

THE de MONTMOLLIN FAMILY

The American Branches

Richard Hall de Montmollin



ARMOIRIES DE MONTMOLIN  
octroyées par la lettre de noblesse de 1707

Extrait de l' *Armorial Neuchatelois*.

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## The American Branches

by

Richard Hall de Montmollin

1995

*I thank you for your  
many kindnesses to  
us in Newstead.  
Richard de Montmollin*

With gratitude and love  
this book is respectfully  
dedicated to  
Fernand Henri de Montmollin  
(1896 - 1981)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One - Origin of Family Name .....	1
Chapter Two - Coats of Arms .....	3
Chapter Three - The Rector of Quebec .....	5
Chapter Four - John Samuel de Montmollin I .....	57
Chapter Five - John Samuel de Montmollin II .....	75
Chapter Six - John Samuel de Montmollin III .....	113
Chapter Seven - Harry Marler de Montmollin I .....	157
Appendix A - Genealogy of David Francis Branch .....	177
Appendix B - Genealogy of Frederic Branch .....	191

## FOREWORD

Many times over the last fourteen years I have asked myself "How does one become involved in writing a family history?" Or more specifically, how did I become involved in writing this one?

The answer is simple and straight-forward. In the Fall of 1979, Elizabeth and I were on a tour of Switzerland - the first of several trips to that beautiful and historic country. We broke away from the organized tour at Berne one afternoon and took the train to Neuchatel. We were met there by our cousins Fernand and Matilde. The next day, we were guests for lunch at Fernand's lovely home overlooking Lake Neuchatel.

I had met Fernand once before. He spent the the month of March 1926 at our home in Palatka, Florida. Fernand was a research chemist, employed most of his adult life by CIBA-Geigy in St. Louis and in Nutley, New Jersey. When he arrived in this country in 1922, he wrote my father, Harry Marler de Montmollin, who was the only contact he had in America, and asked questions about the American branch of the family. Papa invited him to visit, but as Fernand confessed to us in 1979, he was unsure of his ability to handle the English language, so delayed his visit until he gained more confidence.

He spent a month with us that year, and my mother thought he was wonderful! In fact, she named her last son for him when he was born in 1928.

After lunch that day in Neuchatel, Fernand beckoned me to his study, produced a typewritten manuscript, in French of course, and said, "This is the account of my visit to your home in 1926. It contains everything I was told by your father about the American branch. I know there are errors in it, and much has happened in the years since it was written. Will you take it and bring it up to date?"

I took the manuscript and found that there were nearly fifty snapshots in the back of it - most of them of my immediate family - taken during his visit to us.

Of course, I said "Yes!" And that's how it all started.

After we returned home, Elizabeth and I stopped at Laurel Grove Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia, on the way to Florida. I asked the custodian to locate for me the burial place of John Samuel II, my great-grandfather. He hesitated a moment, then said, "I had a letter from a lady in California just last week, asking about the same man!"

The letter was from Anita Hicks, a grand-daughter of John Samuel III in the so-called "second family." I wrote Anita, and soon received a telephone call from Anita and her mother, Alla, John Samuel's youngest daughter. It led to an overnight visit by Elizabeth and me to their home in Van Nuys, California. Thus began a warm and lasting relationship with the "second family" which has brought both of us much pleasure. The genealogical part of our family history was thoroughly done in 1968 by members of the Swiss branch. Bringing it up to date has been a pleasant task, though a difficult one.

Two of the background chapters, the "Origin of the Family Name," and "Coats of Arms" are translated from the 1968 Swiss publication *Genealogie de la Famille Montmollin*.

My personal inclination was to try to tell the story of our direct lineal ancestors, beginning with David Francis, who was the first of the family in the New World. The David Francis Chapter was easily done by a contact with George C. Marler, who had written a biography of the man during Marler's service in Parliament. Mr. Marler gladly sent me a copy of his unpublished manuscript. Unfortunately, he died shortly thereafter. I am grateful to his family for their permission to include his manuscript in this book as Chapter III.

The writing of the chapters on the three John Samuels would have been impossible without the enormous contributions of Anita and Alla Hicks. They have generously shared all the family memorabilia in their possession. Anita is herself an avid researcher and a genealogist par-excellence. She is a tireless writer who confesses to a fascination with de Montmollin family history.

I am also indebted to other relatives who sent their carefully guarded documents and who did many hours of research: David de Montmollin (whose untimely death put an end to his research), his sister Wanda, who has distinguished herself as a meticulous researcher, and Rita deMontmollin Shivers found much data on the descendants of John Louis deMontmollin (and shared it!). Frances de Montmollin Colane, granddaughter of Aaron Burr de Montmollin, visited us in Columbia, and brought many items saved by her grandfather.

My brother, James Mellon de Montmollin, has given me invaluable assistance in editing my manuscript, and in helping me think through the implications of some of the documents. On those infrequent occasions when we are together, we seem to talk about little but "family." James was particularly helpful in the writing of Chapter VII, which deals with our own father, Harry Marler de Montmollin. James' recollections are much clearer than my own, as he is three years older. Our father died in 1933, when I was a lad of ten.

Howard Marler sent me a copy of his fine history of the Marler family, in which the de Montmollin family figures rather prominently. I am grateful for his permission to make free and extensive use of his information, which greatly facilitated the writing of the chapter on John Samuel I.

And certainly, no undertaking like this can be accomplished without the patience and understanding of one's family. My wife, Elizabeth, has lived with this project for fourteen years, and her patience has been a thing to behold, although at times she has been a bit mystified by the intricacies of the relationships in our family.

Writing this book has produced a large collection of family memorabilia, which resides in our home in Columbia. Some are original documents, some are copies, but all have found a place in our archives. I am hopeful that someone in the family will accept the responsibility for them after I'm gone.

Writing the family history has brought another benefit to me. I feel much closer to the members of our family than ever before. I have met cousins who previously were merely names to me. Some of them I came to know through correspondence, some through the telephone, and some in person as we have exchanged visits.

The genealogical sections, which appear in the two appendices, are not as complete as I would have liked them to be, but that seems always to be the case. Any information sent to me after the publication of the book will be kept in the family records for future update.

The narrative chapters have exceeded my expectations. I am continually amazed at the sheer volume of materials which has come to light.

I set out to write an honest account of our ancestors, and believe the book is faithful to that resolve. I hope you will agree and that you will enjoy the book.

Richard Hall de Montmollin

Columbia, South Carolina  
February 1, 1995

## CHAPTER ONE

### ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY NAME

The name indicates that most probably the present Montmollin family originated in the Neuchatel village of the same name. This little village was formerly a part of the community of Coffrane, and has not existed as an autonomous community since 1824.

In order to determine which ancestor to place at the head of the family genealogy, it is necessary to take account of those persons prior to the beginning of the 15th Century who are designated by the given names only, accompanied occasionally by a surname, and usually in official papers.

It was thus with a prominent person of Valangin, dated about 1330. One finds at the end of a meadow a marker mentioning one Henri de Momolens; then, on a parchment document of February 9, 1347, written in Latin and being a part of the archives of the family deposited in the Archives of State, there is one "Vuillo, called Ogueys de Momolens" (the treatment of a line over the two "l's" indicates an abbreviation of the first name, which was probably Vuillemin). The parchment (the presence of which in the family archives is curious to say the least as all of the other documents of the Montmollin archives are subsequent to the next century) carries on an overleaf a sign which could be in the handwriting of Chancellor Georges (A X 1),<sup>1</sup> the first person who, it seems, stood as the head of a family which by that time had achieved a certain repute. Therefore, it is Vuillemin who, since that time, has been recognized as head of the family.

Be that as it may, it has been established, according to a document of January 14, 1455, that Jehan de Monmolin (A III 1), a grandson of Vuillemin, was living in the village of Montmollin, and was a part-owner of a chateau at Neuchatel.

The fact, which has been attested to, that the daughter of Jehan, Mathilde (A IV 4), married Antoine Morel, called Magnin, decided that her children would carry the name of Montmollin, in order to enjoy the rights and privileges which were enjoyed by titled people, gives us to understand that toward the end of the 15th Century, the family had acquired those rights. Since then, the chain is without a break.

It is reasonably certain that the oral tradition, often repeated, that the Montmollins were refugees from the south of France at the time of the Crusade of Albigeois is without foundation.

Regarding the earliest appearance of the name which was given to the village of Montmollin, the specialists have determined that most probably the name was from the original German, judging by the ancient spelling which ends in "en," "in," or "ins."

The spelling of the name, which designated either a place or a person, was for a long time whimsical or phonetic, according to students. For example, Momolein about 1330, Monmolens in 1347, Montmollain in 1359, frequently with a "little

<sup>1</sup> References are to the Genealogical Tables in *Genealogie de Famille Montmollin*.

m." The first time it was written as it is today - "de Montmollin" - was by Claude (A XI 2), as in the fiscal acknowledgment which was reproduced in the published work of 1949. His son, Wolfgang (A VII 1), in a writing of 1565, supplied a "t," and wrote his first name "Wolffgand." Thus, in other writings, the family name and the first name were spelled differently. The same situation prevails among the descendants. The Chancellor Georges himself often wrote "Demontmollin" or "de Montmollin," and usually neglected to use the "s" at the end of his first name. It was not until the beginning of the 19th Century that the present spelling became definitive.

The "de," used in the beginning to denote those Montmollins who were natives, later came to designate a particular family which had received a letter of nobility which might be bestowed on a family by the Prince - such as les Merveilleux, les Tribolet, les Pury or les Coulon.

It is interesting to note that the American branch of the family has preserved for over two centuries, in spite of the difficulty of pronunciation, the family name which they inherited from their ancestors who emigrated to Canada or the United States.

## CHAPTER TWO

### COATS OF ARMS

The most ancient heraldic document of the Montmollin family is the escutcheon which Captain Jean Jacques (A IX 3), had painted in the Company Room of the Musketeers in 1628. It is so old that it is impossible to distinguish the colors with any accuracy, with the exception of the panelling, which was done in black and white. In fact, one would surmise that the path was sand-colored, and the mill was silver. On an old stained glass window presently at Cortailod, and which was found at Auvernier at the end of the last century, the mill is brown and the background is blue.

To complete the letter of nobility given in 1657, the Prince of Neuchatel, Prince Henry of Longeville, granted to the family in 1659 a new coat of arms - a "shield with three bands of silver, a head-piece of gold, with three diamond-shaped emblems of blue." The document adds, "At the top are two warriors holding clubs." No mention is made of the two warriors on the sides.

Then, at the beginning of the 18th Century, the Principality of Neuchatel passed to the control of the House of Prussia, and King Frederic I bestowed on the Montmollin family a letter of nobility, with the coat of arms decorated and improved upon. The augmentation consisted of a coat of arms with, in the second and third quadrants, the coat of arms bestowed by Henry III, and in the first and fourth quadrants "two silver eagle's wings with marks of gold." The decoration consisted of a crown of gold on an open casket, a distinctive insignia of the old nobility. These coats of arms retained at the top the two warriors, but they are flanked by two other warriors, also flesh-colored. Finally, underneath there is an inscription which carried the device "*Sub Alis Tuis.*"

The lines of gold are characteristic of the wings of the black eagles of the House of Brandenburg, then the royal house of Prussia, and finally of the German Empire of 1871. The Montmollin family is, to our knowledge, the only family of Neuchatel which has in its coat of arms the wings with flecks of gold.

The advancement of the family in the royal heirarchy is reflected in several heraldic documents which have come to light. First, the stained glass window of the Bocarderie, dating from 1685, of the coat of arms of Chancellor Georges de Montmollin which contained a casket without a crown denoting a recent noble; later, the stained glass window of the Governor of Affry, which carried a casket capped by a crown of gold, signifying a feudal noble; and finally, the certificate which established beyond doubt the status of Chancellor Emer (C XI 14), and which the attorney Lardy (1816-1875) found about 1860 in the house of the great-grand-daughter of Chancellor Emer de Montmollin, Louise-Albertine DePasquier (*nee de Montmollin*). This certificate, which is entitled *Patent Wegen Vermarb und Verbesserung der Wappen fur die Familie von Montmollin* reads "Brévet Certificate for the Augmentation and Amelioration of the Coat of Arms of the Montmollin Family," and is dated at Colln an der Spree, 16 November, 1709. It was done in recognition of the assimilation of the Montmollin family into the Prussian nobility. The amelioration of the coat of arms looks the same as the

original which appeared in the Annual of German Nobility, under the letter "M" - Montmollin (*die Herren von*) - meaning "the nobleman Montmollin." While the certificate does not correspond to actual historical reality, it perhaps showed its value to Guillaume de Montmollin (C XVII 18) with the mention of *vir ac dominus* on his diploma which was granted by the University of Munich in 1910.

## CHAPTER THREE THE RECTOR OF QUEBEC

### Foreword

*The history of the Marler family in Canada begins with the arrival in Quebec in 1809 of Leonard Marler, then a junior officer in the British Army. While stationed in Quebec, and acting as Clerk of Stores in the Field Train of Artillery, he married Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin on August 19th, 1810. She was the grand-daughter of the Reverend David Francis de Montmollin, who came to Canada in 1768 to be the Minister of the Church and Parish of Quebec.*

*As the family papers contained very little concerning David Francis de Montmollin, I thought it would be interesting to see what other information about him could be obtained. Accordingly, during my many visits to Quebec over the last twenty years, I have examined many of the records of his time - The Quebec Gazette, his own Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, notarial deeds and other papers - and thus obtained a good deal of information about him.*

*In the notes which follow I have tried to set down more or less in chronological order the bits and pieces that I have found, and to record these facts simply and without adding a lot of conjecture of my own. I hope that the notes will be found of some interest, and that at some future date it will be possible to supplement them by further notes about Leonard Marler himself and his descendants.*

George C. Marler  
Montreal, March 7th, 1963.

When the Commission of Governor Murray was issued in November 1763 appointing him to be Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec in America, the Instructions given to him had been the subject of careful and prolonged consideration<sup>1</sup>. They covered a multitude of matters and vested in the governor full authority with respect to the administration of the Province. Religion was given special attention, and several paragraphs make it abundantly clear that the British Crown intended that the Church of England should be established "both in Principles and Practice" and that the inhabitants should by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant religion and their children brought up in the principles of it.

Lest unsuitable persons should seek appointment to any ecclesiastical benefice in the Province, the Governor was instructed not to prefer any Protestant Minister "without a certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of good life and conversation;" and to make sure that any appointee conduct himself in a seemly fashion, the Governor was directed - "if any person hereafter preferred to a Benefice shall appear to you to give Scandal, either by his Doctrine or his Manner" - to use the best means for his removal. At the time the Governor's instructions reached him in Quebec, there were, according to his own account, but two hundred Protestant subjects in the Province most of whom were "disbanded soldiers of little property and mean capacity" while there were some eighty thousand of the "new subjects" as the French-speaking Canadians were called<sup>2</sup>. In these circumstances it is not hard to understand the difficulties under which the Governor laboured.

1 Cf. Documents relating to The Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, Vol. I, p. 181.  
2 Constitutional Documents, Vol. I, p. 206, note.

By his instructions the Governor was directed to appoint a Council to assist him in the administration of government and to be composed of the Lieutenant Governors of Montreal and Trois Rivieres, the Chief Justice of the Province, the Surveyor General of Customs in America, and eight other persons to be chosen by the Governor, but this did not satisfy many of the inhabitants. The Grand Jury - whose exact status does not appear to have been too clearly defined - at a meeting held on October 16th, 1764, adopted a number of presentments<sup>3</sup>, which can only be regarded as criticisms of the Governor and Council. These presentments ranged over a wide field. The most significant, perhaps, is that which represented that as the Grand Jury "must be considered at present as the only body representative of the Colony, they, as British subjects, have a right to be consulted before any ordinance that may affect the body that they represent be passed into a law." But it is interesting to note that they also turned their attention to Sunday observance and to the need for a "publick protestant school."

As to the Sabbath, the Grand Jury represented:

We recommend the exertion of the laws of the Mother Country for the due observance of the Sabbath that the same may no longer be profaned by selling, buying, keeping open shops, Balls, Routs, Gaming or any other idle Divertions [*sic*], for the better accomplishing of which a Learned Clergyman of a moral and exemplary life, qualified to preach the Gospel in its primitive [*sic*] purity in both Languages would be absolutely necessary.

This presentment appears not to have been fully understood by the French-speaking members who, quite obviously shocked to discover what they had signed, soon after averred that though they had heard the reference to Sunday observance they had received no explanation of the proposal to have a minister to preach the Gospel in both languages<sup>4</sup>.

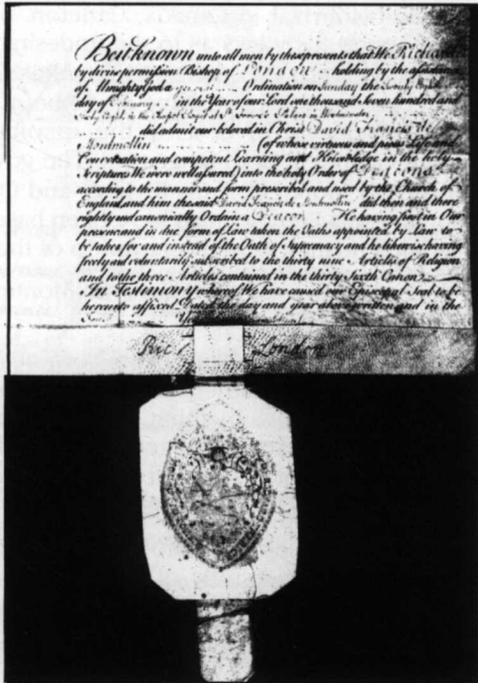
It is not clear whether these presentments were formally transmitted to the British government, but it was not long before further representations to it were made by the Quebec traders<sup>5</sup>. Their prime purpose was to seek the establishment of some form of government to consist solely of "loyal and well-affected Protestants," of which there were "a number more than sufficient . . . to form a competent and respectable House of Assembly." Their petition set forth a number of grounds of complaint against Governor Murray, and among them that of his "discountenancing the Protestant religion by almost a Total Neglect of Attendance upon the Service of the Church, leaving the Protestants to this Day destitute of a place of Worship appropriated to themselves."

The very strained relations between the Governor and the English-speaking traders in the Province led eventually to Murray being recalled on April 1st, 1766. He sailed from Quebec on June 28th, and returned to England, but nonetheless he continued for some time to hold the office of Governor. On April 7th, only a few days after Murray's recall, Colonel Guy Carleton was commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor, but it was late in September of that year before he reached Quebec.

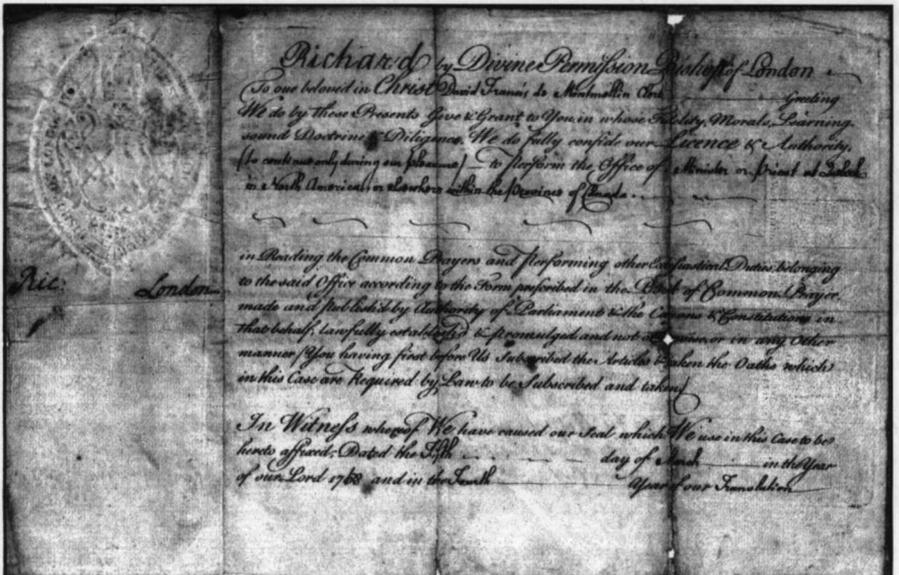
<sup>3</sup> Constitutional Documents, Vol. 1, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Constitutional Documents, Vol. 1, p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> Constitutional Documents, Vol. 1, p. 232.



David Francis de Montmollin was ordained Deacon by the Church of England on February 28, 1768 in the Chapel Royal at St. James Place in Westminster, London.



On March 5, 1768, David Francis was granted a license to preach, and assigned to the "Province of Quebec in North America or elsewhere within the provinces of Canada."

In the year that followed his arrival in Canada, Carleton, in his reports to the British government, expressed his views as to the undesirability of introducing foreign priests into Quebec and as to the appointment of a coadjutor to the Catholic Bishop of Quebec, but seems to have made no observations with respect to the need of Protestant clergy or as to the appointment of clergymen competent to preach the Gospel in both languages. The government's decision to appoint to the Parishes of Montreal, Trois-Rivieres and Quebec three clergymen whose mother tongue was French, must have been based principally, if not entirely, upon the recommendation earlier referred to of the Grand Jury.

One of these three clergymen was David Francis de Montmollin, who was appointed to the Church and Parish of Quebec.

De Montmollin was of Swiss origin having been born at Neuchatel in March 1721, very probably, it is said<sup>6</sup>, in his father's house on the rue des Moulins. He was the son of Louis de Montmollin, a member of both the *Grand Conseil* and the *Conseil Etroit* and also secretary of the town. Louis de Montmollin obviously was an important person, but he did not have the title of "Count" as was believed by some of his son's descendants<sup>7</sup>.

Nothing is recorded of de Montmollin's childhood, but it is known that at the age of eighteen he was admitted to the study of medicine at Basle University in Switzerland, which he attended for three years.

Two years later, de Montmollin borrowed some 1500 pounds on the personal guarantee of his father, at the usurious rate of 17 per cent, and set off for Leyden in Holland. It is not known whether he continued his study of medicine in Leyden or not, but it is recorded that in 1745 he was received as a member of the Flemish church.

It may be inferred that he did not stay very long in Holland but continued on his way to England where he took up residence in London. Various notarial deeds to which he was a party indicated London as his residence, and Maseres<sup>8</sup> describes him, in referring to his appointment in 1768, as "a native of Switzerland, that had resided more than twenty years in England." This implies that de Montmollin reached England around 1748 at the age of twenty seven.

It has not been possible to find out what de Montmollin did in England. His biographer, who wrote "*Un neuchatelois, premier pasteur de Quebec*," supposed that he practised medicine and that later he studied theology and, also, that he was a tutor in one of the great families; but this is pure speculation.

Two facts are clearly established: first, that on June 2nd, 1762, at the age of forty one, he married an English woman by the name of Jane Bell at the Church of St. Giles in Cripplegate which is in Foxe Street, London, not far from St. Paul's Cathedral; and, second, that some six years later at the age of forty seven, he was

<sup>6</sup> See *Un neuchatelois, premier pasteur de Quebec*.

<sup>7</sup> H. C. Stuart, M. A. Rector of Three Rivers in his work *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793* writes: "Francis de Montmollin was born at New Chatel, Switzerland. He was a son of the Count deMontmollin, and therefore a member of the Bourbon family. His brother John is frequently mentioned in General Haldimand's diary. One of his sisters was maid of honor to Queen Charlotte. Mr. deMontmollin married an English lady, Jane Bell, in London." . . . Mr. Stuart says that he was indebted to Mrs. Dorion of Drummondville, a granddaughter of Mr. de Montmollin, for these particulars. Mrs. Dorion was in fact his great-grand-daughter.

<sup>8</sup> Maseres: *Several Commissions*, p. 149.

The King's Mandamus to collate and admit the  
Reverend M<sup>r</sup>. De Montmollin to the Parish Church of  
Quebec.

To our trusty and well beloved James Murray Esquire, our Captain-general  
and Governour in Chief, in and over our Province of Quebec in America, and  
in his absence, to our Lieutenant-Governour, or Commander in Chief of our said  
Province for the time being.

George R. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

We, having received a good report of the loyalty, abilities, prudent  
conduct, and sober conversation of our trusty and well-beloved David Francis  
De Montmollin, Clerk, have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure  
to you that, forthwith upon receipt hereof, you do collate and admit the said  
David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk, to the Church and Parish of Quebec in  
America:

To have, hold, and enjoy the same unto him the said  
Francis de Montmollin during his natural life, with all rights, dues, profits,  
and privileges therunto belonging in as full and ample manner as the  
Ministers of Churches in any of our Colonies in America have usually held  
and enjoyed, or of right ought to hold and enjoy the same. And for so  
doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Saint James's the 12<sup>th</sup> Day of February  
1768. in the eighth year of our reign.

By His Majesty's

Hillsborough.

A Mandamus was issued by King George II through Lord Hillsborough instructing the  
Governor of Quebec to admit David Francis and to allow him to perform his duties as a Clerk  
upon arrival at Quebec.

ordained a clerk in holy orders in the Established Church. The ceremony of ordination took place in the Chapel Royal of St. James' Palace on March 4th, 1768 and de Montmollin's letters of ordination\* were issued under the hand and Episcopal Seal of the Right Reverend Richard Terrick, Lord Bishop of London. This use of the Royal Chapel for this ceremony seems to justify to some extent the suggestion that de Montmollin had the favourable eye of some person in authority, but what is curious is that three weeks before his ordination de Montmollin had been appointed Minister to the Church and Parish of Quebec and had received a Mandamus of the Earl of Hillsborough, who had recently become the first Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Though the first ship going directly to Quebec, the brig *Union*, sailed a few days after his ordination, de Montmollin remained in England. This is not surprising, for at that season of the year, he must have felt little inclined to embark on the long voyage to Quebec. In those days, even at the best of seasons, the crossing could take seven or eight weeks, but in the winter months it could well be longer, more dangerous and more disagreeable. Moreover, he must indeed have been hesitant to expose his wife and his two young sons, John Samuel and John Frederic, both under five years of age, to the storms of March and the cold and other hazards of the late winter.

De Montmollin evidently decided to await the arrival of warmer weather, and so it was that some seven weeks after his ordination he performed his first civil act as an ordained minister. On April 24th, 1768, he visited the Castle at Dover and there baptised the infant son of John and Mary Cane, and made the opening entry in the Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, which he kept during the long years of his ministry. This Register - written legibly in his own hand - has been preserved and may be examined at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Quebec.

De Montmollin's decision not to sail to Quebec in the brig *Union* appears to have been a wise one, for she encountered very bad weather during her passage to Quebec which lasted no less than eleven weeks. *The Quebec Gazette* reports her arrival on Sunday evening, May 22nd, and records that the despatches which she brought for his Excellency Guy Carleton, Esq., were sent off by express to his Excellency at Montreal. In passing it is interesting to note that these despatches advised Carleton of his appointment as Governor in the place and stead of General Murray, and acquainted him with the government's decision to appoint ministers to the parishes of Quebec, Trois Rivières and Montreal.

*The Quebec Gazette* also records the arrival in Quebec of other ships, two from London and one from Falmouth, in its issue of June 9th, but it seems unlikely that de Montmollin could have sailed in any of them, as they must have left England earlier than April 24th. It is more likely that he accompanied the 8th Regiment as to which the *Gazette* writes in its issue of June 16th:

Tuesday last [i.e., June 14th] arrived here one of the transports, with part of the 8th Regiment on board. Also the Brig. Capt. Montgomery from Glasgow. No person from either of them

\* *Editor's Note.* The originals of the ordination documents of David Francis were handed down through the John Samuels to Alla deMontmollin Hicks, who gave them to me in 1981. They are now in my possession in Columbia, S.C. RHdeM



has yet been ashore, the North East winds blowing so excessive hard. Several people in the Lower Town and St. Roch have been considerable sufferers from the high winds and tides, and it is feared more will share the same fate as the weather does not in the least seem to abate.

A week later the *Gazette* reported the arrival on the previous Monday (June 20th) off St. John's, Isle of Orleans, of three transports with the remainder of the 8th Regiment, which on the following day landed on the Island where they were to remain until the 15th Regiment embarked for England.

When de Montmollin reached Quebec, Governor Carleton had not yet returned from his visit to Cataragui, as Kingston was then called, so that it was necessary for him to await the Governor's return. The *Gazette* in its issue of June 30th reports:

Arrived here from Montreal, His Excellency General Carleton our governor, accompanied by the Hon. H. T. Caramahe, Esq., Major Hamilton and Mr. Delery.

De Montmollin did not have to wait long before he was received by the Governor and presented the Mandamus from the King.

Because the terms in which it was drawn were the subject of discussion between the new rector and the Governor and later of correspondence between the Governor and the authorities in England, the text of the Mandamus is of some interest. It read as follows:

GEORGE R. Trusty and well beloved We greet you well. We having received a good Report of the Loyalty, Abilities, prudent Conduct and sober Conversation, of our Trusty and Well beloved David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk, have thought fit, hereby, to signify our Will and Pleasure to You, that forthwith, upon Receipt hereof, You do collate and admit the said David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk, to the Church and Parish of Quebec, in our Province of Quebec, in America.

TO HAVE, hold and enjoy the same, unto him the said David Francis de Montmollin, during his natural Life, with all the Rights, Dues, Profits, and Privileges, thereunto belonging, in as full and ample manner as the Ministers of churches in any of Our Colonies in America have usually held & enjoyed, or of Right ought to hold and enjoy the same. And for so doing This shall be Your Warrant. And so We bid You heartily farewell. GIVEN at Our Court at St. James' the 12th Day of February 1768, in the Eighth Year of Our Reign. By His Majesty's Command HILLSBOROUGH David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk, Minister of the Church of Quebec<sup>9</sup>

Though the Mandamus clearly granted to de Montmollin the rights, dues, profits and privileges belonging to the Church and Parish of Quebec to be enjoyed by him in as full and ample manner as ministers of churches in any of the Colonies in America have usually enjoyed them, the Governor was quite unwilling to confirm the new rector's right to these perquisites. Francis Maseres<sup>10</sup>, who was the attorney general, relates that upon receipt of the three mandates, de Montmollin's and two others, the Governor was pleased to order the preparation of a draught of a commission for Mr. de Montmollin for his examination and perusal, and Maseres continues: — — —

But upon more fully considering the peculiar and delicate situation of the province with respect to the article of religion, and some claims of property in the churches, made on behalf of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of those parishes (i.e., Quebec, Three Rivers and

<sup>9</sup> Public Archives of Canada, Series S, Vol. 13, pp. 84-86.

<sup>10</sup> Maseres: *Several Commissions*, p. 148.

Montreal), his excellency did not think it expedient to grant these gentlemen commissions of this form under the seal of the province; but in lieu whereof gave them licenses to preach and perform divine service according to the ceremonies of the Church of England in the respective parishes of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, under his hand and private seal.

The Governor despite his reservations as to the rights, dues, profits and privileges nonetheless allowed the new rector to enter upon his ministry, and accordingly de Montmollin held divine service for the first time on Sunday, July 3rd, 1768, following which he carried out the first baptism on Canadian soil, that of John, infant son of John and Ann Honner.

The rather extensive terms used in the Mandamus must necessarily have disquieted the Governor, and it must have been difficult for him, so soon after his appointment as Governor, not to follow implicitly the terms of the Royal mandate. He, therefore, did not delay reporting his decision to Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Writing on July 21st the Governor reported that on his return from Montreal a Mandamus was presented by a Mr. Montmollin and another by a Mr. Veyssiere, formerly a Recollet, directing him to admit the one to the Church and Parish at Quebec and the other to the Church and Parish of Trois Rivieres to enjoy the same during life "with all rights, dues, profits and privileges" etc., adding:

As I find these words in every Mandamus, I look upon it as a stile *(sic)* of office that has been adopted for many years for the other provinces, and under that sanction, unnoticed, has slipped into those for this province, tho' under very different circumstances.

The Governor then went on to point out, with some courage, that:

These general and extensive expressions have occasioned no small difficulty already in Civil Matters, and have been the cause of many complaints giving authority to claim fees of Office, etc., that are burthensome, but if they are to be extended to ecclesiastical property, to dispossess the People of their Parish Churches, and their clergy of their Tithes and all Parochial Dues, for our lawyers are clear these words import no less, the Evils must be much worse.

Believing that such a policy would not have been decided upon without the Governor being so advised, he reported that:

I have in the meanwhile, and till I am certain of the King's pleasure therein, granted them [i.e., de Montmollin and Veyssiere] commissions which leave the Power to do all the good they can, or chuse *(sic)* to do, without authorising them to do Mischief.

At the time the Recollets' church was used by both Roman Catholics and the Church of England. The arrangements are clearly indicated by the following notice, published in the *Quebec Gazette* on May 21st, 1767:

On Sunday next, Divine Service, according to the use of the Church of England, will be at the Recollets' church and continue for the summer season, beginning soon after eleven. The drum will beat each Sunday soon after half an hour past ten, and the Recollets' bell will ring to give notice of the English service the instant their own is ended.

This was indeed an unusual arrangement which led Hawkins, the author of *Quebec, Past and Present* to observe that "the first regular church services in Canada were thus performed in a chapel belonging to a Franciscan order of the Church of Rome," and to add somewhat wryly: "After every English service, the chapel was subjected to a regular lustration for the removal of the pollution which it was thus supposed to have contracted."

It was evident that de Montmollin had learned of these arrangements for the joint use of the church while he waited for the Governor to return to Quebec, for he complained of the matter to the Governor whose views are eloquently set forth in his letter to Lord Hillsborough of July 21st, 1768. There he wrote:

Mr. Montmollin, notwithstanding we have in this town the use of two churches in common with the Roman Catholics, and one entirely to ourselves, thinks it very hard, the Parish Church being still in ruins, I will not give him the Jesuits' Church, which we took for a store, on our arrival; having no further Occasion for it, nor Money to preserve it from Ruin, it was given up to them above a year ago, and it now almost repaired at considerable Expence. He thinks it still harder, I disapprove of his taking the Tithes; I endeavoured to show him the violence, Injustice and Breach of Treaties I must be guilty of to gratify him in these particulars, he replied that Louis the fourteenth had not kept his treaties with protestants, he therefore sees no reason why we should keep ours with the Roman Catholicks.

With his letter the Governor enclosed a copy of the Commissions he had given, which were in the following form:

To the Honourable Guy Carleton, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec, Brigadier General of His Majesty's Forces, etc.

To . . . . . Clerk. Greeting:

In obedience to His Majesty's commandes, signified by his Mandamus, dated at St. James, the 12th day of February last, I do admit you to be the Curate and Minister of the Gospel in the Parish of (Quebec) in the Province of Quebec, to perform the office of a Curate and Minister of the Gospel in such Church or place set apart for the performance of Divine Service as is or shall hereafter be appointed by the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of this Province, in reading the Common Prayers and performing the other services of the Church belonging to the office of a Priest, according to the Form set forth in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments according to the Use of the Church of England, and not otherwise, or in any other manner, you having first sworn, in some of His Majesty's Courts of Record in this Province, on the Holy Evangelists to renounce all foreign jurisdiction and to bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majesty, King George the 3d, according to an Act of Parliament in that case made and provided, and to pay true and Canonical obedience to the Lord Bishop of London and his successors, Bishops of London, [to] Hold and enjoy the same office of Curate and Minister of the Gospel, together with all such dues as shall arise from Persons professing the Protestant Religion according to the Reformation of the Church of England, and not otherwise.

Given . . . . . 21st July 1768.

The British government fully concurred in the actions of the Governor, and on October 12th Lord Hillsborough replied:

. . . I have it in Command from His Majesty to signify to you His approbation of the Commissions you have given to Mr. Montmollin and Mr. Veyssiere, and your having forbid Mr. Montmollin to take tithes, as His Majesty's having appointed a stipend to the gentleman, to be paid out of the revenue, clearly evinced that it was not His Majesty's intention that he should make any such demands.

This fully settled de Montmollin's pretensions to the taking of tithes, but Lord Hillsborough wished to leave no doubt in the mind of the Government as to the more general question of the support and encouragement to be given to the Church of England. He continued:

The proper support and encouragement to be given to the Church of England as well as the necessary toleration to be allowed to His Majesty's new subjects in the exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion will be matters of serious attention in the consideration of the general regulations for the Colony of Quebec, which important business, I trust, is now drawing near to some conclusion.

In the meantime His Majesty does not doubt that you will give all necessary protection to the new subjects in the exercise of their religion; and is pleased to recommend it to you particularly to countenance the established Church, and to take care that Offices of it are administered with a decency corresponding to the purity of its principles.

De Montmollin's stipend was 200 pounds per annum, but this was not enough to satisfy him. The governor's decision that he should not collect tithes led him to consider other sources of income, and not unnaturally his thoughts turned to the Chaplainship of Quebec to which a stipend could be attached.

At that time the Chaplainship was held by the Reverend Dr. John Brooke. General Murray had appointed him as "Chaplain to the Town of Quebec and as Parish Priest to all of His Majesty's Protestant subjects in the Government" on December 27th, 1760; and he had been formally commissioned on October 28th, 1761. His wife - who is believed to be the author of *The Diary of Emily Montague*, a romantic account of life in Quebec in the early days - is believed to have joined him in October 1763, but went back to England on November 8th, 1764, and appears not to have returned to Quebec. Dr. Brooke remained in Quebec until the summer of 1768, indeed until after the arrival of de Montmollin and his family.

*The Quebec Gazette* of July 7th, 1768, advertises the sale at public auction of:

All the genuine and good Household Furniture belonging to the Rev'd Mr. Brooke at his House at Mount Pleasant, out of Port Louis Gate . . .

The sale did not take place on account of the bad weather, and accordingly a further advertisement was published in the *Quebec Gazette* the following week. This advertisement referred to the sale of household furniture of the Rev'd Doctor Brooke, Chaplain of the Garrison, "who proposes embarking for England in about a month."

Following Dr. Brooke's return to England, de Montmollin sought to obtain the Chaplainship of Quebec. He must have lost little time in doing so, because, despite the length of time which letters then took to reach England, representations were made in June 1769 to Lord Barrington - the Secretary of War - recommending de Montmollin for the appointment. De Montmollin must have had some influence, too, for one of the recommendations was from none other than the Bishop of London himself. Lord Barrington's reply to the Bishop makes interesting reading:

My Lord, Your Lordship's note of the 5th instant followed me hither [Beckett, England]; I am much obliged to you for recommending so fit a Person (as I am convinced Mr. Montmollin to be from the character you give of him) for the Chaplainship of Quebeck when it shall become vacant; I shall most certainly propose him to the King, unless something extraordinary and unexpected should happen; and in that case I shall beg your Lordship to direct my conduct.

The Chaplainships of Garrisons are not sold like the Chaplainships of Regiments: I must therefore beg of your Lordship to satisfy yourself that there is no pecuniary transaction between Dr. Brooke and Mr. Montmollin.

Lord Barrington's sympathy seems to have been gained, however, for the next paragraph of his letter seems to imply a decision to give de Montmollin the appointment. His Lordship continued:

When Mr. Chabran de Lisle was appointed Chaplain to Montreal, it was on the condition that whenever he quitted that place, the Chaplainship should be given to some other Clergyman who would reside there: I have no doubt that your Lordship will approve my making the same stipulation with Mr. Montmoulin. I understand these Chaplains are almost the only protestant Divines established in Canada, which makes their Residence particularly necessary.

Dr. Brooke appears not to have been a party to any arrangement by which de Montmoulin was to succeed him in the chaplainship of the Garrison at Quebec. On the contrary, he was very much opposed to being deprived of his pay as chaplain, at least until an equivalent for it in England was found for him. This is quite evident from his letter to the Bishop, written probably sometime in 1770:

To The Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of London. My Lord -

As Mr. Montmoulin has renew'd his complaint of doing duty at Quebec for the Chaplain of the Garrison soliciting that he may be obliged to allow him a salary, I shall state in writing the duty of the Chaplain; and if it be found that Mr. Montmoulin is burden'd with any duty on his account, which does not bring it's immediate recompense, or that he is not a considerable gainer by his absence; the Chaplain, the necessities of whose family will very ill admit any less'ning of his income, must return to his Garrison, however unsuitable traversing Seas and changing Climates may be to his advanc'd time of life and whatever hazards may attend it.

The soldiery of the Garrison in Quebec is not composed of independent companies, but regimental, each military corps having it's proper chaplain or deputy.

Mr. Montmoulin is deputy to one regiment; the other has with it the chaplain in commission.

Hence all that remain to the Cure of the Chaplain of the Garrison, are the officers of the Staff; viz, the Governor and Lieutenant, Town Major and Serjeant, Barrackmaster and Paymaster with their families; but four of these are single, if not all.

They attend divine service with the troops and people, under the regimental chaplain and Mr. Montmoulin alternately officiating.

If any of the staff officers should have families, and either the regimental chaplain, or Mr. Montmoulin, should thence be called to any extra occasional service, it would be with it's reward.

All of the burden then to Mr. Montmoulin from the chaplain's absence is the probable addition of six persons to his congregation.

If the chaplain were resident and Governor to command him any publick duty it wou'd be at the castle, and not where the troops and people assemble, which would be an intrusion upon the Cures of the regimental chaplain and Mr. Montmoulin.

This Gentleman is now deputy chaplain to one regiment<sup>11</sup> the pay fixed by my authority at 3s. ster. a day; he may probably have the same advantage from the regiment which will relieve the 10th. It is improbable he would have it from any if the military chaplain were present.

The long connexion of the chaplain with the protestants in the place would also make other emoluments his which are now Mr. Montmoulin's.

The latter then is gainer very greatly by the absence of the former without any Increase of Duty which does not bring its reward: he must be loser equally by his return without any Decrease of his Public duty.

The Chaplain therefore, under his Majesty's pleasure, holding his leave of absence from his Excellency the Governor only, and being excus'd by Him from all duty, cannot voluntarily burden himself with a Pension to Mr. Montmoulin, consistently with his obligations to the

11 Probably the 8th Regiment.

Governor, or his duty to his family, and trusts that none will be imposed upon him by Power.

He hopes your Lordship will excuse him the mentioning upon this occasion, his twelve years of service as a military chaplain, great part of it in a time of war and subject to the hazards and expenses of it; and that for many duties in which he serv'd appointment of authority, and particularly that of chaplain to the Garrison of Quebec 306<sup>12</sup> days prior to the dates of his commission, and that of protestant parish priest upwards of eight years<sup>13</sup>, he has had no consideration from Government whatsoever, tho' the sum due for them at present allow'd is 902 pounds sterling and upwards.

The latter appointment at Montreal with 100 pounds annual salary being given to the chaplain there after only two years service in a time of peace, and the chaplain at Quebec being superseded in his from the moment it was made profitable, it was thought a severe hardship, and causeless indignity; as he perform'd all occasional offices of his function in French, when persons of that language were concerned in them, so as to be perfectly understood, and could have done more had it been wanted; and his conduct, and attention to the duties of his vocation, had been repeatedly recommended to public favour in Letters to the Society for propagating the Gospel &c. representing 'that the protestant minister ought to be enabled to appear not only with Decency but with Dignity.'

I hope, my Lord, when these things are considered that your Lordship will be much more dispos'd to recommend to Government to be recompens'd for past services that I have not been paid for, than to lay any new burden upon me; at least to allow me to possess the full pay of my chaplainship, till I have an equivalent for it, at home. Or if I am order'd again to Quebec that it may be not only on terms equal to those of the chaplain at Montreal, but such as bear a due proportion to the superiority of the place, and the greater dignity to be supported in it, and be a mark of regard for the long and I hope not unworthy service, in the perils of the ocean and of war, and in his Majesty's foreign Dominions of my Lord.

Your Lordship's most obedient and respectfully

Humble servant

J BROOKE.

Dr. Brooke's letter would seem to have settled the matter, and for the time being de Montmollin had to content himself with being deputy-chaplain to one regiment with pay "fixed by authority," as Dr. Brooke points out, at 3 shillings sterling a day, together with such "reward" as "any extra occasional service" might bring him.

The matter of the chaplainship of Quebec affords a good inkling as to the persistence of de Montmollin. Not having succeeded through his earlier correspondence in procuring the appointment he desired, or the additional allowance that it would entail, de Montmollin appears to have approached the subject through a different channel, which is revealed in the correspondence of Sir Frederick Haldimand.

Thomas Gage, who had been governor of Montreal, was appointed in 1763 to succeed Lord Jeffry Amherst as commander in chief with headquarters in New York. There he remained until sometime early in 1773 when he obtained leave of absence to return to England to settle some private affairs, and to succeed him in the command Frederick Haldimand was summoned from Florida, and promoted to the rank of major-general.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., from appointment on Dec. 27th, 1760 to Commission of 27th Oct. 1761.

<sup>13</sup> This would appear to fix the date of the letter as being sometime in 1770.

It might well be imagined that when on leave in England General Gage would be little concerned with matters of minor importance in America, but this was not the case, and in the Haldimand papers the following letter<sup>14</sup> written in London on September 1st, 1773, by General Gage will be found. Part of it reads as follows:

London, Sept. 1st 1773 Dear General

... I am to mention likewise an Affair of Mr. Montmolin, Deputy-Chaplain of Quebec; who it seems has for some time done all the Duty of the Chief Chaplain of that Garrison, without any allowance of Quarters, Firing and Candle. It has been the Fault of the Officers commanding at Quebec, that the above Gentlemen was never returned as Chaplain, nor indeed was his Appointment ever notified to me. But to rectify all Mistakes, by which Mr. Montmolin has been a Sufferer, it only remains for you to order the Barrack-Master General to make him an Allowance of Quarters, Firing and Candle in the same Proportion as is made to the Chaplain of other Garrisons in America when actually residing, and that said allowance should commence from the time that Mr. Montmolin has officiated as Chaplain of Quebec. ...

Major Genl Haldimand (Sgd) Thos Gage

The tone of this letter is so peremptory that one can only infer that de Montmolin, if not formally appointed as Chaplain to the garrison, at least received the "Allowance of Quarters, Firing and Candle."

Of de Montmolin's family life in his early days in Quebec very little is known. Two of his children were born before he came to Canada, John Samuel and John Frederic. A third son, Francis Gaudot - Francis after his father, and Gaudot, the family name of de Montmolin's mother - was born in Quebec on December 9th, 1769, at "1/2 hour after eleven of a o'clock in the morning" as de Montmolin wrote in his register of births. The child was baptized on January 18th, 1770; Jean Renaud and Martha Renaud were his godfather and godmother respectively, while Pierre Guerouts stood proxy for Francis L'Evesque, the other godfather.

The marriage of Jean Renaud and Martha Sheldon was the second which de Montmolin celebrated, and took place on October 1st, 1768. This, in all likelihood, was the start of the friendship which grew up between the Renauds and the de Montmollins. It was obviously a compliment to the Renauds that both should be godparents of the new rector's first born in Canada, but Renaud himself, who was a merchant, was one of the few Protestants among the former inhabitants and this, no doubt, led to the close relations which existed between the two families. Renaud died on his sixtieth birthday and was buried by de Montmolin on March 19th, 1794. Mrs. Renaud came to live with Mrs. de Montmolin and was still living with her nearly fourteen years later when she made her Will in 1807.

De Montmolin's register records the births and deaths of two other children, Jane and Lewes, who were born to him and his wife. Of Jane, he wrote "1771, September 5th. At two o'clock in the morning was born my daughter," and then after inserting his own name and his wife's and daughter's, he added for the 13th: "Buried the above at Port Louis, aged 7 days." About two years later, for

14 *Haldimand Papers* B5, pp. 184-5. Gage succeeded Amherst in 1763 as commander in chief with headquarters at New York. Sailed for England on leave of absence in 1773 leaving Haldimand in command. Returned the following year as Governor of Massachusetts.

July 19th, 1773, another entry of sadness: "Lewes son of David Francis de Montmollin and Jane his wife was born at 2 o'clock in the morning and baptised on the 17th of July and died the 18th about 7 o'clock in the morning and buried on 19th of July."

The de Montmollins had no other children.

Some idea of de Montmollin's work in the early days of his ministry may be gathered from his own account written to the Reverend Doctor Burton, Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, on August 5th, 1770. He officiated every Sunday to the French Protestants between 9 and 11 AM and to the English Garrison between 11:30 and 1 PM. He acted as Garrison Chaplain, owing to the absence of Mr. Brooke for two years, "without pay," as he was careful to point out.

His account of his congregation must have been as discouraging to him as it was to the Society. In summary he reported:

The Congregation is steadily diminishing. The largest number of communicants was 15, now only 3. Majority of the Protestants are Dissenters, and have their own clergyman. There is little zeal for religion. English communicants number 3 persons. Burials (1768-1770) 81. Baptisms 78 Marriages 24. Proselytes 2. He asks for English tracts.

The Dissenters had founded St. Andrew's Church, and its first regular pastor was the Rev. George Henry, an ex-military chaplain, who began his duties in 1765, continued for many years after, and died at the advanced age of 85.

The Society was sympathetic, and early in January 1771 the Rev'd. Dr. Burton wrote sending 10 small English Bibles, 20 common prayer books and some small religious tracts in French - though de Montmollin had asked for English tracts - to be distributed to his poor, and one copy of *Ostervald* for his own private use.

De Montmollin replied only on 5th September 1771, the day of the birth of his daughter Jane, to express his thanks to the Society. The letter, from which the first paragraph appears to have been washed out, reads as follows:

Reverend Sir

... I shou'd certainly prove myself unworthy of the Favors you, and the Honourable Society are pleased to confer upon me, was I not in the same time by acknowledging the Reception of your kind letter of the 28th January last, to express my gratitude for them. Permit me then, Sir, to beg of you to present my humble Thanks to the Society for the Books they were pleased to send me, the Fret of which I payd. I shall take care to give them out according to your Directions. If anything will advance the true Knowledge of God, and of our Holy Religion, after Exhortation and Intreaties made from the pulpit, I know none more likely, under the Providence of God, to promote and pave the way to it than religious Books. Ignorance begets Bigotry and Superstition; nothing is better calculated to root them out than pious Books, wrote in a plain style, suitable to the meanest Capacities, which are always most numerous. Things in this Place in regard to Religion remain in the State as before. The Members of the French Church diminish daily. The English Church is rather decreased, occasioned by families that have left the Place. For my Part I do my Endeavours to be vigilant in my Calling, to kindle as it were, the zeal for Religion very much cool'd and abused in this place, partly owing, as I take it, from the inhabitants themselves that come here, after they have run most the World over and lived in Places for a considerable time without having any Opportunity of attending Divine Service, have by that means contracted an Habit of Neglect, and Indifferency about Religious Worship. This concludes with my warmest Wishes and Prayers for the welfare of the Society in general, and for the Prosperity

of every member in particular: These are the continual Prayers of Reverent Sir -Your most humble and obedient Servant De Montmollin Quebec the 5th Sber 1771.

At the time de Montmollin and his family landed in Quebec Samuel Sills was advertising "lodgings to be let ready furnished at the London Tavern;" and not long after the Rev. Dr. Brooke was making known by notice in the *Quebec Gazette* that on Thursday morning, July 7th, Samuel Morin would sell at public auction all the genuine and good household furniture which belonged to that reverend gentleman "at his house at Mount Pleasant, out of Port Louis Gate."

The advertisement gives interesting details; the furniture consisted of:

Mahogany Bedsteads, Ditto chairs, Ditto tables, black Birch Chairs, Ditto Tables, Mahogany Card Tables, Ditto Tea Tables, Damask, Grogam and Harrateen<sup>15</sup> Window Curtains, three Pieces of rich yellow gogram and Lace sufficient to make a large Bed, a large Mahogany Wardrobe Chest, Looking Glasses in gilt Frames, Screens, a Piece of fine japan'd Furniture, a Mahogany night chair and Mahogany chest of Drawers, China, Knives and Forks, Books, Pictures and a great quantity of used Kitchen Furniture.

As bad weather intervened the sale was postponed but was advertised to "begin peremptorily . . . on Thursday, the 21st instant, at the London Tavern, Mr. Sill's."

It can only be conjecture as to whether de Montmollin took ready furnished lodgings with Mr. Sills and whether he bought some of Dr. Brooke's furnishings; but it is a fact that he did settle on the *rue du Sault aux Matelots*, and that there he remained until some time in early 1775.

In October 1774 de Montmollin concluded arrangements for the purchase of a house and property on de Buade Street which was closer to the church. The house was of stone, three storeys in height, and forty-eight feet wide by twenty-seven feet in depth. In the rear there was a courtyard sixty feet in depth, and behind the courtyard was another piece of land twenty-four feet two inches in width by sixty-four feet deep which was enclosed by a wall in which there was a *porte cochere* or gateway for vehicles.

The vendors, Jacques Guicheaux and his wife, reserved the right to remain in possession until May 1st, 1775, but agreed that de Montmollin could have work done to the second and third floors and occupy them before that date.

Of the price of ten thousand shillings, de Montmollin paid seventy-two hundred shillings by making over to the vendors a draft payable by Peter Fargues on presentation and bearing the same date as the deed of the sale<sup>16</sup>, and he agreed to pay the balance within a delay of three years, with interest at five per cent. The making of the cash payment by a sight draft suggests that Fargues, a prominent merchant of Quebec, was de Montmollin's banker, and it is also likely that he was a friend, too, for in the previous year he had christened his son, giving him the name of Francis (after de Montmollin), and the new rector had performed the ceremony.

Some idea of the disposition of the property and of the use which de Montmollin and his family expected to make of it may be had from the very detailed arrange-

15 Harrateen: a coarse woollen cloth.

16 The deed of sale was executed before Berthelot d'Artigny, a Notary, and two witnesses on 30th October 1774.

ments which they entered into in the following December (1774) with Louis Fremont. They leased to him for a term of eight years and at an annual rent of six hundred shillings currency the ground floor and lower part of the house, consisting of a store with shelves, a small room behind, a large room in rear with a cupboard, and a kitchen, in which de Montmollin reserved passage for himself and his household. The lease<sup>17</sup> specified that the stairway of the house and the "tambour" (a kind of vestibule) were to be in common, and the tenant was to be permitted to hoist and lower (*palanquer*) barrels and casks through the trap door of the "tambour" so as to move them in and out of the cellar on notifying the landlord. The tenant was also to have the use of three small cellars, the fourth being reserved for the landlord. The basement was to be in common and also the shed in the southwest corner of the basement. The toilets were also to be in common, the landlord reserving the buildings and stables for himself, but he agreed to provide the tenant "lodging" for a horse or a cow. The gateway of the courtyard leading to Ste. Anne Street was to be in common.

From the Conquest in 1760 until the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Quebec was under military rule, but following the signing of the Treaty the King in a Proclamation had promised:

... that as soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies (i.e., Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Granada) will admit thereof they (i.e., the prospective governors) shall summon and call general assemblies within the said governments respectively in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate government . . . and in the meantime, and until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all Persons inhabiting in or resorting to our said Colonies may confide in our Royal Protection for the enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England.

As may be readily understood the change of law that this brought about gave rise to serious difficulties between "old subjects," as the English settlers were called, and the "new subjects," as the French Canadians were called.

Though the French Canadians accepted the English criminal law which was more lenient than the French, they objected to the introduction of the common law of England, particularly to imprisonment for debt, and to the administration of justice by judges who neither spoke nor understood their language.

The "old subjects," on the other hand, while favouring the English law which they understood, were understandably impatient of the delays in implementing the promise of a general assembly. This, however, must have been of little interest to the "new subjects" who as Roman Catholics were ineligible to hold office or to serve as jurors.

This was the political atmosphere which prevailed in the early years of de Montmollin's ministry in Quebec.

It was well known that the Governor favoured the restoration of the French civil law, though his views as to the establishment of an Assembly had not been made public.

Soon after his arrival de Montmollin had participated in preparation of an address by the Protestant Clergy and its presentation to the Governor. In it they expressed their pleasure at his appointment as Chief Governor of Quebec, adding:

The mild and equal tenor of his administration as Lieutenant Governor, so consonant to the moderate and liberal spirit which marks the Briton and the Protestant, gives them hope for the future happiness of His Majesty's Old and New subjects.

*The Quebec Gazette* of November 17th, 1768, records that to this Address the Governor "made suitable reply."

The task of reconciling the widely divergent views of the old and new subjects was one of no mean difficulty, and the vast distance that separated the Governor and his officials in Quebec from the authorities in London made communications between them tediously slow, and so prevented an early decision being reached. In order to overcome these difficulties Carleton, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough on March 15th, 1769, wrote that:

For the clearer explanation of these<sup>18</sup> and many other points relative to this Province as well as to settle some private affairs, I wish to go home for a few months . . .

And added:

By being on the spot with the King's servants I might clear up to them many points, and remove many difficulties, which, at this Distance, can neither be so thoroughly discussed, or perfectly understood, as is necessary for the King's Service, whose Interest, in Regard to the Province, I really believe, I could more effectually promote and advance by a Residence of a few months in London, than by so many years in this country.

It was December 1st 1769, before Lord Hillsborough replied granting the Governor leave to return to England, and it was only on August 9th, 1770, that Carleton embarked on the voyage home and that Cramahe announced by proclamation in Quebec that the administration of the Province had devolved upon him.

During Carleton's absence agitation for an Assembly continued in Quebec. Cramahe, writing on December 13th 1773, to Lord Dartmouth (who had succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Secretary of State for the Colonies in August 1772), reported:

About Six Weeks or two months ago, a Mr. McCord, from the North of Ireland, who settled here soon after the Conquest, where he has picked up a very comfortable livelihood by the retailing Business, in which is a considerable dealer, the Article of Spiritous Liquors especially, summoned the Principal Inhabitants of this Town, that are Protestants, to meet at a Tavern, where He proposed to them applying for a House of Assembly, and appointing a committee of eleven to consider of the Method of making this Application, and to prepare and digest it for them.

Then Cramahe went on to recount the efforts made to engage some of their fellow subjects at Montreal to second them, and to enlist support of the Canadians; and to transmit the Petitions which he had received.

The Quebec Petition bore the signatures of Peter Fargues - who served as banker to de Montmollin - and of John Renaud, who was de Montmollin's friend, but significantly the Rector himself, whose stipend was paid by the Crown, played no part whatever in the proceedings.

<sup>18</sup> The State of the laws and the Administration of Justice.

While this agitation for a general assembly was going on in Quebec, to the South the colonists were reacting more violently to the policies of the British government by such episodes as the capture and burning by Rhode Islanders of the schooner *Gaspe* and by the better-known Boston Tea Party.

But finally, after long delays, a decision was at last taken, and on May 2nd 1774, The Quebec Act was introduced in the House of Lords. At the end of the month it was submitted to the House of Commons and voted some two weeks later. Prepared in such a way as to give effect in large measure to the recommendations which Carleton had made, the Act provided that in all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights "resort shall be had to the laws of Canada as the rule for the decision of the same," and, declaring that it was "at present inexpedient to call an Assembly" - a view which Carleton held strongly if privately - made provision for the appointment of a Council. And, so as to give the Canadians the right to be members, the Act expressly relieved persons professing the religion of the Church of Rome from the necessity of taking the oath required by the Test Act. The new statute also authorized the Crown to make provision out of "the accustomed Dues and Rights" for the encouragement of the Protestant religion and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy.

His mission accomplished, General Carleton left England about the middle of July 1774. During his stay of almost four years, he had married Lady Maria, a daughter of his great personal friend, the Earl of Effingham, and she, with the two children who had been born to them, accompanied her husband. After a voyage lasting more than two months they reached Quebec on September 18th where they were warmly welcomed.

The Governor, soon after his return to Quebec, reported<sup>19</sup> to the British authorities that he had had the satisfaction of finding His Majesty's Canadian Subjects "impressed with the strongest sense of The King's great Goodness towards them in the late Act of Regulation for the Government of this Province" and that "All Ranks of People amongst them vied with each other in testifying their gratitude and Respect," nevertheless committees of His Majesty's Old Subjects in November 1774 were meeting to prepare a Petition for the Repeal of the Act. De Montmollin's two friends, John Renaud and Peter Fargues, were among those who signed the Petition, and Peter Fargues was particularly active in the discussions between the Quebec and Montreal Committees.

Despite the unrest both in Montreal and Quebec, de Montmollin - as related earlier - went ahead with the purchase of the house and property on de Buade Street and with the alterations required to make it suitable for the use of the upper storeys by himself and his family; and by the early spring he was safely ensconced in his new premises, there to remain for many years.

To the old colonies [American] the news of the passing of the Quebec Act was, as one eminent historian<sup>20</sup> has remarked, "like a charge of electricity." The establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, or popery, as they considered it, and of

<sup>19</sup> His letter of September 23rd, 1774, will be found in Constitutional Documents, Vol. II, p. 583.

<sup>20</sup> A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, p. 206.

the arbitrary government in the north, revived the terror of bygone days and may even have magnified their feelings of alarm. France, when she had been in possession of Canada, had been able to strike only in the rear, while now Britain could attack both front and rear. Many Americans feared that their cause would be hopeless unless they could prevent Britain from using Canada against them. This was why they invaded the country in 1775.

With the spring came news that active hostilities had broken out. Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain were seized by the rebels early in May, and soon after the only armed vessel on the lake was also captured by them. The situation in Quebec was far from secure. Carleton, upon his return from England, had been met by an urgent demand from General Gage for reinforcements, and had promptly despatched two regiments to New York, leaving few troops under his own command. On learning of the fall of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Carleton forthwith despatched to St. Johns all the soldiers he had in Quebec except a few recruits, and himself set off to Montreal where he proclaimed martial law.

Some weeks later, having done what was possible to organize the defence of Montreal, the Governor returned to Quebec in mid-July. There, only a few days later, on July 23rd, his wife gave birth to a son, their third child. De Montmollin was asked to officiate at the christening. His register contains the following entry:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Child's Name</u>	<u>Godfathers and Godmothers</u>
1775 Aug. 20	Guy Carleton Governor of Canada, etc.	Maria	Christopher	Thomas Connolly, Esq

N.B. This child was born at Chateau St. Louis, July the 23rd, 1775

About the same time de Montmollin received his new commission. The Quebec Act had revoked and cancelled after May 1st, 1775 all commissions to judges and other officers, so that a new commission was issued to de Montmollin. Dated at the Court of St. James the seventh day of April, 1775, it signified the Royal Will and Pleasure that de Montmollin be collated and admitted to the "Church of Quebec," but it did not - as his earlier commission had done - grant him "all rights, dues, profits and privileges thereunto belonging." These words, to which Carleton had objected seven years earlier, were carefully omitted; and his Commission admitted him to the "Church of Quebec" and not to the "Church and Parish of Quebec."

However, whatever de Montmollin's feelings may have been with respect to his new commission, he must at least have derived some satisfaction from the fact that the Instructions to the Governor<sup>21</sup> declared it to be the Royal Intention that certain annual Salaries and Allowances were to be discharged and paid, and particularly 200 pounds per annum each to four Ministers of the Protestant Church.

The relative importance of de Montmollin's stipend may be judged by the fact that six Judges were to each receive 500 pounds, and two schoolmasters 100 pounds.

<sup>21</sup> *Constitutional Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 594-614.

Following the first meeting of the Legislative Council on August 17th, and the christening of his son, Carleton again set off for Montreal, in order to be nearer to the scene of hostilities.

It is of interest to note at this point that in 1775 there was only a somewhat limited network of roads. There was on the north side of the St. Lawrence a highway leading from Quebec to Montreal through Three Rivers, while on the South side another road led from Levis - opposite Quebec - to St. Lambert, opposite Montreal. This road passed through Sorel, at the mouth of the Richelieu river, and from there a road followed the west bank of that river to St. Johns and southward to Lake Champlain. This lake, except in the spring and autumn when ice conditions made it impassable, afforded communication with New York and the colonies to the south.

Carleton at Montreal must have been surprised to learn that the Americans under Arnold were invading Quebec by following the difficult route of the Kennebec river and the valley of the Chaudiere. As another force of Americans under General Montgomery was approaching over the traditional route, the only course for Carleton to follow was to return to Quebec, which proved to be a hazardous undertaking as by this time the rebels had already reached Sorel.

Arnold reached Levis on November 8th, just before Carleton left Montreal, and by the end of that month Arnold and Montgomery had joined forces, and Carleton had successfully returned to Quebec to reorganize the slender forces that were available.

The attack on Quebec was delayed until December 31st. At early hour Arnold attacked the Lower Town at its north end while Montgomery was to proceed along the foot of the cliff and penetrate the southern extremity of the Lower Town.

The attack was a complete failure. Montgomery and a number of his men were shot down as they approached the *Pres de Ville*, the entrance to the Lower Town, and those who followed him quickly deserted. Arnold fared but little better. Before the vanguard of his men reached the *Sault au Matelot* they encountered a barricade across the narrow way, and before they realized their predicament they were attacked from behind and forced to surrender.

De Montmollin must have been relieved that he no longer lived in his former house on *Rue du Sault au Matelot*, though the period of the siege must have been an anxious time for him and his wife, with their three sons all under fourteen. It was he who was called upon to perform the burial service for General Montgomery.

An American prisoner relates that Montgomery's body remained in the house of Gobert, the carpenter, on St. Louis Street, for three days, and then during the night of January 4th, 1776,—"the coffin covered by a pall, surmounted by transverse swords was borne by men. The regular troops, particularly that fine body of men, the Seventh Regiment, with reversed arms and scarfs on the left elbow, accompanied the corpse to the grave<sup>22</sup>."

22 P. G. Roy. *Les cimetières de Québec*, p. 255.

Montgomery was buried near the St. Louis gate, at the foot of the road leading to the Citadel, and de Montmollin read the burial service. Strange to say there is no entry in his record to record this burial, nor is there in his register any other entry related to those who lost their lives in the fighting on the eve of the New Year 1776.

De Montmollin's position in Quebec must have given him some cause for anxiety from time to time. He must have realized how unfounded were the expectations of those who in the earlier days of the colony had optimistically looked forward to massive conversions of the French Canadians. He must also have been fully conscious of his own inability to attract the English Protestants to his ministrations; and the fact that the Protestants still had no church of their own, or at least no church for their exclusive use, must have been a source of great disappointment for him.

The existence of a small congregation of dissenters in St. Andrew's Church, with the Rev. George Henry, a former military chaplain, as its pastor, must always have competed for the attention of de Montmollin's parishioners, and have been a source of disquiet to him personally.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that de Montmollin was jealous of any possible intrusion upon his position as Rector of Quebec. This is the only inference that may be drawn from his relations with the Rev. Lewis Guerry.

Rev. Guerry, having been admitted to Holy Orders, had been recommended to Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State, early in March 1775 by the Bishop of London, who had promised to give him a license when the government in London was ready to appoint him. The government acted very promptly, and on April 2nd, 1775, Lord Dartmouth issued a warrant instructing Governor Carleton to admit Mr. Guerry to "such church and parish within the Province of Quebec in America not already having a Protestant Minister<sup>23</sup>."

It is not known when Guerry reached Quebec, but it is likely that it was in the summer or autumn of 1775. It seemed to have been the intention that he should be appointed to the Parish of Sorel, but by the time he arrived in Quebec the Province had been invaded by the Americans, and Sorel was in their hands.

As the Earl of Plymouth said some years later, when he wrote to the Secretary of State on Guerry's behalf on February 6th, 1783, this left him "nothing to do but to assist of his own good-will the present Rector of Quebec who, it is well known at that place, seemed far from wishing for assistance, and declared that he wanted it not."<sup>24</sup>

De Montmollin must have realized that if he allowed Guerry to play any sort of part in the activities of the church at Quebec, his own position could easily be jeopardized by someone possessing complete familiarity with the English language. However, whatever cause for concern de Montmollin felt soon disappeared, for, after the siege of Quebec had been raised, the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, granted Guerry leave to return to England for twelve months. It may be

23 P.A.C. - S. Vol. 15, p. 113.

24 P.A.C. -Q21, pp.64-66.

noted, in passing, that back in England, Guerry had no difficulty in obtaining yearly renewals of his leave, which enabled him without doing any service in Canada to continue to receive his annual stipend of 200 pounds. Influential friends, such as the Earl of Plymouth, no doubt facilitated the arrangement which continued until 1784, when Guerry was allowed to exchange his "benefice" in Canada with the Rev. Philip Toosey.

The arrival in Quebec in June 1778 of the Rev. John Doty, the Chaplain of the Royal Regiment of New York, probably aroused in de Montmollin's mind less misgivings than Guerry - with no attachment to a parish - had done, yet it seems in retrospect that Doty was indirectly responsible for the ultimate retirement of de Montmollin as Rector of the Church and Parish of Quebec.

Doty, a native of Albany, had been ordained in England in 1770, and had been Rector first of Peekskill, New York, and later of Schenectady. Because of his loyalty to the British Crown he had been arrested in the summer of 1777 and held prisoner, but he had been allowed to leave the country to go to Montreal, where he had been appointed Chaplain to the Royal Regiment of New York. When the regiment was moved to Quebec in June 1778, Doty accompanied it and remained there for three years or more. Then having obtained a year's leave of absence, granted rather reluctantly by Governor Haldimand, who was opposed to the continued absence of chaplains, he had sailed for England in October 1781.

Doty, it would seem, did not have such influential friends as Guerry, and it was necessary for him to return to Canada. He spent the following summer in Montreal, but having somehow or other secured an extension of his leave he again sailed for England where he arrived late in November of that year.

Upon his return to the old country, Doty was asked by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to report on conditions in Canada; and on January 15th, 1783, he wrote what he entitled "Minutes of the State of the Church in Canada"<sup>25</sup> which reads as follows:

1. The Canadian papists (which are very numerous) are in general a well disposed people; attached indeed to their own religion, yet inclined to think well of Serious Protestants; and in many respects open to conviction.
2. The French Protestants in Canada are, at this time about 10 or 12 in number and probably never exceeded 20; while, on the contrary, the English Protestants immediately after the conquest of the country amounted to more than 10 times as many; and are now estimated at no less than 6000 besides the troops.
3. To the former of these, three French clergymen were sent out by government soon after the peace of 1763, appointed to their respective parishes (viz. Quebec, Trois Rivieres and Montreal) by a Royal Mandate, with a stipend of 200 pound sterling per annum, paid to each of them out of the Revenues of the Province, besides which one of them is Chaplain to the garrison where he resides.<sup>26</sup>
4. Two of these gentlemen (natives of Switzerland and doubtless of ability in their own language) perform, as well as they can, in English; but there is not one English clergyman settled in all the Province (excepting an independent Minister<sup>27</sup>, who has a small congrega-

25 To be found in Pascoe's Digest of S.P.G. Records, pp. 140-141.

26 Rev. D. C. De Lisle at Montreal.

27 Rev. George Henry at St. Andrew's Church.

tion at Quebec where he has resided for some years past), nor is there a single Protestant Church, the Protestants being obliged to make use of Romish chapels.

5. The paucity of French hearers hath so far set aside the performance of Divine Service and preaching in French that during four years' residence in Canada the writer of these Minutes doth not remember to have heard of four sermons in that language.

6. Catechizing, however important in its consequences, is a practice unknown in that country; and the sad effects of so great an omission are visible - too many of the rising generation fall an easy prey to Popery, Irreligion and Infidelity.

7. The evening Service of the Church of England is not performed; the weekly prayer days, Saints' Days, etc. are totally neglected; and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered not above 3 or 4 times in a year at Montreal, not so often at Quebec and not at all at Trois Rivieres.

8. The most destitute places are Sorrel *(sic)* and St. Johns. The former is a flourishing town, pleasantly situated on a point of land, at the conflux of the Rivers Sorrel and St. Lawrence. It is the key of Canada from the southward and bids fair to be in time one of the largest places in the province. The number of Protestant English families there at present is about 40 besides the garrison, which is middling large, etc., etc.

It is not known what was the reaction of the church authorities in London to this report. The conditions it portrayed were certainly far from encouraging, and bore little resemblance to the facts originally represented to the government that had led it to appoint French-speaking clerics to the parishes of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. But the Society itself could do very little to improve the situation, and even the Bishop of London could do little more than make representations to the government in London, which up to that time had shown a much less active interest in the advancement of Protestantism in Canada than in promotion of harmonious relations with the French-speaking population. Despite the discouraging conditions reported by Doty, the Society asked him to return to the Province and to serve as its missionary at Sorel, and authorized the payment to him of a salary of 50 pounds per annum which must indeed have seemed to him very small compared to the 200 pounds per annum which the government was paying to each of the three French-speaking clergymen. Doty accordingly returned to Canada and having received the permission of Governor Haldimand proceeded to Sorel which he reached at the end of June 1784.

In the meantime the Bishop of London requested the Rev. Charles Mongan to look into the State of the Church in Canada. It is not clear just when Mr. Mongan reached Canada, but it appears that he spent a year in that province, and - to use his own words - he took every pain to make himself acquainted with that subject. Upon his return he transmitted particulars to his Lordship, but the Bishop's death happening soon afterward prevented the latter from making representations to the government.

Early in the following year (1786) both Mongan - who seems to have been most anxious to secure a preferment in Canada - and Dr. Morice, the Secretary of the S.P.G., who had been seeking government assistance for the Society's missionaries in Canada, made new representations to Lord Sydney, Secretary of State.

Mongan, writing from a London address on February 1st, 1786<sup>28</sup>, referred to his having spent a year in Canada at the request of the late Bishop of London, and explained that the Bishop's death had prevented:

those exertions he [i.e., the Bishop] intended, in showing the government the necessity of putting our Church upon a more respectable footing in that country, and of sending out Ministers to the principal towns, who were likely to recover our religion from that state of disrepute into which it had fallen, thro' the unaccountable neglect of this country, in sending out clergymen totally unfit for the situation in which they were placed.

The next sentence of Mongan's letter is of interest, because it implies clearly that the "memorial" which he enclosed was not of his authorship:

A more particular description of these Gentlemen with a short account of our Church affairs in Canada is contained in the enclosed Extract of a memorial lately transmitted to this Country with a hope of obtaining relief.

The rest of the letter, urging a change in the situation, makes abundantly clear Mongan's desire for "any preferment in Canada."

The Memorial<sup>29</sup> dated 1st November 1785 and labelled "The Present State of the Church of England and its Clergy in Canada" reads as follows:

At Quebec the only Clergyman of the Church of England is a very old Swedish [*Swiss!*] Gentleman who cannot speak one word of plain English - in consequence of which, and his unpopular private conduct, the English Quebec (which are numerous & very respectable) are deprived of Divine Service - and the Minister an object of Contempt & Ridicule.

At Montreal, the Case is the same - the Clergyman is also a Foreigner, and speaks English so very unintelligibly that our Church is totally neglected, notwithstanding English Inhabitants here are very numerous & respectable; but not having a proper Minister of their own Church, are under the Necessity of encouraging Presbyterian and other sects; who, taking advantage of the neglected State of our religious Affairs in this Country, are now pouring in from all quarters of the United States; and, of course, sowing the Seeds of that Disaffection to our Church & Constitution, which contributed, not a little, to the Loss of our other Colonies.

At Three Rivers - the situation of our Church is still more unfortunate, and may be justly call'd shameful - for in addition to the Inability of the other Gentlemen (in the performance of Divine Service with decency & propriety) the Clergyman here, is that kind of Character, that wou'd disgrace the meanest Profession - He speaks English worse (if possible) than the other two, and was expelled (for some flagitious Acts) from a Community of Friars to which he belong'd, prior to his Conversion to our Religion.

This is the true & melancholy State of the Church of England in Canada, and which (if permitted to continue so) it needs no great share of penetration to foresee must soon be followed by the most unhappy political Consequences - laying all Moral Considerations out of the Question.

Endorsed: Present State of the Church & Clergy in Canada - 1st Nov. 1785

At the direction of Lord Sydney, Mongan's letter and its enclosure were sent to Sir Frederick Haldimand who having retired as Governor-in-Chief of Canada had returned to live in England. Sir Frederick's reply on March 8th, 1785<sup>30</sup> was that though he believed "some parts of it are consistent with truth" he was satisfied that it was highly exaggerated. The former Governor evidently was under the impression that the government or someone intended to blame him for the sorry state of the Church in Quebec. This is clear from his letter and from the entry of the same date in his diary.<sup>31</sup> There he wrote (in French):

... that I had left things in the country as I had found them and that my feeling was that it would be suitable to send it (the memorial) to Brigadier Hope<sup>32</sup> for clarification, etc.

29 P.A.C. - Q26, p. 59.

30 *Haldimand Papers*, MG 21, B. 58.

31 *Haldimand Papers*, MG 21, B.231

32 Then Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec (1785-89)

I am much surprised that having been here for more than a year during which nothing has been communicated to me they should wish to consult me now, no doubt in order to throw on me the responsibility for all the changes it is proposed to make. Besides I think that this memorial was done by the Minister Daute [Doty] with the advice and assistance of Hamilton<sup>33</sup> and Caldwell.<sup>34</sup>

Dr. Morice, upon his part, also put forward a paper, dated November 1st, 1786, endorsed the "State of Religion in Canada," which will be found in the Public Archives (P.A.C. - Q. 49, pp. 343-349). Though this is anonymous, it seems clear that it was nothing more than a rewrite of the earlier report made by Doty, with minor additions. Quite clearly it was written in London by someone who was not personally familiar with the facts. Thus it says of de Montmollin:

The French Minister at Quebec, a reformed Jesuit, cannot preach in English and is very negligent in his duty.

This paper mentions that "last year" [i.e., 1785] the Rev. Mr. Toosey was sent in the place of Mr. Geary [Guerry] "without being appointed to any settled place wherein to officiate as a clergyman," and suggests that as he had no fixed employment and was an Englishman he might be directed to officiate either at Quebec or Montreal, or Trois Rivieres, where it is presumed that a church ought to be built.

What was the practical effect of these representations by the Rev. Mr. Mongan on the one hand, and on the S.P.G. on the other? Of their timeliness there can be little doubt, for it seems clear that the government in London was known to be giving active consideration to making changes in the administration of affairs in Canada. Sir Frederick Haldimand who had been back in England for more than a year had not yet been replaced as Governor; Henry Hamilton who had been in charge of affairs at Quebec since Haldimand's departure had been dismissed and Brigadier Hope had been appointed to succeed him as Lieutenant-Governor. Rumours must have been current that Sir Guy Carleton was to be re-appointed as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Indeed, in Haldimand's personal diary the entry which next follows that in which he noted his feelings as to Lord Sydney's inquiry about church affairs in Canada, records the fact that on Thursday, March 9th, 1786, Brigadier MacLean (who dined with him that day) had shown him an article which had appeared on the previous day on the subject of the Governor-Generalship proposed for Carleton in which very valid reasons were given why the proposal was most ill-conceived. But, Haldimand noted, "it should pass nonetheless."

However, the changes under consideration by the authorities seem to have related entirely to temporal affairs. The Church of England in Canada may have been given some thought, but the only action taken with respect to its activities was the approval of the payment from the provincial revenues of a modest stipend of 100 pounds each to the two missionaries at Sorel and Catarauqui, Messrs. Doty and Stuart, who had not been appointed to their charges by the government, but had been sent out or accepted by S.P.G. as its missionaries at these places.

33 Previously Lt. Governor of Quebec, 1784-85, who having been dismissed was replaced by Hope.

34 Colonel Henry Caldwell, a Legislative Councillor.

The instructions to the new Governor, to be delivered to him with his new commission, contained directions on ecclesiastical matters which are almost identical in terms with those that had been given to Carleton after the adoption of the Quebec Act in 1775. The only significant change which they embodied in relation to church affairs was the inclusion in the Salary List of the above mentioned provision for the two missionaries. Curiously enough they are referred to in this list as "Ministers of the Church of England settled at Sorel and Cataraqui," whereas the others are referred to as "Ministers of the Protestant Church."

In the same instructions the right to appoint the Protestant Clergy was jealously retained by the Crown. The incumbent had to have the recommendation of the Bishop of London, but the appointment - the final decision - was to be the prerogative of His Majesty, as it had been since the Conquest. It is important to bear this in mind, for it is quite clear that no matter how fully persuaded the Bishop of London might be that an incumbent appointed by Royal Warrant was not discharging his duties, a change, that is a new appointment, could be made only by His Majesty himself. This probably accounts for the fact that despite the unfavourable reports quoted above, de Montmollin was left undisturbed in his tenure as Rector of the Church and Parish at Quebec. This seems a convenient point at which to return to Quebec and to de Montmollin himself.

As has been noted earlier, de Montmollin in October 1774 had bought the property on de Buade Street and some time after had leased the ground floor to Louis Fremont. By his deed of purchase he had undertaken to pay the balance of 2800 shillings in the course of the three years following, with interest at five per cent. The Fremont lease provided only 600 shillings annually, so that it obviously was necessary for de Montmollin himself to provide a good part of the principal and no doubt it was necessary for him to do so out of his annual stipend.

He succeeded in making a payment on account of 720 shillings soon after granting the lease to Fremont, and an acquittance written at the foot of the deed of sale testifies that that amount was paid to the vendors "in the sight and presence of the notary." Then a little over three years later, on June 19th, 1778, a further acquittance records the receipt by Mr. and Mrs. Guicheaux of the remaining balance and interest, paid this time by Pierre Fargues, the merchant, for de Montmollin. It is interesting to observe that in this deed the Guicheaux acknowledge that the payment had been made to them on June 4, so that the formula that the amount was paid "in the sight and presence of the notary" was not used.

The exact location of the de Buade Street property is not indicated by the deed to de Montmollin. The description it contained is admirably clear, but apart from indicating that the property fronted both on de Buade and Ste. Anne Streets, it does not establish just where the property was in relation to the nearest cross streets. Happily, further information in the form of a plan makes it possible to determine where the property was situated. In 1782, Jacques Denechaud, one of the churchwardens of Quebec - a Roman Catholic of course - prepared a most interesting plan which shows the various streets and thoroughfares - de Buade, du Tresor, des Jardins and the Place du Marche - and an elevation of the buildings - residences, convent and churches - which fronted on them. Then, on the



Photograph by Author

*The de Montmollin residence on de Buade Street in Quebec is still in constant use. In 1992, it was being renovated as a store.*

roofs is written the name of the owner or the designation of the building itself. This plan shows that de Montmollin's property was the most important in the block between du Tresor and des Jardins Streets, and looked over the market square and the church which is now the Basilica.\*\*

A coloured print of Quebec in 1832 shows the building still standing, easily recognized by the shallower, almost square windows of its third storey; and the census of Roman Catholic parishioners, made in 1792, shows the house to be No. 10 and records the presence of three domestics in the service of "Mr. Montmollin," all of them "communicants."

Not long after de Montmollin discharged his debt to the Guicheaux, the new Governor General, Frederick Haldimand, reached Quebec. De Montmollin must have had somewhat mixed feelings at the time. Though Carleton, who had been knighted in recognition of his distinguished service in the defence of Quebec against the Americans, had steadfastly refused to hand over the Recollet Church to him, de Montmollin had christened two of the Governor's children, and Carleton seems to have manifested a certain sympathy for the minister. His departure must have been a cause of regret for de Montmollin and many others who knew him, but the arrival of Haldimand must have been a source of pleasure, for he too was a native of Switzerland.

Haldimand was also a contemporary of de Montmollin having been born on August 11th, 1718, at Yverdun in the canton of Neuchatel, about 10 miles away from Neuchatel itself. He had been a professional soldier having served in the Sardinian, the Prussian and the Dutch armies before joining the British. After distinguished service in Florida, New York and Canada, he had been promoted to the rank of General in America on January 1st, 1776, and then during a visit to Europe in the following year while at Yverdun had been offered and had accepted the position of Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Canada.

Though Haldimand left a voluminous correspondence, occupying more than 200 volumes in the national archives, the only reference to de Montmollin which they contain is the letter to him from General Gage already mentioned. In consequence there is no record of his relations with de Montmollin and we can only infer that nothing arose that made it necessary for the Governor to communicate with the authorities in London concerning either the Rector or the church which was used by the Protestant community in Quebec.

The records of the notaries who practised in the City of Quebec during the years of de Montmollin's ministry, and later during the years of his retirement, afford some interesting information about him. If the deeds relating to the de Buade Street property are excepted, the first deeds to which he was a party are those executed before Notary Berthelot d'Artigny, in 1781. In May of that year, de Montmollin entered into two transactions. The first was a mortgage loan of 100 pounds which he made to Marie Magdelaine de Gaudin et la Potterie, widow of Francois Clesse, a carpenter, the interest on it being payable at six per cent;

\*\* *Editor's Note.* In 1992 during a visit to Quebec City, I was able to locate the house on De Buade Street and the apartment on Stanislas Court from the descriptions given by Mr. Marler. The dwelling on De Buade Street was being renovated as a shop; and the apartment building on St. Stanislas is still in use as a tenant house. The numbers on De Buade Street have been changed - the de Montmollin residence is now No. 11. RHdM

while the second was the purchase from Robert Willcocks of a parcel of vacant land 146.5 feet in width on St. Louis Street. Unfortunately the latter deed is not to be found in the notary's records, so that it is not known what price de Montmollin paid or undertook to pay for it.

A year later de Montmollin made another loan, this time to Noel Vezina, who undertook to reimburse 25 pounds currency of the Province, the equivalent of *six huit Guinees et deux portugaises, comptees nombrees et reellement delivrees, a sue et en presence des notaries*. The value of the guinea appears to have varied; the *portugaises* were probably the Johannes of Portugal which had a value of four pounds, Canada currency.

In each of the three transactions noted above, de Montmollin was paying out money, either as a lender or as a buyer, and it may be inferred that the aggregate amount involved was not very large. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find him as the borrower of rather substantial amounts in the transactions which next followed. In June 1783, de Montmollin borrowed 300 pounds from John Saul, a master baker<sup>35</sup>, giving as security a first hypothec (or mortgage) on his de Buade Street property, and obliging himself to repay it in three years "in gold or in silver notwithstanding any change on money whatever." Then just a few months later, he borrowed a further 300 pounds from William Brown, a printer, promising to repay it less than a year later and mortgaging as security both the de Buade Street property and the vacant land on St. Louis Street, which latter property was free of all encumbrances except the *lods et ventes* - a mutation fee - on the purchase price. In the second transaction, Mrs. de Montmollin obliged herself jointly and severally with her husband for the repayment of the loan, and the deed contains their declaration that the money was to be used for "their particular affairs."

What was the purpose for which these loans were effected? It can only be assumed that de Montmollin and his wife undertook these obligations in order to establish in business their two sons, Frederick and Samuel, who at this time must have been about 20 and 18 years of age respectively. Though it is not certain that the young men had engaged in business as early as the end of 1783, it is a fact that less than four years later they were parties to a contract before Nicolas Pinguet, the Notary, (on April 2nd, 1787) under which Pierre Edouard Debarats, a merchant of Quebec, acting for himself and his father who lived in Three Rivers, acknowledged to owe to Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin, described as "traders," 714 pounds 14 shillings 5 1/2 pence, the value of goods supplied by them.

It may be inferred that de Montmollin's two sons achieved some success in their endeavours, for the loans from Brown and Saul were duly repaid.

In the summer of 1784, two events occurred which ought to be noted. On June 12th, after a passage which lasted eight weeks, the Rev. John Doty returned to Quebec. As, however, his destination was Sorel, his arrival would scarcely have caused de Montmollin any anxiety. Indeed his stay was of short duration, for, having presented to Governor Haldimand a letter from Dr. Morice of the S.P.G.

35 Saul had been, with Mrs. de Montmollin, a god-parent of the school master's son.

confirming his appointment as the Society's missionary at Sorel, he was permitted by the Governor to continue on his journey.

Doty, writing on September 30th to report his safe arrival and to tell of the state of affairs in Sorel, advised Dr. Morice that he was paying 4 pence a quart for milk, a shilling a pound for butter, 3 to 6 pence for meat. In common with the Loyalists, he added, he was drawing provisions from the King's stores; otherwise the cost of living would be beyond his purse.

Later, in September, Governor Haldimand was advised by the Rev. Lewis Guerry that he had obtained from the King permission to exchange his benefice in Canada with the Reverend Philip Toosey whom the King had had the goodness to name in his place.<sup>36</sup> Toosey was not able to come at once, and wrote in June to the Governor saying that he could not sail for Quebec till the following spring, and asking if a church would be built.<sup>37</sup> These letters from Guerry and Toosey reached the Governor towards the middle of September - that from Guerry written from Stoke Prior in England on April 24th is endorsed "Recd 16 Sep." - and not long before Haldimand's impending departure for England. There is no record of any action taken by Haldimand, and it may be assumed that, having become accustomed to the absence from Canada of Mr. Guerry and other holders of appointments within the gift of the Crown, he did not consider it necessary to determine what Mr. Toosey would do when and if he arrived, or where he would do it. Nor is it possible to ascertain whether de Montmollin became aware of the exchange of benefices and the possibility that Mr. Toosey would come to Quebec.

Though the event has no real significance, it is of interest to record at this point that when the Hon. Thomas Dunn, a prominent merchant and a member of the Executive Council of the Province, was leaving for England a letter was presented to him. Dated 15th June 1785, it reads as follows:

As we understand your affairs call you to England in a short time, permit us to assure you of our sincere good wishes for your health and safety, during your absence from us.

The justice and moderation, with which you have fill'd the most respectable Offices, during your long residence in this country have justly secured to you our lasting esteem and veneration.

Your conduct on all occasions, whether in a public or private capacity, has manifested the Man of sound wisdom, rectitude and benevolence; and the goodness of your heart has been universally felt, by the kindest offices of friendship and humanity.

Our minds being strongly impressed with the sincerest sentiments of attachment and esteem for you, we cannot help lamenting your departure, which will be felt and regretted as a public loss; and we beg leave to assure you, that we shall consider your return as a blessing restored to this Province.

We sincerely wish you a happy voyage to England, where, we flatter ourselves, your well known virtues and long services will procure you a cordial reception.

To the Hon. Thomas Dunn, Esq., Québec.

This letter, published in the *Quebec Gazette* of June 23rd, 1785, was signed by 135 persons, including de Montmollin, John Renaud, and John Frederic de

36 P.A.C. - Haldimand B75-2, p. 82.

37 P.A.C. - Haldimand B75-2, p. 114.

Montmollin, their signatures being grouped together. The signature of John Samuel de Montmollin does not appear, probably because he had not attained 21 years of age.

In July of the same year, de Montmollin visited "Mal Bay" and St. Paul's Bay in order to baptize three children. The first baptism was performed on July 14th, 1785, at Mal Bay where de Montmollin christened the natural daughter of John Nairne, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 53rd Regiment<sup>38</sup>, the god-parents being Malcolm Fraser, Captain of the 84th Regiment, and Magdalene Nairne, the sister of the child.

It would seem that Captain Fraser had made the arrangements for de Montmollin's visit, for three days later, on July 17th, the Rector christened two of the children of George Chaperon at St. Paul's Bay, and Malcolm Fraser was god-father to both of them.

At the end of July, the Rev. Philip Toosey and his family arrived at Quebec, from London, on the ship *Charlotte* after a voyage of fifty-five days. According to the Rev. H. C. Stuart<sup>39</sup>:

As Mr. Doty had been appointed to Sorel, and there were no vacancies in any of the parishes, and no new ones ready to be established, it was arranged that Mr. Toosey should take up some English work at Quebec. We have no means of knowing whether Mr. de Montmollin still declined to receive assistance from English clergymen; but we do not find Mr. Toosey's name in the Quebec parish register until 1789.<sup>40</sup>

This account and the fact that Toosey's register opens only in 1789 strongly suggest that de Montmollin's attitude towards Toosey was the same as it had been in the case of Lewis Guerry, who simply was not wanted.

Reference has already been made to the appointment of Sir Guy Carleton as Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of Quebec and to the instructions given him. Just before leaving England, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Dorchester, and after a long voyage reached Quebec on October 23rd, 1786. The new Governor was accompanied by William Smith, who had formerly been Chief Justice in the Province of New York, and who was to be the new Chief Justice of Quebec.

Up to this time, the Crown, as the Supreme Head of the Church on earth within the British Dominions, had reserved to itself the exclusive prerogative of appointing the clergy to serve in Canada, and no bishop had been appointed. On August 1st, 1787, the King constituted the Province of Nova Scotia to be a Bishop's See to be called the Bishopric of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, and appointed Dr. Charles Inglis to be Bishop thereof. The Bishop was to be subordinate to the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the same manner as the English Bishops of the Province of Canterbury. The King notified the Archbishop that the See of Nova Scotia had been founded and that Dr. Inglis had been appointed thereto, and required the Archbishop to consecrate Charles Inglis Bishop of Nova Scotia.

<sup>38</sup> John Nairne participated in the siege and capture of Quebec under Wolfe.

<sup>39</sup> Author of *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*.

<sup>40</sup> Indeed the first entry in Toosey's Register is a baptism performed on July 10th, 1789.

On the same date Bishop Inglis was, by a further commission, authorized to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick and the Island of Newfoundland, to institute clergymen to the benefices, to license curates, to appoint Commissaries to perform these functions, etc.

In consequence of the Bishop's appointment new instructions dated August 25th, 1787, were sent to Lord Dorchester, advising that the Bishop had been granted full power and authority to exercise "Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction" in Quebec, New Brunswick and Newfoundland, enjoining the Governor to give "all fit support and countenance" to the Bishop, and forwarding copies of his commissions for registration in the public records of the provinces. The same instructions expressly reserved to the Governor and to all others, to whom it might lawfully belong, the "Patronage and Right of Presentation to benefices" but the person so presented was to be instituted by the Bishop or his Commissary.

Following the receipt of these instructions, and presumably in response to a request for information, Lord Dorchester reported fully on October 24th, 1787. His letter<sup>41</sup> to Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for the Home Department, reads as follows:

Quebec 24th October 1787

My Lord -

I inclose a List of the Protestant Clergy in this Province upon which Your Lordship will perceive two Names with Salaries of 50 pounds a year besides the six whose Salaries are stated in the 61st Article of His Majesty's Instructions -

I found it Advisable so far to comply with the repeated Applications of the Numerous Settlements of loyalists at late New Oswegatchie, and Cornwall late New Johnstown, (where these Gentlemen are stationed) as to make these allowances towards enabling them to Maintain a Clergyman at each of those places, informing them at the same time, that they Must Consider it only as a temporary bounty of Government in consideration of the infant state of their Settlements, a Continuance of which ought to be expected no longer, than their own inability could justify the necessity of such a charge upon the Mother Country -

Mr. Bethune formerly was Chaplain to the 84th regiment, and I understand it was General Haldimand's intention to appoint Mr. Bryan Chaplain to a Corps commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Jessup. They are both gentlemen of good character, and entitled to attention as loyalists, who have suffered much by the late War -

Mr. Bethune's being a Member of the Church of Scotland which I apprehend not be deemed as an objection, as the Settlement, in which he officiates, is composed of people of that Church, who particularly solicited his appointment from Personal Attachment and confidence.

Mr. Langhorne has been sent out this Summer, as a Missionary to the second or third township near Cataragui, with an allowance of 50 pounds from the Society for Propagating the Gospel.

Besides these, there are two Persons in the Province, who profess themselves Clergymen of the Episcopal Church, one a Mr. Scott who formerly Acted as Deputy Chaplain to the 34th Regiment, and now officiates to a small number of persons at William Henry at Sorel, who support him by private subscriptions; the other a Mr. Lucas, said to be son to the late Mr. Lucas of the living of Newry in Ireland, who came into the Province this Summer without any introduction, or fixed design, and is, as far as I know not resident at any particular place. Neither of these have Allowances from Governments, and are both represented to me in a manner to remove all idea of placing them, though there have been several Applications

41 This letter is found in Public Archives of Canada Q. 28, pp. 161-4.

from the New Settlements for Clergymen of the Church of England. It has been particularly said of Mr. Scott that he is of a turbulent, unprincipled character, and causes much uneasiness and dissent in the settlement, where he resides.

As I am on this subject I cannot pass in silence the exemplary manners, discretion, and abilities of Mr. Toosey, whom I therefore recommend as deserving Your Lordship's Notice.<sup>42</sup>

I also inclose a List of the Protestant School Masters in the Province, with the Salaries they receive from Government, and have only to add, that many Urgent Applications have been made for more, and that the want of proper instructors is no small Misfortune.

I am with much respect and Esteem

Your Lordship's Most obedient, and Most humble servant  
DORCHESTER

The Right Honble. Lord Sydney

Endorsed - Quebec 24th Oct. 1787 No. 42 (one enclosure)

A List of the Protestant Clergy in Canada

Episcopal	Salary per Annum
1. The Revd. D. Charbrand De Lisle at Montreal	200 pounds
2. D. Francis de Montmollin at Quebec	200 pounds
3. J. B. Leger Veysièrre at Three Rivers	200 pounds
4. Phillip Toosey	200 pounds
5. John Doty at Sorel now Wm. Henry	100 pounds
6. John Stuart at Cataraqui now Kingston	100 pounds
7. Bryan at New Johnstown now Cornwall	50 pounds
8. John Langhorne 2d or 3d Township near Cataraqui, Missionary with a Salary of 50 pounds	

Church of Scotland

9. The Revd. Mr. Henry		
10. - - Mr. Keith		- at Quebec 50 pounds
11. - - Mr. Sparks		TOTAL 1100 POUNDS
12. Mr. Bethune at Oswegatchi		

The Governor also wrote Dr. Inglis to express approval of the Bishop's appointment, whereupon the Bishop replied (December 27th, 1787) acknowledging the letter and advising that he would visit Canada when the Governor so directed. The Bishop pointed out that it was only accessible to him by water. He also asked the Governor to select a suitable clergyman in Canada for the Bishop's commissary in case Mr. Mongan (who had been expected to go to Canada) did not go out. He added that he desired Lord Dorchester's advice concerning the steps that would be most conducive to the promotion of religion in the Province of Quebec.

Communications between Halifax and Quebec were very difficult and letters took a long time by land express to reach their destination. Thus on February 22nd, 1788, the Bishop acknowledged the receipt of the Governor's letter written on November 2rd, 1787; on April 5th, 1788, the receipt of a letter written on January 9th, 1788; and on May 20th, 1788, a letter of March 27th.

From the exchange of letters it appears that it had been expected that Mr. Mongan would go to Quebec in the spring of 1788, but instead he went to Ireland.

42 The clear implication of the words "whom I recommend as deserving Your Lordship's Notice" is that Toosey had not been appointed to any particular benefice, which was something the Governor did not desire to do himself. Toosey was well-known to the Governor, as for a time he acted as tutor to Lord Dorchester's children.

Accordingly in his letter of April 5th, the Bishop again asked the Governor "to suggest the name of a clergyman to be Rector and Commissary of Quebec in place of Mr. Mongan."

The Governor had already, on March 27th, sent the Bishop a list of clergymen and school masters of the Province, but seems to have expressed no opinions on the merits of the clergymen. This led the Bishop to write again to the Governor. In his letter of May 20th, 1788, the Bishop said that he was anxious to have a respectable clergyman at Quebec and to know if the Governor thought Mr. Toosey was qualified for that station and to be Commissary of the Bishop. He expressed the view that the clergymen of the City of Quebec should understand French, classical learning, church history, the Fathers and the Popish controversy. Prudence and other virtues are necessary; and, he added, if Mr. Toosey were not qualified, a proper person might be found by the Archbishop who was ready to promote religion and literature in the country.

The Governor's reply was sent on July 26th. No copy of it is available but the Bishop's own correspondence gives a good idea of its contents. Writing some months later, on November 6th, to Dr. Morice of the S.P.G., the Bishop says:

Lord Dorchester in a letter dated July 28th, informs me that Mr. Tunstall, a young clergyman, is arrived at Quebec, with an appointment from the Society - that the Society had suggested to his L<sup>p</sup> whether Mr. Tunstall might not be employed at Montreal, in the stead of Mr. De Lisle, and Mr. Toosey at Quebec in the place of Mr. de Montmollin; and whether they might not have some allowance from the present incumbents; and his L<sup>p</sup> referred the adjustment of these matters to me.<sup>43</sup>

The Bishop's reply<sup>44</sup> to the Governor, written on September 18th, 1788, expressed pleasure that "Mr. Toosey's character is so respectable," and adds that he will have no objection to appointing him his Commissary, but before doing so will await meeting the Governor and consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury. The rest of the Bishop's letter is interesting. He describes the introduction of foreign clergymen into Quebec as an "ill-judged measure" which had had "a very unhappy effect on our Church;" and he continues:

I had much conversation on the subject with the A.B. of Canterbury; he lamented the case and mentioned the expedient which he has proposed to your Lordship, as most eligible to obviate the evil, and am glad to find that by the arrival of Mr. Tunstall, the design may be carried into effect at Montreal; as is done already in the City of Quebec by Mr. Toosey. I have had no late communications from the Archbishop or Society about this business; they probably judged it sufficient to inform your Lordship of it who are on the spot; and I also apprehend that they wished to consult you and have your opinion of the measure before anything decisive was done.

It is not easy at this distance to form a clear judgment of every minute circumstance that may occur in arrangements of this kind. I shall take the liberty to mention what appears to be the most advisable; submitting the whole however to your Lordship's better judgment and information.

Mr. Montmollin's advanced age calls for some respite from the fatigue of parochial duties; for this and other "causes which render him incompetent for the satisfactory performance of his duty," as the Society observes, I apprehend therefore that Mr. Toosey should take on him the charge of the congregation in the City of Quebec, and succeed Mr. Montmollin. It is reasonable that the latter should make some allowance out of his salary for Mr. Toosey, who

43 P.A.C. - Correspondence of Charles Inglis - Vol. I, p. 100.

44 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 23.

is to do the whole duty; yet what part of his salary should be allowed, I am not competent to judge, being unacquainted with circumstances which should determine the proportion. The sum of 50 pounds a year seems reasonable, if Mr. Montmollin's circumstances will [permit].

The same reasons will apply to Mr. De Lisle at Montreal as in the former case, but with this difference, that Mr. De Lisle as he informs me, preaches frequently in French to a number of German Protestants, to whom the language is more familiar than English. If this be still the case, perhaps it would be best for Mr. De Lisle to continue his ministrations to those people in French; and that Mr. Tunstall should officiate in English to those who understand that language; and it appears right some allowance should be made to him out of Mr. De Lisle's salary. This arrangement, I presume, would meet the ideas of the Archbishop and the Society, who have mentioned it to your Lordship for this further reason, besides those already specified - that your Lordship only has authority to interfere in the division of those salaries.

If this scheme is approved of by your L<sup>p</sup>, and you will be pleased to signify to me, I shall willingly write to the several parties concerned on the subject. One thing seems to be agreed on by all that Messrs. Montmollin and De Lisle's bad pronunciation of English is very disgusting, and is injurious to the cause of religion. The scheme now under consideration, is designed to remove the inconvenience; should your L<sup>p</sup> think it a proper one, (and of this, you, who are on the spot, must be the best judge) I request that your Lordship would be pleased to give such directions as you deem necessary, and I shall cheerfully concur in whatever you think is best. If your Lordship approves this scheme (which is entirely submitted, as was said above, to your judgment) I would be pleased to give such directions as your Lordship thinks necessary for the purpose.

Further light on the Bishop's views is shed by his letter to Dr. Morice of November 6<sup>th</sup>. Having given the substance of Lord Dorchester's letter of July 28<sup>th</sup>, the Bishop goes on:

I candidly told his L<sup>p</sup> that I had received no communications on the subject - that the plan appeared to be a very proper one, and was intended to obviate the objections to Mr. De Lisle and Mr. Montmollin on account of their bad pronunciation of our language, to say nothing of their advanced age which called for some respite from the labours of their profession. That if Mr. Toosey and Mr. Tunstall did the whole parochial duty for these gentlemen, it was reasonable the latter should make some allowance to them; but that I could not decide what the sum should be, as it depended on circumstances with which I was not acquainted. That if this scheme were adopted, it would be best, notwithstanding, to let Mr. De Lisle continue his ministrations in French to a number of Hessians, who after called on him for the purpose. That I referred the business to his L<sup>p</sup>, as the Society had done, for this among other reasons, that he only had authority to assign any part of these clergymen's salaries for the proposed purpose, and knew best what proportion should be assigned, and that if his L<sup>p</sup> would be pleased to signify to me his determination, I would readily concur, and do whatever he thought would be proper on the occasion.<sup>45</sup>

The final letter from Bishop Inglis in this exchange of correspondence appears to be that of December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1788. In this the Bishop expressed his intention of visiting Quebec in the following summer, unless the Governor would then be absent, in which case "the intention and design of my going would in that case be frustrated in a great degree." As the Governor seems to have avoided expressing any opinion of his own concerning the clergy at Quebec and Montreal, the Bishop again sought his views:

Your L<sup>p</sup> would also oblige me by letting me know your sentiments about fixing Mr. Toosey at Quebec, and Mr. Tunstall at Montreal; and of the allowance that should be made to them by the present incumbents of these places, when these gentlemen do the whole of the clerical duty. I am so little acquainted with the state of persons and things there, that I am afraid of taking a step, which may be wrong; and doing nothing is better than doing amiss.

45 P.A.C. - Charles Inglis Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 107-108.

Besides, an attempt to exert authority would without power to support this attempt be rather awkward. For these reasons I wish to have your L<sup>p</sup>'s opinion, and then I can proceed on sure ground. I shall readily conform to whatever you think is best, and write accordingly to all parties. The delicacy which your L<sup>p</sup> shows about interfering, serves only to make me rely more on your judgment, and to raise you still higher if possible in my estimation.<sup>46</sup>

There is no record of Dorchester's reply, but it must be assumed - whatever he may have said about ecclesiastical affairs - that he told the Bishop he would be in Quebec during the summer and to come upon his visitation, for on May 12th, 1789, the Bishop embarked on board the *Dido*, a frigate of 28 guns, and on the following morning sailed for Quebec.

After stopping more than a day at Charlottetown, the *Dido* came to anchor off Quebec on Tuesday, June 9th.

*The Quebec Gazette* of Thursday, June 11th, 1789, gives the following account of the Bishop's arrival:

Tuesday afternoon arrived from Halifax, last from the Island of St. John<sup>47</sup>, his Majesty's Frigate *Dido*, Charles Sandys, Esq., Commander. In her came the Right Reverend Father-in-God CHARLES, Bishop of Nova Scotia. Yesterday forenoon the Bishop left the *Dido*, accompanied by Captain Sandys, under a salute of eleven guns, and was received on shore by Colonel Davies, Commander of the Garrison, and several other officers, the Reverend Mr. de Montmollin, Rector, and the Reverend Mr. Toosey, Minister of the Church in this city, and several respectable citizens.

The Bishop records the same event in his Diary, mentioning that he had gone on shore with Capt. Sandys in his barge, and adding:

Waited on Lord Dorchester and had much conversation with him. He invited Cap<sup>t</sup> Sandys and me to dine with him next day in the Country. Looked out for lodgings. Several appeared bad, and at last fixed at Mr. Frank's.<sup>48</sup> Even these lodgings appeared very indifferent. Agreed for them at 8 dollars per month. Dined with Col. Davis.

The Bishop then returned to the *Dido* and as the following day was very wet and stormy, he sent an excuse to the Governor and remained on board. The following day he went ashore expecting to find his lodgings ready but they were "wet and unfit for going into," so he again returned to the ship. Finally they were ready on Saturday, and the Bishop after dining at Mr. Toosey's spent his first night in his lodgings.

Of the Sunday, the Bishop's Diary records:

Preached in Recollet Church to a crowded audience. Mr. Montmollin read prayers. In the afternoon, Mr. Montmollin preached and Mr. Toosey read prayers. This is the first time Divine Service was solemnized in the City of Quebec in the afternoon. Dined at my lodgings.

What followed is best described in the Bishop's own words recorded in his Diary:

Monday, June 15th, 1789. Visited by several gentlemen. As there were no Church wardens nor Vestry to consult with about the state of the Church, I requested several of the principal inhabitants to meet me on the following Wednesday, that I might have their advice and receive information from them. Dined ... at the Mess of the 53rd Regiment.

46 P.A.C. - Correspondence of Charles Inglis, Vol. I, p. 128.

47 The name by which Prince Edward Island was then known.

48 Probably at No. 2 de Buade Street where Franks had his tavern and only a few doors away from de Montmollin's house.

Wednesday, June 17th, 1789. The following gentlemen met at my lodgings, viz., Col. Caldwell, Mr. Collins, Mr. Dunn, Mr. Alsopp, Mr. Ogden, who informed me of the deplorable state of the Church of England, having no place of worship, but at the French Churches by permission of the owners, and unable to build one. After much conversation, they requested me to wait on Lord Dorchester to beg his advice and concurrence in procuring the exclusive use of the Recollet Church, of making compensation to the Recollet Friars, three in number. I immediately waited on his Lordship, who informed it was impracticable to obtain the Church. Dined with Col. Caldwell.

Though it is not relevant to the subject of de Montmollin, it is of some interest to note part of the next entry in the Diary:

Thursday, June 18th, 1789. Being the day appointed for rejoicings on account of the King's recovery, there was a public dinner at Lord Dorchester's, where I dined. There was a rout in the evening, when company of both sexes attended. The Canadian Ladies and Gentlemen dressed in the English mode; and this was the only sign that yet appeared of my being in an English City, besides the appearance of the Garrison. For the Canadians who are here 5 to 1, have all the Churches, and are French as much as when they were conquered. etc., etc.

On the following day the Bishop waited on the Governor by appointment and they had a conference of two hours on the state of religion and literature in the Province, and the means of promoting them. The Diary continues:

... We had some warm altercations which, however ended amicably. His disposition is generous and his principles liberal; these perhaps are carried to excess so as to make too little distinction between the National Church and other denominations. ... The Chief Justice<sup>49</sup> is a Presbyterian, and being confidential with his Lordship, and his prime minister, as it were, hence a predilection in favour of Dissenters. ... We differed most about a Church in Quebec. Church-people have the use of the Recollet Church in the Forenoon, upon sufferance; and they can have the entire use of a small Chapel in the Bishop's Palace<sup>50</sup>, which is rented by the Crown, but the Courts of Justice sit in the Chapel. His Lordship affirmed from hence that Church people had two Churches; whereas I denied that they had any, and declared my opinion that the Church could never flourish here, unless there was a decent place of worship appropriated to divine service, which the national credit also seemed to require. The chapel in the palace is too small for the congregation, and the people can have no pews in the Recollet Church. Their books, seats, chairs, etc., must all be brought after mass is over and removed again when the Sermon is ended. Hence confusion is unavoidable and the people are put to much trouble. These circumstances are very unfavourable to devotion and order. Should the Church people conclude to build a Church, his Lordship promised to give any lot of ground that belonged to the King, and also any timber that could be spared from public use ...

On the following Sunday, June 21st, the Bishop preached, as he recorded, "to a large audience in the Recollet Church."

The Recollets as well as Lord Dorchester, according to the Bishop, were averse to it being used in the afternoon, so the Bishop directed that divine service be performed in the Bishop's Chapel, in the afternoon, and to continue so thereafter. Mr. Toosey preached. During the next two days the Bishop again met the gentlemen who had wished him to present the request to the Governor and informed them of his answer. They agreed to request him to grant a vacant piece of land opposite the old prison, and after the Bishop had examined it, he mentioned it at dinner the following evening to his Lordship.

49 William Smith, mentioned earlier as having accompanied the Governor to Quebec.

50 At the top of Mountain Hill leading to uppertown of Quebec.

On the following day, Wednesday, June 24th, the Bishop had what appears to have been his first discussion with de Montmollin. His Diary records:

... Informed Mr. Montmollin that it was the Society's wish that he should have a respite, at his advanced age<sup>51</sup>, from the labours of his function, and have the English congregation of Quebec committed to an English Clergyman. That he might still officiate in French, if there was a necessity as was originally designed; or he might retire whenever he chose, and enjoy his salary, if there was no occasion for preaching in French. That no disrespect or injury was intended for him, but that his Grace of Canterbury had intimated the step to Lord Dorchester. Mr. Montmollin seemed to acquiesce with some reluctance, and I desired him to reflect on the business till I returned from Montreal; for which place I set out at 2 o'clock, P.M. . . .

The Bishop's Diary gives an interesting account of his trip to Montreal, and an excellent idea of the means of communication between Quebec and Montreal. He was absent from Quebec for more than three weeks, and had the opportunity of hearing Mr. Veysiere. Of him the Bishop wrote: "Mr. Veysiere read prayers but I could scarcely understand him." On the following Sunday, he listened to Mr. De Lisle read prayers and preach, and noted in his Diary: "I could scarcely understand him, though he speaks and reads English much better than Messrs. Montmollin or Veysiere, and his character is more respectable."

The Bishop returned to Quebec in the evening of Saturday July 18th, and heard both Mr. Toosey and Mr. Montmollin preach on the following day, being much too fatigued to preach himself. The next day he took advantage of the offer made by the Hon. Hugh Finlay and moved to his house. This gave the Bishop the opportunity of telling Mr. Finlay of his intention to appoint Toosey to officiate for the Congregation, and on the following day of carrying on a similar conversation with George Alsopp, a former Legislative Councillor, and also with Colonel Caldwell.

The Bishop dined with de Montmollin on the succeeding Sunday, but his Diary makes no mention of the conversation between them. The next entry that refers to de Montmollin is for Tuesday, July 28th:

... Afterwards<sup>52</sup> I met several gentlemen of the Church of England about building a Church. Much backwardness appeared. They represented it as the unanimous desire of the Congregation that an English Minister should be fixed here. One said he would not subscribe to a Church if Mr. Montmollin was continued. Another said it was a punishment to him to hear Mr. Montmollin, etc., etc. Agreed finally to have a subscription opened for a Church, and that notice be given next Sunday for the Congregation to meet in the Chapel at 11 o'clock; the following Tuesday to chuse *(sic)* parish Officers to serve till Easter. My servant, Thomas Robertson, misbehaved, got drunk and absented himself this day. Dined with the Baron Club.

The Bishop waited on the Governor later in the same week and discussed the question of the Church at Montreal. They also talked of de Montmollin, the Diary relates:

... I also enquired whether he approved of having the congregation committed to Mr. Toosey, instead of Mr. Montmollin, and told him that this appeared to be the general wish of the people. His answer was that he entirely approved of it. [ . . . ]

51 He was then 68 years of age.

52 That is, after he had been elected an honorary member of the Society for promoting Agriculture.

Up to this time, the Bishop had not resumed his earlier conversation with de Montmollin, but he did so on Friday, July 31st.

Spoke this morning to Mr. Montmollin about this step. At first he seemed to be refractory and to moan, but on resolutely telling him that I would do my duty, that things must be brought to their original state and design, which was that he should preach in French, he seemed to be more calm. I endeavoured to soften matters as much and hurt his feelings as little as I could. He finally acquiesced. This was a disagreeable scene. Mr. Montmollin was Minister here for 21 years. He had some zeal and his moral character was pretty fair, but he did not understand the discipline or usage of our Church. He could not pronounce, nor did he understand English. His mind was sordid, his manners uncouth and his address mean and disgusting. . . .

On the morrow, the Bishop met both de Montmollin and Toosey to acquaint them, when together, that the English congregation would be committed to Toosey, and exhorted them to "mutual peace and brotherly love." On Tuesday of the following week the meeting to "chuse" the churchwardens and vestrymen was held - the first in the parish - and 150 pounds was subscribed for building a church.

The so-called "Visitation" was held on the following day, and attended by the eight clergymen including the Rev. John Stuart from Kingston and the Rev. John Langhorne of Ernest and Frederickburgh. The Visitation continued on the four succeeding days, on each of which Divine Service was solemnized, and a sermon preached in the Recollet Church by one of the clergymen.

The final entry in the Diary concerning de Montmollin is that of Monday, August 17th:

Gave a certificate to Mr. Montmollin that the appointment of Mr. Toosey to be the English Minister, was not owing to any irregularity of conduct, or immorality in Mr. Montmollin, who was a Clergyman of good abilities and fair character, but to the expediency of the English Congregation, now increased, to have a preacher that spoke English, as his native language, and that Mr. Montmollin was still to officiate in French as originally designed, if found necessary. . . .

On the same day, at 1 o'clock, a number of gentlemen assembled at the Bishop's lodgings and accompanied him to the Beach. He went aboard the *Weazle* (so spelled) which fired a salute, and at half past 3 o'clock the vessel weighed anchor and sailed for Halifax.

It was August 26th, when the *Weazle* arrived in Halifax to return the Bishop in health and safety. On the following day - in order to send his letter by a ship just sailing for London - he wrote to his Grace of Canterbury a full and detailed account of his visit to the City and Province of Quebec. In this letter, Bishop Inglis described, in much the same terms as he had used in his Diary, the conditions he had found in the course of his travels. His remarks concerning de Montmollin were no more favourable than those recorded in his Diary. He began his letter with the statement that he had arrived the previous day from Quebec, "where the state of things is complicated. It is a colony with an English Garrison." The Canadians were to the English as five to one and enjoyed religious privileges. Their customs, manners and language all seemed as much detached from the English as the day after conquest.

Then he continued:

On the other hand the English were few in number, had no church appropriated to their worship. Divine Service was solemnized in the forenoon only at the church belonging to the Recollets; when the Roman Catholics had performed their devotions there, the English had their pews, benches and seats to set up, for all these were movable, and actually were removed the moment that Divine Service is ended; their books also were to be distributed. It is needless to say that all this must be attended with great inconvenience and confusion, not to mention the degrading situation of the Congregation thus circumstanced. The officiating Clergyman, Mr. Montmollin, who has been stationed here upwards of 20 years, was a foreigner, spoke very bad English - could scarcely be understood; and although not deficient in abilities, not chargeable with any immorality, yet his address and manners disqualified him for the station, and he seemed utterly unacquainted with the constitution, usages and regulations of our Church. No churchwardens or vestry had been ever chose. The English were a number of detached individuals, wholly unorganized, and without any form of order or Government.

Your Grace can more easily conceive that I can express my feelings at this state of things - tho prepared for it, I was much chagrined to find it worse than I had apprehended. I communicated my uneasiness to Lord Dorchester; and told him if he had a right to command the use of the Recollet Church, I would out of respect for him, officiate in it; but if he had not the right, I could not think of degrading myself so as to be indebted to a few old Friars for the use of a church. His L<sup>p</sup> assured me that he had an undoubted right to the use of the Church, and to a small chapel in the Bishop's palace which was rented by Government, and would hold about 150 people. I then acquiesced; and on Sunday following Mr. Montmollin read prayers and I preached; in the afternoon Mr. Toosey read prayers and Montmollin preached. This was the first time that Evening Prayer had been performed in Quebec. Mr. Montmollin read the service miserably, and I could not understand half of his sermon. Mr. Toosey seldom officiated, for Mr. Montmollin considered him as an intruder, and wished to do everything himself.

As there are no church wardens or vestry, and consequently no fixed and ostensible body to consult, I called the principal gentlemen of the congregation, many of whom were respectable for their rank, abilities and property; that I might have their advice how to proceed, the utmost caution being necessary on my part. They met, I desired them to speak their sentiments freely, fully and candidly, and not confine themselves to obscure hints, which I found was too much the case hitherto, and that I would do the utmost of my power to second their reasonable wishes. This had the desired effect; they appeared sensible of their wretched situation; expressed their dislike of Mr. Montmollin, and wished for an English preacher. They finally requested me to wait on Lord Dorchester in their name, to know whether some agreement could not be made with the few Recollets (only three) so that the English might have the exclusive right of their Church, or some other church that was large enough for the Congregation. I accordingly stated the matter to L<sup>d</sup> Dorchester. The purport of his answer was - that if the Church had been demanded just after the conquest, it would have been given up without murmuring; but after 30 years possession, it would be deemed an act of violence to take it from them. That even now they would acquiesce were he to issue an order for the purpose, the order would be obeyed; but as the Roman Catholics claimed that Church, which was built by the public, and alleged they wanted it, it would be improper to use coercive measures.

On this subject of a church, I had some warm altercation with his L<sup>p</sup>, both now and afterwards; but it always ended amicably. He is a most worthy exemplary man; and it gave me pain to say anything that would hurt him; but I was determined to do my duty; and it is an invariable maxim with me, that when a man is in the line of his duty, and aims at that only, he should fear nothing. Finding that it would be more agreeable to his L<sup>p</sup> to have Evening Service performed in the Bishop's Chapel than in the Recollet Church, I gave directions accordingly - by giving way in small matters, I would have a better right to insist on matters of moment.

I immediately called the gentlemen of the congregation together and reported L. D.'s answer. I told them there appeared no prospect of obtaining a church; and therefore it only remained for them to try their strength in building one. They alleged their utter inability. This indeed was too evident but I judged it best to push the matter to an issue, and when it

failed, some other ground must be taken. They finally agreed to make the attempt; and a vacant spot (the only one remaining in the City) was pitched on, and surveyed the next day. Even this scheme, hopeless as it was, spread a gleam of joy over every English countenance; and I left the matter to work its way for the present.

It being now time to begin my tour of Montreal, distant 180 miles, I set out June 24th, after informing Mr. Montmollin that it was the Society's wish as well as Lord Dorchester's and the Congregation's, that an English preacher might be settled at Quebec. He appeared restif at first, and a good deal chagrined; I spoke in the softest manner, and avoided every expression that would hurt his feelings; and seeing I was determined, he finally acquiesced. I then proceeded to Three Rivers, 90 miles.

Then, after having told of his experiences at Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal, the Bishop continued:

Mr. De Lisle, the clergyman stationed here, is a sensible, well bred man; but speaks English no better than Mr. Montmollin.

The Bishop's recollection of Mr. De Lisle's English does not exactly accord with his impressions as noted in his Diary, where he had written:

Mr. De Lisle read Prayers. In the afternoon he preached. I could scarcely understand him, though he speaks and reads English much better than Messrs. Montmollin or Veyssiere. [ . . . ]

Much of the Bishop's letter to the Archbishop adds little to what was recorded in his Diary, but one phrase confirms the impression that de Montmollin refused assistance from others:

Mr. Toosey seldom officiated, for Mr. Montmollin considered him as an intruder, and wished to do everything himself.

The Bishop's observations concerning de Montmollin seem somewhat unsympathetic. It was certainly no fault of de Montmollin's if his pronunciation of English fell short of what the Bishop considered understandable; and the fact that he had come out to Quebec many years before and had spent over 20 years ministering to an English congregation, without a church that could be called their own, were mitigating factors. Inglis had come to Quebec with the avowed intention of using a part of de Montmollin's stipend to pay Toosey, but if this subject was discussed the Bishop's Diary makes no mention of it. The Governor's more sympathetic understanding of de Montmollin, explains why de Montmollin, even after being reduced in status, continued to draw the stipend of 200 pounds as "French reader and Preacher to the Canadian Protestants at Quebec."

Another and perhaps more disinterested opinion of de Montmollin may here be cited from the de Montmollin Archives in Neuchatel. Writing from London to John Frederick de Montmollin in 1801, a Mr. de Freudenreich said:

I dined the other day with the Chief Justice of Canada, which he had left only a few months ago. He spoke to me with a great deal of interest of a Mr. de Montmollin whom he had well known in that country. He was a most respectable Minister, then 87 years of age and established in Canada for 40 years, where he does a great deal of good and is highly considered. If he is one of your relatives you could easily have news of him, and if he is not you will learn with pleasure that a man of your name is playing such a distinguished part.

In considering de Montmollin's temporal affairs, the transactions he had entered into, presumably for the benefit of his two sons, were referred to. On June 11th, 1788, he undertook to make further efforts both for himself and his three sons. Describing himself as "Rector of the English Church in Quebec and Acting Deputy

Chaplain to the Garrison," de Montmollin addressed a Memorial to the Governor. Nearly the whole of the first page is taken up by large copper-plate lettering giving the titles of the Governor, and the second sets forth that de Montmollin had served the Garrison for above nineteen years past, having a numerous family and begged his Lordship to grant him (on the North side of the Grand River above the Long Sault adjoining the intended grant to be made to Emigrants) 500 acres for himself, 200 for John Frederick de Montmollin, 200 for John Samuel de Montmollin and 200 for Francis Gaudet de Montmollin. This Memorial was referred to the Land Committee by order of His Excellency. By this time Francis would have been in his 19th year; the others would have been between 21 and 25.

Nothing appears to have come from this Memorial.

What might be considered as a further emergency arose later that year. To meet it de Montmollin entered into a somewhat unusual contract with Monsieur Jacques Guichaux, Priest and Curate of the Parish of Ste. Famille of the Island of Orleans - *a constitution de rente* - under which de Montmollin undertook to pay annually *quarante huit livres de vingt cöppres chaque livre*: in consideration of 800 pounds received by him, this to be secured on the de Buade Street property. As he had not yet reimbursed the 200 pounds he owed William Brown, the deed accordingly mentions this as an outstanding encumbrance. Then twelve days later he borrowed a further 50 pounds from John Craigie, the Commissary General, and 100 pounds from Thomas Aston Coffin, the Secretary of the Province, and hypothecated as security both the de Buade property and the vacant lot of St. Louis Street, these sums being repayable in August and December 1789, respectively.

The records of the same notary, Nicolas Pinguet, also include another interesting deed, a sale of moveables from Eustache Boivert to John Samuel de Montmollin. The deed contains a list of the property sold:

A brown and white cow, 5 years old	70 0 0 pounds
A large mirror 3 feet x 2 1/2 feet, with gold frame	36 0 0 pounds
A mirror one foot square with gold frame	8 0 0 pounds
Four wooden tables of pine	24 0 0 pounds
A small desk with four drawers	9 12 0 pounds
A small bureau with four drawers in pine	6 0 0 pounds
Six straw chairs	7 4 0 pounds
Two pair of iron wheels for a carriage	72 0 0 pounds

making a total of 235 pounds, 4 shillings which de Montmollin paid cash in the notary's presence, while the seller merely undertook to deliver the various articles within a year.

Later in the same year, Notary Pinguet received a further deed under which Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin granted a power of attorney in connection with a contract they had made with Debarats in April 1787. What is significant is that whereas that contract had described Frederick as residing in Quebec, the power of attorney mentions him as being absent, which implies that he had left Quebec.

Early in January 1790, another contract, received by Charlestown Stewart - the only English speaking notary then practising in Quebec - gives a better idea of the situation. The parties to it, the Rector, Samuel de Montmollin, described as one of the partners of the firm of Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin, and John Young, one of the partners of Fraser and Young, declared that the partnership of Samuel and Frederick owed to Fraser and Young "under the guarantee of the said Reverend David Francis de Montmollin" for sundry Goods, Wares, and Merchandise sold and delivered to them a certain sum ascertained to be 1555 pounds 19 shillings and three pence currency, which they declared was at present inconvenient for them, the said House or Firm of Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin, to discharge. As security the Rector and his two sons mortgaged all of their property, and the Rector more particularly his properties on de Buade and St. Louis Streets, which were declared to be free of all encumbrances excepting those created on December 18th and 30th, 1788, mentioned earlier. Frederick did not sign the deed being represented by his brother, and it may be inferred that he was still absent.

As will be noted at a later point, the indebtedness to Fraser and Young was paid off with interest. What is of interest here is that the discharge, which was completed before Notary Stewart on November 8th, 1794, after referring to the deed of January 20th, 1790, described the sons as "Messrs. Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin then [emphasis added] of the City of Quebec" which implies that they were no longer of the City of Quebec. So that it seems clear that Samuel, like Frederick, had also gone further afield in the meanwhile.

Though he was still liable as guarantor of the large amount owed by his sons to Fraser and Young, and his property was mortgaged for more than its value, de Montmollin in the autumn of 1792 embarked upon a new undertaking which was intended to improve the fortunes of himself and his three sons. In February of that year, Lord Dorchester had caused a Proclamation to be published holding forth encouragement to all comers to settle the waste lands of the Crown, and in the following September de Montmollin decided to make an application for a large tract of land on the River Becancour, a stream which wanders through the Townships and flows into the St. Lawrence a few miles below Three Rivers.

After noting that de Montmollin had been a resident of the Province for twenty-five years and upwards as Minister of the Protestant English Church in the City and Parish of Quebec and after referring to the proclamation of February 7th, 1792, the Petition - dated September 24th, 1792 - represented that two of the Petitioner's sons "by the connections in trade" had a facility in procuring settlers to go on the lands applied for "in a reasonable delay," and pointed out that lands lying to the Eastward of the Township laid out for Jenkin Williams, Esq.<sup>53</sup>, on the River Becancour were available. The Petition concludes with a final paragraph - which seems most surprising having regard to the fact that de Montmollin was then over 70 years of age - that:

53 Clerk of the Legislative Council 1776-91; appointed Judge of Court of Common Pleas in 1791.

Your Petitioners are desirous to cultivate each of them Twelve hundred acres, or six Farms, Lots to be granted to them severally and their respective heirs and assigned for ever in free and common soccage<sup>54</sup>.

Another point of interest appears from the signature of the Petition which was signed by de Montmollin for himself and for his "absent sons John Frederick de Montmollin, John Samuel de Montmollin and Francis Gaudet de Montmollin, who have all attained the age of majority" and for "our associates to be named hereafter."

The reference to associates is explained by the fact that immediately prior to the making of this application de Montmollin had entered into an agreement with George Allsopp by which it was agreed that Allsopp would be concerned equally "in a Township of ten miles square to be applied for on the River Becancour on the nearest vacant lands adjoining M. Judge Williams, that is to say whatever farms are allotted to the subscriber D. F. de Montmollin and his three sons shall be equally divided" and "the Patent when obtained to be in the names of D. F. de Montmollin, his sons by name, and their associates." The approval and consent of John Samuel - dated 22 Sept. 1792 and signed by him - appears at the foot of the Agreement, but it seems likely that it was signed on some other date than the Agreement itself.

The Petition was promptly referred to the Land Committee which recommended that it be granted, and later the Lieutenant-Governor ordered by Warrant that a survey of the Township be made, but no provision having been made by de Montmollin and his sons towards defraying the expense, nothing further was done with respect to the Petition.

Though the Petition gives an interesting sidelight on de Montmollin's willingness at his advanced age to embark upon such an ambitious project, it is more interesting as a positive indication that in September 1792, all of his sons had apparently left Quebec. By that time - as the Petition stated - all of them were of the age of majority, Francis, the youngest son having been born in Quebec on December 9th, 1769, and the others having been born in England. Francis appears to have disappeared, for none of the deeds that have been found in the records of the notaries in Quebec at this time mentions him, nor is there any other indication that he later returned to Quebec. The de Montmollin family tree, which gives the names of the descendants of John Frederick and John Samuel, shows no issue of Francis.

Though Bishop Inglis before his departure from Quebec had exhorted de Montmollin and Toosey to "mutual peace and brotherly love" it seems unlikely that this exhortation produced a very marked change in the relations between the two. Toosey, of course, after having been licensed by the Bishop on August 8th, 1789, assumed the functions of Rector of the Church and Parish of Quebec and also those of Ecclesiastical Commissary of the Eastern District of Canada. De Montmollin, upon his part, continued from time to time to officiate at christenings, marriages and burials.

<sup>54</sup> A freehold tenure of land.

Toosey, however, seems not to have been entirely content with the situation in which he found himself. This may be inferred from a paper addressed by him on October 28th, 1790, to Lord Dorchester and giving a list of the Protestant clergy in the Province of Quebec, with their place of residence, salaries from the Crown, etc. There he wrote:

The Rev'd Philip Toosey, Ecclesiastical Commissary of the Eastern District of Canada, to which no salary is as yet annexed. The same person ministers to the English congregation in Quebec. Salary from the Crown, 200 pounds sterling per annum.

In Quebec, the Capital of the British Empire in America, there is no Church belonging to the English congregation, no Parsonage House, Glebe land, Tythe or pecuniary compensation, as yet assigned to the Minister.

And then after drawing attention to the failure of the Chaplain of the Garrison of Quebec either to reside or to pay for his duty being done, though receiving a salary of 115 pounds, 5 stg. per annum, continued:

The Rev'd David Francis de Montmollin appointed to read and preach in French. Salary 200 pounds stg. per annum. Not being found competent by the Bishop of Nova Scotia to read and preach in English, he does no duty, there being no Canadian Protestants to form a congregation.

As the Governor, Lord Dorchester, was fully aware of what the Bishop of Nova Scotia thought of de Montmollin's capabilities, further repetition of the Bishop's views can only be regarded as somewhat malicious, or at least as wanting in the "brotherly love" expected of Toosey by the Bishop. Indeed, there does seem to be a note of jealousy or discontent in this report; the recitation that no salary was "annexed" to the office of Commissary, while pointing out that there was payment of a salary to de Montmollin, who did no duty, indicate clearly Toosey's dissatisfaction.

Toosey's ministry proved to be of short duration. On July 7th, 1793, Jacob Mountain was consecrated Bishop of Quebec - a newly created see - and on November 1st of that year, he and his brother Salter Jehosaphat, and their wives and families - thirteen in all - landed at Quebec, after a voyage lasting eleven weeks in the frigate. Upon their arrival the Rev. S. J. Mountain became Rector of Quebec in the place of Philip Toosey.

Even though Quebec had now its own Bishop and new rector, it was still without a Protestant Church, and had no prospect of securing one. At least there seemed to be no such prospect until the afternoon of September 9th, 1796, when the Chapel and Monastery of the Recollets caught fire and was totally destroyed. The few remaining monks were rendered homeless and dispersed; and the government at long last came into possession of the Recollet property. Hopes must then have risen, and a few years later commissioners were appointed to erect on it a Metropolitan Church. The first stone was laid on August 11th, 1800 by the Lieutenant-Governor, and four years later the church was consecrated as the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity - a fine example of Georgian architecture that is one of the principal points of interest in Quebec City today.

It would seem that the departure of his three sons and the financial difficulties of John Frederick and John Samuel subsequently made it necessary for de Montmollin

to dispose of the de Buade Street property. It seems obvious that with his sons absent, the property would have been far too large for de Montmollin, his wife, and their three servants<sup>55</sup>, but it may reasonably be inferred that the dominant factor in his decision to sell was the liability of himself and his two sons to Messrs. Fraser and Young.

Though the formal deed of sale was only completed on November 28th, 1794, an agreement before witnesses had been signed by de Montmollin and his wife some three weeks earlier, on November 6th, by which they undertook to sell the property to Treadway Thomas Obder, a trader of Quebec, acting for himself and for Christopher Crysal Hall of London and for James Woolrich of Montreal. And on the signature of that agreement Obder had made a cash payment of 600 pounds on account of the agreed price of 1224 pounds. It was obviously no coincidence that two days later a final discharge was granted by Messrs. Fraser and Young of the guarantee and mortgage given them by de Montmollin. Though the discharge does not give an indication that de Montmollin had provided the funds to pay off the liability of his two sons, the closeness of the two dates is significant.

There is also another circumstance that supports the inference that there was a very close connection between the sons' liability and the sale. According to the deed executed before Notary Plants, 600 pounds of the price had been paid on November 6th, and the balance of 624 pounds was to be paid by three annual instalments of 208 pounds each beginning on November 1st, 1795, with interest at 6 per cent. Two whole years elapsed - in other words, two of these instalments were paid - before de Montmollin appeared as a lender on mortgage. Indeed a loan of 111 pounds 2 shillings, the first of several mortgage loans granted by him was made on November 7th, 1796, before Roger Lelievre, Notary, to be followed six months later by another of the same amount.

From these facts it seems quite clear that the cash payment received for the De Buade property served to pay off the liabilities de Montmollin had contracted for the benefit of his sons.

Though John Samuel de Montmollin had left Quebec sometime between the early part of 1790 and September 1792, he returned to Québec sometime in 1795, and in December of that year applied for a grant of the whole Township of Wentworth, situated on the North side of the River Ottawa. The Petition, dated December 4th, 1795, which he, on behalf of himself and his associates, addressed to the Right Honorable Guy, Lord Dorchester, represented that he had been concerned in an application for a township on the South side of the River Becancour - which he understood had since been recommended to be granted to others, he, owing to his absence from the Province, not having come forward in due time with his associates, and prayed for the grant to him and his associates of the Township of Wentworth. Early in the following year the Land Committee, noting that this township "being open from the neglect of Obadiah Blake," and in order to prevent "any persons disaffected to His Majesty's government from becoming settlers in this Province," recommended that the Petitioner be

<sup>55</sup> The Census made on July 30th, 1792, of the Roman Catholic Parish of Quebec, shows that the Roman Catholic parishioners at 10 de Buade Street were three in number, all of them being "communicants."

directed to furnish before May 1st, 1796, "a list of his associates and the places of their abode together with such proofs of their character and principles as he or they may be able to adduce," before any Warrant was granted for surveying the tract applied for.

It would appear that this list of associates was not immediately produced, and it is more than possible that by the time the Land Committee had made this recommendation John Samuel had again left Quebec in pursuit of his other activities. He was back again in the city, however, late in July 1796, and on the 28th of that month, before Notary Lelievre, he entered into what can only be regarded as a most unusual contract. By it he acknowledged that he had entrusted until she attained the age of 21 years or married Marguerite, his natural daughter aged two years, to Joseph Derome dit Decareau, master butcher, and Dame Marguerite Bro, the latter's wife. The Decareaus, husband and wife, were to feed, shelter and maintain Marguerite according to her status and to instruct her in the principles of religion, to send her to school (having regard to her religion) when she was able to speak, and to take every possible care of her, and to treat her humanely. "To indemnify and to encourage" the Decareaus, as the contract reads, John Samuel - described as "Samuel de Montmollin residing in this city of Quebec" - made them a "gratuitous present" (!) of the sum of Fifteen Spanish dollars, "once and for all."\*\*\*\*

As John Samuel said in a letter written some years later to his mother, Marguerite, or Charlotte Marguerite as she was afterwards called, was born in the City of Vergennes, Vermont, in the month of January or February 1794. How her father brought her from Vergennes to Quebec while she was but a very small child can only be a matter of speculation. Communications between the two places must have been long, arduous and uncomfortable, and that John Samuel should have succeeded in bringing his child this long distance to Quebec is indeed astonishing, not only because of the physical difficulties that he had to overcome but also because of all the surrounding circumstances.

By the time John Samuel returned to Quebec in July 1796, his parents had sold the de Buade property and had moved to St. Stanislas Street<sup>56</sup>, of which they occupied a part, with two servants, and some other person - perhaps Mme. Renaud who lived with them. They were both well advanced in years; de Montmollin was 75 or 76, and in failing health, and his wife was 68. Under these conditions they were scarcely able to undertake the upbringing of a child of two and a half years old, even if they had been willing to do so, which quite possibly they were not.

The choice of Decareau and his wife may perhaps be explained by the fact that they then lived on Ste. Anne Street, on which the de Buade property owned by

\*\*\* Editor's Note. In 1992, I searched the records in City Hall, Vergennes, VT, seeking records on Charlotte Marguerite. None was found, but I did locate several deeds under which John Frederick de Montmollin bought or sold property in Vergennes. He operated a business in that town for several years beginning about 1789. Copies of these deeds are in my possession. Though pure conjecture, a plausible explanation of the mystery might be that John Samuel had visited his brother in Vergennes in the early 1790's, and the result of that visit was the child Charlotte Marguerite. When Frederick told his brother of the child and of his responsibility for her, John Samuel took her to Quebec City to live with the Decareaus. RHdEM.

<sup>56</sup> The Parish Census made on June 5th, 1795, shows that de Montmollin's household at 1 St. Stanislas St. consisted of two parishioners, both communicants, and three Protestants.

de Montmollin had fronted, and consequently were well known to Marguerite's father. They appear not to be been fervent Roman Catholics for in the Parish Census of June 5th, 1795, it is noted that the husband was *eloigne des Sacrements*.

How long Marguerite remained with the Decareaus can only be a matter of conjecture, but it would seem that it was several years at least.

Though de Montmollin himself was advancing in years and his health declining he continued to participate to a modest extent in public activities and to occupy himself with his own affairs. When His Royal Highness, Prince Edward of Kent, left Quebec in February 1794, de Montmollin was among the citizens who had presented and signed an Address, and he continued to be a contributor to the Quebec Fire Society, to which he regularly gave five shillings<sup>57</sup>. He no longer preached charity sermons for the relief of the sick poor as he had done prior to the visitation of Bishop Inglis; indeed his duties as French reader and Preacher to the Canadian Protestants at Quebec were only nominal though he continued to receive his annual stipend of 200 pounds. But nonetheless he occasionally officiated at baptisms, marriages and burials, and continued to do so until July 1803.

One of the later entries in his register relates to the burial of an old friend. For March 19th, 1794, there is the following entry:

Buried John Renaud, Esq'r, Grand Voyer, 60 years old was buried the very day of his birthday in the old burying ground.

De Montmollin had officiated at Renaud's marriage - the second he had celebrated following his arrival in Quebec in the summer of 1768.

So far as his worldly affairs were concerned, it is quite obvious that until Obder had paid the second instalment of the balance on the de Buade Street property sale, de Montmollin was in no position to enter upon a financial transaction of any significance. As mentioned earlier it was only in November 1796, following the receipt of 208 pounds from Obder, that he made a loan of 111 pounds to the merchants Louis and Charles Fremont, which later was to be the source of much concern and trouble to Mrs. de Montmollin. In the following year, he made another loan of 100 pounds sterling equal to 111 pounds 2 shillings 2 1/2 pence currency, on this occasion to Captain John Robertson of the 2nd Battalion of His Majesty's 60th (or Royal American) Regiment, for whom John Lynd agreed to be surety.

Then in 1798, after Obder had paid his last instalment, de Montmollin made five more mortgages, all of small amounts except one of 110 pounds to Felix Tetu the Notary. At the end of that year, de Montmollin would appear to have had seven mortgages payable to him, but the total came to less than 500 pounds, which would seem to have represented about all the savings he had been able to put aside.

Despite his limited means, de Montmollin, when in 1799 an appeal was made for voluntary subscriptions in support of the War<sup>58</sup>, made a contribution of 10 pounds, which was acknowledged in the *Quebec Gazette* of August 15th, 1799.

57 *Quebec Gazette* of June 18, 1796; June 29, etc.

58 Between England and France.

De Montmollin's health must have given concern to himself and his wife, and his will made on March 7th, 1797, notes that he was ill at the time. It relates that on that day at 9 o'clock in the morning at his request Notary Lelievre had gone to his residence on St. Stanislas Street and had found him in a room overlooking the courtyard, ill, though of sound mind, memory, judgment and understanding, and that de Montmollin had declared it to be his will to leave to his beloved wife, Jane, all of his property, and to appoint her his sole Executrix. His will did not mention Marguerite or any of his three sons.

Three years later, almost to the day, de Montmollin renewed his application, made earlier by John Samuel, for the township of Wentworth. The Petition - which certainly is a tribute to his perseverance and persistence - was addressed to Robert Shore Milnes, the Lieutenant-Governor, in Council. It represented that the petitioner had been an early applicant for a grant of part of the waste lands of the Crown and had obtained a Warrant of survey for the Township of Somerset *[sic]* but had relinquished his pretensions thereto upon his son John Samuel's petitioning for the Township of Wentworth. Then it noted that his son had explored that township at considerable expense, "the amount of which it is not at present in the power of the petitioner to state for want of vouchers, his son being absent from the Province," and expressed the hope that he would not be deemed presumptuous to plead his long services, since the year 1768 as Clerk of the Protestant Church of Quebec, in support of his petition, particularly as the government had been pleased to "consider the late Rev'd Dr. De Lisle of Montreal in the Dispensation of His Majesty's Bounty."<sup>59</sup> It concluded with the prayer that the Council would direct that a warrant of survey and sub-division issued in his favour for the Township of Wentworth, and that such associates as he might be permitted to bring forward with himself may prospectively have 1200 acres thereon "upon the old fees." Because, no doubt, of the state of de Montmollin's ill health, the Petition was signed by Mr. L. Phillips as attorney for the Petitioner, and was afterwards supplemented by the certificate dated 19 November 1801 and signed by Benjamin Ecuyer - one of the witnesses of de Montmollin's will - that at the request of Samuel de Montmollin he had explored the township of Wentworth in the winter of 1796.

Almost three years after - on January 14th, 1803 - Philips submitted a List of Associates, which included de Montmollin as "Leader" and nine others, all of whom were accepted as settlers, and later that month it was referred to the whole Council, but not immediately acted upon.

Though this was nearly the last matter of business which de Montmollin transacted, he made one more loan, on September 2nd, 1803, to Xavier T. de Lanaudiere, formerly an advocate, of 100 pounds sterling to be repaid in 6 years with interest at six per cent per annum. This was the last transaction to which de Montmollin was a party, for on December 17th of that year he came to his end, at the venerable age of 82.

<sup>59</sup> Many years before the Rev'd Dr. De Lisle had been granted 500 acres of land.

The register of the Metropolitan Church records his death on that date, and his burial on December 20th, by Salter Jehosaphat Mountain, the new Rector of the English Church at Quebec, in the presence of two friends, George Allsopp and George Longmore.

It cannot be said that de Montmollin's ministry was a success or that it achieved the objectives that those who sought the appointment of French speaking clergymen had had in mind; but that there were extenuating circumstances is beyond dispute. The complete indifference of the government at Quebec and of successive Governors to the need of a church for the exclusive use of the English Protestant population partly explains the lack of progress of the church; and de Montmollin's imperfect pronunciation of English undoubtedly marred the effect of his ministrations. But it is quite clear that he did not merit the severe criticism which Doty had expressed to the S.P.G. nor the strictures of Bishop Inglis. The Rev. Ernest Hawkins had a kinder view of de Montmollin, of whom he wrote in 1849: "Mr. de Montmollin lived till the commencement of the present century and is still remembered by some as a respectable, well-informed, clever old man, with his old-fashioned clerical dress and a great white wig."<sup>60</sup>

60 Annals of the Diocese of Québec, by Ernest Hawkins, D.C., Published in London, England, in 1849.



*John Samuel de Montmollin I*  
1765 - 1810

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *JOHN SAMUEL de MONTMOLLIN I (1765-1810)*

The first of five lineal descendants to bear the name John Samuel de Montmollin was born in London about 1765. His parents were David Francis and Jane Bell de Montmollin. There is some question whether John Samuel was the first-born or the second son after John Frederic. George C. Marler casts doubt here, stating that the birth records are contradictory. At any rate, one of the sons was born in 1763, and the other in 1765.<sup>1</sup>

The father, trained as a medical doctor and apparently having practiced medicine in London, was active in the Anglican Church. When the British took control of French Canada in 1759, George III was convinced that thousands of French Canadian Roman Catholics would come over to the Church of England if only they could be preached to in the French language. Accordingly, he instructed the Bishop of London to ordain three such men, and to send them to French Canada to reap the ecclesiastical benefits of the new territory. David Francis de Montmollin was sent to Quebec City, while two others went to Montreal and Three Rivers, respectively.

On about June 14, 1768, the de Montmollin family arrived in Quebec aboard a troop transport carrying elements of the 8th Regiment. The passage from London had been a stormy one, although the worst winter weather was avoided by declining passage on the brig *Union* which had sailed a few days after de Montmollin's ordination. The *Union's* passage had taken eleven weeks instead of the usual seven or eight, and she arrived at her destination much the worse for wear.

In 1769, the two sons were joined by another brother, Francis Gaudot; and in 1771 by a sister Jane, who died one week after birth. In 1773, another son, Lewes, was born, who also died in infancy.

Little is known of John Samuel's early life in Quebec, but in 1783, David Francis borrowed rather substantial amounts of money, giving as security a first mortgage on his house and on a vacant lot he owned in the city. The purpose of the loans seems to have been to put John Samuel and John Frederic in business as "traders," the young men being about 18 and 20 years old, respectively. A document has been found which records a business transaction between them and a merchant of Quebec, in which he acknowledged an indebtedness to "Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin," described as "traders," in the amount of 714 pounds 14 5 1.2, the value of goods supplied by them. Apparently, the young men achieved some success in business, as the original loans which set them up in business were promptly repaid.

The efforts of David Francis to establish a business for his sons were not confined to the lending of money. In 1788, he applied for a land grant for himself

<sup>1</sup> The LDS Church Genealogical Library in Salt Lake City shows a christening date of March 20, 1763 at St. Giles, Cripplegate, London for John Frederic; and for John Samuel of January 18, 1767 at La Patente Fr. Huguenot, Spitalfield, London. This would seem to establish John Frederic as the older of the two.

and his three sons. The sought-after grant was on the north side of the Grand River above the Long Sault, and included 1,100 acres; 500 for David Francis, and 200 each for John Samuel, John Frederic and Francis Gaudot. The grant did not materialize. John Samuel was then about 25 years old, and may have been away from Quebec for extended periods of time. In one instance, his signature is not included along with those of the other family members on a letter wishing God-speed to Hon. Thomas Dunn, who was leaving on a voyage to England to undertake a mission for the Crown. The letter was signed by 135 persons, and appeared in the *Quebec Gazette* on June 23, 1785.

A document granting power of attorney with respect to a contract made in April 1787 describes John Frederic as living in Quebec, while John Samuel is mentioned as "being absent." The indication is that he had left the city. In January 1790, however, there was a contract the signature to which indicates that at that time, John Frederic was away from Quebec, while John Samuel was present in the city. He represented his brother in the transaction. Apparently their partnership was in some difficulty at that time, as David Francis had to fulfill his guarantee to pay for "certain goods, wares and merchandise" bought by them. The Rector once again mortgaged his house on de Buade and the property on St. Louis Street, which was at the time free of all encumbrances except those created in 1788. The debt thus incurred by David Francis was paid off with interest.

John Samuel saw service in the British Army as an officer, with duty in Jamaica. He apparently resigned his commission as a Colonel in the early 1790s.

He left the province, returning sometime in 1795. In December of that year, he applied for a grant of the whole Township of Wentworth, situated on the North side of the River Ottawa. The petition, dated December 4, 1795, represented that he had previously been a party to another application, which had been granted to others because of his absence. While the application was under consideration, the Land Committee adopted a policy against the granting of land to "any person disaffected to His Majesty's government from becoming settlers in this Province," and required that John Samuel produce a list of his associates in the petition, together with "such proofs of their character and principles as he or they may be able to adduce." It would appear that the list of associates was not immediately produced, it being quite possible that John Samuel had again left the Province in pursuit of his other activities. The grant was therefore denied.

In January or February of 1794, he became the father of a natural child, named Charlotte Marguerite, who was born in Vergennes, Vermont. Nothing is known of the mother of the child. Two and a half years later, on July 28, 1796, John Samuel brought his daughter to Quebec, where he placed her in the care of a foster family. He made a contract with Joseph Derome, also known as "Decareau," master butcher, and Dame Marguerite Bro, the latter's wife, for Marguerite's care until she attained the age of 21 years, or until she married. The Decareaus, husband and wife, were to feed, shelter and maintain Marguerite according to her status, to instruct her in the principles of religion, to send her to school (having regard for her religion) when she was able to speak, to take every possible care of her, and to treat her humanely. "To indemnify and encourage"

the Decareaus, as the contract reads, John Samuel - described as "Samuel de Montmollin residing in this city of Quebec" - made them a "gratuitous present" of the sum of "fifteen Spanish dollars, once and for all." As previously noted, beginning about 1793, John Samuel de Montmollin travelled extensively from Quebec, presumably to points along the East Coast of the United States, apparently becoming increasingly adjusted to the United States. He became an American citizen on February 13, 1798, under the sponsorship of his cousin Frederic de Montmollin in Philadelphia who had emigrated from Switzerland in 1787.

### THE MOVE SOUTH

Building on his experience as a "trader" in Quebec, John Samuel moved toward the establishment of an entrepreneurial business. He travelled extensively up and down the east coast of the United States, making contacts in at least three ports along the way. He established his business in Savannah in the late nineties, and by the next year had an agent in Charleston, South Carolina, and had made contact with Frederic in Philadelphia. He dealt in a variety of merchandise, as witnessed by the articles advertised for sale, and his activities led into other related fields. The importation of slaves - a legal business at the time - was a natural and no doubt profitable avenue. As a shipping agent, he was naturally led into the booking of passages on ships from Savannah. There is at least one documented instance of an activity completely unrelated to shipping where he probably provided financial backing. His previous military service led him to his natural avocation - service in the Georgia State Militia.

Around 1797, we find him on a stage coach between Charleston, South Carolina and Savannah, Georgia.<sup>2</sup> The only other passenger was a young lady in obvious distress and she related her story to John Samuel as they travelled. She was the youngest daughter of Jonathan Edwards II,<sup>3</sup> and had married at the age of 15 without the consent of her family. The marriage turned out badly, as her husband, an Englishman named Charles Rupert Dennis, was a cruel man. They were divorced, and she was awarded custody of the two children, a son, Charles Dennis, and a daughter, Julia. The husband had stolen the children, and the mother was pursuing them when she met John Samuel on the stage coach. Her story aroused his sympathy, and he offered his assistance.

They were able to locate the children in Savannah and regained custody of them. Exercising his prerogatives as a former British Colonel, John Samuel put them aboard a British man of war and took them to London, where they were lodged with relatives at No. 3 Harley Street. Quite possibly the relative was one of his brothers, John Frederic or Francis Gaudot, who may have returned to London by that time.<sup>4</sup>

Upon returning to Savannah, John Samuel married the young lady of the stage coach - Maria Edwards, daughter of Reverend Jonathan Edwards II.

2 The meeting on the stage coach and the events which followed were recounted in an interview of John Samuel de Montmollin III published in the *Macon Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 15, 1909.

3 While the relationship between Maria Edwards and Jonathan Edwards II is well-accepted in the de Montmollin family, the Edwards family tree reflects no such person. It is known that her father violently disapproved of her marriage to Dennis, and apparently disowned her.

4 Little is known of the adult life of John Frederic and nothing of Francis Gaudot. The former died in 1814, and the latter about 1819, perhaps in London.

By early January, 1798, he had formed a partnership with Peter Catonet, offering wharfage and other services to ship owners. The business made its debut with an advertisement in the morning newspaper:

Notice to owners and masters of vessels. The subscribers having a commodious wharf at Five Fathom Hole, where vessels can lay secure, offer to accommodate all those who are disposed to either load or lay at the said wharf at a one-third reduction from the usual prices for wharfage and shipping charged at Savannah.

Signed JSD Montmollin & Peter Catonet.

The property at Five Fathom Hole had been a fort in colonial times, but by the late 1790s was inactive. It is located on the Savannah River on a promontory which overlooks the river in both directions. It is known today as Fort Jackson, and is a part of the Georgia State Park system. It was an active fort during the Civil War, and has now been restored to its wartime configuration.

In July of the same year, John Samuel and Peter Catonet leased two additional lots at Five Fathom Hole, which they purchased on October 14, 1801 for the sum of two thousand dollars. By then the tract was known as "New Deptford." While there is no further record of the firm Montmollin and Catonet, obviously the two partners maintained some business relationship for several years. However, just a week after the original lease of the two lots, there appeared in the morning paper an advertisement of Montmollin, *Canavan & Company* offering "Provisions: cork, pickled herring, saddlery, cordials, etc." The nature of the business activities of Montmollin and Canavan is revealed in their newspaper advertisements, which offered "40 bbls of superfine flour, Provisions: cognac, Madeira, sherry, wine, sweet oil, vinegar, glassware, cotton material, thread, etc." Apparently, they were buying ship's cargoes and reselling the merchandise at the warehouse at Five Fathom Hole. In other advertisements, they solicited freight and passengers on various ships. On January 1, 1799, there was an advertisement for freight and passage on the schooner *George Clinton*, bound for New York; and on July 2nd of that year, an ad offering brandy, gin, cotton, shawls, cotton checks, umbrellas, candies, soap, etc.

The partnership with Canavan was dissolved on May 27, 1800, and in the same issue, the newspaper announced the formation of a new firm, Montmollin and Heron. Also on that same day, freight and passage was offered on the brig *Jessy*, sailing for [Greenock?] in the "ensuing month;" and offering for sale hats, hosiery, earthen ware, and coal.

A review of newspaper advertisements between 1798 and 1801 reveals that John Samuel was a participant in several different shipping-agent partnerships - sometimes more than one at a time. Whether he was active in the management of these firms, or played the role of financial backer, is not known. The fact that his name appears first in each instance may or may not be significant.

John Samuel was acquiring additional slaves as time passed. On September 9, 1800, a legal notice recorded the sale of a mulatto boy named Harry about 15 years of age by John Earle Hartridge to John Samuel de Montmollin for \$400.

The newspaper of January 31, 1801, recorded the sale by John Dantignal of a Negro boy named Ned about 13 years of age to John Samuel de Montmollin for \$375; and on July 3rd of that year, appeared the record of sale of a Negro man named "Vendome, about 28 years of age by Francis Faguere to John Samuel de Montmollin for \$450.00." Vendome is listed as having been "born on the coast of Africa, about five feet 6 1/2 inches high, stout - with the letters 'FF' branded on his right breast."

On December 11, the following advertisement appeared:

Will pay to whoever will secure a runaway negro named Peter, about 36 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches tall, light build, marked much with smallpox, walks lame having one leg stiff and much shorter than the other, a great drunkard and thief, talks good English, can read and write, and tells a plausible story, had on when he ran away long grey trousers and blue jacket. He ran off from Savannah on the 8th instant about 7 o'clock in the morning, and is supposed to have taken the Charleston or Augusta road. JS de Montmollin.

There is at least a bit of evidence of varied business relationships involving John Samuel. In a Savannah newspaper, undated, cotton growers were offered a marvelous new machine:

### *PATENT ROLLER GINS.*

The Subscribers having obtained from the United States a patent for their invention of a Gin to separate cotton from the seed by rollers to feed itself (on a plan totally new and different from any method yet produced) offer their services to the planters of this State and South Carolina, to either furnish them with such Gins, or to gin for them on toll, at New Deptford Wharf, on the bank of the river, three miles below Savannah, where they have completed a machine capable of gining from four to five bags per day. They beg leave to recommend their machine to the attention of the public as a contrivance by which crops can be expeditiously gined and brought to market, the tedious and laborious task of gining by foot rollers avoided; and will admit of planters cultivating their new lands instead of employing their whole force to gin their crops in the usual mode.

This machine can be impelled by steam, water, wind, animal or manual power. The priviledges and prices of machines will be proportioned to the number of bags required to be gined by them per day.

J. S. De Montmollin  
William Bell

Sav. Nov. 9.

Considering his background of service in the British military, it should come as no surprise that John Samuel became active in the Georgia Militia. The local unit, the Chatham Rangers, was formed on June 29, 1798, as a part of the Fusilier Company of the First Regiment, First Georgia Brigade. At the time of its organization, the Captain was James Box Young, the Lieutenant was James Johnston, and John Samuel de Montmollin was Ensign, with a date of rank of August 1, 1798. Young died in 1800, and was replaced in command by Johnston, who served until 1807. He was promoted in that year, and was succeeded by John Samuel, who had been promoted to Lieutenant on December 27, 1800, and to Captain on March 6, 1807. He commanded the Rangers until his death in 1810, and was succeeded by Benjamin Ansley.

During his tenure as commander, John Samuel offered the services of the Chatham Rangers in the proposed raising of additional volunteer forces in response to the

belligerent acts of Britain and France. After a brief period of European peace, the second round of the Napoleonic Wars broke out. Both sides adopted policies under which American shipping, whether or not carrying contraband, was subject to seizure. President Jefferson, and after him President Madison, tried to keep American vessels at home with the Embargo Act, which prohibited all foreign trade. It was the first of several pieces of legislation which tried to keep American shipping out of contact with British and French vessels.

In February 1808, two months after the Embargo Act went into effect, Jefferson asked Congress to provide a volunteer force of 24,000 men to serve any 12 months out of 24 months in a five-year period, and also an addition of six thousand men to the Regular Army. In April, Congress rejected the volunteer force, but in the meantime, John Samuel had written Governor Jared Irvin, asking that the Rangers be called up as a part of the volunteer force.

Savannah, 26 Feby 1808

His Excellency Jared Irvin Governor & Commander in Chief of the Militia of the State of Georgia

Sir:

The cause of my addressing Your Excellency being partly of a public nature, I beg you will receive it as my apology for taking that liberty.

On the 7th of July last year a meeting of the Volunteer Corps of this city took place, at which Capt. Wall of the Artillery, as senior officer presided as Chairman, several resolutions were unanimously passed, expressive of our readiness to aid in the support of the Government, and dignity of our Country; which were transmitted to your Excellency. Among those Corps were the Chatham Rangers, (organized in 1798) which company I now have the honor to command.

When absent a few weeks from the State on important business, I understood a regular muster and return of the quota of men to be furnished by this State was required upon which I immediately offered my services by letter through the medium of Col. Johnston, to Brig. Genl. Floyd on the day of the general muster in Savannah.

I therefore most respectfully solicit your Excellency to include both the Officers and privates of the Chatham Rangers in the quota of men to be furnished by this State, of which honor from our early applications we had fondly flattered ourselves with. And in behalf of the Company and myself, to respectfully beg that my absence may not operate to exclude us from affording our immediate aid as volunteers to participate in the honor of supporting the Rights and Independence of our Country. I have the honor to be most-respectfully Your Excellency's Most Obedt. & Hum. Servant,

J. S. De Montmollin

Apparently, Governor Irvin did not wait for final congressional approval before implementing a call-up of volunteers. In April, John Samuel wrote again, repeating his offer of the Chatham Rangers and pledging that he would accept no resignations from the ranks because of the activation of the unit.

Savannah, 4 April, 1808

His Excellency, Jared Irvin, Govr. of the State of Georgia, etc etc etc

Sir:

I had this honor on the 26th of February last requesting of your Excellency to include the Chatham Rangers in the levy of men for the service of the U. States - since then I have received a communication from B. Genl. Floyd stating his opinion on that subject.

It is more than probable that in the event of Your Excellency's calling forth those whose names have been returned, the number of delinquents will render an additional levy necessary in which case I presume the C. Rangers would from their repeated offers, be considered as bound to adhere thereto from this impression, or the fact of their having on 7th July, last, caused their services to be offered to your Excellency, & since to Genl. Floyd, I consider them as much pledged to your Excellency as those who have been returned - and don't consider myself at liberty to permit any of those who subscribed the list, now in my possession, authorizing their officers to tender their services in defense of their Country, to resign their membership or to remove to any other company. I conceive them as a body of volunteers subject to your Excellency's call, who alone has authority to release them, in which idea I am confirmed by the opinion of our Major and Brigadier General.

I have therefore to pray of your Excellency, to cause me to be instructed as soon as convenient whether I have, or not, formed a correct opinion of the situation of the men I have the honor to command, so as I may conform to your Excellency's pleasure.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's Most Obedt. & Most Hum. Servt.

J. S. De Montmollin, Captain, C. Rangers

The matter of call-up of state militia units was settled in April, when Congress decided to rely on the active forces.

One of the highlights of his life in Savannah was a visit of the then Vice-President Aaron Burr. Burr was an uncle of Maria Edwards, and there are indications that they were quite close, in spite of Maria's estrangement from her family. It seems that Burr played a role in the care of her children by her first marriage, as he went to England on at least one occasion to verify that they were receiving good care. It may have been on the occasion of his state visit to Savannah on May 20, 1802, when he lodged next to the de Montmollin home on Oglethorpe West.

The visit was a gala occasion for Savannah. The Vice-President was met about six miles from town, as he journeyed from Charleston, by the Chatham Rangers, the elite guard of the militia, (John Samuel was a Lieutenant at that time) and was feted throughout his four-day stay by many civic honors and celebrations. This was the man who was next to Thomas Jefferson in the Federal Government, and who had lost the election to the Presidency by a single vote in the House of Representatives. He was widely regarded as the logical successor to Jefferson. History, of course, tells quite a different story.

The house at 120 Oglethorpe West was rented by John Samuel, and became known as the Giles Becu House.<sup>5</sup> The residence was a small wooden structure only slightly larger than pioneer huts. In 1775, Becu had received a grant of one town lot in Heathcote Ward and a five acre lot, for which he paid \$5. The little house was built sometime between that year and 1800. It contained two stories, with a one-story porch across the front, with six wooden columns and a railing. There were three windows on the front side of the house downstairs and four upstairs. The house has been razed, and the site is currently a Southern Bell parking lot.

John Samuel apparently maintained contact with friends and relatives in Quebec, and was conscious of his responsibilities for his daughter Charlotte Mar-

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Giles Becu was an original settler of Savannah, a baker who was indentured to the Trust which financed the colonization. While he was a free man, he was obligated to repay the Trust for his expenses. The house on Oglethorpe West remained in his family for six generations before being demolished. It was rented to John Samuel perhaps to house Vice-President Burr during his visit. The de Montmollins lived next door.

guerite. On July 7, 1806, he wrote the following letter to Dr. Charles Bordwine, a family friend who was acquainted with Charlotte (or Marguerite as she was known):

Savannah 7 July 1806

Herewith is a letter for my mother covering 40 dollars in United States Bank notes, which you can easily get changed by some American Gentleman bound home. The money she will use as she pleases for Marguerite.

I am much obliged by the news you convey in your letter of 22 May, continue my good friend to do so. When time admits, you will oblige me by calling upon Mr. Phillips & beg of him to give you a . . . few lines for me stating the facts . . . to the land to which I am entitled with the consent of my Mother & to say what sum is necessary to put me in possession of the Patent - I have wrote him but he no doubt has forgot to answer or my letters have miscarried - be particular to obtain this as I think I can sell the land to advantage.

Give my respects to Mrs. Bordwine & believe me truly yours in haste.

J. S. De Montmollin

On the next day, he posted a letter (written on June 23rd) addressed:

Mrs. J. De Montmollin 25  
Quebec  
Mail Canada

Postmarked "Savan. Ga. July 8. Paid" Backstamped "Montreal 11 Aug. 1806"

Savannah 23 June 1806

Honored Mother,

Your much valued letter of 22 May afforded me inexpressible pleasure, as I imputed your long silence to indisposition which I am happy to learn is not of a dangerous nature. I sincerely hope and pray you may soon get over the inconvenience you must endure from a complaint of the face or eyes.

My health has been perfectly good since I had the blessing of seeing you, but my purse is mortally wounded and I am afraid I shall never recover the losses I have sustained, but as long as I have health I don't despair & trust to future industry, to re-establish my Fortune.

I notice Mr. Berthelot has your affairs in hand. I have no doubt of his recovering all that is due you with Interest. You loose *sic* nothing by his delay as the Interest runs on the whole time until your Money is paid into Court.

On April 11, 1808, the only child of John Samuel and Maria was-born: a son, named for his father, the second to carry that name.

The business of John Samuel in Savannah included not only the trading but the importation of African slaves as well. Although in his day there was increasing opposition to slavery, slavery itself was not illegal, and many people in the South and elsewhere were engaged in it. The opposition finally led to the outlawing of the importation of slaves in 1818. Even then, only the importation of slaves was illegal - the ownership of slaves and the trading of slaves within the United States remained legal.

It is a matter of record that John Samuel made voyages to the coast of Africa to bring back cargoes of black slaves. It was on one of these voyages that he met his death. It seems that he died aboard ship, and was buried on the Isle of Geora (Goree), off the coast of Africa. The island played a prominent role in the Portuguese slave trade. Large slave pens were constructed there, and captured

blacks were held pending the arrival of a ship to transport them to the New World. His death on November 14, 1810 was reported in the Savannah papers, and on May 2, 1811 in the *Poulson American Daily Advertiser* in Philadelphia.

John Samuel was survived by his wife, Maria Edwards, and by one son, John Samuel II, who was two-and-a-half years old at the time of his father's death.

His widow, a remarkable person in her own right, outlived John Samuel I by many years. She reverted to her maiden name, and throughout her long life (actually she outlived her son as well), she exerted a strong influence on the life of her son.

*THE REMARKABLE AND LONG-STANDING RELATIONSHIP OF THE MARLER AND DE MONTMOLLIN FAMILIES<sup>6</sup>*

An unusual relationship between the de Montmollin and Marler families has existed for eight generations. Its unconventional beginning is matched only by its longevity.

Charlotte Marguerite, the natural daughter of John Samuel de Montmollin, was married in 1807 to Captain Leonard Marler, of the British Army. It was she who expressed the wish that the two families share the mutual honor of using the other family name. That custom has survived through the years, with an example in almost every generation. There is evidence through correspondence that the two families remained close, though geographically separated. There are several instances of one family supplying godparents for members of the other.

One can only speculate as to John Samuel's motives in taking his two-year-old daughter, whose mother is unidentified, from Vermont to Quebec. That decision, however motivated, led to a relationship that can only be described as most unusual.

George Marler comments on the seemingly strange choice of the Decareaus as a foster family for Charlotte Marguerite, by saying that they lived on St. Anne Street, on which the de Buade property fronted, and quite likely they were known to David Francis and Jane. He points out that both the elder de Montmollins were quite advanced in age, he being 75 or 76 and in failing health, and Jane was 68 at the time. Under these conditions, they were scarcely able to undertake the upbringing of a small child.

How long Charlotte Marguerite remained with the Decareaus is unknown, but it may be assumed she lived with them until her 14th or 15th year.

In 1806, she was living with her grandmother, Jane Bell de Montmollin, David Francis having died in 1803. The recently completed Anglican Cathedral, which David Francis had tried unsuccessfully to foster, was the meeting place for the British community in Quebec, and there Charlotte met her future husband, Captain Leonard Marler, while attending services in this beautiful building. Their courtship was of short duration; they were married in the cathedral on August 19, 1810, by John Jackson, the evening lecturer. Leonard was only 23, and Char-

<sup>6</sup> *Author's Note.* For the material on Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin Marler, I have drawn heavily on Howard Meredith Marler: *Marler, Four Generations of a Quebec Family* (Montreal, Quebec: Price-Patterson Ltd., 1987). Mr. Marler's permission is much appreciated. RHdeM

lotte, 17. The young couple set up housekeeping in premises on d'Aigillon Street, consisting of three rooms and a kitchen in the upper part of the house. The rent was 30 pounds annually.

Their first child was born on September 7, 1811, and was baptized only two weeks later by the Reverend Salter Jehosaphat Mountain, the same cleric who had presided at the funeral of David Francis de Montmollin in 1803. The child was named Jane Susannah Anna.

Within a year, the family was moved to Montreal, although Jane Bell de Montmollin remained in Quebec City. They were living in The Chateau de Ramezay, the old governor's residence, when their son was born on December 19, 1813. The baptism took place at Christ Church on January 22, 1814, the ceremony being performed by the same Reverend Salter Jehosaphat Mountain, and the child was named George Leonard. During all this time, Leonard was a junior officer in the British Army, although he had been promoted on the last day of 1812 to the post of Assistant Commissary. War had broken out with the United States in June of that year, but no family or other papers provide clues as to the nature of Leonard's service during the hostilities.

As the conflict was drawing to a close, Leonard considered his future and that of his family. Generous grants of land were available to army personnel to induce them to remain in Canada, since they would be loyal settlers, a stabilizing influence on the "new subjects" (the French Canadians) and a buffer against encroachments by the Americans.

Canada was still a country with huge areas of Crown Land. What population did exist clung to the shores of the major rivers which were the only practical means of communication, and the hinterland was empty except for a few Indians. For those willing to face the hardships of frontier life, a grant of Crown Land was an opportunity to establish a family farm and perhaps to profit from the sale of surplus lands to other settlers. Accordingly, Leonard applied for and received a recommendation from the Governor in recognition of his military service, the first step in applying for a grant of land.

At the end of the War, many regiments returned to England, and by the end of 1815 relatively few regular troops were left in Canada.

Leonard and Charlotte chose to remain in Montreal, and on February 2, 1816, their second daughter (third child) was born and christened Charlotte. They could have sailed for England with the others, but chose to remain in Canada, and when the remaining military was disbanded in 1817, Leonard was retired on half-pay. He was thirty years of age and his half-pay amounted to four shillings a day.

The town of Three Rivers had found favor with a number of retired officers, and Leonard decided to move his family there in the spring of 1817. Jane Bell de Montmollin joined them in an apparent effort to bolster their meager resources.

Although both 1816 and 1817 had been poor years for agriculture, Leonard decided early in 1818 to try his hand at farming, an occupation for which his

military career little fitted him. He leased a large farm situated in the *Seigneurie of St. Antoine de la Baye du Fevre*, more or less across the river from Three Rivers. They took possession on August 1, 1818.

Perhaps one reason for deferring the taking of possession until August 1st - well past the beginning of the planting season - was the imminent arrival of the fourth child, who was born on April 4 and given the name Mary Ann.

The inadequacy of the combined resources of the Marlers and of Mrs. de Montmollin must have already become apparent. On May 4th, the old lady, now past her ninetieth birthday, addressed a petition to the Governor asking for financial assistance. Although she prayed the Governor would be graciously pleased "to take her distressed situation into consideration and grant her such relief as in Your Excellency's wisdom and benevolence seem meet . . ." she received no favorable response. In June the following year, she again sought relief from the government, but her pleas fell on deaf ears. Late in September, 1820, the Marler's fifth and last child was born and christened Ellen.

Returns from the farm were disappointing. The summer of 1820 had been hot and dry, and the hay crop was small and cattle feed expensive. Leonard had need of some return from the farm, as his half-pay was not even enough to meet the rent payments in full. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that he fell behind in his payments, and the situation had not improved when, the year before, the owner had transferred his claim for the rent to Moses Hart, a Three Rivers merchant.

On May 1, 1821 the Marlers gave up the farm. Their lease required that they pay all rentals due at the time of departure, plus six months additional rent, but they were quite unable to meet these obligations. They left La Baye burdened with a substantial liability that sooner or later would have to be met.

Their new home was in the nearby village of Nicolet, a small community of fifty houses, notable for its beautiful setting on the side of a gentle slope covered with majestic oaks and pine trees. At the time of the move, Mrs. de Montmollin was ninety-three years of age, Leonard thirty-four and Charlotte twenty-seven. Their five children were all under ten years of age.

Leonard established a line of credit at the local general store, operated by Ezekiel Hart, and over a period of two years, they made many purchases and received a number of cash advances. The arrangement provided that Leonard's half-pay, which arrived every three months, was pledged toward the account.

Their purchases consisted of powder and shot for hunting, tea and assorted spices for the kitchen, and various types of material from which to make clothing. Gin, at six shillings a gallon, was frequently on the shopping list. Apparently, Leonard felt the need of some relief from stark reality, for within a year the debt stood at 38 pounds. The quarterly retirement pay reduced this amount by half, but by Spring, the amount owing had increased again to 35 pounds, and Hart began to press for full payment, refusing further credit.

A solution to their financial difficulties lay in the possibility of obtaining a grant of Crown Land, to which Leonard was entitled as a retired officer. In January,

1822, he applied for land in the Township of Aston, which lay to the southeast of Nicolet, and approval was obtained for a grant of some 800 acres. The approval, however, did not make him the owner of the land. The settlement duties still had to be paid before the granting of Letters Patent, and although these fees seemed to be not particularly exacting, they were then beyond the means of Leonard. Ownership of the land was not obtained until many years later.

On September 14, 1822, Jane de Montmollin's long life came to its end, as she died peacefully at the age of ninety-four. Leonard ordered a coffin to be made in Nicolet, and went to Three Rivers to purchase the necessary hardware and other items at a cost of six pounds ten shillings, an outlay he could ill afford. He also made reservations on the steamer to Quebec where the funeral took place, and Jane Bell de Montmollin was laid to rest beside her husband in the little cemetery near the St. Louis Gate.

The *Quebec Mercury* for Thursday, September 19th, carried the following obituary:

At Nicolet on the 14th, instant, at the advanced age of 94, Mrs. Jane de Montmollin, Relict of the late Rev'd David Francis de Montmollin collated to the Protestant Episcopal Church under the King's Mandamus dated at St. James 12th February 1768, which situation this much respected clergyman filled for upwards of thirty years.

The settlement of Mrs. de Montmollin's estate gave rise to unexpected difficulties which she herself would not have wished and which she could hardly have foreseen.

Long before she left Quebec City, she had made a will, but although circumstances had changed materially in the fifteen years which followed, she had made no new provision for the disposition of her estate. Essentially, her will was simple. She made a legacy to Charlotte of all her furniture, clothing, linen and silverware and of 300 pounds besides; bequeathing the residue of her estate to her son, John Samuel, Charlotte's father. But she went on to provide that in the event of his dying in her lifetime without leaving heirs, the residue was to go to Charlotte. This provision meant that Charlotte was entitled to the residue of her grandmother's estate only if she could prove that her father was dead and that he had left no other children. It also meant that she herself could not demand payment of either capital or interest on the monies her grandmother had loaned, some of which had not been repaid. All she could claim was the legacy of 300 pounds and the personal effects already in her possession.

This provision would not prevent the executors of the will from collecting the debts, but unfortunately, Mrs. de Montmollin's trusted friend and agent, Jacob Pozer, died soon after her death, and the other executor, the Hon. James Irvine, refused to act. In consequence, no convenient way remained of collecting what was owing to the estate and of making payment of the legacy to Charlotte.

Irvine's inaction impeded the settlement of the estate for more than a year, while the Marlers were experiencing extreme financial difficulties. Surely, Mrs. de Montmollin had been aware of her son's death in 1810 - it had been recorded in newspapers as far from Savannah as Philadelphia. And surely she had been aware of the birth of John Samuel II in 1808. He would have been the heir mentioned in her will. While no correspondence after 1808 between Jane Bell

and her son has come to light, there is no indication that they were estranged after that.

More than a year after Mrs. de Montmollin's death, Leonard and Charlotte took legal action to try to establish her claim to the money. Several prominent persons in Quebec signed a formal declaration that they knew the late Mrs. de Montmollin, and also her son, John Samuel de Montmollin, "who left this province several years past" and they believed his death occurred before that of his mother. They also confirmed that to the best of their knowledge she had no heirs in the province. With this established, an executor to the estate was named.

The final disposition of the estate and its meager assets causes one to wonder about the younger sons of David Francis and Jane Bell. Only one of the sons was mentioned in her will - John Samuel. The de Montmollin family tree shows only the barest essentials for two of the sons - John Frederic, who died in 1819; and Francis Gaudot, who died in 1814. There has been speculation that one of these two later returned to London, where he provided care for the step-children of John Samuel. We know from George Marler's account that both John Samuel and John Frederic were in Quebec in 1790, and that they had departed prior to 1794. In 1792, David Francis had signed a petition on behalf of himself and his two "absent" sons - John Samuel and Francis Gaudot, the indication being that he expected them to return to the province. As all three sons were living when Jane Bell wrote her will in 1807, the exclusion of the two younger sons may well raise questions. There is nothing to support the supposition that changes were made in her will after the deaths of John Frederic and Francis Gaudot.

While efforts to close out Mrs. de Montmollin's estate were going on in Quebec City, the Marlers were facing new problems. In March 1823, Leonard was served with an action instituted by Moses Hart for payment of the balance still outstanding of the rental of the farm. Although some payment had been made, 65 pounds was still owed, and Hart believed that the pressure of legal action would accelerate payment out of the proceeds of Mrs. de Montmollin's estate. Being without funds, the unfortunate Leonard had no choice but to authorize his attorney to confess judgment on the action.

Meanwhile, the new executor of the estate wasted no time in collecting the debts owed the estate, and in August, all assets of the estate were handed over to the Marlers. But their troubles were far from over. Before they had been able to realize any of the assets of the estate, the Harts instituted yet another action, this time for over 50 pounds for merchandise bought and money advanced. Again, there were no grounds to contest the action, and by the end of September, the Harts had judgments against Leonard for over 100 pounds.

Twice in the following year, the Marlers were visited by the Sheriff, who succeeding in collecting a sum of about eight pounds - not even enough to pay the legal costs. He finally had to report that "no other property either movable or immovable belonging to the said Leonard Marler has come to my knowledge."

For some months, Leonard had been in failing health, and his serious financial difficulties had greatly aggravated his condition. In August 1824, he executed a will from his bedside in which he provided that his entire estate would go to

Charlotte, and in its pathetic conclusion, he stated that he was confined to bed by sickness and that he was unable to sign it "both on account of nervous disability and weakness." He never recovered, and his life ended on October 25, 1824. He was only thirty-seven years of age.

Although Leonard's death could not have been unexpected, it was nonetheless a tragic occasion for his young widow, for at the age of thirty, she was left with five children to bring up, ranging in age from thirteen to four years.

Charlotte could have been under no illusions as to the value of Leonard's estate. Not only would there be no money or other assets, but the estate would, she knew, be burdened with a heavy load of debts. The inventory of the property listed only two beds, showing all too clearly the poverty and hardship they had faced, and which the family would continue to suffer for some years to come. The sale of all the household goods and furniture, including Leonard's personal effects, realized less than 40 pounds, and after meeting expenses, less than half that amount remained in the estate.

There was still the tiny pension to which Charlotte was entitled as the widow of an assistant Commissary in the Field Train. It amounted to only forty pounds a year, and her efforts to obtain an allowance for the support of her children were in vain.

In spite of the financial difficulties, Charlotte not only managed to keep her struggling family together, but succeeded in providing an education for her son George Leonard.

In 1827, when George Leonard was 14 years old, he was enrolled in the Seminary of Nicolet, a school supported by the Roman Catholic Church. There was fear that George Leonard would "imbibe its Romish principles," but what he did in fact imbibe was a comprehensive knowledge of French which served him well throughout his long and productive life. In 1833, he moved to Drummondville to become assistant to the Registrar of the Office of Registry, handling land and dwelling records in the newly established office. His fluency in both English and French served him well, as he negotiated an unusual agreement covering his own remuneration as the Deputy Registrar. Usually, this position was held by an indentured student at no compensation.

George Leonard was an intelligent and active young man, and by early 1835, he felt that he had acquired enough knowledge to set about obtaining the letters patent for the land grant for which his father had applied thirteen years earlier. As the holder of the grant was required to erect a dwelling house on the land, and to clear, cultivate and improve part of it, George Leonard arranged for four acres to be plowed, and for a modest house to be built, thirteen feet by fourteen, with a door, window and roof. He then wrote the Secretary and Registrar of the Province, stating that the settlement duties had been performed. He paid the fees of three pounds six shillings, and the patent was issued in the name of George Leonard Marler. The family had at last become the owner of eight hundred acres of excellent farm land.

This transaction was the turning point in the family's fortunes, for land in the area was selling at two shillings an acre, and if George Leonard could dispose of his grant, he would profit to the extent of some 80 pounds, a substantial sum in those days. The land was attractively set on the banks of the Nicolet River, not far from the villages of both Ste. Monique and Nicolet, and in the spring of 1836, George Leonard did indeed dispose of the property for which he obtained the excellent price of 160 pounds, double the usual price. The new owner promptly named George Leonard as his agent for the management of his property.

His business activities related largely to real estate, and by 1837, he was the owner of several substantial tracts of desirable land. That year was one of great political unrest in Canada, and although disturbances did not extend as far as Drummondville, a militia unit was organized there under the command of Major General Frederick-George Heriot, who had been awarded a large grant of land in the Drummondville area. Young George Leonard found himself Lieutenant and Adjutant. Through this association, he gained the friendship and confidence of General Heriot, and in 1839 he was named by the General as manager of all his enterprises and properties, both of which were substantial. In early 1843, George Leonard and Mary Woodward were married at St. Bartholomew's Church in Nicolet, having met through the activities of the small English-speaking community. In mid-May, he acquired a fine property on the main street of the village, including a large house and other buildings. It was his intention that this latest purchase provide a home for himself, his mother and his sisters, for whom he immediately ordered the construction of a new wing. His mother and sisters were never again to be allowed to be threatened by poverty. In his will, executed at that time, he left the property to his sisters, as well as a cash legacy of 300 pounds, and from that day forward he made himself responsible for the welfare of the entire family.

The year 1843 had begun with rejoicing for George Leonard's wedding to Mary Woodward, and had continued happily with increasing prosperity from his business activities. But it ended in a doubly sad note, for Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin Marler died on December 8th, and soon after, George Leonard's patron and friend, General Heriot, was laid to rest in the little churchyard of St. George's, Drummondville.

Charlotte Marguerite was in every sense a remarkable person. Despite her unconventional origins, and being raised by foster parents, she demonstrated a deep loyalty to the de Montmollin family, and later to the Marlers. Her mother was an unnamed woman in Vergennes, Vermont, whose identity is not known to either family. There is no record of her having seen her father since early childhood, though from time to time, he sent money to his mother for her support. In the depths of Leonard Marler's financial difficulties, Charlotte's grandmother came to live with them, as she herself was in dire straits. She was approaching ninety at the time of the move, and lived with them for the remaining years of her life. Charlotte's loyalty and her willingness to care for her aged grandmother apparently made a deep impression on her son, George Leonard. When his second child was born, he was given the name of William De Montmoulin [*sic*], the first of a succession of Marler children to be so named. Legend in both the de

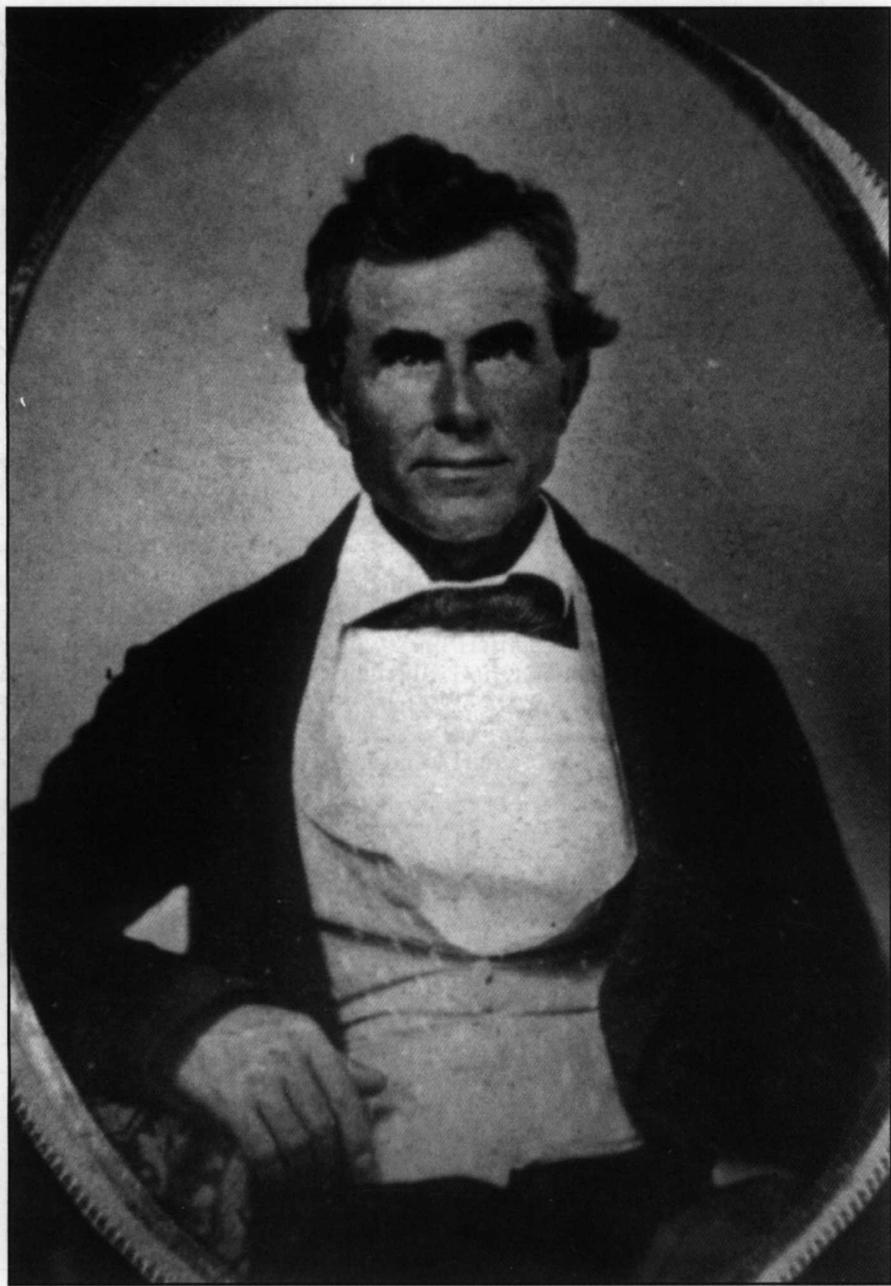
Montmollin and Marler families has it that the custom was suggested by Charlotte Marguerite herself, and it has been carried out almost without exception for eight generations. The relationship between the two families is remarkable, considering the great distances which separated them. On a number of occasions, members of one family served as godparents to children of the other family, sometimes by proxy. John Samuel de Montmollin II, for instance, was godfather to William de Montmollin Marler, son of George Leonard. He was represented as proxy by the child's father. A letter has come to light written in 1881 by John Samuel de Montmollin III from Scarboro, Screven County, Georgia, to Miss Ellen Marler. This could only be Ellen (1820-1906), youngest daughter of Charlotte Marguerite and Leonard Marler. He addressed her as "My dear Cousin," and referred to several persons whom they obviously knew in common. He mentioned the promise that "if I ever get able I shall most certainly see you all once more," so it is apparent that they had met in person. He wrote, "Do Cousin Ellen, remember us to each and all - tell Cousin George [Leonard] to write. I wrote him but have had no answer to my letter. Remember us to Mrs. Dorion [Ellen's older sister Mary Ann] and each and all. You don't know how glad it makes us all feel to hear from you - not a day passes that you are not spoken of." And, "My wife joins me in sending love to each and all, and hopes that she may yet have the pleasure of seeing you". . . There is a postscript which reads, "You might send me your photo if you can. We want to see Cousin Ellen."

On the de Montmollin side, the Marler name appears first in the form of Harriet Marler de Montmollin, (D XV 16)<sup>7</sup> (1853-1863) daughter of John Samuel II; Harry Marler de Montmollin I, (D XVI 10) and Harriet Marler de Montmollin (D XVI 12), son and daughter of John Samuel III; Harry Marler de Montmollin II, (D XVII 35), son of Harry Marler I; Harry Marler de Montmollin III (D XVIII 56), son of Harry Marler II; and in Philip Marler de Montmollin (D XIX 56), son of Scott de Montmollin, and great-great-grandson of Harry Marler I.

On the Marler side, there was William de Montmollin Marler, son of George Leonard Marler; Peter de Montmollin Marler, son of Leonard Woodward Marler; William de Montmollin Marler II, son of William de Montmollin Marler I; John de Montmollin Marler, son of William de Montmollin Marler I; and David de Montmollin Marler, son of John de Montmollin Marler.

Thus, the two families have enjoyed a close and unusual relationship for eight generations, though separated by many miles and by an international boundary.

7      References are to Table D, *Genealogie de la Famille Montmollin*, 1967.



*John Samuel de Montmollin II*  
1808 - 1859

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *JOHN SAMUEL de MONTMOLLIN II (1808-1859)*

By any measure, John Samuel II was the most outstanding of the men to bear the name "John Samuel de Montmollin." Orphaned at two-and-a-half years of age, property owner at nineteen, struggling businessman at thirty, married at thirty-three, highly successful at thirty-five, wealthy at forty, deceased at fifty-one. He was a trader (as was his father before him), a large landowner in Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and California; an investor in mining enterprises, railroads and business ventures of all sorts; President of a bank in Savannah; a rice-planter; owner of race horses; a patron of the arts.

John Samuel was a man consumed by the ambition to make money - willing to venture wherever opportunity presented itself. His activities necessarily brought about long absences from his family. Very early in his career, his business activities were conducted in and around Savannah, but the lure of land ownership in such frontier country as East Florida, the Republic of Texas and later California soon led him far afield. He developed a *modus* whereby he would seek out land on which property taxes were delinquent and pay the taxes, thus attaining ownership at a fraction of the value of the land itself.

The property he acquired falls into three categories: land acquired for re-sale at a profit, land from which income could be derived, and land which was destined for the use of his own family. An integral part of his business activity in Savannah was the sale of real estate, and many transactions were just that. Income-producing land included rental property, agricultural and manufacturing property, and mining property as far away as Tennessee, Arkansas and Pennsylvania. Property for the use of the family was located in the vicinity of Savannah, either in the City itself, on the estuary islands of the Savannah River, upstream in South Carolina, or in Florida.

The long and frequent absences from his family seem to imply that he was more interested in his business pursuits than in a close relationship with his wife and children. Before his marriage, he had made frequent trips by steamer to Florida, and later there is evidence of extended trips to Arkansas and the middle-west, and a stay of nearly a year in California.

He married well and remained loyal to his family, though his lifestyle does not indicate a close-knit relationship. This conclusion is bolstered by the insistence in his wills that if his widow should re-marry after his death, she would lose control of the children and would forfeit all income from the estate. His relationship with his wife seems to fall somewhat short of his apparent deep regard for his mother. She had raised him alone from an early age, and their relationship seems to have remained close throughout his lifetime. Actually, she survived him by a few months.

Although he was actively engaged in the sale of Negro slaves, this pursuit does not necessarily show a flaw of character. Such commerce was perfectly legal in the pre-war South. One of his clients wrote that he could be counted on to

respect the family integrity of slaves which passed through his business<sup>1</sup> and, presumably, those which he held in his own right. Though one of his Swiss relatives questioned him on his treatment of slaves, there is no evidence that they were mistreated in any way, except, of course, in being held in bondage in the first place.

Of his education, we know nothing. While we may assume he went through the lower grades and high school, there is no mention of schooling beyond that level. His correspondence contains frequent inconsistencies in spelling and grammar, although this might be viewed as typical of that age.

Although John Samuel made frequent mention of God in his correspondence (usually in the rather dramatic closings typical of the time), there is no real evidence that he was a deeply religious man. He was married in the church, yet no evidence has come down of continued activity in affairs of the church.

He set high standards for his children, as revealed in his letters to his older son and in the specifications he set down in his two wills. He had a great interest in family history, and used the accomplishments of various members of the family to inspire his sons to greater things.

The first knowledge we have of him as a young man is in 1827, when on April 21, he was awarded a lot of land in a public lottery for the benefit of widows and orphans, as a tract of publicly-held land was put to private ownership. It was the first of many real estate holdings in the Savannah area and elsewhere.

In 1829, he was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the "Company District" of the Georgia Militia, following in the footsteps of his father who had once commanded the elite Chatham Rangers.

#### *A YOUNG BUSINESSMAN - DESTINED FOR GREAT SUCCESS*

That he was a determined businessman even at an early age, is testified to by a letter to his mother written July 28, 1835. He was 27 years old at the time, and was engaged in business, although he had not yet reached the prosperity which was to come. Maria had apparently gone to visit family in the North, and John Samuel was to join her. He was writing to explain his delay in doing so:

I know I ought to have left, but circumstances have detained me here. I had a great deal of money owing to me here, more than you were aware of, but have not collected hardly any of it. My thought on the subject was this: that I had better stay and get it, for if I went away, very little of it would have been got. If I was away from here, I would be making nothing, while if I stay here, I may collect something smart. I had the promise every day of an hundred dollars that was owing me, which I have not got yet. If I would get it this week, I will start; if not, it will be impossible for me to come. The truth was that everything was packed up and arranged for travelling. Do not blame me, my dear Mother, for being so confident when you started. I had, as I may say, the words of others, for they said they would pay me. I know you will blame me for detaining you, but your pardon will certainly be granted to me upon learning my situation. I did not want to stay in Savannah. No, I do not, I will not, in evidence of which I here declare to you and to which declaration I call God to witness that if I do not leave here early, that upon your return, I will go with you to stay forever from this place. If you see a situation that you would like, you may be certain that next year I will go away from this place. It may be possible that I might leave here this

<sup>1</sup> Robert Manson Myers, ed., *Children of Pride*, Popular Library, New York, 1977 (paper-bound edition); Vol. 1, p. 322.

week. If so, I will hurry on, and will keep writing to you. So you can go a-travelling, leaving word at the Post Office where you will be. I will write to you every day or two after this.

Mother, you mistake me. I had money when you went away this summer that I had put up to go away with. I will not bother it. You may think that I will call on Mr. Banks for that money and spend it, but I will not, and as for frolicking or spending money, give yourself no uneasiness at all. If I go or come to the North I would like to have some money. Therefore to have it I must be careful and shall do so. For nothing shall turn my course for the future from being careful and I have repent and call God to witness that I have been disappointed in not leaving here, but that shall do so early when you return.

This place is very sickly, many die and a great many sick. *illegible* Williams is dead. I attend his funeral Sunday. Their business is very dull, and Shick has been remarkably kind to me, but Mother I consider him a hypocrite and all his kindnesses are for nothing. Mr. and Mrs. Banks are very kind to me.

I hope you had a smooth and pleasant passage and that you have and will enjoy yourself far more than you thought when you left here. Write to me often, and direct to this place, and if I should leave, Mr. Banks will take out my letters. For God's sake, do not blame me, my dear Mother. Everything goes smoothly so far. Mr. Shick is very particular, very close, and very precise.

No more in this, excepting that it may find you enjoying all the health this life affords.

J. S. Montmollin

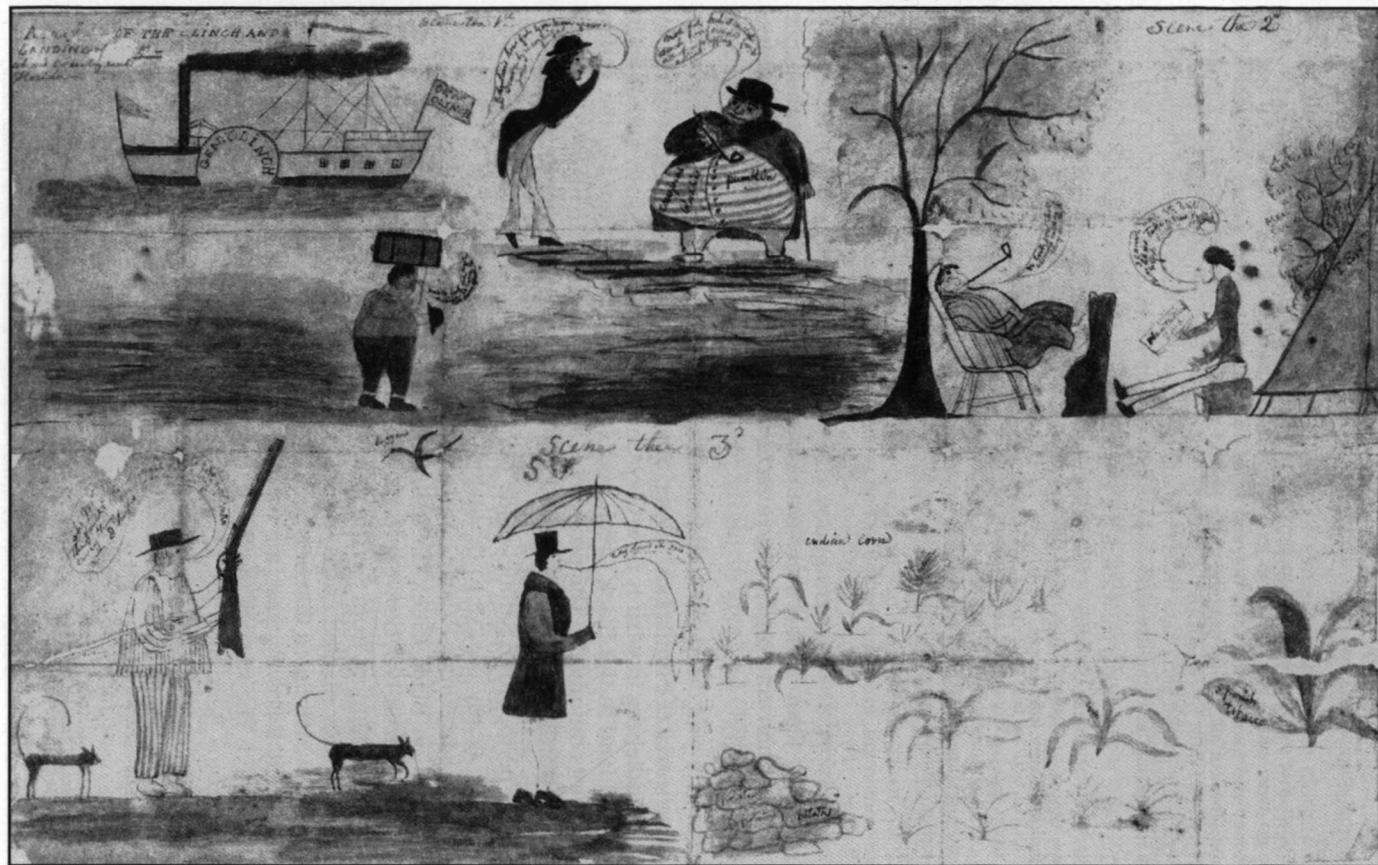
It sounds as if John Samuel were not doing well in Savannah - yet at the same time, we find him entering horses in races as far away as Charleston, Columbus and Augusta.<sup>2</sup>

The following year, he purchased from the government 459 acres of land in the Black Creek area of Florida (an original Spanish land grant) near the present-day town of Middleburg in what is now Clay County. He had previously laid claim to a section of land in the Black Creek area, west of Brown's Fort, but the earlier grant was not confirmed.<sup>3</sup> The property is later (October 23, 1840) listed as "sold to Maria Edwards," apparently deeded to his mother as security for a loan.

During this period, John Samuel made frequent trips on coastal steamers to and from Florida, nearly always to destinations on the St. Johns River - sometimes Black Creek, sometimes Palatka. In 1839 or 1840, he made an attempt to cultivate the land on Black Creek. In the company of Louis Rossignol, later to become his brother-in-law, he went to Black Creek on the steamer *General Clinch*, a side-wheeler running from Savannah to Palatka. They were accompanied by a Negro slave. They planted crops of Indian corn, Spanish tobacco, potatoes and grass - all of which failed that first season. They lived on cow peas, rabbits and pumpkins. The following year, the weather was more favorable, and good crops were harvested. The story of the Black Creek cultivation is recorded in a cartoon drawn by Louis Rossignol, the original of which is in the author's possession. The full text of the cartoon reveals not only the difficulties encountered in cultivating the land, but also the sense of humor which enabled them to outlast their

2 1835 - He entered horses Patsy Wallace and Alborak at Columbus, Ga. On February 25 he entered Patsy Wallace and won in Charleston. On March 13, he entered Molly Long in Augusta and came in second. In January 1841 he entered Timolean at the Oglethorpe Course. Sources: *Georgia Gazette* and *Savannah Georgian*.

3 Arch Fredrick Blakey, *Parade of Memories - A History of Clay County, Florida*, p. 22.



Cartoon by Louis Rossignol depicting attempt to cultivate land in Black Creek area in Florida. About 1836

difficulties. One cannot be sure whether the cartoon was drawn during idle moments at Black Creek, or later.

Title

ARRIVAL OF THE CLINCH AND LANDING OF MR.  
M. AT HIS COUNTRY SEAT, FLORIDA.

Drawing shows steamboat *General Clinch*; ashore is a Negro carrying a suitcase bearing the initials JSM. Negro says, "Hab to leb my wife and child to come to this damn spot!"

Scene the 1st:

Drawing shows Louis Rossignol fat from eating cow peas, rabbits and pumpkin; Mr. M. thin and trim.

Mr. M.: "Why, Louis, how fat you have grown. I scarcely recognize you."

Louis: "Not fat, but swelled. Such confounded food, all of a puffing nature."

Scene the 2nd:

Drawing shows Mr. M. and Louis, now thin, sitting in chairs outside their tent. Mr. M. is leaning back against a tree, Louis is looking at the "plantation book."

Mr. M.: "Go look over those accounts and see if they are right."

Louis: "Sorry, I cannot read your writing. Let us take a view of the crops first."

Scene the 3rd:

Drawing shows Mr. M. and Louis, both thin, two thin dogs and a buzzard overhead. Louis is carrying a rifle, Mr. M. has an umbrella.

Louis: "[illegible] arranged to take you into the fields. The drought has ruined everything. Next year, we will do better, I hope."

Mr. M.: "Why, Louis, it does not look as though we will have a good picking of nubbins."

Final Scene:

Drawing shows a bumper crop of Indian corn, grass, Spanish tobacco and potatoes.

Between 1835 and 1840, John Samuel made a number of purchases of land both in Florida and in the Savannah area. Land records in the old St. Augustine District of East Florida reveal his *modus operandi* in acquiring land. A number of purchases are listed in 1838 and 1839 showing a certain "John C. Cleland" either as land agent or receiver. John Samuel apparently would acquire land for the payment of delinquent taxes, as the price paid was as low as \$1.00 an acre in some instances. Documentation has come to light from these transactions totalling nearly 400 acres. The same John C. Cleland is listed as joint owner with John Samuel of 220.03 acres contained in a land grant by President Franklin Pierce. Although the date of this document is illegible, the grant was made about 1853, and soon came into dispute. One can follow the story in a series of letters between John Samuel's attorney and the General Land Office in Washington. Apparently the grant was finally disallowed, and John Samuel attempted to get his money back. After some months of correspondence, a lawsuit was filed against the government demanding refund. The matter was submitted to the Secretary of Interior for a decision - and there the trail ends. It might be reasonable to speculate that letting the matter rest there would have been completely out of character for John Samuel...

Dick's Map of Palatka, East Florida, published in 1851, identifies John Samuel as the owner of a lot on the southwest corner of Lemon Street and Front Street.

On the same map, Louis Rossignol is shown as the owner of the city block bordering Lemon [St. Johns], First [Second], Second [Third] and Orange [Reid]

Streets. This was a "downtown" block in Palatka, later containing several prominent buildings including the Masonic Temple and Fry's Opera House. Rossignol apparently spent the remainder of his life in Florida. His family has no record of his returning to Savannah, nor even of his death. He is listed as the fourth Postmaster of Palatka, the postoffice having been established in 1841.<sup>4</sup>

The census of 1860 has the following data on Rossignol:<sup>5</sup>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>Other Information</u>
Rossignol, L. H.	39	Lumber Merchant	GA	
Clark, Susan*	35	Cook	FL	
Laura*	16	Seamstress	FL	
John*	14		FL	
Susan*	12		FL	
Charles*	10		FL	
George*	8		FL	
Fredrick*	6		FL	Married Florence Cobb 3/6/1879
Eugenia*	2		FL	
Alex*	25	Teamster	FL	

\* Indicates free Negro (or "Mulatto") persons.

In 1873, Louis Rossignol is listed as agent acting on behalf of Louis Henry de Montmollin (younger brother of John Samuel.II) in the sale of a steam engine and grist mill. Louis Henry had married the daughter of Jacques Louis and Mary Rice Rossignol (a niece of Harriet and Louis Rossignol) Frances Susannah Villepoux Rossignol.

Louis Rossignol died at Palatka on November 18, 1879, "in the sixtieth year of his age," as recorded in the de Montmollin family Bible.

The year 1841 was indeed a busy one for John Samuel. He is recorded as "returning to Savannah" as a steamer passenger no fewer than five times during the year - from Palatka on January 12; from Charleston on March 11th; from Palatka on May 6th and August 26th; and from an undesignated location in Florida on an unspecified date later in the year. Palatka was the southern terminus of several boat lines operating in the coastal waterways south of Charleston and Savannah. The depth of the channel beyond Palatka required a transfer to shallow-draft vessels. In that same year, he appeared in Lexington, Kentucky, where he was purchasing a thousand horses for sale to the Army in Florida. Although the Second Seminole War was drawing to a close, the Army still provided a ready market for horses, and John Samuel was quick to seize the opportunity. While in Lexington, he noticed the de Montmollin name on a storefront, and met Frederick de Montmollin, a descendant of the branch of the family which entered through Philadelphia in 1787.

There is considerable evidence that John Samuel engaged in various business enterprises in Florida and elsewhere. One local writer in Palatka<sup>6</sup> records that

4 Bryan E. Michaels, *The River Flows North - A History of Putnam County*, p. 68

5 *Ibid.*, p. 460.

6 Janice Mahaffey, "More Trivial Facts about Putnam County."

"Around 1857, John De Montmollin, a rice grower from Savannah, Georgia, transformed 20 acres of his 320 acre land grants into producing some of the earliest rice fields in Putnam County. One of the land tracts was located near Rice Creek, and the other near the Rodman Grant, close to the Oklawaha River. The ventures proved unsuccessful, and were later abandoned."

Though the land holdings in Florida were among the earlier acquisitions, John Samuel by no means restricted himself to Savannah and Florida. Along with a partner, George W. Wylly, he was engaged in business as a "broker," dealing in the purchase and sale of real estate, bank and other stocks, personal property, etc., therefore many purchases can be considered as investments, with only a few intended for the use of his family. A listing of his property during the period 1837 to 1859 indicates many purchases of land and other properties throughout the southeastern United States and even beyond:

Date	Description
Feb. 2, 1837	Lot #8, Digby Tything, Decker Ward, Savannah, bought from Joseph Kingsley and wife; 60x90 feet, \$4,500
Dec. 22, 1837	One-sixteenth interest in steamboat from John McLain
April 20, 1838	Two-thirds interest in steamboat <i>Swan</i> of Augusta; \$4,000
June 26, 1838	SW corner of Lemon [St. Johns] and Front [First] Street, Palatka, FL; John Samuel also mentioned as owner of various other lots in Palatka <sup>7</sup>
June 26, 1838	Bought from John S. Cleland Lots 4, 5, 6, 9, Section 9, 152.88 acres, St. Augustine District; \$192.35
June 26, 1838	Bought from John S. Cleland 75.52 acres, St. Augustine District; \$94.40
June 26, 1838	Bought from John S. Cleland Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, Section 11; 220.03 acres, St. Augustine District \$275.03
Aug. 17, 1839	Lots 90 and 91, 10th District, 1st Section, Cherokee County (probably Georgia)
1840	Sold 459 acres in Black Creek area of Florida to Maria Edwards
[undated- app. 1840]	A map of part of East Florida shows the Rice Creek property owned by John Samuel, near Palatka. The Rice Creek property (or possibly the Rodman property - it was designated only as "R—") was sold by Louis Rossignol in September, 1859, with the proceeds put to the credit of Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin, widow of John Samuel
Sep. 11, 1840	Land acquired in payment of debt of \$718.66 from James A. Towns
July 10, 1844	Acquired additional acreage in St. Augustine District (Certificate No. 482) <sup>8</sup>
June 16, 1846	Bought Lot #10, Heathcote Tything, Decker Ward, Savannah

<sup>7</sup> Dick's Map of Palatka, EF, 1851.

<sup>8</sup> John Samuel was surety for John C. Cleland, who apparently defalcated the duties of his office as Director of the Land Office in St. Augustine. In 1854, after the purchases of land in St. Augustine District had been disallowed, John Samuel attempted to recover the money paid for them. The matter was referred to the Secretary in the Interior with the notation that, since Mr. Montmollin was one of the sureties for Mr. Cleland, measures should be taken to insure that the United States receive the benefit of the repayment. So if any money was recovered, it probably was taken by the Federal Government to cover its losses in Mr. Cleland's default. Source: Letter to R. A. Putnam, Esq., from John Wilson, Commissioner General Land Office, Washington, DC, dated January 13, 1854.

Feb. 2, 1848	Bought "the eleventh of lots of land near the canal, City of Savannah, Lots 12, 59, 60, 6, 38"
Aug. 2, 1849	Bought garden lot #20 and Front lot #6, south of Central Railroad Depot, Savannah
1849	Bought Lots #22, 23, 30 and 38 in Burrytown, just outside limits of Savannah
1850	Goat Island, San Francisco Bay, California (formerly known as <i>Yerba Buena</i> ), later Treasure Island. <sup>9</sup>
1852	Bought jointly with George Wylly from George Gibbs half of land between Ruby and Margaret Streets, Lot #49
Mar 8, 1852	Bought from Iredel Alexander Lots #4 and 5, Heathcote Ward, LaRoche Tything, 50 acres
June 3, 1852	Bought jointly with George Wylly Lot #3, Moore Tything, Percival Ward
Jan. 4, 1853	Bought from M. Abraham Lot #19, Garden Lot West
Mar. 4, 1853	Bought jointly with George Wylly from J. B. Cubbedge Lot #32, Springfield Plantation, plus Lots #29, 30, 31
Jan. 1, 1855	Bought 50 acres on Isle of Hope from William P. and Anne E. Bowen. Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin was living on the Isle of Hope in 1859
July, 1856	Bought from Savannah Hotel Company two-thirds of Lot #6, Tyreconnel Tything, Derby Ward, 60' front on Bull Street, 60' depth on Broughton Street
Jan. 26, 1857	Notation in inventory of property held by John Samuel: "Paid Jno Williamson on account of Union Swamp and Gray Tract for twenty-five thousand dollars." There is no indication that this was either the initial payment or payment in full for these two plantations, which were located in South Carolina on the Savannah River. Likely, the "Gray Tract" was bought as acreage, as there is evidence of a dwelling being built there in 1853. Inventories of property owned by Wylly and Montmollin on April 1, 1854, <i>et. seq.</i> , show "House in S. C., carriage, cart, &c &c, valued at \$1000"
Feb. 9, 1857	Indenture covering agreement between John Samuel and Charles F. Hatcher, of New York, covering transfer one-half of Texas tract of land, totalling 4000 acres, more or less, from John Samuel to Hatcher. Land located 12 miles southeast of Nachitoches (now Louisiana) where Sulphur Creek flows into Red River. Land swapped for land previously conveyed to John Samuel from Jean Emile Faure, <i>Alcalde</i> [Mayor] of Nachitoches, in the Republic of Texas
[undated]	Bought Bellesin tract, containing 540 acres on Savannah River
[undated]	Bought Lot #2 in subdivision of Trust Lot, Decker Ward, Savannah

<sup>9</sup> Goat Island, the largest island in San Francisco Bay, was apparently acquired by John Samuel II during his stay in the gold fields in 1850. Later correspondence between John Samuel III and Aaron Burr de Montmollin mentions the confiscation of Goat Island at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, and its appraisal at the time at \$6 million. It was described by Ernest de Massey in *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush* as "not prepossessing in appearance, its vegetation being very scanty. A few scrawny trees on the northern end afford the sole shelter the goats, for many years the only inhabitants, could find." In 1872, there was an attempt by the railroad to obtain a grant of Goat Island, opposed by citizens of San Francisco. The island was originally known as *Yerba Buena*, a small outcropping of rock which was later filled in with spoil from dredging. Later it became known by its present name of "Treasure Island." It now houses a naval base, and supports one of the stanchions of the Oakland Bay Bridge, which links San Francisco and the City of Oakland.

On January 1, 1857, John Samuel listed his real estate holdings. Bearing out the assumption that most of the property he purchased was bought as an investment, only three pieces of property listed above were still in his possession at the beginning of 1857. The fact that a number of other parcels were held by him on that date indicates that the above list is by no means complete.

According to John Samuel's own listing, real property held by him on that date was:

Lot 8, Digby Tything, Decker Ward, Savannah  
 2/3 of lot NE corner of Bull & Broughton. Savannah  
 1/3 of Lot Letter I west of Market & building, Savannah  
 Lot SE corner of York & Bull Streets, Savannah  
 Garden Lots West Nos. 18, 20, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 fronting on Jones Street, [illegible] Street, Jews Cemetery, Hiram Roberts, thence running back of Roberts to Adams west to Springfield Plantation, Savannah  
 50 acres Heathcote Tything, Decker Ward, Savannah  
 50 acres Heathcote Tything, Decker Ward, Savannah  
 50 acres Heathcote Tything, Decker Ward, Savannah  
 50 acres improved on Isle of Hope  
 Lots on Montgomery, Hall & West Broad Street  
 1/3 undivided strip on Montgomery Street  
 Tracts of land in Georgia No 296 - 9 - 4  
 Lot 1 in illegible, Georgia 294 - 9 - 3  
 Lot, Georgia 312 - 16 - 4  
 Near illegible 241 - 6 - Irvine 490 Acres  
 7 - 13 - Dody 202 1/2 Acres  
 Plantation 14 miles from City 550 acres  
 1/2 undivided interest in Mount Skidaway Plantation \$2,000  
 1/4 interest in lot No 33 - Rabun County  
 1/24 American Mining Company  
 1/12 Fighting Town Mining Company  
 1/2 Lot No 165-13-1 Lumpkin Purchased of Wm. P. Yonge  
 1/3 Lot No Balance owned by DeLaney & LaRoche  
 1/2 Lot No 14-10-2 Purchased of DeLaney & LaRoche  
 9 Lots of land in Duval county, East Florida  
 9 Lots of land (Woodville) St. Johns River, East Florida  
 2 Lots of land Rice Creek, East Florida  
 1 Lot of land mouth of Rice Creek

The complete inventory included 1300 shares of Mechanics Savings Bank stock, shares in a coal mine in Pennsylvania, a number of rentals, accounts receivable, household furnishings, plantation equipment, and 18 slaves, eleven of which were listed as house servants.

Whether by happenstance or by design, no evidence of property acquisition between 1840 and 1844 has been found. Perhaps this was a period of consolidation of his holdings, as he travelled frequently during that period between Savannah and Palatka.

Whatever his activity during this period, he nonetheless found time to engage in a courtship which culminated in his marriage to Marie Madeline Henrietta de Rossignol.

Harriet Rossignol was a member of the eminent Rossignol family, a descendant the Count de Chambour, a prominent member of the French nobility. Her

ancestor, Claude Rossignol, a member of the Beleanse branch, was a captain of infantry in the French army, stationed at St. Kitts, in the Caribbean. When the British captured the island in 1690, the Rossignol family was banished to St. Domingue, where they became large landowners. Four brothers established residence on St. Domingue, where they remained until they were forced to flee the island during the uprising of slaves in 1792.

Some of the branches of the Rossignol family have discarded all surnames except Rossignol; while others have allowed the family name to fall into disuse and are now known as "Desdune," "Grammont," and "Lachicotte." Interestingly enough, the name "Lachicotte," that of one of the most prominent families in the Georgetown, South Carolina area, came from the French name of the family residence in St. Domingue - "*La Chicote*," or "cockroach" in French. Apparently life in the tropics was not without its trials. Harriet's branch of the family retained the name "Rossignol" and was known as the "Beleanse" branch, named for the lovely view of a beautiful cove near their home on St. Domingue ("Belle Anse").

John Samuel de Montmollin II and Harriet Rossignol were married on January 20, 1842 in Christ Church in Savannah when that now-historic building was in its fourth year. The ceremony was performed by Reverend Edward Neufville, Rector of the Church.<sup>10</sup>

Harriet's brother, Louis, was the same Louis Rossignol who accompanied John Samuel to Black Creek, Florida, in about 1836. Louis lived out his life in Palatka. The union of John Samuel and Harriet produced three children, all born in Savannah: John Samuel III, born in 1844; Louis Henry in 1846; and Harriet Marler in 1853.

Louis became an attorney, practicing in Savannah. He was elected to several terms as an Alderman there. In 1867, he married Frances Susannah Villepontoux Rossignol, a niece of Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin. Louis died in 1884 of complications following injuries inflicted by bandits at one of the family plantations in South Carolina. They had one daughter, Susie, who died in a convent in Washington, Georgia. Family records show she died in 1900; however, possibly through error, she is listed in the 1920 census of Georgia as still living in the convent. Harriet Marler was given her middle name in honor of the relationship between the de Montmollin and Marler families.<sup>11</sup> She was a frail child, and lived only about ten years.<sup>12</sup> The record of her death in the family Bible, in John Samuel III's handwriting, reads "Harriet Marler de Montmollin died January 13th, 1863, aged nine years seven months and three days. Bless my darling, Oh God in the Kingdom of Heaven."

10 Christ Church was the first church in Georgia, having been established by General Oglethorpe when the city was laid out in February, 1732. The Rev. John Wesley was minister of the church in 1736 and 1737, during which time he established the first Sunday School in America, and published for use in Christ Church the first English Hymnal in America. At the same time, his brother Charles was at St. Simon's Island, where he founded Christ Church, Frederica. The Wesley brothers returned to England in 1737, where they later founded the Methodist Church. The Rev. George Whitefield became minister in 1748, and laid the foundation for the first church building on the site. During its earlier years, the congregation of Christ Church had met in a tent, the first building being dedicated in 1750. This building was burned by the great fire of 1796, which destroyed most of the city. The second building was begun in 1803, largely destroyed by a hurricane in 1804, and was rebuilt in 1810. In 1837, the building was deemed unsafe, and was razed. The present building was dedicated in 1838.

11 See Chapter 4, page 65 for the origin of this custom observed by the two families.

12 A portrait of Harriet Marler as a young girl, obviously painted shortly before her death, has come down through the generations. It was left to the author by Helen de Montmollin Hahn, who died in 1985, and is now among the family memorabilia in Columbia, SC.

*THE LURE OF THE GOLD FIELDS*

In 1850, John Samuel set out on one of the great adventures of his life. Following the lure of quick riches from the California gold fields, he and two partners set up a supply business at a mining camp near Sonora, California.

Though some of the details of this adventure are still unclear, his activities while there can be chronicled almost day-by-day from a ledger carefully kept by John Samuel during his stay in California.<sup>13</sup>

The book begins with entries which may or may not be related to the California adventure. In the inside front cover, we read:

New Orleans Oct 29, 1848 Sent on this day two negro men to John H. Ward to work for the said John H. Ward as macanets &c in my mill and on my plantation in Hot Springs County, Ark. Names of the negroes - Peter and Moses, both carpenters. Left with Mr. Ward for to work on my place in Ark on the 18th of February, 1849, three negroes, boy Jim and boy Charls and girl Sara. Sent to J. H. Ward on the 24th of Mar 1849 one negro man Sam-Jim. The said negroes all for the same place.

Then follows an itinerary which may or may not be that which led to California, though that is quite possible if one can accept the dates, which would indicate a longer-than-necessary journey:

Savannah July 25, 1848	
Left Savannah for Atlanta	
Fair to the same	\$ 24.00
Then to Decatur	6.
Then " Gunters Landing, Ten	18.
Then " Decatur, Mis	6.
Then " Tuskcumby	6.
Then " Holly Springs	16.
Then " Memphis	7.
Then " Napoleon	10.
Then " Litel Rock	20.
Fair on the road	14.
Then to Hot Springs & Litel Rock	21.
At Hot Springs	20.
Left on the 18th for Litel Rock Fair to the same	10.
Fair on the road	2.
From thens to Jeffersonville	46.
Left Galveston Texas on 20th of May, 1849	

Several different routes were taken to California by the would-be miners. From the central and northern states, most went overland by several trails: the Carson, Truckee and Lassen Trails, which crossed the country through what is now Nebraska; and to the south, the Santa Fe trail, or one of several routes that led from Texas and Vera Cruz across Mexico to the West Coast ports of San Blas, Mazatlan and Acapulco, where they finally obtained ships to carry them to California. From the eastern and southeastern states, most went by boat from Gulf coast ports (Galveston was certainly one of those ports) to Chagres, then overland

<sup>13</sup> The ledger kept by John Samuel II has been preserved through John Samuel III, Aaron Burr de Montmollin I, Aaron Burr de Montmollin II, and his daughter Frances de Montmollin Johnson Colane. It has been re-bound and preserved, and is now in the family archives in Columbia, SC.

across the Isthmus of Panama to Panama City, where they awaited the arrival of a steamer sailing from New York around Cape Horn to San Francisco. On a voyage which began before the announcement of the discovery of gold, one of these ships, the *California*, sailed from New York with only a few passengers. By the time she steamed around the Cape and anchored off Panama City, some 1,500 gold-seekers had responded to President Polk's confirmation of the gold discovery by sailing from eastern ports to Chagres, and were eagerly awaiting her arrival in Panama City to book passage to San Francisco. The steamer had accommodations for only one hundred passengers: Demand for tickets nurtured trickery, thievery and prices that soared to more than \$1,000 for a bunk in steerage.<sup>14</sup>

Between July 1849 and the end of the year, nearly 42,000 gold-seekers had reached California by the overland routes. In addition, more than 6,000 Mexicans from the province of Sonora had emigrated to the mining region, adding to those who had already come to the region in 1848. In the same period, 697 vessels had entered San Francisco harbor, delivering more than 41,000 Americans and foreigners. Many of these ships were deserted by their crews and abandoned to rot in the mudflats or to creak at anchor, until in later years some would be resurrected to carry thousands back East.

The 89,000 gold-seekers were not settlers or pioneers in the tradition of America's westward migration. They came as exploiters, transients - ready to take, not to build. Whether in the diggings or in San Francisco, Sacramento City or Stockton, they found themselves surrounded by crowds of hurrying men (fewer than 800 were women) concerned only with how to make the greatest amount of money in the shortest time.

Not only did thousands of would-be and former miners pass through the city but everything that the burgeoning population needed from whiskey to nails was shipped from the East Coast of the United States around the Horn. Merchants in New York and other ports loaded ships with whatever they thought would sell in the California market - tons of flour and pork, boxes of needles, bundles of shovels, axes and picks, thousands of yards of canvas, lumber of all sizes, boots, blankets, woolen clothing, mirrors, chandeliers, mahogany furniture, champagnes and wines, foodstuffs of all kinds from canned oysters to cheeses.

The greatest market, however, was not San Francisco itself, but the scores of mining camps in the gold district. Most of the imports were loaded onto smaller boats for the 150-mile passage up the Sacramento or San Jacinto rivers to Sacramento City or Stockton.

The gold mines were scattered through a vast area along the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada. While everyone used the word "mines," they were actually talking about the rivers, for most of the gold was dug from the banks and flats and gravel-rock bars of the ten rivers that flowed through the foothills to join the two great rivers in the central valley.

<sup>14</sup> J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In*, Simon and Schuster/New York; Chapter X.

Since 1848, it has been customary to speak of the mining region as two separate areas. The northern mines referred to the Feather, Yuba, Bear and American rivers, each with several forks and many lesser tributaries, all flowing through a mountainous country of deep canyons and gorges. Abundant winter rains and melting snow assured year-round water in all the streams.

In the southern mines the scene was quite different, so much so that the area was often described as the "dry diggings," meaning that gold had to be dug some distance from water during the summer because many smaller streams were dry. Here the main rivers - the Consumnes, Mokelumne, Calivera, Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Merced and the Mariposa flowed through the foothills at a lower altitude in a rolling, arid country sparsely covered with oak groves and madrones.

Sonorian Camp (one of the southern mines) was located on a branch of the Tuolumne River, and had attracted large number of Mexicans in the summer of 1848, when they opened the first placer (mining for ore in gravel beds) and quartz veins. Most came from the province of Sonora in Mexico, and had given that name to the mining camp. It was here that John Samuel de Montmollin and his partners set up their tent and opened their miners' supply business.

In March of 1850, the American miners drove the Mexicans from their claims at Sonora on the theory that American gold belonged only to Americans. The Mexicans went to a location nearby and opened one of the last mining camps, later named Columbia. There they discovered placer gold. They were successful in pounding it in mortars and washing it in the stream, when a party of men led by Dr. Thaddeus Hildreth camped at their diggings. A heavy rainstorm during the night drenched the men and their belongings, so on the following morning, they had to wait for their blankets to dry out before moving on. While they waited, they prospected on the hillside and one of the group made a strike. Hildreth and his companion then ran the Mexicans out of their rightful diggings on Kennebec Hill and set up what was soon known as Hildreth's Diggings. The Americans took out fifteen pounds of gold a day during the first half-week. So rich was the ground that within a month, 6,000 persons had taken up claims in this phenomenally productive camp. Columbia, which by 1853 was the third-largest city in California, with a population of 15,000, actually prepared a petition to the State Legislature urging that the capital be moved from Benicia to Columbia.<sup>15</sup> California had been admitted to the Union in 1850.

Arriving at Sonorian Camp in May 1850, John Samuel formed a three-man partnership to finance and operate the supply business in the gold field. The text of the agreement is recorded in the ledger, however the first page of the document is missing:

... Amount of Stock of goods at this place the cost of the same as well as of those on the way & purchased for sale on Acc of John S. Montmollin, D. Markle & Robt. F. Cole the capital to be employed to be Five Thousand Dollars, of which John S. Montmollin is to advance Four & D. Markle One thousand and said Montmollin is to receive three fifths of the profits if any arise from said sales of the goods on hand and any goods hereafter to be bought & sold and D. Markle under said conditions of said Montmollin & for his said advancement and attention

to the business provided any profits arise shall be entitled to one fifth after deducting all expenses and Robt. F. Cole for his attention to the business shall also receive one fifth of the profits after deducting all expenses the said Cole to keep the books, cash accts &c &c of said business, the aforesaid Montmollin & Markle should the said amounts Four thousand Dollars and One thousand dollars not be employed must be ready at any time to pay said amounts out of the benefits of the business so to be carried on.

The initial entry in the book lists the stock of goods purchased in San Francisco and transported to the mining camp at Sonora:

Sonorian Camp 29th May 1850

John S Montmollin paid for the following:

Goods & freight expenses etc to date

242 sacks of oats	496.63
5 barrels Hams	225.50
10 doz wine carravellos	65.03
4 1/2 pair blankets & 3 paper tacks	10.18
1 doz C cider	5.75
1 barrel whiskey 41 gals	30.75
2 boxes soap	10.26
1 box lemon syrup	10.
2 doz champagne & 1/10 box segars	38.
2 boxes S. Gin 1 do Preserved ginger	
1 doz clams	35.
192 lbs ground coffee	115.20
2 doz tumblers & 1 doz goblets	17.00
11 thin coats	16.50
1 box Roman punch	13.50
4 decanters	8.00
5 waiters	4.75
1/2 doz spoons 4 lamps 2 lg tumblers	
4 decanters 2 pitchers 2 bitter bottles	
1 nutmeg grater	
1 doz wine glasses	
2 candlesticks & packing	94.75
3 pictures	36.50
10 tin cases biscuits	32.50
1 bbl pickled onions & 3 doz tongues	38.08
scales & weights common	8.50
Large tent for business	400.
4 doz shirts	22.40
5 wine muscatel	33.75
10 wine claret	41.00
1 box chocolate 57 lbs	20.00
3 1/3 casks brandy 50 gals	70.15
1/10 boxes segars	<u>7.00</u>
	\$1915.28
Amount brôt up	1915.28
4 boxes segars	35.00
12 doz spoons \$3.00 & 1/2 doz <u>woolen</u> shirts	15.50
3 boxes S. Canelles	13.93
1 box cordial	11.25
132 pounds bacon	17.31
5 boxes T Gin	22.50
4 looking glasses	12.50
1/2 barrel Sour Krout	25.00

1 box lemon syrup	10.00
1 barrel rice	27.81
1 box tobacco	24.30
1 bale white sugar	68.80
1 gross matches	3.00
1 cheese	12.48
1 barrel pork	11.00
1 do ale	33.00
1 case olive oil	37.50
7 towels	3.00
4 pieces silk hhds	30.00
36 gimlets	1.44
3 brass bowls	1.87 1/2
1/2 ream letter paper	1.00
1/2 bandas	10.50
.1 cooking stove	25.00
25 gold washers	5.25
.1 gold scales & weights	43.00
1 bottle peppermint	1.00
1 box S. bitters	12.00
1 doz pickled onions	12.00
1 doz gold washers and tin ware	24.00
1/2 do knives & forks	1.00
	\$ 2517.22
Amount brot over	2517.22

Sundry cartages, Tolls &c San Francisco	21.
Freight paid Steamer Wm Robinson & owners	22.
paid for poles for tent	22.
boards for shelves &c	9.
Freight of Oats	202.
paid by W Barnes for cash advance buckles	10.
1 Crow hauling goods from Stockton	102.
Boards &c	20.
G W Barnes for hauling tent &c &c	132.
For Mule saddle &c	155.
Wm Clarke for hauling from Stockton	87.
2 barrels molasses	91.
	3390.69
D Markle paid for following:	
Goods freights expenses &c to date	
Pail & contents (tools)	3.00
Freight paid Steamer Wm Robinson for Tent and nails	9.80
Keg nails	5.00
J F Emmerson for freight per Sloop Marlin	31.31
R Guin for lumber	11.98
J Delano for freight to Stockton	12.37 1/2
Advanced buckles for expenses	3.00
Sundry cartage &c	14.80
Tools	4.00
Freight on Oats	260.00

The ledger carries their receipts on the left-hand page, broken down between cash, gold dust and specie. On the right-hand page, expenses were listed in some detail, with goods bought for resale itemized.

Although there is no evidence that John Samuel engaged in prospecting himself, family legend has it that he "found on the ground" a single nugget heavy enough to make a rather large finger-ring. He sent the nugget to a firm in Neuchatel, Switzerland, where a ring was fashioned with a stone bearing the family crest. The ring is now the possession of James Mellon de Montmollin, inherited through his father and grandfather from John Samuel II. The stone had been damaged, but was replaced in the 1980's by the same firm which had made the ring in the 1850s.

The business opened to the "public" on May 29, 1850, but apparently all was not well between the partners. Less than eleven days later, we find this entry:

June 9, 1850 Cash to D. Markle to purchase his entire interest 585.00

Thus, John Samuel had bought out one of his partners, the one who had provided \$1,000 in original capital. The other partner, R. F. Cole, stayed with him until the business was closed out on March 24, 1851. It is unclear what Markle was paid for his interest in the business. On June 25th and 26th, the following entries are recorded:

Amt paid Markle advanced by JSM	230.00
J S Montmollin paid D Markle separately from the store private funds	211.06
Received above amount paid to D Markle from store	211.06

Markle (or Markell, as he spelled it) acknowledged receipt:

Received Sonorian Camp 13 June 1850 from John S. Montmollin Seven Hundred and Eleven Dollars the same being in full of all demands whatever to date for all the interest or part that I may have in and to the Tent or goods therein or thereto attached or for labour or for any claim or claims whatever against him. Aforesaid tent being at this place and we having sold same. D. Markell

On June 30th, another sign of trouble appears:

Loaned to Austin who absconded	5.00
--------------------------------	------

And on the following day:

To absconding Frenchman	2.00
-------------------------	------

There is mention in early June of an "F. Nipson," who seems to have been employed by John Samuel to take up some of Markle's duties. He made several trips to Stockton for goods, and on August 9th, was sent to Sierra Nevada to "prospect for gold for account." There is no record of any success he might have achieved. He did, however, return to Sonorian Camp, as he participated in subsequent ventures of a similar nature.

On the 23rd of September, an entry describes a further attempt to locate another gold field:

The expedition to Sierra Nevada Mountains to try to get gold stands there

The goods furnished &c	210.27
Furnished F Nipson with cash for above expedition	140.00

R F Cole takes of the above expedition 1/5	79.65
G W Barnes [paid] 2/5	159.31
J S Montmollin 2/5	<u>159.31</u>
	398.27

Again, there is no indication of either success or failure of the "expedition."

On November 8, there is a hint of trouble brewing:

JSM will receive money in store from now on

Then a series of entries indicates mounting difficulties:

22 Nov	Paid for mending tent Iron	\$ 1.00
1 Dec	Paid Smith (watchman)	\$ 1.00
6 Dec	Sewing tent	\$ 1.50
19 Jan	Paid John Lucas (Watchman)	\$ 10.00
	Locks and chain	\$ 3.50
24 Jan	Paid John Lucas (Watchman)	\$ 12.00
1 Feb	Paid John Lucas	\$ 1.50
13 Feb	Expenses for freight Chest [land garden seeds]	\$ 34.87 1/2
23 Feb	Paid for iron chest	\$ 36.00
26 Feb	Paid John Lucas (Watchman)	\$ 10.00
2 Mar	Paid N Smith as Watchman from 12 October to 12th January and \$2.00 labour	\$50.00 \$156.00
7 Mar	Paid John Lucas (Watchman)	\$ 12.00
10 Mar	Paid John Lucas	\$ 8.00
23 Mar	Paid John Lucas	\$ 6.60

The final entry made at Sonorian Camp was dated March 24, 1851. Apparently the worsening security problems at the store caused them to close out the business.

Three days later on March 27th, the following entry appears:

Received San Francisco 27th March 1851 Eleven Hundred & Twenty two & 60/100 Dollars, the same being in full for all my interest in tent, goods &c &c near Sonora and in full of all demands whatever to date that I may have had against John S. Montmollin. R. F. Cole

In all, the business operated for 300 days, closing out on March 24, 1851. Total income was \$22,965.18, less expenses of \$11,929.99, resulting in a net profit of \$11,035.19.

Although Goat Island must have been acquired during the California adventure, there is no mention of such a transaction in the ledger.

After his return to Savannah, John Samuel used the same ledger to record details of the business of Wyly & Montmollin. Entries made in Savannah dated from July 22, 1852 through August 13, 1855.

Their business dealt in real property (sometimes bought as agent for others, sometimes for rental income, sometimes for personal use); financing (they held a number of business and personal notes, sometimes related to the purchase of real or personal property, sometimes unrelated); stocks and other investments; and personal property (slaves usually handled as agent for others, sometimes purchased and put in inventory for later sale, sometimes for personal benefit).

Besides the two principals, Wyly & Montmollin listed at least three employees:

- Demere was paid \$10 a month
- Schultz was paid \$6 a month
- Moody was later hired as clerk at \$20 a month, plus 10% of sales

A fourth individual associated with the firm is something of a mystery. In the California section of the ledger, mention is made of an "F. Nipson."<sup>16</sup> He appears again after the return to Savannah. Nipson was a trusted associate, as he was sent on occasion with large sums of money to purchase Negroes in Charleston, Macon or Augusta. Sometimes he was sent to escort Negroes who were sold to parties in Jacksonville or Key West. Yet entries were made in the ledger recording the sales of Richard Nipson and Sam Nipson. F. Nipson could have been a free Negro working for the firm, or of course there is the remote possibility of coincidence of names. No mention is found of a salary being paid the man. Several entries record expenses connected with the "South Carolina property," and the "Skidaway Plantation," although the properties are not listed as purchases at this time. Beginning in April, 1853 and continuing through April, 1854, record is made of building materials and labor for the "house in S. C." Elsewhere, the Mount Skidaway Plantation is listed as half-ownership, so perhaps there the partner was George Wyly himself.

Though he seems to have been quite active in Savannah during the middle 1850s, John Samuel still found time for business activities in other places. In 1857, he transformed 20 acres of his 320 acre land grants into producing some of the earliest rice fields in Putnam County, Florida. One of the tracts was located near Rice Creek, and the other near the Rodman Grant, close to the Oklawaha River. Neither of these ventures proved to be successful, and both were later abandoned.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE AFFAIR OF THE WANDERER

No account of John Samuel's activities in the 1850s would be complete without reference to the slave ship *Wanderer*, whose illicit voyage to Africa for a load of slaves became a national scandal in 1858 and 1859.

The ship was built at Port Jefferson, Long Island, for Colonel John D. Johnson, a wealthy Louisiana planter, who maintained a summer place at Islip, New York, on the south coast of the Island.<sup>18</sup> Col. Johnson was a member of the New York Yacht Club, and had the *Wanderer* built as his private yacht. She has been described as the fastest, most luxuriously fitted ship of her time. She was 114 feet long overall, 98 feet at the waterline, 95 feet at the keel, and had a beam of 26 feet 6 inches amidships. She was a two-masted schooner, with an usually large spread of sail. In fact, she had a special set of sails which would give her additional speed even in light winds. Her registered tonnage was 123.34 tons. A contemporary newspaper account described her: "She is a beauty, with spacious decks and low bulwarks. She has raised skylights and booby hatches. Her bow

16 See p. 90.

17 Janice Mahaffey, "More Trivial Facts about Putnam County."

18 Winfield M. Thompson, "Historic American Yachts: the Slave Yacht *Wanderer*," Rudder Magazine, 1903, *et seq.* There are several different accounts of the exploits of the ship, differing primarily in the identities of the people involved. Thompson's articles seem to give the most credible, and certainly the most detailed, account. His version does not mention John Samuel II, though several others establish a connection with him.

is very long, and very sharp, with concave lines full three feet deep; that is, a straight line extended from the cut-water to the round or curve of the side would measure three feet from the middle to the planking. The curve somewhat resembles a bent bow, or segment of a circle. Her stern is an acute-angled triangle, the taffrail forming the base, and has no knuckles nor bulging quarter-pieces, so that by the wind, even when pressed down to her bearings, there is nothing aft to impede her progress. Her sides are boldly convex, and her run, like her bow, is long and clean. Her masts are beautiful spars - long and stout."

The *Wanderer* was launched in June 1857, and immediately made a name for herself in the informal races along the New England and Mid-Atlantic coasts. Later that year, she was provisioned for a trip South, and in December sailed from New York.

In Charleston and Savannah, she attracted the attention of a number of leading citizens; and further south at Brunswick, a regatta was staged to give her owner an opportunity to show her speed. Needless to say, the *Wanderer* won the race handily.

Early in 1858, Johnson decided to sell his prized yacht. Here the story takes on the first veils of mystery that surrounded her during most of her short life as a vessel. There is considerable question as to the identity of her next owner. Some say he was Charles Lafayette Lamar, heir to a sugar-refining fortune in Savannah; some say a South Carolinian named W. C. Corrie bought her; still others insist that her new owner was John Samuel II. From this point forward, the events are generally the same in all versions - only the people are different. Most writings point out Charles Lamar as the principal owner. At least one history of the State of Georgia identifies John Samuel de Montmollin as the "Master," captain of the vessel.

The most likely answer seems to be that the *Wanderer* was purchased by a syndicate of as many as eight businessmen from the Savannah area. We do know that John Samuel accepted 170 Negroes at his South Carolina Plantation and passed them through to Hamburg, South Carolina, where they were sold. They made up nearly half the cargo of the one voyage she made as a slaver, so we may assume that he was deeply involved. As background, it must be noted that the importation of slaves was outlawed by the United States Congress in 1818, and the law was made even more stringent in 1820, as slave-trading was equated to piracy, a capital offense. It was not illegal to own slaves or to sell them from one master to another - only to import new ones. But the slave trade went on despite the diligent efforts of the United States and British Navies to put a stop to it. Slavers were built by the dozens in New England (the *Wanderer* was not one of these) designed for one voyage only. They would make a quick trip to Africa, take on a cargo, sail to South America, discharge the cargo and put the torch to the ship. An occasional cargo would be landed in the United States, but most went to Brazil and Argentina.

So the affair of the *Wanderer* took on an air of daring and adventure, as the finest ship afloat was refitted in secret as a slaver. Immediately after the transfer of ownership to Captain W. C. Corrie, front man for the syndicate, had been accomplished at New York, the transformation began. Large water tanks were

installed beneath the decks and several above-decks. The authorities in New York Harbor became suspicious of the water tanks and of the usually large store of provisions being loaded on the ship, and accused Corrie of attempting to outfit a slaver. This he indignantly denied, and was able to convince the authorities that he was outfitting the *Wanderer* for a round-the-world cruise of indefinite duration for himself and a few wealthy friends. A few days later, the *Wanderer*, fully provisioned, sailed for Charleston. After some weeks at anchor there, she once again sailed past Fort Sumter, this time cleared by the Charleston Customs House for a pleasure cruise bound for Trinidad. There she lay at anchor for a few days, while Corrie persuaded the customs authorities to grant signed and sealed clearance papers for St. Helena.

At that "lonely rock of exile," the arrival of a fine American yacht was a welcome break in life's monotony, and when she was ready to proceed on her cruise, of course Her Majesty's officials knew no reason why she should not have clearance papers for the west coast of Africa - the next leg of her "round-the-world cruise."

Early autumn found the *Wanderer* at Punha de Lehna, near the mouth of the Congo River. Standing guard there was the British cruiser *Medusa*, alert for ships plying "the trade." Her officers were warmly invited aboard the *Wanderer*, shown through the luxurious cabins above decks, and carefully kept from seeing the wooden bunks below. The two ships lay at anchor for some weeks, and the officers and Captain Corrie came to know each other quite well. They went together to such places of interest as there were on shore, and afforded each other as much amusement as possible in the depressing neighborhood of the Congo. An English yacht happened to be on the coast, and a race was arranged between her and the *Wanderer*. Everyone enjoyed the match, especially the Americans, as the *Wanderer* sailed much faster than the English boat, and won handily.<sup>19</sup>

The pretense of yachting was kept up on board the *Wanderer* until, one dark night, the *Medusa* was called away by an alarm that resulted in a chase. The absence of the cruiser was a signal for action. The easy ways and gentle habits of gentlemen of leisure were put aside, and the first work was to divest the yacht of the interior trappings of her disguise which must give way to the necessities of "the trade." Partitions must come down, and the main hold of the vessel must be converted into a slave-pen.

But things had been arranged for this change in character long in advance, and while the vessel was moved down to a chosen spot on the coast, the work was going forward rapidly. At the rendezvous, the traders in slaves, with whom Corrie had been in almost daily communication since his arrival, were ready to deliver their human merchandise. Hard, cruel work now followed in getting the miserable herds of Negroes from the slave pens to the yacht. Tied together in pairs with thongs of hide, they were driven to the beach, and loaded aboard lighters, in which they were carried off to the waiting vessel, riding without lights

19 The incident of the impromptu race was recorded in an account of the voyage given the *Albany Statesman* by Captain Farnum in 1858.

beyond the surf. Through the hot, dark night, the slave-drivers worked silently and swiftly, and before daylight the yacht's "cargo" was all on board. They were stowed like herring in the hold, and on deck they were stalled like sheep in a crowded fold. Estimates of their number vary from 500 to 600.

Thus burdened, the *Wanderer*, before dawn on a clear morning in October 1858, left the West Coast. The wind was free, and by daylight the yacht was not a speck on the horizon to the traders on the beach.

The return voyage across the Atlantic was without incident, although no log was kept.<sup>20</sup> On the 28th of November, the *Wanderer* sailed silently into the creek behind Jekyll Island, Georgia. She anchored near the beach and in the dark of night unloaded the cargo, now numbering about 420. The newly-arrived slaves were warmed by an open fire, fed and rapidly moved up the coast of Georgia to Savannah, where many were taken to John Samuel's plantation near Hardeeville, South Carolina, on the Savannah River. Others were taken in small boats to Lamar's plantation on the Big Ogeechee River near Savannah.

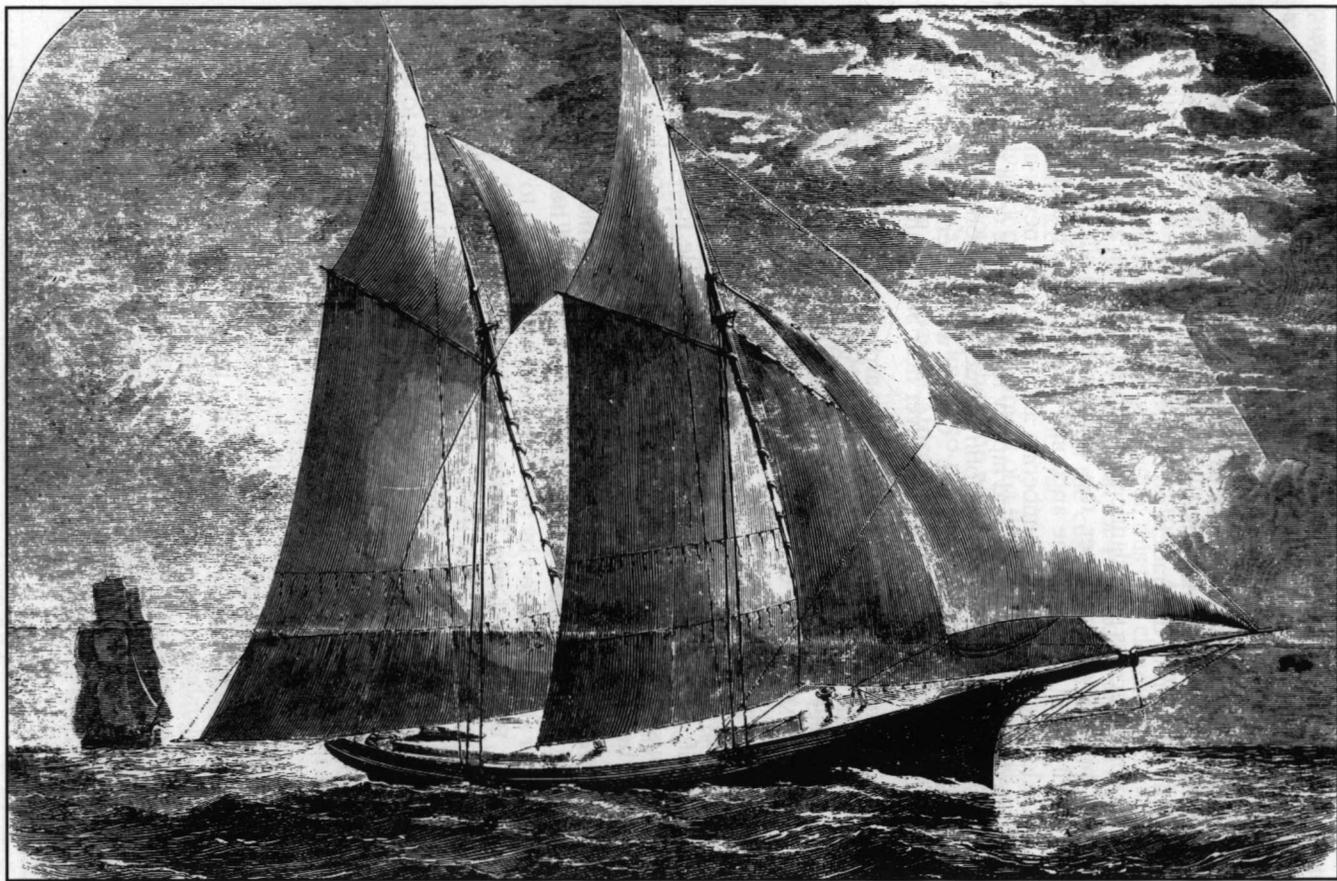
Efforts of the authorities to prove that newly-arrived slaves were among John Samuel's vast holdings proved unsuccessful and gradually they were moved up the Savannah River to the Augusta area and sold to new owners. Some turned up as far west as Mississippi within a few months.

The news of the *Wanderer's* landing could not long be suppressed, and about a week after the event the United States Marshal at Savannah went down to Jekyll Island to see if slaves actually had been landed there. He found no evidence (though the bushes were still full of Negroes who could not speak a word of English), and he went back empty-handed.

Events, however, soon plainly indicated the business in which the vessel had been engaged. The Customs House at Darien had reported her arrival, and in early December she was seized by the Government and taken to Savannah. Her sailing master, Brown, and two foreign seamen were arrested, charged with having been engaged in the slave trade, and were jailed in Savannah. Lamar was not immediately arrested, as the true ownership of the ship was not definitely established until later. By December 15th, the evidence was beginning to mount, and subpoenas were issued for everyone even remotely connected with the *Wanderer* - including Lamar, John Dubignon (owner of the plantation on Jekyll Island where the Negroes were landed), John Samuel de Montmollin and several others.

Meanwhile, the authorities had located and captured one African Negro on Jekyll Island and had brought him to Savannah under guard. When he was turned over to the Federal Marshal for safekeeping, the Marshal thought he was too sick to stay in jail, so he took him to the establishment of George Wylly, a combination slave hostel and hospital. Wylly was the business partner of John Samuel de Montmollin! During the night, two white men and a servant removed the African Negro from the hostel, and he was not seen again.

20 A microfilm copy of the *Wanderer's* log is in the family archives in Columbia, SC. The last entry was made on the first day of the return voyage, and was obliterated by an "accidental" spill of ink.



*Drawing of The Wanderer, last ship to land African slaves in the United States. From Harper's Weekly*

On December 18th, a hearing was held in Savannah before the United States Commissioner, who ruled that probable cause existed to pursue the case against Corrie, Brown and the two Spanish-speaking crewmen charging piracy; and against Lamar on a lesser conspiracy charge. He was allowed bail, which was prohibited for those charged with piracy. John Samuel was not indicted.

Meanwhile, the Northern press had taken up the case, and published almost daily articles, excoriating all connected with the vessel and her African adventure. Lamar was attacked as a "chivalrous freebooter" by the *New York Times*, and he responded by challenging the editor to a duel. The *New York Tribune* printed an article in which Lamar was said to have the "community by the throat," and he responded with a letter to Horace Greeley demanding the name of the writer, who would be then "challenged to mortal combat."

By mid-January, 1859, the *Wanderer's* case had become a subject of inquiry in Congress. President Buchanan, in an irate letter to the Department of Justice, demanded that a special prosecutor be appointed to investigate, giving voice to his anger that "The United States Coast Guard and the British Navy had been made fools of by a damned little schooner!" When the Attorney General declined to act, Secretary of the Treasury Howell named Henry R. Jackson. Jackson was a prominent Savannah lawyer, a member of the firm of Ward, Jackson and Jones, and had recently relinquished the position of U.S. Minister to Austria.

On April 15th, true bills were found by the Grand Jury against Charles Lamar, Richardson Aiken, John F. Tucker and Randolph L. Mott. One week later, John and Henry Dubignon and Nelson Trowbridge were similarly indicted. All were ordered to trial.

Lamar knew that the trial would be held before a jury of local men, not of Northern newspapermen, and definitely not of Northern politicians. He had good advice from his attorney, R. I. Moses of Columbus, who advised the "employment of prudence and no violence and the manufacture of Public Opinion by the employment of a man North to collate every act of injustice done to Southerners through their slave property in the last ten years and to crowd the Savannah papers with these. . ."<sup>21</sup> Perhaps the main issue favoring Lamar's strategy was a Southern urge to regional unity. By 1859, Southern politicians generally agreed that internal splits had to be avoided at all costs. In order not to lose the strength that firebrands like Lamar lent to local unity they would avoid condemnation of their actions. This was the opinion of leading political figures all over the South.<sup>22</sup> As events would later prove, the strategy was eminently successful.

As the "investigation" proceeded, the Government held an auction of the *Wanderer*, her tackle, furniture and the goods which were found on board when she was seized. The auction took place at the custom house in Savannah where a big crowd gathered, including Charles Lamar and some of his rowdy friends. When the bidding started, Lamar's only opponent was the jailer, Charles Van

<sup>21</sup> *Savannah Daily Morning News*, Jan. 17, 1859. C. A. L. Lamar Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Tom Wells Henderson: *The Slave Ship Wanderer*, University of Georgia Press, Athens, Ga., p. 45. The account of the investigation and the trial appears to be more authentic from this source, whereas the account of the voyage is more detailed from Winfield Thompson's articles in *Rudder Magazine*.

Horn. Van Horn bid \$4,000, and Lamar immediately topped it with \$4,001. The auctioneer, Marshal Stewart, knocked it down at once to Lamar; and Lamar at once knocked Van Horn down!<sup>23</sup> US Marshal Stewart then turned over not only the yacht and her tackle, but also Corrie's trunk, charts, and personal papers.

The effectiveness of Lamar's defense strategy cannot be overstated. The investigation itself was hampered by local opinion, obstructionism by local officials, and by reluctance and indecision on the part of the Federal officers assigned to develop the case. The local political climate was such that any effort by the Federal authorities to enforce Federal law was met with strong resistance.

Although several groups of defendants were brought to trial, only one conviction was attained - the libel case against the *Wanderer* herself.

This was held before an Admiralty Court, where no jury was required, testimony was written, and there was no question of jurisdiction. The presiding officer was Judge John C. Nicoll, none other than Charles Lamar's father-in-law! The only proof required was that the vessel was owned by a citizen of the United States, and that she had landed African slaves in the United States. Both these points were readily established, and on February 25, 1859, the *Wanderer* was declared forfeited to the United States.

The piracy trial of Nicholas Brown, Juan Bt. Rajesta and Miguel Arguivi, which began on November 12, 1859, was another matter. It was held before the United States Sixth Circuit Court, presided over by Supreme Court Associate Justice James M. Wayne and Judge John C. Nicoll. Wayne was a strong unionist in the secessionist controversy, and remained an active member of the United States Supreme Court throughout the Civil War, although his son became a Major General in the Georgia militia. Nicoll was a unionist at the time of the trial, but later resigned from the Federal bench to become Confederate States attorney for the same district. Although he did not disqualify himself, Nicoll seems to have acted with great correctness and impartiality throughout the trials of the *Wanderer* defendants.

Three points had to be proved for a conviction under the Act of May 15, 1820: (a) that the *Wanderer* was owned or chartered by an American citizen, (b) that the vessel had engaged in the overseas slave trade, and (c) that Brown, Arguivi and Rajesta were members of the crew while she was so engaged.

Ownership of the vessel should have been easy to prove, in light of the condemnation proceedings earlier. However, the judges ruled that the findings of the previous trial were not admissible. Although Corrie had admitted partial ownership in the previous trial, the prosecution now had to establish ownership independent of anything that had gone before. The government was able to produce only hearsay. Corrie himself was being held in Charleston, where the authorities declined to extradite him.

Testimony was heard that a large number of Negroes had been landed on Jekyll Island, but there was no convincing proof that they were indeed Africans.

23 Savannah Daily Morning News; March 14, 1859.

The log of the *Wanderer* could not be used against those who kept it unless the writers identified it in court. Naturally Brown would not implicate himself, and others who had participated in keeping the log could not be found.

On November 22, Justice Wayne delivered his charge. He recited the history of Federal action in connection with the slave trade, laying particular stress on the fact that Southern statesmen had led the movement to suppress it. He said the accused were "pretty plainly and conclusively shown to be connected with the *Wanderer*."<sup>24</sup> The jury considered the case for twenty hours, and rendered a "not guilty" verdict.

The same jury considered a lesser charge, "importing African Negroes" against Brown. This charge seemed easier to prove, and a conviction was more likely. However, after a full day of deliberation, a mistrial was declared because of the sudden illness of the foreman. Brown was released on \$10,000 bond, but not again brought to trial.

Both Special Prosecutor Jackson and US Attorney Ganahl submitted their resignations immediately after the trial. The two had never been compatible, and the conflict of authority between them was never resolved. Ganahl was replaced by Hamilton Couper of Brunswick, and Jackson later withdrew his resignation.

The April 1860 session of the US Sixth District Circuit Court contained eight cases related to the *Wanderer*:

*U.S. v. C. A. L. Lamar* - Holding an African named Corrie

*U.S. v. C. A. L. Lamar* - Holding two Africans named Cuffee and Gumbo

*U.S. v. C. A. L. Lamar and Richardson F. Aiken* - Holding thirty-six African negroes in Telfair County, including Poor Billy, John, Andrew, Shanghai Billy, Ishmael, Motu, Dick, Philango, Zig and Jimmy

*U.S. v. John F. Tucker* - Holding African negroes

*U.S. v. Randolph L. Mott* - Holding an African negro boy

*U.S. v. William R. Fleming* - Holding African negroes

*U.S. v. Henry Dubignon* - Holding African negroes

*U.S. v. Nelson Trowbridge and John Dubignon* - Holding and abetting in the holding of African negroes

A mistrial was declared in Trowbridge's case after twenty-eight hours of deliberation without a decision. John Dubignon was found not guilty.

Charles Lamar's trial was held beginning May 28, 1860. Witnesses were able to make a connection between Lamar and the *Wanderer*, but the testimony fell short of establishing ownership. Judge Wayne warned Jackson and Couper of an alarming gap in their case which must be remedied if a conviction were to be had. Unfortunately, the prosecution had nothing further to offer. In the late afternoon, Couper moved for *a-nolle prosequi* (permission not to prosecute) in the cases against Lamar, Aiken, Mott, Henry Dubignon and John F. Tucker. The motion was granted.

<sup>24</sup> Tom Wells Henderson: *The Slave Ship Wanderer*, p. 56.

Brown and Trowbridge were released on bond while awaiting trial on lesser charges; and charges against Farnum and Corrie (in absentia) were continued until the November term. In October, Couper moved for a *nolle prosequi* on all four of these cases.

Reaction of Savannah residents was reflected in the following editorial comment:

This abrupt termination of these trials was the subject of much remark on the street; but in view of the disturbance they have created in our community - often arraying friend against friend and the utter hopelessness of a conviction in the end, we believe all were gratified with the result. If Africans are to be imported, we hope to Heaven that no more will be landed on the shores of Georgia.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, in Charleston, William C. Corrie remained outside the jurisdiction of the Savannah Court. Judge Andrew G. McGrath there ruled that his court had sole jurisdiction, as Corrie had been arrested in South Carolina. On March 17, the prosecution was directed by the United States Attorney General to move for a *nolle prosequi*, denied by Judge McGrath on the grounds that the court could not be so directed.

He then issued a ruling on the definition of "piracy" which took the heart out of the Government's case. He said that piracy was the forcible and unlawful seizure of property, including the bodies of individuals, ashore by seamen. He did not consider the transfer of slaves from one master to another as piracy, any more than he would so consider transfer of other property legally purchased. The word "piracy," McGrath said, had by common and ancient usage a meaning which a mere act of Congress could not change. Hence, the prosecution would have to prove that the slaves had been forcibly deprived of their liberty in order to prove piracy.

Since when transferred to the *Wanderer* the Africans were already in captivity in Africa where slavery was legal, the defendant could hardly be guilty of piracy.

Jackson then moved for dismissal of the charges, and for the discharge of the Grand Jury. The motion was granted by Judge McGrath. The Savannah court made no further attempt to arrest Corrie.

In previous cases, McGrath had shown his intention of nullifying in court the various acts of Congress intended to stifle the slave trade. His actions were very popular in Charleston, where desire for adulation and political advantage may have been his motive. When Lincoln's election became certain in November 1860, McGrath resigned from the bench and removed his robes from the courtroom. He became governor of South Carolina in 1864, and served until the end of the Confederacy. Only one defendant remained untried - J. Egbert Farnum, who had been supercargo on the fateful voyage to Africa. He had disappeared as soon as the ship anchored at Jekyll Island. Jackson was convinced that there was a Northern connection with the *Wanderer* affair, and he believed Farnum was the link. Jackson had Farnum arrested in New York and returned to Savannah for trial. After two jail-breaks, Farnum was finally brought to trial in May 1860 charged with piracy. Again, the Government was unable to prove its case, and Farnum went free.

<sup>25</sup> Savannah Republican, quoted in Charleston Courier, May 30, 1860.

Henry R. Jackson seems to have made his best effort to attain convictions in the *Wanderer* cases. In every case, however, the reluctance of Federal officials to take decisive action, the obvious prejudice of the judges, and the regional bias of the jurors frustrated him. He believed that there was a widespread conspiracy in the North to circumvent the laws against the importation of slaves. Thirty years after the incident, Jackson published a pamphlet in which he advanced the idea that though Southerners were in defiance of the laws, so were many in the North, particularly in New England, the center of the abolitionist movement. He had made an effort to have Farnum tried in New York, and failing in this, brought him before the bar in Savannah, where the outcome was predictable. When Farnum was released, Jackson submitted his resignation, and returned to private practice. Farnum himself survived to become a Major in the New York Volunteers, and served with such distinction that he was made a brevet Brigadier General.

Although John Samuel de Montmollin had been subpoenaed early on as a witness, he was not indicted. *The Savannah Daily Morning News* of April 23, 1859 reported that the case against John S. Montmollin on a charge of holding African negroes was *not-prossed*.<sup>26</sup> Other versions of the *Wanderer* adventure give him a more prominent role, but they lack the documentation and authenticity of the Thompson articles and the Henderson book. His untimely death on June 9, 1859, prevented his appearance as a witness, as it occurred after only the trial against the *Wanderer* herself had been held.

As for the ship herself, after Lamar bought her back at auction, he re-fitted her for a voyage to China to bring back a load of coolies. This effort came to naught. Her new captain, hired by Lamar, was variously known as James F. Potter, Martin, Dresser and Walker. He had purchased an interest in the schooner, but had failed to make full payment to Lamar, who in turn asked the Collector of the Port to seize her, suspecting Martin planned to run away with his ship. Before the seizure could take place, the *Wanderer* slipped away and put to sea. Although she was ill-equipped and poorly provisioned, Martin planned another voyage to Africa. On the high seas well past the Azores, Martin hailed a passing French merchant ship to buy provisions. While Martin and two sailors were being rowed to the other ship, the First Mate Welton seized command of the *Wanderer*. With the remaining crew, he sailed to Boston, where he turned the vessel over to the Federal authorities. Welton and the crew members were charged with mutiny, and were put in jail, where they languished for six months before being released.

Bond for the ship was put up by Charles Lamar, who appeared to claim his ship. Though he lost his money in the condemnation proceedings, he did regain his yacht. Returning her to Savannah, Lamar refitted her and sent her to Havana to be sold. When the Civil War began, the *Wanderer* was at anchor in Cuba. Seeking a more willing purchaser, Lamar directed that she be taken to New Orleans. On the way, she put in at Key West, where she was promptly seized by the

<sup>26</sup> *Savannah Daily Morning News*, April 23, 1859.

United States Navy on the suspicion that she was to be outfitted as a privateer in New Orleans.

The Navy Department approved the seizure, and the *Wanderer* became a cruiser patrolling in the Gulf. Later, she was converted to a hospital ship and still later, a guard ship.

After the War, the ship was declared surplus, and was sold into the coconut trade, running to the islands on the northern coast of Honduras. During a storm, she ran aground off Cape Henry, near Norfolk, and was salvaged. On January 21, 1871, she was wrecked during a hurricane off Cape Maisi, on the eastern tip of Cuba - this time a total loss.

So in the short span of fifteen years, the *Wanderer* had served as a pleasure yacht, a slaver, an armed cruiser, a hospital ship, a guard ship, and a merchant ship. Her adventures have fascinated many a writer, with the result that free-ranging imaginations have fantasized a story which needed no such embellishment.

#### *THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF JOHN SAMUEL II*

On June 9, 1859, John Samuel II was instantly killed by a boiler explosion aboard the steamboat *John G. Lawton*, on which he was travelling from Savannah to his home in South Carolina some fourteen miles up the River.

The newspaper gave a graphic description of the accident:<sup>27</sup>

#### *DREADFUL CALAMITY!*

#### *EXPLOSION OF THE STEAMER J. G. LAWTON - SEVERAL LIVES LOST*

It is our painful duty to report the explosion of the steamer *J. G. Lawton* (which occurred about 8 o'clock last evening at a place called Gum Stump, about 20 miles up the Savannah River), and the loss of J. S. Montmollin, Captain Keebler, the Pilot, a man named Goette, and four deck hands. A boy, whose name we were unable to learn, died since the explosion on board the steamer *Excel*, which was nearby at the time of the accident, and which brought the wounded and dying to our city about 11 1/2 o'clock last night. There are five or six persons on board the *Excel* who are more or less scalded, two or three of whom are not expected to survive.

1 1/2 o'clock A.M. - We have just returned from the *Excel*. Some eight or ten of the wounded are lying upon her lower deck and in the saloon; among the latter are Mr. James Strobert of the city, his wife, two children and three servants, all more or less seriously injured. Mr. S. has his ribs broken. By his side lies the corpse of his son, a lad about 13 years of age alluded to above. When we left, Dr. Byrd was in attendance on the wounded and the Messrs. McAlpin, owners of the *Lawton*, were present doing whatever they could for the relief and comfort of the sufferers.

And on June 14 in the same daily newspaper:

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*: June 10, 1859.

*THE LATE EXPLOSION FURTHER PARTICULARS - BODIES NOT RECOVERED  
LIST OF KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING*

We briefly alluded, in our paper of yesterday morning, to the explosion of the steamer *John G. Lawton*, which occurred at a place called Gum Stump, twenty miles above the City, on the Savannah River, about eight o'clock Thursday evening. The *Lawton* had stopped at a curve in the river to allow the steamer *Excel* to pass on her way to the city, and the explosion took place after the latter boat had passed about 30 yards beyond her. While the boat was stationary the engineer had gone up to his supper, having examined the cocks and telling the fireman not to increase his fire. After the *Excel* had passed it was discovered that the engine had stopped on the centre, and it was while they were endeavoring to put it in motion that the explosion occurred.

The *John G. Lawton* was a sidewheel steamer, built in 1857 in Savannah. She was intended for fast passenger and freight service between the numerous landings on the river. The *Lawton* sank after the explosion, but was later salvaged and put back into service. In 1861, she went into Confederate service.<sup>28</sup>

A follow-up story gave details of the finding of bodies of the casualties, including that of John Samuel:

*THE LATE EXPLOSION - RECOVERY OF BODIES*

Early on Saturday morning, the body of Mr. John S. Montmollin, a passenger on the ill-fated *Lawton*, was brought to this city. It was found about 150 yards from the spot where the explosion occurred in the edge of the marsh, and almost entirely buried in the mud. He was interred with Masonic honors, Saturday afternoon, from his late residence in the city.<sup>29</sup>

Eight additional bodies were recovered, according to the news story.

The *Savannah Republican* recorded an additional bit of information on the condition of John Samuel's body:

It [the body] was imbedded in the marsh, head downwards, to the hips, some seventy or eighty yards from the spot where the explosion occurred, showing that it must have been driven very high into the air. A handkerchief, which he had in his hand at the time of the accident, was still tight in his grasp.<sup>30</sup>

John Samuel de Montmollin II was entombed in the family vault in Laurel Grove Cemetery. He was survived by his mother, Maria Edwards de Montmollin; his wife, Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin; sons John Samuel III and Louis Henry, and a daughter, Harriet Marler.<sup>31</sup>

28 Library of Old Ships Museum; Savannah.

29 *Savannah Daily Morning News*; June 13, 1859.

30 *Savannah Republican*; June 13, 1859.

31 The family vault in Laurel Grove Cemetery, Savannah, was originally listed as owned by Maria Edwards de Montmollin. Her son, John Samuel II was the first to be entombed there. Others were:

Louis H. Montmollin, died 3-29-1884; age: 37 years

Fannie S. Montmollin, died 7-29-1882; age: 30 years, 2 mos, 29 days

Francis Louisa Montmollin, died 12-27-1891; age: 4 mos

Harriet M. Montmollin, died 1-13-1863; age: 9 years, 7 mos, 4 days

Montmollin Infant, died 11-19-1876; age: stillborn

Montmollin Infant, died 3-15-1874; age: stillborn

The original door of the vault was of wrought iron, but has since been closed with brick. The name "Montmollin" is on the front above the door.



*Explosion of John G. Lawton. From Leslie's Illustrated.*



*Discovery of body of John Samuel II three days after explosion of John G. Lawton.  
From Leslie's Illustrated.*

*EPILOGUE*

One would think that a man who could successfully manage large and varied enterprises would make adequate provision for the disposition of his properties after his death; but as is so often the case in untimely deaths, John Samuel's affairs were left in a state of confusion.

On November 13, 1851, he had made a hand-written will which was witnessed, but never legally completed. In it, he made several bequests to his mother and to his wife Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin, and to the children (two at the time the will was written).

To Maria Edwards de Montmollin, he left the eastern half of Lot No. 8, Digby Tything Ward, which was rented at the time to a tenant. At her death, it was to go to his children.

To Harriet, he left thirteen Negro slaves, specifically named, and including children and future increase. She was to be allowed to live rent-free on whatever land the estate held, and to have the use of the furniture, jewelry, clothing and farm animals, *as long as she remained single(!)*

To the children, John Samuel III and Louis Henry, he left the western half of Lot No. 8, also rented to a tenant; and the residue of the estate, real and personal, consisting of lands, notes, bonds and Negroes. Included in the real property were several tracts of lotteried lands in Georgia (Cherokee, Paulding and Irwin Counties), about 160 acres about four miles from Savannah, about 28 acres near the Hebrew Cemetery in Savannah and several tracts in East Florida, "one of which on St. John's River I would wish never to be sold."

Then were listed 28 Negro slaves by name who were bequeathed to the children through Harriet until the children reached the age of twenty-one.

There were a number of specific instructions contained in the will. Maria Edwards was to pay toward the schooling or board of the children six dollars each per month if there were two children; five dollars each if there were more than two. She was to pay Harriet four dollars a month during her lifetime, but should Harriet re-marry "she is not to receive one cent from and after that occurrence. In that event, the executors are to place the children at a good boarding school by the year."

Harriet was told she should take charge of the children "as long as she remains single, but no longer." If she were to re-marry, "she is to give them up immediately." This was emphasized by the statement "recollect these are my dying wishes."

As for the children, "I wish them to be brought up virtuous, industrious, sober, honest and economical. I wish them to be taught (if possible and them capable) Latin, French, German and Spanish languages; and if possible they should spend some time in the interior of France, Spain, Germany and Ireland," assuming the estate produced enough income to support such travels. "I wish my children," he wrote, "to be plain and simple in their manners. For each child must know that the first clothes they wore were of homespun such as I gave to my Negroes at the time, which first suits I have ordered saved to present to them when of

age. And I have begged them to be industrious, honest, virtuous and temperate; and on no account to use spiritous, malt or vinous liquors or tobacco in any way, and to conduct themselves in life so as to merit the esteem of all who know them, and to the best of their capacity be learned so as to fit themselves for any station or business life." If, on the other hand, one of the children should prefer to learn a mechanical trade, the estate was to provide such training.

"Should all my children die without issue," the will stated, "I give and bequeath all my estate both real and personal . . . entitled to at time of my death, to the issue of George L. Marler and to Jane Marler, and to their heirs and assigns forever share and share alike." There was no mention here of the survivorship of his widow.

There was a second will, likewise incomplete, found in John Samuel's account book. This one was undated, but was obviously written after the birth of his daughter Harriet, born in 1853.

Under this document, all income from the Union Creek plantation in South Carolina, all Negroes, mules, horses, flat boats, cattle "&c &c" were left to the use and benefit of the three children. The plantation was to be carried "just as I leave it, save that one-half of the crop, which is to be sold in the rough." The northern two-thirds of the building on Bull and Broughton Streets in Savannah, and the income of the brick building west and opposite the Market were left to the children. They were to live on the property on the Isle of Hope, which was to be divided among their children at their deaths.

The widow Harriet was to live on and enjoy all of the properties "as though I were alive." She was to consider herself guardian of the three children, unless she should marry, and then "they are to choose for themselves such guardians as they may best think fit." Harriet's income was to be double that of either of the children. No court was to be considered valid to change this provision.

The eldest son, John Samuel III, was to manage "as he sees fit" Union Creek Plantation when he attained the age of twenty-one. If he did not choose to do so, it would be offered to Louis when he reached majority.

After John Samuel's death in June, 1859, the widow presented the two wills to the probate court, asking the court to determine their validity. The story is best told in the words of her application:

It appears that John S. Montmollin on the thirteenth day of November 1851 made and executed his last will and testament which was witnessed by Lawrence Connell, M. S. D. Lyon and R. Raiford; and that subsequently the said will being mislaid, the said John S. Montmollin placed in his own handwriting in one of his Books of account the following revocation of said will, to wit: "March 2nd, 1856 - My will being misplaced I pronounce it of no value and worthless."

After the death of the said John S. Montmollin the said will was found among a parcel of unimportant papers and office rubbish, but was cut and mutilated in two places by apparently cutting out the name of an executor with a knife or other sharp instrument, and also destroying a portion of the will on the inner page; the back of the will was also scribbled over with the names of Negroes in such a manner as a paper of no value would be used.

An unexecuted copy of another will was also found which although having no date, appears to contain a large amount of property acquired since the execution of the will in question thus showing it to be an act subsequent to it. All of which facts sufficiently show the animus with which said mutilations were made to be an entire revocation of said will.

The ensuing order of the court set aside the will of November 13, 1851, and granted Letters of Administration to Harriet. She was required to post bond of \$10,000, which was increased to \$75,000 a few months later.

The second will, being unsigned and unwitnessed, was inadmissible.

The court appointed three appraisers, one of whom was George W. Wylly, John Samuel's former business partner, who established the total value of the estate, which included 15 parcels of real property to which no value was assigned, stocks totalling more than \$17,350, notes receivable totalling \$4,023.25, miscellaneous items of personal effects and \$9,411.46 in cash. The inventory did not show the two plantations in South Carolina. The appraisers were also ordered to determine the amount of money Harriet would need for her support and that of the children. At their recommendation, the court awarded her \$6,000 for the first year, and continued that amount thereafter during the probate of the estate.

As part of the disposition of the property held by the estate, an auction of slaves was held on April 9, 1863. The handbill advertising the sale was headed:

On THURSDAY, 9th April, 1863, at 11 o'clock, in front of the Court House, will be sold a prime gang of Negroes, seventy-nine in number, embracing Field Hands, Carpenters, Engineer and House Servants. Sold as the property of the Estate of John S. Montmollin, deceased, under an order of the Court of Equity, for the benefit of the heirs and creditors of said Estate. Purchasers to pay for titles. CASH ONLY.<sup>32</sup>

The Emancipation Proclamation had been issued on September 23, 1862, to be effective January 1, 1863.

The handbill listed the slaves by name, grouped into families, with the ages of each. In some instances, the "occupation" of the individual is given. The sale was conducted by George W. Wylly.

Later in April, 1863, Harriet petitioned the Court to allow the sale of the property on the Isle of Hope. The matter was complicated by the fact the property was held in a Trust established by John Samuel II, in which he named himself as the sole Trustee, and reserved to himself the right to appoint his successor as Trustee. Harriet's petition asked that she be appointed Trustee, and that she be allowed to sell the property. Her reason for selling was that although John Samuel II had required through the Trust document that they use the property as their residence, they could no longer do so.

... And your petitioners further shew that the sole heirs of the said John Samuel Montmollin, deceased, are your petitioners, your petitioner Harriet M. R. being still a widow, and that they are desirous of selling said tract of land in said Trust deed conveyed, and of investing the proceeds of such sale upon the said Trusts, as far as the same are covered by the Trust; the more particularly as the same cannot be used by themselves as a residence, owing to its situation and the liability to attack from the Enemy, and the situation of large bodies of

32 A copy of the handbill was kept for many years in the de Montmollin Family Bible. It has been de-acidified and preserved, and rests among the family memorabilia in Columbia, SC.

# Administratrix Sale.

BY G. W. WYLLY.

On THURSDAY, 9th April, 1863, at 11 o'clock, in front of the Court House, will be sold a prime gang of Negroes, seventy-nine in number, embracing Field Hands, Carpenters, Engineer and House Servants. Sold as the property of the Estate of John S. Montmollin, deceased, under an order of the Court of Equity, for the benefit of the heirs and creditors of said Estate. Purchasers to pay for titles. **TERMS CASH.**

No.	Name	Age.	No.	Name	Age.
1	Dinah,	Aged.	42	Martha, Field Hand,	18
2	Betsy, Field Hand,	25	43	Pompey,	2
3	Jim, Carpenter,	26	44	Margaret, Field Hand,	20
4	Prince,	5	45	Aleck,	5
5	Mary,	3	46	Sampson,	3
6	Nancy,	18	47	Infant.	
7	Dick,	13	~~~~~		
8	Afey, Nurse,	60	48	Sambo, Axeman,	39
9	Patrick, Plowman,	50	49	Pussy, Washerwoman,	40
10	Winter, Field Hand,	25	50	Sarah, House Servant,	17
11	Diana, " "	18	51	Sue,	9
12	Charles, " "	20	52	John Francis,	7
13	Chloe, " "	16	53	Willy,	5
14	Jim, " "	22	54	Papus,	3
~~~~~			55	Infant,	
15	York, Field Hand,	40	56	Infant,	
16	Peggy, " "	25	~~~~~		
17	Tenah, " "	45	57	David, Field Hand,	20
18	Hester, " "	27	58	Plaisance, " "	18
19	Juliana, " "	14	~~~~~		
20	Bunchy, Field Hand,	35	59	Timothy, Plowman,	49
21	Coomba, " "	28	60	Big Betsy, Field Hand,	38
22	Cesar,	4	61	Felice,	13
23	Infant,		62	Will,	3
~~~~~			~~~~~		
24	Dumb sam, Field H'd,	26	63	Old Peter,	55
25	Burch, " "	27	64	Bannister, Carriage Driver,	27
26	Cilla, House Servant,	24	65	Pompey, Field Hand,	40
27	Lizzie,	7	~~~~~		
28	Patrick,	9	66	Sambo Rhett, Driver,	37
29	Infant,		67	Hagar, Cook,	50
~~~~~			68	Amelia, Field Hand,	20
30	Eliza, Field Hand,	38	69	Infant,	
31	Simon, " "	48	70	Cuffy, Field Hand,	22
32	Brazil, " "	18	~~~~~		
33	Frost, Prime Driver,	39	71	Charlotte, Field Hand,	40
34	Bluah, P. Seamstress,	26	72	Child,	1
~~~~~			73	Big Dianna, " "	35
35	Cesar, Engineer,	45	~~~~~		
36	Lucy, Field Hand,	39	74	Ned, Driver,	40
~~~~~			75	Charlotte,	38
37	Old Pussy,	Aged.	76	Caroline,	7
38	Bella, Field Hand,	37	~~~~~		
39	Sophie,	13	77	Jack, Field Hand,	45
40	Sue,	11	78	Flora, " "	25

Handbill advertising auction of slaves held by estate of John Samuel II, April 9, 1863.

troops upon and around the said lands who are constantly committing injuries and depredations thereon and decreasing the value thereof.<sup>33</sup>

The Court granted her petition in its entirety, naming her as Trustee, and authorizing the sale of the property and the investment of the portion of the proceeds which fell to her two sons in "Confederate Stocks or bonds or interest-bearing notes" as specified in the petition.

In October 1865 she petitioned the Court to allow the sale of all the holdings of the estate. The Court granted her petition on October 27th.

On May 8, 1866, the carpetbagger Legislature of South Carolina imposed a "duplicate" tax levy on property within its jurisdiction, which included the holdings of the family in South Carolina. Harriet paid the tax on behalf of the estate as the owner of the property. Later, the Legislature rescinded the tax as being unconstitutional, and in 1868 ordered it refunded. Harriet produced evidence that the illegal tax had been paid, and received a refund. The documentation listed five separate tracts of land in St. Peter's Parish, Beaufort District, totalling 2350 acres.

Perhaps the tracts were separated according to their usage, as different tax rates were applied to each tract.<sup>34</sup>

The Union Swamp Plantation in South Carolina, and several other tracts in Savannah were sold in March, 1872 to Algernon S. Hartridge of Savannah for \$10,000.<sup>35</sup> Four 50-acre lots in Savannah were included: Lots numbered Nine and Ten Heathcote Tything Decker Ward, Lot One Eyles Tything Heathcote Ward and Lot Four LaRoche Tything Heathcote Ward. Filed along with the deed was a renunciation of dower rights signed by the wives of John Samuel III and Louis - Sarah Ellen and Fannie S.V.

Gray Plantation in South Carolina was apparently still in the family in 1885. Harriet was living in Palatka, and had given power of attorney to her nephew, Charles P. Rossignol, to handle the sale. On March 31 of that year, he wrote her a rather amusing letter to clear up some questions he had about the property:

... The reason I wrote you about the Carolina place was because I am in a position to know all the facts, but if I have gone beyond my right in offering to assist, I am sorry for it.

Regarding the Florida lands, I naturally presumed that as the amount was as great [as] 644 acres, it could not possibly be situated in Palatka, as Savannah scarcely covers that much ground. I therefore presumed that it must have been the property of the joint estate in which Susie was entitled to one third, and therefore would willingly pay the arrears to secure the interest that she would have in it, but as it is contrary to my anticipations, of course I will say nothing more on the subject unless I hear that there is some mistake and that you are thinking of one tract of land while I am writing of another. If we agree as to the property, I am well pleased to know that Palatka covers such an expanse of country that a house lot can contain 644 acres. And again, I am delighted to know that it is such a prosperous place that one by a short residence of two years can become such a large landed proprietor. I shall never again believe that Palatka is either a small or dead place, but will rather believe that it covers a large domain of country and is exceedingly and unquestionably most prosperous.

Trusting that I may hear that there is some mistake regarding the property, I am as ever, your nephew,

Charles P. Rossignol      All well

<sup>33</sup> See footnote 10, Chapter Six.

<sup>34</sup> Land records of the old Beaufort District of South Carolina are almost non-existent. At the approach of General Sherman's troops from Savannah, a conscientious Clerk of Court in Beaufort loaded the records on a wagon and took them to Columbia, where he supposed they would be safe. As fate would have it, Sherman bypassed Beaufort, and destroyed Columbia, the Beaufort land records along with it. In the 1890's, a court house fire in Beaufort destroyed what was left of the old records.

<sup>35</sup> South Carolina Dept. of Archives and History; Beaufort County Conveyances, 1872.

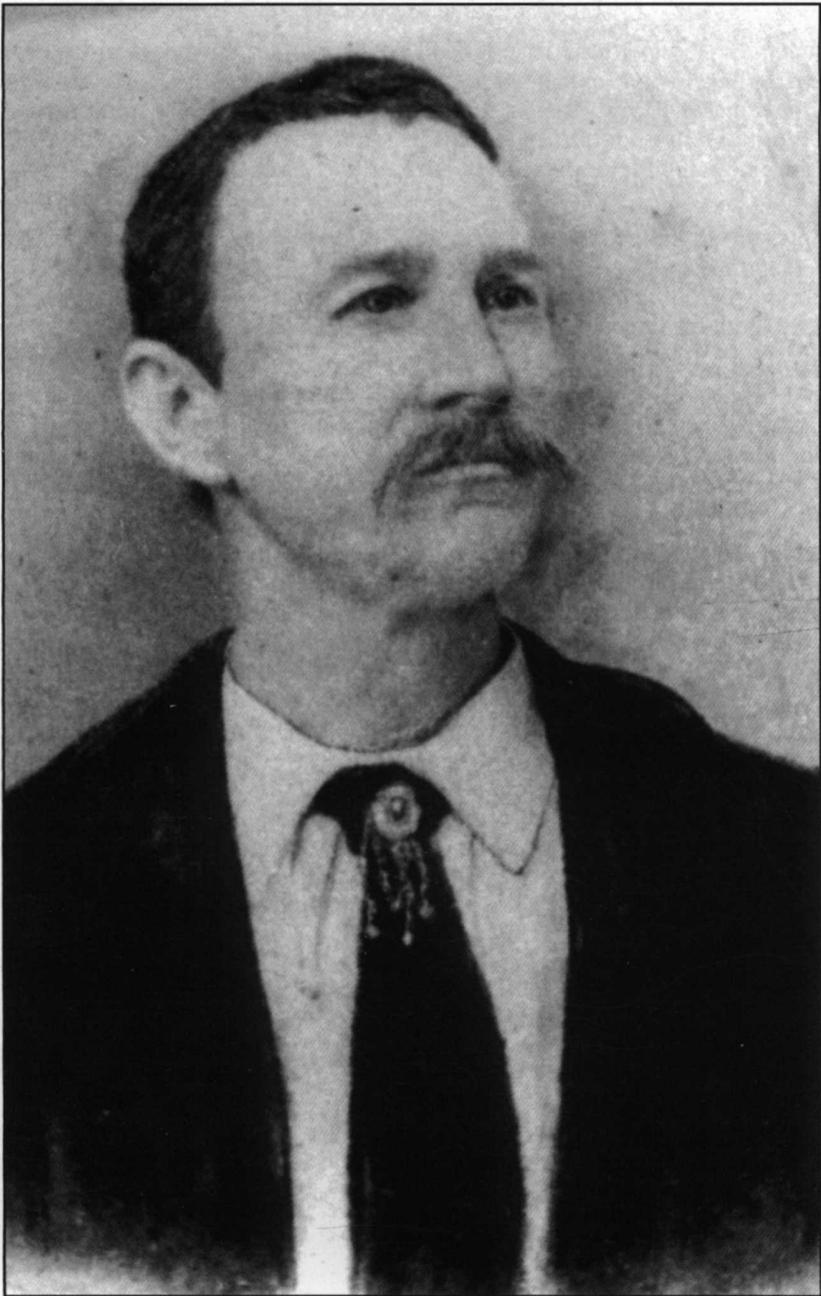
No record of the sale of Gray Plantation has been found.

Harriet seems to have spent much of her time in court, either with matters pertaining to the settlement of the estate, or in matters left unsettled by her husband. There was one long drawn-out suit where one of his tenants was evicted and brought suit. Harriet inherited the suit as Administratrix of the estate. One of the charges was thrown out because of the statute of limitations, and the estate was found guilty on the other.

There was a later case (1867) where Harriet sued the Executors of the estate of Maria Edwards for refusal to pay a promissory note due John Samuel II, and which was still outstanding at her death in 1859. She was awarded the amount of the note (\$1,565.46), with interest from October 27, 1857 until August 12, 1867, plus the costs of the suit.

The settlement of John Samuel's estate actually went on even beyond 1866, when Harriet had applied to the court for a division of the estate, apparently including those properties which remained unsold. A new set of appraisers, again including George Wyly, was named. No record has been located of their findings, nor of the ultimate division.

Maria Edwards outlived her son by only a few months. She died in November of 1859, and was buried in Laurel Grove Cemetery. Her estate was left in trust to her grandchildren, three of whom were living at the time, and their mother was named Administratrix. In the event they were unable to inherit, her estate was to be divided between the Union Society of Savannah and the Methodist Church. Strangely, the will was contested by Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin on behalf of her children, and was finally settled ten years after Maria's death when the family interest was bought out and the estate went to the Union Society and the Methodist Church. The Union Society had been formed in 1750 by a group of five Savannah men for the purpose of providing support to orphan children and widows in distress. It had survived the Revolutionary War, though many of its members were imprisoned on British warships when Savannah fell to the British in 1778. A few months later, those prisoners who were officers in the American Army were sent on parole to Sunbury, a short distance below Savannah. There, a meeting of the Union Society was held with four members present, and officers elected for the coming year. Thus the organization survived the War. Its principal activity from its formation was the sponsorship of the Bethesda Home for Boys, founded ten years earlier by George Whitefield.



*John Samuel de Montmollin III*  
1842 - 1912

## CHAPTER SIX

### *JOHN SAMUEL de MONTMOLLIN III (1842-1912)*

He was a man of many contradictions; a man who never really attained his full potential; a veteran of the Civil War which apparently left its mark on him; a man who believed himself to be the rightful heir to a European throne, and who was able to convince others of the validity of his claim; a man who struggled through the trying days of the Reconstruction Period; a man with two families, with contrasting personalities for each.

To the first family, John Samuel III was an impulsive man, given to quick outbursts of temper which occasionally got him in trouble. While he loved his children, his actions did not always meet with their approval. He was head of the family during times of extreme difficulty, and struggled to provide a living for them. He seemed the happiest when engaged in his occupation as a marine engineer, though much of his life was spent as a farmer. He spent much time seeking to recover some of the property his father had owned, though little came of his efforts. He had a deep interest in family history, as is evidenced by his correspondence with the Marler family in Canada and with his cousins in Switzerland. He was convinced that, through the step-children of his grandfather, he was the rightful heir to the throne of Spain. His belief was so firmly held that he was able to convince a number of others of its validity.

The second family saw him as an aristocratic gentlemen, who had a deep love for his wife and his children. During his many extended absences from them, he wrote loving letters and postcards to each of them, revealing a close and intimate relationship.

Six weeks before her death, his widow Frances Eudor Hunnicutt de Montmollin wrote a letter to her children which was found among her effects after her death on December 30, 1954. She wrote, "Dear Papa was unable to see most of you grow up into the fine ladies you have become and to sit your children upon his knee, but somehow I know he must sense all your presence. My dears, I know life has been very difficult for Papa and me, and my children, but Papa gave us love, hope and a fine sense of direction."

Even while living with his second family, he maintained an active correspondence with his second son in the first family, Aaron Burr, in which he inquired often of the well-being of the other children. In letters which have come to light, he mentioned all but one of the children in the first family, the sole exception being his oldest son Harry Marler from whom his estrangement appears to have been complete.

One can only speculate about the contrasting personalities of the man. The most likely explanation seems to be that his first marriage was not a happy one. It was a war-time marriage, performed in Charleston, South Carolina in 1863. The difficulties of raising a large family during Reconstruction in the South must have contributed to his low morale. By contrast, the second marriage seems to have been a happy one, though the times were still quite difficult. The necessity of

earning a living for a large family kept him away from home much of the time, but his love and concern was expressed in frequent letters to his family.

John Samuel de Montmollin III was born on February 20, 1844 in Savannah, the first-born of John Samuel II and Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin. He was baptized in Christ Church on June 2, 1850, along with his brother, Louis Henry, three years younger. A sister, Harriet Marler, was born in 1853, a frail child who lived only about ten years.

#### EDUCATION IN SWITZERLAND

At the age of fifteen, he was sent to Geneva, Switzerland, for schooling, which may have been a private school or the University of Geneva. Though his passport shows some travel to the surrounding countries, he did not find time to visit his relatives in Neuchatel, although he expressed a desire to do so.

While there has been later speculation that John Samuel was pursuing the study of medicine in Geneva, the only mention of academic courses is in the field of liberal arts, with emphasis on languages. The father was highly ambitious for his son, and insisted that he apply himself diligently, taking advantage of the great educational opportunities which were his. Their correspondence during the Spring of 1859 is interesting and tragic at the same time. The father wrote several letters to his son, always urging him to study hard, to learn several languages, and to make the most of his opportunities. His advice was often of a personal nature, as he exhorted him to write his mother and himself often, to cultivate moderate habits, and to be careful of his personal appearance.

Several of these letters from that Spring have come down to us. They all reveal that the parents were concerned that young John Samuel might not stay in school - that he might fail to take full advantage of his educational opportunities and the chances to broaden his interests through his European contacts. He was living with the family of Ambassador Henry Ward, who was in China at the time. The two families had been closely associated in Savannah, and Mrs. Ward was looked upon as an ideal hostess and mentor for the young man.

The exchange of letters provides an interesting insight into the character and habits of the two John Samuels, and a reminder that human nature changes little over the generations.

Savannah, 17th of February 1859

My dear Son:

I saw by the papers that you left in the *Arabian* and that she grounded in the harbor.<sup>1</sup>

My dear boy, I am really sorry that you did not write oftener. I cannot tell you how much your mother loves you. I often go home and find her in tears thinking of you. Your Brother has been quite sick and seems downcast on account of your absence. And your little sister is constantly talking of her big Bubba. Do, my Boy, write often, especially to your Mother who has done so much for you. And now again, let me advise you to be kind and obliging to your friends.

My dear Son, few boys have the chances of such friends as you are now with, therefore exert yourself to please them. Be careful of your person and clothing, always taking care to change your under clothing. Take care of your teeth, should they decay from neglect you

<sup>1</sup> The fact that he read of the grounding of the *Arabian* in a newspaper account indicates that she might have sailed from Charleston or some other port, rather than Savannah.

will be sorry for it, for your health will not only be injured by bad teeth, but think of the pain and bad looks [caused] by decayed teeth.

Again my son, read such books as will be of service to you, will give you the knowledge to make a living. Try to learn the different languages. Again let me urge you to write us often.

On no account prevaricate or evade telling the truth. Never use any intoxicating drink or tobacco. Should you want money, apply to Mrs. Ward, but buy nothing that you do not actually need.

Write to your friends, especially the Marlers<sup>2</sup>. They may be of service to you in later life. The Dorions<sup>3</sup> stand high. They are members of Parliament.

And now my Son, may the Almighty bless and preserve you and may we all meet again on this earth. Do not forget your prayers, and pray for us for in ours you are not forgotten.

Recollect the trials and troubles we have had to make money and to bring you up. Then never waste it, but try to improve yourself the same as if at school, for this to you must be one of the best. Then let me beg of you for your dear mother's sake, improve yourself.

God Bless you my Son.  
Montmollin<sup>4</sup>

Mail going - people in office talking to me.

John Samuel responded with letters to his mother and his brother, apparently written in the early Spring.

Chateau de Lancy, 1859

Dear Mother,

I hope this may find you all well. I am perfectly satisfied to remain here. Dear little Tattie<sup>5</sup> do kiss her for me. I never heard of such rules but I will try my best to obey them.

I am glad that you have found a new way to the place and so easy. It was very tiresome before. How long before you will come this side? I am going to buy some books to read. Give my love to Auntie. Excuse my letter being so short, as I send five by the same mail, and I have three hours allowed me to write them in. I will write you again in a few days. There is no news at present.

Your Son  
J. S. de Montmollin

An undated letter suggests impending problems in John Samuel's pursuit of education. The father wrote:

My dear Son,

I wrote you on the receipt of your last 21 March. Since then I received a letter from Mr. Ward, and was pleased to find by that, that you had done no wrong. I wrote him approving of his sending you to school. At the same time, let me urge you if you are at school, not to waste your time, but as much as you may dislike it, improve yourself for if you now neglect your learning, when will you be able to improve yourself? I will answer, never. Then let me beg of you to use your effort and do not let others beat you at anything that you may undertake. You have pledged me your word to never miss a lesson or day. I therefore accept your proposition to stay at school, and shall look for your pledge to be carried out.

I hope that you will look well-to-your person and clothes, recollecting that to appear with soiled clothes or your person unwashed is not only the sign of a sloven, but of a low

<sup>2</sup> Chapter V deals with the unusual relationship between the de Montmollin and Marler families.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Ann, daughter of Leonard and Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin Marler, married Pierre Dorion, himself a member of a prominent Canadian family.

<sup>4</sup> The omission of the "de" from his signature is an inconsistency on the part of John Samuel. He usually included it, sometimes capitalized, sometimes not.

<sup>5</sup> "Tattie" was the nickname of John Samuel's younger sister, Harriet Marler.

character. Therefore be particular in your dress, and always give a kind answer. A kind word will not only turn away angry feelings, but make you a friend where otherwise an enemy would have been made forever. As you may be thrown amongst young men who may be fond of company, recollect your solemn promise never to drink any intoxicating drink whatever, or use tobacco. They are sins which are easily acquired but hard to get rid of, and above all things pay every attention to the advice of Mrs. Ward. Should you be able to please her by your good conduct, you may make a friend which you might well be proud of. You promised to write us often, then do so, and give an account of the school, your studies, where you board, the fare of the place, the manners and customs of the people, the price of schooling, board, &c, &c, as well as the time consumed at school.

In writing your name, write it full for my grandfather came from Neufchatel,<sup>6</sup> which is not far distant from you. I shall pass much of my time on the Plantation, as the freshets have just left the land and the planting is late, and I wish to plant largely this year. The railroad hands have worked up to our place, and as soon as waters go down will continue and finish this year.

Your sister & brother always pray for you. Do for them. The Negroes inquire often about you.

God bless & preserve you is my prayer.

J. S. de Montmollin

A long letter from Harriet to her son was dated April 25, 1859:

Savannah, April 25th, 1859

My dear Son,

Your letter from Paris informing us of the change of your plans was received and answered by your father before I had seen it, as I was out at the place in Carolina. I do highly approve of your remaining at school, and trust you will lose no opportunity to improve yourself. Recollect you have pledged us your word to that effect. Now set to work and let this be one year of hard study.

Do see that you keep your clothes nicely, and your teeth clean. Use your brush and water freely, but avoid all the quack dentifrices which whiten only to destroy the teeth finally. I have been suffering very much with mine. The famous new dentist turned out to be an imposter. He used gutta percha instead of gold, but I have succeeded in having the nerves destroyed and thank God have rest for a while, I hope.

Let me urge you, my son, to be respectful and attentive in all respects to Mrs. Ward. I feel better satisfied to have you remaining at Geneva as we will be able to receive your letters quicker and hear oftener.

Do not be backward in consulting Mrs. Ward as you would your own mother. You show good taste in your admiration of that lady. She is a great favorite in this community. Your sister is very jealous of the praises you bestow on your little juvenile companions. She says, "Yes! Bubba does not love me any more now."

Mr. Cain<sup>7</sup> will write you shortly. Do, will you, reply to his letter kindly, and tell him all about your studies. He always inquires after you. Your brother is preparing for the annual examinations which come off next week. He is to make a great speech and writes a composition on Friendship. He wants you to bring him the point of William Tell's arrow. You know you have Swiss blood, so you can inquire about your family. Your father can write you particularly on this subject.

How did you like the military looks of my cousin Napoleon?<sup>8</sup> Mr. Pratt has been admitted to the practice of medicine. Your class at the academy stands in status quo. Robert Charlton has

<sup>6</sup> The spelling of "Neufchatel" is an error on the part of John Samuel, confusing it with a small French village near the Swiss border. The correct spelling of the Swiss seat of the de Montmollin family is "Neuchatel."

<sup>7</sup> "Mr. Cain" seems to have been the headmaster of the Academy, where John Samuel had received his earlier education.

<sup>8</sup> Harriet Rossignol traced her ancestry to the Bourbon family in France. Thus, her reference to Napoleon as her "cousin" is a bit hard to understand. Napoleon III was not in the Bourbon line, but the son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I. He ruled France from 1852 to 1870.

returned. He has improved in personal appearance and got through with the books as they say. We have been very unlucky with freshets this year - five in rapid succession. No planting of any consequence done yet, but the house is finished at last and makes quite a respectable appearance. You ask about the *Wanderer*. Well, she was sold - bought in by Mr. Lamar, who has had her beautifully fitted up and left with a party of gentlemen last week for Cuba. Report says to sell her at a high price to some rich Cuban for a pleasure yacht. The net I have got from York, who [illegible] said you had given it to him.

The *Minnie* has been bought by Sidney Goodwin.

All your friends desire remembrance to you. My dear Son, do not neglect your prayers night and morning. Mother never forgets to pray for you, and your sister also without being told prays for you. She is not very well just now. Nothing serious, I hope. You must write us as often as you can. Do present my kind regards to Mrs. Ward and believe me, dear child, your [illegible]

Mother

In a letter which bore no date, but which was probably written on May 8th, John Samuel II wrote another urgent letter of fatherly advice:

My Dear Son.

I wrote you some weeks ago in answer to yours. I hope that it reached you in time to quiet your mind as to your travelling about [and hope] that [you] will not. You placed yourself, and so advised by Mr. Ward at school and to go against his advice, and to leave the school. I cannot consent to. You are there, then try to improve yourself. No matter how others behave, do you behave well and learn and all will be well. And should you write me as also your teacher that you are doing well, you shall not regret it. Again let me ask you to write your mother or me every week. Your teacher will furnish the postage if you do not have it, but write certainly. Again and again let me ask of you to use your every effort to please Mrs. Ward and also your teachers. And by so doing you not only make friends through life but your present time will be more pleasantly spent. Take care to use good language, none but the low use profanity. Keep your person and clothing clean and nice, especially your teeth and finger nails which by this time I hope you have allowed to grow. Write your grandmother again and recollect that if you do not now learn, you never will, for you are now of an age to learn. In a few years you must go to work for your living. Above all things, do not use tobacco or any intoxicating drink.

Our rice crop looks badly on account of the late Spring and many freshets. I hope to be done planting about the 25th inst, but fear that the birds may injure the crop. Our Negroes all send howdy.

I suppose you hear much of the war which I suppose has already commenced in-Italy. Should Russia side with France in truth, Austria is in a desperate situation, though she for the present may crush the Italians but let not these things deter but rather urge you to learn, for know that unless you have learning you can never rise in this world. Your forefathers say my grandfather came from Neufchatel and was a learned man, and my father could speak seven languages and write five. Say can you make the effort to come up to either of them? Upon inquiry you will find out probably where you are about them. Should you do well and learn we may come and see you. God bless and preserve you, my Son.

John S. de Montmollin

A letter written on May 16 reveals something of the relationship between brothers John Samuel III and Louis Henry.

My dear brother: Savannah, May 16th 1859

I hope that you are well. I just came in from the country this morning. I had been spending Saturday & Sunday out at Grays with Lawrence Ryan. The May birds are very thick and bad. I killed a few of them and caught some fish. I got the net from York, although he did not

wish to give it up. Tasso is well and fat. He eats chickens and ducks. The ducks that we had on the Isle of Hope had about a dozen young and he ate them all. The plums are all ripe. I ate about a peck of them, & so did Lawrence. I wish you were here to enjoy them. Your goat is well. We have 3 little kids and all of them Billy goats. You should be here to train them. Father has built a large pigeon house with 130 holes. Doddo says I must send his best respects to you. He is well. All the people are well & send their love to you. Jane says you must bring your wife, and she must be pretty rich.

Your brother ever, Louis H. De Montmollin

John Samuel responded quickly, another indication of the closeness of the relationship between the two boys.

Chateau de Lancy

Dear Brother,

I hope that you are well. You must write me often. I like to get letters and to write them. How many ducks did you kill going up the creek? I am glad to hear that you have got the net from York.

Are there many plums? You and Tatty may share my little stock of goats between you, but don't sell them because I prize them, as I raised them.

The pigeon house must be a fine one. I suppose it is by the stable.

I received a letter from Powers and will answer it the same time as this one. Goodby for now.

Your brother  
J. S. de M.  
Kiss all for me.

As the Spring wore on, the issue of staying in school was increasingly acute. As might be expected, John Samuel II and Harriet both had strong views on the matter, and lost no opportunity to express them to their absent son.

Savannah 30th May 1859  
My Dear Son,

Yours of the 1st & 5th inst, but postmarked the 7th directed to me - one for your mother and the other for me - came this day to hand, and I am sorry to see that you still desire to quit the school where you were placed at. Should you quit, you will not only displease me but be the laughing stock of all that know you. No, No, my Son. Stay there and use your every effort to learn and thus shorten the time of being from home and be able to return when your friend, Mr. John S. Ward does, which will be in two years. And should everything turn out well with us here, we may this summer pay you a visit, provided I hear a good report from your teachers of you. Therefore let me ask of you, my dear Son, for my sake, for your dear mother's sake and for your own sake and all that you hold dear to make yourself satisfied and use your every effort to learn to make yourself agreeable to all and thus make friends. Do not notice the faults of others, only press on the harder to do well in your own case. Be careful of your person and clothing, for cleanliness is requisite to health. Use good language - 'tis the sign of gentility. Never take the name of God in vain, for He is a jealous God. Never forget your prayers and always appeal in prayer to your Maker for help. It will never be denied. Above all things, pay every attention to your good friend, Mrs. Ward. Be careful to use every effort to retain her friendship. Pay every attention to your teachers and should you want clothing or any necessary article or any reasonable pocket money, write or let your teacher do so and I'll see that you have it. All I ask is for you to be an industrious and a good boy - to stay where you are & to learn. My fathers came from the country where you are - Switzerland - and were celebrated for their learning. Can the name resting in you not again be blazoned forth to the world as celebrated for learning? Should you make the inquiry, I have no doubt you can ascertain the fact. And should you be an industrious boy

might not you be celebrated? And if so, wealth would be yours. But enough of this. I must think that you will try to please those who not only have been kind but who would make any sacrifice to elevate you.

Your mother and sister have passed much of their time this winter on the Grey Plantation but have now come to the City. Your brother goes up every Friday and down Monday to school, where he is trying to gain the first honours. They have commenced working and making the rail road over our Union and Grey Plantations. They cross over the River on our lands on both sides. I shall hope to get a good price for damages if they do us some injury. Our rice crop is just done planting on account of the many freshets and cold weather. I have made a small planting of about four hundred acres. The stand of rice thus far is a good one, but of course I cannot say how it will turn out. The corn looks well.

Thus far we have only lost Anna and her child since you left. We have had a few cases of sickness, but none dangerous. We have over fifty workers on the Swamp.

Learn your lessons and when you have finished there, it will be time enough for you to choose & then I'll be pleased to give you the place to attend to. Your grandmother is quite weak and thinks and speaks often of you and begs you to stay and learn. Do write her often, as also you promised to write me one per week. Have you done so?

I will close stating that Mr. Cain, your mother, brother and sister will write you. God bless and preserve you, my dear boy, is the prayer of your father.

John S. de Montmollin

On June 6, 1859 John Samuel III wrote his father, agreeing to stay in school. The tragedy is that this letter, or even the one he mentions having written previously, could not possibly have reached Savannah before the death of the father on June ninth.

Chateau de Lancy,  
June 6th 1859

Dear Father,

I hope this may find you all well. I received your letter dated the eighth of May, and I answered it a few days after, telling you that I would remain and I am contented to do so. I will try and learn all that I can. I will learn all the French and Spanish that I can. I think that Spanish is very pretty and I will do my best to learn it. Since I have been here, I have learnt a thousand words in French that I will never forget.

I have a very bad tooth that is all the time hurting me. I give you my word I have left off eating my nails ever since I left home and find that I get along just as well without eating them.

I send grandmother a letter the same time as I write you this one.

I am sorry to hear that you have not got a good crop of rice, but it may come out better than you think.

Tell the Negroes howdy for me.

You think wrong about the War, as the Austrians are whipped every time. The last battle the French drove twice off three times their number of Austrians without firing a gun, and captured a great many, taking their cannons and ammunition and making them prisoners.

I may go to Neufchatel for very little in the vacation and stay for a day. Should you have any objections, I will not go. I hope you will come and see me. Give my love to all.

Your son  
J. S. de Montmollin

P.S. Mrs. Ward is well, and heard from Mr. Ward when he was in [illegible]. He is well, but very tired of his trip. Mrs. Ward is pleased that you may come visit.

When word was received in Geneva of the sudden death of John Samuel II on the *John G. Lawton*, the son returned home to Savannah. Although there is some indication that he may have continued his education in Paris later,<sup>9</sup> his schooling seems to have come to an abrupt end when his father died.

The mother, Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin, was named Administratrix of the estate, and was later (1863) granted guardianship of her two sons. John Samuel was nineteen years old at the time and Louis was sixteen. The only daughter, Harriet Marler, had died previously.

One of the wishes of John Samuel II was that the family would make their primary residence on the Isle of Hope. This they did until the stationing of large numbers of Confederate soldiers nearby made that property unsuitable as a residence.<sup>10</sup> In April, 1863 the mother petitioned the Court on behalf of herself and her two surviving children<sup>11</sup> to allow the sale of the residence and the 50-acre site there. With the Court's permission, the property was sold. It is not known where they lived after the sale.

#### CONFEDERATE ARMY SERVICE

The Civil War had begun in April, 1861 with the firing on Fort Sumter in Charleston, and there followed a rush of enlistments in the newly-formed Army of the Confederacy. On May 11, 1861, three months after his 17th birthday, John Samuel III enlisted for the duration of the War with the 5th Regiment, Georgia Cavalry under Captain Bartow, a Savannah lawyer who was quickly promoted to Colonel. He commanded a Brigade at Manassas and Bull Run under General Joseph E. Johnston in the Army of the Shenandoah. Bartow was mortally wounded at Bull Run. John Samuel could well have fought at Manassas and Bull Run - the official Civil War records give no specific confirmation. We know that he sustained wounds during his service, and that he was treated in a General Hospital from November, 1861 through January, 1862.

John Samuel's whereabouts from January to November 1862 are something of a mystery. It is quite possible that he was either on convalescent leave after his discharge from the hospital in January; or perhaps on limited duty in the Charleston area during that period. We can place him in Charleston in April, as he was married there; and in Hardeeville in mid-1863. Apparently, he was still close to Savannah in the Spring of 1864, as his first child was born in December, 1864 at Gray Plantation. Although the record is unclear as to the nature of the transfer, John Samuel joined Company F, 3d South Carolina Cavalry Regiment in November, 1862. This unit was originally known as "Captain Smart's Company," South Carolina Volunteers, and later became the 8th S.C. Cavalry with the addition of several other independent companies. Still later, it was increased to a regiment with the addition of three more companies, and was designated as the 3rd South Carolina Cavalry.

9 Letter, dated Feb. 22, 1927 from Mrs. A. B. de Montmollin to Dandridge Spotswood, contains this statement referring to John Samuel III: "The eldest son, John S. (my husband's father) finished his education in Paris (being fluent in seven languages. . .)"  
 10 Robert Manson Myers, ed., *Children of Pride*, Popular Library, New York, NY; Vol. III, p.256. The Chatham Artillery manned batteries on a number of coastal islands in the Savannah vicinity, with a base camp on the Isle of Hope.  
 11 Harriet Marler de Montmollin had died earlier in 1863.

On February 6th, 1864, John Samuel requested a transfer to a unit which could utilize him as a scout, with his knowledge of the Georgia and South Carolina coasts. The letter was written from Savannah:

Savh. Feby. 6th, '64 Sir:

Permit me to introduce myself by letter to you as Private J. S. de Montmollin, Co. F, 3d So. Car. Cav. This intrusion is made to enquire if there be any possibility of my being detailed as a Scout on the Coasts of either Carolina or Geo., where I am well acquainted having spent many of my boyish days in fishing sports on the islands along the Coast. I have been in service from the very commencement of this War and now have a great desire to serve my country in the capacity of a Scout. I have made bold to offer my services at headquarters at once. Duty is with me a pleasure and I consider no undertaking too difficult or hazardous for my performance.

Should any reference be required I can offer the best in the City of Savannah, my birthplace.

Very respectfully,  
J. S. de Montmollin

To:  
Genl. G. T. Beauregard  
Charleston

Apparently the request was granted, as John Samuel was transferred to Company I, 5th Georgia Cavalry effective January 21, 1865. The 5th Georgia Cavalry was a part of a larger force under General P. G. T. Beauregard, which retreated through South Carolina in the face of Sherman's forces turning north from Savannah. The Georgia militia units at first refused to cross the river into South Carolina, as they claimed their enlistment required service only in the State of Georgia. After much persuasion, they agreed to serve only until the immediate emergency was over. When regular Georgia units arrived from Charleston, the 5th Cavalry among them, the militia went back to Georgia. After the fall of Columbia in mid-February, the Confederate forces, then under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, moved on into North Carolina, where the next-to-last major engagement of the War was fought. Johnston turned to face Sherman just south of Bentonville, North Carolina. He was initially successful, but the arrival of reinforcements caused him to break off the contact. About a month later, Johnston surrendered to Sherman at Hillsborough, a few miles west of Durham. John Samuel was among the Confederate soldiers paroled at Hillsborough on May 3, 1865.

He and several companions walked home to Savannah, a distance of some 320 miles.

As they moved to the north through South Carolina, Sherman's forces continued the "scorched earth" tactics they had employed in Georgia. The Gray and Union Creek Plantations lay in the path of the advancing Union forces, and were visited by foraging parties who usually destroyed property and commandeered live-stock for their own use. Family legend has it that the only damage to Gray Plantation, where the family was apparently living, was to rolled-up carpet which was hacked by swords.

Though he served honorably, John Samuel's record in the Civil War was not without blemish. In mid-1863, he was tried by court-martial. The charge and specifications read:

*CHARGE*

Private John Mountmullen (*sic*), Company F, 3d Regiment, S. C. Cavalry, P. A. C. S.

Charge: Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.

Specification 1st: In this: "That Private John Mountmullen, Company F, 3d Regiment S. C. Cavalry, P.A.C.S., did visit the camp of Company G, 11th regiment S.C.V., armed with a pistol, with the avowed intention of killing Corporal J. H. Stutts, of said Company G, 11th regiment S.C.V. and said he would await his appearance for the purpose of accomplishing his design." All this at or near Hardeeville, S. C., on or about the 4th of March, A. D. 1863.

Specification 2d: In this: "that he, Private John Mountmullen, Company F, 3d regiment S. C. Cavalry, P.A.C.S., swore, subsequent to his arrest for the offence specified in the foregoing specification, that when relieved he would kill Corporal J. H. Stutts, of Company G, 11th regiment, S.C.V., upon sight, and did not care for the consequences that might ensue, or used words to that effect, or equivalent threats." All this at or near Hardeeville, S. C. on or about March 4, 1863.

To which charge and specification the accused pleaded as follows:

To the 1st Specification of the Charge: "Guilty."

To the 2d Specification of the Charge: "Guilty."

To the Charge: "Not guilty."

*FINDINGS AND SENTENCE*

The Court, after mature deliberation, finds the accused as follows:

Of the 1st Specification of the Charge: "Guilty."

Of the 2d Specification of the Charge: "Guilty."

Of the Charge: "Guilty."

And this Court does, therefore, sentence the accused Private John Mountmullen, Company F, 3d regiment, S. C. Cavalry, P.A.C.S., "to two months hard labor on the public works, and to be confined during the intervals of his hours of labor, under charge of the guard."

On April 29, 1862 in Charleston, John Samuel married Sarah Ellen Hasson. She was the youngest daughter in a family which had immigrated from Ireland. The family consisted of the mother (the father is not mentioned in the census of 1850), two sons and three daughters. The older children had been born in Ireland, and Sarah Ellen and her sister Margaret were born in Philadelphia; Sarah Ellen in 1844. Both the bride and groom were 18 years old at the time of their wedding in 1862.

Considering that wartime conditions would have precluded travel to the northern states, it may be assumed that the new bride was taken to live with her husband's family on the Isle of Hope near Savannah.

The union of John Samuel III and Sarah Ellen produced seven children:

John Samuel IV, born December 6, 1864 at Gray Plantation

Harry Marler, born January 28, 1869 at Savannah

Aaron Burr, born June 30, 1871 in Philadelphia

Harriet Marler, born September 3, 1873 in Hardeeville, SC

John Louis, born November 2, 1875 at Gray Plantation. Catherine, born March 12, 1878, at Parramore Hill, Screven County, GA

Adelaide, born April 8, 1880, at Parramore Hill

John Samuel IV was born while his father was still in Confederate service: He was in the 3rd South Carolina Cavalry at the time, probably stationed in lower South Carolina near Savannah. The little boy died on November 11, 1866, and was buried at Gray Plantation.

#### *LIFE IN THE POST-WAR SOUTH*

One can trace the location of the family by the birthplaces of the children. By the time John Samuel III came home from the War, the Isle of Hope place had been sold. They still owned the two South Carolina plantations, and several pieces of residential property in Savannah. A fairly safe assumption is that they lived at Gray Plantation in the house John Samuel II had built in 1853, and that they occupied a dwelling in Savannah from time to time. Harry Marler was born, it will be noted, in Savannah. Aaron Burr was born in Philadelphia, the home town of Sarah Ellen's family, presumably on a visit there. Harriet Marler is listed as being born in Hardeeville, which was only about three miles east of Gray Plantation.

Apparently, John Samuel did not devote full time to the activities at the rice plantations. On September 8, 1869, he successfully passed an examination and was awarded a Second Class Pilot's License of the "Steamer *Ossabaw*," for the Savannah River and tributaries. The Second Class Pilot's license included ocean steamers from 600 to 1,200 tons. He was to follow this profession intermittently for the rest of his life.

His quick temper brought about a brush with the law in 1866. John Samuel and Louis were both charged with assault and battery, and required to post bonds of \$100 each. The case finally was called to trial in February 1867, and neither John Samuel nor Louis showed up. The bonds were declared forfeited, and the two were ordered to appear the following January. When they declined to appear, the case was tried in their absence, and John Samuel found guilty by the jury. He was assessed \$100, plus the cost of the suit. The exact role of Louis in this proceeding is not clear. He is not mentioned in the final order issued by the court, although he was required to post bond when the case was initiated. He was an attorney, so perhaps he was counsel to his brother.

Sometime between 1875 and 1878, the entire family moved up the Savannah River to Parramore Hill, just west of Sylvania. Parramore Hill was a farming community, formerly in Screven County, Georgia. It was a stop on the Central of Georgia Railroad, named for an early resident there. On March 3, 1880, two parcels of land were purchased by Louis H. de Montmollin, as trustee, on behalf of the "children of John S. de Montmollin." One parcel contained six acres, and was located at the seventy-four mile post of the Central of Georgia Railroad; the other was one hundred acres, located nearby. There is no indication of the reason why the land was bought by a trustee, instead of by John Samuel himself. No record has been found of the disposition of these holdings. It is likely that the difficulty of providing workers for the labor-intensive rice plantations had caused them to abandon the effort at Gray Plantation and Union Swamp. Parramore Hill was not rice-growing country, but did produce good crops of fruits and vegetables.

As noted above, two more children were born there. The 1880 census lists the family, including the mother, listed as "Harriet, 71, widow." John Samuel's occupation was listed as "farmer." In correspondence, he mentioned growing apples and peaches and other fruits.

Despite the difficulties of providing for a large family, John Samuel kept an active interest in matters of the extended family. One letter has come down to us, written from Scarborough, Screven County, Georgia, to Miss Ellen Marler.<sup>12</sup>

Excerpts from the letter show strong indication of the closeness of the two families, even though they were widely separated by years and by geography. There is even indication that they both knew members of each other's family and other mutual acquaintances as well.

June 26, 1881  
My dear-cousin,

We have not had a letter from you for some time and hope you are not sick. I wrote to you and gave the dates cousin George asked for. . . . Mother is now in Savannah. She left us two days ago, she is quite feeble now. . . . Our little ones are all well, our youngest (Adelaide) is running all around and is beginning to talk. I have not heard from Dr. Montmollin<sup>13</sup> in Kentucky for several weeks. . . . Tatty is growing very fast, and will soon be a big girl. Harrie begins to think himself a man - it makes me feel quite old. . . . Do, Cousin Ellen, remember us to each and all. Tell Cousin George to write. I wrote him but have had no answer to my letter. Remember us to Mrs. Dorion and each and all. You don't know how glad it makes us all feel to hear from you - not a day passes that you are not spoken of. . . . I have found out much of our family history. I would like so much to have you here and talk it all over. Can you get me the address of Count Montmollin? Cousin George may know. If you can, do send it to me in your next letter. My wife joins me in sending love to each and all and hope she may yet have the pleasure of seeing you. The children also unite in sending love to Cousin Ellen, and join me in a prayer that the Almighty will bless and protect you each and all. . . .

Jno. S. de Montmollin

In the letter to Ellen Marler, he mentions that "Everything is very dull in this vicinity. I have been trying to sell out and locate somewhere else, but money is so scarce I find it almost impossible to sell. Where I will go to I have not as yet made up my mind."

Some evidence of the difficulties of life in post-war Georgia is shown by a document written by John Samuel in 1881, which has been preserved over the succeeding generations in the de Montmollin Family Bible:

State of Georgia, Screven County

From information which I have from time to time received and which I know to be reliable, I this day, Tuesday, July the 26th, 1881, being of sound mind and enjoying good health, have thought best to write the following which I hope will be carried out by some friend or friends after my death, should I be assassinated. First, I do not wish an inquest held over my body by any coroner, magistrate or sheriff of Screven County.

Second, I give the names of men who have sworn to take my life. [Here he named sixteen men] These men all belong to a band of KuKlux and are linked to the Ross band of murderers. Should I be assassinated, I wish some friend to have these men arrested and tried in the United States Court at Savannah. It is and has been my full purpose and intent

12 Ellen Marler was the youngest daughter of Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin and Leonard Marler; the "cousin George" mentioned in the letter was her older brother George Leonard; and the "Dorion" family was related by marriage.

13 Dr. Jonas M. de Montmollin, son of Frederic de Montmollin, a nephew of David Francis, who immigrated to Philadelphia from Switzerland.

not to attack any of them, but to avoid if possible a difficulty with one and all, but should I at any time either at home or abroad see that they intend to harm me, I shall as long as God gives me power to move and use every means in my power to kill as many as I can. From this I swear by the God who made me, nor on any account to deviate. What I may have of value I give to my wife Sarah Ellen Montmollin, and our children for her to manage alone. My body, I return to God who gave it, and ask the mercy of God.

By 1884, the family had apparently moved to Florida, as John Samuel was working as Chief Engineer on the steamer *P. M. Bromley*, a 9-ton vessel built in Jacksonville in 1881, operating on the St. Johns River. A hand-written notation on the fly-leaf of a pocket notebook reads:

On board the Steamer Brumley [sic] St. Johns River, Florida. Sept. 1, 1884.

The property of Jno. S. de Montmollin.

Presented to me, while serving as Chief Engineer on the Steamer Brumley, by Capt. Percy McGill, who was killed by the wheel of the Chesapeake whilst trying to rescue a man and woman passenger who had fallen overboard from the upper deck of the steamer and were drowned. This occurred on the St. Johns River, Florida. Capt. McGill owned the Brumley and was liked by all.

On February 28, 1885, John Samuel and a business partner by the name of Meredith Goodson bought a lot in Palatka from the estate of Peter Taylor, for which they paid \$200. The lot is described in the deed:

Beginning at the South West corner of Lot No. 6, Block 31, in the City of Palatka, at a point on the North side of Main Street, thence East along North Side of Main Street twenty-five feet, thence in a Northerly course parallel to Third Street fifty feet, thence in a Westerly course and parallel to Main street twenty-five feet, thence in a Southerly course and parallel to Third Street fifty feet to said South west corner of said Lot six, the point of beginning.

Webb's 1886 City Directory for Palatka listed the above-described place of business for Goodson & de Montmollin, and a residence at Main near Second Street for John Samuel, his oldest son Harry M. and his mother Harriet M. R.; with second son Bertie (Aaron Burr) shown as living at Main near Third. Both Harry and Bertie were listed as clerks, Bertie with the Florida Southern Railway, with offices at Main near Third. Harry was seventeen in 1886; Bertie two years younger.

The property owned jointly with Meredith Goodson was sold in 1886 to Sherman Conant of Palatka.

The property on Main and Third Streets was purchased early in 1885, a few months after the publication of a "Bird's Eye View" map of the growing city. On the night of November 7, 1884, a large section of downtown Palatka was destroyed by a disastrous fire, which started when brisk winds caused celebratory bonfires to spread out of control. The account from *The River Flows North*<sup>14</sup> bears quoting:

On Tuesday, November 4, 1884, James G. Blaine of Maine and New York Governor Stephen Grover Cleveland squared off in an acrimonious national election which featured, among other curiosities of the time, the first female candidate for the Presidency of the United States. By Friday evening Palatkans were aware that Cleveland had been elected (though without a majority of the popular vote) the first Democratic President since the Civil War, and they were ecstatic; Florida and every other Southern state had gone for the Democrats, though

14 Brian E. Michaels, *The River Flows North, A History of Putnam County, Florida*; The Putnam County Archives and History Commission, p. 268, et seq.

Putnam County had not, and "progressive" Palatkans were pleased. So pleased were they, according to Dowda,<sup>15</sup> that "huge bonfires sent up tall spirals of flame in several parts of the downtown area." The weather may have been chilly and gloomy, but hearts were light, and many must have expected "a hot time in the old town" that night of November 7. They were not deceived.

The scene of Palatka's most vital area was changed that night "in a few hours, and ashes of desolation lay in its place." The "Palatka of 1884," as the Palatka News described her, "with her splendid riverfront, her two fine railroads, and the scores of palace steamers paying tribute at her throne" was no more. When the sun rose on Saturday morning, "sad-eyed citizens looked upon a scene of desolation, for the fire, in burning itself out, had left blocks of ashes in the heart of Palatka."

The layout of Palatka's streets on that fatal night was much as it is today, but some of the names were different then. Running north and south along the river was Water Street (now Memorial Parkway and First); then came Front Street (now Second); then First (now Third), and so on. Lemon Street is now St. Johns Avenue, except for one short block at the river just north of the city's waterfront park. . . .

About 10 p.m. a newspaperman saw "a bright blaze rising from the old office of the Putnam County Journal," which was then used by the firm of Devereux, Rogero and Son as a storeroom for spirits (i.e., kerosene) and oils.

Dowda notes that "according to one report, sparks from a bonfire fell upon nearby roofs and started the conflagration." Other versions put the blame upon workmen who purposely kindled the blaze "in hopes of getting employment as a result of the damage;" there were other suggestions as well, but none was ever proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

The local fire company swung into action, but high winds made their best efforts too little - and a pumper failure made them too late.

The firemen, both Mechanics and Hooks and Ladders were on hand, but, for some reason not yet ascertained, the engine sent no water through the hose. Meantime, the flames burst in volume through the roof, and the firemen broke open the building only to find themselves in danger from the exploding liquids. Then the engine began to act, but too late. Bravely the nozzlemen poured a full stream at short range.

Soon the flames had leaped to Devereux's main building, then into the adjoining structure and from there to the Hotel Palatka, which was then caught in "the wide ruin."

Even Griffin's brick block of stores across Water Street fell before the onslaught of the wind-driven flames, which then swept across Lemon Street to Graham's Hotel and the adjoining stores, racing thence along Lemon to Front and north up Front to Reid Street.

In an almost breathless style, the *Palatka Weekly News* continued the description of the disaster:

Down Water street involving the stores of Vertrees & Co., Houghton Bros., Kennerly & Company, John T. Dunn, E. T. Lane, Col. Hart's spacious offices, and the building formerly occupied by the *Eastern Herald*. From Reid street to Lemon, across Lemon, involving the whole block of buildings as far as the river, including the Larkin House and new Presbyterian Church, swept the fierce flames. Across Front street leaped the flames, and the Putnam House with the addition not yet finished, with all the fine furniture prepared by Mr. Orvins for his guests, was consumed. Across Lemon street the new brick block of Mr. Fry was saved, but the wooden buildings adjacent were burned. Mr. Petermann, by strenuous exertions, saved his block, and the residence of Mr. William K. Lente, with its [metal?] roof, resisted the shower of sparks. The wide grounds of the Putnam House enabled citizens to save Falk's block across First street, and the splendid trees on Colonel Hart's grounds offered an effectual barrier to the march of flames across Reid street. On Water street the engines of the *Chattahoochee* fought the flames gallantly and saved Cunneely's block and the meat market. With the *Wisteria*, *Marion* and other large steamers at the wharf playing

15 Robert Black Dowda, Florida historian of late 19th Century.

steady streams on the fire the range of buildings north of Cunneely's were saved, so that the burnt district may be defined as the Putnam House block between First street and Front street and the business blocks between Reid street on the north and J.T. and K.W. depot and down to the river.

The damage was estimated to be as high as a million dollars - a considerable sum today, but far greater in 1884. Fifty businesses had been destroyed; four hotels, two banks, and "many offices, etc." were no more.

It was a miracle, some thought, that given the near-total destruction of the business district, only "Mr. Lansing's horse," which had been burned in the stable, was lost, and no one had been seriously injured.

The matriarch of the family, Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin, died in Palatka in 1887. John Samuel recorded her death in the family Bible in these terms:

My dear old mother - taken sick about February 12th, 1887 at Palatka, Florida - sick until Sunday, May 8th, 1887. Tenderly nursed by my wife Sarah E. de Montmollin, who never left her a moment. She died at 6 o'clock on the morning of May 8th, 1887. Funeral took place at 4 1/2 o'clock - taken to the Catholic church - sermon preached by Father Walsh (of Eng'). Her remains placed for the time in the Catholic Cemetery, near the gate left hand side. Jno. S. de Montmollin.

Apparently, her grave was unmarked, the only reference to its location being the above notation in the family Bible. About 1925, the Kirby Street entrance to the cemetery was relocated, and the exact location of Harriet's grave was obscured.

Widowed at forty-seven, and left with three minor children, Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin had struggled through the lengthy settlement of her husband's large and complicated estate, and had played a major role in keeping the family together during the difficult days of the Reconstruction in the post-war South. Although there is some evidence that properties in the estate were lost because of failure to pay taxes, there is no indication that she was in any way negligent.

She had been preceded in death by two of her three children: Harriet Marler on January 13, 1863, and Louis Henry on March 29, 1884. When the move to Screven County came in about 1875 and to Florida in about 1884, she accompanied her eldest son's family and made her home with them. Her younger brother, Louis Rossignol, had lived in Palatka, but had died on November 18, 1879, prior to the de Montmollin move south.

In 1891, John Samuel made a move which brought about a dramatic change in his life. He was living in Starke, Florida, with Sarah Ellen and the younger children (Harry and perhaps Bertie had remained in Palatka), apparently engaged in farming. For reasons which remain unclear to this day, he abruptly left his family, never to return.

#### *THE FIRST FAMILY AFTER 1891*

Following his father's departure, Harry Marler I, the oldest surviving son of John Samuel III, became the principal support of his mother and five brothers and sisters. He worked first as a bookkeeper for a grist mill, and later managed a river freight line for a syndicate of businessmen. He later bought that business, the Palatka and Jacksonville Steamboat Line, established a wholesale and retail hardware and farm implement business, and operated a Gulf Refining Company

commission agency. All the businesses and the family home in Palatka were lost in the crash of 1929, and the family moved to Jacksonville in 1930, where the older sons could more readily find work. Harry Marler died there in 1933. In 1895, he was commander of the "Gem City Guards," a local militia unit formed in 1880. The Guards were disbanded and a unit of the Florida National Guard was formed to replace it. Harry Marler was a Colonel in the Florida National Guard in 1900, serving on the staff of the Governor, and served in the honor guard at the funeral of President McKinley in 1901. He retired as a Brigadier General.

In addition to his varied business and military pursuits, Harry Marler found time for numerous civic activities, among which was the chartering of the Palatka Rotary Club in 1920, and the funding of the World War I Memorial bridge which in 1927 crossed the St. Johns to East Palatka.

In 1890, he was received by profession of faith as a member of the Palatka Presbyterian Church; was elected a Deacon in 1892 and was ordained an Elder in 1898. He was Clerk of the Session in 1900, resigning as Clerk upon the death of his first wife in 1903. In 1917, Harry Marler served as Chairman of the Pulpit Committee which called Dr. Donald MacQueen as pastor. Dr. MacQueen served the church as pastor for twenty-three years. Upon the death of Harry Marler in 1933, the Session of the Palatka Presbyterian Church noted the "passing of one who was a faithful and loyal member of this congregation for forty years, for thirty-two years striving to serve God in every possible way as a member of this Session." On January 18, 1899, he married Susie Lamar Dunn, granddaughter of one of the earlier pastors of the Palatka Presbyterian Church. Susie contracted tuberculosis, and died in 1903, leaving no children. In 1905, he married Virginia McIlvaine, a young school teacher who had been living at the Presbyterian Manse with the family of Dr. L. Ross Lynn, pastor and long-time friend of the family.

The second marriage produced seven children: Helen, born in 1906; Mildred Virginia, born in 1908; Harry Marler II, born in 1910; Philip Edward, born in 1912; James Mellon, born in 1919; Richard Hall, born in 1922; and Fernand Henry, born in 1928, named for Fernand Henri de Montmollin, who had visited the family in 1926.

The second living son of John Samuel III and Sarah Ellen Hasson was named for his ancestor, Vice-President Aaron Burr. Aaron Burr de Montmollin I worked in Palatka and Tampa as a bookkeeper; then joined the railroad as an inspector, where he served his entire career, first in Savannah (1897) and later in Montgomery, Alabama. His wife, Frances Christiana Johnston, known in the family as "Aunt Fannie," was close to both families of John Samuel III, and for many years was the principal contact with the "second family."

The first son of Aaron Burr and Frances was Harry Cornelius, born in 1895, living only two years. The second son, Aaron Burr II, was born in 1898, and was employed as a banker in San Angelo, Texas, until his death in 1930. His only child, Frances Elizabeth, was only two years of age at the death of her father, and was raised by her grandmother, Mrs. Aaron Burr de Montmollin.

The oldest daughter of John Samuel III and Sarah Ellen was Harriet Marler, named for her grandmother, Harriet Rossignol, with a middle name which car-

ried on the family tradition of honoring the relationship between the Marlers and the de Montmollins. She had been born in 1873 in Hardeeville, South Carolina, about three miles east of Gray Plantation, according to an entry in the de Montmollin family Bible.

In 1891, she married Lee Hoffman, and lived in Green Cove Springs, Florida. This union produced six children: Fannie, born May 22, 1892 (died June 16, 1979); George, born \_\_\_\_\_ (George was a twin, the other died at their birth); Miriam Catherine, born November 1, 1895, died January 25, 1971; Harriet, born \_\_\_\_\_, died \_\_\_\_\_; Sara Josephine, born October 24, 1899; and Louis, born October 5, 1901, died July 3, 1957. Harriet herself died in 1902.

John Louis, the third son of John Samuel III was the ancestor of the de Montmollins who live in the Plant City, Florida, area. He moved from the Palatka area to Starke, and later to Plant City. He worked on the railroad most of his adult life. On September 30, 1908, he married Minnie Lee Keene, who died in 1968. This union produced eight children: Harry Lee, born in 1909; Louis Eugene, born December 12, 1912; Mary Louise, born May 25, 1918; Thelma May, born in 1919; George Louis, born in 1922; Sarah Ellen, born September 6, 1924; Floyd, born in 1926; and James Edward, born in 1928. At this writing, all the children of John Louis and Minnie Lee are still living.

The second daughter and sixth child of John Samuel III was Catherine, born on March 12, 1878, after the move to Screven County, Georgia. She married Jackson Rawson Davis, who later committed suicide. After the death of her husband, she worked as a seamstress at Phelp's Department Store, Jacksonville.

"Aunt Katie," as she was known to the family, had no children of her own, but her nephews and nieces, sons and daughters of her sister Harriet Marler, spent much time at her homes in Jacksonville and on Kingsley Lake, near Starke. She died September 24, 1946.

The seventh child of John Samuel III was Adelaide, born at Parramore Hill, Georgia on April 8, 1880. Adelaide met James E. Kelly in Georgia during the Spanish American War, while he was serving in the Army. They were married in Georgia, and made their home in Baltimore, Md., which was his home. Kelly worked as a Stationary Engineer in various industries.

Children of Adelaide and Kelly were: Eileen Josephine, born May 31, 1907; Catherine Bridget, born \_\_\_\_\_; Edwina Ann, who died in infancy; and James Edward Kelly, Jr., born February 18, 1915; Eileen married Albert E. Luxner, and they had two children: Catherine Eileen and Thomas Albert Luxner. Ed Kelly, Jr., is now retired, and lives in Baltimore.

James E. Kelly, Sr. died on January 16, 1940; and Adelaide on January 12, 1954. She was buried at St. Vincent's Cemetery in Latrobe, Pa.

John Samuel's first wife, Sarah Ellen Hasson, lived in Starke following her husband's departure in 1891. Over the years, she visited frequently with her other children in Palatka, Green Cove Springs and Plant City, and died in Starke in 1915 at the home of her daughter Catherine Davis. Her funeral service was held in Palatka at St. Monica Catholic Church, with burial in West View Cemetery in Palatka.

*NEW HORIZONS FOR JOHN SAMUEL*

While there is nothing substantive to indicate his reasons for leaving the first family, there is at least some evidence of what he had in mind. Some months after leaving, he received two letters from a friend in Savannah which lead one to believe that he was attempting to reclaim some of the mining property his father had owned. The letters were dated in mid-1892, and while there is no address given for John Samuel, it is evident from the dates of the letters that he was in North Georgia at the time.

July 12th, 1892  
Mr. John S. De Montmollin

Dear Friend:

Your welcome letter came safely to hand showing that you had not met with any mishap. The way to locate the Fighting Town Mine, now almost forgotten by everybody, is to go to the Ducktown Mines, now in operation, I think, and which is situated on the line of the Marietta & Knoxville RR, then you are only 3 miles away from the other mine. And any old citizen in the neighborhood can point them out. Do my boy, take good care of yourself, and post me if anything turns up. I must close to catch mail.

Your friend,  
A. B. LaRoche

Apparently John Samuel had written LaRoche, a friend from the days in Savannah, asking about the location of the Fighting Town Mine.

The second letter was written just a month later, responding to a letter from John Samuel written on the 7th of August:

August 10, 1892  
Mr. John S. De Montmollin

Dear John,

Your welcome letter of the 7th inst. at hand and its contents has afforded me much pleasure. My dear boy, you and I have worked all of our lives until we are getting on the old man's order. And I think it is about time we were making a ten strike at something. And I think the best place to make it and to establish our children when we are gone is in the mining business. Do, John, try and get your business in such shape that you can leave without serious loss for a short time in October. Then visit upper Georgia, prospect the country thoroughly and I will back your judgement heart and hand. There is no money in farming and scarcely any in things that one can go at. But old mother earth has always treasures in her storehouse for those that dig for it.

I will now close with love to you and your family, and a fond hope that we may yet work shoulder to shoulder in turning up the shiners.

Your old friend,  
A. B. LaRoche

The reference to "your family" seems to say that his friend LaRoche was unaware that John Samuel had left his family in Florida. The letters were written only a month before his second marriage. The fact that the letters came down to us through Frances de Montmollin Johnson, grand-daughter of Aaron Burr de Montmollin, of the first family, only adds another wrinkle to the mystery.

Whatever his reasons for leaving, the break was a clean one. While he maintained an active correspondence with Bertie in which he made mention of the other children, there was no communication with the eldest son Harry. He was the only son or daughter not mentioned in the correspondence with Bertie.

His effort to recover the mining property took John Samuel to Tallulah Falls, in Rabun County, Georgia, where he stayed at Glenbrook, a boarding house operated by a widow, Mrs. William McEwen Hunnicutt. While there, he became attracted to young Frances Eudor Hunnicutt, and when he left, he promised to return in a year. He did so, and was married to Frances Eudor on September 15, 1892.

This union produced a second large family, consisting of six children:

Sarah Louise, born November 18, 1893  
 John Samuel, born November 14, 1896  
 Agnes Lisette, born April 5, 1901  
 Vivienne McEwen, born May 31, 1904  
 Elise Albertine, born March 17, 1908  
 Angela Aloysius, born September 21, 1910

Frances Eudor Hunnicutt de Montmollin was a gifted woman, honored by her entire family as the "matriarch." She was a writer and an accomplished painter. She revered her husband, and gave him her full support through many difficult years.

The family struggled constantly against economic hardship. The South was still in the unhappy period of Reconstruction, and conditions were difficult to say the least. Much of the real property was held by absentee owners who reaped the benefits of the low economic state of the average Southerner.

Judging by the correspondence which has come to light, John Samuel and "Fannie" as he called her, lived first at Tallulah Falls. Doubtless, he continued his efforts to locate and recover the mining property just to the north in Rabun County. He carried on correspondence with other members of the de Montmollin family, both of the David Francis branch and the Frederic branch. One such letter from Dr. James M. Montmollin<sup>16</sup>, of Ashland, Kentucky, has been uncovered, and its content indicates a previous relationship:

Ashland, Kentucky  
 April 23, 1893

Dear Cousin:

... I am truly glad you have employment and hope it may eventually prove remunerative to you. I am in hopes that your present place may lead to something better and more in keeping with your standing and wishes.

In regard to the family tree and old portraits, you are welcome to make what use of them you choose at any time.

... In regard to the money you need, give yourself no uneasiness about that. You can exercise your own convenience in regard to it.

16 Dr. James M. [de] Montmollin, physician in Ashland, KY, descendant of Frederic de Montmollin.

Tell Cousin Fannie she must come up and see us now at any day, as she must have plenty of leisure.

Walter sends regards to you both. I close with love.

Your affectionate Cousin,  
James M. Montmollin

Even though he had found employment, it is evident that John Samuel was still having financial difficulties. The reference to "the money" in the letter from Cousin James indicates a previous loan which had not been repaid.

By June 14th, they had evidently moved to another location, as her mother wrote Fannie, worried that she had not heard from her recently.

Her letter expressed concern about the well-being of Fannie and John Samuel:

Tallulah Falls  
June 14th, 1893

I am getting anxious about you and Mr. deM. I wrote you two weeks ago last Monday on the same day I received your last letter. I hope there is nothing the matter, but still, I want to hear from you.

. . . I will not attempt to write much till I hear from you, which I hope won't be long. This leaves all as well as usual.

Your affectionate Mother,  
M. A. Hunnicutt

Her anxiety might have been purely of a motherly nature, or it may have been that Mrs. Hunnicutt had a particular concern for her daughter of 22 years married to a man 26 years her senior.

They may have been living in Ford<sup>17</sup>, Kentucky at the time of her mother's letter, as their first child, Sarah Louise, was born there on November 18, 1893. Sarah married Walter J. White and had two children: Evelyn and Frances. She died on January 20, 1920 in Los Angeles.

While living in Kentucky, John Samuel and Fannie maintained a close relationship with Dr. James de Montmollin in Ashland, although their residence seems to have been some distance from Ashland. Their daughter Louise was named for the daughter of Dr. James, and they often visited and exchanged gifts.

The second child, a son named for his father, was born in Lavonia, Georgia on November 14, 1896. He was the fifth child to carry the name "John Samuel," John Samuel IV being the first-born of the first family who died at the age of eleven months at Gray Plantation, South Carolina. John Samuel V married Mabel Peterson, of Marinette, Wisconsin, who died in 1971. He was a flyer in World War I, and joined the Harley-Davidson Company in Milwaukee, where he raced motorcycles. In 1930, he was murdered by a jealous car salesman during a robbery in the garage in Wyandotte, Michigan where he was partner.

Throughout his life, John Samuel III had an active interest in family affairs. In 1899, John Samuel wrote a letter to Auguste de Montmollin in Neuchatel, inquiring about family matters:

17 No locality named "Ford" appears on current maps of Kentucky. "Ford's Ferry" is located on the Ohio River in western Kentucky; "Fordville" is in west-central Kentucky, southeast of Owensboro.

Bainbridge, Georgia USA

February 6th, 1899

Augustus de Montmollin, Esq. Neufchatel, Switzerland

My dear Sir:

Pardon this intrusion from an entire stranger, one whom you have never seen. I however came very near paying a visit in 1859, while I was in Geneva. Was prevented from doing so by being hurriedly called home on account of the death of my father. I think some of my letters fell into your hands, and were sent by you to Fred. de Montmollin at Lexington, Kentucky USA. You thinking they were for some of his family.

I am the great grandson of David Francis de Montmollin, grandson of John S. de Montmollin and son of John S. de Montmollin, and bear my father's name. I have many old papers, letters, &c connected with the family history from a very early date.

I am very closely related to Don Carlos and have today written him a letter which I send under separate seal directed to Neufchatel in your care, as I am unable to get his address. I very respectfully ask that you get it from the mail and remail it to him. I will at no distant day visit Europe and as I am the last of my line, it will give me great pleasure to meet some of my blood kin across the water. Again, I would be pleased to hear from you.

I have quite a collection of family portraits, and would like to see photos of any who may have them to spare. I have some of Dr. James M. de Montmollin's family pictures. I saw him some five years ago; he was in very feeble health. I by accident met Miss Adelaide C. de Montmollin in Philadelphia some thirty years ago, never saw her but once.

I would like to hear from you very much.

May the Almighty bless and protect you and yours is the humble prayer of your affectionate kinsman.

John S. de Montmollin

One of the sons of Auguste responded to John Samuel's letter, informing him that Auguste had died. John Samuel wrote the son, repeating the request that his letter be remailed to Don Carlos. This letter contained an even stronger statement of his intention to leave the United States: "As soon as I possibly can arrange my business here, it is my intention to quit this country and take up my residence across the water." It was written from Newton, Georgia, about 40 miles from Bainbridge. Both towns are on the Flint River in southwest Georgia:

In 1899, the State of Georgia began taking applications from Confederate veterans for pensions. John Samuel had some difficulty establishing his eligibility, although his service record did exist. He wrote to General Joseph Wheeler, serving in the Philippine Islands, asking for confirmation that he was among the Confederates who surrendered at Hillsborough, North Carolina. General Wheeler responded that although he could not personally affirm that John Samuel was there, it appeared that he knew enough of the details of the surrender to have been present.

In his application, which was dated February 3, 1900, John Samuel outlined his Confederate service; stated that his occupation since 1865 as "tried light odd jobs;" described the poor state of his health; and based his application on "infirmity and poverty." He stated that he owned no property, and lived only with the help of his wife, who worked part-time in photography.

John Samuel's brother-in-law, Walter Hunnicutt, served as a witness for him in early 1900, as required by the application. In his affidavit, Hunnicutt stated that he had known John Samuel since 1892, and that he was in poor physical condition, suffering from a severe rupture and from a gunshot wound sustained in the War. Hunnicutt's affidavit confirmed the statements made in the application.

The pension was granted, and John Samuel received sixty dollars a year.

Once the original eligibility was established, the procedure was simplified for succeeding years - only a new application was needed, with supporting documents taken from the 1900 application. He received the pension at least through 1906. He continued his relationship with the organized Confederate Veterans during his later residence at Brunswick and White Oak.

The third child was Agnes Lisette, born April 5, 1901 in Tallulah Falls. She was married in 1918 in Greenwood, South Carolina to Lawrence Alexander Beranc, of Savannah. They were the parents of three children Aloysia "Bebe," Blanche Marguerite and Rosalie Vivian. "Bebe" and Rosalie are deceased; Lisette died July 13, 1925 in Milwaukee.

The fact of Lisette's birth at Tallulah Falls, as well as the existence of some correspondence from there by John Samuel, indicates that they lived there for an extended period.

Much of the correspondence appears to have been with first-family son Aaron Burr in Montgomery, and dealt with the attempts to recover some of the property owned by John Samuel II. On an unspecified date in 1901, he wrote the following letter from Tallulah Falls to Bertie:

My dear Son:

I had just mailed a letter to Bubba,<sup>18</sup> when I got one from him in which he says you wanted a power of attorney &c about the Texas land. I wrote him. I have just had a severe attack (overheat) and have had a narrow escape. I feel a little better but very sore.

Well, my Son, you send them a copy of the description of the land. Remember it is now in Louisiana, the State line having been changed. Then you tell them you are my son and have authority to act besides holding a power of attorney. If what I send does not fill the bill, why you draw up such a paper as you want and I will sign.

Have you heard from Fannie and "big man?" I hope they won't get sick. Do make Bubba keep out of the sun. I want him to come to me. Have written him to that effect.

Bertie, do make Merraday send that Aeolian<sup>19</sup>. I cannot see what he means by not answering my letter. Do attend to it at once. I care not who has it or where it is. Get it.

As Bubba wrote me about the ferry<sup>20</sup>. Had you not best write Fabian Law? Don't say I am alive. I will be at the proper time. That property is valuable and gets more so every day. Do not give them time to think. Act at once. The Texas land was bought I think March 9th, 1843, or was granted then. Do my Son, don't put papers where mice or anyone will get them.

My Son, I enclose you the Goat Island<sup>21</sup> papers. I know all about it. There is one witness only alive who knows the whole transaction. This property is valued at 6 millions.

18 "Bubba" was a favorite nickname used by John Samuel; sometimes it referred to his son John Samuel V, sometimes to his brother-in-law Walter Hunnicutt. This reference could possibly be to his younger son, Louis.

19 A harp-like musical instrument consisting of an open box over which are stretched strings, tuned in unison, that sound when wind is passed over them.

20 Refers to the Green Cove Springs, Florida ferry. See next letter.

21 Goat Island was the island in San Francisco Bay apparently acquired by John Samuel II during his stay in California in 1850. See Chapter V, footnote 9.

No, my Son, all this is correct. I am in a hurry and cannot write more now. Remember my offer on the Texas land to you. One-half was to be yours; the rest Bubba, Katie and Addie would get a portion. This Goat Island, I will make a special bargain with you.

Write me often and go to work at once on these. Goat Island after my father preempted it and paid, the US Government took it and sent a commission to value it so as to pay. They valued it at 6 millions. The War came on and we had to keep quiet or they would have seized it on account of my being in the Confederate Army. Attend to this and you will become as I desire you to be, wealthy. First write to some good lawyer in San Francisco. Enquire for one.

Get him to take case on shares, but let me know all you do, so I can post you. Don't close any bargain without letting me know.

Well, I must close. Love to Katie and Bubba.

God bless you, my Son.

Affectionately,  
John S. de Montmollin

Later the same year, still in Tallulah Falls, he wrote again to Bertie:

Tallulah Falls,  
Georgia June 16, 1901

My dear Bertie:

If you have not had a letter from Fairhead Strawn & Co., you must write at once to a lawyer, or the Clerk of Court at Green Cove and find out if the Ferry has been abandoned. If so, you must at once write and return the same for taxes. If the county has abandoned it or failed to comply with the conditions upon which they accepted it so much the better. They can have no claim, neither can any one else except myself. Now this ferry is worth considerable and it will not do to let it go like the rest. So do act without delay. Write in your name. Let them think the whole thing comes from you.

The loss of the property acquired by his father was evidently much on the mind of John Samuel, as the letter goes on to say:

Since I saw you I have thought much over the terrible sacrifice made of my property and think I will try and recover some if not all. You find out where the money came from that was sent in check: If from Carolina, what for, and who sent it. Thus must be attended to at once. Remember it means money to you.

He mentioned that he had "just returned from my farm," which indicates some activity to support his growing family. The land was unattended, and there was a problem with passers-by stealing the fruit. He further mentioned that Fannie was engaged in photography, and that he was helping her with it.

Also in the letter of June 16th, there was a mention of "Gus LaRoche," John Samuel's friend from Savannah who had written him in 1892.<sup>22</sup>

On June 25th, he wrote a document granting Bertie power of attorney:

Tallulah Falls, Georgia  
June 25th, 1901

You keep this.

I hereby constitute and appoint A. B. de Montmollin my lawful attorney with full power and authority to act for me in the recover of certain lands owned by myself formerly in the State

of Texas, but now in Louisiana. 12 miles S.W. of Nachitoches on the Sulphur Forks of Red River. Where the Sulphur Forks empty into the Red River, containing 4000 acres. Granted by the Alcaide of Nachitoches to Asa F. York etc. He has a list of owners to myself.

John S. de Montmollin

Also my claim of Goat Island in San Francisco Harbor by right of preemption.

John S. de Montmollin

Perhaps because of the difficulties of farming a remote piece of land, John Samuel's interest seemed to turn more to photography as a means of making a living. On September 28th, he wrote Frances Christiana de Montmollin, wife of Bertie (he had previously asked for a picture of their son to enlarge):

My dear daughter:

Your letter with proof of a picture of my dear little boy came safe to me. The picture you sent (proof) is not toned out and would fade before I could copy it. It would all turn black when exposed to strong light which I would have to do to copy it. I will however do what I can. The negative should have been retouched before a proof was made. If you cannot find small picture of your father, will have to work from the one you have. I had written several times to borrow the tintype you had of myself but have never received it.

Bubba<sup>23</sup> has made wonderful progress in the picture business, and will make a trip into North Carolina in a few days on a picture-taking expedition.

I was disappointed at Katie and Addie's not coming here for the Fair. I ran the dynamo during the Fair at the big hotel. Bubba made pictures.

It is very cool here now. I have been feeling very badly for several days, threatened with pneumonia. Exposed so much at night and getting so warm in the engine room.

While I think of it please urge Bertie about the FERRY and other lands, and as I have written so often about that Aeolian and all to no purpose, cannot you write and have it shipped to me. I wrote many times to Katie about it, but so far no good. And can you see Mrs. Elmore and ask her to send me the Badge. I sent her the blank filled out besides she saw and read the letters I had from Gen. Wheeler. I wrote the secretary of the Sophie Bibb Society<sup>24</sup> all about making the pictures for them. They are so slow to answer the letters and they have never sent me any pictures to work from.

... Tell the "Old Man"<sup>25</sup> that grandpa wants a picture of him with a little smile on his face. I think and speak of my little boy very often and wonder many times what he is playing at and what he is doing.

Give my love to Bertie, Addie and Katie. I would like to have them with me but alas fate, cruel fate, is against me.

I keep the proof of my little boy and will do what I can with it.

We are getting something new, that is for this country - pictures made in scarf pins and other articles of jewelry suitable for ladies to wear - mounted in every way, some in gold, very fine. They are all prices.

I do not know how long we will be here as we contemplate a move of some kind very shortly, as I will give up the house where I am about the first of October.

Ask Bertie what he thinks about the chicken business. If I was to ship to him could he make anything. May get to buy for a man here. You must excuse this hasty scratch. I have no specks and cannot see what I wrote.

23 This "Bubba" probably refers to his brother-in-law Walter Hunnicutt, who became a professional photographer.

24 The Sophie Bibb Society was the common name for the Ladies' Memorial Association of Montgomery, Alabama, which provided grave markers for deceased Confederate Veterans all over the former Confederate States. It was founded by Mrs. Sophie Gilmer Bibb, who was its first President.

25 John Samuel's nickname for his grandson Aaron Burr II.

Bubba has improved much in looks since he came here. Did Katie ever catch the "nigger" who stole her clothes? Well, I must close so as to get this off today. I hope it will find all well. Kiss "Old Man" a big kiss for me and may God bless you each is my daily prayer.

Affectionately,  
Jno. S. de Montmollin

The reference to "engine room" in his letter indicates that John Samuel may have been working at least part-time as a marine engineer, his primary occupation. This would likely have taken him away from his family, as Tallulah Falls is on the upper reaches of the Savannah River, where commercial river traffic was unlikely. Perhaps his family remained at Tallulah Falls, close by the Hunnicutts.

The move from Tallulah Falls did not take place as soon as John Samuel anticipated, as he wrote "daughter" Fannie again a few weeks later:

Tallulah Falls, Geo.  
October 12th, 1901

My dear daughter:

Yours with photo of my dear little boy came safe to me. Your letter should have been answered sooner but I have been first one place and another and hardly time to eat or sleep. I shall make a large picture of the "Old Man" for you.

Do ask Bertie if he can handle the poultry for me and to send me quotation at once. The circumstances are these. There is an old man here who will furnish me goods etc to buy the poultry if I can ship to some honest person who will sell and return proceeds, charging a reasonable commission for services. Special rates I think can be had from here to Montgomery. I must have quotations there so as to know how to buy here. Chickens, ducks, etc etc.

Please answer by return mail. Write quotations on a card or separate sheet so I can show it to him.

Love to Katie, Addie and Burt. Yourself and "Old Man" included.

Bubba<sup>26</sup> is well. Has bought an engine so as to put up a mill. Also a wagon.

I wrote and asked about that Aeolian, but no one ever answers. I fail to see why. Cannot you get that Aeolian for me - and send me the photos you spoke of. The tintage of myself never came to hand. I have never received the Cross from Mrs. Elmore.

The mother superior in Washington wrote me that Joe Rognignol claimed all that Susie<sup>27</sup> left and it was sent to him at Camden, So. Car. - the dirty thief. The Montmollin name certainly fell in the mud when that bunch of cattle got mixed in with it.

... God bless you each for me is my daily and hourly prayer. Bubba wrote to Findlay about ferry. He said it would come back to me and he wanted to get 10.00 to look into Fairhead making use of land, etc. Bubba has not answered. What has become of Katie and Addie? Have they forgotten me?

... God bless each. Very affectionately,

John S. de Montmollin  
Tallulah Falls, Ga.

The rest of 1901 and the following year are completely blank as far as recovered documents are concerned.

26 The repeated references to "Bubba" in correspondence with Bertie and his wife must refer to John Samuel's youngest son John Louis. In 1901, the son was 28 years old and still unmarried, and could well have spent some time with his father and the second family.

27 Susie was the daughter of Louis Henry de Montmollin, brother of John Samuel III. She received the habit in the congregation of St. Joseph at the Convent in Washington, Georgia in 1891. She took her vows as Sister Mary St. Thomas Aquinas, on January 23, 1893 at the age of 21 years. Family records say she died in 1900; although the 1920 US Census shows her still living there in 1920. The family record seems more credible in this case.

Not so with 1903! Early in that year, John Samuel moved his family to Brunswick, Georgia, and was engaged as the foreman of Altama and Hopeton Plantations, about 14 miles southwest of the city.

Hopeton Plantation was a colonial land-grant of 2000 acres in 1763 to the South Carolina family of William Hopeton. It was sold in 1816 to John Couper and James Hamilton, planters of St. Simons Island, Georgia. Hopeton, the eastern half of which was known as "Altama," was planted in rice, cotton and sugar cane with labor provided by five to six hundred slaves. Later, a sugar mill was built on the property, with machinery from England. The marshlands along the Altamaha River, which bordered Hopeton and Altama on the north, were well-suited to the cultivation of rice, being far enough from the ocean for the water to have lost its salt and near enough for the ebb and flow of the tide to be used in irrigating the fields. Vegetables and the other crops were grown on the higher ground away from the river. In 1945, Altama Plantation, which the entire tract is now known, was acquired by its present owner Alfred W. Jones, President of the Sea Island Company. The present-day rest stop on I-95 west of Brunswick is on land purchased from the plantation.

In 1902, Hopeton and Altama were bought by John W. Crow, of Akron, Ohio, and it was he who hired John Samuel III as foreman.

On April 20, 1903, Crow and John Samuel made their first inspection of the property, including the rice dams and gates, and later that afternoon an agreement was reached for him to take charge the following Tuesday.

Fortunately for us, John Samuel kept a journal<sup>28</sup> for the entire time spent at Altama and Hopeton, almost exactly a year. The journal records in some detail what must have been the most trying time of his life. He spent most of each week on the plantation in a small cabin built for him and commuted to Brunswick every week-end to be with his family. Usually, he was on horseback, sometimes with a wagon, but on many occasions, walked the entire distance.

The labor on the plantation was freed black labor, who had their own difficulties in survival. They were undependable and frequently resentful of authority, resulting in constant bickering and often open rebellion. Frequently the payroll was late, being wired weekly from Ohio by Mr. Crow, which exacerbated the difficulties of John Samuel and his laborers. The weather was often bad, with disastrous results on the growing rice crop. John Samuel devised a system of warnings of freshets upstream at Macon, with telegraphic or postal notification in time to protect the crop.

A few excerpts from the journal give graphic illustration of some of the problems:

Wednesday, June 3rd. Went all around this morning, put plow to work in cane near stable. Cut some cabbages, what is left of hard-heads as Niggers are stealing them by the wholesale. I am very much disgusted with the whole gang in the oats patch, they are loafing all they can; must make some change among them. After a hell of a lecture hope they will do better.

Thursday June 4th. Cloudy. I took mud gang to "Half Moon" which is again leaking badly, cut the bank and found the leak. It is now high water and I must wait on the tide to stop it.

28 The original journal is in the keeping of Anita Hicks, John Samuel's granddaughter. It was she who transcribed it and made it available.

Put hands to building dam higher in low places; rain after an hours work drove us away. Put one plow to bedding up for draws; showers continue. May slack up later in the day - it is now 1/2 after 9:00 AM and I have just commenced planting some draws. 10:00 AM, raining like the devil - had to knock all hands off until it stops raining. It is now 1/4 to 11:00 AM, the rain has quit again so the planting of draws is going on. Sun is once more. Noon, and now raining. I took 3 hands and in the rain mended that infernal break in "Half Moon" in one and 1/2 hours - some hands planting draws. 3 1/2 PM. Have planted all the draws. Rain has quit but it is cloudy, nothing could be done with oats today. I am very wet. That "Half Moon" busted again on the high water.

Monday June 8th. Left town at 1 AM, arrived at Altama at sunrise. "Niggers" nearly all refuse to work as they have not been paid off; some are trenching. I left in rain for town, arrived late (wet). Saw Mr. C. and related situation. Saw Col. Dilworth who is very sick, he kindly offered to loan money to pay off. I remained overnight in town and arranged with Col. Dilworth to pay off money.

Wednesday June 10th. Saw Col. Dilworth and borrowed \$60.00 to pay hands, and left town about 11:00 AM for Altama. Met Nigger hunting me on the road. Arrived at Plantation and found Niggers had nearly all refused to work - paid off and will drop several from my list. No rain, some are trenching. Some are chopping in square. Rec'd notice from Macon about the freshet (pretty high).

Thursday July 16. Hands hoeing potatoes. I went to Hopeton and found that Hezekial Gordon had broken open the house where I had nailed it up. Made bargain with Robert Ridley to go and stay in house at Hopeton, guard the place and prevent any and everyone from passing through. He to take two mules over there and care for them as pay, he is to plant a garden and attend to it. I am to furnish all seed. He's to work on either Altama or Hopeton whenever called on and to be paid for said work the same as other hands. Should he fail to carry out the instruction as here given he is to forfeit all he may have there at Hopeton in the form or crop or crops. He is to particularly stop everyone from passing through except hands actually working there, this part to be carried out to the letter. Very hot but a breeze blowing. Very low tides. Old Gordon yet planting rice. Having potatoes plowed last time. 100 deg. in the shade. Ridley moves to Hopeton today. Hot - hot - hot!

John Samuel's recurring health problems were aggravated by exposure to the elements and by the hardships of the life at Altama.

Monday July 20. . . . 100 deg in the shade and not a breath of air. I met Mr. Barnwell on the road, he going to town. . . . I went to Sterling and rented a shantie from Mr. Wright where I can stay at night. I had fever all night.

Tuesday, July 21. . . . Very hot - 98 deg. I feel very badly. . . Took my cot to Sterling - stayed all night. . . .

Wednesday, July 22. . . . The heat is terrible, good many hands sick with fever. I am in the balance with the fever, touch and go - just took at 1:00 PM 25 gr. of quinine - head big as a barrel, very sick. Returned to Sterling late in afternoon and was very sick all night, could not stand on my feet.

Thursday, July 23. Terribly sick all night, unable to move hand or foot. Sent to "Fred" to come to me which he did and later on I mustered enough courage to go to Altama, he going with me. Arriving there I had a bad spell, fever burning me up. At sundown we got a wagon and was hauled to town. Arrived in town late. . . . I am certainly sick this time and cannot "brace up."

Saturday, July 25. Mailed letter to Mr. Crow. Left early as I could only get money from bank after 11, was determined then; Fannie went with me as I was too sick to go alone - got \$42.72 from bank to pay off. . . . Many hands sick with fever. Sick and worn out, fever off but feel very badly.

Tuesday, Aug. 5. Heat terrible - 105 degrees. . . . Went to Sterling for the night - feel very sick.

Wednesday, Aug 5. . . . . Feel very badly, just taken 12 calomel tablets.

It was not only his own health that caused John Samuel's problems:

Friday, August 14. . . . . Old mule, "Glass Eye" and black horse got in canal at Hopeton - after much trouble got them out. Mule died. Black horse unable to get up - had to leave him at Hopeton. Brought "Glass Eye" and the rest back to Altama - Bennett bit by a snake on the lip - much swollen. . . .

Monday, Aug. 17 . . . . Black horse died from effects of falling [in] canal at Hopeton.

The hardships of the times no doubt contributed to the shortness of tempers. In November, an incident occurred which had later consequences:

Tuesday, Nov. 3. . . . . I shot dog claimed by the man Davis - it tried to bite Louise [his daughter] and when I went after it, it ran at me when I killed it. Davis came with his gun and asked if I shot his dog. Told him certainly, asked if I killed, told him why yes. He said if he had seen me (which he did) shoot it, he would have killed me. He had his gun. I told him to shoot. He said he would kill everything I had. I told him if they bother you, kill - he is a coward! . . .

Monday, Dec. 14. Attended Court. The DAMNED rascal DAVIS refused (so said) to prosecute me for shooting MY dog. I refused to pay costs.

The Christmas season brought no respite from his troubles.

Wednesday, Dec 23. . . . . "Old Bob" [one of the horses] bad off! Will die. . . . Damned coon ate 3 of my "pigs."

Friday, Dec 25. CHRISTMAS! Poor one for me. Worn out, I fell asleep after dinner and woke up with as I think and feel, with a stroke of palsey [paralysis?]. Cannot walk - fall and my sight no good. God knows what next. I am suffering no one knows how much but me. Not one cent to get anything, too bad.

Saturday, Dec 26. In bed, asked Fannie to write Dr. Colwell asking for my pay. Cold raw day. "Old Bob" died.

Sunday, Dec 27. In bed all day, no better. I cannot navigate, act as a drunken man.

Monday, Dec 28. I am up but no better, what will I do, God only knows. So much on my hands. I must go to Altama come what may. Cold. Wood scarce and in fact everything. No letters - nothing.

Apparently Mr. Crow was having financial troubles of his own. There had been rumors, unconfirmed, that the sheriff was about to sell Altama and Hopeton. Nothing came of that, but John Samuel had increasing difficulty toward the end of 1903 in getting the payroll money at the bank. By December 20th, the plantation had been sold to Dr. Frank Caldwell, an insurance executive in Cincinnati. On that date, he and John Samuel concluded an agreement to manage the plantation for another year. Dr. Caldwell gave him the money to bring the payroll up to date.

A few days later, John Samuel received a draft for \$200 which brought his own salary up to date.

1904 continued under Dr. Caldwell with much the same difficulties as under the previous ownership. The labor was no more dependable, the thievery continued, and the weather continued to plague the rice crop.

The journal entry for February 20th reads:

Today is my birthday. I wonder if I will see another. 66<sup>29</sup> long, long years have passed, and so many changes, is it all a dream? This certainly has been a terrible day, wind and rain. Black horse died. Went to see if anything has been done in the Lisle case [Lisle was being charged with stealing a horse from Altama]. No, not yet. I mailed letter to Abbott. Had a bad fall on the PO steps, injured my hand and arm. No mail. Terrible weather.

One incident brings a note of amusement, at least to the readers of his journal. In the front of his journal was a newspaper clipping advertising a book entitled "110th Thousand - An Absorbing Romance of Aaron Burr."

On February 24th, he wrote the following entry:

Mailed letter to Sears and Roebuck with cash 45 cents as they claim I was due them (I could only find 35 cents) for life of Aaron Burr and Theodosia Burr.

And two days later:

I found a mistake in amount of Sears & Roebuck claim, they say 45 cents. I add their own figures and can only find 35 cents. Will send to them to correct.

On February 27th, the journal records the arrival of the "things from Sears & Roebuck." One can be reasonably sure that John Samuel was credited with the over-payment, although the journal does not verify.

By early March, the frustrations at Altama continued to mount. The hands frequently failed to report for work, the payroll often did not arrive at the bank and the high water from the spring rains often damaged the dams in the rice fields.

On March 7th, John Samuel began to think of returning to his calling as a marine engineer. He wrote:

I am nothing, have thought I would be better off in the sea. Feel badly, but go I must today. Bad weather. God only knows what the day will turn out. Well, I got buggy and started for Altama and did not feel able to stand the rain so I returned home as I feel badly. . . . Had long steamboat talk with Walter D. to be added to next Sunday.

Things came to a climax on April 6th which brought an end to the employment at Altama:

Caldwell, the miserable black hearted nigger lover again insulted me by requiring me to take time of hands etc from John Bennett, a most notorious nigger gambler and rascal. This led to a heated war of words & I was obliged to quit or be under a nigger. I chose the former - went all over the back country on foot in search of a team, then to Dent's and all in vain. Stayed with Fred and before day I got a team and this Thursday, April 7 I went to Altama, got my traps and walked to town leading the bull. Caldwell, the damned nigger lover informed me that Crow hired me & not him - I must get my back pay from Crow.

The journal records attendance at several meetings of the Confederate Veterans, and that he collected his pension at the beginning of each year. That he was active in Confederate Veteran's affairs is witnessed by the fact that in 1903 he was named a delegate to the Veteran's Reunion in New Orleans. There is no indication in the journal that he actually attended the reunion. On January 22, 1904, he was awarded the Cross of Honor by the Daughters of the Confederacy.

29 Actually, John Samuel was 60 years old in 1904, having been born February 20, 1844.

John Samuel's journal is then blank until February 28, 1907, when the following entry was made:

Memorandum. I brought from Brunswick with me bolts for boat, tools and bolts. Left Brunswick on Southern RR for Graham to begin work on Stm. *Jno. F. Hall*. Fare \$2.39.

Whether John Samuel was working at Altama or at his primary occupation of marine engineer, he was forced to be away from his family much of the time. Quite often, one of the children, usually John Samuel V or Louise, would go with him to Altama. It was a privilege they both enjoyed. For several years around 1903, the family lived in Brunswick, and he commuted on the week-ends. In early 1904, his journal records the purchase of materials to be used in the building of a house for them in Brunswick. The house was located at 2100 Prince Street, and was called the "Morro Castle." Apparently, "Morro Castle" was completed in February, 1904, although the journal is not specific. In times of relative prosperity, they bought additional lots, at least one of them adjacent to the property on Prince Street.

The fourth child in the family, Vivienne McEwen, was born in Brunswick on May 31, 1904. The family owned a pleasure boat, named the *Vivy* in honor of Vivienne. Her mother held a pilot's license which gave her the legal right to operate the *Vivy*, a pleasure vessel of five tons." Vivienne married Dr. A. B. Darling, a physician in California. They lived in the Los Angeles area. Dr. Darling died a little over a year after their marriage. Her second husband was William Eugene Brannan II, from whom she was divorced. She lived in Van Nuys, California, where she made a home for her aging mother and her sister. She retired as an accountant with Mobil Oil Company. She died in 1979, just four days after her 75th birthday. Vivienne, her mother Frances Eudor, and her sister Elyse are all buried in Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, California.

By mid-1907, John Samuel's family had moved to White Oak, Georgia, a small town on the White Oak River in Camden County. There they bought 18 acres of land on Grapevine Creek. Apparently the Prince Street property in Brunswick was sold, as the Acting Mayor is listed as living there in 1908. Though there is no specific confirmation, it seems that the move to White Oak embodied a return to farming as an occupation. The fact that the White Oak River was not a navigable stream and the purchase of 18 acres of land seems to indicate this. While in Brunswick, the family seemed fairly prosperous, having built a house and bought property which included a fairly large pleasure boat. Perhaps the depression of 1907 had its effect on their prosperity.

It was in White Oak that the fifth child was born, Elise Albertine, on March 17, 1908. She was a talented artist, singer, dancer and writer. Her first husband was Joseph Kaminsky, an executive in the motion picture industry; the second was Willard Woods. She had two children by Kaminsky, and two by the second husband. Elyse (as she preferred to spell her name) died in California on December 11, 1980.

Apparently, the steamer *Jno. F. Hall* was being built on the Ocmulgee River near the town of Hazelhurst in Jeff Davis County. The vessel was named for her

owner, and operated on the Ocmulgee River. John Samuel had some responsibility for the boat during her construction in 1907, and apparently worked aboard after she was put in service.

He thus returned to his first occupation, that of marine engineer, and apparently remained in that pursuit for the rest of his life. Most of what we know about his last few years is revealed by correspondence between him and members of the family.

The correspondence which has come down to us between John Samuel and his family reveals a close relationship which gave all of them much pleasure. A letter written in 1905 by nine-year-old John Samuel V, to his sisters Louise and Lisette, perhaps in Tallulah Falls, tells something of the family activities:

Brunswick, Georgia  
Sept. 5, 1905

To my sister Louise and Lisette:

Mama and Papa and I pulled Vivian in my wagon and I wated for them in the park. I wish I could come up their to play with you. I put the bridle on Billy and got him so that I can drive him a little bit. Papa is working on our little cart. Tell Lisette to write to me. I half to keep the baby out of the wet, so I cannot write you any more, so I will say good by.

Bubba

Eighteen months later, the little boy wrote his father:

Brunswick, Georgia  
March 2, 1907

My dear Papa:

We are all well, and I hope you are too. The hogs are getting along fine. And the other wheel broke down and I am going to try to see if I can get some more for my wagon. And I will pull the stop until the wagon gets well.

Good night, Papa. Jean S. de Montmollin

It is interesting to note the signature of "Jean." John Samuel III sometimes referred to himself in this way, and the son carried it on in imitation of his father, another sign of their closeness.

And from his oldest daughter Louise:

Brunswick, Georgia.  
March 7, 1907 My dear Papa:

We received your loving letter and were all very glad to hear from you. Papa, I was sorry to hear that you had tooth-ache, but I hope it is well now. Buba and I went this afternoon after school and got two bags of pine-straw for the hogs. They are getting on fine. Every time Vivian gets mad at one of us, she will say "I'm going to tell Papa when he comes home." Lisette is learning fast. She can read and spell right along.

Your loving daughter,  
Louise

Sometimes his loneliness sought another form of expression - that of poetry. Several of his efforts have come down to us, mostly undated, sometimes linked by content to a particular period in his life.

My baby's Baby blessed heart,  
Papa's angel far away;  
'Tis cruel thus to be apart.  
May the time be short, I hope and pray.

Papa's old and weak and sad,  
Everything crossways here, you see;  
Always gets from worse to bad,  
Enough to make old Papa mad.

Nothing cheers him save the thought  
Of his babies, large and small;  
In my dreams, and well I ought,  
For Papa loves them one and all.

Angels in heaven, please watch I pray,  
That darling "babe" for me;  
And return me to my home some day,  
That with her I may be.

Obviously written while he was on the water, another poem seems to have been written with his wife in mind, and again expresses his love for his family:

#### LONESOME

One night I needed something  
Way down in my cedar chest.  
A letter I had written to you  
For a long time I have possessed.  
Old Papa's getting older and his bones do ache,  
While his head gets dizzy with fever,  
But I must hold on for my family's sake.  
The rivers are chilly and the boats do leak.  
The nights are a lonesome time.  
I dream to see all my children seek  
As much happiness and love as mine.

My queen, my wife, always by my side,  
Years of happiness we will always share.  
I am proud of my little family,  
For these children, my family, my heirs.

When ole Papa comes home from a sail,  
The children all pounce upon me.  
For I love bringing each one a gift  
To make up for my absence, you see.  
My heart bursts with laughter and love  
When I see all your faces.  
Thank Goodness for the dear Lord above,  
I am now home from all those places.

While one of his poems may perhaps have been written as a result of a personal experience, it is quite possible that it was merely an expression of a humorous outlook on life in general!:

#### HANGOVER

I am lying here in the gutter,  
My head will surely burst.  
My nerves are in a flutter,  
And I'm slowly dying of thirst.

But I'll never get drunk anymore,  
 No, I'll never, I vow and declare.  
 My face is all covered with gore,  
 And the sight would tempt you to swear.

As soon as I am able to stand  
 I'll make a bee line for my home.  
 Getting drunk may be very grand,  
 But hereafter I'll blow off the foam.

There's something in liquor I know  
 That makes a man weak in his legs.  
 When he's too much on board he can't go,  
 And I've always thought it was dregs.

Now I'll never get drunk any more,  
 I'll safely promise you that.  
 For if I ever fall to the floor,  
 'Twill be caused by the "brick in my hat!"

I hear a policeman coming,  
 So let me out of the way.  
 He'd charge me with drinking and bumming,  
 And I'd have nothing to say.

He'd grant me a pardon I know,  
 When my time I have served at the pen.  
 Then he'll tell me, "Ole Soak, you may go,  
 For I'm certain you'll do it again."

In 1910, John Samuel had business in Tampa, Florida. He may have been working as a port agent, rather than as a crew member. In some of his correspondence, he mentioned "our ships," which seems to support this theory. At any rate, employment in Tampa could only have lengthened his time away from his family, which is reflected in the frequent letters and postcards he wrote. One of them carries implications that Fannie had written him about the trials of raising a family in his absence:

Tampa, Fla.  
 Thursday (July 14, 1910)  
 My dear Baby:

Have written you and sent card to Louise. When you do not hear from me, I am away at Port Tampa. No chance to write from there.

We will have a ship in Saturday or Sunday, and I must be there. Will write you as often as I can. I will also write Louise every time I can. Hope you understood all I wrote. I am called off so often hard to connect it all. Kiss little ones. Let them practice do-do. Many kisses for my baby.

Affectionately,  
 Jean

September, 1910 saw the birth of the last child of the second family, a little girl named Angela Aloysius, promptly nicknamed "Alla." It was at the time of her arrival that one of the infrequent contacts between the two families took place. The youngest son of the first family, John Louis, thirty-seven years of age at the time, was visiting when Alla's arrival became imminent. John Samuel was at home at the time, and sent John Louis to fetch the doctor. The doctor did not arrive in time for the blessed event, so John Samuel himself delivered his daughter.

History went full circle many years later, when in 1936, Frances Eudor de Montmollin delivered her daughter Alla's second child, a daughter named Julia. In a letter to Alla on October 1 the year following, she wrote:

The old Hicks Hotel in Morrisonville [WI] sure was buzzing that night I delivered your daughter, Julie. Whoever knew that on October 26, 1936 that I would deliver my daughter's baby? Alla, your father in 1910 sent his son, John Louis de Montmollin, to town to get the doctor when I was giving birth to you. John Louis went, but before he could return with the doctor, your father had already delivered you. History repeats! When I saw this tiny baby emerge with those slanting eyes, and feet first yet, all sorts of things went through my mind. Your father studied to become a medical doctor, and all I could think of was that I wished he was there too. I dearly worried about you, for you were so *p tite*, but you are a true determined de Montmollin, for finally came our reward. I bet Papa would have beamed with delight. I know I sure did!

Apparently, the connection with the Ocmulgee River led to other opportunities. In 1907, he attempted to form a company to provide water transportation between Macon and Hawkinsville, some 40 miles downstream on the Ocmulgee River. The Government was then engaged in clearing the river for navigation between the two cities. There is no indication of the outcome of this effort, though it may have been doomed from the beginning by the increasing competition of railroads. The lessening demand for water transportation, and thus his own skills as a marine engineer, must have led to a feeling of desperation on his part.

It is interesting to note that twenty years later, his oldest son in the first family, Harry Marler, was operating a river boat line on the St. Johns River, and found himself struggling against the same rail competition, which was growing rapidly at that time.

In 1909, John Samuel was engineer on the *A. E. Chappell*, a vessel built in Macon and owned by the Macon and Brunswick Navigation Company. The *Chappell* operated on the Ocmulgee/Altamaha between Macon and Brunswick, making her maiden voyage on February 15, 1908.

Later in 1909, an extended drought brought about low water on the Ocmulgee, and river traffic came to a halt. It was resumed two years later when the *Chappell* sailed from Macon on August 15, 1911. Presumably, John Samuel was aboard as engineer.

The inactivity forced by the cessation of river traffic brought forth another poem. It was undated, but its content suggests that it was written about 1909 or 1910, with the *Chappell* aground in the river.

#### MARINE CAPTAIN'S LAMENT

The Chappell's on the river bank I see,  
 The river's falling fast.  
 There's no one left aboard but me,  
 How long will this thing last?  
 I see a cloud, I hope 'twill rain.  
 I'll get up steam once more;  
 And when the water comes again,  
 I'll pull out for the shore.

This muddy, dirty water,  
 This awful shallow stream,  
 The poorest place for boating  
 The world has ever seen.  
  
 The pilot's gone, he's left you know,  
 O pity he'd stay.  
 He struck her nose an awful blow,  
 But that is just his way.  
  
 Never put off until tomorrow,  
 What might have been today.  
 'Tis hard when one has to borrow,  
 But harder when he has to pay.  
  
 The engines they are sleeping now,  
 No snorting, kicking fuss.  
 They know the Captain's made his vow,  
 Bad luck to such a cuss.  
  
 No bells disturb their slumber now,  
 They dream of days gone by.  
 And Sambo and his lovely frau,  
 Resting where they lie.

In late 1909, John Samuel wrote a fascinating letter to his family in White Oak.<sup>30</sup> In it, he expressed the intention to leave the *Chappell* and return to White Oak:

Macon, Ga. Nov. 15th, 1909

My dear "Baby" Queen and my little Princesses:

I mailed a letter this morning to you. Mr. Gamble has just come to tell me. The Federal Sugar Refinery has accepted the offer from the company to compromise. So the matter against the boats is at an end. The company will begin operations as soon as the water will permit. I expect Mr. Gamble will get his place back. I told him he could say to the company that I was going home on the first Dec., as they had only engaged me until that time, and I could not afford to stay at the price they gave me. And if Mr. Gamble was not to have charge as he has had, that I would not serve with anyone else. . . .

The letter continued in another vein. Apparently, Mr. Gamble came back, and the company came through with a better offer, as he remained with the *Chappell*, and by 1911, had moved his family to Macon. So the family was once again united, although John Samuel likely was absent much of the time on the *Chappell*. A long letter written to him in July of that year reads as if he were absent for an extended period. The city directory of 1912 lists a residence for John Samuel and his family at 122 Arlington, East Macon. Apparently the property in White Oak had been sold prior to the move.

On February 12, 1912, he celebrated his 68th birthday.<sup>31</sup> A letter written by his wife to her brother, Emory Speer Hunnicutt, tells something of the closeness of the family:

<sup>30</sup> The unusual salutation and the remainder of the letter is dealt with in the section entitled "The Claim to the Throne of Spain."  
<sup>31</sup> Actually, John Samuel's birthday was February 20.

12 February, 1912

Macon, Georgia

Dear Brother:

Well, today is Papa's birthday, so we are making a birthday celebration for him when he gets home tonight. I will bake him a cake and the children are making all sorts of drawings for him as gifts. This they enjoy and they know that their father will be surprised. Elyse can draw very well - as well as Lisette. You should see some of the art work that Sarah Louise can do.

The baby, Angela, is still too young to know what she can do, but Jean often allows her to play with his walking cane, Meershaum pipe and silver cup. Sarah Louise gave her her second name "Aloysius," after St. Aloysius I guess. Now Papa calls her "Wiscious," but all in fun. He picks her up and those black eyes flash and she smiles all the time.

Bubba is getting so grown now and Papa has trained him in mechanics very well, as he always loved to fix things. Both Lisette and Vivienne are getting to be big girls now and tag along with their brother and Papa some when he can allow them to go with him. I miss Sarah Louise so much, but now she is a married lady and one day will have a family of her own. Papa misses her dearly and made her really promise to write to us often.

You asked about the children's ways, well, everyone tells me we have beautiful children. Sarah Louise is very petite with blue eyes and black hair and very artistic; Bubba is auburn-haired with eyes that sometimes turn violet color. He cherishes Papa and wants to go with him all the time. He is a very good boy. Lisette has thick black hair and black eyes with olive skin and is also very petite, she has a sweet personality and fun-loving; Vivienne has auburn hair and blue eyes, petite and very serious and business-like; Elyse has blondish hair, blue eyes and a bit of a trouble-maker, but has a lot of artistic and singing talents; Angela has pitch black eyes and hair, very petite and a good baby - but too early to know where her talents are. She has huge expressive eyes and loves to smile.

Dear brother, it is getting late so I must close before Papa arrives. Tell everyone that we love them and will visit someday.

Your loving sister,  
Frances de Montmollin

On March 23, 1912, just five weeks after his birthday, John Samuel passed away. His death certificate listed the cause of death as "heart trouble, bilious and malaria." His Civil War wound may well have contributed to his ill health. He was buried in Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon, in a grave that for many years was unmarked.<sup>32</sup>

A few days after his death, his widow wrote a touching letter to her sister and brother-in-law, Sarah and Percy Norcop:

4 April 1912

Macon, Georgia

Dear Percy and Sarah:

Jean is gone, I still can not believe it. How I miss him so; and the children are all so sad and depressed. I am apparently walking around in a daze, but I have to be strong at least for the children. Everywhere I see Jean and sit here hoping the door will open and he will again step in. We did so much together and had such a hard life, why couldn't he live longer to really enjoy? He is with our Lord now, but somehow I guess we will get along.

The children are in tears and it takes all I have to console them. Friends have been so good to us, and of course all the family at Tallulah Falls.

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<sup>32</sup> Through the efforts of John Samuel's granddaughter, Anita Hicks, and his grandson, Harry Lee de Montmollin, a marker was obtained from the Sons of the Confederacy. The marker was shipped to Harry Lee in Plant City, Florida, who volunteered to see to its installation.

Bubba is now trying to become the man in the family and wants to go off and work and Louise and Lisette have expressed their desires. The little ones keep asking about Papa, and that is the hardest part. All my children are so good and I want a good life for them which I worry about, but I've been thinking of seeking work and I am sure that I will find something to do soon. You two and all the Hunnicutts have been so understanding and loving that I do hope that I am showing my appreciation in the state of mind I am in now.

Jean spent so many years on the plantations and along the rivers in such adverse weather, and worked so hard, I always worried about his health, but he would tell me that I was just worrying over nothing that we would both live to see 100.

I never met such a witty, kind and loving man as he. Papa was a strong and proud man who saw so much death and destruction and the loss of his families, but he would not complain to me. He was stubborn when he believed in things and held in high respect by all. My mother truly loved him and brothers Walter and Emory were always looking forward to seeing him at Tallulah. Percy and Sarah, you can remember the good times we all had at Tallulah with Papa. The children adored their Papa and he loved each one dearly. I do thank the Lord that I married him and had the most wonderful 20 years of married life with a man I not only love, but could also consider a wonderful friend whom I held in the highest esteem.

Jean held you both in high regard and never forgot the many things you did for him and us. Mother knew I made the right choice in marrying him for she often told me that Jean would converse with her and talk of his wonderful lineage and inherited beautiful mannerisms and pride. She knew that he would be somebody special, which he was. I am proud to be Mrs. John Samuel de Montmollin and nothing will ever change that. . . .

My regards and love to everyone and don't worry about me, I am strong, but the shock will soon have to be replaced by necessity for I cannot function so disorganized. There is so much to take care of here. The tears I shed, but my heart will never stop aching, but thank you for listening to me, perhaps this letter will help me get it all out and together soon.

Your sister,  
Frances

Frances remained in Macon for several years, supporting herself and her children by dress-making. She and daughter Sarah Louise White went into business, working first out of her home, and later at a separate location. In 1918, she went to Greenwood, South Carolina, where she took over the photography studio of her deceased brother-in-law, Walter Hughes. She had worked in photography years before with her own brother, Walter Hunnicutt. She lived with her sister there for about a year before moving to Milwaukee to be near her son.

The decade of the Twenties was a sad one for Frances. In January of 1920, her eldest daughter, Sarah Louise de Montmollin White died in California. In 1925, the second daughter, Agnes Lisette, died in a hospital which was later closed for malpractice. And in 1930, her only son, John Samuel de Montmollin V, was killed during a robbery of his auto repair establishment.

In 1930, she went to live with her eldest surviving daughter, Vivienne, who had settled in the San Fernando Valley of California. She was later joined there by her youngest daughter, Alla, and her two children.

During the 1940s, the house in California became the center of activity for the entire family, as Frances received frequent visitors, including Mrs. Aaron Burr de Montmollin, of the first family. It was there that the author first met a member of the "second family," on an overnight visit in 1980. Elizabeth and I were received with great warmth by Alla, her husband Elwyn Hicks, and their daughter, Anita. They shared many articles of family memorabilia, and have continued to do so.

It was here that Frances did much of her painting and writing. She collaborated with author-historian William Markwood Matchette on his book *Escape of the Dauphin* and other projects.

In 1942, daughter Alla and her two children left for Wisconsin to re-join her husband. Among the papers found among Frances Eudor's personal effects after her death was a poem written on that occasion:

TO TWO LITTLE GIRLS AND YOU

Today nothing have I done,  
 Because I can not see.  
 Now that you are gone,  
 Tears have blinded me.  
 Brown-eyes I've looked around,  
 There's something everywhere -  
 On the couch I found,  
 The strings that curled your hair.  
 And she with the slanting eyes,  
 That twinkle as she goes,  
 Dancing like the butterflies,  
 Gliding on her toes.  
 I found your little shoes,  
 With toes all scuffed out.  
 No wonder I have the blues,  
 As I look about.  
 Now that you are gone away,  
 I hope 'tis for the best.  
 And dear, I hope and pray,  
 With happiness you will be blessed.

On December 30, 1954, Frances Eudor Hunnicutt de Montmollin died. She had been confined to a hospital for a short time, and had been taken home to Van Nuys. There, with her daughters Vivienne and Alla and her granddaughter Anita in attendance, she spoke fondly of her family, proudly of having been John Samuel de Montmollin's wife, and passed away gently and quietly. Interment was in Oakwood Cemetery in Van Nuys. She had outlived her husband by 42 years.

*THE CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF SPAIN*

One of the strangest and most interesting twists to the story of John Samuel-III was his firmly-held belief that he was the rightful heir to the throne of Spain. This obsession began early in his life, and regardless of the validity of the claim or the lack of it, he managed to convince a number of people that the claim was true.

The letter he wrote to his family in 1909, addressing them as "My dear 'Baby' Queen and my little Princesses"<sup>33</sup> continued:

. . . I send you a cut from the Macon Telegraph. KEEP IT. Now you can see who you are, and my little ones also. Spain is on the eve of a great revolution, and what a chance. God has made it so. The Spanish Government is rotten. If the woman spoken of in the piece I send you is shot or put to death, Spain will be drenched with blood. And Alphonso will get down and out. I have much to tell you. Others have raised funds in like instances, and why not I? You send Professor Seymour<sup>34</sup> the copy of the tree. Surely through him I may pick my way. . . . You know, Baby, I always told you some day a change would come. The end is

<sup>33</sup> See page 147.

<sup>34</sup> Professor A. B. Seymour was a friend of the family, professor of Botany at Cambridge University, and a well-known amateur genealogist. He had been an earlier visitor to the Hunnicutt family at Tallulah Falls.

not here yet. Mark my words, there is much in store for us. We have seen the dark side - now let us look at the bright.

Well, Baby, God bless you and all is old Papa's oft-repeated prayer.<sup>35</sup>

The clipping from the *Daily Telegraph* went into great detail about the explosive political situation in Spain, and recounted the essentials of John Samuel's claim:<sup>36</sup>

*HEIR TO SPANISH THRONE  
A MODEST ENGINEER ON STMR. A. E. CHAPPELL*

*Macon Harbors Royal Blood - John S. de Montmollin's History is Fascinating and Interesting - Unassuming Little Mariner May Some Day "Cross the Border" and wear the Crown - President Seymour, of Cambridge University and Other Genealogists Interested*

Within the borders of Macon there is a little man seventy-six *[sic]* years of age, who claims that he is the legitimate pretender to the throne of Spain. He is John S. de Montmollin, Chief engineer of the steamer *A. E. Chappell*, now lying in her dock waiting for high water. He is no fake, nor humbug, and his story evidently is not a fabrication. His narrative may count little; it is the documents he possesses that bear weight.

In his little sleeping quarters, tidy as a pin, he has bundles and bundles of faded documents, seals and parchments that indicate indisputable evidence of his family tree. Some of these documents are sheepskin; some are curious old papers of state in many languages, and all interesting, even to one who lays no pretensions to being a genealogist. Modest and unassuming as a maiden, it is a wonder that his most intimate friends ever learned his past. To his intimates, he has lately disclosed some wonderful things. He won't say, but maybe it is because of late developments in the Spanish domain. No questioning bearing in that direction received other than evasive replies. And it matters not why he has divulged to his friends something of his history at this time. The whole story is entrancing and romantic.

No less an authority than Dr. A. B. Seymour, president *[sic]* of Cambridge University, who is considered one of the foremost genealogists of the nation, has traced this little man's family tree to the time of Alfred the Great, and unhesitatingly declares him the legitimate King of Spain. Other genealogists have traced his tree and their findings are similar to those of Dr. Seymour. All the documents and letters received from these are in his possession and he carries a few aboardship.

Since the year 1847, this little man whose berth is now above the calm waters of the Ocmulgee, can trace his family by documents in his possession. Their volume would fill many newspapers, and it will be necessary in this short story to go back only a few generations. Royal blood courses through his veins from both sides of his house.

*The Family Tree*

Sir Charles Rupert Dennis married Maria Edwards, youngest daughter of Jonathan Edwards. They had three children, John Charles Dennis and Julia Dennis; the other child died in youth. This John Charles Dennis later became Don Carlos, Count de Montemolen, or Charles VI. He was born in 1818. About this man clings an interesting part of the story. He was father

35 The original letter was saved by Frances, and a copy furnished to me by her granddaughter, Anita Hicks. The article was not preserved, but was found on micro-film at the Washington Library, Macon, Georgia.

36 Author's Note. The reporter for the *Daily Telegraph* seems to have embarked on a flight of fancy; or perhaps he was taken in by the extravagant claims of John Samuel III. He accepted the premise that the father of Don Carlos II was the same Charles Dennis who had been taken to London by John Samuel II. His surname had been changed to "de Montmollin," which may have led to speculation that he had fathered "Count de Montemolen" (the titular name of Don Carlos II.) However, this certainly did not establish him as the father of Don Carlos II. It is an historical fact that around 1820, when Fernando IV was King, a dispute over his successor arose between the liberal and reactionary factions. There were no sons and only one brother, Don Carlos, who was supported by the reactionary faction. Although there was a long-standing rule requiring the monarch to be male, the liberals supported the one remaining daughter, Isabel II, her sister Carlotta having married the King of Portugal. They preferred to fight the gender battle rather than accept Carlos. She was made Queen when very young, and when she was in her teens, there was a bitter international dispute over whom she would marry. The major powers were opposed to Don Carlos because he was too reactionary. Don Carlos' son, Count de Montemolen, tried to marry her but she rejected him because he insisted that she abdicate and recognize him as King. The Carlists continued to oppose the regime, leading to an extended civil war and for a time a republican regime around 1870. They never gave up; the last Pretender died in 1931 and the supporters joined Franco in the 1936-39 civil war.

The family documents which John Samuel insisted would substantiate his claim have not been uncovered. Although the two families have in their possession many family records, none has been found that lends credence to the claim of John Samuel. RHDeM

of Don Carlos, or Charles VII, the late pretender to the throne, who died July 18, 1909. Here is the history of that particular branch of the family as shown by documentary evidence the engineer has in his possession and which can not be disputed:

Sir Charles Rupert Dennis was a cruel husband and his wife, Maria, sued for and obtained a divorce. Dennis later stole her two children, who were awarded her by the courts, and carried them to Charleston, SC. Dennis and Maria Edwards were married in Scotch Plains, NJ. It was a runaway match and one that her parents fought most bitterly. She heard that Dennis had taken her children to Charleston and she started in pursuit of them. She reached Charleston to find that he had removed them to Savannah. No railroads then existed in that section and she took a stage coach for the Georgia city. The only other passenger was an English officer, whom she afterward married. He was John S. de Montmollin, and here begins the real interesting part of the narrative.

*At No. 3 Harley Street, London*

The woman who had borne cruel treatment for years from an inhuman husband was now crushed because of the loss of her children. The officer was interested in her story, and she told all her trouble of her loss to him. He assisted her in finding the boy and girl in Savannah and played the part of a real friend. He fell in love with the woman and they were married. Leaving his wife behind, he hastened with the children to England to hide them from the woman's first husband, who still searched for them. He took them to No. 3 Harley Street, London. It was there and then that he changed the children's name from Dennis to Don Carlos, to evade their father. The name of Don Carlos was borne by them ever afterward. This child left at the Harley Street house, it will be noted, was the father of Don Carlos, the late pretender. The girl, Julie, was never married. She occupied a position of state in the court of George III.

Leaving these children at this point in the story we return to the Army officer.

*The Montmollins*

Montmollin returned to Savannah and later joined his command in Jamaica. His union with Maria Edwards was blessed by two children - John S. de Montmollin, Jr., and one girl, Rose.<sup>37</sup> The girl married George L. Marler, of Canada. This Montmollin, Jr., was the father of the *Chappell's* engineer and the rightful heir to the throne of Spain, according to Dr. Seymour and the documents in Montmollin's possession. There were two other children - Louis Henry, younger than the engineer, and who is now dead, and a daughter, Harriet.

*The Last Montmollin*

Montmollin is 76 years of age, a mighty old man to think of reaching a throne occupied by one so young as Alfonso XIII, but strange things happen in nations ruled by certain monarchs. Spain's history has been one peculiar maze of entanglements and there may be no accounting for the future.

He has five children. He has a beautiful little home at White Oak, in Camden County. He is slightly bent from a bullet wound he received in the War Between the States. He has in his possession letters from Gen. Joe Wheeler showing that he was a very brave soldier. He is an educated man. His eyes fairly sparkle as he becomes enthused over the subject of his family tree, and with a far-away gaze he eludes all questions which point to his intentions to attempt an ascension to the Spanish throne.

*"Who Knows"*

"Who knows what will take place," he says, "Right is might, you know," he continued, "and right will prevail."

Cambridge, Harvard and Yale offered to fit up an expedition for Montmollin to take a "hunting trip" into Patagonia. These schools were interested in his genealogy and through Dr. Seymour's instrumentality the matter was about to be brought to a successful conclusion when the United States government stopped it, as it was suspected that arms might be borne by the party. Montmollin is silent as to the ultimate object of this expedition, and that far-

37 The author of the article seems have confused a daughter "Rose" with an earlier daughter named Charlotte Marguerite. It was she who married George Leonard Marler. See Chapter IV, page 65.

away gaze would over-spread his countenance. Dr. Seymour spent some time at Montmollin's house while this plan was being worked out.

One of the documents furnished by John Samuel to the *Telegraph* was a letter from Dr. Seymour, written on the occasion of the death of Don Carlos in July, 1909:

Cambridge, Mass.  
26 October 1909 Mr. J. S. de Montmollin.

Dear Sir:

The King is dead. Long live the King!

The dispatch is dated July 18 at Rome, but I did not see it till some time later. It must be a matter of interest to you to know that your antagonist will trouble you no more.

As soon as I saw that Don Carlos was dead, I determined to write to you.

I am much more interested in genealogy than I was in 1901 when I enjoyed such a pleasant summer with you. I had been interested to some extent before that time, but have found reason to be more interested since.

I found an Edwards lineage from Alfred the Great, from which it follows that you were of royal descent on both sides. I could understand it better if I had copied your tree, and I wish I had copied it.

I have got things mixed some way. As I remember, you said that Jonathan Edwards (was it the elder or the younger?) married Miss Burr, sister of Aaron Burr, Jr., the Vice-President, but from the encyclopaedia and Burr genealogy, Aaron Burr, father of the Vice-President, married Esther Edwards, daughter of the elder Jonathan Edwards. Where is my mistake?

If you will do me the favor to send me a copy or diagram of your tree, I may be able to make some additions by tracing back the Edwards line.

Please give my regards to your wife, Queen Louise, and the princes and princesses. I have grateful memories of their friendliness and efficient help. Now they are no longer little. Even Agnes is eight years old. I might tell you something of my own princesses if I was not too bashful. They also have claims to the throne of Spain but they will not dispute yours. Let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,  
A. B. Seymour

The *Telegraph* article then went into a lengthy discussion of the stormy political situation in Spain before returning to John Samuel.

Don Jaime, the son of the late Don Carlos the VII, was born in 1870. He has seen service in the Russian army and at one time aspired to the throne since the death of his father in July of this year, but it is now said he has no such ambition. The *Chappell's* engineer declares he knows that Don Jaime does not care to attempt to reach the throne. And since Montmollin has more than once had messages from high personages in the kingdom of which he claims to be the rightful pretender to the throne, it wouldn't be surprising if he knows whereof he speaks.

An interesting sidelight to the story told the *Telegraph* representative by Montmollin was a letter from General Weyler and one from Minister Philip de Castro, dispatched by ordinary letter mail, offering Montmollin \$4,000 during the Spanish-American war to ship as engineer aboard the *Kate Spencer*, a merchant vessel that was then carrying arms for the American army from Jacksonville to Cuba. He was to break the ship's engines down upon arrival in Cuban waters within reach of the Spanish warships. Montmollin thought it was an attempt to not only have a chance to destroy American arms, but to either capture him or send him to the bottom with the *Kate Spencer*, according to his statement. He was further offered \$9,000 if he would outrun the *Cristobel Colon* while engineer of the *Kate Spencer*. Of course,

Montmollin has not gotten into any agreement with the Spanish officers. He takes great pride in expressing his loyalty to the American nation.

The *Chappell's* engineer was private secretary to John R. Ward, minister to China during President Buchanan's administration. He was 24 years of age at the time. His father was killed near Savannah June 9, 1859. It was always his ambition, so his son says, to return to Europe with a view to claiming his throne.

A few months after the article was published, questions were raised by Percy Norcop, brother-in-law to John Samuel, as to the legitimacy of the claim. He wrote Dr. Seymour:

Tallulah Falls, Rabun Co, Ga.  
Sept. 1st, 1910

Dear Mr. Seymour:

Pardon my writing you, but you may remember me as the former owner and builder of Glenbrook Cottage here (where you sojourned a while if I mistake not as a boarder of the late Mrs. Hunnicutt).

J. S. de Montmollin's wife (of White Oak, Ga.) and my wife are sisters, and it is concerning this gentlemen that I write you. Mr. de Montmollin has written me all about his claim to high position in Spain, etc, etc, and in this matter I know you are interested.

As I understand it, Montmollin desires to occupy the place now held by Don Jaime, the present pretender. Am I right? Do you know if this man Don Jaime is aware of Montmollin's claim, and what does he say to it?

Mr. Montmollin has asked my help, as I have highly placed official relatives in Europe, but I must be properly posted first. Again, should our friend get into Don Jaime's shoes now, I cannot see how he would be benefitted (at this time) and certainly Don Jaime is more fitted to fight Alfonso than Montmollin could ever be. And without enormous funds, what could our good friend do? Such a matter would have to go before an endless tribunal of investigation, i.e., if Don Jaime chose to fight for his holdings, as he would do, no doubt. He is much liked and admired by the people, and this fact alone, if he chose, would make it hard for any man to try to usurp his place. It seems to me Montmollin should sell out his claim to Don Jaime, say for \$50,000, if he could do so. But he could not, I presume, and would not. This is a rambling letter, but I would be very grateful for your opinion on Montmollin's claim matters. Will you write me a line? And please tell me if you are the President now of Cambridge University. You were in Botany, I think. Are you the President of Cambridge University, as I hear here?

In due course, Norcop received a modest and rather non-committal reply from Dr. Seymour:

Cambridge, Mass,  
5 Sept. 1910

Percy S. Norcop, MD

Dear Sir:

It is greatly to be regretted that such an enormous statement should be made in regard to my position. I am simply "Assistant in the Cryptogamic Herbarium," a very obscure position.

I am not a great genealogist, archeologist or heraldist. I study genealogy a little for play, for my own amusement and the interest of the Seymour family and relatives.

I remember you and other acquaintances at Tallulah Falls very clearly, as also the beautiful and interesting surroundings and scenery. I often think of my pleasant summer there.

The de Montmollins are good friends of mine, who showed me favors for which I am grateful. Mr. Montmollin very kindly sent me his genealogical chart, showing the descent of the de Montmollins in an unbroken line from the distinguished Swiss family of that name to the 16th century. Accepting the chart as a basis for study and with the aid of the college library, I was able to trace his lineage through his father's mother to Alfred the Great.

In regard to the Spanish connection, he has explained the line to me as far back as his grandparents, but further back I have not had opportunity to inquire of him fully, and I do not understand exactly on what ground Don Jaime bases his claim to the throne of Spain.

My interest is simply a historical and friendly interest. It is not possible for me to have any political interest or influence in the matter. I am a botanist in an obscure position with a mountain of work before me.

Whatever the basis of John Samuel's claim to the Spanish throne, it was a belief he held firmly for most of his life. When the 1900 census enumerator arrived at the home of his oldest son, Harry Marler, in June of that year, Harry's first wife, Susie Lamar Dunn de Montmollin, supplied the responses. When asked for the birthplace of the father of the head of the household, she answered, "Spain." (!) Although John Samuel had been gone for nine years, she still took him at his word about his birthplace - this despite the explicitness of the family records showing his birthplace as "Savannah."

In 1899, he had written Don Carlos, sending the letter to Auguste de Montmollin in Neuchâtel with the request that it be forwarded to Don Carlos.<sup>38</sup>

Allowing for discrepancies in dates in the *Telegraph* article, one can follow his reasoning up to the point that John Charles Dennis, who was re-named Don Carlos, became the father of Carlos VI, whose title was "Count de Montemolen." No evidence has come to light to support that crucial relationship.

The most logical explanation for John Samuel's belief is based on a mere coincidence of names. But whatever the grounds for his claim, he held firmly to it all of his life and was able to convince a number of well-informed people of its validity.

John Samuel's obituary, written by the Associated Press, recognized his claim to the throne, without commenting on its possible validity:

*AMERICAN CLAIMED THRONE OF SPAIN*

*Death of John S. Demont Mollin,  
Who considered Himself a  
European Monarch*

*(Associated Press Reports)*

MACON, Ga. March 24.—The death of John S. Demont Mollin, a-Confederate veteran, here has brought to light documents that claimed to show that he was the rightful heir to the throne of Spain. The papers, which were secreted in his house boat, are said to be of convincing character. Demont Mollin always maintained that he should have become king when Alfonso II, father of the present monarch, began his reign.

The documents show several communications from Alfonso III in relation to the claim. They also show an offer of a large sum of money from General Weyler to head a filibustering expedition to Cuba, but Demont Mollin refused to consider the offer.

The American claimant was 74 years of age and was born in Savannah, Ga. He was a marine engineer by profession, but for some years had led a secluded life.

The prominence given his claim by the Associated Press would have pleased John Samuel, but sadly, he was not there to enjoy it.



*Harry Marler de Montmollin I*  
1869 - 1933

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *HARRY MARLER de MONTMOLLIN I (1869-1933)*

The first "head of the de Montmollin family" in nearly a century who did not carry the name "John Samuel" was Harry Marler de Montmollin I, eldest living son of John Samuel III. He succeeded to that unofficial title by double-default, one might say. The first-born in his family, John Samuel IV, had died as a small child; the father John Samuel III left the family in 1891, leaving Harry the principal support of a large family consisting of his mother, himself, and five brothers and sisters. Quite a responsibility for a young man of twenty-two years!

Harry Marler de Montmollin was born in Savannah on January 28, 1869. He moved with the family to Screven County, Georgia at the age of seven or eight. His father wrote Ellen Marler while there that "Harrie begins to think himself a man - it makes me feel quite old." Harry was nearly twelve at that time.

By 1884 the family had moved to Palatka, where John Samuel III set up a merchant's business and worked as a marine engineer on the St. Johns River. The 1886 Palatka City Directory lists Harry as a clerk, living at Main and Second Streets.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, he had started work at an early age, as he was only 17 in 1886. Family tradition has it that his first job was as a bookkeeper in a grist mill, perhaps the one which had been owned by his grandfather and had been sold by his estate in 1873. Louis Rossignol had acted as agent for the estate in that transaction.

Later in 1886, and after the publication of the City Directory for that year, John Samuel sold his property in Palatka. He apparently remained in Palatka until sometime in early 1887, after the death of his mother, Harriet Rossignol. He then moved to Starke with Sarah Ellen and their four younger children. In all likelihood, he engaged in farming there. His two older sons, Harry, 18, and Aaron Burr, 16, remained in Palatka. The two brothers are listed in the 1887 Palatka City Directory: "A. Bertie, clerk Florida Southern Railway," and "Harry M., clerk." Both are listed as living at Main and Second Streets.

The Palatka of 1886-87 was a bustling community in the wake of the disastrous fire of 1884. The city fathers had met, and had decreed that within a certain defined area in the heart of town, all replacement buildings must be of brick construction. It took more than a year to replace the buildings in the downtown section, and with the rebuilding came a new feeling of optimism on the part of the citizenry. While the new brick buildings were a symbol of that optimism, it was soon realized, however, that Jacksonville, fifty miles to the north, was destined to be the business center of the region.

While the fire was a major disaster, it destroyed only five or six blocks, all in the downtown area. The hotels and retail businesses were hard hit, but the railroads and steamboat lines, the numerous sawmills, and the agricultural industries were not damaged, nor were the residential areas. As the city was rebuilding, so was the self-confidence of its citizens, who were resolved to bring finer things from

<sup>1</sup> Streets in downtown Palatka have since been renamed; Water and Front became First and Second. Thus, the location is now Main and Fourth Streets

the ashes than the fine things that had fed the flames. The entries in the *Florida State Gazeteer and Business Directory*<sup>2</sup> for 1886-87 testified to their success:

PALATKA: Population 4,000. Benjamin Harrison, Postmaster. This, the county seat of Putnam County, is situated on the west bank of the St. Johns River, 56 miles by railroad south of Jacksonville. It is the eastern terminus of the Florida Southern Railway, and is on the line of the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway. The St. Augustine and Palatka Railroad, just being completed to this point, will also have a western terminus here. Here are the general offices and headquarters of the Florida Southern Railway, and here the shops of the company are located. Palatka is the head of deep-water navigation inland from coast-wise vessels on the St. Johns River. Oranges and vegetables, lumber, cotton, grain and merchandise are the principal shipments. The principal pursuits are mercantile and manufacturing, together with the growing of fruits and vegetables. Among the chief interests of the city are two banks, one daily newspaper, the *News*, and two weeklies, the *Herald* and the *Southern Sun*; likewise a monthly paper, the *Florida Cultivator*, devoted to agriculture. It has six hotels and a number of boarding houses. There are numerous churches and schools. The qualities of pluck and energy on the part of the inhabitants place Palatka among the important towns of the State. It is a winter resort for tourists, as well as a place of great business activity. The city is situated on elevated ground, gradually sloping to the edge of the St. Johns River. The streets are lined with native orange trees, which present to the visitor a feature of attractive beauty. In addition to railway communication, there are steamboat lines running daily between Palatka, Sanford and Jacksonville, on the St. Johns, and steamers plying the Ocklawaha River. There is likewise a steamship line performing a semi-weekly service between Palatka and Charleston, S.C. The DeBary-Baya Merchants Line steamers afford a daily double service between this point and Jacksonville, and run daily to Sanford, making landings at all the intermediate points on the St. Johns River. Palatka is one of the chief points of attraction to the Florida tourist, and its citizens show great public spirit in accommodations for visitors. The title of the "Gem City" is one which it well deserves, on account of architectural features. The destructive fire of 1884, which laid waste at least one-half of the business portion of the city, and the more recent conflagration have not discouraged the townspeople, but have led to a marked improvement of the place in the substitution of substantial structures for the original frame buildings.<sup>3</sup>

By 1890, seven hotels had been built or re-built, including the deluxe Putnam House, which covered an entire city block. The Putnam House was again offering luxurious accommodations and fine food and drink, rivalling its own heyday in the pre-fire days.

Two more railroads came into being in the two years after the publication of the *Directory*, and others soon followed. The growing rail connections in addition to the thriving steamboat lines enhanced Palatka's importance as a transportation center, but Jacksonville began to supplant Palatka as the deep-water port, and the rail lines pushed further south and took over the passenger business from the steamboats, although the city remained an important connection point. Harry de Montmollin's later venture into the steamboat business came near the end of the steamboat era.

Nor could the writers of the summary foresee that disastrous freezes would soon force the citrus industry to move further south. In January 1886 the temperature plunged to 15 degrees, and many of the growers left. On December 28, 1894, another cold wave reached the area, and though this time most of the crop had already been harvested, it spelled the end of orange groves as a major factor in the economy of Palatka and that part of the county west of the river.

<sup>2</sup> South Publishing Co., 1886

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Brian E. Michaels, *The River Flows North*, The Putnam County Archives and History Commission (1976, 1986), p. 276. Most of the Palatka historical information is also from that source

On April 9, 1890, Harry Marler and Aaron Burr joined the Palatka Presbyterian Church on profession of faith. Their antecedents had historically belonged to the Roman Catholic or the Anglican Churches. Although she had been married in an Episcopal Church (Christ Church, Savannah), Harriet Rossignol de Montmollin had remained a Catholic, and had been buried in the Catholic section of West View Cemetery in Palatka. The mother of the two boys, Sarah Ellen Hasson de Montmollin was a life-long Catholic, and her four younger children remained Catholics. "First family" legend has always held that Harry and Bert became disillusioned with the Catholic Church because of the departure of their father in 1891; but obviously their movement toward joining a Protestant denomination began prior to that time. Harry quickly became quite active in the Palatka Presbyterian Church, being ordained a Deacon in October, 1890, and elected an Elder on February 20, 1898.

His participation in church affairs may have been prompted in part by his interest in a descendant of two of the earlier pastors of the Church, Susie Lamar Dunn. She was the oldest daughter of John T. and Mary E. Dunn, of Palatka; grand-daughter of Rev. Joseph H. Quarterman, the first pastor, and of Dr. J. B. Dunn, pastor from 1885 until 1887. Her father, son of Dr. Dunn, was himself Clerk of the Session in the 1890s, when Harry first joined.

In 1896 Harry purchased a house and lot located at 417 Emmett Street. The sellers were none other than John T. Dunn and his wife. The lot was a small one, and he later was to acquire additional tracts of land which adjoined.

On January 18, 1899 Harry Marler and Susie Lamar Dunn were married by Rev. Thomas P. Hay, then Pastor of the Palatka Presbyterian Church. Harry became 30 years old ten days after their wedding; she was 29. The couple lived in the house at 417 Emmett Street which Harry had bought three years previously. Susie was afflicted with a respiratory ailment, probably tuberculosis, and died on January 3, 1903 in the Continental Hotel in Jacksonville. She left no children.

Harry's activities at the Presbyterian Church had continued. In 1899 he was named Clerk of the Session, succeeding his father-in-law, in which capacity he served until Susie's death in 1903, when he resigned the office. He remained an Elder, which is a life-time ordination. For several years he was superintendent of the Sunday School.

Perhaps following the examples of his grandfather and great-grandfather, Harry Marler joined the State Troops on July 5, 1887, soon after his family had moved to Starke. The local unit was known as the "Gem City Guards." He advanced steadily to the ranks of sergeant (1891), battalion sergeant major (1892), first lieutenant (May 1893) and captain (December 1893). As captain, he was the commander of the "Guards."<sup>4</sup> He was honorably discharged on December 6, 1896. On January 8, 1901 he became Assistant Commissary General of the State Troops (soon to become the Florida National Guard), with the rank of Colonel, and advanced to Commissary General in 1907. He was transferred to the Quartermaster Corps in 1912, and was retired on October 31, 1913, with the rank of Brigadier General from that date.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Directory of Florida State Troops and Register of Commissioned Officers, January 1, 1907*

<sup>5</sup> *Register of Officers of the National Guard of Florida. Retired List Commissioned Officers, 1917*

By the turn of the century, Harry had developed a business similar to that of the John Samuels, though he dealt primarily in the sale of real estate. In 1899 he bought, probably as an investment, a lot in Palatka Heights, which was then developing above Palatka as a separately incorporated town. It was bought from a member of the Dunn family, whose principal enterprise was a substantial hardware business.

Only three years after its incorporation in 1896, the town council of Palatka Heights refused to levy taxes on the citizens for civic improvements. The Palatka City Council had petitioned the State Legislature to allow the extension of the city limits to include Palatka Heights, and a referendum was set for August 8. Palatkans were envious of the tax-free status of the Heights residents; and besides, the Palatka Water Works was located entirely within the limits of the Heights. When the referendum failed, citizens of the Heights celebrated with a noisy parade down Palatka's River Street.

With the slackening of the tourist trade, Palatka's grand hotel, the Putnam House, became something of a "white elephant." It changed hands at least twice, and both times; Harry was the agent who arranged the sale. The hotel had been vacant since 1900, and had been damaged by a fire in 1902. Arson was suspected, as Palatka had been plagued by a series of fires believed to be deliberately set. Harry arranged a sale in December 1904 to a party who promised to re-open the hotel within 45 days. In April, with the hotel still closed, the new owners announced grandiose plans to build eight brick buildings on the lawn facing Lemon Street; and promised the hotel would re-open on December 15th. It finally did open on January 2, 1906, but business was anything but brisk. It soon became obvious that Palatka was no longer a major tourist attraction. Only 53 out-of-town guests were registered during the first 16 days of operation, while 36 Palatka residents stayed overnight.

The 500-room hotel soon closed once again, and re-opened for the last time in February of 1912. Again, Harry de Montmollin was the agent on the sale. And again this time, its operation was tenuous at best. The Putnam House survived two more changes of ownership before its demolition in 1922.

In 1905, Harry married Virginia McIlvaine, a young school-teacher in the Palatka school. She had boarded at the Presbyterian Manse at the corner of River and Kirkland Streets, a two-story frame house later known as the "Hutchinson House." She was born in O'Brien, Florida, near Lake City in Suwannee County, the daughter of Edward and Harriet Hall McIlvaine. Her family had lived in the vicinity of Cedar Key, and she had come to Palatka to continue her education. Harry and Virginia were married on September 25, 1905, in Tampa, where her parents were living. The ceremony was performed by Dr. L. Ross Lynn, pastor of the Palatka Presbyterian Church, and a lifelong family friend.

The first decade of the new century was one of growth and civic progress in Palatka, bringing with it a new water system, a new court house, and paved streets. The decade of progress culminated in the first vehicular bridge across the St. Johns, which had been authorized in 1908, and opened in 1910. After protracted public discussion over the location, it was finally built from the foot of

Laurel Street to Hart's Point, connecting with roads to East Palatka and San Mateo. Harry recalled later that he had favored building it alongside the railroad bridge at Main Street, so that it would not further obstruct sailboating on the wide stretch of river before the town, a favorite pastime of his. He favored the same location for the bridge which replaced that one in 1927. Harry was nonetheless one of those business leaders who celebrated its opening with a gala observance which drew the largest hometown crowd in forty years. A barbecue, served on twelve hundred feet of tables, consumed seven beeves, six sheep, and six hogs.

The renewed optimism gave rise to other business opportunities, and it was during the first few years of the next decade that Harry entered into several new business ventures. Through his friendship with long-time winter resident James R. Mellon, Harry established a Gulf Refining Company Commission Agency. The bulk plant was located at the corner of Seventh and Reid Streets. Mr. Mellon was one of the brothers in the family which founded the Mellon Bank in Pittsburgh and the Gulf Refining Company, which was headquartered there for many years. Another brother was Andrew, Secretary of the Treasury in the 1920s. The Mellon fortunes mostly came from his brothers' ventures, but James R. shared in them. He is remembered as a practical joker and a notorious skinflint in everyday affairs, but at the same time a generous benefactor to charitable causes on a larger scale.

James Mellon was an across-the-street neighbor of Harry's on Emmett Street, and a close friend. The Mellon house still stands, much as it was then, on the northwest corner of Emmett and Kirkland Streets. Harry acted as his agent for his personal affairs in Palatka. A book on the Mellon family mentions J. R.'s connection with the town, spanning the time when Harry was associated with him:<sup>6</sup>

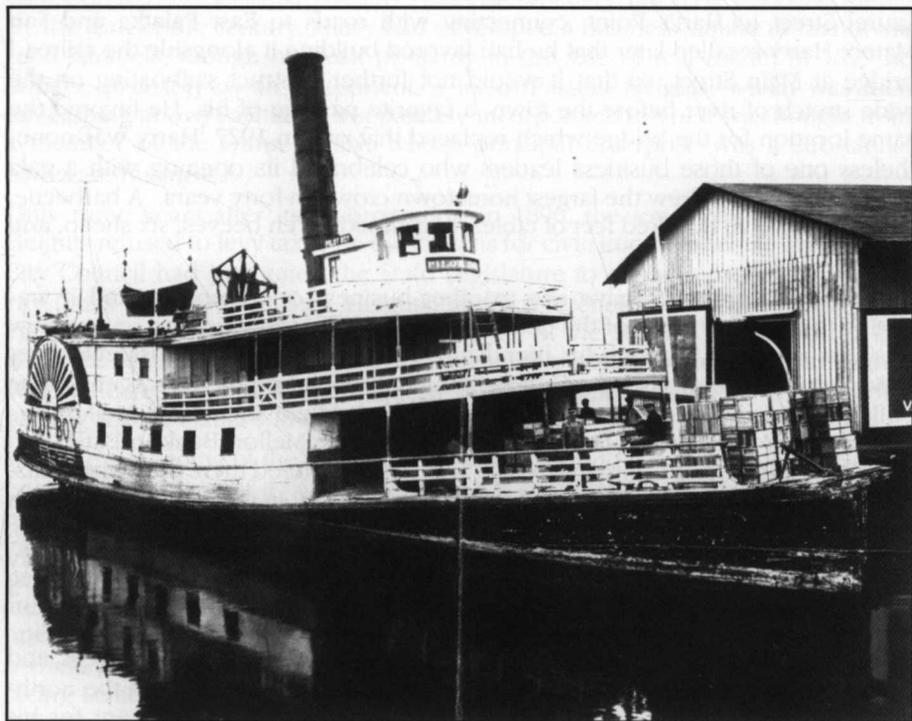
J. R. was cheap. "He was a timid fellow," says Grandson Matthew, "and didn't want to take a chance. He had plenty of advice from Andy and Dick about cutting himself in on some of those things, but he never did."

He bestowed and economized, by fits. "Father, being then President of the Ligonier Valley Railroad," W. L. records, "had a pass on all the lines in the country and was eager to travel about and use it." The track gave out in Jacksonville, but a correspondence with the southern poet Sidney Lanier had gotten J. R. to nosing about Palatka, another fifty miles up the St. Johns.

Palatka was drowsy. The place J. R. acquired there in 1885 abutted the board fence of a grocery store in the back, but around its other three sides was a high, imposing Creole railing, and it was between those rails that Willie's future father-in-law, Matthew Taylor, angrily introduced his cane in 1894 to knock away one of the paper roses that J. R. wired to the bougainvillea vines to deceive the tourists. Taylor snorted, "Whereupon my father [J. R.] began to laugh and emerged from his ambush to share the joke."

"J. R. was on an ocean voyage a year or two before he died," another relative says, "and somehow the boat got caught in a terrific hurricane. It practically foundered - the alarms went off, and they dropped the lifeboats. . . . The incident was highly publicized. When he got back to Pittsburgh an old friend asked J. R. what passed through his mind when things were roughest. 'Just before I left,' J. R. said slowly, 'I sent in twelve thousand dollars to pay for mausoleum space. I'd spent all that, and here it looked like I wasn't going to live in that thing after all.'"

6 Burton Hersh, *The Mellon Family*, William Morrow and Company, 1978, p. 178



*Pilot Boy, first river steamer owned by Palatka and Jacksonville Steam Boat Line.*



*Palatka, 64-foot river steamer built and operated by P&J Boat Line. Man, wearing the brimmed hat, standing in front of wheel house is Harry Marler I, owner of P&J Boat Line.*

Despite his idiosyncracies, Mr. Mellon was a generous man. He donated land in Palatka for a new public school, and in 1930 the Larimer Memorial Public Library, in memory of his wife. He also contributed many improvements to the Palatka Presbyterian Church, including stained-glass windows, pulpit furniture, and complete renovation of the sanctuary and pipe organ in 1910.

He and Harry were close friends and associates for many years. In 1919 Harry's third son, James Mellon, was named for him, and Mr. Mellon presented the family with an engraved silver child's set of plate, spoon and bowl.

About 1912 Harry established H. M. de Montmollin Company, a hardware, farm implement and industrial-supply business, located on the site of the old Griffin Building on First Street. He built a large brick building next to his old office to house the hardware store, replacing the old Griffin Building which had been built after the disastrous fire of 1884. The installation of a large marble sign reading "H. M. de Montmollin" set into the brickwork over the storefront soon became a family landmark.

By that time the railroads had come to dominate the freight traffic between Palatka and Jacksonville. A syndicate of local businessmen formed the Palatka and Jacksonville Steamboat Line to provide them an alternative to the high rail-freight rates. It operated from a dock at the foot of Lemon Street, just behind the hardware store, and Harry was named General Manager. In 1916 he bought out the syndicate partners and became sole owner, and by 1920 he had bought the property on which the the boatline business was located.

As Harry's business interests thrived, in 1919 he and Virginia bought a much larger house to provide room for their growing family: the birth of the third son was imminent, and two more were born while living there. The house, at 123 Dodge Street, contained fourteen rooms on three floors. At the rear was a garage and living quarters for German Davis, a male live-in cook who served the family until the financial reverses of the late 1920s.

The family spent much time at the beach during the summer months, and in January 1924 Harry bought a small house on the ocean at St. Augustine Beach, connected with St. Augustine, six miles away, by an inter-urban-street-car-line. The adjacent house was owned by Dodge Street neighbors, the Walter Tilghmans. The family would spend the entire summers there, while school was out. Harry would stay in Palatka at work except weekends and Wednesday afternoon, when local businesses were closed.

In March 1926 Harry's family was visited by a distant cousin from Neuchatel, Fernand Henri, a research chemist then employed by Ciba-Geigy in St. Louis. When he had arrived in the United States he had brought with him a clipping from the *San Mateo Item* dated September 23, 1911, which read:<sup>7</sup>

Colonel H. M. de Montmollin left Palatka last Tuesday to join Governor Gilchrist and his Staff-officers at Jacksonville. Colonel de Montmollin is the Commissary General (Service Corps) in the Governor's General Staff.

Fernand had written in 1923, asking Harry for information on the American branch of the family. Harry replied with an invitation to visit in Palatka, which Fernand declined for some time. He told the author many years later that he lacked confidence in his ability to communicate in English, and so waited until he felt more at ease. In March 1926, as his journal records:

... I left Saint Louis for Palatka in Florida, and two days later, I experienced the unique joy of shaking the hand of these long-lost people, an authentic Montmollin if ever there was one. On the station platform, where about a hundred people were waiting for the train (not for me!), I recognized my host right away. He had the appearance, bearing and features of a Montmollin of the *Place*; tall, broad shoulders, slightly stooped, his hands in his pockets and not very communicative. I spent a month at his home and it is thanks to his inexhaustible amiability that I succeeded in putting together the genealogy that is attached to this report.

Fernand's observations, recorded in his journal, are both interesting and candid:

From my enquiries, I gathered a rather confused impression of the way in which certain of our American brothers had drifted away from the tradition of honesty and solidarity which makes our family history in Switzerland something still perfectly united and homogeneous. The wide spaces of the New World, the unlimited freedom, and the passion for colonization have developed in some of them reckless qualities which make their history something wildly, colourful. I should like to say simply that when reading the story of stories which I had the good fortune to hear that one does not forget that it is very easy to remain perfectly honest when one is barricaded and protected on all sides by an education and a tradition faithfully transmitted from generation to generation in an environment which does not change. I shall relate the facts as they were told to me, insisting simply on the fact that Mr. H. M. de Montmollin told me with perfect straight-forwardness things which he could have kept from me without my ever having suspected or discovered them. And I shall always remember with the deepest respect the trembling in his voice when he told me the strange story of his own father. I was a stranger to him, and the simple fact of the similarity of name and of a distant relationship sufficed to create a confidence which prompted him to confidences which, I know, will not go outside our family circle.

I mean by that, if one of you wishes to publish something concerning the Montmollins of America, he will keep silent on those facts which, without adding to the interest of the account would only cast a useless shadow and awaken unhappy memories.<sup>8</sup>

Using the information Harry gave him, Fernand added genealogical information about certain members of the American branch, dealing mostly with the branch descended from David Francis. He returned to St. Louis by way of Montgomery, Alabama, with a short visit to Harry's brother, Aaron Burr, where he gathered additional information.

Harry's businesses did well until the Florida real estate crash in 1927, followed on its heels by the stock market crash of 1929. The Palatka and Jacksonville Steamboat Line was sold to a competitor, the St. Johns River Line. A succession of foreclosures and sheriff's sales was held to dispose of the business property, as well as the large residence at 123 Dodge Street, where the family had lived since 1919.

In 1930 Harry moved his family to Jacksonville, where the older sons could more readily find work. They bought a house on Cedar Street, but after a short time they were unable to make the mortgage payments and lost it. After that they lived in a series of rental houses.

<sup>8</sup> With all respect to Fernand's request of 1926, his challenge to me in 1979 placed me in the position of accurately recording the facts as they have been uncovered, whether or not they reflect favorably on individual members of the family. This I have honestly attempted to do. - R. H. de M

During the last few years in Palatka, Harry had complained of "indigestion" and "angina," brought on no doubt by his mounting business difficulties. After the move to Jacksonville, he suffered a series of heart attacks, each of which would put him to bed for a few weeks. On June 16, 1933, he was downtown trying to sell his shotgun to a prospective buyer when he collapsed on the street and died very quickly. His funeral service was held at the Palatka Presbyterian Church, with his old friend Dr. Donald MacQueen and Dr. James Henley Patterson, his pastor at Southside Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville, officiating. He was buried in West View Cemetery, in Palatka.

Virginia outlived Harry by 24 years. In 1953, she married Morton L. McIlvaine, a cousin with whom she had been very close as a child. They lived in Hendersonville, North Carolina and in Jacksonville until her death in 1957.

To the union of Harry and Virginia were born seven children. The first was Helen, born in 1906 and named for her mother's oldest sister. Helen graduated from Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee, now Florida State University, and graduated as a nurse at Riverside Hospital School of Nursing in Jacksonville. She married Dr. Theodore F. Hahn, a graduate of Yale University and Medical School, in 1931. He practiced medicine in Crescent City and DeLand, Florida before retiring to North Carolina because of ill health. He died in 1983; Helen in 1985. The Hahns adopted four children: Prudence, Jennifer, Theodore and Richard.

Mildred Virginia was born in 1908. She also graduated from FSCW in Tallahassee and from the Riverside Hospital School of Nursing. She worked at the University of Indiana Hospital in Indianapolis, and later at the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary. There she met and in 1934 married Dr. F. Hawthorne Steele, a Canadian who was in his residency at the Infirmary. He established an ear, nose and throat practice in Toronto, where they lived for many years. Since his death in 1977, Virginia has spent her winters in Keystone Heights, Florida, and her summers in Canada, near her daughters. She has travelled extensively, and maintains an active life. They had three daughters, Helen, Mary Scarlet and April Elizabeth.

The oldest son was born in 1910, and was named for his father, thus carrying on the family tradition of using "Marler" as a middle name. While still in high school Harry Jr. worked as a cabin boy on freighters captained by his cousin George Hoffman. After two trips to Europe, on the *Liberty Glo* and the *Saccarappa*, he returned home to finish high school. He attended the University of Florida in the fall of 1929, but could not continue because of the family's financial difficulties. After moving to Jacksonville he worked for the St. Johns River Line, which had bought out his father's P&J Boat Line. In the 1940s he began working for Acme Fast Freight, a forwarding company, later to become Southeastern Vice President. He left to form his own shipping association, retiring shortly before his death in 1985. Harry was twice married: first to Clara Brenan and in 1979 to Dorsey Womack Brenan. Clara died in 1977; Dorsey in 1991. Harry and Clara had two sons: Harry Marler III, and Jonathon.

Philip Edward was born in 1912. He left high school in 1930 to help support the family. He was regularly employed by a steamship line and Equitable Life Assurance among others, and eventually by Ryder Truck Rental as the dispatcher assigned permanently to the *Miami Herald*. He married Ruby King, of Jacksonville. After some time there they moved to Tampa because of his respiratory problems, and finally to Miami, where he died of a heart attack in 1966. Philip and Ruby had three sons: Philip Edward II, Stephen Joseph and Lane Alan.

James Mellon was born in 1919. He is a graduate of Georgia Tech, with a degree in Electrical Engineering. He served in the Army in the Pacific for two years. At the end of the war he moved with his family to Hampton, Georgia, where he worked until 1953 as a designer of electrical equipment for a small manufacturing company. He moved to Albuquerque, NM in 1953 where he joined Sandia National Laboratories, working on the design and testing of nuclear weapons for the next ten years; after that on the analysis of defense and energy systems. For the last 15 years, until his retirement in 1986 and for some years afterward as a consultant, he worked on measures to control nuclear weapons, mainly on the development of the international safeguard system operated by the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 1943, he married Nina May Snead of Greenwood, South Carolina. They have four daughters: Kathryn Virginia, Linda, Merrie and Michele.

Richard Hall was born in 1922, after the family had moved to 123 Dodge Street. At the end of 1935, Richard, James and Fernand accompanied their mother to Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, South Carolina, where she had taken a position as Dining Room Supervisor. The President of Thornwell at that time was none other than Dr. L. Ross Lynn, who had pastored the Palatka Presbyterian Church from 1903 until 1909, and who had married Harry and Virginia in 1905. Richard and James remained there through high school. Richard attended Presbyterian College, also in Clinton, leaving school for the Army in 1943. After service in the Army in the Pacific during World War II, he took a job in radio advertising in Greenwood, South Carolina; later moving to television sales in Columbia. In 1961, he became Director of Sales at the State Printing Company in Columbia, where he remained for ten years. In 1971 he was named Executive Director of the South Carolina Oil Jobbers Association, a position he held until his retirement at the end of 1985. After retirement he worked as a consultant with the Palmetto Timber Association for about two years, and for a year as President of the First Presbyterian Church Retirement Center in Columbia, becoming Chairman of the Board in 1991.

Upon relief from active Army service in 1946, Richard accepted a commission in the Army Reserve, which he kept until a heart attack forced his retirement in 1972. At his retirement, he was commander of the senior Army Reserve unit in North and South Carolina, the 360th Civil Affairs Area Headquarters, with the rank of Colonel.

Richard served as a Trustee at Thornwell Orphanage for eight years, and was Chairman of the Board for the last two years of that tenure. He has been an Elder in two different Presbyterian Churches since 1955. He served as International

President of the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America in 1972; and was the 1988 President of the Palmetto Mastersingers, a Columbia men's choral group. In 1992, he was named Vice-Moderator of the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.

In 1946 Richard married Elizabeth Player, of Greenwood, South Carolina, a close friend of Nina Snead, James' wife. They had met at James' wedding in 1943, where Elizabeth was maid of honor and Richard was best man. They lived in Greenwood until 1955, and now reside in Columbia. They have three daughters: Elizabeth, Bonnie and Carol.

Fernand Henry was born in 1929, named for Fernand Henri (XVIII 26), who had visited in the family home in Palatka in 1926. He contracted rheumatic fever while at Thornwell in 1936, and died of influenza in DeLand, Florida in 1942.

*Author's Note:* During the last year of my father's life, I lived in Palatka with a young couple who had been friends of the family for many years. Myrtie Jenkins had boarded at our house on Dodge Street for several years during high school and afterwards, and she married Archie Neck in our house. They had no children in 1931, and asked me to live with them. I attended the fourth and fifth grades in Palatka while living with them, and had intended to remain there for another year. The death of my father in 1933 prompted my return home to Jacksonville.

My absence from home during that time means that my recollections of my father are those of an eight-year-old boy. Although I have many such memories, it is difficult to distinguish between those which are reality and those which are the product of "little boy" imagination. I asked my brother, James, who is three years older than I, to put in writing his memories of our father, and I am pleased that he was willing to do so. His recollections are much more complete and reliable than my own. - R.H.deM

### RECOLLECTIONS OF PAPA

Here I want to set down whatever recollections I can of my Papa, who died more than 50 years ago, when I was 13. I hope that as I try to record them, more will come to mind and a clearer picture will emerge than the confused and fragmentary image that I am left with. I make no attempt to organize these thoughts, or to limit them. Some of what I have to say is only indirectly related to Papa, but I hope that it will give some idea of what our life was like when he was so much a part of it.

He was quite different from the fathers of my contemporaries. He was much older; he was 50 when I was born, whereas many of my friends were the oldest in their families, and probably their parents were in their late twenties or early thirties when I knew them. They were a generation apart from Papa. They were referred to as "Dad" or "Daddy," terms that Papa had a particular aversion to for some reason. Probably because it was a new term, one that had come into general use after his childhood. Above all, he seemed to have been thoroughly conditioned by his Victorian-era early life, and he did not adapt to the changing family lifestyles that began after the first World War. He seems to have been on the model of a traditional European father, master of the house, and very different from the other fathers, who were trending toward today's fashions of companionship, permissiveness, and efforts to re-live their youths through their sons. Probably the main reason he did not adapt was that he had a very strong set of fixed personal values and deep-seated beliefs. The changes that came with the Twenties had no impact on him except to reinforce his traditional standards and principles. He was very conservative in the sense of preservation of those values, rather than in today's more common meaning of protection of one's economic advantages against the threat of encroachment by others.

Papa was deeply religious, a strict Puritan. He kneeled at the bedside to pray upon going to bed and again upon arising, and he always asked us if we had said our prayers. He had some success in getting us to recite prayers at bedtime, but not much beyond that. Of

course, he said the blessing at each meal. Sundays were strictly proscribed by Puritan rules: no games of any kind such as parlor games or cards, or sports, or fishing or hunting. There were no public team sports in our small town on Sundays, as in most of the old South, and of course no movies. Nothing was open except drug stores, some gas stations, and such things that were considered necessary for emergencies. We were expected to go routinely to Sunday School, which each of us did at least until we were high school age. Papa would not require us to go to church, but he would urge us very strongly. Each Sunday he would ask me, if I would "stay to church" with him. Mother used to sing in the choir, and I would sit with him in our accustomed pew. It was a dreary experience for me. I remember once I amused myself by imitating as inconspicuously as possible the gestures of Dr. MacQueen, the aging minister who was a close friend of my parents. That didn't last long - only until Papa noticed it.

The only memorable event of the church service was the arrival each Sunday, in the middle of the service, of the train across the street. Except in cold weather, the windows were open, and I could see the top part of the locomotive as it puffed and hissed into the station. The church is on a street along the river in Palatka, and directly across the street was the station, located there because earlier it was a connection point for steamboat travel. The railroad was the Georgia Southern & Florida. For years the church had struggled with the railroad to get them to change their schedule just a little to avoid having the train arrival disrupt the 11 o'clock service, with no success. The railroads were not known to concern themselves with the public, and they seemed to regard any change, however minor, as something to be avoided at all costs.

Papa and Mother would go again to the evening Sunday service, and to Wednesday night prayer meeting, which was the same kind of thing. We were never called upon to go to those, and while they would have been pleased if we had offered to go, we never did; at least, I didn't. For years Papa was superintendent of the Sunday School, although that was before I can remember. He was also deacon and elder and Mother was active in various women's auxiliaries.

Sometimes on Sundays we would drive a few more blocks to the barber shop downtown to have our shoes shined before Sunday School. The shop wouldn't be open, except for the shoeshine stand for that purpose. If we stayed for church we could ride home with Papa and Mother, but if not we were on our own. I was always happy to walk the 5 or 6 blocks, mostly along River Street, rather than stay for church.

Sunday dinner was always a little special. We had a black man cook, and dinner was ready soon after everyone was home from church. Most of the time we had well-done roast beef, baked with peeled potatoes alongside, rice, gravy, and several vegetables. In hot weather Papa would often drive downtown to the drugstore on the way home from church to pick up a carton of ice cream. That was the only way we could have any bought ice cream, since we had only an ice box, and I don't think the grocery stores even sold anything frozen. The conversation at dinner would be animated, only occasionally about religion. That might be some comments on the sermon. Sometimes Papa would ask me, or any of the others, what the sermon was about. He usually didn't get much of an answer from me.

These recollections are from the time we lived in Palatka, up until we moved to Jacksonville when I was 10. When I talk about what "we" did, I am speaking of what I saw and did as young boy, not what my older brothers and sisters might have been doing or thinking. They were eight, ten, twelve, and fourteen years older than I; and Richard and I were a sort of younger generation in the family. The older ones no doubt had different experiences at the time I am talking about.

After dinner on Sundays we could amuse-ourselves in whatever way that was not prohibited; that didn't exclude much except organized games, since the town was mostly shut down anyway. After reading the Sunday paper and perhaps an early afternoon nap by our parents, we would often go on a drive. That would be across the river to East Palatka, or San Mateo, or "around the loop," a circle of mostly paved streets through the hilly outskirts west of town. In the late 20s, we had a Buick "coach," a two door sedan. Earlier I can remember a Dodge "touring car," a four-door open car with cloth top and side curtains.

Some Sunday afternoons, and at other times, we would go out on our boat. In the later 20s we had a 32-foot cabin cruiser that would sleep six. We never did spend the night on it, but we would often go for an afternoon or day. That was always a big event for me. Papa was always interested in boats and the river. Much earlier, he had had a sail-boat. The first boat I can remember was a power boat perhaps 25 feet long, with a single small cabin, named the *Four Brothers*, for Harry, Philip, Richard and me. Richard was born in 1922, so we must have gotten it soon after that. The later boat, the *Friendship* was much more impressive. I remember riding with Papa and Mother to Welaka, on the river about 20 miles up from Palatka, to see it just before he bought it. He was very excited over it. He said that it was built in Maine, and was sailed down "outside" - in the ocean and not the intracoastal waterway. She had a wood roof, glassed-in forward, built over the mid-ship cockpit.

In September 1928 a big hurricane struck Palm Beach and across south Florida, drowning some 2,000 people. At Palatka we were in the fringes of it, with heavy rain and gusty winds. I remember the first day of school, the fourth grade for me. Papa drove us across the grounds to the door of the school because it was raining and blowing too hard to walk even from the curb. During the storm he had taken some of us boys out in the boat in the river in front of town to ride the rough water. He must have been a little frustrated at having such a good deepwater boat and little chance to test it. I remember how excited we all were, with the pitching, rolling and clouds of spray.

Later that school year we finally attempted a much-talked-about trip on the boat to Jacksonville, 65 miles down the wide stretch of river. I think Papa, Mother, Harry, Philip, Richard and I were along. The boat had a raised deck forward, with a galley, stateroom and head, a midship cockpit with the engine below, and a small, two-bunk cabin aft. The fuel tanks were inside seat lockers along each side of the cockpit, with filler pipes inside. There were no dockside gasoline pumps; a tank truck drove alongside on the dock, 5-gallon spouted cans were filled, and the gasoline poured into the tanks using a large funnel. Of course some was spilled, and it drained into the bilges. When we were ready to cast off, the sparking of the starter caused the vapors to explode. Papa, Harry and I were standing in the open cockpit, and the others were forward down below. I have a very vivid recollection of the four hatch covers being blown higher than my head and falling back, partially covering the openings. The whole engine compartment was then a mass of fire, which Harry quickly put out with the fire extinguisher. (He was about 18 at the time.) That all comes back to me whenever I smell burned flesh. My left hand was apparently raised in front of my face - the worst burns were along the outside of hand and fingers. I was burned less seriously on my face. I remember saying over and over, "What did you do it for?" which upset Papa and Harry very much. We walked about 2 blocks to our doctor's office, where I was patched up. Thus ended our only attempt at an overnight boat trip, which upset me about as much as the burns. I was out of school for two weeks.

Papa would never let any of the older ones take the boat out without him. It was not that he was selfish - he was very cautious, and he had an unreasoning fear that something might happen to any of us. Mother, who was about 16 years younger than he, sometimes thought he was unreasonable about such things. Sometimes Harry or Philip would take the boat out anyway, without Papa knowing it. Mother would know, but look the other way, and if Papa should find out, claim not to know. The same was true of the car. I remember more than once helping Philip push the car out of the driveway and down the street after dark when Papa was settled down after supper. When I would ask Mother about it she would say that she thought it was all right because Papa should let him, but wouldn't. That must be the only case when she wasn't fully supportive of Papa; she always spoke well of him to us and tried to explain his positions.

My main interests during those times had to do with boats and the river. We lived less than a block from the river, and my friends and I always wanted to play along the bank, on the docks and with small boats whenever we could. That particular part of the river was not especially dangerous; a residential street paralleled the water, and the bank sloped gently down. There was no flow or current at that part. The docks were a few short piers; at the

foot of our street several families lived in houseboats alongside one of them. Still, much of that time was before I had learned to swim, and while the water was very shallow, the bottom was soft mud and the surface choked with hyacinths. I recall hearing that a few years before, about the time I was born, a young boy had drowned by falling into the river, and that probably had a lot to do with the strict prohibition by Papa against Richard or me ever going close to the water without an adult along.

That didn't stop me, since my friends spent much of their time there. One in particular, John Hutchinson, lived a block down River Street; across from their house was a public dock where a few people kept rowboats, and from which we would sometimes fish. John, or "Duke" as he was called, had lost both parents very early, and he lived with his older brother and sister, his aunt, and his grandfather. "Grampa" had been a captain on the Hart Line river boats long before; at this time he was very old, gray and shook with palsy. He was our great friend, Duke's defense against whatever his aunt tried to make him do, and always giving us nickels when we asked him, so we could go to the neighborhood grocery store for soft drinks. From his connection with the Hart Line, he could get a steel lifeboat to keep temporarily for his use. The boats were about 16 feet long, double ended, fitted for a single set of oars. Grampa would take us out, Duke and me side by side each with an oar, and teach us to row. I can't remember Papa really objecting, and I am sure that he knew about it. I recall Mother expressing some of his misgivings, me saying that Grampa was grown up and so it must be all right, and she saying that he was too old to help us if we fell overboard, me saying the boats had flotation tanks and so were unsinkable. We didn't tell her that the tanks leaked; and many times someone would open the drain plug in the bilges and the boat would be found sunk at the dock, suspended by its mooring lines.

One time several of my friends and I went on a raiding expedition across the river, to a grove of grapefruit. We rowed down the middle of the river, past the middle of town and the two bridges, and landed where the grove reached the river. We picked maybe a couple of dozen fruit, tossed them down the line to the boat, and rowed back. We passed in front of Papa's steamboat dock in the center of town, a quarter to a half mile out in the river. Papa saw us, and recognized me when he looked with binoculars. He only knew that we were out in a boat with no adult, but Mother was much more upset when she found that we were stealing grapefruit.

Papa was quite successful in business, until things began to collapse in the late 1920s. He had part interests in several local businesses, but his main activity was a hardware store and a small steamboat line that operated between Palatka and Jacksonville. He was president and principal owner of each. The hardware store, H. M. de Montmollin Company, was on First Street, near the middle of downtown. It backed up to the boat line warehouse and dock, so it was all one complex. Harry and Philip worked at one or the other in their spare time when they were high-school age. Richard and I would wander in and out when we wanted to. The hardware store sold industrial and farm equipment, as well as to individuals. At that time, do-it-yourself was not nearly so big a business as now. They sold things like paint, nails, builders' hardware, and pipe - nothing like small appliances or drapery hardware. One year for Christmas, Papa put together for me a carpenter's tool box with real tools, not toys. I liked such things, and he encouraged me.

The steamboat line was a small operation. Papa had organized it by soliciting local merchants, to provide an alternative to high rail freight rates between there and Jacksonville. He started with an old wooden sidewheeler, the *Pilot Boy*, about 134 feet long. In 1923 he had another boat built at a local boathouse, the *Palatka*. I can remember when the hull was almost completed, before launching: Papa holding me up over the side to look at what seemed to me to be the vast inside. The *Palatka* was only 64 feet long - under 65 feet to avoid stricter government regulations on crew size.

In the mid 1920s Helen and Virginia were in nurse's training in a hospital in Jacksonville, at different times. Often Papa, Mother, Richard and I would ride on the *Palatka* to visit them. It was always a big event for me, being so excited over boats and the river. The *Palatka* had an aft cabin on the upper deck where meals were served for the captain, mate and engineer,

and it was roomy enough to be comfortable for us. I think Papa must have had that in mind when he designed it.

About 1926, the *Pilot Boy* was abandoned. The last voyage was to be across the river to a swampy section where several older steamboats had been beached. Papa took me on the last voyage, towed by the *Palatka*. Very soon after leaving the dock the *Pilot Boy* began to sink slowly, and they were afraid it might block the channel before it could be moved across the river. They headed for shallow water in front of town, at the edge of the Zachary Veneer Company log boom, near the foot of Hotel Street. A marina is there now. The *Pilot Boy* settled in the mud, with the main deck awash, after we all got off. I can remember very vividly being on the *Pilot Boy's* last trip.

The *Pilot Boy* created a lot of controversy - people thought it was an eyesore, being near a nice residential section, but it would have been out of the question to refloat and move it. At one Rotary Club meeting, where they spoofed various members, they had a song with verses for each. Papa's went:

"How do you do, Mr. Montmollin, how do you do?  
How do you do, Mr. Montmollin, how do you do?  
It would fill us all with joy if you would move the *Pilot Boy!*  
How do you do, Mr. Montmollin, how do you do?"

A few months later some vigilantes set it afire, and it burned to the water's edge, leaving the stack, boiler and machinery standing. Those were removed some years later, and finally, about 1950, the remaining parts under water were removed to clear the obstruction to the new marina.

Papa was very active in the Rotary Club - I think he was one of the founders. When I was about 6 or 7 he took me to a meeting and stood me on the table while he introduced me. He was so proud to show me off. I had a three-piece gray wool flannel suit, with long pants. I liked it especially because usually I had to wear shorts-- in the winter with above-the-knee heavy cotton stockings - or knickers. After each Tuesday luncheon at the Rotary Club, Papa would tell us at supper how terrible the food was. It became almost a ritual. He would tell us what they had: "A slice of chicken as thin as this-knife blade [holding up a table knife]. A spoonful of mashed potatoes. Peas as hard as pebbles, and a little celery top [parsley] sprinkled around."

Papa was very fond of each of us. His relationship with us was especially good when we were very young, when we accepted without question his dominant role. He would come home and call to us in a booming voice, "Who's Papa's boy?" Richard and I would yell, "I am!" and run to him and hug him. None of us boys, at least, knew him to our full adulthoods: Harry was 23, Philip 21, I was 13, Richard 10, and Fernand 5 when he died. In time, as we each reached the age when children are supposed to find that their parents are pretty smart and likeable people after all, I am sure that we would have come to have very warm and happy relationships with him. We were largely denied that: the two older ones, while full adults by that time, got there at a very stressful time, during the depths of the depression. I was just beginning to enter the worst part of adolescence, rebelling at everything and frustrated at our hard times. Still, in spite of the occasional conflicts as we were growing up we always respected and admired Papa. Harry and Philip would often refer to him as "the old man," meaning not someone who was old but as the boss, the way people in the Navy refer to the skipper. I don't know much from my own experience about his relationship with my two sisters, two and four years older than Harry, but from what they have said and all I know it was warm and affectionate.

Fernand was born in 1928, when Papa was 59. Whenever a comment might be made about having a seventh child with the father almost 60 and the family economic situation looking more bleak all the time, Mother would talk about how much Papa loved him, and how much it did for him when he was coming under so much stress with his business affairs. I remember Papa holding Fernand and playing with him while he was in his crib. Fernand's physical problems leading to his death at 13 did not begin until several years after Papa died.

While we still lived in Palatka, which was until I was ten years old, I think I was his favorite. When I was in the third grade he took me out of school for two weeks go with him on a business trip to New York. I had hoped that we would go on a ship from Jacksonville, as was still done in those days, and as the family had to gone to Savannah twice before. He said that the time was too short, and so we went on the train to Norfolk. He had some business there for a day or two, proudly showing me off to his business contacts. We then took a ship to Baltimore overnight, on the Chesapeake Bay Line. I think that was especially for me, but he enjoyed it as much as I did. We went on to Philadelphia and New York. I think what he was doing was looking for a steamboat for the boat line he operated between Palatka and Jacksonville. At Norfolk and at Philadelphia we looked at boats and rode on some of them. I remember very well many things about the trip. In New York we went sightseeing around Manhattan, took the boat to the Statue of Liberty, and did other such things. On the way back we again took the Bay Line from Baltimore to Norfolk, which was the high point of the trip for me.

Beneath his stern and uncompromising manner, and despite his rigid doctrines, Papa was warm, charitable, tolerant and sensitive to the rights of others. We lived in the old South, in a town more than half Black. Furthermore, in the 1920s there was a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, which was very active in local politics. I remember their parades down the main street, with many people cheering them. Both Papa and Mother despised them, and were contemptuous of the people who supported them, dismissing them as "poor white trash," the ultimate expression of contempt. They would never let us say "nigger," which we sometimes picked up from our friends - they were to be referred to as "Colored people." If we asked why, they would say "How would you like it if you were called that?" We had many close, everyday contacts with Black people. While we stuck strictly to the southern protocol for such things, both Papa and Mother had a warm regard for many who were close friends, and they respected them as a group.

Unusual for that time and place, the best barbershop, in the center of town, was owned by a Black man. He cut hair alongside two or three white barbers who worked for him. It was the only barbershop we ever went to, and Papa would walk over from his office each morning for a shave. Papa had great respect for the owner. I don't remember him ever telling me that he was the Black barber, and I was surprised when Mother told me.

One Black Papa had high regard for was a carpenter who worked for him in his business. He used to say that Hack Richards was the best carpenter in town, even if he was a little slow. (Has any one ever said a carpenter was good and also fast?) Anyway, in the late 1920s Tex Rickard, a New York fight promoter and night-club figure died, and people were commenting on the story in the paper. Papa was shocked until he understood that it wasn't Hack Richards. He snorted, "Nobody cares if he is dead or not - I thought you said Hack Richards!" Another Black who worked for him I knew only as William - I think he was a truck driver and generally skilled worker around the hardware store. He was very-friendly with us and we had great respect for him. When Papa died, three years after we had left Palatka, William came to my Aunt Margaret's house there to offer his sympathy. We welcomed him into the living room as an old friend, and had a warm visit with him. That seems condescending, but in those times it was unusual to relax the racial barriers under any circumstances. I had a warm feeling, and still do, about what it said about Papa's and the others' feelings about race relations.

Papa couldn't resist doing special things for us. Once, when I was about seven, a couple of months after Christmas, he came home with an elaborate pedal car for me. It had a cloth top and all kinds of fancy attachments. Another time, I think just after I had recovered from the burns, he came home with a billy goat and a harness and cart that the goat was supposed to learn to pull. Mother was very disgusted with the whole idea, and it didn't pan out - nobody knew how to train the goat, and we finally gave up. But we kept him for a while, and I remember feeling very special because Papa had done that for me.

I was always interested in reading history, as I still am. In those days we would all go regularly to the city library and check out books. Much of the time mine were children's

stories about historical events. I remember once reading about Indian fighting in which the Indians, being attacked by the whites' artillery, tried to make their own out of a hollow log. It exploded and killed several of them. In my bloodthirsty innocence I thought that was as good as scoring a touchdown, and I rushed to tell Papa about it. I was surprised that he was unhappy about it, saying how sad it was that they had to die because of their ignorance. That changed my thoughts about the whole thing. I have thought about it many times since. I think many "Dads" would have been proud of a son who was so macho and militaristic at such an early age, and would have encouraged it. I am proud of a Papa who was concerned first for humanity and very little for military victory for its own sake.

We were never allowed to have guns, and our natural boyhood interest in them was discouraged. Papa had a shotgun, although he had not hunted for many years. None of us was much good at hunting and fishing. A time or two Harry and Philip would take the truck from the hardware store to go hunting (with Papa's permission!), but they weren't very successful and soon lost interest. Of course, Papa would have been against us having guns for safety reasons, but I think the real reason was that they were a symbol of violence that was distasteful to him.

I don't think many people now realize how the first World War stirred up prejudice against German-Americans - I have since read much about it. That was a few years before my time, but there was still some of it around. I never heard anything about it from Papa or Mother, but I am sure that they hated the unfairness of it during the War. A block up the street from us lived a widow with a close German background, Mrs. Zart. Papa used to mention her occasionally, and Mother would often send me to her house to buy her homemade doughnuts. Mother mentioned at times how much of a struggle she had making a living, and I got the idea that she had been ostracized by most of the community. Whatever the details, my impression at the time was that Papa and Mother showed tolerance and compassion that most others around us did not.

The river and lakes around Palatka have some of the best fishing in the country, but Papa didn't know much about it. One day he took Richard and me a few miles upriver in the boat and gave us rods and reels to fish over the side in the middle of the river. Of course we didn't catch anything. After a while some men came by in a rowboat with some fish that they had caught. Papa bought some from them, and said that now we wouldn't have to go home empty-handed. When we got there Mother wasn't fooled for a minute; she kidded us and said that we must have caught them with silver bait.

We spent summers at St. Augustine Beach, where we had a small vacation house. We would live there all summer while school was out, and Papa would drive over weekends and Wednesday afternoons, when businesses in town were closed. He had some salt-water tackle, and sometimes he would fish in the surf. I don't remember him catching much, or any of the rest of us, but maybe he did. He had bought a 110-foot seine with a neighbor next door, and we would often catch fish in the surf with it. Papa didn't go swimming, but he liked to putter along the beach.

He had very firm tastes in food. Although we used to have a lot of good things, he was never interested in anything different, and whatever we had must be fixed in the usual way. Mother used to comment that although Papa liked cole slaw, if we had cooked cabbage it must be cooked for hours; otherwise Papa thought it was unhealthy. Papa shared the common Southern superstition that fish and milk eaten together would lead to serious illness, even death. Sometimes we would forget, and if we had eaten any of both there would be an immediate crisis - not another taste of one or the other. It applied to all seafood, and to ice cream or anything with milk in it. I was never able to get an answer to the question posed by clam or fish chowder, which we all liked and ate often.

There were some things that Papa liked very much that were not so conventional. He used to buy "Hastings sausage," a wurst made in a nearby town that was very spicy, and which we all thought was something special. He always liked good bread, usually with hard crust, or hard rolls. We had a wide variety of good things to eat, and he liked all of them - it was just that nothing new was ever tried.

Sometimes we would catch shrimp. We would go out in the middle of the river after dark, build a fire in a wire basket held over the side to attract them, like insects around a light, and catch them with a circular cast net. Papa would go with us, with Harry or Philip rowing and casting the net, and Richard and me watching. Papa was very fond of shrimp, and also local oysters which we would buy often. At the beach we would gather periwinkles, or donax, as Papa called them. Both are proper words referring to small shellfish that burrow in wet beach sand. Their shells are about the size of a little-finger nail. We would shovel wet beach sand onto a coarse screen and sift them out - a cupful or two per shovelful of sand. We would make chowder with them - with milk! It was delicious, a favorite of Papa's along with the rest of us.

Papa's dress reflected his old-fashioned tastes. He wore a suit almost all the time; never a contrasting jacket, and rarely a dark cardigan. He always wore a hat outside, as most people did then. In winter it was a dark-brown felt, and in summer a Panama. He wore stiff shirts and separate stiff collars, done in a Chinese hand laundry, and a hand-tied bow tie; high-topped black shoes, with three hook eyelets at the top. He always wore long underwear - wool in the winter and lightweight cotton in the summer. I don't know how he stood the heat. Mother was the opposite. I remember that characteristically in hot weather perspiration would stream down her face, and she would always try to sit in front of a fan, or wherever she could find a slight breeze stirring. I don't remember Papa ever wearing any kind of sport clothes, but not many men did for everyday wear in those days.

Papa and Mother were both very well-read. They read the two daily papers thoroughly, and they subscribed to the *Literary Digest*, a weekly news magazine. Papa was very interested in state and nation, as well as local affairs. They were staunch Southern Democrats. I think Papa adapted to changing circumstances, although with some conservative reluctance. However, that didn't apply to his personal interests. He would never go to the movies. When we would ask him about that, he would always relate his experience: he had gone once in the early days, and the first thing he saw was a woman chasing a man across the screen with a drawn butcher knife. He said that if that was the kind of trash movies were about he didn't want to see any more of them! (I wonder what he would think of today's movies and TV!) About 1930 Mother tried very hard to get him to go to a remake of Mark Twain's "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court," with Will Rogers, who was a favorite of Papa's. It was updated with Model Ts instead of carriages, and was filled with current (1930) political satire. He would have enjoyed it tremendously, but his prejudice was too strong for him to try it.

Papa and Mother always got along well. I can hardly remember any time when they had a serious dispute. She always catered to his whims and desires. Many times they would kid each other. One standing joke on her that I remember Papa bringing up was that they had been on a train trip up north. Mother saw in the distance patches of old snow in a field, and said, "I wonder what that white stuff is - it must be some kind of fungus!" She had probably never seen snow before. Another was in the elections of 1928. Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of William Jennings Bryan, was running against Joe Sears, the incumbent congressman. They had bets on it, Papa saying a woman would never be elected to Congress. She won, and Mother liked to keep bringing it up to him for a long time afterward.

Papa was proud of his family background, but the break with his father, who left the family when Papa was hardly grown, left him very bitter about the family for the rest of his life. He seemed to feel strong ties to Savannah and the Georgia sea islands, where he grew up. Several times I and others went with him there on business trips, and he always liked to point out places he knew. He talked often about how nice St. Simons and the other coastal islands were, and he liked similar places in Florida. However, he never mentioned his father. Sometimes I would learn of some scrap of information about our family background, and I would ask Mother about it. I remember hearing about the *Wanderer*, and about Papa's father's obsession over presumed ties to the Spanish throne. Mother would tell me what little she knew, and then would say never to ask Papa about those things, because he was deeply ashamed of his father; she said that whatever noteworthy things there might have been in our past, Papa thought they were offset by that disgrace, as he saw it.

Papa had had a hard time when he was growing up. He was left as head of the family of his mother and five brothers and sisters when he was in his early twenties. He worked very hard to earn a living and get established in business. He married when he was 30 to a woman who died three years later. He married Mother two years after that, when he was 35 and she was 20. He was becoming moderately successful with various business interests, but until 1919 the growing family lived in a very modest house. Then, two months before I was born, they moved into a much larger and nicer house. During most of the 1920s things went well, and it must have been a happy time for him. However, the depression began in Florida about 1927, with the collapse of the real estate boom, and he began a long, losing battle to try to preserve his interests. One by one, we lost the beach house, the boat, and finally our main house, along with his business holdings. Papa began to show symptoms of stress and heart trouble. I remember the last few years in Palatka, up to 1930, he often complained of angina and "indigestion," and he was constantly taking things to relieve those symptoms. By 1930 he had lost or disposed of all his business interests, and we moved to Jacksonville, where there might be more opportunities than in Palatka. We lived for a time in a small rental house, which Papa didn't like because we couldn't get his big office desk through the door. Then we bought a nicer house, which we lived in for a couple of years, after which we could no longer make the payments. We moved to a much older rental house. Papa had a series of heart attacks, each of which would put him in bed for a few weeks. Finally, we had to move into the ground floor unit of a duplex, because he had to have a first-floor bedroom. On a hot day in June 1933 he went into downtown Jacksonville to try to sell his shotgun. He collapsed on the street and died very quickly.

The picture I have of Papa is a positive one. His stern manner and rigorous conventions were a barrier to a close relationship, at least to his sons, but we always had great respect for him. Through that, we could feel his warmth and affection for us, and we tried to respond. A boy under the age of thirteen is likely to be influenced far more by day-to-day irritations and conflicts than real values, but since then I have understood much more, and I have great admiration and sympathy for him. It is sad that his last years were so tough, and that we couldn't know each other as adults.

June 25, 1989

—James M. de Montmollin

## APPENDIX A

### THE DAVID FRANCIS BRANCH

XI

27. Louis (4) \* 1683 + 10/6/1750. m. 1712 Salome Gaudot \* 12/23/1691 + 8/2/1744, daughter of David and d'Esabeau Girard.

Member of the Executive Council, Louis was the ancestor of both branches of the de Montmollin family which emigrated to the United States. Membership in the Executive Council was a privilege of the aristocracy of Neuchatel. The Council functioned as the court of justice. In the other municipalities, the Prince named the justices.

XII

59. David Francois (27) \* 3/18/1721 + 12/17/1803. m. 6/2/1762 Jane Bell \* 1728 + 9/14/1822

David Francois was educated at the University of Basel in the field of medicine. After graduation, he emigrated to Leiden, Holland, where he joined the Flemish Church. In about 1740, he went to London, where he apparently practiced medicine for about twenty years. While in London in 1762, he married an English lady, Jane Bell. The ceremony was performed at St. Giles Cripplegate. Ordained an Anglican priest, he was sent to Canada after the conquest of that country by the English to convert the French Catholics to Protestantism. He achieved but meager success in the accomplishment of that task. However, he made such an impression on the English-speaking population that his grand-daughter, Charlotte Marguerite B XIV 10, married to Leonard Marler, gave to one of her sons the name "de Montmollin." This custom has continued to this day. One of the recent bearers of that name, John de Montmollin Marler, was a high functionary, and served as president of the Commission in charge of the revision of foreign trade in Canada.

David Francis served until retirement as Rector of Quebec, after which he entered several business ventures in an effort to provide income for himself and a livelihood for his sons.

He died in 1803 in Quebec, survived by his widow and two sons.

Jane Bell de Montmollin died 9/14/1822 in Nicolet at the age of 94, and was buried beside her husband in the cemetery near St. Louis Gate, Quebec. Her obituary was recorded in the 9/19/1822 issue of *Quebec Mercury*.

A previously-unpublished biography of David Francis de Montmollin is Chapter III.

XIII

37. John Frederic (59) \* 1763 + c. 1819.

John Frederic was christened on Mar. 20, 1763 at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in London. Like his next younger brother, John Samuel, John Frederic was born in London, and emigrated with his parents to Quebec. Little is known of his activities in Quebec, except that, as a young man, he participated in several business ventures with his father. One of his business ventures was in Vergennes, Vermont, where he conducted a merchant's business from 1789 until the mid-1790s.

38. John Samuel I (59) \* 1765 + 11/14/1810. m. c. 1800 Maria Edwards, \* + 9/1/1859 youngest daughter of Jonathan Edwards II by his first wife.

The first of five de Montmollins to bear the name John Samuel, he was christened on Jan. 18, 1767 at La Patente Fr. Huguenot, Spitalfield, in London. He emigrated to Quebec City with his family in 1768. He served as an officer in the British Army in Jamaica prior to the end of the 18th Century. He received United States citizenship in 1798 in Philadelphia, under the sponsorship of his cousin, Frederic de Montmollin, who had emigrated from Switzerland.

He established a merchant's trade in Savannah, Georgia at Five Fathom Hole, a decommissioned colonial fort. He died aboard ship in 1810, and was buried on Isle of Geora, Portuguese West Africa.

See Chapter IV.

39. Francis Gaudet (59) \* 1769 + 1814.

The first son of David Francis to be born in Quebec.

40. Jane (59) \* 1771 + 1771. Died in infancy.

41. Lewis (59) \* 1773 + 1773. Died in infancy.

#### XIV

10. Charlotte Marguerite (38) \* 1794 + 1843.

The natural daughter of John Samuel I, she was born in Vergennes, Vermont. Her mother is unknown. When she was two years old, her father brought her to Quebec and placed her in the care of foster parents, whom he paid to raise and educate her. On 8/19/1810, she married Captain Leonard Marler, of the British Army. It was she who established the custom in both families of using the other family name as a middle name. Since that time, the custom has been continued in the Marler family; and was begun in the de Montmollin family in 1853 by John Samuel II, continuing to the present generation. The latest to bear the Marler name is Philip Marler (XX 106).

Leonard Marler was born in 1787, and died 10/25/1824 at the age of 37. He had arrived in Quebec from Portsmouth, England aboard the military vessel *Harriet W. Parr*, a member of the 41st Régiment of Foot and Royal Artillery. The contingent also included a detachment of the Field Train Department for general service of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. On 12/10/1809, he was promoted to Clerk of Stores of the F.T.D. as a Junior Officer of the British Army; and on 12/30/1812 to the post of Assistant Commissary. He retired from the military in 1817 on half-pay of 4 shillings per month.

Issue: Jane Susannah Anna \* 9/7/1811 + 1872  
George Leonard \* 12/19/1813 + 1884 (Baptized 1/22/1814) m. Mary Ann Collins  
Woodward 5/1843  
Charlotte \* 2/2/1816 + 1870  
Mary Ann \* 4/4/1818 + 1900 m. Pierre Dorion  
Ellen \* 9/1820 + 1906

Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin Marler died 12/18/1843. See Chapter IV.

11. John Samuel II (38) \* 1808 + 1859. m. 1842 Marie Madeleine Henrietta Rossignol \* 1812 + 1887

He was a highly successful businessman, making his living buying and selling ship's cargoes, including African slaves. He died prematurely in 1859 when a river steamboat exploded. He was a member of a syndicate of businessmen which owned the *Wanderer*, a converted sailing yacht which landed the last load of African slaves in the United States in 1857. Six men were brought to trial by a special prosecutor, and were finally acquitted of all charges. John Samuel II was subpoenaed but not indicted, and died just before he was scheduled to testify in the trial.

He left a substantial fortune, which was lost to the family during the Civil War and in the years following. Although much of his property stayed in the family for a number of years, it was all eventually lost.

In 1850, he went to the gold fields of California, where he operated a supply business at Sonorian Camp, in the Sierra Nevada mountains. He remained there for 300 days selling supplies and equipment purchased in San Francisco. The venture netted a handsome profit, doubling the cost of goods purchased for resale. The original investment was \$5,000, of which John Samuel put up \$4,000. After a few weeks, he bought out the other partner, becoming the sole owner of the business. A gold ring now in the possession of James Mellon de Montmollin (XVII 37) is said to have been made from a single nugget of gold found at Sonorian Camp. The ring was fashioned by a jewelry firm in Neuchatel.

See Chapter V.

12. James (37) \* +

13. Frederic (37) \* + m. Sallia.

XV

14. John Samuel III (11) \* 2/20/1844 + 3/23/1912. m. (1) 4/29/1863 Sarah Ellen Hasson, of Philadelphia, + 1915. m. (2) 9/15/1892 Francis Eudor Hunnicutt \* 1872 + 1954, of Tallulah Falls, Georgia.

John Samuel III began his education at the University of Geneva in 1856, but returned home upon the death of his father in June of 1859. He enlisted in South Carolina Volunteers in 1861, and served throughout the War. When he returned from service, he established residence at the family home, Gray's Plantation near Hardeeville, SC. He moved the family to Screven County, Georgia, in about 1877; and to Florida in about 1883.

Settling in Palatka, he began a merchant's business, and worked as a marine engineer on the St. Johns River.

In 1891, he left his wife and six children, and later turned up in Rabun County, Georgia, where in 1892 he married Francis Eudor Hunnicutt. They were the parents of six children. He spent much time trying to recover property which had been owned by his father.

John Samuel worked for several years at the turn of the century as foreman of a large plantation near Brunswick, then resumed his trade as a marine engineer, sailing the rivers of Georgia and Florida until his death in Macon, Georgia in 1912.

See Chapter VI.

15. Louis Henry (11) \* 12/15/1846 + 3/29/1884. m. 9/17/1868 Frances Suzannah Villepontoux Rossignol \* c. 1852 + 1882 Savannah, Georgia.

Louis Henry was apparently named for an uncle born in 1819. His wife was a niece of Harriet Rossignol, who married his older brother, John Samuel II. Louis Henry was a prominent attorney in Savannah, Georgia; serving several terms on the city council. He died as a result of complications of a wound received when attacked by bandits at Gray's Plantation after the War.

Issue: Susan \* c. 1873 + 1902  
 [infant - stillborn] \* 1874 + 1874  
 [infant - stillborn] \* 1876 + 1876  
 [child] \* 1881 + 1882

16. Harriet Marler (11) \* 1853 + 1863.

Harriet was the first of her family to carry the middle name of "Marler," a custom established in the preceding generation by Charlotte Marguerite de Montmollin Marler. She was nicknamed "Tattie." She was a frail child, frequently ill with respiratory problems. She died at the age of 9 years, 7 months and 4 days, and was buried in the family vault in Laurel Grove Cemetery, Savannah, where she rests with six family members, including her father, John Samuel II. The inscription in the de Montmollin family Bible reads "Bless my darling; Oh! God in the Kingdom of Heaven." The handwriting is that of her brother, John Samuel III.

Her portrait, painted shortly before her death, is in the family archives in Columbia, SC.

17. Archie (12) \* +  
 18. Frank (12) \* +  
 19. Adelaide (12) \* +  
 20. Louise (12) \* +

XVI

9. John Samuel IV (14) \* 1865 + 1866.  
 10. Harry Marler I (14) \* 1869 + 1933. m. 1899(1) Susie Lamar Dunn \* 3/8/1870 + 1/2/1903. (2) 9/25/1905 Virginia McIlvaine \* 11/1/1884 + 1957.

Following the departure of his father, Harry Marler I became the principal support of his mother and five brothers and sisters. He worked first as a bookkeeper for a grist mill, and later managed a river freight line for a syndicate of businessmen. He later bought that business, established a wholesale and retail hardware and farm implement business, and operated a Gulf

commission agency. All the businesses and the family home in Palatka were lost in the real estate crash of 1927 and the subsequent stock market crash of 1929, and the family in 1930 moved to Jacksonville, where the older sons could more readily find work. Harry Marler died there in 1933. In 1895, he was commander of the "Gem City Guards," a local militia unit formed in 1880. The Guards were disbanded and a unit of the Florida National Guard was formed to replace it. Harry Marler was a Colonel in the Florida National Guard in 1900, serving on the staff of the Governor. He retired as a Brigadier General.

In addition to his varied business and military pursuits, Harry Marler found time for church and civic activities, among which was the chartering of the Palatka Rotary Club in 1920, and the funding of the World War I Memorial bridge which in 1927 crossed the St. Johns to East Palatka.

In 1890, he was received by profession of faith as a member of the Palatka Presbyterian Church; was elected a Deacon in 1892 and was ordained an Elder in 1898. He was Clerk of the Session in 1900, resigning as Clerk upon the death of his first wife in 1903. She was the granddaughter of two of the early pastors of the church. In 1917, Harry Marler served as Chairman of the Pulpit Committee which called Dr. Donald MacQueen as pastor. Dr. MacQueen served the church as pastor for twenty-three years. Upon the death of Harry Marler in 1933, the Session of the Palatka Presbyterian Church noted the "passing of one who was a faithful and loyal member of this congregation for forty years, for thirty-two years striving to serve God in every possible way as a member of this Session."

In 1926, Harry Marler was visited by Fernand Henri de Montmollin (B XVIII 26), which re-established the contact between the American and Swiss branches of the family.

See Chapter VII.

11. Aaron Burr I (14) \* 6/26/1871 + 1936. m. 1894 Frances Christiana Johnston \* 1876 + 1961.  
Named for his ancestor, Vice-President Aaron Burr, Bert worked in Palatka and Tampa as a bookkeeper; then joined the railroad as an inspector, where he served his entire career, first in Savannah, and for many years in Montgomery, Alabama. His wife, known in the family as "Aunt Fannie," was close to both families of John Samuel III, and for many years was the principal contact with the "second family."
12. Harriet Marler (14) \* 9/3/1873 + 1902. m. 1891 Lee Hoffman, Green Cove Springs, Florida.  
Issue: Fannie \*5/22/1892 +6/16/1979 m. 1913 Taylor Moore \* +  
Issue: Warren \*11/19/1914 +6/6/83  
William \*6/17/1916 +2/18/68  
Fannie \*5/17/1919 +11/20/1992  
Louise \*6/24/1921 + . m. John Wilton Smith \* + 1985  
Stanley \*2/12/1925 +  
George \*3/30/1928 +  
Louis \*5/5/1931 +  
George \* + . George was one of twins; the other died at their birth.  
Miriam Catherine \*11/1/1895 +1/25/1971 m. Charles Edward Clark  
Issue: Charles Edward Clark, Jr. \*12/9/1919 + 2/25/1986  
Hattie Lee \*11/29/1922 + . m. 9/4/1943 Harry James Gutteridge + 1950  
in Korea.  
Harriet \* + . Died in infancy  
Sara Josephine \*10/24/1899 +12/5/1979 m. Joe Thomas  
Louis \* 10/5/1901 +7/3/1957. Louis lost his legs in a rail accident as a teenager. Later, he became Office Manager of Gulf Life Insurance Company in Jacksonville, a position he held until his death.
13. John Louis (14) \* 11/2/1875 + 10/10/1944. m. 9/30/1908 Minnie Lee Keene + 1968.  
John Louis was the ancestor of the de Montmollins who live in the Plant City, Florida, area: He moved from the Palatka area to Starke, and later to Plant City. He worked on the railroad most of his adult life.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following was written by Harry Lee de Montmollin (XVII 42) eldest son of John Louis. - RHdEM.

As a youngster, Louis lived with the family in Palatka, working as a cabin boy on boats on the St. Johns River, moving to Starke with his mother during his teen years.

Louis was a hard worker, always staying busy, and worked some sixteen hours a day. He insisted that work be done properly and on time. He never believed any job was too complicated to undertake. He always said that "can't is not in the book." He was fascinated by anything that made or used steam, and worked for many years as a railroad engineer. He also excelled in the operation of steam shovels and steam cranes, and dug many miles of canals near Clearwater, Fla. As such, he did much of the dredging and filling at Clearwater where many homes now line the beach. He commuted on horseback from Plant City to Clearwater, sleeping week-nights on the shovel - week-ends at home in Plant City.

Louis was engineer on the work train that laid the tracks through Plant City, crossing the Atlantic Coast Line. The ACL refused permission to cross their tracks, so the Plant System crossed at night - laying almost a mile of track in one night.

On one occasion, he was engineer on a freight train running from Tampa to Bartow when his locomotive derailed and overturned. John Louis was pinned in the cab, but extricated himself and ran down the fireman whose clothing was on fire. He rolled him in the sand, but the fireman was badly burned and later died of his injuries.

He lost out with the railroad due to seniority, and worked for a time as locomotive engineer with the Coronet Phosphate Company, after which he started a drayage business in Plant City, hauling stove wood and small cargoes by horse and wagon. The horse and wagon were soon succeeded by a Model-T truck.

Louis was willing to trust anyone at least once. He could be led, but not pushed. He was scrupulously honest, and insisted on high standards of integrity by his children.

He maintained contact with his father, visiting the second family on several occasions. He was at their home in Brunswick when the birth of their sixth child was imminent. The story goes that his father sent him for the doctor, who failed to arrive in time for the birth of the child - Angela Aloysius - who was delivered by her father. The estrangement of John Samuel III from his older sons seems not to have included his youngest son.

In 1908, Louis married Minnie Lee Keene, and raised a family of eight children.

14. Catherine (14) \* 3/12/1878 + 1946. m. Jackson Rawson Davis.

After the death of her husband, she had an independent business which did custom hemstitching at Phelp's Department Store, Jacksonville.

"Aunt Katie," as she was known to the family, had no children of her own, but her nephews and nieces, sons and daughters of her sister Harriet Marler, spent much time at her home in Jacksonville.

15. Adelaide Josephine (14) \* 4/8/1880 + 1/12/1954. m. (1) James E. Kelly +1/16/1940.  
Div. 7/19/1921. (2) 1939 James E. Kelly.

Adelaide met James E. Kelly in Georgia during the Spanish American War, while he was serving in the Army. They were married in Georgia, and made their home in Baltimore, Md., which was his home. Kelly worked as a Stationary Engineer in various industries.

Kelly had a drinking problem, which brought about employment problems. He and Adelaide were divorced on July 19, 1921, and eighteen years later, they re-married each other. Neither had re-married in the interim.

Kelly died on January 16, 1940; and Adelaide on January 12, 1954. She was buried at St. Vincent's Cemetery in Latrobe, Pa.

Issue: Eileen Josephine \* 5/31/1907 + 5/19/1987. m. Albert E. Luxner.

Issue: Catherine Eileen Luxner. Sister Catherine is a music teacher in Scranton, Pa.  
Thomas Albert Luxner. CPA with the IRS in Washington.

Catherine Bridget \*4/22/09 +3/14/39. m. Dr. Regis Fallon Downey, a physician who  
set up a practice in Greensboro, Pa.

Issue: Dennis Ann Downey  
Francis Xavier (Tim) Downey.

Edwina Ann - died in infancy.

James E. Kelly, Jr. \*2/18/1915 + . m. 9/20/1942 Laura M. Burton.

Ed Kelly was a Stationary Engineer with the Baltimore Gas & Electric Company,  
working as a Shift Supervisor in their power plant. He is now retired.

No issue.

16. Sarah Louise (14) \* 1893 + 1920. m. 1911 Walter J. White + c. 1930, of Illinois.

Sarah Louise was the first child of the marriage of John Samuel III and Frances Eudor Hunnicutt. She was named for Dr. James M. de Montmollin's daughter (Frederic branch). She was a petite, frail girl whose health required a move to the Los Angeles, California, area. She died there on January 31, 1920.

Issue: Evelyn Louise \* 1912 m. (1) 1930 Noble Mangrum, of Oklahoma, div.; (2) 1945 John  
Miscious Klump

Frances Eudor \* 1916 m. (1) Ralph Owen, div.; (2) Porter, div.; (3) Dennis Beasley + 1980.

17. John Samuel (14) \* 1896 + 1930. m. 1918 Mabel Elise Peterson, of Marinette, Wisconsin \* 1900 + 1971.

John was the second child and only son of the marriage of John Samuel III and Frances Eudor Hunnicutt. He grew up in the coastal towns of Georgia, and often accompanied his father on his steamboats. He raced motorcycles for a motorcycle company, and enlisted as a flyer in World War I. Soon after his acceptance, the War came to an end.

He became a partner in Genthre's Garage, in River Rouge, Michigan. He was killed by a disgruntled ex-employee who had been fired by the other partner. His mother was visiting at the time, and together with the other partner, discovered John's body at the garage, after becoming alarmed at his absence from home.

18. Agnes Lisette (14) \* 1901 + 1925. m. 1918 Lawrence Alexander Beranc \* 1883 + 1943.

Agnes Lisette grew up in the coastal towns of Georgia with her parents. After the death of her father in 1912, she and her family lived for a time in Greenwood, South Carolina. She attended business college there, and worked for the telephone company. She and her husband moved to Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1920. At her death of septicemia in 1925, the hospital which cared for her was later closed for malpractice.

Issue: Agnes Aloysius \* 1919 +

Blanche Marguerite \* 1922 + . Polio victim

Rosalie Vivian \* 1925 + 1974 m. (1) 1919 Wilbert Kading, Tigerton, Wisconsin;  
(2) Phillip Collins, Long Beach, California

19. Vivian Emma McEwen (14) \* 1904 + 1979. m. (1) 1935 Dr. Adoniram B. Darling \* 1885 + 1937;  
(2) 1943 William Eugene Brannan II, div.

20. Elyse Albertine (14) \* 1908 + 1980. m. (1) 1927 Joseph Kaminsky; (2) Willard Woods.

Elyse was born in White Oak, Georgia, and was schooled in the South and later in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She was a talented artist, singer, dancer and writer.

Issue (Kaminsky):

Joseph Frederic \* 1928 +

Jean \* 1931 + c. 1960 Died in Alaskan earthquake

Barbara \* 1933 + . m. Samuel Guaridina

(Woods):

William \* 1945 +

21. Angela Aloysius (14) \* 9/1910 +4/26/1993 m. 1933 Elwyn Stephen Hicks, \* 1903 + . Columbus, Wisconsin

Angela Aloysius (known as "Alla") was the youngest child of John Samuel III and Frances Eudor Hunnicutt de Montmollin. She was born in White Oak, Georgia, and was schooled in Georgia and in Milwaukee after the family moved there in 1919. Angela worked selling furs and as a model for a large department store in Milwaukee, and sang and danced on stage in Milwaukee and Chicago. In the early 1950s, she went to California to help care for her aging mother, and the family soon followed. They resided at 14329 Sylvan Street, Van Nuys, California, in the San Fernando Valley.

It was there that Angela de Montmollin Hicks and her family met the heirs of her father's first family. There they received visits from the widow of Aaron Burr de Montmollin [XVI 11] (Frances C. Johnston), from a son of Harry Marler I [XVI 10] (Richard and Elizabeth de Montmollin), from the daughter of John Louis [XVI 13] (Mary Louise de Montmollin) and the granddaughter of John Louis (Mrs. Nancy Shauver-Shrope).

In 1985, the Hicks family moved to Rock Hill, South Carolina, and established a home near Alla's cousin, Mrs. Alice Hughes.

Alla died on April 26, 1993, and was buried in Laurelwood Cemetery in Rock Hill, SC.

Issue: Juanita Ann (Anita) \* 1934 +  
Julia Lynne \* 1936 + . m. (1) 1953 James Leonard Schneider, div.; (2) 1963 Louis Roy Heard \* 1935

Issue: (Schneider):  
Mary Beth \* 1954 +  
Cheryl Lynne \* 1958 +  
(Heard):  
Katherine Marie \* 1965 +

22. Susie (15) \* 1872 + 1902.

Susie became a nun at a convent at Washington, Georgia. The 1920 census shows her living there at that time, although family records indicate that she had died earlier.

XVII

33. Helen (10) \* 1906 + 1985. m. 1931 Dr. Theodore Ferdinand Hahn, Jr. \* 1907 + 11/19/1983

The first child of Harry Marler I and Virginia McIlvaine, Helen was a registered nurse, a graduate of Florida State College for Women and Riverside Hospital School of Nursing in Jacksonville. She held several nursing positions, including one as head of nursing at Pennsylvania State University. After her marriage, she and Dr. Hahn lived in Florida for nearly 40 years, where he practiced medicine in Deland. In the 1970s, they moved to North Carolina, where Dr. Hahn worked with the public health service until his retirement in 1979.

Issue: Prudence \* 7/18/1936 (adopted) + . m. (1) Carl Vann, div.; (2) Larry Belcher  
Theodore Ferdinand III (adopted) \* 7/11/1938 + c. 1980  
Jennifer \* 4/29/1941 (adopted) + . m. Ernie W. Leskovec  
Issue: Nicole \* 10/6/1967 + . m. Gregory Scott Cohen  
Richard \* 10/11/1945 (adopted) + . m. (1) Barbara Allison; (2) Bettie Underwood  
Issue: (1) Scarlett Allison  
Christopher  
(2) Katie

34. Mildred Virginia (10) \* 7/12/1908. m. 1934 Dr. Frederick Hawthorne Steele, + 1977 Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Virginia (known as Mildred in her youth) was a registered nurse, a graduate of Florida State College for Women and Riverside Hospital School of Nursing in Jacksonville. She held positions in nursing at the University of Indiana, and at the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary. She lived most of her adult life in Toronto, where her husband had a large ear, nose and throat practice. Since the death of her husband, she has spent her winters in Keystone Heights,

Florida, and her summers in Canada. She has traveled extensively, and continues an active schedule.

Issue: Helen Virginia \* 5/1938 + . m. 1961 Gerald Finley  
Mary Scarlett \* 7/21/1939 + . m. 1971 Bosley Thomas \* 3/7/23 + 5/23/93  
April \* 11/20/45 + . m. (1) 1966 Michael Ruse, div. 1977; (2) 1984 Gregory Ross

35. Harry Marler II (10) \* 1910 + 1985. m. (1) 1936 Clara Brenan \* 1906 + 1977, (2) 1979 Dorsey Womack Brenan \* 7/17/1918 + 7/3/1991.

After high school, Harry Marler II worked for a year as a cabin boy on freighters captained by his cousin George Hoffman. After returning, he finished high school, and studied at the University of Florida for one year, leaving when the family encountered financial misfortunes. He worked in Jacksonville for the St. Johns River Line for several years, then as Southeastern Vice President of Acme Fast Freight Company. Later, he organized his own shipping association, and operated it until his death in 1985.

36. Philip Edward I (10) \* 1912 + 1966. m. 1934 Ruby King, Jacksonville, Florida \* +

Philip went to work after high school to help with the support of the family. He was employed first by the Merchants and Miners Transportation Company, then by Equitable Life Assurance Company. Later, he was assigned by Ryder Truck Rentals as the permanent dispatcher assigned to the Miami Herald. He married Ruby King, of Jacksonville. He and his family lived first in Jacksonville, then in Tampa where they went because of his respiratory problems, and finally in Miami, where he died of a heart attack in 1966. Philip and Ruby had three sons: Philip Edward II, Stephen Joseph and Lane Alan.

37. James Mellon (10) \* 11/10/1919. + . m. 1943 Nina May Snead, Greenwood, South Carolina.

James is a graduate of Georgia Tech, with a degree in Electrical Engineering. He served with the Signal Corps in the Pacific for two years during World War II. Afterward, he worked for a few years as a designer of electrical equipment in Hampton, Georgia. His career was interrupted by a recall to active duty in 1950, which resulted in two years duty in Germany. After relief from military service, in 1953, he joined Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque, New Mexico. He worked on the design and testing of nuclear weapons for the next ten years. For his last 15 years with Sandia, until his retirement in 1986 and for some years afterward as a consultant, he worked on measures to control nuclear weapons, mainly on the development of the international safeguard system operated by the International Atomic Energy Agency. He and Nina have four daughters: Kathryn Virginia, Linda, Merrie and Michele.

38. Richard Hall (10) \* 1922 + . m. 1946 Elizabeth Player, Greenwood, South Carolina.

At the end of 1935, Richard, James and Fernand accompanied their mother to Thornwell Orphanage, in Clinton, South Carolina, where she had taken the position of Dining Room Matron. Richard remained there through high school, and graduated from Presbyterian College, also in Clinton. After service in the Army in World War II, he took a job in radio advertising sales in Greenwood, South Carolina; later moving to television sales in Columbia, South Carolina. In 1961, he became Director of Sales at the State Printing Company, Columbia, where he remained for 10 years. In 1971, he was named Executive Director of the South Carolina Oil Jobbers Association, a position he held until his retirement at the end of 1985. After retirement, he worked as a consultant with the Palmetto Timber Association for two-and-a-half years; and for a year as President of the First Presbyterian Church Retirement Center in Columbia.

Richard served as a Trustee at Thornwell Orphanage for eight years, becoming Chairman of the Board for the last two years. He has been an Elder in two different Presbyterian Churches since 1955. He served as International President of the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America in 1972, and was the 1988 President of the Palmetto Mastersingers, a Columbia men's choral group. In 1992, he was named Vice-Moderator of the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. In 1989, he was named Chairman of the Board of the First Presbyterian Church Retirement Center, Inc., developers of Laurel Crest, a continuing care retirement community in Columbia.

39. Fernand Henry (10) \* 11/1/1928 + 2/26/1942  
 Fernand was named for Fernand Henri (B XVIII 26), who had visited in the family home in Palatka, Florida in 1926. He contracted rheumatic fever while at Thornwell in 1936, and died of influenza in Deland, Florida in 1942.
40. Harry Cornelius (11) \* 1895 + 1897
41. Aaron Burr II (11) \* 1898 + 1930 m. 1927 Elizabeth Hall  
 Aaron "Bert" was born in Montgomery, Alabama and was Assistant Cashier of the San Angelo (Texas) National Bank. He was a member of the San Angelo chapter of Knights Templar, a member of the Lions Club, and was active in the First Presbyterian Church. He was educated in the public schools in Montgomery, Alabama, and attended Georgia Normal College in Douglas, Georgia, and Southwestern Presbyterian College in Clarksville, Tennessee. He died after a long illness, and was buried in Fairmount Cemetery in San Angelo.
42. Harry Lee (13) \* 1909 + m. 1929 Mabel Landers.  
 In construction business in Plant City, Florida.
43. Louis Eugene (13) \* 12/12/1912 + m.(1) 1930 Mildred Hines, div.;  
 (2) Dorothy Nell Cook, \* 1927, div.; (3) c. 1970 Mildred Hines.  
 Gene is engaged in farming in Plant City, FL.
44. Mary Louise (13) \* 5/25/1919+ m. 11/22/41 Charleton Leon Shauver, \*5/12/19, officer in naval aviation.  
 Issue: Julia Ann \* 8/13/37 + m. 2/5/55 Joseph Robert Linko \* 3/24/36  
 Charles Leone \* 1/20/44 + m. 6/26/82 Laurie J. Schwendy \* 2/6/61  
 Linda Kay \* 9/6/45 + m. 3/24/66 Donald Richard Decker \* 12/4/44  
 Nancy Karen \* 4/18/51 + m. 1/27/73 Thomas Shrope \* 7/19/45 +  
 Mary Kathryn \* 8/22/58 + m. 9/13/86 Robert James Steyer \* 11/10/59 +  
 Lori Lynn \* 2/10/61 + m. 7/21/84 Christopher Figgins
45. Thelma May (13) \* 10/21/19 + m. (1) 1938 Daniel Theodore Williams \* 1913 + 1975, engineer  
 (2) 1982 Stuart Ramey, div.; (3) m. Rhodes  
 Issue: Mary Frances \* 3/9/39 + m. 7/11/59 Mario Martinez \* 4/23/36 +  
 Earl Daniel (Buddy) \* 1/16/41 + m. 9/29/61 Barbara Jane Carroll \* 8/13/39 +
46. George Louis (13) \* 4/14/1922.+ m. (1) 12/24/41 Erion Juanita Cook \* 4/11/1925, div. 1965; (2)  
 1966 Mary Henderson Smith; (3) Mary Henderson Smith deMontmollin 5/13/91.  
 Paving contractor. Served during World War II with General Patton's Army in North Africa, Italy and Europe. George was listed as missing in action for several months, and later located. He has traveled extensively in South America.
47. Sarah Ellen (13) \* 9/6/1924 + m. 2/11/1949 William Kenneth Hosmer \* 1925 + 1976 apparel merchant.  
 Issue: John Louis (47) \* 11/24/40 + 7/18/74.  
 Sherral Lee (47) \* 12/17/50 + m. (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Collins; (2) 7/5/80 Randy Warren \* 12/8/58 +  
 Carrie Lee \* 2/4/69 + m. 8/3/90 Michael Scheuer \* 11/20/69 +  
 Patricia Ann \* 1/29/53 + m. 3/27/75 William Patterson \* 9/10/47 +  
 Kenneth Allen \* 1/27/54 + m. 8/12/78 Jackie Hojnacki \* 11/8/46 +  
 Rose Marie \* 9/10/57 + m. (1) Wilty; (2) 7/11/90 Malcolm Timmins \* 11/3/47  
 Janet Louise \* 7/22/59 + m. 10/10/92 Victor Keller \* 11/4/53 +  
 Roy Albert \* 6/23/62 + m. 10/22/83 Sallie McCrary \* 5/19/63 +  
 Sherry Lynn \* 2/5/64 + m. 12/28/85 Joseph M. Clark \* 8/17/56 +
48. Floyd (13) \* 11/28/26. m. (1) Norma Jean MacCardel, div. 1952; (2) 11/14/53 Margaret Manelli \* 2/8/1927.  
 Floyd was employed for 33 years by Murphy Oil Corporation of Florida. In 1958, he was transferred from Tampa as Manager of a petroleum terminal in St. Marks, FL, which is just south of Tallahassee, but resides in Woodville, FL. He retired in 1989 and enjoys traveling with his wife Margaret in their motorhome.

49. James Edward (13) \* 10/13/1928 + . m. 12/16/1950 Sammie Ruth Higgins \*5/3/1935 +  
James is a career Army man.
51. John Lionel (17) \* 1919 + 1920
52. Frances Elise (17) \* 1920. Milwaukee, Wisconsin m. 1941 Paul Shank \*1915 + 1967.  
Issue: Paul II \* 1942, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. m. 1961 Marnae Kibbekers
53. John Vincent (17) \* 1923 +  
John Vincent was a paratrooper in World War II; was shot down over Kiel, Germany, and held prisoner in Stalag 17 for two years. The first news of his survival was the delivery of a dozen red roses on Mother's Day to his mother, Mabel Peterson de Montmollin.
54. Vivian Evelyn (17) \* 1920. + m. William Secor \* 1923, Hurley, Wisconsin.  
Vivian was gifted with music and loved to sing. She served in the WACS during World War II.  
Issue: Jeanne \* 1950. m. Jankowski  
William \* 1952  
Terry \* 1958. m. Paul Decker.
55. James Martin (17) \* 1928 + 1973. m. 1966 Marie Mitchell.  
James Martin served during the Korean War, stationed at Seoul. He contracted rheumatic fever during service, which caused many complications later. He died at the age of 45 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

#### XVIII

56. Harry Marler III (35) \*10/1/1938 + . m. Jayne Smith.  
Harry Marler III is a graduate of the University of Florida, holds an undergraduate degree from the College of William and Mary, and a graduate degree from the University of North Florida. After several years as a classroom teacher at Bolles School, a private school in Jacksonville, he was named Headmaster in 1976, and in 1985 was named President. He is a recognized authority in secondary education, and frequently is called on to consult with other private schools across the country.
57. Jonathan (35) \* 8/5/1943. + . m. (1) 1/62 Nancy Allen Grover div. 11/70; (2) 9/8/78  
Linda Ann Miller, div.; (3) 1981 Nina Mabry  
Jonathan is the National Field Sales Manager for Tidland Electronics, a company which manufactures paper mill equipment. He and his family live in Mountain Pine, Arkansas, near Hot Springs.
58. Philip Edward II (36) \* 1940 + . m. (1) Faydra Often. div.; (2) Dolores Bennett.  
Philip Edward II began his newspaper career while a University of Miami student. He spent his entire career with Knight-Ridder Newspapers, a chain of 30 daily newspapers, culminating in his appointment as President of the Miami Herald, flagship paper of the chain. Previous service with Knight-Ridder had been in Miami, in Macon, Georgia, Lexington, Kentucky and Fort Wayne, Indiana. In 1975, he was named one of Georgia's Five Outstanding Young Men, and in 1985, was First Vice-President of the Fort Wayne (Indiana) Urban League, and a national board member of the Girl Scouts of the USA. When he returned to Miami in 1985, he was Chairman-elect of the Greater Fort Wayne Chamber of Commerce. In 1990, he retired as President of the Herald, and bought an interest in the Lime Tree Bay Resort on Long Key, Florida. His wife, Dee, is a Registered Nurse, and holds a Masters degree in Mental Health Counselling. She is Associate Program Director of the Lawrence LeShan Institute, in Coral Gables, Florida, which offers a program of individual and group psychotherapy for cancer patients. Phil and Dee have two sons, Philip Edward III and David Bennett.
59. Stephen Joseph (36) \* 1/21/72 + . m. Judy Barlow \* 9/11/47.  
Stephen is a graduate of Memphis State University and Georgetown Law School, and served for seven years as a legislative assistant to a Florida Congressman in Washington. He was Assistant United States Attorney in Miami for two years; engaged in private practice in Miami, Ocala and

Gainesville for fifteen years. In addition to a long-term involvement with the Florida Defenders of the Environment, he served as President of the Greater Gainesville Chamber of Commerce in 1988. In 1991, he was named Florida's Chief Inspector General in Tallahassee. He is currently Vice-President and General Counsel of SantaFe HealthCare, Inc., a diversified health care company operating six hospitals, a statewide HMO and several nursing homes and hospices. Judy is a Clinical Psychologist, practicing in Gainesville, Florida. They have two sons, Stephen and Christopher James.

60. Lane Alan (36) \* 1948 +  
Lane is a self-employed printer in Gainesville, Florida.
61. Katherine Virginia (37) \* 2/23/1944 + . m. Richard A. Ostrowski, div.  
Kathy lives in Boulder, Colorado, and is a supervisor in a Denver travel agency.  
Issue: Jennifer (adopted)
62. Linda Anne (37) \* 12/18/1947 + . m. Dr. David McCowen.  
Linda and her family live in Tacoma, Washington, where her husband is a practicing endocrinologist. The family hobby is sailing on Puget Sound.  
Issue: Heather \* 11/16/1970 + . Graduated in Music from Northwestern University. Studying for Masters Degree in Music at SMU.  
Richard \*12/14/1972 + . Pre-Med student at University of Washington, Seattle.
63. Merrie Elise (37) \* 7/27/1954 + . m. David Blue.  
Merrie's husband served many years as a non-commissioned officer in the Army. Now lives in Tacoma, Washington.  
Issue: James \* 1/29/1979 +  
Barbara \* 5/24/1983 +
64. Nancy Michele (37) \* 11/29/1957. + . m. John Salazar, IRS employee in Denver, Colorado. John was later transferred, and he and Michele live in Cheyenne, WY.  
Issue: Patrick \*3/26/1987 +
65. Elizabeth (38) \* 1947 + . m. (1) William L. Cooper III, div.; (2) Ronald Kellogg, Salt Lake City, Utah.  
Beth is head of the Inhalation Therapy Department at a community hospital in Sandy, Utah, in suburban Salt Lake City.  
Issue (Cooper): William L. IV \* 1/10/69 + . m. Tammy Owens  
Andrew de Montmollin \* 10/30/72 +  
Adam Clancy \* 12/31/78 +
66. Bonnie Catherine (38) \* 1951 + . m. Robert T. Boland.  
Bonnie is a Biology teacher, teaching in Newberry and Barnwell High (SC) Schools. She holds a Masters Degree from the University of Wyoming. In the Fall of 1992, she transferred to a position teaching Biology in Barnwell (S.C.) High School, where her husband was County Administrator. In 1994, they moved to Manning, SC, where Bobby is County Administrator, and Bonnie teaches Science in the Sumter, SC school.  
Issue: Elizabeth Louise \* 4/3/1971 + . Senior at the University of Wyoming, Laramie.  
Robert Threewitts \* 9/6/1974 + . m. 12/18/94 Angela Powers Student at the University of South Carolina, Aiken  
Joanna Boatwright \* 11/1/1984 +

67. Carol Anne (38) \* 1957 + . m. Gregory Jennings.  
 Carol holds a Masters Degree from the University of South Carolina, and is a registered Speech Pathologist. She is employed as Speech Therapist in Pineview Elementary, Lexington (SC)  
 Issue: Ryan de Montmollin \* 1/6/1981 +  
 Stuart Lynn \* 4/12/1984 +  
 Megan Elizabeth \* 8/13/1990 +  
 Ryan and Megan are afflicted with Muscular Dystrophy.
68. Frances Elizabeth (41) \* 1928 + . m. Malcolm Dayton Johnston, Engineer and Professor of Engineering, COL US Army Retired, VP Pacson Breherhft Quarls & Douglas, div 1985; (2) 1994 Vincent Ralph Colane, Attorney at Law, Doctor of Laws.  
 Frances is associated with Filmland Print (commercials and advertising); Executive Director Mountain Lakes Holding Corp., Princeton, NJ; currently a member of the US Postal Service Advisory Council; and a member of the Board of Directors of the University of Alabama Adult Education.
69. Aaron Burr III (41) \* 1931 + 1936.
70. Harriet Lee (42) \* 1940 + 1940.
71. Betty Carolyn (42) \* 1940 + . m. Donald Diamond \* 1939 + .
72. Harry Lee Jr. (42) \* 1944 + .
73. Patsy Ann (42) \* 1946 + . m. Bobby Brooks.  
 Patsy is Executive Director of the Strawberry Festival in Plant City, Florida.
74. Marguerite Louise (43) \* 1933 + . m. Louis L. Bigbie \* 1927, div.; (2) Groover.
75. Larry Eugene (43) \* 1947. + . m. 6/26/70 Laura Fay Walker \* 1953 + .
76. Patricia (43) \* 1948 + . m. 4/19/1969 Raymond Lester Bennett  
 Issue: Wilfred Lester \* 11/7/70 +  
 Robert Allen \* 5/29/72 +
77. Sandra Kay (43) \* 12/17/1950 + . m. James Allen Booth  
 Issue: Bridget Marie \* 12/31/72 +  
 Jeffrey Allen \* 4/80 +  
 Kristin \* 1/83 +
78. Brenda Carol (43) \* 1952 + . m. (1) 1/5/72 Danny Lee Raburn, div. 1990; (2) 7/27/90 Larry Williams \* 9/9/50 +  
 Issue: Keisha Marie Raburn \* 5/16/72 +  
 Damien Lee Raburn \* 4/11/79 +
79. Kathy (43) \* 1954 + . m. 6/21/71 Ronald Lee Ayers \* 9/17/53 + div 1979  
 Issue: Ronald Lee, Jr. \* 12/1/71 + 12/1/71  
 Jonathan Keith \* 11/5/72 +  
 Heather \* 5/6/75 +
80. Gary Allen (43) \* 1957 +
81. George Louis, Jr. (46) \* 11/5/1942. + ; m. 1972 Kim Tae Im (div)
82. Joan (46) \* 1/15/1946; + ; m. Tony Belluccio  
 Issue: Shayne \* 1966 +  
 Scott \* 1970 +
83. Ronald Wayne (46) \* 12/5/1947; + . m. 1972; div. 1974.
84. Wanda Gail (46) \* 2/24/1950; + .

85. Richard David (46) \* 4/24/54 + 1/6/88.

Richard David died in Ozark, Alabama, and was buried Mar. 24, 1988 in West Oaklawn Cemetery, Plant City, FL.

86. Allison Floyd (48) \* 1950 +

87. Richard Bryan (48) \* 1951 +

88. Rita Faye (48) \* 1955 +

89. Floyd Jr. (48) \* 1960 +

90. Lisa (53) \* 1964. + . Child of Elizabeth Kochanski by previous marriage. Adopted by John Vincent.

91. Jacqueline (53) \* 1968 +

92. John (53) \* 1969. +

93. Jennifer (53) \* 1976 +

XIX

94. Jonathon Scott (57) \* 1962. + . m. 6/1/88 Eve Lydia Taylor \* 7/15/65 +

95. Carol Virginia (57) \* 1964 +

96. Shirley Ann (58)

97. Philip Edward III (58) \* 1972 +

98. David Bennett (58) \* 1974 +

99. Yaum (81) \* 1978 +

100. Jimmie (81) \* 1985 +

101. John Louis (89) \* 1983 +

102. Richard Thomas (89) \* 1985 +

103. Lisa Marie (75) \* 2/25/70 +

104. Larry Eugene (75) \* 3/27/71 +

105. Angela (72) \* 1965 +

XX

106. Ashley Brooke (94) \* 4/20/84 +

107. Philip Marler (94) \* 6/3/90 +

108. Olivia Taylor (94) \* 8/27/91 +

109. Victoria (Tori) Taylor (94) \* 7/1/92 +

## APPENDIX B

### FREDERIC BRANCH

#### XI

27. Louis (4) \* 1683 + 1750. m. 1712 Salome Gaudot \* 1691 + 1744, daughter of David and d'Esabeau Girard.

Member of the Executive Council, Louis was the ancestor of the second branch of the de Montmollin family which emigrated to the United States. Membership in the Executive Council was a privilege of the aristocracy of Neuchatel. The Council functioned as the court of justice. In the other municipalities, the Prince named the justices.

#### XII

63. Jean Jacques (27) \* 1731 + 1774. m. 1763 Marguerite Dardel \* 1733 + 1805, daughter of Jean Pierre and Madeleine Clottu.

The business in which Jean Jacques had his interests, Brand, de Montmollin, Jeanrenaud & Company, failed in 1771. Jean Jacques died, leaving his family in a difficult situation.

#### XIII

43. Jean Frederic (63) \* 28 Feb 1769 + 3 Mar 1825, m. 8/15/1789, Hannah Phile \* 2/28/1769 + 3/3/1825; daughter of Dr. Frederick Phile, physician, who served as a surgeon in American Revolution. One of the signers of the first Federal currency.

Dr. Frederick Phile was a prominent physician and surgeon of Philadelphia, and was there engaged in the practice of his profession at the commencement of the Revolution, in which he served as Surgeon. On 27 June, 1776, Congress voted him pay for his attendance on the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion, from the "time of their embodiment to 13 of June, 1776." On 20 February, 1777, Congress ordered that he be paid \$199.48 "for medicine and attendance to the German Battalion in Philadelphia," and on 2 May, 1777, \$1312.33 "for sundry medicine administered by him to several Battalions of the Continental Forces." On 20 June, 1778, he exhibited to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania "an account of services done by him for the State as a physician," which was ordered paid, also a bill "for provisions purchased by him for the use of the men belonging to the State fleet." On 5 April 1777, he was appointed naval officer of the Port at Philadelphia. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania on 18 April, 1789, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That Frederick Phile, Esquire, hath acted as Naval Officer for the Port of Philadelphia from the 5th day of April, in the year 1777 to this present time, and has executed the several duties of said office with fidelity and to the satisfaction of the Board.

This action of the Council was no doubt taken to further the appointment of Dr. Phile as Naval Officer of the Port, under the government formed by the first constitution of the United States, and no doubt had its influence with President Washington, as he appointed Dr. Phile to the position, which he held until his death, serving in all, as Naval Officer of the Port, for a quarter of a century. In August, 1778, Dr. Phile was chosen by Congress one of the signers of the Continental Currency. He was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital; a member of Christ Church, of which he was a vestryman in 1783, and a member of the famous Society, "Sons of St. Tammany," his Sachem name being, "Pechemelind." On 24 September, 1784, he became possessed by patents of a tract of three hundred and thirty-five acres on the Allegheny River, in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, which he called "Philesburg." He also owned various lots of land in Philadelphia, one of which he and his wife Elizabeth sold by deed of 30 July, 1782, it being the same that George Heyl, "merchant" and Dorothy his wife had conveyed to him, 20 April, 1782. He died at Philadelphia, 19 October, 1793, a victim of the yellow fever scourge of that year. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Parrish of Baltimore, and sister of Patience, wife of Charles Marshall, q.v., he had the following children, born at Philadelphia (there may have been others):

- i. Ann Phile, born 9 December 1761; married, 14 March, 1782, Captain James Gibbon.
- ii. Elizabeth Phile, born 22 February, 1765; married, 15 August, 1789, Ebenezer Stott, of Castle Dykes in Dumfries, Scotland. Mrs. Stott was a founder of the Ladies Depository, Philadelphia, and widely known for her charitable activities. Her portrait and that of her husband were painted by Sully.
- iii. Thomas Phile, born 1 July 1766.
- iv. Sarah Phile, born 2 September, 1767.
- v. Hannah Phile, of the text, born 28 February, 1769; died 3 March, 1825; married 20 November, 1791, Frederick de Montmollin, a native of Switzerland, who came to America before the Revolution, and had issue. Cause of her death was "ascites." Burial was in Christ Church Cemetery.
- vi. Charlotte Phile, born 14 May, 1771; married 16 June, 1792, Jacob C. Wyckoff.
- vii. Mary Phile, married 18 August, 1792, John Knapp.
- viii. Harriet Phile, born 22 November, 1775, and is probably the same who married Richard C. Harrison, 3 September, 1868.
- ix. Emily Phile, born February, 1778; married Moses Musgrove.

Jean Frederic took the oath of allegiance as a United States citizen on April 12, 1787.

Frederic had emigrated to the United States in 1785, and established a mercantile business on the east side of South Front Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets in Philadelphia. Successively, he is listed as an auctioneer, a member of the firm Nottmollin and Montmollin (which in 1790 had 7 employees); a member of an auctioneer firm Montmollin, F & S Moses; Montmollin & Trusson, merchants; and Montmollin, Frederic, late auctioneer (1819-1823).

The firm of Nottmollin and Montmollin had business connections down the coast as far as Charleston, where they had an agent. In a court action dated 2 August, 1792, they obtained a judgment against Gerald Dentze of Charleston for non-payment of a promissory note dated 3 September, 1791. The court action was indorsed by John James Himeley of Charleston, acting as agent for Nottmollin, Montmollin & Company.

Frederic was active in the sale of real estate, being listed as "Grantee" of nine pieces of property, and "Grantor" of five parcels. Residences were located on Front Street, Mulberry Street, High Street, and Wood Street, 1 drive E of N 10th Street.

Frederic (of Philadelphia) is listed as a passenger on the ship America, David Hardie, Master, arriving in Philadelphia from Hambourg on May 4, 1798.

He served as a private in the 7th Company, 4th Battalion, Philadelphia Militia in 1789, under the command of Lieut. Col. John Shee, Esquire. In 1794, he is listed as serving as a private in the 7th Company, 2nd Regiment of the Philadelphia Militia, commanded by Lt. Col John Burkner. [This is perhaps the same unit as above.]

46. Francois Louis (63) \* 1769 + 1793

After the failure of his father's business, the family of Francois Louis encouraged him to emigrate to America. He died in Philadelphia of yellow fever in 1793, leaving no issue.

XIV

14. Elizabeth (43) \* 7/5/1795 + 5/22/1807. Burial was in Christ Church Cemetery, Philadelphia.

15. Adelaide (43) \* +

Apparently, Adelaide died at an early age, as there was a younger child also named Adelaide (See 17, below)

16. John Frederic (43) \* 1797 + 12/30/1871. m. \_\_\_\_\_, Sallie \_\_\_\_\_ \* + 1874

He is listed in the 1810 and 1820 Censuses as living in Philadelphia; in the 1830, 1840 and 1850 Censuses as living in Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky.

Frederic had moved to Lexington, Kentucky, by 1826. He was one of the original subscribers of the "Kentucky Association," formed in that year for the purpose of "promoting the purchase

and sale of stock, and to encourage the breeding of horses. Apparently, the Association later participated in horse racing activities.

In the 1850 Census, he is listed as a "Lumber Trader," with real estate valued at \$50,000. His son, Frederic Jr., is also listed as a "Lumber Trader," presumably in business with his father.

His wife was one of the early members of the Lexington Female Benevolent Society, which was "pre-eminent for its judicious charity, great usefulness and blessed influence." The Society was organized in 1815, though not incorporated until 1851. [This could possibly be the wife of 24. Dr. James M. (15), below]

In 1853, he wrote Mr. G. L. Marler a letter containing following reference to John Samuel de Montmollin II:

Some twelve years ago a gentlemen seeing my name in front of my store came in & introduced himself as being of the same name, which astonished him as well as myself as neither of us had any knowledge of having relatives in the United States - he informed me his Father had left Canada when he was a small boy & removed to Savannah, Georgia & had died many years ago - his second wife being still alive, his name was John S. De Montmollin & I suppose was the same name as his Father - he was in the Employ of our Government and was here in Kentucky purchasing a thousand horses for the Florida War - I have had no letters from him for some years, but hear from occasionally by individuals traveling from his station of Country - I have no doubt but that we originate from the same stock - I would be most happy if circumstances permitted it that we should know each other face to face - a Mr. Augustus de Montmollin writes to me frequently relative to my Aunt Louisa's affairs & in one of his letters he writes that one hundred & sixty years ago his ancestors & mine were one of the same as in the old Country. A minute account is strictly kept in all the Families as well as in the Churches, the Births and Deaths that occur. I have no doubt if you address him, he can give you all the particulars of our Family - which to me would be exceedingly interesting - indeed I have often thought of writing my Aunt in Switzerland, but having a great deal of business to attend to, besides a very large family to take care of, that I never could spare the time.

He died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. G. P. Sargent, Bryn Mawr, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

17. Adelaide C. (43) \* +

On July 30, 1879, she dictated a long letter to John Samuel de Montmollin III. He had visited in her home in 1871, and had written her recently. The letter was written for her by her son-in-law, Dr. G. P. Sargent, as she was "stone blind" at the time.

18. Harriet (43) \* 1799 + 10/7/1820 Burial was in Christ Church Cemetery.

19. Mary Caroline (43) \*9/3/1802 +

20. Louise (43) \* + . m. 1/25/1829 Henry Stoddard, Philadelphia.

She was baptized in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on June 29, 1805. The church records show her confirmation into Christ Church on April 15, 1811, along with her mother Hannah and her sister Catherine [perhaps this is Adelaide Catherine.]

XV

21. Frederic (15) \* 1825 + 1872.

22. Sally (15) \* 1832 +

23. Adelaide (15) \* 1834 + . m. Dr. G. P. Sargent, Bryn Mawr, Montgomery County, Pa.

She is listed in the 1850 Census as a resident of South Ward, Philadelphia.

24. James M. (15) \* 1837 + 1900 m. 11/11/1863 Martha F. Young, daughter of the late Dr. Archibald Young, of Jessamine County, Kentucky.

Born in Lexington, Kentucky, James served as assistant Surgeon of the 9th Kentucky Infantry. In later years, he lived in Ashland, Kentucky.

His wife was an officer in the Soldier's Aid Society, which was active in Lexington in assisting sick and wounded Federal soldiers throughout the War.

On October 13, 1893, from Ashland, Kentucky, he wrote "Dear Cousin" [apparently John Samuel de Montmollin III.] He reported on the condition of "Addie," apparently his aunt [16. Adelaide C. (43)] who was living with them at the time. She was quite old, and although her eyesight had improved to a degree, she was in poor health physically. There is a reference to "Cousin Fannie," which indicates they knew of the existence of the second family, and had visited each other.

He referred to the fact that "Frank [his son] is still without work and is the most restless miserable mortal I ever saw. He desires me to remember him with love to you both."

25. William (15) \* 1839 + 1887  
26. Caroline (15) \* 1842 + m. Richard Bayley \* 4/29/1824 +12/9/1825  
27. Lisette (15) \* 1844 +  
28. Sallie (16) \* \_\_\_\_ + \_\_\_\_ m. 3/9/1854 Edwin Spotswood, of Glasgow, Mo.  
29. Ada (16) \* \_\_\_\_ + \_\_\_\_ m. 2/25/1857 Dr. J. K. Morton.  
30. Frederic (16) \* \_\_\_\_ + \_\_\_\_ m. 12/16/1856 Mary Parker, of Lexington, Ky.  
31. John Witherhill (16) \*1836 + 8/9/1836. Died in infancy.

#### XVI

23. Archie Young (24) \* 1/1/1867 + 2/13/1889  
24. Elizabeth F. (24) \*3/13/1870 +9/3/1888  
25. Frederic (24) \* 7/15/1868 + 7/22/1869  
26. Elisa Todd (24) \* 1870 + 1888  
27. Sarah Louise (24) \* 1872 + 1934. m. Garrett B. Wall \* 1869 + 1926 Vice President Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad.  
28. Frank Maury (24) \* 1874 +1930. m. 5/17/1901 Mattie Beam \*1876 + 6/6/1912. daughter M/M William Beam  
29. Adelaide Catherine (24) \* 1875 + 1947. m. 1901 Edward Mills Hoadley \* 1885 + 1942, civil engineer.

In an undated letter to Mrs. Frances Eudor de Montmollin (written on Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Co. notepaper) she makes reference to the illness of "Cousin John," and the fact that the baby (Louise) must be a "great deal of company to you." [Sarah Louise de Montmollin was born in 1893 in Ford, Kentucky, and apparently named for Sarah Louise de Montmollin Wall]. She refers to a picture she has of Louise: "I don't think that the picture we have of her is good, as it don't do her justice."

#### XVII

50. James William (27) \* 1903 + m. Fern May Rogers

Among the 35 guests at his first birthday party at 504 West Greenup Avenue, Ashland, Kentucky, in 1904 were Frank Beam, presumably a cousin on his mother's side; and "Mrs. Beam," presumably his maternal grandmother. James William was described at the party as being the "biggest frog in the puddle."

51. James William (27) \*1902 + 1902  
52. [a son] (27) \* 1910 +

XVIII

89. Gerald (50) \* 1923 +

90. James W.(50) \* 6/26/1927 m. Arlene Ruth Ficher \*8/26/1930 New Jersey

XIX

78. Gerald James (89) \* 1946 +

79. Dennis (89) \* 1948 +

80. [a daughter] (89) \* +

82. Gerald W. (90) \* 1951 +

83. John Frederic (90) \* 10/6/1953 + m. Judy Smith div.

XX

84. James Gerald (78) \* + m. Dawn Elizabeth Pinkham \*10/5/1953 York, Me.

XXI

85. James Gerald (84) \*1972 + Granite City, Ill

86. Shannon David \*1974 +

87. Lisa Renee (84) \*1980 +