

LES TROUPES DE LA MARINE, 1683-1713

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ABSTRACT

The increasing need for troops in Canada coincided with the expansion of the troupes de la marine in France. Colbert and Seignelay, who were responsible for both marine and colony, responded to the 1682 appeal from Canada for troops by sending troupes de la marine. The decision to send troupes de la marine instead of troupes de terre was a result of the rivalry between Minister of Marine Colbert and his son Seignelay on the one hand, and Minister of War Louvois on the other. Events in Canada soon dictated, however, that the troops be maintained in the colony on a permanent basis. In the years which followed, the number of administrative offices and the size of the rank and file increased appreciably.

In 1684 and 1687 the soldiers and officers were arranged in orderly fashion in companies in readiness for combat, but the European style of war, waged by massive campaigns in which sheer numbers counted, was soon

abandoned for the more cunning and less formal North American style. Similarly, within the settlements themselves, the company as a unit was only in evidence on those days when reviews, parades, or drilling exercises, were held. In essence, the company became an administrative concept which, in reality, was rarely seen.

It was common practice for the soldiers to forfeit their military pay to their officers, thereby being free to earn a higher wage in the towns or on the farms of the habitants. In times of war, soldiers' places in combat were often filled by their civilian employers, whose greater competence in North American warfare went unquestioned. The soldier, in turn, guarded the settlement. Although this arrangement could have produced friction between habitant and soldier, in fact, this situation tended to solidify the bond which existed between persons of similar social status. The number of marriages of soldiers with habitants' daughters supports this contention.

The Canadian officer, and the French officer resident in the colony for several years, were as adept as the Indian in handling the North American climate, topography, and warfare, and this proficiency was used to great advantage in the confrontations with the Iroquois and English. However, the commissioned officers, imbued with the social values of their class, sought by various means to finance

their social positions, often in contravention of military regulations. These attempts to find additional income, and the existence of both naval and military commissions, frequently led to conflicts within the commissioned officer rank.

Although the colonial regular troops did not function as originally planned, the colony was able to survive the ravages of war during the period under study.

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by

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## INTRODUCTION

Although all monographs on the French régime in Canada contain references to either military events or military persons, no adequate study exists of the colony's standing army - the troupes de la marine. The decision to write this thesis was taken in the hope that I might provide such a study. After studying the primary and secondary source material for the period 1683-1713, I decided that in the realm of military policies, strategies and events, I had little to add which is not already available in the works, listed in the bibliography of this thesis, of W. J. Eccles and Y. F. Zoltvany. However, the background, structure, and personnel of the troupes de la marine had never been the subject of an in-depth study, and it was to these aspects of the troops that I devoted my attention.

I was able to piece together the background of the troupes de la marine in France by relying on secondary sources and on a dozen regulations. Because the structure of the troops in Canada was altered by each addition or elimination of a rank, close attention had to be paid to

primary sources. The finding of information on the individual and collective lives of the men who became soldiers and officers presented the greatest problem in this study, because such information on their lives before they came to Canada could not be found in Canadian archival sources. Documentation of the period has left the soldiers, for the most part, nameless and ageless; there are no contrôles or signalements of the troops, in which might be found height, nationality, region of origin, occupation, religion, etc.; soldiers had few dealings with notaries, and in accounts of campaigns only the number of participating soldiers is mentioned. In brief, the sole primary source of information about the soldiers themselves is the parish registers, and even these concern only those soldiers who married, presented a child for baptism, or who died, in a parish. As a consequence, the conclusions I have presented are, of necessity, limited.

The study of the commissioned officers posed a different problem due to the fact that, although the lives of the most active were well-documented in primary and secondary sources, there were dozens whose names appeared only once. Several, of unknown marital status, were described as officier, without classification of rank. However, the names, class, and ranks of at least 90% of the commissioned officers may be gathered from official correspondence, marriage contracts, baptisms, and sundry notarial deeds.

Lastly, the non-military activities of both soldiers and commissioned officers were well-documented in the government correspondence.

To a large extent, therefore, this thesis has been shaped by the material available in Canada, and as such, it is not a definitive work but rather one which may provide a base for future research.

The development of the troupes de la marine in France is presented within the context of French military and political events, both domestic and foreign. Hence, the response of the French Court to the military frictions in Canada which led to LeFebvre de la Barre's 1682 request for assistance may be better understood. After a brief consideration of the new style of warfare necessitated by North American factors, the growth of the military superstructure in Canada from 1683 to 1713 is discussed. The recruitment of the regular soldier in this period is then treated, and an attempt is made to show his limited social milieu in the colony. Finally, the social and military aspirations of the commissioned officer are examined, with the result that a distinct difference between his opportunities and those of the regular soldier is evident.

The personnel of several institutions have accorded me courtesy and help in my search for material - in Ottawa, the staff of the Pre-Confederation Section of the Public Archives of Canada, and the librarians of the Public

Archives Library and of the National Library; in Montreal, the commanding officer of the Musée Militaire et Maritime de Montréal (Ile Ste. Hélène), the librarians and staffs of the Sir George Williams University Library, the Salle Gagnon of the Bibliothèque Municipale, and the Rare Book Room of the McGill University Library; in Three Rivers, the protonotary and staff of the Archives judiciaires de Trois-Rivières; and in Quebec City, the staff of the Archives de la province de Québec.

Financial assistance from several sources has helped to sustain me in the preparation of this thesis. My position of research assistant to Professor Yves F. Zoltvany during one year was financed by the French Canada Studies Programme of McGill University. Numerous part-time jobs, long-term obligations to the Bank of Montreal, and short-term agreements with family and friends have helped to pay tuition fees, travel expenses, etc.

In a more personal vein, I cannot put into words the debt I owe to my wife, Sandy, and to my two friends, Peter Hawkins and William Hay. My special thanks are due to Mrs. Elizabeth Wood, who typed this thesis before and after working hours while her husband and daughter were hospitalized. Finally, one of the most important factors in the preparation of a thesis is the thesis director, and in this respect I have been most fortunate to have worked under the super-

vision of Professor Zoltvany. His professionalism and guidance have been of inestimable value and I am deeply indebted to him. Any errors of commission or omission are, of course, my own.

CHAPTER I  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
TROUPES DE LA MARINE OF FRANCE

To appreciate fully the military problems encountered by the administrators of Canada, a survey of the evolution of the troupes de la marine is required. This review does not attempt to deal with the navy in general, but only with the naval infantry troops from whose ranks the colonial regular troops of New France were eventually drawn. Chapter I, then, traces the history of various naval infantry regiments and companies, known generically as troupes de la marine, in the ministries of Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert, and Seignelay, with due attention paid to those political and military developments which affected the troops.

Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu, is in a very real sense the founder of the French navy. Prior to his rise to prominence in the early seventeenth century, the affairs of France had been conducted without a national army or navy. However, the commercial and naval expansion of Holland and England induced Richelieu to take steps to bring France to a competitive level with

these two maritime trading nations. He founded several companies which he invested with wide-ranging colonizing and trading monopolies. At the same time he embarked on a programme of naval construction designed to increase French sea power.<sup>1</sup> Although his commercial endeavours were dismal failures, his contribution to the French navy was a positive one. He built general naval stores, and formed a centralized marine administration consisting of a general staff, marine intendants, controllers-general, and commissaries.<sup>2</sup>

In 1622, to protect his country's shipping and commerce from the attacks of enemy vessels and the raids of pirate ships, Richelieu organized 100 companies of regular infantry troops, known as Compagnies ordinaires de la marine,<sup>3</sup> each of which was commanded by a naval lieutenant. The infantryman in these companies returned home when not

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard W. Cowie, Seventeenth-Century Europe (London, 1965), p. 213. Cowie writes, on page 213, that by 1636 France had an Atlantic fleet of 38 ships and a fleet in the Mediterranean of 12 galleys and 13 auxiliary vessels.

<sup>2</sup>Louis Nicolas, Histoire de la marine française (Paris, 1961), pp. 17-24 passim; hereafter referred to as Nicolas, Histoire.

<sup>3</sup>The source used for information concerning the Compagnies ordinaires de la marine is Gabriel Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes de la Marine (1622-1792), (Paris, 1893), pp. 1-2; hereafter referred to as Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes. See also Albert Depréaux, Les armées françaises d'outre-mer. Les Uniformes des Troupes de la Marine et des Troupes coloniales et nord-africaines, des origines à nos jours (Paris, 1931), p. 10; hereafter referred to as Depréaux, Les Uniformes.

serving on board ship, and drew half-pay. In 1624, Louis XIII named Richelieu head of his Council, and two years later appointed him Grand Maître, Chef et Surintendant general de la navigation et du commerce. The Compagnies ordinaires de la marine, renamed Régiment de la Marine by the end of 1627, was subsequently decimated by shipwreck and required reorganization. In 1635 the regiment was arranged into 18 companies and underwent a further name change, becoming the Régiment Cardinal-Duc or Cardinal-Richelieu. Finally, in 1636, the number of companies was enlarged to 40 and renamed Régiment La Marine. The service of this regiment as a naval force was short-lived, however, for after 1640 it served almost exclusively on land with the French army.<sup>1</sup>

The period of Richelieu's ministry, ended by his death in December of 1642, saw the foundation of several other naval regiments. Three of these were formed in 1636, each consisting of 2,000 men in 20 companies. The

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<sup>1</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 3-11 passim and pp. 16-18, contain details of the Régiment de la Marine, Régiment La Marine, and Régiment Cardinal-Duc. In his Histoire de la marine française pendant la guerre de l'indépendance américaine précédée d'une étude sur la marine militaire de la France et sur ses institutions depuis le commencement du XVIIe siècle jusqu'à l'année 1877 (sic), (Paris, 1877), pp. 10-11, L. E. Chevalier deals briefly with the Compagnies ordinaires de la marine and the Régiment de la Marine. See also Depréaux, Les Uniformes, pp. 10-11; and Louis A. V. V. Susane, Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française (Paris, 1849-53), tome III, pp. 235-279; hereafter referred to as Susane, Histoire.

Régiment du Havre, formed to protect the port and to serve as infantry on the King's ships, was disbanded in 1649. The Régiment des Iles, founded to serve on the King's ships, and the Régiment des Galères, formed to serve on the galleys, were both incorporated into the Régiment des Navires in 1663. The Régiment de la Couronne was founded in 1638 to serve on the King's ships, but was incorporated into the Régiment d'Aquitaine of the land army twenty years later. The Régiment des Vaisseaux, or Royal-Vaisseaux, was also founded in 1638 to serve on ships as infantry and, if needed, to serve as a landing party. This regiment continued to serve throughout the old regime, and become the 43<sup>rd</sup> infantry regiment of the line in 1791.<sup>1</sup> Although these regiments were disbanded, incorporated into other units, or attached to the army in later years, France was left with the foundations of a navy, Richelieu having laid the groundwork on which Jean-Baptiste Colbert would build 20 years later.

Under Richelieu's immediate successor, Cardinal Jules Mazarin, there was a rapid decline in the condition and importance of the navy. Although the Marine budget had initially been increased from 3,500,000 livres in 1643 to 5,000,000 livres in 1647, the years of civil strife known as the Fronde led to a depletion of financial resources

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<sup>1</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 20-42 passim.

with disastrous consequences for the navy. The naval budget fell successively to 431,000 livres in 1649, to 355,000 livres in 1655, and to 312,000 livres in 1656. As a result, naval constructions were discontinued and the work-force was disbanded - unpaid.<sup>1</sup>

Financial resources were, however, only one factor in the decline of the navy. Both Richelieu and Mazarin were beset with political intrigues at home and wars abroad; however, unlike his predecessor, Mazarin took no interest whatsoever in naval affairs. Furthermore, the role of the army during and after the Fronde had pushed forward men like the Prince de Condé (Grand Condé), Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, and Michel LeTellier, who was appointed Secretary of the Army in 1643. These figures, and in particular LeTellier, turned Mazarin's attention to the army. Marine affairs sank into neglect.

The French army, of which LeTellier assumed direction in 1643, was badly disorganized. It consisted of several widely-dispersed regiments, differing not only in the number of companies but also in the number of soldiers within each company. Regiments, companies, and commissions like those of colonel and captain, could all be bought and sold. Since racoleurs, or recruiters, used press-gang tactics to fill the companies, it is not surprising to find

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<sup>1</sup> Joannès Tramond, Manuel d'Histoire Maritime de la France (Paris, 1916), p. 171; hereafter referred to as Tramond, Manuel.

desertion commonplace, discipline lacking, and a sense of duty to the state nonexistent, a general state of affairs which was not helped by the absence of military stores, barracks, and hospitals.<sup>1</sup>

The total reform of this situation and the unification of the army was achieved over a period of thirty years by LeTellier and his son, François Michel LeTellier, Marquis de Louvois.<sup>2</sup> The integration of all French regiments and companies into a national army had the immediate effect of instilling in the soldier a loyalty to his King and country, rather than to his captain. The direction of this new national army necessitated the foundation of a civil administration which included the offices of intendant of the army, commissary of war, and review inspector. These officials took immediate steps to combat the former deficiencies and injustices. Forcible recruiting was prohibited, deserters were severely punished, and discipline, improved

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<sup>1</sup>Hubert Méthivier, Le Siècle de Louis XIII (Paris, 1964), pp. 119-121. See also Georges Castellan, Histoire de l'Armée (Paris, 1948), pp. 56-57; hereafter referred to as Castellan, l'Armée.

<sup>2</sup>Louvois, awarded his father's position en survivance in 1655, was admitted to the Council of State in 1672. However, it is difficult to determine whether he or his father initiated several of the reforms which were carried out before his father's death in 1677. For a consideration of this, see Louis André, Michel LeTellier et Louvois (Paris, 1942), pp. 311-314; hereafter referred to as André, LeTellier et Louvois.

by the introduction of regimental uniforms, was rigidly enforced.<sup>1</sup> Marriage while in the army was still forbidden, a restriction which was made somewhat less harsh by the reduction of military service from four to three years. Barracks were also built in several places, but the responsibility for billeting the soldier and supplying him with salt, a jug and a candle still rested largely with the civilian population. Several military stores were built, and in 1674 l'Hôtel des Invalides, or l'Hôtel-Royal, was established as the principal hospital for wounded veterans.

Reforms were not confined solely to the lower ranks, for although it was still possible to buy companies and regiments, attempts were made to suppress the custom of purchasing military commissions. Absentee officers were disciplined, and the congé<sup>2</sup> system was adopted to alleviate this problem. Tighter supervision was exercised by the introduction of regular reviews, which also served to ensure that the new ordinance forbidding the use of passe-volants<sup>3</sup> was observed. Academies were founded for the

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<sup>1</sup>Sir George Clark, The Seventeenth Century, p. 105, writes: "No one who has ever worn a uniform can doubt that it was a decisive step in the history of discipline."

<sup>2</sup>The congé was an officially authorized leave of absence, or furlough, valid for a specified period of time.

<sup>3</sup>The passe-volants were "passers-by," used to complete a company during a review. Like many of the reforms instituted during this period, the abolition of this practice was difficult to regulate.

training of cadets-gentilshommes,<sup>1</sup> and in 1675, l'Ordre du Tableau was established to determine the hierarchy of grades and to settle questions of service.<sup>2</sup>

In the period, therefore, when Louis XIV was assuming effective control of the affairs of France, LeTellier and Louvois were moulding an army which came to be recognized as the most formidable in Europe. Louis had in his service not only the greatest generals of the period, Condé and Turenne, but also the most brilliant military engineer, Sebastien Le Prestre de Vauban. Reinforcing this military might was a group of experienced diplomats and able Secretaries of State, who assisted the King in the formulation and implementation of foreign and domestic policy. The genius of these servants of the state, the sizeable population and wealth of the country, and the long continental border of France, made it inevitable that attention would be focused upon continental Europe.

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<sup>1</sup>The cadets-gentilshommes were young noblemen who received some military schooling. According to Eugène Carrias, La Pensée Militaire française (Paris, 1960), p. 143, they were first organized into companies in 1682.

<sup>2</sup>For details of these reforms and others of a minor nature, see André, LeTellier et Louvois, pp. 315-400 passim; Castellan, l'Armée, pp. 57-60; Clark, The Seventeenth Century, pp. 106-114 passim; Hubert Méthivier, Le Siècle de Louis XIV (Paris, 1968), pp. 68-69; and Colonel J. Revol, Histoire de l'armée française (Paris, 1929), pp. 89-93. Only those reforms relevant to the troupes de la marine in New France have been considered in the preceding two paragraphs.

Upon Jean-Baptiste Colbert<sup>1</sup> fell the responsibility of building up the navy, a thankless task at best since France's diplomatic, administrative, and military supremacy amongst nations made Louis and his advisors insensitive to the important contribution seapower could make to the might, prosperity, and grandeur of France. The ideas of Colbert's rival, Louvois, were more in accord with Louis' instincts, with the result that he was always able to gain the ear of the King.<sup>2</sup> The continental wars inspired by this collaboration, in conjunction with the general lack of enthusiasm for the navy in France at this time - a lack which may be seen in the absence of reference to the sea in the works of Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, and Bossuet<sup>3</sup> - made Colbert's task doubly difficult.

The importance Colbert attached to the navy is made at once evident by a comparison of the marine budget of 1661 (312,181 livres) and that of 1670 (12,000,000 livres).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Colbert corresponded with port officials in 1661, was delegated official responsibility for the Marine in 1665, and became the first Secretary of State of the Marine in 1669. See Tramond, Manuel, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup>Dissension between Colbert and Louvois is treated in André, LeTellier et Louvois, pp. 161-165 passim, 208, 283-291 passim. Louis XIV's lack of interest in naval affairs is evident in the fact that he only saw the sea three times in his entire life - at Dieppe in 1647, Toulon in 1660, and Dunkerque in 1675. See Tramond, Manuel, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup>Nicolas, Histoire, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup>Ch. G.M.B. de La Roncière et G. Clerc-Rampal, Histoire de la marine française (Paris, 1934), pp. 83-84; hereafter referred to as La Roncière et Clerc-Rampal, Histoire.

Faced, like Richelieu before him, with the humiliating fact of France's naval inferiority vis-à-vis England and Holland, Colbert took immediate steps to rectify this situation. An extensive ship-building programme was set in train,<sup>1</sup> and linked up with the foundation of Brest and Rochefort, and the expansion of the ports of Dunkerque, Calais, Le Havre, Marseille, and Toulon.<sup>2</sup> A marine intendant responsible for justice, police, and finance was appointed to each major port in 1674,<sup>3</sup> an indication of Colbert's awareness of the merits of the centralized administration set up by his predecessor Richelieu, and by his rivals LeTellier and Louvois. This intendant had as his deputy a general commissary, who in turn supervised ordinary commissaries responsible for such matters as stores and rations, recruits, armaments, dry-docks, and hospitals.<sup>4</sup> By these acts Colbert, in the space of a few years, virtually rebuilt the French navy and its administration.

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<sup>1</sup>Nicolas, Histoire, pp. 252-253. According to La Roncière et Clerc-Rampal, Histoire, p. 86, France boasted 30 galleys, 117 vessels of the line, and 69 smaller ships, in 1683.

<sup>2</sup>La Roncière et Clerc-Rampal, Histoire, p. 86; Ernest Lavissee, Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution (Paris, 1911), vol. VII, part 2, pp. 252-253, hereafter referred to as Lavissee, Histoire de France; and Tramond, Manuel, pp. 207-209.

<sup>3</sup>Tramond, Manuel, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup>Lavissee, Histoire de France, VII, pt. 2, p. 262; and Tramond, Manuel, p. 194.

Another aspect of the navy challenged by Colbert concerned the naval infantrymen recruited by ships' captains prior to sailing. These men were seldom trained or disciplined before embarkation and consequently, were of questionable service in any combat. Colbert decided that a standing infantry force for service at sea should be formed<sup>1</sup> and after first conferring with his cousin, Colbert de Terron, Intendant of La Rochelle, in 1669, he broached the matter to the King.<sup>2</sup> The immediate result was the formation of two naval infantry regiments - the Royal-Marine and the Amiral<sup>3</sup> - each consisting of 2,000 men, divided into 20 companies of 100 men each. Of the Royal-Marine companies, 12 served at Rochefort and 8 at Brest; of the Amiral regiment, 10 companies were stationed at Toulon, 4 at Brest, 4 at Le Havre, and 2 at Dunkerque.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Régiment des Navires had been formed in 1663 for naval infantry service, but had passed into the service of the Compagnie des Indes the following year. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série A<sup>1</sup>, liasse 9, pièce 48, "Règlement portant création des deux régiments d'infanterie 'Royal-Marine' et 'Amiral.' Fait à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, le 20 décembre 1669." These two regiments are also considered in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 5, pp. 253-255.

<sup>4</sup>According to Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 47, the actual distribution of companies was as follows:- Royal-Marine - 12 companies at Rochefort and 8 at Brest; Amiral - 12 companies at Toulon, 4 at Coutances, and 2 at Dunkerque. Coste does not mention the whereabouts of the remaining 2 Amiral companies.

Following Richelieu's precedent with the Compagnies ordinaires de la marine, the infantry captain had to be a naval lieutenant, the infantry lieutenant a naval ensign, and each was to receive the same salary as his counterpart in the army. On board the ship the following hierarchy of command was established; naval captain, naval second captain, naval lieutenant, infantry captain, naval ensign, infantry lieutenant, and then infantry ensign. This meant that the infantry officer could serve, if necessary, in his former capacity as a naval officer.

Another regulation, in 1670,<sup>1</sup> more specifically concerned with the everyday operation of the regiments, included the stipulation that a review be conducted by the marine intendant, or by one of his commissaries, as soon as the soldiers embarked, thereby ensuring that each company was complete and fit. One section of the regulation, however, practically nullified the effects of Colbert's previous delegation of responsibility aboard ship and showed the effects of LeTellier's and Louvois' influence. Infantry officers were forbidden to assume command of a ship under any circumstances; they were simply to obey naval officers' orders, which were then to be relayed to the infantry companies. This comparatively minor concession to

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<sup>1</sup>"Réglement ordonné par le Roi concernant le service des régiments d'infanterie 'Royal-Marine' et 'Amiral' sur les vaisseaux de Sa Majesté. Fait à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, le 5 juillet 1670," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 2, pp. 248-249.

Colbert's antagonists was followed by a much greater victory in 1671 when Louis transferred the Royal-Marine and Amiral regiments to the army,<sup>1</sup> where they no longer fell under Colbert's authority, and left the navy once more without infantry troops.

To offset somewhat the effects of this loss, Colbert reverted to the system of allowing the commodores and ships' captains to recruit in and near ports, which, as before, led to several abuses. Not only were recruiting expenses enormous but the men recruited were sometimes already serving in the army.<sup>2</sup> The King accordingly issued a memoir laying down, in specific terms, the procedure for recruiting soldats de marine, or soldats de vaisseaux.<sup>3</sup> To the marine intendant in each port fell the task of ensuring that the ships' recruiting officers, who were preferably to be men with previous military experience, maintained a full complement aboard ship. Those recruits who were "habillé et armé d'une épée" were offered 12 livres, 2 livres more than their counterparts in the army,

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<sup>1</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 61. When the Amiral Regiment was passed to the army, it became known as the Vermandois Regiment, after the Comte (Amiral) de Vermandois. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 45fn; and Depréaux, Les Uniformes, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup>"Memoire du Roi sur la levée des soldats nécessaires pour l'armement des vaisseaux en 1674. Saint Germain, le 30 decembre 1673," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 5, pp. 253-255.

for enlisting in the naval troops. Those possessing a jerkin were offered 6 livres more; those lacking one were supplied with it at the port of embarkation.<sup>1</sup> Although the soldat de marine ate the same food as was provided for the regular sailor at the King's expense, it is clear that deductions made to pay for additional articles supplied to him on board ship left very little of the 4 livres 10 sous monthly wage which he received on his return to port after six months' service.<sup>2</sup>

Those officers who were obliged to recruit in distant provinces were granted expenses of 7 sous per soldier per day for a period up to thirty days; those able to recruit in neighbouring provinces, where they benefited from the help of influential gentilshommes, were granted the same expenses for a period up to fifteen days. For each man he agreed to recruit, the officer received a bonus of 15 livres in advance, with an additional

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<sup>1</sup>The word "jerkin" is translated from justaucorps. The other required clothing was one pair of breeches, two shirts, two pairs of stockings, one pair of shoes, and one cross-belt (shoulder-belt). See "Modèle d'engagement des officiers de marine pour la levée des soldats. 4 janvier 1674," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 7, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Mémoire sur les soldats des vaisseaux du Levant. 1673," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 6, pp. 255-256. As the King's memoir of 1673 (see footnote 3, p. 13) does not mention length of service, it is assumed that the period of six months mentioned in the 1673 Levant memoir still applied. It is interesting to note that the author of the Levant memoir estimated the actual cost of the soldier's food to be 8 livres 5 sous per month.

15 livres paid to him following the review held in the port after his return. For each single deficiency in his quota the officer was liable to a deduction of 15 livres from his salary. Where the recruiting officer required the assistance of another officer, a payment of an additional 1 livre 10 sous per day was granted to this officer; the assistance of a sergeant, however, was considered worthy of an extra payment of 10 sous to the latter. Acceptance of the responsibility of recruiting bound the officer to find a given number of sergeants, corporals, lance-corporals, and regular soldiers. Once on active duty in the ports themselves, the sergeant received 15 livres per month, the corporal 10 livres 10 sous, the lance-corporal 9 livres, and the regular soldier 7 livres 10 sous.<sup>1</sup>

In an attempt to attract more men to service in the marine a regulation of June 15, 1675<sup>2</sup>, raised the monthly wage at sea to the same level as that on land. Another

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<sup>1</sup>The details concerning pay are found in "Modèle d'engagement des officiers de marine pour la levée des soldats. 4 janvier 1674," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 7, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 65. Based on the "Mémoire sur les soldats des vaisseaux du Levant, 1673," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 6, pp. 255-256, the approximate cost of each article of clothing worn by the recruit was as follows:- one pair of breeches, 3 livres; one pair of stockings, 1 livre 4 sous; one vest, 8 livres; one hat, 1 livre 8 sous; one pair of shoes, 2 livres 10 sous; one tie, 4 sous; and one shirt, 1 livre 15 sous.

section of the same regulation indicates that recruiting was costing the officer more than 15 livres per man, for it was now stipulated that he should receive the entire 30 livres in advance. Another section specified that the recruits should be between the ages of 18 and 45 and be of bonne taille. The supplying of a musket and shoulder-strap was the responsibility of the King.

The defects of this system were still, however, legion. Recruits brought to the ports from all over France could not all be expected to be able to work in rough weather aboard ship, especially since most had no naval experience or military training. As a result, they were lacking in discipline, cohesion, and professional instruction, shortcomings which the speed of embarkation gave no time to correct. Usually, when their training was beginning to pay dividends, their six months' period of service was at an end, and many left the marine.

At the root of all these defects lay the absence of an organized permanent corps of men for infantry service aboard ship. Seignelay, to whom many of the responsibilities of the Ministry of Marine had been delegated by his aging father, tried to improve this situation. In 1682 he instructed the marine intendant at Rochefort to establish and maintain in constant readiness to embark, an organized corps of experienced men. In order to make service in this unit attractive, its members were offered

four months a year at home at half-pay, established at 2 sous 6 deniers per day.<sup>1</sup> Thus originated the companies of half-pay soldiers, which received official approval by an ordinance of January 1, 1685.<sup>2</sup>

The 1685 ordinance established that Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort were each to maintain 300 soldats à demi-solde in 6 companies, for service on the King's ships.<sup>3</sup> Each company was assigned to a district near the port, and placed under the authority of a lieutenant, ensign, or midshipman,<sup>4</sup> assisted by a sergeant from the soldats-gardiens<sup>5</sup> of the port. An accredited marine captain was made responsible for the overall command of the 6 companies.

The port marine commissary supervised reviews and distributed copies of the muster roll containing the names

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<sup>1</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>AM, Série A<sup>1</sup>, liasse 22, piece 36, "Reglement pour Lentretenement des Soldats a Demy Solde. Versailles, 29 avril 1685." Unless otherwise noted, discussion of the half-pay soldiers is based on this regulation. Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 10, pp. 260-262, gives the date as 1<sup>er</sup> janvier, 1685.

<sup>3</sup>On July 22, 1687, a regulation establishing 150 soldats à demi-solde at Le Havre was passed. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 71fn.

<sup>4</sup>The midshipmen, called gardes de la marine or gardes-marine, were young gentilshommes who received some naval schooling. They held a similar position in the navy to that of cadets-gentilshommes in the army.

<sup>5</sup>The soldats-gardiens are discussed on pages 18-22 of this thesis.

and descriptions of half-pay soldiers to the aldermen and syndics of each district, with a dual aim in mind - to guard against desertions, and to reduce the possibility of half-pay naval soldiers being recruited into the army. These soldiers, who enlisted for a three-year period, were required to be five feet five inches in height, capable of bearing arms, to be known, or resident, locally, and preferably to have already served on a war vessel. If they became ill, they were fed and received treatment in the naval hospital at the King's expense.

Each district was inspected three times a year by the captain and his lieutenants, and three times by subaltern officers. These inspections were occasions for invalids and others unable to serve to be examined, released, and replaced. All deserters were reported to the marine provost, whose duty it then was to bring them, and any others guilty of breaches of discipline, before the Council of War for trial and punishment. Three times a year the sergeant brought his company to the port for review, and distribution of the daily wage of 2 sous 6 deniers. The soldiers were then exercised for three days by a subaltern prior to returning to their district. On those occasions when soldats-gardiens were required to serve aboard ship, they were replaced on port duty by the half-pay soldiers,

who then received full pay. When ships were disarmed,<sup>1</sup> half-pay soldiers serving aboard them were reviewed by the intendant and commissary, at which time some were discharged and others retained for duty in the port.

These regulations, more specific and all-encompassing than any previous ones, were of great significance. The fact that the recruits came from regions closer to the ports increased the possibility of their having had some experience of the sea. Their formal organization into companies, combined with the guaranteed three-year income, had a most beneficial effect upon training and discipline. There can be no doubt that the half-pay companies were a vast improvement upon the situation which had existed under Colbert. To this accomplishment, Seignelay added a further one in forming into companies those soldiers, known as gardiens, who served as port guards.

The ports of Brest, Toulon, Rochefort, and Le Havre had for several years been patrolled by port guards.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A ship was usually at sea for a period of six months before returning to port. It was armed before leaving port, and disarmed upon its return. See "Ordonnance de Louis XIV pour les armées navales et arsenaux de marine. 15 avril 1689," in M. Bajot et M. Poirré, Annales maritimes et coloniales (Paris, 1847), partie officielle, pp. 91-284; hereafter referred to as Bajot et Poirré, Annales Maritimes. The arming, equipping, and disarming of a ship are dealt with specifically on pages 218-221 of the Annales maritimes.

<sup>2</sup>"Extrait d'un mémoire des soldats qui doivent être dans les ports en 1684," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 8, pp. 258-259.

Difficulties involved, however, in recruiting men for this service led to the passing of an ordinance on December 29, 1684,<sup>1</sup> which established specific procedures for recruiting, and fixing ranks. By the terms of this ordinance the strength of the port guards was to be augmented by a sufficient number of sea-going men from on board ship to ensure an adequate policing of the port. In Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort were established 300 such soldats-gardiens, consisting of 40 sergeants, 50 corporals, and 210 musket-carrying men who served as ordinary soldiers on guard duty.

A regulation passed on March 10, 1686,<sup>2</sup> which rearranged the soldats-gardiens into companies, set out in great detail conditions for their maintenance, wages, and discipline. Each company of 50 men was to consist of 2 captains-at-arms, 6 sergeants, 8 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fife-player, and 32 soldiers (guards), under the command of a naval lieutenant or ensign, with a naval officer of lesser experience serving as lieutenant. Those sergeants

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<sup>1</sup>"Ordonnance pour la levée des soldats qui seront entretenus dans les ports comme gardiens. Versailles, le 29 décembre 1684," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 9, pp. 259-260.

<sup>2</sup>"Réglement pour la levée, solde, entretien et discipline des soldats-gardiens. Versailles, le 10 mars 1686," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 11, pp. 262-264. This regulation stipulated that 50 soldats-gardiens were to be maintained at Le Havre. Unless otherwise noted, discussion of the soldats-gardiens is based on this memoir.

with the longest service and most capability became captains-at-arms, while general responsibility for all the soldats-gardiens of a port was held by a naval captain. Wages, from which were deducted, in the presence of the commissary, the costs of the uniform, were fixed as follows: captain-at-arms, 25 livres per month; sergeant, 16 livres 10 sous; corporal, drummer, and fife-player, 12 livres; and guards, 9 livres.

The guards' daily exercises in the ports, conducted by the majors and majors'-aides,<sup>1</sup> were supplemented by twice-weekly exercises, and grenade practice, in the arsenals. Every third day the men were obliged to stand guard duty on ships and in port on a three-hour-on, three-hour-off basis, although it was possible for those guards with a trade or those who worked in an arsenal to have a friend stand guard in their place, provided they pay the substitute 3 sous in the presence of a major. However, guards who fell sick or who were detained on official business did not need to pay their replacements. At all times the captain of a company was responsible for ensuring that it was kept up to strength and was suitably equipped. A

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<sup>1</sup>In addition to his above-mentioned duties the major, with the rank of naval captain, inspected the barracks daily and instructed captains which guards in their companies to assign to various posts. In the major's absence the major's-aide, with the rank of naval lieutenant, exercised these responsibilities. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 111.

further ordinance of October, 1686,<sup>1</sup> instituted a regular weekly practice on a firing range, a record of each man's accuracy to be kept by the captain-at-arms.

Finally, on April 15, 1689,<sup>2</sup> Seignelay brought to fruition a project dear to his father's heart - the unification of port guards and half-pay soldiers into one corps, with each maintaining its original responsibility of guard duty in or near ports and infantry service aboard ships. However, Louis Phéliepeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain, Seignelay's successor, fell heir to the task which Seignelay's death on November 3, 1690, left unfinished - the organization of a more numerous body of men for service on both land and sea.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it is illuminating to compare the situation in 1682 when Seignelay began to assume authority in the Marine Ministry with that prevailing at his death in 1690. In those few years he had transformed the port guards and the naval infantry troops from a motley collection of untrained, undisciplined

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<sup>1</sup>"Ordonnance sur la manière de faire tirer au blanc les soldats-gardiens de la marine. Versailles, le 8 octobre 1686," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 12, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup>"Ordonnance de Louis XIV pour les armées navales et arsenaux de marine. 15 avril 1689," in Bajot et Poirré, Annales maritimes, 1847, partie officielle, pp. 91-284.

<sup>3</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 79.

men into a single, uniformed, disciplined, organized body with clearly delineated duties. Gone were the days when ships and ports were inadequately staffed; for the first time in the naval history of France, there was now a reserve upon which to call.

On December 16, 1690,<sup>1</sup> Pontchartrain carried out the task bequeathed to him by combining all marine infantry units into 80 compagnies franches d'infanterie, or compagnies franches de la marine, stationed in the ports of Dunkerque, Le Havre, Brest, Rochefort, Port St. Louis, and Toulon. The strength of each company of 100 men was made up of 1 captain-at-arms, 4 sergeants, 8 corporals, 2 drummers, 1 fife-player, and 84 soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Once again, naval lieutenants held the rank of infantry company captains, while naval ensigns became either infantry lieutenants or ensigns depending upon their length of service. It was obligatory for non-commissioned officers to be acceptable to the marine intendants, port commandants, and majors, and to have previously held their rank on a war vessel.

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<sup>1</sup>"Réglement pour la levée, solde et discipline des 80 compagnies franches d'infanterie, que le Roi a résolu d'entretenir pour le service des vaisseaux. A Versailles, le 16 décembre 1690," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 13, pp. 265-268. The uniform of the compagnies franches is described in Appendix A of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>For alterations in the number of companies, and in their composition, see Appendix B of this thesis.

At the same time that the compagnies franches were formed a salary scale was introduced, applicable to service on both land and sea.<sup>1</sup> The captain of a compagnie franche received 50 livres bonus per month in addition to the 1,000 livres per year paid to him in his capacity as a naval lieutenant. Similarly, the infantry lieutenant and the ensign received respectively bonuses of 20 livres and 15 livres per month in addition to the 600 livres payable to them as naval ensigns. The captains-at-arms were paid 25 livres per month, the sergeants 19 livres 10 sous, the corporals, the drummers,<sup>2</sup> and fife-players 13 livres 10 sous, and the regular soldiers 9 livres.

Other sections of the ordinance left rules concerning discipline and duties of the soldats-gardiens basically unchanged. Reviews were held once a month,<sup>3</sup> and increased emphasis was placed upon cannon practice, many of the

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<sup>1</sup>The regulation forming the compagnies franches does not mention the actual salary of the naval lieutenants and ensigns. The figures 1,000 livres and 600 livres are found in AM, Série A<sup>1</sup>, liasse 9, pièce 6, "Règlement sur l'entretien des Officiers de Marine, Du 27 Mars 1669, a Paris." This same document decrees that the naval captain's annual salary be 1,800 livres.

<sup>2</sup>An ordinance of March 15, 1692, reduced to 9 livres per month the pay of drummers under 20 years of age. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup>In 1691, this was increased to 4 reviews per month. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 115.

soldiers benefiting from the instruction of master-gunners.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the fact that the rifle had been used in several regiments of the army since 1670, marine troops had been almost entirely restricted to the use of two types of musket - one weighing 8-9 pounds for use solely at sea, and one of 6-7 pounds for use on both land and sea.<sup>2</sup> Now, in 1690, 8 corporals and 30 soldiers in each company were to carry rifles. Unfortunately, the weight and calibre of these rifles varied considerably; indeed, the barrel often split after the firing of a few shots.<sup>3</sup>

To all intents and purposes, despite subsequent slight modifications, the basic structure of the compagnies franches de la marine remained unchanged between 1690 and 1761. Although there had been stagnation during the ministry of Mazarin, the work of Richelieu in the 1620's had been taken up anew by Colbert in the 1660's and 1670's, so that the navy had been completely revitalized. The quest for victory and grandeur, so representative of the reign of Louis XIV, required most of Louvois' attention during the ministry of Seignelay, thus enabling the

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<sup>1</sup>"Extrait du réglement pour le logement, conduite, marche, police et discipline des compagnies franches. Fontainebleau, 15 octobre, 1691," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 14, pp. 268-270.

<sup>2</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 76-77.

<sup>3</sup>Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 132-133.

latter to complete, in the 1680's, several of his father's unfinished projects. In the final reform of 1690, therefore, Pontchartrain was merely bringing to a logical conclusion the work of his predecessors.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MILITARY OF CANADA

The domestic political and military situation in France in the 1650's, and, beginning in the 1660's, the preoccupation of the Court with the development of a superb army for ventures on the Continent and the consequent ascendancy of Louvois over Colbert, were prime factors in the relegation of marine and colonial affairs to positions of minor importance with small budgets. During the three-quarters of a century required for Richelieu's 100 compagnies ordinaires de la marine to emerge finally as Pontchartrain's 80 compagnies franches de la marine, events in Canada moved from Samuel de Champlain's first combat with the Iroquois to the authorization of a permanent standing army, the troupes de la marine.

During the early years of settlement the maintenance of a body of paid professional soldiers was not necessary. Champlain's trading alliance with the Hurons obliged him to assist them in disputes with the Iroquois on three occasions, but he was able to do so without the assistance of a trained body of soldiers. In his first two brief

encounters with the Huron's enemy, the noise and deadliness of the French arquebus helped to carry the day.

Champlain himself wrote that, in 1608,

Les Yroquois furent fort estonnez, que si  
promptemēt deux hommes avoyent esté<sup>1</sup> tuez... Cela  
leur donna une grande apprehension.

and in a skirmish two years later

...voyat plusieurs de leurs cōpaignons tombez  
morts, & blessez, que de crainte qu'ils avoient,  
croyans ces coups estre sans remede ils se  
iettoient par terre, quand ils entendoient le  
bruit.<sup>2</sup>

By 1615, however, the arquebus had lost its shock value.

In the indecisive clash of that year, the enemy was well-protected by a fortified stronghold, and Champlain, unable to maintain discipline and unity among his allies, was obliged to abandon the attack.<sup>3</sup>

Three decades passed before any further serious friction developed between the French and the Iroquois. In 1635, Father Paul Le Jeune, Jesuit Superior at Quebec, foreseeing possible trouble for his countrymen, wrote that it was rumoured that the Iroquois, hoping to divert the fur trade to themselves and the Dutch, were encouraging

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<sup>1</sup>Biggar, H. P. (ed.), The Works of Samuel de Champlain, 6 vols. (Toronto, 1922-36), vol. 2, pp. 99-100; hereafter referred to as Biggar, Champlain.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, pp. 129-130.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, vol. 3, pp. 70-72.

other tribes to war with the Hurons.<sup>1</sup> In the ensuing 6 or 7 years, during the governorship of Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny, the Iroquois perfected a type of warfare which, except for three brief periods of peace, would be used until the end of the century. By waging "la petite guerre" - attacking outlying settlements, small groups of settlers, and fur traders - the Iroquois kept the colonists in a continual state of alarm, and this, coupled with a blockade of trade routes to the interior, threatened the economy of the colony.

Les années précédentes, les Iroquois venoient en assez grosses troupes en certains tẽps de l'Esté, & laissoient apres la Riviere libre: mais cette année presente (1642) ils ont changé de dessein, & se sont divisez en petites troupes de vingt, trente, cinquante, & de cent au plus, par tous les passages & endroits de la Riviere, & quãd une bãde s'en va, l'autre luy succede. Ce ne sont que petites troupes bien armees, qui partent sans cesse, les unes apres les autres du pays des Iroquois, pour occuper toute la grande Riviere, & y dresser par tout des embusches...<sup>2</sup>

These hit-and-run tactics were successful economically, militarily, and psychologically; furthermore, both Huron and French were affected, for they were commercial partners at a time when the Iroquois were finding it difficult to maintain themselves.

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<sup>1</sup>Thwaites, Reuben G., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 vols. in 36 (New York, 1959), vol. 8, pp. 58-60; hereafter referred to as Thwaites, Jes. Rel.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, vol. 24, p. 272.

Documentation on the number, training, and wages of soldiers in this period of Company rule is scant, although scattered references do indicate that a defensive armed force developed in the 1630's as Iroquois aggression increased. In 1635 Le Jeune mentioned a "soldat volontaire"<sup>1</sup> and, the following year, a "nombre de soldats de façon, & de resolution"<sup>2</sup> in Quebec. These men were undoubtedly civilians serving in a military capacity as garrison guards. It would seem that even in 1640 the "soldats" in the colony were civilian volunteers, for on a trip from Quebec to Three Rivers in that year Montmagny was protected by sailors and soldiers, the latter described as "hommes bien armés."<sup>3</sup>

It is evident from the writing of Barthélémy Vimont, Jesuit Superior replacing Le Jeune, that the first request for substantial military help from France was made by Montmagny in 1640 or 1641. In August of 1642 the Governor General authorized the construction of Fort Richelieu (the present site of Sorel) at the mouth of the Richelieu River. That the site was well-chosen to protect the colony from Iroquois incursions is shown by the fact that within one week of the beginning of its construction, the fort was

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, vol. 8, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, vol. 9, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, vol. 21, pp. 40, 48.

attacked by 300 Iroquois.<sup>1</sup> Vimont, in explaining that Montmagny had only sufficient soldiers to repulse the attack, added that the enemy would have been chased and re-engaged "Si Monsieur le Gouverneur eust eu les soldats qu'il eseroit de France."<sup>2</sup> The following year, Montmagny reduced the Fort Richelieu garrison to 8 or 10 soldiers,<sup>3</sup> a move dictated by the shortage of soldiers available to him and by the discovery that the Iroquois were using another route to avoid the fort.<sup>4</sup> In the winter of 1645-46 the fort was abandoned and, probably in the spring of the latter year, burned by the Iroquois.<sup>5</sup>

In 1644 Queen Anne of Austria allocated 100,000 livres to the support of a number of soldiers being sent to the colony.<sup>6</sup> Whether these were the soldiers Montmagny had hoped for 2 years earlier, or whether they were sent because of the continuation of "la petite guerre," the attack on Fort Richelieu, or the founding of Montreal, is not known. Furthermore, the number of soldiers involved is not recorded. Nevertheless, it is likely that

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, vol. 22, pp. 276-278.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, vol. 24, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, vol. 27, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, vol. 24, pp. 286-288.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, vol. 30, p. 305, fn. 21.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, vol. 26, p. 70; vol. 27, p. 88.

there were 70 to 100 men, divided into 2 companies of 35 to 50 men each, for in 1645 an agreement between the Company of 100 Associates and the Community of Habitants obliged the latter to maintain 100 soldiers in the colony.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful that this number was reached, however; 3 years later there were only 68 soldiers in the three towns.<sup>2</sup>

By this time two problems which were to be faced by all subsequent seventeenth-century governors general of the colony had emerged. A people unaccustomed to the land and climate, living in scattered settlements, and largely dependent upon a hinterland product obtained from middlemen, were forever vulnerable to "la petite guerre." Secondly, the urgency of requests for professional military assistance was not always understood by the French Court.

During the remaining years of Company rule the military and economic predicament of the colony worsened,

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<sup>1</sup>Ferland, J.-B.-A., Cours d'histoire du Canada (1534-1759), 2 vols. (Québec, 1861-1865), vol. 1, p. 339; Edits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'état du roi concernant le Canada; revus et corrigés d'après les pièces originales déposées aux archives provinciales, 3 vols. (Québec, 1854-1856), vol. 1, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup>Lanctot, Gustave, "Les Troupes de la Nouvelle-France," C. H. A. Report, 1926, pp. 40-60. See p. 42, Cf. Correspond. officielle, 2<sup>e</sup> série, vol. 1, Arrêt portant règlement en faveur des habitants de la Nouvelle-France, 5 mars 1648, p. 167; hereafter referred to as Lanctot, "Les Troupes..."

largely due to the financial difficulties of the Company. In the space of 2 decades the colony had become an armed camp on constant alert, prey to the whim of the enemy. Although the threat of sudden death which had been an ever-present factor of colonial life for several years appeared ended in 1645 when a peace was negotiated,<sup>1</sup> the respite was shortlived. The Iroquois renewed hostilities the following year, with the result that, between 1647 and 1654, the settlers themselves were obliged to accept an increasing share of the responsibility for the colony's defense. The inhabitants of Three Rivers and Montreal, aware of their vulnerability and the inadequacy of the military personnel, formed, in 1647, a militia to protect themselves.<sup>2</sup> However, the Iroquois were omnipresent. One of Louis de Coulonge d'Ailleboust's last official acts as Governor General of the colony was to issue detailed instructions to Pierre Boucher, captain of Three Rivers, for the training, exercising, and disciplining of his garrison.<sup>3</sup> By

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<sup>1</sup>Hunt, George T., The Wars of the Iroquois: a study in intertribal trade relations, third printing (Madison, Wisc., 1967), pp. 77-80; hereafter referred to as Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois.

<sup>2</sup>Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 30, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup>Lanctot, "Les Troupes...", p. 44, Appendice, Cf.. Annuaire de Ville-Marie, 3<sup>e</sup> livraison, pp. 373-374.

1651 the population of Montreal numbered no more than 50 because "la terreur des Iroquois...y paroissent quasi continuellement, &...rendent ce lieu presque inhabitable."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Jean de Lauzon, replacing d'Ailleboust, stopped the payment of 1,000 livres given annually to the governor of Montreal for himself and the maintenance of the Montreal garrison.<sup>2</sup> The ranks of the militia were strengthened in 1652 by the arrival of 100 artisans, "tous gens de coeur pour la guerre,"<sup>3</sup> but the Community of Habitants, experiencing the same financial difficulties as had its predecessor, continued to reduce defense expenditures. In 1653 Lauzon, accepting an offer of the people of Three Rivers to relieve the Community of the expenses of protecting the town,<sup>4</sup> instructed all of the town's settlers between the ages of 16 and 60 to take turns in standing guard and in performing the functions of the previous garrison.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 36, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>Flenley, Ralph (ed. and trans.), A history of Montreal 1640-1672 from the French of Dollier de Casson (Toronto, 1928), p. 162; hereafter referred to as Flenley, Montreal.

<sup>3</sup>Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 40, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>RAPQ, 1924-25, "Ordonnance du Gouverneur de Lauzon qui porte que le Sieur Boucher continuera sa charge de capitaine du bourg des Trois-Rivières. Québec, 23 août 1653," pp. 378-379.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, "Ordonnance du Gouverneur de Lauzon qui règle le travail de ceux qui sont employés à faire la garde dans le bourg des Trois-Rivieres. Quebec, 18 octobre 1653," pp. 379-380.

The following year the Governor General took the added precaution of ordering all settlers in the colony to carry arms with enough powder and lead for 6 shots at all times.<sup>1</sup>

While the colonists were learning to fend for themselves, the Iroquois were not idle. Between 1648 and 1650 they effectively eliminated the Hurons as a tribal unit, and in 1653 sought peace with the French, probably in the hope of replacing the Hurons as middlemen in the French fur trade.<sup>2</sup> However, by 1656 the place of the Hurons had been filled by the hinterland Ottawa tribe, and the Iroquois now turned their fury upon both Ottawa and French.

During the governorships of Pierre de Voyer, Vicomte d'Argenson, and Pierre Dubois, Baron d'Avaugour, the military and economic instability of the colony reached crisis proportions. Jesuit Superior Jérôme Lalemant appealed for 2 regiments of soldiers in 1659, adding "La pluspart de nos Gens, plus accoustumez à manier la houë que l'épée, n'ont pas la resolution du Soldat."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps due to the massacre the preceding year of Adam Dollard des Ormeaux and his companions by an Iroquois force large enough to annihilate Montreal, d'Avaugour brought with him, in 1661,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Ordonnance du Gouverneur de Lauzon qui oblige tous les Français à se rendre à leur travail avec leurs armes à feu. Quebec, 14 novembre 1654," p. 390.

<sup>2</sup>Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois, pp. 99-100.

<sup>3</sup>Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 45, p. 200.

100 soldiers to bolster the militia and soldiers of the colony.<sup>1</sup> How these 100 men were distributed among the colony's settlements is unknown, but they undoubtedly served as garrison guards in the three towns.

Two months after his arrival, d'Avaugour sent Pierre Boucher to France to give an account of the state of the colony.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Jesuit Father Paul Ragueneau and d'Avaugour sent letters to the Prince de Condé imploring him to use his influence at Court for the security of the colony. Ragueneau pointed out that the King and Queen Mother had promised that reinforcements would be sent the following year, and added that 1 regiment stationed in the colony for 2 or 3 years would be able to attack the Iroquois on their homeground.<sup>3</sup> D'Avaugour's request was similar. He asked for 1,200 men with sufficient flour for one year, and 300 soldiers and their

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<sup>1</sup>Asseline de Ronual states that 300 arrived. See Report of the Public Archives of Canada. 1928. Appendix B. Journal of Asseline de Ronual in Canada, 1662, pp. 27-31. However, d'Avaugour mentions only 100 in his "Lettre de Dubois d'Avaugour, adressée à M. le Prince de Condé, a Quebec le 13 octobre 1661," in Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 46, pp. 148-152.

<sup>2</sup>See the biography of Pierre Boucher, by Raymond Douville, in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 2, pp. 82-87; hereafter referred to as DCB.

<sup>3</sup>"Lettre de Paul Ragueneau, adressée à M. le Prince de Condé, A Quebec en la Nouvelle-France, le 12 octobre 1661," in Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 46, pp. 146-148.

maintenance for 3 years.<sup>1</sup> Late in October, 1662, the promised aid referred to by Ragueneau arrived in the form of 100 soldiers and 200 settlers.<sup>2</sup>

In August of 1663, d'Avaugour outlined the steps he considered necessary to preserve the colony from destruction. He suggested that Quebec be heavily fortified, that an allocation of 300,000 livres be made for fortifications, and that 100,000 livres be set aside for food and munition stores. He requested 3,000 soldiers who would be likely to settle in the colony, and whose work in constructing the colony's defenses would probably be better for being more meaningful to themselves. With these supports he was convinced that he could successfully wage war on the Iroquois in their own territory, and fortify the Richelieu River as far as Lake Champlain.<sup>3</sup>

The embassy of Boucher and the letters of Ragueneau and d'Avaugour to Condé in 1661, combined with the sheer extravagance of d'Avaugour's 1663 proposal, must have had a profound effect on the French Court. In mid-June of 1665, 4 companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment

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<sup>1</sup>"Lettre de Dubois d'Avaugour, adressée a M. le Prince de Condé, a Quebec le 13 octobre 1661," in Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 46, pp. 148-152.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, vol. 47, pp. 290-292.

<sup>3</sup>BRH, 1930, vol. 36, "Lettre du Gouverneur d'Avaugour au Ministre (4 août 1663)," pp. 12-19.

disembarked at Quebec,<sup>1</sup> and less than two weeks later, Alexandre Prouville de Tracy, with 1 company from each of the regiments of Chambellé, Orléans, Poitou, and l'Allier, arrived in the colony from the Antilles to take up his duties as viceroy of Canada.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Salières himself landed at Quebec with 8 companies on August 17th,<sup>3</sup> and early in September the two newly-appointed governing officials, Governor General Daniel Rémy de Courcelle and Intendant Jean Talon, arrived in Quebec with 8 more companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment.<sup>4</sup> These 24 companies of 50 men each - consisting of 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 3 or 4 lance-corporals, 2 drummers, 1 quartermaster, 1 fife-player, and 38 or 39 soldiers, commanded by 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 1 ensign<sup>5</sup> - were a fighting

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<sup>1</sup>Roy, Régis et Malchelosse, Gérard, Le Régiment de Carignan (Montréal, 1925), p. 26; hereafter referred to as Roy et Malchelosse, Carignan.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 66. For purposes of brevity, the l'Allier, Chambellé, Orléans, and Poitou companies will be referred to, in subsequent pages of this thesis, as part of the Carignan-Salières Regiment.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, p. 21. These men were paid monthly, as follows:- soldier, 7 livres 10 sous; lance corporal, 9 livres; corporal, 10 livres 10 sous; sergeant, 15 livres; ensign, 22 livres 10 sous; lieutenant, 30 livres; and captain, 75 livres. See AC, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, 47, "L'estat du fond qui doit estre fait pour La subsistance des vingt quatre Compagnies d'Infanterie qui servent en Canada pendant douze mois a Commencer de celluy de Janvier 1668," ff. 1r-2r.

force equal to one-half the colony's population. Undoubtedly, one Jesuit's reflection summed up the feelings of everyone -

Nous benissons Dieu, de ce que sa Majesté a fait le choix pour cette guerre, de vieilles troupes, desja bien aguerries; commandees par une Noblesse courageuse...

It had taken 6 years of pleading for a large reinforcement to be sent from France. After 30 years of defensive warfare, during which time no more than 300 soldiers were sent from France,<sup>2</sup> a sustained offense could now be mounted in the hope of wiping out the Iroquois. But first, the colony had to be secured from attack. By the middle of September, captain Jacques de Chambly had supervised the construction of Fort St. Louis on the Richelieu River, Saurel had built a fort in the vicinity of d'Argenson's Fort Richelieu, and Salières had constructed Fort Ste. Thérèse south of Fort St. Louis.<sup>3</sup> By the end of October, soldier work crews were busy building roads from Fort Ste. Thérèse to Fort St. Louis, and from the latter post to Montreal.<sup>4</sup> During the winter the soldiers were

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<sup>1</sup>Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 49, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup>The maximum of 300 soldiers consists of 70 to 100 in 1644, 100 in 1661, and 100 in 1662. See pp. 31 and 36-37 of this Chapter.

<sup>3</sup>Roy et Malchelosse, Carignan, pp. 27-28 passim and pp. 48-49 passim.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, pp. 29 and 51.

stationed at several locations in the colony - 1 company on Ile d'Orleans, 8 in Quebec, 3 in Three Rivers, 2 at Fort Richelieu, 2 at Fort St. Louis, 3 at Fort Ste. Therese, and 5 in Montreal.<sup>1</sup>

With the defense of the colony more secure than ever before, Courcelle led a January offensive into Mohawk territory. A force consisting of 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 80 soldiers, and about 100 settlers, amongst whom were Joseph Godefroy de Vieuxpont from Three Rivers and Charles le Moyne de Longueuil from Montreal, set out in mid-winter to attack the Iroquois. The 27 Algonquin guides, upon whom the French relied, arrived after the expedition was under way, and without adequate guidance the force pursued an Iroquois hunting party into an ambush, suffered more casualties than it inflicted, and straggled back to the colony after 2 months of grueling hardships.<sup>2</sup>

In the summer of 1666, while Forts St. Jean and Ste. Anne were being added to the Richelieu River defensive network,<sup>3</sup> Saurel led a party of 300 men, consisting of 100 allied Indians, and 200 soldiers and volunteers, including prominent Montrealers Le Moyne, Charles Joseph d'Ailleboust des Musseaux, Jean-Vincent Philippe de

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, pp. 66-67.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, pp. 30-33. Of the 100 settlers, 70 were led by Le Moyne. See Flenley, Montreal, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup>Roy et Malchelosse, Carignan, p. 63.

Hautmesnil, and Pierre Picoté de Belestre, to attack the Mohawks. While en route the party met an Iroquois peace embassy and returned to the colony without firing a shot.<sup>1</sup> By September, however, a peace still had not been negotiated and, led by Tracy, 700 soldiers, 400 settlers, and 100 allied Indians travelled down the Richelieu River and across Lake Champlain to attempt a third engagement with the Iroquois, only to find, on four separate occasions, villages abandoned by the enemy. The French levelled the villages, burned the crops, and returned to the colony early in November.<sup>2</sup>

Courcelle's expedition had been a failure in terms of inflicting casualties. As for Saurel's and Tracy's they even failed to engage the enemy in battle. Nevertheless, the three campaigns clarified the military situation for both sides. The French learnt that many factors had to be considered in any invasion of enemy territory: the need for advanced planning, adequate supplies and clothing; the importance of Indian guides and allies; the nature of Indian warfare; the hardships of geography and climate, and, finally, the skill of

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<sup>1</sup>Among the volunteers were 30 Montrealers. See Flenley, Montreal, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup>Roy et Malchelosse, Carignan, pp. 34-35. There were 110 Montrealers among the 400 volunteers. See Flenley, Montreal, pp. 304-306.

Canadians. The Iroquois, invaded by the French for the first time in their history, now realized the strength and determination of their enemy, and sued for peace in 1667.

With the conclusion of hostilities there followed a 15-year period of peace for the colony. Two-thirds of the 1,200 troops returned to France, leaving behind approximately 400 soldiers who had chosen to settle permanently in the colony.<sup>1</sup> The King offered to each soldier-settler the choice of 100 livres or 50 livres and one year's food supply, and each sergeant 150 livres or 100 livres with one year's provisions.<sup>2</sup> By the end of 1669, an additional 6 companies of 50 men each had been recruited in France by infantry captains and, with 33 supernumeraries, sailed to North America,<sup>3</sup> where 1 company probably landed in Acadia and the other 5 continued on to Quebec.<sup>4</sup> These

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<sup>1</sup>AC, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, 47, "Rolle des soldats du Regiment de Carignan Salieres qui se sont faits habitants de Canada en 1668," ff. 1r-5v.

<sup>2</sup>Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 51, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup>RAPQ, 1930-31. "Lettre de Talon au Ministre Colbert, A la Rochelle ce 15<sup>e</sup> juillet, 1669," p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Although Talon supervised the embarkation of 6 companies from Ile de Ré (see above, fn. 3), Le Mercier wrote of "Les cinq Compagnies que le Roy a eu la bonté de nous envoyer cette année..." See Thwaites, Jes. Rel., vol. 53, pp. 34-36. The missing company presumably landed in Acadia.

men, recruited with a view to settling,<sup>1</sup> soon became a part of the civilian population, many taking filles du Roi as their brides.<sup>2</sup> Most probably played a prominent part in the militia, which was now drilled and inspected regularly.<sup>3</sup> Some perhaps served en garnison in one of the three towns. The latter, however, did not constitute a standing army, although they were paid by the town governors.

This was the situation in the colony when the Iroquois began warring with the Illinois, a French ally, perhaps as early as 1677.<sup>4</sup> By 1682 the conflict had intensified to such a point that Governor General Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, shortly after arriving in Canada, assembled the leading citizens to discuss the situation. The assembly strongly advised a campaign into Iroquois territory before the French western alliances were destroyed and the fur trade lost as a result. La Barre relayed this advice to Seignelay late in 1682, with a request for assistance in the form of 200 troupes de la

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<sup>1</sup>Eccles, William J., Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701 (Toronto, 1964), pp. 47-48; hereafter referred to as Eccles, Louis XIV.

<sup>2</sup>RAPQ, 1930-31, "Memoire de Talon sur le Canada. Fait a Quebec ce dix<sup>e</sup> octobre, 1670." pp. 119-121; Ibid, "Lettre du Ministre Colbert a Talon, 11 fevrier 1671," pp. 143-148; Ibid, "Memoire de Talon sur le Canada, 1673," pp. 174-180.

<sup>3</sup>Eccles, William J., "Frontenac and the Iroquois, 1672-1682," CHR, 1955, vol. 36, pp. 1-16.

<sup>4</sup>Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois, p. 149.

marine and funds.<sup>1</sup> However, it was not until a letter from Intendant Jacques de Meulles de la Source arrived in France in the summer of 1683, appealing for 1,000 inexpensive rifles and as many swords for the habitants,<sup>2</sup> that the Minister of Marine took any action in this regard. The first troupes de la marine in North America arrived at Quebec later that year - 150 raw recruits of whom 30 were unfit for service,<sup>3</sup> with 740 deficient muskets, 600 broken swords,<sup>4</sup> inadequate clothing, and insufficient funds for subsistence.<sup>5</sup>

There were several reasons for Seignelay's initial neglect of La Barre's request. The Minister had been assured by Frontenac that all was well in the colony,<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "LeFebvre de La Barre au Ministre, Canada, 1682," f. 61r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "DeMeulles au Ministre, Quebec, 2 juin, 1683," ff. 169r-169v.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 48 "Ministre au S<sup>r</sup> Arnoul, a fontaine-bleau, le 9 7<sup>bre</sup> 1683," f. 293 v; AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "La Barre au Ministre, Que., 5 juin, 1684," f. 280r. There would have been appreciably less than 150 recruits if they had left France three weeks earlier as originally scheduled. André Lachance, in his essay "The Soldier in New France, 1663-1759," DOCUMENTARY PROBLEMS IN CANADIAN HISTORY, 2 vols. (Georgetown, Ontario, 1969), vol. I, Pre-Confederation, pp. 25-48, incorrectly dates the arrival of these 150 recruits as 1684.

<sup>4</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "La Barre au Ministre, le 9<sup>e</sup> juillet, 1684," f. 285v; Ibid, "Memoire au Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix. avril dernier, 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684 (La Barre), f. 344r.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, "La Barre au Ministre, Que., le 9 Novembre, 1683," f. 155r; Ibid, "La Barre au Ministre, Que., 5 juin, 1684, ff. 275r-275v.

<sup>6</sup>Eccles, Louis XIV, p. 131.

and may have regarded La Barre's appeal as somewhat alarmist until it was reinforced by de Meulles' letter, especially since La Barre was known to be a man "with no stomach for war."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the new Minister was frequently absent from his office and left the Canadian despatches unattended until late July.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, his instructions to recruiting officials show a marked lack of enthusiasm, the only positive aspect being an unrealistic recruiting deadline of 8 days.<sup>3</sup> Hence, it is apparent that when the decision was finally taken to send men and arms to Canada it was merely a token offering,

The Marine Minister's casual approach to the recruiting of soldiers for Canada in 1683, and again in the early months of 1684, changed with the news of La Barre's disgraceful failure. Like the Carignan-Salières soldiers, the troupes de la marine had been sent to the colony for one express purpose - to defeat the Iroquois - and then to return to France.<sup>4</sup> However, the 1684 campaign served to dramatize the precarious position of the colony and Seignelay, realizing this, took immediate steps to rectify

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Frontenac, the Courtier Governor (Toronto, 1959), p. 157; hereafter referred to as Frontenac.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Louis XIV, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 49, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Arnoul, a Versailles, le 29 juillet, 1683," ff. 270v-271r.

<sup>4</sup>AC, Série B, 11, "Ordre du Roy au Sieur Arnoul, a Versailles, le 24e juillet, 1684," ff. 52v.-53r.

the situation by transforming the troupes de la marine of Canada into a permanent standing force. He recalled La Barre, replaced him with a man of proven military ability, Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, and virtually gave the latter a free hand in the recruitment of 300 men and the selection of their officers.<sup>1</sup> It was in 1685, then, that the troupes de la marine became the colonial regular troops.

The 300 men brought by Denonville raised the number of troops in the colony from 500 to 800, comprising 16 companies.<sup>2</sup> This number was doubled in 1687 with the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, Orleans, 2 mars, 1685," ff. 04r-04v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 53, "Ministre a Mr de Denonville, Versailles, 8 Mars, 1685," f. 43v; AC, Série B, 11, "Liste des officiers agreez par le Roy pour envoyer en Canada, Mars, 1685," ff. 80v-81r. Eccles writes that 500 men were to be sent in 1685 (Frontenac, p. 174). Although 10 captains were appointed to serve in Canada, 6 were to command the 300 recruits, and the remaining 4 were to replace naval officers already serving as captains in Canada.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 11, "Instruction que le Roy veut estre remise entre les mains du Sr Marquis de Denonville choisy par Sa Majeste pour Gouverneur et son Lieutenant General en la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> mars 1685," f. 89v. Although 500 men left France, only 350 arrived in the colony. AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "M de Meulles au Ministre, a Quebec, le 12 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," f. 412r; Ibid, "Memoire au Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix<sup>e</sup> avril dernier, 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684" (La Barre), ff. 353v-354r; Ibid, "La Barre au ministre, Quebec, le 14<sup>e</sup> novembre, 1684," ff. 363r, 365v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 52, "Ordre du Roy au Sr Desclouzeaux, Versailles, le 28<sup>e</sup> janvier, 1685," f. 63v. There has been some confusion about the number of troops sent to Canada in 1684 and, therefore, the total number in the colony at the end of the year. Eccles writes that of 300 men promised in 1684 only 200 were sent (Frontenac, p. 171). On this basis, he writes that there were 7

arrival of another 800 men.<sup>1</sup> Each company, commanded by three commissioned officers, consisted of 50 non-commissioned officers and regular soldiers.

In 1687 Denonville embarked on a campaign, similar to the one initiated by his predecessor, with the express purpose of annihilating the Iroquois. La Barre had led 142 troops, 705 civilians, and 378 allied Indians;<sup>2</sup>

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companies in the colony at the end of the year (Frontenac, p. 174). However, there were 2 sets of orders issued for the recruiting of troops in 1684 - the first for 200 men, the second for 300 men. La Barre (Oct. 7) and De Meulles (Nov. 12) acknowledge the arrival of the 200. De Meulles (Nov. 12) and La Barre (Nov. 13, 14) acknowledge the arrival of a further 150, and question (De Meulles - Nov. 12; La Barre - Nov. 14) the whereabouts of the other 150 men. Therefore, 350 men arrived in Canada in 1684, and consequently, there were 500 men, or 10 companies, in the colony at the end of the year. (See also Chapter III, p. 78, fn. 2.)

Benjamin Sulte wrote, in "Troupes du Canada, 1670-1687," Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, série II, vol. 14, mai, 1920, Section I, p. 12, that a total of 300 troops were sent, divided into 5 companies of 60 men each. His error has survived in the works of Gérard Malchelosse, "Milice et Troupes de la Marine en Nouvelle-France, 1669-1760," CAHIERS DES DIX, Montréal, 14, 1949, pp. 115-147 (see specifically p. 129), and of George F. G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954 (Toronto, 1954), p. 25. Companies of 60 men were never sent to Canada in the period 1683-1713.

<sup>1</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec 5 9 bre 1687," f. 194r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 6, "Revue faite a la teste de nostre petite armée..., Au fort de frontenac. M De La Barre. 14 Aoust 1684," ff. 297r-298v; Ibid, "Revue fait au fort frontenac le 17 Aoust 1684 des Sauvages qui Nous ont suivis pour la Guerre. fait au fort frontenac led. jour 17 aoust 1684, f. 267r. The figures found in Ibid, "Revue des troupes qui ont accompagné M de la Barre. 14 aoust 1684," f. 295r, are 136 troops and 684 civilians. Evidently, the officers are not included in the latter totals. De

Denonville's force was twice as large - 832 troops, 1030 civilians, and 300 allied Indians.<sup>1</sup> Although Denonville's men fought a brief encounter with the Iroquois, something that La Barre's force had not achieved, they were no more successful in wiping them out, and the Iroquois menace was to assume growing importance in the ensuing years.

In the two remaining years of his governorship in Canada, Denonville appealed on more than one occasion for several thousand additional troops, but they were not sent<sup>2</sup> and he was obliged to make do with his existing resources. In 1688, while a convoy of 1,100 men were en route to Fort Frontenac with provisions for the garrison, the Iroquois attacked the Rivière St François, Rivière du Loup, Saurel, Contrecoeur, and St Ours habitations, all of which had been depleted of manpower in order to make the convoy sufficiently strong.<sup>3</sup> The following year,

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Meulles' figures are 900 troops and civilians, and 300 Indians. See Ibid, "M de Meulles au Ministre, Quebec. 10 8<sup>bre</sup> 1684," ff. 388r-388v.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 9, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 6 Juillet 1687," f. 33r; Champigny added that 160 Frenchmen and 400 Indians with DuLhut, Tonty, and La Durantaye, joined the force. See Ibid, f. 36r. Denonville estimated that this additional force numbered 170 Frenchmen and 300 Indians. Ibid, "Denonville au Ministre, A Villemarie le 25<sup>me</sup> Aoust 1687," f. 64r.

<sup>2</sup>Eccles, Frontenac, pp. 186-197 passim.

<sup>3</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Relation des événements qui se sont passés en Canada, A Quebec Le 30 octobre 1688," f 89r.

homes in the La Chesnaye area were burnt to the ground,<sup>1</sup> and before Denonville left for France in 1689, Lachine was attacked by 1,500 Iroquois, the habitations burnt and the habitants slaughtered.<sup>2</sup> Without an influx of several thousand experienced, hardy soldiers and a large increase in the colony's budget, there could never be an all-out attack on the Iroquois.

However, by the end of 1688, the 1,750 man total of the 35 companies of colonial regular troops - the largest paid fighting force in Canada until the 1750's - had been reduced by deaths to 1,418.<sup>3</sup> As the King needed men and money elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> the Governor General was instructed, in May of 1689, to reduce these 35 fragmented companies to 28 complete ones. Arrangements were to be made for the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Frontenac au Ministre, a Quebec Ce 17<sup>e</sup> novembre 1689," f. 207r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec Ce 16 no<sup>bre</sup> 1689," f. 244v.

<sup>3</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10<sup>e</sup>, "Denonville et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec, le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre, 1688," f. 09r; Ibid, "Extraits des lettres de Denonville et Champigny les 20 aoust, 31 octobre et 6 novembre 1688," f. 185r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série B, 15, "Memoire du Roy aux Sieurs Marquis de Denonville et de Champigny, A Versailles le 1<sup>er</sup> may 1689," ff. 56v-57v; Ibid, "Ordre du Roy pour la reforme des 35 Compagnies de soldats du detachement des vaisseaux en Canada, reduites a 28, A Versailles le 24 may 1689," f. 78v.

officers of the 7 reformed companies to receive half-pay, as officers without the responsibility of maintaining companies, until full-pay positions were available.<sup>1</sup>

Although for the remainder of the period under consideration the colonial regular troops were maintained at 28 companies, a major reduction in the number of men, from 50 to 30 per company, took place in 1699, following reports that no more than 200 to 300 of the troops were suitably versed in North American methods of warfare.<sup>2</sup> This was a saving for the French treasury of the annual wages of 560 men, the sum of 3,024 livres. In 1701, on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession, the King and Minister of Marine decided that the security of Acadia and Plaisance might be in jeopardy, and instructed that the number of men in the companies should be increased to 50 again.<sup>3</sup> The settlements of Canada, much further inland, were felt to be secure from attack, and their

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Ordre du Roy pour la reforme des 35 Compagnies de soldats du detachement des vaisseaux en Canada, reduites a 28, A Versailles le 24 may 1689," f. 79r. In France, these were officers whose companies had been disbanded, or who re-enlisted after leaving the service. In Canada, because they were not responsible for specific companies, half-pay officers were often used in la petite guerre. See pp. 51-55 of this Chapter.

<sup>2</sup>AC, Serie B, 20, "Ministre a M de Champigny, A Versailles, le 27 may 1699," f. 222r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 22, "Ministre a M de Monic, a Versailles, le 9 Fevrier, 1701," ff. 152r-152v; Ibid, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles, le 16 Mars, 1701," f. 156r.

companies were left at 30 men each,<sup>1</sup> in spite of the arguments of governing officials in Canada.<sup>2</sup>

By the 1680's, the greater number of Jesuits and coureurs de bois in the west, the development of western posts and the resultant Indian alliances, and the convoy duty associated with the transportation of furs, had opened up the west and led to greatly increased Canadian knowledge of North American travel and the fighting techniques of the Indian. Canadian officers, militia, and allied Indians had participated in the La Barre and Denonville campaigns; in the years which followed, when the colony would be defended by la petite guerre, Canadian officers, militia, and allied Indians would bear the brunt of the fighting.

The extent of the change in the French methods of warfare, to make maximum use of Canadian and Indian talent, is evident in French responses to both Iroquois and English threats in 1690, a very active year militarily.<sup>3</sup> The deployment and composition of the forces used in that year are revealing. Shortly after his return to the colony,

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<sup>1</sup>The 28 companies in Canada remained at 30 men each during the remaining years of the period under study.

<sup>2</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Callières et Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1702," f. 74r.

<sup>3</sup>The details of actual events, and the policies of the Governors General in the remainder of the period under study, may be found in the works, listed in the bibliography of this thesis, of W. J. Eccles and Y. F. Zoltvany.

Frontenac gave orders for three war parties to set out in mid-winter to attack New England settlements, for the New Englanders were encouraging and supplying the Iroquois.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly,<sup>2</sup> on January 28, 1690, François Hertel, with 3 of his sons, 24 Frenchmen, and 25 allied Indians, left Three Rivers for Salmon Falls in Maine. On the same day, lieutenant René Robinau de Portneuf left Quebec with lieutenant Augustin Le Gardeur de Courtemanche, 50 Frenchmen, and 60 Abenakis, to attack the English post at Casco. On the successful completion of his mission to destroy Salmon Falls, Hertel and half of his men joined Portneuf, as did 200 to 300 more Abenakis, in the destruction of Casco. In the meantime, in Montreal, a third war party was being organized to attack Schenectady. Led by lieutenants Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène and Nicolas d'Ailleboust de Manteht, with Alexandre Le Gardeur de Montesson and Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville as seconds-in-command, and accompanied by volunteers Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, Jacques Le Ber du Chesne, and Jacques Testard de Montigny, the party of 96 allied Indians and about 115 Frenchmen set out in February. These three war parties, consisting of Canadian officers, militia, and

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<sup>1</sup>Eccles, Frontenac, pp. 223-224 passim.

<sup>2</sup>The events which took place in 1690, presented chronologically in the next few pages, are based on AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, "De Monseignat à Madame (de Maintenon? or de Frontenac?), Novembre 1690," ff. 10r-38r.

allied Indians, were successful in accomplishing their objectives by fighting la petite guerre.

Beginning in the spring, the Iroquois conducted flash raids throughout the colony. In response to this, Frontenac established a system of patrols. In May of 1690, lieutenant René Le Gardeur de Beauvais patrolled the Lake Champlain area with half-pay lieutenant La Brosse and a party of Indians from the Sault de la Montagne mission. The Governor General also formed 2 detachments to patrol the south shore: half-pay captain Chevalier de Clermont led a scouting party between Montreal and Sorel, while half-pay captain Chevalier de La Motte's party patrolled from Three Rivers to Saint François on Lac Saint Pierre. In August, Clermont was made responsible for patrolling the Richelieu River from Sorel to Chambly. In the hope of capturing some Iroquois and learning of their future plans, brothers Manteht and Paul d'Ailleboust de Périgny, brothers Montesson and ensign Jean-Paul Le Gardeur de Saint Pierre, and two sons of Michel Le Neuf de La Vallière patrolled the Fort Frontenac region.

In October a fleet from Boston was sighted approaching Quebec. Lieutenants Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil and Paul Le Moyne de Maricour, with some Hurons and Abenakis, kept track from the riverbank of the fleet's movements. During the first English attempt to land, Clermont, working in a voluntary capacity, was killed.

Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène manned a cannon and inflicted serious damage to one ship. With his brother, Longueuil, Sainte Hélène led a party to engage an English detachment nearing Quebec. The following day, half-pay lieutenant Claude Sebastien de Villieu, serving as a volunteer, left with a detachment of men to attack an English encampment. Captain Joseph de Monic patrolled near Beauport with 100 men, and later, captains Daniel Auger de Subercase and Claude Guillouet d'Orvilliers left with 100 men for Ile d'Orléans, while Villieu's detachment moved to Cap Tourmente.

With the repulsion of the English attack in 1690, the colony was assured of survival for at least another year. Moreover, many developments of significance had taken place in the military field. Instead of one centralized command at all times on the battlefield, forces had been deployed in several directions simultaneously, relying heavily on the initiative of those in immediate command. Several of the Canadian nobility had shown themselves ready, willing, and definitely able, as they had been in 1665-66, to accept leadership responsibility in military crises. Furthermore, the Canadians and allied Indians travelled and fought well together. The bravery shown by the Canadian officers and volunteers was no more than what was expected of any noble, and was the basis of recommendations for promotion. More significantly, the

Canadians had demonstrated their mastery of the art of waging war under North American conditions. There would be no more campaigns with 1,000 to 2,000 men in one corps. Companies were fragmented in the Indian style of warfare, and even ensigns were given the commands of patrols and war parties. As usual, the militia would play a prominent role in all military engagements. In future, Canadians, Frenchmen experienced in North American warfare, and allied Indians, would match the Iroquois offensively and defensively with la petite guerre. Canadian warfare had come of age.

Although this new method of fighting led to much greater informality in the company structure, the troops, as an institution, could not function efficiently without a colonial military superstructure, or administration. The decision to maintain the troops in the colony on a permanent basis, and the increase in personnel, required the enlargement of the superstructure by instituting positions already existing in France.

The growth of French ports and the impetus given the navy by Colbert in the 1660's had led to far too great a workload for the port marine intendants, and, consequently, commissaries were appointed to the major ports to assist the intendants.<sup>1</sup> During the first two decades of Royal

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter I of this thesis, p. 10.

Government in Canada there had been no apparent need for such an official, but the Intendant's responsibilities were multiplied by the decision to maintain a permanent army in the colony, dispersed in the three towns and several forts. The work resulting from paying, feeding, clothing, reviewing, and quartering<sup>1</sup> the men in the various locations, was more than the Intendant in Quebec, with his many other functions, could handle. Hence, a commissaire ordinaire was appointed as the Intendant's sub-delegate in Montreal.<sup>2</sup> Apart from his civil duties, he was also responsible for the maintenance, provisioning, and reviewing of the officers and soldiers in his jurisdiction. Due to the death, shortly after his arrival in Canada,<sup>3</sup> of the first commissary appointed to the colony, the Intendant, who planned to be absent from Quebec during the winter on a tour of Acadia, appointed the provost of

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<sup>1</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Ministre au sr de Meules (sic), Versailles, le 10<sup>e</sup> avril, 1684," f. 378r.

<sup>2</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 55, "Ministre au Sr le Maire, Versailles, le 6<sup>e</sup> Avril 1685," f. 132v; AC, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 6, "Ordre du Roi pour commettre le Commissaire Le Maire subdelegue du Sr de Meules (sic), 25 Avril 1685," f. 233; Ibid, Série B, 12, "Ordre du Roy qui commet le Sr Gaillard Subdelegue du Sr de Champigny Intendant en Canada, a Versailles, le 3<sup>e</sup> Juin 1686," f. 42v.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 55, "Ministre au Sr le Maire, Versailles, le 6<sup>e</sup> Avril 1685," f. 132v; AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, A Quebecq, le 13<sup>me</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1685," ff. 96v-97r.

the Quebec maréchaussée to serve as substitute commissary<sup>1</sup> until a replacement could be sent by the King the following year.<sup>2</sup> In 1691, the King's storekeeper of Montreal was appointed commissary,<sup>3</sup> and was succeeded 10 years later, by Francois Clairambault d'Aigremont, for 12 years previously secretary to Louvigny, Marine Intendant at Havre. To d'Aigremont's usual functions as commissary was added the responsibility of conducting an annual general census.<sup>4</sup>

The appointment of a commissary to relieve the Intendant of some of his work was followed one year later by the creation of the position of surgeon of the troops, one sorely needed in view of the nature of the new immigrants' work. The troop surgeon probably had the same

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, A Quebecq, le 13<sup>me</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1685," ff. 96v-97r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 12, "Ordre du Roy qui commet le Sr Gaillard Subdelegue du Sr de Champigny Intendant en Canada, A Versailles le 3<sup>e</sup> Juin 1686," f. 42v.

<sup>3</sup>In 1696, Frontenac requested the position of commissary for his secretary, but the King wanted to appoint an official who had "passe par les degrez." RAPQ, 1928-29, "Lettre du Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, A Versailles, le 28 avril 1697," p. 338.

<sup>4</sup>AC, Série B, 22, "Commission de Comm<sup>re</sup> ord<sup>re</sup> de la Marine departy dans la Nouvelle France p. le Sr Daigremont a la place du Sr de la Touche, a Versailles, le pre Juin 1701," ff. 275v-276r; Ibid, "Ministre a M de Champigny, A Marly, le 4 Juin 1701," ff. 280r-280v.

responsibilities as hospital surgeons of the period. He was a barber as well as a surgeon, and could not be physically punished for a patient's death. Furthermore, he had a primary claim on the estate of a deceased debtor, after the claims of the church and apothecary surgeons.<sup>1</sup> One troop surgeon was appointed for each of the colony's three towns, and paid on the monthly basis of a 3-livres levy from each company stationed in the towns.<sup>2</sup>

It was, perhaps, with a certain amount of foresight that an engineer was appointed in 1685, responsible for designing and improving the fortifications of the colony.<sup>3</sup> The growth in population and the subsequent expansion of the settlements led to such an increase in the volume of work done by the engineer that, in 1712, the Minister of Marine appointed two deputy engineers from the commissioned officer rank of the troops. The first, with the rank of ensign, was stationed in Quebec, under the chief engineer, with a salary of 100 livres in addition to his 360 livres pay as an ensign. The second, with the rank and 720 livres pay of a lieutenant, worked independently in

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<sup>1</sup>This information is based on the biography of "Simon Soupiran," written by Peter N. Moogk, and published in DCB, vol. 2, pp. 613-614.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 8, "Champigny au Ministre, 16 9bre 1686, Quebec," f. 251r; Ibid, 28, "Deposition de quelques officiers, novembre, 1708," ff. 310r-310v.

<sup>3</sup>See biography of "Robert de Villeneuve" by Gérard Morisset, published in DCB, vol. I, pp. 663-664.

Montreal receiving a correspondingly higher additional salary of 200 livres.<sup>1</sup>

The doubling, in 1687, of the number of soldiers in the colonial regular troops, which had made the appointment of a commissary and three troops surgeons so timely, also added significantly to the responsibilities of the Governor General. Some of these were now delegated to a subordinate. In 1687 a commander of the troops, responsible for drilling the companies and maintaining discipline, was appointed, with an initial salary of 1,500 livres.<sup>2</sup> By 1699 this officer, as number three man in the colonial military hierarchy after the Governor General of the colony and the Governor of Montreal, had an income several times greater than the 1687 salary. The position itself paid 2,500 livres in 1699, but the holder also received 1,080 livres as captain of one of the companies, and up to 5,000 livres in bonuses.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AC, Série B, 34, "Ministre au S La Guerre Morville, A Marly le 21 Juin (1712)," ff. 38v-39r; Ibid, "Ministre au S de Beaujours, a Marly le 21 Juin (1712)," ff. 42v-43r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Catalogne, a Marly le 24 Juin (1712)," ff. 51v-52r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 13, "Memoire du Roy aux Sieurs Marquis de Denonville et de Champigny, a Versailles le 30 mars 1687," f. 160v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 20, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, A Versailles le 30 may 1699," f. 252r.

Until 1687 the Governor General, as the senior military officer in the colony, had been the only official responsible for recommending the promotions of officers, but now the comments of the commander of the troops were added to those of the Governor General, so that two assessments of the colony's officers were sent to France each year.<sup>1</sup> By 1689 a major had been appointed to assist the commander of the troops.<sup>2</sup> He was empowered to comment on the relative merits and demerits of his subordinates, although he does not seem to have exercised this prerogative until 1706.<sup>3</sup> In 1699, the new Governor of Montreal too

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Extrait des Lettres du Canada. 1693. Lettre de Vaudreuil, 6 9<sup>bre</sup> 1693," ff. 347r-347v; and Ibid, Série B, 32, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> le marq<sup>s</sup> dalogny, A Marly le 10 May 1710," ff. 31r-31v.

<sup>2</sup>Champigny refers to this officer in 1689 without mentioning his name - AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Champigny au Ministre, a Ville marie le 6 juillet 1689," ff. 234r-234v. The following year, Monic was appointed major without salary, and in 1691 the King confirmed this appointment. Ibid, 11, "Memoire que presente Monsieur Le Comte de Frontenac...a Monseigneur Le Marquis de Seignelay en faveur de divers off<sup>ers</sup> et autres particuliers, Arreste a Quebec le 20 Novembre, 1690, f. 108v; Ibid, Série B, 16, "Brevet de major des troupes de Canada, A Versailles le 16 mars 1691," ff. 32r-32v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Frontenac et Champigny au ministre, Quebec, 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 16r.

<sup>3</sup>The Public Archives of Canada lacks an actual list of recommended officers submitted by Joseph de Monic, Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, François Mariauchau d'Esgly, Charles-Henri Alogny de La Groye, or Nicolas Daneau de Muy. Evidence of Jacques Le Picart de Noray et Dumesnil's recommendations may be found in AC, Série B, 27, "Ministre au S. du Mesnil Nore, A Versailles le 9 Juin 1706," f. 269v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 28, "Liste des officiers des

was authorized to evaluate those officers who served under his jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

It is apparent, therefore, that streams of letters, memoirs, certificates of service, and petitions, all recommending officers for vacant positions, or positions expected shortly to be vacant, flooded into the office of the Minister of Marine each year. The commis would then make a precis of the recommendations and list, in the margin, the names of important relatives or friends of each officer.<sup>2</sup> Opinions of previous officials of Canada might also be attached to this summary before the Minister rendered judgement.<sup>3</sup>

In 1691 an edict of the King created another office in France, that of trésorier et controlleur general de la

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Troupes (sic) du Detachement de La Marine En La Nouvelle France. 1708." f. 312v; Ibid, Série B, 32, "Ministre au Sr dumeny Norey, a Marly le 10 may 1710," ff. 50v-51r.

<sup>1</sup>This privilege was granted to Vaudreuil, who, as commander, had exercised the same right over all the officers. AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, Vaudreuil au Ministre, a quebec le 4<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1702," f. 214r. Ramezay followed in Vaudreuil's footsteps, with the same privileges. Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," f. 155r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 22, "Ramezay au Ministre, 12 octobre 1705," ff. 340r-340v.

<sup>2</sup>Série D<sup>2</sup>C in the Public Archives of Canada is filled with such marginal notes.

<sup>3</sup>For example, Champigny's comments may be consulted on the 1705 summaries of the letters from the colony. See AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 23, ff. 98v-201v.

Marine, responsible for galleys and fortifications in the French ports.<sup>1</sup> Four years later, coincident with a comprehensive regulation for the maintenance, policing, and discipline of the regular troops in Canada,<sup>2</sup> the office of controller general was instituted in the colony. This official assumed responsibility for the financial side of the maintenance of troops and fortifications,<sup>3</sup> which involved keeping accounts of receipts and expenditures, and verifying and endorsing all transactions.<sup>4</sup> The first two men to serve in Canada as controllers general came from the ranks of the escrivains principaux of France,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 17, "Vaudreuil et Le Roy de la poterie, a Montreal ce dernier may 1699," ff. 110r-111r.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix D of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup>AC, Série B, 17, "Commission de controlleur de la Marine et des fortifications au pays de Canada pour le Sr Noel Escrivain p<sup>al</sup>., A Versailles le 30<sup>e</sup> May 1695," ff. 246r-246v; Apparently Noel did not sail for Canada until the following year. AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 112, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, A la Roch<sup>e</sup>. Du 19<sup>e</sup> jour de juin 1696," f. 570v.

<sup>4</sup>AC, Série B, 17, "Commission de controlleur de la Marine et des fortifications au pays de Canada pour le Sr Noel Escrivain p<sup>al</sup>., A Versailles le 30<sup>e</sup> May 1695," ff. 246r-246v.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, and AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 114, "Ordre au Sr Le Roy de la Poterie Escrivain prin<sup>al</sup>. de la marine au Port Louis de se rendre a la suite de Sa Ma<sup>te</sup>, Versailles, 1<sup>er</sup> fevrier 1696," f. 53r; Ibid, 130, "Ordre au Sr Le Roy de la Poterie Escrivain principal de la Marine a Rochefort de s' Embarquer sur la fregatte la Badine...po. passer en Canada et y servir en qualite de Controlleur a la place du S. Noel, 1<sup>er</sup> Juin 1698," ff. 164r-164v.

but in 1701 the office was given to Charles de Monseignat<sup>1</sup>, secretary of the late Governor General Frontenac.

In March, 1702, the King decided to combine the functions of both the general and ordinary commissaries as well as those of the controller general. For this purpose, he sold 100 new appointments as Commissaire de la Marine et des galères for 30,000 livres each. In Canada, d'Aigremont and Monseignat were instructed to buy their positions if they wished to retain them.<sup>2</sup> In the interim, an official in France named Caillard de Beauchesne, who had paid 30,000 livres for one of these offices, was sent to New France in 1702, on the understanding that he would assume the responsibilities of the new office the following year.<sup>3</sup> Although neither d'Aigremont nor Monseignat were able to raise the necessary sum,<sup>4</sup> the latter was appointed to the vacant clerkship of the Superior Council,<sup>5</sup> and the former

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<sup>1</sup>AC, Série B, 22, "Commission de Contrôleur de la Marine et des fortifications dans la Nouvelle France p. le Sr de Monseignat, a la place du Sr Le Roy de la Poterie, a Versailles, le pre. Juin 1701," ff. 277r-277v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Ministre au Sr d'Aigremont, a Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> May 1702," ff. 103v-104r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Monseignat, a Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> May 1702," f. 104v; Ibid, "De par le Roy, Versailles le 14<sup>e</sup> Juin 1702," ff. 113r-113v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 23, "De par le Roy, Versailles le 14<sup>e</sup> Juin 1702," ff. 113r-113v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Callières, Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre, 1702," ff. 75v-76v.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, Série B, 23, "Ministre au Sr de Monseignat, le 20 Juin 1703," f. 235v.

to the post of secretary to the Intendant,<sup>1</sup> a recognition of their long years in the King's service.

When Caillard de Beauchesne returned to France in 1704 the Minister of Marine contemplated selling the position of commissary of the colony to Jacques Le Ber, who was both able and willing to buy the office for his son.<sup>2</sup> Instead, however, the Minister authorized Monseignat to continue his previous function as controller while serving as clerk of the Superior Council.<sup>3</sup> D'Aigremont, in his alternate capacities of secretary and sub-delegate of the Intendant, was able to serve as commissary without holding the formal title,<sup>4</sup> an arrangement which lasted for the remainder of the period under study. This is the reason no mention is found of a commissary in New France after

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Daigremont, le 20 Juin 1703," ff. 235v-236r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Callières, Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre, 1702," f. 75v; Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a m de Beauharnois, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," ff. 110v-111r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'annee 1702. Lettre de Beauchesne, " ff. 120v-121r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série B, 27, "Ministre au S de Monseignac, A Versailles le 9 Juin 1706," ff. 278r-278v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 21, "Beauharnois au Ministre, Quebec le 16 9<sup>bre</sup> 1703," ff. 104v-105r; Ibid, 26, "Raudot, pere, au Ministre, a Quebec ce 10<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1707," ff. 170r-170v.

1704. The duties of controller, however, were soon assumed by the treasurer of the Marine in Canada, whose very title explains the functions he performed.

The only other position introduced after that of treasurer and controller general was that of commissary of artillery. In 1697 the Governor General instructed the company captains to second one soldier from each company for instruction in the handling and functioning of cannons, grenades, and mortars, under the supervision of Rey Gaillard, who enjoyed the unofficial title of commissary of artillery.<sup>1</sup> Once his training was completed, the soldier returned to his company and the captain selected another trainee. The following year, on the recommendation of the Governor General and Intendant, Gaillard received an official commission as commissaire d'artillerie,<sup>2</sup> with an annual salary of 900 livres.<sup>3</sup> In addition to his artillery drill of a group of 28 soldiers, the commissary was responsible for the inspection of munitions, arms, and powder in Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Fort

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<sup>1</sup>RAPQ, 1928-29, "Memoire du Roi pour le Gouverneur de Frontenac et l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, A Versailles, le 27 avril 1697," p. 333.

<sup>2</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 15, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 19 8<sup>bre</sup> 1697," ff. 44r-44v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 19, "Sommaires des Lettres. Lettre de Rey Gaillard, 12 8<sup>bre</sup> 1701," f. 99r.

Frontenac, and other posts, and for the reporting of defective weaponry to the Governor General and Intendant.<sup>1</sup>

For a variety of reasons, it was not long before the captains began sending the rebuts of their companies for artillery instruction, with the inevitable result that the power to select and replace men for training was transferred to the commissary of artillery.<sup>2</sup> In 1706, an attempt made by the latter to further his own ends by suggesting the formation of an artillery company, a suggestion probably also influenced by his cavalier treatment at the hands of the company captains, was rejected by the Minister of Marine.<sup>3</sup>

Suggestions for change within the colonial regular troops came from civil and military figures in the colony. In 1705, Georges Regnard Duplessis, treasurer of the Marine in Canada, proposed saving 30,000 livres by the reduction of the 28 companies to 14 with the consequent

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 20, "Commission de Commissaire d'Artillerie de Canada po. le Sr Gaillard, A Versailles, le p<sup>er</sup> May, 1698," ff. 61r-62r.

<sup>2</sup>RAPQ, 1938-39, "Ministre a M de Vaudreuil, Versailles, le 17 Juin 1705," p. 71; Ibid, 1939-40, "Ministre a M de Vaudreuil, Versailles, le 6 Juin 1708," p. 415.

<sup>3</sup>AC, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 25, "Sommaires des Lettres. Diverses Requetes. 1706. Canada. Lettre de Rey Gaillard," ff. 266r-266v; Ibid, Série B, 29, "Ministre au s. Rey Gaillard, A Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," ff. 111r-111v.

elimination of the salaries of 42 officers.<sup>1</sup> The Minister of Marine, on the advice of a previous Intendant of the colony, rejected the proposal on the grounds that the retired officers would be made destitute.<sup>2</sup> Two years later, the Governor of Acadia suggested the occasional transfer of companies with their officers between the colonies of Acadia, Plaisance, and Canada in order to give the men a change in environment and leadership.<sup>3</sup> Although the King thought this a good idea, it was dropped on the advice of the Governors of Plaisance and Canada, who pointed out that families and homes would be uprooted.<sup>4</sup> In 1711, the major of Quebec renewed a proposal, made initially by the King's lieutenant of Montreal

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 23, "Memoire tres Util pour parvenir a rendre le paix de la Nouvelle france tres florissant..., par Du Plessis, Quebec, 17 Oct., 1705," ff. 37v-38r. Although Duplessis' financial recommendations were sound enough, they were made on the basis of the existing companies comprising 50 men instead of 30.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Sommaire d'une Lettre de Duplessy, agent, le 17 octob., 1705," ff. 178r-180r (with marginal comments).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série B, 29, "Ministre a m de Subercase, a Marly le 24 Aoust 1707," ff. 220v-221r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Costebelle, a Versailles, le 6 Juin 1708," f. 427v; Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Subercase, a Versailles le 6 Juin 1708," f. 454v; Ibid, 30, "Ministre a M de Costebelle, A Versailles le 6 Juin 1708," f. 31v; Ibid, "Ministre a M de Costebelle, a Marly le 10 Aoust 1709," f. 314.

in 1707,<sup>1</sup> that discipline could be improved by the appointment of an inspector of the troops, adding the further suggestion that this official could biannually inspect the seigneuries and the weapons of the habitants.<sup>2</sup> The Minister of Marine vetoed these proposals on the ground that the suggested duties of the inspector were already among those of the commander and major of the troops.<sup>3</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the Minister gave considerable attention to the proposals of the men serving the Crown in Canada, and that his acceptance or rejection of these proposals was soundly based.

At first the response of the French Court to the mounting military problems of the northern colony had been slow. The resulting problems were temporarily resolved by the institution of Royal Government and the sending of the Carignan-Salières Regiment. But, because the consequences of renewed warfare 15 years after the Regiment's departure were more than the colony's militia could have handled, troops were requested from France. The failure of a subsequent major campaign against the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 29, "Ministre a M de Galiffet, A Versailles le 15 Juin 1707," f. 17v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 32, "Louvigny au Ministre, Quebec, 31 octobre 1711," ff. 115r-116r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série B, 34, "Ministre au S<sup>r</sup> de Louvigny, a Marly le 21 Juin (1712)," ff. 39r-39v.

Iroquois made manifest the colony's need of a permanent standing armed force. In the years which followed, administrative and auxiliary military positions were introduced to cope with the maintenance, sustenance, drilling, and general well-being of the army.

CHAPTER III  
THE SOLDIERS<sup>1</sup> OF THE  
COLONIAL REGULAR TROOPS

During the 1683-1713 period, the financial and human resources of France were centred upon military affairs on the European continent. At least four of the King's services - the army, the navy, the naval troops, and the colonial regular troops - were dependent upon recruits to maintain their strengths. The common man was least likely, however, to choose service in a colony, especially one afflicted with long cold winters and fierce, uncivilized natives.

The physical prerequisites for military service in Canada were rigidly applied in the early years of recruiting for the colony. The recruit had to be 20 to 30 years of age, five feet two inches in height, and "bien faits

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise specified, the word "soldier" applies to all non-commissioned ranks.

et en estat de servir."<sup>1</sup> Those men not meeting the height requirement, or exceeding the maximum age limit by 10 years or less, were sent to the colony to work as indentured servants.<sup>2</sup> The personnel needs of the military in Canada could not be met by strict application of the above requirements,<sup>3</sup> and in spite of instructions to the contrary, some men were press-ganged into service by direct force or by acceptance of the King's coin.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 51, "Ministre a Mr Desnots, a Versailles le 23<sup>e</sup> Juin 1684," f. 268v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Durivau huet, a Versailles le 23<sup>e</sup> Juin 1684," f. 268v; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr le ch. de Nesmond, a Versailles le 23<sup>e</sup> Juin 1684," f. 269r; Ibid, 55, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, Versailles le 8 Mars 1685," f. 86r; Ibid, 52, "Ordre du Roy au Sr Arnoul, Versailles le 26 mars 1685," f. 121r; Ibid, 61, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, a Versailles le 7 Janvier 1687," f. 16r; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr de Montmor, a Versailles le 27 Janvier 1687," f. 57r; Ibid, 153, "Ministre a mr Begon, a versailles le 5 Janvier 1701; f. 04r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 50, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, a Versailles le 17 Juin 1684," f. 232v; Ibid, 55, "Ministre au Sr Lombard, Versailles le 19 Avril 1685," f. 156v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Villette, a Versailles le 25 fevrier 1687," f. 136r; Ibid, 153, "Ministre a M de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 9 fevrier 1701," ff. 338r-338v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 48, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, a fontainebleau le 9 7<sup>bre</sup> 1683," f. 293v; Ibid, 115, "Ministre au sr de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 25 Fevrier 1696," ff. 493v-494r; Ibid, 112, "Ministre a M De Chaulnes, 14 Mars 1696," f. 190r; Ibid, 122, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> le M<sup>is</sup> de Barbesieux, Le 1<sup>er</sup> Octo<sup>bre</sup> 1697," f. 291r; AN, Série B, 20, "Ministre a M de Vaudreuil, a Versailles le 12 Mars 1698," ff. 35r-35v; Ibid, 23, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, a Versailles le 6<sup>e</sup> May 1702," f. 89v; Ibid, Serie C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'année 1702, Lettre de Le Chanoine, soldat de la Compagnie de sr. Marin," f. 138v; Ibid,

Official disapproval of such methods resulted in the height requirement being dropped altogether,<sup>1</sup> and the minimum age being lowered to 18 in 1701, to 17 in 1705, and to 15 the following year.<sup>2</sup>

The men recruited for service in the colony formed a heterogeneous group drawn from the lower levels of French society. Although unskilled labourers were in the majority, there were also masons, weavers, carpenters, tailors, bricklayers and tilelayers.<sup>3</sup> Prisoners-of-war from Ireland and Scotland, provided that they were of the Roman Catholic faith, were invited to enlist in either the Irish Regiment of the troupes de terre, or in the

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Série B, 23, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, Le 20 Juin 1703," f. 240v; Ibid, 32, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Subercase, a Versailles le 19 aoust 1710," ff. 194v-195r.

<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 181, "Ministre au s. Martinet, A Versailles le 27 May 1705," f. 591r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 153, "Ministre a m de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 2<sup>e</sup> fevrier 1701," f. 288v; Ibid, 181, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 27 May 1705," f. 587v; Ibid, 191, "Ministre au sr de Langlade, a Vers. le 8 Septembre 1706," f. 31r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, le 19 avril 1687," f. 298v; Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Arnoul, a Versailles le 22<sup>e</sup> avril 1687," f. 316r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 30<sup>e</sup> avril 1687," ff. 316v-317r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Denonville et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1688," f. 09r; Ibid, Série B, 19, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles le 23 Janvier 1697," f. 129r.

colonial regular troops.<sup>1</sup> In times of manpower shortage, deserters from the troupes de terre and from the compagnies franches, as well as civilian prisoners serving terms for petty crimes carrying non-corporal punishments, were released, or condemned, to serve in the colony.<sup>2</sup>

The Minister of Marine tapped another source of able-bodied recruits by imposing a unique sentence for those found guilty by Councils of War. One such Council, judging the case of a half-pay soldier accused of making pregnant "une fille debauchée," was instructed by the Minister to send the soldier to Canada if he were found guilty.<sup>3</sup> This transfer of prisoners from the jails and

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 86, "Ministre au Sr du Guay, a Versailles le 24 decembre 1692," ff. 683r-683v; Ibid, 89, "Ordre du Roy au Sr du Guay, A Versailles le 24 Janvier (1693)," f. 197r; Ibid, "Ordre du Roy a M<sup>ord</sup>. Melfort, A Versailles le 7 fevrier 1693," f. 341r; Ibid, 153, "Ministre a M de Chaulnes, Le 26 Janvier 1701," f. 142v. In 1707 no more Irish volunteers were accepted for service in the colonies. See Ibid, 199, "Ministre a m de Lille, a fontaineb. le 30 7<sup>bre</sup> 1707," f. 12; Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Lille, a fontainebleau le 12 8<sup>bre</sup> 1707," f. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr Panetié, a Versailles le 13 mars 1687," f. 184r; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Feydeau de Brou, a Versailles Le 13 mars 1687," f. 185r; Ibid, 65, "Ministre a Mr Leguerchois, A Versailles le 23<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1688," f. 64r; Ibid, 176, "Ministre a M de Chaulnes, Le 23 Juillet 1704," f. 193v<sup>bis</sup>; Ibid, 221, "Ministre a M de la Galissonnière, a Versailles le 2<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1710," ff. 6-7; Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Robert, a Versailles le 2<sup>e</sup> Juillet (1710)," ff. 10-11; Ibid, 227, "Ministre a M de Ferville, A Versailles le 8<sup>e</sup> avril 1711," f. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 13 mars 1687," f. 181v.

galleys of France to military service in Canada made the task of recruiting officers more difficult, for even though the King did not want the colonies to be regarded as "les endroits ou on envoie ceux qu'on veut punir,"<sup>1</sup> this presumably became the popular view. Nevertheless, those who were released from prison were not murderers or hardened criminals, but men who had been guilty of minor infractions.<sup>2</sup> Therefore this expedient, which was probably used for the troupes de terre as well, did not represent a disregard for the colony but simply a solution for the shortage of recruits.<sup>3</sup>

Among the recruits for Canada in 1683-84 were a few Huguenots,<sup>4</sup> but there is no evidence of their being accepted for service in the colony after the Revocation of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 207, "Ministre a M de Lille, a Paris le 20<sup>e</sup> Juin 1708," f. 976.

<sup>2</sup>Evasion of the salt tax was considered a major crime. See Ibid, 181, "Ministre au sr du Thimé, a Versailles le 10 Juin 1705," f. 689r. "du Thimé" probably refers to Claude-Charles du Tisné.

<sup>3</sup>In January of 1702, the King decided to enlarge the compagnies franches of France by 1,500 men. The following month he was obliged to release 1,000 soldier-deserters from the galleys in order to meet this increase. See Appendix B of this thesis; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 160, "Ministre a M de Chaulnes, A Versailles le 22 fevrier 1702," f. 339v; Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 152, fn. 4, "Ministre à M. d'Arlonville, 22 fevrier 1702."

<sup>4</sup>Cyprien Tanguay, Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours, 7 vols. (Montréal, 1871-1890), I, Daniel Pepie dit La Fleur, pp. 472 and 472fn; Ibid, Daniel Fore dit Laprairie, p. 235; Ibid, Jacques Poissant dit Laselline, pp. 492 and 492fn; Ibid, David Beaubattu, p. 33; hereafter referred to as Tanguay, Dictionnaire.

Edict of Nantes in October 1685. In fact, immediately following the revocation, the Minister of Marine encouraged the Governor of Canada to convert non-Catholic soldiers already in the colony.<sup>1</sup> However, while religious restrictions were rigidly enforced, parish registers do indicate that the colonial regular troops included men of foreign birth, although the length of time that these foreign-born recruits had resided in France prior to sailing for the colony is not known. A Londoner and a soldier from Limerick were to be found among the recruits, but both of them died in their 20's,<sup>2</sup> too young to have become a part of Canadian society. On the other hand, a Spaniard from Burgos, and another Irishman from "Kore" (Cork?), both married and settled in the colony.<sup>3</sup> There were doubtless others who were not involved in religious ceremonies and

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série B, 12, "Memoire du Roy au Sr Marquis de Denonville en response de ses Lettres des 20 aoust, 3 septembre, 12 et 13<sup>e</sup> novembre 1685, a Versailles le 31<sup>e</sup> may 1686," f. 28v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 8, "Denonville au ministre, a Quebec le 10<sup>me</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1686," f. 132r; Ibid, Série B, 13, "Memoire du Roy aux Sieurs Marquis de Denonville et de Champigny, a Versailles le 30<sup>e</sup> mars 1687," f. 156r. Gédéon de Catalogne was not commissioned an officer until he converted to Roman Catholicism. See the biography of Catalogne by F. J. Thorpe in DCB, (Toronto, 1969), II, pp. 120-121.

<sup>2</sup>Tanguay, Dictionnaire, I, Thomas Bevin, p. 50; Régistres de la paroisse de Notre-Dame, Joseph Bellecour, 3 décembre, 1701; hereafter referred to as RPND.

<sup>3</sup>Tanguay, Dictionnaire, I, Pierre Villeday dit Laviolette, p. 588; RPND, Jean Batiste hoe dit Jolicoeur, 27 avril 1704.

whose names, therefore, do not appear in parish registers.

After 1686, the competence of the colonial regular troops was slightly improved by the incorporation in each newly-recruited company of 14 experienced naval soldiers, selected as follows:- 1 experienced sergeant of the port guards to serve as sergeant, 1 experienced lance corporal from the same corps as second sergeant, 6 port guards to serve as corporals and lance corporals, and 6 half-pay soldiers to serve as regular soldiers.<sup>1</sup> This policy ensured that one-third of each company consisted of trained, disciplined men. Moreover, in years of acute shortage or immediate need, additional men were taken from the compagnies franches.<sup>2</sup> By 1698 a procedure had been established whereby 12 to 15 of the men in each

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 58, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, Versailles le 28 decemb. 1686," f. 917v; Ibid, 111, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, a Versailles le 7 Janvier 1687," f. 16v; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, A Versailles le 28 Febvrier 1687," ff. 163r-163v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 13 mars 1687," f. 182r; Ibid, 65, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, 23 Jan<sup>er</sup>. 1688," ff. 57r-57v; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Gabaret, A Versailles le 23<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1688," f. 58v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 21<sup>e</sup> fevrier 1688," f. 111r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 65, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, 23 Jan<sup>er</sup>. 1688," f. 57r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, A Versailles le 28 fevrier 1688," f. 148r; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Gabaret, A Versailles le 28 fevrier 1688," f. 148r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a versailles le 8<sup>e</sup> mars 1688," f. 165v; Ibid, 89, "Ordre du Roy a M de Chaunes (sic), A Versailles le 21 Janvier (1693)," f. 145v.

compagnie franche were reserved for colonial service,<sup>1</sup> so that when the Minister of Marine sent instructions to a port intendant to recruit a given number of men, the intendant could guarantee that for every 50 men he was asked to supply, 14 would be despatched immediately.

An important factor in the selection of recruits was their marital status. Since the Crown paid all costs of the voyage, the recruiting officials were naturally advised to give preference to single soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Married soldiers were able to take their wives and children with them free of charge. Wives not wishing to accompany their husbands had their wishes disregarded because the King "donneroit les ordres necessaires pour leur passage."<sup>3</sup> Although there was a desperate need of recruits for Canada, the King refused to pay soldiers' debts, whether

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 127, "Ministre a m de Sorel, a versailles le 4 decem. 97," f. 409v; Ibid, "Ministre a m Sorel, a versailles le xi x<sup>bre</sup> 97," f. 437r; Ibid, 131, "Ministre au sr de Luzancay, a Versailles le 5 Mars 1698," f. 337v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Pointel, a Versailles le 5 Mars 1698," f. 340r; Ibid, 132, "Ministre a m de Villette, a Versailles le 9 Avril 1698," f. 35r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr Panetié, a Versailles le 13 mars 1687," f. 184v; Ibid, 132, "Ministre a M de Sorel, a Versailles le XI Juin 1698," f. 408r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a versailles le 25 fevrier 1687," f. 133v; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Panetié, A Versailles le 28 Febvrier 1687," f. 165r.

they were married or single, volunteers or not.<sup>1</sup>

The 950 troops sent to Canada between 1683 and 1686 were all recruited in Rochefort and the surrounding area.<sup>2</sup> However, the largest recruitment of any single year - that of 800 men in 1687 - required the farming out of quotas to several ports, so that, although Rochefort still supplied 250 recruits in this latter year, 200 were also sent from Brest, 150 from Le Havre, 100 from Bordeaux, and 50 each from Bayonne and Nantes. Between 1683 and 1688, a total of 2,050 troops arrived in Canada of whom Rochefort supplied more than 66%, Brest approximately 10%, Bordeaux approximately 7%, Le Havre approximately 7%, Nantes approximately 5%, and Bayonne less than 5%.<sup>3</sup>

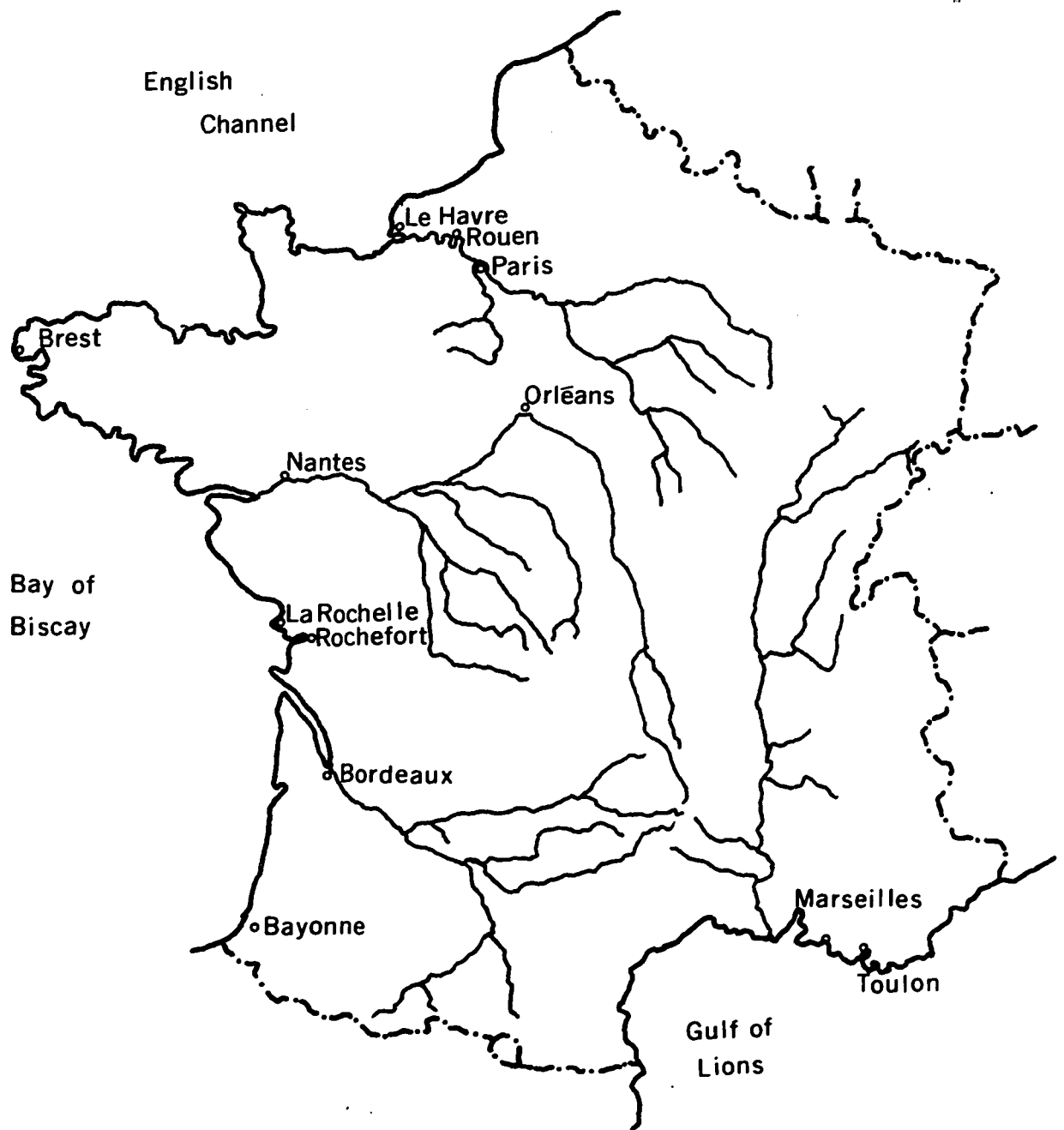
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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Panetié, a Versailles le 13 mars 1687," f. 184v.

<sup>2</sup>The Rochefort area supplied 150 men in 1683, 350 in 1684, 300 in 1685, and 150 (to replace married and deceased soldiers) in 1686. A total of 1,100 men actually sailed for Canada during these years; in 1684, 3 companies of port guards were sent from Brest, but were obliged to return to port. See AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Roy a m de la Barre En response de ses lettres du 5 juin 1684, Versailles, le 31 juillet, 1684," f. 289r; Ibid, "M de Meulles au Ministre, a Quebec, le 12 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," f. 412r; Ibid, "Memoire au Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix<sup>e</sup> avril dernier, 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684" (par La Barre), ff. 353v-354r; Ibid, "La Barre au ministre, Quebec, le 14<sup>e</sup> novembre, 1684," ff. 363r and 365v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 52, "Ordre du Roy au Sr Desclouzeaux, Versailles, le 28<sup>e</sup> janvier, 1685," f. 63v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 58, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, Versailles le 28 decemb. 1686," f. 917v; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr de Montmor, Versailles le 28<sup>e</sup> decemb. 1686," f. 924r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Lombard, Versailles le 29<sup>e</sup> decemb. 1686," f. 926r; Ibid, 61, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, a

# MAP OF FRANCE



During the remainder of the period under study the lion's share of recruits for Canada came from the Rochefort area, but the port intendants of Le Havre, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Nantes were occasionally called upon to supplement the Rochefort recruits. Cities and towns further inland were sometimes visited by commissioned officers of the troops in search of recruits, but the number of men enlisted from these areas was insignificant compared to that garnered from the ports.<sup>1</sup>

Because of the frequent desertions from military and naval service during this period,<sup>2</sup> several precautions

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Versailles le 7 Janvier 1687," f. 16r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Lombart, a Versailles le 21 Janvier 1687," f. 47r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Boulaye, a Versailles le 21 Janvier 1687," f. 47v; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, a Versailles le 25 Janvier 1687," f. 53r; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, a Versailles le 8<sup>e</sup> fevrier 1687," f. 90v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le XI<sup>e</sup> fevrier 1687," f. 96r; Ibid, "Ministre a Mr Desclouzeaux, a versailles le 14<sup>e</sup> fevrier 1687," ff. 109r-109v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, A Versailles le 28 fevrier 1687," f. 156v.

<sup>1</sup>As far as may be determined, the largest number of recruits from any one inland area was a total of 70 recruits from the Paris-Orleans district in the year 1701. See AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 153, "Ministre a M Begon, Le 19 Janvier 1701," f. 86r; Ibid, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles le 9 fevrier 1701," f. 336v.

<sup>2</sup>Soldiers raised for Canada deserted in 1687. See Ibid, 61, "Ministre a mr de Montmor, Maintenon le 22 avril 1687," f. 302r. There were several desertions of note from the compagnies franches of France during this period. See Ibid, 108, "Ministre au S. de Gastines, a Versailles le 27 Juillet 1695," ff. 185v-186r; Ibid, 153, "Ministre a mr. Begon, a versailles le 5 Janvier 1701," f. 03v; Ibid, 168, "Ministre a M de Magnou, a Versailles le 4 Avril 1703, f. 05r; Ibid, "Ministre a M. Daubanton,

had to be taken to ensure that all men raised for service in Canada actually sailed for the colony. Two methods were employed to transport the closely supervised recruits from the various ports to Rochefort and La Rochelle. They were sometimes transferred by boat,<sup>1</sup> from which desertion was virtually impossible, but the more common method was to march the recruits along prescribed routes to the port of embarkation. Each time these movements were planned, the Minister of Marine notified the Minister of War, and requested from him a route by which the party might avoid the troupes de terre recruiters, and bypass large towns in which supervision would be more difficult and desertions more frequent. In this manner, recruits were convoyed in small groups for distances sometimes exceeding 250 miles, under the supervision of one commissioned or non-commissioned officer for every 7 to 10 recruits.<sup>2</sup>

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a Marly, le 27 Juin 1703," ff. 769r-769v; Ibid, 221, "Ministre a M de la Galissonniere, a Marly le 28 May 1710," ff. 910-911; Ibid, 222, "Ministre a Mons. le Marquis de la Galissonniere, a Versailles le 2<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1710," ff. 6-7.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr Silly, a Versailles le 25 fevrier 1687," f. 141r; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Silly, a Versailles Le 13 Mars 1687," f. 183v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr Panetié, a Versailles le 13 mars 1687," f. 184v.

<sup>2</sup>Initially, midshipmen were used to convoy the recruits, but for those from inland areas various combinations of officers were used. For example, 20 recruits were escorted from Paris to La Rochelle by one lieutenant and one ensign; 20 from St. Lo by one captain; 8

Close supervision did not end in the port. Because the lodging facilities of Rochefort were frequently occupied by soldiers of the troupes de terre, and La Rochelle was "un abysme de desertion,"<sup>1</sup> another location had to be found in which the recruits could be confined, trained, and disciplined until the ships for Canada were prepared to sail. The choice fell upon the 100 square mile Ile d'Oléron in the Bay of Biscay.<sup>2</sup> This island, the last contact with France for most of the recruits, was the depot for troops sailing to all French colonies during this period.<sup>3</sup>

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groups of 15 recruits each to Rochefort, consisting of 2 groups from Bordeaux, 2 from Nantes, 2 from Angoulesme, and 2 from Poitiers, each group conducted by one ensign and one sergeant; 30 recruits were escorted from Paris to Rochefort by one lieutenant, one ensign, and two sergeants. See AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 139, "Ordre du Roy au Sr de la Boulaye, A Versailles le 23 fevrier 1693," f. 485r; AN, Série B, 16, "Ministre a Monsieur Begon, A Versailles le 28 fevrier 1693," f. 187r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 107, "Ministre a M de Barbezieux, a Vers. le 23 Avril 1695," f. 183r; Ibid, 153, "Ministre a M Chamillart, A Versailles le 9 fevrier 1701," ff. 367v-368v; Ibid, 175, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Chamillart, a Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," f. 694v; Ibid, 227, "Ministre a M. Voysin, A Marly le 13 may 1711," ff. 667-668; Ibid, 230, "Ministre a M. Voisin, a versailles le 6 Avril 1712," f. 60.

<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "M. Millet, commissaire de marine, au ministre, A la Rochelle, ce 1<sup>er</sup> avril, 1685," ff. 200r-200v.

<sup>2</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 55, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de la Vogadre, Versailles, le 19<sup>e</sup> Avril, 1685," f. 160r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 61, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 1<sup>er</sup> fevrier 1687," f. 72r. Apparently some recruits were able to desert from Ile d'Oléron. See Ibid, 181, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Marly Le 20 May 1705," f. 533v.

Before leaving the port for Ile d'Oléron, the recruits were outfitted in the troupes de la marine uniform.<sup>1</sup> From the pay of all recruits in the troupes de la marine, regardless of where they were being sent to serve, was deducted the cost of the uniforms and the 30 livres cost of recruitment.<sup>2</sup> Men recruited for Canada were subjected to a further expense not applicable to their counterparts in the French West Indies or in France - the cost of couvertures to protect them from the North American winters.<sup>3</sup> The robust and the extremely unhealthy might yet escape the voyage to Canada at the eleventh hour. Officers of port compagnies franches, working in collusion with recruiting officials and against the wishes of the Minister of Marine, were sometimes able to select the healthiest men for service in their own companies just prior to the departure of the ships from port.<sup>4</sup> Whenever

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix B of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 52, "Ordre du Roy au Sr Arnoul, Versailles le 26 mars 1685," f. 120v; Ibid, 57, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> mars 1686," ff. 159v-160r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 49, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, a Paris le 5e Aoust 1683," f. 284v; Ibid, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 28 fevrier 1687," f. 158v. By 1689 this may have been included in the overall cost of the uniform. See AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Champigny au Ministre, a Ville marie le 6 juillet 1689," ff. 229r-230r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série B, 16, "Ministre a Monsieur Begon, a Versailles le 28 Mars 1693," f. 224v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 174, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Chaulnes, a versailles Le 20<sup>e</sup> mars 1704," ff. 841r-841v.

a senior officer from Canada was present, he conducted the final review with the port officials, rejected those recruits who were obviously unfit, and embarked the rest for the 2 to 4 month voyage.<sup>1</sup> From the moment the recruit enlisted for service in the colony, therefore, until he stepped off the boat in Québec, he had very little opportunity to reverse his decision to serve overseas.

During the first decade of recruiting for Canada, recruits were not informed of their destination until after they had been embarked, and even then were told they were on a voyage passager, and would be returning to France shortly.<sup>2</sup> However, the Marine Intendant at Le Havre suggested that this policy could be detrimental to recruiting for service in the port compagnies franches,<sup>3</sup> and recommended that recruits be advised of their destinations before departure. In 1693 the King issued instructions to this effect.<sup>4</sup> For the same reason, soldiers drawn from

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 55, "Ministre au Sr du Guay, Versailles le 19<sup>e</sup> Avril 1685," f. 160v; Ibid, 89, "Ministre a m. de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 25<sup>e</sup> Mars 1693," f. 767r; Ibid, 154, "Ministre a M de Chaulnes, a Marly le 8<sup>e</sup> Juin 1701," f. 562v; Ibid, "Ministre a M de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 29<sup>e</sup> Juin 1701," f. 691r; Ibid, 155, "Ministre au sr de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 6 Juillet 1701," f. 07v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 50, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, a Versailles le 5 Aoust 1684," ff. 320r-320v.

<sup>3</sup>Unless otherwise specified, compagnies franches refers to Marine infantrymen serving in the ports or on the ships of France.

<sup>4</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 89, "Ordre du Roy a M de Louvigny, A Versailles le 10 Janvier (1693)," f. 75r; Ibid, "Ordre du Roy au Sr de Gastines, A Versailles le 28 Janvier (1693)," f. 235v.

within the compagnies franches were asked for their consent before being sent to Canada.<sup>1</sup> This more humane approach made it almost impossible for the Marine Intendants to meet their quotas for the colony.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, port officials were advised to ask the soldiers already employed by the Marine Department for their consent, and, if it were refused, the Marine Intendant was permitted to "les envoyer a Oleron sans leur en parler..."<sup>3</sup> Individual preferences were to be overruled in the interests of the State, but in this case, the State was Canada.

It was the intention of the Minister of Marine that the ships sail in March or April<sup>4</sup> to give the recruits

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Ordre du Roy au Sr. Massiot, A Versailles le 11 fevrier 1693," f. 352v; AN, Série B, 16, "Ministre a Monsieur de Chaulnes, A Versailles le XI fevrier 1693," f. 155v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 115, "Ministre au sr de Chaulnes, A Versailles le 25 Fevrier 1696," ff. 493v-494r. In 1698, a young man who had served as a dragoon volunteered to serve in Canada. See AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 132, "Ministre a mr Begon, a Versailles le 7<sup>e</sup> May 1698," f. 208r. The only other clear case of men volunteering to serve in the non-commissioned ranks in Canada, as far as may be determined, was that of 15 to 20 men from Burgundy who asked, in 1704, for permission to serve in the colony under Ramezay. Nevertheless, it may only be assumed that these men were volunteering for service as soldiers, and not as officers. See AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 175, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> du Guay, a Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," ff. 639v-640r; Ibid, "Ministre au s. Riverin, a Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," ff. 700v-701r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 89, "Ordre du Roy a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 4<sup>e</sup> Mars 1693," ff. 552v-553r; Ibid, "Ordre du Roy a m. Gabaret, a Versailles le 4 Mars 1693," f. 553v; Ibid, "Ordre du Roy a m. de Chaulnes, a Versailles le 4 Mars 1693," ff. 554r-554v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 51, "Ministre au Sr Dumont, a Versailles, le xi avril, 1684," f. 200r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Ministre a

time to adjust to their new environment before winter set in, but it was often late May or mid-June before the ships finally got under way.<sup>1</sup> The voyage was probably the most unpleasant experience for the recruit since his enlistment in the troops. The food left much to be desired,<sup>2</sup> and the crossing, which took several months, left the recruit defenseless against disease, vulnerable to capture by the enemy, and exposed to shipwreck and death by drowning. During the first few years of troop transport to Canada the death toll was very high, due in large measure to the harsh treatment meted out by the officers of the King's ships and to the unsanitary conditions

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M de la Barre, Versailles, 10 avril 1684," f. 245v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 55, "Ministre au Sr Andiffredy, Versailles, le 26 Mars, 1685", f. 117r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 8, "Denonville au ministre, Quebec, 8 9<sup>bre</sup> 1686," ff. 121v, 126r-126v; Ibid, "Denonville au ministre, A Quebec, le ii<sup>me</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1686," f. 161v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 61, "Ministre au Sr de Boulaye, a Versailles le 21 Janvier 1687," f. 47v.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 50, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, a Versailles, le 17 Juin 1684," f. 252r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au ministre, A Larochelle, le 9<sup>me</sup> Juin, 1685," ff. 41v-42v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 61, "Ministre au Sr de Mauclerc, a Versailles le 19 avril 1687," f. 292r.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série B, 17, "Observations de l'examen d'un compte general des effets des magasins de Sa Ma<sup>te</sup> en Canada depuis le premier Juillet 1693 jusqu'au premier Juillet 1694, et un estat de la depense extraordinaire de la guerre sur les fonds et effets envoyez en l'année 1694, lesd. comptes et estats envoyez par M de Champigny, avec sa depesche du 24<sup>e</sup> Octobre 1694," f. 191r; Ibid, 25, "Ministre a M. Begon, a Versailles le 9 Jan<sup>er</sup>. 1704," f. 25r.

resulting from overcrowding.<sup>1</sup> In response to complaints about these conditions, the Minister of Marine began using merchant ships to transport the recruits when possible,<sup>2</sup> and issued instructions to the Commander of the King's vessels to -

...tenir la main a ce qu'ils soient tous les jours lavez, balayez et raclez par tout, d'empescher qu'on ne mange entre deux ponts, et qu'on ny fasse aucune ordure, ne fermer les caillebotis que dans les temps des pluyes, faire ouvrir les sabords le plus souvent qu'il se pourra, faire mettre les malades dans un lieu separe, faire saisir les bransles au pont pendant le jour, faire monter tout le monde en haut une, ou deux fois par jour, faire des parfums entre deux ponts avec des boulets rouges dans du vinaigre ou de goldron, Et enfin se servir de tous les autres moyens que l'experience qu'il a des navigations de long cours peut luy avoir appris.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, a Quebec, le 20<sup>me</sup> Aoust, 1685," f. 55v; Ibid, 6, "Memoire au Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix. avril dernier, 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684" (par La Barre), f. 354r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 55, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Arnoul, fontainebleau, Le 21<sup>e</sup> Octobre, 1685," ff. 470r-470v; Ibid, 52, "Ordre du Roy au Sr Arnoul, Versailles, le 4 Decembre, 1685," f. 314r.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, a Quebec, le 20<sup>me</sup> Aoust, 1685," f. 51v; Ibid, "Denonville au ministre, a Quebec, le 20<sup>me</sup> Aoust 1685," f. 55v; Ibid, "Denonville au ministre, A Quebec, le 3<sup>me</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1685," ff. 62v-63r.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 60, "Instruction que le Roy veut estre mise ez mains du sr Damblimont Cap<sup>ne</sup>. entretenu en la marine choisy par Sa Ma<sup>te</sup> pour commander les vaisseaux qu'Elle envoie en la nouvelle france, Versailles, le 21 Mars, 1687," ff. 41v-42r.

In spite of this attempt to alleviate unhealthy conditions aboard ship, the recruits still had to face the monotony of a long ocean voyage in cramped quarters. It must therefore have been with a sense of relief that they lined up for their first inspection on arrival in Quebec. Those not requiring medical attention were despatched to the areas in which their companies were stationed, and billeted with nearby habitants for the winter.

Because of the strategic importance of the Montreal area, the majority of the soldiers in the colony were stationed in and around the town.<sup>1</sup> Despite this fact, Montreal lacked a barracks until 1685,<sup>2</sup> in which year a

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Memoire du Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix<sup>e</sup> avril dernier, 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," (La Barre), f. 346r; Ibid, 12, "Supplication de Mr de Callières, 20 9<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 100r; Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> le Cher. de Callières (sic), A Versailles le 4<sup>e</sup> Juin 1695," f. 211r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 15, "Memoire sur les affaires de Canada extrait des Lettres de M<sup>rs</sup> de Frontenac et de Champigny de l'année 1696, Avril 1697," f. 55r; Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," f. 154r; Ibid, 27, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, A Versailles le 17 Juin 1705," f. 80v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 25, "Ramezay au Ministre, sans datte (sic)," f. 09v; Ibid, 27, "Ramezay au Ministre, Quebec, 12 Novembre 1707," ff. 10v-11r; Ibid, 33, "Memoire De l'Etat present de Canada, Fevrier 1712," f. 274r.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Memoire au Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix<sup>e</sup> avril dernier, 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684" (La Barre), f. 346r; Pierre-Georges Roy, (ed.), Ordonnances, commissions, etc., etc., des gouverneurs et intendants de la Nouvelle-France, 1639-1706, 2 vols. (Beauceville, 1924), II, "Ordonnance de M. de Denonville qui charge le Sieur Migeon de Branssat, subdélégué de l'Intendant, de pourvoir aux moyens convenables pour faire voiturier à Montréal le bois coupé par les soldats pour le chauffage

building 47 feet by 27 feet was built to house 100 of the 250 soldiers based on the island.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the major share of the responsibility for billeting the troops still fell upon the settlers in and around the island. For example, from September 1687 until March 1689, the house of a certain "lagarde" in Montreal was leased to accommodate some of the soldiers whom the barracks was not equipped to handle.<sup>2</sup> The only alterations made to the barracks - in 1689 - were in the interests of security rather than capacity.<sup>3</sup> For the population of Three Rivers and Quebec, billeting was not such a problem. A barracks was built in Three Rivers some time between 1683 and 1694,<sup>4</sup> but the location of the town, which made

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du corps de garde nouvellement construit dans cette ville, Donné a Villemarie le 6<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1685," pp. 128-129; hereafter referred to as Roy (ed.), Ordonnances; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Denonville et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1688," f. 11v.

<sup>1</sup>AJM, "Grefte de Claude Maugue et Bénigne Basset, 6 et 10 octobre, 1689."

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Estat de la depence faite en L'année 1688 Jusqu'au p<sup>er</sup>. Novembre au sujet de la guerre contre les Iroquois. Sans lieu, le 1<sup>er</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1688," f. 136r.

<sup>3</sup>AJM, "Grefte de Claude Maugue et Bénigne Basset, 6 et 10 octobre, 1689."

<sup>4</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "De Meulles au ministre, A Quebec le douze novembre 1682," f. 90r; Ibid, "De Meulles au ministre, Quebec, 4 novembre, 1683," f. 197v; Ibid, 13 "Estat de la depense faite pour les fortifications de Canada sur le fonds ordonnez par sa Ma<sup>te</sup> en l'année 1694," f. 117r.

it virtually immune to attacks from Iroquois and English, did not necessitate the presence of more than two or three companies of troops. The Quebec barracks, located first in the garrison<sup>1</sup> and then in the Château St. Louis, underwent several changes until, in 1697, it consisted of two sections, located on each side of the main door to the Château.<sup>2</sup>

The quartering of soldiers in the homes of habitants inevitably gave rise to some conflicts. By May of 1685 it had been brought to the attention of the Intendant that some of the soldiers on the South Shore of the St. Lawrence River, in Boucherville and Prairie de la Madeleine, as well as others billeted elsewhere, were demanding more utensils from the habitants than the latter were able, or could afford, to supply. As a result, the Intendant published an ordinance which obliged the habitants to provide no more than one pot, one "chaudière," and a place for the soldier to sleep.<sup>3</sup> As winter approached, a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 13, "Frontenac au ministre, Quebec, 25 8<sup>bre</sup> 1694," f. 62r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 11, "Devis De ce quy Convient faire pour la Construction d'un corps de logis du fort st louis de quebec, par Frontenac et Champigny, Quebec, 5 May 1691," ff. 198r-198v; Ibid, 12, "Frontenac au ministre, Quebec, 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 30r; Ibid, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," ff. 07r-07v; Ibid, 15, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 13 octobre 1697," ff. 134v-135r.

<sup>3</sup>Roy (ed.), Ordonnances, II, "Ordonnance de M. de Meulles qui enjoint aux habitants qui logent des soldats de ne fournir à ceux-ci qu'une marmite et une chaudière, Mandons &c fait à Montreal le 15<sup>e</sup> May 1685," pp. 105-106.

more detailed ordinance was issued by the Governor General, requiring the habitants to provide one table setting, one straw mattress, one pot or one "chaudière," and a place near the fire. The soldier was to help keep the fire burning, and to assist in the cutting and transporting of wood. Although provision was made for immediate settlement by the Governor of Montreal of any disputes between habitants and soldiers,<sup>1</sup> the lack of any evidence of such a settlement indicates that the habitants and soldiers were capable of resolving their own disagreements.

The presence of soldiers in the neighbourhood was appreciated by the local inn-keepers. These did such a thriving business, especially on pay-day that, in the public interest,<sup>2</sup> restrictions had to be placed on both patron and client. The sales of liquor after 9 o'clock in the evening had been forbidden by a 1676 regulation, and again by an ordinance of 1680.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, soldiers

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, "Ordonnance de M. de Denonville au sujets des soldats à Montréal, Fait à Villemarie le 5<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1685," pp. 127-129.

<sup>2</sup> AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "La Barre au Ministre, Quebec le 14<sup>e</sup> novembre 1684," ff. 356r-356v.

<sup>3</sup> Roy (ed.), Ordonnances, I, "Ordonnance de M. Duchesneau qui réitère les défenses faites par le Conseil Souverain aux cabaretiers de donner à boire dans leurs maisons passé neuf heures du soir, Fait à Villemarie dans l'isle de Montréal le 12 juillet gbic quatre vingt," pp. 275-277.

and habitants continued to drink after the last call, using the homes of the obliging inn-keepers. Such over-indulgence was repeated on holidays and even during divine service on Sundays. Accordingly, a third document was issued on this subject, forbidding the sale of liquor on the above occasions under penalty of a fine and making it mandatory for soldiers to obtain permission from their captains even to enter a licensed establishment.<sup>1</sup> Much to the annoyance of the clergy, this was still insufficient to prevent minor disorders.<sup>2</sup>

In 1695 a comprehensive regulation was drawn up over the King's signature setting out, for the first time, specific procedures for the military side of the soldiers'

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, II; "Ordonnance de M. de Meulles qui porte défense de donner à boire aux soldats sans la permission de leurs capitaines, Fait à Québec ce 25<sup>e</sup> aoust 1685," pp. 123-125.

<sup>2</sup>Mgr. H. Têtu et l'abbé C.-O. Gagnon, (eds.), Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec, 4 vols. (Québec, 1887), I, "Ordonnance touchant l'ivrognerie et l'impureté, par Jean, Evêque de Québec, Donné à Quebec le dernier jour d'octobre 1690," pp. 267-270; Gouvernement de Québec, Edits, Ordonnances Royaux, et Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi Concernant le Canada, 2 vols., (Québec, 1803-1806), II, "Ordonnance qui oblige les habitants à garder le respect qu'ils doivent à l'Eglise, du 12<sup>me</sup> Novembre, 1706, Fait et donné en notre Hôtel le 12<sup>me</sup> Novembre 1706," par Raudot, pp. 249-250; hereafter to be referred to as Gouv. de Qué., Edits, Ordonnances; Yves F. Zoltvany (ed.), Documentary History of the United States Series, The French Tradition in America (New York, 1969), "A Police Ordonnance Commanding the People to be Respectful in Church, Given at Quebec, March 22, 1710, by Raudot," pp. 83-84; hereafter to be referred to as Zoltvany, French Tradition.

conduct and training in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Led by their officers, companies marched in good order with drums beating from one location to another. Upon arrival the soldiers were instructed not to cause any disorder, and forbidden to enter any lodgings other than their own. Similarly, before leaving an area where they had been stationed, the troops were assembled and the habitants invited to state their complaints, which were dealt with on the spot. Whether en route from one location to another or lodged in a specific area, the soldier could not leave the neighbourhood of his company without a congé from the senior military officer of the district, who was obliged to notify the Governor General and the Intendant whenever he granted such permission.

Twice weekly there were musket exercises and once a week grenade practice. On these days soldiers reported with muskets and swords at the captain's door and, led by their officers, marched with their captain to the exercise area. They were not dismissed until they were back at their captain's house. Reviews were carried out by the commissary and/or the major of the troops, if possible, every two months; soldiers absent were not paid unless

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majesté entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris" (Chez Estienne Michallet, premier Imprimeur du Roy rue S. Jacques, a l'Image S. Paul M. DC. XCV., De l'expres Commandement de Sa Majeste), ff. 353r-359v.

they were confined to a hospital or on a special mission for the Governor General. Captains were not allowed to present at these inspections any soldier who had not been approved by the Governor General, or whose description was not on file.

For their services in the colony, the non-commissioned officers and soldiers were, in theory, paid as follows:- sergeants, 22 livres 10 sols per month; corporals, 15 livres; lance corporals, 12 livres; and soldiers, 9 livres.<sup>1</sup> However, several deductions were made before these men received any spending money. The Marine treasurer in France deducted 2 livres 5 sols per month from each man to pay for his uniform, parts of which were renewed every second year.<sup>2</sup> In Canada, 2 sols 6 deniers were retained

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<sup>1</sup>APQ, Manuscrits Relatifs a l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France, 2me série, 7, "Memoire concernant le paye et le decompote des troupes en Canada, par Champigny. 10 novembre 1695."

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Ministre a M de la Barre, Versailles, 10 avril 1684," f. 246v; Ibid, Série B, 15, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Marquis de Denonville et de Champigny, A Versailles le 8 Mars 1688," f. 19v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Denonville et Champigny au ministre, A Quebec, le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1688," f. 10r; "Ordonnance de Louis XIV pour les armées navales et arsenaux de marine. 15 avril 1689," in Bajot et Poirré, Annales maritimes, 1847, partie officielle, pp. 91-284; concerning uniform, see p. 149 of the ordinance. AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Champigny au ministre, 5 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692," ff. 76v-77r; Ibid, 113, "Depenses de Canada. 1699. Etat des depenses que le Roy veut et ordonne estre faite par le tresorier general de la marine M<sup>r</sup> Jean Noiret de la Ravoye...pendant la presente annee 1699. Marly, 19 May 1699," ff. 84r-89v; Ibid, 17, "Champigny au Ministre, 20 8<sup>bre</sup> 1699," f. 82v;

to pay the salaries of the drum major and the surgeon, as well as the costs of the muster roll.<sup>1</sup> In addition, monthly deductions were made to pay for the upkeep of the hospitals:- 10 sols 1 denier from the sergeant, 6 sols 5 deniers from the corporal, 4 sols 11 deniers from the lance corporal, and 3 sols 5 deniers from the soldier. Furthermore, deductions which averaged 4 livres 10 sols 1 denier per month, varying according to fluctuating market conditions, were made to pay for daily rations which consisted of 4 ounces of bacon, 4 ounces of peas, and a choice between 1½ pounds of bread, 18 ounces of biscuits or 20 ounces of flour. After these deductions and expenses, net pay each month amounted, for the sergeant, to 15 livres 2 sols 5 deniers, for the corporal, to 7 livres 16 sols 1 denier, for the lance corporal, to 4 livres 17 sols 7 deniers, and for the regular soldier, to the meagre sum of 1 livre 19 sols 1 denier.<sup>2</sup>

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AM, Serie B<sup>2</sup>, 153, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles, le 2 Mars 1701," ff. 484v-485r.

<sup>1</sup>This sum was probably distributed as follows - 15 deniers per month to the surgeon, 9 deniers to the drum major, and 6 deniers for the muster roll. See RAPQ, 1928-29, "Memoire du Roy au Gouverneur de Frontenac et à l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, Versailles, 14 juin 1695," p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>APQ, Manuscrits Relatifs à l'Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, 2me série, 7, "Memoire concernant le paye et le decompote des troupes en Canada, par Champigny. 10 novembre 1695." The Governor General of Canada sometimes withheld a portion of the non-commissioned officers pay to employ sub-lieutenants and sub-ensigns.

In addition to musket and grenade practice three days each week, soldiers were obliged to stand guard duty, and could only evade this responsibility if they paid substitutes.<sup>1</sup> During the summer months, when they no longer lived with the habitants but camped in tents, the soldiers worked on fortifications and on developing, maintaining, and improving roads, for which work they received a small bonus.<sup>2</sup> Soldiers sometimes assisted the habitants with

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Frontenac et Champigny au ministre, 4<sup>9</sup><sup>bre</sup> 1693," f. 213r; Ibid, Série B, 27, "Ministre à M le marquis d'allogny, A Versailles le 9 Juin 1706," f. 258r; Ibid, 29, "Ministre a m le marquis Dalogny, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 98r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 33, "Dumesny noré au Ministre, quebec, 25<sup>8</sup><sup>bre</sup> 1712," f. 155v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 9, "Denonville au Ministre, A Villemarie le 8 Juin 1687," f. 26r; Ibid, 10, "Champigny au Ministre, a Ville marie le 6 juillet 1689," ff. 229r-230r; Ibid, Série B, 16, "Ministre à Monsieur de Brouillant, A Paris le 7 mars 1693," f. 200v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Frontenac et Champigny au ministre, 4<sup>9</sup><sup>bre</sup> 1693," ff. 207v-208r; Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre aud. Sr du Brouillant, dud. Jour (Versailles le 10 Mars 1694)," ff. 34r-34v; Ibid, "Ministre aud Sr du Brouillant, a Versailles led. jour 13<sup>e</sup> Avril (1695)," ff. 122r-122v; RAPQ, 1928-29, "Memoire du Roy au Gouverneur de Frontenac et à l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, Versailles, 14 juin 1695," p. 258; Ibid, "Mémoire du Roi pour le Gouverneur de Frontenac et l'Intendant Bochart de Champigny, a Versailles, le 26 mai, 1696," p. 305; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 17, "Callières et Champigny au ministre, Quebec le 20 octobre 1699," f. 05r; Ibid, Série B, 22, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs. Cher. de Callieres, Gouvern. et Lieutenant general, et de Champigny Intendant de Justice, Police et Fin. dans les pays de la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 5 May 1700," ff. 101r-101v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 18, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 18<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," ff. 05r-05v; Ibid, Série B, 22, "Ministre au Sr de Subercase, A Versailles, le 31 May 1701," f. 232v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 5<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1701," ff. 05v-06r; Ibid, Série B, 23, "Memoire du

seeding and harvesting in times of possible Iroquois raids, and helped the settlers secure their homes from attack.<sup>1</sup> When the habitants were short of labour or when the colonial administrators lacked funds to pay the soldiers, the latter, wearing civilian clothes, were permitted to work for the habitants. Soldiers were very

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Roy au Sr Cher de Callières, gouverneur et Lieutenant general en la Nouvelle France, en response de ses dés-pesches et celles du Sr de Champigny, cy devant Intend. du pays des 5 et 31 octobre 1701," f. 62r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Callieres, Beauharnois, et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1702," f. 61v; Ibid, "Callieres au Ministre, a Quebec le 4 Novembre 1702," f. 157r; Ibid, "Le Vasseur de Neré au Ministre, a quebek le 6<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1702," f. 206r; RAPQ, 1938-39, "MM de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois au Ministre, Quebec, 15 9<sup>bre</sup> 1703," p. 14; AN, Série B, 23, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Cher de Callieres...et au Sr, de Beauharnois, 1703," ff. 199v-200r; RAPQ, 1938-39, "Memoire du Roi à MM. de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," p. 31; AN, Série B, 27, "Memoire pour servir d'instruction au S. Raudot Intendant de justice Police & finances de la nouvelle France, a Versailles Le 17 Juin, 1705," ff. 43v-44r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 26, "Memoire d'Allogny, 1707," f. 145r; Ibid, Série B, 33, "Memoire pour servir d'Instruction au sr Begon Intend. de Justice Police & Finances de la Nouvelle France, A Marly le 7 Juillet 1711," f. 96r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 33, "Dumesny noré au Ministre, quebec, 25 8<sup>bre</sup> 1712," f. 155v.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 10, "Memoire du chevalier de Callieres gouverneur de l'isle de Montreal a Monseigneur le Marquis de Seignelay, sans lieu ni date," f. 148r; Ibid, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," f. 15r; Ibid, 18, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 18<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," f. 05v; Ibid, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 5<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1701," ff. 05v-06r; Ibid, 27, "Memoire pour servir d'instruction au S. Raudot Intendant de justice Police et finances de la nouvelle France, a Versailles Le 17 Juin, 1705," ff. 43v-44r; Ibid, Série B, 27, "Ministre a M le marquis d'allogny, a Versailles le 9 juin 1706," f. 258r; Ibid, 29, "Ministre a m<sup>rs</sup> Raudot, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 66r; Ibid, "Ministre a m le marquis Dalogny, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 98r.

soon able to choose such work whether there were shortages or not. Initially soldiers were permitted to work for a monthly wage of a maximum of 12 livres,<sup>1</sup> but as some habitants only needed labour for a few days or a couple of weeks, payment was made on a daily basis at a maximum rate of 15 sols.<sup>2</sup> Working in this manner enabled the soldier to earn more than he could from his military duties alone.<sup>3</sup> Soldiers also acted as domestic servants to the Intendant,<sup>4</sup> as valets to the major of the troops,<sup>5</sup> and as repairmen on the house of the Governor of Montreal.<sup>6</sup> They were used as labourers on the seigneuries of their

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<sup>1</sup>Roy (ed.), Ordonnances, II, "Ordonnance de M. de Meulles qui permet aux soldats de travailler chez les habitants pourvu qu'ils enlèvent leurs uniformes et qu'ils ne reçoivent pas plus de dix ou douze livres par mois. Mandons de fait a Quebec le vingte huitie, avril gbic quatre vingt cinq," pp. 96-98.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Ordonnance de M. de Meulles qui permet aux soldats qui savent des métiers de travailler à la journée moyennent quinze sols par jour, au plus. Mandons &c fait a Montreal le quinzie. May gbic quatre vingt cinq," pp. 104-105.

<sup>3</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec le 12 novembre, 1691," ff. 291v-292r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre a M de Champigny, a Versailles le 8<sup>e</sup> May 1694," f. 93r.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 23, "Ministre a M le Cher de Callières, a Versailles le 20 Juin 1703," f. 213r.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 23, "Informations faites par Le Lieutenant général de la Jurisdiction de Montreal, 1705," ff. 312r-381v.

captains,<sup>1</sup> and a fortunate few, who served their commissioned officers as valets, might accompany their employer in this capacity on a visit to France.<sup>2</sup>

After 1687, under the supervision of the commissary of artillery, one soldier from each of the 28 companies received instruction in the handling and functioning of cannons, grenades, and mortars. Upon completion of this training these men returned to their companies and another 28 soldiers were selected for instruction.<sup>3</sup> Other

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 27, "Memoire pour servir d'jnstruction au S Raudot Intendant de justice Police & finances de la nouvelle France, a Versailles Le 17 Juin 1705," f. 44v; Ibid, "Memoire pour servir d'Instruction au sr Begon Intend. de Justice Police et Finances de la Nouvelle France, a Marly le 7 Juillet, 1711," f. 97r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Ministre à M. de la Barre, Versailles 10 avril 1684," f. 246v; Ibid, 13, "Champigny au ministre, a Quebec ce 24 octobre 1694," ff. 89r-89v; Ibid, 13, "Memoire sur les affaires du Canada, 21 Avril 1695," f. 456v; Ibid, Série B, 22, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs. Cher de Callieres, Gouvern. et Lieutenant general, et de Champigny Intendant de Justice, Police et Fina. dans les pays de la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 5 May 1700," ff. 114r-114v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "M. d'Aigremont au Ministre, Quebec, le 9<sup>e</sup> octobre 1701," ff. 223v-224r; Ibid, Série B, 23, "Memoire du Roy au Sr Cher de Callieres, gouverneur et Lieutenant general en la Nouvelle France, en response de ses dépenses et celles du Sr de Champigny, cy devant Intend. dud. pays des 5 et 31 octobre 1701," f. 72r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Callieres et Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1702," f. 73r; Ibid, Série B, 23, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Chêr de Callieres...et au Sr. de Beauharnois, 1703," ff. 201v-202r.

<sup>3</sup>RAPQ, 1928-29, "Memoire du Roy pour le Gouverneur de Frontenac et l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, A Versailles, le 27 avril 1697," p. 333.

military duties included patrolling the larger rivers of the settled areas, scouting for hostile parties of the enemy. To the more capable and adventurous of the soldiers was given the gruelling task of convoying food, munitions, and trading goods in the spring and summer to the hinterland posts. On the return journey late in the fall the soldiers had the responsibility of guarding the load of furs on which the colony's economic life depended. All military personnel who served in western posts during wartime were in constant readiness for sudden Indian attacks, which in some posts was an additional strain on men already pressured by authoritarian and unscrupulous post commandants.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the 30-year period under study there are constant references in the correspondence to deficient muskets, rifles, and munitions,<sup>2</sup> to inadequate

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<sup>1</sup>For example, see "Antoine Laumet, dit Lamothe Cadillac," by Yves F. Zoltvany, and "Alphonse de Tonty," by C. J. Russ, in DCB, 2, pp. 351-357 and 631-633 respectively.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Memoire au Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix<sup>e</sup> avril dernier (La Barre), 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," ff. 344r, 345r; Ibid, "Lettre de Denonville au ministre, A Quebec le 20<sup>me</sup> Aoust 1685," f. 56v; Ibid, 11, "Memoire de M<sup>r</sup> de Denonville, concernant le Canada, jan<sup>r</sup> 1690," f. 194r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 168, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 25 Avril 1703," ff. 186v-187r; AN, Série B, 25, "Ministre a M du Guay, A Versailles, le 14 Juin 1704," ff. 96v-97r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 181, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, a Versailles le 15 Avril 1705," ff. 175v-176r; Ibid, 188, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 10 Mars 1706," f. 173r. Plaisance and Acadia had the same problems: AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 111, "Ministre au Sr de

shipments of provisions, medicines, and funds,<sup>1</sup> and to delays in sending the required number of uniforms.<sup>2</sup>

Mauclerc, A Versailles, le 9<sup>e</sup> mars 1688," ff. 168r-168v; Ibid, 149, "Ministre a M. Begon, Le 29 Decembre 1700," f. 458r; Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles, le 25 Avril 1703," ff. 186v-187r; AN, Série B, 23, "Ministre a M du Brouillan, a Versailles le 6 Juin 1703," f. 247r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 188, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, a Versailles le 10 Mars 1706," f. 173r.

<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "M de Meulles au Ministre, A Quebec, le 12<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," f. 400v; Ibid, "Memoire du Roy en reponse de sa depesche du dix<sup>e</sup> avril dernier (La Barre), 13 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," ff. 344r, 345r; Ibid, "Champigny au ministre, 5 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692," ff. 74r-74v; Ibid, 12, "Champigny au ministre, 10 9<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 92r; Ibid, Série B, 16, "Ministre a Monsieur Begon, A Versailles le 24 novembre 1692," f. 130r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," ff. 10r-10v; Ibid, 20, "Beauharnois au Ministre, A Quebec, le 11<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1702," ff. 190v, 204v-205r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 168, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 25 Avril 1703," ff. 186v-187r; Ibid, 182, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, a Versailles le 12 Aoust 1705," f. 272r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 22, "Vaudreuil et Raudot au ministre, A Quebec, le 28 8<sup>bre</sup> 1705," ff. 204v-205r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 190, "Ministre a M<sup>rs</sup> Begon Et Robert, A Marly le 28 juillet 1706," f. 473r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 30, "Raudot et Raudot au ministre, a Quebec, 14 9<sup>bre</sup> 1709," ff. 272v-274r. Acadia and Louisiana experienced similar difficulties. AN, Série B, 17, "Pleinte de plusieurs officiers. 21 janyier 1694," ff. 153r-154r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 168, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 25 Avril 1703," ff. 186v-187r; AN, Série B, 30, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 30 Novembre 1708," f. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Denonville et Champigny au ministre, A Quebec le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1688," f. 10r; Ibid, 12, "Champigny, au ministre, 5 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692," ff. 76r-76v; Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a M. Begon, A Versailles le 9 Jan<sup>er</sup>. 1704," f. 25r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 206, "Ministre au Sr Cartereau, a Versailles, le 18<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1708," f. 238; Ibid, 208, "Ministre a M Massiot, a fontainbleu, le 4 juillet 1708," f. 29; Ibid, AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 28, "MM Raudot au Ministre, 12 9<sup>bre</sup> 1708," f. 251r; Ibid, Série B, 30, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles le 10 Avril 1709," f. 109; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 30, "Raudot et Raudot au ministre,

Although soldiers naturally fell victims to the same diseases which carried off the habitants, the decimation of Forts Niagara and Frontenac in 1687-88 was a double tragedy which could have been prevented, attributed as it was by the Governor and Intendant to poor food and deficient medicines.<sup>1</sup>

One of the more serious concerns of the colonial administrators was that of desertion, a phenomenon common to military service in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The precautions in France to prevent recruits for the colonies from deserting could not possibly be taken once the soldiers had arrived in North America, and, as a consequence, there were desertions from Acadia, Plaisance, and Canada almost every year.<sup>2</sup>

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a Quebec, 14 9<sup>bre</sup> 1709," ff. 310v-311r. The same delays occurred with shipments to Louisiana. AN, Série B, 30, "Ministre a M. Begon, a Versailles le 30 Novembre 1708," f. 78.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Champigny au Ministre, a Montreal, 8 Aout 1688," f. 122v; Ibid, "Relation des événements qui se sont passés en Canada, a Quebec, octobre 1688," f. 89r; Ibid, "Extraits des lettres de Denonville et Champigny les 20 aoust 31 octobre et 6 novembre 1688," f. 185r; Ibid, "Denonville et Champigny au ministre, a Quebec le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1688," ff 10v-11r; Ibid, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec Ce 16 no<sup>bre</sup> 1689," f. 245v.

<sup>2</sup>It is impossible to tabulate the number of desertions each year, for, in any given year, different letters refer to a different number of desertions, without mentioning soldiers' names. AN, Serie B, 12, "Memoire du Roy au Sr Marquis de Denonville en response de ses Lettres des 20 aoust, 3 septembre, 12 et 13<sup>e</sup> novembre,

1685, A, Versailles le 31<sup>e</sup> may 1686," ff. 33v-34r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," f. 259v; Tanguay, Dictionnaire, I, Jacques Belair, p. 37; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 89, "Ordre du Roy a M Begon, a Versailles le 21 Janvier (1693)," f. 175r; Ibid, 96, "Ordre pour conduire de Bayonne a Bordeaux sur les Galeres qui y sont le nommé Pierre Brousse soldat cond. paux (sic) desertion par le con.<sup>e</sup> de guerre a plaisance, a Versailles le 15<sup>e</sup> decembre 1694," f. 217v; Ibid, 115, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Mauclerc, a Versailles le XI Jan.<sup>er</sup> 1696," f. 64v; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 14, "Journal de ce qui s'est passé à L'Acadie depuis le mois d'Octobre 1696, au fort de Natchouat Le 2<sup>e</sup> octobre 1697. Le cher de villebon," f. 114r; Ibid, Série B, 20, "Ministre a M de Villebon, a Versailles le 26 Mars 1698," f. 48r; Ibid, 22, "Ministre a M. Begon, a Versailles le 10 Mars 1700," f. 42v; Ibid, "Ministre a M de Villebon, a Versailles le pre. avril 1700," ff. 77v-78r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 18, "Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 15<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," f. 106v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 149, "Ministre a M Begon, Le 1<sup>er</sup> Decembre 1700," f. 284v; Ibid, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 15 Decembre 1700," f. 410r; Ibid, 153, "Ministre au grand prevost de Bretagne, et al, a Versailles, 2 Mars 1701," f. 511r; Ibid, 154, "Ministre a M Deshaguais, Le 18 May 1701," f. 450r; Ibid, 158, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, a Versailles le 16 May 1703," f. 370r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 21, "Sommaire des Lettres, 1703. Lettre de Ramesay, 31 mai 1703," f. 47r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 174, "Ministre a m<sup>r</sup> Begon, Le 9<sup>e</sup> Janvier a Versailles (1704)," f. 52v; AN, Série B, 25, "Ministre a M de Subercase, a Versailles le 2 avril 1704," f. 38v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 175, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> du Guay, a Versailles le 28 may 1704," f. 567r; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 22, "Ramezay au Ministre, quebek, 14 9<sup>bre</sup> 1704," f. 74v; Ibid, Série B, 27, "Ministre a M de Subercase, a Marly le p. May, 1705," f. 119r; Ibid, "Ministre a M de Bonnaventure, a Versailles le 22 May 1706," ff. 339r-340r; RAPQ, 1938-39, "M de Vaudreuil au Ministre, A Quebec ce 30<sup>e</sup> octobre 1706," pp. 137-138; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 173, "Ordre du Roy pour transferer de la Rochelle a Bord. un soldat deserté. condamné aux Galeres, a Versailles le 28 x<sup>bre</sup> 1706," ff. 420r-420v; AN, Série B, 29, "Ministre a m Begon, a Versailles le 22 Juin 1707," f. 20r; Ibid, 30, "Ministre a M de Costabelle, a Versailles le 7 Septembre 1708," f. 39; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 213, "De par le Roy, Fait a Versailles le 20 fevrier 1709," ff. 20r-20v; Ibid, "De par le Roy, Fait a Versailles, 27 Mars 1709," ff. 40r-40v; AN, Série B, 30, "Ministre au Sr Durand de la Garenne, a Marly le 10 Aoust 1709," f. 322; Ibid, 32, "Ministre au Sr Durand

However, these were not mass defections, and, although 7 soldiers left Acadia for Boston in 1705-06 - 3 by land and 4 by sea - and 14 deserted from Plaisance in 1712,<sup>1</sup> the soldier who deserted usually did so alone, fearing betrayal if he confided in anyone. His fears are understandable in the light of the reward of 6 livres offered to informers who revealed a deserter within 2 hours.<sup>2</sup>

When caught, the deserter was tried before a Council of War and, if guilt was established, condemned to the galleys for life.<sup>3</sup> He would then be confined until the first ships left for France, and imprisoned in the port of arrival in France until he could be transferred to

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de la garenne, a Versailles le 10 Aoust 1710," f. 157r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 226, "Ministre au grand Prevost de Bretagne, a Versailles le 28<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1711," f. 321; Ibid, "Ministre a M de la galissonniere, a Versailles le 25 Mars 1711," f. 997; AN, Série B, 34, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Costabelle, a Marly le 27 Juin (1712)," ff. 117v-118r.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 27, "Ministre a M de Bonnaventure, a Versailles le 22 May 1706," ff. 339r-340r; Ibid, 34, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Costabelle, a Marly le 27 Juin (1712)," ff. 117v-118r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagniesque Sa Majesté entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris, " ff. 353r-359v. In 1699 the interim commandant of Plaisance rewarded a man, who had informed on several soldiers who planned desertion, with a furlough and 30 livres. See AN, Série B, 22, "Ministre a M de Monic, a Versailles, 1<sup>er</sup> p. Avril 1700," ff. 65v-66r.

<sup>3</sup>"Ordonnance de Louis XIV pour les armées navales et arsenaux de marine. 15 avril 1689," in Bajot et Poirré, Annales maritimes, 1847, partie officielle, pp. 126-130. In France, deserters had the ends of their noses cut off before being sent to the galleys. See Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, p. 151.

Bordeaux or Marseilles. There he would be embarked on a galley to begin serving his sentence, sometimes more than one year after his original capture and conviction.

The responsibility for the detection and prevention of desertions rested with the sergeants, who were required to check on the soldiers twice daily and to report absences within 12 hours. Failure to do so meant a 6 livres fine for negligence, and any further lapses of this nature resulted in demotion. The commander of the area, the major of the troops, and the captain of the company in which the deserter had served, sent a description of the deserter, an explanation of the steps taken to capture him, and the names of the officers involved, to the Governor General and Intendant.<sup>1</sup>

Several military officials in Canada questioned the adequacy of the punishment for desertion. In October, 1701, Governor Louis-Hector de Callières suggested that a distinction in punishment be made between desertion to live in the woods and desertion to serve the English.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police et Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majesté entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris," ff. 353r-359v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "Callieres au Ministre, A Quebec Le 4 Octobre 1701," f. 121r.

The King was receptive to this idea, and in May of the following year an ordinance was issued calling for the death penalty for those caught defecting to New England.<sup>1</sup> The commander of the troops, Claude de Ramezay, felt no distinction should be made, but a marginal comment on the summary of his letter indicates that the death penalty for desertion to live in the woods was regarded by the Minister of Marine as "trop fort."<sup>2</sup> The concern shown by Callière and Ramezay was echoed by the major of Quebec, Louis de La Porte de Louvigny, in a letter he wrote in 1706 -

Les peines des Galeres ne paroissent aux soldats de ce pais qu'une favorable occasion de retourner en france, ils esperent toujours que dans la traversée ou en arrivant L'on favorisera leur évasion, au lieu de Craindre ils le desirent...il est très Constant, Monseigneur, qu'une punition Exemplaire sur le lieu feroit beaucoup plus d'impression et empescherait les desertions qui sont tres<sup>3</sup> frequentes et qui ont ruiné les troupes...

Two years later, Charles-Henri d'Alogny de La Groye, who had succeeded Ramezay as commander of the troops, endorsed

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 23, "De par le Roy, a Versailles le 6<sup>e</sup> May 1702," ff. 98v-99r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 21, "Sommaire des Lettres, 1703, Lettre de Ramesay, 31 mai 1703," f. 47r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 25, "Louvigny au Ministre, Quebec, Le 21 octobre 1706," f. 22r.

Louvigny's views,<sup>1</sup> but the King reiterated his 1702 stand, adding that those who deserted to live in the woods should be "rasez et degradez des armes a la Teste des compagnies passent ensuite dans tous les rangs ayant un aviron sur l'espaule pour marque de leur jnfamie..." before being sent to the galleys.<sup>2</sup> The fact that capital punishment for defectors did not reduce defections would seem to indicate that on-the-spot executions for all deserters would likewise have had little effect as a deterrent. Desertions and defections continued.

Treated in isolation, desertion and defection give a rather misleading and negative view of military life in the colony, to which a study of the institution of marriage, a more positive aspect of colonial military life, serves as a corrective. Soldiers wishing to marry and settle in the colony did not encounter opposition from the colonial authorities; on the contrary, such marriages were regarded as an important factor in the settlement, development, and expansion of the colony. Whereas soldiers in all French colonies who married and settled received a dowry of wages and food for one year from the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 21, "Canada. 1708. Copies (Sommaires) des Lettres."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 29, "Ordonnance pour ceux qui desertent et vont dans la profondeur des bois et chez les Ennemis en Canada, a Versailles le 13 Juin 1708," ff. 380v-381v.

State,<sup>1</sup> soldiers in Canada received an additional gift of a soldier's old uniform, withdrawn from the King's store by the Intendant.<sup>2</sup> The Governor reported to the Minister of Marine the total number of soldiers who married each year, and an equal number of replacements were sent to the colony the following year.<sup>3</sup> Soldiers were required to obtain permission to marry from the Governor of the colony. That this did not pose much of a problem is shown by the fact that soldiers married every year, reaching a record number for one year of 109 in 1699, the year in which the King ordered the size of each company

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 9, "Instruction que le Roy ordonne estre mise es mains du Sr Begon choisy par sa ma<sup>te</sup> pour Intendant de la justice police et finances aux Isles de l'Amerique, 1<sup>er</sup> may, 1682," ff. 231r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Champigny au ministre, 5 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692," ff. 72v-73r; Ibid, Série B, 20, "Ordonnance qui permet aux Soldats des Compagnies de Canada de Se fe. habitans du pays, a Versailles le 21 May 1698," ff. 82r-82v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 27, "Ordonnance en faveur des soldats des Compagnies de Canada qui voudront se faire habitans, Expédiée en Dup.<sup>ca</sup> le 11 Juin 1706," ff. 280v-281r (restatement of 1698 ordinance); Ibid, Série B, 29, "Memoire pour Servir d'jnstruction au Sr Dartaguet comm.<sup>re</sup> ordinaire de la marine que le Roy a choisy pour passer a la Louisianne, A Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 269r. The same dowry was given to single soldiers who desired to settle and become habitants. AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 17, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 20 octobre 1699," ff. 04v-05r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 10, "Champigny au Ministre, a Ville marie le 6 juillet 1689," ff. 229v-230r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série B, 12, "Memoire du Roy au Sr Marquis de Denonville en response de ses Lettres des 20 aoust, 3 septembre, 12 et 13<sup>e</sup> novembre 1685, A Versailles le 31<sup>e</sup> may 1686," f. 33r.

reduced from 50 to 30 men.<sup>1</sup> There were only two circumstances under which the Governor might withhold his consent: if the colony was on the verge of war he could postpone marriages until peace was assured, and, if he felt that the soldier was engaged to a woman considered unsuitable, he could forbid the marriage.<sup>2</sup>

Our knowledge of most of the soldiers as individuals is virtually nil. Parish registers, however, considered in toto, do give a clear picture of the ordinary soldier's restricted social milieu. These records are limited in statistical value because they refer only to those individuals who were involved in religious ceremonies - baptism, marriage, burial - but they do reveal the limitations of the soldier's social mobility. His social circle consisted not only of other soldiers and habitants, but also of bakers, butchers, farmers hired by seigneurs, coopers, carpenters, joiners, edge-tool makers, cobblers, masons, locksmiths, cartwrights, millers and tailors.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 113, "Nouvelle France. 1700. Bordereau du compte de la Recette et de la dépense faites en la Nouvelle France pendant l'année 1699 arrêté par le Sieur de Champigny Intendant aud. pays. Champigny. A Quebec le 15 Octob. 1700," f. 122r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 9, "Lettre de MM de Denonville et de Champigny au Ministre, 6<sup>bre</sup> 1687, Quebec," ff. 09r-09v; Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a M l'Evesque de Quebec, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," f. 97v; Ibid, "Ministre a M le marquis d'allogny, A Versailles le 9 Juin 1706," f. 257v; Ibid, 29, "Ministre a M le marquis Dalogny, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 98r.

These were the people in whose homes he was billeted in Canada and they were in no way different from those among whom he had grown up in France. He married their daughters and their widows, he signed the registers as a witness at their weddings and served as godfather at the baptisms of their children. Similarly, they were the people who attended the soldier's own wedding and the baptism of his children. With few exceptions, the soldier lived, worked, married, and died within this social milieu. The only way for him to climb the social scale was to attain the rank of sergeant, and even then, the change was slight. Weddings of sergeants and baptisms of sergeants' children were often attended by the non-commissioned officers of other companies, and sometimes by a commissioned officer from his own company, but the sergeant did not marry above his class and was, in fact, merely a soldier with additional responsibilities and higher pay.

Wherever soldiers served, in western posts, on military campaigns, in town garrisons, or on patrols along the colony's rivers, unexpected death was usually at the hands of the Iroquois. Soldiers stationed in settled areas, however, were not completely safe from accidents similar to those which befell their comrades taking part in campaigns or serving in the west. Death by drowning was a fairly common occurrence in the early summer

months,<sup>1</sup> and, on three separate occasions in the spring, soldiers stationed in and around Montreal were found frozen to death a short distance from their posts.<sup>2</sup>

When badly wounded in combat and unable to continue military service, soldiers were cared for by the State. They were maintained at half-pay and given the choice of remaining in Canada or of returning to France free of charge. If, despite their incapacity, the soldiers were able to perform some kind of work, they were obliged to do so.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For example, in April of 1689, two soldiers drowned - one near Champlain and another near Montreal. There were two more drownings near Montreal, in May of 1689 and July 1694, and others at Boucherville in May 1697, at La Prairie in April 1699, near Montreal in July 1701, and at Varennes in September 1705. See respectively Tanguay, Dictionnaire, 1, François La Garenne, p. 338; RPND, Pierre Desruaux, 17 avril 1689; Ibid, anonyme, 18 juillet 1689; Tanguay, Dictionnaire, 1, René Pipard dit Langevin, p. 488; Ibid, Pierre Lacombe, p. 334; Ibid, St. André, p. 553; RPND, Antoine Tourneur dit la Giroflée, 12 juillet 1701; Tanguay, Dictionnaire, 1, St. Surin, p. 555.

<sup>2</sup>For example, one soldier froze to death at La Prairie in February 1694, a second one in March 1698, and a third near Fort Rolland, Lachine, in February 1706. See respectively Tanguay, Dictionnaire, 1, Le Prince, p. 385; Ibid, Laramée, p. 348; Ibid, François Lannois, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 66, "Ministre aud. Sr. de Mauclerc, Led. jour 3 aoust (1688)," f. 52r; Ibid, 83, "Ministre a M Mauclerc, A Versailles 2 Janvier 1692," f. 02r; AN, Série B, 20, "Ministre a M de Villebon, a Versailles le 26 Mars 1698," f. 48r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 136, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 25 Mars 1699," f. 44r; Ibid, 148, "Ministre a M Begon, Le 4 Aoust 1700," ff. 167r-167v; Ibid, 174, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 26<sup>e</sup> mars 1704," f. 779v; RAPQ, 1938-39, "Lettre de MM de Vaudreuil et de Raudot au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> novembre 1706,"

Unfortunately, no estimate of the average age of a soldier, or of his life expectancy, may be made because of the anonymity of most soldiers and the lack of complete obituary records. However, there are records to show that some soldiers lived to a ripe old age. For example, 2 sergeants and 4 soldiers lived into their 60's,<sup>1</sup> 6 soldiers lived into their 70's,<sup>2</sup> and 1 soldier lived to be 81 or 82 years old.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the King's regulations, some of the commissioned officers claimed the dead soldiers' clothes and pay, which legally belonged to the soldiers' families.<sup>4</sup> If a will had been drawn up by

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p. 157; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 196, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, A Versailles le 2 fevrier 1707," f. 610r; AN, Série B, 29, "Ministre a m Begon, a Versailles le 26 Juin 1707," ff. 23r-23v.

<sup>1</sup>RPND, François Menage dit la France, 28 mai 1700; Tanguay, Dictionnaire, 1, Michel Moreau, p. 441; Ibid, Antoine Moran dit La Grandeur, p. 441; Ibid, Jean Inard, p. 315; Ibid, Etienne Charpentier, p. 119; Ibid, Pierre Taillefer, p. 558.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Jean Laforest, p. 337; Ibid, Nicolas Lessard dit La Toupie, p. 388; Ibid, Raymond Vegeart dit Laliberté, p. 583; Ibid, Lacaille, p. 333; Ibid, Pierre Thibaut dit L'Eveillé, p. 566; Ibid, Guillaume Tartre dit Larivière, p. 560 and Ibid, 7, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 1, Guillaume Fabas dit St. Germain, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup>RAPO, 1928-29, "Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, Versailles 16 avril 1695," p. 248; AN, Série B, 20, "Ministre a M de Villebon, a Versailles le 26 Mars 1698," ff. 48v-49r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 198, "Ministre a M De Sorel, a Paris le 14 Sep<sup>bre</sup> 1707," ff. 1413-1414.

the deceased, the responsibility of seeing that its terms were implemented was that of the Intendant. Any sum remaining after the settlement of debts was given to the hospitals and to the Church for prayers on behalf of the deceased.<sup>1</sup>

In all aspects of his life, the soldier was limited in what he could achieve. The reason for this restricted mobility lay in the fact that the position of soldier, and therefore of corporal and sergeant, was reserved for persons of lower birth,<sup>2</sup> while the commissioned ranks were

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, "Champigny au Ministre, a Ville Marie le 6 juillet 1689," ff. 229r-229v; RAPQ, 1928-29, "Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, Versailles le 16 avril 1695," p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>One exception to this was Michel Fily, sergeant, who described himself as "Ecuyer...fils de feu Jean Fily Ecuyer Sieur de Kerigou." His wedding was witnessed, in the parish register, by 1 joiner, 2 sergeants, and 1 habitant. RPND, michel fily, 20 décembre 1705. A man named "Le Sr. Villemont Gascoing," who claimed to have been a "Gentilhomme," served as a sergeant in Canada and in the port of Brest. See AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Extrait des Lettres du Canada. 1693. Lettre du Sr. Villemont Gascoing," f. 359r. There are three examples of soldiers with French connections important enough to help them. A soldier in Louisiana, Louis Biterne, who was the nephew of "un garçon de la chambre de mad. la duchesse dorleans," and a soldier in Acadia, Chauffournier, son of the "chef d'office de M. le duc de la Rochefoucault," were both recalled to France by the Minister of Marine. The third man, Durand dit Poitevin, a sergeant in Canada protected by the Duc de Mantoue, was recommended to Vaudreuil by the Minister of Marine. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that these men were related to nobility. AN, Série B, 29, "Ministre a m de Muy, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 26lv; Ibid, 23, "Ministre a M du Brouillan, A Versailles le 18<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1703," ff. 278v-279r; Ibid, 29, "Ministre a Mgr le duc de Mantoue, A Versailles le 25 Juin 1707," ff. 22r-22v.

generally the preserve of those of noble birth,<sup>1</sup> making it virtually impossible for a sergeant to achieve the rank of ensign.<sup>2</sup> Noblemen considered it beneath their dignity to serve in any other capacity than in that of commissioned officer; indeed, in 1705 the Minister of Marine discouraged gentlemen from serving in the troupes de terre in France.<sup>3</sup> As for the soldier, he accepted this exclusion from the commissioned ranks, and appears to have been quite content with his lot, for mobility was not a concern of the common man until the late eighteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter IV of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>One exception was the appointment of "Sr. Chevalier cy d.<sup>t</sup> Sergent de l'Acadie po. remplir la place d'Enseigne ..." See AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 97, "Lettre de Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 17 Fevrier 1694," ff. 337r-337v. Another example was Montmidy, who, according to Raudot, père, served as Vaudreuil's valet, then as a soldier and sergeant in Vaudreuil's company, and finally, in the capacity of informant at Fort Frontenac during La Corne's command there. His reward for the latter service was his appointment as "petit officier" by Vaudreuil. See AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>-A, 30, "Raudot, père, au Ministre, a Quebec Ce 20 7<sup>bre</sup> 1709." ff. 183r-184v.

<sup>3</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 97, "Lettre de Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 17 Fevrier 1694," ff. 337r-337v.

CHAPTER IV  
THE NATURE AND ASPIRATIONS  
OF THE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS<sup>1</sup>

It was a common belief among the nobles of seventeenth century France that their heredity not only made them better officers but also gave them a right to military and naval command. The practice of reserving the military and naval commissioned ranks for persons of noble descent had become, by the end of the century, an unwritten rule, the only exceptions to which were a few men of exceptional wealth and influence.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, therefore, the officers sent from France to Canada during the period under study - commissioned officers of the troupes de terre, naval officers of the French navy and of the troupes de la marine of France,

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise specified, the word "officer" refers only to the commissioned ranks.

<sup>2</sup>Sir George Clark, War and Society in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1958), p. 96; Ibid, The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1961), second edition, pp. 105 and 120.

and midshipmen from the naval academies - were nobles. One of the many reforms initiated by Colbert to improve the quality of the French navy and the training of its officers had been the establishment, in 1678, of schools to groom young men for service as naval officers.

Sa Majesté ayant fait choix de plusieurs Jeunes off<sup>rs</sup>. pour remplir les places d'enseignes de ses vaiss<sup>x</sup>. Et ayant bien voulu Entretenir dans les ports un nombre considerable de Gentils hommes sous le nom de gardes de La marine dans l'Esperance que les p<sup>rs</sup>. commandant de bonne heure a servir sur les Vaiss<sup>x</sup>. se rendroient bons off<sup>rs</sup>. Et capables de la servir dans la suite dans des Employs plus considerables, et qu'elle pourroit faire choix de ceux desd. gardes de La marine qui se renderont plus capables pour les faire off<sup>rs</sup>. Elle a Estably des M<sup>s</sup>. D'hydrographie dans tous les ports affin de donner moyen a Tous ses off<sup>rs</sup>. de marine Et principallem<sup>t</sup>. ausd. Enseignes et Gardes d'apprendre le pilotage qui est la science la plus necess<sup>re</sup>. pour le salut de ses Vaiss<sup>x</sup>. dans Toutes les navigations...<sup>1</sup>

In 1682, the year in which military academies were founded to train young nobles for service as cadets,<sup>2</sup> schools were opened in Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort to enable midshipmen to study hydrography, mathematics, and geography, to receive elementary instruction in military manoeuvres and the handling of arms, and to develop an appreciation for "la pratique des arts du gentilhomme,

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série A<sup>1</sup>, liasse 17, piece 93, Extrait du Registre ser. a l'Enregistrem<sup>t</sup>. des Ord<sup>cs</sup>. et Reglem<sup>ts</sup>. Tenu au Controlle de la marine a Brest, du 30<sup>e</sup> decembre 1678, "Ordonnance portant ordre aux Enseignes Et aux Gardes de la marine de se trouver aux conferences d'Idrographie" (sic).

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter I of this thesis, p. 8, fn. 1.

escrime, danse."<sup>1</sup> When not in school, midshipmen served as officer guards in these three ports, in which were stationed most of the port guards and half-pay soldiers on the Marine Department rolls. They also acted as police on ships, constituting one-twentieth of the crew.<sup>2</sup> Since the midshipman recommended by his commanding officers was rewarded with the commission of naval ensign, the three years of training were reserved, for the most part, to "gentilshommes" of at least sixteen years of age.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lavisse, Histoire de France, VII, part 2, p. 261; Tramond, Manuel, pp. 203-204; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 55, "Ministre au Sr. du Guay, Versailles le 28 Avril 1685," f. 173r.

<sup>2</sup>Tramond, Manuel, pp. 203-204. Some midshipmen served on vessels sailing to the colonies. See AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 131, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Begon, a Versailles le 26 mars 1698," ff. 426r-426v.

<sup>3</sup>Lavisse, Histoire de France, VII, part 2, p. 261; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 49, "Ministre a Mr De harlay, a fontainebleau le 20<sup>e</sup> Septemb. 1683," f. 342v. In 1703 and 1707 the stated age requirement was 16. See AN, Série B, 23, "Ministre a M d'Iberville, 1703," f. 193r; Ibid, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Cher de Callieres...et au Sr de Beauharnois, 1703," f. 206r; Ibid, 29, "Ministre a m de Subercase, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 190v. In 1685, the Minister required "gentils hos. de 17 a 20 ans," and again referred to the age of 17 in 1708. AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Sommaire d'une lettre de de Meulles au Ministre, A Quebec le 28<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1685," f. 75v (marginal note); Ibid, Série B, 29, "Ministre au Sr hollande, a Versailles le 6 Juin 1708," f. 357r. The age for acceptance in 1688 and 1699 was 18. AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 115, "Ministre au Sr de la Baume, A Versailles le 14 may 1688," ff. 325r-325v; AN, Série B, "Ordre de Roy a Monsieur le Marquis de Denonville, A Versailles le 14 may 1688," f. 48v; Ibid, 20, "Ministre a M de Champigny, A Versailles le 27 may 1699," f. 227v. It is evident from these changes in age requirement under several Ministers of Marine that the

The commissioned and supernumerary officers of the colonial regular troops, representing about 1.08% of the population in 1692, and because of the elimination of certain officer ranks and the increase in civilian population, less than 0.8% in 1716,<sup>1</sup> continued to occupy a prominent place in the life of the growing colony. This prominence was not due solely to their military role, however, and may be fully understood only by reference to their predecessors, the commissioned officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment.<sup>2</sup> —

Several commissioned officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment had remained in Canada beyond their 1665-66 tour of duty, and others had returned between 1668 and 1670. Aided by their nobility - a prerequisite for acceptance

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Minister reserved the right to adjust the minimum age according to need or applicant.

<sup>1</sup>These percentages are based on population figures found in Appendix II, p. 449, of Allana Reid, The Development and Importance of the Town of Quebec, 1608-1760 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 1950).

<sup>2</sup>In the interests of historical accuracy, the reader should be advised that Alexandre (Isaac) Berthier was captain of the l'Allier company, Olivier Morel de La Durantaye was captain of the Chambellé company, and Séraphin Margane de Lavaltrie was lieutenant of the Poitou company. See Roy et Malchelosse, Carignan, p. 74. Once in the colony, however, the names and origins of the various companies had no bearing on the subsequent employments and marriages of their commissioned officers. See Chapter II of this thesis, p. 38, fn. 2.

into the commissioned ranks in France - and by the King's decision to grant seigneuries to those who settled in Canada, these noble-officer-seigneurs immediately took their places among the élite of the colony. Those with initiative might rise still further within the government and society of the colony. Moreover, their social life led to marital alliances which consolidated their positions at the apex of society.

The following cases suggest the extent of the Carignan-Salières officers' permeation of the upper echelons of Canadian society.<sup>1</sup> Captain Antoine Pécaudy de Contrecoeur settled in Canada and married the daughter of Simon Denys de la Trinité,<sup>2</sup> a Sovereign Councillor. Captain Pierre de Saint Ours became "first captain" of the colonial regular troops and a Chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis. Saint Ours<sup>3</sup> and captains Pierre de Saurel and Alexandre (Isaac) Berthier married daughters of

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise noted, the biographical information on the following pages is compiled from vols. I and II of DCB, and from Tanguay, Dictionnaire, vols. I to VII.

<sup>2</sup>After Pécaudy's death, his widow, Barbe Denis, married Louis de Gannes de Falaise, an officer in the colonial regular troops. See Tanguay, Dictionnaire, I, pp. 165, 469fn.

<sup>3</sup>Marguerite Le Gardeur de Tilly was Saint Ours' second wife, and widow of Louis-Joseph Le Gouès de Grais, a captain in the colonial regular troops. After Saint Ours' death, Marguerite married the Governor of Montreal, Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil. See Tanguay, Dictionnaire, I, pp. 369, 554.

Charles Le Gardeur de Tilly, former Governor of Three Rivers and Sovereign Councillor. One captain, Olivier Morel de La Durantaye, served as a post commandant, a captain in the colonial regular troops, and a Sovereign Councillor. Although captain Michel-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriant was never appointed to the governorship of Montreal,<sup>1</sup> a post for which his name had been considered, two Carignan-Salières lieutenants eventually became governors of Three Rivers. René Gaultier de Varennes married the daughter of that town's governor, Pierre Boucher, and succeeded to his position. François Provost became in succession a captain in the colonial regular troops, major and King's lieutenant of Quebec, and finally governor of Three Rivers. While serving as major of Quebec he married Geneviève Macard, sister of a founder of the Compagnie de la Colonie who was subsequently to become a Sovereign Councillor, and a widow of Charles Bazire, merchant and business associate of Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye. Lieutenant Séraphin Margane de La Valtrie married Louise Bissot, daughter of Marie Couillard<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup>Saurel was appointed Governor of Montreal, but died before notified of his appointment. AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "LaBarre au ministre, 4 9<sup>bre</sup> 1683," f. 139v.

<sup>2</sup>In 1675 Marie Couillard married Jacques de Lalonde de Gayot, brother-in-law of Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye. See Pierre-Georges Roy, Le Sieur de Vincennes, fondateur de l'Indiana, et sa famille (Quebec, 1919), p. 3.

François Bissot de la Rivière, a member of the Community of Habitants. Margane served as commandant at Michilimackinac, and was appointed to a captaincy in the colonial regular troops. Lieutenant Philippe Gaultier de Comporté married Marie Bazire, sister of Charles Bazire, and in addition to being a founding member of the Compagnie du Nord served as commissary of the King's stores, provost of the maréchaussée, and interim marine commissary. Four ensigns of the Carignan-Salières contingent took their places in Canadian society. Pierre Bécart de Granville married the sister of Geneviève Macard; Paul Dupuy de Lisloye married Jeanne Couillard, daughter of Louis Couillard de l'Espinay, and served as special lieutenant of the Quebec provost court; François Jarret de Verchères married Marie Perrot, and held a lieutenancy in the colonial regular troops; and Thomas de Lanouguère married the daughter of Pierre Denys de La Ronde, a businessman and son-in-law of the governor of Three Rivers. Lanouguère became captain of the Governor General's guards, and served for a while as commander of Montreal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Two captains and one lieutenant were later appointed to important posts in Acadia: captains Jacques de Chambly and Hector d'Andigné de Grandfontaine both served as governors of the maritime colony; lieutenant Pierre Joybert de Soulanges et de Marson, who married Marie Françoise, daughter of Quebec attorney general Louis-Théandre Chartier de Lotbinière in 1672, served as major of the Acadian troops, commandant of Fort Gemisick, and interim administrator of Acadia. His three seigneuries totalled more than 100 square miles in area.

All of these officers were single,<sup>1</sup> 11 of the 14 were in their 20's, and all but one married within 7 years of arrival. Hence, by the 1680's, when troupes de la marine were sent to the colony, the Carignan-Salières officers had become an integral part of Canadian society, albeit the haute société, for their references were impeccable; they were noble, commissioned officers, seigneurs, and married to daughters of important merchants, nobles, or high office-holders.

The Carignan-Salières officers maintained their participation in military activities, even after the influx of troupes de la marine officers, which began in 1683. Pécaudy was 87 years old in 1683, and Saurel had been dead for one year, but the only other Carignan-Salières officer of those treated thus far who did not take an active military role in the colony's military affairs after 1683, Gaultier de Comporté, did serve as interim marine commissary in 1685-86. Dupuy and Dugué took part in La Barre's campaign, and, with Bécart and Berthier, in Denonville's expedition in 1687.<sup>2</sup> Saint Ours, Morel,

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<sup>1</sup>See Chart on page 122 of this Chapter.

<sup>2</sup>Concerning the LaBarre and Denonville campaigns, see the biographies of the above officers in DCB, vols. I and II; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Revue faite a la teste de nostre petite armée...Au fort de frontenac. M De La Barre. 14 Aoust 1684," ff. 279r-298v; Ibid, 9, "Memoire Du Voyage Pour L'Entreprise De M Le Marquis De Denonville ...Par Le mesme M De Denonville, octobre 1687," ff. 104r-120v.

CARIGNAN-SALIÈRES

| NAME OF OFFICER      | RANK IN 1665 | AGE IN 1665 | DATE OF MARRIAGE  | PLACE OF MARRIAGE | FAMILY NAME OF WIFE   |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Pécaudy <sup>1</sup> | capt.        | 69          | 1667 <sup>1</sup> | Canada            | Denys                 |
| Saurel               | capt.        | 37          | 1668              | Canada            | Le Gardeur            |
| Berthier             | capt.        | 27          | 1672              | Canada            | Le Gardeur            |
| Dugué                | capt.        | c27         | 1667              | Canada            | (Le Ber) <sup>✱</sup> |
| Saint Ours           | capt.        | 25          | 1668              | Canada            | Le Gardeur            |
| Morel                | capt.        | 25          | 1670              | Canada            | (Duquet) <sup>✱</sup> |
| Gaultier de Varennes | lieut.       | c30         | 1667              | Canada            | Boucher               |
| Provost              | lieut.       | 27          | 1679              | Canada            | Macard                |
| Gaultier de Comporté | lieut.       | 24          | 1672              | Canada            | Bazire                |
| Margane              | lieut.       | 22          | 1668              | Canada            | Bissot                |
| Dupuy                | ens.         | c28         | 1668              | Canada            | Couillard             |
| Bécart               | ens.         | 26          | 1668              | Canada            | Macard                |
| Jarret               | ens.         | 24          | 1669              | Canada            | (Perrot) <sup>✱</sup> |
| Lanouguère           | ens.         | 21          | 1672              | Canada            | Denys                 |

<sup>✱</sup>The families of LeBer and Perrot mentioned above are not related to the merchant and Governor of Montreal.

<sup>1</sup>Pécaudy was a widower when he came to Canada. He had married in 1652, at the age of 56, but his wife died in 1663.

Gaultier de Varennes, Provost, Jarret, Lanouguère, and Margane were appointed to the commissioned ranks of the colonial regular troops, or to the état-major of the colony. Even the families of the Carignan-Salières officers made a contribution to the military history of the colony. At least 7 Carignan-Salières' sons served in commissioned ranks of the colonial regular troops, and 13 daughters and 3 widows married commissioned officers. In more than one sense, then, the Carignan-Salières officers were the fathers of the colonial regular troops.

Coincident with the establishment of naval academies for midshipmen was the request from Canada for the military assistance of several compagnies franches. Three companies were sent to Canada in 1683, commanded by naval officers who received infantry commissions in order to serve in the colony. To distinguish between officers of the same infantry rank for purposes of seniority and prestige, the companies were numbered première compagnie, seconde compagnie, etc., on the basis of their commander's length of service. The first of these three companies was commanded by a naval lieutenant, assisted by a naval ensign; the second by a naval lieutenant, assisted by a midshipman; and the third by a naval ensign, with a midshipman as his lieutenant.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 48, "Liste des off<sup>rs</sup> de marine choisis par le Roy pour commander les deux cens soldats que Sa

There were two reasons for the Minister of Marine's decision to send trained naval officers to a country in which war was waged on land. Since he did not consider the Canadian military difficulties to be as great as the Governor General claimed, he sent both officers and soldiers in the belief that they would be needed only long enough to defeat the Iroquois the following year, and could then return home.<sup>1</sup> Officers with troupes de terre experience would not be needed for this. But secondly, and far more significant, was the rivalry between the Colbert and Le Tellier families, a circumstance which made it unlikely that the Minister of Marine would ask the Minister of War to delegate military personnel to the colonies. Seignelay's decision to send naval officers was to have interesting ramifications within the colony in subsequent years.

Naval officers were also appointed to command three companies sent in 1684. A naval captain, a naval

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Maté envoye en Canada, a Versailles, le 29 Juillet 1683." Although 200 men were to be raised, the Rochefort officials were only able to recruit 150 in the short time allowed. The above-mentioned list, however, shows that if a fourth company had been sent it would have been commanded by a naval ensign, assisted by a midshipman.

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II of this thesis, pp. 45-46.

lieutenant, and a naval ensign served as the three infantry captains of these companies, with midshipmen as lieutenants. However, among the officers of the four other companies sent later in 1684 were commissioned officers of the troupes de terre<sup>1</sup> who, because they had either resigned or retired from active military service in France, did not require permission from the Minister of War to serve in the colony under the supervision of the Minister of Marine.

The majority of the 20 officers sent to the colony in 1683 and 1684 were naval officers, and only 4 of them settled in Canada.<sup>2</sup> Charles-Henri Alogny, Marquis de la Groye and Jean-Baptiste Céloron de Blainville were midshipmen serving in Rochefort at the time of their appointments to serve in the colony; two Sicilian nobles, the Chevalier and the Marquis de Crisafy, Thomas and Antoine, were the first officers with military backgrounds sent to Canada with the troupes de la marine who settled in the colony. The Chevalier de Crisafy was a bachelor when he died in 1696, but the marital ties established by his brother, and by Alogny and Céloron, were consistent with the practice of commissioned officers not to marry below their station in life. Alogny married into the Macard

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<sup>1</sup>These may be found in Appendix D of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>The biographies of almost all officers mentioned on pp. 125-128 of this Chapter may be found in volumes 1 and 2 of DCB.

family, Antoine Crisafy married the daughter of Ruette d'Auteuil, and Céloron married first a daughter of Picoté de Belestre, then a Damours de Chauffours, and finally a Le Gardeur de Tilly.

When news of La Barre's disastrous campaign of 1684 reached France, the Marine Minister appointed a respected military officer, Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville,<sup>1</sup> as Governor General of Canada, and authorized him to supervise the recruitment of 300 men, to be organized into 6 companies. Furthermore, Denonville was permitted to select the officers for these companies himself, and to replace some of the naval officers already serving in the colony.<sup>2</sup> The new governor general wisely chose men with troupes de terre experience as his captains and lieutenants, all of whom were approved by the Crown, and, as commissioned officers of the troupes de terre, belonged to the nobility.

Most of the military officers settled in Canada. Like the Carignan-Salières officers, most were single,

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II of this thesis, pp. 45-46.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, Orleans, 2<sup>e</sup> mars 1685," ff. 04r-04v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 53, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Denonville, Versailles, 8 Mars 1685," f. 43v; AN, Série B, 11, "Instruction que le Roy veut estre remise entre les mains du Sr Marquis de Denonville choisy par Sa Majesté pour Gouverneur et son Lieutenant General en la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> mars 1685," f. 89v; *Ibid*, "Liste des officiers agreez par le Roy pour envoyer en Canada, Mars, 1685," ff. 80v-81r.

took wives within a few years of settling, and in several cases rose to positions of importance in the colony. Captains Claude Guillouet d'Orvilliers, Clément du Vuault de Valrennes, Raymond Blaise des Bergères de Rigauville, Nicolas Daneau de Muy, and lieutenants Joseph Dejordy de Cabanac, François Dejordy Moreau de Cabanac, and Claude de Ramezay, followed the pattern set by the Carignan-Salières officers, and by Alogny, Céloron, and Crisafy. These 4 captains and 3 lieutenants, all military officers with an average age of 27 when they sailed from France, rapidly climbed in the colonial hierarchy. Five of the seven men married into distinguished colonial families - the Bissots, the Bouchers and d'Aillebousts, the La Touches, the Nolans and Robinaus, and the Denys. Four of the seven men were awarded the coveted and prestigious Cross of the Order of Saint Louis. Guillouet was eventually appointed Governor of Guiana, Daneau Governor of Louisiana, and Ramezay Governor of Three Rivers, commander of the colonial regular troops, and Governor of Montreal. Blaise and both Dejordys served as major of Three Rivers, François Dejordy dying shortly after being appointed commander of the town. Furthermore, Du Vuault, Blaise, Daneau, and the younger Dejordy all served as post commandants.

The same trend is evident in 1687, the last year in which the majority of commissions in the colonial regular troops were awarded to officers in France. Commander of the troops Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, captains Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, François Lefebvre Duplessis-Faber, Claude-Charles Le Gouès de Merville, Louis-Joseph Le Gouès de Preaux-Grais, Jacques-François Mombeton de Brouillan, and lieutenants Louis de La Porte de Louvigny and Jacques-Charles de Sabrevois repeated the pattern of marriage and military advancement within the colony.

It is clear, then, that the various officers from France who settled in the colony, in 1665-66, 1668-70, and 1683-87, had much in common. They were noble and had already served the King in a military or naval capacity in France. Most who settled in Canada married the daughters of prominent Canadians, became seigneurs in the colony and embarked on a successful military and/or extra-military career. Many gave one or more sons to the commissioned ranks of the colonial regular troops, and in several cases, to the état-major. Their careers, their homes, their families and friends were in Canada. By 1683 the resident Carignan-Salières officers were Canadianized Frenchmen; by the turn of the century, so were those officers who settled between 1683 and 1687.

Although there were no Canadian-born commissioned officers in the colonial regular troops until the latter

year, on several occasions the Governors-General and Intendants of the colony in the period 1683-87 had encouraged the Minister of Marine to employ the sons of important Canadians in a naval or military capacity. De Meulles, appointed to the Canadian intendency in the same year that the naval academies for midshipmen were being organized in France, made several important recommendations to the Minister of Marine. In a letter dated November 12, 1684, he wrote:

J'auray L'honneur de vous dire Monseigneur que si vous vouliez faire quelque chose dont tout le Canada vous fust obligé, ce seroit de prendre tous les ans deux Enfants de Gentils hommes de ce pais icy pour les mettre dans la marine en qualité de gardes, - tout le pais vous en seroit fort obligé et vous donneriez une grande Consolation a plusieurs Peres de Qualité qui ne sçavent que faire de leurs Enfants -<sup>1</sup>

This suggestion appealed to the King and to the Minister of Marine. Furthermore, de Meulles' choice of the first two Canadian youths to be accorded this honour - the eldest sons respectively of Olivier Morel de La Durantaye, a captain with the Carignan-Salières Regiment, and of René Robinau de Bécancour, first Baron of Portneuf, both senior citizens of the colony - was acceptable to the King. He therefore issued instructions in March of 1685

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "M de Meulles au Ministre, A Quebec le 12<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," f. 41lv.

that the two young colonials should sail to France and enrol in the new naval academy of Rochefort.<sup>1</sup>

The policy of annually accepting two Canadians into the midshipman's ranks was one way of keeping the sons of the nobility out of trouble. Equally important, at a time when the nobility of la noblesse was being questioned by the Court, was the added prestige of the families of the young men selected, for the appointment of a midshipman was a recognition of the nobility of the young man's family.

When La Barre had made his request for troops in 1682, he had suggested that a single officer accompany the soldiers to the colony, and that blank commissions be sent for captains already resident in Canada who were familiar with the country and with the North American style of warfare.<sup>2</sup> The suggestion was ignored until the King received de Meulles' letter of November 12, 1684, in which the Intendant argued -

Quand Sa Majesté a envoyé des troupes (sic)  
dans le pais elle auroit pu si elle eust voulu  
sauver les fraits (sic) des officiers parce  
qu'il y en a icy a qui elle donne des gratifi-  
cations, qui sont tres braves et qui ont toute  
l'experience que lon peut avoir dans le pais;

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, II, "Lettre du Roy au Sieur de Meules (sic), A Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> mars 1685," f. 97r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "LeFebvre de LaBarre au Ministre, Canada, 1682," f. 61r.

Lesquels en cas de guerre, rendroient beaucoup plus de service de Ceux qui sont nouvellement venue...on disposeroit des premiers being plus facilement en cas de nécessité en les employant sur le pied d'officiers de troupes (sic) de marine.<sup>1</sup>

The King responded by advising Denonville to look into the merits of appointing the settled Carignan-Salières officers to positions of command in the colonial regular troops.<sup>2</sup>

On November 13, 1685, Denonville suggested that companies be formed among the coureurs de bois, whose free life in the woods and general lack of discipline tended to draw young men away from the settled areas.<sup>3</sup> The Governor General recommended that the Governor of Montreal, the Governor of Three Rivers, and the Major of Quebec be made the commanders of the companies. Early in 1686 the King approved the formation of these companies, but with the stipulation that they should cost less than the companies sent from France.<sup>4</sup> After one full year in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "M. de Meulles au Ministre, A Quebec, le 12<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1684," f. 402r. LaBarre also recommended that the Carignan-Salières officers be awarded commissions in the colonial regular troops. See Ibid, "LaBarre au ministre, Quebec le 14<sup>e</sup> novembre 1684," ff. 363r-262v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, II, "Lettre du Roy au Sieur de Meules (sic), A Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> mars 1685," f. 96v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 7, "Denonville au ministre, A Quebec le 13<sup>me</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1685," f. 94r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série B, 12, "Memoire du Roy au Sr Marquis de Denonville en response de ses Lettres des 20 aoust, 3 septembre, 12 et 13<sup>e</sup> novembre 1685. A Versailles le 31<sup>e</sup> may 1686," f. 34v.

colony, however, Denonville, realizing the worth of the suggestions of his predecessor and of de Meulles, proposed that the next shipment of soldiers to the colony should be commanded by officers already living in Canada.<sup>1</sup> In his first dispatches of 1687, the King empowered the Governor General of the colony to appoint Canadians to vacancies in the commissioned officer ranks caused by the deaths or retirements of French officers, such appointments being subject to subsequent Royal confirmation.<sup>2</sup> The following year, he specifically authorized the Governor General to appoint the ensigns for three new companies which were sent to the colony.<sup>3</sup>

It is unlikely that any single factor dominated the King's decision to institute this policy. The Canadians were experienced in North American warfare; they were proficient with the canoe, at ease on snowshoes and accustomed to the hardships of the land and its climate; they had property and other interests to defend; they were familiar with the Indian culture, and several understood

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 8, "Sommaire des lettres receues de Canada, 1686. Lettre de Denonville," f. 186v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 13, "Ordre du Roy pour remplir les emplois qui se trouveront vacans dans les compagnies d'Infanterie qui sont en Canada, A Versailles le 18<sup>e</sup> mars 1687," f. 151r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 15, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Marquis de Denonville et de Champigny, A Versailles le 8 Mars 1688," f. 19r.

and spoke the language. The Marine treasury would be spared the cost of transporting the officers to Canada, the Governor General would exert greater authority and have more prestige, and worthy colonials would be rewarded according to their merit. To the King, the Minister of Marine, and the Governor General, these were the factors that mattered; militarily, politically, financially, they made good sense.

However, impoverishment was undoubtedly an important factor in the decision to appoint well-born Canadians to the commissioned ranks. The letters of de Meulles, Denonville, and Champigny are instructive on this subject. De Meulles, who wrote in 1683 that "Tout le monde prend icy la qualité d'Ecuyer,"<sup>1</sup> suggested the following year that a list of gentilshommes be drawn up, for -

...on retrancheroit par cette voye une qualité qui empesche la pluspart des particuliers de vouloir travailler a la Culture des terres croyant estre veritablement gentils hommes parce qu'jls se sont qualifiez tels depuis dix ou douze<sup>2</sup> ans dans tous les actes qu'jls ont passéz.

Furthermore, "...en ce pais icy un fils dont le Pere a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "DeMeulles au ministre, Quebec, 4 novembre, 1683," f. 196r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "M. de Meulles au Ministre, A Quebec le 12<sup>e</sup> 9bre 1684," f. 409r.

esté annobly peut prendre la qualité d'Ecuyer, ce qui ne feroit pas en france."<sup>1</sup> Six years later, Denonville referred to the same state of affairs with the phrase "... Jeunes Gens nobles ou vivant comme tels..."<sup>2</sup> and Champigny complained that -

Lorgueil et loysiveté sont les principaux defauts des personnes etablies en Canada et principalement des nobles et de Ceux qui s'est qualifient sans l'estre, ces gens sont tous dans une extreme jndigence et jl est bien de Consequence de ne pas donner les lettres de noblesse à aucun, à moins qu'on ne veuille augmenter le nombre des gueus et rendre des gens à charge au pays...

Many people considered themselves noble; some possessed lettres de noblesse to support their claims, others were accepted after a period of time as noble without ever having furnished proof, and still others were imposters. While for the purposes of this study, the number of bona fide nobles in the colony is not important, the widespread desire to be considered such is very much so. In status-conscious societies, such as those of seventeenth-century

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, f. 409v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 11, "Memoire Concernant Le Canada Pour Monseigneur le Marquis de Seignelay, fait En Janvier 1690, par Denonville," f. 192v. Denonville wrote that it was "apsolument necessaire" to employ these men.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, "Memoire Jnstructif sur le Canada (Joint à la lettre de M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny Jntendant, du 10 may 1691), par Champigny," f. 265v.

France and Canada, the accent is placed "not on the basic bourgeois values of thrift, industry, and prudence, but on the gentlemanly ones of honor, courtesy, and breeding."<sup>1</sup> A certain lifestyle was expected of the nobility, and, consequently, all claimants of, and aspirants to, "la noblesse" had to conduct themselves accordingly.

Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, s.j., who toured North America in the early eighteenth century, wrote -

You meet with no rich men in this country, and it is really great pity, every one endeavouring to put as good a face on it as possible, and nobody scarce thinking of laying up wealth. They make good cheer, provided they are also able to be at the expense of fine cloaths; if not, they retrench in the article of the table to be able to appear well dressed...In New England... there prevails an opulence which they are utterly at a loss how to use; and in New France, a poverty hid by an air of being in easy circumstances, which seems not at all studied...The English planter amasses wealth, and never makes any superfluous expence; the French inhabitant again enjoys what he has acquired, and often makes a parade of what he is not possessed of. That labours for his posterity; this again leaves his offspring involved in the same necessities he was in himself at his first setting out, and to extricate themselves as they can.<sup>2</sup>

In 1685, an edict was issued by Louis XIV which permitted nobles in Canada to engage in trade, an activity which in

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<sup>1</sup>Zoltvany, (ed.), French Tradition, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, pp. 149-150 passim.

France still led to dérogance, or loss of nobility.<sup>1</sup>

Although some of the nobility did broaden their interests, the plight of most remained the same. Denonville wrote, in 1687 -

Nous avons encore de belle jeunesse dont nous pourrions (sic) faire de bons officiers subalternes Ce seroit un moyen tres seur pour les faire subcister et les bien dissipliner, Car que peuvent faire pour eux leurs peres qui n'ont pas de pain a leur donner et ont Je ne scay combien d'Enfans a nourrir, trop grands pour entrer dans les cadets, leurs ressources sont les bois ou bon nombre se font de mechantes gens.<sup>2</sup>

That same year, Denonville and Champigny requested 300 livres for each of 6 newly-appointed Canadian midshipmen who would be unable to accept their positions in France without this financial assistance.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the period under study, the Governors General referred not only to the military services, but also to the financial difficulties and large families, of many of the officers they recommended for promotion.

From 1683 until 1687 the grades of full-pay captain and full-pay lieutenant had been the only official commissioned ranks in each company. In the latter year, however, three new commissioned ranks were added: an

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<sup>1</sup>Cameron Nish, The French Régime, pp. 78, 80-81.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Denonville au Ministre, A Villemarie le 25<sup>me</sup> Aoust 1687," ff. 69v-70r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., "MM de Denonville et de Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 6 9<sup>bre</sup> 1687," f. 13r.

ensign was appointed to each company to serve as third in command, and the ranks of half-pay captain and half-pay lieutenant were introduced. The half-pay officers, occupying an intermediate position in the military hierarchy, did not have responsibility for companies and were, consequently, paid less than full-pay officers. These and several other positions of lesser importance militarily, but of significance when the financial condition of the nobility is considered, were introduced at this time and subsequently underwent modifications which require specific attention.

In 1686 the non-commissioned officer's net monthly pay had been reduced as a result of Denonville's decision to appoint a second-lieutenant to each company. The previous year the Governor General had encouraged several lieutenants of the troupes de terre to enlist as sergeants with the recruits for Canada, and had suggested to the King that the most enterprising of these men should be made second-lieutenants.<sup>1</sup> Denonville, correctly assuming that the King had refused to accede to this suggestion for financial reasons, evolved a scheme that would not

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 7, "Denonville au Ministre, Larochelle, le premier May 1685," ff. 18v-19r; Ibid, "Denonville au ministre, A Larochelle, le 9<sup>me</sup> Juin 1685," ff. 42r-43v; Ibid, 7, "Denonville au ministre, A Quebecq, le 8<sup>e</sup> may 1686," f. 19r.

involve the treasury in any additional costs. Each month the second-lieutenants received the 6 livres 15 sols allowance of a soldier, plus 2 livres 5 sols from each sergeant and corporal, and 1 livre 10 sols from each lance corporal.<sup>1</sup> However, the King's appointment of ensigns to the 16 companies sent in 1687 virtually replaced the rank of second-lieutenant,<sup>2</sup> although the Governor-General responded by appointing ensigns to the 16 companies already in the colony, justifying his decision with

c'est un petit bien que l'on trouve moyen de faire a seize Jeunes Gens qui n'ont point de pain, qui nous serviront bien et qui sont des meillures familles du pays capables<sup>3</sup> d'estre bons officiers et tous braves gens.

By 1689 the gross monthly salaries of the colonial regular troops had been established as follows: captain, 90 livres; half-pay captain, 60 livres; lieutenant, 60 livres; half-pay lieutenant, 37 livres 10 sols; ensign,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 8, "Lettres receues de Canada. 1686. Lettre de Denonville," f. 187r; Ibid, 9, "Memoire De L'Estat Present Des Affaires de Canada sur la guerre des Iroquois du 27<sup>e</sup> octobre, par Denonville," ff. 126v-127r; Ibid, 14, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec, le 25 octobre 1696," f. 205r; Ibid, Série B, 15, "Ordre du Roy pour la reforme des 35 Compagnies de soldats du detachement des vaisseaux en Canada, reduites a 28, A Versailles, le 24 may 1689," f. 79r.

<sup>2</sup>The rank of second-lieutenant disappeared gradually, for Denis Etienne de Clerin was appointed to this position in 1689. See AN, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, 47, "Places d'Officiers d'Infant<sup>rie</sup> vacantes en Canada, Et sujets proposez pour les remplir. Canada. 15 avril 1694," f. 01r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Memoire De L'Estat Present Des Affaires de Canada sur la guerre des Iroquois du 27<sup>e</sup> octobre 1687, par Denonville," ff. 126v-127r.

30 livres; sergeant, 22 livres 10 sols; corporal, 15 livres; lance corporal, 12 livres; and soldier, 9 livres.<sup>1</sup> These salaries remained unchanged throughout the remainder of the period under study.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Governor General of Canada had the right, from 1687, to fill vacant captaincies, lieutenancies,

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<sup>1</sup>A memoir of 1700, in which a different payscale and a reorganisation of the troops is proposed, is misleading, for the ideas contained in the memoir are proposals which were not accepted. See AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 17, "Memoire sur la reforme des troupes en Canada 1700," ff. 95r-95v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 16, "Estat de ce qui doit estre paye aux officiers et a la garnison du fort de Plaisance pour l'annee 1693," f. 202r; Ibid, 19, "Articles et conditions accordees au Sr de Beaubriand Levesque pour le secours a porter au Fort Louis de Plaisance pour l'annee 1697, A Ver., le 6 Fevrier 1697," ff. 137r-138r (the author of these articles errs in the salary of the ensign. He awards this officer 480 livres per year, instead of 360 livres); Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 113, "Acadie. 1697. Etat general de Depence (sic) de l'acadie en l'annee 1697," ff. 90r-92r; Ibid, "Projet de fonds a faire po. Canada et l'Acadie 1698 par le tresorier de la marine, Donne a Versailles le 3<sup>e</sup> may 1698," f. 44r; Ibid, Série B, 22, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles, le 20 Janvier 1700," f. 22r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 113, "Estat de ce que Le Roy paye pour la solde et entretien d'une Compagnie de 50 hommes a l' Amerique. 1706," ff. 201r-201v (this statement incorrectly awards the ensign 450 livres per year); Ibid, Série B, 29, "Ministre a m de la Mothe Cadillac, A Marly le 13 Juillet 1707," ff. 127r-128r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 113, "Nouvelle france. 1707. Estat des fonds a faire pour les depenses de la nouvelle france pendant l'annee 1707: Ensemble la Comparaison de celles de 1706," ff. 212r-213v; Ibid, "Estat des Depenses Annuelles du Canada qui sont payees par le Tresorier de la Marine. 1715," f. 277r.

and ensignships,<sup>1</sup> his power was limited by the need for Royal confirmation of these appointments, for these were commissioned ranks. However, the appointment of second-lieutenants did not require approval from France, and this prerogative was therefore much valued by the governor as a means of acknowledging or rewarding friendships. The King's decision to institute the rank of ensign had conflicted with the governor's nomination of second-lieutenants, for both grades followed that of lieutenant in the military hierarchy; consequently, the governor formed a new rank, that of second-ensign or sub-ensign, under the same appointment and salary arrangements as had obtained for the second-lieutenant.<sup>2</sup>

During his second administration in Canada, Frontenac enlarged another rank to which men were appointed by the governor. By 1691 there were 62 young men of important colonial families, supposedly 16 years of age or older, serving as cadets in the 28 companies and drawing a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 13, "Ordre du Roy pour remplir les emplois qui se trouveront vacans dans les compagnies d'Infanterie qui sont en Canada. A Versailles, le 18<sup>e</sup> mars 1687," f. 151r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Champigny au ministre, 5 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 72v; Ibid, 14, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec, le 25 octobre 1696," f. 205r; Ibid, 15, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 19 8<sup>bre</sup> 1697," ff. 43r-43v.

soldier's pay.<sup>1</sup> The abuses of this system, whereby some men younger than 16 years of age and others who never served with their companies nonetheless drew a cadet's pay<sup>2</sup> - a form of welfare for the impoverished nobility - prevailed until the early years of Vaudreuil's governorship when strict instructions were issued by the Minister of Marine enforcing a minimum age requirement of 17, and removing from the rolls all cadets who were not on active service.<sup>3</sup> That these instructions had to be reissued in 1711<sup>4</sup> indicates that they were more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The 1689 reduction in the number of companies and the increased number of half-pay officers serving in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, le 10 May 1691," f. 253v; Ibid, 12, "Champigny au ministre, 5 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 72v.

<sup>2</sup>RAPQ, 1927-28, "Memoire du Roi au Gouverneur de Frontenac et a l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, 1692," p. 93; AN, Série B, 16, "Ministre a Monsieur de Champigny, A Versailles, le 28 mars 1693," f. 263v; Ibid, 17, "Ministre a M de Champigny, a Versailles le 8<sup>e</sup> May 1694," f. 89v; Ibid, 29, "Ministre a m le marquis Dalogny, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 97v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 29, "Ministre a m le marquis Dalogny, a Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 97v; Ibid, "Ministre au sr du Mesny Nore, a Versailles le 6 Juin 1708," f. 378v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 33, "Memoire pour servir d'Instruction au sr Begon Intend<sup>t</sup> de Justice Police et Finances de la Nouvelle France, A Marly le 7 Juillet 1711," f. 98r; Ibid, "A m<sup>r</sup> le marq<sup>s</sup> Dalogny, a Marly le 7 Juillet 1711," f. 122v.

colony as a result,<sup>1</sup> led the Minister of Marine to decide, 3 years later, that no more half-pay officers were to be appointed and that those already serving were to fill full-pay positions as soon as vacancies occurred<sup>2</sup> - an order he was obliged to repeat several times during Frontenac's second term.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, whereas these officers had

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II of this thesis, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup>RAPQ, 1927-28, "Lettre du Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, Versailles, avril 1692," p. 101.

<sup>3</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Frontenac au Ministre, Quebec, 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 30r; RAPQ, 1927-28, "Lettre du Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, 1693," p. 135; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," f. 10v; RAPQ, 1928-29, "Lettre du Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, A Versailles, le 26 may 1696," p. 300; Ibid, "Lettre du Gouverneur de Frontenac au Ministre, 25 octobre 1696," p. 315; Ibid, "Memoire du Roi pour le Gouverneur de Frontenac et de l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, A Versailles, le 27 avril 1697," p. 333; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 15, Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 19 8<sup>bre</sup> 1697," f. 43r; RAPQ, 1928-29, "Memoire du Roi au Gouverneur de Frontenac et a l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, Versailles, 21 may 1698," p. 358. For example, compare AN, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, 47, "Liste des officiers, Sergens, Caporaux, Ampessades et Soldats qui on (sic) Servy Au premier Septembre 1694, par Champigny, fait a quebec le 26<sup>m</sup> octobre 1694," with Ibid, "Liste des Officiers, sergens, caporaux, ampessades, et soldats qui servent en Canada au 1<sup>er</sup> octobre, 1696." At first glance it would seem that the Minister's instructions were being followed, for the number of half-pay lieutenants was reduced from 23 in 1694 to 21 in 1696. However, if Frontenac had obeyed the Minister's orders to the letter, there would have been 15 half-pay lieutenants in the latter year, for there had been 8 vacancies in the interim, of which the Governor General had filled 6.

previously not attended reviews because they had not been attached to a specific company, they were now obliged to be present, and with the company of the commander of the troops.<sup>1</sup> This policy of increased supervision and gradual elimination of the rank of half-pay officers was so rigidly enforced after Frontenac's death that by 1708 there remained only 7, all half-pay lieutenants.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident, then, that the commissioned officer rank often served as a form of welfare for the sons of impoverished nobility in Canada. To claim that the financial straits of the nobility was the only reason for both the proliferation of ranks and the tardiness of the Governors General in retiring ranks when instructed to do so, would be to ignore many other considerations including the services rendered by many of these welfare recipients. Nevertheless, the nobility's financial distress was undoubtedly one of the more important factors involved in these actions.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a m<sup>r</sup> le marq<sup>s</sup> d'aloungny, A Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," ff. 144v-145r; RAPQ, 1938-39, "Memoire du Roi a MM de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 113, "Estat des depenses que le Roy veut et ordonne estre faites par M<sup>e</sup> Moize Augustin fontanieu Tresorier general de la marine...pour le service de sa majeste en la nouvelle france...pendant la pnte annee mil sept cent huit. par Begon. 19 juin 1708," f. 247r; Ibid, 28, "Reveue des Compagnies de marine qui tiennent garnison en Canada le 31 8<sup>bre</sup> 1708," f. 31lv.

According to a list of the active commissioned officers drawn up by Intendant Champigny, on October 26, 1694,<sup>1</sup> there were 28 captains, 13 half-pay captains, 28 lieutenants, 23 half-pay lieutenants, and 21 ensigns in the colonial regular troops. The Canadian-born officers - 3 captains, 3 half-pay captains, 10 lieutenants, 12 half-pay lieutenants and 10 ensigns - represented 33.6% of the commissioned officer rank. These 38 officers came from only 16 households, but because Canadians had not been admitted to the commissioned officer ranks between 1683 and 1687, the presence of Canadians as one-third of the 113 officers in 1694 is significant. If the percentage representation had continued to increase at the same rate after 1694 as it had from 1687 until 1694, the commissioned officer ranks would have been staffed entirely by Canadians by the year 1708. But was this the case?

In the list of October 31, 1708,<sup>2</sup> drawn up by the Raudots and d'Aigremont, the total complement of active

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, 47, "Liste des officiers, Sergens, Caporaux, Ampessades et Soldats qui on Servy en Canada Au premier September 1694, par Champigny, fait A quebec le 26<sup>m</sup> octobre 1694." All subsequent references to the composition of the commissioned officer rank in 1694 are based on this document.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 28, "Liste des Troupes du detachement de la marine en la nouvelle france avec le total du nombre des sergens, Caporaux, Anspessades et Soldats de chaque Compagnie suivant la reveue qui a esté faite le 31 octobre 1708, par Daigremont Raudot et Raudot, fait et Certifié veritable a Quebec le xxxi<sup>e</sup> jour d'octobre xvii<sup>e</sup> huit," f. 312r. All subsequent references to the composition of the commissioned officer rank in 1708 are based on this document.

commissioned officers was 90 - 28 captains, 27 lieutenants, 7 half-pay lieutenants, and 28 ensigns. Canadian-born officers held 5 captaincies, 8 lieutenantcies, 4 half-pay lieutenantcies, and 13 ensignships, about one-third of the officer rank.

Although there is no evidence to suggest that the Minister of Marine or the Governor General pursued a conscious policy of perpetuating the preponderance of French officers in the commissioned ranks, nevertheless a ratio of 2 to 1 was maintained. The reduction in the number of officer ranks, resulting in fewer vacancies for Canadians (or Frenchmen), combined with the Pontchartrains' use of patronage, was to the disadvantage of Canadians.

There was a high mortality rate among Canadian officers. If it were possible to list the names and nationalities of all the officers who served in the 1683-1713 period, the numerical contribution of Canadians would undoubtedly be seen to be much greater, but, in the absence of complete muster rolls for each year, and the incomplete records of promotions, retirements, and deaths, any attempt to reconstruct an annual list would involve many assumptions and much guesswork. The high Canadian mortality rate has been documented indirectly in the accounts of military encounters. During the skirmishes with the Iroquois in the 1690's and with the New England

colonies in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Governors General of Canada, recognizing the competence of the Canadians in North American warfare, preferred to use them in the convoys, raids, scouting parties, and expeditions - all of which caused many deaths. Furthermore, the majority of the volunteers participating in these actions in the hope of gaining recognition for subsequent advancement were also Canadians, the results of whose zeal were tragic. In 1694 there were 32 Canadian lieutenants, half-pay lieutenants, and ensigns; 14 years later there were 5 Canadian captains and 8 Canadian lieutenants. Although some of the 32 had been promoted and some had died of natural causes, most had been killed on active duty.

Thus far, two significant facts have emerged concerning the origins of the commissioned officers. Firstly, the vast majority of French officers were, by the turn of the century, colonials with wives, children, and homes in Canada. Secondly, although the number of Canadians who served as commissioned officers was probably greater than the number of Frenchmen and colonialized Frenchmen, Canadian representation at any given moment was only one-third. Further analysis of the officer rolls also reveals the élite composition of the commissioned officer rank. It has been established in preceding pages that officers

from France - troupes de terre, troupes de la marine, and midshipmen - were noblemen, and therefore the majority (two-thirds) of the commissioned officers of the colonial regular troops were nobles. It is, however, necessary to determine the status in the colony of the 38 Canadians of 1694 and the 30 of 1708.

The Carignan families were still represented, in 1694, by 9 (23.6%) of the 38 Canadian officers, and in 1708 by 5 (16.6%) of the 30. The most commonly-found Canadian names among the commissioned officers of the colonial regular troops during the 1683-1713 period were d'Ailleboust, Boucher, Godefroy, Hertel, Le Gardeur, and Le Neuf.<sup>1</sup> Boucher and Hertel, important seigneurs ennobled for their many military contributions to the colony, were small-scale landowners compared to the noble families of Le Neuf, d'Ailleboust, Le Gardeur, and Godefroy, whose holdings as early as 1663 were, respectively, 775,029 arpents, 702,488 arpents, 555,012.5 arpents, and 373,065.5 arpents, a combined total of almost 2½ million.<sup>2</sup> These six noble or ennobled seigneurial families accounted for 23 (60.5%) of the 1694 Canadian officers, and 17 (56.6%) of the 1708 group. The remaining Canadian officers, 6 (15.9%) in

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<sup>1</sup>In the 1690's, these six families were represented by 40 sons in the colonial regular troops, several of whom were cadets.

<sup>2</sup>Marcel Trudel, "Sur la formation d'une oligarchie terrienne dans le Saint-Laurent, 1627-1663," CHA Report (1969), pp. 26-36. See particularly p. 33.

1694 and 8 (26.8%) in 1708, were from 9 prominent households - the sons of baron Le Moyne (ennobled, seigneur, merchant, officer-interpreter) and of baron Robinau (noble, seigneur, merchant, ex-troupes de terre officer, grand voyer); the sons of nobles Vaudreuil (Governor General of Canada), Ramezay (Governor of Montreal), Lefebvre Duplessis-Faber (troupes de terre officer, colonial regular troops captain), and La Mothe Cadillac (Detroit commandant; not noble, but regarded as such); and the son of Migeon (seigneur, seigneurial attorney, judge, merchant, Intendant's sub-delegate, married to the daughter of a noble). The two remaining officers, Robutel, the son of a seigneur, and Testard, the son of a merchant related to Le Moyne and Le Ber, both married into the nobility.

This examination shows that 95% of the Canadian officers in 1694, and 90% in 1708, were the sons of prominent noble military families. The exceptions - Robutel and Testard in 1694; Migeon, Robutel and Testard in 1708 - were the sons of important colonial figures, and were related to nobility. Clearly, then, the commissioned officer rank in the colonial regular troops of Canada, as in the troupes de terre in France, was the preserve of the nobility.

This fact is of great significance, for although it was of paramount importance in the French and Canadian societies of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

to be, or to appear to be, noble, the costs of attaining nobility and maintaining the expected lifestyle were ruinous. The resulting impoverishment of the nobility in Canada was to have important consequences on the history of the military of the colony. Because the non-military problems of the commissioned officers were, by definition, the problems of the nobility, and because these problems affected the services which the officers rendered, the impoverishment of the Canadian nobility merits closer study.

Traditionally, a noble was a landowner who relied upon his tenants for his income. In late seventeenth-century France, the landed aristocracy had held the same land for generations, thus guaranteeing the inheritor or purchaser a populated and cultivated territory upon which to live. For a seigneurie to be profitable in Canada, the seigneur needed at least 30 to 40 square miles of land, settled by 40 or 50 families.<sup>1</sup> Yet less than 5% of all seigneurial land in Canada was even cleared by 1700, the seigneur made little effort to settle his land, and seigneuries were rarely sold.<sup>2</sup> The fact that not all seigneurs were nobles may be one explanation for this interest in ownership rather than in cultivation, colonisation, or

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<sup>1</sup>Richard C. Harris, The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study (Madison, Wisc., 1966), pp. 38 and 86; hereafter referred to as Harris, Seigneurial System.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, pp. 31, 105 and 57.

sale of the land, for the addition of *Sieur de* (name of seignury) to the seigneur's name gave a semblance of nobility to those who were not of la noblesse, and this was what counted.

Adding to the miseries of those in the colony trying to maintain the standard of living of the nobility was a cost of living approximately 25% higher than that of France.<sup>1</sup> Most of the officer-nobles were stationed in Montreal<sup>2</sup> and most of the seigneuries granted to officers were in the vicinity of that town.<sup>3</sup> Since most commodities were more expensive there<sup>4</sup> than in more eastern parts of Canada, the officer-noble-seigneur based in or near Montreal could not avoid expenditures greater than those nearer to the port of Quebec.

The colony was still too young and undeveloped to support a class whose values were those of la noblesse de France. Canada's economy was more easily exploited by the

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "DeMeulles au ministre, A Quebec le douze novembre 1682," f. 81v; Ibid, "Extrait du memoire au Roy envoyé par Le Sr de la Barre le 13<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1684," f. 329r; Ibid, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," f. 252v; Ibid, 19, "M. d'Aigremont au Ministre, Quebec le 9<sup>e</sup> octobre 1701," f. 224v.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter III of this thesis, pp. 87-88.

<sup>3</sup>The maps in Harris, Seigneurial System, show a predominance of officer-owned seigneuries in the Montreal vicinity.

<sup>4</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Denonville et Champigny au ministre, A Quebec le 6<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1688," f. 08v; Ibid, 17, "Champigny au Ministre, 20 8<sup>bre</sup> 1699," f. 85r.

bourgeois than by the noble, and the Canadian Court was not yet able to support a parasitic element dependent solely upon its favours. The difficulties of maintaining a noble lifestyle were not, however, confined to the Canadian-born, for other nobility resident in the colony frequently experienced the same hardships.

The attitudes and values of the Carignan-Salières officers who had married the daughters of Canadian nobility were identical to those of their fathers-in-law, and so, consequently, were their financial problems. Contemporary documentation does not lack evidence to support this contention. In 1688 the Bishop of Quebec himself referred to the Carignan-Salières officers as "quasy toutes dans La Mendicité."<sup>1</sup> La Chesnaye, who assumed ownership of Chambly because its namesake was unable to honour a debt of 4,000 livres, subsequently sold the seigneurie to Saint Ours for 6,000 livres.<sup>2</sup> The latter, however, was "pauvre et ne peut pas mesme payer ce qu'il doit au domaine pour cette acquisition."<sup>3</sup> In 1694, Frontenac and Champigny described the widow and large family of Moras as being "dans une

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 10, "Memoire des Affaires generales du Canada pour Monseigneur Le Marquis de Seignelay. 1688. par St.-Vallier," f. 117v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 6, "Memoire a Messieurs les Interesseez en la Societe en commendite de la ferme et commerce de Canada, 1683," f. 218r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

extreme pauvreté,"<sup>1</sup> and the following year Champigny referred to Morel as the head of a large family "qu'jl ne soutient qu'avec beaucoup de peine ayant peu de bien."<sup>2</sup> In 1697, Dupuy was described by the Intendant as the father of 10 children, and poor.<sup>3</sup> The widows of Jarret, Provost, Sorel, and Gaultier de Varenne all applied for assistance from the State to help them subsist.<sup>4</sup> Margane, father of "une grande famille pauvre" in 1695,<sup>5</sup> left 4 years later "une veuve tres pauvre avec 5 ou 6 Enfants... jls s'en trouvent entierement privez..."<sup>6</sup> and this despite the fact that he had fewer children to support than many of the officers and an annual income of 1,230 livres, consisting of 150 livres<sup>7</sup> as a retired Carignan-Salières

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," ff. 23v-24r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 6 Novembre 1695," f. 365v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 15, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 13 octobre 1697," f. 133r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 18, "Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 15<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," f. 103r; Ibid, 20, "Callieres et Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre, 1702," ff. 73v-74r; Ibid, 12, "Extrait des Lettres du Canada, 1693. Lettre de la veuve Sorel," f. 360r; Ibid, 21, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'année 1703. Vaudreuil et Beauharnois. 15 Nov. 1703," f. 283r.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 13, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 6 Novembre 1695," f. 357v.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, 17, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 20 octobre 1699," f. 12v.

<sup>7</sup>Bécart, Berthier, Brussy, Contrecoeur, Dugué, Dupuy, Margane, Moras, Morel, Saint Ours, Verchères, and

officer, and 1,080 livres as a captain in the colonial regular troops.

With fellow-officers Provost, Gaultier de Varennes, Berthier, Morel, and Saurel, Michel-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriant had been a member of the "Assemblée générale tenue a Quebec le 10 octobre 1682,"<sup>1</sup> composed of the colony's prominent citizens. Although Dugué, with an income equal to that Margane, lived "much of the latter part of his life in poverty,"<sup>2</sup> an inventory<sup>3</sup> made after his death in 1688 reveals that his moveable assets exceeded his liabilities by more than 7,000 livres. Furthermore, his immoveable property consisted of a manor 40 feet by 24 feet, a barn 50 feet by 25 feet, a stable 20 feet by 18 feet, 38 arpents of land on Ile Ste.

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Verchères each received a gratification of 300 livres in 1685. The demand for financial assistance was so great that some of these pensions were continued for the officers' widows; others were halved or quartered in order to give some assistance to as many as possible. See AN, Série B, 11, "Estat de la Depense que Le Roy veut et ordonne estre faite...pendant la presente année 1685 ainsy qu'il ensuit. A Versailles le 30<sup>e</sup> mars 1685," f. 117v.

<sup>1</sup> Antoine de La Frenaye de Brussy was a seventh Carignan-Salières officer in attendance at this meeting. The assembly was also attended by one representative from each of the families of d'Ailleboust, Boucher, Godefroy, Le Gardeur, and Le Moyne. See AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Assemblée générale tenue a Quebec le 10 octobre 1682," ff. 68r-69v.

<sup>2</sup> Cited from W. Stanford Reid's biography of Dugué in DCB, vol. 1, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> AJM, Greffes de Bénigne Basset, Inventaire des biens de Sidrac Dugué Sr. de Boisriand (sic), 20 décembre, 1688.

Therèse, and 9 square leagues on Rivière Jésus. Important guests at the Dugué household might pass some time before supper browsing through one of his fifteen books, all of a religious content except for one tome of Louis XIV's ordinances for the reformation of justice. The meal, presented on dinner plates engraved with the family coat of arms, would be accompanied by red wine from the cellar, served by "bouquet" or "la violette," Dugué's valets. Appearances, though deceptive, had always to be maintained in a status-oriented and class-conscious society, and consequently, Dugué, like others in his position, died poor because his financial resources were inadequate to defray the costs of his standard of living.

Champigny's description of the officers of the colonial regular troops as a whole in 1699 indicates that nothing had changed since de Meulles' critiques of the early 1680's, and that the Carignan-Salières officers were not alone in failing to balance income and expenditures. Champigny wrote -

Une bonne partie des officiers des troupes sont mariez assez pauvrement, en quoy leur destinée est Conforme a Ceux qui sont nobles ou qui veulent vivre sur Ce pied, ne pouvant s'apliquer aux travaux et n'ayant par consequent que les Bien faits du Roy, C'est pourquoy jl est d'une tres sage precaution de ne pas faire de nobles.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 17, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 20 octobre 1699," f. 70r.

In 1705, Champigny's response to a suggested reduction of the number of commissioned officers was "Ces officiers sont tout mariez, jls n'ont que leur pays pour vivre, les Casser C'est les reduire au dernier desespoir ...,"<sup>1</sup> and three years later, the Raudots painted the same bleak picture in the list which they drew up of subscribers to the Company of the Colony.<sup>2</sup> The comments beside the names of commissioned officers who had pledged sums of money were generally "n'a rien," "ne subsiste que par les appointemens de Sa Majesté," "doit plus qu'il n'a du bien," "doit beaucoup."

The poverty of the nobility did not prevent commissioned officers seeking increased status for its own sake. The positions of aide-major of the troops or of a town and aide de camp on an expedition, none of which carried a salary, were considered desirable because the holder of the rank had a certain stature in relation to other officers. The more ambitious officers, however, could aspire to paid positions, for after 1684 all new officers of the état-major were appointed from the colonial regular troops.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 23, "Sommaire de la lettre du Sr. Dupleasy (sic), agent, le 17 octob. 1705" (Champigny's marginal note), f. 178r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 125, "Liste Generale des Interessez en la Compagnie de la Colonie de Canada, et des actions qu'ils y ont prises. 1708. Raudot. Raudot."

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix C of this thesis. The last man to be appointed from outside the troupes de la marine (colonial regular troops) was Hector de Callières.

In 1683 there were only 5 état-major ranks - the governorship and majority of Quebec and Montreal and the governorship of Three Rivers. The office of governor of Quebec, included in the commission of the Governor General of Canada, was not considered open to the usual applications from commissioned officers of the colonial regular troops. The influx of military personnel and the natural growth of the civilian population led to official recognition of the office of major of Three Rivers<sup>1</sup> and the creation of a King's lieutenancy of Quebec in 1692, followed 5 years later by the appointment of a King's lieutenant in Montreal. From 1697 to 1713 there were 8 paid état-major ranks, 7 of which were open to application from military personnel serving in Canada. During the period under study, these 7 offices were held by only 18 men, 4 of whom were the sons of prominent Canadian military nobility - Boucher, Godefroy, Le Moyne and Le Neuf.

On occasion some of the état-major offices were indirectly venal,<sup>2</sup> sought after and purchased by officers who could ill afford the expense. The widows of état-major officers, who usually applied for financial

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<sup>1</sup>Lambert Boucher de Grandpré served as major of Three Rivers for several years without pay, before the office was officially recognized. See AK, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, "Frontenac au Ministre, Quebec, 20 octobre 1691," f. 243v.

<sup>2</sup>On pp. 19-20 of his Canadian Society During The French Régime, W. J. Eccles writes: "In New France... posts in the government service were not sold, they were granted on merit and held at the royal pleasure..." However, on occasion, some posts were sold indirectly.

assistance to maintain their families, sometimes received money offered by candidates seeking the office of the dead husbands, for in this way the Treasury of France and the Ministry of Marine coffers were spared, for a time, the expense of supporting the families. Ramezay's payment of 3,000 livres to Varenne's widow earned him the governorship of Three Rivers,<sup>1</sup> and similarly, Langloiserie paid 2,000 livres to Bizard's widow for the majority of Montreal,<sup>2</sup> Louvigny offered 2,000 livres to Grandpré's widow for the majority of Three Rivers,<sup>3</sup> and Soulangue offered to pay any "reasonable" sum to Provost's widow for the governorship of Three Rivers.<sup>4</sup> These financial considerations did not reduce the number of applicants, for any officer appointed to the état-major would gladly forego one year's salary or more for such an honour, as is clearly shown in the case of Langloiserie, who applied for financial assistance to maintain his family in the same year he paid for the majority of Montreal.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," f. 255r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 12, "Extrait des Lettres du Canada. 1693. Lettre de Langloiserie," ff. 35lv-352r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 17, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 26<sup>e</sup> may 1699," ff. 54v-55r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 20, "Vaudreuil au Ministre, a quebec le 4<sup>e</sup> 9bre 1702," f. 215v.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 13, "Demandes des Officiers et des particuliers du Canada. 1694. Lettre de Langloiserie," f. 4lr.

However, status existed in more than one form. The office holder enjoyed prominence over the man who did not hold an office, but he also considered important his various relationships with other office holders. These questions of privilege, which occasionally gave rise to serious friction, were frequently raised during the period under study. Whenever possible, the Governor-General consulted previous ordinances and regulations and rendered an immediate decision, but when historical precedent was lacking, details of the situation were submitted to the King for arbitration. If the governor erred in his solution to a dispute, one of the disputants would be transferred to preserve authority. However, the numerous squabbles grew in complexity as the size of the état-major was enlarged. Which honours were due to whom in parades and processions? What authority did the commander of the troops have in a town? Which honours were due an état-major official visiting another town, and what was his authority vis-à-vis company captains on an expedition outside his municipal jurisdiction? Where were the état-major seated in Church? Under what circumstances might the King's lieutenant of

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Soulange's circumstances were similar, for the year after he applied for the Three Rivers post, his wife was obliged to appeal to the State for financial assistance. See Ibid, 21, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'année 1703. Vaudreuil et Beauharnois. 15 Nov. 1703," f. 28lv.

Quebec, in the absence of the Governor-General, take precedence over the Intendant? Such matters were never regarded as trivial, required delicate and consistent handling, and led to the formulation of protocol for every conceivable situation.

Disputes over status were not peculiar to the état-major, for similar conflicts developed between commissioned officers. The fact that many officers held naval as well as infantry commissions led to awkward situations. Were two infantry lieutenants, one of whom held a prior naval ensignship, equal in status? Suppose the one without the naval commission had served longer in the infantry than the officer with the naval commission? What was the difference between an infantry captain with a naval ensignship and an infantry lieutenant with a naval lieutenancy? Although the naval commissions were no longer operative, they did confer status which was resented by those who had not served in the navy. Because an infantry or naval officer could not be accorded the honours and status of a naval lieutenancy without first having been granted the certificates of midshipman and naval ensign, these disputes were several years in the settling. Whether by design or accident, the issuance of certificates conferring the honours and status of midshipman to 1 infantry captain, 7 infantry half-pay captains, and 15 infantry

lieutenants in January of 1694,<sup>1</sup> and the awarding of the status of naval ensign to 23 captains on the same day 2 years later,<sup>2</sup> largely resolved the problem. By the mid-1690's, the naval ranks of infantry officers in the colonial regular troops bore no relation whatsoever to their naval service. Governor-General Vaudreuil's rank of capitaine de vaisseau was awarded to him to maintain his stature and authority over others, and there were doubtless some officers with naval ranks who had never set foot on a ship.

One symbol of status peculiar to the military was the Cross of Saint Louis.<sup>3</sup> By an edict of April 15, 1693,<sup>4</sup> Louis XIV added the Ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis to the four existing higher orders. L'Ordre du Saint-Esprit and la Toison d'Or were reserved for a small number of important people, and the Ordre de Saint-Michel and Ordre de Saint-Lazare had suffered a loss in prestige because so many men had been appointed to the

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 96, "a Versailles le pre. Janvier 1694," ff. 8v-9v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 114, "Liste des offers de marine choisis par le Roy pour servir au departe. de Rochefort pendant la presente année, a Versailles le pre. Janvier 1696," ff. 20r-26v.

<sup>3</sup>For the purposes of brevity, the Ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis will be referred to as the Order of Saint Louis.

<sup>4</sup>Aegidius Fauteux, Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada (Montréal, 1940), p. 8; hereafter referred to as Fauteux, Les Chevaliers.

Orders.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the Order of Saint-Louis was instituted as a purely military order whose members were appointed from among officers of proven valour who were practising Roman Catholics.<sup>2</sup> There were 3 ranks within the Order - grand-croix, commandeur, and chevalier. The 3 grands-croix received pensions of 6,000 livres each, 8 of the commandeurs received pensions of 4,000 livres and 16 were awarded 3,000 livres pensions. There was no fixed number of chevaliers, but the senior 128 received pensions ranging from 800 to 2,000 livres.<sup>3</sup> Initially all nominees for the rank of chevalier were required to have served for 10 years,<sup>4</sup> but perhaps due to the large number of eligible officers,<sup>5</sup> by the mid-eighteenth century the minimum service requirement had been raised to 25 years.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, pp. 9-11 passim. Candidates were required to furnish lettres de catholicité from a high Church authority.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, pp. 26-27 passim. In 1719, Louis XV raised the total sum delegated to the Order of Saint Louis from 300,000 livres to 450,000 livres.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, p. 34. Of the officers who served in Canada and were awarded Crosses, Jacques-François de Brouillan had the least service - 11 years.

<sup>5</sup>The reason for lengthening the service requirement may have been the exclusivity of the Order and the stature of its members. The decision was also necessary, however, because of the large number of career officers with more than 10 years of service.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, p. 8.

The investitures of officers serving in colonies were made by delegates of the King who were, themselves, Chevaliers of the Order.<sup>1</sup> In Canada, however, the first few nominations involved special circumstances. Hector de Callières, named a Chevalier in 1694, was not invested with the Cross for 4 years because there were no members of the Order in Canada to perform the ceremony.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, due to his importance in the colony, the Governor of Montreal was allowed to wear the Cross before he was formally invested with it.<sup>3</sup> During the 20-year period 1693-1713, 32 crosses were awarded to officers who had served, or were serving, in Canada.<sup>4</sup> Only 5 of these Chevaliers - Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville (1699); Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil (1703); Michel Le Neuf de La Vallière (1705); Alexandre Le Neuf de Beaubassin and Jacques Testard de Montigny (1712) - were born in Canada. The majority of the remaining appointments were of metropolitan Frenchmen with 15 to 30 years' service.

The notarial deeds of the period indicate the importance of titles, offices, and awards. For example, a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, pp. 22-23. Similarly, Frontenac wore the Cross before the formal investiture.

<sup>4</sup>The remainder of this paragraph is compiled from Fauteux, Les Chevaliers, pp. 90-108.

fictitious seigneur with naval and infantry ranks and the Cross of St. Louis would never be referred to as simply Jean-Pierre-Henri de Sous de la Piperie, but as Jean-Pierre-Henri de Sous, Ecuyer, Seigneur de la Piperie (et autres lieux), Chevalier de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint Louis, enseigne de vaisseau, capitaine d'une détachement des troupes de la marine. Even if the notarial deeds were only a record of la Piperie's sale of one cow to a neighbour, all of his titles would still be included.<sup>1</sup>

Although notaries were obliged to recognize only the various titles of their clients, the historian must consider the implications of these titles. A study of the activities of the commissioned officers would be invalid without reference to the class which these officers represented. The precedents set by the Carignan-Salières officers were carrots before the noses of the officers of the colonial regular troops. The fact that Canadian and metropolitan French officers were nobles, impoverished but intent on living in the noble lifestyle despite its ruinous cost, gives meaning to many of their activities in the military field. Nobles generally married nobility; nobles had large families; nobles attached great importance

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<sup>1</sup>The order in which these titles were mentioned, and the precise wording, sometimes varied, but no title would be completely ignored.

to holding an office whatever its cost; nobles with military backgrounds had access to certain offices and found even the income from these offices insufficient to maintain them in a manner befitting what they considered to be their elevated status. These are the factors which cannot be ignored in any evaluation of the activities of the military in Canadian society.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CONSEQUENCES

The nature of the commissioned officers was undoubtedly one factor in the proliferation of commissioned and supernumerary ranks. Furthermore, their aspirations, while not detracting from the brilliant careers of some of the officers, did have certain repercussions on their relationships with the soldiers in their companies and on the services which both officer and soldier rendered.

In the first few years of the 1690's there were more officers serving with commissions from the King or the Governor General than at any other time in the thirty-year period of study. Each of the 28 companies had three full-pay commissioned officers. In addition, there were more than 50 half-pay commissioned officers, and in at least one year, more than 60 cadets on the rolls and other officers serving as second- or sub-ensigns. At its peak, therefore, the officer ranks, reserved primarily for the noble, but occasionally including two or three of the wealthy or important, numbered 200 men. When deaths,

resignations, retirements, and transfers are taken into account, it becomes clear that approximately 500 different officers served in the colonial regular troops of Canada between 1683 and 1713.

The original appointments and subsequent promotions of most of the 500 were made by the Governor of the colony. The King and the Minister of Marine had learnt in the 1680's that aversion to and fear of service in Canada was not peculiar to the ordinary soldier; several officers had suddenly fallen sick prior to embarkation, and on-the-spot replacements had had to be found by the Marine intendant and his aides.<sup>1</sup> Lack of enthusiasm for colonial service was again obvious in the 1690's, when French officers who had served in Canada tried, while on leave in France, to sell their commissions in the colonial regular troops.<sup>2</sup> These factors, combined with the steady flow of recommendations of Canadians from the Governors, Intendants, and Bishop of Canada, and the unnecessary expense of sending Frenchmen to the colony as officers, all contributed to the diminishing role of the King and

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série B, 11, "Ordre du Roy a Monsieur Gabaret, a Versailles, le 21<sup>e</sup> Aoust, 1684," f. 53r; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 50, "Ministre au Sr Arnoul, a Versailles, le 21<sup>e</sup> Aoust, 1684," ff. 348r-348v. Several Carignan-Salières Regiment officers had not wished to come to Canada in 1665. See Roy et Malchelosse, Carignan, pp. 25-26.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Frontenac au ministre, Quebec, 25 8<sup>bre</sup> 1694," f. 58r.

the Minister of Marine. During the ministries of the Pontchartrains, the only appointments of Frenchmen to vacancies in the troops of Canada were based on patronage,<sup>1</sup> and even these occasionally conflicted with nominations already made by the Governor-General.

Whatever their military qualifications, officers would not have been in a position to serve if they had not been hommes de qualité, de naissance. But once in the service advancement within the military hierarchy, though it might be hastened by connections at Court, was generally dependent upon proven ability. There were some officers, however, whose frequent promotions bore no relation whatsoever to their military records. The sons of Intendants Champigny, Beauharnois, and Raudot<sup>2</sup> are examples of naval officers who became captains of the colonial troops because of the influence of their fathers. Nicolas Joseph Bochart de Servigny was appointed ensign in 1696, lieutenant in 1698, captain in 1700, and left the colony in 1702. Beauharnois du Columbier de Beauville was commissioned lieutenant in 1702, captain in 1704, and

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<sup>1</sup>The appointments of French officers to serve in Canada after 1690 were often followed by a letter of recommendation to the Governor General.

<sup>2</sup>Concerning Champigny, see AC, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, vol. 222, Part I, p. 131; for Beauharnois, see Ibid, p. 39; and for Raudot, see biography of Jacques Raudot by Donald J. Horton in DCB, vol. 2, pp. 554-560.

returned to France in 1705. Raudot de Chalus was commissioned ensign in 1705 and lieutenant in 1706. Four years later he was promised a captaincy, to which he was appointed in 1712, two years before he left for France. The careers of these three men in Canada do not reflect their military abilities, but rather the importance of their fathers.

Intendant Michel Bégon's brother, Claude-Michel,<sup>1</sup> began his service in the colony in similar circumstances. He left a naval ensignship to take up a half-pay captaincy in Canada in 1712, and was appointed a full captain the following year. Unlike the sons of Bochart, Beauharnois, and Raudot, the young Bégon was an officer of the état-major, major of Quebec, when his brother was recalled in 1726. Claude-Michel remained in the colony, and subsequently served as King's lieutenant of both Three Rivers and Montreal, dying in 1748 while Governor of Three Rivers.

Following the example of their superiors, the Governor-General and the commander of the troops occasionally used their authority to bring about the advancement of those whom they personally favoured. Although most of the men

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<sup>1</sup>For further information about Claude-Michel Bégon, see Pierre-Georges Roy, Les Officiers d'Etat-Major des Gouvernements de Québec, Montréal et Trois-Rivières sous le régime français (Levis, 1919), pp. 30-32; hereafter referred to as Roy, L'Etat-Major. See also AC, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, vol. 222, Part I, p. 46.

they recommended had years of practical military experience, the promotions did not always meet with the approval of the Intendant. In his 1696 comments on commissioned officers, the Intendant Champigny's evaluation of Vaudreuil's son, who was an ensign, said more in 5 words than could have been said in an entire paragraph - "un enfant de deux ans."<sup>1</sup> A letter written in 1707 by Ramezay, the Governor of Montreal, shows even greater nepotism in its request for the position of midshipman for no less than 6 of his relatives. The Minister of Marine's marginal comments on requests for promotions rarely exceeded one or two precise words, but on this occasion his notation betrayed a note of incredulity - "jl faudroit faire pour eux Une Comp<sup>ie</sup> de gardes marine."<sup>2</sup>

Since the current belief was that heredity made for better officers, patronage involving the relatives of influential non-military officials was less palatable than similar practices involving the sons and brothers of experienced officers. Satisfaction with an officer's services was occasionally shown by promoting one of his relatives. On several occasions, the vacancy created by

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<sup>1</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 29, "1708. Canada. Copies (Sommaires) des Lettres. Lettre de Vaudreuil et Raudot. 15 no<sup>bre</sup>. 1707," f. 107r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, 47, "Liste des Officiers qui servent en Canada au mois d'octobre 1696, avec le Temps de leurs services suivant leur rang d'ancienneté, arresté Le 25<sup>me</sup> octob 1696, par Champigny."

the promotion, retirement, or death of an officer was filled by a member of the officer's family. The presence of father and son, or two brothers, in the same company or in the same remote area of the colony was accepted except during disputes in which filial or fraternal relationships were mentioned with the implication of collusion for illegal purposes. By the turn of the century, however, such accusations had lost whatever import they might once have had. Because of the exclusive nature of the commissioned officer rank, the large number of children produced by the relatively few families in the upper class of the colony, and the practice of officers marrying within this class, most officers were related by marriage to one or more of their fellow-officers. The fact that many officers married more than once, thereby increasing their relatives, is of more than genealogical interest. For example, by his marriages in New France, Jean-Baptiste Céloron de Blainville had three fathers-in-law<sup>1</sup> - Pierre Picoté de Belestre, Mathieu Damours de Chauffours, and Charles Le Gardeur de Tilly; 10 of his sisters-in-law married military officers - Pierre de Saurel, Alexandre Berthier, Jacques Maleray de la Mollerie,

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<sup>1</sup>Blainville's biography, and the biographies of other officers mentioned in this paragraph, may be found in volumes 1 and 2 of DCB.

Alphonse de Tonty, Louis-Joseph Le Gouès de Preaux-Grais, Louis de Gannes de Falaise, Etienne Villedonné, Jacques Testard de Montigny, Pierre de Saint-Ours, and Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil; his brothers-in-law married daughters of important colonial figures - Volant, Boucher, Le Gardeur, Guyon, Damour, Rouer, and Margane. There would be no point in listing his cousins, uncles and nephews; the names of his more immediate relatives are sufficient to indicate the type of company he was able to keep.

There were, then, three categories of commissioned officer serving in the colonial regular troops of Canada - those sponsored by the King or the Minister of Marine with no intention of settling permanently, who regarded their sojourn in the colony merely as a means to rapid promotion; those who settled, married, raised children, and soon became an integral part of the colony; and thirdly, the Canadians.

Predictably, it was not long before irregularities began to occur. Though most were peculiarly Canadian, at least one, the use of passe-volants, was already well-established in France itself.<sup>1</sup> Captains could draw pay

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<sup>1</sup>In France at this time, a soldier who informed on a passe-volant was rewarded with 10 écus and a congé absolu. The passe-volant had the end of his nose cut off, and the captain was discharged. See Chapter I of this thesis, p. 7; and "Extrait du reglement pour le logement, conduite, marche, police et discipline des compagnies franches.

and rations only for those soldiers actually present at reviews. So, for many years, officers of both the troupes de terre and the compagnies franches de la marine had found it necessary at such times to hire passe-volants to impersonate soldiers and bring their companies up to full strength. After the review, the passe-volants were dismissed with a token fee, while the captain claimed full pay and rations for a complete company.

The same situation quickly developed in Canada. The major of the troops and the commissary of the marine were not obliged to give more than one day's notice of a forthcoming review.<sup>1</sup> The captains, not always able to recall their soldiers in time from the habitants' farms where they worked, replaced them with passe-volants, even though the penalty for officers found guilty of this infraction was discharge from the army. When passe-volants were scarce,

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Fait a Fontainebleau, le 15 octobre 1691," "Ordonnance du Roi pour les valets des officiers passe-volants. Fait a Versailles, le 12 mai, 1700," and "Ordonnance du Roi qui defend aux officiers des compagnies de se servir de soldats comme domestiques. Fait a Versailles, le 9 Juin 1700," Annexes 14, 18, and 19, pp. 268-270, 277-278, and 278 respectively of Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes.

<sup>1</sup>AN, Série F<sup>3</sup>, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majeste entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris," ff. 353r-359v; Ibid, Série B, 20, "Ministre au S. de Subercase, A Versailles le 21 may 1698," ff. 101v-102r; Ibid, "Ministre au S. de La Touche, A Versailles le 21 may 1698," ff. 102r-103r.

the officer's valets stood in as soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, soldiers served as valets, cooks, stablemen, and domestic servants when necessary. Thus an officer might employ several soldiers for personal services at the King's expense. As a rule, officers appointed to Canada were not permitted to take their valets with them,<sup>2</sup> though the King had no objection to their employing valets in the colony, as long as the persons so employed were not soldiers. In time, however, some officers, whether taking

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<sup>1</sup>RAPQ, 1927-28, "Memoire du Roy au Gouverneur de Frontenac et à l'Intendant Bochart Champigny. 1693," pp. 141-142; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Memoire sur les affaires du Canada, 21 Avril 1695," f. 456v; Ibid, Série F, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majeste entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris," ff. 353r-359v; Ibid, Série B, 22, "Memoire po<sup>r</sup> servir d'Instru<sup>o</sup>n au sr Fontenu comm<sup>re</sup> ord<sup>re</sup> de la Marine que le Roy a choisi p<sup>r</sup> faire le voyage de Terrebonne et de l'Acadie, A Versailles, le pre. avril 1700," f. 64v; Ibid, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs. Ch<sup>er</sup> de Callieres, gouverneur et Lieutenant general, et de Champigny Intendant de Justice, Police et Fin<sup>an</sup> dans les pays de la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 5 May 1700," ff. 114r-114v; Ibid, 23, "Memoire du Roy au Sr Ch<sup>er</sup> de Callieres, gouverneur et Lieutenant general en la Nouvelle France, en response de ses depesches et celles du Sr. de Champigny, cy devant Intend<sup>t</sup> dud. pays des 5 et 31 Octobre 1701," f. 72r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "M d' Aigremont au Ministre, Quebec le 9<sup>e</sup> octobre 1701," ff. 223v-224r; Ibid, 20, "Callieres et Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1702," f. 73r; Ibid, Série B, 23, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Cher de Callieres...et au Sr de Beauharnois, 1703," ff. 201v-202r; Ibid, 27, "Memoire pour servir d'jnstruction au S. Raudot Intendant de justice Police & finances de la nouvelle France, A Versailles Le 17 Juin 1705," f. 44r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 6, "Ministre a M. de la Barre, Versailles, 10 avril 1684," f. 246v; Ibid, "Ministre au sr. de Meules (sic), Versailles le 10<sup>e</sup> avril 1684," f. 378r; AM, Série B, 61, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> Arnoul, a Versailles le 22<sup>e</sup> avril 1687," f. 315v.

up their appointment in Canada or travelling to France on a congé, were rewarded by the granting of free passage for their valets on the King's ships. The rule forbidding the employment of soldiers as valets, or vice versa, remained unchanged. In France, these practices flourished despite the admonitions of Louvois, and letters from the Minister of Marine to port intendants, commandants, and commissaries, and ordinances of the King forbidding them.<sup>1</sup>

In Canada, the officers claimed that they had to use soldiers as valets and domestics because Canadians were not interested in this type of employment.<sup>2</sup> Apparently Callières and Champigny had received a negative reply to their suggestion in 1700 that

Nous Croyons qu'elle (the King) ne refusera point la permission qui luy est demandee par quelques officiers Etablis en ce pays, de faire venir des negres qui demeurent Engagez a leur service, sans etre libres de les quitter, ainsy que Cela est aux jsles.<sup>3</sup>

In 1703, the Minister of Marine partially solved the problem of valet shortage by advising the Marine Intendant

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 147, "Ministre aux Intendants et aux commandans des Ports, A Versailles le 12 May 1700," ff. 148r-149r; Ibid, "Ministre au sr Vergier, A Versailles le 26 May 1700," f. 238v; Ibid, "Ministre a m Begon, A Versailles le 9<sup>e</sup> Juin 1700," ff. 292r-292v.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "M d'Aigremont au Ministre, Quebec le 9<sup>e</sup> octobre 1701," ff. 223v-224r; Ibid, 20, "Callieres et Beauharnois et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 3<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1702," f. 73r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 18, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 18<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," f. 20v.

of Rochefort, Michel Bégon -

Sa Ma<sup>te</sup> ayant deffendu aux offers des troupes de Canada d'avoir des soldats pour valets; Ils ont representé qu'ils y estoient obligez par la difficulté de trouver des valets en ce pays, et ils ont demandé qu'on obligeast les v.<sup>x</sup> qui y passeront des ports de France d'y porter des Engagez, s'il s'en equipe Quelques uns a La Rochelle, taschez d'engager les propriétaires,<sup>1</sup> et les Capitaines d'en mener quelques uns...

At the same time the Minister informed colonial authorities that they might permit officers to select valets from among those soldiers released from service as a result of the reduction in the size of companies. The Minister made it quite clear, however, that once hired as a valet, the ex-soldier could no longer be passed as a soldier in reviews.<sup>2</sup> The documentation of the remaining 10 years of the period under study contains few references to passe-volants and valet-soldiers.

The fact that soldiers also served officers in the capacity of valets is an overt sign of the soldiers' social inferiority. The seriousness with which the shortage of valets was regarded indicates that the retention of valets by officers was taken for granted even though each valet represented an additional mouth to feed. The Marquis de Crisafy, who continually agitated for personal advancement

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 23, "Ministre a M Begon, Le 13 Juin 1703," f. 226r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Ministre a M de Ramezay, Le 20 Juin 1703," f. 240r; Ibid, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Cher de Callieres ...et au Sr de Beauharnois, 1703," f. 203r.

to "subsister plus honorablement,"<sup>1</sup> must have been very concerned, for he was accustomed to have 4 valets in his service.<sup>2</sup>

A balanced treatment of the officers' disregard for military regulations concerning passe-volants and valet-soldiers must also take into account the activities of the town governors, for they certainly were not above reproach in the examples they set. The governors of each of Canada's three towns received funds for the maintenance of a garrison. The Quebec garrison consisted of 2 sergeants, paid 180 livres each per year, and 25 soldiers whose annual wage was 90 livres each. The garrisons of Three Rivers and Montreal each consisted of 10 soldiers, paid the same wages as their Quebec counterparts.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Sommaire des lettres, 1687. Lettre des frères Crisafy," ff. 160r-160v. Six years later, they applied for "des emplois plus convenables a leur naissance." See Ibid, 12, "Extraits des Lettres et demandes. Canada. 1693. Lettre des frères Crisafy," f. 328r.

<sup>2</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 131, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 15 Janvier 1698," ff. 67r-67v.

<sup>3</sup>Details concerning maintenance of the garrisons may be found in RAPQ, 1930-31, "L'Etat du Canada, en general, 1669 (par Talon)," pp. 108-110; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 5, "Etat de la depense que le Roi veut et ordonne etre fait pour le payement des appointemens, solde et entretenement des Gouverneurs, Majors, officiers, Capitaines, Soldats, et autres charges du pais de Canada, ou nouvelle france. fait et arrete au Conseil Royal des finances, tenu a St Germain en Laye le 25 d'Avril 1679," ff. 82v-85v. For the years 1685, 1687, 1688, 1689, and 1690, the garrison

However, the town governors substituted the names of valets, gardeners, and townsfolk on the garrison rolls and diverted the money to their own use. The town governors were apparently subject to the same financial problems as the commissioned officers. In 1692 the Governor of Montreal asked for an increase in pay because the large number of officers in Montreal "l'oblige a tenir table continuellem.,"<sup>1</sup> and the following year, his Three Rivers counterpart penned the same request in order to meet "la depense q.<sup>1</sup> est obligé de faire pour vivre avec quelque honneur dans son Employ."<sup>2</sup> In 1693, the Intendant notified the Minister of Marine that the garrison of Quebec consisted of only 2 sergeants and 14 soldiers, and that the Three Rivers and Montreal garrisons were non-existent.<sup>3</sup> This situation was temporarily corrected in the later

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expenses may be found in AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, ff. 112v-114r; 13, ff. 146v-148r; 15, ff. 13r-15r; 15, ff. 73r-75r; and 15, ff. 118v-120v.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 12, "Supplication de Mr. de Callières (follows letter of 20 9<sup>bre</sup> 1692), f. 100r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Extrait des Lettres du Canada. 1693. Lettre de Ramezay, 16 octobre," f. 348r. In 1698, Frontenac and Champigny wrote that Ramezay "est au milieu du pays exposé au passage de Toutes les personnes de distinction qui vont et qui viennent incessamment de Quebec a Montreal Ce qui luy Cause beaucoup (sic) de depense." See Ibid, 16, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 15 8<sup>bre</sup> 1698."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 12, "Champigny au ministre, Quebec, 4 9<sup>bre</sup> 1693," ff. 276r-276v.

1690's,<sup>1</sup> perhaps due to the presence of Intendant Jean Bochart de Champigny, but the very existence of garrison guards in a colony safeguarded by colonial regular troops was soon to be questioned.

The King suggested, in 1699, that the garrison guards be incorporated into the regular troops, and that the troops in turn assume garrison duties.<sup>2</sup> The Governor and Intendant replied that many were unfit for active service and unable to find other employment, that most of the guards were married, and that all were totally dependent upon their pay.<sup>3</sup> The King therefore decided that those able to serve should join the colonial regular troops. The others were to continue to serve in the garrisons, but their positions were to be retired upon death.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," f. 15r; Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre a M de Champigny, A Versailles, le 4<sup>e</sup> Juin 1695," f. 206r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec, ce 10<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1695," f. 308v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 22, "Memoire du Roy aux Srs Cher de Callieres, Gouvern<sup>e</sup> et Lieutenant general, et de Champigny Intendant de Justice, Police et Fina dans les pays de la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 5 May 1700," f. 114r.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 18, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, a Quebec le 18<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," f. 18r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série B, 22, "Memoire du Roy au S<sup>r</sup> Cher de Callieres, Gouverne et Lie Gnal po Sa Ma<sup>te</sup> et de Champigny, Intendant de Justice, Police et fina de la Nouvelle France, a Versailles le 31 May 1701," f. 255r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "Callieres et Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 5<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1701," f. 17r.

Nevertheless, the number of names on the garrison muster rolls was not substantially reduced for several years; in 1707 the Governor of Montreal complained that the suspension of funds for garrison guards was rather an embarrassment, for he now had to pay his domestics with money from his own pocket.<sup>1</sup>

The company captains had specific obligations toward their soldiers, who numbered 1400 until 1699, and 840 thereafter.<sup>2</sup> Captains were responsible for supplying one musket to each of the men in their companies, and for ensuring that the uniforms and arms of their soldiers were not needing in repairs, or lost. Should the major of the troops or the commissary of the marine find the condition of the uniforms or arms unsatisfactory, the captain was reported to the Governor General and Intendant. He was then called upon to make the necessary reparations at his own expense unless the soldiers themselves were clearly at fault.<sup>3</sup> In 1687, for example, the stockings,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 27, "Ramezay au Ministre, Quebec, 12 Novembre 1707," f. 11v.

<sup>2</sup>The obligations of the officers toward their soldiers, unless otherwise noted, are based on AN, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majeste entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris," ff. 353r-359v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid; RAPQ, 1938-39, "Memoire du Roi à MM de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," p. 41; AN, Série B, 25, "Ministre a m.<sup>r</sup> le marq.<sup>s</sup>

shoes, and shirts supplied by the captains were of such poor quality that the Governor and Intendant were obliged to purchase some and distribute them to the soldiers,<sup>1</sup> at the captains' expense. Other responsibilities of the captains to their companies included the distribution of food which was withdrawn from the King's stores, the amount determined by the number of men present at the most recent review. The captains were also responsible for returning to the stores the food, uniforms, and arms of deceased soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

Although the annual salary of a captain was 1,080 livres, ten times the wage of a regular soldier, the captains still took every opportunity to increase their income, even at the expense of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The frustration of the authorities in trying to curb one such abuse is evident in the tone of a

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d'aloungny (sic), A Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," ff. 143v-144r; Ibid, 27, "Memoire pour servir d'instruction au S. Raudot Intendant de justice Police & finances de la nouvelle France, A Versailles Le 17 Juin 1705," f. 45v; Ibid, "Ministre a M Le marq<sup>s</sup> Daloungny (sic), A Versailles Le 24 Juin 1705," f. 88r; Ibid, 33, "Memoire pour servir d'Instruction au sr Begon Intend<sup>t</sup> de Justice Police et Finances de la Nouvelle France, A Marly le 7 Juillet 1711," ff. 97v-98r.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1687," f. 198v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majeste entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris," ff. 353r-359v.

letter written by the Intendant to the Minister of Marine in 1692.

Quoy que Je fasse un de mes principaux attachemens a Empescher les officiers de retenir la paye d'une partie de leurs Soldats, Jls ne laissent pas de le faire Et principalement Sur les Corporaux Et Lampessades, Cependant J'en recois fort peu de plaintes, parce que le Soldat en est presque toujours d'accord avec Son off<sup>er</sup>. qui luy donne pour avoir sa paye la liberte d'aller travailler chez l'habitant, Le plus grand abus qu'jl y a En cela, C'est que les soldats qui ne travaillent point montent les gardes des autres avec beaucoup de fatigue, Et l'on voit en tous rencontres que la Compagnie se trouve Complette dans le Nombre dont Elle est composée lors qu'elle passe En Reveue devant le Commissaire, ou moy.

Thus the captain's increased income helped finance his standard of living, while the soldiers enjoyed greater freedom and the possibility of earning more than their pay as soldiers. Only the small number of soldiers who were repeatedly called upon to stand guard for the others failed to benefit. However, they were a silent minority.

Until forbidden to do so by the Minister of Marine, the Bishop of Quebec expressed his disapproval by refusing absolution to those captains he believed guilty of withholding pay from the soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the curé of Ste. Anne refused to hear the confession of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 12, "Champigny au ministre, 10<sup>bre</sup> 1692," ff. 90r-90v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 12, "Frontenac et Champigny au ministre, 4<sup>bre</sup> 1693," f. 213r; Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre a M<sup>e</sup> l'Evesq<sup>e</sup> de Quebec, A Versailles le 8<sup>e</sup> May 1694," ff. 95r-95v.

commander of the troops.<sup>1</sup> But the indignation of the clergy was to no avail. Even the penalty called for in the 1695 regulation, discharge from the army and restitution of all money withheld from soldiers, was not sufficient to end the abuse,<sup>2</sup> which was so widespread 4 years later that only 5 of the 28 captains - Nicolas Daneau de Muy, Daniel Greysolon Dulhut, Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, Paul Le Moyne de Maricour, and Olivier Morel de la Durantaye - paid their soldiers properly.<sup>3</sup> In 1703, however, Claude de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, in whose jurisdiction more companies were stationed than any other single place, reported that he knew of only 3 officers who withheld pay from their soldiers.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Frontenac et Champigny au Ministre, 5<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1694," f. 15r.

<sup>2</sup> RAPQ, 1928-29, "Memoire du Roy au Gouverneur de Frontenac et à l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, Versailles, 14 Juin 1695," p. 256; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 17, "Champigny au Ministre, 20 8<sup>bre</sup> 1699," f. 84v; Ibid., 18, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 15<sup>e</sup> octobre 1700," f. 96v; Ibid., Série B, 25, "Ministre a m. le marq. d'aloungny (sic), A Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," f. 145r; Ibid., 27, "Memoire pour servir d'instruction au S. Raudot Intendant de justice Police & finances de la nouvelle France, A Versailles Le 17 Juin 1705," f. 44r; Ibid., "Ministre a M le marquis d'allogny (sic), A Versailles le 9 Juin 1706," f. 258r; Ibid., 29, "Ministre a m<sup>rs</sup> Raudot, A Versailles le 30 Juin 1707," f. 66r.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 13, "Champigny au ministre, a Quebec ce 24 octobre 1694," f. 93r; Ibid., 16, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 14<sup>e</sup> Octob. 1698," ff. 106v-107v; Ibid., Série B, 20, "Ministre a M de Champigny, A Versailles le 27 may 1699," f. 222v; Ibid., Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 17, "Callieres et Champigny au ministre, Quebec le 20 octobre 1699," f. 05r; Ibid., "Champigny au Ministre, 20 8<sup>bre</sup> 1699," f. 84v.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 21, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'année

The most profitable appointment was that of post commandant in the west. The officers chosen by the Governor General to serve in these hinterland forts were able both to profiteer at the expense of their soldiers and to conduct a lucrative trade in furs at the same time. The right to make the appointment afforded the Governor General the most valuable means of military patronage. For his protégés could not be adequately watched by his antagonists, and he could even invest some of his own money in the ventures of his appointees. However, although the majority of the officers who served in the west availed themselves of the opportunity to take part in the fur trade, the well-documented activities of Antoine Laumet de LaMothe Cadillac and Alphonse de Tonty cannot be regarded as typical of the western post commandant. Cadillac and Tonty, protected respectively by the Minister of Marine and the Governor General, made a mockery of responsible command with the numerous means they contrived to add to their incomes. Nevertheless, their cases are indicative of the importance of having connections in high places, of the power and freedom that command in the west offered, and of the desire to add to an officer's salary. However, not all post commandants

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1703, Lettre de Ramezay, 4 Novembre 1703," ff. 286v-287r.

returned to the colony richer than when they had left.

Raymond Blaise Desbergères de Rigauville, Daniel Greysolon Dulhut, François LeFebvre Duplessis-Faber, and Olivier Morel de La Durantaye, each made several expenditures relating to their post commands on the orders of the Governor General and were obliged to wait several years before being reimbursed.<sup>1</sup>

Post commandants also had at their disposal vast amounts of merchandise and munitions to distribute among the neighbouring Indian allies, supposedly under the watchful eye of the resident priest. In 1693 alone, Louvigny, Courtemanche, Manthet, Perrot, Tonty, and LeSueur were responsible for apportioning goods worth 134,795 livres 17 sols 6 deniers.<sup>2</sup> Once in a while irregularities were bound to occur.

The fur trade, although unstable because of Indian hostilities and European market conditions, was lucrative on a temporary basis for anyone with the necessary financial backing, as Champigny's estimate of 1,100 livres

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 12, "Frontenac au ministre, Quebec, 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 30v; Ibid, "Champigny au ministre, 21 septembre 1692," ff. 57r-57v; Ibid, "Champigny au ministre, Quebec, 4 9<sup>bre</sup>, 1692," ff. 289r-289v; Ibid, "Extrait des Lettres du Canada. 1693," "Lettre de DuLhut," f. 349r, and "Lettre de DuPlessis," f. 353r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 12, "Estat des marchandises et Munitions distribuées en 1693 aux Nations sauvages éloignées de la Colonie pour partie des pñts accordez par sa Majeste la mesme année," ff. 290r-290v.

potential profit on one canoe of trade goods clearly shows.<sup>1</sup> Because of the high rate of return on investment, widows and creditors occasionally requested aid or settlement by the issuance of trading congés. Louvigny's 1692 proposal<sup>2</sup> to maintain 40 soldiers at his own expense in Miami territory in return for the trade of the area indicates an expected profit of immense proportions.

Annual income could be increased in other ways in the west. Interpreters, who usually drew salaries as commissioned officers, also received financial considerations for their linguistic abilities. La Chauvignerie was paid 150 livres annually, Longueuil 300 livres, and Joncaire 700 livres.<sup>3</sup> Officers who conveyed men or material to the west received expenses. Courtemanche was granted 900 livres in 1691, and the following year, St. Pierre de Repentigny received 750.<sup>4</sup> At each fort there was a garde magasin, whose wage depended on the size of the fort. At Fort Chambly, La Gemberaye in 1695, Hertel de la Fresnière from 1695-97, and La Chassaigne from

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, "Champigny au ministre, Quebec, 4 9<sup>bre</sup> 1693," f. 283v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Frontenac et Champigny au ministre, Quebec, 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1692," f. 14v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 30, "Raudot, fils, au Ministre, a Quebec Le 1<sup>er</sup> no<sup>bre</sup> 1709," ff. 254v-255r, 233v, and 232r, respectively.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série B, 16, "Ministre a Monsieur de Champigny, A Versailles le 28 mars 1693," f. 263r.

1697 until 1698, served as store keepers at a salary of 150 livres per year.<sup>1</sup> The same position at Fort Frontenac, where more men were stationed, paid La Gemberaye 300 livres per year from 1697-99.<sup>2</sup>

Several officers were able to lease their homes during their absences. Monic was paid 225 livres for the use of his Montreal home as a magazin des vivres in 1699, Dulhut was paid 300 livres per year for leasing his house to the Governor General of the colony, in his Montreal residence Maricour boarded Indians who were on trading missions for an annual sum of 100 livres, and Catalogne was paid 3 livres 15 sous per month for leasing one room of his own house for grain storage.<sup>3</sup> Town residences were useful for other purposes, however, for some officers conducted wholesale and retail trades from the confines of their own homes. These men

quittent a toute heure l'epée pour prendre  
l'aune et la balance et le Service en souffre,  
car jls Sont, comme beaucoup d'autres offici-  
ers, Exemptes tres Souvent de Suivre leurs

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 113, "Canada. 1699. Etat de la  
depense faite pour la guerre et les fortifications sur  
les fonds de l'annee 1699. Gens Employez. 1699.  
Champigny, A Quebec, le 17 octob. 1700," f. 73r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, f. 73v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, ff. 73v-74r.

Compagnies et ce sont a proprement parler des  
pensionnaires (sic) du Roy.<sup>1</sup>

However, the Minister of Marine's decision in this regard still left open the possibility of continuing the trade in absentia, for he ruled only that the officers must remain with their companies.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Governor General, as the highest military official in the colony, used his position to assist those in his favour, the daily enforcement of military regulations rested with others and was usually free of his intervention. Travel and accommodation restrictions<sup>3</sup> specified by the King in 1695 were the same for commissioned officers and soldiers. Officers who deviated from the prescribed travel plan, left their companies while en route, entered other men's lodgings or changed their own billeted residence in a settled area, were discharged from the army. Officers were also required to remain in close contact with their companies. But these regulations were not always strenuously enforced.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 19, "Memoire sur plusieurs affaires de la nouvelle france. Canada. 23 Mars 1701" (probably written by Champigny), f. 275v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 18, "Canada. 1700. Affaires generales lesquelles jl est necessaire de donner des ordres," (marginal note), ff. 323v-324r.

<sup>3</sup>The obligations of the officers toward their soldiers, unless otherwise noted, are based on AN, Série F<sup>3</sup>, 7, "Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majeste entretient dans le Canada Du 30 May 1695, A Paris," ff. 353r-359v. Similarly, restrictions on the officers' mobility and the powers of the town governors, are taken from the above regulation.

In 1703, the King was informed that soldiers were often unable to identify all the officers of their companies, since lieutenants and ensigns frequently stayed at home instead of remaining with their companies, some of which were put to work on the captains' seigneuries.<sup>1</sup> This problem appears to have been resolved in later years by allowing commissioned officers to spend two months at home with their families each winter, provided that one or two officers were always present with each company.<sup>2</sup> Officers absent from the musket and grenade practices

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec le 12 novembre 1691," ff. 291v-292r; Ibid, 12, "Champigny au ministre, Quebec, 4 9<sup>bre</sup> 1693," f. 271v; Ibid, 15, "Le S. de la Touche au Ministre, Quebec, 13 8<sup>bre</sup> 1697," ff. 159v-160r; Ibid, 16, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 14<sup>e</sup> Octob<sup>r</sup> 1698," ff. 107v-108v; Ibid, 21, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'année 1703, Lettre de Ramezay, 4 Novembre 1703" (marginal comment of Champigny), ff. 285v-286r; Ibid, Série B, 25, "Ministre a m<sup>r</sup> le marq<sup>s</sup> d'alouigny (sic), A Versailles le 4 Juin 1704," ff. 144r-145r; RAPQ, 1938-39, "Memoire du Roi à MM de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," p. 42; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 22, "Ramezay au Ministre, quebek, 14 9<sup>bre</sup> 1704," f. 71v; Ibid, Série B, 27, "Memoire pour servir d'jnstruction au S. Raudot Intendant de justice Police & finances de la nouvelle France, A Versailles Le 17 Juin 1705," f. 44v; Ibid, 33, "Memoire pour servir d'Instruction au sr Begon Intend<sup>t</sup> de Justice Police et Finances de la Nouvelle france, A Marly le 7 Juillet 1711," f. 97r.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 21, "Extrait des Lettres de Canada de l'année 1703, Lettre de Ramezay, 4 Novembre 1703," f. 286v; RAPQ, 1938-39, "Memoire du Roi à MM de Vaudreuil et de Beauharnois, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," p. 42; AN, Série B, 27, "Ministre a M le marquis d'allogny, A Versailles le 9 Juin 1706," f. 258r.

were reported by the major of the troops to the commander of the district, who could confine them to quarters for a period of 8 days. The commander in turn reported his action to the Governor General, and if the officers had been absent on previous occasions, the latter was free to impose a harsher penalty.

The town governor was the commander of all officers and soldiers in his jurisdiction. Officers needed his written permission to travel outside his jurisdiction for any period less than 8 days, and the approval of the Governor General for any longer period. In the absence of a major or major's aide, he could appoint whomsoever he pleased as a temporary replacement, but he had to give written notification of his selection to both the appointee and the Governor General.

Serious infractions of military regulations, such as desertions, were dealt with by a Council of War. The Council was also responsible for important decisions in time of war, such as calling off an expedition. Normally, the Council consisted of 7 captains, but if the required number was not present the commanding officer was authorized to substitute lieutenants and ensigns, provided that they had attained the age of 22.

While the assembly of commissioned officers to serve on a Council of War was in accord with military regulations, assemblies sponsored by officers for other purposes

were discouraged. This did not prevent them, however. In 1698, the Governor General, the commander, and the major of the troops assembled all the captains present in Quebec. The captains feared that with the proposed reform of the troops, they would be withdrawn from Canada to serve as Marine officers in the French ports. The three officials suggested that the major of the troops be delegated to make the captains' fears known to the Court. The major suggested that the expense of this trip could be covered by deductions from the soldiers' pay. François Lefebvre Duplessis-Faber pointed out that, when deputations such as these were sent to Louvois, the sponsor of the assembly was discharged and sentenced to 2 or 3 years in the Bastille. Duplessis-Faber, Jacques Le Picard Du Mesnil de Norey, Guillaume de Lorimier de La Rivière, and François Le Verrier de Rousson also refused to help finance the delegation at the expense of their soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Although the eventual source of finance is unknown, Daniel Auger de Subercase did sail to France. Perhaps due to his own connections, and those of Frontenac and Vaudreuil, he went unpunished.

A fistfight involving the Intendant's secretary, Barthelémy-François Bourgonnière de Hauteville, and a

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<sup>1</sup>The most detailed account of this assembly was written by Duplessis-Faber. See AN, Série CIIA, 17, "Duplessis faber au (Ministre?), a quebeck ce 7<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1698," ff. 335r-333r.

captain, Joannès de Chacornacle, on February 19, 1701, resulted in another expression of officer solidarity, this time as a defensive measure. Hauteville had been imprisoned for a while, and later released on Chacornacle's insistence, but as a result of the fight, Hauteville's job was in jeopardy. Consequently, 30 officers signed a petition sent to France describing the events, and 41 officers signed a statement that they were quite happy with Hauteville, contrary to rumours that they wanted him removed.<sup>1</sup> The secretary retained his position.

The last assembly of officers in a civilian context occurred in 1708. With Vaudreuil's approval, Du Mesnil, major of the troops, assembled 7 captains (the number required for a Council of War) to protest the Intendant's appointment of a new chief surgeon of Montreal. The Minister of Marine disapproved of the assembly, and upheld the Intendant's decision.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The two petitions begin "Nous officiers de lamarinne ..., le 3<sup>e</sup> septembre 1702," and "Nous officiers soub-signez..., a quebec le vingt quatre septembre mil sept cens deux," and may be found in AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, ff. 173r-174v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 28, "Raudot, père, au Ministre, Quebec le 14 novemb. 1708," ff. 296r-297v; Ibid, "Resultats du Conseil de Guerre tenu a Quebec le 15 novembre 1708," ff. 310r-310v; Ibid, "Raudot, père, au Ministre, a Quebec le 16 nov<sup>bre</sup> 1708," ff. 302r-305v; Ibid, Série B, 30, "Ministre a M<sup>rs</sup> Raudot, A Versailles le 6 Juillet 1709," f. 144.

The blows exchanged between Hauteville and Chacornacle involved fists, but sometimes swords were used. Beginning in 1653, the Kings of France had issued regulations, declarations, and edicts against duelling, so that, by the end of the century, France was one of the two European countries which had most effectively curbed duelling.<sup>1</sup> In Canada, during the period 1683-1713, 2 officers were accused of killing other officers. The outcome of the case against lieutenant Pantin Chevalier de La Guerre, accused of killing ensign Porteau, is unknown,<sup>2</sup> but half-pay captain Bosson, sent to France for killing ensign Bocage, was pardoned and transferred to Guadeloupe with the same rank he had held in Canada.<sup>3</sup> When sword-fights

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<sup>1</sup>Pierre de Briquet, Code militaire, ou Compilation des ordonnances des rois de France concernant les gens de guerre (Paris, 1734), 3 vols. and supplement. See vol. I, pp. 272-338.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Memoire de L'Estat...du 27<sup>e</sup> octobre 1687, par Denonville," ff. 126v-127v; Ibid, 10, "Extrait des Reponses aux lettres receues de Canada en l'année 1687, 8 mars 1688," f. 18v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," ff. 260r-260v; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 79, "Ministre a M Begon, A Versailles le 4 Juillet 1691," ff. 3v-4r; Ibid, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 21 Juillet 1691," f. 111r; Ibid, 76, "Arrest qui commet M<sup>r</sup> Begon Intendant de La Rochelle pour faire le procez au Sr Bosson Capitaine reformé en Canada, A Versailles le 5 Aoust 1691," f. 202r; Ibid, 79, "Ministre a M Begon, a Versailles le 11<sup>e</sup> aoust 1691," f. 256v; Ibid, 88, "Lettres d'Estat pour le Sr de la Brosse Bocage (sic) Lieutenant de l'un des detachemens de soldats de la marine en canada, Au Quesnoy, le 28 may 1693," f. 158r; AN, Série D<sup>2</sup>C, vol. 222, part I, p. 76.

took place, the colonial authorities took great care to explain that there had not been a duel, and to submit the case for judgment before the Sovereign Council instead of a Council of War.<sup>1</sup> Two such fights, between captains Duplessis-Faber and Desbergères in 1689, and captains Lorimier and Noyan in 1691, resulted in one of each pair of combattants being wounded. Although they had "mirent l'épée à la main," they were not found guilty of duelling, but were merely fined by the Sovereign Council.<sup>2</sup> In the Lorimier-Noyan case, the Governor General awarded their companies to two other men, but the King decreed that Lorimier and Noyan be returned to their commands.<sup>3</sup>

Like the soldiers, officers needed official approval before they married. In France, however, in spite of an ordinance of April 15, 1689,<sup>4</sup> some rectors, curés, chaplains, and priests contravened regulations by sanctifying,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 10, "Extrait des Réponses aux lettres receues de Canada, 8 Mars 1688, Ministre aux Denonville et Champigny," f. 18v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, "Champigny au Ministre, a quebec Ce 16 no<sup>bre</sup> 1689," ff. 250r-250v; Ibid, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," f. 254v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," f. 254v; RAPQ, 1927-28, "Lettre du Roi au Gouverneur de Frontenac et à l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, 7 avril 1692," p. 86.

<sup>4</sup>"Ordonnance de Louis XIV pour les armées navales et arsenaux de marine. 15 avril 1689," in Bajot et Poirré, Annales maritimes, 1847, partie officielle, pp. 91-284. Concerning marriage, see p. 186.

for officers, marriages "peu sortables a leur naissance avec des filles de basse condition qui n'ont aucun bien," and so the ordinance had to be re-issued in 1713.<sup>1</sup> Similar practices obtained in Canada, and clergy were forbidden by the Bishop to conduct marriages without proper consent.<sup>2</sup>

The signing of the marriage contract, and the wedding at a later date, were great social occasions well attended by society's prominent families. The official empowered to forbid marriages of officers with women of lesser social standing was the Governor General of the colony.<sup>3</sup> The first instances of officers marrying without asking consent, or after the Governor General had withheld consent, were not reported until 1701. The Governor General, unsure of what he should do, suspended the officers without pay until he received directions from France.<sup>4</sup> These

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<sup>1</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 233, "Ordonnance du Roy pour deffendre a tous, Recteurs, Cures, Aumosnier et prestres de Marier aucuns officiers de Marine sans permission de sa Majesté, a font<sup>eau</sup> le 13 Septembre (1713)," ff. 92-93.

<sup>2</sup>AN, Série B, 25, "Ministre a m l'Evesque de Quebec, A Versailles le 14 Juin 1704," f. 97v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 9, "Denonville au Ministre, A Villemarie, le 8 Juin 1687," f. 31r; RAPQ, 1927-28, "Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, A Paris, le 7 avril 1691," p. 58; AN, Série B, 33, "Ministre au Sr de Becancourt, a Marly le 7 Juillet 1711," f. 151r.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 19, "Callieres au Ministre, A Quebec, Le 4 Octobre 1701," ff. 120v-121r.

arrived the following year, and instructed him to strip the men of their ranks before the assembled companies of troops.<sup>1</sup> Although the officers were returned to their ranks within one year,<sup>2</sup> the punishment and disgrace in front of their fellow men-in-arms evidently had the desired effect, for no further breaches of the regulation are on record during our period.

One privilege enjoyed by commissioned officers, and not shared by non-commissioned ranks, was the possibility of visiting France every 10 years or so, for a period of 3 to 6 months. This policy was originally instituted to allow officers to settle family or financial affairs. However, the furlough soon came to be regarded as a holiday, with three months pay in advance, to visit Court to plead for a promotion, and to return with additional freight on the King's ships free of charge.<sup>3</sup> The number of officers making the voyage for one or more of these reasons increased

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série B, 23, "Ministre a M le Ch<sup>er</sup> de Callieres, A Versailles le 6<sup>e</sup> May 1702," f. 74r; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 20, "Callieres au Ministre, A Quebec le 4 Novembre 1702," f. 167v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Série B, 23, "Ministre a M le Ch<sup>er</sup> de Callieres, A Versailles le 20 Juin 1703," f. 211v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 11, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec le 10 May 1691," f. 259v; Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, a Versailles le 22<sup>e</sup> Juin 1695," f. 222v; Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 6 Novembre 1695," f. 259v; Ibid, Série B, 19, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, A Versailles, le 26 May 1696," f. 105v.

to such an extent in the 1690's that the King and the Minister of Marine were obliged to issue specific instructions in this regard. Free passage was forbidden. Officers were to be advised that they would not receive a hearing at Court, would not be paid during their absence from the colony, and would no longer be allowed to transport freight free of charge on the King's ships.<sup>1</sup> The immediate result of these instructions was that some officers already on a congé in France asked for an advance in pay, claiming that they would otherwise be unable to return to Canada.<sup>2</sup> By 1697, however, these problems had been solved by enforcing the instructions of the King and the Minister of Marine to the letter.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "De l'Extrait general des depesches memoires et actes envoyez de Canada de l'année 1694, par Frontenac," f. 47v; Ibid, Série B, 17, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, a Versailles le 22<sup>e</sup> Juin 1695," f. 222v; RAPQ, 1928-29, "Lettre du Ministre au Gouverneur de Frontenac, A Versailles le 22<sup>e</sup> juillet 1695," p. 263; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 13, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 6 Novembre 1695," f. 359v; Ibid, Série B, 19, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, A Versailles, le 26 May 1696," f. 105v; Ibid, "Ord<sup>ce</sup> pour deffendre de payer les appointements aux officiers de Canada qui passeront en France pendant leur absence, Versailles, 26 May 1696," ff. 109v-110r; Ibid, "Ministre a M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, a Versailles, le 28 May 1696," f. 114r.

<sup>2</sup>AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 112, "Ministre a M de Champigny, LaRochele, 19 Juin 1696," ff. 574r-574v.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid; AN, Série C<sup>11</sup>A, 14, "Champigny au Ministre, A Quebec le 25 octobre 1696," f. 200r; Ibid, 15, "Champigny au Ministre, Quebec, 13 octobre 1697," f. 134r.

It is evident, then, that many officers of the colonial regular troops found it both possible and expedient to augment their salaries by means directly contrary to military regulations. It is equally clear that the governors general and town governors had no compunction about increasing their own incomes by similar means. The increase in both the variety and frequency of malpractices in the 1690's, which coincided with the increase in the number of commissioned officers, was largely checked by the first years of the eighteenth century.

## CONCLUSION

While a succession of Governors General of Canada tried to handle an increase in the regularity and effectiveness of Iroquois raids, France was preoccupied with its own internal problems. The rise of the Le Telliers to prominence and the accession of Louis XIV to the throne marked the beginning of a period in which the army and its Secretary of State received more attention than the Marine branch of government. Colbert, the Minister of Marine at this time, faced two problems. He realized that the French navy needed to be put on a competitive basis with France's maritime rivals, England and Holland, and he knew that the colony was nearer extinction than survival. This critical situation could not be ignored for long. Royal Government would give the colony internal stability, but more would be needed to combat the external challenges. Once the King realized Canada's critical position, 1,200 seasoned troupes de terre were sent to defeat the Iroquois. There were three separate campaigns in the European style of warfare, and, although little blood was spilt, the very presence of such a large, impressive, uniformed, and

disciplined force was sufficient to intimidate the Iroquois and bring peace for a while.

While in Canada the years 1667-1682 were really years of calm before the storm, in France the frictions between the Ministers of War and Marine increased, making it more difficult for the latter to establish a naval infantry force for protection of French ports, commerce, and shipping. Consequently, when authorities in Canada requested a body of soldiers in 1682, since the conduct of the colony's affairs lay within the competence of the Minister of Marine, naval infantry troops were sent. The Iroquois were to be invaded by troupes de la marine.

The La Barre fiasco in 1684 not only disgraced French arms and added to the enemy's confidence, but it also showed that more than a temporary force was required in the colony. Had it not been for the rivalry between the Ministers of Marine and of War, the former might have requested that troupes de terre regiments be sent to the colony. Instead, in the next few years, Seignelay tripled the armed force of Canada by sending more troupes de la marine, to be maintained on a permanent basis. He did incorporate some troupes de terre officers and soldats-gardiens into the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks of the troops, but the men recruited as soldiers had little or no military experience. Seignelay also appointed, or

endorsed the appointments of, a commissary, an engineer, 3 surgeons of the troops, and a troop commander. By 1689 the number of companies, which consisted of 50 men from 1683 to 1699, had been established at 28. The troupes de la marine had become an established institution of the colony.

Although the authorities in France could have found little fault with the higher administrative officials of the colonial regular troops, at the company level the institution functioned in a manner very different from that originally conceived in France. The military nobility resorted to means contrary to military regulations in order to finance an often illusory affluence. A commission in the troops was virtually a guaranteed annual income for which, in some cases, little service was rendered. The primary victim of the officer's malpractices was the soldier, who, accustomed to a lowly position in society, did not question the conduct of his superiors. Nevertheless, the soldier's lot was not an unhappy one. The billeting of soldiers with habitants, introduced in the 1680's because of a lack of barracks and the habitants' need for additional labour, soon became standard practice at all times. French soldiers were unaccustomed to the climate and warfare of North America, and so, when men were raised for convoy duty, a scouting party, or a raid, the soldiers

usually guarded the settlements while the habitants performed military duties as militia. Contrary to what could have been foreseen by authorities in France, the soldiers of the colonial regular troops were drawing the King's pay to act as guards in relative security while the settlers took their places as unpaid militia. This curious and informal arrangement made maximum use of the talents of both French soldiers and Canadian settlers. Furthermore, because soldier and settler were from similar levels of society, and married each other's daughters and widows, there were few, if any, social problems.

What had happened to make this reversal in the responsibilities of soldier and settler so acceptable and successful? The Courcelle, Saurel, Tracy, La Barre, and Denonville campaigns had been, at best, inconclusive. Large-scale invasions were useless on the rivers and in the forests of North America against a wily foe in his natural habitat. La petite guerre could be countered successfully only by la petite guerre. This suited the commissioned officers who aspired to higher office, for they might improve their chances of promotion by volunteering for specific assignments, and by behaving in the heroic manner expected of the nobility. In this type of warfare, Canadian officers, militia, and allied Indians were the most proficient, for the leading Canadian military families of the

troupes de la marine had been represented, and respected, as volunteers in the Carignan-Salières campaigns, and the colonist and allied Indian had been eyewitnesses of Iroquois methods for decades. By 1713, Canadian commissioned officers, forming one-third of the officer corps, and French officers resident in the colony for several years, had earned their ranks in the troupes de la marine.

Due to the inconclusive nature of most secondary works on the troupes de la marine I do not find myself disagreeing with, but rather adding to, the information already provided. I have found, however, that my research of the commissioned officer rank has borne out the description of the nobility presented in W. J. Eccles' Canadian Society during the French Régime.

Although this thesis is primarily a drawing together of information on the troupes de la marine in Canada, a more complete study of the troops might be possible if the Archives de la Marine in Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort, and the Archives Nationales in Paris, were visited. If the researcher were to find muster rolls of the soldiers embarked for Canada, their names, ages, military experience, and origins, then a statistical study of the soldiers would be feasible. Should this information not be available, it is my belief that the study of the soldier in Canada during this period will remain where I have left it.

There is sufficient material in Canadian archives for the researcher to focus on the commissioned officers, or on the troupes de la marine as an institution, provided that the studies span the years 1683 to 1713. An interesting project would be to trace the extra-military activities of commissioned officers during this period. A study of the structural evolution of the troupes de la marine from 1683 to 1763 would also be a challenge. But in both cases, however, the researcher would have to scour dozens of collections of documents, many bearing only remotely on the subject, in order to find all the basic information he required.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Primary source material for the troupes de la marine background in France is not abundant in Canadian depositories. The Public Archives of Canada holds a few documents of interest in Série A<sup>1</sup> (Recueil général des ordonnances, édits, arrêts, lettres patentes, 1610-1777), transcribed from the Archives des Colonies in Paris. Of greater interest for the period 1683-1713 is Série B<sup>2</sup> (Ordres et dépêches, 1662-1750), transcribed from the Archives de la Marine in Paris. This Series consists of the letters, orders, and circulars of the Minister of Marine to the various port authorities, and is a vital source of information on recruiting for Canada.

References to the troupes de la marine in Canada are, for the most part, scattered in several Series in the Public Archives. Série B (Lettres envoyées, 1663-1789), Série C<sup>11</sup>A (Correspondance generale, Canada, 1540-1784), and Série C<sup>11</sup>G (Correspondance Raudot-Pontchartrain...), contain the exchange of correspondence between the governing officials of Canada and the Ministers of Marine and King in France. Every volume of these three Series for

the period studied must be read very closely, for although the troops are the main subject of some letters, this is not always the case. Occasionally, two or three sentences concerning the troops may be found toward the end of paragraphs not primarily related to the military. The 1695 regulation concerning the conduct, policing, and disciplining of the troops is found in volume VIII of Série F<sup>3</sup> (Collection Moreau St.-Méry, 1492-1798), transcribed from the Archives des Colonies in Paris.

The Series allocated to the troops - Série D<sup>2</sup>C (Troupes coloniales, 1656-1789) - contains a wealth of information. Although there is little concerning the regular soldier, the material on the individual commissioned officers includes lists of vacant positions, requests and reasons for promotions, names of sponsors in France and Canada, biographical data on individual officers, and their character references. There are several muster rolls in this Series, but most are undated, and non-commissioned officers and regular soldiers are not referred to by name, but as part of a company total. Most of the documents are unsigned, and some have been copied from unidentified sources. Volume 222 of this Series is an alphabetical list, compiled by François-Maurice Laffilard, Marine Archivist from 1740 to 1754, of the officers of the sword and robe who served the Minister of Marine between 1627 and 1780 in France and the

colonies. Laffilard evidently had access to sources which have not been microfilmed or transcribed for the Public Archives of Canada, for his footnotes consist simply of page numbers which do not relate to the sources in the Public Archives. Nevertheless, he made several errors in the spellings of names and the dates of appointments, and, consequently, volume 222 should only be accepted in the absence of conflicting evidence. In spite of its inadequacies, however, Série D<sup>2</sup>C provides a clear view of the military and social aspirations and qualifications of the commissioned officers.

The Archives judiciaires in Montreal and Three Rivers, and the Archives de la province in Quebec City, are depositories for notarized financial transactions, marriage contracts, land concessions, and property inventories, all of which give a picture of the extra-military and private lives of the commissioned officers. The parish registers, the only primary source in which soldiers' names, ages, and marital statuses are mentioned, are invaluable. Before working in these archives the researcher would be well-advised to consult Pierre-Georges Roy's Inventaire des concessions en fief et seigneurie...(6 vols.), Inventaire des contrats de mariage...(6 vols.), Inventaire des ordonnances des intendants...(4 vols.), Inventaire des testaments, donations et inventaires...(3 vols.), Ordonnances,

Commissions, etc... (2 vols.), and Inventaire des greffes des notaires... (21 vols.), co-edited with Antoine Roy.

Although these inventories are not always complete, the omissions are relatively few in number.

Primary printed material which should be consulted includes Pierre-François Xavier de Charlevoix's 3-volume Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France..., in which he occasionally comments on the social side of military life. Claude-Charles Le Roy de Bacqueville de La Potherie, in his 4-volume Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale, is also useful for this reason. The Découvertes et établissements..., edited in 6 volumes by Pierre Margry, contains some interesting material, but it is not a reliable source because the editor occasionally adapted the documents to suit his preferences.

The student of the military in Canada before Royal Government is largely dependent upon the narratives of Champlain, the Jesuits, and Dollier de Casson, edited by Biggar, Thwaites, and Flenley, respectively. The later Carignan-Salières period is covered in Séries B and C<sup>11</sup>A. The best secondary source on the Carignan-Salières Regiment is Le Régiment de Carignan: son organisation et son expédition au Canada (1665-1668): officiers et soldats qui s'établirent en Canada. Régis Roy and Gérard Malchelosse have published in this volume several documents concerning

the regiment and its activities.

Secondary source material for the naval troops of France is very difficult to find. However, there is one work which cannot be overlooked in the study of the troupes de la marine, and that is Les Anciennes Troupes de la Marine (1622-1792) by Gabriel Coste. Although it was published in 1893, the author was thorough, made abundant use of footnotes, and reproduced documents concerning the naval troops as appendices. Secondary source material on the French army and navy is plentiful, if not always scholarly, and certain works on the French navy contain references to the naval troops of France. In this respect, Joannès Tramond's Manuel d'histoire maritime de la France is the most useful. Two works entitled Histoire de la marine française, one by Louis Nicolas and the other co-authored by Ch. G. M. B. de La Roncière and G. Clerc-Rampal, provide readable general histories of the French navy. Finally, volumes VII and VIII of Ernest Lavisse's Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution provide a balanced general account of the history of the period.

For developments in the military area there are two excellent books by leading scholars. Louis André's Michel Le Tellier et Louvois is easily the best study of the unification and reform of the French army in the seventeenth

century. André shows that certain abuses were of such long standing that efforts by the two Ministers of the Army to eliminate them were to no avail. The Governors General and Intendants of Canada found similar abuses not only prevalent in the colony but equally difficult to remove. André Corvisier makes abundant use of primary source material in his 2-volume study of the eighteenth century French soldier, entitled L'armée française de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle au ministère de Choiseul. Corvisier's work covers the attitudes of the various levels of society to war and the military, all aspects of recruiting, the regional and social composition of the army, the physical characteristics of the soldier, military routine, and life after military service. As thorough as his work is, Corvisier found that contrôles and signalements, upon which he was so dependent, were not available for all regions or all regiments. Nevertheless, they were sufficient in number for him to draw certain conclusions about soldiers. Although Corvisier's two volumes are a model for the study of the soldier in any army, the historian of the pre-conquest military in Canada is hampered by the fact that there are no contrôles or signalements in Canadian archives.

Almost all secondary sources on the troupes de la marine in Canada contain errors, and, as a result, few secondary sources are cited in the footnotes of this thesis.

Benjamin Sulte, who was the first historian to devote an entire article to the troupes de la marine of Canada, published in a period in which footnotes were not considered necessary, with the result that his readers cannot determine where the research stops and the guesswork starts. Lacking other reference material, later historians have quoted from "Troupes du Canada, 1670-1687" (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, série II, vol. 14, mai, 1920, Section I), and through repetition, some of his errors have become accepted as fact. He erroneously described the soldiers who arrived in 1683 as volunteers, and varied the sizes of companies from 50 to 60 to 100 men in the next few years. He made generalizations about the troops without distinguishing between commissioned officers and regular soldiers. He did compile some biographical material on commissioned officers, but he was not critical enough of his sources, and his findings were not always accurate. Subsequent historians have echoed one or more of Sulte's errors, and none have challenged his statement "...de 1688 à 1760, rien ne fut changé dans le système."

A second article on the troops of Canada, written by Gustave Lanctot in 1926, "Les Troupes de la Nouvelle-France" (CHA Report), consists primarily of documents. The 4 pages of actual text are divided equally between the militia and the troupes de la marine. In his Master's

thesis Military Policy and Organization in New France, submitted to McGill University in 1947, Donald F. McOuat allocated only 13 pages to the troupes de la marine, even though they were present in the colony for the last 80 years of the French régime. Furthermore, McOuat treated the troops as a static body, undergoing no modifications or additions in organization, function, and composition. Gérard Malchelosse, in his "Milice et Troupes de la Marine en Nouvelle-France, 1669-1760," (Cahiers des Dix, 1949, no. 14), frequently cited Sulte as his source of information on the troupes de la marine.

Eccles, in his Master's thesis Jean Bochart de Champigny, Intendant of New France, 1686-1702 submitted to McGill University in 1951, assigned one entire Chapter to the Military Responsibilities of the Intendant." These 34 pages contain the first real insights into the workings of the troupes de la marine. Aside from a more general view of the troops, offered in "Military Organization in New France," a Chapter of the published version of Eccles' Ph.D., Frontenac: The Courtier Governor (Toronto, 1959), there has been no further contribution to our knowledge of the troupes de la marine.

The troops are mentioned en passant in George F. G. Stanley's Canada's Soldiers 1604-1954: The Military History of an Unmilitary People (Toronto, 1954), but again, Sulte's influence is evident. For his 1969 article "The Soldier

in New France, 1663-1759" (Documentary Problems in Canadian History, vol. I, Pre-Confederation), André Lachance gathered most of his documents from printed sources. The narrative introducing each group of documents is insufficient, leaving the impression that the troupes de la marine as an institution was the same in 1759 as it had been in 1683. Finally, the Bulletin des recherches historiques and the two published volumes of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography contain a wealth of information on individual officers.

Among the secondary sources not dealing specifically with the troupes de la marine, but of importance in understanding the commissioned officer's place in society, is the first of Eccles' two E. R. Adair Memorial Lectures - The Aristocratic Welfare State - published in Canadian Society during the French Régime (Montreal, 1968). Eccles sees society in Canada as being shaped by values and institutions imported from France, and by the peculiar Canadian environment. He emphasizes the military and aristocratic ethos prevalent among the colony's seigneurs. He describes the social superiority of the seigneur, the importance of holding an office for reasons of status, and the desire to leave to posterity a name rather than wealth. My own research on the commissioned officers, who were one component of the nobility, corroborates Eccles' views of the nobility in general.

APPENDIX A  
UNIFORM OF THE  
COMPAGNIES FRANCHES DE LA MARINE

The basic clothing of the naval infantry troops was established as early as 1673,<sup>1</sup> at which time the soldat des vaisseaux was required to possess one jerkin of home-spun fabric lined with rough cloth, one pair of breeches of the same fabric, one hat, two shirts, one pair of stockings, one pair of shoes, and two ties. The more precise regulation of March 10, 1686,<sup>2</sup> uniting the soldats-gardiens into companies, described the guards' uniform in greater detail - the jerkin was greyish-white, lined with rough blue cloth and adorned with pewter buttons; the breeches were made of Aumalian serge, blue in colour; the stockings

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<sup>1</sup>"Mémoire sur les soldats des vaisseaux du Levant. 1673," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 6, pp. 255-256.

<sup>2</sup>"Réglement pour la levée, solde, entretien et discipline des soldats-gardiens. Versailles, le 10 mars 1686," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 6, pp. 262-264.

were also of Aumalian serge, and the hat was embroidered with a rim of false silver.

The uniform of the soldat à demi-solde was presumably identical to that of the soldat-gardien, for he occasionally replaced the latter on port duty.<sup>1</sup> When the compagnies franches de la marine were formed in 1690,<sup>2</sup> the uniform of the soldats-gardiens was retained. It is apparent, therefore, that the compagnies franches de la marine, given formal organization in the ministry of Pontchartrain, wore the same uniform, of perhaps the same colours, as the soldats des vaisseaux in the time of Colbert.

One change of minor significance concerned the number of ties which the naval soldiers were required to purchase. It was stipulated that soldats des vaisseaux and soldats des compagnies franches should possess two ties, while soldats-gardiens needed to buy only one. An explanation for this could be that soldiers at sea frequently misplaced their ties, and were therefore expected

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<sup>1</sup>"Réglement sur l'entretien des soldats à demi-solde. Versailles, le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1685," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 10, pp. 260-262.

<sup>2</sup>"Réglement pour la levée, solde et discipline des 80 compagnies franches d'infanterie, que le Roi a résolu d'entretenir pour le service des vaisseaux. A Versailles, le 16 décembre 1690," in Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, Annexe No. 13, pp. 265-268.

to possess an extra one, whereas a port guard who lost his tie could readily obtain another from the naval store.

In 1692-93, instructions were issued for the soldiers' uniforms to be made "à la manière des coureurs de bois," referred to as "à la Canadienne."<sup>1</sup> The precise meaning of these instructions is unclear, for after 1692 the uniforms consisted of the same number of items, of the same colour. However, it is likely that a change was made to a thicker material to protect the soldiers in Canadian winters.

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<sup>1</sup>RAPQ, 1927-28, "Lettre du Roi au Gouverneur de Frontenac et à l'Intendant Bochart Champigny, 7 avril 1692," p. 86; AM, Série B<sup>2</sup>, 89, "Ordre du Roy au Sr Massiot, A Versailles le 21 Janvier (1693)," f. 146r.

# APPENDIX B<sup>1</sup>

## COMPAGNIE FRANCHES DE LA MARINE IN FRANCE, 1690-1761

| Date                | Number of companies | Number of men per company | Captains | Lieutenants | Ensigns | Captains-at-arms | Sergeants | Corporals | Drummers | Fife-players | Soldiers | Total men |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------|-------------|---------|------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------|
| December 16, 1690   | 80                  | 100                       | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 84       | 8,000     |
| December 23, 1690   | 86                  | 100                       | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 84       | 8,600     |
| late December, 1690 | 88                  | 100                       | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 84       | 8,800     |
| October 16, 1691    | 100                 | 100                       | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 84       | 10,000    |
| October 18, 1697    | 100                 | 50                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 2         | 4         | 1        | 1            | 41       | 5,000     |
| November 2, 1701    | 100                 | 60                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 2         | 4         | 1        | 1            | 51       | 6,000     |
| January 4, 1702     | 100                 | 75                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 2         | 4         | 1        | 1            | 66       | 7,500     |
| October 10, 1702    | 100                 | 90                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 3         | 6         | 2        | 1            | 77       | 9,000     |
| November 20, 1705   | 100                 | 100                       | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 84       | 10,000    |
| June 21, 1713       | 100                 | 50                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 34       | 5,000     |
| October 8, 1715     | 100                 | 35                        | 1        | 1           | -       | 1                | 2         | 3         | 1        | -            | 28       | 3,500     |
| December 20, 1717   | 100                 | 35                        | 1        | 1           | -       | -                | 2         | 3         | 1        | -            | 29       | 3,500     |
| October 1, 1719     | 100                 | 45                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | -                | 2         | 3         | 1        | -            | 39       | 4,500     |
| December 24, 1725   | 100                 | 30                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | -                | 1         | 2         | 1        | -            | 26       | 3,000     |
| January 27, 1727    | 50                  | 60                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 2         | 4         | 1        | 1            | 51       | 3,000     |
| December, 1733      | 50                  | 30                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 3         | 6         | 2        | 1            | 67       | 4,000     |
| May 3, 1736         | 50                  | 60                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 2         | 4         | 1        | 1            | 51       | 3,000     |
| December 9, 1739    | 50                  | 80                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 3         | 6         | 2        | 1            | 67       | 4,000     |
| September 30, 1740  | 60                  | 80                        | 1        | 1           | 1       | 1                | 3         | 6         | 2        | 1            | 67       | 4,800     |
| December 2, 1748    | 100                 | 50                        | 1        | 1           | -       | 1?               | 3?        | 6?        | 2?       | 1?           | 37?      | 5,000     |
| July 22, 1755       | 100                 | 100                       | 1        | 1           | -       | 1                | 4         | 8         | 2        | 1            | 84       | 10,000    |
| December 29, 1759   | 100                 | 50                        | 1        | 1           | -       | 1                | 2         | 4         | 1        | 1            | 41       | 5,000     |

On November 5, 1761, the compagnies franches were passed to the army.

<sup>1</sup>These statistics are compiled from Coste, Les Anciennes Troupes, pp. 80-89 passim.

## APPENDIX C

L'ETAT-MAJOR: 1683-1713

Date of Appointment

### QUEBEC

|                         |                                                                                                                                            |                                                                  |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lieutenant<br>de Roi... | François Provost<br>Antoine, Marquis de<br>Crisafy.....<br>Charles-Gaspard Piot de<br>Langloiserie....                                     | February 29, 1692<br><br>May 28, 1699<br>June 1, 1703            |
| Major.....              | François Provost.....<br>François de Galiffet.....<br>Charles-Gaspard Piot de<br>Langloiserie....<br>Louis de La Porte de<br>Louvigny..... | May 14, 1669<br>February 6, 1692<br>May 28, 1699<br>June 1, 1703 |

### MONTREAL

|                         |                                                                                                                                      |                                                                 |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Governor.....           | François-Marie Perrot.....<br>Louis-Hector de Callières.<br>Philippe de Rigaud, Mar-<br>quis de Vaudreuil.<br>Claude de Ramezay..... | June 13, 1669<br>April 10, 1684<br>May 28, 1699<br>May 15, 1704 |
| Lieutenant<br>de Roi... | Antoine, Marquis de<br>Crisafy.....<br>François de Galiffet.....<br>Charles Le Moyne de<br>Longueuil.....                            | February 13, 1697<br>May 28, 1699<br>May 5, 1710                |

Major.....Jacques Bizard.....May 1, 1677  
                   Charles-Gaspard Piot de  
                     Langloiserie....April 15, 1694  
                   Michel LeNeuf de La  
                     Vallière.....May 28, 1699  
                   Charles Le Moyne de  
                     Longueuil.....May 27, 1706  
                   Jean-Bouillet de La  
                     Chassagne.....May 5, 1710

### THREE RIVERS

Governor.....René Gaultier de Varennes.June 6, 1672  
                   Claude de Ramezay.....July 1, 1690  
                   François Provost.....May 28, 1699  
                   Antoine, Marquis de  
                     Crisafy.....June 1, 1703  
                   François de Galiffet.....May 5, 1710

Major.....Lambert Boucher de  
                   Grandpré.....1692  
                   Louis de La Porte de  
                     Louvigny.....April 20, 1700  
                   Michel Godefroy de  
                     Linctot.....April 1, 1702  
                   Raymond Blaise  
                     Desbergères.....May 5, 1710  
                   Joseph Dejordy de  
                     Cabanac.....June 18, 1712

APPENDIX D

Reglement du Roy Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline  
des Compagnies que Sa Majeste entretient dans le Canada  
Du 30 May 1695

A Paris  
Chez Estienne Michallet, premier  
Imprimeur du Roy rue S. Jacques, a l'Image S. Paul

M. DC. XCV.  
De l'expres Commandement de Sa Majeste

...

Il sera delivre par ordre de l'Intendant de Canada aux capitaines commandans ces compagnies, un mousquet pour chacun de leurs soldats, dont ils feront leurs recepissez, et s'obligeant de les faire entretenir et raccomoder a leurs depens, et de les remettre dans les magazins toutes les fois qu'ils en seront requis.

Les compagnies qui seront envoyees d'un lieu a un autre, marcheront toujours en bon ordre tambour battant, les officiers a leur teste et les soldats avec leurs mousquets.

Lorsqu'ils arriveront dans les lieux ou ils doivent loger, le commandant fera mettre les compagnies en bataille sur la place; ensuite de quoy il fera publier un ban portant defenses aux officiers et soldats de commettre aucun desordre ny d'entrer en d'autres logis qu'en ceux qui leur auront este marquez par leurs billets de logement.

Il leur sera aussi defendu d'exiger de leurs hostes que ce qui est porte par les Ordonnances de Sa Majeste; et suivant l'usage du pais, a peine de cassation pour les officiers et de vie pour les soldats.

Sa Majeste defend a tous officiers de se loger ailleurs que dans les maisons qui leur auront este marquees dans les lieux ou hors des lieux de leurs departemens, ny de changer leurs routes a peine de cassation.

Il leur est defendu sous pareille peine de quitter leurs compagnies pendant les marches, et aux soldats de s'en ecarter sous peine de la vie.

Avant que les compagnies franches partent des lieux ou elles auront loge, le Gouverneur ou commandant fera publier un ban pour avertir les habitans de venir faire leurs plaintes contre les officiers et soldats qui pourroient avoir fait quelque tort ou dommage; et en cas qu'il s'en trouve le commandant des compagnies franches en fera faire la reparation sur le champ.

Les officiers des compagnies franches prendront l'ordre et le mot des Gouverneurs ou commandans des villes ou ils logeront et luy obeiront.

Le bois et la chandelle necessaire pour le corps de garde seront fournis aux depens du Roy par les soins de l'Intendant.

Les commandans des compagnies franches dans les quartiers particuliers ou il n'y aura ny major ny ayde major, pourront choisir l'un des officiers subalternes des compagnies pour faire la fonction d'ayde major dans le quartier, et luy en donneront un ordre par escrit, duquel ils enverront une copie au Gouverneur General.

Le major des Troupes et les capitaines des compagnies franches feront faire deux fois la semaine l'exercice du mousquet a tous les soldats, et une fois la semaine celuy de la Grenade, apres avoir averti le Gouverneur ou commandant du jour et de l'heure qu'ils auront pris.

Pour cet effet les soldats se rendront aux jours marquez a la porte du capitaine avec leurs epees et mousquets, a l'heure qu'on battera l'Assemblée, leurs officiers marchant a leur teste la pique a la main.

Le major des troupes sera oblige a peine d'interdiction d'avertir le commandant du quartier, s'il y a quelqu'autre officier qui ait manque de se trouver aux exercices et de marcher la pique a la main avec les compagnies, en allant au lieu ou se doit faire l'exercice et au retour jusques a la porte du capitaine.

Les officiers des compagnies franches qui auront manque aux ordres cy dessus, seront mis en arrest pendant huit jours, et le commandant sera oblige d'en avertir le Gouverneur General, Sa Majeste reservant audit Sieur Gouverneur d'ordonner une plus grande peine en cas de recidive.

Les sergens qui retiendront quelque chose sur les gardes que les soldats feront les uns pour les autres seront cassez.

Les sergens seront commandez pour porter l'ordre en mesme temps aux officiers qui doivent recevoir le mot, conformement aux Ordonnances de Sa Majeste.

Il sera commande un sergent dans les quartiers ou il y aura plusieurs compagnies qui se tiendra chez le commandant en chef jusques a ce qu'il soit releve par un autre, pour executer ce qui luy pourra estre ordonne concernant les soldats.

Aucun officier ne pourra sortir du quartier sans conge du commandant, et il n'en sera donne a aucun que pour huit jours au plus et pour des occasions de necessite connue, dont ledit commandant donnera avis au Gouverneur General et au major des Troupes, a peine d'en repondre.

Les officiers particuliers ne pourront donner conge a aucuns sergens, caporaux, ny soldats, sans la permission du commandant.

Ceux qui auront donne conge aux soldats pour aller hors de leurs quartiers, seront responsables des desordres, vols et autres dommages que ces soldats auront commis.

S'il arrive quelque querelle ou differend entre les officiers, le commandant du quartier les fera mettre en prison au corps de garde ou en arrest selon les cas.

Mais lorsque des officiers ou des soldats auront commis quelque crime a l'endroit des habitans, la connoissance en appartiendra aux Juges des lieux, sans que les officiers des troupes puissent en connoitre ny faire sortir de prison ceux qui auront este emprisonnez par l'autorite des Juges ordinaires, ausquels toutes fois ils pourront faire leurs requisitions.

Le commissaire sera oblige de faire reveue tous les deux mois pendant le temps que la saison le permettra, et toutes les fois qu'il sera possible pendant l'hyver, aux jours qui luy seront marquez.

Pourra aussi faire ces reveues dans d'autres temps en avertissant les commandans de mettre les troupes sous les armes.

Le major des Troupes assistera aux reveues qui seront faites par le commissaire et les signera, et il les pourra faire separement, tant pour y entretenir la discipline, que pour la verifcation desdites reveues.

Ledit major et le commissaire examineront exactement les armes et les habits des soldats, et tiendront la main a ce que les capitaines les fassent entretenir en bon etat; et en cas que quelqu'un manquist a y satisfaire, ils en donneront avis au Gouverneur General et a l'Intendant, lesquels feront retenir sur les appointemens de l'officier les sommes auxquelles monteront les reparations qu'il y aura a faire tant aux mousquets qu'aux habits des soldats. Ils ne pourront passer aucun soldat sur les reveues s'il n'est actuellement present, a la reserve de ceux qu'ils auront verifie eux memes a voir este detachez pour le service par ordre du commandant ou du Gouverneur, sur le certificat qui en sera rapporte, et de ceux qui seront malades dans les hopitaux des lieux, mais a l'egard de ceux qu'on pourroit alleguer estre malades chez eux, ils ne seront point passez presens quand mesme ils auroient eu conge de leur capitaine.

Le major des Troupes ou celui qui fait les fonctions d'ayde major donnera son certificat particulier comme tous les soldats compris dans les extraits de reveue qu'ils auront signez, auront monte les gardes ausquelles ils sont cbligez pendant le mois et qu'ils se seront trouvez aux exercices qui se doivent faire deux fois la semaine; et en cas de prevarification par ledit major ou ayde major ils seront cassez.

Les capitaines ne pourront employer dans leurs compagnies que les soldats qui auront este approuvez par le Gouverneur General et dont le signalement sera enregistre, et s'il s'en trouve d'autres, ils seront declarez passe-volans, tires des rangs, et arrestez pour leur estre fait leur procez suivant la rigueur des ordonnances.

S'il se verifioit dans les suites que dans les reveues precedentes il y eust eu des passe-volans, le major et le commissaire qui les auront signez seront cassez.

Les capitaines ne pourront employer aucun valet dans le nombre complet de leurs soldats, et les valets qui se trouveront dans les rangs en qualite de soldats, seront reputez passe-volans, et recevront le mesme chastiment.

Les Fraters des compagnies seront censez soldats et en feront toutes les fonctions.

Les sergens seront obligez de visiter deux fois par jour tous les soldats de leur escouade, pour estre continuellement informez ou ils sont et de leur conduite, afin d'en pouvoir rendre compte a leur capitaine, et l'avertir des desertions s'il en arrive.

Il sera retenu deux ecus sur la paye des sergens qui n'auront pas averti leur capitaine dans le temps de douze heures, de la desertion d'un soldat de leur escouade.

Si un sergent retombe une seconde fois dans une semblable faute, il sera casse.

Il sera donne par ordre de l'Intendant, deux ecus a chaque soldat qui avertira de la desertion d'un autre soldat, pourvu qu'il donne cet avis deux heures apres la desertion.

Le capitaine commandant du quartier dans lequel un soldat aura deserte, le major des Troupes et le capitaine du soldat deserteur, ecriront chacun en particulier au Gouverneur General et a l'Intendant le nom et le signalement de ce soldat, et rendront compte en mesme temps des diligences qui auront este faites pour l'arrester, et quels officiers y auront este employez.

Les deserteurs des compagnies seront jugez dans le quartier le plus proche, si les officiers y sont en nombre suffisant, en la forme presente par l'Ordonnance de la Marine du 15 Avril 1689, et s'il ne se trouve point dans le quartier sept capitaines presens pour faire le nombre des Juges necessaires, le commandant pourra appeller les Lieutenans et les Enseignes des compagnies qui auront atteint l'age de vingt deux ans, auxquels Sa Majeste permet d'entrer dans les conseils de guerre, au cas de defect du nombre suffisant de capitaines.

Si le major des Troupes ne se trouve pas dans le quartier, et qu'il n'y ait qu'un seul ayde major, cet ayde major dressera luy mesme les informations, et en ce cas le second capitaine du quartier fera la fonction de major, et donnera ses conclusions.

Le major envoyera aussitost apres le jugement au Gouverneur General et a l'Intendant un extrait du resultat du conseil de guerre, lequel sera cependant execute.

S'il arrive que les deserteurs apres lesquels on aura fait courir en la forme cy dessus, ne soient pas pris et arrestez, le major des Troupes et le capitaine en donneront avis au Gouverneur General, et a l'Intendant, afin qu'ils puissent envoyer les ordres necessaires pour en faire la recherche, dans les autres lieux.

Le Prevost qui aura arreste quelques deserteurs, les fera conduire dans le plus prochain quartier; et en cas qu'il ne trouve point les deserteurs qu'on luy aura denonce, il en dressera des procez verbaux qu'il enverra au Gouverneur General et a l'Intendant, a peine contre ledit Prevost, ses officiers et archers, d'estre privez d'une annee de leurs gages et appointemens.

Tout soldat ou autre de quelque condition qu'il soit qui se trouvera atteint et convaincu d'avoir debauché les soldats pour leur faire abandonner le service ou les aura induits a desertion, sera puny des peines des galeres sans remission.

Les capitaines n'admettront aucun soldat de recrue, que par l'approbation et l'ordre ecrit du Gouverneur General, vise par le major et le commissaire quand ils seront sur les lieux.

Les soldats de recrue envoyez de France seront examinez sur les Rolles qui en seront remis en la maniere prescrite par l'Ordonnance du 15 Avril 1689, et suivant qu'il convient au service du Canada, par le commandant, par le major des troupes, et par le commissaire, pour estre lesdits soldats distribuez dans les compagnies egalement.

Les commandans des compagnies en chaque quartier rendront compte une fois chaque semaine de tout ce qui se passera au sujet de la police, discipline et exercices des compagnies; comme aussi de l'application des officiers qui les commandent au Gouverneur General qui en informera le Secretaire d'Etat ayant le Departement de la Marine.

Les capitaines ne donneront point conge aux soldats les jours de leurs gardes et services, ny en aucun temps, pour aller hors de l'etendue de leurs quartiers sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, et en cas de necessite pour aller hors de cette etendue, le conge sera prealablement approuve par le Gouverneur, et il en sera donne avis au Gouverneur General et a l'Intendant.

Les soldats pourront estre employez aux fortifications et autres ouvrages pour le compte du Roy; il leur sera pourvu d'un supplement de paye qui sera regle par le Gouverneur et l'Intendant, aux depens de Sa Majeste, sans que les capitaines ny autres puissent leur retenir aucune chose en argent, vivres, habits ny hardes, a peine de restitution et d'estre cassez.

Lorsque le service pourra permettre de donner conge aux soldats de travailler pour le compte des habitans pendant leur sejour dans les quartiers, les capitaines ne le pourront accorder pour des lieux eloignez, ny autres que pour ceux de l'etendue des dits quartiers et hors l'etendue des dits quartiers, sans pouvoir rien retenir du salaire qu'ils pourront tirer des habitans ny sur leurs vivres.

Sa Majeste defend aux capitaines et autres officiers d'employer les soldats pour leur compte et services particuliers, le tout sous mesme peine de restitution et de cassation.

Les habits et hardes envoyez de France pour la valeur desquels il est retenu dix-huit deniers par jour sur la paye de chaque soldat, seront remis du magasin au major des troupes en presence du commissaire sur son recepisse, pour le nombre competant des soldats de chacune compagnie sur le pied de la derniere reveue, pour estre ensuite distribuez aux capitaines qui en donneront pareillement leur recepisse portant promesse d'en rendre compte, et qu'ils seront tenus de faire et les major et commissaire d'en faire la verification aux reveues suivantes; comme aussi de se faire rendre les habits et hardes des morts et autres, que de ceux des effectifs pour estre remis aux magasins du Roy.

La solde de ceux qui seront morts ne pourra estre etendue au dela du jour de leur deceds, ny ce qui leur en sera deub, employe que pour compenser l'avance que les capitaines leur auroient pu faire auparavant, et pour le payement de leurs dettes justifiees, s'il y a de reste.

La paye des soldats qui seront mis aux hospitaux, sera remise en entier, le decomppte des habits deduits pour ayder a les medicamenter, et traiter pendant leur maladie, avec le supplement ordonne par Sa Majeste, et dont la remise sera faite ausdits hospitaux, sur le certificat desdits major et commissaire; contenant les noms des soldats, le jour qu'un chacun d'eux aura este mis dans lesdits hospitaux, et leur sortie, a l'effet de quoy lesdits commissaires et major en feront faire la verification.

Sa Majeste veut que les soldats soient payez sur le pied du prix de l'exposition des especes en France, et que quand il leur sera fourni des vivres et des hardes extraordinaires envoyez de France, la valeur leur en soit decompsee sur le prix de l'achat en France, suivant les comptes et factures d'envoy.

Tant qu'il conviendra pour l'avantage et le soulagement des soldats, et pour le service de Sa Majeste de faire faire tout ou partie des vivres des soldats, le decompse leur en sera aussi fait sur le pied de la valeur des especes en France.

Le major des troupes et le commissaire seront appelez pour les ordres a donner, et les achats a faire desdits vivres, afin qu'ils puissent aider de leur avis et soins pour procurer le meilleur marche au benefice des soldats.

Les vivres seront remis a l'ordinaire des magasins aux capitaines, et la distribution en sera par eux faite dans le temps, et en la quantite qu'il conviendra au service et a une juste oeconomie, en presence du major des troupes et du commissaire dans les temps des reveues, et lorsqu'ils se trouveront dans les quartiers, conjointement et separement, de quoy ils feront l'un et l'autre la verification d'un temps a l'autre avec les soldats pour prevenir et empescher les abus, dont lesdits major et commissaire demeureront responsables;

Et en cas qu'ils decouvrent les malversations au prejudice des soldats, ils en remettront leurs procez verbaux au Gouverneur General et a l'Intendant, pour estre pourveu a la restitution, et d'un chastiment competent, et de cassation en cas de recidive.

Le major des troupes et le commissaire seront aussi appelez avec quelques-uns des principaux officiers des troupes pour regler le decompse des soldats, et ce qui devra leur estre paye en argent qui sera distribue par le major des troupes et le commissaire, conjointement et separement en presence des commandans ausquels l'Intendant donnera connoissance de ce decompse.

Le major des troupes rendra compte au Secretaire d'Etat, ayant le Departement de la Marine de l'execution du contenu au present Reglement, et de ce qui luy paroistra de la conduite et des services des officiers desdites troupes.

Enjoint Sa Majeste au Sieur Comte de Frontenac, Gouverneur et Lieutenant General en Canada et France Septentrionale, et au Sieur de Champigny, Intendant audit pais, conjointement et chacun en droit soy, d'y tenir ponctuellement la main aussi bien qu'a l'execution de l'ordonnance de la Marine des 15 Avril 1689 et des Reglemens des 16 Decembre 1690 et 15 Octobre 1691, en ce qu'ils ne sont pas contraires au present qui sera enregistre publie et affiche partout ou besoin sera, afin que personne n'en ignore.

Fait a Marly le Trente May mil six cens quatre vingt quinze

Signe: Louis Et plus bas Phelypeaux

Imprime

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BRH      Bulletin des recherches historiques  
CHA      Canadian Historical Association  
CHR      Canadian Historical Review  
RAPQ     Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec  
RHAF     Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française  
RSC      Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada

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