

# Michigan's HABITANT

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*Journal of the French-Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan*

Vol. 31 #1

Jan. 2010



**Charles Mercier dit Lajoie,  
Grenadier of the Berry Regiment**

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Drawing of a Berry Grenadier by Joe Lee

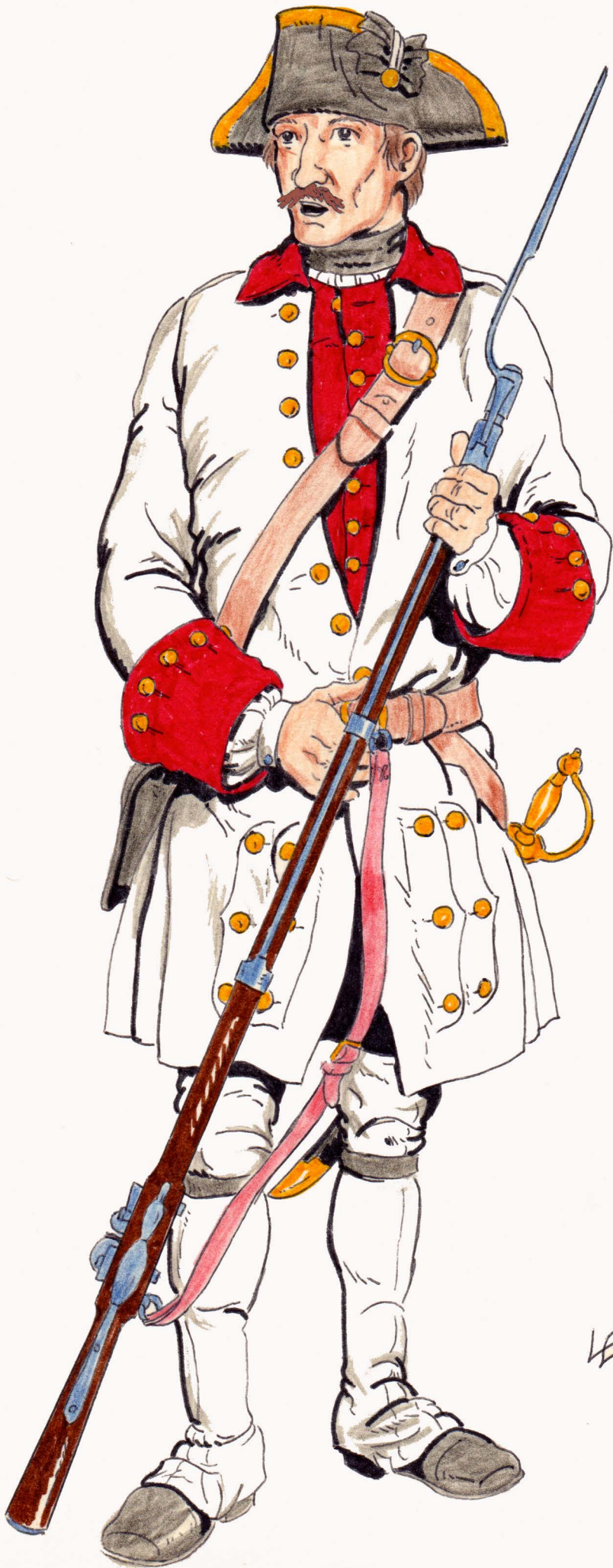
***The Contract***

The French had lost the battle on the Plains of Abraham on 13 September 1759, Québec was held by British forces, and the hollow victory at the Battle of Ste-Foy on 28 April 1760 failed to liberate the city. By May 1760 the future of New France must have appeared bleak to many in the colony. The French army was retreating from Québec to Montréal. And yet, during this turbulent time, two soldiers of the Berry regiment took a break from war at Trois-Rivières to have the notary Louis Pillard draw up a contract:

Sale by Charles Mercier to Jean Bertrand on the 27<sup>th</sup> May 1760

Before the king's notary of the royal jurisdiction of Trois rivieres, here residing and undersigned, and witnesses hereafter, appeared Charles Mercier # (# dit Lajoie) grenadier in the Berry regiment of the company of monsieur Cadillac native of auose jurisdiction of neuf château in Lorraine, who, planning to remain and settle in this colony and in consequence by these presents, sells, relinquishes, cedes, transfers and abandons each and all of the property rights to him bequeathed following the demise of Vincent Mercier, weaver by profession, to whatever sum it may amount to, in whatever form and location that they may be found and situated, with no reservation nor hold back, the said party promising to guarantee by these facts and promises to having neither engaged nor alienated any of the aforesaid rights, to Jean Bertrand dit Bertrand, also sergeant in the said Regiment, company of monsieur the chevalier de Traurout here present and willing purchaser for himself and his heirs having cause in the future to enjoy, do with, dispose of, as he sees fit, by means of these presents and to become uncontested owner. This sale, cession, transport and abandonment made subject to the charges, clauses and conditions herewith; that is that the seller be discharged of all passive debts, judicial costs and all other costs and liabilities that he may be asked of on the subject of this said succession including all seigniorial rights and duties, for the price and sum of seven hundred *livres* that the said purchaser has paid in ready cash, and which sum the said seller has accepted and acknowledged having received and for which he has stated being content and satisfied. For these reasons the said seller has relinquished, abandoned, and ceded all property rights to the purchaser so that the property can be enjoyed in complete ownership in name, reasons, and actions. For such, &c promising &c, binding &c, renouncing &c, made and contracted at trois rivieres in the study of the said notary in the afternoon of the twenty seventh of may of the year seventeen hundred and sixty in the presence of Jean Baptiste Gassien leather coverer and Charles dugué harness maker witnesses residing in this city and who have signed along with the parties and notary ... following its reading according to the ordinance.

C Mercier      Jean Bertrand      Gassien



W.F.  
2

Charle duguy

Pillard  
Royal notary<sup>1</sup>



Signature of Charles Mercier

Sergeant Bertrand apparently returned to France and is lost to obscurity as he was not with the Berry regiment in 1762. Bertrand was a neighbor of Charles Mercier back in Lorraine. Therefore, Bertrand would have been familiar with the family and circumstances which no doubt made him feel comfortable in purchasing Mercier's interest back in Lorraine.<sup>2</sup>

Charles Mercier remained in the colony, married a French-Canadian maiden, and succeeded in establishing a family. Today he has descendants living both in Canada and the United States of America. Despite the ravages of history going on before his very eyes, Charles found New France appealing enough to beguile him into remaining even in the face of certain British occupation.

In this paper I will examine his origins and ancestry in France in Part I, his military career in Part II, and his Canadian family in Part III. In the course of learning about the man perhaps we will gain some insight into his decisions to join the Berry regiment and to remain in Canada.

## **Part I: Origins and Ancestry in France**

### ***Origins***

It is very difficult to read Charles' place of origins in the 1760 sale contract. The Parchemin project mistakenly deduced that he was a native of Toul.<sup>3</sup> However, while it is true that the bailiwick of Neufchâteau was part of the Diocese of Toul, it is not the case that Toul is in the bailiwick of Neufchâteau.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sale between Charles Mercier and Jean Bertrand, Louis Pillard, royal notary, Trois-Rivières, 27 May 1760, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, microfilm no. 1473. The notary's inserts are placed in parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand was born 2 Oct. 1736 at Aouze, the child of Jean Bertrand and Claudinette Jacquot. Marcel Fournier *et al.*, *Combattre pour la France en Amérique: Les soldats de la guerre de Sept Ans en Nouvelle-France 1755-1760* (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 2009), 229. There were Bertrands living in Aouze and the surrounding area before and after 1760. Search of the "Relevés d'Etat-Civil," <http://www.genealogie.com> (2 Jan. 2009) reveals 8698 acts for the surname Bertrand in the Vosges Dept. and 91 in Aouze for the period 1654-1881. As for his alias being the same as his surname, this was not unusual among soldiers who lacked imagination to create a suitable alias or whose comrades or commanding officer failed to provide one. Luc Lépine, "The Military Roots of the 'dit' Names," *Michigan's Habitant Heritage* 25, no. 2 (April 2004): 89-94, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Parchemin database, act no. 220, viewed on a visit to the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal and the Archiv-Histo operations on 20 June 1990. Toul is also what I mistakenly reported for a filler item in the *National Genealogical Quarterly* based on the Parchemin abstract. John P. DuLong, "Even Deserters Used a Notary!," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (Mar. 1994): 16.

<sup>4</sup> Augustin Calmet, *Notice de la Lorraine*, 2 vols. (1756; reprint Paris: Éditions du Palais Royal, 1973), 2: appendix xlv-xlv.

Like many immigrants to New France, his place of origin is recorded in his marriage contract and the entry of his marriage in the parish register. However, it is difficult to decipher this location from these records as well.

The 18 June 1761 marriage contract between Charles and Marie Anne Lahaise, prepared by the royal notary Jean-Baptiste Daguilhe, reads in part (emphasis added):

Before the royal notary of the Royal Jurisdiction of Montreal undersigned, residing at the parish of St pierre du portage on the Lassomption river And witnesses hereafter named, were present Charles Mercier dit La Joy + (+ aged twenty five years J.B.D.) formerly Grenadier of the Regiment of ~~Lassare~~ Berÿ residing at the said place of Lassomption stipulating in this part for himself and in his name of the first part and son of the late Vincent Mercié And of Catherine Gaussard his mother and father residents *of Lauraine in ancient France* And marie archambaux widow formerly of Jean Bapte lahaise when living residing on the Lassomption river seigneurie of ~~Repentigny~~ Lachenaie, and authorized by Joseph Teollier dit le toise her second husband here present, and speaking on behalf of marianne La haise her daughter aged fourteen years here present and with her Consent and agreement of the other part[.] Which said parties here assembled for this purpose[.] And after being named that is on the part of Charles Mercier assisted by Jacques archambaux his friends and on the part of the said Marianne Lahaise assisted by her said mother, by Joseph Theollier her stepfather, by Laurent archambaux her grand father, Angelique Loisot her grandmother, Jean Baptiste Archambaux her uncle, ++ (++) margueritte Archambaux her aunt J.B.D.) have made together the accords and marriage conventions which follow;<sup>5</sup>

Other than mentioning the province of Lorraine, no further details are provided. The 22 June 1761 marriage act from the L'Assomption parish register is more complete and reads (emphasis added):

The year one thousand seven hundred and sixty one the twenty-second June after publishing the banns of marriage from the pulpit at the parish high mass for three consecutive Sundays between Charles Mercier dit Lajoie son of the late Vincent and Catherine gaussard *of the parish of la hause of the diocese tous [toul] in Lorraine* on the one hand, and between Marie-Anne Lahaise daughter of the late Jean Bte Lahaise and Marie archambault of the parish of Saint pierre du portage on the other hand, there being no impediment nor any objection presented upon the certificate of Monsieur the grand vicar the Undersigned missionary Pastor of the said place has received their mutual consent and has given the Nuptial Benediction with the accustomed Ceremonies in the presence of Jacques archambault of Jean Baptiste archambault of joseph tollier and of francois guerinon, who all declared they did not know how to sign as required by the ordinance.

Degeay  
[the parish priest]<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Marriage contract between Charles Mercier dit Lajoie and Marie Anne Lahaise, Jean-Baptiste Daguilhe, notary, L'Assomption, 18 June 1761, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, photocopy in the author's possession. Translation by Paul Lavoie with modifications by the author. The notary's inserts are placed in parentheses.

<sup>6</sup> Civil Copy of the L'Assomption parish register, Archives nationales du Québec, photocopy received 16 May 1991, in the possession of John P. DuLong. Emphasis added. Compared to slightly different wording in the sacramental L'Assomption parish register, FHL microfilm 1018240. Author's translation.

Tanguay does not record a place of origin for Charles, but Leboeuf states that he is from the parish of La Hanse, diocese of Toul, Lorraine.<sup>7</sup> The Programme de recherche en démographie historique (PRDH) database assigns him to the parish of Lahausse, diocese of Toul, Lorraine.<sup>8</sup> However, one will search in vain for a La Hanse or Lahausse parish in the diocese of Toul. Houpert also reads La Hanse, but suggest that this would be Han, a small hamlet in Lorraine.<sup>9</sup> However, Han apparently lacks a parish church and Charles is clear in stating his *parish* of origin.

In contrast to the others who clearly read Charles' province of origins as Lorraine, Ernest Mercier, the genealogist of the Mercier families of Québec, was confident that he was from the province of Touraine and not Lorraine. He claimed that Charles must be from the parish of Beaumont-La-Ronce in the diocese of Tour.<sup>10</sup> Clearly, this theory conflicts with the 1760 sale contract and the 1761 marriage record and contract.

Fortunately, the Cercle généalogique des Vosges in Lorraine has been abstracting and digitizing the parish registers of their department. Using the Genealogie.com website a search on the surname Mercier in department of Vosges resulted in the discovery of Aouze (or Aouze) and its parish dedicated to St-Vincent.<sup>11</sup> Recall that Charles' father is named Vincent and he was, like several other Vincents in the town, named after the parish saint. The difficult phrase to decipher in the 1760 sale contract, namely, "*natif dauose*," requires only slight modification to become "*natif d'Aouze*."

While the 1760 sale contract indicates that Charles once resided in Aouze, and he considered that town as his place of origin, that is not where he was born. It is nearby Removille, 2.8 kilometers from Aouze, which can claim that honor.<sup>12</sup> Both towns are located in the Vosges Department.

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<sup>7</sup> J.-Arthur Leboeuf, *Complément au Dictionnaire Généalogique Tanguay*, 2 vols. in 1 (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 1977): 2:318.

<sup>8</sup> Programme de recherche en démographie historique, <http://www.genealogie.umontreal.ca/en>, online subscription database, hereinafter PRDH, cert. no. 286597.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Houpert, *Les Lorrains en Amérique du nord* (Sherbrooke: Éditions Naaman, 1985), 64, n. 8, citing Calmet, *Notice de Lorraine*, 1:544. Letter from Hubert Collin, Directeur des services, Archives de Meurthe et Moselle, to John P. DuLong, 27 Oct. 1989, also suggest that the place might be Han. This location is only a seigneurie in the bailiwick of Neufchâteau.

<sup>10</sup> Ernest Mercier, *Mercier depuis des siècles* (Québec [Province] : Impr. H.L.N. in collaboration with L'Association des Mercier d'Amérique du nord, 1987), 242.

<sup>11</sup> Aouze or Avouze was in the provostship of Chatenois (Châtenoy), marquisate of Removille, bailiwick of Neufchâteau. Calmet, *Notice de Lorraine*, 1:xi, xviii, 2:appendix xlv.

<sup>12</sup> Removille is also in the provostship of Chatenois and the bailiwick of Neufchâteau. Calmet, *Notice de Lorraine*, 2:321-322, appendix xlv-xlv.



Aouze and Removille, Cesar-Francois Cassini, *Carte de France levée par ordre du Roy*, 1763, no. 112

Charles was baptized on 17 February 1735 in the parish of Removille, the home of his mother's family, the Gossards.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Unfortunately, the entry for Charles Mercier in the Fichier Origine project, which records the place of origins for immigrants to New France, is marred by several mistakes. Although Fichier Origine correctly records Charles' birth, it errors in giving the alias as Lajoine; it has the baptism date wrong; it incorrectly identifies the place as Remoiville, Meuse Department, Lorraine; and it is chronologically off when it states that Charles first appeared in the land in 1755. Fichier Origine, "MERCIER / LAJOINE, Charles 330025," <http://www.fichierorigine.com> (22 Nov. 2008). Romain Belleau submitted the data to the project. Corrections were sent to Fichier Origine in Dec. 2008. Email John P. DuLong to Michel Fournier, Fichier Origine: Corrections for Charles Mercier's Entry, 10 Dec. 2008, and Fichier Origine: Two More Corrections for Charles Mercier's Entry, 11 Dec. 2008.



Happoncourt

Couécourt

Couzey

Saulrué

Frehecourt

Moulsen

Noneourt

Rebeuville

Bois de

Brancourt

S. Flophe

Enize

Bois de

Hatro

Kollanville

NEUFCHATEAU

Noneourt

Rebeuville

Ceruillicux

Tallicux

Autony

Bois de

Roussin

B. de Neufav

D. de W. lanché

B. de F. O. S. Bernard

B. de Rouvre

Ceruillicux

Landaville

Angneville

Barville

Houeville

B. de Neufav

D. de W. lanché

Bois de

S. Dominique

Rouvre

Mirecourt

Arville

la Hayevoué

Bois

d'Angneville

Bois

le Fav

Fourneau

Removille

Vouzey

Dollancourt

Courcelles

Mont de

Rupt

Valaucourt

la Curtille

Chatenoy

Bois

le Fav

Fourneau

Removille

Vouzey

Dollancourt

Courcelles

Mont de

Rupt

Valaucourt

la Curtille

Chatenoy

Bois

Surelle

le Fav

Removille

Vouzey

Dollancourt

Courcelles

Mont de

Rupt

Valaucourt

la Curtille

Chatenoy

Gemonville

Bois

le Fav

Surelle

le Fav

Removille

Vouzey

Dollancourt

Courcelles

Mont de

Rupt

Valaucourt

la Curtille

Chatenoy

Bois

le Fav

Surelle

le Fav

Removille

Vouzey

Dollancourt

Courcelles

Mont de

Rupt

Valaucourt

la Curtille

Chatenoy

Bois

le Fav

Surelle

le Fav

Removille

Vouzey

Dollancourt

Courcelles

Mont de

Rupt

Valaucourt

la Curtille

Chatenoy

*Removille*  
Charles fils Legitime de Vincent Mercier et de Catherine  
Gossard son épouse paroissiens de Removille le 16<sup>e</sup> le  
sixième jour du mois de fevrier del'an mil sept cent trente  
cinq et a esté baptizé le dixseptième dudit mois par moy  
George Ginet prestre et curé de laditte paroisse deuffigné  
Lequel a eu pour parrain Jean Mercier de la paroisse d'auze  
et pour marraine Amie Mourot dudit Removille souffigné  
Marquée avec moy J. mercier *Marquet + Dame Mourot*

Baptism record for Charles Mercier, 17 Feb. 1735, Removille

Charles legitimate son of Vincent Mercier and of Catherine Gossard his spouse parishioners of Removille is born the Sixteenth day of the month of February the year one thousand seven hundred thirty Five and has been baptized the seventeenth of the said month by me George Ginet priest and pastor of the said parish undersigned For who he had as godfather Jean Mercier of the parish of Aouze And for Godmother Amie Mourot of the said Removille undersigned and Marked with me.

J mercier

Mark + lady  
Mourot

### Family in France

Now, knowing where Charles was born and raised, it is relatively easy to trace his ancestry in the records of Removille, Aouze, and neighboring villages.<sup>14</sup>

1. CHARLES MERCIER DIT LAJOIE, son of Vincent Mercier and Catherine Gossard, born 16 February 1735, baptized 17 February 1735, Removille, Vosges Department, Lorraine, France.<sup>15</sup>
2. VINCENT MERCIER, son of François Mercier and Marie Tabellion, born 19 January 1709, baptized 20 January 1709, Aouze, Vosges Department, Lorraine, France,<sup>16</sup> died 11 August 1749, buried 13 August 1749, near the door of the parish church, St-Vincent, Aouze, reported age of 45.<sup>17</sup> Engaged to

<sup>14</sup> Only the ancestors of Charles are presented here, but thanks to the work of French genealogists who post to Geneanet.org, in particular Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54> (8 Feb. 2009) it is easy to find the children of all these ancestral couples.

<sup>15</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647 (the parish registers used in this research rarely record a folio number). Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 11400103072808310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, f. 4v. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 111400103082208310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410056067008310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008). The database has the date of death as the 7<sup>th</sup>, but the original records shows it was the 11<sup>th</sup>.

**CATHERINE GOSSARD**, 21 February 1734, Removille,<sup>18</sup> and married 2 March 1734, Removille.<sup>19</sup> He was able to sign his name, but it is barely legible. In his marriage record his residence is stated to be Aouze. His occupation was weaver.<sup>20</sup>

3. **CATHERINE GOSSARD**, daughter of Jean Gossard and Françoise Guille, born 7 August 1702, baptized 8 August 1702, Removille<sup>21</sup> died probably before 27 May 1760.<sup>22</sup> Widow of **CHARLES ROUSSEL**, son of Charles Roussel and Marguerite Lambert, born 10 September 1702, baptized 11 September 1702, Removille,<sup>23</sup> died before 15 August 1730, married 8 November 1729, Removille.<sup>24</sup> She signed with a mark.

Vincent Mercier and Catherine Gossard apparently only had one child: Charles. No other child is found for them in the parish registers of Removille or Aouze. However, Catherine did give birth to Charles Didier Roussel, whom she had with her first husband. He was born on 15 August 1730, Removille.<sup>25</sup> His father is noted as being deceased on the baptism record of 16 August 1730. There is no further mention of Charles Didier Roussel in the parish registers of either Removille or Aouze; he presumably died young.

4. **FRANÇOIS MERCIER**, son of François Mercier and Élisabeth Duval, baptized 24 August 1680, Aouze,<sup>26</sup> died 8 April 1733, Aouze, buried near the door of the parish church, age recorded as being 60.<sup>27</sup> Married to **MARIE TABELLION**, 15 January 1704, Aouze.<sup>28</sup> He was a laborer, that is, a ploughman.

5. **MARIE TABELLION**,<sup>29</sup> daughter of Charles Tabellion and Marie Dubut, born about 1670, probably at Autreville, Vosges Department, Lorraine, France, died 27 March 1759, buried 28 March 1759, Aouze, age of 89.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. It is not uncommon to find announcements of engagements in the Removille and Aouze parish registers.

<sup>19</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de mariage, no. 111420033389708310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>20</sup> His occupation is also mentioned in his son's 1760 sales contract and on his burial record.

<sup>21</sup> There are two records of her baptism found in the parish register. Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 111400062966808310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>22</sup> No record of her death is found in the parish registers of either Aouze or Removille. Although she is not specifically mentioned as being deceased in June 1761 when her son marries, it would seem likely that she was dead by May 1760 when Charles sold off his property rights back in Lorraine without mentioning her interests.

<sup>23</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 111400132485808310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>24</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de mariage, no. 111420042666808310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>25</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 111400132246208310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 111400103103208310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, f. 19v. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410056068208310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>28</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, f. 8r. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de mariage, no. 111420033401408310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Tabellion data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=marie+marguerite;n=tabellion;oc=1> (8 Feb. 2009), records her name as Marie Marguerite Tabellion.

<sup>30</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, f. 9r. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410075688108310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

6. **JEAN GOSSARD OR GOSSART**, born about 1672, died 25 June 1747, Removille, age about 75 years.<sup>31</sup> Married **FRANÇOISE GUILLE**, before 26 September 1700.<sup>32</sup>

7. **FRANÇOISE GUILLE**, born about 1675, died 25 December 1745, buried 26 December 1745, Removille, age 70 years.<sup>33</sup>

8. **FRANCOIS MERCIER DIT DEULOTTE**,<sup>34</sup> son of Claude Deulotte dit Mercier and Élisabeth Munier, baptized 28 May 1650, Aouze,<sup>35</sup> died 15 February 1680, buried 16 February 1680, Aouze, age reported as 28 years.<sup>36</sup> Married to **ÉLISABETH DUVAL**, 11 February 1676, Aouze.<sup>37</sup> Mayor of Aouze.<sup>38</sup>

9. **ÉLISABETH DUVAL OR DU VAL**, daughter of Claude Duval and Catherine Thérèse Mathiot, born about 1644, probably at Removille, died 2 September 1714, Aouze, buried near the door of the parish church, age given as about 70 years.<sup>39</sup> She remarried to **CLAUDE LAURENSAU OR LAURENSOT**, 19 September 1684, Aouze, widow of Catherine Gugin,<sup>40</sup> born about 1644, from Liffol le Grand, Vosges Department, Lorraine, France, died 12 May 1694, buried 13 May 1694, Aouze, age about 50.<sup>41</sup>

10. **CHARLES TABELLION**, son of Nicolas Tabellion and Barbe Tricheux, born about 1650, he resided in Autreville in 1674, died 9 November 1705, buried 10 November 1705, Autreville, age about 55.<sup>42</sup> Married (1) to **MARIE DUBUT**, 29 April 1674, Harmonville, Vosges Department, Lorraine, France,<sup>43</sup> and

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<sup>31</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410034214408310, <http://genealogie.com> (25 Nov. 2008). On this record and his wife's burial record he is called Jean Gossard *l'ainé*, the eldest.

<sup>32</sup> They would have been married before the birth of their eldest son Louis at Removille on this date. Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 1114006297008310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410036808608310, <http://genealogie.com> (22 Nov. 2008). There is some confusion on her surname, which is usually recorded as Guille, but on two records her surname is noted as Michel: her daughter Catherine Gossard's marriage to Charles Roussel on 8 Nov. 1729, Removille, Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647, and her son Joseph Gossard's marriage to Catherine Poirer, 4 May 1733, Aouze, Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, f. 11r. Her surname is Guille or missing at the baptisms of her children: Louis Gossard, 26 Sept. 1700, Catherine Gossard, 8 August 1702, (two records for this baptism with one missing her surname) Claude Gossard, 26 Oct. 1704 (her surname is missing), Nicolas Gossard, 1 Oct. 1706, François Gossard, 4 July 1709, Charles Gossard, 3 Aug. 1710, François Gossard, 7 Apr. 1712, Étienne Gossard, 3 May 1715, Jeanne Gossard, 16 Mar. 1717, all at Removille, Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647.

<sup>34</sup> The alias is also spelled as Delotte.

<sup>35</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 111400103115808310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>36</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410056081208310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>37</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de mariage, no. 111420033398208310, <http://genealogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>38</sup> According to his burial record.

<sup>39</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, ff. 19v-20r. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410025758708310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>40</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de mariage, no. 111420027461408310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>41</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318, f. 2r. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410045949108310, <http://genealogie.com> (25 Nov. 2008).

<sup>42</sup> Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282, f. 3r. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410075684208310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>43</sup> Parish Register of Harmonville, FHL microfilm 1114519. Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282. Harmonville and Autreville appear to have been joint parishes administered by the same priests but with separate

(2) **CATHERINE ALLA**, about 1689, daughter of François Alla and Claude Bergerot,<sup>44</sup> born about 1656, died 21 March 1706, buried 22 March 1706 Autreville, age about 50.<sup>45</sup>

**11. MARIE DUBUT OR DU BUT**, daughter of Claude Dubut and Catherine Elophe,<sup>46</sup> born about 1650, at her wedding she was noted as being from Harmonville, died 10 September 1688, Autreville,<sup>47</sup> age about 38.<sup>48</sup>

**16. CLAUDE DEULOTTE DIT MERCIER**, born about 1609, probably at Aouze, died at the break of day, buried 1 May 1689, Aouze, age given as about 80 years.<sup>49</sup> Married to **YVETTE MUNIER** about 1644.<sup>50</sup>

**17. ÉLISABETH OR ISABELLE OR YVETTE MUNIER**, born about 1620, and died about 1676, resident of Aouze.<sup>51</sup>

**18. CLAUDE DUVAL**, born about 1620, probably at Removille, died 22 June 1688, buried 23 June 1688, Removille.<sup>52</sup> Married to **CATHERINE THÉRÈSE MATHIOT**, about 16 August 1644, Aouze.<sup>53</sup>

**19. CATHERINE THÉRÈSE MATHIOT**, born 1620, and died, 1696, of Removille.<sup>54</sup>

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parish registers recording events in both parishes. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de mariage, no. 111420044594708310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>44</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Alla data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=catherine;n=alla> (8 Feb. 2009) provides the names of her parents.

<sup>45</sup> Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282, f. 2r. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410000544808310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>46</sup> The father of Marie Dubut is mentioned on her marriage record, but not her mother. According to Calin, both are named in her marriage contract with Charles Tabellion prepared by the notary Grosdidier on 12 Aug. 1674. Oddly, this contract was made after their marriage when the custom was to have the marriage contract drawn up before the wedding. From Calin's notes: Charles was assisted by Claude Hocquaille and Nicolas Poirot of Harmonville, his cousins, while Marie was assisted by Pierre Dubus of Vitry, her uncle, Jean Husson of Harmonville her brother-in-law, Simon Oudot, a weaver of Autreville, and Gérard Olry, her distant cousins on her mother's side. Both of her parents were recorded as deceased, but her mother did not die until 1688. Nicolas Tabellion, father of the groom, Gengouit Mangin, uncle of the groom, Jean Husson, brother-in-law of the bride, and Simon Oudot, cousin of the bride witnessed the contract. Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Dubut data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=marie;n=dubut> (8 Feb. 2009)

<sup>47</sup> Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410024427908310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>48</sup> No age at death is presented on her burial record at Autreville, however, Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Dubut data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=marie;n=dubut> (8 Feb. 2009), provides an estimate of her age and birth year.

<sup>49</sup> Parish Register of Aouze, FHL microfilm 1077318. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410056111508310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>50</sup> Marriage year estimate from Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Mercier data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=clauden=mercier;oc=5> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>51</sup> According Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Munier data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=yvette;n=munier> (22 Dec. 2008), her name was Yvette Munier. He also provides estimates for her birth and death.

<sup>52</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410025802608310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>53</sup> This marriage is not found in the parish register of Aouze. See Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Duval data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=clauden=duval> (22 Dec. 2008).

<sup>54</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Mathiot data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=catherine+therese;n=mathiot> (21 Nov. 2008).

20. **NICOLAS TABELLION**, son of Nicolas Tabellion and Idotte Jammon, born about 1628, died 7 October 1688, Autreville, age about 60.<sup>55</sup> Married (1) to **BARBE TRICHEUX**, about 1647, probably at Autreville,<sup>56</sup> and (2) **IDOTTE JEANNON**, marriage contract made in 1679 before the notary Fleuriot.<sup>57</sup> He made a will dated 1 June perhaps in 1670 before the notary Grosdidier naming his children Philippe, Charles, and Claude.<sup>58</sup>

21. **BARBE TRICHEUX**, born about 1628, probably at Harmonville, died 4 April 1679, Autreville,<sup>59</sup> age about 51 years.<sup>60</sup>

22. **CLAUDE DUBUT OR DU BUT**, born before 1624, and died before 1661, probably at Harmonville. Married to **CATHERINE ELOPHE**, about 1644, probably at Harmonville.<sup>61</sup>

23. **CATHERINE ELOPHE**, born before 1624,<sup>62</sup> died 27 December 1688, Harmonville.<sup>63</sup>

40. **NICOLAS TABELLION**, married **IDOTTE JAMMON**.

41. **IDOTTE JAMMON**, born before 1610, died 7 April 1694, Autreville.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de décès, no. 111410075683508310, <http://genealogie.com> (14 Dec. 2008).

<sup>56</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Tabellion data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=nicolas;n=tabellion;oc=1> Mercier data, <http://geneanet.org> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>57</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Tabellion data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=nicolas;n=tabellion;oc=1> Mercier data, <http://geneanet.org> (21 Nov. 2008). Philippe and Charles Tabellion and Master Claude Brabant, of Harmonville and Aouze, the sons and son-in-law of Nicholas Tabellion were witnesses for the groom, for the bride the witnesses were Claude Hocquaille and Demenge Vairel her cousins and Henry Etienne, another relative.

<sup>58</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Tabellion data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=nicolas;n=tabellion;oc=1> Mercier data, <http://geneanet.org> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>59</sup> Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282.

<sup>60</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Tricheux data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=barbe;n=tricheux> (21 Nov. 2008), provides an estimate of her age.

<sup>61</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Dubut data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=clauden=dubut> (21 Nov. 2008), provides these estimated dates.

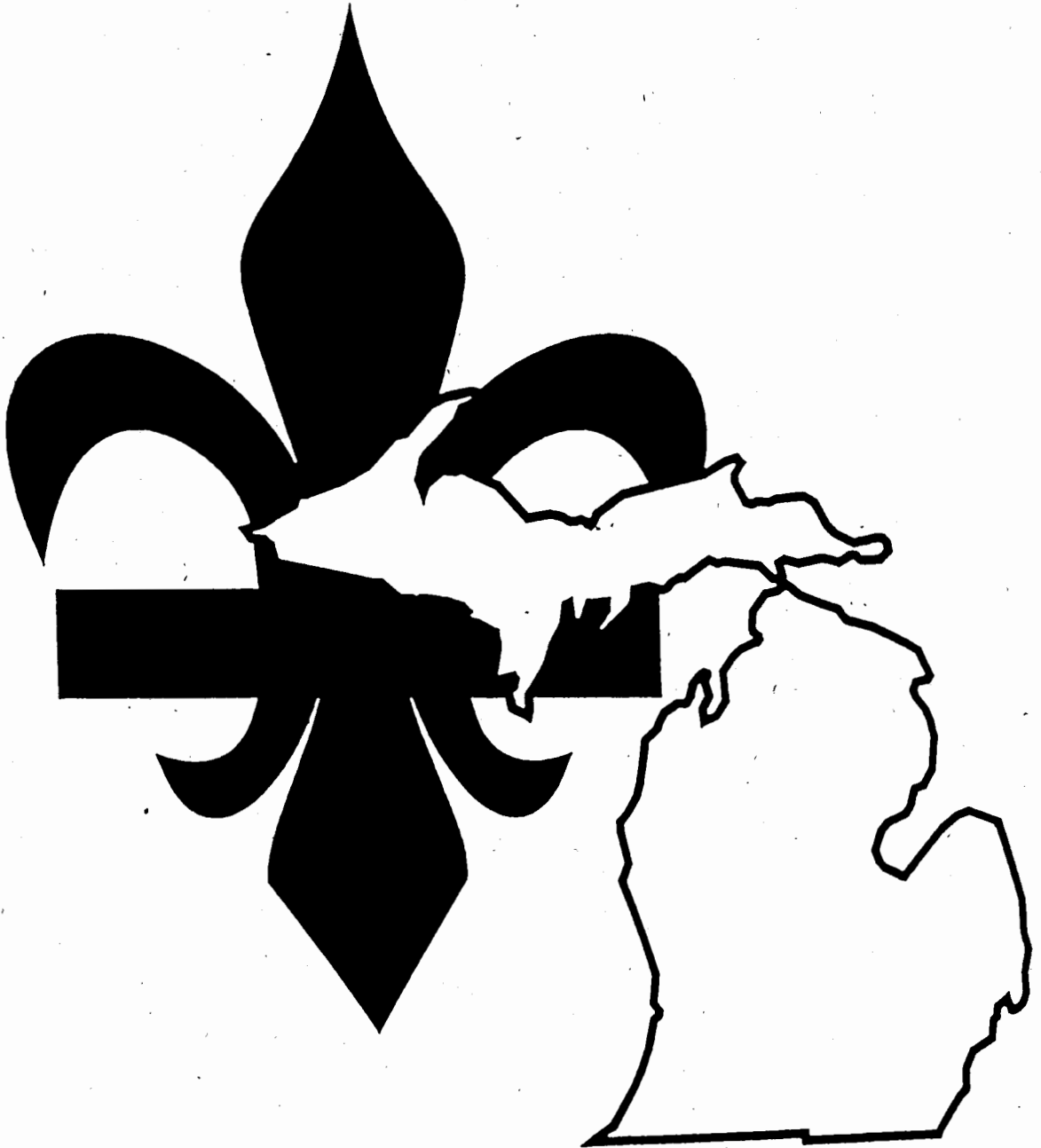
<sup>62</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Elophe data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=400;p=catherine;n=elophe> (21 Nov. 2008), provides an estimate of her birth year.

<sup>63</sup> Parish Register of Harmonville, FHL microfilm 1114519. Parish Register of Autreville, FHL microfilm 1077282.

<sup>64</sup> Michel Calin, Online Family Tree, Jammon data, <http://gw0.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=calin54&lang=en;iz=401;p=idotte;n=jammon> (22 Nov. 2008), provides an estimate of her birth year.

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*Journal of the French-Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan*

Vol. 31 #2

Apr. 2010



## Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie, Grenadier of the Berry Regiment

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### Part II: Military Career

It is unfortunate that the military archives in France lack any detailed personnel records for Charles.<sup>1</sup> This is not uncommon for enlisted men. Nevertheless, his career in the Berry regiment may be pieced together by discovering rare mentions of his service in other records and examining the role of his unit in the campaigns of the Seven Years' War in Canada. We can not always trace his individual movements, but we certainly can follow the movement and actions of his regiment, its officers, and its soldiers.

### Berry Regiment

The Berry regiment was created 2 September 1684.<sup>2</sup> The regiment, at least its 1<sup>st</sup> battalion, had seen much action in France's European wars, mostly in Flanders, Italy, and Germany. Unlike most French regiments with just two battalions, the Berry had three battalions in 1757. The surviving *Contrôles de troupes* for the regiment never mention a 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion, but the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion was listed in 1748, 1749, and 1762.<sup>3</sup> Presumably, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion was raised around 1757. According to René Chartrand, a leading Canadian military historian, the battalions sent to Canada were filled with raw recruits, and this certainly would have been the case with the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion, if not the 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>4</sup> During the

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<sup>1</sup> Le Projet Montcalm was able to retrieve the limited available information regarding Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie, apparently under the surname Marry, from archives in France. Marcel Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique* (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 2009), 473. However, the author's [DuLong] earlier effort to acquire this information failed. Letter from General Robert Bassac, Chef du Service historique de l'armée de terre, Château de Vincennes, to John P. DuLong, 19 November 1987. Bassac reported that Charles's name is not mentioned in the *contrôles de troupes* for the Berry regiment. The *contrôles de troupes* are regimental review rolls done to verify the number of actual soldiers in the unit. It is one of the few places that will list individual enlisted men during the eighteenth century. These records are in the 1Yc sub-series, personnel records, at the Service historique du département de l'Armée de terre in France. They have not been microfilmed. It is worthwhile asking for a search of these records as they might mention the soldier's parents, birthplace, provide a physical description, the enlistment date, and the length of his enlistment. Unfortunately, not all of these records have survived for every regiment at every point in its existence. Charles is apparently missing from those rolls that survive for the Berry regiment, at least according to Bassac, but where Le Projet Montcalm was able to locate the personnel record for Charles is not cited. The Service historique de l'Armée (France), series X, Archives des corps de troupe, which contains regimental information, is on microfilm rcel F-787 at the Library and Archives Canada and was also checked for this report, but no mention of Charles was found. Most records during the eighteenth century are going to mention officers and not soldiers. For more information about tracing military ancestors from the Seven Years' War, and an example of a personnel record for a soldier, see Suzanne Galaise, "Retrouver un ancêtre soldat de la guerre de Sept Ans et les Archives militaires françaises," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique-canadienne française* 59, no. 3, issue 257 (Autumn 2008), 193-198. Also see her chapter "Retrouver un ancêtre soldat dans les Archives militaires françaises," in Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 145-149.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française*, 8 vols. (Paris: Librairie militaire, maritime et polytechnique, 1849-1853), 8:216-217. Malchelosse, "Milice et Troupes," *Cahier des Dix*, no. 14 (1949), 141.

<sup>3</sup> André Corvisier, *Les contrôles de troupes de l'Ancien Régime*, 4 vols. (Paris: Ministère des Armées, État-major de l'Armée de Terre, Service historique, 1970), 2:61-63. This is the key reference for locating surviving regimental rolls.

<sup>4</sup> René Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758: Montcalm's Victory Against All Odds* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, Campaign series, no. 76, 2000), 24.

Seven Years' War the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion remained in France and was assigned to guard the coast of Bretagne.<sup>5</sup> However, royal officials decided to send the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions of the Berry regiment into overseas service.<sup>6</sup> In 1757, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Jean Baptiste de Trivio and the 3<sup>rd</sup> by Lieutenant Colonel Marie Joseph Toussaint de Carnay, vicomte de Trécesson.<sup>7</sup>

The Berry regiment was organized somewhat differently from the other metropolitan French regiments. Most French regiments had one or two battalions organized into 12 fusilier companies with 43 officers and soldiers per company and one grenadier company with 48 officers and soldiers.<sup>8</sup> However, the Berry regiment, in addition to having three battalions, each of which was organized into eight companies, of fusiliers and one company of grenadiers per battalion, with 63 officers and soldiers per company. The reason for this different formation is that the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions were originally destined to serve in India and this organization is what was used by the French East Indian units at Pondicherry.<sup>9</sup>

### Composition of the Berry Regiment<sup>10</sup>

Position in the French army:	The Berry ranked in seniority as the 71 <sup>st</sup> regiment out of 121 French and Foreign infantry line regiments in French service in 1758. <sup>11</sup>
Regimental Level:	1 Colonel, mostly an honorary position, with an <i>état-major</i> (regimental staff) <sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française*, 8: 217. In 1757, the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion was stationed at Quimper, Bretagne. Corvisier, *Contrôles de troupes*, 2:62.

<sup>6</sup> There is some confusion in several published sources because they refer to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> battalions respectively. One must use caution in reading the sources to verify which battalion is actually being referred to when the 2<sup>nd</sup> is mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Yves Bronze, *Les morts de la guerre de Sept Ans au Cimetière de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec* (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2001), 46.

<sup>8</sup> René Chartrand, *Québec: The Heights of Abraham 1759, the Armies of Wolfe and Montcalm* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, Order of Battle series, no. 3, 1999), 9. A fusilier is a soldier armed with a fusil, that is, a flint-lock musket.

<sup>9</sup> Henri-Raymond Casgrain, ed., *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 12 vols. (Montréal and Québec: C. O. Beauchemin & files and Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & frère, 1889-1895), 7:303. Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 24.

<sup>10</sup> This table is based in part on the one found in Chartrand, *Québec*, 9. In 1758, the Colonel of the regiment was the marquis de Contades, the Lieutenant-Colonel (probably of the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion) was Valentin de Piat (who also held the rank of Brigadier), and the Major was Joseph de La Carry de Mauleon. *État militaire de France, pour l'année 1758* (Paris: Guillyn Libraire, Michel Lambert, and Nicolas-Bonaventure Duchesen, 1758), 167, which only reports two battalions. Georges Gaspard François Auguste Jean-Baptiste, marquis de Contades, had purchased the Berry regiment on 17 February 1746. He was the son of Louis Georges Erasme, marquis de Contades, the Marshal of France and commander of the French forces fighting in Germany during a portion of the Seven Years' War. Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française*, 8: 217. *Table de la Gazette de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de la Gazette de France, 1766-1768), 2:21. Célestin Port, *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire* (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1878), 736-737. François Armand Léonor d'Hugues, marquis de Vaumeilh, purchased the regiment on 3 March 1759. *Annuaire de la Noblesse de France* (1862), 167. *Table de la Gazette de France*, 2:235. "Berry Infanterie," Project SYW [Seven Years' War] Wikipedia, [http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php?title=Berry\\_Infanterie](http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php?title=Berry_Infanterie), (19 December 2008). The officers of the regiment can be traced in the records found under Berry and Aquitaine in Service historique de l'Armée (France), series X, Archives des corps de troupe, Library and Archives Canada, microfilm reel F-787.

<sup>11</sup> "French Army," Project SYW [Seven Years' War] Wikipedia, [http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php?title=French\\_Army](http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php?title=French_Army), (19 December 2008)

Battalion Level:	3 battalions per this regiment, 1 <sup>st</sup> remained in France, the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> were posted to Canada.
Staff per Battalion:	1 Lieutenant-Colonel (field commander) 1 Aide-Major 1 Ensign 1 Surgeon Major 1 Drum Major
Company Level:	1 Grenadier and 8 Fusilier companies per battalion
Staff per Company:	1 Captain 1 Lieutenant 1 Second-Lieutenant 3 Sergeants 4 Corporals 4 <i>Anspessades</i> (Lance Corporals) 1 Drummer 48 Privates

To help the reader identify the battalion other soldiers in which the Berry regiment served, the following table is provided:

<b>Captains of the Berry Regiment<sup>13</sup></b>	
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion</b>
On arrival in Canada:	On arrival in Canada:
Fouilhac (grenadiers)	Villemontes (grenadiers)
<b>Foulhiac</b> de Prengères, Jean-Paul	Rieges de <b>Villemontes</b> , Jean-Baptiste
Béraud	Châteauneuf

<sup>12</sup> In 1748, the *état-major* for the Berry regiment, which only had two battalions at that time, would have consisted of a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a battalion, a Major commanding the other battalion, two Aides-Majors, a *Maréchal des logis* (sergeant), an *Aumônier* (chaplain), a *Chirurgien* (surgeon), a *Greffier* (clerk), an *Archer* (military police), and an *Exécuteur* (executioner of justice). *État général des troupes de France sur pied en mai 1748* (Reprint ed., Paris: Edmond Dubois, 1901), 42, 47, 71. René Chartrand, *Louis XV's Army (2) French Infantry* (London: Osprey, Men-at-Arms Series, no. 302, 1996), 6. The Berry, unlike some other regiments, lacked an *Auditeur* (Auditor), a *Prévôt* (Provost), a *Lieutenant-Prévôt*, and a *Quartier-maître* (Quarter Master). J. L. Vial, "Infanterie française durant la Guerre de sept ans,"

[http://vial.jean.free.fr/new\\_npi/revues\\_npi/2\\_1998/npi\\_298/2\\_binf\\_org\\_.htm](http://vial.jean.free.fr/new_npi/revues_npi/2_1998/npi_298/2_binf_org_.htm) (30 December 2008). Lastly, it appears most of the staff stayed in France, but a *Chirurgien major* (surgeon major) and a *Tambour major* (drum major) accompanied each battalion to Canada. Also, there were two Lieutenant-Colonels in command of the battalions and no Major. Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, item 112.

<sup>13</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 39-49, 101-111. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 62. The officers, being mostly nobles, were often known by only one of their names marked in bold. The careers of these officers can be found in the biographical section of the *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*.

<b>Béraud</b> , François-Nicolas	Gaufreteau du <b>Châteauneuf</b> , François
Cadillac	Coste
Preissac d'Esclignac de <b>Cadillac</b> , Henri	<b>Costes</b> , Pierre
Cambray	Goffreteau
<b>Cambray</b> [d'Anetoville?], Louis-Henri de	<b>Gaufreteau</b> du Châteauneuf, Jean-Jacques
Darlens	La Bresme
Preissac d' <b>Arlens</b> , Jean-Gérard	Alarose de <b>la Bresne</b> , Gilbert
Milhau	Revigliasc [Révillard]
<b>Milhau</b> , François	Cologne de <b>Revigliasc</b> de Veyne, Humbert
Pennelau	St-Félix
Lentivy de <b>Pennelan</b> , Jacques-Louis	Cassaigneau de <b>St-Félix</b> , Pierre
Preissac	Sigoins
<b>Preissac</b> de Bonneau, Louis	<b>Sigoins</b> de Châteauneuf de Roubeaud,
Troroux	François
Kermarec de <b>Traurout</b> , Pierre	Surimeau
	Avice de Mougou de <b>Surimeau</b> , Michel-
	Marie-Charles
Promoted to command a company in Canada (year of promotion):	Promoted to command a company in Canada (year of promotion):
Bruilly (1760)	Beauchamp (1758)
Barouche de <b>Bruilly</b> [Laroche], Pierre	<b>Bonchamp</b> , Pierre-Philippe
Dupont (1757)	Chantilly (1759)
Carsalade <b>du Pont</b> , Jacques-Joseph	Jau de <b>Chantigné</b> , Charles-François
	Couespel (1760)
	<b>Couëspel</b> , François-Antoine
	Mesnard (1759)
	<b>Mesnard</b> , Magdeleine-Christophe-Elzéar

The uniform of the Berry soldiers consisted of a grey-white great coat and breeches. The great coat had a red collar and cuffs with five brass buttons as well as two distinctive vertical pockets with three brass buttons on each pocket. The waistcoat was double-breasted and red. A black tricorne hat with gold trim would top the uniformed soldier. The bayonet and sword scabbards were black and the cartridge box, called a *giberne*, held only 30 cartridges, and all straps and belts were buff colored.<sup>14</sup> The soldiers were armed with a smooth-bore .69 caliber musket, most likely the Model 1746 or possibly the Model 1754 Charleville.<sup>15</sup>

The grenadiers were the shock troops of the eighteenth century infantry. Usually the best men were selected for this elite unit. They were the youngest, tallest, and bravest in the regiment and had to be between the ages of 20 and 40.<sup>16</sup> By the 1750s, the grenadiers rarely were armed with grenades. To make

<sup>14</sup> *État militaire de France, pour l'année 1758*, 167. Chartrand, *Québec*, 21. Chartrand, *Louis XV's Army (2) French Infantry*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Houlding, *French Arms Drill of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (Bloomfield, Ontario: Museum Restoration Service, Historical Arms Series, no. 19, 1988), 14. Edward P. Hamilton, *The French Army in America* (Ottawa: Museum Restoration Service, Historical Arms Series, no. 7, 1967), 5-7. Edward J. Anderson *et al.*, *The Military Arms of Canada* (Bloomfield, Ontario: Museum Restoration Service, Historical Arms series, no. 11963), 16.

<sup>16</sup> Jack L. Summers and René Chartrand, *Military Uniforms in Canada 1665-1970* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, Canadian War Museum, Historical Publication No. 16), 181. Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (New York: Atheneum, 1988), 132-133. Lucien Mouillard, *Les régiments sous Louis XV: constitution de tous les corps de troupes à la solde de France pendant les guerres de succession à l'empire et de sept*

them distinct, and to add to their esprit de corps, the grenadiers were encouraged to grow moustaches, to carry sabers rather than swords, and each had a larger cartridge box.<sup>17</sup> Otherwise, the gear of the grenadiers was identical with the fusiliers. Lastly, the grenadiers were paid better than fusiliers.<sup>18</sup>

Like all other French regiments, the Berry carried several colors or flags. The first was the colonel's colors, which typically consisted of a white flag with a white cross. In addition, the Berry had at least five ordinance colors, the battalion's unique colors, which consisted of a white cross and four violet quarters with an isabelle (a buff or yellow color) vertical bar across each quarter.<sup>19</sup> These flags were all 180 cm square and the staff was usually embellished with a white silk scarf and gold tasseled cords that would be removed while campaigning.<sup>20</sup> Charles would have been very familiar with his regimental flags and had been prepared to defend them.

Although named after a French province, it would be a mistake to assume most of the soldiers in the regiment came from Berry. Like most regiments, the Berry took recruits from wherever they were stationed. Most recruits came from urban centers, particularly Paris, and only about a third were from rural areas.<sup>21</sup> Recruiters would have preferred a country youth like Charles over riffraff from a city. Before Charles joined the regiment, it was assigned to the northeast and east regions of France. In 1749, the Berry regiment was located at Valenciennes, French Flanders.<sup>22</sup> By 1753, the Berry regiment was stationed at the French fortress of Saarlouis in present-day Germany.<sup>23</sup> This fortress town was built in the 1680s by the great military architect, Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, to protect Louis XIV's recent acquisition of Lorraine.<sup>24</sup> Charles would join the regiment when it was dwelling and recruiting in his native Lorraine.

By 1763, Lorraine was an area that contributed a disproportionate share of soldiers to France when compared to many other provinces.<sup>25</sup> This is surprising given that Lorraine was only held by France, off and on, since 1641. Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, did not surrender his interests in the duchy to French subjugation until 1737 as a condition to marry Maria Theresa, the future Holy Roman Empress. The duchy was given to Stanislaus Leszczynski, the exiled king of Poland, and the father-in-law of Louis XV, who was made duke with the understanding that Lorraine would revert to the French crown upon his death. It was not until 1766, long after Charles departed, that Lorraine was officially incorporated into

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ans (Paris: Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine, 1882), Book 1, Chapter 1, available at [http://pfe.frec.fr/Anc\\_Reg/Unif\\_Org/Mouillard/mouillard.htm](http://pfe.frec.fr/Anc_Reg/Unif_Org/Mouillard/mouillard.htm) (15 February 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Martin Windrow, *Montcalm's Army* (Reading, United Kingdom: Osprey, Men-at-Arms Series, 1973), 36. Summers and Chartrand, *Military Uniforms in Canada 1665-1970*, 20. Chartrand, *The French Soldier in Colonial America*, 31. Chartrand, *Louis XV's Army (2) French Infantry*, 8. René Chartrand, *Louisbourg 1758: Wolfe's First Siege* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, Campaign series, no. 79, 2000), 41. The tall bearskin caps associated with French grenadiers were just starting to come into style during the Seven Years' War and were not officially adopted until 10 December 1762. Charles would most likely have worn a tricorne like the fusiliers.

<sup>18</sup> André Corvisier, *L'Armée française de la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le Soldat*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 2:826-827. Mouillard, *Les régiments sous Louis XV*, Book 2, Chapter 3, [http://pfe.frec.fr/Anc\\_Reg/Unif\\_Org/Mouillard/mouillard.htm](http://pfe.frec.fr/Anc_Reg/Unif_Org/Mouillard/mouillard.htm) (15 February 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française*, 8:217. René Chartrand, *The French Soldier in Colonial America* (Ottawa: Museum Restoration Service, Historical Arms Series, no. 18, 1984), 26.

<sup>20</sup> Terence Wise, *Military Flags of the World* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., Inc., 1977), 120-121, plate 28. Summers and Chartrand, *Military Uniforms in Canada 1665-1970*, 40. Windrow, *Montcalm's Army*, 36.

<sup>21</sup> John R. Elting, *Swords Around the Throne: Napoleon's Grande Armée* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1997), 14. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 63.

<sup>22</sup> Corvisier, *Contrôles de troupes*, 2:61-62.

<sup>23</sup> Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française*, 8 :217.

<sup>24</sup> "Saarlouis," <http://en.wikipedia.org> (7 December 2008).

<sup>25</sup> Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, 1:385, 419-427, 430-431. The northeastern part of France, adjacent to the Low Countries and Germany, tended to contribute more soldiers than the rest of France.

France after the death of the king of Poland.<sup>26</sup> Lorrainers, depending on their language skills, were able to enlist in regular French regiments or in the German regiments serving in the French army and many preferred this latter option as the pay was better and the enlistment period was only three years.<sup>27</sup> Why Charles chose a regular French regiment rather than a German regiment is most likely due to the probability that he only spoke French.

Charles enlisted in the Berry regiment on 25 March 1754 as a soldier in the company of Lavau.<sup>28</sup> The earliest Charles could have joined was 1751 when he turned 16, but it is interesting to note that he waited until he was 19 years old to join the army. He would have received a bounty of 20 *livres* and enlisted for six years.<sup>29</sup> His enlistment could be extended during wartime, but as he enlisted in March 1754, he might have felt justified in deserting given that the war in Canada was ending and by May 1760 he would have served over six years.

Given the laws regarding recruiting soldiers, Charles had to be at least five *pieds*, one *pouce*, tall, which would equal five feet, five inches.<sup>30</sup> His record shows that he was five *pieds* and three *pouces*, that is, five feet, seven inches. Statistical analysis of the height of soldiers in the La Sarre and Royal Roussillon Regiments indicates that five feet, seven inches was the minimal height among the grenadiers. If the Berry soldiers were statistically similar, then Charles would have been a shorter grenadier than his comrades-in-arms since probably 90 percent of them were 5 *pieds*, 4 *pouces* (five feet, eight inches) or taller.<sup>31</sup> It is certain that he would have been recruited into a regular fusilier company and only eventually transferred to the grenadier company as grenadiers were not recruited directly.<sup>32</sup> Because of the age requirement of 20 for grenadiers, we know that the earliest that Charles would have become a grenadier would have been 1755. Although he was not imposing in terms of his height, he must have been physically impressive enough to be assigned to the grenadiers, and he undoubtedly sported a moustache.

His motivations for enlisting and the circumstances surrounding his decision are unknown. Was he eager to join or was he tricked into enlisting? The *racoleurs*, freelance recruiters, were notoriously deceptive in their art of deluding men to volunteer to serve.<sup>33</sup> Friendship might have played a role in his decision to enlist. Jean Bertrand, the sergeant who would eventually purchase Charles' property rights back in Lorraine, enlisted on 20 May 1753 in Lavau's company.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Bertrand and Charles had been pals back in Aouze and he coaxed Charles to enlist in his regiment. No record has been found to cast light on this momentous decision. Was Charles tricked into joining the military by an unscrupulous recruiter, was he an eager recruit seeking adventure, or was he just a simple country boy encouraged to enlist by a friend?

<sup>26</sup> "Lorraine (province)," <http://en.wikipedia.org> (15 February 2009).

<sup>27</sup> Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, 1:250. René Chartrand, *Louis XV's Army (3) Foreign Infantry* (London: Osprey, Men-at-Arms Series, no. 304, 1997), 7.

<sup>28</sup> Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 473.

<sup>29</sup> John Mollo, *Uniforms of the Seven Years War 1756-1763 in Color* (New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 1977), 36.

<sup>30</sup> Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 473. The French foot and inch were smaller than the English measurements and must be multiplied by a factor of 1.066. "French Units of Measurement," <http://en.wikipedia.org> (15 October 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Yves Landry, "Mortalité, nuptialité et canadienisation des troupes françaises de la guerre de Sept Ans," *Histoire sociale / Social History*, 12, no. 24 (November 1979), 298-315, 303.

<sup>32</sup> Lee Kennett, *The French Armies in the Seven Years' War* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press, 1967), 72-73.

<sup>33</sup> Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, 1:189-195. In 1735, the duchess of Lorraine objected to the abuses of the recruiters in her province. *Ibid.*, 1:263. Duffy, *Military Experience*, 90. Elting, *Swords Around the Throne*, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 229. By 1757 Bertrand was serving in the company of Captain de Troroux in the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion.

In the eighteenth century, views towards common soldiers ranged from the negative to the positive.<sup>35</sup> Some saw them as a band of thieves, liars, and cut-throats, while others would have said they were brave lads and protectors of France.<sup>36</sup> Where Charles fell on this continuum we do not know, but let us assume he was an honest man lured into the military and, though surrounded by other good-willed men, he would have known his fair share of evildoers in uniform.

The full name and details regarding Captain Lavau, the first officer under whom Charles served, have not been found in the published works regarding the Berry regiment in Canada. This captain did not serve in New France, but an officer named Lavau is listed with the regiment in 1749 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, and in 1757 and 1762 in the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion as the commander of the grenadiers.<sup>37</sup>

It may be that among the first assignments in which Charles was engaged was an effort in the province of Auvergne to help control an outbreak of smuggling. In December 1754, Captain Lavau commanded a detachment of the Berry regiment sent to Gannat, while Trecesson, who would eventually command the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion, was in charge of a detachment east of Vichy.<sup>38</sup>

Charles did not remain in France for very long. By entering the Berry regiment Charles unknowingly took steps towards adventure in exotic lands. Originally, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions of the Berry regiment were designated for service in India, but through the twist and turns of military planning the regiment was reassigned to Canada.<sup>39</sup> The regiment was actually embarked on ships of the French East India Company at the port of Lorient when they were ordered to disembark and prepare to be shipped to Canada from the port of Brest.<sup>40</sup> They were assigned to be transported aboard the squadron of Admiral Emmanuel-Auguste de Cahideuc, comte Dubois de La Motte.<sup>41</sup>

### ***Deployment to Canada***

The regiment was reviewed at Brest on 11 April 1757 in preparation for their trip across the Atlantic Ocean. Two companies were assigned to each battleship of the squadron.<sup>42</sup> The squadron consisted of

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<sup>35</sup> Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, 1:81-100. Kennett, *French Armies*, 86-87.

<sup>36</sup> The view towards soldiers varied by class with the higher classes generally held a more negative impression while commoners, who served in the ranks, tended to be more generous in their attitude. Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, 1:100. Louis, comte de St-Germain, writing in 1757, was particularly harsh in his opinion of the French troops: "I lead a band of thieves, assassins fit for the rack who will turn tail at the first musket shot, and who are always ready to revolt. There has never been anything to equal it. The King has the worst infantry under the sun, and the most undisciplined. It is impossible to serve with such troops." Kennett, *French Armies*, 86.

<sup>37</sup> Corvisier, *Contrôles de troupes*, 2:61-62.

<sup>38</sup> G. Rouchon, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Puy-de-Dôme, Archives civiles—série C*, (Clermont-Ferrand: G. Mont-Louis, 1898), 2:37-38.

<sup>39</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 6:44-45, 7:303. Library and Archives Canada, Centre des archives d'outre-mer (France), Lettres envoyées, séries B, vol. 106, letter from Le Président du Conseil de Marine (President of the Navy Board) to M. Trivio (commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Berry battalion), 6 April 1757, approving the arrangements the officers requested and expressing the hope that the officers will not regret the change in destination. René Chartrand, *The French Soldier in Colonial America* (Ottawa: Museum Restoration Service, Historical Arms Series, no. 18, 1984), 32.

<sup>40</sup> Maurice Delpuech, ed., "L'Escadre de Louisbourg et l'épidémie de Brest en 1757: D'après le journal de bord du Lieutenant de Vaisseau de Vaudreuil," *Bulletin de la Société académique de Brest*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 29 (1903-1904), 132-204, 133, 135-136.

<sup>41</sup> Dubois de La Motte's actual rank was Lieutenant General of the Fleet. Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 2005), 80.

<sup>42</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 39-49, 11 April 1757, review of the Berry companies and their assignment to the ships that will transport them to Canada. Josseline Bourgoin, "Étienne Blanchard, un Berrichon devenu

the flagship *Le Formidable*, 84 cannons; *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, 80; *Le Superbe*, 74; *Le Glorieux*, 74; *Le Héros*, 74; *Le Dauphin-Royal*, 70; *Le Belliqueux*, 64; *Le Célèbre*, 64; and *Le Bizarre*, 64, all powerful ships of the line, as well as two frigates, *L'Hermione*, 26; and *Le Fleur-de-Lys*, 26 and 6 cannonades; and two merchantmen.<sup>43</sup> Because Charles was a grenadier, and both grenadier companies were assigned to the same ship, it is evident that Charles was aboard *Le Héros*.<sup>44</sup>

The squadron set sail on 3 May 1757.<sup>45</sup> Its destination was Louisbourg, the substantial French fortress town on Ile-Royale, now called Cape Breton, which guarded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the river of the same name.<sup>46</sup>

Charles was only one among many soldiers, sailors, and marines, just a passenger really, but still a part of an impressive fleet because Dubois de La Motte's squadron was joined by two others at Louisbourg.<sup>47</sup> That summer the port of Louisbourg hosted a grand total of 18 ships of the line and five frigates. Not only were all three squadrons able to rendezvous—an impressive feat in eighteenth-century operations—but they were also able to elude the efforts of the British Royal Navy to intercept them. Perhaps Charles was too preoccupied with sea sickness to appreciate this major nautical accomplishment and was merely

Québécois," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française* 59, no. 2, issue 256 (Été 2008), 103-114, 104.

<sup>43</sup> Delpuch, "L'Escadre de Louisbourg et l'épidémie de Brest en 1757," 136, 140-141. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:247-248. For more information on French ships in Canada see Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 129-138.

<sup>44</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, item 40. *Le Héros* was a second-rate ship of the line, built in Brest in 1750 and launched in 1752. This was not her first trip to Canada as she was used to transport elements of the La Sarre and Royal Roussillon regiments to Québec in 1756. Her crew would scuttle her in 1759. Her armament consisted of 28-36 pounders on her bottom first deck, 30-18 pounders on her middle second deck, and 16-8 pounders on her top third deck. Her dimensions were 164 feet in length, 43 feet wide, with a depth of 20.6 feet and a displacement of 1,500 tons. In 1757 she was commanded by Captain de Châtelerger. "Héros (74)," Project SYW [Seven Years' War] Wikipedia, <http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php>, (20 December 2008). Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:247. For an interesting look at "Life onboard a 74-gun ship" point your browser to <http://www.musee-marine.fr/public/virtuel/vic%20a%20bord/index.html> (11 January 2009)

<sup>45</sup> "Journal Kept by the Chevalier Barbier de Lescoet, Second Captain of the 'Formidable' from April to November 1757." *Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905*, 3 vols. (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1906), 1, part 7:3-12, 3. Delpuch, "L'Escadre de Louisbourg et l'épidémie de Brest en 1757," 138.

<sup>46</sup> For a history of Fortress Louisbourg with diagrams of its layout see René Chartrand, *French Fortresses in North America 1535-1763: Québec, Montréal, Louisbourg and New Orleans* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, Fortress series, no. 27, 2005), 45-51.

<sup>47</sup> The other squadrons were *Capitaine de vaisseau* Jean-François de Noble du Revest's consisting of *Le Hector*, 74 cannons; *L'Achille*, 64; *Le Vaillant*, 64; *Le Sage*, 64; and the frigate *L'Abénakis*, 40, which sailed from Toulon eluding the British at the straits of Gibraltar; and *Chef d'escadre* Joseph, prince de Beauffremont de Listenois' comprising of *Le Tonnant*, 80 cannons; *Le Défenseur*, 74; *Le Diadème*, 74; *L'Inflexible*, 64; *L'Eveillè*, 64, and the frigate *La Brune*, 26 and 6 cannonades, which sailed from Rochefort to the Caribbean and then Canada. In addition, the frigate *La Comète*, 26 cannons, 6 cannonades was at Louisbourg that summer. Delpuch, "L'Escadre de Louisbourg et l'épidémie de Brest en 1757," 136, 139-141. Lastly, there was the *Greenwich*, 64 cannons, a British ship that Commodore de Beauffremont had captured. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:247-248. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760*, trans. and ed. by Edward P. Hamilton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 138-140. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War*, 79-80. Louis Auguste Rossel, "Journal de ma campagne à l'île Royale (1757)," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 12 (1931-1932), 369-387, 374-375.

delighted to see the coastland and port of Louisbourg. The squadron arrived at Louisbourg on 19 June 1757 after a voyage of 49 days.<sup>48</sup>

This large French naval force did indeed protect Louisbourg from British intentions to harm it and gave the fortress an additional year of life. The town would ultimately fall in a siege in 1758. But in 1757, the French navy performed well, and it also benefited from a storm on 25 September 1757 that scattered and damaged the enemy fleet. Unfortunately, the French fleet was unable to accomplish anything of greater significance because of the impact of disease.<sup>49</sup> It is regrettable that through the rest of the war the French navy would not perform as brilliantly as it did at the beginning of the 1757 campaign. The fleet left Louisbourg to return to France in the autumn.

Like the squadron, the Berry regiment's original mission was to serve to protect the fortress of Louisbourg. However, Admiral Dubois de La Motte decided that the land forces at Louisbourg were sufficient to resist the British and decided to forward the regiment on to Québec.<sup>50</sup> Most of the regiment, fit enough to travel, departed Louisbourg on 2 July 1757 for Québec.<sup>51</sup> They traveled aboard two third-rate ships of the line, *Le Bizarre* and *Le Célèbre*, the king's transport *La Fortune*, *armée en flûte*, the merchant ship *La Toison d'Or*, and another small merchant ship with the confusingly similar name of *Le Fortuné*.<sup>52</sup> These ships arrived at Québec between 23 and 29 July 1757. Charles traveled on *Le Célèbre* with his grenadier company which debarked on the 23 and the 24 July 1757.<sup>53</sup> Charles had only spent a grand total of 19 days at Louisbourg. He might not even have had a chance to leave the ship to explore the port, and Québec might have been his first opportunity to touch land again.

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<sup>48</sup> "Journal Kept by the Chevalier Barbier de Lescoet," 1:1. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War*, 80. Other sources give the 20<sup>th</sup> or the 22<sup>nd</sup> as the date of arrival for the Dubois de La Motte's fleet. Chartrand, *Louisbourg 1758*, 20. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 132-135.

<sup>49</sup> Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War*, 80-81.

<sup>50</sup> "Summary of Documents [Concerning the Colonies] in Paris," *Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905*, 3 vols. (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1906), 1, part 6:3-652, 244. Library and Archives Canada, Centre des archives d'outre-mer (France), Lettres envoyées, séries B, vol. 105, letter from Le Président du Conseil de Marine (President of the Navy Board) to M. Dubois de Lamotte (admiral in command of the fleet at Louisbourg), 27 July 1757, approving the admiral's decision to dispatch the Berry regiment to Canada. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:111-112. At least one naval office at Louisbourg thought that dispatching of the Berry regiment was a mistake and weakened the garrison. Rossel, "Journal de ma campagne à l'île Royale (1757)," 376.

<sup>51</sup> Bourgoïn, "Étienne Blanchard," 104.

<sup>52</sup> Details about the ships and their arrival at Québec can be found in Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, reports on 5 Aug. 1757. Bourgoïn, "Étienne Blanchard," 104. On 25 July 1757, while negotiating the narrows near Beaumont, *La Toison d'Or* was shipwrecked and the Berry regiment lost five of its men and some of its gear and supplies. The ship was able to limp into Québec on the 29<sup>th</sup>. Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 184. A ship armed as a *flûte* had some of its cannons removed to make room for transporting soldiers and supplies. Colonel Burn, *A Naval and Military Technical Dictionary of the French Language*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: John Murray, 1870), 166.

<sup>53</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 109, 5 April 1757, the companies of Villemontes, Surimau, and Revilliasc were aboard *Le Célèbre*. This ship, though ranked a third-rate ship of the line, would still have been impressive. She was built at Brest in 1755, launched in 1756, but was removed from the French fleet in 1758. She was armed with 26-24 pounder cannons on the first bottom deck, 28-12 pounders on the second middle deck, and ten-6 pounders on the third top deck. Her dimensions were 150 feet in length, 40.6 feet in width, with a depth of 20 feet, and she displaced 1,200 tons. In 1757, she was commanded by Captain de La Jonquière. "Célèbre (64)" and "French Navy," Project SYW [Seven Years' War] Wikipedia, <http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php> (19 December 2008). Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:248.

*Scourge of Typhus*

The trip across the Atlantic Ocean and up the St. Lawrence River would have been difficult for anyone, but for the men of the Berry regiment it was complicated by the outbreak of a serious illness. Typhus, which is spread by lice, had plagued the entire fleet and allowed no escape for the men of the Berry regiment.<sup>54</sup> The impact on the regiment was evident at their landing in Louisbourg when about ten percent of the men were immediately hospitalized.<sup>55</sup> Some of the sick Berry soldiers were left behind at Louisbourg to recover when the regiment departed for Québec. In October 1757, 70 recovered Berry soldiers arrived from Louisbourg.<sup>56</sup> As late as September 1757, 91 soldiers of the regiment were still in Louisbourg recuperating.<sup>57</sup> Soon after landing in Québec, many of the remaining soldiers were sent to the local hospitals to recover.<sup>58</sup> On departing Brest there were 1,118 men including 59 officers and 26 servants. On the trip over, 141 died of disease and on arriving at Québec, 200 men and eight officers were still sick.<sup>59</sup> Sadly, many of the ill perished at Québec in 1757. Of the 39 Berry soldiers buried in the cemetery of the Hôtel-Dieu, 25 of them died in 1757 and the other 14 in 1758.<sup>60</sup> Of the 224 Berry soldiers who were buried in the cemetery of the Hôpital-Général de Québec, 150 died in 1757.<sup>61</sup> This typhus epidemic also wreaked havoc among the populace of Louisbourg, Québec, and Brest when the fleet returned to France.<sup>62</sup>

Many of the officials in New France made note of the epidemic and its impact on the Berry regiment and the colony. General Louis Joseph marquis de Montcalm-Gozon de St-Veran, the commanding officer of the French army in Canada, wrote in his journal entry for September 1757: "The sick are considerable at the Hôpital-Général; it is caused by the sailors and the soldiers of Berry" and goes on to say: "The misery is very great, the scarcity of bread is extreme, the harvest bad, the people are reduced to a quarter of a pound of bread."<sup>63</sup> Governor Pierre de Rigaud marquis de Vaudreuil also commented on the illness among the two new battalions.<sup>64</sup> André Doreil, the commissary of wars (*commissaire ordonnateur des guerres*) in New France, commented several times about the illness that struck the Berry regiment and

<sup>54</sup> Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War*, 80, identifies the disease as typhus.

<sup>55</sup> Bourgoin, "Étienne Blanchard," 104. Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), séries X, vol. 5, microfilm F-787, Régiment d'infanterie de Berry, for a list of the Berry soldiers at the Hôpital du Roy in 1757.

<sup>56</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, item 164, 24 October 1757. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 6:71, 132, 7:309, 313, 10:79. Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 188.

<sup>57</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York: Procured in Holland, England and France*. 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887), 10:635.

<sup>58</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 2:157, 6:50, 7:303.

<sup>59</sup> René Chartrand, *Canadian Military Heritage*, 3 vols. (Montréal: Art Global, 1993-2000), 2:207, n. 4, citing AG, A1, vol. 3459, no. 49, 100bis, but he must be referring to Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, item 49, 11 April 1757, for the review of the Berry regiment before it departed and item 100bis, 15 August 1757, for Doreil's report on the condition of the regiment after it arrived at Québec.

<sup>60</sup> Bronze, *Les morts de la guerre de Sept Ans au Cimetière de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec*, 177.

<sup>61</sup> Bronze, *Les morts de la guerre de Sept Ans au Cimetière de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec*, 127.

<sup>62</sup> Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War*, 80-81. A. J. B. Johnston, *Endgame 1758: The Promise, the Glory, and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 140. Of the 12,000 officers and crew who were sent to Louisbourg, nearly half died from disease. Over 5,000 civilians died from typhus in Brest and the disease spread to the port of Rochefort as well. This epidemic damaged the ability of the French to find experienced crews for the 1758 campaign. The impact was equivalent to a major naval defeat.

<sup>63</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:303, author's translation.

<sup>64</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, item 118, 18 Apr. 1757.

spread to the population.<sup>65</sup> Captain Louis Antoine comte de Bougainville, the aide-de-camp of General de Montcalm, comments in his journal on 9 September 1757: "Sickness still continues. The two Berry battalions suffer much from it."<sup>66</sup> Bougainville went on to record on 20 September 1757:

The Marquis de Montcalm reviewed the Berry regiment; the two battalions must have lost nearly two hundred men by the epidemic which still continues. In the last twenty days there had died four nuns, four chaplains, and generally fourteen or fifteen people a day. On the nineteenth, twenty-two died. It is some sort of plague contracted on board the ships. I see the same thing happen each year and I am astonished that they do not seek the remedy for this evil. Ventilation put in the ships would at least diminish the cause.<sup>67</sup>

The arrival of the Berry regiment was a mixed blessing to the colony. On the one hand, it was a welcomed addition to the French regular troops serving in Canada. Except for rare replacements, the Berry regiment was the last reinforcements to be sent to Canada.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, the colony was suffering famine and now needed to feed more soldiers and many of them helpless from an epidemic that spread to the general population. In the words of the historian Nester: "Montcalm faced an insurmountable dilemma. There were at once too many soldiers to feed and too few to fight."<sup>69</sup>

This epidemic would have been of particular importance to Charles if it only removed many of his comrades-in-arms, but it also struck him personally. Among the patients at the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec that year was Charles Mercier dit Lajoie, age 24, a soldier in Villemontes' company of the Berry regiment.<sup>70</sup> He was hospitalized in September and October 1757.

The hospitalization record for Charles is the only document naming his commanding officer in Canada. Jean-Baptiste Rieges de Villemontes was a captain of the grenadier company of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the Berry regiment.<sup>71</sup> He had been promoted captain 21 May 1748 and aide-major on 8 June 1747. On 19 December 1747 he was made a knight in the Order of St-Louis.<sup>72</sup> According to General François Gaston chevalier de Lévis, the second in command of the French army in Canada, Villemontes was: "... the only captain of grenadiers who does not have a pension and was treated like a *premier factionnaire* for the

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<sup>65</sup> Unlike other bureaucrats who witnessed the distress from afar, Doreil made it a point of visiting the hospitals twice a day to insure all was in order. He also praised the good care the nuns were providing the men. Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 126, 23 August 1757, and 140, 16 September 1757, item 161, 22 October 1757. "DOREIL (d'Aureil, d'Oreil), ANDRÉ (Jean-Baptiste)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, <http://www.biographi.ca> (8 Dec. 2008).

<sup>66</sup> Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 181.

<sup>67</sup> Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 183.

<sup>68</sup> Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 23. The other reinforcements that arrived in 1757 included eight replacement companies for the La Reine and Languedoc regiments (four from each), which had been taken prisoner at sea in 1755 when *L'Alcide* and *Le Lys* were captured, and ten new companies of Marines. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 3:68.

<sup>69</sup> William R. Nester, *The Epic Battles for Ticonderoga, 1758* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2008), 86.

<sup>70</sup> Roland J. Auger, "Les soldats de la guerre de sept ans," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française* 15, no. 4 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1964): 221. This is only part of a 20-piece article published in the *Mémoires* from 1951 to 1969 listing the known soldiers who served in the French military forces during the Seven Years' War in Canada.

<sup>71</sup> His surname is variously spelled as Villemontes, Villemontel, or Villemonté in manuscripts and published sources. Although some published works indicate that Villemontes was in the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, original documents clearly indicate he was a captain in the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion, in particular see Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 40, 111.

<sup>72</sup> Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 534.

affair of last July [Battle of Carillon] where he was captain of the grenadiers; good officer who deserves in all the ways the graces of the King."<sup>73</sup> He was recommended for a pension for his service. Villemontes would bravely serve his Most Christian Majesty throughout the Canadian campaigning and meet his death at the Battle of Ste-Foy at the age of 54. He was hastily buried on the Plains of Abraham.<sup>74</sup>

## Campaigns

General de Montcalm would have followed the arrival of any reinforcements and their condition with great interest because he was fighting against superior British forces over a wide area. On 2 July 1757, his journal mentions the arrival of Admiral Dubois de La Motte's fleet and the presence of the Berry regiment at Louisbourg.<sup>75</sup> His journal entry for 22 July 1757 indicates that he was informed that the Berry battalions were not needed at Louisbourg and would be forwarded to him on *Le Bizarre* and *Le Célèbre*. The composition of each of the two battalions in nine companies of 60 men is also commented on.<sup>76</sup> The general was well informed as his journal also lists in detail all the ships of the line and frigates, their number of guns, and their captains, at Louisbourg.<sup>77</sup>

On 12 September 1757, General Montcalm departed Montréal to return to Québec in order to review the Berry regiment.<sup>78</sup> The regiment had already been reviewed once, without the marquis de Montcalm, at Québec on 5 August 1757 soon after their arrival.<sup>79</sup> However, they were reviewed again by their commanding officer on 20 September 1757.<sup>80</sup> Charles was probably still in the hospital recovering and missed this chance to catch a glimpse of the man who led the French army in Canada, but he would undoubtedly see the famous General de Montcalm on many other occasions.

The Berry regiment joined the *Troupes de Terre*, that is, the other regular French regiments serving in Canada, namely the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalions of the La Reine, Guyenne, Béarn, La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, and Languedoc regiments. These metropolitan regiments were all under the command of General de Montcalm and sent over to Canada starting in 1755 to assist the *Troupes de la Marine*, or colonial troops, consisting of 40 independent companies (*Compagnies franches de la Marine*), and the *Canonniers-Bombardiers* all under the overall command of Governor de Vaudreuil.<sup>81</sup>

As the campaign season was already nearing its end, the Berry regiment was sent into winter quarters for 1757-1758. The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion was sent to be quartered among the *habitants* along the Beaupré coast,

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<sup>73</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 2:421. A *premier factionnaire* was the first officer in the battalion expected to mount guard duty. However, the lieutenant colonel and captain of the grenadiers usually did not perform the guard and other general duties expected of the other captains. Donald Graves, *French Military Terminology, 1670-1815: A Technical Glossary* (St. John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1979), 33.

<sup>74</sup> Bronze, *Les morts de la guerre de Sept Ans*, 158

<sup>75</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:225.

<sup>76</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:246.

<sup>77</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:247-248.

<sup>78</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:105, 2:157, 163, 7:302.

<sup>79</sup> Library and Archives Canada, Service historique de l'Armée (France), Correspondance générale, Correspondance générale, séries A1, vol. 3457, Canada et Ile Royale, 1757, items 101-112, 5 April 1757, review of the Berry companies and lists of deaths that occurred in transit.

<sup>80</sup> Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 183.

<sup>81</sup> For organizational charts showing all the French forces serving in Canada during the Seven Years' War, see Chartrand, *Québec*, 17, 27. Although called Marines, they were not soldiers serving aboard ships. The Minister of Marines was also in charge of the colonies, and he deployed these independent companies, hence the name of the unit.

between Beauport and Beaupré, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion on the Île-d'Orléans.<sup>82</sup> The soldiers were quartered with the *habitants* and the Crown paid for the *habitants* to feed their guests.<sup>83</sup> In peacetime the *habitants* of New France could produce enough food to nourish the civilian population, but the extra military mouths to feed put a strain on the agricultural system. The troops had to depend on additional food convoys which did not arrive in sufficient numbers. In combination with bad harvests in 1756 and 1757, as well as a severe winter in 1757-1758, New France experienced famine conditions and rationing.<sup>84</sup> One can only wonder, what kind of reception Charles and his fellow soldiers faced, under these conditions, as they were imposed on *habitant* families every winter.

In May 1758, the military machine in Canada started to revive with the spring weather, and the Berry regiment was ordered to proceed to Fort Carillon, known to the British and Americans as Fort Ticonderoga, at the southern end of Lake Champlain.<sup>85</sup> The Berry regiment received their orders to depart for the front on 23 May 1758, but the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion did not leave until 3 June and the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion until 5 June 1758. By 12 June 1758, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion was at St-Jean and the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion would not have been far behind.<sup>86</sup> The Languedoc arrived at Fort Carillon on 17 June 1758, and the Berry regiment around the same time, but only after having survived a "sort of shipwreck" when some of the boats they were traveling in were lost.<sup>87</sup>

Charles' regiment would taste action for the first time at the Battle of Ticonderoga. With the British force approaching under the command of General Abercromby, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Berry battalion was dispatched on 1 July 1758 to patrol the left bank of the La Chute River, with the Royal-Roussillon, the La Sarre and Languedoc on the right, and the Béarn, Guyenne, and La Reine far forward at the head of Lake George (Lac du St-Sacrement to the French). The 3<sup>rd</sup> Berry battalion was held back in reserve at the fort.<sup>88</sup> On 6 July 1758, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the Berry regiment was ordered to start preparing the defensive breastworks and *abattis* (a conglomeration of fallen tree trunks with their branches sharpened).<sup>89</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> Berry battalion and the other French battalions returned from patrols and joined the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion in finishing these works on 7 July 1758.<sup>90</sup>

The French and Canadian forces numbered approximately 4,200, and they faced about 17,600 British and American troops.<sup>91</sup> Outnumbered four to one, but, behind prepared defenses, they awaited the British attack which was launched on 8 July.

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<sup>82</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 5:264, 7:314. Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 185. Auger, "Les Soldats de la guerre de sept ans," *Mémoires* 4, no. 4 (June 1951): 242, for a table showing where all the regular regiments wintered between 1755 and 1760.

<sup>83</sup> Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 185.

<sup>84</sup> Ruth Sheppard, ed., *Empires Collide: The French and Indian War 1754-63* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 194-197.

<sup>85</sup> Frontier forts, specifically Forts Carillon, St-Frédéric, Isle-aux-Noix, and Fort St-Jean along the Lake Champlain and Richelieu River corridor played an important role in the story of the Berry regiment. For information on these forts and diagrams, see René Chartrand, *The Forts of New France in Northeast America 1600-1763* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, Fortress series, no. 75, 2008), 25-40.

<sup>86</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:128, 7:355, 358, 364. Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 206, 209, 211.

<sup>87</sup> Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 213.

<sup>88</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:131-132, 7:285, 11:150-151, 166. See the map in Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 50.

<sup>89</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:391, 11:152-153. Burn, *A Naval and Military Technical Dictionary of the French Language*, 1.

<sup>90</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:394.

<sup>91</sup> Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 29.

During the battle, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the Berry regiment was posted to the field works between the Royal-Roussillon regiment on its right and the Languedoc regiment on its left under the personal command of Montcalm.<sup>92</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the Berry regiment was stationed at the fort, though some of its men were tasked with running ammunition and supplies to the fighting line. Both grenadier companies of the Berry regiment, along with the grenadier companies and pickets of the other regiments, were pulled back to just behind the fighting line to act as a ready reserve in case the line was breached.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, as a grenadier in the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion, Charles would have been at the front.

The grenadier companies played a crucial part in the battle. According to the historian Stanley:

The Berry regiment, inexperienced in battle and made up of raw recruits, found the British pressure difficult to withstand, and some of the men broke and ran. But Montcalm's Grenadiers were behind them, and faced with the choice of the bayonets of the French grenadiers or those of the enemy, they yielded to their officers' demands and returned to the parapet.<sup>94</sup>

The British foolishly and repeatedly, in a disorganized fashion, tossed their battalions against the prepared French position. Though some men of the Scottish 42<sup>nd</sup> Highland regiment (the Black Watch) did make it over the breastwork, they were quickly dispatched by the French fusiliers and the reserve grenadiers and pickets.<sup>95</sup> After taking a beating for hours, the British forces withdrew. This was a great victory for the far outnumbered French.

Although casualty reports are always subject to question, at the end of the day, the best estimate is that the British had lost over 1,000 killed or missing and 1,500 wounded. The French had only lost about 554 men.<sup>96</sup> The Berry had 63 casualties among the soldiers with more than half being killed and lost three officers killed and two wounded. The Guyenne and Berry had the most soldiers killed that day among the

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<sup>92</sup> The detailed order of battle was as follows: the French left flank on the south consisted of the La Sarre Brigade commanded by Colonel de Bourlamaque comprising the La Sarre and Languedoc battalions; the center Royal-Roussillon Brigade commanded by General de Montcalm comprising the Royal-Roussillon and 2<sup>nd</sup> Berry battalions; the right flank on the north was covered by the Le Reine brigade commanded by General de Lévis comprising the La Reine, Béarn, and Guyenne battalions. Further to the right were the colonial marines and militia. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Berry remained behind as the garrison for Fort Ticonderoga, though some men were detailed to bring supplies and ammunition to the front lines. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:136, 141, 7:396-398, 11:170. Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 231. Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 63. When the battalions were brigaded together, the brigade would carry the name of the regiment with the greater seniority.

<sup>93</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 7:397, 11:154. A picket (*piquet*) is a select group made up of fusiliers from each battalion culled for a special assignment, for example, on 28 June 1758, 67 men each from the La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc, Berry, Béarn, and Guyenne battalions were formed into pickets. The pickets were considered second in elite status to the grenadiers. Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 214-215. Pierre Pouchot, *Memoirs on the Late War in North America between France and England*, ed. and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan, trans. by Michael Cardy (Youngstown, New York: Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., 1994), 87 n. 267, 144, n. 430.

<sup>94</sup> George Francis Gillman Stanley, *New France: the last phase, 1744-1760* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 180. Stanley based this incident on the eyewitness report of Captain Jean Nicolas Desandrouins, an engineer, that three quarters of the Berry regiment consisted of young soldiers who needed to be reinforced by the grenadiers during the battle. Charles Nicolas Gabriel, *Le Maréchal de camp Desandrouins, 1729-1792* (Verdun: Imprimerie René-Lallemand, 1887), 181.

<sup>95</sup> Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 77, 80.

<sup>96</sup> Chartrand, *Ticonderoga 1758*, 86-88. Proportionately, the British lost about 15 percent and the French about 13 percent, given that the French army was smaller and unlikely to receive any reinforcements, this victory was still costly for the French.

French troops.<sup>97</sup> Although tables summarizing the casualties exist for the battles Charles fought in, and there are lists of killed and wounded officers, there are no enumerations of the individual soldiers. So we do not know if Charles suffered any wounds in any of the actions he participated in during the war.

When the campaign season ended, small detachments remained at frontier posts, and the bulk of the troops withdrew to winter quarters among the habitants. The Berry battalions departed Fort Carillon on the first and second of November 1758 and were delayed by ice in reaching their destination.<sup>98</sup> During the winter of 1758-1759, the Berry regiment was once again quartered along the Beaupré coast for the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion and Ile d'Orléans for the 3<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>99</sup> It was during this winter quartering among the *habitants* that the regulars came to know the locals and appreciate their way of life and perhaps the charms of their hosts' daughters. If a soldier was not arrogant or too demanding, helped with chores on the farm, then he had a chance of ingratiating himself with his host.

In April 1759, the La Reine and Berry regiment was ordered to Fort Carillon to guard the Lake Champlain and Richelieu River corridor, the strategic southern approach into Canada, and was placed under the command of Colonel François Charles de Bourlamaque.<sup>100</sup> Because of its mission, the Berry regiment missed the Battle of the Plains of Abraham on 13 September 1759.<sup>101</sup> Faced by overwhelming numbers of General Amherst's slowly approaching army, the French withdrew, blowing up Fort Carillon on the night of 26-27 July 1759 and Fort St-Frédéric on 31 July 1759. They retreated to the recently fortified island of Île-aux-Noix on the Richelieu River near the north end of Lake Champlain.<sup>102</sup> This maneuvering can be viewed as a successful delaying action; nevertheless, it must have been disheartening to Charles and his comrades-in-arms to abandon and destroy two of His Most Christian Majesty's forts.

Including the militia, there were only 2,923 men under Colonel de Bourlamaque's command at Île-aux-Noix. The friction of war was having an impact on the regiment which was now down to 760 men, but they were still the largest single French contingent of regular troops on the campaign.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, this force was enough to prevent the cautious General Amherst from proceeding on to Montréal in 1759.

In October 1759, some of the regular troops, including some of the men from the Berry regiment, were issued new uniforms and equipment.<sup>104</sup> After so much campaigning, Charles and his fellow soldiers must have welcomed even this partial replacement of worn-out clothing and gear. Unfortunately, pay was an issue for the regular troops. Since the autumn of 1757 they had been paid in depreciated colonial paper money rather than French currency, and the men of the Berry regiment had not received a payment in solid cash since they left Brest.<sup>105</sup>

On 15 November 1759, the Berry regiment left for winter quarters.<sup>106</sup> During the winter of 1759-1760, Charles would have been quartered with his regiment somewhere between Berthier and L'Assomption.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:751, the other battalions only had a few mortal casualties.

<sup>98</sup> Bougainville, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, 292, 297.

<sup>99</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 6:480. Auger, "Les Soldats de la guerre de sept ans," *Mémoires* 4, no. 4 (June 1951): 242.

<sup>100</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 4:157, 7:512, 11:181.

<sup>101</sup> The exception was three replacement officers and some recruits who had arrived from France in the middle of May 1759. They were assigned to the garrison troops protecting the city of Québec. Chartrand, *Québec*, 21. Reid, *Quebec 1759*, 20.

<sup>102</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:1055.

<sup>103</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 5:16.

<sup>104</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 4:298-299.

<sup>105</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:652.

<sup>106</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 5:79.

Specifically, the men were stationed at Iles-Bouchard, Mascouche, La Chesnaye, L'Assomption, Repentigny, St-Sulpice, La Valterie, La Naurau, Daustray, Berthier, Île-Dupas and Île-au-Castor.<sup>108</sup> That winter many militiamen were added to the regular regiments in preparation for the next campaign. On 17 April 1760, the Berry regiment consisted of 51 officers, 727 soldiers, and 519 militiamen - meaning that 42 percent of the regiment now consisted of relatively raw militia troops.<sup>109</sup>

Despite the defeat on the Plains of Abraham, General de Lévis, now in command of the French forces after the death of General de Montcalm, was determined to start the campaign early, before the snow melted, and try to regain Québec. The Berry was ordered leave on 14 April 1760 and to rendezvous with the other battalions at Pointe-aux-Trembles by the 19<sup>th</sup>.<sup>110</sup> With blocks of ice still floating in the river and the roads a quagmire of mud, it was rough going for the French. The French battalions were not able to accomplish their rendezvous at Pointe-aux-Trembles until the 24<sup>th</sup>. They soon set off again and landed at St-Augustin on the 26<sup>th</sup> and from that point proceeded to march inland towards Québec.<sup>111</sup>

As the French approached the city, General Murray was alerted and formed his forces outside the city. Much to the surprise of General de Lévis, the British launched a brisk attack and the French hastened to form in line and respond. The Battle of Ste-Foy, 28 April 1760, would see the two Berry battalions serving in the center of line next to the two Marine battalions.<sup>112</sup> In addition, five grenadier companies were detached from their battalions and formed into a joint unit. These grenadiers played an important role on the left flank of the French line in the hotly contested attack on Dumont's windmill. This windmill passed back and forth between the French grenadiers and the British light infantry until it was finally in French hands.<sup>113</sup> Unfortunately, other than the Languedoc battalion, the names of the other battalions who contributed to this joint unit are not noted in the records. Given that Charles' grenadier

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<sup>107</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:231, says between Terrebonne and Berthier; 8:155-157, says between Berthier and L'Assomption. Auger, "Les Soldats de la guerre de sept ans," *Mémoires* 4, no. 4 (June 1951): 242, also says between Terrebonne and Berthier. It appears that the regiment was not quartered as far as Terrebonne, but certainly was in L'Assomption.

<sup>108</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:254.

<sup>109</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:257, in addition there were nine Blacks, 50 domestics (some perhaps women), and two surgeons attached to the regiment.

<sup>110</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 4:303. The date 26 February is mentioned at the head of this document, but it is clear that the marching orders were for April 1760.

<sup>111</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:1080.

<sup>112</sup> For the 1760 campaign the battalions were organized into brigades. Information on the order of battle for the French is sketchy, but appears to have been as follows: on the northern left flank was the 5<sup>th</sup> (La Sarre) Brigade consisting of the La Sarre and the Béarn battalions as well as five, or possibly six, of the detached grenadier companies; the center with the 4<sup>th</sup> (Marine) Brigade consisting of two battalions of Marines and the 3<sup>rd</sup> (Berry) Brigade consisting of the two Berry battalions; on the southern right flank was 1<sup>st</sup> (Royal-Roussillon) Brigade, consisting of the Royal-Roussillon and Guyenne battalions. The 2<sup>nd</sup> (La Reine) Brigade consisting of the La Reine and Languedoc battalions was held in reserve along with a battalion of Montréal militia. Also in the field that day were three light Swedish-style cannons placed on the right flank, a unit of about 200 cavalry troopers, and about 278 Indians. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:246-247, 11:224. P. B. Casgrain, *Les Batailles des Plaines d'Abraham et de Sainte-Foye* (Québec: Daily Telegraph, 1908): 85-86. H. R. Casgrain, *Montcalm et Lévis: Guerre du Canada, 1756-1760*, 2 vols. (Québec: L. J. Demers & Frères, 1891), 2:361, 362.

<sup>113</sup> James Johnston, *The Campaign of 1760 in Canada* (Québec: Morning Chronicle Office, for the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1887), 11. The Chevalier de Johnston, a Scottish Jacobite serving with the French army and a witness of the battle, claimed that the fight was between French grenadiers and Scottish highlanders, "Worthy antagonists!" But like so much in this battle, the facts are not as clear as Chevalier de Johnston would suggest. The only Scottish regiment on the field that day was the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders, and it was on the left of the British line, far from Dumont's mill. Most of the soldiers involved in this fight on the British side would have been light infantry or the 48<sup>th</sup> foot, with perhaps some Scottish volunteers serving with the light infantry. See the detailed map of the battle in Reid, *Quebec 1759*, 86-87, though even this map errs in calling Dumont's mill Descourt's.

company was only one of ten in the battle that day, there is only a chance he was part of this action.<sup>114</sup> Whether the Berry grenadiers were detached to this unit or remained with their battalions, they would have participated in stiff fighting as the Berry battalions in the center of the line were hard pressed.<sup>115</sup>

The French had 6,910 soldiers—regulars, marines, and militia—at the start of the 1760 campaign and faced off against only 3,866 British soldiers at Ste-Foy.<sup>116</sup> This would have been one of the few times that Charles would have served with superior numbers. For the French, the Battle of Ste-Foy resulted in the deaths of six officers and 35 men in addition to 14 officers and 133 soldiers being wounded.<sup>117</sup> The British lost 292 killed, 837 wounded, and 53 taken prisoner, plus all but two of their 22 cannons being spiked and left on the field.<sup>118</sup> However, the British could expect reinforcements, the French could only hope for them.

It was at this battle that Charles lost his commanding officer, Captain Villemontes.<sup>119</sup> He was replaced by Captain Henry Preyssac d'Esclignac de Cadillac on 1 May 1760.<sup>120</sup> Cadillac was captain of a fusilier company in the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion and the “*premier factionnaire*.” According to General de Lévis, Cadillac was: “First captain, he has served with distinction at the affair of 28 April [the Battle of Ste-Foy].”<sup>121</sup> He was recommended for a gratification, a pension, and the Cross of St-Louis for his services in Canada.<sup>122</sup> Despite marginal notes made in 1763 and 1765 on his military record indicating that he was “strongly deranged, but with spirit and bravery,” and that he was a “gambler, libertine and deranged,” he was promoted to Major in the Aquitaine regiment on 25 March 1765. He retired to St-Domingue, Haiti, in 1768 when he left the service and married.<sup>123</sup> Was Charles exposed to any odd behavior on the part of his new commander? Was the brave, but perhaps erratic, Cadillac a contributing factor of Charles' motivation for leaving the army?

Immediately after the battle, General de Lévis started besieging Québec knowing, full well that, unless the French fleet arrived with supplies and siege cannons, he had very little chance of success. However, the British Royal Navy arrived first on 15 May 1760 and the siege of Québec was broken. The French forces

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<sup>114</sup> In addition to the eight regular battalion grenadier companies, when the independent Marine companies were formed into two battalions of eight companies each, one of the companies in each of these battalions were elevated to grenadier status. René Chartrand, *Louis XV's Army (5) Colonial and Naval Troops* (London: Osprey, Men-at-Arms Series, no. 313, 1998), 5.

<sup>115</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 11:233-234.

<sup>116</sup> Stuart Reid, *Quebec 1759: The Battle that Won Canada* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, Campaign series, no. 121, 2003), 85.

<sup>117</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:269. Reid gives the number as 193 killed and 640 wounded for the French, *Quebec 1759*, 91. The following siege of Québec also took its toll with a loss of 18 soldiers and 26 wounded for the French.

<sup>118</sup> Reid, *Quebec 1759*, 91.

<sup>119</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:270, 2:403, 11:237, 248. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 519. Charles also lost his commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion when Colonel Trécesson was killed at Ste-Foy and was replaced by Jean-Paul Fouilhac de Prangères. *Ibid.*, 266, 354-355.

<sup>120</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 2:403.

<sup>121</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 2:460, author's translation. Pierre-Georges Roy, compiler, “Officiers du Régiment de Berry,” *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* 51, no. 6 (June 1945), 223-230, 227.

<sup>122</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 2:421, 434, 450, 460.

<sup>123</sup> Aegidius Fauteux, “Les quatre frères Preissac,” *Bulletin des recherches historiques* 38, no. 3 (Mar. 1932), 136-148, 146. Let us hope for the men under his command that the *dérangé* comment in the records meant that he was disorganized and not mentally ill. Even General Montcalm took note of Cadillac's gambling and comments that he won between four and five thousand francs one night in February 1758. Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 6:128.

withdrew the following day in a disorganized and haphazard fashion retreating up the St. Lawrence River towards Trois-Rivières.

Tracing the movements of the Berry regiment becomes difficult during this hectic period. However, it appears that the two battalions of the Berry regiment were ordered to Deschambault on 25 May 1760.<sup>124</sup> It is most likely that Charles deserted soon after he sold his property rights in France to Sergeant Bertrand on 27 May 1760, but it is also possible he stayed with his battalion a while longer.

While the 2<sup>nd</sup> Berry battalion was sent once again to defend Île-aux-Noix under Colonel Bougainville, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion remained along the St. Lawrence River and followed the advancing British fleet along the north shore.<sup>125</sup> In late July 1760 until 8 August 1760, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion was under the command of Brigadier Bourlamaque, unsuccessfully defending the heights of Lake St-Pierre and Sorel.<sup>126</sup> The British fleet and troops easily slipped by these defenses. On 22 August 1760, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion and the La Sarre regiment were at Chambly.<sup>127</sup> Meanwhile, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion had withdrawn from Île-aux-Noix under cover of darkness on 27-28 August 1760 and retreated to St-Jean which was destroyed and abandoned on 29 August 1760. The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion then retreated overland to Laprairie.<sup>128</sup>

By early September 1760, La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, both reunited Berry battalions, and the Béarn were posted between Montréal and Longue-Pointe.<sup>129</sup> Finally, on the evening of 6-7 September 1760, the battalions of La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, and the two Berry were withdrawn into Montréal. The Béarn, Languedoc, and one of the Marine battalions were in the *faubourg de Québec*, the eastern suburb of Montréal.<sup>130</sup>

By this time the French forces only numbered about 3,000 men. They faced General Murray's 2,400 men coming up the St. Lawrence River, Brigadier de Haviland's 3,400 men approaching along the Richelieu River, and General Amherst's force of 10,000 men coming by way of Lake Ontario down the St. Lawrence River, all converging on Montréal.<sup>131</sup> The Berry regiment was finally pulled back into Montréal on the evening of 6 September 1757.<sup>132</sup> If Charles had not already deserted, then he must have done so before his regiment entered Montréal. It would have been difficult to desert after the French forces were behind the walls of Montréal.

The end came on 8 September 1760 when the French troops marched into the Place d'Armes and laid down their arms. Refused the honors of war by the British during the surrender negotiations - because of the atrocities committed by the Indian allies of the French - General de Lévis gathered the colors of the regiments and had them burned on the evening of the 7-8 September 1760 on Île-Ste-Hélène.<sup>133</sup> It is fairly certain that Charles missed these dramatic scenes.

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<sup>124</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:286.

<sup>125</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:291, 11:248-249. George M. Wrong, *The Fall of Canada: A Chapter in the History of the Seven Years' War* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1914), 201-205.

<sup>126</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 11:250.

<sup>127</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 10 :156.

<sup>128</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:1103-1105. Wrong, *The Fall of Canada*, 206-209.

<sup>129</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 11:256-257, 248-249.

<sup>130</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 11:258.

<sup>131</sup> Sheppard, *Empires Collide*, 242, 244.

<sup>132</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 11:258.

<sup>133</sup> Sheppard, *Empires Collide*, 242, 244. Wrong, *The Fall of Canada*, 230.

## Desertion

The French had little choice but to surrender. Surrounded by three British armies, with access to France cut off and no reinforcements or supplies expected to arrive, the civilian population was destitute, and throughout August 1760 the French forces melted away. For several weeks the French-Canadian militia had deserted in huge numbers. Now the number of deserters among the regulars increased dramatically.

In the French army desertion was punishable by death.<sup>134</sup> Earlier in the war desertion could be dealt with harshly, and Charles must have been aware of the following example relayed by Governor de Vaudreuil to Nicolas René Berryer, the Minister of the Marine (Navy) and Colonies:

As nothing is more dangerous than the desertion of the soldiers, I have adopted the arrangement which has appeared the best to prevent it; I saw the necessity of employing Indians. Two soldiers of Berry having fallen into this category, our Indians went in pursuit, overtook them, cut the head off one and obliged his comrade to carry it himself to the fort; the latter was immediately tried, and suffered the punishment due to his crime. This example was absolutely necessary; I hope it will have made an impression on the soldiers who might have a similar fancy.<sup>135</sup>

However, by April 1760, Governor de Vaudreuil found it necessary to issue an amnesty to military deserters in hopes of attracting them to return to the ranks.<sup>136</sup> By the summer of 1760, with desertions so widespread, few soldiers were being pursued, caught, and punished for desertion. Charles would have felt safety in the numbers going absent without leave. Colonel de Bourlamaque mentioned the desertions in a letter to General de Lévis, dated 1 September 1760, Longueuil:

I must, my dear general, report to you that the soldiers of the two battalions which I have here, desert daily. Since the evacuation of Saint-Jean, five from the La Sarre and three from the Berry have parted. The officers say that the majority of the soldiers have resolved not to return to France.<sup>137</sup>

On the final review of troops held on 9 September 1760 at Montréal, the Berry regiment reported only 588 soldiers present with 68 in the hospital, 60 still on assignment in the field, 78 known to have deserted or disappeared, and 22 absent for a total of 816 men. The officers numbered 46 with 10 already passed to France.<sup>138</sup> By this date Charles was undoubtedly enumerated among the deserted.

On 14 September 1760, Charles's decision to remain in Canada was made irreversible with the embarking of his regiment at Montréal.<sup>139</sup> In October 1760, the Berry regiment departed on several British ships, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion on the *Rebecca*, the *Dolphin*, the *Ann*, and the *Joseph*; and the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion on the *Amazon*, the *Sea Horse*, and the *True Briton*.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:699, on 18 April 1758 General de Montcalm mentions that he had three soldiers shot for desertion. Kennett, *French Armies*, 85.

<sup>135</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:947, letter dated 25 March 1759 at Montréal. In this same letter Governor de Vaudreuil mentions three soldiers of the Berry who had deserted, were pursued, but were not caught.

<sup>136</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:1074-1075.

<sup>137</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 5:121-122. Author's translation.

<sup>138</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:315.

<sup>139</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:309. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 141.

<sup>140</sup> "Note E: List of Ships, Regiments embarked, nominal returns of Officers, &c., and other tables relating to the French régime in Canada at the time of the taking of Quebec in 1759 and of Montreal in 1760," *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1887): clxxiii-clxxxvi, clxxiii. In addition some Berry troops from both battalions were returned to France aboard the following ships: *Friendship*, *Molineux* (which ran aground in the

Upon its return to France the depleted 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions were integrated with the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion.<sup>141</sup> One can only wonder what feelings Charles had at the news that his regiment was gone as was his last chance to repatriate to France. Charles would long outlive his regiment. On 10 December 1762, the Berry regiment was merged with the Aquitaine regiment.<sup>142</sup>

As the situation stood in September 1760, with the British triumph and occupation, many in the colony, and, especially the former enemy soldiers, must have been nervous, given the recent fate of the Acadians and the presence of so many British-allied Indians, as well as the fear of depredations from former French-allied Indians now loyal to the British. Perhaps there was some reassurance for Charles and the other deserters in Article 39 of the Articles of Capitulation signed on 8 September 1760 at Montréal:

None of the Canadians, Acadians or French, who are now in Canada and on the frontiers of the Colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimakinac and other places and posts of the countries above, nor the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada shall be carried or transported into the British Colonies or to Great Britain, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.<sup>143</sup>

The British response to this proposed article was "Granted, except with regard to the Acadians."<sup>144</sup> The British stood by their word and protected the French Canadians and the former French regulars who remained in the colony even as they still relentlessly persecuted the desperate and unfortunate Acadians.

Once he had returned to France, in a letter dated 27 November 1760 from La Rochelle, General de Lévis complained to Marshall de Belle-Isle, the Minister of War, that more than 500 soldiers had deserted from the regular troops and that:

This evil came from an abuse, from the beginning, to have permitted them to marry, to take land and to promise their discharge at the end of the war in Canada. The greatest number of these deserters are established settlers, or those who have taken measures to be, and who have been unwilling to abandon a state into which they were permitted to enter.<sup>145</sup>

Soldiers like Charles were undoubtedly the ones that General de Lévis had in mind. The 1760 sale contract makes clear that, like many other regulars, Charles planned to remain and settle in Canada. Approximately 500 to 700 soldiers of the French army, or about 15 percent of the *troupes de terre*, remained behind and many of them became ancestors of present-day French Canadians.<sup>146</sup>

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St. Lawrence River and most of its passengers were transferred to the *Aventure*), *Duke*, *Jenny*, and *Mary & Jane*. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 140-144.

<sup>141</sup> Chartrand, *Quebec*, 21. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:1127. An additional 195 Berry soldiers and officers sailed after 13 October 1760 on the *Rebecca*, the *Duke*, the *Mary Jane*, and the *Anna*. There appears to be some confusion since the 195 leaving in October and the 672 who left in September equals 867, while the final review on 9 September 1760 only reported 862 total soldiers and officers of whom 78 were reported as deserters or disappeared.

<sup>142</sup> Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française*, 8:217.

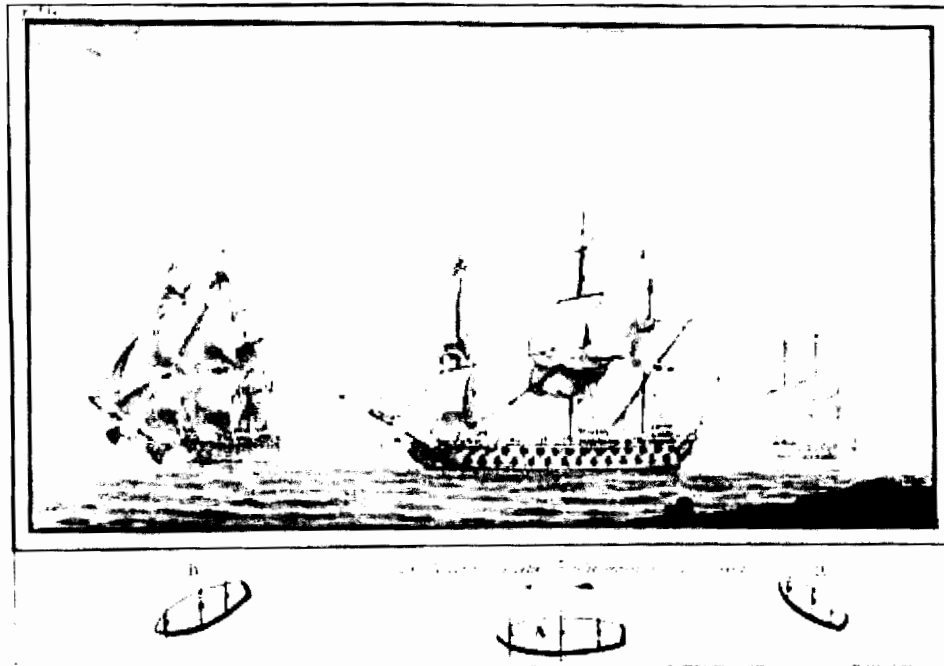
<sup>143</sup> O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:1117. Article 6 called for a general amnesty for both French and British deserters, but the British refused to approve this article no doubt because they planned to punish those who had deserted from their side, 10:1108.

<sup>144</sup> O'Callaghan has Canadians here, but clearly the Acadians were referred to as shown in Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 1:330.

<sup>145</sup> Casgrain, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, 2:387-388. Author's translation. Governor de Vaudreuil encouraged the soldiers to marry among the Canadians, and General de Montcalm shared this with his officers as early as 1756. *Ibid.*, 4:15.

<sup>146</sup> Landry, "Mortalité, nuptialité et canadienisation des troupes françaises da la guerre de Sept Ans," 314.

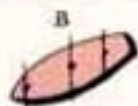
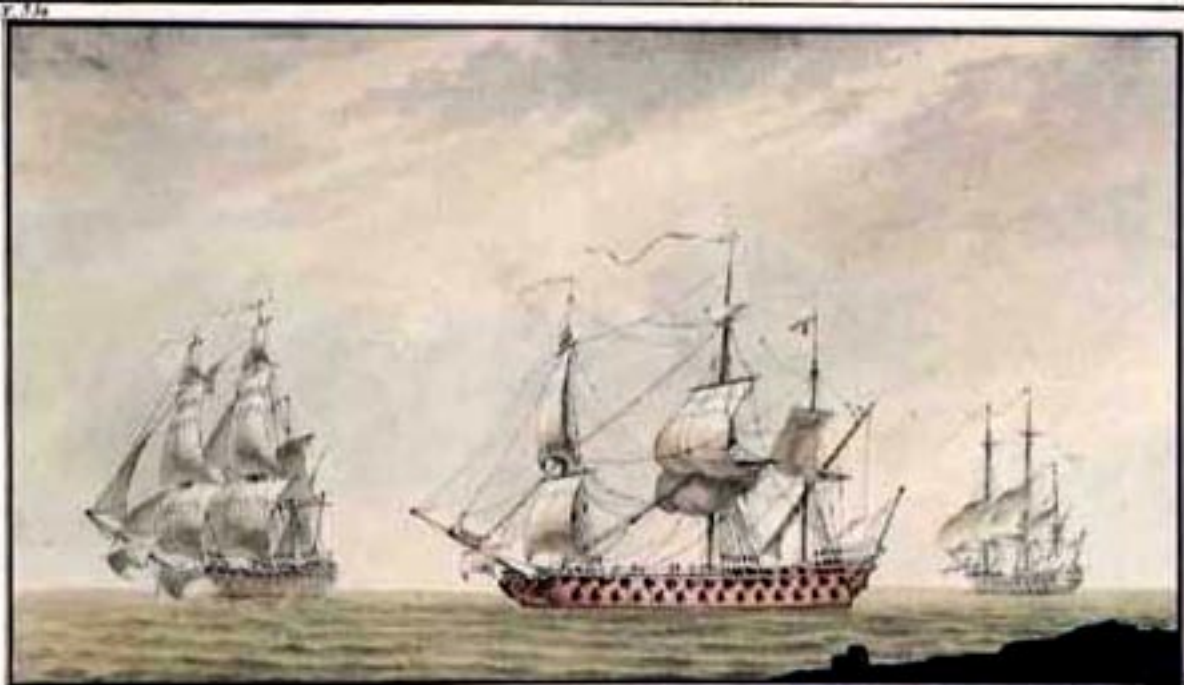
In October 2006, the Société généalogique canadienne française launched the Projet Montcalm to document the French soldiers and officers who served in Canada and who died here, returned to France, or settled among the Canadians.<sup>147</sup> Thanks to the Projet Montcalm, and particularly the work of Marcel Fournier, Rénaud Lessard, Suzanne Galaise, Luc Lépine, Jean-Yves Bronze, Micheline Perreault, Mireille Pailleux, and Jessica Bolduc, a detailed biographical registry of the French soldiers and officers has recently been published in *Combattre pour la France en Amérique: Les soldats de la guerre de Sept Ans en Nouvelle-France 1755-1760*.<sup>148</sup> In the pages of this book Charles has taken his place among the others in this database and once again he is reunited with his comrades-in-arms of the Berry regiment.



French Ship-of-the-Line, 74 Cannons, illustration by Nicolas Ozanne.

<sup>147</sup> To learn more about the Projet Montcalm point your Internet browsers to <http://www.sgcf.com/comm-montcalm-2007-11.php> and <http://pagesperso-orange.fr/alain.lorange/gen/montcalm.htm>.

<sup>148</sup> This book is available from the Société généalogique canadienne-française, <http://www.sgcf.com/images/combattrepourlafranceenameric.pdf>. The biographical registry, 187-593, and the list of name variations, 595-622, are extremely helpful for anyone researching French military ancestors in Canada. Although the bulk of this article was written before the publication of this reference, it proved a valuable tool in identifying soldiers and officers associated with Charles, and it provided information about him that your author had otherwise failed to uncover.

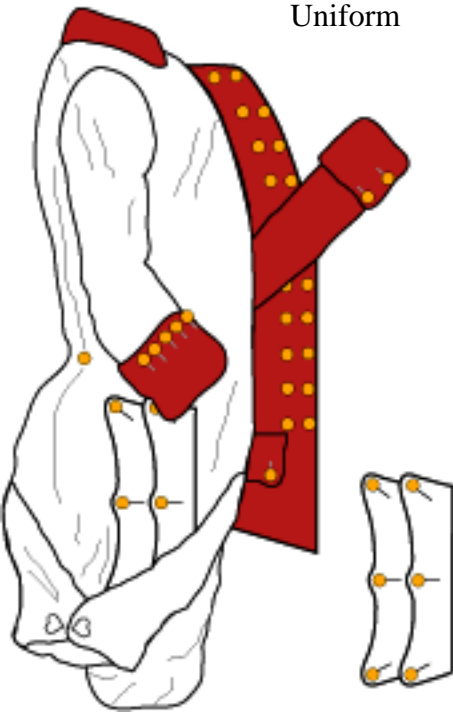


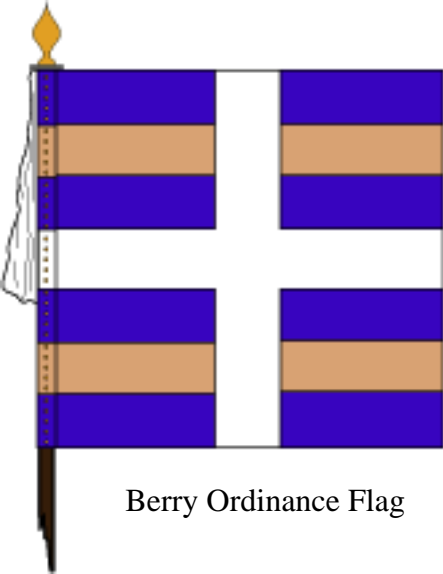
*La Direction de cette Flèche marque celle du Vent*

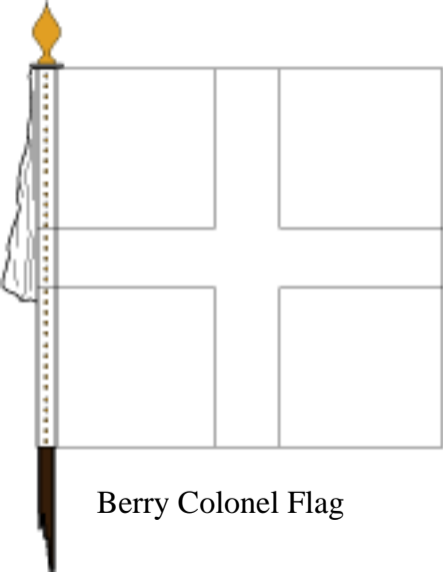




Berry  
Uniform







Berry Colonel Flag

# Michigan's **HABITANT**

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*Journal of the French-Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan*

Vol. 31 #3

Jul. 2010

## Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie, Grenadier of the Berry Regiment

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### Part III: Family in Canada

#### *Life in Canada*

Charles was certainly not alone in deserting to the L'Assomption area. Of the 35 known regulars who settled in the area of Repentigny, St-Sulpice, Berthier, Lachenaie, and L'Assomption, at least 20 of them were from the La Sarre regiment which had wintered in the area in 1758-1759 and 11 of them were from the Berry regiment, which also wintered there in 1759-1760.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, grenadiers were disproportionately represented being 40 percent of these men, eight from the La Sarre and six from the Berry.

It was only one year and 22 days between his sale contract and his marriage contract, so Charles may have relied on the contacts he made while wintering in the L'Assomption area and the network of former French army regulars to integrate so fast into the local community.

When Charles signed the marriage contract with Marie Anne Lahaise on 18 June 1761 he was making it clear to locals that he wanted to be part of their world. In his marriage contract, Charles favored Marie Anne with a dower: that is, a marriage settlement, of 300 *livres*, only a portion of the 700 *livres* Sergeant Bertrand paid him for his property back in Aouze.<sup>2</sup>

Two of the witnesses at Charles' wedding were grenadiers: namely Joseph Tollier, formerly with the La Sarre, and François Guerenon, formerly a fellow grenadier in the Berry regiment.<sup>3</sup> Joseph Tollier *dit* Latoise is of particular interest because he married on 15 January 1759 at Repentigny to Marie Françoise Archambault, the widow of Jean Baptiste Lahaise and Charles' future mother-in-law.<sup>4</sup> Charles and Joseph Tollier would witness the marriage of another soldier of the Berry regiment on 20 September 1761 at Repentigny: that of Jean Chalout *dit* Fleur d'Épine who married Françoise Couvrette.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The data on the soldiers who settled and married in the area is compiled from information found in Christian Roy, *Histoire de l'Assomption* (L'Assomption: Privately printed, 1967), 129-135. The other soldiers were from the Royal Roussillon with two and the Languedoc and Béarn with one each. Auger, "Les Soldats de la guerre de sept ans," *Mémoires* 4, no. 4 (June 1951), 242.

<sup>2</sup> Marriage contract between Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie and Marie Anne Lahaise, Jean-Baptiste Daguilhe, notary, 18 June 1761, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, photocopy in the author's possession.

<sup>3</sup> L'Assomption parish register, FHL microfilm 1018240. François Guernon *dit* Belleville would become an accomplished wood-carver. See the article on him in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, <http://www.biographi.ca> (8 Dec. 2008). Marcel Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique* (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 2009), 387, does not identify him as belonging to a grenadier company; he was in Pannelau's.

<sup>4</sup> PRDH, cert. no. 282644. J. Arthur Lebocuf, *Complément au Dictionnaire généalogique Tanguay*, 2 vols. in 1 (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 1977), 2: 417. Fournier, ed., *Combattre pour la France en Amérique*, 572.

<sup>5</sup> PRDH cert. no. 282670 marriage record for Jean Chatos and Françoise Couvrette where Tollier is listed as Tellier, and PRDH cert no. 371297 burial of Françoise Couvrette where her husband's name appears as Jean Chateau dit Fluierdepine. Auger, "Les soldats de la guerre de sept ans," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française* 5, no. 2 (June 1952): 114.

After their marriage, Charles and Marie Anne settled in a place called Presqu'Île. It is also known as Bas-de-L'Assomption and eventually became the parish of St-Paul-l'Ermite.<sup>6</sup> This parish was renamed Le Gardeur in 1978 and is now incorporated as the District de Le Gardeur in the city of Repentigny.<sup>7</sup> It is on the north shore of the L'Assomption River across from Repentigny.



Repentigny Area, Québec, Joseph Bouchette, *Topographical map of the Province of Lower Canada*, 1815.

Charles took up the occupation of farmer and was occasionally called a cultivator in the parish register. Although he signed the 1760 sale contract, his signature is not that of one confident in his literacy and in other documents he signs with a mark. He therefore is unlikely to have had a good education back in France. Nor did education appear to be important in his family in Canada as none of his children appear to have been literate.

Although a simple farmer, Charles did conduct business with his neighbors and family as reflected in the records of the local notaries:

- On 1 March 1769, land on the L'Assomption River in the Lachenaie seigneurie owned by Joseph Tollier *dit* Latoise and his wife Marie Anne Archambault was exchanged in return for another parcel of land, a *censive* in the same seigneurie, plus the successive rights to the personal property and real estate situated there, owned by her son-in-law and daughter, namely, Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie and his wife Marie Anne Lahaise. Jean Baptiste Daguilhe, notary.<sup>8</sup>
- On 6 May 1772, sale of land situated at Presqu'Île, seigneurie of Lachenaie between François Salway and his wife Thérèse —?—, to Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie, all the parties of the said place. François Régis Loisel, notary.<sup>9</sup>
- On 7 January 1786, Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie and Marie Anne Lahaise, his wife, purchased land in the seigneurie of Lachenaie from Jean Baptiste Labrèche and his wife Marie Anne Jeannot *dit* Bellhumeur,

<sup>6</sup> Roy, *Histoire de l'Assomption*, 429.

<sup>7</sup> "Le Gardeur, Quebec," Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org> (24 Dec. 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Parchemin database, search performed on behalf of author by Denis Beaugard, 22 Feb. 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Parchemin database, search performed on behalf of author by Denis Beaugard, 22 Feb. 2009.



seller and purchaser both living at Presqu'Île. Joseph Thomas Raymond, notary.<sup>10</sup> This is the land they sold to their son and neighbor, François, in 1794.

- On 5 May 1794, Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie and Marie Anne Lahaize, his wife, sold land at Presqu'Île, seigneurie of Lachenaie, parish of Repentigny, to their son François Mercier *dit* Lajoie, of the same place. Joseph Thomas Raymond, notary.<sup>11</sup> This land was an *arpent* in front, 15 *arpents* in depth with an additional forty *arpents* at the end bordering the land of Jean Baptiste Ratelle with the representatives of the late C. Germain on one side and their son François on the other side. This land corresponds to lots 189, 196, and 197 in St-Paul-l'Ermite. The deal was for 600 *livres* or shillings to be paid within six years without interest.<sup>12</sup>
- On 27 July 1796, Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie, of Presqu'Île, made out a quittance to his son François. Joseph Édouard Faribault, notary.<sup>13</sup>
- 23 September 1803, Charles Mercier *dit* Lajoie, of the parish of Repentigny, purchased a *compost de terre* at Presqu'Île, seigneurie de Lachenaie, from Joseph Morisseaux and his wife Charlotte Lescarbeaux. Joseph Édouard Faribault, notary.<sup>14</sup>

The most important notarial contract, at least in genealogical terms, came late in his life. On 31 July 1813, before the notary Barthelemy Joliette, Charles and Marie Anne drew up a donation before death contract with their children.<sup>15</sup> This was a customary practice in which the children of a couple promised to take care of their parents with an understanding that they would receive a portion of the estate. This contract was made in favor of their ten children: Hypoline Mercier, widow of Jean Louis Lebeau; Charles Mercier; François Mercier; Josette Mercier, wife of Jean Baptiste Longpré; Jean Louis Mercier; Louis Mercier; Joseph Mercier; Pierre Mercier; Madeline Mercier, wife of Pascal Beauchamp; and Marie Catherine Mercier, wife of François Archambault. Each of the children was to receive 300 *livres* on their future succession to the estate.<sup>16</sup> However, the contract does not spell out what care the children were to provide to the parents.

It appears that Charles also owned another parcel of land. On 30 December 1815, Jean Louis Mercier *dit* Lajoie, the son of Charles and Marie Anne, sold this land to his brother Pierre Mercier in an act before the notary Joseph Édouard Faribault. Charles and Marie Anne are mentioned in this act because the owner of the property was required to winter cows for them on it during their lifetime. It seems likely that they had once owned the land and either donated or sold it to Jean Louis. This land in Presqu'Île contained a house and barn, and measured more than two *arpents* in front by forty *arpents* in depth with an additional one and a half *arpents* by forty *arpents* in the rear. It was bordered on the front by the property of Jean Baptiste Longpré and on either side by Amable Mazaret and J. L. Bougrette. Interestingly, Jean Louis retained the right to cut timber on the back *arpents* but in exchange permitted his brother Pierre to log on land he owned of the same size bordering the property of Joseph Lebeau. This deal also included a horse, a harness, a heifer, a plow with its riggings, and a small and a large cart with their wheels. The

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<sup>10</sup> Parchemin database, search performed on 2 February 1994, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal. Ernest Mercier, *Mercier depuis des siècles* (Québec [Province]: Impr. H.L.N. in collaboration with L'Association des Mercier d'Amérique du nord, 1987), 245, records the date of this purchase as 6 February 1789.

<sup>11</sup> Parchemin database, search performed on 2 February 1994, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal.

<sup>12</sup> Mercier, *Mercier depuis des siècles*, 245.

<sup>13</sup> Parchemin database, search performed on 2 February 1994, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal.

<sup>14</sup> Parchemin database, search performed on 2 February 1994, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal.

<sup>15</sup> Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, photocopy received 15 January 1988, in author's possession.

<sup>16</sup> Hélène Lafortune and Normand Robert, *Inventaire des minutes notariales de Barthelemy Joliette, 1810-1848: répertoire analytique, index onomastique, index par catégorie d'actes* (Montréal: Éditions Bergeron, 1980), 86, item 627. The following signed the document with a mark: Jn Ls Mercier, Ls Mercier, Pre Mercier, Paul Beauchamp, Cath. Marie, Charles Mercier, père, Marie Anne Lahaize, Hypoline [Apolline] Mercier, Charles Mercier, Frs Mercier, Jn Bte Longpre, Joste Mercier, Frs Archambault, and Marie Mercier.

price was 4,000 *livres* and 20 coppers to be paid in 12 annual installments with 200 *livres* and 20 coppers being paid on the day of the contract.<sup>17</sup>

Both Charles and Marie Anne lived long lives. Charles died in 1817 at the age of 82 years, 7 months, and 2 days. Marie Anne survived him and passed in 1825 at the age of 78 years, 2 months, and 20 days.

### ***Genealogical Summary***

The genealogical records of Québec allow us to easily establish the following information about Charles and his family:

**CHARLES MERCIER DIT LAJOIE**, son of Vincent Mercier and Catherine Gossard, born 16 February 1735, baptized 17 February 1735, Removille, Vosges Department, Lorraine, France,<sup>18</sup> died 18 September 1817, buried 19 September 1817, Repentigny,<sup>19</sup> married 22 June 1761, L'Assomption, **MARIE ANNE LAHAISE**, daughter of Jean Baptiste Lahaise and Marie Archambault,<sup>20</sup> born and baptized 5 November 1746, Repentigny,<sup>21</sup> died 26 January 1825, buried 28 January 1825, Repentigny.<sup>22</sup>

Charles Mercier dit Lajoie and Marie Anne Lahaise were the parents of the following children:

- i. PAULINE "APOLLINE" MERCIER DITE LAJOIE, b. ca. 1764,<sup>23</sup> d. 10 Jan. 1849, bur. 12 Jan. 1849, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan,<sup>24</sup> m. (1) 19 June 1786, L'Assomption, as his third wife, JOSEPH LEBEAU DIT LALOUETTE, son of Marien Lebeau dit Lalouette and Suzanne Laurie,<sup>25</sup> (2) 6 Apr. 1818, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, CHARLES CRÉPEAU, the widower of Françoise Gravel, from St-Henri de Mascouche,<sup>26</sup> the son of Charles Crépeau and Agnès Charlant.<sup>27</sup>
- ii. CHARLES MERCIER DIT LAJOIE, b. 27 Aug. 1765, bapt. 1 Sept. 1765, Repentigny,<sup>28</sup> d. 26 Nov. 1851, bur. 28 Nov. 1851, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan,<sup>29</sup> m. (1) bef. 1816, LOUISE CHEVALIER,<sup>30</sup> (2)

<sup>17</sup> Mercier, *Mercier depuis des siècles*, 245-246.

<sup>18</sup> Parish Register of Removille, FHL microfilm 1115647. Cercle généalogique des Vosges, Acte de naissance, no. 11400103072808310, <http://gencalogie.com> (21 Nov. 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Repentigny parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1031633. PRDH, cert. no. 783691. He is recorded as a cultivator of Repentigny and given the age of 90 years.

<sup>20</sup> L'Assomption parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1018240. Civil copy of marriage record, L'Assomption parish register, received 16 May 1991, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal. PRDH, cert. no. 286597.

<sup>21</sup> L'Assomption parish register, FHL microfilm 1293035.

<sup>22</sup> Repentigny parish register, FHL microfilm 1031633, indicates that she died the day before yesterday, *avant hier*, which would be the 26<sup>th</sup> and not the 25<sup>th</sup> as PRDH suggests. PRDH, cert. no. 783700.

<sup>23</sup> No baptism record found, birth year calculated from her burial age of 85.

<sup>24</sup> Drouin Collection, Quebec Vital and Church Records, 1621-1967, online subscription database available at <http://ancestry.com>, hereinafter, Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1849 image 4. PRDH, cert. no. 1150246.

<sup>25</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1786-1796, image 6. PRDH, cert. no. 350894. This wedding would have been awkward for Charles as his nine-month-old granddaughter, Pauline Lebeau, was mentioned as the bride and groom's common daughter. This might be the same illegitimate daughter named Véronique born to Pauline and an unknown father, b. 20 November 1785, bapt. 21 November 1785, Repentigny, PRDH no. 672817. Joseph Lebeau had m. (1) 9 October 1747, Longue-Pointe, Marie Catherine Laspron, and (2) 18 January 1762, Repentigny, Marie Madeleine Payet, see PRDH cert. nos. 114508 and 282680. He d. 11 February 1809, Repentigny, see PRDH cert. no. 783583.

<sup>26</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1818, image 12. Her burial record says she was the widow of Joseph Crépeau.

<sup>27</sup> He had m. Françoise Gravelle on 18 November 1765 at Château-Richer, PRDH, cert. no. 235866. He d. on 1 April 1822 and was bur. 3 April 1822, Maschouche, PRDH, cert. no. 1149598.

<sup>28</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1746-1775, image 159. PRDH, cert. no. 282551.

<sup>29</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1851, image 39.

<sup>30</sup> No marriage record has been found, but Louise d. 22 April 1816, Repentigny, age 43, and she is called the wife of Charles Mercier. Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1816, image 8.

10 Aug. 1818, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, ANGELIQUE MARTEL, daughter of Nicolas Martel and François Caré.<sup>31</sup> He was a cultivator at Repentigny in 1816 and 1818.

- iii. FRANÇOIS MERCIER *DIT* LAJOIE, b. and bapt. 27 Sept. 1767, Repentigny,<sup>32</sup> d. 13 Aug. 1836, bur. 15 Aug. 1836, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan,<sup>33</sup> m. (1) 14 Jan. 1799, Repentigny, MARIE ANTOINETTE RAYMOND, daughter of the late Antoine Raymond and the late Marie Louise Pichet,<sup>34</sup> (2) 11 Jan. 1802, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, SUSANNE DUMOND, daughter of Jean Baptiste Dumond and the late Marie Archange Cadot,<sup>35</sup> (3) 30 Mar. 1818, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, MARIE CLÉMENCE CHARTIER, daughter of Joseph Chartier and Marie Charles Bricault *dite* Lamarche.<sup>36</sup> He was a cultivator at Repentigny in 1799 and at St-Roch-de-l'Achigan in 1818.
- iv. MARIE JOSEPHE "JOSEPHTE" MERCIER, b. 19 Jan. 1770, bapt. 20 Jan. 1770, Repentigny,<sup>37</sup> d. 12 Oct. 1843, bur. 14 Oct. 1843, Repentigny,<sup>38</sup> m. 25 Sep. 1786, Repentigny, JEAN BAPTISTE LONGPRÉ, son of Louis Longpré and Marie Angélique Janot *dite* Lachappelle.<sup>39</sup> Her husband was a cultivator of Repentigny in 1843.
- v. JEAN BAPTISTE MERCIER *DIT* LAJOIE, b. 23 Feb. 1772, bapt. 28 Feb. 1772, St-Sulpice,<sup>40</sup> d. 4 June 1786, bur. 6 June 1786, L'Assomption.<sup>41</sup>
- vi. JEAN LOUIS MERCIER *DIT* LAJOIE, b. and bapt., 9 Mar. 1774, L'Assomption,<sup>42</sup> d. 16 Mar. 1849, bur. 19 Mar. 1849, St-Roch-de-L'Achigan,<sup>43</sup> m. (1) 27 June 1796, L'Assomption, ÉLISABETH LANDRY, daughter of Germain Landry and the late Marie Marthe or Cécile Mirau or Mineau,<sup>44</sup> (2) 24 Jan. 1843, Montréal, MARIE CHARLES [CHARLOTTE] CALIXTE LARIVÉE, living in Montréal, daughter of Charles Larivée and Archange Limoges, of St-Jacques-de-l'Achigan.<sup>45</sup> In 1810 he was called a master miller.<sup>46</sup> Jean Louis was a bourgeois of St-Roch-de-l'Achigan in 1843.<sup>47</sup>
- vii. LOUIS MERCIER, b. ca. 1774,<sup>48</sup> d. 16 May 1862, bur. 18 May 1862, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan,<sup>49</sup> m. 31 Jan. 1803, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, CATHERINE BEAUDOIN, minor daughter of Jean Baptiste

<sup>31</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1818, images 26-27. Charles is called the widower of Louise Chevalier.

<sup>32</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1746-1775, image 184. PRDH, cert. no. 671990.

<sup>33</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1836, image 13.

<sup>34</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1799, image 2. PRDH, cert. no. 351058.

<sup>35</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1802, image 2. François is called the widower of Marie Antoine Raimond [*sic*].

<sup>36</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1818, image 11. Given a dispensation for the impediment of consanguinity of the "*quatrième au quatrième degré*." François is called the widower of Suzanne Dumond.

<sup>37</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1769-1770, image 4. PRDH, cert. no. 672114.

<sup>38</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1843, image 10. PRDH, cert. no. 783624.

<sup>39</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1786, image 13. He d. 22 July 1850, bur. 24 July 1850, Repentigny. PRDH, cert. no. 783699.

<sup>40</sup> The years 1769-1775 are missing from the civil copy of the parish register in the Drouin Collection. PRDH, cert. no. 673766. Maurice Perreault, *Baptêmes, mariages et sépultures de la paroisse St-Sulpice 1706-1980* (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 1985), 151.

<sup>41</sup> Drouin Collection, L'Assomption, 1786, image 10. PRDH, cert. no. 525024.

<sup>42</sup> Drouin Collection, L'Assomption, 1773-1774, image 17. PRDH, cert. no. 680648.

<sup>43</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1849, image 13. PRDH, cert. no. 1149889.

<sup>44</sup> Drouin Collection, L'Assomption, 1796, image 11. PRDH, cert. no. 350264. Their marriage was also recorded on 25 July 1796, Repentigny. Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1796, image 5.

<sup>45</sup> Drouin Collection, Montreal (Basilique Notre Dame), 1843, image 13. The banns were read in St-Roch-de-l'Achigan. Jean Louis is called the widower of Élisabeth Landry.

<sup>46</sup> Mercier, *Mercier depuis des siècles*, 249.

<sup>47</sup> Drouin Collection, Montreal (Basilique Notre Dame), 1843, image 13.

<sup>48</sup> No record has been found for his birth. His year of birth is calculated from his age of 88 recorded on his burial record. Louis is distinct from Jean Louis as both brothers along with their brother Charles witnessed the marriage of

Beaudoin and Louse Brien *dite* Desrochers.<sup>50</sup> Louis was a cultivator of St-Roch-de-l'Achigan when married in 1803 and a miller in the same place in 1815.<sup>51</sup>

- viii. JOSEPH MERCIER *DIT LAJOIE*, b. 29 May 1777, bapt. 29 May 1777, Repentigny,<sup>52</sup> d. 9 Feb. 1821, bur. 11 Feb. 1821, Repentigny,<sup>53</sup> m. 17 Nov. 1800, Repentigny, CATHERINE LACHAPELLE, daughter of Dominique Lachapelle, miller, and Marie Rose Archambault.<sup>54</sup> He was a cultivator of Repentigny in 1800.
- ix. PIERRE MERCIER *DIT LAJOIE*, b. and bapt., 2 Mar. 1779, L'Assomption,<sup>55</sup> d. 7 Oct. 1856, bur. 9 Oct. 1856, St-Roch-de-L'Achigan,<sup>56</sup> m. 4 June 1810, Repentigny, MARIE ANGELIQUE "DESANGES" LANGLOIS *DITE LACHAPELLE*, minor daughter of François Langlois dit Lachapelle and Marie Anne Moreau Desjordis dite Desilets,<sup>57</sup> b. and bapt. 22 July 1789, Repentigny,<sup>58</sup> d. 19 Mar. 1897, bur. 22 Mar. 1879, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan.<sup>59</sup> He was a day laborer in 1810 at Repentigny. At his death he was called a "*rentier*" of St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, meaning a person of independent means.
- x. JOSEPH MARIE "MARIEN" MERCIER *DIT LAJOIE*, b. and bapt. 10 Feb. 1781, L'Assomption, twin,<sup>60</sup> d. 29 Oct. 1811, bur. 31 Oct. 1811, Repentigny, age 31.<sup>61</sup> In 1811 he was an *engagé*, that is, a hired worker, and resided at Repentigny.
- xi. MARIE MADELINE MERCIER, b. and bapt. 10 Feb. 1781, L'Assomption, twin,<sup>62</sup> m. 30 July 1798, Repentigny, PASCAL BEAUCHAMP, son of Jean Michel Beauchamp and Agathe Renaut of Mascouche.<sup>63</sup> He was a cultivator in 1798.
- xii. MARIE CATHERINE MERCIER *DITE LAJOIE*, b. 30 June 1783, bapt. 1 July 1783, L'Assomption,<sup>64</sup> d. 30 Apr. 1820, bur. 1 May 1820, Repentigny,<sup>65</sup> m. 3 Oct. 1803, Repentigny, as a minor, FRANÇOIS ARCHAMBAULT, son of Antoine Archambault and Josephite Archambault.<sup>66</sup>

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their brother François in 1799. Furthermore, he is listed after Jean Louis and before Joseph in his parents' donation before death in 1813.

<sup>49</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1862, image 13. Called the widower of Catherine Beaudoin.

<sup>50</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1803, image 3. Given a dispensation for the impediment of consanguinity of the "*quatrième au quatrième degré*." Roy, *Histoire de l'Assomption*, 429, mistakenly assigns two additional marriages to Louis, but he is confusing the marriages of his son and grandson, both named Louis. See Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1830, image 6, and 1855, image 28.

<sup>51</sup> Roy, *Histoire de l'Assomption*, 429, citing a 19 July 1815 contract before the notary Joseph Édouard Faribault.

<sup>52</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1776-1785, image 11. PRDH, cert. no. 672449, civil copy.

<sup>53</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1821, image 2.

<sup>54</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1800, image 10.

<sup>55</sup> L'Assomption parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1018240, very difficult to read entry. PRDH, cert. no. 681792.

<sup>56</sup> St-Roch-de-l'Achigan parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1290624, f. 42, burial 34.

<sup>57</sup> Repentigny parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1031633., f. 38r. Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1810, frame 7.

<sup>58</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1789, image 7.

<sup>59</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-L'Achigan, 1879, images 8-9.

<sup>60</sup> Drouin Collection, L'Assomption, 1780-1781, image 29. PRDH, cert. no. 689233, parents' residence noted as Presqu'Île de Repentigny

<sup>61</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1811, image 15. Repentigny parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1031633.

<sup>62</sup> Drouin Collection, L'Assomption, 1780-1781, image 29. PRDH, cert. no. 689234.

<sup>63</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1798, image 6. PRDH, cert. no. 351050.

<sup>64</sup> Drouin Collection, L'Assomption, 1783-1786, image 24. PRDH, cert. no. 689726. Parents were living at Presqu'Île de Repentigny.

<sup>65</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1820, image 12. She appears to have gone by Marie and not Catherine as that is the name on her marriage and burial records.

<sup>66</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1803, image 14. Interesting, there is no mention of consanguinity given that the bride's maternal grandmother was also an Archambault.

- xiii. FRANÇOISE MERCIER, b. 31 Oct. 1785, bapt. 1 Nov. 1785, Repentigny,<sup>67</sup> d. before 31 July 1813.<sup>68</sup>
- xiv. LOUIS VINCENT MERCIER, b. and bapt. 3 July 1788, Repentigny,<sup>69</sup> bur. 24 Feb. 1790, Repentigny.<sup>70</sup>
- xv. —?— MERCIER, bur. 23 July 1789, Repentigny, no details given.<sup>71</sup> Probably died shortly after birth.

Charles now has many descendents who can claim this grenadier as their ancestor in Québec, elsewhere in Canada, and in the United States of America.<sup>72</sup>

### **Decisions**

It is dangerous to speculate on the motives of historical actors when we know so little of their thinking and justifications for their actions. Charles did not leave us any letters or a journal. Two decisions will always remain shrouded in mystery: why he joined the Berry regiment and why he decided to remain in Canada. Because he left no written record, we can only examine the incidentals surrounding these decisions and offer some hesitant speculations.

With the death of his father in 1749, being an only son, why would the 14-year-old Charles have not taken up the weaver's trade and stayed in Aouze? Perhaps his father inadequately trained him to follow the trade or it simply did not appeal to him. In 1754, when Charles was 19, the Berry regiment was stationed nearby and perhaps he was lured into the unit by his friend, Jean Bertrand. His physical appearance must have been impressive enough to eventually qualify him to be made a grenadier. With a robust physique Charles may have found the life of a weaver unexciting and the prospects of adventure in the military more to his taste. Or it could simply be the case that harsh economic times might have induced him to enlist. We simply do not know.

What of his monumental decision at the age of 25 to stay in Canada and to abandon all that he had known in France? We know that he wintered in the L'Assomption area in 1759-1760 and that some L'Assomption militia men were undoubtedly assigned to the Berry regiment. It is very likely that he had met and got to know the people he would eventually adopt as his Canadian family. He might even have met Anne-Marie Lahaise that winter and wanted to return specifically to her.

Certainly, we know he was not alone; many soldiers in the regular regiments were deserting and the L'Assomption area attracted quite a few of them from the La Sarre and Berry regiments. This is surprising given the uncertainty that faced all the people of French Canada with the experience of the Acadian expulsion in 1755 such a fresh memory. His ease of mind must have been facilitated by his friendship with two former grenadiers who also deserted to the L'Assomption area. One of them, Joseph Tollier *dit* Latoise, was married to the woman who would soon become Charles' mother-in-law.

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<sup>67</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1776-1785, image 67. PRDH, cert. no. 672813. PRDH mistakenly identifies this child as a male when the record makes it clear that it is a female.

<sup>68</sup> She is not listed among the surviving children of Charles and Marie Anne in their donation before death of this date.

<sup>69</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1786-1796, image 23. PRDH, cert. no. 672951.

<sup>70</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1786-1796, image 39. PRDH, cert. no. 523248.

<sup>71</sup> Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1789, image 7, where the name is left blank, and 1786-1796, image 33, where the name Charles was added in a later transcription. PRDH, cert. no. 523226.

<sup>72</sup> Ernest Mercier traces some, but by no means all, of Charles descendants, see Mercier, *Mercier depuis des siècles*, 225-269. He estimates that five percent of all Merciers trace back to Charles, there being several other settlers with the same surname.

As difficult as it was for Charles to decide to remain in an abandoned colony of France, he must have had enough reasons to make him feel comfortable with the decision. He probably had the support of his comrade-in-arms, and nothing remained in Lorraine to make him deeply regret the permanent break with his homeland.

Finally, we are left wondering what impression Charles' military adventure, which only lasted six years, had on his life. One wonders if he reminisced with his comrades-in-arms when he met them in town. Did he spend his last few years, surrounded by his grandchildren, reliving his youth by telling them of his exploits as a grenadier in the Berry regiment, the ships he sailed on, the sickness he suffered from that killed so many of his fellow soldiers and sailors, the places he visited, the battles he fought in, and the family he left behind in France?

***Descent of John Patrick DuLong from Charles Mercier dit Lajoie***

**CHARLES MERCIER *DIT* LAJOIE** (1735-1817) and  
**MARIE ANNE LAHAISE** (1746-1825),  
daughter of Jean Baptiste Lahaise and Marie Archambault,  
m. 22 June 1761, L'Assomption,<sup>73</sup> third great-grandparents

|  
**PIERRE MERCIER *DIT* LAJOIE** (1789- 1856) and  
**MARIE DESANGES LANGLOIS** (1789- 1879),  
daughter of François Langlois dit Lachapelle and  
Marie Anne Morceau Desjordis dite Desilcts,  
m. 4 June 1810, Repentigny, Québec,<sup>74</sup> second great-grandparents

|  
**MARIE "ELISE" MERCIER** (1826-1907) and  
**FRANÇOIS ÉDOUARD DULONG** (1821-1899),  
son of François Richard Dulong and Marie Anne Trullier *dite* Lacombe,  
m. 26 Sept. 1843, St-Roch-de-l'Achigan, Québec,<sup>75</sup> great-grandparents

|  
**EMILE "MEO" ELDRED DULONG** (1871-1926) and  
**EXILDA "JULIA" CECILIA BOURBONNAIS** (1871-1955),  
daughter of Henry Bourbonnais and Stephanie Monette,  
m. 29 Sept. 1891, Houghton, Michigan,<sup>76</sup> grandparents

|  
**JOSEPH "CY" LEO DULONG** (1911-1996) and  
**CATHERINE OLIVIA STANTON** (1911-1999),  
daughter of John F. Stanton and Rose Prince,  
m. 2 Apr. 1932, Hubbell, Michigan,<sup>77</sup> parents

|  
**JOHN PATRICK DULONG**

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<sup>73</sup> L'Assomption parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1018240. Civil copy of marriage record, L'Assomption parish register, received 16 May 1991, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal. PRDH, cert. no. 286597.

<sup>74</sup> Repentigny parish register, FHL microfilm no. 1031633., f. 38r. Drouin Collection, Repentigny, 1810, image 7.

<sup>75</sup> Drouin Collection, St-Roch-l'Achigan, 1843, images 34-35.

<sup>76</sup> Marriage Certificate from St. Ignatius Loyola, Houghton, Michigan, issued 26 Dec. 1984, marriage of Emilio Dulong and Exilia Bourbonnais, 29 Sept. 1891. Marriage Certificate, Michigan Dept. of Public Health, no. 283, issued 28 Nov. 1978, for Milo Duling and Eliza Bourbonnais, license dated 12 Sept. 1891. Note: The date and place of marriage was not recorded at the courthouse, only the license information.

<sup>77</sup> Marriage License and Certificate, Houghton County, Michigan, no. 68, issued 2 Apr. 1932, for Joseph Dulong and Catherine Stanton, married 2 Apr. 1932, Hubbell.

C. Mercier