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Essay for your consideration



## ROYAL-ROUSSILLON DEFENDS CARILLON & LA NOUVELLE FRANCE

by Nicholas Westbrook

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Current: 10 November 2008

France and Great Britain formally declared war on one another early in 1756. By late spring, fresh French regiments and a new commander were arriving in New France. June 2006 was the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival in North America of the second battalion of *le régiment Royal-Roussillon*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first battalion served in Europe. *Royal-Roussillon* evolved into the *54<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie*, which was disbanded in 1997.

*Royal-Roussillon* arrived at the French naval base at Brest on Thursday, 25 March 1756. At the final muster on the following day, the adjutant recorded 556 men, including both officers and soldiers.<sup>i</sup> To assure completion of the regiments, the king offered amnesty to all those willing to be part of the Canada-bound force for six years' service. New regulations announced that, beginning in 1756, sergeants would serve with fusils, rather than halberds.

With the near-simultaneous arrival for departure of *le régiment de la Sarre*, the population of the port city nearly doubled. *Royal-Roussillon* boarded *L'Illustre* and *Léopard*<sup>ii</sup> ten days later, on Saturday, 3 April 1756, at the same time as *le régiment de la Sarre* and other troops led by Louis-Joseph Guzon, the Marquis de Montcalm, recently appointed major-general (*maréchal de camp*).<sup>iii</sup> *Royal-Roussillon* arrived in the St. Lawrence River below Québec City on the morning of 30 May 1756.<sup>iv</sup>

Although all transports lost men during the crossing, *Léopard* suffered an epidemic and was quarantined on arrival. The disease vectors hit particularly hard upon men in three of the regiment's four companies on board, probably due to ship-board proximity: One of the four company *capitaines* lost his life; not surprisingly, the regimental surgeon fell ill.

Casualties reached deeply on *Léopard*: The grenadier company (9 ill on arrival; four died within the month); C:ie Serviès (10 ill; 5 died); C:ie Bourgat (5 ill; 4 died, including *capitaine* Charles Bourgat); C:ie Thiballier (1 ill on arrival; 1 dead). Only one man from *Royal-Roussillon* had come from *L'Illustre*: from C:ie DuCoin (1 ill; 1 died).

On arrival, the regiment had counted 26 men so ill that they were dispatched immediately on arrival to the general hospital in Québec (including the regimental surgeon), of whom 15 men died during the next three weeks.<sup>v</sup> *Léopard's* captain was court-martialed for neglecting hygiene. (The captain died of disease before a verdict could be rendered.) The 29-year-old *Léopard* was condemned as "unseaworthy" and was burnt that spring at Beauport, Québec.<sup>2vi</sup> No wonder that the Chevalier François-Gaston de Lévis was ordered to get the two newly-arriving battalions back "in order"!<sup>vii</sup> Governor General Vaudreuil assigned Lévis and Commissary Doreil to organize reception points for moving forward the surviving and relatively healthy elements of *Royal-Roussillon* and *La Sarre*.<sup>viii</sup>

Montcalm was replacing Baron von Dieskau, who had been wounded and captured in the Battle of Lake George the previous September. After just two weeks on *terra firma*, Montcalm departed from Québec City on an inspection trip to his most threatened frontier—guarded by the newest fort in *Nouvelle France*—*Carillon* (Ticonderoga).<sup>ix</sup> He dispatched his second-in-command, the Chevalier de Lévis, and *régiments de la Reine, Languedoc* and *Royal-Roussillon* to establish an observation post at Carillon.<sup>x</sup> Men of *Royal-Roussillon* surely assisted in the major construction campaign at Carillon that summer. Troops built a massive *hangard* to protect supplies and to provide a towering artillery platform to defend the rest of the fort then under construction. British scouts reported construction of "five houses" below the fort.<sup>xi</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The two ships carrying the two regiments lost eight men and a servant during the crossing. But the ships delivered 220 sick to the hospital at Québec.

After the successful August 1756 siege of the British forts at Oswego, Montcalm returned the next month to the *Carillon* frontier, reassured to find *Royal-Roussillon* encamped below the Ticonderoga escarpment,<sup>xiii</sup> in the vicinity of the “five houses.” During that summer’s occupation and exploration of the area, the commanding officer of *Royal-Roussillon*, Colonel Félicien de Bernetz gave his name to the stream in Ticonderoga now called Trout Brook.<sup>3</sup> At the end-of-season review by Montcalm, the regiment proved the largest at Carillon, totaling 503 men in thirteen companies.<sup>xiii</sup> On 11 November 1756, a foot of snow already on the ground, and the lakes freezing, most of *Royal-Roussillon* departed for winter quarters in Chambly, except for one *piquet*<sup>xiv</sup> assigned to remain as part of the winter garrison for Carillon along with *piquets* from *les régiments de la Reine* and *de Languedoc* (totaling 150 regulars, plus 100 colony troops—the *compagnies Franche de la Marine*—and 50 workmen).<sup>xv</sup>

In February 1757, Governor-General Vaudreuil planned a lightning raid by some 1600 men on the British at Fort William Henry. Overall command of the raid was given to Vaudreuil’s brother, François-Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil (commonly called “Rigaud” to distinguish him from his older brother).<sup>xvi</sup> Sieur Médard de Poulhariès, captain of grenadiers in *Royal-Roussillon*, commanded the 300 French regulars in the detachment.<sup>xvii</sup> Snow and fierce cold delayed the expedition until mid-March; lack of food and poor siege equipment limited success. The French were unable to force the British garrison to surrender. Nonetheless, after a three-day siege, the French expedition managed to burn 300 bateaux, 4 vessels, 2 storehouses, a small outpost, numerous huts, a sawmill, and a lot of planks and firewood. *Royal-Roussillon* suffered one wounded man. The expedition withdrew. Fully a third of the expedition returned snow-blind from the glare on the lake; happily, most recovered within a couple of days “with simple remedies.” Rigaud left behind at Carillon for the coming campaign season the four *piquets* from *Royal-Roussillon*, *Languedoc*, *Béarn*, and *La Sarre*. Montcalm was greatly impressed by *capitaine* Poulhariès’ leadership. He wrote that he had “performed in the most gallant manner. . . an officer deserving of favors on account of his services, his wounds, and his industry. He possesses the stuff to make a good Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry.”<sup>xviii</sup>

By late spring 1757, Governor General Vaudreuil was beginning to mobilize the French regulars out of winter quarters to be ready for summer campaign duty on the frontier. In early May, the balance of *Royal-Roussillon* was ordered to depart for Carillon for a second season on the frontier, where the regiment, along with *le régiment de Béarn*, would fall under the command of Colonel François-Charles de Bourlamaque.<sup>xix</sup> Around noon on 14 May 1757, dozens of bateaux delivered the men of *Royal-Roussillon*. Surrounded by a protective abatis, they encamped between the fort and the Grenadiers’ Battery at the tip of the Ticonderoga peninsula. Again, completing construction of the fort was the immediate priority.<sup>xx</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> George Augustus, Lord Howe, second in command of the British attacking forces in July 1758, was killed in a skirmish while crossing Bernetz Brook during the first hours after accomplishing a landing in the face of the enemy, and leading a reconnaissance-in-force of 4000 men in a sweep around French advanced posts at The Portage.

<sup>4</sup> *Piquet* in French refers to an elite detachment of chosen men, typically 50 men, of a regiment. **Picquet** in English refers to advanced guards posted before a camp.

Carillon would begin the 1757 campaign season with a field army of some 1300 men.<sup>xxi</sup> Other regiments of French regulars, Canadians and Indians by the thousands filtered into Carillon, and by mid-July Montcalm himself had arrived.<sup>xxii</sup> That summer the campaign goal was to return to Fort William Henry and to mount, this time, an irresistible siege. During the latter half of July, the troops muscled tons of bateaux, artillery, equipment, and food for six weeks, and other supplies across the portage between Carillon and Lake George. Finally, on 1 August, Montcalm's force, now numbering more than 8000 men (including 472 from *Royal-Roussillon*, and 1799 Indians), departed for Fort William Henry, a dozen leagues (35 miles) away at the other end of Lake George. Only *le régiment de Guyenne* contributed more men to the besieging army.<sup>xxiii</sup>

On arrival at the debarkation point, Montcalm recognized that the advanced guard was not yet in siege position. So he ordered Broulmaque to lead the *La Sarre* and *Royal-Roussillon* brigades to take a secure, more advanced position from which to begin siege lines. On the afternoon of 3 August 1757, the two brigades moved into camp and immediately began making fascines and gabions to protect the eventual siege trenches.<sup>xxiv</sup> The next day, Montcalm opened his siege lines—and the British opened fire with artillery. Montcalm immediately rearranged his encamped troops, pulling back *Royal-Roussillon*, to lessen the danger.<sup>xxv</sup> Nonetheless Montcalm's siege lines inched steadily closer and closer, day by day. During the night of 8-9 August 1757, when the trenches reached the glacis of the fort, responsibility for leading the final desperate assault was assigned to le Chevalier de Bernetz, commander of *Royal-Roussillon*. Finally, on the tenth day of the siege, on 9 August 1757, the British garrison at Fort William Henry surrendered ("*le fort anglais arbora pavillon blanc*").<sup>xxvi</sup> The French suffered only very light losses. *Royal-Roussillon* lost one soldier killed and four wounded; Maurice Lefèvre, lieutenant of grenadiers was the only French officer wounded.<sup>\*xxvii</sup> The grenadier companies from *Royal-Roussillon* and *La Reine* escorted the British prisoners who survived the "massacre" back to Fort Edward.<sup>xxviii</sup>

By mid-August, the French army had returned to the Portage at the outlet of Lake George to begin hauling the tons of artillery and provisions, both French and British, back to Carillon. *Royal-Roussillon* participated in that backbreaking effort. On 14 August, a soldier in *Royal-Roussillon* was forced to run the gauntlet for having sold brandy to the Indians contrary to orders.<sup>xxix</sup> Montcalm returned to Montréal for the winter, but again left Colonel Broulmaque in command of *Royal-Roussillon* and *Béarn* at Carillon for the balance of the campaign season to continue the construction work at the Fort, and to defend this southern frontier of Canada.<sup>xxx</sup> By mid-October, Governor General Vaudreuil issued orders identifying the winter garrison at Carillon and the return of *Royal-Roussillon* to winter quarters in Canada near Chambly and La Prairie.<sup>xxxi</sup>

After a winter of garrison mutinies and rioting mobs in city streets, caused by ever-shorter rations for soldiers and civilians alike, Governor General Vaudreuil began in late May to move troops out of winter quarters and off to the Carillon frontier; their absence might relieve

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\* Maurice Lefèvre had bad luck on the battlefields of *Nouvelle France*. Wounded in the siege of Fort William Henry in August 1757, he was wounded again during the Battle of Carillon on 8 July 1758, and again at the Battle of Ste-Foy, 28 April 1760.

pressure on the shrinking food supplies in settled areas. Perhaps the relief ships from France might break through the British naval blockade and the winter ice in the St. Lawrence. At Carillon, Vaudreuil intended to establish a campaign army of some 5000 men for the summer of 1758. *Royal-Roussillon* was among the last ordered to depart: on 16 June 1758. *Royal-Roussillon* would return to the Carillon frontier for their third successive campaign season. Most of the French regulars arrived at Carillon during the third week of June. At the same time, Vaudreuil launched a “secret expedition” under the command of François-Gaston, the Chevalier de Lévis, toward the Mohawk Valley. That 1600-man force included a 67-man *piquet* from *Royal-Roussillon*, including the veteran captain Louis du Cros,<sup>5</sup> and Lieutenants Saint-Alembert and Joseph de Sairais de Saint-Privat.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Montcalm arrived at Carillon on 30 June 1758 to launch the campaign season. At daybreak the following morning, he ordered general assembly and deployed his meager forces numbering little more than three thousand men against a British force estimated by scouts, deserters, and captives at something approximating 20-25,000. Montcalm ordered a dramatic forward show of force, moving seven regiments into advanced positions at the head of the Portage and at the Falls. *Royal-Roussillon* was among the four battalions positioned on both sides of LaChute at the Falls.<sup>xxxiii</sup> This redeployment “was necessary to give prudence to the enemy, to impose on them, to make them lose the idea which they have of our great weakness, and at the same time to prevent them from grabbing the Portage all of a sudden.”<sup>xxxiv</sup> Nonetheless the British landed successfully in the face of the enemy at dawn on 6 July 1758, and the French withdrew, first to the Falls and then to the Heights of Carillon. There Montcalm determined to dig in and threw up temporary log-and-earth walls, further protected by a dense *abbatis*.<sup>xxxv</sup>

At daybreak on 8 July 1758, Montcalm’s forces at Carillon numbered 3526; *Royal-Roussillon* numbered 480 men, again the largest regiment, and was assigned to defend the center of the new, still incomplete French Lines, under the direct command of the Marquis de Montcalm.<sup>xxxvi</sup> As the battle opened about 12:30 pm, the French left and center found itself under “a most murderous fire” from the rangers and 80<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry. Shortly thereafter, the British attempted to send rafts bearing artillery down LaChute. *Royal-Roussillon*’s Sieur de Poulhariès, commanding the amalgamated grenadier company and the *piquet* from his regiment, helped to prevent the artillery from landing. Around 2 pm, a British column of the 42<sup>nd</sup> (the famed “Black Watch”) and 44<sup>th</sup> tried to turn the French right. Poulhariès’ troops forced the column into a cross-fire with French regulars in the French Lines. The British column retreated.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

During the afternoon, the 44<sup>th</sup> and 55<sup>th</sup> Foot hammered again and again at *Royal-Roussillon* and the French center-right.<sup>xxxviii</sup> Mid-to-late afternoon, 3 pm, perhaps as late as 5:30 pm, arose one of the “scandalous” moments of the battle: “the red handkerchief incident.” Through the smoke, British soldiers attacking the French center-right thought they saw the French (a French officer thought perhaps it might have been *capitaine* Jean d’Anglars de

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<sup>5</sup> Sources differ on DuCros’ first name: traditional sources give *Hyacinthe*, more recent historians identify the *capitaine* as *Louis*.

Bassignac of *Royal-Roussillon*) waving a red flag indicating a desire for a parley or surrender. The British then marched forward with their weapons held high overhead, and shouting *Bon quartier!*, offering generous surrender terms to the French. The French withheld fire until the British were very near. Then a French officer recognized mistaken perceptions on both sides and ordered his men to open fire immediately. The slaughter among the British was devastating. The British troops had probably seen the red quarter in the regimental color of *Royal-Roussillon*.<sup>xxxix</sup>

About 6 pm, the two columns attacking the French right abandoned that attempt, and stormed again the center held by *Royal-Roussillon* and *Berry*. Finally at dusk General Abercromby ordered his troops to withdraw. Montcalm had accomplished a miracle. Although outnumbered by at least 5 to 1, France had prevailed that day, in the bloodiest battle in North America until the time of the American Civil War. Among the 44 officers and nearly 400 men killed, *Royal-Roussillon* lost only *capitaine* Louis-Charles Besson du Coin among its officers,<sup>xl</sup> and 2 soldiers killed and 18 wounded—remarkably light casualties considering the regiment's position at the center of the French Line. On 10 July, Montcalm ordered the Chevalier de Lévis and the eight grenadier companies, including *Royal-Roussillon's*, out of the Lines to determine the whereabouts of the British. On discovering that the British had apparently withdrawn in great confusion back to their base camp at the head of Lake George, the French immediately began strengthening their defenses, anticipating another attack.

The eight battalions worked diligently to enhance the defensibility of Carillon all summer and into the fall. But by mid-August, it was apparent that British were unable to launch a second attack. So the French began pulling back. The Canadian militia was sent home. The advanced camp was pulled back from the Portage to the Falls camp. The defenders of Carillon were reduced to about 2000 men of the colony. In a report on the health of the garrison, Montcalm's aide-de-camp reported that *Royal-Roussillon* had 460 men on its roll, of whom 14 were in hospital at Carillon and a dozen in other hospitals. The regiment was supported by a dozen servants. Finally by early November, Governor-General Vaudreuil ordered *Royal-Roussillon* into winter quarters in the Montréal region,<sup>xli</sup> but as they sailed north, the bateaux of the regiment and its sisters, *La Sarre*, *Guyenne* and *Béarn* were scattered by a ferocious winter storm on Lake Champlain.<sup>xlii</sup>

As the 1759 campaign season loomed, Governor-General Vaudreuil ordered *capitaine* Pierre Pouchot back to Niagara, supported by *piquets* of *Royal-Roussillon*, *Guyenne*, *La Sarre* and *Béarn* totaling just 149 men—anticipating that they would be captured—and 400 Canadians.<sup>xliii</sup> (The balance of the French regulars would serve the 1759 campaign in other arenas, principally concentrating on the defense of Québec.) That Niagara garrison of 149 French regulars, including the detachment from *Royal-Roussillon* captained by François-Marie-Emmanuel Roergas de Serviès, comprised the heart of the 486-man garrison at Niagara which greeted an overwhelming British siege in late July 1759.<sup>xliiv</sup> During the siege, *capitaine* Pouchot lost 109 men killed or wounded, of whom 8 served in *Royal-Roussillon*.<sup>xlv</sup>

The balance of *Royal-Roussillon* participated in the defense of Québec during the summer, waning into fall 1759.<sup>xlvi</sup> At an estimated strength of 485, *Royal-Roussillon* was the second-largest regiment in the French line, exceeded only by *La Sarre* (which counted four more men). During that summer, the French forces, numbering 5-6,000 and 1800 Canadians covered a 20-mile arc from Cap Rouge (west-southwest of the city) to Montmorency Falls.<sup>xlvii</sup>

As Wolfe and the British army began moving into position during the night of 12 September, as the British ships were ordered “to drop down the St. Lawrence,” a British vessel, sloop *Hunter*, may have picked up a couple of deserters who arrived by “canoe” about 11 pm.<sup>xlviii</sup> Governor-General Vaudreuil later alleged that these deserters came from the *Royal-Roussillon* regiment, and that they had fatally reported the disposition of French forces. Modern historians do not believe that Wolfe could possibly have received the news in time to revise his plans accordingly.<sup>xlix</sup>

On 13 September, when the British finally appeared to be on the move, French forces were hastily redistributed. While Montcalm had been protecting all summer against a British landing along the entire Beauport shore, with one end of the French line anchored on the city and the other on Montmorency Falls, Wolfe now made his surprising final move against the St. Lawrence bluffs to the west-southwest of the city. Montcalm’s regulars were force-marched some five miles off to the west side of the city, unprotected by French artillery, to face Wolfe’s small army.

*Royal-Roussillon* anchored the left end of the French line of *troupes de terres* on the Plains of Abraham, closest to the bluffs above the St. Lawrence; to their left were colonial *compagnies Franche de la Marine* troops from “the governments of Montréal and Trois Rivières.” The 15-minute fire-fight on the Plains of Abraham evolved into another two hours of pursuit and skirmishing. This latter phase produced the greatest casualties. The battle resulted in the deaths of both commanding officers, Montcalm and Wolfe (Wolfe in the first few minutes—his body was taken back on board ship just half an hour after volley firing opened; and Montcalm two days later.). The surrender of the city to the British came three days later. Most of the French army escaped to fight another day. British quartermasters record victualling 286 men of *Royal-Roussillon* at Québec on 14 September 1759.<sup>1</sup>

In 1760, during what turned out to be the final campaign of the war in *Nouvelle France*, Governor-General Vaudreuil and *maréchal du camp* Lévis recognized that the only hope for empire and *la Nouvelle France* would be the retaking of Québec—if that could be accomplished before British re-supply vessels arrived in the St. Lawrence in the spring. *Royal-Roussillon* was part of the Battle of Ste.-Foy on 28 April 1760 and the French army’s attempt to retake Québec by siege in April and May.<sup>li</sup> Lévis’ siege was hampered by lack of food, siege artillery, and gunpowder. Many of his command officers had been wounded or killed in the previous year’s campaign. The stores and supplies that Lévis hoped for had been sunk by the Royal Navy (unbeknownst to him). The timely arrival of the British spring fleet in the St. Lawrence on 15 May assured the salvation of the city from recapture by the Chevalier de Lévis’ forces. “The arrival of one single frigate in advance of the English fleet,” wrote Lévis, “would have decided

the surrender of Quebec and secured New France this year.” Imagine the success of his audacious gamble, if it had worked out in his favor: *un héros de France!* Instead, it becomes his “folly.”<sup>lii</sup> (Later, Lévis confessed to Haldimand that he had never expected to take Québec, and that the Battle of Ste.-Foy had been unexpected.) *Royal-Roussillon* suffered heavy losses during Ste.-Foy: three officers with significant wounds, four with minor wounds, and one killed. The officer corps of the regiment suffered no losses during the ensuing siege.<sup>liii</sup>

In May 1760, the Canadian militia began to desert in great numbers. Shortly the French regulars began to disappear as well. In November 1760, the Chevalier de Lévis reported that roughly a quarter of the regulars from all regiments had deserted since the capitulation. “This evil proceeds from an error at the very outset. Which is, to have permitted them to marry, to take up land and to have promised them their discharge on the conclusion of the war in Canada. The greatest number of these deserters are settlers, or such as had taken measures to settle, and who have been unwilling to abandon a state into which they were allowed to enter.”<sup>liv</sup>

In September 1760, *Royal-Roussillon* participated in the final defense of Montréal. British forces had accomplished a near-miraculous feat of joining three converging armies within a week of one another, and now had 18,000 troops surrounding the city.

Because of Amherst’s insistence in the Capitulation that the French were to be denied the honors of war (consistent with British policy since the surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757), during the night of 7-8 September 1760, the French regiments burned their regimental flags in a ceremony on *Île Ste.-Hélène*, rather than surrender them to the British. Vaudreuil signed the surrender the following day. Amherst expected the regimental flags as part of the surrender. Vaudreuil said they no longer existed at the time of his signature; they had rotted away due to hard campaigning. *Royal-Roussillon’s* regimental banner was presumably lost in the conflagration.<sup>lv</sup>

When the French capitulation troops were returned to France as prisoners on parole sometime after 13 October 1760, the British ships *Duke* carried 20 officers and 132 men, and *William* boarded 100 from *Royal-Roussillon*.<sup>lvi</sup>

Since June 2006, the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *régiment’s* arrival in North America, Fort Ticonderoga’s Fife & Drum Corps has portrayed the regimental music of *Royal-Roussillon*, thanks to the Stevens Family Fund for the Fife & Drum Corps.

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For short biographies of key players in this essay, see the referenced volumes in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, which is also available on-line at <http://www.biographi.ca/>. Additional biographical information may be found in: “Officiers du Régiment de Royal-Roussillon,” *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. LVI no. 12 (decembre 1945), pp. 425-432. Jean-Yves Bronze, *Les Morts de la Guerre de Sept Ans au Cimetière de l’Hôpital Général de Québec* (Québec, Laval University Press, 2001).

To learn more about Royal-Roussillon: See Suzanne Galaise, <http://www.colba.net/~vallee/RoyalRoussillonLaSarre.html>. Edward P. Hamilton, ed., *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville* (1964; reprint 1990). Abbé Charles-Nicolas Gabriel, *Le Maréchal de Camp Desandroüins, 1729-1792*, Verdun, Renvé-Lallement, 1887. Desandroüins was an engineer and captain in Royal-Roussillon. “Relation de M<sup>r</sup> Poulhariès envoyée ... M<sup>r</sup> le Marquis de Montcalm,” *Rapport d’Archives de Province de Québec pour 1931-32*, Québec, 1932, pp. 47-65. Sieur de Poulhariès was captain of grenadiers of Royal-Roussillon.

For one version of the “red handkerchief” incident, see Pierre Pouchot, *Memoirs on the Late War in North America between France and England*, trans. Michael Cardy, ed. and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Youngstown, Old Fort Niagara Association, rev. ed. 2004, pp. 156-158. [Aegidius Fauteux], “Officiers de Montcalm,” *Revue d’Histoire de l’Amérique Française*, vol. III no. 3 (December 1949), pp. 367-382. Biographical sketch of le Chevalier de Bassignac, of the red-flag incident (reported by Pouchot), pp. 371-373.



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This essay has been informed throughout by valuable correspondence with friends and colleagues Robert J. Andrews, Robert Arnold, Brian Leigh Dunnigan, and LTC Ian M. McCulloch. Inaccuracies, of course, remain my own.

<sup>i</sup> L'Abbé Casgrain, *Lettres de la Cours de Versailles . . .* (Québec, Imprimerie de L.J. Demers & Frère, 1890) *Collection*, vol. III, pp. 27-38; in Pierre Pouchot, *Memoirs on the Late War in North America between France and England*, trans. Michael Cardy, ed. and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Youngstown, Old Fort Niagara Association, 1994, revised and expanded edition, 2004, p. 78n.

<sup>ii</sup> The commander of the regiment and nine companies of fusiliers (d'Estor, Ducros, de Boisset, Ducoin, de Bassigniac, d'Aureilhan, de Valette, Dufresnoy, and de Rouyn) traveled on *L'Illustré*. Three companies of fusiliers (Serviès, Bourgat, and Thiballier) and Poulhariès' grenadier company boarded *Le Léopard*. See Suzanne Galaise, <http://www.colba.net/~vallee/RoyalRoussillonLaSarre.html>.

<sup>iii</sup> See (3 February 2007): Suzanne Galaise, <http://www.colba.net/~vallee/RoyalRoussillonLaSarre.html>. For Montcalm's promotion to *maréchal de camp* on 11 March 1756, see *DCB*, vol. III.

<sup>iv</sup> René Chartrand, *The French Soldier in Colonial America* (Ottawa, Museum Restoration Service, 1984), pp. 31-32. By 16 May 1756, news had already reached Carillon that *Royal-Roussillon* was on its way to Canada, and was confirmed on 28 May; by 19 June, Montcalm and the regiment were expected momentarily at Carillon. Anon., "Diary at Carillon, 8 May to 2 July 1756," *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VI no. 4 (July 1942), pp. 129, 133, 141.

<sup>v</sup> See Suzanne Galaise's web-site above.

<sup>vi</sup> Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, 12 June 1756, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, Weed, Parsons & Co., 1858), vol. X, pp. 413-416. Hereafter cited as *DRCHSNY*. The sordid details are found in the Galaise website.

<sup>vii</sup> Vaudreuil to Count d'Argenson, Montreal, 8 June 1756, in *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, p. 412. For Chevalier de Lévis, see *DCB*, vol. IV.

<sup>viii</sup> Montcalm to Machault, 12 June 1756, in *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, p. 418. As late as 17 June, there were still 174 sick from the two regiments in the Québec hospital. Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, 17 June 1756, *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, p. 421. For Vaudreuil, see *DCB*, vol. IV.

<sup>ix</sup> Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Adventure in the Wilderness: the American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville*, ed. Edward P. Hamilton (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 3. *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 411-412.

<sup>x</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 105.

<sup>xi</sup> Robert Rogers, "Proceedings of a Party of Capt. Rogers' Company, 12 September 1756," *Loudoun Papers* (LO 1776), Huntington Library.

<sup>xii</sup> 11 September 1756. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 34.

<sup>xiii</sup> 12 October 1756. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 53.

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<sup>xiv</sup> For the contemporary French usage, see *Ordonnance du Roy sur le Maintenant des armes de l'Infanterie Française & Étranger Du 7 May 1750* (Arras, 1750), pp. 4-7. For the contemporary British usage, see George Smith, *An Universal Military Dictionary* (London, 1779), p. 202. For a discussion of both, see Pierre Pouchot, *Memoirs on the Late War in North America between France and England*, trans. Michael Cardy, ed. and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Youngstown, Old Fort Niagara Association, revised and expanded edition, 2004, pp. 92-93. The translations of *piquet* found in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* and *Hamilton's Adventure in the Wilderness*, p. 31, are insufficiently nuanced.

<sup>xv</sup> 25 October 1756. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 62-64. Chevalier de Lévis to M. de Paulmy, 24 April 1757, *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 546-547.

<sup>xvi</sup> For Rigaud, see *DCB*, vol. IV.

<sup>xvii</sup> 6-28 February 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 85-87.

<sup>xviii</sup> 19-21 March 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 94-98. "Attack on Fort William Henry, 1757," *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 544-546. Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, 24 April 1757, *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 547-550.

<sup>xix</sup> 4 May 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 104.

<sup>xx</sup> [Jean-Baptiste d'Alegrac], *Aventures militaires au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les mémoires de Jean-Baptiste d'Alegrac*, ed. Charles Coste (Paris, Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1935), pp. 49-50.

<sup>xxi</sup> 8 May 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 108.

<sup>xxii</sup> 18 July 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>xxiii</sup> 29 July-1 August 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 152-156. The authoritative study of the siege is Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the 'Massacre'* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1990). For the French strength in the siege, see p. 92.

<sup>xxiv</sup> 3 August 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 159.

<sup>xxv</sup> 5 August 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 162. Steele, *Betrayals*, p. 102.

<sup>xxvi</sup> [d'Alegrac], *Aventures*, p. 66.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 178.

<sup>xxviii</sup> D'Alegrac, *Aventures*, p. 72.

<sup>xxix</sup> 14 August 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 178.

<sup>xxx</sup> D'Alegrac, *Aventures*, p. 73.

<sup>xxxi</sup> 10-13 October 1757. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 187. Cf. Captain Rudolph Faesch, "Report on regiments and officers in Canada, 4 December 1757, *Loudoun Papers* (LO 4945), Huntington Library. Faesch confirms that *Royal-Roussillon* was quartered at "Chamblid & La prairie." D'Alegrac, *Aventures*, p. 75.

<sup>xxxii</sup> 22 June 1758. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 214. Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 142 gives the departure date as 15

June 1758. Pouchot understood incorrectly that the units assigned to de Lévis would be *piquets* of 74 men. Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 143 fn 404. Brian Dunnigan believes that this was the only instance when the French used *piquets* as large as 67 men. Pouchot, *Memoirs*, pp. 92-93 fn 267.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> D'Aleynac, *Aventures*, p. 68. The *croquis* is misrepresented in the text (p. 54) as 1757, but *not* on the map (p. 68); the *croquis* shows the position of French troops on 6-7 July 1758.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> 30 June-1 July 1758. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>xxxv</sup> “The Battle of Carillon: Account of the Victory Won by the Royal Troops at Carillon on the 8th Day of July, 1758,” translated and published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 2 (July 1930), pp. 69-76. Original mss in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-2151, M-2151A, etc.].

<sup>xxxvi</sup> 8 July 1758. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 231.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> 8 July 1758. Bougainville, *Adventure*, pp. 232-233.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Ian McCulloch, “‘Like Roaring Lions Breaking from their Chains’: The Battle of Ticonderoga, 1758,” *Fighting for Canada: Seven Battles, 1758-1945*, ed. Donald E. Graves (Toronto, Robin Brass Studio, 2000), pp. 66, 70-71.

<sup>xxxix</sup> For one version of the “red handkerchief” incident, see Pouchot, *Memoirs*, pp. 156-158. [Aegidius Fauteux], “Officiers de Montcalm,” *Revue d’Histoire de l’Amérique Française*, vol. III no. 3 (December 1949), pp. 367-382. Biographical sketch of le Chevalier de Bassignac, of the red-flag incident (as reported by Pouchot), pp. 371-373.

<sup>xl</sup> 10 July 1758. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 236.

<sup>xli</sup> Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 292.

<sup>xlii</sup> 3-11 November 1758. Bougainville, *Adventure*, p. 297.

<sup>xliii</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, pp. 182n, 184. On Pouchot, see *DCB*, vol. III.

<sup>xliv</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 203.

<sup>xlv</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 237.

<sup>xlvi</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 250.

<sup>xlvii</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, p. 250. C.P. Stacey, *Quebec, 1759*, ed. Donald E. Graves (Toronto, Robin Brass Studio, 2002), pp. 232. Suzanne Galaise, <http://www.colba.net/~vallee/RoyalRoussillonLaSarre.html> (3 February 2007).

<sup>xlviii</sup> On James Wolfe, see *DCB*, vol. III.

<sup>xlix</sup> Stacey, *Quebec, 1759*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>l</sup> WO 34 shows 286 men of Royal-Roussillon victualled at Québec on 14 September 1759.

<sup>li</sup> Pouchot, *Memoirs*, 269. D'Aleynac, *Aventures*, p. 81.

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<sup>lii</sup> Stacey, *Quebec*, pp. 174-179.

<sup>liii</sup> “Narrative of the Expedition against Quebec, under the orders of Chevalier de Lévis, *Maréchal des Camps et Armées* of the King,” *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 1077-1089. Casualties are listed on p. 1085. Chevalier de Lévis to Marshal de Belle Isle, 30 June 1760, *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 1100-1101.

<sup>liv</sup> Chevalier de Lévis to Marshal de Belle Isle, 27 November 1760, *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, p. 1125.

<sup>lv</sup> For General Jeffrey Amherst, see *DCB*, vol. IV.

<sup>lvi</sup> WO 34 says *Duke* carried 229; *William* carried 100. WO 34/8: ff. 67-128 shows the dispositions of all of the French capitulation forces. Lieutenant Jean-Baptiste D’Aleyrac of *regiment de Languedoc* reported that of the 556 men in the second battalion of his regiment who had come to Canada (including 31 officers), just 51 returned to France at the Capitulation. D’Aleyrac, *Aventures*, p. 82-83.