

10-23
(May 1929)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

----- NATIONAL PARK

FONE. 013 cz
CRBIB# 401858
336/134654

Dup.

FILE NO.

*F. Wessington
Research*

NOTES SUR LA FAMILLE
COULON DE VILLIERS

Transcribed 1940-41
By: Mrs. Ruth H. Martin

IMPORTANT

This file constitutes a part of the official records of the National Park Service and should not be separated or papers withdrawn without express authority of the official in charge.

All Files should be returned promptly to the File Room. Officials and employees will be held responsible for failure to observe these rules, which are necessary to protect the integrity of the official records.

ARNO B. CAMMERER,
Director.

NOTES SUR LA FAMILLE
COULON DE VILLIERS

par

L'abbé Amedée Gosselin
Professeur d'histoire du Canada
à l'Université Laval
Québec

LEVIS

Bulletin Des Recherches Historiques

1906

From a French booklet belonging to:
Jacob M. Sheds, Gettysburg, Pa.

Translated to English by:
Lester D. Hummel
Steubenville, Ohio

Notes Concerning the Coulon de Villiers Family

Among the families which distinguished themselves in Canada during the last years of French domination, there are few more remarkable than that of Coulon de Villiers which is however not as known as it ought to be.

Two of its members, Jumonville and his avenger, have more easily escaped oblivion. The reason for it is simple: the Coulon de Villiers are rarely designated in documents by their baptismal names and the historians, without busying themselves too much to give to each what belonged to him, have credited to one of them, the avenger of Jumonville, the deeds and actions of two of his brothers.

The absence of baptismal names and the confusion which has resulted have been the cause of certain members of this interesting family remaining in the background and of their not having been rendered the justice to which they had a right.

In spite of all the difficulties, we have wished to throw a little light on this question. We do not flatter ourselves for having succeeded, but we can at least give ourselves witness for having spared neither time nor research. Let those who are better informed than we correct and finish the work.

The title that we have given our work indicates that we do not intend to write a detailed history of the Coulon de Villiers families. Our purpose is simply to make know the different members of this

family, to give to each what belongs to it, to present the pro and con of the debatable questions, and to gather in short some materials for the future historian.

As for the facts already known and which belong to the general history of Canada, we give only what is necessary to show the part which those of whom we are speaking have taken; for the other details, we take the liberty of referring to the historians who have discussed these questions. These pages will appear dry to many; nevertheless, they will perhaps have a certain interest for those who occupy themselves with the history of our old Canadian families, and it is that which induces us to publish them.

We must here thank those who have wished to help us in our work; we cannot name them all but we would consider ourselves to fail in the strict duties of gratitude if we were not to mention the name of one of the descendants of the de Villiers family, M. J.-W. Crusat, from New Orleans, who has furnished us with several precious documents on his ancestry.

Head of the Family: Nicolas-Ant. Coulen de Villiers

One has said and repeated that the Coulon de Villiers brothers were originally from France. (1) That is a mistake; all were born in Canada. But the head of the family came from France, and it is proper to have the father known before speaking of the children.

Nicolas-Antoine Colon (sic) de Villiers seems to have arrived in Canada at the end of the 17th century. At least he was there in 1700. In fact, October 16 of that year, M. de Calliere, writing to the minister, informs him that, in pursuance of the king's letters, he has had Lord Duplessis' sons, Fournier de Belleval and de Villiers receive commissions as ensignes.(2)

A note in the list of Canadian officers, (3) for 1701, mentions him originally from Nantes and being 19 years of age.(4) In 1703, he is found in a garrison at Montreal. Called as a witness at a trial, he states his names and prénoms thus: "Nicolas-Antoine Colon de Villiers, esquire, lord of the place mentioned, ensign in the Longueuil Company, about 20 years of age, presently in the garrison in this city."(5)

He was still at Montreal, at least in transit, in 1706; in fact, July 17, he appears as witness to an act of free gift made by Philibert Roy to the Dames de la Congrégation.(6)

We do not wish to affirm that M. de Villiers habitually lived

at Montreal; in his military rank he was not bound to remain a long time in the same place. He did not go far away however from the vicinity of Montreal and he lived several years at Verchères where the king maintained some troops. It is there at least that he went to look for a wife and there that most if not all of his children were born.

The marriage record, which would have been so useful to have us know the precise place of his birth, the names of relatives, father and mother, no longer exists; the years 1704, 1705, 1706 are missing in the registers of Contrecoeur where all the marriages, baptisms and burials of the surrounding parishes use to take place.(7)

However, we know approximately the date of M. de Villiers' marriage. According to the register of the Insinuations at Montreal, the deed was signed, before the notary Abel Michon, December 7, 1705; unfortunately that notebook contains only what one could call the financial part of the contract.(8)

If the register of the Insinuations is correct, then M. de Villiers was married at the end of 1705 or at the beginning of 1706.(9)

He married Angélique Jarret de Verchères, daughter of François and Marie Perrot and sister of the heroine by that name.(10) This alliance, one of the most brilliant that one could make at this time, shows that M. de Villiers must have belonged to a good family himself and had, moreover, some personal qualities.

Several children whom we shall make known later on were born of this union.

Documents teach us few things concerning the life of M. Villiers from 1705 to 1725; it is necessary to remember that the country, under the happy government of M. de Vaudreuil, was enjoying almost complete peace and that the occasions to distinguish one's self were relatively rare. M. de Villiers then, as well as the others, lead the monotonous life of the garrisons, be it at Montreal, be it in the surrounding country, but more particularly at Verchères where his family was living.

In 1714, the majority of the troops of Canada and the one from Three-Rivers found themselves unoccupied by the death of their titular heads. M. de Villiers asked for one of the lieutenancies, because it seems to us that it is to him the following note on the bulletin of promotions refers: "Des Villiers; French, nephew of Sr de la Fausse, valet of the king's privy, who asks for his promotion, -- is an ensign since 1700 -- is a good officer." (11)

March 14, 1715, the minister wrote to the Princess of Nesmond that he proposed to the King the promotion of M. Coulon de Villiers. (12)

Thanks to this certificate of "good officer," thanks also perhaps to the recommendation of his uncle and to the patronage of the Princess of Nesmond, M. de Villiers obtained his promotion. It was announced in the memory of the king at M. de Ramesay's July 10, 1715. (13)

Three days after, July 13, M. de Pontchartrain wrote to M. de Villiers himself to inform him that the king had accorded him a lieutenancy. (14)

Then silence holds again on the account of M. de Villiers and it is only in 1725 that he is found once more, commandant for the king at the St. Joseph River post of the Illinois, where he seems to have replaced M. de Villedonne.

August 26, 1725, the name of M. de Villiers appears, for the first time, on the register of the Fort. It is at a baptism, the sponsor of which is Nicholas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, "son of M. de Villiers, commandant." (15)

M. de Villiers, the father, is himself sponsor November 30, 1726, and the register mentions him "at present commandant for the king at this post."

November 25, 1730, he again holds a child at the baptismal font. This time, the missionary, Father Messager, S.J., wrote: "M. Coulon de Villiers, esquire, Lord of Verchères and commandant for the king at this post."(16)

Indeed, January 31, 1731, a baptism at the same post gives him still the title of commandant.

At the bottom of nearly all these acts of baptism that we have just mentioned, M. de Villiers signs with a good and fine enough writing:

Coulon de Villiers

We have just said that November 25, M. de Villiers was called in the register: Lord of Verchères. This lordship that M. de Villiers had acquired in 1672 and increased in 1673 and 1678 (17) had, by his

death passed to his wife. It would seem by a deed under the private signature of François Baimbault, Lord of St-Blin, that M^{rs} de Verchères conceded it all or in part to M. de Villiers. In this deed, of August 22, 1733, St-Blin declares himself authorized by M. de Villiers to yield some lands in the manor that he had acquired from M^{rs} de Verchères. (18)

Madame de Verchères was dead the end of September, 1723, (19) and it is possible that Madame de Villiers had received in partition a part of the manor.

Although that may be, the acts of faith and homage don't mention this change of ownership.

The last years that M. de Villiers spent in the above mentioned country were stirred up enough. It was the time when the Outagamis or the Renards, that one had believed destroyed in 1712, appeared more insolent and dangerous than ever. Abandoned by the Kikapous and the Mascoutins, their former allies, they did not continue any less to throw terror into the surrounding nations.

In May, 1730, they had made several prisoners, close to Rocher, on the St. Joseph River of the Illinois. M. St. Ange, who was then commanding Chartres Fort, re-united four hundred savages and about a hundred French and came to attack them at a fort that they had built near Rocher. It was August 17; two days after the Renards asked to come to terms but they did not wish to listen to them and continued

to attack them. Several days later, M. de Villiers arrived with five hundred savages and fifty or sixty French; on his side, M. de Noyelles led two hundred Miamis. Against so considerable forces one would hardly be able to believe that the Renards could hold out a long time; however the siege was longer than was expected. Famine existed on both sides. (20) In the account that he left of this expedition, M. de Villiers said: "The siege of their fort lasted 23 days; they were reduced to eating leather and we were hardly better off." Then he relates how, in the middle of a storm and the advantage of the night, the Renards had been able to escape, also how they followed, rejoined and massacred them, etc. (21)

This account is of the month of September and in spite of the advanced season, M. de Villiers must have been eager to send the news to the governor. He charged one of his sons, probably the oldest, Nicolas-Antoine, with this commission. Parkman writes (22) "that later, in 1750, the young Coulon de Villiers who, 24 years later, defied Washington at Fort Mifflin, arrived at Quebec, with the news that Lord de Villiers, his father, commandant at Fort St-Joseph, had given the Outagamis a mortal blow and that they had killed two hundred of their warriors."

If this young Coulon is the oldest of M. de Villiers' sons, as we believe, Parkman is wrong in saying that he is the same who took Fort Mifflin in 1754.

As to the date of this expedition, it must be exact since M. de Beauharnois had the news since May, 1731. That day, he wrote to

M. de Maurepas on the subject of the Outaouais: "There is a nation humiliated in a manner that it will no longer trouble the land." (23)

There is something here that we confess to not understand very well. M. de Montigny wrote of Michilimackinac to M. de St-Pierre, June 18, 1731: "Several days ago, M. de Villiers passed leading to Montreal the Renard, who is going to ask mercy of the General; they were accompanied by several persons of each nation of the surrounding country of St-Joseph River. I do not know positively what the intentions of each are." (24)

Who is this M. de Villiers? Is it again the young Coulon? Did he have time since the preceding autumn to go back up the St-Joseph River and to set out for Quebec since June 18? That is possible, however we don't believe it is a question here of the young Coulon, but of M. de Villiers, the father. It is probably on this trip that he received his nomination as commandant at the post of Baie des Puants.

He was certainly named to this post in 1731. Indeed, April 22, 1732, in a memorandum that he addressed to MM de Beauharancis et Hocquart, the king approved that they send for Lord de Villiers to re-establish the post of Baie. (25)

That news had not been able to be sent to the Court the preceding year.

Ferland relates (26) that in 1732, a certain number of Christian

Iroquois and Hurons wished to wage a last battle against the Renards; three hundred were killed or taken. The small number that escaped went to surrender to M. de Villiers who was then in command at the Baie des Puants post.

In spite of their repeated defeats, the Renards did not consider themselves beaten: they had finished by conferring with the Sakis, and sought refuge there at the end of the Baie. M. de Villiers undertook to go to remove them. September 16, 1733, he arrived at the post: he had the Sakis chiefs come and announced to them that the governor was ready to pardon them provided they surrendered at Montreal and he added that if, at such an hour as he indicated, the Renards were not before him, he would go to find them. The latter did not budge. M. de Villiers, with M. de Repentigny and several French, moved toward the enemy fort. There, without busying himself with any warnings from the Sakis, he set about to tear down the barrier. At this moment gun-shot fired by a Saki killed the son of M. de Villiers; a general discharge followed and M. de Villiers himself was killed along with MM. de Repetigny, Duplessis-Faber and several Frenchmen. (27)

M. de Villiers had shown proof of a great courage but he failed in discretion and was reproached for it. The president of the Marine Council wrote to M. de Beauharnois, April 12, 1736: "It appears that in the Baie affair it was the unwise and reckless conduct of Lord de Villiers that contributed most to what happened. (28)

At the time of his death, M. de Villiers was a captain. April 13, 1732, the president of the Marine Council had written him that, to

reward him for his services and his conduct in the engagement with the Remards, the king had accorded him the charge of a company, and to his son who had part in the expedition a commission as second ensign.' (29)

M. de Villiers did not wait a long time for his grade of captain; he was named to the rank April 1, 1733, (30) hardly had one had the news; in all case, we see that he did not enjoy it a long time.

April 13, 1734, the Marine Council announced to Madame de Villiers that a pension of 300 livres had been accorded to her. (31) That was very little when one considers that she was left a widow with several children, a few of which were still young. Besides, she received only the first payment of this pension because she died the same year. She was buried at Montreal, December 30, 1734. (32)

This family now without a head was to disperse; the boys were already in the service and the youngest girls went to some relatives', perhaps to their older sisters who were already married.

The Children of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers

In the list of officers mentioned before, it stated in 1732 that M. de Villiers had eleven children.

Merland after having related the death of M. de Villiers (1733) adds that he left ten children. (33)

This note agrees with the first since M. de Villiers had a son killed with him in 1733.

Moreover one of the children died very young, which brings the number of his children to twelve. And if one admits that Thérèse, of whom no one speaks, is of this family, there would be thirteen children of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers. According to us there were seven sons and six daughters.

To re-organize this family is not an easy thing; we are going to try however with the aid of Mgr Tanguay's Genealogical Dictionary of Canadian Families, which we moreover shall often correct (34) with the notes which we have been able to gather.

The author of the Dictionary, in two articles (35) that he dedicated to Nicolas-Antoine de Villiers and his family makes known to us eight or nine of the children and still two more of them with the oldest of the sons, Nicolas-Antoine.

The family must have been made up of at least twelve children, perhaps even thirteen.

We give them here in the order in which we believe them to belong, but we can be mistaken.

I and II. - Marie and Madeline, twins, born at the end of 1706 or at the beginning of 1707. Tanguay says that the first was born in 1706 and the second in 1707, but he gives these dates approximately, because he did not see the public registers. We have'nt seen them ourselves because they have disappeared, but we put weight on a note found in the archives of the Ursuline Nuns of Quebec and which says that in 1720 the two young de Villiers girls were entered at the age of 14. (36) We could not understand that they had given the two sisters the same age if they had different ages.

III. - Nicolas-Antoine, born June 25 and baptised August 26, 1708. (37) Tanguay makes of this two persons: Antoine, baptised in 1708 and Nicolas, in 1709. The register of baptism that we shall cite later proves that this is one single individual.

IV.- Louis, born August 10, baptized November 13, according to the register. The missionary wrote in the margin: Baptism of Louis Coulon this August 13, 1710. But the November 13 has not been corrected.

V.- Francois. This is the one that was later known under the name of the Chevalier de Villiers. Tanguay does not mention him, but the tradition in the family suggests that he was born at Montreal in 1712. The registry of baptisms is not found in the registers of Notre-Dame of Montreal that we had examined. We think that Francois, as his brothers and sisters, was born at Vercheres and that this was

between 1712 and 1715; unfortunately the years 1712, 1713, 1714, are completely missing in the registers of Contrecoeur, (38) and we can confirm nothing.

VI. ----- Immediately before or after Francois we will place the brother who was killed with his father in 1733, and whose given name we do not know.

VII. - Joseph, surnamed de Jumonville, born September 8, 1718, baptized the next day.

VIII. - Pierre, born May 4, 1720, baptized the next day.

IX. - Charles-Francois, born June 14, 1721, baptized the 22 of the same month and died November 4 of the same year.

X. - Marie-Anne, baptized September 6, 1722.

XI. - Thérèse? We put here the de Villiers girl of whom no one speaks, because, in the census of Quebec in 1744, she is given as being 22 years of age, which would put her birth date in 1722. Was she a twin of Marie-Anne? (39) Did she make a mistake in giving her age? Is she even from the same family? What makes us believe it is that, in 1744, she was living at Nicolas-Antoine's house.

XII. - Madeline-Angélique and not Marie-Angélique, baptized January 31, 1726, born eleven days before according to the register.

XIII. - Marguerite, whose record of baptism nor of marriage with Pierre de Gannes Falaise has been found, is known only by the tomb of her daughter, buried at Pointe-du-Lac, September 25, 1757.

We would not be surprised if one could prove to us, some day or other, that Marguerite and Thérèse are one and the same person who would be born about 1724.

This list, if it is exact, makes known to us thirteen children: seven boys and six daughters.

In a certificate dated 1734, M. de Beauharnois stated that Captain M. de Villiers, killed in action against the Renards, had six children and two sons-in-law. (40)

Although the governor does not say that M. de Villiers had six children with him at St-Joseph River, it seems to us that one could understand this phrase otherwise; because he is probably the one who, in 1732, had informed the Court that M. de Villiers had eleven children. (41)

These sons then were Nicolas-Antoine, Louis, Francois, Joseph, Pierre and another whose name we have not found and who was killed with his father. (42)

As to the sons-in-law of whom M. de Beauharnois speaks, they were M. Duplessis-Faber, who was killed in action, and M. ~~Raymond-Durville~~.

We have made the family known in its entirety; it remains for us to speak of each one in particular and that is not the easiest part of our work.

Up to now, what has deceived the historians who have busied themselves with the de Villiers, is the uniformity of names or, if one

likes better, the absence of baptismal names. At first sight it seems that all the brothers, aside from Jumonville, have been known only by the name of Mrs de Villiers. But an attentive study leads us to believe that each one had his own name which permitted their contemporaries to distinguish the one from the other.

Thus, the oldest, Nicolas-Antoine, is most often simply M. Coulon. Louis must have answered to the name M. de Villiers, and later to the name of Captain de Villiers. Joseph called and signed himself Jumonville. Francois was known as the Chevalier de Villiers. In the end Pierre seems to have added to his name that of Lespincy.

To be more clear we will not follow the chronological order of ^{their birth, but of} their decease.

Charles-Francois, being dead at an early age, we do not need to speak of him likewise for the one who was killed in 1733 and whose baptismal name we do not know.

We have just said that Pierre seems to have added to his name of de Villiers that of Lespincy. Perhaps we are mistaken, but despite all our research we have not been able to link him to another family. LeGardeur de Villiers did not leave any son, we believe; the other LeGardeur families, no more than the L'Espincy families, seem not to have had de Villiers in their families and besides we don't find in their genealogies one single child by the name of Pierre which corresponds, at least in age, to the one with whom we are concerned,

We have concluded that Lespinay de Villiers belonged to the Coulon family just as did Jumonville de Villiers.

March 24, 1742, Lespinay de Villiers was a sponsor at St-Joseph River of the Illinois where Nicolas-Antoine, the oldest of the Coulons, was then commandant. The missionary, P. DuJannay, a Jesuit, after having written in the register, Pierre Lespinay de Villiers erased the word Lespinay, but, a little later, changed his mind and again wrote Pierre Lespinay de Villiers.

Two years later in March, 1744, he is again a sponsor; the register states he is cadet officer.

In the first case the sponsor signs with a fine enough writing:

(43)

Lespinay de Villiers

In a list of officers and cadets assigned to go with M. de St-Pierre and dated October 22, 1745, the name of Villiers Lespinay is found. (44)

At last one meets him again in 1746 taking part in the expedition against the English in Acadie: it is there that he died.

In his journal of the campaign of 1746-1747, in Acadie, M. de Beaujeu says, under the date of December 25, 1746: "M. de Lespinay de Villiers fell somewhat dangerously ill coming from the location where he was in winter quarters to hear Mass at Beaubassin."

And January 2, he writes: "M. Lespinay de Villiers died at 3

o'clock in the morning having given, during his illness which was one of the most severe, many proofs of great patience and perfect resignation to the will of God, especially when they told him that it was necessary to make the sacrifice of his life. All those who came near him at this last moment were without doubt edified with religious sentiments by which he appeared everlastingly busy. (45).

That is all that we know concerning this Pierre Lespincy de Villiers; we await a research worker to tell us whether or not he belonged to the Coulon family.

We will perhaps be asked if this Pierre Neyon de Villiers who was one of the principal officers of Louisiana at the time of the conquest, is not the one that we are seeking to identify.

O'Callaghan (46) and several others besides him have believed it; we confess that we even had thought otherwise at first. Happily, M. de Villiers of Terrage in the Last Years of the French Louisiana, (47) placed the thing at point and the extract follows no longer leaves any doubt about this subject:

"Chevalier Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers, it says, was born in Lorraine of a family more noble than rich. In 1735, he was an ensign in the Choisseul regiment, 1738, commissioned, 1742 lieutenant in Marinville; 1744, aide-major in Royal-Lorrain (wounded at Wessembourg); 1747, captain (took part in the battle of Land-pest); 1748 commissioned; 1749, assigned to the Louisiana corps; 1755, major commandant at the fort of Chartres des Illionois;

1759, chevalier of St-Louis; back in Paris in 1765, he sojourned there until 1772; began the disposition of Kerlere in order to defend it in suit; 1773, colonel of the regiment of Guadeloupe; brigadier-general in 1775; governor of Marie-Galante; died at sea, August, 1779." (48)

This note dispenses with comments and it remains established that Pierre Noyon de Villiers was not of the Coulon family

Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, the Son

Although the author of the Geological Dictionary makes two people of this one Nicolas and Antoine, we do not hesitate to affirm that the two names belong to the same individual. Let us be permitted, to prove it, to cite the registry of baptism.

"The year of Our Lord, 1708, June 25, a son is born -- for a name they have given him Nicolas-Antoine -- of the lawful marriage of Nicolas-Antoine, ensign in the company of the marine detachment, and of Angélique Jaret de Verchères, his wife, and the 26th of August, I, Louis de la faye, priest, cure of Verchères, have supplied the baptismal ceremonies for him because he has been baptized privately at the house by the midwife Catherine Cara. The sponsor was Joseph Jaret de Verchères and the godmother was Marguerite Perrot. The sponsor did not know how to write and the godmother signed with me. (49)

(Signed) Coulon de Villiers

De la faye.

Marguerite Perrot

Born June 25, 1708, this child was baptized solemnly August 26 under the name of Nicolas-Antoine. (50)

How does it happen that Monsignor Tanguay, in the first volume of his Dictionary, (51) registers him only under the name of Antoine when the records are so clear? (52) We know nothing of it; but this error has led him to other errors and one should'nt be surprised if he has Nicolas-Antoine die two times: Nicolas in 1750 and Antoine in 1757.

Nicolas-Antoine made his first campaign, believe us, at the St-

Joseph River of Illinois. It is, at least in the register of this post there that one meets his name for the first time.

August 26, 1725, he is a godfather: "Nicolas-Antoine Coulon, son of M. de Villiers, commandant," says the register. He signs Coulon very simply; it is the only time we have met that signature.

In 1730, one remembers, he was delegated by his father to M. de Beauharnois to announce to him the defeat of the Outagamis.

He took active part in the campaign of 1733 against the Sakis. M. de Villiers, his father, had sent him, with ten French and 50 Indians, to the passage of the little Cascalin, through which the Renards could escape. It is while he was there that the tragedy of which we shall speak later happened on September 16.

Three days after, the Sakis having abandoned their fort under cover of the night, Coulon de Villiers gathered together all the French and Outagamis and Folles-Avoines and Sautaux Indians that he could find, and began in pursuit of the fugitives, reached them eight leagues from the post, killed twenty and mortally wounded nine of them.

On his side, Villiers had two French soldiers killed and several wounded among which was found his father, a lanier cadet. The Indian allies also lost several of their numbers.

Coulon de Villiers remained commandant at the Baie post through the death of his father. He hurried to send the last news to M. de Beauharnois. His father (le chevalier de Villiers) wounded in the last engagement and M. Douville then left for Quebec where they arrived the evening of November 11.

The same day the governor and the intendant wrote to the minister to inform him of the last blow by the Sakis. (53)

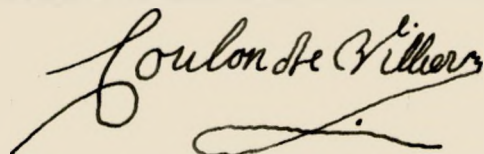
M. de Beauharnois and Hocquart profited by the occasion to remind the minister that the death of M. de Villiers, captain, and of Repentigny, lieutenant, "two great subjects that the colony loses," had left two places for M. de Ramezay and de la Martiniere and that a lieutenancy, two officers, etc., were still open.

"Mister de Villiers," they said, "who is very distinguished, whose father and brother were killed and another brother, a laniard cadet, wounded, should merit the vacancy of lieutenant, the last engagement having only been done for him." (54)

The minister entertained this request favorably and Coulon de Villiers was made lieutenant at the March 30 promotion in 1734. (55)

How long did he remain in command at the St-Joseph River post? We cannot say. One sees by the record of the area that M. Delany commanded there in 1738 and M. de Lusignan in 1738.

In 1740, April 27, the name of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon, in charge of the post, reappears in the record of St-Joseph of the Illinois. One still finds it there on March 24, 1742. At the bottom of each one of these entries Coulon signs with a beautiful handwriting:

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Coulon de Villiers". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned centrally on the page.

October 30, 1742, M. de Beauharnois demanded a company for M. Coulon. (56)

The following year, October 20, the governor came back to the

charge concerning the minister in favor of Coulon de Villiers "good officer and very proper for the negotiations of the upper countries." (57)

M. Coulon came down from the upper countries between March 24, 1742 and October 7, 1743. At the latter date, he married at Quebec Marie-Anne Tardieu de la Perade, widow of Mister Tatu de la Richarderir. (58)

He married under the name of Antoine Coulon, Lord of Villiers, lieutenant, etc., in the presence of Lord de la Gorgondiere, of M. de la Perade, etc.

The married ones were near relations, first-cousins, their respective fathers being married to two sisters, Madeline and Angélique de Verchères. Dispensation was granted. (59)

In 1744, M. Jacrau took the census of the city of Quebec. He inscribed M. de Villiers under the name of Nicolas, aged 36 years and officer in the army. (60)

See how exact all is ! In 1743, M. de Villiers called himself Antoine and he was lieutenant. This year he calls himself Nicolas and no longer only an officer ! One sees moreover where such gifts can lead.

And for all that it is still the question of the same person since in the two cases he has for a wife Marie-Anne de la Perade.(61)

Nicolas-Antoine Coulon appears to have remained in Quebec up to spring of 1746. We have just seen him in the census of 1744. April 25, 1746, he is god-father for his nephew, Nicolas-Antoine Tardieu. 62.

In the record, one says M. de Villiers, captain, who will begin his office in 1744.

June 30, 1745, he signed the record of marriage of Roch St-Ours Deschailions and the same day he also signed the marriage record of his sister Marie-Anne who married M. de Gaspé.

April 16, 1746, he is the god-father for one of M. de Gaspé's daughters. (63) After that date the name of Coulon no longer appears in the parish records. That's because he left Quebec and must have only returned there in passing.

Several historians, among others Casgrain (64) and Parkman (65) have suggested that Coulon de Villiers who took such a fine part in the Mines campaign was the same one who avenged Jumonville in 1754. That is a mistake because the one who carried on that campaign was none other than Nicolas-Antoine who could not have avenged the death of his brother in 1754 for the excellent reason that he had been dead for four years.

The expedition which was to end by the battle of Mines left Quebec in June, 1746, and was commanded by M. de Bamesay. At this time, five M. de Villiers were living:

Pierre, ordinary soldier or at most an ensign, who died at Beau-bassin Hamary 2, 1747, more than a year before the Mines affair.

Jumonville, who is mentioned in Acadie (66) with M. de Bamesay, was still only an ensign; he is not the one who was leading at Grand-Pre.

Louis, a lieutenant, was in Quebec in the month of November, 1746: "The general had Lieutenant de Villiers leave Acadie with one hundred

Indians who passed the winter in the neighborhood of Quebec in order to go to Montreal. (67)

Francois, who was at the most a lieutenant, since he was made a captain in 1753, was in the upper country. July 9, 1746, M. de Beauharnois, in an order to M. De May said: "He will command the upper section and will have under his orders Chevalier de Villiers." (68)

Indeed, Nicolas-Antoine is the only one who was a captain at that time. He also is the only one who could have commanded at the Mines since it was't Jumonville and since Louis and Francois were not then in Acadie.

Let us recall in several words this campaign which ended by one of the most beautiful military feats which happened in Canada. We shall busy ourselves more particularly with that which concerns Coulon de Villiers. (69)

M. de Beaujeu wrote in his June 5, 1746 journal: "Six boats, destined to transport the militia from Canada to Acadie, composed of seven hundred men comprised twenty one troop officers according to the list, set sail June 5, 1746, at nine o'clock in the morning in the roads of Quebec, under the orders of M. Coulon, captain, second detachment, to await at Pot-a-l'eau-de-vie, (70) the ship Tourneur, in which M. de Ramesay, commanding general embarked."

By a succession of circumstances that it would be too long to relate here, this expedition did not at first have the success that was expected of it. Also, August 20, M. de Ramesay received an order to

go back to Quebec with a part of his troops, after having left five officers and 250 men with M. Coulon who was then at the Mines.

The presence of the detachment of M. Coulon had been ill seen by the Acadians and the deputies of Mines informed M. de Ramesay that it was impossible to feed any more men during the winter besides this body of soldiers, and much less having a good effect, would put them in bad with the English.

In order to calm them, M. de Ramesay replied to them that he would communicate their remonstrances to the General; that he did indeed, since on September 8 the Governor sent some orders "to Lord Coulon, captain, who was commanding the detachment of 300 Canadians who must winter in Acadie to pacify and protect the Acadians against the resentment of the English." (71)

Meanwhile, the squadron of the Duke d'Anville arrived at Chibouctou. In spite of the reiterated orders of the governor, M. de Ramesay, believed that he could not come back immediately from Quebec.

Autumn and a part of the winter passed in marches and counter-marches of the different detachments which were distributed a little on all sides: at the Mines, at Beaubassin, at Chibouctou, etc. M. de Ramesay made his winter quarters at Beaubassin.

January 8, 1747, it is learned from an Acadian that 250 English had surrendered at the Mines since the 24th of December. (72)

At this news, M. de Ramesay called together his officers and suggested to them to go and attack the English and dislodge them from Great Meadows. In spite of the difficulties of the project all agreed to it with enthusiasm.

M. de Ramesay who was suffering from a knee injury and being incapable of marching, gave the command of the detachment to Captain Coulon. "This disappointment, said Casgrain, (73) was more regrettable to him than to the expedition; because it counted in its ranks the most brave and most experienced of the Canadian nobility in this kind of war. Coulon de Villiers was the same one who eight years later was to avenge the death of his brother the chevalier de Jumony ville at Fort Necessity, fight Washington and take him prisoner," etc. (74)

February 9, the small troop arrived at Pigiquit, five leagues from Great Meadows. There they learned that the English were at Great Meadows with almost six hundred men under the command of Colonel Noble.

M. de Coulon had his people rest one day. The 10th at noon the troop set out again and at 9 in the evening they camped half a league from Great Meadows.

When some sentinels were placed on the roads, the detachment which had been divided into ten companies of 23 men scattered in the houses situated on the other side of the Capareau River. They could then rest, dry their garments and take a little nourishment while gathering information concerning the position of the English.

The latter were scattered in 24 houses of which one, in stone, was defended by a cannon.

Immediately M. Coulon timed his plan of attack. Since there weren't enough men to attack the 24 houses at the same time it was decided that they would strike on ten among them. Coulon, with 55 men, reserved the stone house for themselves.

At two o'clock in the morning, everybody left; each one took his station and, at a given signal, officers and soldiers being on their knees, the abbe Maillard gave general absolution. Then they left. A heavy shower of dust which lasted for several days had rendered the roads difficult and the guide who was charged to lead M. Coulon to the stone house, having lost his way, stopped in front of another that was to be attacked by M. de Repentigny.

M. Coulon seeing that it was dangerous to pass over, rushed upon the house and all the troops followed him. De Beaujeu killed the sentinel; the English stunned an instant, got ahold of themselves, fired a general discharge and M. Coulon fell gravely wounded in the arm. De Beaujeu believed him dead, but, he adds, "he withdrew the best he could from the line of fire." At the same time M. de Lusignan suffered two serious wounds.

The battle continued embittered for about a quarter of an hour during which time twenty one English were killed and three taken prisoners.

During this time the other houses were attacked and the English killed or taken prisoners.

"... We forced open the clumsily made houses and in a very short time made ourselves masters of them, said Lacorne. The officers and the cadets distinguished themselves in this action and all the Canadians gave marks of their courage. On the part of the enemy, they had one hundred and forty men killed, among whom was Colonel Nobel, his brother and three others; twenty-eight wounded and fifty-four prisoners. They killed only seven of our men of whom two were Indians and

wounded fourteen of them among whom were M. Coulon and M. Lusignan." (75)

Although the heaviest part of the battle lasted only a few minutes, the fire continued however, from one house to another, until eleven o'clock in the morning; the English at first demanded a cessation of hostilities which was accorded them, then they ^{consented} ~~continued~~ to capitulate.

February 12, the capitulation was signed by the English officers and French officers and taken to M. de Coulon who signed at his turn.

The latter was transported to the Caspareau River where the surgeon had given him the first dressings for his wound, then he went back to Beaubassin with the detachment.

M. de Villiers had received a more serious wound than they at first thought. He suffered horribly. He wanted to go back to Quebec but the distance was great and the communications difficult. And the more so as he only arrived the evening of June 22: "M. de Coulon arrived from Green Bay in his skiff; he is still much handicapped by his knee." (76)

July 10, Mgr de Pontbrand writing in favor of M. de Lusignan said: "M. Coulon, captain, has maintained his reputation^T there. A wound which he shall feel for a long time soon put him out of combat." (77)

Coulon de Villiers was never cured of this wound. Thinking that a trip to the waters would cure him, he obtained permission to go to France.

October 9, 1747, the steward Hocquart gave an order to Lord Causse, commanding the flute La Gironde, to take aboard a certain number of passengers "to whom he will be held to furnish board at his table during the crossing from here to France." Among these passengers was found: "M. de Coulon, captain, his wife and a servant." (78)

M. de Villiers went to the waters at Barèges, thermal station of the Pyrennes. (79) This is at least what we learn from the correspondence from Louisiana for the year 1749. (80)

Since Coulon de Villiers was a man of merit, the Canadian authorities recommended him to the ministry. November 3, 1747, M. de la Calissonniere wrote to the latter: "I have the honor to present again to you that there are some officers who by their wounds or by some other action in battle merit the St-Louis Cross or some other recompense or both. Lord Coulon de Villiers is in the last group; the trip that he is obliged to make to France for his wound will entirely upset his fortune if you do not have the kindness to help him liberally." (81)

This recommendation had its effect. A list of promotions for 1748 tells us that Coulon de Villiers was named major of the Three-Rivers and chevalier de St-Louis. (82)

The cross in order to pay him for his bravery and the rank of major to permit him, while remaining in the service, to take care of his bad leg. What better could one desire?

M. de Villiers spent two years in Europe. On his return he took possession of his charge as Major of the Three-Rivers. October 23, 1749, he assisted, in that city, at the marriage of his sister Angélique who married Charles de Carnes de Falaise. The records qualify M. de Villiers as chevalier of St-Louis and Major of Three Rivers. (83)

After this date one does not find anything concerning him in the records of the parish.

He died the following spring "at Montreal, after having cut the leg that had been wounded and the pains of which he could no longer endure,"

writes Jonquiere and Bigot, October 2, 1750. (84) He was buried in this city April 4, 1750: "Nicolas Coulon, Horseman, Lord of Villiers, major of Three Rivers, at the age of 41 years, buried in the St-Anable chapel," reads the register. (85)

October 2, 1750, the governor and the intendant asked the minister for a pension for the widow of the major of Three-Rivers:

"He left, they said, a widow with nothing with which to live; she has used up a part of her property during the two years that she remained in France with him, for the healing of his wound. - We beg of you, Sir, to earnestly desire to secure for her a pension which can help her to subsist. We do not flatter ourselves that you will take recognizance of our request which appears to us to be well founded, the death of M. Coulon resulting from the wound that he received at the Mines affair where he was commanding." (86)

The inventory of the property of the late M. Coulon and of Dame de la Perade, his widow, took place the 2, 3, and 4 of February, 1752.(87)

Several weeks later, March 12, Madame de Villiers married Jean Francois Caultier, physician to his majesty, counsellor, etc. (88)

We do not know of any children resulting from this marriage with M. de Villiers. According to the abbe Daniel, (89) she died about 1776, without leaving any children.

The documents that we have intentionally exposed prove clearly that Nicolas-Antoine is that one of the Coulon de Villiers brothers who was commanding at the Mines in 1747, and who died of his wounds in 1750. It cannot then be a question of him at the taking of Fort Necessity in 1754 and much less at the taking of Fort Granville in 1756. It will now be more easy for us to tell the story of those who remain .

IV

Joseph Coulon de Villiers called de Jumonville

Joseph Coulon de Villiers was born at Verchères September 8, 1718, and was baptized the next day under the sole name of Joseph and not Joseph-Louis as some have said several times.

He had for god-father Joseph de Verchères and for god-mother Marie-Anne Dejourdy. (90)

The military career of Jumonville, relatively short, was however very complete. It is also better known than that of his brothers, because, besides the name of Jumonville preventing it from being confused with the other de Villiers, his Etats de services, permits us to follow him surely enough.

These Etats de Service made to be presented to M. Rouillé, minister and Secretary of State go from 1733 to 1749 inclusively. (91) We give them here, if not in the form at least in the purpose.

In 1733, being only fifteen years of age, Jumonville was at the Baie des Puants, under the command of his father.

What did Jumonville do from 1733 to 1739? He does'nt say. Perhaps he remained at the St-Joseph des Illinois Post? In 1739, he took part in the expedition against the Chicachas, who, as one knows, were conquered and forced to make peace. (92)

During the winter of 1745, he is found in Acadia under the orders of M. Marin and he tells us that he spent the winter in running through the woods in snowshoes.

The following year he was still in Acadia, but under M. de Bamezay; it is not impossible that he took part in the combat at the Mines, although his name is not mentioned there.

In 1747, he is sent to the Rivière-aux-Sables, at the head of a party of French and Indians to oppose the incursions of the Agniers; the same year he again made a campaign against Corlar, under the orders of M. de Lacorne the elder.

A party of French and Indians having been gathered in 1748 to go against the English, Jumonville was the commander of them. He left Montreal in the first days of June and the 26th of the same month he was on his way back; he had killed fourteen or fifteen of the enemy.(93)

Finally in 1749, M. de la Calissonnière confided to him the mission of putting in order a post "disordered, that in which he succeeded perfectly."

After having recalled that his brother Coulon had died as the result of wounds that he had received in Acadia, Jumonville ends his "États de service" thus:

"The suppliant hope, Mgr, that in virtue of the above services the certificates of which he has in hand, you will not refuse him your powerful protection for one of the three lieutenancies vacant in Canada. He prays your highness not to lose sight of the death of his father, two of his brothers and of a brother-in-law killed in service. His thanks will equal the sincerity of the vows that he will form for your conservation."

This document must have been written after April 4, 1750, since Jumonville speaks of the death of Coulon who died on that date.

This request so well motivated, however, was not listened to and Jumonville died an Ensign.

And even this rank of ensign he must have waited for a long time. October 20, 1743, Beauharnois proposed Jumonville for second degree ensign.(94)

The following year, October 30, the governor came back to the charge and has noted that the positions of second ensigns found filled by the Lords Villiers de Jumonville and Rigauville who have the first expectatives of that year. (95)

Finally, November 8, 1746, Beauharnois wrote to the Minister that he should be provided with an ensign en pied, Villiers de Jumonville. (96) Was he listened to this time? We like to believe so.

It is hard to say what Jumonville did from 1750 to 1754. Only the inventory of the property of his brother Nicolas-Antoine, made in 1752, tells us that he was then in garrison at Montreal. He gives his power of attorney and signs:

Jumonville

Then we arrive at the fact that has rendered his name famous not only in Canada but in a part of Europe.

Whatever one calls it, right or wrong, the willful murder of Jumonville is well known. The English and American historians as well as the French and Canadian have treated this subject long enough that it is not necessary to enter into all the details.

However, we think that it will not be useless to give rapid view of the facts.

Everybody knows that the French and the English were arguing the pos-

session of the valley of the Ohio, called the Beautiful River.

Soon after his arrival in the country, M. Duquesne wrote to M. de Contrecoeur then commanding at Niagara, to inform him that he was soon going to send a detachment of 2,000 men to occupy the contested territory. (97)

Several inevitable obstacles hindered the governor from putting his proposal in effect.

January 27, 1754, he wrote to M. de Contrecoeur, that he had named, December 25, 1753 (98), the commandant at the Rivière aux Boeufs to go with 600 men to take possession of the Beautiful River. "Although, he said, I don't take occasion to presume neither the English nor the Indians have any envy of opposing with open force the taking of land which belongs to us, it is with prudence and wise precaution that since the instant that you are at the foot of the Rivière aux Boeufs with the last convoy of effects, you were pressing your movements to construct Fort Duquesne at Chiniqua or thereabouts." (99)

The same day, M. Duquesne named M. de Contrecoeur commander of the new fort and of all the Beautiful River. (100)

The governor was having an illusion in thinking that the English would not oppose the taking possession of the Ohio Valley.

Before that which precedes was written, towards the end of 1753, Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, had sent Washington to call upon M. de St. Pierre to abandon the territory that he was occupying. The latter replied that he could do nothing without the consent of his general and that while waiting he would guard his post.

Informed of this fact, Duquesne wrote immediately to M. de Contre-ocour: "I have just received a dispatch from Lord de St-Pierre who has sent me by express a letter from the governor of Virginia by which he pretends that the Beautiful River belongs to them and which summons the commander of the detachment to withdraw peacefully. As this governor does not write to me directly, I restrain myself to order you in case he summons you again, you have to inform him that it is inserted in your instructions that the Beautiful River and its dependencies incontestably belong to Roi Très Crétien. As regards the insults made against the rights of the people, he cannot attribute any of them to us and if the English who come to trade on our land are stopped, its because we have a right to do it because we do not go on theirs; as to the surplus, the King, my master, only asks his right, he has no intention of disturbing the pleasant harmony which reigns between His Majesty and the King of Great Britain.

"The General of Canada can give many proofs as he competes to uphold the perfect union between two friendly princes, since having learned that the Iriquois and the Nipissingues of the Lake and the Two Mountains had struck and destroyed an English family and has forced them to give up a little boy of this family who was the only survivor and that M. Verich (sic) who was negotiating at Montreal has brought him back to Boston.

"Moreover he has forbidden all the Indians from exercising their ordinary cruelties on the English with whom we are friends.

"There is, Sir, the response that you will have to make to that Governor and to any others in case of a new deputation. The one of 36

M. de St-Pierre that he has doubtless already communicated to you is struck with much dignity, firmness and politeness." (101)

Although a little long, we wished to make this citation because it well shows the ideas of the General of Canada.

A little later, Duquesne sent Chevalier LeMercier to the Beautiful River with the best officers and cadets then at Montreal.

M. de Contrecoeur learned soon that the English were to build a fort at the Junction of the Monongahela and the Ohio.

He believed it was time for him to serve the response that Duquesne had charged him to make to the governor of Virginia. He trusted this mission to M. LeMercier.

We have before our eyes a beautiful copy of the summation made by this officer; it is dated April 16, 1754, "the last feast of Pasques" and signed by Contrecoeur. (102)

This measure had a good effect; the English abandoned their work and fled. There was'nt any disorder and Duquesne wrote, May 11: "It is as one would have it that in your conduct nothing happened which approaches the act of hostility." (103)

Washington was not slow to be informed of the blow that the French had just carried on their headquarters. May 1, 1754, he left Will's Creek, arrived at Great Meadows and built a fort there. (104)

During this time, M. de Contrecoeur who foresaw that the English would not let themselves be discouraged for long, had ordered Jumonville to go to the lookout. The governor was warned of it and replied, June 20: "I have learned with pleasure that you are making use of

Jumonville and Drouillon to assure you with rumors that spread that the English are marching with open force." (105)

In leaving, Jumonville had received a summation from M. de Contrecoeur that he was to read to the English, if he met them. We have before us a copy of this document; it was signed with the signature of M. de Contrecoeur who had written on the back: "second summation to the English if M. de Jumonville finds them in his reconnoitering, May 23, 1754." Later and with another ink M. de Contrecoeur wrote: "he found them and they killed him while making him read to them." (106)

Indeed, M. de Jumonville, left with an escort of 34 men and was surrounded the night of May 27-28 by Washington's detachment. The French seeing themselves surrounded, seized their arms. "Fire," cried Washington, and himself fired his gun; a second discharge followed very close to the first. But Jumonville, by an interpreter, warned that he had something to communicate. The firing ceased and while Jumonville had the summation read, he received a bullet in his head which caused him to fall over dead. The English then threw themselves against the small troop; there were ten Canadians killed, one wounded and twenty-one prisoners. Two Canadians escaped and brought the news. (107)

M. de Contrecoeur hurried to have the circumstances of this affair made known to M. Duquesne. The latter replied June 24: "I was not expecting, sir, a change so sudden as the one of which you in-

form me in your letter of the second instant and that the English had pushed cruelty to the assassination of an officer instructed with my orders; yes this murder is unique and can only be washed by a flow of blood, if the Englishman does not hurry to send me the murderers as proof of his recantation, a measure that he must take at the place where the assassination was committed; while waiting for him to give you satisfaction, keep under hand all that one will find from the nation." (108)

One sees it, Duquesne does not speak of anything but an assassination. Also the indignity which was extreme not only in Canada but also in France. Historians recounted and commented on the details of the affair and the future academian Thomas began work on a long poem consecrated to the memory of Jumonville. (109)

For their part, the English explained their conduct and assured that they had not had in mind either ambush, or assassination, but an act of war, adding that M. de Jumonville had been unwise and that it was on him that the blame must be laid for what had just happened.

Washington wrote in his journal: "that the prisoners told him that they had been sent with a notice for him to retreat" and he adds: "special pretext for being able to discover our camp and learn of our forces and our situation." And farther on: "They pretend that they called to us as soon as we were discovered; that is an absolute fallacy, because I was then at the head of the march in going to them and I can affirm that as soon as they saw us, they

ran to their arms, without calling, which I must have heard if they had done it." (110)

All these affirmations so contrary to those of the French are not made with the idea of clearing up the affair. If, as Washington says, it was the prisoners who told him that they were the carriers of a summation it must be concluded that Jumonville had not read the summation and then one would explain that the commander had not seen an ambassador in the person of the French officer.

But it remains to be known if things happened so.

It has been said that the excuse Washington offered for himself and his conduct, in his journal, shows that he feels the need of justifying himself.

That was his right. However, it seems to us that he feigns a little too much in not believing in the embassy. But was this such a rare thing? The wind was full of notices. Dinwiddie himself had one of them served to M. de St-Pierre in October, 1753 and the officer charged with returning it to him had been received with all the politeness possible; the preceding April 16 (1754) M. de Contrecoeur had had the English summoned to withdraw from the junction of the Ohio and the Monongahela and things passed well.

How surprising that M. de Contrecoeur, informed that the English were constantly advancing, had sent a new notice? And this new notice, although Washington says of it, was not so insolent and

and did not sense so much of the bragard; it was only the counterpart of the one that M. Lellercier had served on the English several weeks previously and of which no one had complained.

Indeed Washington appears to us to exaggerate when he says the retinue which accompanied Jumonville would have been worthy of a prince who would have been an ambassador while he was only a simple French officer.

At London, At Paris, or at Boston the things would have appeared thus, but across the woods, in dense forest, exposed to meeting Indian enemies, prince or peasant would have committed folly if he left with only a few men.

Yet again all is not clear in this affair and it will always be difficult to fix responsibilities which belong to each.

If one admits that Washington had too much nobility of character to have wished to profit by an ambush, one would have to recognize also that Duquesne, Contrecoeur and Jumonville were too much the gentlemen to have had the intentions that one credits to them. The extracts that we have given above prove to what point the French searched to avoid the war.

Let's say then, if one wishes it, that there was on one side or the other bad intentions, precipitation, imprudence even, but let's leave to each of the commanders the benefit of the doubt and let's not go to whiten the one and blacken the other.

October 10, 1754, Duquesne was writing to the Minister: The Ve of the Lords Villier, de Jumonville, ensign who was one of the most

distinguished subjects in his rank, merits commiseration." (111)

M. de Jumonville had married Marie-Anne-Marguerite Soumade, daughter of Jean-Paul Soumade and of Ursule LeVerrier, at Montreal, October 11, 1745. Five children were born of this union: Joseph born and died in 1746; Joseph born in 1748; Hippolyte-Etienne born in 1749; Marie-Anne-Catherine born June 12, 1752, and buried the following August 30 at Montreal; (112) and last, Charlotte-Amable baptized August 16, 1754 and born probably after the death of her father. (113)

Charlotte-Amable was still living in 1760.

December 15, 1755, Madame de Jumonville married Pierre Bacheois, Lord of Barrante, horseman, captain in the Bearn regiment.

May 21, 1760, Madame Barrante became a widow for the second time and the following June 23 the Marquis de Levis wrote to Minister Berryer: "I join my solicitations to those of the Marquis de Vaudreuil in favor of Madame Barrante, the former widow of M. de Jumonville, colonial officer, killed at the beginning of the war, to whom she has a daughter. She had married a second time to Lord Barrante, first captain of the Bearn regiment, man of condition to whom she has a daughter. (114) He has just died of his wounds. This widow is without property, in charge of two daughters; I particularly shall be obliged to you for what you are able to do for her and for procuring for her a pension and places at St-Cyr for her daughters." (115)

The same day he wrote in almost the same terms to the Marshal

of Belle-Isele, only he added: "she is the grand-daughter of M. the Marquis de Vaudreuil."(116)

Did Madame de Jumonville obtain a pension for herself and places at St-Cyr for her daughters? We do not know of any.

We cannot even say when or where she died. What we do know is that the name of Jumonville, so celebrated in Canada, is no longer met there for a long time.

V

Louis Coulon de Villiers called the Great Villiers

The death of Jumonville in 1754 leaves only two survivors of the Coulon de Villiers brothers: Louis and Francois. Both are noted for the number rather than the importance of their services to the colony; it is only necessary to give to each what belongs to him and that is, in our opinion, the importance of our work.

Jumonville was avenged by one of his brothers: Louis or Francois evidently, since they are the only ones who survived him; but which one of them?

Certain historians, it is true, have proclaimed that Nicolas-Antoine was the avengeur of Jumonville, but we have proven that this affirmation is not exact and we will come back to it.

Moreover, as Dussieux -(117), Thwaites -(118), M. E. Mallet -(119), etc., affirm that it was Louis; indeed a respectable tradition conserved in the family of Francois attributes to him the honor of that memorable vengeance.

If, in our turn, it is permitted to give our opinion, we shall say, without pretending to infallibility, that Louis, surnamed the Great Villiers, was the true vengeur of Jumonville, that is to say the one who took Fort Necessity in 1754.

Several very clear and categorical documents could have regulated the question; it is sufficient that a very old paper of the time had carried in all letters the name of Louis or that of Francois, in respect to the taking of Fort Necessity; unfortunately the Messieurs de

Villiers were wasteful with their baptismal names and the authorities of the time cared no more for them.

We shall content ourselves then with the less affirmative documents but all of which, believe us, do not permit the proving of our anticipation.

The surest means is to give the cursus vitae of Louis, to disentangle him, so to say, from those trifles which have been the cause of confusing him so easily with his brother Louis, the chevalier.

A remark before we go any farther. The numerous manuscripts and printed documents that we have consulted, with few exceptions, have permitted us to verify that Louis was generally known under only the name of M. de Villiers, captain or officer of the colony, while Francois was always or nearly always called M. le chevalier de Villiers. Let us add still that Louis was more particularly busy in the country around the Great Lakes or in the vicinity of Montreal while Francois who was an officer in Louisiana most often remained there.

Louis was born at Verchères August 10, 1710; his godfather was Louis Audet Sr de Bailleur and his godmother was Marguerite de Verchères. (120)

Like his brothers, he entered the service young and followed his father at the St-Joseph River of Illinois post. March 7, 1729, he was a godfather there: "Louis Coulon de Villiers, son," reads the register. In 1731, January 26, he again holds an infant at the fonts; he was then cadet à l'aiguillette and signed his name simply Villiers. (121)

He was made second ensign in the promotion of 1732 which gave his father prospects of company. "Villiers son cadet," said the list. (122)

We cannot say with certainty what he became after that; perhaps he remained for several years in the upper country.

A list of officers for 1739, mentions a Coulon de Villiers, second ensign, who bids fair. (123) Could that not be Louis?

Several accounts of 1740 concerning the Cicachas affair indicate the names of Chevalier de Villiers and of M. de Villiers; (124) the latter still leaves us with the uncertainty as to the Lord de Villiers who was at Fort St-Frederic from 1741 to 1744. (125) In both cases however, we are led to believe that it was Louis.

In November, 1746, the General made leave "M. de Villiers, lieutenant of the troops with a hundred Acadian Indians who wintered around Quebec to proceed to Montreal in order to be distributed from there in the different garrisons established on the frontiers towards Fort St-Frederic." (126)

It must here be a question of Louis since in the preceding month of July M. de Beauharnois had named him chevalier to serve under the orders of M. DeMay in the upper country (127) and since Nicolas-Antoine and Jumonville were in Acadia.

April 12, 1747, M. de Villiers, eight cadets, and one hundred residents left Montreal for Chateaugus because of the many trails that the Iroquois assured had been seen. (128)

M. de Villiers was often at Montreal where he remained on returning from his expeditions.

February 10, 1749, he witnessed a marriage there. "Coulon de Villiers, lieutenant in the army," he signed 'de Villiers.' (129)

June 7, 1750, he is a godfather and still lieutenant; he signs very short: 'Villiers'. (130)

A little later he went to take command of the Miami Indian post.

His instructions, signed by Jonquiere, were dated at Montreal, July 19, 1750: "for Lord de Villiers, lieutenant of the infantry, commander at the Miami post."

After having ordered him to leave immediately in a king's cutter with two soldiers to go to the Miami post with the convoy of M. de Celoron who was going to Detroit, the governor adds: "We have instructed him with orders for the tribes of the said post of little advantage to the French and he knows that we are determined to make him commander of it on the esteem that he won for himself among those tribes, on his capacity and the zeal that he has for the service of the King; thus he must do his utmost in order to satisfy the confidence that we have in him in the command so important considering the circumstances." (131)

M. de la Jonquiere enters into a crowd of details that it would be too long to relate here but which one can summarize thus: to grant a general amnesty to the Miamis, to disengage them from the English alliance and to make them the friends of the French. He ends by ordering M. de Villiers to account to him whatever shall happen at his post, at all possible occasions and to only send by messenger the extraordinary and very pressing matters. "Moreover," he says, "we shall leave to the said Lord de Villiers all the other matters that we have not been

able to foresee in the present order." (133)

One will wonder if this M. de Villiers is indeed Louis. We find the answer to this question in the inventory of property of Nicolas-Antoine made in 1752. Mentioning the absent ones, the notary writes: " Louis Coulon, Couyer Sr de Villiers, lieutenant in the army, actually in the upper country, and M. le chevalier de Villiers, lieutenant at the Mississippi." (133)

It was indeed then Louis de Villiers who was commanding at the Miami post. He remained there until the fall of 1753. In July of the same year, M. de Courtemanche wrote to M. de Contrecoeur: " I do not doubt, as a friend of M. de Villiers, that you wish indeed to take charge of his mail that M. Chabert ought to deliver to you at Niagara." (134)

And October 31, M. Duquesne wrote to the Ministry: "In spite of the precaution of Lord de Villiers, the Miami rebels have been throwing their lot with the English. (135)

A little later he returned to Montreal. On December 29, 1753, he married. In the registry he is called "captain of the troops of this garrison" and signs: Coulon Villiers. (136)

M. de Villiers did not remain a long time at Montreal. The governor had been informed by M. de Contrecoeur of attempts by the English against the settlements of the Belle-Riviere and he prepared to send some help and to re-inforce the posts of the vicinity.

He succeeded in raising some Christian Indians from Sault, from

Two-Mountains Lake and from Lorette and after having put some good officers at their head, he had them leave for the Belle-Riviere.

June 14, 1754, they were at Chatocoin and the engineer Léry, who was found there, wrote in his journal: (137) "June 14, at six o'clock in the evening, there arrived M. de Villiers, captain at the head of the Iriquois; M. de Montesson, lieutenant, at the head of the Abenakis; M. de Longueuil, second ensign, with the Hurons from Lorette. All these tribes could together make from 120 to 130 men."

For us, these words of M. de Léry have a great importance: they prove that M. de Villiers, when he arrived at Fort Duquesne "with the different tribes the command of which the general had given me."

The general, or if one prefers, the governor, was at Montreal at this time, and he sent, by groups, the reinforcements that he had promised M. de Contrecoeur.

When the news of Jumonville's death reached Montreal, writes Parkman, (139) "Coulon de Villiers, brother of the massacred officer, was sent in his place."

One still reads in : Illinois historical and statistical Moses: (140) "In learning of the defeat and death of Jumonville, his brother, Coulon de Villiers, who had been sent for this purpose from Montreal, left Fort Duquesne to avenge his death."

That de Villiers left Montreal or thereabouts, we are convinced, but that he had been sent, as the above author says, in order to avenge Jumonville that is something we cannot admit for the reason that when de Villiers left with the tribes for the Ohio the news of the death of

Jumonville was not yet known at Montreal. De Villiers must have learned of it enroute.

Two days after his arrival at Chatocoin he left again as M. de Léry wrote in his journal, June 16: "M. de Villiers and the other officers at the head of the Indians, leave for Fort Duquesne by the way of lake Chatocoin in shell boats." M. de Villiers brought some merchandise and some powder to M. de Contrecoeur. (141)

Péan, who was then at Chatocoin, wrote to M. de Contrecoeur, his uncle: "I have had much discomfort in sending M. de Carqueville who is an excellent officer away from me; he, with de Villiers and LeMercier will serve you perfectly, I envy their good fortune." (142)

The same day Péan sent to inform the governor at Montreal, of the departure of de Villiers for Fort Duquesne.

The intention of M. Duquesne was that M. de Villiers, after having carried some provisions to M. de Contrecoeur, return to continue the visiting of the posts, in the place of M. Péan who was sick and could not do it. (143)

However, events did not happen just so. M. de Villiers arrived at Fort Duquesne June 26, at eight o'clock in the morning "with the different tribes of which the general had put me in command," says his journal. (144)

On arriving he learned that M. de Contrecoeur was having a detachment of 500 French and several Indians leave the next morning to go chase the English and avenge the death of Jumonville. Le chevalier LeMercier had been named to command this small troop; he was an

excellent officer, "but," wrote M. de Villiers, "as I was his senior, since I was leading the tribes and since my brother had been assassinated, M. de Contrecoeur honored me with this command and M. LeMerozier, although deprived of the command, expressed to me that it would give him great pleasure to conduct the campaign under my orders." (145)

M. Duquesne, informed of this change, wrote to M. de Contrecoeur, July 19: "I would have been equally tranquil if the chevalier LeMerozier had commanded this troop, but one could'nt refuse it to Lord Villiers who is an officer of distinction and in whom the Indians have much confidence." (146)

The details of this expedition are known; besides they are found in the journal of M. de Villiers and in most of the histories of Canada; we take the liberty of referring the reader to them.

Let's note only that the expedition was fortunate. On July 3, the detachment was in front of Fort Necessity; it was necessary to fight in the day light and in the open, which did not prevent the Canadians from showing great spirit. The English defended themselves well but after a struggle which lasted ten hours they consented, following the proposition that was offered them, to surrender to avoid the onslaught.

The same evening, articles of surrender were signed by James Mackay, G. Washington, and Coulon-Villiers.

Then the French commander led his troops back in good order to Fort Duquesne where he arrived July 7, at four o'clock.

This brilliant victory was greatly spread throughout all the colony.

July 25, Duquesne wrote to M. de Contrecoeur: "Nothing more to one's

liking, sir, than the fine affair which has just happened above the Monongahela River since it reconciles bravery, prudence and humanity. That is, in my opinion, the most beautiful blow which has been made in Canada, because it is rare that in this country one sees battles in front of the Colors and it is always only by surprise that the enemy is attacked All has happened according to my desires, the lesson is a good one and I expect that it will always be inscribed in the memory of the English and the Indians." (147)

On the 30th of the same month, Bigot, after having congratulated Contrecoeur for having so well taken his precautions in the Fort Necessity campaign, added: ",.... and Lord de Villiers executed to the utmost of his ability, the orders that you gave him." (148)

Toward the end of July, M. de Villiers came back to Montreal carrying letters from M. de Contrecoeur to M. Duquesne. The governor wrote to M. de Contrecoeur August 14, 1754: " I have been very glad to embrace this officer who has just served the State and his country so well." (149)

The governor was not content with congratulating de Villiers but he recommended him to the minister. October 10, 1754, after having asked for the Cross of St-Louis for MM. de Contrecoeur and Pean, he added: "I have occasion to hope, my Lord, that you will not refuse to procure the same decoration for Lord de Villiers after the brilliant action that he has just made in the Ohio River territory, as every soldier will have trouble in believing in a country where only surprise wars are known; you will have seen in his journal the wisdom and pru-

dence with which this brave officer conducted himself in spite of his resentment at the assassination of his brother." (150)

The praise and recommendation of Duquesne had no effect for the time and de Villiers was not decorated until three years later.

However M. de Villiers was not in good health (at least that is what M. Duquesne said in a letter to Contrecoeur) and does not appear to have gone far from Montreal during the winter.

Soon it is learned that the English were going to make a general attack on Canada in the spring. Fort Duquesne, Fort St-Frederic and Fort Niagara were more particularly menaced.

M. de Villiers was sent to the latter post in order to cover the fort and to hinder the incursions of the English. He remained there five months. (151) He was to leave at the end of June because of the 23rd M. Duquesne wrote to M. Laperrière then at Niagara: "I don't need to recommend to you to have for Lord de Villiers all the kind attentions that he merits and you will find on the part of the captain all the reciprocity that you can desire." (152)

De Villiers had a detachment of 200 men to form an observation camp; (153) that was little, but when the danger seemed more menacing he would take necessary help from the surrounding posts. August 21, M. Benoit wrote to M. Duquesne, from Fort Presqu'île, that, "on the advice of M. de Villiers, he was sending to Niagara, all the detachments of the Ohio River." (154)

The arrival of these reinforcements and the news of the defeat of Braddock, discouraged Shirley and he abandoned the idea of attacking

Niagara for the year at least.

The retreat of the English commander and his fifteen hundred men brought peace back to Niagara and M. de Villiers was recalled to Montreal. "You will leave, wrote M. de Vaudreuil to Laperrière, between the 15th and the 20th of November with M. de Villiers to come back to Montreal." (155)

During the winter of 1755-56, M. de Vaudreuil prepared to run the English out of Chouanguen. This campaign was reserved for Montcalm who arrived in Quebec in May, 1756. It was crowned with success and M. de Villiers distinguished himself there. It was he who, after having gained strength at Miacore, commanded the observation camp, harassed the enemy and prevented them from communicating with the upper country. (156) At the same siege of Chouanguen, he led the right column and was ordered to prevent the English from leaving the fort.

At last, August 14, Montcalm was master of three forts and the evening of the same day, eight o'clock, M. de Villiers left to carry to M. de Vaudreuil the five flags that the English had left behind. (157)

One can believe that he was well received by the governors.

M. de Vaudreuil who had already recommended him to the Court the year before wrote November 8, 1756 in suggesting the Cross of St-Louis for him: "I must add to the observations that I had the honor of making to you last year in favor of this officer, the success that he had while he led the observation camp that I had established within range

of Chouaguen to intercept the enemy relief. He distinguished himself perfectly in the campaign for the three forts after which he rejoined the army at Carillon where he remained during the campaign." (158)

Montcalm who arrived in Canada and who had no liking for certain Canadian officers, found however that M. de Villiers was good. (159)

We shall soon see that Montcalm recognized all his merit.

Once the campaign was ended, M. de Villiers returned from Carillon to Montreal where he spent the winter in garrison.

One knows that at the time of the surrender of Fort Mecessity, the French commander had two English officers taken as hostages: Jacob Van Braam and Robert Stobo. The latter profited by his sojourn at Fort Duquesne, where he was left in almost complete liberty, in playing the role of a spy. He even surveyed the plan of the fort and sent it to the enemy. They found the letter which accompanied this plan among the papers of Braddock after the battle of the Monongahela.

Indignant, M. de Vaudreuil had the two hostages pass before a council of war. The suit opened in October, 1756, at Montreal where Van Braam and Stobo had been for a long time.

Called as a witness, M. de Villiers appeared November 3, 1756 and states his surnames and Christian names, etc., as follows: "Louis Coulon Esuyer, Lord de Villiers, captain of the Infantry, 47 years of age, staying in garrison at Montreal, St-Paul St., Notre-Dame parish." (160)

He was questioned about a conversation that he had heard during the winter of 1755, at Montreal, at the home of M. de St-Luc, a conversation

in which Stobo must have confessed having written the letter in question.

In the course of the suit M. de Villiers and Stobo declared that they knew each other well.

The council of war condemned the traitor to have his head cut off, which sentence was not executed.

The year 1757 was remarkable especially for the taking of Fort William-Henry. In this campaign de Villiers, at the head of 300 volunteers and several Indians, as always distinguished himself.

Since June 24, Montcalm writing to Vaudreuil to give him part of the success of the two detachments and especially that of M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, said: "M. de Villiers with whom I can be well pleased has had a great part in the arrangement of this detachment and in the determination of the Indians. This officer marched yesterday, with the zeal that you know in him, but to no purpose, in order to cut the retreat of a small group of Indian enemies This officer whose reputation has been well earned has'nt need of any deeds to augment it, but he will profit well from all those that fortune will present to him during the war." (161)

That is, certainly, a beautiful eulogy and yet they were only at the beginning of the campaign which ended in the taking of William-Henry and during which de Villiers did not give way.

So much intelligence, activity, and bravery indeed merited some recompense; it arrived in the fall of 1757. In the preceding month of May, Moras had written to Montcalm that de Villiers had been named

Chevalier de St-Louis. (162)

Mazas (163) places this nomination on the first of May: it includes: "de Sermonville, de la Corne la Colombiere, de Villiers, La Gardeur de Repentigny and the chevalier LeMercier, captains in the Canadian troops."

September 9, Montcalm wrote to Bourlamaque that M. de Vaudreuil had just received a letter of advice of favors for the colony. (164) In the list he gives, Montcalm names M. de Villiers.

The brave captain does not enjoy his new decoration for long.

In October, being in Quebec, he became ill, and on the 28th Montcalm wrote to the chevalier de Levis: "I am worried about de Villiers, I believe he is going to have the small-pox. If they don't know it at Montreal, say nothing of it." (165)

Indeed de Villiers had the small-pox and died of it on November 2, 1757. The same day, brought the sad news to Levis: "I am, my dear chevalier," he said, "inconsolable at the loss of poor Villiers, I did not write to his widow but told her how much I miss her husband and that independent of all she procures by herself, I shall be always at great ease to witness for her at any occasion the singular esteem that I had for Villiers." (166)

The 6th of the same month, Montcalm still wrote in his journal: "Lord de Villiers, one of the best officers in the colony and most known by his deeds, died of small-pox on the 3 (sic), generally missed." (167)

M. de Vaudreuil also appreciated this excellent officer. Here is how, November 2, he announced M. de Villiers' death to the Minister: "I have the honor of reporting to you that Captain de Villiers etc

has just recently died of the small-pox. It is a pity, my Lord, that such an excellent officer should die of this malady, after being exposed to the greatest dangers. The services that he has constantly rendered especially during this war and at the Fort George expedition, earns him my regrets. It is a great loss that we have." (168)

M. de Villiers died November 2; he was buried the following day at the Cathedral of Quebec.

Here is the register of the burial: "November 3 of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven has been buried in the parish church, M. Colon, Ecuyer Sr de Villiers, captain of a company of marines, Chevalier de St^eLouis, died the preceding day at the age of forty-eight years. Those present were M^r. Parent and Grave and a large number of others of every rank (signed) J. P. Recher, cure." (169)

The baptismal name is not found in this register. My lord Tanguay believed it was here a question of Antoine. We have proven that he made a mistake. And since in 1757, there remained only two brothers of the de Villiers family, Louis and Francois, and since the latter died in 1794, it follows that the one whose registration of burial we have just given can be none other than Louis.

M. de Villiers had married in Montreal, December 28, 1753, Marie-Anable Prud'homme (170) with whom he had a daughter, Louise, baptised June 3 and buried September 6, 1755. One does not know of any other children.(171)

Like most of the Canadian officers, M. de Villiers was more brave than rich and his widow was left with hardly any resources.

M. de Vaudreuil knew it and in the letter which he addressed to the Minister to announce the death of M. de Villiers he said: "He leaves a widow with little fortune for whom I cannot excuse myself to be concerned, more especially as all urge, my lord, to beg you to be willing to procure for her a pension from the king in consideration of the importance of the services of her late husband." (172)

After being a widow for nearly three years, Madame Villiers married Michel Hougon de Jarineau, Lord of the Garde, captain in the Berry regiment, at Montreal, September 15, 1760. (173) The author of the Dictionnaire généalogique does not mention any children born of the marriage.

It now remains for us to add several explanations and elucidations on a point that we did'nt wish to discuss in its place for fear of interrupting the sequel of our account, that is to say, was Louis de Villiers really the avenger of the death of Jumonville?

For our part, we don't doubt that he was, in spite of the tradition or in preference to the tradition which wishes that it be Francois.

Indeed, this tradition, will be true if one applies it to what happened in 1756 when the Chevalier de Villiers departed with some Illinois Indians with the purpose of avenging the death of Jumonville, attacked and took Fort Grenville. That would be a second revenge and it can be explained how it was confused with the first in 1754.

Moreover one can oppose this tradition with another not less venerable and more approximate to the events. We wish to speak of that of the Gaspé family allied to the Coulon de Villiers family.

Ignace Aubert de Gaspé who had married Marie-Anne, sister of the de Villiers, was a part of the expedition commanded by his brother-in-law

de Villiers against Fort Necessity. (174)

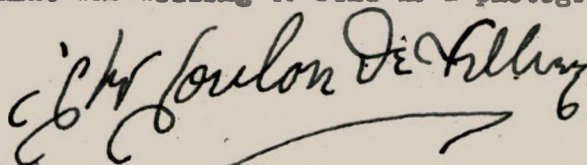
He ought then to know and Madame de Caspé at least who was the commander of the expedition and they spoke of it often, in the family, and of Jumonville and his avenger. Now Ignace Aubert de Caspé and Marie-Anne Coulon de Villiers were the grandfather and grandmother of the author of the Angiens Canadiens, and the latter, in his notes that he added to his work, wrote, in speaking of the one who commanded the French detachment against Fort Necessity: "My great uncle Coulon de Villiers died of small-pox at the age of sixty some years in unceasingly repeating these words: "Me to die in bed like a woman! What a sad destiny for a man who has faced death so many times on the battlefield! I was hoping still to spill the last drop of my blood for my country." (175)

And let no one say, because M. de Caspé does not give the baptismal name, that these words can apply to all the Coulons; because there was only one of them who died of small-pox after 1754 and that is Louis, we have proved it.

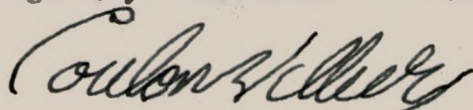
Still another word. Bossu, a contemporary, whom we have already cited, writes concerning the expedition of the chevalier, in 1756: "One must not confuse M. de Villiers, surnamed the Great Villiers, who was to avenge the death of Jumonville, immediately after his assassination in 1753 (sic), with the Chevalier de Villiers who led this detachment."

That sentence dispenses with commentaries. To these proofs we add another, if not certain of the least probably, taken from the signatures of the two brothers. We know only one of Francois; it is of 1762 and is found in the registers of St-Louis in New Orleans.

M. Cruzat was willing to send us a photograph of it which we reproduce here:



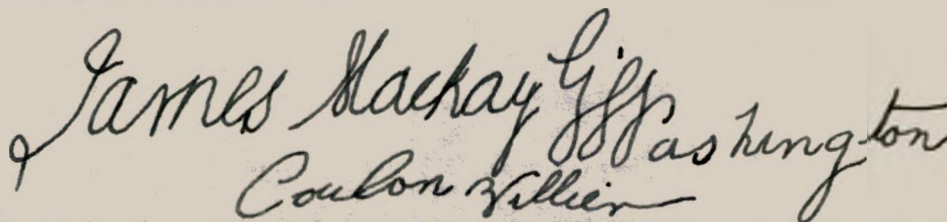
As to the signatures of Louis they are different but they all resemble each other. We give three of them here. The first is that of his marriage act; there can be no doubt of his having signed that one. (177)



The second was taken from the works of Wapcor (178) and of abbé Daniel; (179) one does not say that it is Louis' signature but it does not resemble that of any of his brothers.



The third is a copy from a facsimile of the capitulation, conserved in the seminary at Quebec. (180)



These three last signatures of the de Villiers appear to us to be of the same hand; more or less large or more or less clumsy according to the pen, the ink or perhaps the paper, they do not remain less alike and it would be difficult to attribute the signature of the capitulation to the Chevalier de Villiers if one judges it by the one of his that we have.

It will be noticed that Louis signs, on the capitulation, Coulon Villiers and not Coulon de Villiers and much less Coulon and Villiers as Ferland says. (181)

These proofs in order not to be without reply, can have a certain value and we give them in order to be more complete.

VI

Francois Coulon de Villiers Called the Chevalier

Francois de Villiers was, of all the sons of Nicolas-Antoine, the one who furnished the longest career. What we know of his lists of services proves that he was second to none of the other Coulons as for bravery or as for activity. Although he has been confused with some of his brothers and more particularly with Louis, for all that, it is easy enough to distinguish him from his brothers, at least as far as his military career is concerned, because in the official documents he is nearly always surnamed the Chevalier. That which we are lacking rather are the precise facts about his private life and it is not necessary to wonder about them. An officer in Louisiana and, consequently, nearly always absent from Canada, Francois de Villiers left few traces here. It is from Louisiana that have come the details which are going to be given concerning the marriage and the death of the Chevalier and it is here also that one must go to look for what is missing in these notes.

Neither the place nor the date of the birth of Chevalier de Villiers can be indicated in any definite manner. In the registration of the third marriage, in 1762, it says he is a native of Montreal and his burial registration in 1794 says he was 91 years of age, which would place his birth back to 1703. (182)

Are these declarations very exact? We do not think so. The registers of Montreal are complete for that period; we have had them examined carefully and the baptismal certificate is not found there.

The death certificate indicates well that Francois, at his death, was 91 years of age, but we know that Nicolas-Antoine de Villiers did not marry until the end of 1705 or at the beginning of 1706, and the birth of Francois cannot be reasonably placed in 1703. Moreover, between the years 1706 and 1712 the other children: Marie and Madeline, Nicolas-Antoine, Louis followed soon after each other.

My lord Tanguay does not speak of Francois in his Dictionnaire général ogique. As for us, this is what we think.

François de Villiers, like his brothers and sisters, was born at Verchères, and if in the marriage certificate it says he is a native of Montreal, that probably means the region of Montreal.

As to the date of his birth, we would place it between the years 1712 and 1715. The registers of Contrecoeur being missing for the years 1712, 1713, 1714, (183) it follows that the baptismal certificate was not able to be found.

What confirms us a little in our sayings is that tradition, in the family of Francois, wishes that he be born in 1712, and that M. Villiers du Terrage, in the Derniers jours de la Louisiane francoise, places his birth in the year 1715.

In order to distinguish himself from his brothers, doubtlessly, Francois had himself called Chevalier de Villiers. And it should be noted, Chevalier does'nt necessarily mean Croix de St-Louis. One can be a chevalier for a long time without being decorated; such was the case for the latter. (184)

Francois de Villiers was at the St-Joseph River with his father and his

brothers; he took part in the battle against the Sakis, September 16, 1733.

Three days later he accompanied his brother Nicolas-Antoine who was put in pursuit of the enemy; during the battle which took place when they had rejoined, the Chevalier was wounded in the arm by a gun shot. At least that is what Beauharnois and Hocquart say in their letter November 11, 1733, where they gave an account of this last coup and indicated the number dead and wounded: "On Lord de Villiers' side, his brother, a cadet, has been wounded in the arm by gun shot." (185) In some other letters the governor says that Villiers, cadet, was wounded in the attack against the Henards or rather in the action in which his father was killed. We insist rather on the one which we have just cited.

Several documents subsequent to these letters tell us that here it is a question of the Chevalier.

Nicolas-Antoine de Villiers who remained commander of the fort by the death of his father sent the news to the governor by his brother and Douville, fils. The Lords de Villiers, wounded, and Douville fils arrived this evening from Montreal," wrote Beauharnois on November 11. (186)

The same day, the governor wrote to the minister to suggest certain promotions to him and, after having recommended a lieutenancy for Nicolas-Antoine, he added: "My lord, if you advance the elder Lord de Villiers, there will be a place for a promotion that his brother who has just been wounded will fill very well." (187) This position as an ensign that was asked for him was given to him later perhaps but at the time he was made only a second ensign. In a plan of promotions, for November 4, 1740, Beauharnois designated several young officers for the rank of ensign en pied and

among them is found "de Villiers wounded in the engagement with the Renards, has been with the Chicachas." (188)

In truth, the Chevalier did take part in the expedition against the Chicachas. The different accounts of this engagement which will be found in the 44th volume of the Moreau St-Mery collection, indicate the names of M. de Villiers and of the Chevalier de Villiers. (189) It is also known that Jumonville was mentioned there. (190)

The same year (1740), Bienville, governor of the Louisiana territory, wrote concerning a Coulon: "He is wise, active, intelligent, and has sentiments very proper for the service of the colony." (191) The name of the Chevalier is not found in this note, it is true, but we believe that it applies to him since, it seems, he was a part of the Louisiana government. (192)

One sees by a list of officers who were serving at the different posts in 1743, that the Chevalier de Villiers, ensign, was then in charge at the St-Joseph River. (193) He must have replaced his brother Nicolas-Antoine who returned to Quebec about this time.

An order from the governor to M. Delfay, July 9, 1746, that the latter was to command in the upper country under his orders "Lord Chevalier de Villiers, at the head of the Pouteouatamis, Puants, and Illinois who came with him." (194)

In 1748, Chevalier de Villiers was then only an ensign en pied. In that year, the lieutenant's rank was proposed for him: "Chevalier de Villiers, a good officer, has served well, found himself in several engagements and was wounded in one in which his father and one of his brothers were killed." (195)

These reiterated recommendations prove at least the excellent memory of the Canadian governor if not the good will of the Minister.

Inventory of the properties of Nicolas-Antoine, in 1752, shows us the Chevalier Francois is a lieutenant in the Mississippi valley. He was made a captain the following year. A note of April 1, 1753 and dated at Versailles announces that M. de Montigny will fill the vacancy left by the promotion of Lord Chevalier de Villiers to captain. (196)

Varin wrote the same thing to Contrecoeur September 15. (197)

Papers and documents tell us nothing about Chevalier de Villiers during 1754 and 1755. It is possible that he was present at the siege of Fort Necessity but not as a commander. He must however have made several trips from the Louisiana Territory to the Ohio River Fort: "He has made all the Ohio River campaigns since my arrival in the colony", Vaudreuil wrote in 1758. (198)

Bossu relates (199) that in the Spring of 1756 Chevalier de Villiers obtained permission from the commander of the Chartres fort to raise a group of French and Indians to go and avenge the death of Jumonville, his brother, assassinated by the English before the war."

De Villiers at the same time was in charge of taking a convoy of food for M. Dumas to Fort Duquesne. He left Fort Chartres April 1, 1756 (200) and the following August 8, Vaudreuil wrote to the Minister: The provisions that M. Dumas had asked for the Illinois have arrivedM. Chevalier de Villiers who was in charge of the convoy of provisions came to Fort Duquesne with a boat of eighteen thousand weight -....M. de Villiers brought with him an Illinois chief and four warriors, he has had them

smoke with the Chouanons; peace is going to be solid; the Chouanons appear disposed to send one of their chiefs with M. de Villiers for the purpose of cementing it.

"These Illinois are returning with them, very sad for having gone twenty days with M. de Villiers without having found an occasion to fight." (201)

When M. de Vaudreuil wrote these lines he did not know that the Illinois were going to find the occasion to distinguish themselves in the capture of Fort Granville.

There are several accounts of this expedition, (202) but the most complete is the one from Kerlerec to the Minister. It is dated December 23, 1757, and begins thus: "I have the honor of relating to you that the Chevalier de Villiers, captain of the infantry in the colonial service, assigned to the Illinois post and whom I had ordered to convey the provisions that M. Makarty sent last spring to M. Dumas, commander at Fort Duquesne, has finished that mission with all prudence and distinction possible.

"Hardly had this officer given up the provisions in very good order to M. Dumas that he desired to go against the English (the time being proper to yield to the Illinois) guided primarily by the desire to contribute to the glory of the King's armies, he was at least captivated at all the occasions which would present themselves to avenge the death of Lord Jumonville, his brother, assassinated by the English." (203)

Dumas gave in to De Villiers' desire and permitted him to go from the side of the Fort Cumberland in order to prevent the English from com-

municating from one fort to another.

Left with a detachment of 60 men, as many French as Indians, de Villiers had already gone over 60 leagues of land, when his supplies ran out and sickness forced him to retrace his steps and go back to Fort Duquesne from where he left twenty-five days later.

Once again set up, he again demanded permission to go against the English and it was granted him.

"Chevalier de Villiers," Kerlerec says, "left once more on July 13, with 22 Frenchmen to go to the village of Attiquer (fifteen leagues from Fort Duquesne) where he raised a group of 32 Indians of the Loups, Chouanons and Illinois tribes, which formed altogether a detachment of 55 men, with whom he left the village the 17th of the same month, for the purpose of going to the English Fort George de Craon, his guide being deceived on the way, he found himself at noon on the thirtieth, in full view of Fort Granville; they discovered three men whom he wanted to invest, but having been seen, they fled into the fort in spite of much gunfire."

The fort was well guarded and de Villiers saw but one means to take possession of it: to set fire to it. After having surrounded the fort with a group of his men, he busied the rest of them in carrying dry wood near a bastion, then they lit a fire which the enemy could not extinguish. The breach was opened and the Chevalier proposed at twilight to rush into the fort with bayonets fixed, when the garrison which had lost its commander, two officers and six soldiers, opened the gates of the fort and surrendered at discretion. This garrison was still composed of thirty soldiers. There were also three women and seven children. Thanks to their sympathetic

harangues, "de Villiers succeeded in saving them from the furor of the Indians who wanted to burn some of them."

De Villiers succeeded in burning the fort, spiked the guns, seized the powder and the flour which was found there and returned to Fort Duquesne with his prisoners. He arrived there August 12.

Kerlerrec, from whom we borrowed all these details, ends his letter in this manner: "I believe it my duty to present to you again that it is essential to interest of the service that this officer receive some mark of gratification from the King. I therefore beg of you, My Lord, to procure the Croix de St-Louis for him; this favor will have an obvious result in the military district in my command. I even dare to tell you that it is necessary especially in the dependences of the Illinois where service cannot be much harder, and it is well that these men learn by experience that if the work is great, the recompense of the monarch is always proportionate."

For their part Vaudreuil and Montcalm were writing in France and the latter said to M. de La Bourdonnaye: "Chevalier de Villiers, a lieutenant and brother of M. de Jumonville, who was assassinated by the English, and of M. de Villiers, a captain this year has made a very brilliant campaign on Lake Ontario, this Chevalier, I say, has just, with 55 men, burned down Fort Granville in Pennsylvania." (204)

For his part, Chevalier de Villiers had avenged his brother Jumonville. This second blow accomplished by a Villiers against the English, coming two years after the first, was none the less regarded and with reason as a vengeance. Thus, it is easily explained how the dates were mixed up and

how one could end up by seeing only one feat, only one vengeance, that of 1754.

The excellent recommendation of Kerlerec did not have the effect that one might have expected of it; this Croix de St-Louis which Chevalier de Villiers so well earned was not to come until two years later, but he continued to serve with none the less zeal for it.

A note annexed to a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, September 28, 1757, gives us the titles of the Chevalier to that date: "M. Francois Chevalier, Ecuyer de Villiers, Lieutenant of an Infantry Company stationed in Louisiana, performing the duty of adjutant-major at Fort Chartres has the honor to be presented to you." (205)

In the spring of 1758, he was again in charge of convoying some provisions to the Ohio River. (206)

April 18 of the same year, Vaudreuil wrote to the Minister: "M. Chevalier de Villiers, whom M. de Macarty, commander in Illinois, had had as a result of my orders a march on Virginia at the head of a group of Indians, was able to surprise an English fort whose gate was opened without too much ardeur by the Indians whom he discovered running after three Englishmen; they killed one of them, took the others back to the fort; a woman received an arrow wound in going there. This group killed more than five hundred animals ... M. Chevalier de Villiers found more than thirty leagues of land with abandoned houses on what they call the English River forty leagues above Senniote. This group was only four days from this river in crossing the mountains to reach the fort in question and in returning it took many English horses which they led to the Illinois." (207)

In Autumn of the same year, de Villiers was again at Fort Duquesne. He took part in the brilliant victory which Aubry, an officer in Louisiana, won over Major Grant at the door of the Fort. (208) He was one of the officers who distinguished themselves the most.

November 20, M. de Vaudreuil praised Aubry and de Villiers to the Minister. He wrote concerning the latter: "The second has served well since his youth; he has made every campaign on the Ohio River since my arrival in this country and has always distinguished himself by his discoveries ... and particularly distinguished himself in this last engagement as second in command of M. Aubry's detachment." (209)

For his part, M. de Kerlerrec wrote December 20, 1758: "The Lord de Villiers of whom I have just spoken is the same, My Lord, for whom I asked you to secure the Croix de St-Louis in my dispatch No.132 of January 28, 1757. I detailed the action of this officer who took a fort from the English in 1756." (210)

The long services of Chevalier de Villiers, all these wonderful successes which have procured for him so many and such good recommendations must have, it seems, touched the Minister. There was nothing to it for ~~the~~ the time and de Villiers was not decorated until the following year.

In that year, 1759, the English were making huge preparations to attack Canada from all sides at once.

Fort Niagara, which Pouchot had restored in 1756, was the most important post in this region and consequently one of the most exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Measures were taken to put it in readiness for defense.

At the appeal of the governor, the people of the West sent some aid.

It came to them from all sides and Aubry who had Chevalier de Villiers as second in command led six or seven hundred men from the banks of the Mississippi; he reached Fort Presqu'ile and put himself in charge of M. de Ligneris commander of Fort Machault.

July 6, General Bricéaux appeared before Niagara. Pouchot immediately had some help sent for from Fort Presqu'ile and surrounding posts.

July 9, General Bricéaux demanded that Pouchot give up the fort; he was refused, as one might well think, and the battle began. On the 23rd, de Ligneris and Aubry arrived with the help which had been sent for. Unfortunately Johnson who had replaced Bricéaux, who was killed, was warned of the arrival of the French detachment. He placed on the road over which M. de Ligneris and his men were to pass, a part of his army while the Indians were spread out in the woods. Hidden by a wall, the English could strike almost without danger. Too, it can be guessed what happened. The small French group taken unawares, obliged to fight in the open, against an enemy superior in numbers, was put in retreat or cut to pieces. "The end of the battle," says Casgrain, to whom we are indebted for all these details, "was no more than a massacre whose horrors remain the secret of the solitude of Niagara." (211)

Most of the officers were killed; the others, nearly all wounded, were made prisoners; among them was Chevalier de Villiers.

Pouchot understanding that it would be folly to resist any longer resigned himself to lay down his arms and the capitulation was signed July 25

According to the articles of capitulation, the garrison of Niagara and the prisoners were to be transported to New York. One reads in the Memoire

of Pouchot that before he signed the capitulation the English general proposed to stipulate that the garrison would be led to France. " He had'nt at first," he says, " thought of doing so, on the contrary he had decided to designate the most convenient way of exchanging prisoners, which was done." (212)

If one believes these last words, he must have then exchanged prisoners at New York, and M. de Villiers was able to return to Louisiana. M. Villiers du Terrage tells us that the Chevalier went to France with Aubry. (213) The latter, according to the same author, did'nt arrive there until February 24, 1761. (214) If this date is correct, M. de Villiers did not remain in France a long time, a little more than a year, since he was in Louisiana in June, 1762.

Shortly after the surrender of Niagara, but before they had the news in Paris, Francois de Villiers was named Chevalier de St-Louis. Massas (215) fixes the date of the nomination at September 7, 1759. However, a letter from the King, dated at Versailles, August 1, 1759, and addressed to M. de Kerlerrec, governor of Louisiana, gives to the latter orders for some of the officers of Louisiana among whom was Chevallier de Villiers to receive the title of Chevalier de St-Louis. (216) In any case this was not too soon.

M. de Villiers who was stationed in Louisiana a long time continued to live there when the war was over. We know nothing of his history after 1762.

He died at St-Louis, New Orleans, May 22, 1794, and was buried in the parish cemetery the next day. The death certificate of which we have a Spanish copy with the French translation, (217) reads as follows: The twenty third day of May of the year one thousand seven hundred ninety four, I, the undersigned vicar of the St-Louis parish in New Orleans,

have buried in the local cemetery the body of Messire Francois Coulon de Villiers, native of Canada, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de St-Louis, husband of Dame Marie de Livaudais, died last night at the age of 91, provided with the Sacraments of Penance, Communion and Extreme Unction, which I have administered with the solemnity corresponding to the above mentioned offices. In faith of which, I have signed this certificate this month and year."

(Signed) Fr. Louis de Quintallina.

The original actually says 91 years, "noventa y un anos," however we always have believed that 81 should rather have been written.

The Annales of the Quebec Ursulines report that on a tomb of a M. de Villiers, deceased at Louisiana, these words are written: "Scion of a noble race ... it was in the midst of misfortune that he ~~showed~~ showed his noble heart." (218)

This epitaph to which we have just referred is not that of Chevalier as one could be led to believe, but that of Charles-Philippe Jusonville Coulon de Villiers, son of Francois and Delle de Livaudais his third wife. Here is the epitaph in its entirety: (219)

Scion of an illustrious race
Unceasingly in the face of misfortune his stout heart
In the right path of honor
Has always followed the footsteps of his forefathers.

Good blood cannot lie; it is not astonishing then that Charles Coulon de Villiers shows himself to be the worthy son of the Chevalier Francois, who was one of the most distinguished officers of his time in Canada as well as in Louisiana.

If, as we think, Chevalier de Villiers was not the avenger of Jumonville at Fort Necessity in 1754, one will always be able to say in certain that he was the second avenger by the victory which he brought back from Fort Granville in 1756.

Francois de Villiers was married three times. He had married first, before 1740, Elizabeth de St-Ange de Bellerive, sister of the last French commander in Illinois, to whom he had four children. The second time he married Madeline Marin, daughter of Paul Marin, captain of the Riviere-aux-Bœufs Fort; she left him one son.

June 28, 1762, Francois de Villiers married a third time with Genevieve Esnoul de Livaudais who died in New Orleans in 1803; she left a son whose epitaph we have given above.

Some descendants of Chevalier de Villiers still exist today in Louisiana, Florida, and probably in Havana.

Marc, born of the marriage with Madeline Marin, having remained faithful to Spain in the session of 1803, emigrated to Pensacola, Florida, with his family, then with his sons went to Havana where he died about 1840.

One of the daughters of the latter, Marie-Suzanne-Alice, on September 20, 1814, married M. Jose+Ignace Cruzat and was the grandmother of M. J-W. Cruzat of New Orleans to whom we owe much in the preparation of this book.

In the appendix is given the geneology of Chevalier de Villiers such as it was furnished to us by M. Cruzat lui-meme: it includes only the son and the grandsons of Francois. Our work not being one of geneology, we will be pardoned for not having pushed our reserches farther.

Let us give a summary in order to end our notes concerning the Coulon de Villiers brothers.

First, all of the sons of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers and of Angelique de Vercheres were born in Canada and not in France.

Secondly, it is certain that Nicolas-Antoine, the oldest of the Cou-
lons, was the conqueror of Noble at the Mines, but not of Washington at
Fort Necessity.

It appears probable if not certain to us that the avenger of Jumonville
in 1754 was Louis, the Grand Villiers, and that Francois was his second
avenger in 1756.

Third and finally, one can truthfully say that of the seven brothers
which made up this family, six were killed on the battlefield. (220)

However, let's see:

Charles-Francois, born June 14, 1721, and died five months later, did
not die on the battlefield.

Pierre, if he is the same as Lespinay de Villiers, he died of illness
at Beaubassin in 1747.

Nicolas-Antoine, certainly died following his wounds, but he was not
killed in action.

Louis, swept away by the small-pox in 1757, died nevertheless, under
arms.

Finally, Chevalier Francois, died at 91 (let's say 81) ; must have died
in his bed.

That leaves only Jumonville whose death we know and the one who was
killed while fighting the Sakis with his father in 1733.

However, it was not necessary to die armed to be worthy of one's coun-
try; Nicolas-Antoine, Louis and Francois Coulon de Villiers have over
abundantly proven that. If death didn't strike them on the battlefield

it isn't because they fled every occasion or lacked the courage; their hour hadn't come.

Four members of the family, the father, two sons, and a son-in-law lost their lives in the exercise of their duty; two others were not miserly with their blood when it was a question of the Country's defense.

VII

The de Villiers Girls

We would reproach ourselves for finishing this work without adding a word concerning the de Villiers ladies. We have already mentioned them but we want to say here what their marriages were and to make known their conditions, their children whose names have made their way to us.

The two oldest, Marie and Madeline, were at the Ursuline convent in Quebec in 1720 and 1721.

1. August 7, 1720, Marie married Alexandre Dagneau-Douville at Montreal. (221)

Marie-Louise, born of this marriage, baptized February 16, 1734, was married April 23, 1759, to Pierre-Philippe d'Ambrespy de Lafarelle, chevalier, officer of the Bearn regiment. My Lord Tanguay doesn't mention any other children from this marriage. According to the same author Madame Douville died before 1740 since in that year, on September 13, M. Douville had a daughter baptized who was born of his marriage with Marie Courtemanche.

A curious thing, another child of M. Douville, Marguerite, admitted to the General Hospital May 23, 1772, at the age of 25½ years called herself the daughter of Marie Coulon de Villiers. And nevertheless she was born after 1740 and Tanguay sets down her baptism on November 12, 1744 and says her mother is Marie Courtemanche. She took the name of Marguerite Pierre de St-Amable in religion, made a profession of faith November 25, 1773, and died December 23, 1782. (222)

11. Madeline Coulon de Villiers, twin sister of Marie was married three times. First she married Francois Duplessis-Faber at the end of 1727 or

the beginning of 1728; he was killed in 1733 with his father-in-law.

Of this marriage was born Genevieve, baptised November 6, 1723 at Montreal and buried at the same place April 22, 1729. (223)

Four years after the death of her first husband, December 30, 1737, Madeline de Villiers remarried at Montreal to Claude Marin. (224) Both were at St-Joseph River post in 1742 and 1745. M. Marin signed: Laperriere-Marin, and his wife: Villiers de la perriere or else M. de Villiers la perriere. (225)

According to the author of the Dictionnaire genealogique, a daughter, Marie, born of this marriage must have been buried at Ste-Foy, April 13, 1748. It seems to us that my Lord Tanguay has here used the right of supposition too much. Indeed, the death certificate on which the record is based carries neither the baptismal name of the father, nor the name of the mother, nor that of the child. (226) How, after reading this certificate, the author of the Dictionnaire genealogique was able to conclude from it that this child was called Marie and that she was the daughter of Claude Marin and Madeline de Villiers? That we cannot say.

This child, nursed at Ste-Foy, was she not rather Marie-Charlotte, baptised August 11, 1746, and the daughter of Joseph Marin and Charlotte de Fleury (de la Gorgendiere) whose names are seen in the registers of Ste-Foy at this time? We ask the question without answering it.

Finally, Madeline de Villiers, a widow a second time, married the third time with Joseph Damours Sr des Plaines July 29, 1754, at Quebec. We do not know of any children of the last two marriages.

III. Marie-Anne de Villiers was born in 1722. She entered boarding school at the Ursuline convent in Quebec October 12, 1733, and left it

May 29, 1735. (227)

June 30, 1745, she married at Quebec, Ignace-Aubert de Gaspé. The eight children born of this marriage were: Marie-Anne-Angelique, Pierre-Ignace; Genevieve; Ignace; Marie-Anne-Joseph; Pierre-Ignace; Louis-Ignace; and Marie-Catherine. (228)

Abbe' Daniel does not name the last two. (229)

Madame de Gaspé died at St-Jean-Port-Joli where she was buried March 18, 1789.

Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, the author of Anciens Canadiens, was her grandson.

IV. Madeline-Angelique de Villiers, born January 20, 1726, was, we believe, the last of the family. (230) She married Charles-Thomas de Gannes Falaise at Three Rivers, October 23, 1749. (231)

Tanguay informs us of five daughters born of this marriage; they all died before 1759. (232) They were: Marguerite-Anne; Marguerite; Angelique; Charlotte; Gabrielle and Marie-Antoinette. This list is not complete since in 1767, February 16, the Gazette de Quebec published the following notice: "Demoiselle Anglique Villiers, wife exr of M. Charles de Gannes Ecr. de la Falaise, advises the public that for her advantage and that of her children, she has renounced by public notice the community between her and her husband presently in France with the purpose of remaining there, etc." (233)

Madame de Gannes Falaise was then living at Maskinonge.

In 1773 she had her inventory recorded, at Three Rivers; she then said she was a widow by her first marriage to Charles Falaise. (234)

V. Marguerite de Villiers married, it is not known when nor where,

Pierre de Games Falasie, brother of the preceding one; a daughter, Marie Anne, born of this marriage, was buried at Point-du-lac, September 27, 1750. (235)

As to Thérèse, we have nothing to add to what we have already said. Our task is finished. We leave ^{to} ~~the~~ others the care of completing these notes and to correct them where needed because we do not pretend to have elucidated all the controversial questions. We shall be in spite of every thing satisfied if our work, in spite of its deficiencies, contributes some little bit to have known and better appreciated the fine and interesting family of the Coulon de Villiers.

APPENDIX

Summation which M. de Jumonville, officer of the very Christian King's troops, shall deliver to the commander of the English troops, if he finds them on the lands of the King's domain.

Sir,

It has already reached me by word from the Indians that you came armed and with open force on the lands of the King, my master, without every occasion to believe it, but being bound to be informed of it justly, I am sending M. de Jumonville to see for himself; and in case he finds you there, to order you in the name of the King, and in virtue of the orders which I have from my general, to retire peacefully with your troop, without which, Sir, you would oblige me to force you by all the power which I shall regard the most effective for the honor of the King's army.

The sale of the Ohio River country by the Indians is such a feeble claim for you that I shall not hinder myself, sir, from fighting force with force. I warn you that if, after this summation which shall be the last that I will send you, some hostile act happens, it will be you who answers for it since our intention is to maintain the harmony which exists between our two friendly Princes.

Whatever your plans be, Sir, I flatter myself that you will have every respect for M. de Jumonville, which this officer merits, and that you will send him back to me immediately to inform me of your intentions.

I am respectfully waiting
Sir
Your very humble and obedient servant

May 23, 1754
Written at Fort Duquesne

Contrecoeur (signed)

On the reverse of the copy that we have before us, M. de Contrecoeur wrote with his best hand writings: "second summation if M. de Jumonville finds them in his reconnoitering, May 23, 1754." Afterwards but with another ink, he added: "he found them and they killed him in making him read it." (236)

II

The copy of M. de Villier's journal that we give here differs a little, if not in the purpose, at least in the form, from that which the Historical Society of Louisiana has published and which we have furnished for ourselves.

It is a copy made for M. de Contrecoeur who wrote on the reverse: "Copied from the journal of M. de Villiers, July 3, 1754."

It included only the so called journal and M. de Contrecoeur had had inserted neither the words to the Indians nor the result of the officers' conference, nor the order given to M. de Villiers, nor even the articles of capitulation. As these documents can be of interest, we thought it necessary to put them in their place in the course of the journal; we borrow them from the already published copy, except the articles of capitulation which we transcribe from a facsimile made by P.L.Morin and kept in the Quebec Seminary archives.

Journal of the Campaign of M. de Villiers from His Arrival at Fort Duquesne to His Return to the Fort.

I arrived June 26 at Fort Duquesne at eight o'clock in the morning with the different tribes whose command was given me by the General.

On arriving I learned that M. de Contrecoeur had a detachment of five hundred and eleven men and Indians of different tribes of the Ohio River whom he had put under the command of M. le Chevalier Le Mercier who was to leave the next day.

As I was the senior of this officer, as I was commanding the Nations, and since my brother had been assassinated, M. de Contrecoeur honored me with this command, and M. Le Mercier assured me, that although deprived of the command, it would give him much pleasure to carry out the campaign under my orders.

I assembled the domiciled Indians in order to have them accept the hatchet that M. de Contrecoeur presented to them with a necklace to each Nation in pronouncing these words with seven branches in his hand.

Through seven
porcelain branches. My children, I invite you all by these branches
to hear my word which is that of your father Onontio,
I open up your ears to better listen, and open up your throat so that my
words reach your heart and that you might feel the same pain which I feel.

Through seven
porcelain branches. My children, your father Onontio informs me that he
has sent you here only to work for good things. I
came for that purpose. But he orders me at the same time, that if someone
affronts me to squash him, and that he does not doubt your devotion to his
wishes that you follow our example and that you help us avenge him. You
do not know of the assassin which has been done me; I am going to speak to
you all through the heart because I have nothing to hide from the true
children of Onontio. I tell you, my children, I came here only to work
for the good, that I found the English, and that I ordered them under the
orders of your father to retreat, that I furnished them with the necessit-

ies to go peacefully back to their homes. I have learned from your brothers that they came to strike against your father; I sent an officer to speak to them and to work to maintain peace. They assassinated him. My children, I am heartsick from it, and I am having the Frenchmen leave tomorrow to avenge me. You arrive, my children, when I have had the shoes, powder, and the balls delivered already, and I invite you and your fellow men from Saut, Lake Huron, Abenakis, Iriquois de la Presentation, Nepissings, Algonquins and Ottawaits, by this necklace, to accept the hatchet to accompany your father and help him to crush the English who have violated all the strictest laws in assassinating several messengers. Not having any beef here I add this hatchet to two casks of wine for you to banquet.

It is M. de Villiers in whose charge I am placing you to lead you and to serve as your father. His heart is set on avenging the death of his brother. Those who loved him will follow his example. I beg you to do all that he will ask of you.

Through four porcelain branches, you other Wolfs, if you are the true children of Onontio, I beg you through these branches to follow the example of your brothers.

One of the chiefs of the Iriquois tells us that their Father Onontiox sent them only to do good deeds, therefore they do not wish to bother the land, and that their Father has assured them that they must only look on and maintain peace.

The warriors however have brought hatchets, bows and two barrels of wine which had been sent for them to banquet.

Two hours later, the Council stopped and the Nations accepted the hatchet,

sang war songs, and the chiefs demanded the next two days to make their shoes, and everything was ready at will.

Work was begun on the twenty-seventh in preparation for the campaign. M. de Contrecoeur called M. le Mercier, M. de Longueuil and myself to deliberate on what would be the purpose of the campaign, the place, the force of the enemy, the assassination made against us, and the peace we must keep in mind to maintain between the two crowns; here added is the result of the conference.

Result - That it is agreeable to march with the largest number of Indians and French so it might be possible to go to meet the English to avenge ourselves and to chastise them for having violated the most sacred laws of civilized nations.

That the deed which they have committed has no deference to the last peace.

That since the intention of the King is to maintain peace between the two crowns, as soon as the deed is done and they have been chased from the lands of the King's domain -- the commanding officer will send a prisoner to the English commander at their nearest place to announce to him that our intention has been to uphold the notices that we gave them to withdraw from the lands of the King's domain and to avenge the assassination they made against us.

That now they must feel the price of the baseness of their action.

That always wishing to second the intentions of the King which tend only to peace, it will be necessary only for the commander to retire peacefully from the King's lands, and that as soon as the reply conforms

to the rights of His Very Christian Majesty, we shall refrain our troops from continuing their incursions and shall regard the English as our Friends. (sic)

That as for those who have been made prisoners in the coup, as soon as they have sent us those of ours whom they have seized, their men who have fallen into the hands of the French will be sent back.

That our resident Indians unworthy of an action as unprecedented as surprising have declared to us in going to avenge their Father that they no longer wish to give up any prisoners which fall into their hands. But that we do not doubt that the General makes use of all the methods he has already devised to hold them back without flattering himself too much that he can succeed. If the English beg to retire themselves from our lands, let them go as far as their settlements to destroy them and to treat them as enemies until an ample satisfaction and change of conduct of this nation.

Done in camp at Fort Duquesne, June 27, 1754.

(Signed) De Contrecoeur, De Villiers, Lemercier, et Longueuil.

The chiefs then came to announce to M. de Contrecoeur that the Warriors were going to follow me, and that those who had come to work for good affairs would remain near him.

On the 28th M. de Contrecoeur sent me my order to leave, conceived in these terms:

The Captain of a Company of the Marine detachment, Commander in Chief of parties of the Ohio River, of Forts Duquesne, Presque Ile and Riviere au Boeuf. It is ordered to Lord de Villiers, Infantry Captain, to leave immediately with a French detachment and the Indians whom we have placed in his command to go to meet the English army. He is ordered to attack them if he sees an opening to do it and to even destroy them entirely if he can to

chastise them for the assassination that they made against us in violating the most sacred laws of civilized nations.

If the said Lord de Villiers no longer finds the English he will follow them as far as he will judge it necessary to the honor of the King's army. And in case they are entrenched and he does not see an opening to fight them, he will ravage their cattle and will try to fall on several of their convoys and destroy them entirely.

In spite of their unprecedented action it is recommended to Lord de Villiers to avoid all cruelty as far as it will be possible to do so.

If he can battle them and avenge us for their ill precedent he will assign one of the prisoners to go and announce to the English commander that he wishes them to retire from the King's lands and to send us back our prisoners, we will prohibit our troops to regard them in the future as our enemies.

He will not let it be unknown to them that our Indians unworthy of their action have declared they do not wish to give up any prisoners in their hands, but that we do not doubt that the General will show them consideration as has been done in the past. Done in camp at Fort Duquesne, June 28, 1754.

(Signed) Contrecoeur.

As soon as the provisions were distributed, everyone embarked and we left the fort about ten o'clock in the morning.

From that moment I began to have Indian scouts on land to avoid any surprise, and I joined several cadets with them who reciprocally relieved each other, in the same way as the Indians during the rest of the trip. I spent the night from seven to eight acres above the first fork of the badly clogged river although I did not propose to take this route.

I gathered the Indians and asked their advice, and they conferred with a chief from the Ohio River, since he knew the locale better. They decided that although the route was longer, it was more expedient to take it, seeing that if the English had continued their march they would have reached the outpost, and that besides the other branch of the river would probably be dried up.

The Indians had me notice that Mississakuin band being missing, he must have been able to make a quick blow, which would be a great wrong to them, but I reassured them on that.

On the 29th Mass was said in camp, after which we set out again with ordinary precautions. I saw Mississakuin who came to rejoin me and who carried some letters from M. de Contrecoeur: no other event occurred this day and we spent a good day.

On the 30th we proceeded to the outpost which was bit by bit embattled, and about thirty feet long and about twenty-two feet wide. As it was late, and as I did not wish to do anything without consulting with the Indians, I made camp two gun ranges from there.

I called the chiefs that evening and deliberated with them on the precautions to take for the safety of our canoes, of the provisions we were leaving in reserve, and which people were to guard them. I had them envisage the advantages of the outpost which twenty men could strong enough for resistance, and they agreed to everything; it was then a question of settling the subject of scouts, to prevent the jealousy which arises among the tribes, when it appears from partiality; and it was agreed only a very small number would go near the camp, that the others would come back to meet

us as soon as they knew anything; on the other hand, those who were to locate the camp would do it during the night and would come back to us so that we could strike at dawn.

On July 1st we made safe our canoes, arranged our effects, and all that we could do; in the outpost I left a good sergeant with twenty men and several sick Indians; ammunition was distributed, and we set out about eleven o'clock. We found some roads difficult, that from the first posting. L'Ammonier was no longer in condition to continue the trip. He gave us general absolution and returned to the outpost. We noticed some tracks which made us suspect that we were discovered.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, not having had any news from our scouts, I sent some more who met our first ones. They forgot themselves and were on the verge of firing on each other, but happily they stopped to take the change. They came back to us and announced that they had been to the road which led to the English, that they hadn't seen anyone, and it looked like there hadn't been anyone there for about three days; we no longer doubted that the English had been informed of our proceedings. We continued on our road, however, up to a house advantageously situated from where we sent to reconnoiter on all sides. Troops were arranged in a manner of defense, and we spent the night there waiting for our scouts.

On the 2nd about dawn, we set out without our scouts having arrived; after having marched some time, they stopped, and I resolved not to go any farther unless I had some positive news, and I sent some scouts out on the road; during this time some Indians who had remained at the outpost came to me. They had taken a prisoner who was a deserter. I questioned him

and threatened to have him hung if he deceived me. I learned that the English had left their post to rejoin their fort, and that they had taken back their cannons. Our last scouts sent out arrived and told that they had seen the tracks of ten or twelve men, doubtless the first scouts. I continued on my way and arrived at an abandoned house from which several of our men noticed the abandoned English camp, and we went there; this place consisted of three houses surrounded by several upright pieces, fencing the interior which was overlooked by the neighboring hills. I sent some scouts to rummage about. Several hiding places for tools and other utensils were found which I had the Indians carry away; as it was late, I had the detachment which had been harrassed by the bad roads put up camp, besides it was raining, and we were alarmed about our Indians who were in pursuit of some animals.

I questioned the Englishman again by intimidating him and giving him hope of some recompense. I told the Indians all that I learned from him, and of the resolution that I was not to expose them recklessly; it rained all night.

On the third at dawn, I prepared to leave. I invited the Indians to furnish some scouts. It was raining, but I saw the necessity of reaching the enemy in the tasks that would be done. I was hoping that they would be less watchful in such bad weather.

The Népissingues and the Algonquins did not wish to go farther, and I told them they could remain. I set out with the other tribes who shamed all except two of the others into coming.

Before my departure two of my first scouts about whom I was worried came and rejoined me and told about taking three prisoners whom they had

put in the outpost. This was confirmed by a letter which they brought me from the sergeant whom I had left there.

We marched all day long through the rain and I sent scout after scout. I stopped at the place where my brother had been assassinated and saw several bodies still there.

I sent some scouts close to the camp, twenty others to support them, and I was advancing in battle array when they announced to me that we had been discovered and that the English were coming in battle array to attack us. As they were quite close, I put the troops in battle array in the proper manner, a battle from the woods. I was not long in finding out that our scouts had wrongly informed me, and I ordered the troops to advance on the side on which we could be attacked. As we weren't familiar with the locale, we presented the flank at the fort from where they commenced to fire on us. Almost the same time I noticed the English coming toward us on the right in battle formation. The Indians as well as we cried out and advanced toward them, but they did not give us any time to make a discharge, as they fell back in an intrenchment which belonged to their fort. Then we applied ourselves to surrounding the fort. It was situated advantageously enough in a prairie about a gun's range from the woods. We approached them as far as was possible so as not to expose unnecessarily any of His Majesty's subjects. The firing on either side was very brief, and I brought myself to the place which appeared to me the best range to try an attack. We succeeded in quieting, so to say, their cannon fire with our musketry. It is true that the zeal of our Canadians and soldiers worried me because I saw that in a little while we were going to be without ammunition. M. LeMercier suggested to me to work at having some fascines made to secure our posts,

and to close in on the English in their fort during the night, and to prevent them from leaving altogether. I ordered M. De Bailleul to go and assemble as many as would be possible to assist the section which would be attacked in case of a general sally. During this time we took some provisions, munitions and merchandise, which encouraged the Indians.

The enemy's firing broke out again about six o'clock in the evening with more vigor than ever and lasted until eight o'clock; as we had endured the rain all day, since the detachment was very tired, since the Indians announced to me their departure the next day, and since they reported consent to beat the drum far and wide, and to fire the cannon, I suggested to M. LeMercier to offer to speak to the English; he agreed with me and we shouted out that if they wished to speak to us we would cease firing. They accepted the proposition. A captain came to the approach where I was. I sent M. LeMercier to meet him and proceeded to the meadow where we told them we were not at war. We wished also to avoid any cruelties for them when they exposed themselves to the Indians. If they persisted in a more stubborn resistance as early as this night, we would deprive them of all hope of getting away, that we now consent to show them mercy, having come only to avenge the death of my brother in violation of the most sacred laws, and to oblige them to move off the lands of the King's domain, and we met with them to give them the capitulation order, a copy of which follows:

Capitulation order given by the commander of the troops of His Very Christian Majesty to the English troops now in Fort Necessity which is built on the lands of the King's domain, July 3, 1754, at eight o'clock in the evening.

Let it be known

Since our intention has never been to disturb the peace and good harmony which exists between the two friendly princes, but only to avenge the assassination made on one of our officers carrying a summation and on his escort, and also to oppose any settling on the lands of the King our master.

In consideration of this we wish to grant indulgence to the English in said fort under the following conditions:

Article 1

We allow the English commander to withdraw with all his garrison so that they might return peacefully to their homes and promise him that he will not suffer any insult from our Frenchmen, and to keep together as far as it is possible all the Indians who are with us.

Article 2

He will be permitted to leave and carry all that belongs to them with the exception of the artillery and ammunitions which we propose to keep.

Article 3

Since we grant them the honors of war they will leave with the honors of war, with a small cannon piece, wishing to prove by that that we treat them as friends.

Article 4

That as soon as the articles are signed by both sides they will haul down the English flag.

Article 5

That tomorrow at dawn a French detachment will march past the garrison and take possession of said fort.

Article 6

That since the English no longer have hardly any horses or oxen they will be free to hide their effects and come for them when they have gotten their horses again; they can for that purpose leave some guards in such number as they wish under the conditions that they give their word of honor to no longer work at any settlement in this place or on this side of the land elevation for one year from this day.

Article 7

That since the English have in their power one officer, two cadets, and some prisoners that they took in the assassination of Jumonville, and since they promise to send them with protection to Fort Duquesne situated on the Allegheny River, and that for the security of this article as well as this treaty Jacob Vanebranc and Robert Seobo - two captains will be kept as hostages until the arrival of the above mentioned French and Canadians; we bind ourselves for our part to provide an escort to lead back in safety the two officers who promise us our Frenchmen in two and one half months at the latest.

Made in duplicate in one of the guard houses of our blockade on the above mentioned day and year.

James Mackay Geo Washington
Coulon-Villier

We considered that nothing could be more advantageous to our country than this capitulation, not being natural in time of peace to take prisoners who in time of war would have been harmful to us, since they consumed our provisions. We made them sign that they had committed an assassination against us in killing my brother. We had some hostages for the safety of

the French who were in their power. We made them abandon the country which belongs to the Very Christian Majesty. We forced them to leave their cannon which consisted of nine pieces. We destroyed all their horses and horned beasts. And we made them notice that the mercy we showed them was only to prove that we desired to treat them as friends.

Could we expect such considerable advantages towards an enemy nearly as large in number as ourselves, who were expecting us for several days, who had a meadow in the middle of which was their fort, who had nine pieces of artillery, who were only attacked by a savage volley, or else by denizens little accustomed to this military discipline; I owe the success of this undertaking as much to the vigor as to the valor of the officers and to the behavior of the cadets who make up this party.

The articles of capitulation were signed by evening and I had in camp the two hostages whom I had asked for.

At dawn on the fourth I sent a detachment to take possession of the fort. The garrison filed out and the number of their dead and wounded excited pity in me, in spite of the resentment I felt for the manner in which they caused my brother to die.

Our Indians who had adhered to all of my wishes laid claim to the plunder. I resisted but the English still petrified from fright took to flight and left their flag and even one of their standards. I demolished their fort, and M. LeMercier broke apart their cannons, as it was agreed to in the capitulation, the English not being able to take them away.

I hurried to leave after having broken the barrels of beverage in order to prevent any disorder which would arrive without fail.

One of my Indians took ten Englishmen whom he brought to me and which I sent back by another who came back to report that a detachment of two hundred reinforcements with a great chief was coming behind the English.

I was left in this attack with two Frenchmen and one Indian killed, seventeen wounded, two of whom were Indians, without counting those whose wounds were so slight they had no need of surgical assistance.

I made camp this day two leagues away and had our wounded carried on stretchers by detachments.

The fifth day I arrived at the abandoned camp of the English about nine o'clock. I had their intrenchments destroyed and burned their buildings, after which I continued on my way after having left M. de la Chauvignerie to burn those buildings which were in the surrounding area. I made camp three leagues from there.

The sixth I left at early morning and arrived at the outpost. About ten o'clock arrangements were made for boats and the detachment was revictualled; we carried back the reserve, found several hiding places, after which I had the outpost burned.

I went by water and by land until about six o'clock in the evening, when I was forced to camp on account of a very heavy rain which lasted all night.

On the seventh I continued on my way after having sent M. de la Chauvignerie to tell M. de Contrecoeur of the success of our campaign.

I burned as we went all the settlements which I found and delivered my detachment to M. de Contrecoeur about four o'clock.

III

The Portrait of Chevalier de Villiers

This portrait as well as the notes which follow were graciously furnished us by M. J.-W. Crusat.

The original of this painting was at first the property of Marc Coulon de Villiers, son of Francois, and he left it to his son-in-law, Arnould Guillemard who lived at Pensacola. During the war of Succession the portrait disappeared. By good fortune, the Louisiana branch of the de Villiers had a copy of it made which is today in the possession of M. George Villiers of Louisiana. It is from this copy that all those which have appeared for some twenty years have been made, be it in Canada or in the United States.

IV

Genealogy of Chevalier de Villiers

First marriage - Francois Coulon de Villiers married for the first time

Elizabeth Croston de St-Ange.

Children:

1. Isabelle, born in 1740, married Francois de Volsay, captain in Illinois.

2. Jochime, born in 1746, married Francois Picote de Belestre, a captain.

3. Joseph, born in 1747, died without children.

4. Louis, born in 1751, married Marie Fontonelle, at Attakapas,

Louisiana. In Louisiana today there are now descendants on both
100.

sides of this family.

Second marriage. Francois Coulon de Villiers married the second time
Madeline Marin, daughter of Paul, captain, etc.

Child: Jean-Marc Coulon de Villiers who married August 1, 1784, Josephine Catherine Griffon d'Anneville, who died in Havana.

Children:

1. Marie-Victoire, born October 19, 1785, married Jean Innerarity.
2. Jean-Francois, born August 9, 1786.
3. Marie-Joseph-Hugues, married Arnould Guillemard.
4. Charles-Marie-Hucher, born February 20, 1795.
5. Marie-Susanne, born October 28, 1792; married September 30, 1814,
to Jos.-Ignace Cruzat, died November 18, 1860.
6. Marie-Jean, born March 30, 1796.
7. Firmin, born September 26, 1797.
8. Louis, born August 17, 1799.
9. Manuel, born August 19, 1801.
10.
Felix, born March 15, 1804.

Jean-Francois, Charles-Marie-Hucher, Marie-Jean, Louis, Felix, migrated
with their father to Havana.

Marie-Joseph Hugues died without children.

Manuel went to Spain where he married.

Marie-Victoire left some descendants in Pensacola and in Louisiana.

Marie-Susanne (madame Cruzat) and Firmin still have some descendants in
Louisiana; the ancestry of Firmin which is on the maternal side still
carries the name of de Villiers.

Third marriage: Francois Coulon de Villiers married for the third time,
June 28, 1762, Genevieve Enould de Livaudais.

Child:

Charles-Philippe who married two times:

- a. Francois-Coulon Jumonville.
- b. Claire-Jumonville de Villiers who married Pierre Huchet de Kernion.
- c. Amable who married R. Ducros.

There are still some descendants of Claire and Amable in Louisiana.

Secondly, Charles-Philippe married Marie Françoise Aimee Enoul Beaumont de Livaudais. From this marriage he had six children:

- a. Gustave, married Stephanie Guerin.
- b. Louis Chevalier Jumonville, married, 1st Delle Buisson; 2nd Delle Vela.
- c. Alexandre, married Delle Comagere.
- d. Aimee, married 1st. Canon; 2nd Dupuy.
- e. Celestine, married Fleitas.
- f. Odile, married M. Guerin.

All have left posterity in Louisiana; the children of Louis and of Alexandre bear the name of Jumonville.

Notes and References

1. Cf Thomas: Poème de Jumonville, 1759. Sargent: The history of an expedition against fort Duquesne in 1755.
2. Official correspondence of the governors, VI, 21. (A copy in the archives of the seminary at Quebec.)
3. Arch. du Séa.
4. The abbe Casgrain in the biography of M. de Gaspé whose maternal grandmother was a Coulon, has him related to the grand master of the Order of Malte, Villiers del'Isle Adam. We haven't been able to check this affirmation.
Daniel (Histoire des grandes familles, supplement p. 417) in speaking of Coulon de Villiers, asserts that a family by that name lives in France; its coat of arms is: "Blue on a chevron of gold, accompanied, in chief, by two stars, and in the hartsburn, the same."
5. We owe this note and several others to the kindness of M. Ph.Gagnon.
6. Greffe d'Adhémar, Montreal.
7. For this note and several baptismal extracts we are indebted to the abbe Ducharme, rector of Contrecoeur.
8. In sending us this information, M. Leandre Lamontagne calls our attention to the fact that the registry of Michon is at Montmagny. The research that a friend did for us there has ended in nothing. Abel Michon who would have made this registry did not receive his commission as notary until June 16, 1706. How is that explained?
9. As a general rule, the deed is signed several days, sometimes several weeks before the celebration of the marriage; there are however some cases where the deed is signed after, but these examples are rare.
10. Madeleine de Vercheres is well known for her beautiful defense against the Iriquois in October, 1696: only our heroine who they said was 14 at that time, in reality was 18½ years, having been baptized April 17, 1678. What a happy time that when, so young, her age was already forgotten! Cf. Rap. de Richard, 1899.
11. Official correspondence of the governors cited by M. J. - R.Roy, Bul. R. H., 11, p. 117.
12. Rapport de Richard, 1899, p. 475.
13. Ibid., p. 115.
14. Ibid., p. 492.

15. Reg. St-Joseph des Illinois - Arch. du Seminaire.
16. Ibid.
17. Doc. sur la Tenure seigneuriale, Quebec, 1852, pp. 6,7,8.
18. Montmerque register, Montreal.
19. Tanguay, Dictionnaire, IV, p. 588.
20. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, II, pp. 437 and following.
21. Rich. 1899, p. 133.
22. A half century of conflict, I, p. 328.
23. Ferland, II, p. 439.
24. Original letter; arch. du Seminaire.
25. Richard, 1904, p. 157.
26. Cours d'Histoire, II, p. 439.
27. Ferland, II, p. 440.
28. Rapport de Richard, 1904, p.209.
29. Rich. 1904, p. 155.
30. Arch. du Seminaire.
31. Rap. de Richard, Archives, 1904, p.193.
32. Tanguay, IV, p.588.
33. Cours d'Histoire, II, p.440
34. We do not acknowledge any less for it the merit of Abbe Tanguay; the Dictionnaire is a large work into which errors have been able and must have found their way; that is why it is always well to verify them when one can.
35. L, p.144; III, p.167.
36. We owe this information to the Reverend Mother Marie de L'Assomption, assistant and historian at the Ursuline Nuns monastery in Quebec.
37. All the baptismal records we are going to cite are from the registers

of the parish of Contrecoeur where the missionary resided. M.l'abbe Ducharme, present rector of Contrecoeur has been willing to send us certified extracts of these records.

38. Letter from Abbe Ducharme to the late Abbe Rheume, December 9, 1901. (Arch. du Sem.)
39. In this case would she not have been baptized with Marie-Anne?
40. Note from M.Villiers du Terrage to M. J.-W.Crusat.
41. List of Canadian officers. (Arch. du Sem.)
42. Cf. Reg. St-Joseph des Illinois and Etats de services of Jumonville.
43. Register of St-Joseph des Illinois.
44. Arch. du Seminaire.
45. Canada-Francis, 1889, unedited documents, p. 37.
46. Doc. de New York, X, p.1160, note.
47. Paris Guilmoto, 1904.
48. Note due to the kindness of M.J.-W.Crusat.
49. Register of Contrecoeur.
50. Baptized two months after his birth; facts of this kind are not rare in our old registers. The missionary was often absent and it was necessary to wait his return in order to take the child to church.
51. p. 144.
52. In the first volume of the Dictionnaire, Tanguay does not speak of Nicolas; by way of retaliation, in the third volume, it is not a question of Antoine but of Nicolas baptized in 1709.
53. Archives of Ottawa - General correspondence, vol. 60, p. 134. All the notes taken from the general correspondence were furnished us by the Reverend Father Odoric, O.F.M., to whom we offer our best thanks.
54. General correspondence, vol. 59, p. 57. In this letter of November 11, 1733, M. de Beauharnois says that M. de Villiers, the father, had with him six of his children and two of his sons-in-law. This confirms what we have written above (p.176) concerning a certificate from this governor.

55. Arch. du Sem.
56. General Correspondence, vol. 75, p.312.
57. General Correspondence, vol. 79, p.233.
58. Contract of October 4, Du Laurent, not. (Note of M.Ph. Gagnon).
59. Registry of Notre Dame in Quebec (in the register). -We at first had consulted the register of the rector of Quebec; it did not mention there the rank of the parent and the rector did not sign it; the copy conserved in the register is complete.
60. Archives of Notre Dame in Quebec.
61. M. de Villiers lived on the Lacontagne shore. He had as a neighbor Louis Levrard, brother-in-law of his wife, with whom he had a lawsuit soon after his marriage. De Villiers won the case. (Arch du Seminaire)
62. Archives of Notre Dame in Quebec.
63. All these records are in the registers of Notre Dame in Quebec.
64. Une seconde Acadie, p. 160. In Relations et Journaux, Levis collection, p. 65, note, the abbe Casgrain attributes to the name de Villiers, the taking of Fort Granville in 1756.
65. A half century, etc, ii, p. 202.
66. Etats de services.
67. Official correspondences of the governors. (Copy in Arch. du Sem.)
68. Arch. du Sem.
69. For more ample details: Cf. Casgrain, Une seconde Acadie; the journal of M. de Beaujeu, and that of Lacorne published in the Canada francais, 1889.
70. It is our Brandy-pot today. Why not conserve its French name for it?
71. Doc. relatif a la Nouvelle-France, III, p. 302.
72. Journal of Lacorne, Canada Francais 1889, p.11. De Beaujeu says November 24. (Ibid).
73. The following will prove that this is not true and that the commander at Kines was not the conqueror of Washington.

74. Journal of Lacorne, Canada-Francais - These figures differ a little from those that M. de Beaujeu gives.
75. Official correspondence of the governors, June 22, 1747. (Copy au Secu.)
76. Canada-Francais, 1889. Unedited documents, p. 77.
77. General correspondence, vol. 89, p. 15.
78. Sulphurous thermal waters, famous especially for the cure of firearm wounds. (Bouillet).
79. Minister of colonies - Note from M. J. - W. Crusat, furnished him by M. Villiers du Terrage.
80. General Correspondence, vol. 87 bis, p. 218.
81. Arch. du Seminaire.
82. Registry of Three Rivers. - We are indebted for a copy of this record to the Rev. Father Odoric, O.F.M., who was willing to look through a part of these registers for us.
83. General correspondence, vol. 95, p. 40.
84. Registry of Notre Dame in Montreal.
85. General correspondence, vol. 95, p. 40.
86. Sanguinet and Du Laurent, notaries.
87. The contract passed before Du Laurent is for March 2, 1752.
88. Histoire des grandes familles, p. 457.
90. Arch. du Seminaire. - An old copy brought from Europe by Abbe Holmes in 1837.
91. Volume 44 of the Moreau St-Mery collection (Marine archives) includes several accounts of this expedition; the names of M. de Villiers and of the Chevalier de Villiers are found there. (Rap. de Richard, 1899, p. 32.)
92. E. B. O'Callaghan, Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York, Vol. x, p. 168.
93. General correspondence, vol. 79, p. 233.

94. General Correspondence, vol. 81, bis, p. 282.
95. " " " " 83, p. 221.
96. Letter of October 28, 1752. - Arch. du Sem.
97. Arch. du Sem.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Duquesne to Contrecoeur, January 30, 1754 - Arch. du Sem.
101. Arch. du Sem. - To this summation M. de Contrecoeur added some "words for the Indians who were with the English in their settlements."
102. Arch. du Sem.
103. Ferland, 11, p. 506.
104. Arch. du Sem.
105. Ibid. - Appendix.
106. Ferland, 11, p. 506.
107. Arch. du Sem.
108. This poem was published in 1759.
109. Cf. Memoir of the Duke of Choiseul, p. 127.
110. General correspondence, vol. 99, p. 276.
111. Tanguay does not mention this daughter.
112. Registry of Notre Dame at Montreal.
113. Louise-Charlotte, baptized December 18, 1756, at Montreal. - M. de Montcalm was her godfather. - Registry of Montreal.
114. Letter from Levis. - Levis collection, p. 366.
115. She was a step-daughter of Vaudreuil, by marriage; the maternal grandmother of Madame de Jumonville, Charlotte Fleury d'Eschambault, had married, the second time, the Marquis of Vaudreuil.
116. Le Canada sous la domination française, p. 123, note.

117. Relations des Jesuites, Edition Burrows, vol. 70.
118. Washington et Coulon de Villiers, (Bulletin de la Societe historique Franco-Americaine, Boston, 1906.)
119. Registry of Contrecoeur.
120. Registry of St.-Joseph des Illinois.
121. Arch. du Sem. - The eldest was already an ensign at this time and Francois wasn't one until after 1733.
122. Abbe Daniel, Famille De Lery, p. 202.
123. Rap. de Richard, 1899, p. 32.
124. U. Beaudry, Un vieux fort francais. Reports of the Royal Society, V, p.97.
125. Official correspondence of the governors. - copy at Arch. du Sem.
126. Doc. R. a la N-F., p.332.
127. Registry of Montreal.
128. Ibid.
129. Archives of Ottawa, North America. Canada. Settlement of different posts, vol. 13, p.285.
130. Loco cit.
131. Du Laurent, notary. - Registry of Quebec.
132. Arch. du Sem.
133. Bryner, 1888, CLXIV.
134. Louis de Villiers varied his signatures; we are acquainted with four or five different ones: Louis de Villiers, Villiers, De Villiers and Coulon Villiers. The three of which we give the facsimile more nearly resemble each other, in the writing.
135. Chatecoin or Chatauque, a lake situated in Chatauque county, New York; several leagues from Lake Erie. - Cours d'Histoire, II, p. 39, note.
136. Arch. du Sem.
137. Cf. Cours d'Histoire, II, p.458. -- A plan of the Two Mountains Lake mission indicates the place occupied by the different tribes.
Arch. du Sem.

138. Montcalm et Wolfe, I, p. 153.
139. Vol. I, p. 113.
140. Letter from Pean, June 15, 1754. - Arch. du Sem.
141. Pean, loco cit.
142. Duquesne to Contrecoeur, July 1, 1754 - Arch. du Sem.
143. The Journal of M. de Villiers has been published for the most part in the Precis of facts, says the Memoire of the Duke of Choiseul, in 1756, etc.; it was reprinted in its entirety by the Louisiana Historical Society in 1905, after a copy made by us from a copy conserved in the Seminary of Quebec. We give it here in the Appendix.
144. Journal of de Villiers.
145. Arch. du Sem.
146. Arch. du Sem.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
149. General correspondence, vol.99, p.275.
150. Memoires de M. de Gaspe, Edition of 1895, p. 136.
151. M. de Ligneris to M. de Contrecoeur, July 31, 1755. Arch. du Sem.
152. Arch. du Sem.
153. Letter of October 19, 1755. - Arch. du Sem.
154. Journal de Montcalm.
155. Journal of M. de Lery. - In his work: La Jeunesse de Bougainville. M. de Merallain, so well informed moreover, writes (p.46) that Bougainville hurried to Montcalm, carried the glorious news. However, Bougainville says in his journal that he arrived at Montreal August 26, at ten-thirty, hurried the day before from Fort Presentation. Had not M. de Villiers already returned?
156. Marine archives - (Copy at the seminary).
157. Montcalm a Levis, August 17, 1756 - Levis Collection.
158. Marine Archives 1756 - Copy at the seminary.

159. Doc. Rel. a la Nouvelle-France. IV, p. 111.
160. Cf. Lettres de la Cour de Versailles, p. 67. - Levis Collection.
161. Histoire de l'ordre de St Louis. Vol. 11, p. 172.
162. Montcalm to Bourlamaque - Letters of Bourlamaque, p. 193.
163. Montcalm to Levis - Letters, Levis Collection, p. 72.
164. Letter from Montcalm to Levis, p. 72.
165. p. 316.
166. Marine Archives 1757 - Copy at the seminary.
167. Archives of Notre Dame at Quebec.
168. Archives of Notre Dame at Montreal.
169. Tanguay, III, p. 168.
170. Marine archives - loc. cit.
171. Moreau St-Mery collection - Copy at the seminary.
172. Tanguay, III, p. 168.
173. Arch. du Sem. - Papers of Caspe.
174. Anciens Canadiens, Cote edition, 1877, p. 215.
175. Bessu, Nouveaux voyages, etc., Paris, 1768, p. 212, note.
176. Calque on the registry of Notre Dame at Montreal.
177. Narrative and critical History of America.
178. Histoire des grandes familles.
179. This facsimile is from P.-L. Morin.
180. Cours d'histoire, II, p. 809. Ferland notes on the preceding page that several copies of this capitulation were made and signed by Mackay, Washington and Villiers. We wonder if the signature given by Winsor and Abbe Daniel has not been taken from one of these copies.
181. Registry at St. Louis, N.O.

182. Letter from Abbe Ducharme to the late Abbe Rheume, December 9, 1901. - Arch du Sem.
183. "The eldest son of a baron, the third son of a count, the fifth son of a marquis were all called Chevaliers without belonging to any order of Chivalry." Bescherelle, cited by M.B. Sulte who adds that all that was imitated in New France. Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, VIII, p. 36.
184. General correspondence, vol. 60, p. 154.
185. General correspondence, vol. 60, p. 154.- The governor was then at Quebec.
186. General correspondence, vol. 59, p. 37.
187. General correspondence, vol. 74, p. 89.
188. Rap. de Richard, 1899, p. 32.
189. Etats de services. Arch di Sem.
190. Villiers du Terrage - Dernieres annees de la Louisiane, etc., p.83
191. Louisiana and the Illinois country had been given back to the king by the Indian Company in 1731. - Cf. Ferland, II, p. 466.
192. General correspondence, vol. 79, p. 158.
193. Arch. du Sem.
194. General correspondence, vol. 91, p. 164.
195. Arch. du Sem.
196. Ibid.
197. Colonial archives. - Louisiana, general correspondence. -Vaudreuil arrived in Canada July, 1755.
198. Nouveaux voyages, vol. 1, pp. 211-212.
199. A letter from Kerlerou to the minister and dated December 23, 1757, puts this expedition the preceeding spring, therefore in 1757; that is an error: it took place in 1756, as all the documents prove.
200. Marine archives - (Copy at the seminary).
201. Cf. Bossu, loco cit; Montcalm's journal, p. 111. Doc. rel. a la Nouvelle France, 1756, etc.

202. Cf. Dernieres annees de la Louisiane francaise, p. 87.
203. O'Callaghan, Doc. de New-York, X, p. 490.
204. Minister of colonies. - Louisiana. General correspondence, 1755-57. This note and the letter from Montcalm to Bourdonnaye, (1756) agrees that de Villiers was a lieutenant; he was however a captain since 1753.
205. Journal de Montcalm, p. 366, June 13, 1756 - Lewis Collection.
206. General correspondence, vol. 103, p. 41.
207. Cf. Casgrain, Montcalm et Levis, II, pp. 542 and on.
208. Colonial archives. Louisiana.
209. Ibid. Here Kerlerrec gives the correct date of the seize of Fort Granville.
210. Cf. Montcalm et Levis, II, pp. 167 and on.
211. Memoires de Pouchot, vol. I, p. 201.
212. Dernieres annees de la Louisiane francaise, p. 201.
213. Ibid. p. 207.
214. Histoire de l'Ordre Royal, etc., Vol. II, p. 170.
215. Colonial archives, 1747-1762 - Series p, vol. 3, p. 124. (Note from M. Cruzat furnished him by M. de Pontalba.)
216. M. J. W. Cruzat furnished us with both.
217. Vol. III, p. 141.
218. We owe it to the kindness of M.J.W. Cruzat.
219. Cf. Bossu, Nouveaux voyages, I, p. 213; Sargent: Expedition de Braddock, p. 56.
220. Dictionnaire genealogique, III, p. 218.
221. Cf. Hgr. de St-Vallier et l'Hopital-General, p. 722.
222. Tanguay says 1727; the contract of marriage was signed at Montreal before Adhemar on June 11, 1729; the husband is named in the act: Francois Lefebvre Duplessis-Paber. - Note from M. Ph. Gagnon.
223. Tanguay, III, p. 545.

224. *Idem*, V, p. 514.
225. Registry at St-Joseph des Illinois.
226. Registry at Ste-Foy. Here is the act in its nakedness: "April 15, 1749, I buried in the Cemetery of Notre Dame at Foy a small daughter of M. Marin who was nursed by Antoine Samson, age about two years."
227. Note of the Reverend Mother Marie of the Assumption.
228. Tanguay, II, p. 63.
229. *Histoire des grandes familles*, p. 363.
230. One sees by the condition of the distribution of furloughs that Melle Coulon received 120 pounds in 1741 and Melle Angelique Coulon 72 pounds in 1743. General correspondence, vol. 75, p. 335; and 79, p. 258.
231. Registry of Three-Rivers . Note of Reverend P. Odoric, O.F.M.
232. Dictionnaire. etc, III, p. 275.
233. Note due to the kindness of M. Pierre-Georges Roy.
234. Registry of the closing of inventories.- Notes of Reverend P. Odoric, O.F.M.
235. Tanguay, III, p. 275.

Appendix

1. Archives of the Seminary at Quebec.