1770 - Made chevalier of order of Saint-Louis.

vii) Compagnie de Duhaquet

Capitaine - Robert Tarride Duhaquet (ca. 1702-03 - 57)³⁶

ca. 1702-03 - Born in parish of Estang, bishopric of Aire in Gascogne, son of Charles Tarride Duhaquet and Antoinette de Saint-Chéran.

May 1723 - Appointed enseigne en second on Isle Royale on 1 May.

May 1728 - Made enseigne en pied on 10 May. Posted to Isle Saint-Jean.

May 1730 - Promoted to lieutenant on 8 May. Served at Louisbourg from 1731 to 1736 when he returned to Isle Saint-Jean as interim commander.

September 1737 - Married in Louisbourg, Marguerite Rousseau de Villejouin, daughter of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin (an officer) and Marie-Josephte Bertrand. Began construction in 1737 of a house on property he owned on Block 17 at Louisbourg.

April 1738 - Became aide-major with rank of captain.

- April 1739 - Made a capitaine with his own company.
- 1745 - Duhaget and his company served in the siege in the Bastion de la Reine and from there along the curtain wall to the Porte de la Reine. Deported to France following the capitulation of the fortress.
- 1748-49 - Admitted as a chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis on 22 February 1748. Duhaget was assigned recruiting duties at Brest and Toulon in preparation for the French return to Isle Royale. In 1749 he returned to the colony as the officer commanding at Port Toulouse.
- June 1750 - Mutiny at Port Toulouse in the course of which Duhaget was injured. He returned to France to recuperate.
- 1751-52 - Back to Louisbourg in 1751; in 1752 the governor, Jean-Louis de Raymond, recommended that he be retired.
- July 1753 - Promoted to major de la place.
- 1757 - Returned to France in declining health and died on 19 December.

Lieutenant - Pierre Benoist (ca. 1695-1763)³⁷

- ca. 1695 - Born at Saint-Médard de Verteuil, bishopric of Poitiers, a son of François Benoist and Marie-Anne Tibierge.
- 1720s - Married Anne Levron sometime before coming to Louisbourg or at Louisbourg before the fall of 1722, after which time there are extant parish records.
- May 1723 - Appointed enseigne en second at Isle Royale on 1 May.
- May 1730 - Promoted to enseigne en pied on 8 May.
- January 1733 - First wife died.
- January 1734 - Married Anne Jacau, daughter of Thomas Jacau, maitre cannonier and Anne Melanson on 10 January.
- April 1738 - Named lieutenant on 1 April.
- 1742-45 - Served as the officer commanding the detachment at Port Toulouse. Hence was not in Louisbourg in 1744. In 1745 Port Toulouse was attacked by a small force of New Englanders and Benoist and his men retreated to the interior. Towards the end of the siege they arrived at Louisbourg.
- 1749 - Returned to Louisbourg, apparently without his wife, who by 1752 is referred to as the "late" Anne Jacau.

April 1750 - Promoted to capitaine of his own company.

1758 - Presumably served in the second siege. Then returned to France.

February 1760 - Admitted as a chevalier in the order of Saint-Louis.

August 1763 - Died at Rochefort on 3 August.

Enseigne en pied - identity unknown

This position was not likely vacant but the individual occupying that rank in the Duhaget company was either serving outside of Louisbourg in 1745, and hence was not mentioned in siege accounts, or was serving in some other capacity, such as garçon-major.

Enseigne en Second - Jean-Baptiste Ange du Pont du Chambon (dates unknown)³⁸

This officer is referred to in a siege account simply as "Ch. du Chambon." See the explanatory note in endnote 105 for the reasoning behind identifying him as Jean-Baptiste Ange du Pont du Chambon. The dates and places of both his birth and death are not known. He was one of several sons of Louis du Pont du Chambon, lieutenant de roi in 1744 and 1745, and Jeanne Mius d'Entremont. In addition to his father he had three brothers and three cousins in the garrison in 1744.

April 1741 - Appointed enseigne en second on 1 April.

1745 - Served in the siege with Duhaget's company at the Bastion de la Reine and from there along the curtain wall to the Porte de la Reine.

Deported to France following the capitulation of the fortress.

January 1747 - Named enseigne en pied on 1 January.

1749 - Probably returned to Isle Royale.

April 1750 - Promoted to lieutenant on 15 April.

1755 - Referred to as a capitaine of his own company in a May 1755 entry in the parish records.

June 1757 - Married Marie-Anne Roma, daughter of Jean-Pierre Roma and Marie Magdelaine Moreaux, on 29 June.

1750 - Presumably served in the second siege and then was deported to France.

viii) Compagnie de Rousseau de Villejouin

Capitaine - Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin (1709-81)³⁹

1709 - Born at Plaisance, son of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin (officer in the compagnies franches) and Marie-Josephte Bertrand.

May 1723 - Appointed enseigne en second on 1 May.

March-May 1730 - Named enseigne en pied on 15 or 25 March, then lieutenant on 8 May.

January 1733 - Married on 11 January, Anne de Gannes de Falaise, daughter of Louis François de Gannes de Falaise and Marguerite Le Neuf de la Vallière.

1737-38 - Detached to Port Toulouse where he was the officer commanding.

April 1739 - Made aide-major at Louisbourg with rank of capitaine.

April 1741 - Took command of a company at the Royal Battery .

1743-45 - In command of Royal Battery during 1743; he and his company were stationed at the King's Bastion throughout the siege of 1745. Following the capitulation of the fortress he was deported to France.

1747-48 - Captured by the English in 1747 in a naval combat and detained in England. After his return to France he was admitted as a chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis on 22 February 1748. Assigned recruiting duties in France.

1749 - Went out again to Isle Royale.

1751-52 - Commanded detachment at Port Toulouse. Villejouin's first wife died in November 1751.

1753 - Back in Louisbourg to act as the interim major de la place. On 3 December 1753 he married Barbe Le Neuf de la Vallière, widow of Louis de Lort.

1754-58 - Named in April 1754 as major of Isle Saint-Jean. Commanded there until forced by the English to evacuate in 1758.

1760 - At Rochefort acted as major of the troops from Isle Royale.

1761 - Ordered to command, at Rochefort, troops of Isle Royale, Canada, and Martinique as well as la compagnie des cadets gentils hommes.

1763 - Promoted to lieutenant colonel d'infanterie; then made governor of La Désirade. Three of his sons served under him at that posting.

1768 - Returned to France and retired with a pension of 4,000 livres and the rank of brigadier des armées du roi.

November 1781 - Died on 6 November at St. Jean D'Engely.

Lieutenant - Pierre-Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour (ca. 1714 - ?)⁴⁰

This officer was the only son of Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour, a former officer in the compagnies franches, and Angélique Loreau. De la Tour fils was born either in Acadia or on Isle Royale shortly after his father was posted there in 1714. Very little is known about his military career or personal life. After his father died in 1731 he appears to have continued to live with his mother in Louisbourg. (See section on this officer in the chapter on accommodations for more details).

1731 - Described as being about 17 years old and an enseigne en second.

1734 - Identified in the census of that year simply as being over 15 and in military service.

October 1738 - Listed as enseigne en pied.

June 1742 - Promoted to lieutenant.

1745 - Served in the siege with the rest of Rousseau de Villejouin's company at the King's Bastion. Presumably deported to France after the capitulation of the fortress.

Nothing is known about this officer after 1745 concerning either his subsequent military career or personal life.

Enseigne en pied (until April 1744) - François du Pont du Chambon (1712-65)

This officer's career is summarized above in the section on the company of Chassin de Thierry, as in April 1744 he became lieutenant of that company.

Enseigne en pied - Michel de Merville Dangeac (? - 1759)⁴¹

The year and place of Dangeac's birth are not known. His brother Gabriel François was born in Plaisance in 1709 and Michel de Merville was born sometime later, perhaps after his parents had arrived in Isle Royale in 1714. Michel's father was Gabriel François Dangeac, who was a capitaine

of one of the compagnies franches when he died in 1737, and his mother was Marguerite Bertrand.

1734 - In the 1734 census of Louisbourg it was indicated that there were two Dangeac sons (Gabriel and Michel) over 15 who were in military service. Gabriel was by that date a lieutenant so Michel de Merville must have been a cadet.

April 1738 - Named enseigne en second in the company of Michel de Gannes.
1738-42 - Served on Isle Saint-Jean.

April 1744 - Following the recommendation of Governor Duquesnel, Michel de Merville was promoted to enseigne en pied in Villejouin's company.

1745-48 - During the 1745 siege he served with the rest of Villejouin's company at the King's Bastion which came under heavy cannon and mortar fire. Returned to France when the fortress capitulated. In February 1748 he was promoted to lieutenant.

1749 - Returned to Louisbourg; probably married Marie-Geneviève de Baulac while in France. A child was born to them in Louisbourg in August 1752.

April 1750 - Promoted captain of one of companies stationed in Louisbourg.

1758-59 - Probably served in second siege of Louisbourg and then died in France the following year.

Enseigne en Second - Louis Loppinot de la Fresillière (ca. 1707-45)⁴²

The military career of Louis Loppinot de la Fresillière appears to have been unique in the history of the Louisbourg garrison as he is the only known individual who rose from being a sergent (a non-commissioned officer) to become a commissioned officer, an enseigne en second. He conceivably might have risen higher in the ranks but died in the 1745 siege.

ca. 1707 - Born in Acadia, probably at Port Royal, son of Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot, a French-born notary, clerk of the court and King's attorney at Port Royal, and Jeanne Doucet.

December 1729 - The first of three illegitimate children Louis Loppinot would father was born. The mother of all three was a Louisbourg widow named Geneviève Saint-Germain.

February 1732 - Second illegitimate child born. In the document registering the birth, Loppinot is referred to as a "sergent d'une compagnie" in the garrison.

Spring/Summer 1732 - Loppinot was in France recruiting soldiers for the garrison at Louisbourg. He acquitted himself so well that in the fall of 1732 Governor Saint-Ovide placed his name on the list of cadets, or prospective officers. The governor stated that he found him intelligent, filled with ambition and likely to make a good officer.

1735-37 - Louis Loppinot de la Fresillière referred to as a cadet in several documents.

April 1738 - The third and final illegitimate child for which Loppinot was partly responsible was born.

May 1738 - Loppinot married Josephe Seigneur, daughter of Jean Seigneur and Marie Corporon. They produced seven children in the seven years they were married; the first being born 12 days after the wedding and the seventh during the siege of 1745 in which Loppinot lost his life. Loppinot's widow returned to Louisbourg during the second period and married Jean Claparède, a master locksmith, blacksmith and merchant.

1742 - Appointed enseigne en second.

June 1745 - Louis Loppinot de la Fresillière suffered a thigh injury from a cannon shot during the siege and died from the wound 24 hours later. Throughout the siege he had served at the King's Bastion along with the other officers and men of Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin's company.

Endnotes

Officers (1744) - Accommodation

- 1 T.A. Crowley, "Government and Interests: French Colonial Administration at Louisbourg, 1713-1758," Unpublished Ph.D., Duke University, 1975, p. 108.
- 2 France. Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies (hereafter cited as A.N., Colonies), Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 3 J.S. McLennan, Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758, (Sydney, 1969), p. 98.
- 4 France. Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Archives de la France d'Outre Mer (hereafter cited as A.N., Outre Mer), Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fols. 10v.-11.
- 5 Ibid., Série G2, Vol. 179, fols. 600-03, 18 septembre 1728.
- 6 Ibid., Série G3, 2058 (1727), pièce 28, 20 octobre 1727.
- 7 Ibid., Série G1, Vol. 406, registre IV: Louisbourg 1728-38, fol. 8v, 16 janvier 1729. Dailleboust's marriage to the widow Villejouin took place the same day as Bourville's wedding.
- 8 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 11, fol. 26v, 30 novembre 1730.
- 9 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2037, pièce 118, 18 décembre 1730.
- 10 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 13, fols. 200v-01, 16 novembre 1732.
- 11 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2043, pièce 68, 22 avril 1755.
- 12 Ibid., Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fol. 11.
- 13 Ibid., Série G2, Vol. 194, Item 315, 12 décembre 1735; *ibid.*, Vol. 197, No. 129, pièce 35, 1 septembre 1740.
- 14 Ibid., Série G3, 2047-1, pièce 108, 9 mars 1750.
- 15 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fols. 181v, 182, "Bordereau des Payments ...," 9 novembre 1744.

- 16 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 69, 1734 census.
- 17 H.P. Thibault, L'Ilot 17 de Louisbourg (1713-1768), Travail Inédit Numéro 99, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1972, pp. 111-16.
- 18 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 69, "Recensement de l'Isle Royale, 1734."
- 19 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fol. 182, "Bordereau des Payments ...," 9 novembre 1744. All of the evidence in the occupants' file on Michel Hertel de Cournoyer points to his owning and living in a house on Lot A, Block 21 west.
- 20 Dictionary of Canadian Biography (hereafter cited as DCB), Vol. 3, "Jean-Maurice Josué de Boisberthelot de Beaucours," pp. 189-92; A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 23, fols. 53-55, DuQuesnel, 19 octobre 1741.
- 21 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 60, fol. 19v; *ibid.*, Série B, Vol. 74, fols. 559-59v, Maurepas à de Boisberthelot, 11 juin 1742.
- 22 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2038-1, pièce 34, 27 novembre 1731; *ibid.*, 2039-1, pièce 59, 18 septembre 1734.
- 23 Information on Boisberthelot's marriage and children is contained in Vols. 406 and 407 of the G1 Séries. Relevant references to him and his family are contained in his personal parish record file in the Archives of the Fortress of Louisbourg.
- 24 Robert J. Morgan, A History of Block 16, Louisbourg: 1713-1768, Manuscript Report Series No. 176, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1975, pp. 56-68.
- 25 This paragraph is based on two secondary sources: Allan Greer's "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745," (typed manuscript, Fortress of Louisbourg, 1976), pp. 9-10; and T.D. MacLean's forthcoming biography on Philippe-Joseph d'Allard de Sainte-Marie (c. 1710-78) to appear in Vol. 4 of the DCB.
- 26 A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 27 *Ibid.*, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fol. 182, 9 novembre 1744.
- 28 *Ibid.*, Série C11A, Vol. 126, fol. 239.

- 29 France. Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies, Amérique Septentrionale (hereafter cited as D.F.C., A.S.), No. d'ordre 216, Journal de Gerard LaCroix, fol. 15v, 7 juin 1745.
- 30 France. Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine (hereafter cited as A.N., Marine), C⁷, 4, "Allard de Sainte-Marie, Philippe-Joseph d'," fol. 27.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2041-1, pièce 26, 27 septembre 1750; *ibid.*, 2047-1, pièce 201, 8 juillet 1751; *ibid.*, 2041-1, pièce 112, 2 août 1751.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Série G2, Vol. 197-2, dossier 146, 6 décembre 1741; *ibid.*, Série G1, Vol. 407, Reg. I, fols. 72, 80.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Série G3, 2047-1, pièce 30, 15 octobre 1743.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pièce 201, 8 juillet 1751; *ibid.*, 2041-1, pièce 26, 27 septembre 1750 and pièce 112, 2 août 1751.
- 36 See Allan Greer's "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745," pp. 15-27 for a discussion of the Karrer Regiment at Louisbourg.
- 37 A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 49, fols. 741-43v, 5 février 1726.
- 38 France. Archives de la Guerre, Archives du Service Historique de l'Armée (hereafter cited as A.S.H.A.), Série xi, *passim*.
- 39 St. Ovide quoted in Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745," p. 17.
- 40 Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745," p. 22.
- 41 A.N., Colonies, Série E, 281, "L'Esperance, Charles-Gabriel-Sébastien," fol. 2.
- 42 Unless otherwise cited all of the above details on the appointments and comings and goings of Karrer officers at Louisbourg are based on an analysis of the numerous "Extrait de la Revue du Regiment Suisse de Karrer" contained in A.S.H.A., xi, *passim*.
- 43 A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 44 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2047-1, pièce 3, 7 décembre 1743 and pièce 44, 12 décembre 1743; *ibid.*, 2041-1, pièce 18, 26 septembre 1749; for the earlier ownership of the property see: *ibid.*, Série G3, 2058 (1727), pièce 34, 24 octobre 1727 and pièce 44, 16 novembre 1727; *ibid.*, 2038-1, pièce 55, 2 janvier 1731 and Série G2, Vol. 191, fol. 14, 9 juin 1732.

- 45 A.S.H.A., xi, "Deposition juridique recue par ordre de Monsieur de Karrer ... de Mrs. les officiers des detachment de la compagnie colonelle ...," 29 août 1744.
- 46 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fol. 182, 9 novembre 1744.
- 47 Ibid., fol. 231, 31 décembre 1744.
- 48 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2038-1, pièce 80, 13 novembre 1732. Close inter-family ties are apparent in the attempt to sell Lots D and E on Block 38 in 1738. A sale was made then fell through four days later. In both documents the de l'Esperance family is listed as among the parties concerned on the Dangeac side. A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-1, pièce 106, 27 octobre 1738 and pièce 107, 31 octobre 1738.
- 49 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 21, fols. 59-60v, 14 novembre 1739.
- 50 In A History of Block 16, Louisbourg: 1713-1768, p. 65, Morgan stated that "Charles Gabriel Sébastien and his mother lived with the family of Gabriel François Dangeac until 1756." While not strictly true, as Charles Gabriel remained in France and then served at Saint-Dominque after his mother had returned to Louisbourg with the Dangeac family, the statement does indicate the close ties between the de l'Esperance and Dangeac families.
- 51 Greer, The Soldiers of Isle Royale, Table 1, pp. 117, 118.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 8, 9.
- 53 A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 78, fols. 397, 397v, 21 avril 1744.
- 54 Pierre Rousseau de Souvigny had another son-in-law who was a lieutenant in the garrison, Louis le Neuf de la Vallière. De la Vallière had only been promoted to that rank in 1743 and was probably never under consideration for the captaincy.
- 55 The recommendation by Governor DuQuesnel to promote Chassin de Thierry is located in A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 59, 60, 1 avril 1744.
- 56 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fols. 104-05, Bigot, 18 octobre 1744.
- 57 Greer, The Soldiers of Isle Royale, p. 13; A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 78, fols. 397, 397v, 21 avril 1744.
- 58 Greer, The Soldiers of Isle Royale, p. 13.

- 59 A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 78, fols. 397, 397v, 21 avril 1744; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 60 Greer, The Soldiers of Isle Royale, p. 13.
- 61 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fols. 181v, 182. The widow Galan received 250 livres for providing the lieutenant's accommodation while Sr Vergor (likely the officer in the garrison, Louis du Pont du Chambon de Vergor) received 200 livres for providing the subaltern officer's quarters.
- 62 A.N., Colonies, Série E98, dossier personnel on "de Coux, Louis"; see his "état de service."
- 63 *Ibid.*, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 59-60, 1 avril 1744; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745. The garrison organizational chart drawn up sometime in the past lists Joseph du Pont du Vivier as a lieutenant but all the sources I have looked at give 1 janvier 1747 as the date on which he attained that rank. See Aegidius Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada (Montréal, 1940), p. 175 and Canada, Québec, Archives du Séminaire de Québec (hereafter cited as A.S.O.), Papiers ... Surlaville, Polygraphie 35, No. 36, "Ancienneté de Service de Mess^{rs} Les Capitaines."
- 64 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 15, fols. 32v, 33, 24 octobre 1734.
- 65 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 196, dossier 93, pièce 2, 8 février 1736.
- 66 See Figures 7, 8 and 9 in Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, Vol. 4, Nos. 1-2, 1972 and Figure 17 in Morgan, A History of Block 16, p. 210.
- 67 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 180, fols. 613-15, 5 avril 1731.
- 68 Reference of this distribution of the estate is made in A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-2, pièce 4, 15 septembre 1741.
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 *Ibid.*, pièce 35, 15 septembre 1741.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 2047-1, pièce 40, 17 novembre 1743.
- 72 A.N., Colonies, Série D.F.C., A.S., No. d'ordre 216, p. 20, 25 juin 1745.
- 73 Plan 1746-8a, which is Figure 17 in Morgan, A History of Block 16, p. 210.

- 74 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 201, dossier 257, pièce 1, 22 juillet 1752 and pièce 3, 18 décembre 1752.
- 75 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 59-60, 1 avril 1744; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 160.
- 76 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738.
- 77 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-2, pièce 35, 15 septembre 1741.
- 78 Thibault, L'Ilot 17 de Louisbourg, pp. 129-34.
- 79 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 36-39.
- 80 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2038-2, pièce 63, 2 mars 1733 and pièce 61, 21 mai 1733.
- 81 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 15, fol. 31v, 24 octobre 1734.
- 82 See for instance 1730-2, 1731-3, N.D. 24, N.D. 89.
- 83 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 207, No. 474, fol. 55v; *ibid.*, Vol. 187, fol. 178.
- 84 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 28, fol. 143, 20 août 1749; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2047-1, pièce 75, 31 juillet 1749.
- 85 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 159; A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fols. 181v, 182.
- 86 Thibault, L'Ilot 17 de Louisbourg, pp. 75-87.
- 87 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 69-75, 82-85.
- 88 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 197-1, No. 135, pièce 8, 26 septembre 1740.
- 89 Bellemont was godfather to three children in Louisbourg, each one the offspring of a fellow officer. A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 407, Reg. I, fol. 73, 7 juillet 1741; *ibid.*, fol. 84v, 16 décembre 1741; *ibid.*, Reg. II, fol. 4, 5 août 1742.
- 90 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 178.
- 91 T.D. MacLean, A History of Block 4, Louisbourg: 1713-1768, Fortress of Louisbourg, Manuscript Report Series No. 176, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1974, pp. 17-37.
- 92 A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 30, fols. 228-29v, 18 octobre 1751.
- 93 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 69-81; A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 27, fol. 131, (juillet 1744).

- 94 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fol. 31, 15 septembre 1735; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 145.
- 95 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-2, pièce 149, 16 novembre 1742; *ibid.*, 2047-2, pièce 32, 17 avril 1752; *ibid.*, 2045, pièce 27, 28 juin 1757.
- 96 A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 78, fols. 397-97v, 21 avril 1744; *ibid.*, Série C11B, Vol. 26, fol. 182; *ibid.*, Vol. 21, fols. 59-60v, 14 novembre 1739.
- 97 De Renon's name does not appear in the parish record file or the occupant's file. A biography of the man thought to be his father is to be found in DCB, Vol. II, p. 205.
- 98 All of the information on de Caubet's career comes from A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, Papiers . . . Surlaville, No. 29, "Ancienneté de Service des Lieutenants." His age was given in A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 24, fols. 55-55v, DuQuesnel, 8 octobre 1742.
- 99 Morgan, A History of Block 16pp. 82-85. See the discussion above on lieutenant Jean d'Espiet de la Plagne for the reasoning behind why it is suggested he was living in his brother's house.
- 100 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 183-2, dossier 23, pièce 179, 4 juin 1736; *ibid.*, Vol. 197, dossier 129, pièce 35, 1 septembre 1740.
- 101 See for instance A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 197-2, dossier 142, No. 5, 19 avril 1741.
- 102 Thibault, L'Ilot 17 de Louisbourg, pp. 134-36; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 197, dossier 155, pièce 5. Thibault was apparently not aware of the reference to Duhaget living on Rue de l'Estang in 1741.
- 103 A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 78, fols. 397-97v, 21 avril 1744; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 104 Brenda Dunn, "Block 2", unpublished manuscript, Fortress of Louisbourg, 1971, Section on Lot C.
- 105 In Louis du Pont du Chambon's account of the siege this junior officer is referred to simply as "le Ch. du Chambon." A list of the officers of Isle Royale for the second period lists only one officer who was "Ch. du Chambon," whose career dates would have placed him as an enseigne en second at Louisbourg in 1744. The parish record file at

Louisbourg lists several du Chambon officers, children of Louis du Pont du Chambon, but only one who signed his name "Ch. du Chambon" or "Chevalier du Chambon." This was Jean-Baptiste-Angé du Pont du Chambon who used that signature repeatedly in the 1740s and 1750s. A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745; A.S.Q., Papiers ... Surlaville, Polygraphie 55, No. 27, "Etat des Services de M^{rs} Les Lieutenants, Enseigns En Pied"; parish record file at Fortress of Louisbourg.

- 106 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 36-39; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fol. 27, 15 septembre 1735.
- 107 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-2, pièce 70, 26 octobre 1741.
- 108 Ibid., 2041-2, pièce 86, 5 novembre 1754.
- 109 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 124; DCB, Vol. II, pp. 591-92.
- 110 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fol. 18v, 15 septembre 1735; *ibid.*, Série G3, 2058 (1727), pièce 35, 24 octobre 1727.
- 111 This statement is based on an analysis of the parish record file at the Fortress of Louisbourg.
- 112 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 407, Reg. I, fol. 13, 29 septembre 1738; *ibid.*, fols. 26-26v, 2 mai 1739.
- 113 A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 74, fols. 576-76v, Maurepas à DuQuesnel, 11 juin 1742.
- 114 *Ibid.*, Série C11B, Vol. 20, fol. 18, "Demandes Particuliers", 1738.
- 115 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-1, pièce 9, 26 juillet 1737; A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 91, fol. 325, 5 avril 1750 and Vol. 93, fols. 232, 232v, 25 mai 1751.
- 116 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G3, 2046-1, pièce 106, 27 octobre 1738; *ibid.*, pièce 107, 31 octobre 1738; *ibid.*, 2041-1, pièce 63, 1 septembre 1750.
- 117 Michel de Merville Dangeac's name appears several times in the parish record file up to 1745 but none of the references indicate that he was married. By way of contrast most of the references to him in the period from 1749 to 1758 mention that he was married to Marie Geneviève de Baulac. The first reference to the fact that he was married is A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 408, Reg. II, fol. 13, 20 août 1752.

118 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fol. 35, 15 septembre 1735.

Officers (1744) - Biographical Summaries

- 1 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 117; A.N., Marine, C7, 42, dossier personnel on "Bourville, François de (Le Coutre)"; DCB, Vol. 111, pp. 367-68.
- 2 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 127.
- 3 Ibid., p. 132; Thibault, L'Ilot 17 de Louisbourg, pp. 111-14.
- 4 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 60, fols. 2v, 14v, 15, 19v; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 406, Reg. IV: Louisbourg, 1728-38, fol. 23; *ibid.*, Vol. 408, Reg. I, fol. 113v; *ibid.*, Série B, Vol. 74, fols. 559-59v, 11 juin 1742; *ibid.*, Vol. 84, fol. 297v, 28 février 1746; DCB, Vol. III, pp. 189-92.
- 5 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 156-57; Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 56-60.
- 6 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738; Thibault, L'Ilot 17, p. 114; Fortress of Louisbourg Archives, Parish Record File entries on de la Pérelle.
- 7 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 147; A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 60, fols. 6, 6v, 10, 18; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, Papiers . . . Surlaville, No. 35, "Ancienneté de services des capitaines des Troupes"; T.D. MacLean's forthcoming biography on Sainte-Marie, to appear in DCB, Vol. 4.
- 8 A.N., Marine, C7, 335, dossier personnel on "Vallée"; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 180; DCB, Vol. III, pp. 636-37; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 29; Fortress of Louisbourg Archives, Parish Record File on Vallée.
- 9 A.S.H.A., xi, passim; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 407, Reg. II, fol. 49v; A.N., Colonies, Série B, Vol. 82, fol. 324; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745; D.F.C., A.S., No. d'ordre 216, LaCroix Journal, fol. 6, 17 juillet 1745.

- 10 A.S.H.A., xi, passim; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 407, Reg. I, fols. 18, 82; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 11 A.S.H.A., xi, passim; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 407, Reg. II, fol. 50; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 12 A.S.H.A., xi, passim; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis...., p. 215; A.N., Colonies, Série E281, "L'Espérance, Charles-Gabriel-Sébastien, baron de"; ibid., Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 13 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 131-32; A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 59-60, 1 avril 1744.
- 14 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 158; DCB, Vol. III, pp. 115-16; A.N., Marine, Série C7, 320, dossier personnel on "Chassin, Thierry de"; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 15 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 160; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 408, fol. 125v.
- 16 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738; ibid., Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 17 DCB, Vol. III, pp. 5-6; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 140-41.
- 18 A.N., Colonies, Série E98, dossier personnel on "de Coux, Louis"; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 159.
- 19 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 217.
- 20 Ibid., p. 142; DCB, Vol. III, pp. 235-36.
- 21 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 70-82; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 157; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers."
- 22 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738; ibid., Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 23 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 178; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers."

- 24 MacLean, A History of Block 4, p. 30; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 141-42.
- 25 A.N., Colonies, Série E277, dossier personnel on "Le Neuf de la Vallière, Louis"; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté . . ."; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 163.
- 26 A.N., Marine Série C7, 343, dossier personnel on "Vergor, Louis Dupont de Chambon de"; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 152-53.
- 27 A.N., Marine, Série C7, 287, dossier personnel on "Rousseau d'Orfontaine"; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 180.
- 28 DCB, Vol. III, pp. 175-76; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 145.
- 29 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 62-65; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 156; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté".
- 30 DCB, Vol. II, p. 205; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745; *ibid.*, Série C11B, Vol. 25, fol. 46, 2 novembre 1744; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté".
- 31 A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers"; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745; *ibid.*, Série C11B, Vol. 25, fol. 46, 2 novembre 1749.
- 32 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 143-44; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 33 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 174-75; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers".
- 34 A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, Fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 175; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 35 Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 196; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 36 DCB, Vol. III, pp. 615-16; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, pp. 145-46; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers"; A.N., Colonies, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.

- 37 Brenda Dunn, "The Private Properties on Block 2, Louisbourg," unpublished manuscript, Fortress of Louisbourg; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 177; A.N., Marine, Série C7, 25, dossier personnel on "Pierre Benoist"; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers."
- 38 A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers"; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 409, Reg. I, fol. 57, 1 mai 1757; *ibid.*, Reg. II, fol. 22v, 29 juin 1757.
- 39 A.N., Marine Série C7, 287, dossier personnel on "Rousseau de Villejouin Gabriel"; Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, p. 146; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers."
- 40 A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 69, Recensement de l'Isle Royale, 1734; *ibid.*, Série G2, Vol. 180, p. 546, 31 octobre 1731; A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738; *ibid.*, Série B, Vol. 74, fols. 576-76v, 11 juin 1742; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745.
- 41 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 60-65; A.S.Q., Polygraphie 55, No. 28, "Datte d'Ancienneté des Officiers"; A.N., Colonies, Série D2C, Vol. 48, fols. 22-25, 1 octobre 1738; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G1, Vol. 466, pièce 69, Recensement de l'Isle Royale, 1734.
- 42 Morgan, A History of Block 16, pp. 56-58; A.N., Colonies, Série C11B, Vol. 12, fol. 201, 22 avril 1732; *ibid.*, fol. 267, 15 novembre 1732; *ibid.*, Série B, Vol. 57, fol. 761, 19 juin 1732; *ibid.*, Série C11C, Vol. 16, No. 26 (2nd Series), 23 septembre 1745; D.F.C., A.S., No. d'ordre 216, LaCroix Journal, 17 juillet 1745; A.N., Outre Mer, Série G2, Vol. 184, fol. 435, 13 février 1737; France. Archives Maritime, Série 1E, Vol. 116, fol. 280, 15 avril 1732; Parish Record File entries at Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park.

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